Naming practices, identity, power, and communication in Bindura, Zimbabwe

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Statement of originality

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Abstract

This study, conducted in Bindura and its rural hinterland, examines the relationships between the town's place naming practices, notions of identity, power, and communication through a mixed methods approach. This interdisciplinary study, which views toponyms and toponymic practices as texts and speech acts, explores how place naming in a multilingual linguistic landscape influences the construction, negotiation, and contestation of the identities and well-being of the language users. This exploration draws on a range of theories and methodologies from the sociology of language, sociolinguistics, socio-onomastics, pragmatics, linguistic landscapes, critical toponymy, and the discourse-historical approach of critical discourse analysis which emphasises the need to consider the linguistic, sociological, cultural, and historical contexts of the phenomena under investigation. This approach enabled increased awareness of the intertextuality of toponymic practices and the power relations embedded in them. Thus, a toponym was viewed not as an isolated form of spatial reference, but as related to other names within and or outside the particular area, and other socio-economic issues prevailing in the immediate community, the nation, or internationally that can be used to (em/dis)power individuals or communities. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 35 participants including urban and rural planning officials, government officials, drivers, conductors, and users of public transport, youths, and elderly inhabitants of the area. Data gathering methods included surveys, observations, photographs, and analysis of documents including maps, gazetteers, archives, and reports. This research showed how identity construction connects to language use (place names) and how place naming practices can become sites of considerable negotiation and contest. The findings confirm that identity is important in place naming because it connects individuals, groups, places, and toponyms. This approach promotes understanding of how individuals associate with or detach themselves from communities, the type of information they intend to express about themselves, and how this information mirrors the ideas others hold about them. Understood this way, identity relates to the view that language use, in this case place naming, is a cognitive and inherently social venture. As a response to calls in linguistic landscape studies and critical toponymy to study the politics of toponymies this research shows how minority groups in multilingual spaces, already disadvantaged by identifying with and using less popular languages, face an additional challenge of having their languages silenced in the linguistic landscape and decision-making processes and positions. Linguistic and cultural identities, therefore, determine the precarity of

minority groups in the linguistic landscape in particular and in relations of power more generally.

Keywords: critical toponymy, critical discourse analysis, discourse-historical approach, linguistic landscapes, place naming practices, power relations.

Dedication

To Fungai, Blessed-Jewel, Iris and Madalitso.

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I am indebted to many people who have and continue to nurture and support me in many ways. First, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Dr. Alan Libert, my principal supervisor, for his guidance throughout the research process. Appreciation is also extended to Dr. Catriona Malau, who was my co-supervisor. I am grateful for the helpful feedback and encouragement.

My sincere gratitude is further extended to the research participants who took the time to share their lived experiences and stories with me. I feel honoured and priviliged to have been permitted entry to a part of their lives which they offered me with kindness and interest.

To my mother, I say thank you! Look where your little girl is now! I am forever grateful for the sacrifices you made so that I received an education. You never got a formal education yourself but knew the value of educating your children. You insisted all your children get an education, even girls in a patriarchal society where the education of females was not valued.

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Finally, to my colleagues and friends who were all helpful throughout the research process, I remain forever thankful.

Table of Contents

List of abbreviations

BRDC	Bindura Rural District Council
BM	Bindura Municipality (Urban)
BPRA	Bulawayo Progressive Residents Association
BSAC	British South Africa Company
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CDS	Critical Discourse Studies
DHA	Discourse-Historical Approach
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GIS	Geographical Information Systems
GPS	Global Positioning System
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
RC	Road Councils
SDAC	Southern African Development Community
SFL	Systemic Functional Linguistics
TMB	Town Management Board
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation
UNGEGN	United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names
UNWTO	United Nations World Tourism Organisation
VMB	Village Management Board
WTTC	World Travel and Tourism Council
ZANU-PF	Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front
ZAPU	Zimbabwe African People's Union

List of tables

List of figures

Chapter 1 Background and introduction

1.1 Introduction

This study analyses place naming practices and selected place names (toponyms) in Bindura, Zimbabwe as an entry point to studying notions of identity, power, and communication in society. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), as a theoretical framework and an analytical tool, was employed to investigate how and why people give places the names they do and the power relations behind these naming practices. This project arose out of the realisation of the multiple functions of names as symbols of their referents; manifestations of linguistic, cultural, and social heritage; have an economic value attached to them; communicate many messages, and perform many roles (Ainiala & Ostman, 2017a; Nyambi, Mangena, & Pfukwa, 2016; Oha, Kumar, Anyanwu, & Omoera, 2017; Shoval, 2013). Onomastic studies in Zimbabwe, especially toponymic ones, rarely explore the interrelationships between identity, power, and communication. Therefore, this study is an addition to the growing field of critical onomastic enquiry[1] and a response to the "call to arms for politically aware critical approaches to place naming" (Puzey & Kostanski, 2016, p. xv).

The town of Bindura, Zimbabwe and its rural hinterland were chosen for the location of the study. Bindura is a provincial farming and mining town. This location was chosen in order to study similarities and differences between urban and rural situations, because most studies of this type have concentrated on major cities (Kearns & Lewis, 2019). In this introductory section the broad context, the scope, and the rationale for choosing the research topic are explained. The theoretical underpinnings of the main concepts are sketched out to explain how I understand their relationships to be articulated. A brief literature review is provided before the objectives are presented, and the methodological framework underlying the project introduced. The key terms are defined, and the research questions introduced, before a summary of the structure and organisation of the thesis is provided.

[1] For comprehensive summaries, see Bigon (2016a), Blackwood, Lanza and Woldemariam (2016), Giraut and Houssay-Holzschuch (2016), Giraut et al., (2012), Pütz and Mundt (2018), Rose-Redwood, Alderman and Azaryahu (2018) and Shohamy, Rafael and Barni (2010).

1.2. Background to the study and context

Naming, be it of people or places, is significant to societies in many ways the world over; it has oftentimes not only been for functional purposes alone. Many scholars have argued that naming is considered an act of speaking about and recalling shared experiences and beliefs (Helander, 2014; Kostanski, 2011b; Mushati, 2013; Nash, 2013, 2015; Neethling, 2000; Nyambi et al., 2016). Explaining this point further, Sengani (2015, p. 2) posited that for the Vhavenda,[2] most names express "their history, culture and heritage". In this sense, Sengani saw the value of names as expressions of personal aspirations and a means of social control. Further, Chabata (2012) persuasively argued that a survey of onomastic literature showed that the assignment of names was important, because most names reflected the expectations of the individual, committee, or group giving them. Moreover, Mapara and Nyota (2016) noted that, except for a few names whose origins or reasons for being given might be obscure, most toponyms reflected the way of life and reasoning of the people that gave them. Therefore, names are important as they identify different people, places and can carry people's culture, history, and heritage.

Place naming is significant to different elements of society. Some toponyms are descriptive, some verifiable or historical, while others are commemorative, or introduced to new areas from existing ones. Thus, according to Ainiala and Ostman (2017b, p. 1), "names are elements in language that are not only employed as identificatory or reference devices but as elements that are also used to accomplish a variety of culturally, socially and interactionally relevant tasks". In light of the above, I argue that place names are significant and are utilised by people to share their worldview and way of life. A similar assertion was put forward by Guma (1998, p. 266) as cited in Chabata (2012, p. 46), who noted that place names and naming procedures were often a translation of socio-cultural and historical events.

Payne (1985, p. 12) additionally maintained that names were connected to historic points in the advancement of our "feeling of place", something that was critical in our general development and well-being. Seen along these lines, place names ought not to be seen only as a system of reference. They do not simply give directions; there can be considerable connections between the name, what it alludes to, and the person giving it (Nash, 2013, 2015; Nyambi, 2016b, 2017). As suggested by Nyambi and Mangena (2015), the names give information on the history, qualities, desires, or perspectives of those that supply them. They

[2] The Vhavenda live around and near the Zimbabwe-South African border.

could be elements through which one perceives and comprehends oneself and one's encompassing world. Therefore, this study argues that through the affordances of CDA, place naming practices and place names can be critically analysed to unravel unequal power relations that are extant in some toponymic practices.

1.2.1 Context

In recent years, critical toponymic and linguistic landscape studies (Bigon, 2016b; Giraut, Houssay-Holzschuch, & Guyot, 2012; Nyambi et al., 2016; Pütz & Mundt, 2018; Rose-Redwood, Alderman & Azaryahu, 2018; Shohamy, Rafael, & Barni, 2010; Vuolteenaho, 2016) are increasingly interested in analysing place names within their encompassing socio-political setting, what they signify in terms of power relations, commemorations, and/or socio-political systems. For example, in the introductory article to their edited volume, Vuolteenaho and Berg (2016) gave an overview of how critical toponymy departs from traditional approaches in the study of toponyms. Focusing on the entwinement of place-naming and power relations, the authors opposed a popular misconception of toponyms as being free of any meaning besides their referential function. Instead, they described the bestowment of any toponym as socially embedded. Furthermore, Pütz and Mundt (2018, p. 1) argued that linguistic landscape studies were broadening and advancing "new ways of understanding the sociocultural, ideological and historical role of communication practices and 'experienced' lives in a globalised world". Therefore, with that in mind and in line with the dictates of best practices if one is using CDA as a theoretical perspective (as explained in the theoretical framework (§ 2.6) and methodological (§ 3.3.8) sections), I outline the context of the study. The context of my study includes the pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial historical periods in Zimbabwe. This outline is guided by the fact that the area under study is regarded as inhabited by the Shona and probably the centre of one of the most powerful and enduring kingdoms (the Mutapa Kingdom) in the history of Zimbabwe (Beach, 1987; Gayre, 1972; Hall, 1909; A.S. Mlambo, 2014; Mudenge, 1988; Pikirayi, 2009; Randall-MacIver, 1906). This contextualisation has been subdivided into three sections highlighting the major historical epochs of Zimbabwe as they relate to toponymic practices.

1.2.2 Tracing the Shona: A precolonial historiography of Zimbabwe

The literature on the history of Zimbabwe and on the Shona people is enormous. A survey of it reveals many proposals concerning possible dates and places of origin of the present-day

Shona people have been put forth. This review highlights the difficulty in exactly pinpointing their origins for the following reasons:

i. Scholars from diverse backgrounds, ethnicity, and disciplines using different methods have contributed their views on the matter.

ii. The volume of evidence presents opportunities and challenges. On the one hand, there are opportunities in the sense that one has much data and much information to work with; on the other hand, this presents challenges in synthesising the evidence and arriving at a credible assertion.

iii. There is a lack of written records about what happened in the past; there is reliance on oral tradition, which presents challenges regarding credibility.

iv. The Portuguese narratives and records have been argued to be biased and less credible,[3] as those who wrote them might not have witnessed the events which they recorded but relied on information from Swahili merchants and traders who interacted with the people on the Zimbabwean plateau (Beach, 1987; Chirikure, 2020; Gayre, 1972; A.S. Mlambo, 2014; Mudenge, 1988). Nevertheless, Portuguese sources provided valuable insights into the history of Zimbabwe. Below are two maps attesting this point. Figure 1.1 is one of the earliest written records of the geography of southern Africa and Figure 1.2 is a map produced in 1887. The latter marks Manica District (in red) stretching as far inland as the Mazowe river; the Tete district is marked west of the Mazowe river showing that the Portuguese as late as 1887 regarded Manicaland and Mashonaland within their territorial possession.

[3] Portuguese documents are not accurate for various reasons. According to A.S. Mlambo (2014), Beach (1987) and Mudenge (1988), the Portuguese never got closer to the Zimbabwean plateau than Sofala or Mozambique and most of them never knew the Shona language. In addition, most of those who wrote the histories had biases in their accounts depending on whether they were priests, traders, or officials, and on what they hoped to achieve by writing them. For instance, Mudenge (1988) argued that missionaries often exaggerated aspects they saw as barbaric or uncivilized because they wanted to convert Africans to Christianity. Portuguese officials also exaggerated the extent of the Mutapa's (the king of the area now known as Zimbabwe) power and control because they wanted to use the treaties made with the Mutapa to access the wealth of Northern Mashonaland. Traders also exaggerated the wealth of the Mutapa because they wanted to get support from the Portuguese government for their trade. The biases on the Mutapa's way of life are seen in the differing accounts of the Portuguese. For example, Barbosa, a Portuguese, referred to the Mutapa state as a very large town, while Santos estimated its population to be about two or three thousand (A.S. Mlambo, 2014). Furthermore, accounts of the numbers of the Mutapa's wives varied, some stated he had more than a thousand wives, while others simply said many. Due to these inconsistencies in Portuguese sources, oral tradition and archaeological findings have also been consulted.

Figure 1.1: A 1635 map of Southern Africa including the Kingdom of Munhumutapa (ZimFieldGuide.com, 2018).

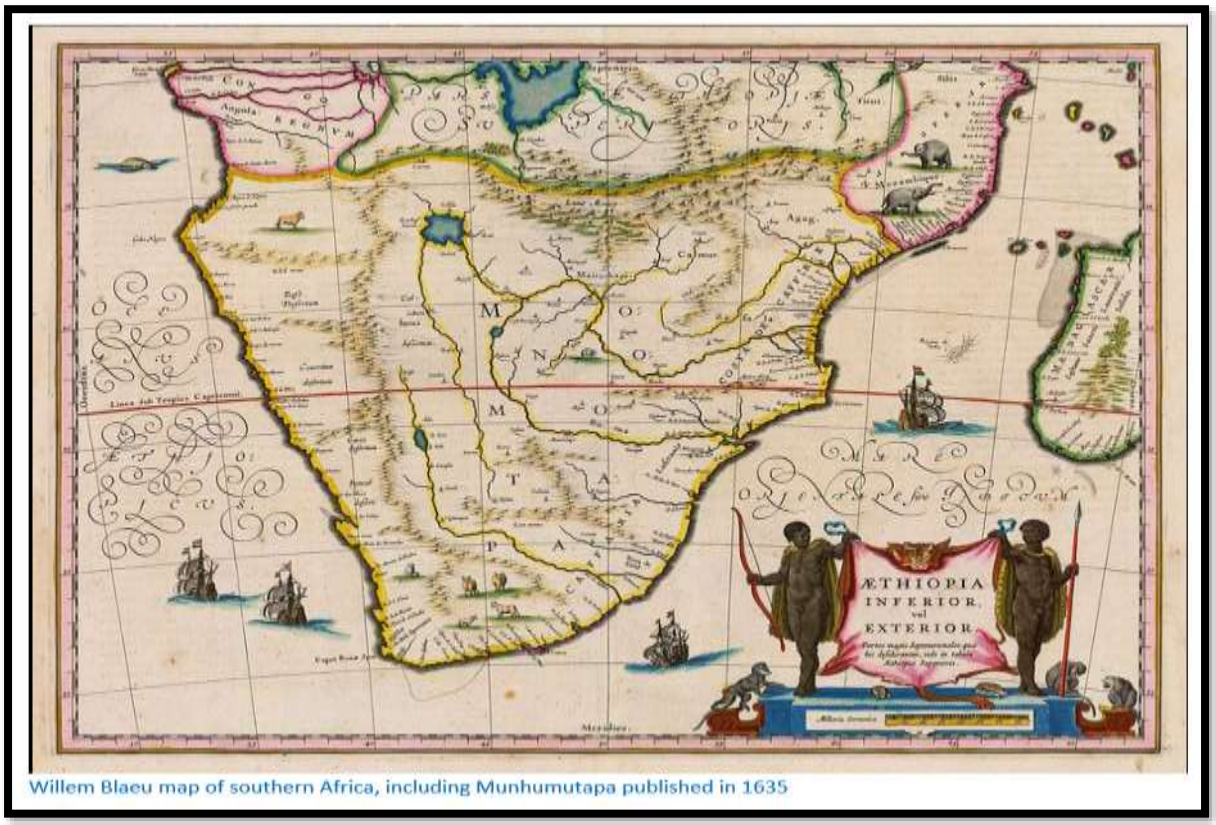
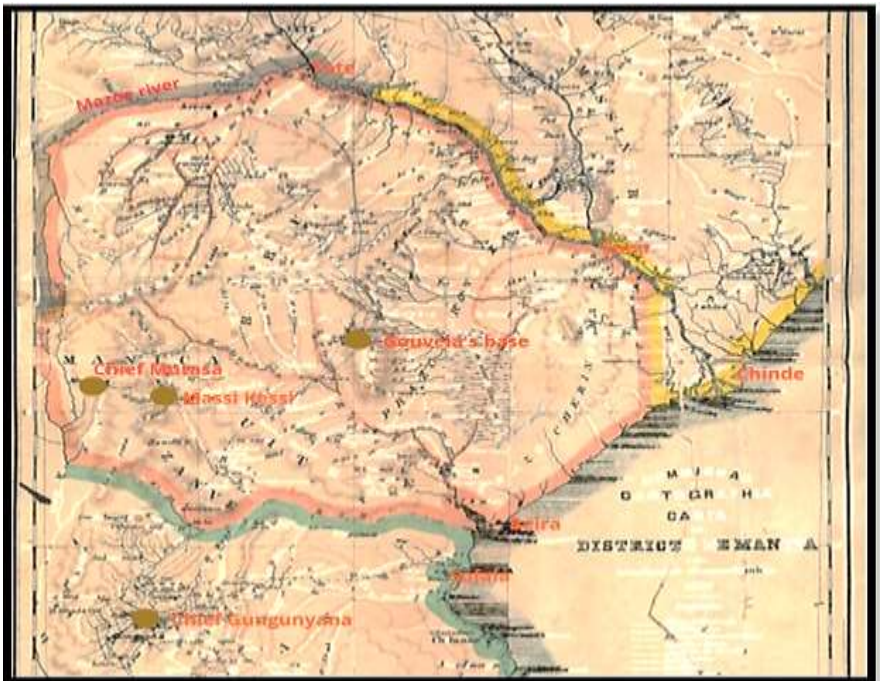


Figure 1.2: An 1887 map showing Portuguese territory (ZimFieldGuide.com, 2018).



A.S. Mlambo (2014), who stated that the first people to have inhabited Zimbabwe were the San, guides my discussion. He said that the Bantu, who may have migrated from Central Africa to the south, may have displaced the San and Khoi people around 900 CE. These migrations were argued to have taken place between the 9th to 13th centuries. A.S. Mlambo (2014) also stated that the Bantu first settled around the Mapela or Mapungubwe and Great Zimbabwe sites. He further argued that these settlements declined, and people moved to the northwest of present-day Zimbabwe, which is almost the position of Bindura today. The migrations were not systematic and the absence of written records during that time makes it difficult to verify such assertions.

The present-day researcher is faced with the challenges of the contentious issues related to the promulgating of 'patriotic history' (A.S. Mlambo, 2013; Ranger, 2004). A.S. Mlambo (2013) and Ranger (2004) propounded that many factors made it difficult to develop a common identity and by extension to have a common history in Zimbabwe. It could be helpful to quote Ndlovu-Gatsheni, as cited in A.S Mlambo (2013, pp. 52-53)

> like all historically and socially constructed phenomena, [Zimbabwe] is exceedingly difficult to define. It is a complex mosaic of contending histories and memories, making it as much a reality as it is an idea – a construction not only moulded out of precolonial, colonial and nationalist pasts, but also out of [sic] global values of sovereignty, self-determination and territorial integrity. It is an idea born out of continuing synthesis of multilayered, overlapping and cross-pollinating historical genealogies, and contending nationalisms, as well as suppressed local and regional sovereignties. (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009, p. 46)

Thus, it is evident in this quote that many factors have affected the development of a common national identity. These factors include the country's ethnic diversity, the colonial legacy of racism, and the autocratic intolerance of political dissent. Moreover, the development of a national identity was affected by a racialised, unequal socio-economic regime and the armed conflict that created enmity in the Zimbabwean society for almost two decades leaving racial division. Furthermore, the policy of reconciliation after independence failed to resolve questions of land ownership. To make matters worse, intellectuals, especially historians, have been accused of playing a complicit role in shaping competing perceptions about the country's past and present, thus encouraging difference rather than a sense of common and shared interests (A.S. Mlambo, 2013). A.S. Mlambo (2013) supported the view that Zimbabwe was

formed through contributions from various cultures and societies, and even ethnic groups like the Shona are complex, as they have subethnic groups within them.

In summation, precolonial Zimbabwe was a multi-lingual, multi-ethnic society. The various groups are often lumped as 'Ndebele' and 'Shona', but this was a simplification, and their complex relations were characterised by change, conflict, and cooperation (A.S Mlambo, 2014). Therefore, with such evidence, it is my argument that analysing place naming practices and place names may shed light on long-standing issues of identity, power, and communication in Binduran society.

1.2.3 The colonial period

The focus here is to review race relations as evidenced in place naming practices. Of note and particular interest is how colonial settlers used toponyms to claim territory and dominate the indigenous populations during this period. Attention is also given to the subsequent resistance and contestations of colonial domination by the indigenous communities. I should, however, hasten to say these relations were seldom Manichean as there were other reactions to contact. For example, there were notable settler or white 'liberals' like Garfield Todd[4] and Edgar Whitehead, whose government of 1958 to 1962 favoured accommodation between the races. In addition, there were radicals such as Desmond Lardner-Burke (Minister of Justice, Law, and Order from 1964 to 1976), William Harper (Minister of Internal Affairs from 14/4/1964 to 4/7/1968) and Clifford Dupont (President from 16/4/1970 to 14/01/1976) who were in support of the total segregation of the races. Further, the indigenous population was not unilateral in its reaction to the ensuing contact. There are numerous accounts of indigenes who exhibited tendencies of siding with the colonists, e.g. Morrison Nyathi (also known as Maurice Nyathi and Livison Mutasa) is known to have 'sold out' the Zimbabwe Liberation War fighters.[5] Overall, the colonial period was characterised by pluralism, but for the sake of my propositions in this introductory chapter, I will not delve deeply into this plurality. I will elaborate on these issues in chapters 4 and 5 where I present and discuss the findings.

In the 1890s Cecil John Rhodes formed the British South Africa Company (BSAC) and colonised Zimbabwe. Rhodes was described as an ambitious colonial entrepreneur (A.S.

[4] Lentz (2014) has it that Garfield Todd was a liberal and Southern Rhodesia's Prime Minister between 1953 and 1958. He is said to have later opposed white minority rule.
[5] Chung (2006) argues that Nyathi was a ZANLA double agent who led the Rhodesian Security Forces' Selous Scouts to raid the Nyadzonya camp in Mozambique, resulting in the death of more than 600 fighters and injuring more than 500 others.

Mlambo, 2014). He established the capital at Fort Salisbury, which is now known as Harare. The colonists changed the name of the country from the Mutapa Kingdom to Southern Rhodesia and subsequently Rhodesia (1895-1979), appropriated farmland, dominated the indigenes and pushed them into working for them by force. The colonial period is characterised by contact (linguistic, cultural, and economic/commercial). Thus, as with most contact situations, it resulted in tensions and contestations that had bearing on the identities, power relations, and communications of the people involved. Kinloch (2003, p. 251) explained the situation fully when he argued:

> Zimbabwe … typifies the colonial type of society: … founded … by an external, migrant elite with exploitive motives and accompanying military resources …. Intergroup contact was generally negative and conflict-ridden. (Kinloch, 2003, p. 251)

Hence, it is evident that contact resulted in negative race relations. Thus, I critically analysed place naming practices and place names in Bindura to uncover the implications of the interrelationships between toponymic practices, identity, power, and communication.

Notable actions and activities that had bearing on race and political relations included the imposition of a system of institutionalised racism by the colonists on the indigenous population. This was achieved by passing segregatory legislation, pronouncements, and practices. To begin, the Morris Carter Commission of 1925 resulted in the passing of the Land Apportionment Act (1931), the Natives (Urban Areas) Accommodation and Registration Act (1946, 1951), the Native Land Husbandry Act (1951), the Land Tenure Act (1969) and the Regional Town and Planning Act (1932). Fitzmaurice (2015, p. 331) aptly explained the situation (including the post-colonial period) as follows:

> The legislative record of the colony, the republic and finally independent Zimbabwe tells the story of seizure, settlement, protection, containment, redistribution, occupation and resettlement of the land. The impact of the definition along racial lines of citizens and subjects was *evident in the nomenclature* that marks the public discourse about the settlement of the land. Through the twentieth century, Africans were continually displaced from their homes and removed from their farms. [emphasis added] (Fitzmaurice, 2015, p. 331)

Although nomenclature could, in general, refer to terms applied to someone or something, I have used it here to show that that naming practices during the colonial era, established by legislation and other practices, were segregatory, created separate places or spaces for the races, and caused tensions. More details are given below.

At the outset, the Morris Carter Commission (1925), whose mandate was to examine the land issue, recommended that the only natives to be accommodated in the urban areas should be those working for Europeans. It also encouraged the establishment of native townships or reserves. These recommendations set the tone for segregating the races. Consequently, the Land Apportionment Act (1930) and subsequent legislation codified this segregation of land and created separate areas for the races. Due to these segregationist practices and legislation, most of the land became the property of the European minority. Most European settlers resided in the urban areas, and Africans were not allowed there on a permanent basis but as temporary residents for work purposes. The transitory existence of Africans in these spaces or places was also reflected in place names. Most of the toponyms given to these spaces or places were European and recalled familiar places, events, and heroes from the colonial settlers' home countries. For example, there are suburbs in Harare known as Mt Pleasant, Borrowdale, Avondale, Mabelreign, Belvedere, Greendale, and Hatfield. Moreover, some street names in these suburbs were, or still are in English or other European languages such as Dutch and Greek. Furthermore, naming committees were comprised of wealthy European men and the names they gave honoured men of higher social class rather than women or less illustrious people. These naming practices, as I will elaborate in the literature review, tended to legitimise European occupation and make the places more homelike and familiar to the occupiers,[6] while they alienated Africans. By contrast, European toponyms were foreign to Africans and they could not feel a connection with them (Katerere & Hill, 2002; Makoni, Makoni & Mashiri, 2007). This segregationist and unequal treatment of people who were seen as different in terms of race, gender, class, and other social classifications apparently carried over to the period of independence, as detailed in the following section.

[6] According to Kendall (2006) some of the place names, especially those of suburbs in Harare, are similar to those in Scotland or can be traced to family names of Scottish people. He further says this trend is evidence of how the majority of those who occupied Southern Rhodesia could have been Scotsmen, as they named the new areas after their home country's place names and individuals.

1.2.3 Naming practices in the post-colonial period

Zimbabwe attained independence in 1980 after a protracted armed struggle with its colonisers. The era of Zimbabwe's independence can be categorised into three phases:

1. The years 1980 –1999, which I view as the euphoric phase, when the black majority celebrated political independence from Ian Smith's Rhodesia and set forth nationalist ideologies, carrying out what Rose-Redwood et al. (2018, p. 10) called a 'ritual of revolution'.
2. The years 2000 to November 2017, which were mainly characterised by disillusionment and ambivalence due to the failure to achieve the goals of the War of Liberation[7] (Nyambi & Mangena, 2015).
3. November 2017 to the present, the period termed 'The New Dispensation' or 'The Second Republic' by the government of Emmerson Mnangagwa.

Soon after attaining independence, many place names were changed. This renaming acknowledged the power of naming and was an exercise in reclamation. According to Mangena (2018), the Robert Mugabe-led government renamed places as a way to erase colonialism and Cecil John Rhodes together with what he signified from the public memory. However, the divisions caused by conquest endured and exist even to the present. Kinloch (2003) and Fitzmaurice (2015) have described in detail how these divisions persist in the present.

Kinloch (200) elucidated that the colonial setting was both replicated in and developed by the events that have taken place in the post-independence period. He argued that this post-colonial period brought popular and mixed cultures, renewal in particular cultures, migration, and contact to the fore that lead to the merger and formulation of divergent identities. These, he further stated, were a continuation of the colonial system and ways of life which was reflected in peoples' relations and situations. They closely follow the operation of colonial government systems. With respect to the former point, Kinloch (2003) said there was an emergence of an elite indigenous ruling class, reminiscent of the white minority ruling elite, and ethnic violence, especially between the Shona and the Ndebele that continued. It is evident, therefore, that Zimbabwen independence simply changed the race of the dominating elite from a white to a black ruling bourgeoisie that continued to perpetuate segregation and discrimination against the powerless majority.

[7] It is popularly known as *Chimurenga*, which is Shona for 'war' in Zimbabwe.

Interesting to note in Kinloch's (2003) argument was his acknowledgement of the contemporary tensions that can be traced to the colonial era, i.e., the domination of indigenous people by colonial settlers. It is discouraging to observe that the domination of ordinary citizens by the ruling elite seems to have worsened and or been encouraged by current political and economic pressures (Mangena, 2018; Zuvalinyenga & Libert, 2019). The ensuing situation can be likened to Act 1 Scene 2 Shakespeare's *The Tempest* (lines 368-9) where Caliban says to Prospero "You taught me language, and my profit on't / Is I know how to curse". The black ruling elite could be posturing a situation of saying, "we learned from the colonisers and have since perfected the art of controlling others".

Fitzmaurice (2015) concurred, as she posited that the post-colonial situation showed a continuation of the struggles and tensions that were brought about by the colonial usurpation of land, eviction, and resettling of its occupants via the brutal carrying out of legislation and other cultural practices. She also posited that the identity of the white settlers in both periods, that is, pre- and post-independence, was intricately connected to the notion of land. One could infer that this link can also be traced in place naming practices, as naming is closely related to a people's identity, i.e. their sense of who they are, and where they belong.

In summary, context is pertinent in place naming practices. Although referring to word meaning in general, Firth (1957) hinted at how the pragmatic and semantic effects of an utterance are inseparable from the context of the utterance. He emphasised that it is prudent to look for meanings of words in their linguistic and pragmatic contexts. Consideration of context of use encourages retrieval of literal and metaphorical meanings. Therefore, in this study I am in agreement with B. Malinowski's (1923[1953], p. 296) argument that in the study of language, there is a need to consider the "context of situation". The issue of context is vital to my study and it will be further explained in Chapter 3 where I explain the theoretical concepts. In light of the foregoing contextualisation, a critical analysis of toponymic practices and place names in their context is illuminating, as these reflect socio-cultural and historical events and practices in society.

1.3 Rationale

Although toponymy has preoccupied scholarship since ancient Greece (Blanár, 2009), no studies have yet been done to systematically analyse the use of names in Bindura urban and its rural hinterland. This study integrates onomastics and critical discourse analysis to reveal the power relations that can be read in naming practices to reveal how names identify the linguistic

and socio-cultural history of a people and communicate various messages at the same time. Onomastics helps in ascertaining the meaning of names, while critical discourse analysis clarifies the power struggles within place naming practices and place names.

Commemorative place naming practices have been noted to be highly ideological (Chabata, 2012; Mamvura, 2014; Mapara, 2013; Mapara & Makaudze, 2016; Mapara & Nyota, 2016; Mushati, 2013; Nyota, Mapara, & Mutasa, 2009). In commemorating historical people, narratives, and events, names may reproduce a nation's authority and hegemony (Mushati, 2013; Shoval, 2013). This suggestion could be shown to be sound through the changes in a high proportion of toponyms after governments change, as was the case in Zimbabwe after it attained its political independence and in post-apartheid South Africa. Place renaming frequently features in critical toponymy (Adebanwi, 2018; Duminy, 2018; Giraut & Houssay-Holzschuch, 2016; Giraut et al., 2012; Neethling, 2016; Palmberger, 2018; Sakaja & Stanic, 2018). Place renaming has been argued to be "an act that signifies control over history and public space … a practice of historical revision that doubles as a 'ritual of revolution'" (Rose-Redwood et al., 2018, p. 10). Similarly, Azaryahu (1996) contended that symbolic erasure was central in street renaming where officials replaced certain names.

Taking the argument further, Neethling (2016, p. 148) remarked that when a toponym changes, the all-important spatial orientation function of street names "simply takes a back seat". This study expands the symbolic renaming to include places other than streets and argues that place (re)naming practices discursively construct and legitimate the identities and ideologies of certain people and places. This critical analysis, thus, exposes unequal power relations that are extant in ideology-driven place (re)naming practices, since the political elite usually decide the naming of features, streets, and public places. The political elite choose who or which institutions name places and which events are worth preserving.

CDA can be used to reveal the complications caused by such naming practices and the way people react to them. Few studies in Zimbabwe have examined the politics of and in place naming (Mamvura, 2020a,b,c,d; Mangena, 2018; Mapara & Nyota, 2016). Therefore, my study attempts to unravel the various motives behind place-naming, including capitalist modernisation, colonial settlement, state formation, national independence, and official commemorations, moving further to analyse how these motives have unfolded in the selected site. Although there has been onomastic research in Zimbabwe (Chabata, 2012; Mapara, 2013;

Pfukwa, 2007; Nyambi et al., 2016), I am proposing a different focus, which integrates issues of identity, power, and communication in Bindura.

1.4 Statement of the problem

Zimbabwe has been battling with identity and autonomy amid the seemingly inexorcisable ghost of colonial vestiges, as well as with the ethnic and social tensions associated with multicultural groupings. Contributions from history, cultural studies, geography, social sciences, and linguistics have been made in trying to understand the Zimbabwean situation (Chikowero, 2015; Magudu, Muguti, & Mutami, 2014; A. S. Mlambo, 2014; Nyambi et al., 2016). The tensions seem to be unrelenting, as evidenced by debates about renaming places and entities, minority and endangered languages, indigenisation, black empowerment, etc. Although onomasticians have also contributed to further understanding the Zimbabwean situation, their studies have mainly concentrated on names of people (Pfukwa, 2007), schools (Mamvura, 2014, Mangena, 2018), and major towns and cities (Dube, 2018; Mapara & Nyota, 2016; Mushati, 2013; Pfukwa, 2018). The present analysis seeks to discover the uses of names, naming practices, identity, power and communication in Bindura, Zimbabwe.

1.5 Aim

The study aims to make a critical discourse analysis of place names and naming practices, identity, power relations, and communication at a selected site in Zimbabwe.

1.6 Research questions

Can an analysis of naming practices and place names in Bindura help us understand issues of identity, power, and communication in a multilingual and multicultural society?

- What is the nature of the relationship between place naming practices, identity, power, and communication?
- How do people name places in Bindura?
- Why do people in Bindura give places the kinds of names they do?
- What are the power relations extant in naming places in Bindura?

1.7 Definition of key terms

This section defines the key terms that feature prominently in the research study.

1.7.1 Identity

The term identity features prominently in this study. Reviewed literature attests to it being complex and discussed from various disciplinary perspectives. Various branches of science such as cultural studies, ethnography, philosophy, psychology, and sociology define identity in ways that correspond to their respective discipline. For example, in sociology, Grushevitskaya, Popkov and Sadokhin (2002, pp. 53-54) argued that identity was "awareness of a man that he belongs to some kind of group, which allows him to determine his place in the social and cultural space and orient easily in the world around". From communicative, sociopsychological, and critical standpoints, Martin and Nakayama (2000, p. 116) emphasised that "identity is who we are". Martin and Nakayama (2000) argued that characteristics of identity may be understood differently by people depending on their perspective. For instance, the social psychological perspective stressed that identity was created in part by the self and in part in relation to group membership. The communication perspective emphasises that identities were not created by the self alone but co-created through communication with others. The critical perspective attempted to understand identity formation within the contexts of history, economics, politics, and discourse.

Furthermore, Edwards (2009) and Evans (2015) argued that identity, among other things, encompasses a set of linguistic characteristics of an individual or a group consisting of proficiency in a language or languages (language competence), linguistic performance (verbal behaviour), and attitude to languages (language settings). Moreover, from the cultural identity perspective, Ngugi (1972) posited that identity was understood as an individual's acceptance of the corresponding cultural norms and patterns of behaviour, valued orientations, and language(s) accepted in a given society. Notably, language and culture were inseparable because language was part of culture and culture covered almost all spheres of social life.

In an overarching definition, De Fina (2006, p. 263) suggested that the concept of identity was vital in transmitting

> to one another what kind of people we are; which geographical, ethnic, social communities we belong to; where we stand in relation to ethical and moral questions; or where our loyalties are in political terms.

Therefore, a person or group's sense of who they are was fluid and multifaceted, because the way individuals or groups portrayed themselves was developed through social, geographic, ethnic, political, language, and other semiotic resources. In addition, identity was material or physical because people assumed identities in relation to contexts. Identity was performed in time and space, in actual settings and as an outcome of actual circumstances. Accordingly, the identity of an individual was created by many factors that included but were not limited to language, culture, society, race, profession, sex, and class.

From a psychological perspective, Versluys (2007, p. 89) succinctly argued, "identity is the everyday word for people's sense of who they are". She went further to propose two kinds of identity, the "personal and the collective" (Versluys, 2007, p. 89). Therefore, identity in various circumstances can be taken as "people's sense of what, who or where they belong" thus, reflecting a particular view of belonging and their need to delineate themselves and others. As stated by Versluys (2007, p. 90), people defined themselves as belonging to certain entities and this act in turn lead to the generation of a notion of 'otherness', or as Tajfel and Forgas (2000, p. 49) put it: "we are what we are because they are not what we are". Tajfel and Forgas (2000) considered the process of social categorisation from a cognitive perspective, pointing out the importance of the "value" dimensions of categorisations. Categorising people as in-group or out-group members may help individuals create a positive social identity and thus feel good about themselves, but it was also a fundamental cause of prejudice. The authors also considered the importance of shared social beliefs as fundamental to stereotyping.

Notable was the idea that identity was complex and could be defined in many ways. However, as my study is centred on naming practices, I build on prior scholarly evidence to confirm that names can represent different kinds of identity. In addition, toponyms may be symbols of attachment and dependence and reflect community mores and social customs, while functioning as powerful determinants of inclusion and exclusion (Clark & Kostanski, 2012; Helander, 2014; Helleland, Ore, & Wikstrøm, 2012; Puzey & Kostanski, 2016). Names (which are part of language) play a major role in the formulation, negotiations and contestation of identity. I concur with Joseph (2004, p. 176), who argued that most names function as "folded-text" that mark linguistic, cultural, national, ethnic, religious belongings, and family relationships. Names can also indicate a person's professional position, status, and character while also revealing their material and spiritual life (Pfukwa, 2007).

1.7.1.1 Place naming and identity

Zhu (2018), in a review of *Negotiating and Contesting Identities in Linguistic Landscapes,* argued that identity was constructed, negotiated, and contested in place naming practices. Notable was her argument that identity was a fluid, dynamic construct, which was situated in, and in constant interaction with, linguistic, social, and cultural factors. Examples can be drawn from local communities' manipulation of linguistic and semiotic symbols to construct and assert their respective identities in political, artistic, and commercial domains. A fitting example would be the renaming of army barracks by the President of Zimbabwe. One could infer that since he came to power through the assistance of the army, he felt he had to show his gratitude by commemorating late army personnel and national heroes in place names.[8]

Furthermore, identity can be multi-layered. Blackwood et al. (2016) proposed three layers of identity, that is, individual, regional, and national identities. However, there may be more than three of such layers as a person can identify with their country, state, city, suburb, village, and even their street or house. Accordingly, these layers can be noted in place names, especially commemorative toponyms. For instance, the War of the Liberation against Ian Smith's white minority colonial rule was important to the people of Zimbabwe and led to places being named after individuals who were instrumental during this period. Multiple layers of identity are exhibited in these anthropo-toponyms. For example, most street names in the suburb of Aerodrome in Bindura bear the name of former freedom fighters who hailed from or operated in and around the town. This shows one of the most prominent patterns that emerged from an investigation into the anthropo-toponyms – the strong association between local identity that is connected to individuals and the places they settled. The other layers include the regional identity the individual assumes that results from being a community member, and a national identity, in the case of Zimbabwe connected with the War of Liberation. These layers of identity are visible in the linguistic landscape, as can be noted in the given example of street names.

Aiming to enhance an understanding of the multi-layered and dynamic process of place naming and identity, this thesis borrows and extends arguments by scholars of performativity theory (Austin, 1962; Butler, 1990, 2010; Callon, 1986; De Fina, 2006, 2011; Lash, 2015; Keheller & Milani, 2015). My understanding of the term perfomitivity viz-a-vis identities does

[8] Soon after his inauguration, President Emmerson Mnangagwa renamed the King George VI Barracks the Josiah Magama Tongogara Barracks (after the national hero and late commander of ZANLA during the War of Liberation). For a detailed list of the renamed barracks, see *The Herald* (Zimbabwe) 06 December 2017.

not imply being superficial, putting on a show or pretending; instead, I frame it in the context of the speech act and linguistic theories. In this sense, "identity is performatively constituted by the very 'expressions' that are said to be its results" (Butler, 1990, p. 25). I take performativity to mean the making up of reality through language and other practices that use an intentional (illocutionary) force and – under particular circumstances – a related, intentional, or unintentional effect (perlocutionary act) that has binding consequences (Austin, 1962; Butler, 2010). Further, if identities are understood to be performed and therefore ever-changing, rather than fixed, they can be continuously negotiated, are contextually variable and a process of social and discursive work (De Fina, 2011).

Without oversimplification or conflation of individual and place identities, socially, place names are instrumental in the development of individual and collective identity. At the psychological level, place names invoke diverse attitudes owing to the different associations and connotations of the place names, that is, "their descriptive backing" (Meiring, 1993, p. 274).[9] Elucidating further, Basso (1996, p. 103) posited "the connotation of a name points to the totality of associations, which people often make when the name is employed in a communicative interactive manner". With toponyms, Alasli (2019) observed that their connotations emphasize onomastic connections or the emotional overtones. Thus, he argued that the individual is connected to many places, that is, where they were born, where their family comes from, where they have lived successively, where they frequent or frequented, as well as where their imagination can take them.

These processes of performing, ever-changing, and negotiating identities can be seen in the linguistic landscape. For example, in the renaming of places and streets in Zimbabwe after it attained independence. Prior to colonisation, the place had a different identity, as it was known as the Mutapa Kingdom or Madzimbahwe (Great Zimbabwe). It later assumed a Portuguese vassal status; then came the Nguni (Ndebeles) and later the British imperialists. Later it took on a nationalist outlook and became known as Zimbabwe after attaining colonial independence. These transitions have given it different identities and these changes can be traced in place naming practices.

[9] Meiring (1993, p. 274) argued, "descriptive backing [was] the collective content of all conventional beliefs and connotations attached to a name". She further posited that a name had a subjective content as it was based on individual experience and knowledge about a place, person or object bearing the name. Basso (1996, p. 103) made similar observations and stated that because of their inseparable connection to specific localities, "place names may be used to summon forth an enormous range of mental and emotional associations -- associations of time, of history, of events, of personal and social activities, of oneself, and stages in one's life".

Interestingly, the idea of 'negotiation' refers to a continuum of processes. Here, various degrees of power are manifested and engaged, with some ending in contestation and revolt (Blackwood et al., 2016). A clear indication of these power relations, contests, and revolts is evident in the continued renaming of entities, the presence of graffiti in the public space, coinage of unofficial place names, debates surrounding naming issues, and outright protest against certain names. In addition, there can be other subtle and less public manifestations of dissent and dislike of place names and what they symbolise (§ 5.6.6 gives details).

Identity can be expressed in symbolic ways such as when people express and communicate certain values, ideas, and feeling through names and what they symbolise. Names can be seen as symbolic signs. In semiotics, a symbol is a sign that is based on an arbitrary or conventional relation to its referent (Beasley & Danesi, 2002; Messaris, 1997; Peirce, 1934, 1998; Saussure, 1958). The term *symbol*, in turn, is defined as something that stands for something else (Peirce, 1934, 1998). Most words in language are symbolic signs (Saussure, 1958). A place name is a word that stands for a particular place, and the relationship between the name and the referent, in other words, the place it stands for is in that sense fixed.

Hakala, Sjöblom, and Kantola (2015) are of the view that a proper name is a word or combination of words that consistently refer to one entity – a person, a place or an object, and that names are mono-referential, meaning that their primary role is to identify the object by differentiating it from all other referents of the same class. They do not carry a classifying meaning, as appellatives do, but they create a correspondence in the mind that could be interpreted as a meaning (Ainiala, 2012; Sjöblom, 2006). Names convey a great deal of subjective and collective meaning already present in a language or culture, because most toponyms are descriptive at the time they were given, hence, they conveyed something about the place and its relation to people at that time. For example, according to Participant A4, the toponym *Chiwaridzo* literally meant 'something that is spread over' and it is the name of a chief who once resided in the area. White settlers later forced him out and he moved to communal lands in *Chiweshe*. The metaphorical meaning of the name was said to refer to the vastness of the chief's jurisdiction.

1.7.1.2 Summary of identity issues

It can be noted from the above discussion that identity is complex and dynamic, and can be performed, constructed, negotiated, and contested. All these manifestations and notions of identity can be evident in place naming practices and place names themselves. This is so

because individuals, groups, and nation states' sense of who they are was closely tied to their language which was carried through in the names they gave. I have elaborated on how identity was linked to where individuals, groups, and nations belong geographically. Shona people may feel connected to Zimbabwe, because that is where their language is spoken. This approach to identity leads to understanding it in terms of the inclusion and exclusion of others – what has largely come to be known as othering. Certain individuals and groups may feel that they are who they are because others are not.

To sum up, identity has been looked at from multiple facets, angles, and perspectives. These facets include, but are not limited to linguistic, cultural, social, racial, ethnic, religious, age-related, individual, group or regional and national identities. Individuals may formulate their own identity and as they relate to being a member of a group; thus, because identity markers are complex and nuanced, fixing the concept to a single category is problematic. Group identities are co-created as members communicate with each other. Overall, there are different notions of identity because peoples' perspectives vary depending on their context: Are they an individual, a group, or a nation? How do they identify biologically (race, gender and sexual orientation issues)? What is their social status i.e., are they part of the ruling elite, the dominated, etc.? What are the wider socio-political expectations and their responses to these?

1.7.2 Place naming practices and power

The study of power relationships is important in matters of social iteraction, authority, and governance. My views of power relationships are drawn from Searle's (2010, p. 8) proposal of "deontic power" and Tavor (2014), who argued that language had distinctive power to determine the way reality was perceived, evaluated, and discussed.[10] Place names are part of ecological systems as they are envisaged in ecolinguistics;[11] the way they are coined, used, or even removed conforms to extra-linguistic functions and values (Guillorel, 2008, p. 173). Diverse people with diverse aims may give different toponyms to the same feature. This

[10] The notion of how language influences thoughts and perceptions can be drawn from Whorf (1956). Benjamin Lee Whorf provided a classic example of how safe-sounding language can be dangerous - people saw gasoline drums labelled "empty" and thought were safe to smoke around (except they were not because of the fumes).

[11] Ecolinguistics deals "with the role of language concerning the environment (in its biological or ecological sense), i.e., the impact of language and discourse in describing, but also aggravating and perhaps alleviating, environmental problems" (Fill & Penz, 2018, p. 437). Haugen (1972, p. 325) gave a compelling definition of language ecology "as the study of interactions between any given language and its environment". In this sense, ecolinguistics extends Whorf's (1956, p. 27) propositions that "language does not passively reflect reality; language actively creates reality".

scenario reflects Shohamy and Waksman's (2010, p. 242) notion of linguistic landscapes as "symbolisms within a broad ecology".

In his book, *Making the Social World: The Structure of Human Civilization*, John Searle proposed the concept of deontic powers where he saw power as arising from social relations of constitution, i.e., power was produced in and through social relations. He further argued that power arose from the collective assignment of "status functions" (Searle, 2010, p. 6), which, he maintained referred to the kind of power that we grant to certain people or things. For instance, toponyms, private property, town councillors, ministers, the president of a country, university professors, bank notes, etc., were all people or objects that performed certain functions by virtue of the fact that they have a collectively recognised status that enabled them to perform those functions in a way they could not do without the collective recognition of their status. In other words, Searle proposed that power could be seen in how language is used in society to create and maintain the elaborate structures of the social world. Social institutions came into being through speech acts of declaration and were maintained by collective recognition.

Searle (2010, p. 6-8) posited that declarations assigned status functions to objects and individuals, for example, the Zimbabwean government granting someone the status of Zimbabwean citizenship and passport. Status functions, like being or becoming a Zimbabwean citizen, carry and confer deontic powers, that is, rights, obligations, duties, entitlements, authorisations, and/or prohibitions. Deontic powers that were collectively assigned and recognised may provide people with "desire-dependent" (Searle, 2010, p. 7) reasons for action, that is, reasons that were different from what people would like to do, and therefore effectively regulate power relationships in society. For example, an oath of service by public officials (as a speech act of declaration) gave the people who took it reasons, in the form of rights and obligations, to behave in ways that may be different from their beliefs or desires. Although there maybe exceptions, deontic power regulates how most people exercise their authority by weighing their obligations against other motivations. In this way, place naming gets its power from how it is done and by who carries out the process.

Tavor (2014, p. 315) presented the concept of "linguistic engineering" (i.e., 'rectification of names') as a governmental practice that created a clear and efficient linguistic system that ensured rulers oversee stability and harmony in society without necessarily having to coerce people. Tavor (2014, p. 315) maintained that the theory of "the rectification of names"

did not belong to the field of the philosophy of language, but was in the realm of Foucault's (1980, p. 196) notion of "discourse". Therefore, it is also my proposition that as opposed to commonly held beliefs, toponyms seldom proffer an unbiased, impartial understanding of the world but mirror the socio-cultural perceptions, individual opinions on politics, religious beliefs, and essential commercial aims of the people who produce them. Place names have the power to affect public opinion, as aptly noted by the American Name Society (2018):

> Every name has a Who, What, Where and When about it as well as another element: Why? Since they are primarily "about" something other than geography, understanding the place names requires finding the reasoning behind them. (American Name Society, 2018)

Thus, this study uses CDA to analyse how naming practices can be used as strategic devices that allow the namer to exercise power on the named entity in a subtle, non-authoritarian way by manipulating the language system of a people in a banal and mundane fashion to chart a discourse that suits them.

1.7.3 Place naming practices and communication

Place names communicate various kinds of information. Machaba (2004) succinctly summed this up by highlighting the importance of the naming tool in African socio-political circles in conveying messages to the multiple levels discussed in § 1.7.1 that dealt with identity – individuals, groups, regions, and nations. The messages that are communicated through names is varied and largely dependent on the forces influencing or promoting the name giving. Multiple actors play different roles in bestowing names on entities. In their communicative capacity, names can identify, give directions, describe, memorialise or carry communal mores and values to people, places and events (Ainiala & Ostman, 2017a; Bright, 2003; De Stefani, 2016; Machaba, 2004; Mamvura, 2014; Nyambi et al., 2016; Puzey & Kostanski, 2016).

1.7.4 Discourse

The term *discourse* has varied definitions according to different fields of scholarship**.** Discourse in linguistics is generally defined as language 'beyond the sentence' (Cameron & Panovic, 2014; Tannen, Hamilton, & Schiffrin, 2015; Van Dijk, 2015; Wodak & Meyer, 2009b). In this sense, discourse is taken to refer to larger chunks of language beyond grammar to encompass

other issues like context and intertextuality.[12] Wodak and Meyer's (2009a, pp. 2-3) definition of discourse included "anything from a historical monument, a *lieu de memoire,*[13] a policy, a political strategy, narratives in a restricted or broad sense of the term, text, talk, a speech, topic-related conversations, to language *per se*". It is in this extended view of discourse that I include place naming practices, place names, and toponymic signs. Therefore, my analysis will include place naming practices, the actors involved, the actions they take, the results of their actions, what (is) acted upon, their responses, and the larger environment in which all this is happening, among other things. The language process of transitivity, which emphasises the representation of action, especially matters that highlight or conceal the agent, that is, who is responsible and who is affected by this action, will be drawn upon to aid the analysis (Wodak, 2015).

1.7.5 Place naming practices

A focus on place naming processes has been a hallmark of the critical approach to toponymy. Giraut and Houssay-Holzschuch (2016) distinguished between place name studies and place naming studies. They wrote as follows:

> studying place names focuses on the name itself–the actually existing toponym–as the main object of enquiry. By contrast, place naming studies focus on the procedures and stakes at play when giving a certain name to a specific place. As such, the name, which is the end product, might be even less revealing than the processes that led to the choice of the particular name. (Giraut & Houssay-Holzschuch, 2016, p. 3)

Therefore, in this thesis, emphasis is placed on the process of naming places, especially the ways in which the government, municipal agencies, or other players "author and co-author the landscape-as-text over time" (Azaryahu, 2011, p. 29).

1.8 Chapter outline of the dissertation

The rest of this dissertation consists of Chapter 2 "Literature Review, Theoretical and Conceptual Framework", Chapter 3 "Research Design and Methodology", Chapter 4 "Results", Chapter 5 "Discussion", and Chapter 6 "Conclusion and Recommendations".

Chapter 2 locates the major debates in the field; the literature review supports the theoretical argument being made by giving the historical background to studies in naming

[12] Intertextuality was understood in the context in which it is used in the discourse-historical approach of critical discourse analysis, where the meaning of a word depends on other words, texts, and historical and geopolitical contexts (Wodak, 2015; Wodak & Meyer, 2009a, 2016).
[13] *Lieu de mémoire* is French for 'place of memory'.

practices. It includes background on naming practices and identity, power, and communication. In addition, it highlights the major issues, controversies, and gaps that have an impact on this study. Furthermore, this chapter presents theoretical models and perspectives that inform my research. It elaborates on what CDA is, different approaches within it, the potential methods for use and their application, as well as its limitations and ways of mitigating those shortcomings. The crucial concept of *context* will be fully dealt with in this chapter.

Chapter 3 has four goals. First, it describes and justifies the research design and methodology of this study. The methodology involves analysis of secondary sources of information, participant observations in an ethnographic manner, and conducting interviews and surveys in the field to obtain informed and in-depth assertions on the naming practices and uses of place names in Bindura. Second, the chapter clarifies the sampling techniques used. Third, it describes how the instruments were designed and how data were collected. Fourth, it explains the data analysis procedures adopted.

Chapter 4 draws on a combination of fieldwork and historical, archaeological, and archival sources to present results and detail place naming practices in the study area. The main aim is to contribute to the growing body of literature on the dynamics of toponymic practices during the pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial periods. The data gathered from fieldwork and documentary sources are presented in figures, tables, and a place name database at the end of the thesis (see Appendix A).

The discussion in Chapter 5 focusses on interpreting the results of the study, guided by relevant literature. It lays out the implications of the results, answers the research questions, and provides conclusions drawn from the results. Finally, Chapter 6 gives a summary and conclusions of the study. It also points out the limitations of the study and provides recommendations for future research in place name studies and empirically informed practices for authorities.

1.9 Chapter summary

This introductory chapter gave a background to the study that analyses place naming practices and selected place names as an entry point to studying notions of identity, power, and communication in society. The chapter explained the broad context, its scope, and the rationale for choosing the research topic. It also sketched out the theoretical underpinnings of the main concepts involved and explained how I understand their relationships to be articulated. Then it

gave a brief literature review, presented my overall objectives, introduced the methodological framework underlying the project, and defined the key terms, before introducing the research questions, and providing a summary of the structure and organisation of the thesis.

Chapter 2: Literature review and theoretical framework

2.1 Introduction

Literature on toponymy is rapidly increasing. This exponential growth has made it possible to notice trends, influential theories, and findings. This thesis builds on and extends studies on toponymic practices to contribute empirical findings on the interrelationships between place naming, identity, power, and communication. This chapter reviews literature on linguistic landscapes, critical toponymy, and critical discourse studies to synthesise and evaluate their findings and position this study in scholarship. I also draw insights from insular toponymies. This chapter has four main aims addressed in four major sections and multiple subsections, that is, § 2.2 discusses literature on identity and place naming, § 2.3 reviews studies in linguistic landscapes, § 2.4 focusses on critical toponymy, and § 2.5 evaluates critical discourse studies. Critical discourse analysis makes up the theoretical framework for the research study.

2.2 Identity and place naming

Identity is such an everyday concept that one may be tempted to believe that its meaning is obvious. Usually, identity is equated to who or what a person or a thing is. However, this concept is more complex than it seems. Therefore, this section is dedicated to deciphering the meaning of identity in relation to place naming practices. This is done in two ways. First, I point out how the concept of identity is generally understood. This objective was guided by a variety of definitions and scholarly views from the social sciences and humanities including but not limited to, sociolinguistics, discourse studies, social psychology, sociology, political sciences and philosophy. Second, I elaborate the relationships between place names and identity. Furthermore, notions of place identity, place attachment, sense of place, place-making, and identity formation are explored. I then propose a definition of identity premised on critical discourse studies and use that definition as the guiding principle for the whole study.

2.2.1 What is identity?

Varied conceptions of identity continue to build because the concept continues to be of interest to many researchers in the social sciences and humanities (Fearon, 1999, Jenkins, 2014). Fearon (1999) made it clear how complex it was to define identity when he listed fourteen definitions of it. In these definitions, identity was understood from multiple angles and levels,

including individual, group, racial, ethnic, language, cultural, and national identities. Nevertheless, what was common to all these definitions was that identity referred to the ways in which individuals, communities, and collectives defined themselves, and were defined by others.

In pre-colonial African contexts, there was less focus on individual identity because the individual was less emphasised, and identity was shaped by being part of the group. This perception of identity stems from the African philosophy of *Ubuntu*, which is Zulu and/or Xhosa for 'humanness' and it emphasised that "a person fulfils his/her human desire when he/she is capable of giving dignity and respect to others' humanity" (Taye, 2020, p. 4). The humanness conveyed in *Ubuntu* has parallels in many African cultures and languages. According to Bolden (2014, p. 800), "the *Nguni* expression: *umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu* 'a person is a person through other people' best conveys being in African communities". He further argued:

> [t]he origins of *Ubuntu* as a concept can be traced to the Bantu peoples of southern Africa although the philosophy is now shared across much of the continent. It is best understood as a social philosophy based on principles of care and community, harmony and hospitality, respect and responsiveness that expresses the fundamental interconnectedness of human existence. It has been described as a philosophy of peace and is perhaps known as a guiding concept of the 'African Renaissance', spearheaded by post-colonial and post-apartheid leaders in South Africa such as Nelson Mandela, Desmond Tutu and Thabo Mbeki, in which Africans are urged to re-engage with African values. (Bolden, 2014, p. 800)

From the above quotation, *Ubuntu's* main concern rests with the maintenance of social cohesion because it says for a person to be truly human, they have to sacrifice self-interests for the good of others and the community. In this sense, Dolamo (2013) posited it advocated for equal sharing of benefits and burdens regardless of wealth, race, sex, religion, language, and other differences. Murithi (2006) agreed:

> The notion of *Ubuntu* sheds light on the importance of peace-making through the principles of reciprocity, inclusivity and a sense of shared destiny between peoples. It provides a value system for giving and receiving forgiveness. It provides a rationale for sacrificing or letting go of the desire to take revenge for past wrongs. It provides an inspiration and suggests guidelines for societies and their governments, on how to legislate and establish laws which will promote reconciliation. (p. 29)

Overall, identity in African societies is understood in terms of the social and cultural philosophy of Ubuntu which emphasises communal values rather than individual interests. Good moral standards, humility, neighbourliness, compassion, tolerance, and reciprocity are upheld as qualities that make a human being.

Highlighting a sociological perspective, the British sociologist Kehily (2009) outlined three ways of envisaging identity. She argued that identities built in social circles were situated within temporal relations of the past, present, and future. Social identity for Kehily (2009, pp. 7-8) can be an individual's perceptions of 'who am I', 'how should I live', and 'who do I want to become'. She built her argument by contrasting views from the ancient world and those from the late modern world. Kehily (2009, p. 8) argued that in the ancient world ("back in the days") people did not worry much about identity, as they had limited choices. It was almost as if identities were waiting for people because society was strongly based on class and region, she stated. The argument was extended to posit that late modernity presented more choices; people could choose who they wanted to be and this made identities fluid and plural (Kehily, 2009). Although Kehily's arguments referred to western or European situations, her perceptions of identities were sound and pointed to the urgent need to rethink identity issues guided by particular cases and contexts. At this point, Howard's (2000, p. 387) argument that researchers' analysis had to "bring together both the structures of everyday lives and socio-cultural and socio-political realities in which those lives are lived but without imposing a false coherence on that synthesis" is insightful. Therefore, this study heeds the call for in-depth qualitative analysis of identity cognisant of contextual issues.

Furthering the need to take context into account, Howard (2000, p. 387), in a social psychological review, defined social identity as a conception that neither confined nor disconnected "persons from their social and symbolic universes". She further asserted that identity was never *a priori*, nor a finished product, because it was an ongoing process that was determined by various factors and settings. She clarified this by emphasising five aspects of identity: the social foundations of identity, identity grounded on space, struggles over identities, post-modernist concepts, and politicised social psychology of identities. Howard (2000) reported identities could be founded on ethnicity, race, sexuality, gender, class, age, and (dis)ability, both distinctly and as they interconnected. The latter can be envisaged in the sense that a specified shared context made available classifications within which people, by ascertaining how to categorise language or other behavioural signals, give others and themselves class membership and acquire the value applied by the in-group and salient out-

group to this association. One is tempted to add that place naming practices are part of the social context that provide individuals and communities social categorisation and therefore, identity. Thus, there is a need to examine the intricacies involved to better understand how identity unfolds in society.

Howard's (2000) argument echoed Tajfel (1974, p. 65), who highlighted four major stages of the development of social identity, which involved "social categorization, awareness of social identity, social comparison and search for psychological distinctiveness". The two scholars' outlines of social identity provide insights on how it can be formulated in a certain way. That is, when an individual positions themselves in a community, they are aware of their position, they compare themselves to others, and they seek to be a unique individual within the group. However, the rigidity of the order of the process proposed by Tajfel (1974) can be questioned and contested. It can be argued that psychological distinctiveness may be present in all three previous stages, making it a partly synchronous process rather than one developed step by step. Despite this limitation, the arguments presented for the social identity theory highlight the intricacies and complexities of the construction of social identity. They bring forth the importance of the socio-political, historical, and cultural context in the categorisation of individuals and groups of themselves and others. Decisions regarding "who we are" and "are not" largely depend on the situation we are in, where we are – the context and how we interact with it and others – and most importantly, how we position ourselves, that is, what is known as positionality.[14]

An interesting point that Howard (2000) included in her discussion of psycho-social identities was that of power relations. Having established that social categorisation and social comparison involve drawing lines between oneself and others, Howard (2000, p. 386) emphasised the need to be critical of social classifications that may seem natural and obvious when in fact they are not. In elaborating this point, she gave the example of how a classification 'race' would not exist if there were no racist ideology. Racialised classifications are built in society. Thus, she called for an investigation that:

[14] Anthias (2002, p. 491) said the following: "location and *positionality* are more useful concepts for investigating processes and outcomes of collective identification". In this sense, *positionality* is the social and political context that creates one's identity in terms of race, class, gender, sexuality, and ability status (Jenkins, 2014). *Positionality* also describes one's identity influences, and potentially biases, one's understanding of and outlook on the world. Therefore, *positionality* encompasses "the claims and attributions that individuals make about their position in the social order of things, their views of where and to what they belong (and to what they do not belong) as well as an understanding of the broader social relations that constitute and are constituted in this process" (Anthias, 2002, p. 491).

> focuses on the social processes through which categories are constructed, including the power relationships and social practices that affect who is able to act on the basis of their category construction, make them heard, and impose them on others. (Howard, 2000, p. 386)

From the above quotation, it is evident that social inequalities, nationalistic ideologies, and social movements systematise tussles over identities. These insights are useful, since naming is a form of categorisation which involves the socio-political make-up of the self, the social construction of identities, and sometimes acts to legitimise social inequalities. Therefore, investigating this social practice as it is embodied in place naming could be one way of trying to understand how identity is formulated in society, its politics and politicisation.

The role that language can have in identifying ourselves and others, linking us as similar and separating us as different, can be argued to be ethnolinguistic identity. As reported by Noels (2017, p. 1), "Ethnolinguistic identity refers to a subjective feeling of belonging or affiliation with a social group that is defined in terms of a common ethnic ancestry and a common language variety". In this sense, linguistic similarity with other members of a speech community alerts an individual to who they are and the way they present themselves to others. Therefore, our accent, word choice, spelling, and grammar link us to ourselves, a group/community, and the world. These factors link us as similar and mark us as different and position us as an insider/outsider. For example, the language choice someone makes in naming might identify them through the meaning conveyed to identify an individual as similar to a certain group or different, and thus position them as an insider or outsider (Giles & Johnson, 1987). The way one uses language, whether intended or not, is a reflection of who they are (Austin, 1962).

An elaborate development and discussion of ethnolinguistic theory and its importance to social identity is given by Giles & Johnson (1981, 1987), who indicated language was important in classifying individuals and further influenced identities related to those classifications. They argued that linguistic behaviour was a noticeable mark that society could make use of to display its social or ethnic identities and it functions as an element to distinguish groups of people. Nonetheless, what was missing in Giles & Johnson's (1981, 1987) studies was an explanation of the way language makes such distinctions.

How identity is 'done' through language is a vexing question that needs to be addressed. As I present in the theoretical framework § 2.6 of this chapter, language is impartial, in that it

is neither good nor bad. However, as soon as it is owned and utilised by a particular community, it becomes a symbol of the group as well as the individuals within that community and becomes part of their behaviours, values, and lives. As a result, language assumes values in accordance with the power relations of communities and social groups. The language variety that authoritative groups utilise is usually attributed positive values, while the language variety of less authoritative groups is sometimes condemned. This is because language is linked to the powerlessness (or lower status) of the group which speak that variety (Van Dijk, 2009, 2015).[15] Therefore, when ethnolinguistic identity is examined, it is prudent to note, that language variation and the means of that variation add to group differences by closely attending to the relationship it has with the power relations of the groups.

Howard (2000) supported this proposition after reviewing many studies from what she called interactionist scholarship on identity to show the way human communication functioned together with non-verbal expressions and discursive contexts as part of the social interactive construction of identities. Howard (2000) posited that these studies argued that identity was constructed, negotiated, and communicated via language both explicitly in interactions and discursively through various forms of media. People actively produce their identity through their talk, including naming practices.

From a sociolinguistic perspective, Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985), in their studies of Pidgin and Creole speech communities, elaborated on the link between language and identity. They argued that language behaviour may be regarded "as a series of acts of identity in which people reveal both their personal identity and their search for social roles" (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985, p. 14). What was evident in their theory was that discourse conveyed a lot about the utterer's views, beliefs, and search for their social roles. Language was considered as a way of communicating identity and a means for identity construction. In this sense, users of a particular language were required to hold common knowledge of the tenets associated with the different characteristics of their language so that it could serve as an indicator of identity. It was further noted that the speech community's holding of this knowledge can be both deliberate and unintentional (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985).

[15] In the Zimbabwean context, the languages (and therefore the identities) of minorities are seen as having low statuses. Tagwirei (2014, p. 7) argued, "[i]n Zimbabwe, ethnic minorities, such as coloureds, Asians and descendants of immigrants from Zambia, Malawi and Mozambique, are alienated". He further posited, with the support of Raftopoulos (2005, 2009) that these minorities (which included whites, the [Movement for Democratic Change] MDC and the civic movements, urbanites and farm workers) have been branded "aliens" and "exiles" and as part of "a series of outsiders" (Tagwirei, 2014, p. 7).

Therefore, language forms and expresses identity in social interaction whether one intends it or not.

Closely connected to ethnolinguistic identities are ethnic identities. Phinney (1990), who proposed an explanation of them via collective identity, assimilation, and developmental theories, noted the lack of consensus in defining ethnic identity. These three theories are central to understanding the development of ethnic identity, because ethnicity is a distinctive indication of collective and/or group identity (Phinney, 1990). This can be noticed in the main elements of ethnic identity, which include "ethnic self-identification, a sense of belonging, attitudes toward one's own ethnic group, social participation and cultural practices" (Phinney, 1990, p. 500).

After reviewing more than seventy articles on ethnic identity, Phinney (1990) noted that the bulk of these studies argued that building an identity was a lot more difficult for those who were from ethnic and racial minority groups, due to detrimental societal stereotypes and prejudices. Although they were not explicitly mentioned, Phinney (1990) implied the existence of unequal power relations when ethnicity related to the prevailing social circumstances in a complex manner and led to groups producing different images of each other. She observed how those with a high social status ascribed a positive identity to their ethnicity whereas those with a low social status would find it difficult to form a positive self-perception. Therefore, from the position of social identity theory, ethnic identity denoted the group[16] with which a person closely identified. However, ethnic identity is a more complex and multifaceted part of an individual's formation that cannot be explained by simply ticking a box in accordance with one's skin colour.[17]

Culture has also been used to explain ethnic identity. Phinney (1990) indicated that it is only worthwhile to talk of ethnicity when there are two or more groups that identify as ethnically different. In this light, the groups may differ in cultural traits, thus giving rise to cultural conflicts. She explained the link between culture and ethnic identity using the acculturation theoretical framework. Thus, acculturation is understood in terms of variations in cultural attitude, principles, and behaviours between two different cultures instigated on

[16] Ethnicity can include shared cultural, national, traditional, folkloric, racial, indigenous and tribal linkages (Gans, 1979; Nagle, 1996). It is a very broad way of categorisation and is fraught with overlaps and controversies. I take note of this and embrace the concept in its wider and far-ranging conceptualisation, rather than in its narrow sense.
[17] Race is centred on biological qualities exploited to classify people whereas a group shares ethnicity even if the group may not belong to the same race. This makes it apparent how relational identities are (Kehily, 2009; Phinney, 1990).

contact. In this instance, cultural identity may be comprehended in relation to how immigrant and/or marginal groups are connected and relate to the majority culture or mainstream society. For example, some migrants who were born in Europe or Asia may identify as Zimbabweans in terms of their ethnic identity and nationality. This identification seems to marginally alter the fact that their race connects them to the countries they were born in. However, their lengthy stay in Zimbabwe can influence how they classify themselves.

The argument presented in the preceding paragraph holds when ethnicity is assumed to be acquired, as individuals exist in particular social contexts (Gans, 1979; Nagle, 1996). Therefore, ethnicity makes reference to a community that shares culture, and this can happen in spite of racial differences; it emphasizes collectiveness and diversity. Nevertheless, cultural identity is not easy to define, as with the notion of culture itself, because these are complex concepts that mean different things to different people in various contexts. Phinney (1990) identified the need to develop dependable and justifiable evaluations of ethnic identity and assess its effect on attitudes to one's own and other groups. Consideration of the part played by circumstantial factors such as family, community, and social structures required further attention. As ethnicity is fluid, ethnic boundaries continue to change and are not smooth. Nagle (1996), in studies of Native Americans, noted that different identities were activated at various times and indicated ethnic identification was situational, volitional, and multi-layered. Nagle highlighted the activation of tribal, sub-tribal and even supra-tribal identities and proposed identities could be further activated at regional and national levels, which further complicated matters.

National identity is also worth exploring, because some power struggles are involved. According to the *English Oxford Living Dictionaries* (2018), national identity can be defined as "[a] sense of a nation as a cohesive whole, as represented by distinctive traditions, culture, and language". However, this definition has been contested, as the concept of the nation itself was argued to be ambiguous. Anderson (2006) called it "imagined political communities", because nations formulated national legends or myths and national identities which may or may not bear some similarity to reality. In addition, White (1981) in *Inventing Australia* proposed that national identity was an invention, because there were multitudes of different identities that were as varied as our imaginations. It can be argued that the concept of national identity is not stable because most nations are comprised of diverse people.

Further elaborating on the complexity of national identity, Miller (1997) argued that there must be a clear distinction between nation states and ethnic groups. He argued that a nation has an extended history, linked to a particular area and is discernible from other communities by its unique public culture. He also argued that a nation is a group of people with common beliefs and shared commitments. Miller (1997) saw national identity as a moving needle because it was made-up and envisioned; consequently, it was flexible and not static in time. For that reason, it was likely that within the shared awareness of a group, there could be divergent and antagonistic opinions on a subject as time passed. However, Miller's (1997) insistence on the distinction between a nation and an ethnic group was academic and unclear considering that his definition of a nation was not different from that of an ethnic group (see Dahbour, 2002 below).

The contestations of what constitutes national identity are central to this study. To begin, the idea of a nation, according to Tagwirei (2014, p. 6) is "an invention that is inseparable from its narration".[18] The notions regarding what a nation is were further propounded by Anderson (2006), Bennington (1990), Bhabha (1990), Brennan (1990) and Gellner (1983). Tagwirei (2014, pp. 6-7) argued that there was a particular ambivalence that haunted the idea of a nation, the language of those who write about it, and the lives of those who live it in Zimbabwe. Tagwirei (2014) further posited that the Zimbabwean national identity was built on "national narratives"[19] that were deployed to propagate a nationalist ideology. These national narratives created moments of disavowal, displacement, exclusion, and cultural contestation, because they delineated boundaries of national belonging by disowning and excluding specific groups such as whites, Asians, and other black ethnic minorities that I have alluded to in my discussion of ethnic and ethnolinguistic identities.

Overall, there are two definitions of a nation state which stand out. Miller (1997) distinguished these as a conservative one and a modern/liberal one. On the one hand, the conservative nationalists are of the view that national identities are firm and authoritative. They

[18] The idea of narrating the nation comes from an edited book, *Narrating the Nation: Representations in History, Media and the Arts*, which demonstrates that the representations of the national paradigm, i.e., histories have not been written by professional historians. Contributors draw on studies from various European states to expose the complex variables and diverse actors that are behind the telling of a nation's (his)tories.

[19] School history textbooks, according to Barnes (2007, p. 633) were all produced to meet the requirements of "a nationalist, Africa-centred and Marxist-inspired history syllabus introduced in 1991". She noted that Zimbabwean secondary school history textbooks, including Proctor and Phimister (1991), Prew, Pape, Mutwira, & Barnes (1993), Mukanya (1994) and A.S. Mlambo (1995) (*Focus on History Book 4*), propagated a nationalist narrative of Zimbabwe. I extend that argument to add that some naming practices can be classified under such national narratives, and used as propaganda for a national ideology and identity.

contest the variations in identity that immigration, for example, necessitates. On the other hand, the liberals' appreciation of nationality was differentiated from earlier beliefs about cultural variances between people by its emphasis on shared self-determination. These liberal multiculturalists encourage the political enunciation of group identity but were oblivious to the way in which a secure sense of national identity can benefit minority groups. In addition, Dahbour (2002) argued that there was a loose definition and a strict definition of national identity. The loose definition, he asserted, viewed nationality as a malleable term without fixed properties whereas the strict one emphasised ethnic ties where national identity refers to members of the same ethnic group or of a common ancestry inhabiting an already existing country. The prominence of ethnicity in national identity also emphasises how connected identities are.

The ongoing discussion on different types of identity points to the existence of multiple and overlapping identities and raises the question of whether people belong to a single, specific racial or ethnic classification. In the age of pronounced worldwide immigration, Hatoss (2013) showed that the identities of the Sudanese refugees in Australia were more complex than indicated in the assimilationist or pluralist models being proffered in migration studies. The community was not static but dynamic, as it could simultaneously be seen as identifying with the host group, as citizens of the country, and as immigrants, quite distinct from other groups within the country.

There were also multi-racial and multi-ethnic identities where individuals may need to negotiate their links to the different groups. An individual who is bi- or multi-racial may be caught up in determining where they belong. They can associate with two or more groups or have many perspectives about who they are, thus border-crossing and actively shifting between different identities in different social contexts. Anzaldúa, (1987, 2007) explained this type of identity as a *mestiza*[20] consciousness – borderlands/*La Frontera* identities which were a disruption of a united identity, expressed in the language of indefiniteness, migration, post-colonialism, and movement. Can these borderlands identities also be noted in place naming practices? This is a question that calls for answers.

The model presented in this chapter of adopting a multilevel analysis of identity sheds light on crucial factors involved in defining identity. These factors include the importance of context in social identity, how cultural identity values collectivism and diversity, the centrality

[20] *Mestiza* means 'mixed race' in Spanish.

of others in ethnic and national identity, as well as how language is key in ethnolinguistic identity. It has been made evident that the five types of identity, i.e., social, ethnic, linguistic, cultural, and national identities discussed in this section are all connected. Factors that stress the centrality of language, interactive, and contextual aspects of identity are important to this research, especially in the analysis of the findings using CDA. It is my undertaking that the analysis of the main themes of naming practices and identity will be based on the aforementioned types of identities. The theme of power will be used to understand borderlands identity (Anzaldúa 1987, 2007), and the various negotiations and contests that ensue as different groups try to position themselves in the world through their place naming practices.

In summary, identity is a many-sided concept. There are multiple kinds of identity (ethnolinguistic, social, personal, racial, ethnic, ancestral, national, gender, age and many others). However, specifying the different types of identity does not answer the question of what identity is. The important thing to note is that identities grow out of an appreciation of societies and diversities in the world. Some of these identities seem to be universal, for example, social, age, gender, and ethnicity, while others, for instance, professional identities, are more dependent on cultural contexts. The main point, however, is that identity is formed as we interact in society. This is process where meaning about "who we are" and "who we are close to" (and, by implication, who we are distant from), are ideas that have significant consequences for our lives and interactions. Place naming practices are an example of social interactions that create identities and have an impact on people's lives. The following section discusses how place naming practices and identity issues are connected.

2.2.2 The interrelationships between identity and place names

Studies of place names and identity can be classified in two ways:[21] (i) those that focus on how the place names distinguished one place from the other, and (ii) those that examined what a particular region's place names signified. Some studies prefered to approach the topic from a critical toponymy viewpoint where they focused on themes like place identity, place

[21]There are arguments regarding the approaches to the two classifications (Tent, 2015). The proposed approaches include *inside-perspective vs outside-perspective*, *microtoponymy vs macrotoponymy*, *extensive vs intensive*, *essentialists' vs constructionists' views* and *qualitative vs quantitative* studies of toponyms. The debates highlight different preferences in different traditions and/or regions. It can be noted that research from the Old World (Europe, the Middle East, China, Japan, South and Southeast Asia) have been argued (Coates, 2003 in Tent, 2015) to prefer quantitative/intensive approaches whereas those the New World (the Americas, the former European Colonies of Africa, Australia, and New Zealand) favour the extensive or qualitative approach. All the same, what is clear is the distinction in focus when it comes to studying toponyms; each focus is sound and helpful in its own right.

attachment, sense of place, place-making and identity formation, or production of place. Toponymic studies of names and identity have often focused on the etymology, meaning, and origins of place names. However, for toponymic research to be objective, studies that focus on the significance of place naming practices and patterns as well as the distribution of certain types of toponyms, or geographic features and settlement patterns should be considered.

The importance of the relationship between names and identity in understanding naming practices and patterns cannot be overemphasised. Therefore, this study adds a different perspective to empirical evidence on the matter, especially on how identity and power relations play out in place naming practices. Despite the range of research conducted on the relationship between names and identity (see for example Ainiala, 2012; Ainiala, Lappalainen, & Nyström, 2016; Ainiala & Ostman, 2017a; Helleland et al., 2012; Kostanski, 2009, 2011b; Kostanski & Puzey, 2016; Clark, Hercus, & Kostanski, 2014; Berg & Vuolteenaho, 2009), there is still a need to investigate the matter further. Specifically, there is a need to understand how toponymic practices interact with other expressions of identity and how the relationship is different in different contexts. Azaryahu (2009, 2011a) called for more research on toponymy from African contexts especially because most of the published research related to European countries. In addition, many of the aforementioned studies regarded the relationship between names and identity as a fact (Aldrin, 2016, p. 382), but there is a need to critically examine this claim so that it can be substantiated and/or refuted.

The question that continues to nag researchers is the possibility of a place name being used to construct and express identities. Two propositions can be made to try and understand the issue. For a start, there is the need to distinguish the relationship between identity and a place from identity and the name of that place. For example, the fact of being from the city of Harare in Zimbabwe could be a part of the identity of someone who is a resident of that city, but the place itself could be more important to them than the name of the place. From a different perspective, it can be claimed that the identity a person derived from being from a certain place cannot be complete and meaningful if they do not know the name of that place. Several researchers (Helander, 2015; Helleland et al., 2012; Kostanski, 2009, 2011a, 2011b; Pedersen, 2012; Zuvalinyenga, 2020b) have shown that both the place and its name(s) play important roles in giving individuals and communities a sense of belonging and answering such questions as “who am I?” Nonetheless, how place naming and place names give identity to individuals and communities may not be as straightforward as it seems, and there is need to find out more from research.

2.2.3 Categorisation of place names and identity

Helleland et al. (2012) and Hough and Izdebska (2016) insisted onomastics research, which is multidisciplinary, be carried out in a multidimensional way. Many identity issues arise even in the traditional historical-culturalist toponymic approaches that are often argued to be dealing with technocratic-authoritative concerns of place-name standardisation and name gathering (Kostanski & Puzey, 2016). This discussion on the relationship between identity and toponymic practices, as well as how this relationship exposes power relations in society, shifts the focus to thoroughly investigate a multifaceted phenomenon rather than invalidating previous perspectives.

Many studies explored the ways in which place naming functions as a site of questioning identities, particularly in terms of power relations, although this may not be the studies' central aim (Ainiala, 2010a; Coates, 2012a; Jenkins, 2018; Ndlovu, 2018; Ndlovu & Mangena, 2013; Ngade, 2011; Pedersen, 2012; Tent & Blair, 2014; Van Langendonck, 2007). Tent and Blair (2014) focused on the relationship between identities and taxonomies, an area that has not been extensively dealt with in toponymic studies. They reviewed 15 previously proposed taxonomies to come up with their own, which they argued was aimed at being robust and could be applied to collections of place names from many different regions of the world. They found that most of the taxonomies had short-comings as a result of the following:

- They were developed for the analysis of a specific set of toponyms.
- They were too confined or too broad to be applied to other regions, toponyms of other individuals or eras.
- They were not evenly structured, with subordinate categories being placed together with superordinate ones.
- They did not allow for comparative studies, which was a valuable angle of analysis in toponymic studies.

These limitations, in terms of functionality and widespread applicability of taxonomies, affected toponymic analysis. They argued that taxonomies did not simply categorise placenames linguistically, they did not just comprise "a set of intuitive *semantic components* relevant to toponymic motivation", but rather, they also revealed the "mechanism or *modus operandi* of the naming process" (Tent & Blair, 2014, p. 22, emphasis in original). It is in this sense that the present study posits that taxonomies give awareness of the namer's character,

their thoughts or motivation for naming, discovering where their loyalties lie or whom they favour.

Tent and Blair's (2014) study was meaningful because it showed how place naming or toponymic typologies could reveal the identity of the namer, what motivates the naming process, and the social status that gave the namer authority to name. In the Zimbabwean context, the identity of the namer had more relevance and impact because of their associated authority. Tent and Blair (2014) made it clear that the namers do not always put themselves in a position of power, but they were positioned that way by the social organisation they live in. However, sometimes they did put themselves in power, e.g., after military coups or revolutions. Because the namer is given authority to name, they have power over the named and the name itself. Their motivations for naming may not be the source of their power but it can be perceived as such by less powerful social groups, and this affects the way the namers perceive themselves and the named entity. In this case, typologies reveal the dynamics of power relations in place naming processes; these are shown in § 5.5, Chapter 5, when I discuss the results from my fieldwork.

Another vital point in understanding the relationship between identity and toponyms is the issue of the "sense" or the "meaning" of place names. Discussions on these subjects dominate theoretical onomastics, where researchers are concerned by whether a name has a significance or sense other than its reference. Van Langendonck (2007) extensively covered these discussions, and two approaches stand out – that a name has reference, but it has no meaning (Gardiner, 1954; Mill, 1884; Russell, 1940) and that it has a connotative meaning (Frege, 1962; Searle, 1969). Van Langendonck and Van de Velde (2016) advocated a cognitive approach that focused on the pragmatic-semantic properties of names as distinct from language-specific grammatical categories. Drawing on data from a range of European and African languages, they argued that names were definite nouns with unique denotation, an inherent basic level sense, no defining sense, and optional connotative meanings.

The arguments for the denotative and connotative power of names makes them crucial not only in identity construction but also in revealing power relations discernible in the names' sense and meaning. This is because a place name pointed out a place as well as facilitated a number of traits and significances attributed to that place for both individuals and groups of people (Helleland et al., 2012; Zuvalinyenga, 2020b). For example, if an individual has had favourable experiences with a named place, they are likely to have positive connotations of

both the name and the place, and the opposite may be true (Kostanski, 2009; Kostanski & Puzey, 2016). Therefore, the qualities and meanings attached to place names, which are context dependent, attest to the significance of place names, because they transform space into a place that can be historically and socially experienced.

Toponymic research centred on highlighting the meaning and sense of a place name is vital in that it exposes how social identities are constructed and contested in interaction. For example, Mangena (2018) showed how different groups talked about and reacted to toponyms connected to Robert Gabriel Mugabe. Toponyms are an element of a language; accordingly, as linguistic utterances, they function as units in the construction and expression of identities.[22] It is in these interactions that positions of power can be noted; the meaning of a particular place name is likely to be upheld if that person or group has a powerful position in society, however this is at the expense of the less powerful person or social group. The suppression of names of less powerful groups may give rise to the use of unofficial, slang, or nickname toponyms (Ainiala, 2010b; Helander, 2006, 2009, 2014, 2015; Ndlovu, 2018). The qualities attached to the name affords the namer control and domination over the named entity and gives his/her identity to the place and the people in it. Since power and identity can be noted in the meaning of place names, Ndlovu (2018) recommended that responsible authorities try to balance the process by being inclusive.

The spelling of place names as they are categorised and standardised is another feature of toponymy. This feature can be another place for the interplay of power which challenges different kinds of identities. Focusing on Norwegian farm and parish names, Pedersen (2012) established that there have been many appeals regarding official spellings since 1991, when the Norwegian Place Name Act came into being. She argued that the appeals provided an unmistakable "indication that Norwegians have different opinions about how the names of farms and parishes should be spelled compared to names referring to natural features" (Pedersen, 2012, p. 167).

Pedersen (2012) built on insights from research on language and identity in sociolinguistics, especially Le Page and Tabouret-Keller's (1985, p. 14) theory which argued that language practices can be regarded "as a series of acts of identity in which people reveal both their personal identity and their search of social roles". Pedersen (2012, p. 167) posited

[22] My views draw from Mapara's (2013) book, *Shona Sentential Names: A Brief Overview*, in which he argued that Shona names were statements about the reality of being Shona because each name carried sentiments that reflected on prevalent social, economic and public relations.

that the need to record a toponym in a specific way was an "act of identity". After analysing official documents and reports on disputes that farmers have had with local authorities as well as interacting with the farmers and locals, she found that spellings from the Danish period were preferred for their farms. The same preference was not expressed when it came to the spelling of place names for natural features. These spellings were regarded as being deep-rooted and more authentic than the official spellings. She argued that two possible interpretations of this attitude were that it could be a sign of "misunderstood expressions of local patriotism, identity and historicism" or "a kind of 'snob factor,' the desire to belong to a formerly higher official culture" (Pedersen, 2012, p. 167). The latter case confirmed Le Page and Tabouret-Keller's (1985, p. 14) assertion that languaging involved "acts of identity". Insistence on particular forms and spellings of farms and parishes ensured the Norwegians attested that people presented themselves the way they wanted others to see them, and this was done through place names. Some of the participants in the study went on to adapt farm names as their surnames; therefore, they were intricately connected to both the place and its names.

Ndlovu (2016) also highlighted that disagreement over place name spellings and orthography can exist even in the absence of an official policy framework, compelling people to challenge how names were written officially. Studying "[p]honeme-grapheme disparities in some Ndebele toponyms in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe" (Ndlovu, 2016, p. 309), he noted three possible causes of disparity between the spoken sound and the written form in some toponyms. First, in some cases the disparities resulted from "some of the spellings, [which] are remnants of an orthography that was created [by missionaries] partly to prove that Zulu and Ndebele are different languages, and this preoccupation with the Zulu-Ndebele differences ended up creating the errors" (Ndlovu, 2016, p. 309). Second, he posited that other disparities were a result of English transphonologies of Ndebele phonology. Third, he argued that some disparities and ambiguities could have resulted from the Ndebele writing system which was imperfect like other orthographies.

Although Zimbabwe does not yet have an official place name act, users of the place names in Bulawayo noted the errors in the official spellings and how they should be correctly written had the right orthography been followed. Ndlovu (2016) argued that these disparities had implications for how people perceived these names, and based his arguments on Saussure (1959, p. 8) who argued as follows:

> Language and writing are two distinct systems of signs; the second exists for the sole purpose of representing the first. The linguistic object is not both the spoken and written forms of words; the spoken forms alone constitute the object. But the spoken word is so intimately bound to its written image that the latter manages to usurp the main role. People attach even more importance to the written image of a vocal sign than to the sign itself.

In light of the above quotation, Ndlovu (2016, p. 318) appealed for the ironing out of the ambiguities in the documentation and representation of place names, as they impact on people and place identities.

Ndlovu's (2016) study was helpful as it showed that incorrect spelling and orthography can distort the meaning and identities that are carried in the place name. As people value written forms over spoken ones, there was a fear that the correct forms[23] of place names may be lost together with their identity and the community values attached to them. However, caution needs to be exercised when claiming that the written form has a higher status or higher value than the spoken form. Place naming patterns the world over are complex exercises such that the existence of alternative and differently preferred orthographies, spellings, and written form does not necessarily equate to the preferred forms being 'better'. Pedersen's (2012) findings supported this view – the old forms of place names that were not even written on official signs and documents were preferred and used. In this thesis, I discuss how the situation is similar in Bindura, where unofficial names are preferred and used, because people relate to those better than to the official ones that are imposed on them.

Interesting to note from the studies of Pedersen (2012) and Ndlovu (2016) was that the form of a given place name was important to local people, because they used the place name in ways which asserted and reinforced collective identity and communal values. Locals who preferred the historical form for prestige reasons, for example, in the case of Norway and Zimbabwe, have resisted the written form. The contestations have often resulted in variant forms of place names – official or unofficial, formal or informal, slang and nickname toponyms (Ainiala, 2010b; Coates, 2012a; Ndlovu, 2018; Pedersen, 2012; Zuvalinyenga, 2020b). According to Coates (2012a) the alternate forms are often markers of local in-group identity that allow for the psychological distinctiveness espoused in collective identity theory (Tajfel,

[23] My assertions are based on the concept of the *kyrionym*, a term Coates (2012b, p. 61) uses to refer to the name that is often believed to be the 'real' one but is not official.

1974; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). The significance of these names permitted their use with different stylistic import (official versus unofficial or familiar).

Traversing an area that has received little attention in the field, Coates (2012a), Ndlovu and Mangena (2013) and Pedersen (2012) explored the relationship between identities, pronunciation, and phonetic factors. Coates (2012a) carried out a survey in England and concluded that there were seven origins and consequent categories of place name variations. In categorising the names, he observed that the pronunciation of certain toponyms revealed societal class structures and the position of individuals within those class structures. The upper class were observed to prefer older versions of a toponym and resist those that were written down because the modern spelling reflects a pronunciation that was believed to be an innovation of the literate middle class. Coates further stated that the ruling elite and the lower class believed they were distinct from the literate middle class; thus, association with this group and its pronunciation style would not be appreciated. The following quotation from Coates (2012a, pp. 68-69) gives indication of the variation he observed:

> There is some suggestion that the older "expected" forms are preserved by the upper class, as in the stereotypical upper-class pronunciation of the surname *Cholmondeley* /'ʧʌmli/ (derived from a Cheshire place-name) and the aristocratic title *Burlington* (from Bridlington, East Riding of Yorkshire); note also *Raveningham* as /'ræviŋəm/, a pronunciation "particularly associated with Raveningham Hall", i.e. the aristocratic house in this Norfolk village. On the other hand, spelling-pronunciation is typically an innovation of the literate middle classes, and may be resisted by locals, including local gentry, in favour of the historical form. This onomastic fact is paralleled by facts about accent, for example the phenomenon of /h/-dropping, reviled by the literate but stereotypically continued in large areas of England by the local members of the working class and until relatively recently in some words (e.g. *hotel*, *humour*) by certain members of the aristocracy or gentry. (Coates, 2012a, pp. 68-69)

He stressed his proposition by emphasising that this hypothesis and interpretation can be supported by "facts about accent" (Coates, 2012a, p. 69). Coates' (2012a) propositions were sound as they revealed that the way we said things indicated our attitudes and emotions. In other words, he demonstrated that pronunciation was not only closely connected to how place names constructed and depicted local identities and shared values, but also exposed power relations in place naming practices, because different classes in society regarded place names differently. He showed cases of different pronunciations of the same toponym by people who otherwise had the same accent.

However, he did not clearly explain what he meant by "facts about accent" and how the relationship stood, and there are many "facts about accent". These facts also interact with identities in different ways such that it may not be helpful to simply state the point without fully explaining what one implies. For example, examining the identities of Korean early study abroad undergraduates in the United States of America, Lee (2016) argued that accent and intonation should not only be taken to indicate difference in speaking skills of certain speech communities. He asserted that accent and intonation also attested to how society marginalised and disempowerd individuals and groups deemed to be speaking a language with an accent, exposing "dynamics of power relations" (Lee, 2016, p. 13). They are "othered" and the othering negatively affects self-perceptions and identity. This could be one fact about accent among many.[24]

Still on pronunciation of place names, Ndlovu and Mangena (2013) attributed transphonologisation of some toponyms in Zimbabwe to the need to maintain ethnolinguistic, ethnic, and cultural identities in pronouncing place names that were in different languages to theirs by members of different ethnicities and speech communities. For example, the British who could not pronounce indigenous languages transferred their phonology to local toponyms and came up with new names altogether because the pronunciation would be so different that it was not recognisable as the original. In addition, the Shona and Ndebele also did the same with toponyms that were in English, as well as the Shona with Ndebele toponyms and vice versa.

Ndlovu and Mangena's (2013) proposal that the transfer of the phonology of one language to another in toponyms may indicate a number of things including the natural interference of the phonology of the first language on the pronunciation of a word in another language and attempts by speakers to make the unfamiliar more familiar was valuable. Indigenous people of Zimbabwe's pronunciation and representation of English toponyms resulted in lexical borrowing which used "transphonologization as a process of adaptation" (Ndlovu & Mangena, 2013, p. 348) can be argued to be a combination of the influence of L1 phonology and some intentional subtle resistance from being dominated. Using examples of twelve toponyms:

i) *Makoholi* ~ Shonalised 'mark a hole here'.

[24] Ramjattan (2019) in his studies of international teaching assistants in Ontario, Canada and Rosa (2019) in his research on African-American and Latin American speech communities in the United States of America called attention to how particular groups were discriminated against because of their accents and languages.

Change schemata: Mark a hole > markahole > makoholi > ma-ko-ho-li > /makoholi/

ii) *Topola* ~ Shonalised 'top area'.

Change schemata: Top area > toparea > topola > to-po-la > /topola/

iii) *eDemgudu* ~ Ndebelecised 'Do Me Good Mine'.

Change schemata: Do Me Good Mine > domegood > demgudu > de-m-gu-du >/demgudu/

iv) *Titji* ~ Kalangalised 'the station'.

Change schemata: Station > tation > titji > ti-tji > /titʃi/

v) *Ngerengere* ~ Shonalised 'Glenngarry' in Scotland.

Change schemata: Glenngarry > ngerengere > nge-re-nge-re > /ŋgereŋgere/

vi) *Lepete* ~ Ndebelecised 'Leopard's Mine'.

Change schemata: Leopard > lepete > le-pe-te > /lɛpete/

vii) *Domlanda* ~ Ndebelecised 'Domeland' from the southern Sierra Nevada Mountains in America.

Change schemata: Domeland > domlanda > do-m-la-nda > /domlanda/

viii) *Mhesilanti* ~ Ndebelecised 'miscellaneous jobs'.

Change schemata: Miscellaneous > mhesilanti > mhe-si-la-nti > /mhesilanti/

ix) *Jimila* ~ Ndebelecised 'Jimmy Miller' who was the owner of the farm in Tsholotsho district.

Change schemata: Jimmy Miller > jimmymiller > jimila > ji-mi-la > /ʤimila/

x) *Sikisiveli* ~ Ndebelecised 'Essexville' in the UK.

Change schemata: Essexville > sikisiveli > si-ki-si-ve-li > /siɣisivɛli/

xi) *Tshenisi* ~ Ndebelecised 'Chennels' surname of farm owner.

Change schemata: Chennels > tshenisi > tshe-ni-si > /tʃenisi/

xii) *Khrosini* ~ Kalangalised 'at the cross' or Ndebele 'at the crossroads'.

Change schemata: Crossroads > cross + ini (locative suffix in Ndebele) > khrosini > khro-si-ni > /khrosini/

Ndlovu and Mangena (2013, p. 347) argued that the adaptations could be a way of challenging colonial authority given that "[t]he history of Zimbabwe [was] very influential in the toponomastic landscape of the area". The imposed toponyms carried colonial authority over the indigenes who then contested this authority by domesticating the unfamiliar sounding place names with those with which they are familiar. In the same vein, the transfer of English phonological aspects to indigenous names by British settlers can be interpreted as a desire to hold on to their ethnic identity or it could simply involve difficulty in pronunciation. These language contact issues are further explained in Chapter 4, where I present the results of my study because they are contentious and need further research. Elaborated discussions on names and language contact were given in Sandnes (2016) where she argued that the phonological adaptations of southern Finnish dialects into English names and words (e.g., the sound sequence *sk-* in *Skegness* and *skin*) demonstrated the resistance of Scandinavian phonological structures. The Scandinavians' linguistic presence was strong enough to influence the English phonotax.

Examining the interactions between exonyms and endonyms in Senegal, Stolz and Wanke (2016, pp. 38-39) argued that "for Wolof-speaking Senegalese, the toponym *Saint-Loius* is not their first choice if they want to refer to the city …[f]or them, the toponym *Ndar* is the obvious choice evidently". Although they could not verify the Africanisation of the pronounciation of *Saint-Loius*, their fieldwork confirmed assertions by Kearns and Berg (2009, pp. 171-172) that the pronunciation of toponyms may function as an indicator of linguistic appropriation too.

Numerous studies have shown that the categorisation and establishment of the etymology of place names sometimes confirmed the complexity of the association between place names and identity (see for example Coates, 2012a; Ndlovu, 2016; Ndlovu & Mangena, 2013; Pedersen, 2012; Tent & Blair, 2014; Van Langendonck, 2007; Van Langendonck & Van de Velde, 2016). This association largely depended on the social context of certain regions and communities. Some studies also made it apparent that place naming practices were tied to the power relations of individuals and groups of people in communities. Place names were often linguistic expressions of authority, be it by powerful individuals (naming authorities) in a given area or by certain groups (the elite or ruling class). The existence of these power dynamics has led to a proliferation of variant place names as subtle resistance and in some cases open confrontation. An example of open confrontation can be noted in an incident that happened in Central Australia where a road sign was defaced by an unknown graffiti artist who crossed out

the names and replaced them with Aboriginal place names. Alice Springs was replaced with *Mparntwe*, while Hermannsburg was replaced with *Ntaria* (see Figure 2.1 below). The vandal also inscribed the abbreviation ACAB, which reporter Brook Rolfe (28 February 2021) said was popularly known to stand for 'All Cops are Bastards', a slogan used to protest police brutality towards First Australians.

Figure 2.1: Defaced Australian outback sign (Instagram@ronisconi, 2020).

The findings of these studies and the related example are important in understanding how identities are constructed and expressed in place names. Naming practices are not just exercises that distinguish one place from another; they sometimes involve complex formulation, exercising and challenging identities influenced by varied social contexts (Tajfel, 1974). However, a limitation of the studies mentioned is that they take the complexities of identity and place names as fact, but this may not be the case.

2.2.4 Place naming practices, patterns, and identities

A close look at the literature on toponymic studies highlighted a contemporary shift in focus. Recent and ongoing research has become more critical in nature, departing from that of the past, which has been regarded as encyclopaedic. For example, from the late 1980s to the present, scholars such as Maoz Azaryahu (1986, 1996, 1997), Elanna Shohamy (2006, 2010) and Reuben Rose-Redwood (2006, 2008, 2011) have increasingly made investigations that sought to find out more than just the meanings of place names. They engaged with other

variables such as the process of place naming, the actors involved, tools, and technologies[25] used and the implications these had on the place name, the place, individuals, communities, society, nation, and even international relations (Bigon, 2016a; Mamvura, 2020a,b,c,d; Mangena, 2018; Mushati, 2013; Njoh, 2017; Nyambi, et al., 2016; Wanjiru-Mwita & Giraut, 2020). This shift in focus gave rise to the branches of toponymic studies known as critical toponymy and linguistic landscapes. At the centre of these studies were the dynamics of power relations, which were strongly influenced by geopolitics (Giraut & Houssay-Holzschuch, 2016; Rose-Redwood et al., 2018). Detailed discussions on critical toponymy and linguistic landscapes are given in § 2.3 and § 2.4, respectively.

2.3 The critical turn in toponomastics

The literature revealed that critical onomastic enquiry the world over was a relatively new field and there is a need for further research to develop it (Berg & Kearns, 2016; Berg & Vuolteenaho, 2009; Helander, 2014; Puzey & Kostanski, 2016; Rose-Redwood & Alderman, 2011; Rose-Redwood, Alderman, & Azaryahu, 2009). Berg and Vuolteenaho (2009) are often credited for firmly emphasising the need for a critical approach to the study of place names.

Introducing their edited book, Puzey and Kostanski (2016) pointed out that critical name studies rose out of the realisations by scholars that toponyms revealed much about geopolitics and power relations. They further posited that critical toponymy rose as reactions to citations of Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*, Act II, Scene II, lines 43-44: "What's in a name? that which we call a rose/ By Any Other Name would smell as sweet;" by many scholars. These lines conveyed the idea that names were merely labels that did not have any bearing on the objects they denoted. Critical toponymic studies questioned such assumptions by analysing the various functions of names in addition to the simple distinction of one place from another. Puzey and Kostanski (2016, p. xiii) proposed that "names can represent deeper kinds of identity, act as objects of attachment and dependence, reflect community mores and social customs, while functioning as powerful determinants of inclusion and exclusion". As my study also seeks to ask questions about the meaning of naming practices for the people involved,

[25] Technologies refers to the aims and objectives for place naming as presented by Giraut and Houssay-Holzschuch (2016, p. 9) where they used the term in a Foucauldian sense of "a practical rationality governed by a conscious aim". They listed four of these political objectives for place (re)naming, i.e., cleansing of a previous political order, naming places after founding fathers, ideological values and events to legitimate existing power structures, restoring previous toponyms to atone for historical injustices and promoting a place through toponyms.

especially in relation to identities, power and how these are communicated, these studies in critical toponymy were illuminating.

Critical toponymy departed from traditional toponymic studies, which were dominated by questions of etymology and historical-culturalist approaches that produced "suspiciously innocent and bloodless accounts of history" (Berg & Vuolteenaho, 2009, p. 6). It is the need for toponymists to reflect on the hegemonic discourses that emerge in relation to place naming practices that my study addresses. I note the call to intricately analyse the substantive power of naming practices that were made by Puzey and Kostanski (2016, p. xvi) and attempt to complement the efforts of historical-cultural toponymists. The latter have been commended for their contribution to toponymy, but limitations remain such as not highlighting how the standardisation and rationalisation of place names may have the negative effect of marginalising minority groups and their languages (Berg & Vuolteenaho, 2009, p. 4).

Despite critical toponymy being a relatively new sub-field, much research has already been carried out. Searches in scholarly databases such as Linguistics and Language Behaviour Abstracts (LLBA), Taylor & Francis and Wiley Online Library for the phrases "critical toponymy" and "critical place names" will return thousands of hits. However, issues such as how identity is embodied in place names, toponymic commodification, commemoration, renaming, multiple toponymies, and gender and power relations, as well as the theoretical frameworks applied, have been identified as requiring further scrutiny (Aldrin, 2016; Light & Young, 2015; Rose-Redwood, Alderman, and Azaryahu, 2010). Aldrin (2016) expressed regret at the prevailing trend in critical toponymy where identity issues were taken as fact and the lack of a coherent names theory. She called for more efforts to be directed to prove this scientifically. In addition, Light and Young (2015) noted a gap in research that examined toponymic commodification. They argued that power relations, which were central to critical toponymy in the first place (Rose-Redwood et al., 2010), seemed to be overlooked, as stakeholders concentrated on the capital value of commercialising place names.

There is no denying the role one's orientation and worldview plays in most aspects of critical toponymy research. This point is extensively dealt with in the theoretical framework section below. Aldrin (2016) pointed out that there was no coherent onomastic theory on names and identity. This gap may limit research in onomastics. Giraut and Houssay-Holzschuch (2016) set out to build a theory for critical toponomy. It is noteworthy that they acknowledged that previous efforts had demonstrated beyond doubt how toponymic research exposed much

about geopolitics and power relations. They then asserted that their proposed theoretical framework would be helpful in further analyses, theorising and comparative studies in place naming practices. They strengthened their assertions by arguing for a shift in focus, encouraging studying *place naming* rather than *place names* (Giraut & Houssay-Holzschuch, 2016, p. 4, emphasis in original), because place naming studies paid attention to the process, the players involved and the socio-political historical context of the name. Their proposed theory has not been applied anywhere that I am aware of and could be worth exploring and implementing in a specific case.

Some linguistic oriented studies that ventured into the territory of toponymic commodification seemed to downplay the power dynamics at play when corporates brand themselves and the spaces they operate in. However, there are a few exceptions. Thurlow and Jaworski (2010, p. 193) argued for tourism as an interface between language and global mobility, questioned the depiction of secluded holiday landscapes as "pre-linguistic … unlabelled, unnamed and 'unclaimed'". They used varied data drawn from very different genres and different parts of the world to demonstrate how tourism discourses shaped cultural differences and thus constituted and reproduced hierarchies of symbolic power and economic inequalities. Thurlow and Jaworski (2010) drew their data from print in flight magazines, trade signs, and business cards in souvenir markets in tourist villages in Gambia, newspaper travelogues, television holiday shows, and guidebook glossaries. They argued that such practices of silencing languages and names are intimately connected to the market appropriation and commodification of space. Hallett (2015) in a book chapter "Parodying Heritage Tourism" also supported critique of practices that perpetuated social injustice. Hallett's study provided a critical discourse analysis of three parodic travel guidebooks: *Molvanîa: A Land Untouched by Modern Dentistry*, *Phaic Tăn: Sunstroke on a Shoestring* and *San Sombrero: A Land of Carnivals, Cocktails and Coups* from countries in Eastern Europe, Southeast Asia, and Central America, respectively. The researcher noted that the guidebooks' humour was derived from widespread stereotypes, irreverence for other people's culture and "an attitude of placing these people and places out of time or modernity" (Hallett, 2015, p. 149).

The studies of Thurlow and Jaworski (2010) and Hallett (2015) are testimony to the fact that tourism, especially the use of places and place names, is coupled with the misuse of power and unjust social practices by those with the authority to name and economic power. Thurlow and Jaworski (2010) demonstrated the flexing of power by authorities through the

erasure of the powerless inhabitants of holiday landscapes through marketing, while Hallett (2015) showed how categorising communities in heritage sites as the "other" portrayed them as backward and inferior. Both insights were sound, as they provided evidence on how social categorisation in toponymic commodification negatively impacts on some members of the communities visited by tourists.

The previous section, § 2.2, has shown that place names can be very meaningful in forming the base for local identities, sense of place, attachment, and remembrance, but there is need to research the impact of commodification of street and other place names. Alderman and Inwood (2013), studied the use of Martin Luther King Jr's name and exposed the undesirable effects of naming practices that generated negative images of certain places. Moreover, particular places where someone lives may signify an important form of symbolic capital that bestows peculiarity and status upon the resident (Rose-Redwood, 2008). Therefore, confining streets named after Martin Luther King Jr to places mostly inhabited by African-Americans contributed to the latter's racial segregation and marginalisation. These places were stereotyped as inferior and undesirable to live in or to locate a business in. This identity was also put on the residents and limited them in many ways. Nobody other than the lower classes and not so highly held members of society may want to invest in the area, and it may stunt both social and economic development of the areas.

Further, Alderman and Inwood (2013) found fault with naming practices that commercialised and privatised urban landscapes, because they excluded and marginalised local people in favour of private sponsors. They argued that such practices stripped locals of an identity they would have forged with familiar place names, and destabilised long-established habits and routines. The disenfranchisement of locals by denying them the opportunity to name their environment gave power to corporations, which were already powerful, thereby continuing social inequalities and divisions.

As evidence of power politics in commercialised toponyms, Light and Young (2015, pp. 441-443) gave a long list of Hungarian streets and public places named after companies, e.g., *Tungsram Street* and *Ikarus Square* in Budapest. They stated that Tungsram was a successful Hungarian light and vacuum tube manufacturer established in 1896; it was now a subsidiary of General Electric. *Ikarus Square* was named after the bus manufacturer Ikarus, which was founded in 1895. Other examples from Hungary include *Campona Street* (Budapest) and *Auchan Street* (Törökbálint) which were named after nearby shopping malls and were a

part of embedding and promoting these retail developments in the urban landscape. Moreover, Light and Young (2015) stated, Gyál has *Fundy Street* (named after a Hungarian candy-producing company), Gógánfa has *Rockwool Street* (named after a rockwool producing company), Ráckeve has *Nowaco Street* (named after a food processing company) and Üllö has *K-Sped Boulevard* (K-Sped is a transport company). These streets, as observed by Light and Young (2015), in part, reflected the significance of these locations in the capitalist economy of Hungary.

Sticking with the example of Hungary, Light and Young (2015, pp. 442-443) gave a further set of street names that reflected the importance of international investment for the country's economy, and how the naming practice was clearly linked with promoting Hungary as firmly embedded in global capitalist economic networks. These included *Mercedes Street* in Kecskemét (where there was a Mercedes factory), *Nokia Street* in Komárom (which had a Nokia factory) and *Samsung Square* in Jászfényszaru (which had a Samsung television factory).

Furthermore, Light and Young (2015) cited cases of commercial names that were connected to historical figures, which integrated street naming with wider processes of place promotion with establishing new discourses of the nation-state after socialism. They referred to *Hertz Street* (named after Hungarian franchise Hertz Mercur Rent a Car) in Vecsés, as an example. This name, they argued, was linked to the fact that the original founder of the company was born in Hungary. According to the company webpage (https://hertzautokolcsonzo.hu/), the name was intended as a homage to the creativity and commitment of Hungarians generally. Clearly, in this case, the street name was linked to a globally known company to promote both essentialised notions of the Hungarian character that chimed with the ethos of capitalism (and a rejection of stereotypes of socialism) and to support the re-establishment of Hungary as part of the European and global economies.

Light and Young (2015) additionally highlighted power politics in the commodification of urban toponyms in their research on names of stadia in the English Premier Soccer League and other urban toponyms. They exposed how municipalities were losing a grip on their naming rights to rich corporations that were buying these rights and imprinting their brands in the public place. They posited that commercialisation of urban toponyms not only transformed the cityscape and gave it a new identity (Light & Young, 2015), but also highlighted issues of power. Using Bourdieu's (1999) theory of language and symbolic power, especially symbolic

violence, they argued that "[r]enaming a stadium to incorporate the name of a commercial sponsor may generate revenue for the club but can powerfully disenfranchise fans" (Light & Young, 2015, p. 440). In this sense, these practices could be a reproduction of injustices and social inequality, because they excluded the fans who developed attachments to and strong identification with the soccer clubs they supported.

Studies that analysed the commodification of toponyms were commendable. However, most of the evidence of contestation and resistance to unfair naming practices, which were given to support their claims, were based on secondary sources. How does the affected social group respond to the commodification of place names? Little is known how affected communities reacted to the inequalities prevailing in various place naming practices. The voice of the disenfranchised was not heard. Therefore, there is a need for studies that take up this dimension to explore what it means for the affected people themselves; Azaryahu (2011a) makes a similar call. A study that looks at the reactions people have to place naming practices could be fruitful, because people are not passive recipients of information. Furthermore, there is need to investigate toponymic commodification in cases other than stadia and streets, and my study provides such examples.

Other areas in critical toponymy illustrated the complexity of the relationship between identity and place naming practices; these included those that analyse commemorative place names, gender representations, and renaming. Although many studies[26] proved beyond doubt the cultural politics of naming, more attention could be channelled to social justice issues (inclusivity, parity, and egalitarianism).

Mangena (2018) demonstrated how a renaming exercise, that was also commemorative, revealed strong interactions between identity, place names, and geopolitics. The public reactions to the renaming of the *Rhodes Estates Preparatory School* (REPS) to the *Matopos Junior School* was revealing. The renaming was officiated by the former head of state of Zimbabwe, Robert Gabriel Mugabe, to mark the celebrations of his 93rd birthdate on 25 February 2017. One would have assumed the public reactions would be positive since the renaming was a move away from the colonial names but that was not the case as citizens reacted negatively to Mugabe's officiation because they no longer appreciated his authority especially

[26] See Ainiala, 2012; Ainiala & Lappalainen, 2017; Ainiala & Ostman, 2017; Ainiala, Saarelma, & Sjöblom, 2016; Azaryahu, 2011; Blackwood et al., 2016; Clark et al., 2014; Clark & Kostanski, 2012; Giraut & Houssay-Holzschuch, 2016; Helander, 2014; Helleland et al., 2012; Nyambi et al., 2016; Puzey & Kostanski, 2016; and Tavor, 2014.

towards the end of his leadership. They saw the renaming as a platform to express their views towards Mugabe's leadership; this overshadowed the positive decolonisation the authorities intended through renaming. Removing Rhodes' name could have been viewed as toponymic cleansing in line with the contemporary wave of decolonisation, but the mixed reactions and conflation of issues by the readership analysed by Mangena showed that decolonisation was a complex exercise. For Mangena (2018), the exercise demonstrated that commemorative place names were political spaces that depicted Zimbabwe's colonial history and the occasions of commemoration were used to contest Mugabe's political integrity and failed leadership.

Mangena's (2018) discussions were informative and enriching. They highlighted how different stakeholders were affected, an example of what Rose-Redwood et al. (2010, p. 457) described as "wider [societal] struggles for legitimacy and visibility". Mangena (2018) also gave examples of the actual reactions of the affected groups (comments on news headlines on the matter featured in local dailies and physical activities of protests). For example, Mangena (2018, pp. 11-13) provided photographic evidence of the general people of Zimbabwe's resentment of the abuse of public commemoration used by Mugabe for fame. The pictures showed the removal of road signs bearing the name of Mugabe, the "unofficial civil renaming" (Duminy, 2018, p. 250), and the obscuring of a road sign that had the name of the president. These were "not only acts of vandalism but powerful symbols of people's wishes to have Mugabe removed from power" (Mangena, 2018, p. 10).

However, inasmuch as all this has illuminated the counter-hegemonic acts of ordinary people, the study fell short of fully addressing the issue. It touched on a broad range of toponyms (streets, schools, the airport, and others) thus only partly addressed the matter. Different groups experienced and reacted to oppression in different ways. For example, regional issues such as the marginalisation of the Ndebeles in Matebeleland were not the same as those of the marginalisation of other Shona sub-groups, immigrants, other minorities, women and lower-class people. These groups experienced marginalisation in their own unique and varied ways that deserved to be heard, seen, and written about. Therefore, the present study extends the evidence of how commemorative toponyms are sites for the contestation of history and memory.

Other areas that showed power dynamics in toponymic practices were those that address gender imbalances. It is surprising how few studies adopting a critical place name theory could be classified under the banner of those that champion gender parity (Bigon &

Zuvalinyenga, 2020; Mamvura, Muwati, & Mutasa, 2018; Zuvalinyenga & Bigon, 2020) and sexualities (Milani, 2014). This area could benefit from the current topicality of gender and sexuality. A lot of movements and research has been undertaken the world over championing women's and Lesbians, Gays, Bisexual, Transgender and Intersex (LGBTI)'s rights.[27] Gains in these fields could also help the field of critical toponymy grow and partly clear grey areas such as the nature of the control, negotiation, and contestation of various forms of identity outlined earlier in the chapter.

It is evident from the above discussion that the interrelationships between place names and identity are multidimensional and complex. Close analyses proved that the concept of identity was complex, because toponyms worked hand in glove with physical places in facilitating the formulation, expression, negotiation and contestation of personal, social, ethnic, ethnolinguistic, racial, and national identities. These identities were dynamic, drawing influence from particular contexts, values, and worldviews. Inasmuch as place identity was fortified by knowledge and identification with a place name, the relationship between toponyms, place, and identity formation was not unilateral. It encompassed many dynamics that call for scrutiny. The following section, § 2.3.1., untangles the webs making up place identity.

2.3.1 Place identity, sense of place and place attachment

Research on place identity, place attachment, and sense of place is mostly carried out within the fields of socicultural geography and environmental psychology, but it may be beneficial to relate findings in these sciences to toponymy. According to Jorgensen and Stedman (2001), sense of place can best be understood if it is defined by combining components of place identity, place attachment, and place dependence. This study understands complexities in identity formation in line with the five constructs that were related to the concept of place identity: place attachment (Altman & Low, 2012; Lewicka, 2008, 2010; Kostanski, 2014), sense of place (Jorgensen & Stedman, 2001), place dependence (Kostanski, 2009, 2011b), rootedness (Ameel & Ainiala, 2018), and insideness or being an insider (Helleland, 2012). These constructs showed that there were diverse ways a person can connect to a place and its names and this has been confirmed in the fieldwork I carried out. Overall, sense of place can be defined as how a cultural group imprinted its values, perceptions, memories, and traditions

[27] (See Gqola, 2001a, 2001b, 2007, 2015, 2016; Milani, 2014). The rise of the "Me too" movement and the Sydney Gay and Lesbian Mardi Gras festivals come to mind.

on a landscape and gave meaning to (a) geographical space(s). § 2.3.1.1, § 2.3.1.2 and § 2.3.1.3 give more details on sense of place, place identity and place attachment, respectively.

2.3.1.1 Sense of place

For sociolinguists and discourse analysts, sense of place can be understood better when the role of the physical circumstances of language use is taken into consideration. Scholars examining the role of place and or context in language use often examined how space carried socio-cultural meaning and that space was transformed into a place (de Saint-Georges, 2004; Duranti & Goodwin, 1992; Eckert, 2004; Hanks, 2001; Hymes, 1974; Johnstone, 2004; Labov, Ash & Bobers, 2006; Lou, 2017). In sociolinguistics, sense of place is understood to refer to a person's or community's relationship to a place. This relationship was noted in the way that a person or community used language and other semiotic modes and material resources to construct the social space. For Lou (2017), the language used in Hong Kong marketplaces shed light on the multiple senses of place people experienced. Lou (2017, p. 514) substantiated his argument by quoting de Saint-Georges (2004, p. 71) who argued:

> On one hand, discourse is bound to spaces of actions and interactions. There is no discourse, knowledge or social practice that stands outside of a social historical and physical space. On the other hand, discourse is also "about space" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 132). It can formulate it, appropriate it or participates in its transformation.

The sense expressed in the above quotation was a reminder of B. Malinowski's (1923[1953]) work in the Trobriand Islands where he observed that language should be examined as a mode of practical action embedded in a context of situation. In response to these calls, interactional sociolinguists and linguistic anthropologists have demonstrated through many studies the dialogical relationship between language and context – language is shaped by, and in turn, shapes context.

2.3.1.2 Place identity

Place identity encompassed a person's particular identity in connection to the physical environment (Helleland, 2012). In this sense, place identity can be regarded as an element of individual identity, the result of a practice by which, in the course of interacting with locales, individuals defined themselves through affiliation to a specific place (Hernández, Hidalgo, Salazar-Laplace, & Hess, 2007). This then entailed the creation of "the source of meaning for a given setting by virtue of relevant cognitive clusters that indicate what should happen in it,

what the setting is supposed to be like and how the individual and others are supposed to behave in it" (Proshansky, Fabian, & Kaminoff, 1983, p. 67).

The theory of place identity was useful in underscoring the significance of the physical environment for the formation and expression of identity (Proshansky et al., 1983). However, this view has been criticised for encouraging an individualistic, personal, and apathetic concept of place. Dixon and Durrheim (2000) were of the view that conceptualising place in the manner done by place identity theorists disregarded its centrality in social roles such as family, class, and gender. Dixon and Durrheim's contentions were sound, especially in light of the social identity theory (Tajfel, 1974) and the philosophy of *Ubuntu* (Bolden, 2014), which highlighted the importance of the socio-political, historical, and cultural context in individuals' as well as groups' categorisation of themselves and others. These arguments encouraged one to see place as having meanings for identities and that what locale itself signified was made from other things, which have evolved over time. Therefore, the link between place and identity was temporary and socially constructed and communicated the way we build meaning around our historical, current, and future circumstances (Kehily, 2009). Place and identity did not exist passively, they were actively and recursively related.

Helleland (2009, 2012) recognised the interdisciplinary richness of place names and identity issues, but was surprised at how little attention the matter had been given by scholars in the humanities and social sciences. His studies, using examples drawn from the named landscape from his childhood in Norway, provided insights into place names as markers of individual and social identities. He showed that in addition to being "labels attached to one's surroundings" they were also "descriptions of the features in question, or circumstances that influence the naming process" and made "out a part of one's identity both as linguistic expressions and as identifiers of the landscape" (Helleland, 2009, p. 501). These arguments were relevant because they verified that the connection he had with his childhood place (place identity) was strengthened by knowing the name of the area and contributed to feelings of belonging to a social group. Further, connectedness of place names and (individual, ethnic and national) identities (Saparov, 2003, 2017) was noticeable in the displeasure people had when names were changed or not represented in the way they would prefer (spellings, pronunciation and name signs, as elaborated in § 2.2.3).

2.3.1.3 Place attachment, toponymic attachment, and toponymic dependence

As stated, place attachment is a bond that people form with a particular area where they feel safe and contented and thus prefer to remain (Hidalgo & Hernandez, 2001; Lewicka, 2008). Responding to suggestions by Rose-Redwood et al. (2010) to explore the political economy of toponymic practices, Kostanski (2011b) developed and refined the theory of toponymic dependence and toponymic attachment as a possible explanation for the link between place, place names and identity. She argued that the connection can be ascertained in the concept of "sense of place", which included place attachment, place dependence and place identity. She established how reliance on place names was controlled by their capacity to afford a distinct depiction, or labelling opportunity, of a place. In this way, she was concerned about finding out whether people could be dependent on place names to a certain extent. Her findings revealed that although humanity was reliant on a habitation to offer food or water, societies and administrations also depended on place names to "provide particular branding requirements" (Kostanski, 2011b, p. 9). Her results were insightful, as they provided the basis for studies such as mine that assessed suggestions by governments for place branding. She also noted that authoritites needed to be aware of how people formed dependences with places and their names when they developed place branding campaigns to avoid protests (see Kostanski, 2014, "Duel-Names").

Interesting to note were arguments about place attachment theory by Mamvura (2014, p. 96) who commented that "[h]uman beings impose their meaning on the landscape. The meanings help in the constructing and the subsequent strengthening of the bond between people and places". Place attachment theory focused on explaining the practical and poignant attachments people form with places. The usefulness of place names in facilitating the achievement of goals like identifying the place, as well as for branding purposes, enabled people to form attachments to a place. § 2.3.2 explains sense(s) of place in the context of toponymic studies.

2.4 Linguistic Landscape studies, toponyms, identity and communication

Linguistic Landscape (LL) studies examined written language in the public space of an area (Ben-Rafael, 2008; Cenoz & Gorter, 2006; Gorter, 2018; Huebner, 2016; Shohamy, 2006; Shohamy & Gorter, 2008; Shohamy et al., 2010). Findings in LL studies were helpful for a

study on place names in terms of methodologies and what can be read from the 'language in the public space'.

The origins and definition of LL is often traced to Landry and Bourhis (1997), who explored the relation of the language of public signs to facets of the ethnolinguistic liveliness of francophone high school students in Canada. According to Landry and Bourhis (1997, p. 23), the LL referred to "the visibility and salience of languages on public commercial signs in a given territory or region". They stated:

> [t]he language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings combining to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region, or urban agglomeration. The linguistic landscape of a territory can serve two basic functions: an informational function and a symbolic function. (Landry & Bourhis, 1997, p. 25)

It was evident from the above that LL referred to language and other semiotic materials located in the public space. These can include "any written signs found outside private homes, from road signs to signs with names of streets, shops and schools" (Shohamy et al., 2010, p. xiv). Thus, LL study was a repository of names, and therefore, helpful in collecting toponymic data absent on maps and gazetteers. In his research on insular toponymies on Norfolk Island and the Dudley Peninsula on Kangaroo Island off Australia, Nash (2013) successfully implemented LL methods to gather house and road names.

Since the unit of study in LL is a sign and these signs "function as illustrative texts which can be read, photographed, probed and linguistically and culturally dissected" (Al-Athwary, 2017, p. 149), these data were useful as they highlighted observable onomastic practice in particular cases. Therefore, apart from the "messages that these public signs intend to convey, we can also learn the diversity of language and culture underlying in the messages because public signs are a type of semiotic sign in that they stand for something other than themselves" (Al-Athwary, 2017, p. 149). For example, there were cases in Bindura and Zimbabwe more generally where people may express displeasure at certain place names by defacing or completely pulling down and destroying the signs that bear them. Such cases of defacing and pulling down of toponymic signage could be made clearer from findings in LL studies. For example, Pennycook (2008, 2010) studied graffiti and explored the matter in depth and demonstrated that the acts of vandalism may be connected to struggles for social justice.

On the whole, LL research is a relatively young but growing subfield of sociolinguistics that borrows from other disciplines to study language in the public space, as "language facts that landmark the public space are social facts that, as such, relate to more general social phenomena" (Shohamy et al., 2010, p. xiv). The subject of LL has proved not only to be vital to our understanding about societal multilingualism, but also exposed a multifaceted field of study that is "characterized by dynamics of its own, contingent on the nature of its linguistic, social, cultural and political context" (Shohamy et al., 2010, p. xii). In addition, areas of investigation in LL are varied and many. The range can include, but is not limited to, the documentation of the relationship between language and, among other things, power, contestation and negotiation of rights and ownership (Banda & Mokwena, 2019). Some studies investigated multilingualism and individual and national identity construction (Jimaima & Banda, 2019; Taylor-Leech, 2012). Others examined language awareness, language attitudes, local language, and national identity (Juffermans, 2014). In addition, language and religion have also been studied (Huebner, 2016) as have government language policy versus language practice (Makoni et al., 2007; Severo & Makoni, 2019). Further areas of study have included minority language suppression, maintenance, or revival in Zambia (Banda & Jimaima, 2017); tourism and the commodification of culture (Banda & Mokwena, 2019; Jimaima & Banda, 2019) and the intersection of LL and education, in particular language teaching and learning (D. Malinowski, 2015, 2016, 2020).

Moreover, the field has also seen the employment of a wide range of methodologies. Early studies were said to be heavily quantitative in nature; however, with the advancement of the field, qualitative and mixed methods and innovative approaches have also been successfully implemented. It is the area of methodology that has drawn much criticism. However, the most appropriate methodologies are determined by the research questions asked and the themes pursued in a particular research study. Overall, much research is taking place, giving new insights to the analysis of language in public spaces. The next section elaborates how beneficial it can be to apply LL research to toponomastics.

2.4.1 Insular Toponymies, identity, power, communication, and naming practices

I have provided evidence on the significance, function, and meaning of place names in the construction of various forms of identity in § 2.3 on critical toponymy and § 2.4 on linguistic landscapes. It remains to be seen, however, if the momentary and context dependent identities

extant in place names of communities that are situated on a large continent also prevail in small closed, island communities.[28] What insights do these toponymies offer in terms of identity, power relations and communication in place naming practices? Therefore, a review of pristine and insular toponymies is the focus of this section.

Nash (2013) set out to study how people named places on islands. He had a relationship and a theory (*pristine toponyms*) whose practicality he wanted to prove. As stated by Nash (2013, p. 115), "pristine toponymy is toponymic knowledge in isolated and recently inhabited island locations where people remember the locations and histories of people and events associated with extant placenames". He used fieldwork in Norfolk Island, in the South Pacific and the Dudley Peninsula, Kangaroo Island, located off the coast of South Australia, which "was immersive or *ethnographic*" (Nash, 2013, p. 40). It involved "active participant observation through formal, informal, and *ad hoc* interviews in people's homes and on their properties, at work, and at sea in people's boats" (Nash, 2013, p. 40). He also became part of established social networks to gain access to both primary data and rare secondary archival sources. Nash (2013) indicated that because people on Norfolk Island and the Dudley Peninsula remembered a large amount of place name history, case studies of these two locations made a substantial contribution to the theory of "pristine toponymy".

Blair (2017, pp. 261-262) applauded Nash's book for producing numerous original findings that were not only "specific to Australian island toponymy, but which may be applicable to wider research on island and non-island toponymies". A quick survey of literature on toponymic studies in Zimbabwe attested to the paucity of toponymic research on farming and mining towns, and I aim to contribute to research in these overlooked areas.

Nash's (2013) methods were also helpful. He used the ethnographic approach to toponymy and stated that "the method was effective in establishing the long-term social networks required to gather primary toponymic data" (Nash, 2013, p. 115). This assisted him to argue that the grammatical and cultural analysis of toponymy revealed the socio-historical influence of individuals, groups (e.g., fishermen), and phenomena (e.g., incidents, nostalgia) in insular toponymies. The communities in which he carried out his research depended on fishing and farming for their livelihood; thus, ecological knowledge and land management was crucial to them. This connection bound place (place name included) with communities. People

[28] The term island communties is used in the sense that inasmuch as interaction among different people goes on regardless of their location on earth, islands are often isolated and far removed from other locations by the seas and oceans affecting the frequency of such interaction. Nash (2009) has influenced this understanding.

existed today because their knowledge about using the place and its names had kept them alive. Their identity was inseparably tied to the places and thus the names.

His study shed light on identities on particular island toponymy and how they were related to particular linguistic and cultural features in these locations. It may not be controversial to suggest that because these isolated sociocultural and natural environments were least affected by outside influence, evidence of inclusion and exclusion can be noted in insular place naming practices. There was the possibility of name uses amongst members of the island communities that were not disclosed to those from outside their group. Nash (2013) himself experienced this exclusion in the initial stages of his research when residents were unwilling to share their knowledge of place names with him. The reluctance of elders to pass the knowledge of place names to younger generations has had the negative effect of making knowledge of toponyms die out with the older people who hold it. Nash suggested that there was an urgent need to record these toponyms.

In summary, Nash's study demonstrated that as people on Norfolk and Kangaroo Islands lived their lives and made sense of their remote environment, they were engaging in meaningful identity tasks. The islanders were aware that being away from the mainland had implications on their identity with mainland communities, they were the "other", not "us". This categorisation has implications for how both parties constructed, negotiated, and expressed their identities. Mainland communities may view themselves as having authority, thus disempowering and marginalising island communities which in turn may create resentment and resistance by those who are positioned as the dominated "other". This may have explained "the existence of a well-established corpus of unofficial toponyms not listed on maps and offshore fishing ground names and their location" (Nash, 2013, pp. xii-xiii). The islanders were keeping to themselves that which defined them and would not wish to share it with groups they felt distant from.

Although not generalising, insights from Nash's study are vital to toponymy in exposing how identity construction and formulation is a power struggle where minority communities, such as the one I am researching, are disempowered by more powerful individuals and social groups. Evidence from Nash's case study showed the inextricable connection that people's personal, social, ethnic, ethnolinguistic, and national identities have with certain places and their names. My study shows that people living in various dictatorships are in a constant struggle to fight off being silenced. These contests are manifest in innovations

in naming practices. Most people used unofficial, variant place names that resonated with who they are, while others engaged in physical activism championing the preservation of their toponymies (Zuvalinyenga, 2020 a, b).

In sum, many of the studies reviewed depict a tendency to take the relationship between place names and identity as a given. Most failed to address how identity was developed and expressed. They were also not clear on alternative identities, such as individual, gender, social, ethnic, ethnolinguistic, regional, cosmopolitan, and national identities that may be possible, nor did they clearly point out the social, cultural, and economic implications of these variant identities. It is my hope that critical discourse studies could address these.

2.5 Definition of identity based on critical discourse studies

The foregoing discussion indicated that identities were formed in interaction together with other contextual matters. However, how identity is formed has proven elusive in the reviewed literature. Nonetheless, because critical discourse studies have proven useful in studying identity, discourse, and power, referring to these discursive approaches may contribute to better understanding of the concept of identity rather than relying on assumptions. CDA referred to work in different disciplines that used conversation analytic methods together with critical perspectives to examine social occurrences, especially how identity is produced and symbolised by the language used in a certain context. CDA considers the significance and structuring properties of language. Therefore, for CDA practitioners, studying discourse entailed studying language use as a form of social practice that shaped society by constructing versions of social order. The ways in which social members categorised themselves was evident in the manner in which they talked and engaged with text (Van Dijk, 1995).

Discourse analysts emphasised that social categories were unnatural, not obvious because they were conditional, not fixed, and the result of specific historical conditions (Kwon, Clarke, & Wodak, 2014; Reisigl, 2018a). In addition, the categories were attained by setting apart and keeping out that which was considered “other” (Laclau, 1990). The differentiation and exclusion all happen inside the context of discourses, not outside them (Kwon et al., 2014). In this sense, CDA, especially the discourse-historical approach (DHA), which I adopt in this study, confirmed that identity was not unitary and pre-existent. Kwon et al. (2014) argued that identities were complex and sometimes contradictory, as shown by how various groups used discourse to their advantage and signalled the intimate connection between discourse, identity, and power.

It was apparent from the discussion that identity could be taken for granted, as it was a shared process of meaning making that arose out of social interaction. Therefore, conducting research on place naming practices (a form of social construction of meaning) required an awareness that the construction and maintenance of various aspects of identity were socially constructed through language and communication and that they were an ongoing process that depended on the socio-political contexts of particular places. The following § 2.6 outlines CDA in detail.

2.6 Towards a theoretical framework

This study's two main goals are to analyse the interrelationships between place naming practices, identity, power, and communication in urban Bindura and its rural hinterland and to investigate inequality and prejudices in one type of language use. The investigation is thus a response to calls in toponomastics to empirically assess the role toponymy plays in the creation and dismantling of language empires (Olster, 2005). Therefore, because the study "aims to denaturalize the role discourses play in the (re)production of noninclusive and nonegalitarian structures and challenges the social conditions in which they are embedded" (Wodak, 2015, p. 1), it is guided by CDA[29] theories, specifically the DHA. This section gives an overview and brief history of CDA, as well as its major tenets. It also elaborates on how DHA is applied in the current study by outlining its focal research agenda and common terminology (*discourse, critique, power, context, text,* and *ideology*). Moreover, criticisms levelled against CDA are also highlighted.

2.6.1 Critical discourse analysis and naming practices

Founded in several disciplines, CDA is a problem-oriented type of social research; some of its prominent proponents share concerns in areas such as "inequality, control, literacy and advertising" (Wodak & Meyer, 2009a, p. 3). According to Machin and Mayr (2012, p. 2), its origins were in critical linguistics, with *Language and Control* by Fowler, Hodge, Kress, and Trew (2018 [1979]) marking its inception, when it sought to illustrate "how language and grammar can be used as ideological instruments". In this sense, Machin and Mayr (2012, p. 2)

[29] This theoretical perspective is generally evolving even in the terms and nomenclature it is associated with. Traditionally, it was predominantly referred to as Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), but lately the name Critical Discourse Studies (CDS) is preferred, because it has been argued to represent the field more accurately. CDA/S is now not only limited to applied analysis but also includes philosophical, theoretical, methodological and practical developments (Flowerdew & Richardson, 2018, p. 1). The names can be used interchangeably; however, for consistency I will be using *Critical Discourse Analysis* (*CDA*).

suggested that studies that focused on language use could be directed towards the ways that texts categorised "people, events, places and actions".

Researchers were urged to look closely at "the events and persons that are foregrounded and those that are backgrounded or excluded altogether [as most] choices may affect the meaning of texts" (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p. 2). Kress (1989), as cited in Machin and Mayr (2012, p. 2), for example, was able to show how in school geography books certain agents and actions would be suppressed in order to background capitalist motives for "assessing the productivity" in a particular region. Therefore, since place naming served the dual purposes of making it possible to identify a location while simultaneously creating a socio-cultural scene that sometimes overtly memorialised historical figures, events, places and ideals, CDA has been used as the theoretical framework for this study. In Zuvalinyenga (2020b), I argued that place naming is linked to structures of power and discourses of identity, making it a possibly contested practice that results in multiple and competing place names. Thus, I continue the argument through tools in CDA that help to challenge the social conditions in which discourses are used to reproduce inequalities and prejudices.

2.6.2 Focal areas for critical discourse analysts

CDA mainly focuses on transforming the role discourses play in the production and reproduction of non-inclusive and non-egalitarian structures and challenging the social conditions in which they are rooted. Analysts attend to features of discourse that show the adoption or rejection of dominant ideologies (Wodak, 2007). Machin and Mayr (2012, p. 3) pointedly argued as follows:

> Importantly, what all these authors have in common is the view of language as a means of social construction: language both shapes and is shaped by society. CDA is not so much interested in language use itself, but in the linguistic character of social and cultural processes and structures.

What can be noted here is that investigations in CDA generally examine the use of language "beyond the sentence level and other forms of meaning-making such as visuals and sounds" (Wodak, 2015, p. 1) to make evident how they (re)produce society through any form of activity, conduct or process that involves signs (generally known as semiosis). Therefore, as I study place naming practices, I am of the view that a critical discourse analysis could be useful, as

CDA assumes that power relations are shaped by language in society. Consequently, we can study "how power relations are exercised and negotiated in discourse" (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997, p. 372), because toponymy almost always incorporates power relationships (Rose-Redwood et al., 2010). Rose-Redwood et al. (2010) have compellingly revealed that studying place names also exposed much about geopolitics. Therefore, the focus in CDA aligns with the thrust of my study, which examines place naming practices and the part they play in producing and/or reproducing non-egalitarian and non-inclusive structures and challenges the social conditions in which they are set.

According to Wodak & Fairclough (1997, p. 204), CDA analysed "opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language". Thus, CDA looked out for the less powerful, who often suffered inequalities (Machin & Mayr, 2012; Matheson, 2008; Mogashoa, 2014). Therefore, I investigate how and why naming practices and place names can be used to dominate, control and legitimise inequalities. I also highlight how society reacts to this situation in accordance with Fairclough and Fairclough's (2018, p. 169) perspective on CDA as "dialectical reasoning", whereby emphasis is on the relationship between critique, explanation and action. This perspective views CDA as supporting political action to change social life for the better.

Van Dijk (1993, p. 252) stated that CDA was "primarily interested in and motivated by pressing social issues". It supposed that these can be understood by analysing discourse. Following this, I hold that place naming can be used by less powerful people, who are not often recognised, to register their views in society. It is my proposal that an analysis of place naming practices and place names could help in understanding a people's cultural identities or ideological persuasion, their history, ways of communication, and power relations that shape and are shaped by the discourses about toponymy and communities in Bindura.

Wodak and Fairclough (1997, p. 173) insightfully argued, "CDA studies real, and often extended, instances of social interaction which take (partially) linguistic form". They viewed discourse as constituted and conditioned by and in society; they felt that it could be used as a hidden power object which needed to be critically analysed and made visible and transparent. An example of a case that applied the tenets of CDA was a study by Mushati (2013), who argued that the renaming of streets in the Mucheke suburb of Masvingo, Zimbabwe could be seen to be transmitting the notion of nationalism. He argued that naming was an artistic exercise in communication and involved creative use of the language plus selective promotion of a

collective memory geared at influencing people's perception of themselves in relation to the landscape or the named place (Mushati, 2013). In the same vein, it is the task of the current project to examine how, as a human construct, the cityscape and rural hinterland of Bindura, through its place names and naming practices, reflects how people use discourse to engrave their story on the environment.

Rogers, Malancharuvil-Berkes, Mosley, Hui and O'Garro Joseph (2005, p. 368) stated that critical theories, for example CDA, were concerned "with issues of power and justice and the ways that the economy, race, class, gender, religion, education, and sexual orientation construct, reproduce or transform social systems". My argument is that place naming practices in Bindura are used to position and shape individuals and communities. The socio-cultural and political use of names entailed bringing forth several meanings, notions, and "versions of the world" (Lucke, 1996, p. 12). In this light, Mushati's (2013, p. 70) assertion that "onomastics demonstrates the impact of naming on the construction of […] discourses about the nation, socio-political organization, negotiation of power relations, national identity, linguistic and cultural heritages" was valid.

Since CDA analyses long-term causes and consequences of issues, it affords one the opportunity to interrogate and gain insights into detailed relationships between texts (place names), talk (the naming practices), society, and culture. Thus, CDA enables the analysis of some of the fundamental causes of the existence of inequalities in naming practices and the consequences (societal reactions) of these. Sengani (2015) proved this in the naming of children by the Vhavenda people. He showed how long standing societal and family power struggles were played out in the naming of children. He went further to highlight that these struggles have also been quelled in "modern" naming practices and termed the latter "emancipatory discourses" (Sengani, 2015, p. 1).

McGregor (2010, p. 2) maintained that "CDA challenges us to move from seeing language as abstract to seeing our words as having meaning in a particular historical, social and political condition". Therefore, I considered it appropriate to use this theory, as it enables me to look at place names as being meaningful in certain historical, social, and political circumstances. Lucke (1996, p. 13) asserted that "because texts are moments of inter-subjectivity,[30] they reveal or expose the social and discursive relations between human

[30] Lloyd (2010, p. 167) stated that "intersubjectivity is the interchange of thoughts and feelings, both conscious and unconscious, between two persons or subjects, as facilitated by empathy".

subjects". They also contained different characters performing various activities and harbouring intentions that cannot be easily seen without referring to other texts. In this sense, CDA could help one to understand the messages in place names and their meanings.

Although Sengani's (2015) study used CDA in analysing personal names, not place names, his assertions that language, through naming children, can be a powerful ideological tool were insightful and can be extended to study toponyms. Sengani (2015) posited that through the naming of children, parents, who usually have power over these children, imposed their positions and views on their children and other family members to fortify their own power. Sengani's (2015) assertions are particularly perceptive when applied to the study of commemorative toponyms as these usually showed that the history carried in names was that of the powerful and commemorates their ideologies. Taking the proposition further, the present study seeks to find out how people feel about the prevailing naming practices in one area of Zimbabwe. In essence, this study makes it apparent that policymakers need to make the naming process inclusive – one that accommodates all the stakeholders – so that people identify with, relate to, and develop an attachment to both toponyms and the named places.

Lucke's (1996, p. 17) argument that the "task or function of CDA is to disarticulate and to critique texts [place names] as a way of disrupting common sense" was insightful. One could then argue that CDA can be used to critically investigate place naming practices to proffer new ways of looking at those practices and influence policy. Helander (2014, p. 325) could not have expressed it more succinctly when he argued, "[l]anguage plays an important role in forming the social world and it is used to construct and shape social and political reality". This shows that power relations are also institutionalised in language at the same time as it functions as a means of social contact and communication.

Moreover, it can be argued that place names and naming practices can have the effect of including or excluding various groups and individuals according to their perception of the linguistically created "reality", just as other parts of language do (Clark & Dear, 1984, p. 83). This proposition is an extension of Taylor (1985, p. 258), who pointed out, "it is language which enables us to draw boundaries, to pick some things out in contrast to others". Taylor pointed to the power of language to express authority over things and create particular outlooks on the world. Therefore, the individuals and/or groups that have the power to create social reality could use place names and naming practices to do this. Thus, this analysis of place names in the selected location highlights the reflected social reality and elicits peoples' views

about the named places. I am particularly interested in how "the people who have the power to decide what a thing will be called have the power to decide reality" (Helander, 2014, p. 334).

Place names are part of everyday talk that adds to framing a picture of the world, and in this manner, they can be utilised to influence a view of the world. Berg and Kearns (2016) and Kostanski (2014) argued that the utilisation of place names, especially in official settings, was frequently associated with political points. My study takes the argument further to say that the use of place names both in official and unofficial settings carries with it socio-political and cultural ideologies which may be revealed through a critical discourse analysis.

2.6.3 The different approaches to critical discourse analysis

Critical discourse analyses are eclectic in their approaches. Flowerdew and Richardson (2018, pp. v-vii) presented nine of them and argued that these approaches used various analytical methods. The approaches included CDA as dialectical reasoning, which was associated with Fairclough (2018) as well as with van Dijk's (2015) socio-cognitive discourse studies, but I have used the DHA credited to Reisigl and Wodak (2016).

The analytical methods used in CDA include Halliday's (1978) Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) (see also Bloor & Bloor, 2018), CDA and context (Flowerdew & Richardson, 2018), ethnography and CDA (Krzyżanowski, 2018), pragmatics and CDA (Polyzou, 2018), metaphor (Ng, 2018), rhetoric and argumentation (Kienpointner, 2018), and deliberative discourse (Fairclough, 2018). CDA's interdisciplinary nature makes it flexible, robust, and usable. Cameron and Panovic (2014) argued that critical discourse analysts prefered to study language use in its natural context and not to use invented examples. Therefore, this study uses the DHA, which combines language analysis with sociological and historical-theoretical and methodological approaches. An overview of the DHA is given in § 2.6.4.

2.6.4 The discourse-historical approach to place naming practices: An overview

Reisigl (2018a) gave an insightful condensed history of the DHA. He outlined this history in four phases that have seen different research projects being conducted. Most of these projects emphasised the historical interest in the approach but some transcend this historical alignment. The shift has been attributed to the continuous renewal of theory, methodology, and methods in line with the different research topics being carried out by different researchers. The summary by Reisigl (2018a) also made it clear that most of the research projects in DHA are

interested in the relationship between discourse, politics/policy and identity. This is the reason I argue that this theoretical framework is appropriate for my study, as I have similar research interests. Although DHA had strong roots in linguistics, it was also interdisciplinary research emphasising triangulation[31] to reduce any possibility of being too subjective, as some discourse-related social problems were multidimensional. The following § 2.6.5 - § 2.6.8 highlight the characteristics of DHA, define keys terms, presents tools of analysis and maps out how a discourse-historical analysis of place naming practices will be done in this study.

2.6.5 Characteristics of DHA

The interdisciplinarity of the DHA can be seen when various disciplines together with their theories, methods, methodologies, and research practices are integrated to lead to a satisfactory understanding and explanation of research objectives. In this sense, the DHA is robust and allows for incorporation of fieldwork and ethnography wherever this is needed for a thorough analysis and theorisation in an investigation. In addition, DHA allows for recursive movement between empirical data and theory. This enables the researcher to gain different perspectives from the data and numerous genres thereby establishing links in texts and discourses as they relate to the object of the research. The DHA has a strong historical orientation that enhances interpretation of texts and discourses in context.

Research interests in the DHA attest to the approach being problem-oriented; investigations include language and discrimination such as homophobia, racism, ethnicism, nationalism, xenophobia, islamophobia, and sexism. In addition, the DHA studies language barriers in various public institutions such as hospitals, courtrooms, schools, and the media. Furthermore, studies using the DHA have explored topics including discourse and politics, discourse and identity, discourse and history, discourses in the media and discourse and ecology. The DHA displays an interest in identity construction and unjustified discrimination as well as a focus on the historical dimension of discourse formation in line with the critical theory of the Frankfurt School, especially Habermas' language philosophy.[32] Although this focus might pose a risk (to the researcher) of being too subjective, triangulation of varied data,

[31] Triangulation in CDA refers to the use of multiple data sources or methods to develop a comprehensive understanding of phenomena. According to Wodak (2015), triangulation is a research strategy that can be used to test validity through the convergence of data from various sources.

[32] Habermas (1984, p. 374) suggested a theory of communication that provides a foundation of critique by outlining "immanent standards of language in use which rejects discrimination and suffering". Habermas (1971 [2001], p. 53) adopted ideas in Wittgenstein's *Philosophical Investigations* (1968), especially the concept of language games to reconstruct universal pragmatics and argued, "language is a medium of domination and social force that serves to legitimize relations of power". The DHA builds its toolkit of critique on these bases.

theories, methods and contextual information minimise it. Triangulation tries to assure the accuracy of research phenomena.

2.6.6 Definition of key terms

Throughout many of the projects in CDA, including DHA, key terms such as *critique, ideology, power, discourse, text,* and *context* (Wodak, 2015, pp. 3-10) feature prominently. To begin with, the concept of *critique* is understood to imply that a research study should aim at finding inconsistencies, contradictions, paradoxes, and problems in a given text or discourse. This evaluation concerns itself with revealing the obvious or hidden, persuasive or manipulative character of discursive practices. This understanding of *critique* makes use of circumstantial knowledge or the context of interaction, i.e., the set of circumstances applying in any environment, in the light of social and language theories to interpret discursive practices. All this is aimed at improving communication. For example, taking the current study on place naming practices, adopting a critical view exposes sexist or prejudicial place naming and reveals ideologies such as colonialism or nationalism. In the application of results from such a study, DHA then elaborates guidelines for avoiding such tendencies. *Critique* in DHA is three-pronged, "text-discourse immanent, socio-diagnostic and future prospective critique" (Reisigl, 2018a, p. 50) and has to be applied in the discovery, justification, and application stages of a research study. *Critique*, according to Wodak and Meyer (2009a, pp. 6-7), referred to the "systematic analysis of language use questioning the manner in which language properties are used in the creating and maintaining of social dominance".

Ideology is "an (often) one-sided perspective or worldview composed of related mental representations, convictions, opinions, attitudes, and evaluations" (Wodak, 2015, p. 4). These worldviews "are shared by members of specific social groups" (Wodak, 2015, p. 4) and propagating them functions as a method of instituting and sustaining unequal power relations through discourse. For instance, particular groups can exercise power over others by instituting hegemonic identity storylines or by regulating the access to particular discourses or public spheres (what can be referred to as gate-keeping). Therefore, the DHA centres on the means in which linguistic and other meaning-making practices facilitate and replicate ideology in a variety of social institutions. The aim here is to elucidate the hegemony or supremacy of particular discourses by decoding the underlying ideologies.

The DHA argues that "language is not powerful on its own" (Wodak, 2015, p. 4), but gains and maintains power by how powerful people use it. Van Dijk (2015, p. 352) explains

that language is used in society to maintain power relations; this is achieved through using language in the "dominance, control, power abuse and the legitimisation of inequalities". As reported by Wodak (2015), power is an unequal correlation among social actors who take on diverse social positions or belong to different social groups. This understanding follows that of Weber (1980), where power is perceived as the probability of establishing one's own will within a social relationship and against the will of others. DHA researchers view power as being implemented in ways that include violence and physical force, control of society through threats or promises, attachment to authority (cronyism), and technical control (modes of production, modes of transportation, weapons). Power relations are said to be validated or invalidated in discourses, where texts are frequently positions of social struggle in that they make evident traces of contradictory ideological contests for dominance and hegemony. Therefore, critical analysis in the DHA pays attention to the manner in which language forms are used in expressions and manipulations of power. Power is broadly exercised not only by linguistic forms, but by a person's control of the social occasion in which the language is used, by means of the genre of a text (use of propaganda material), or by the control of access to certain public spheres.

Discourse is another term that has been defined widely and in various ways across discourse analysis studies but for my study, Wodak and Meyer's (2009a, pp. 2-3) definition, given in § 1.7.4, is the most appropriate. They proposed that discourse can be oral, written, or visual. Reisigl (2018a) explained discourse-historical analysts' notion of discourse further by highlighting ten attributes they ascribed to it. First, discourse was viewed as a socially constitutive semiotic practice. This characteristic of discourse drew from pragmatics and Piercean semiotics to understand its practical nature. Second, discourse was socially constitutive because it represented, created, reproduced and changed social reality. Third, discourse was a transmissive and interactional macro-unit that went beyond the unit of a single text or conversation. In this sense, discourse did not have delimiting borders. It was complex and fluid, making it open to reinterpretation and continuation. Fourth, a discourse was made up of specific groups of actual texts, conversations, interactions, and other semiotic events. These had specific functions in social contexts and were created, disseminated and received by somebody. The other traits from numbers five to ten emphasised how discourses were situated in social, cultural, and political historical contexts and the need to be cognisant of these factors in any analysis.

According to Lotman (1977), a *text* was any object that can be "read", whether this object was a work of literature, a street sign, an arrangement of buildings on a city block or a style of clothing. In other words, a text was a coherent set of signs that transmitted some kind of informative message. Reisigl (2018a, p. 49) argued that texts were discourses that conveyed linguistic actions and speech acts. They bridged two speech situations, the circumstances of speech creation and the circumstances of speech reception. They also referred to a way of using language in relation to particular forms of social activity. For example, a policy on naming practices may recommend certain rules and prospects according to social conventions and could have specific social purposes. Thus, discourses involving place naming can be understood through a range of texts, that is, media (in all its forms), debates on naming and renaming places, academic articles and lectures by experts, protests, and advocacy, and so forth.

In this sense, this study envisions the public namespace as a "city-text, cultural arena and performative space" (Rose-Redwood et al., 2018, p. 10) on which multifaceted webs of identities, discourses, and social representations in a given society show us how people in those communities use language to construct their identities. Analysing the namespace as a city-text in toponomastics emerged in the 1990s and came to prominence in the 21st century. Rose-Redwood et al. (2018, p. 7) argued that scholars such as Azaryahu (2011a, 2011b, 2012a, 2012b, 2012c), Palonen (2008), and Sakaja and Stanic (2011, 2018) proposed that the landscape has to be understood as a *text* that can be analysed semiotically. Thus, place names produced the city-as-text in which each signifier (toponym) served to represent a particular referent (place) within a system of signification (namespace or city-text). Extending this notion to refer to all toponyms, this study takes the city-text to function as a system of spatial orientation in which each toponym acquires its meaning in relation to the linguistic context.

Some toponyms embed historical narratives into spaces of everyday life. That is, commemorative toponyms in particular are signifiers referring not only to the places they identify but also to the historical figures or to events they commemorate. It is important to note that the city-text cannot be interpreted in one way only, because there are different commemorations from different regimes making the namespace a palimpsest that is continually written and re-written by multiple authors and reinterpreted by different readers. However, this reading of the namespace as a text does not mean that the entire place, be it urban or rural, is reduced to a mere text, but that the toponymic landscape mirrors the world. All this indicates that discourses and texts are connected and related to each other. One cannot fully understand

a discourse or a text without background knowledge including the socio-political context in which it occurs.

Context was very germane for discourse-historical analysts, who argued that discourses did not occur in isolation, nor were they understood in isolation. *Context* was defined as the circumstances that form the setting for an event, statement or idea and in terms of which it can be fully understood. In discourse studies, context referred to "those objects or entities which surround a focal communicative event" (Wodak, 2015, p. 4). Following the example of a place name, for instance, for one to understand its meaning there was a need to look at three things. First, the name itself (text), then the names of other places near it (intertextuality), and last the policy on place naming, including other policies related to spatial planning (interdiscursivity). That is, to gain better understanding of a toponym, one had to understand what place it names, whom it is named after (if named after a person), why it was named as such, when it was named and how the name was given. Furthermore, the wider socio-political and historical context also had to be taken into consideration. The outlined understanding of context for DHA appears most fruitful and permits a more comprehensive understanding of place naming practices, consequently ushering in favourable theorising prospects. The concept of context made it apparent that the process of naming places consisted of a variety of features that are varied but work together in order "to manage, govern, control, and orient – in a way that purports to be useful – the behaviours gestures and thoughts of human beings" (Agamben, 2009, p. 12). Further, material objects such as road signs, maps, atlases, and gazetteers, which are manufactured because of place naming processes, form a toponymic landscape, thus validating and sustaining these results.

2.6.7 Tools of analysis: How to do a discourse-historical analysis of place naming practices

The DHA can be carried out in three ways. To begin with, there is a need to identify contents or topics of a specific discourse and reconstruct its history by connecting the present to the past. For example, though the (re)naming of a place (e.g., changing *Kimberley Reefs* to *Chipindura*) may seem harmless, the name's apparently innocuous nature decreases if a DHA is interested in recontextualisations (the process of transferring given elements to new contexts). Zuvalinyenga (2020b) detects that the name *Chipindura* was given as resistance to the colonial domination carried in the exonym *Kimberley Reefs*. The second way involves investigating discursive strategies. This is when precise discourse elements can be connected

to each other in a specific era of the past such as a period of some months, years, or even decades. The third way entails a critical linguistic analysis of the cohesion, coherence, or other aspects of the text to determine the aim of the producer. Is the intention of the speaker to convince somebody and therefore realise a text that is persuasive? Do they want to narrate a story or be factual and describe an incident? The objective determines the various techniques, linguistic, pragmatic, and rhetorical devices employed to achieve the intended meaning. Table 2.1 summarises these discursive strategies.

Table 2.1: Discursive strategies according to the DHA

Questions to approach discursive features	*Discursive Strategies*[33]	*Purpose*
How are people, objects, phenomena, events, processes, and actions named and referred to linguistically in the discourse in question?	**Nomination**	Discursive construction of social actors Discursive construction of objects, phenomena, events Discursive construction of processes and actions
What characteristics or qualities are attributed to social actors, objects, phenomena, events, processes, and actions mentioned in the discourse?	**Predication**	Discursive characterisation of social actors, objects, phenomena, events processes, and actions (e.g., positively or negatively)
What arguments are employed in discourse?	**Argumentation**	Persuading addressees of the validity of specific claims of truth and normative rightness
From what perspective are these nominations, attributions, arguments expressed?	**Perspectivisation**	Positioning the speaker's or writer's point of view and expressing involvement or distance

[33] According to the DHA (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009, p. 104; Reisigl, 2018a, p. 368; Wodak, 2015, p. 8), referential or nomination and predication strategies are used to construct social actors, events, objects, phenomena, processes, and actions. The approach defined the referential or nomination strategy as the assigning of names and naming through language devices such as membership categorisation, deictics, anthroponyms, tropes such as metaphors, metonymies, and synecdoches, and verbs and nouns used to denote processes and actions. Wodak (2015, p. 8) defined predication as the expression of action or quality by a grammatical predicate, and understood a predicate as something which affirmed, stated, or asserted (something) about the subject of a sentence or an argument of a proposition.

Are the respective utterances articulated overtly, are they intensified or mitigated?	**Mitigation and intensification**	Modifying the illocutionary force of utterances in respect to their epistemic or deontic status

Adapted from Reisigl (2018a, p. 52)

Wodak (2015) had a similar table that elaborately catalogued the strategies and linguistic devices that can be used. These included membership categorisation devices, deictics, anthroponyms, tropes such as metaphors, metonymies and synecdoches and verbs and nouns used to denote processes and actions. Stereotypical, evaluative attributions of negative or positive traits in the form of adjectives, appositions, prepositional phrases, relative clauses, conjunctional clauses, infinitive clauses and participial clauses or groups are other devices that can be used. Moreover, explicit predicates or predicative nouns/adjectives/pronouns, collocations, explicit comparisons, similes, metaphors and other rhetorical figures (including metonymies, hyperboles, litotes, and euphemisms), allusions, evocations and presuppositions/implicatures can also be employed.

2.6.8 Limitations of the theoretical framework

It has been noted that CDA has some flaws, for example, it is too broad but also not powerful enough to find out all that it sets out to do (Caballero-Mengibar, 2015; Tenorio, 2011; Van Dijk, 2015; Wodak & Meyer, 2009a). Caballero-Mengibar (2015) stated that CDA lacked guidelines for researchers to follow to distinctly identify manipulations within the rhetoric and uncover language use. He further argued that the high levels of subjective interpretation required for contextualising language use presented difficulties in dealing with large sets of data from texts. Wodak, Krzyżanowski, & Forchtner (2012) were aware of some of these flaws and tried to strengthen some parts of CDA by introducing the DHA approach to analyses. Caballero-Mengibar's (2015) arguments were insightful when he stated that although there can be no rule on the best way to use CDA, using multiple methods may be indispensable. My study, thus, uses many methods to accomplish its goal. These are elaborated in Chapter 3, which explains the research design and methodology.

Tenorio (2011) argued that CDA's eclecticism may be one of its weaknesses. Although Tenorio's (2011) argument was sound, CDA's eclecticism far outweighs this criticism, as has been elaborated in the foregoing. Wodak and Meyer (2009a, p. 33) noted that, "some critics will continue to state that CDA constantly sits on the fence between social research and political argumentation […] while others accuse some CDA studies of being too linguistic or not

linguistic enough". For Wodak and Meyer (2009a), "such criticism keeps a field alive because it necessarily stimulates more self-reflection and encourages new responses and new thoughts". Blommaert (2005) used linguistic ethnography to deal with some limitations of CDA. He stated that CDA had limitations in that most work focused on texts of relevance in the West, because CDA was largely applied to the First World. However, the approach was being applied elsewhere, e.g., in southern Africa (Jongore, 2018; Mamvura, 2014; Maphosa, 2014). Moreover, Krzyżanowski (2018) convincingly showed that ethnography and critical discourse studies can be successfully integrated into the discourse-historical approach.

Overall, CDA is robust and provides a scholar with the means to ask pertinent questions that are bedevilling society. It is my proposition that there is need to use the tools of analysis afforded by CDA in analysing such practices as naming places and place names. These practices at face value appear innocent and value-free, yet a close look may expose some injustices, and prejudice in the way language is used in naming places.

2.7 Summary

This chapter has dealt with the meaning of identity in connection to power relations in place naming practices. It has pointed to the use and understanding of the concept of identity, guided by scholarly views from a range of fields in social sciences and humanities, such as sociolinguistics, discourse studies, social psychology, sociology, political sciences, and philosophy. It then elaborated the inter-relationships between place names and identity. In § 2.3.3 the notions of place identity, place attachment, sense of place, place making, and identity formation were explored. Insights were also drawn from linguistic landscape studies, critical toponymy, and insular toponymies. I then suggested a definition of identity based on critical discourse studies. In addition, the theoretical framework for the study was also explained. This study adopts and adapts the theoretical perspective of critical discourse studies. Therefore, to better understand its conceptual underpinnings, CDA has been explained, particularly the discourse-historical approach. It has been highlighted that this approach considers context as the most significant concept in any research project. It has also been made apparent that language forms gain power from the way they are used by various people in society to achieve certain goals such as perpetuating inequality and causing people to be prejudiced. Methods and methodologies that can be employed are multiple depending on the nature of the research project. The next chapter explains the methodology.

Chapter 3: Methodology, research design and research site

3.1 Introduction

This chapter has three major objectives. The first is to describe the research design. The second is to discuss the methods and methodological framework used; it combines onomastic principles, linguistic landscapes methodologies, and the discourse-historical approach to critical discourse analysis. The third is to briefly present the research site to better contextualise the study.

3.2 Research orientation

This study is situated in the mixed methods approach research design. Creswell (2014) argued that such an approach to research is advantageous because it enabled a researcher to develop an in-depth understanding of the significance of a phenomenon and can be best for identifying aspects of quantitative and qualitative methodologies. I begin the discussion of the overall orientation of this research by highlighting the need to ask important questions about the relationships between concepts and categories in toponymy, discourse, and identity while specifying my understanding of the mixed methods approach in research.

3.2.1 Research paradigm

There are many studies on research paradigms and there is much literature which discusses relevant definitions (Baxter, 2010; Creswell, 2014; Creswell & Creswell, 2017; Hall, 2013; Holmes & Hazen, 2014; Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004; Onwuegbuzie & Combs, 2011; Podesva & Sharma, 2013; Riazi & Candlin, 2014; Shannon-Baker, 2016; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2003). As a result, the term *paradigm* has been defined in various ways, but at least four definitions dominate this literature. Hall (2013, p. 81) identified four definitions of a paradigm, which he conceptualised as "a world view, an epistemological stance, as shared beliefs among a community of researchers and as model examples of research". Teddlie and Tashakkori (2009) extended the definition of a research paradigm to mean beliefs and the philosophical conventions connected with those beliefs. Teddlie and Tashakkori's (2009) understanding of worldview included standpoints taken on ontology, epistemology, axiology, and methodology. Furthermore, it has been argued that there are many worldviews including,

but not limited to positivism, post-positivism, constructivism, transformative and pragmatism[34] (Creswell & Clark, 2017; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009). For the purposes of this study, I take *paradigm* to refer to a way of understanding the nature of reality and what can be known about it. *Paradigm* is also understood as referring to knowledge, its nature, and how this knowledge may be acquired. Shannon-Baker (2016, p. 319) argued that there were "many conceptualisations of 'paradigms'" and one needed to state their own conceptualisation of paradigm to achieve its utility in research. Therefore, a paradigm for this research involves the kinds of research questions I ask and the methods that I use to study them.

My research questions involve several aspects of place naming and therefore require a mixed methods research paradigm. Thus, I employed various methodological tools and an interdisciplinary and multi-perspective framework to support and develop existing theories (Hammersley, 1991), through an abductive approach (Peirce, 1934) that moves between data and theory. Peirce (1934) suggested rationale concepts helpful for comprehending the inherent qualities of knowledge and reality. Peirce proposed the rationality of abduction and deduction and these are helpful to our comprehension of a phenomenon, while the rationale of induction adds quantitative information to the theoretical knowledge. For instance, exploratory data analysis works as a blueprint for confirmatory data analysis, abduction assumes the role of explorer of practical pathways to further inquiry. Thus, the rationality of abduction is the correct perspective for exploratory data analysis. At the phase of abduction, the aim is to look at the data, discover a pattern, and propose a reasonable hypothesis; deduction is to sharpen up the hypothesis grounded on other credible principles; and induction is the pragmatic evidence. Therefore, the mixed methods paradigm I chose integrates insights from both qualitative and quantitative methodologies to "reflect a movement from a situation of methodological conflict to one of *detente*, or at least of peaceful coexistence, between different approaches to social research" (Hammersley, 1991, p. 1, emphasis in original).

[34] *Positivism*, *post-positivism*, *constructivism*, *transformative*, and *pragmatism* are research philosophies. According to Trochim (2020), *positivism* was the idea that the objective of knowledge was to give details of phenomena that we encounter in an observable and empirically measurable manner, i.e., science was the exclusive way to acquire knowledge of the truth. In addition, Trochim argued that *post-positivism* upheld that all studies were fallible, have errors and that all hypotheses were revisable. Moreover, Trochim posited that *constructivism* in research was the belief that we individually build our perspective of the world on the basis of our perception of it, therefore, since hypotheses and perspectives were fallible, our creations can be flawed. Furthermore, Jackson, Pukys, Castro, Hermosura, Mendez, Vohra-Gupta, and Morales (2018, p. 111) propounded the *transformative* paradigm which focused on the experiences of disadvantaged communities, included examination of power imbalances that have led to the peripheralisation, and connected research findings to measures meant to mitigate inequalities. Finally, *pragmatism* as a research philosophy alluded to an approach that focused on "what works rather than what might be considered absolutely and objectively true or real" (Creswell, 2014, pp. 10-11).

3.2.1.1 Debates on the definition and operationalisation of a paradigm

I highlight the ongoing debates on what a paradigm is and what it is not, but to be mindful of them, not to be caught up in them and tread with care in my study. Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004) summarise these debates, which have come to be referred to as the "paradigm wars", as largely sitting in opposition to qualitative purists (Guba & Lincoln, 1989; Lincoln & Guba, 2000; Schwandt, 2000; Smith, 1983, 1984) and quantitative research paradigms (Ayer, 1959; Maxwell & Delaney, 2004; Popper, 1959; Schrag, 1992). These scholars argued in different ways that paradigms can be loosely equated to the difference between qualitative and quantitative research and repudiated the existence and practicality of a third approach – mixed methods – the one Creswell (2014) acknowledged and argued was guided by post-positivism. In the following paragraphs, I will elaborate on qualitative and quantitative paradigms and devote a section to the mixed methods research approach.

The qualitative approach or paradigm, on the one hand, has been argued to be grounded in idealism and interpretivism: reality is taken to be subjective, multiple, and created by the partakers in the research. On the other hand, the quantitative paradigm is based on realism and positivism, taking reality as objective, singular, and independent of the researcher. Researchers taking the quantitative route argued that reality can be observed and measured to gain knowledge and that knowledge can be acquired systematically (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2017; Creswell, 2014; Giddings & Grant, 2006; Imenda, 2014). These views have largely been said to be incompatible with each other.

Mixed Methods Research (MMR) is a methodology that aims to complement the existing traditions of qualitative (constructivist) and quantitative (positivist) research paradigms (Creswell, 2014; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2003, 2009). This development has resulted in a paradigm that provided validation for the use of mixed methods as compared to the paradigms commonly acknowledged as reasons for the use of quantitative and qualitative paradigms separately. The term 'mixed methods' came to be used to refer to the use of two or more methods in a research project yielding both qualitative and quantitative data (Creswell, 2014; Creswell & Clark, 2017; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009). MMR, according to Creswell (2014, p. 11), was guided by pragmatic research philosophies that focused on what accomplished the research objectives rather than what can be taken to be absolute and objectively "true" or "real".

The foregoing is an over-simplification of a complex extensively explored subject in scholarship. However, I do not wish to be caught up in this debate, given it is not the objective of my study. Thus, I adapt the mixed methods approach as I investigate social reality (naming practices) on the understanding that these realities, including identities, are subjective, multiple, and constructed by the participants in the research. Thus, using CDA (see detailed explanation in Chapter 2, § 2.6.7) methods in this context can be viewed as taking a critical realist position aligned with the mixed methods approach (Shannon-Baker, 2016).

The eclectic methods and theoretical orientation in CDA assumed that social practices were caused by matters "outside" the practices; these practices can be explained by examining the macro-level social and historic contexts in which the practices take place. In other words, as argued by Fairclough (2001), Wodak and Meyer (2009a) and Van Dijk (2001), CDA described, interpreted and explained discourse in terms of the immediate interactional contexts as well as the social structures in which it was embedded. This combined analysis of the micro- and macro-levels of discourse was beneficial for research that investigated identity, because it helped highlight the multifacetedness of identity manifested in place names.

CDA, which combined a detailed analysis of particular instances of language in use with a contextual analysis of the prevailing social structures and socio-cultural practices, may reveal that identity can be constructed in interaction, be reproduced and even be imposed upon individuals and groups through hegemonic discourses and ideologies prior to the immediate interactional contexts (Fairclough, 2001, p. 3). This can be seen in how and why people name places.

3.3 Research design

3.3.1 Mixed methods research approach

A research design is a type of inquiry that provides specific directions and strategies in an investigation. Johnson and Onwuegbuzie's (2004, p. 17) overview of the "third wave" (mixed methods) of research movements was insightful. They stated that mixed methods research was "the class of research where the researcher mixes or combines quantitative and qualitative research techniques, methods, approaches, concepts or language into a single study" (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004, p. 17). The mixed methods approach enabled me to move away from the paradigm wars, because it offered a reasonable and practical alternative from the more conservative and somewhat rigid purely qualitative and quantitative approaches.

In adopting a mixed methods approach that heavily inclines to the qualitative paradigm of the research continuum, I am aware that I have to consider the relevant characteristics of both quantitative and qualitative methodologies, a position recommended by multiple scholars (Creswell, 2014; Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004; Shannon-Baker, 2016). The same position allowed me to recall Mason's (2002, p. 24) argument that qualitative research was "characteristically exploratory, fluid and flexible, data-driven and context-sensitive", highlighting that this may make it harder to have a fixed "blueprint" from the beginning to the end of the research process. Nevertheless, Mason's (2002) argument did not imply that a researcher should discard planning in qualitative research; on the contrary, planning was essential for any research study to work.

A good research design could, therefore, be one that considered what could be done and what would actually work. This included considerations about the research topic itself, the methodological orientations, and the harmonisation of these planned possibilities with workable coherent practice. Research designing encourages the researcher to reflect on the research questions and best ways to address these.

3.3.2 The research design for this study

To develop a research design, I split the objectives into two major categories in line with the research questions I seek to answer. First, with the knowledge that most toponymic studies depart from the point of classically trying to answer the WH questions [35] for each place name, I had to attend to these same questions. Therefore, the first part of my approach was to compile a database of the place names that I could find from maps, gazetteers, government and council documents, and archives (including those hosted on the Internet). This aligned with recommendations given by Tent and Blair (2014, p. 1) when they argued that "[t]he *where/who/when* questions relate to toponymic form as a whole, and respond to historical and linguistic research methods" (emphasis in original).

The second step was to categorise these place names by their discourse type based on their discursive significance and peculiarities which served as a guide to their meanings. I borrowed and modified Tent and Blair's (2014) typology. The third step was an analysis of the formal properties of the word, phrase, or sentence and the context in which the name occurred.

[35] Tent and Blair (2014, p. 1) stated that these questions were: "What is it? Where is it? Who named it? When was it named? And why was it given that name?"

The analysis was a description of the toponyms and toponymic practices (seen as texts). At this stage, the toponyms were classified according to themes and meanings.

The next step was to ask the *why* question, which has been argued to "be the most difficult to answer, since the motivation for the naming process is not often documented and the namer's mind on the matter is a matter of speculation" (Tent & Blair, 2014, p. 2). It was at this stage that inferences about possible reasons for giving such names were made. These inferences were guided by analysing the place names in the context in which they were given and used. I have detailed what I mean by context in the first and second chapters and will expand on this further in the following section, where I briefly outline the CDA approach I am taking.

The context of a place name involves the linguo-socio-cultural community in which it exists and is used. It consists of the situational context, that is, the immediate context of communication and the institutional context, that is, the circumstances giving rise to the name. The immediate context often refers to the peculiar circumstances of giving that name and it is often implied in the name directly or indirectly. For example, the name *Chipindura*, Shona for 'one that turns or changes', was given because of the prevalence of game meat in the area that people would slaughter and barbeque over a fire, so it needed constant turning to ensure the meat was well-cooked (Bindura Municipality, 2016). The place name is also said to refer to a herb that reportedly changes the sex of unborn babies. The meaning of the name would not have been easy to determine if I did not have the contextual issues that were connected to the name.

It was at this critical inferential analysis stage that I looked closely at the discourse values of the place names to see how the producer's experience of the social world was represented (Fairclough, 2001). Experience formed part of the context that was manifested in the name and included the social function or the intention of the name as well as the one who gave the name. Inference was helpful in determining the meaning of obscure toponyms because it allowed one to investigate word meanings from both the formal (dictionary) and implied (contextual and societal) levels. The process of inferring meaning from the context was not linear and neatly segmented. For the most part, the process was circular because one had to move from selecting theoretical concepts, relations, and assumptions to selecting the procedures and instruments of research, then to selecting the discourse or text to be analysed and making interpretations (Wodak & Meyer, 2009a, p. 24), and these steps and objectives

sometimes overlapped. However, I preferred to see them as scaffolds or rungs, though I am aware that each step relied on and sometimes built from one or more other steps (Flowerdew & Richardson, 2018; Wodak, 2015; Wodak & Meyer, 2009b, 2016).

Overall, in order to answer to the exploratory questions of this study, secondary sources of information (maps, gazetteers, and archival material) were analysed, and interviews and surveys conducted in the field to obtain informed and in-depth assertions on the naming practices and uses of place names in Bindura. These sources of data were additional to that gathered through looking at studies on naming practices from local, regional, and international sources. Statistical information from the Zimbabwean government and other institutions was also consulted.

3.3.2.1 The discourse-historical approach to research

As highlighted in the introductory chapter, exponents of CDA now largely view their field more as a perspective (Flowerdew & Richardson, 2018; Wodak & Meyer, 2016). They argued that a researcher had to identify the approach they were taking in making their critical analysis. Wodak and Meyer's (2016) book spelt this out in its title, *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis,* which highlighted approaches of CDA. Flowerdew and Richardson (2018), editors of a collection of book chapters on CDA, proposed new directions in the field. They also emphasised the need to make clear which CDA approach a researcher was working in. Since this study is concerned with the micro-level (immediate interactional contexts) and the macro-level (social, cultural, and political environment) of place naming practices, I elected to be guided by the discourse-historical approach (DHA) associated with Ruth Wodak and colleagues (Reisigl, 2018a; Reisigl, Wodak, & Meyer, 2009; Wodak, 2007, 2011, 2015; Wodak & Meyer, 2009a).

The DHA drew from linguistic and sociological theories to emphasise that the historical context should always be analysed and integrated into the interpretation of discourse and text (Wodak & Meyer, 2016). What was particularly appealing in DHA were four attributes that made it flexible and productive when investigating discourse-related social problems that were multidimensional:

i. It was interdisciplinary
ii. It emphasised historical alignment
iii. It argued for the triangulation of data, theories, and methods

iv. It proposed the practical application of findings.

The DHA approach to CDA has also been used to explore relationships between discourses, politics/policies and identity/identities. All of these are matters my research is preoccupied with.

This methodological orientation sets to demonstrate that linguistic and semiotic settings of a study were methodically linked with what was going on socially. Language and other semiotic forms reflected what was going on in society. Reisigl (2018a) argued that the research process, which was recursive, had to be customised to each particular discourse-historical research. The adjustment entailed consideration of the importance of bringing together the textual and contextual aspects of texts. Wodak and Meyer (2016) identified these textual and contextual aspects as "the immediate language - or text; the intertextual & interdiscursive relationship between utterances, texts, genres & discourses; the extra-linguistic (social) level - 'context of situation' [as well as] the broader socio-political and historical contexts". Elaborate analyses of textual and contextual aspects were previously outlined in the first chapter when I explained the importance of context to a critical discourse analysis.

In summary, this study's analysis of place names and naming practices took into consideration context as defined in CDA. In an analysis, contextual matters were considered at various levels. First, critical discourse analysts considered contextual matters in the analysis of the immediate language of a text and discourse. This first level of contextual analysis focused on thematic and syntactic coherence, lexical cohesions, collocations, connotations, implications, presuppositions, and other interactive processes in toponymic discourse. Second, context was linked to how the meaning of a text was shaped by (an)other text(s). Further, context referred to "the use of elements in one discourse and social practice which carry institutional and social meanings from other discourses and social practices" (Candlin & Maley, 1997, p. 212). For example, with respect to motivations for place naming, communal factors, and official frames of contexts of situations are reflected and can be drawn upon. Communal factors included formality, language, place, time, occasion, addressees, interactive and political roles, political and ideological orientation, gender, age, profession, level of education, ethnicity, regional, national and religious identities of the namers. In addition, the broader historical, social and political context was integrated into the analysis.

For instance, the renaming of the national airport in Zimbabwe from *Harare International Airport* to *Robert Gabriel Mugabe International Airport* revealed how contextual

matters motivated the renaming. Mugabe renamed the airport to further assert and rescusitate his failing leadership. The renaming drew controversy because most places were being renamed after Mr Mugabe (BBC News Africa, 2017). BBC's Shingai Nyoka said Zimbabweans were divided over the airport name change. Journalist Elias Mambo (@elias_mambo, 2017) posted on his microblogging *Twitter* handle that the renaming was done to "massage the ego" of the frail old leader who has been in power since 1980 and intended to stand for re-election in July 2018. Opposition party leaders and supporters felt the name change was an insult because it did not make sense to honour someone they saw as having caused so much suffering to ordinary Zimbabweans due to his misrule. However, the Minister of Transport justified the renaming and argued that Mr Mugabe deserved the honour because he was a "war hero" and "an African icon". In this example, many factors besides the toponym are refered to. It becomes clear that the renaming pointed to other social, historical, political and economic issues going on in Zimbabwe.

Therefore, the study included a linguistic macro-, micro- and context analysis that tested categories and assumptions. A detailed study then followed that included a critique based on the interpretation of the findings. Finally, the procedures of the DHA approach explained in Chapter 2 in § 2.6 were applied to the findings to present conceptual and theoretical frameworks.

3.3.3 Research Population

Creswell's (2014) recommendations guided my research in matters of population and sample selection. Local authorities (district administrators, town clerks and town planners, councillors), chiefs, village heads, knowledgeable elders, and young people above 18 years in Bindura urban and its rural hinterland were the research population for the in-depth interviews and survey instrument. It was not easy to determine the exact size of the population due to lack of official information on matters concerning toponyms.

3.3.4 Sampling

Sampling refers to the selection of units from a study population. I used a multistage (clustering) sampling design for this population. As reported by Babbie (2006), multistage sampling was most suitable when it was unmanageable or impractical to bring together a list of the features that made up the population. Babbie avered that a single-stage sampling process was one in which the investigator had access to names in the population and can sample the

people (or other components) directly. Yet, in a procedure consisting of several stages or processes, the investigator first finds clusters (groups or organisations), gets names of individuals within those groups and then samples within them. Thus, I listed clusters and purposively selected participants.

Purposive sampling was used for this research. Cohen et al. (2017, p. 15) defined purposive sampling as a technique where the researcher relied on his/her judgement to select the components (for example, people, cases/organisations, events, pieces of data) to be studied. Purposive sampling falls into a group of sampling techniques known as non-probability sampling, in which samples are carefully chosen based on the subjective discernment of the researcher (Creswell, 2014, p. 158). However, purposive sampling has been criticised for being judgemental and subjective, thereby allowing room for errors arising from misjudgement. It also makes it difficult to generalise results. Purposive sampling was justified for the interviews in this study, as Cohen et al. (2017, p. 15) suggested it accessed "knowledgeable people by virtue of their professional roles, work experiences and leadership roles". It was also cost- and time-effective. Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill (2012, p. 288) also noted that "it can be the only appropriate sampling technique if there are limited primary data sources [and] in anthropological situations where meaning can be gained from an intuitive approach". Therefore, I used purposive sampling, because I was focused on participants who held knowledge about toponyms and toponymic practices that would best enable me to answer my research questions.

I also used the snowball sampling method (SSM). The Research Office at the Oregon State University (2010) defined *snowball sampling* as a research procedure in which partakers were asked to assist in identifying other potential participants. SSM was recognised as the "referral" or network method often employed in populations that are difficult to identify, approach or recruit for research purposes, often due to their lack of visibility (Voicu & Babonea, 2011). According to Cohen and Arieli (2011, p. 423), "[t]he effectiveness of this method has been recognized as significant in a variety of cases, mainly regarding marginalised populations". In the context of Bindura, it was difficult to reach people with knowledge of toponyms due to trust issues[36] and their isolation, as most elderly people lived in remote rural

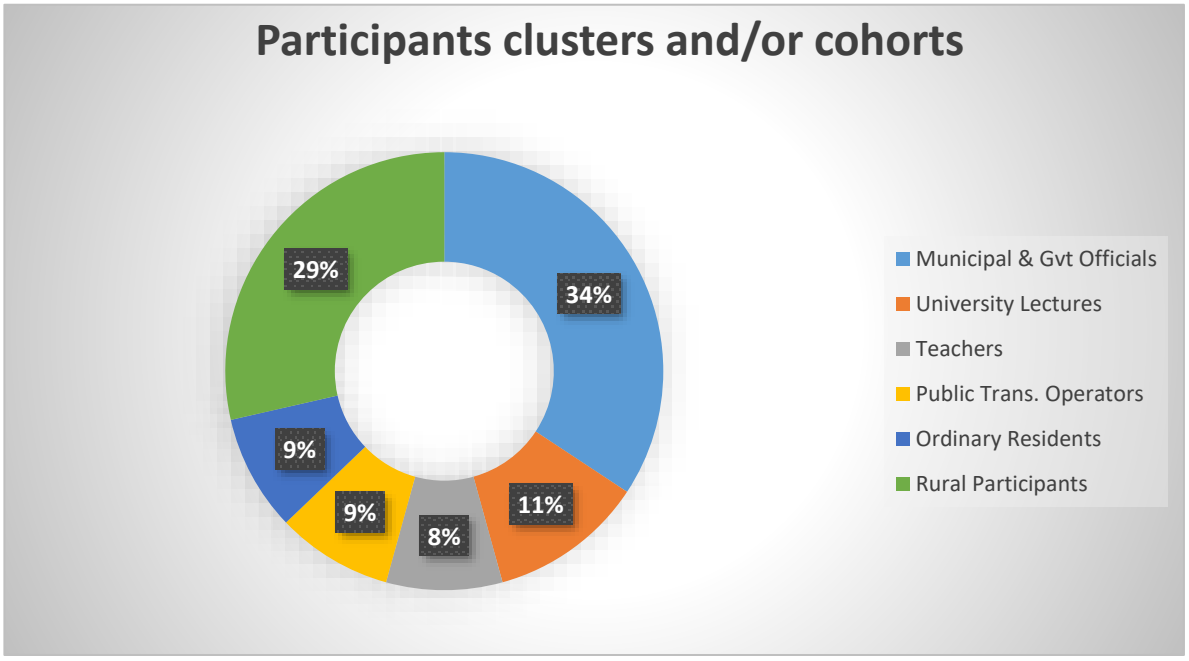
[36] The social and political environment is tense such that someone from outside the different communities is viewed with suspicion. There has been a lot of intimidation and vilification of people due to political matters, especially subsequent to the emergence of the opposition political party, the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), from 1999 onwards. Dodo and Musorowegomo (2012) reported that Bindura is branded as a no-go area

areas, a situation similar to that experienced by Nash (2013) in his research on insular communities. Cohen and Arieli (2011) maintained that the SSM allayed the fears and mistrust that the population may have had, because someone they knew and trusted introduced the researcher. Through SMM, I was able to access people with knowledge of place names, especially in the rural areas.

3.3.5 Participants: description and summary

Although Baker, Edwards, and Doidge (2012) argued that there were no concrete guidelines on sample sizes for interview-based research, I followed the suggestion that at least 20-30 interviews should be conducted (Richards & Morse, 2012; Creswell & Creswell, 2017). Thus, thirty-five participants took part in the study. Figure 3.1 visually presents participants clusters and/or cohorts. These participants were chosen on the assumption they had some knowledge of place names and naming practices because they were or had been municipal or government officials, were born in Bindura, and/or lived there for at least five years. The thirty-five participants were from both Bindura urban and rural.

Figure 3.1: Participants clusters and/or cohorts.[37]



for anyone suspected of sympathizing with opposition politics or expressing any form of dissent towards the ruling Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) party.

[37] Unless otherwise specified, figures and tables in this chapter were produced by the author.

A large cohort of participants (25), or 72% of the total research sample, was drawn from the urban areas, because they were more accessible to me. It was easy to communicate with them and set up appointments for interviews. They also did not have to incur travelling costs, as my office, that of the municipality and other government entities were centrally located in the city centre, which made it easy to schedule interviews. Some interviews were conducted at the chiefs' or headmen's courts, municipal and government offices, while others were held at the Town Campus of the Bindura University of Science Education in private and confidential settings.

The urban cohort was made up of different clusters of participants that included municipal officials, government officials, university lecturers, teachers from local schools, public transport drivers and conductors, and ordinary residents. To begin with, eight council officials, five males and three females, participated in both the survey and interview. They shared their knowledge and experiences from working and serving in their different professional capacities. I have therefore designated this cohort as the professionals. Six of them indicated that they had been living in Bindura for more than 25 years, with two of these six saying that they had been born and raised in Bindura. Although the other two participants from the professionals' cohort had come to Bindura for work purposes, they now called it home. The ages of this group were mixed and included those in middle age and senior citizens.

Additionally, four participants were government officials from the government ministries that I visited. These included the National Archives of Zimbabwe,[38] the Surveyor General, and the Ministry of Mines and Mineral Development. I also visited the National Gallery, a government department. In addition to the government and council officials, the urban participants consisted of four university lecturers, three female and one male. These respondents indicated that they lived and worked in Bindura. They had some knowledge of the place from their experiences and through interactions with locals and students as well as from reading and conducting their own investigations on various subjects in the area.

Furthermore, three female primary school teachers, ranging in age from 28 to 55, also participated. They were all born and raised in Bindura. They indicated that they had in-depth

[38] The National Archives of Zimbabwe have a photographic collection categorised as *Illustrations Collections* and is found under the *Historical Collections*. Most of the photographs were not dated and did not have the names of those pictured or the photographer. *Official Papers* can be found in the *Public Archives*, whereas the *Historical Manuscripts Section* contains private papers.

knowledge of the place and had many varied memories of Bindura. The areas that they were familiar with encompassed urban, rural, farming, and mining communities. Moreover, six ordinary residents in the urban area were also consulted: two elderly women (above 60 years) and four males, three young people (one public transport driver and two conductors) and one middle aged. They provided views of ordinary citizens regarding official practices that affected their day-to-day lives.

Another group of six (three female and three male) participants came from the rural areas. This cohort included chiefs, headmen, and senior citizens. All of them indicated they were born and raised in the areas they lived in; thus, they knew these places well. A further four participants (two females and two males) were from farming communities. Two worked as pastors, while two were ordinary labourers. They provided views on how places were named in the farming communities. Tabulated demographic results are shown in Table 3.1 below.

Table 3.2: Summary of participants' demographic information.

Cohort	**Female**	**Male**	**Total**	**Overall %**
Rural	5 (50%)	5 (50%)	10	28
Urban	12 (48%)	13 (52%)	25	72
Total	**16 (52%)**	**15 (48%)**	**35**	**100**

3.3.6 Research Tools

3.3.6.1. Questionnaire

The questionnaire used was designed following the research objectives (see Appendix C). It was pretested throughout the draft stage, to "increase the reliability, validity and practicability" Cohen et al. (2017, p. 15). The results of the pre-test study guided me in the elimination and modification of some of the questions. Other modifications were also made following recommendations from the University of Newcastle's Human Research Ethics Committee as part of the ethics approval process (See Appendix B for the final Ethics Approval and related Participant Information Sheet and Consent Form). Purposively selected participants in Bindura

filled in the questionnaire. Questionnaires were delivered directly as hard copies to the respondents and were collected by me.

3.3.6.1.1 Pre-testing

Pre-testing tested the hypothesis that place names could have other uses than their referential and directional purposes in Bindura urban and its rural hinterland. A pre-test study was done on two randomly chosen local authority personnel who were not part of the sample population. This pre-testing was an effort to ensure that the questions were not ambiguous or unclear. Cohen et al. (2017) found that response rates, validity and reliability were improved by the use of a pre-testing stage.

3.3.6.2 Interviews

Semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted. They involved open-ended questions. Semi-structured interviews were advantageous, as they captured respondents' perceptions. This has been noted to be a very desirable strategy in qualitative data collection (Robinson, 2014). I interviewed the respondents face-to-face while recording their responses (Corbin & Strauss, 2014). An interview guide was used to ensure a consistent approach to the interviews (see Appendix C).

3.3.6.3 Document review

Document analysis played a vital role in providing a description of the naming practices in Bindura and its rural hinterland over time. This research tool was designed to focus narrowly on the achievement of predetermined objectives (Smith & Street, 2005). The following documents were accessed in order to triangulate and explore naming dynamics: maps, photographs, land acts, gazetteers, factory and clan records, court histories, policy documents, rural and urban planning documents, and government reports.[39] Saunders, Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill (2009) insightfully argued that the analysis of documents often results in unforeseen or unexpected new insights and can validate qualitative data. I compiled a database of the place

[39] Some of the documents reviewed include the Morris Carter Commission [Land Commission], 1925; Land Apportionment Act [Section 81 & 83], 1931; Regional Town and Planning Act, 1932; Natives (Urban Areas) Accommodation and Registration Act, 1946; Natives (Urban Areas) Accommodation and Registration Act, 1951; Native Land Husbandry Act, 1951; Letter to the Director of Native Administration for the Salisbury Municipality, 1953; Land Tenure Act, 1969; The Provincial Governors and Local Authorities in Zimbabwe: A Statement of Policy and Directive by the Prime Minister, 1984; Provincial Councils and Administration Act [Chapter 29:11], 1985; Rural District Councils Act [Chapter 29:16], 1988; Constitution of Zimbabwe, 1996; Urban Councils Act [Chapter 29:15], 1996; The Thirteen Principles Adopted by Cabinet to Guide the Decentralisation Process, 1996; Traditional Leaders Act [Chapter 29: 17], 1998; Constitution of Zimbabwe Amendment (N0.20) Act, 2013.

names gathered from these documents (see Appendix A). Further information in the database was obtained from the interviews, questionnaires, and observations from my fieldwork.

3.3.7 Notes on data collection: experiences, challenges, and possible solutions

At the beginning of my data collection, I visited two local authorities (Bindura Urban Municipality and Bindura Rural District Council [BRDC]) to introduce myself and seek permission to conduct research in their jurisdictions. After permission was granted (see Appendix B), the local government Human Resources personnel directed me to relevant departments and key informants. Data collection was not difficult because I have lived and worked in Bindura for more than 14 years, however, dealing with institutional bureaucracy was challenging. It was not easy to get the opportunity to interview professionals and community leaders (e.g., the town clerk, councillors, chiefs, and village heads) because of their busy schedules.

Another challenge was the lack of documentation and literature on the research subject. For example, there were no up-to-date maps of Bindura at the Council offices or the Surveyor General's offices.[40] At the latter, I was informed that they had not updated the map for Bindura because of lack of funding and expertise for that job (especially someone who could produce a base map that reflected street and other place names). The maps that were available at the Council offices were torn, faded, and virtually illegible. To make matters worse, these maps were not in electronic format.[41] Google Maps searches did not yield much as the maps returned lack detail in terms of place names. This could explain why it is almost impossible to use GPS to go to a place, unlike for example, in Australia and other developed countries.

In addition, council officials pointed out that there were no documents that showed how and when some place names were changed or the sources of these place names. This was also reflected in the conflicting responses that I got from interviewees, with some participants saying that it was the Council committee that was responsible for naming places and others saying that it was the politburo of the Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF), the ruling party in Zimbabwe. Some interviews with relevant officials were

[40] The only detailed map I could find was published in 1970 by the Rhodesian government's surveyor general's office (Weyer, 2016, www.rhodesia.me.uk).
[41] Solly (2019) reported that much of Zimbabwe is not visible in online platforms such as Google Street View, and it took a dedicated digital strategist and photographer, Tawanda Kanhema, to map a few locations onto the platform. Tawanda had to use his personal funds to do that, and thus he could not cover the whole country.

sometimes not that informative because they were not knowledgeable on the place naming practices in Bindura or in the country as a whole. In some instances, the chiefs, headmen, or local authorities indicated that they were aware of place name changes but were not sure of the reasons necessitating the changes. Therefore, there was a need to verify and further research the information obtained. I also observed that place name signage was very poor in both the urban and rural areas of Bindura. For instance, in the rural areas visible signage was absent except for shops, schools and a very few churches. In the urban areas, for some of the streets that had signposts, the signage was in such disrepair that they hardly served their purposes.

Some residents said some streets had no names and two proposals could explain this. First, it was possible that indeed the streets had no names, but there was a second possibility that the residents did not know the name and thought the streets had no names. The latter is most likely to have been the case. According to residents, they thought the streets had no names because 1) there were no signposts showing the names, 2) people who lived on those streets did not know the street names. Moreover, even if features and streets had official names, there were no signposts displaying the names of these places. This could explain the prevalence and widespread use of unofficial names. However, despite these challenges, data were collected, and fruitful networks established.

3.3.8 Data analysis

The discourse-historical approach of critical discourse analysis was deployed in analysing data in view of its usefulness in outlining the analytical process and clarifying power relationships entrenched in conversations (Wodak, 2015) such as naming places and using those names. Initially, a database of 774 toponyms was assembled from primary and secondary sources. These sources included council and municipal records such as planning minutes, maps, gazetteers, narratives, and archival material. The toponyms and explanations are listed in Appendix A. The seven data taxa contain farm, mine, school, shopping centre, street, village and other topographical names.

Thematic analysis, which is a method for identifying, analysing, organising, describing and reporting themes found within data sets (Braun & Clarke, 2006), was abided by. Braun and Clarke's (2006) six-step framework guided this analysis. The first step involved familiarising oneself with the data during transcription of data when the information is read and reread and initial ideas noted. The second step is coding which involved assigning nouns to interesting features of the data for classification and identification. Searching for themes is the third step

in thematic analysis. This is when a researcher collates codes into themes and gathers all data related to each theme. The fourth step involves reviewing themes checking them in connection to the coded extracts at the first step and the entire data set at the third step; this is done to generate a thematic map of the analysis. The fifth step is when one defines, names and refines the themes and overall story being told by the information. Finally, the sixth step is when the research report is produced, whereby a researcher selects compelling extracts and relates back the analysis to the research questions to write a report of the analysis. The following outline is how I implemented the six steps of thematic analysis.

First, I familiarised myself with the data. To achieve this, I reviewed participants' responses, my field notes, and documents. I also ran word frequency queries manually and with the qualitative research analysis software *NVivo*. The queries yielded word clouds; an example is shown in Figure 3.2 below.

Figure 3.2 A word cloud reflecting frequency of words used by participants.

Source: *Nvivo Pro 11* application word cloud of the interview transcripts.

The word cloud given in Figure 3.2 highlighted the words that were used most by the participants when responding to interview questions. The size of each word indicated its frequency: the larger a word is in the cloud, the more frequently it was used, and the smaller it is, the less it was used. Running word frequency queries or analyses was helpful for the actual coding process.

Second, I generated initial codes using Saldana's (2016) coding framework. Saldana (2016, pp. 1-10) outlined 32 coding strategies, but only ten of these were used in this study

based on the research questions and the CDA approach (Wodak, 2015). These coding strategies were attribute, emotion, in vivo, narrative, process, value, descriptive, evaluative, magnitude, and theme coding. Attribute coding is the labelling of features of the research site(s), participants and materials being studied, and can include factors like the ages of the participants, their gender, or educational level (Saldana, 2016). This coding strategy was useful for the analysis of demographic data obtained, because older people, it has been generally argued, have more onomastic information (Nash, 2013) and because a pattern was noted to emerge vis-a-vis the ages of the respondents: older people preferred indigenous place names, while younger people preferred slang and exotic place names. Consequently, this strategy helped to highlight the characteristics of the participants. Another example worth noting was that the gender and level of education had a bearing on how participants responded to the questions. Female respondents in particular raised concerns about the lack of place names that represented women.

Closely connected to attribute coding is descriptive coding. Descriptive coding involved summarising in a word the basic topic of a sentence, paragraph, or section of qualitative data. It was useful for describing the research sites; since the project was about names, it was helpful in picking these up as they were used by the participants. Descriptive coding also helped to show how participants and other actors involved in the naming process positioned themselves in a given setting or environment. This positionality of actors was closely connected to the referential discursive strategy of critical discourse analysis, where social actors made use of membership categorisation devices, deictics, anthroponyms, metaphors, metonyms, synecdoches, and verbs and nouns to signify processes and actions. This was useful for making inferences about the connection between place names and identity, which was observable from the way people positioned themselves in a place and in interactions.

Emotion coding was employed to reflect participants' recalled or experienced sensations, reactions, and feelings. This strategy enabled two-way reflection, because it captured the views of participants while also allowing the researcher to take a standpoint. An example was the residents feeling sidelined (distressed and unsettled) because they were not consulted in the assigning of street and other place names when they felt they should be consulted. The participants' expression of such feelings may lead the researcher to empathise with them and give emphasis to their views to encourage authorities to be considerate and accommodating when naming places (the social impact of the research).

Coding using participants' own words or "in vivo coding" (Saldana, 2016, p. 133) was also used. "Place naming is political, and politics is dynamite!" (Interview Participant A1, July 2018) is an example of a participant's response to the naming of places. Value coding helped to obtain participants' values, attitudes, and beliefs. It was noted that in their interaction with me, participants expressed what they valued in life; for example, some participants indicated that they had great concern for the environment, so they appreciated place names that were associated with nature. Value coding was also helpful in coding the attitudes and beliefs of participants in instances where they expressed distress and uncertainty that resulted from being sidelined. Narrative coding, which captured participants' stories, was also employed to assist in giving voice to the participants. This coding strategy was useful for coding the responses to interview question 7, which asked participants to retell stories which the place names reminded them of, because it enabled them to provide structure to their narratives. I was able to provide a summary, the characters involved, the setting, the time, responses or reactions to situations, an evaluation of the consequences, as well as the lessons, and conclusions presented in the narratives.

Evaluative coding, which focused on how to analyse participants' responses that judged the merit and worth of programs or policies, was also used particularly for those responses that indicated that participants were making judgements. For example, when responding to interview questions 8, 9 and 10, some participants would say something like the following: "*Karanda* is the biggest, private run, fairly well-equipped referral hospital in the province which is named in the local dialect of *Chikorekore* so people appreciate it" (Interview participant A26). From the quotation, it can be noted that participant A26 evaluated the place name because of its relevance and because it was in *Chikorekore*, a language that they were familiar with. Thus, in such instances I employed evaluative coding to capture these sentiments and codes emerged.

Magnitude coding, which involves the assigning of intensity, frequency, direction, presence or evaluative content to codes, was also used. This coding strategy assisted in labelling the frequency of the appearances or occurrences of phenomena. For example, through magnitude coding I was able to determine the high prevalence of slang toponyms in the urban areas; participant A28 alone gave me more than 20 place nicknames in an interview session.

Process coding, or action coding, was also used to code observable activity and or conceptual action, i.e., action relating to or based on mental concepts. Action coding was most

useful for recording the actions of both the participants and other characters they referred to in their discourses. These codes enabled the analysis to pick out the discursive strategies, for instance, the referential and intensification or mitigation strategies (Wodak, 2015), whereby verbs and nouns are employed in discourse to indicate processes and actions. Examples from the data include the following:

> … it is the politburo that does that… coming up with names of places. Council only implements. (Interview participant A5)
>
> The councillors form a committee and meet to discuss that … sometimes after asking residents for suggestions. (Interview participant A6)

The statements above indicated who was responsible for naming places according to the research participants.

Theme coding, which refers to using a sentence or phrase to describe or capture the meaning of an aspect of data, was also used. This strategy was fruitful for highlighting the various motivations for naming places by different actors. For example, participants said they came up with and used slang place names because they fostered togetherness, especially for the young urban population. Simultaneously, they were salient means for contesting the hegemonic tendencies of authorities. In addition, through theme coding I was able to infer that reasons for name choices were just as important as the meanings of those names.

Implementing these coding strategies enabled me to note patterns in place naming practices. These included the category where reasons for naming or the meaning of certain names was not known, descriptive place naming, botanical place naming, wildlife place naming, metonymical place naming, where names stand for whole types of businesses or ways of life, and commemorative and or eponymous place naming. In addition, subjective place naming, where names can be emotive (expressing mood that has/does not have something to do with the feature – literally or in a sarcastic manner), were observed.

Moreover, there were also transferred feature names, where there are several features either in the same location or in different ones, bearing the same name, e.g., the toponym *Wayerera*, which refers to a river, is also given to the schools and village in which the river is found. Furthermore, there are names resulting from linguistic innovation, such as portmanteaus, blends, anagrams and nicknames. Some of them were ironic, humorous, and/or euphemistic. Additionally, some instrumental place names were coined for administrative purposes.

Finally, there were erroneous place naming practices, where names were either misspelt or mispronounced due to language differences and contact. Overall, the iterative approach that was taken rendered the data analysis process cyclical, emergent and recursive, rather than chronological or linear (Ravitch & Carl, 2016). The cyclical and recursive processes of data analysis were critical facets in validating the data collected (Creswell, 2014; Wodak, 2015), especially in light of inconclusive qualitative information that the participants gave, as mentioned earlier.

During the third step in thematic analysis, I searched for themes in the data. Fourth, I reviewed the identified themes, and at the fifth step, I defined and named the themes. I then grouped these into nine major themes following the guidelines given by Giraut and Houssay-Holzschuch (2016), Jenkins (2018), and Tent and Blair (2014). These themes were descriptive, associative, occurrence, evaluative or subjective or emotive, shift or transfer, eponymous or commemorative, linguistic innovation, erroneous and instrumental. However, these themes were not distinct from each other, as some toponyms could be listed under more than one category. The sixth step was when I started reporting the findings by giving thick descriptions of the context and reporting the reasons for theoretical and analytical choices.

3.3.9 The research site

The DHA approach to discourse analysis encouraged a close examination of the context(s) in which discourse occurred. In my contextualisation of the research site, I was aware of the tendency in most social science research to treat the site as a fixed entity – a stage on which the research unfolds (Myers, 2016; Taylor & Wetherell, 1999). However, inasmuch as I am presenting many facts, I do not claim that they are unquestionable 'facts' (Blommaert, 2005, p. xiii). What I present is guided and complemented by data from a literature review, governmental institutions, research reports, personal observations of residents of the area, and historical narratives. This is done in an effort to make the description as objective as possible.

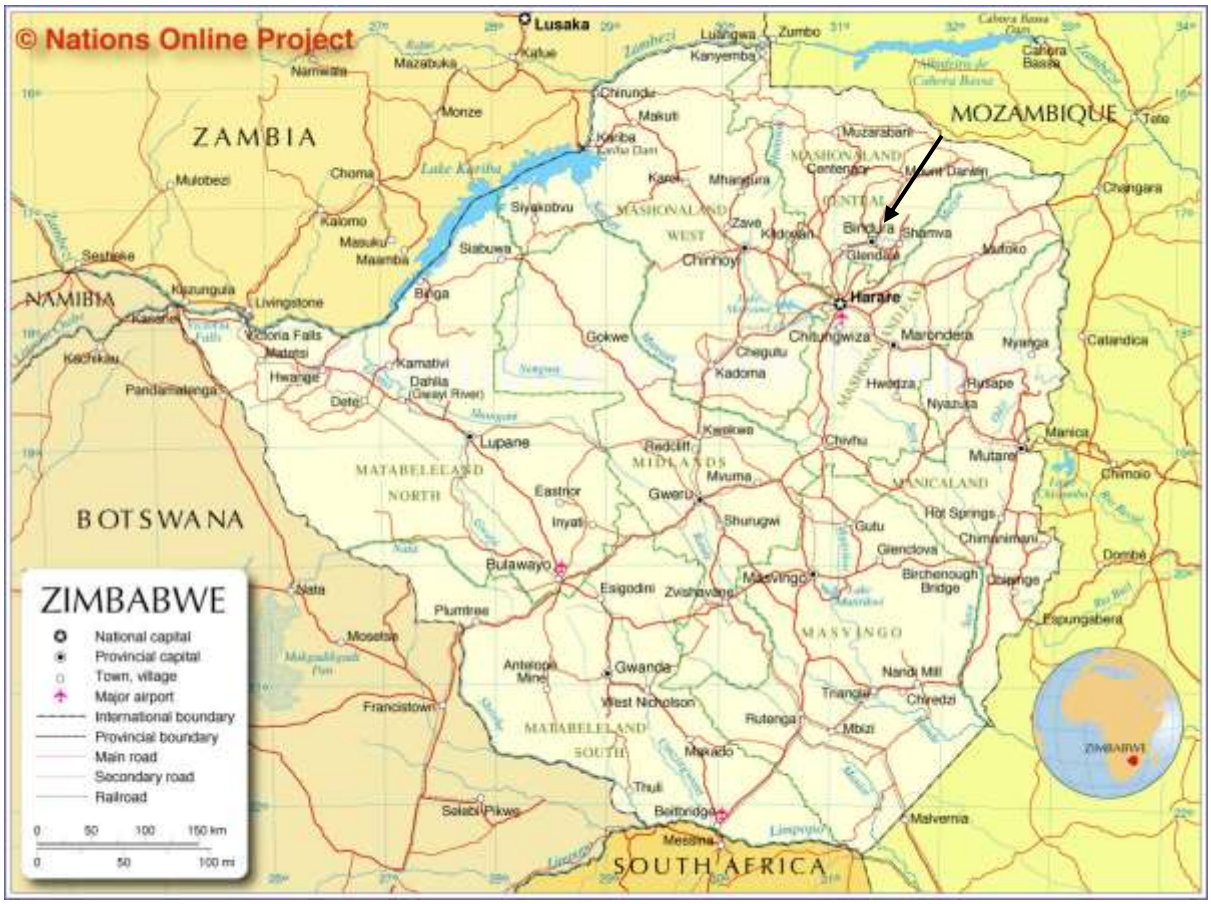
3.3.9.1 Bindura

My research site was Bindura. It is in the northeastern part of Zimbabwe, around 90 km from the capital city, Harare. It can be accessed via the Harare-Mt Darwin highway. It is in Mashonaland Central province[42] and it is the province's administrative capital. The Zimbabwe

[42] The naming of provinces in Zimbabwe along tribal lines continues to be a problematic issue with policy makers, activists and the general citizenry calling for the renaming of these regions to more unbiased names. The name

National Statistical Agency's (2012) population census reports that the area covers 2,242 km2 and has a population of about 157 000. It lies in Ecological Region 2 of Zimbabwe. This ecological region has high agricultural activities and developments. Bindura is surrounded by nickel and gold mines (see Figure 3.3 for a map of Zimbabwe showing the position of Bindura).

Figure 3.3 Map of Zimbabwe showing (pointed by arrow) the position of Bindura (Nations Online Project, 2016).



The abundance of gold and other precious minerals has earmarked the area by fortune hunters and settlers. Pikirayi (2001) carried out archaeological work in the province and argues that the area was believed to be the biblical King Solomon's mines by Europeans who "rushed" to it for gold.[43] The gold rush began with the Portuguese in the 16th century. In 1890, another group

Mashonaland suggests that the area it names is for the Shona or the land of the Shona, while *Matabeleland* gives the impression that it names the land of the Ndebele. This is not the case in the communities, because people of diverse ethnicities and races can be found throughout the country regardless of the name of the region although the Shona are a majority in Mashonaland and Ndebele are a majority in Matabeleland.

[43] Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) started out as a British South Africa Company (BSAC) venture determined on finding and exploiting the Second Rand (Van Onselen, 1976). The Second Rand is when John Cecil Rhodes and his company the BSAC thought they could set up highly profitable gold mines north of the Limpopo River, which was King Lobengula's territory – now Zimbabwe. Rhodes had been successful with diamonds at Kimberley

of European settlers, from the United Kingdom, invaded the area, pegging The Prince of Wales Mine. We have shown in Zuvalinyenga and Bigon (2020) how mining on the Kimberley Reefs Mine[44] commenced in 1901, and by 1912, the Hay Gold Mine was established.[45] Transport was needed to carry goods such as mineral ore and machinery, thus the railway (Figure 3.4) was constructed.

Figure 3.4: A 1930s picture of the train station in Bindura (Swindale, 2018).

in South Africa, he had invested into gold mining in the Transvaal Rand, and Witwatersrand – known as the Rand, but the gold was too deep and expensive to extract unlike the diamonds in Kimberley. The Gold Fields Company suffered huge losses and Charles Dunell Rudd was tasked to persuade King Lobengula to allow the BSAC to prospect and mine gold, this resulted in the infamous Rudd Concession of 1888 that was used to gain mineral and land rights from King Lobengula to Rhodes and the BSAC (Phimister, 1974, pp. 75-76). The moment this Second Rand did not come into being, people spread out throughout the country and started mines and farms. In Zuvalinyenga (2020b) I showed that Bindura is a result of the failed pursuit for the Second Rand.

[44] This was the transfer name given to the area by British settlers taken from the name of the first mine to open there. We explained (Zuvalinyenga & Bigon, 2020; Zuvalinyenga, 2020b) that Kimberley Reefs was an exonym transferred from the Northern Cape, South Africa, where Cecil John Rhodes started his entrepreneurial mining, creating a fortune from it. In Zuvalinyenga (2020b) I quoted (Roberts, 1976) who explained that the South African Kimberley was named in honour of John Wodehouse, the 1st Earl of Kimberley on 5 July 1873. I further explained how Roberts (1976, p. 1) argued that the Colonial Secretary for the Crown Colony, J.B. Currey, named the place after Lord Kimberley so that it would be easy for the Lord to spell and pronounce. Roberts explained further that the renaming of the area was required since the Lord had politely refused to be connected with a 'vulgarism' such as *New Rush* or *Vooruitzigt*, the place's Dutch name he could neither spell nor pronounce. Kimberley in South Africa was in the same manner rich in mineral deposits, especially diamonds, which were said to be picked up in their exceptional quality from the surface. Likewise, *Kimberley Reefs*, currently Bindura, was rich in mineral deposits that can be accessed with ease.

[45] Retrieved from the Municipality of Bindura website on 12 August 2018.

The British settlers had the longest stay in the area and seem to have made a lasting impression.[46] Thus, in 1913 they set up an outpost near *Pindura Hill*, from which the toponym Bindura was obtained.[47] According to Bindura Municipality officials in interviews (2018), white male miners were the earliest settlers who set up the Village Management Board to manage the affairs of the settlement in 1913. The Town Management Board replaced the Village Management Board in June 1929 and then the Road Councils were established to manage transport affairs in the mercantile. Currently, two councils administer the region; Bindura Municipality superintends the urban area while Bindura Rural District Council manages the rural areas.

The Chinese were also registering their presence, mainly after the infamous land resettlement programme was implemented in the year 2000 and is still continuing, that resulted in Western countries imposing economic sanctions on the government of Zimbabwe. These embargos made the government adopt what they termed a "Look East Policy", which focused on reviving engagement with China. The Zimbabwean government and China collaborated during the War of Liberation. Some Chinese residents assumed control over farms, mines, and related industries left by the British. The presence of Chinese nationals is becoming noticeable; there are areas now known as "*kumaChina*" ('the area of the Chinese'). Emigrants from other Southern African countries and other parts of Zimbabwe have come to Bindura to be farm labourers, farm owners, or participate in the artisanal gold mining that is currently ongoing almost everywhere in the town.

The town is thus of interest since it has a multilingual population, including Zimbabweans, migrants from other African countries, Asia, and Europe, people from different ethnic and social origins living side by side. Interacting with people from diverse backgrounds as participants in the research enabled me to gain insights into the power dynamics extant in a multilingual and multicultural society, as different people may have different perspectives and perceptions of reality. Conflicts may arise as different sectors wish to assert their authority. This is why I employ CDA to unravel these contestations as they are manifested in place naming. In addition, Bindura was chosen as the location of the study because it avails possibilities of comparing urban and rural influences in naming practices.

[46] Most of the place names are in English, Anglicised or are obtained from English; the building designs, constructions, and even some of the ways people carry themselves seem to follow British models.
[47] Most of my participants mentioned this fact; they said *Bindura* is an Anglicised version of the Shona toponym of the hill *Pindura*. They said *Pindura Hill* was named such because there were many animals in the region, and the full name is from the Shona phrase, *pindura mhuka*, which means 'turn the game'.

3.4 Research limitations

The research has been limited to naming practices in Bindura and its rural hinterland to make the study feasible. The research limitations were minimal except for limited access or the lack of access to important information such as council minutes, maps and gazetteers. I was told some minutes and council records were highly confidential, many of the maps from councils were torn and illegible and some officials lacked factual knowledge on the matter. I used other methods such as document review to triangulate, verify, and maximise the accuracy of the information gathered. I was also aware of potential limitations of the research instruments. For example, the questionnaire was standardised; therefore, I did not have an easy way of checking whether something had been misinterpreted and/or correcting such misinterpretations. Pre-testing and reviewing the questionnaire with my supervisors and comments by the university's ethics committee reduced such limitations.

In addition, Cohen et al. (2017) noted that open-ended questions can produce large quantities of data that can be time-consuming to process and analyse. This is why I purposively selected my sample to limit the responses. I designed a concise interview guide, and the questionnaire was relatively short and easy to answer, because I wanted to avoid being given superficial answers by respondents, in particular, if the questionnaire/interview took a long time to complete.

Further, at first, some participants seem to evade answering some questions, because they were unsure of what would happen if they gave honest opinions. However, when I assured them that ethical clearance had been sought and granted and that their anonymity was guaranteed, they opened up and provided more information. The information statement and signed consent form (see Appendix B) allayed these fears. Participants were told that the questionnaire was anonymous and that they would not be identifiable.

3.5 Summary

This chapter focused on the methodology and methods used in the research. I discussed my research orientation, which is in the mixed methods paradigm. In this paradigm, I used the qualitative dimension more than the quantitative one. I elaborated on what this research design entailed and how it was implemented, including the selection of participants, documents, the research area, data analysis, and presentation. I also highlighted the strengths and weaknesses that come with the choice of a mixed methods research design. I also gave a brief outline of

the DHA of CDA to show how I moved from theory to data and vice versa in the iterative research design I used. I have also presented the research site to situate the research in context. Limitations to the research were outlined and so were the measures taken to mitigate these. The next chapter presents the results.

Chapter 4 Results

4.1 Introduction

Results from fieldwork are presented following the procedures outlined in Chapters 2 and 3. These include basic statistical descriptions of the data listed in Appendix A, geopolitical contexts, actors involved in the naming, the types of technologies used, thematic trends and an analysis of the toponyms.

4.2 The data

4.2.1 Toponym statistics

Table 4.1 Toponym statistics for the seven data taxa as listed in Appendix A.

Feature type	**Number**	**Percentage**
Farm names	254	34
Mine names	50	6
School names	50	6
Shopping centre names	81	10
Street names	159	21
Village names	91	12
Topographical names[48]	89	11
Total	**774**	**100**

4.3 Geopolitical contexts

Major historical eras and events are noticeable in place names in Bindura. These eras consist of the pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial Zimbabwe and the incidents include cases in which place naming exhibits social, cultural, economic, and political attributes. This section presents the results in line with the four geopolitical contexts proposed by Giraut and Houssay-Holzschuch (2016, p. 7): conquest, revolution, emergence, and commodification. These geopolitical and historical contexts can be used for place naming.

[48] These include names of rivers, mountains, hills, caves, houses, buildings, and other physical features of the area that have been given proper names. This categorisation is the most generic in toponymy, and most of these place names are descriptive and often transparent (Nash, 2013).

4.3.1 The pre-colonial era

Place names that were associated with pre-colonial societies were often based on flora and fauna, while some were topographical. Research participant A15 (23 July 2018) said people relied on nature for survival; thus, they memorialised this relationship in place naming. Participant A15 further said that these places were named to record the presence of certain tree, animal species, and topographical features in the area. Uluocha (2015) gave a compelling argument for how pre-colonial African societies used toponyms as oral and performance cartography[49] to encode and communicate historical, cartographic, and geographic information. Table 4.2 presents examples of toponyms; the explanations were given by research informants and obtained from archival research; Appendix A has detailed explanations.

[49] According to Uluocha (2015, p. 180), oral map making and knowledge of geographical features in pre-colonial Africa was performance cartography because it was carried out through actions and tasks. Similar map making activities were reported by Nash (2013, p. 1) in his study of Norfolk Island place names. He observed that these were records of the experiences and stories of local people, fishermen, and their fishing grounds.

Table 4.2: Place names associated with flora, fauna and topography.

Name	Gloss	Notes
Manzou	The elephants	There were many elephants in the area. They were also visible on the numerous rock paintings in the area (see Appendix A, item 417).
Mapako	The Caves	These were mainly used for shelter and sacred burial places for royalty (see Appendix A, item 418).
Chavadzimu	The Ancestors' place	Exhibits the Shona's belief in higher spiritual beings (see explanation in item 102 in Appendix A).
Nzirawa	Antelope	The antelope was used for food, clothing, and the bones and antlers as tools (see item 586, Appendix A).
Musasa	*Brachystegia spiciformis*	A hardwood tree that was revered because it was highly flammable and a place for ancestral worship (see item 478, Appenix A).
Mubayamhondoro	*Acacia polycantha*	A thorny indigenous tree. *Mubayamhondoro* is Shona for 'the one that pierces a lion'. The name served as a warning – the tree's thorns were so sharp that they could prick the skin and paws of a lion (*mhondoro*). Also highlighted the Shona's beliefs in higher beings; *Mhondoro* was an ancestral spirit (see item 479, Appendix A).
Mutungagore	Shoot the clouds	Descriptive of the height of the mountain (see item 546, Appendix A).
Chipindura	A herb	Used for healing (see item 145, Appendix A).
Chiundu	To pluck, especially feathers off a bird or chicken	Water source to sustain livelihoods and a warning of risk of being swept away by the high velocity of the river (see item 163, Appendix A).
Rupakwe	Mermaids' resting place	Evidence of the people's belief in supernatural life (Guruve.com, 2006).[50]
Chamakunguwo	The crows' place	Crows were very common in the area; they were said to indicate abundance, since they thrived on scavenging (see item 97, Appendix A).

[50] In the Zimbabwean context, mermaids were considered mythical or supernatural. According to Guruve.com (2006), the *njuzu* 'water spirit or mermaid' was a revered Shona legend. The mermaids were thought to reside in the deep pools. Legend has it that they coaxed unsuspecting people into these pools and returnees from the spirit world often turned into a *n'anga* Shona for 'traditional healer'.

Figure 4.1: Surveyor general's map of Bindura, 1970 (www.rhodesia.me.uk).

4.3.2 Colonial era

Figure 4.1 is the Surveyor General's 1970 map of Rhodesia used during the colonial period, from which I got most of the place names of Bindura of that era. Weyer (2016) provided a detailed list of Rhodesian place names and most of these place names are exonyms that were introduced by colonial settlers. They are mostly commemorative of foreign places, people, and events. Many suburbs, streets, farms, and mines fall under this category. The following are examples (explanation and possible meanings came from research informants and archival sources; details given in Appendix A):

Table 4.3 Commemorative place names.

Feature type	Name	Notes
Farms	*Glamorgan*	A county in South Wales, UK (see item 265, Appendix A).
	Jesmond Dean Estates	Anthroponym, Jesmond Dean owned the farm (see item 328, Appendix A).
	Hereford	The name of a place in the UK and a breed of cattle. The farm may have been named after either the place or breed of cattle, but it is more likely that it was named after Herefordshire in the UK from where the Hereford breed of cattle originated (see item 305, Appendix A).
	Arundel	A market town in West Sussex, UK (see item 14, Appendix A).
	Kingston	Named after Kingston upon Thames, in London, UK. The former owner, George Hay Rattray, was from the UK (see item 362, Appendix A).
Mines	*Freda Rebecca*	The names are of two open pits for gold mining. These are names of relatives of the owner of the mine – Algy Cluff (a UK mining and oil baron). Freda was his mother, but I could not ascertain his exact relation with Rebecca (Mount, 2016).[51]
	Hay	Gold mine pegged by George Hay Rattray in 1908 (see Figure 4.2).
	Kimberley Reef	Transferred from South Africa, named after Lord Kimberley (see Figure 4.2).

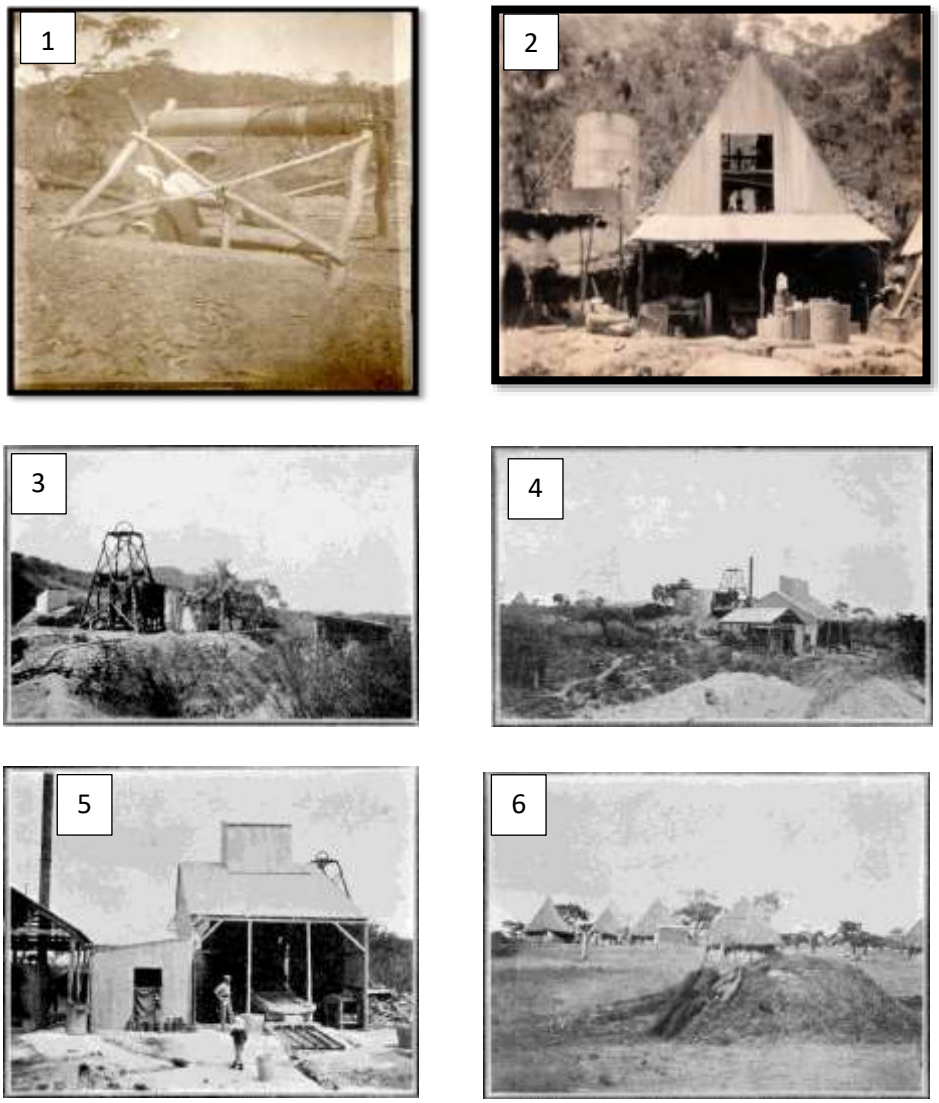
[51] Five respondents (A2, A6, A8, A17, and A18) said the names Freda and Rebecca were names of people, with some suggesting it was from the names of Freddy (husband) and Rebecca (wife). Three respondents said those were the names of the daughters of the mine owner. However, Mount (2016) said that Algy Cluff was not called Freddy, and his wife was not called Rebecca. His wife's name was Blonde. Cluff did not have daughters but rather, had three sons. In fact, Freda was his mother (Mount, 2016).

	Phoenix Prince	Named after Albert Frederick Arthur George – King George VI. The phoenix was a birdlike mythological creature that symbolised rebirth, longevity and renewal (Howarth, 1987, p. 66).[52]
	R.A.N	George Hay Rattray, who ran it with his family and later sold it to Anglo-American, prospected it (see Figure 4.2).[53]
School	*Bindura Primary*	Derived from town name, which is anglicised Shona *pindura mhuka* 'turn the game meat' (see item 57, Appendix A; Brown, 2020).
Shops	*Farmer's Hall*	Mr Farmer owned it and he was a farmer. His name could have been derived from one of his ancestors who could also have been a farmer or derived from his occupation (see explanation on item 398, Appendix A).
	Kimberley	Named after the *Kimberley Mine* in Bindura, which took this name from another mine in South Africa (Roberts, 1976).
	Thurlow's	Named after Mr Walter Thurlow who founded the shop in 1902 (see item 716, Appendix A).
Streets	*Jameson Avenue*	Named after Leander Starr Jameson, Cecil John Rhodes' best friend, and the leader of the pioneer column instrumental in establishment of the colony (see Figure 4.2).
	Oxford	Named after Oxford in the UK
	Cardiff	Named after Cardiff in South Wales, UK.
	Cambridge	Named after Cambridge in the UK.
	Hay	Named after George Hay Rattray, who was a pioneer miner and farmer in Bindura (*The London Gazette* 20 June 1919).

[52] As stated by Howarth (1987, p. 66), King George VI symbolised renewal and continuity of the monarchy after the abdication of King Edward VIII on 11 December 1936, less than a year after taking the reign from their father King George V. Ziegler (1990, p. 199) argued that King George V had reservations about his eldest son, specifically about Prince Edward's capabilities in leading the monarchy, and proved real when he abdicated. The name may have also resulted from the introduction by King George VI of the George Cross or George Medal in 1940 honouring civilians and soldiers' gallantry. The symbol for this medal had the phoenix cross. King George VI was also awarded the Grand Crosses of the Order of the Phoenix (Greece) (Judd, 1982, p. 98).

[53] As reported by Swindale (2002), George Hay Rattray prospected and opened the mine before 1916. The Rattray family ran it until it was no longer viable at the then current scale of operations; thus, they sold it to Anglo-American. It was subsequently sold to Ashanti, then to Mwana Africa, and later to the ASA Resource Group. It appears that the mineral rights were then held by Globe and Phoenix, who operated the mine c. 2005-2010. Swindale (2002) suggested that the name R.A.N is a shortened form of "Rattray and another", and this other person was possibly Freeman. However, participants A1, A2, and A6 opined that R.A.N stood for Royal American Nag. It was hard to find corroborating evidence on what exactly the abbreviation stands for.

Figure 4.2: Mining activities during early 1900s that gave Kimberley Reefs (Bindura) its identity[54] (Fivenine, 2018).

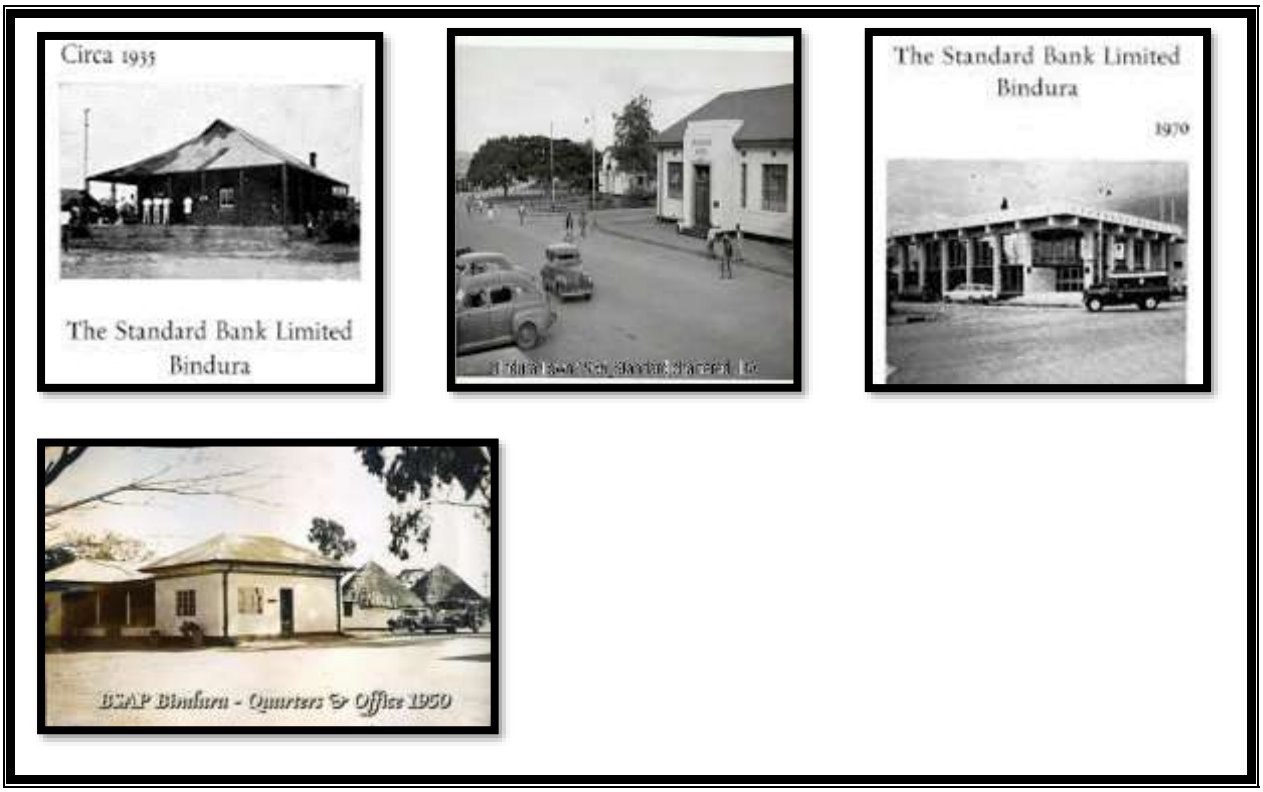


Pictures 1 & 2: Mary Rattray, headgear on, descends into the *R.A.N Mine* 1916, and a December 1932 photo of the *R.A.N Mine* (Swindale, 2002)

Pictures 3, 4, 5 & 6: A mill at *Hay Gold Mine*, part of the surface of the Hay Gold-mining company, a somewhat primitive milling plant that was used by George Hay Rattray and colleagues to extract gold and a compound of the black workers at *Hay Gold Mine*.

[54] Bindura came to be known as a mining hub because of the mining that dominated commercial activities in the area (Zuvalinyenga & Libert, 2019).

Figure 4.3: Pictures of Bindura town 1935-1970 (National Archives of Zimbabwe, 2018a).



The colonial period was characterised by conquest and emergence,[55] where place naming became a political priority. As highlighted in the introductory chapter, British colonial settlement was characterised by subjugation, displacement, and occupation, and these activities and processes can be noticed in place naming. The names (*Standard Bank, Bindura Town, and British South Africa Bindura – Quarters & Office*) and even the architecture shown in Figure 4.3 contributed to the Britishness of the place. This state of the linguistic landscape exemplified the words of Jordan (2011, p. 851), who argued, "identity is not simply given but performed" and the performativity "can be remade but this often requires access to cultural and social power".[56] Figure 4.4 further illustrated the Eurocentric outlook of Bindura during colonial times. All the staff members in the photo were Caucasian.

[55] This was when new places were being set up (for either settlements or other activities such as mining, farming or industrial development).

[56] The argument here was that several aspects contributed to the construction of identity, be it of a place, an individual or a community. I borrowed this concept from cultural identities (Jordan, 2015) and performativity theory (Austin, 1962; Bode, 2010; Butler, 2010; De Fina, 2011), where identity was understood as an enterprise or a mindful endeavour embarked on for self-presentation in social interactions. Such attributes of identity were explained in Chapters 1 and 2. This research borrows from and extends the notion of performing identity in a space/place (Butler, 1995).

Figure 4.4: Bindura station staff standing beside a sign with the name of the town (Brown, 2020).

4.3.3 Post-colonial era

After attaining political independence in 1980, the Zimbabwean government carried out a renaming exercise. The government argued the renaming reclaimed the country's erased identity (Pfukwa, 2018) and was an act of decolonisation (Mamvura, 2020d). The renaming seems to have followed commemorative naming trends set during colonial times. The new names memorialised the War of Liberation, the people who participated in it, and events associated with it. However, this activity was piecemeal, as not all places with exonyms were renamed. Pfukwa (2018) reported that only nineteen of fifty-one streets in the CBD of Harare that had European names were renamed. The situation was the same in Bindura concerning street names. Most names given to places during the colonial period are still used. Figure 4.5 below shows pictures of street signs with English names:

Figure 4.5: Roads signs in the hospital area of Bindura that have British colonial origins (Zuvalinyenga, 2018).

The street signs in Figure 4.5 are all from the Hospital area and they show, (1) *Fleetwood Avenue*, (2) *Centenary Avenue*, (3) *Hugh Gundry Road* and (4) *Coventry Road*.

Concerning renaming, I noticed that nine out of twelve streets in the CBD were renamed after nationalists and War of Liberation heroes: *Appleby Avenue*, was renamed *Border Gezi Avenue*, *York Street* became *Chenjerai Hunzvi Avenue*, while *York Avenue*, became *Jason Moyo Avenue*, and *Leon Avenue* was changed to *Leopold Takawira Avenue*. On 22 November

2019, *Atherstone Road* was renamed to *Emmerson Dambudzo Mnangagwa Road*. The renaming echoed findings in critical toponymy, which highlighted that emotions around toponyms are most pronounced in periods of political change (Adebanwi, 2018; Ndletyana, 2012; Pfukwa, 2018). Renaming and decolonisation were major place naming procedures for the post-colonial period, especially in central business districts, likely due to their centrality.

New settlements and infrastructure development also led to the emergence of new place names; this process was known as *neotoponymy*. Aerodrome suburb, established in 1995, had streets that bear names connected to the War of Liberation. However, the honouring of only male war heroes sidelined women, even though some women participated in the war (Chung, 2006; Lyons, 2004). One would have expected that, since the colonialists often did not acknowledge and appreciate women regardless of race, it could have been hoped that the independent Zimbabwean government would honour women in its toponymic decolonisation. We, Zuvalinyenga and Bigon (2020) explored this phenomenon in detail, and gave an overview of some influential factors and offered recommendations. We argued that expectations for women who were involved in the revolution war be commemorated arose in the light of the revolutionary government's nationalist beliefs and rhetoric. We, however, observed that the situation was different in the communities. We noted that most places, including Aerodrome suburb had streets named after male war heroes without exception. Figure. 4.6 is an example that showed the *Magamba Way* roadsign that is Shona for 'heroes' not 'heroines', honoring male war heroes.[57]

[57] This interpretation was adopted in consideration of the immediate and wider contextual factors such as the largely patriarchal society in Zimbabwe. In Aerodrome, streets were named in commemoration of male war heroes; the situation is the same in most parts of the country (Mamvura et al., 2018). War heroines only feature as an afterthought and most of the female anthro-toponyms in the streetscape of Zimbabwe are of those women who were connected to male nationalists or male war heroes. For example, *Rezende Street* was changed to *Julia Zvobgo Street*; Julia was wife to Eddison Zvobgo. It was Eddison who was a nationalist and a long serving member of the ZANU-PF party; people knew little of his wife, and her honour appears tokenistic and the result of her being the wife of Eddison.

Figure 4.6: *Magamba Way* in Aerodrome suburb (Zuvalinyenga, 2018).

Furthermore, in Zuvalinyenga and Bigon (2020), we noticed that women were absent in the toponymic landscape. This absence, we argued, did not align with historiographies of women who took part in the War of Liberation, albeit largely discussing the problems they encountered (Chung, 2006; Lyons, 2004; Staunton, 1990). This situation with toponyms reflected general patriarchal views prevailing in the broader society that excluded women from decision-making, business, and finance. Female participants who were interviewed in this study stated that they wished for gender-biased practices to be reformed in the direction of gender equity in general and more inclusive toponymic practices in particular. These research participants also shared with us that they felt out of place when they were in the public place; they did not identify with it because they did not often see toponyms that honoured people they related to or identified with. We further posited that the sidelining of women in the toponymic landscape contradicted official government policies such as setting up the gender commission following recommendations from the United Nations Beijing Women's Conference,[58] and

[58] The United Nations Equity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women (2020) said that the United Nations' Fourth World Conference on Women was held in Beijing, China from 4 to 15 September 1995. It focused on encouraging governments the world over to take actions that will ensure the equality and development of women who are often marginalised.

what they said in public forums; they took every opportunity to announce they were motivated for gender equity and an inclusive society. We went on to report how the results of our study confirmed that toponymic practices in street names in Bindura discriminated against women. We noticed that none of the streets with proper names were named after women although both men and women were involved in shaping the history of the country, took part in the War of Liberation, and had a Lefebvrian right to the city,[59] and are dynamically making the place. In this sense, Bindura's public space does little or nothing to accommodate women.

In addition, we (Zuvalinyenga and Bigon, 2020), observed that most of the town's odonyms were mainly taken from English, Shona, or Ndebele linguistic communities. In the linguistic landscape, none of the languages of the communities from other Southern African regions appeared in street names. Also absent were other varieties of languages spoken today in the country and by extension town (Hollington, 2019; Makoni, 2017; Ndlovu, 2018; Veit-Wild, 2009). Another observation we made was that there were no bilingual official signs in Bindura and the country in general. The languages of minority groups were marginalised; such state of affairs did not align with the recognition of sixteen official languages in the new Constitution of Zimbabwe. However, I do not expect all 16 languages to be used in street naming, but I am highlighting the need for government to consider other linguistic communities and to ensure social justice for all its citizens. Moreover, the new constitution was passed fairly recently (2013); therefore, it may take time to implement. However, there was little evidence to attest that efforts to implement the constitution were being made. The Woodbrook, Claverhill, Greenhill, Shashi, Pfugari, Chiwaridzo and Chipindura suburbs mostly have numerical streets designators, which seemed neutral and less political, as encouraged by the World Bank (Bigon, 2016a).

Toponyms were also used for financial or symbolic profit; sometimes powerful individuals or corporates had commodified place names. In this study, toponymic commodification was seen in tourist places such as the Paradise Pools, Dombawera Game Reserve, Mapako Rock Paintings, Zhenje Mountain, and Acadia Dam. Pilgrims, church

[59] Henri Lefebvre (1991, p132) was a sociologist known for suggesting, "space is socially produced". Lefebvre (1991) asserted that social conditions had changed people's experiences of relating to space over time. In elaboration, Lefebvre (1991, p. 132) contended, "abstract space, produced and perpetuated through grids, plans, and schedules, is utilized and dominated by the capitalist system of production". He further stated that discourse was also about space and opined that governmental policies, cultural norms, and advances in information and technology held this communally constructed space and time. He cited everyday examples such as setting an alarm, travelling to work, paying rates, or watching the television, as perpertuating and reproducing this socially constructed notion of space and time. In this sense, everyone took part in producing space.

authorities, and council authorities also commodified the Zimbabwe Assemblies of God (ZAOGA) Prayer Mountain. Corporations such as Metro Peech & Browne Wholesalers (see Figure 4.7), Pick 'n Pay, OK, Duecon, Darleen and Farm & City, and powerful individuals such as Kenneth Shupikai Musanhi (a politician aligned to ZANU-PF), Edward Nyekete (*Matsono* – Shona for 'the needles'), Jaguard Padriack (Paddy's Gulf), Tendai Savanhu (Muunganirwa Supermarkets), and Ezekiel Guti have also annexed toponymic landscape for profit.

Figure 4.7: Metro Peech & Browne Wholesalers Shopfront (Zuvalinyenga, 2018).

4.4 People and processes involved

This section reports findings related to the research question "How do people name places in Bindura?" the objective was to find out who gave names to places, who was involved in place naming and the processes involved. Some scholars (Adebanwi, 2018; Azaryahu, 1996, 2009, 2011; Duminy, 2018; Giraut & Houssay-Holzschuch, 2016; Giraut et al., 2012; Palmberger, 2018; Sakaja & Stanic, 2018) argued that knowledge of who was involved in naming highlighted the power relations embedded in it. Major actors that have been identified included government officials, and individuals from the private sector, and civil society (see Figure 4.8 and interview excerpts below).

Figure 4.8: Popular words from the interviews on who usually names places and the processes involved (Zuvalinyenga, 2019).

Research participants indicated they were aware of some guidelines and laws governing place naming. Fifteen out of twenty (75%) respondents from Bindura urban said place naming was the preserve of the council through a committee. Below are some of their responses:

> Street and place names are usually done through committees and some places such as bus stops are usually named by transport operators. The transport operators are usually youthful people and they love to use slang or nickname place names because they say the official ones are boring and do not resonate with them, their peers, customers, and the status quo. (Interview Participant A1, 5 July 2018)
>
> A committee. (Interview Participant A2, 5 July 2018)
>
> I would say through a committee, though I am not sure because I have never participated in anything of that sort. (Interview Participant A3, 5 July 2018)
>
> I can say through a committee and sometimes the community participates. I once heard people are sometimes asked to suggest place names through their councillors who will then table these proposals in their meetings. But I never participated in any of these meetings myself [...] I do not like to be part of those. There is always chaos. No order with these people. They are always noisy, loud, and nothing comes out of those squabbles. (Interview Participant A4, 10 July 2018)

Noticeable from the above quotations was the fact that participants were aware of the existence of place naming committees. Some believed that the committees would represent them well and include their views and suggestions, but participant A1 provided further details about contestations in place naming.[60] Participant A5 suggested it was the ZANU-PF politburo that names places (Interview, 27 July 2018). This was the only response that explicitly mentioned a political party's involvement.

As for Bindura rural, all ten participants said it was the chiefs, village heads, elders, and in some cases community members who were responsible for giving official place names. Here are excerpts from what some rural participants said:

> Our elders did that when they first got here. (Interview Participant A24, 25 July 2018)
>
> The chiefs and his advisors give names to places according to our traditions and customs. (Interview Participant A25, 25 July 2018)
>
> Headmen, chiefs and older people with authority (Interview Participant A26, 25 July 2018).
>
> It is us the leaders in the villages who decide. Of course, we consult people but most of the time people do not come for such meetings and they give few suggestions. (Interview Participant A27, 25 July 2018)

Evident in the responses from both urban and rural Bindura participants was the awareness of the involvement of higher authorities in place naming. However, it was notable that the namers did not have homogenous views, motivations, and perspectives, even when they were in the same group. For example, among council committee members there were diverse views. In some cases, there was consultation with civilians, but in the majority of the cases, ordinary people were not consulted.

I noticed that provisions in the laws (the Urban Councils Act, 1996, the Rural Councils Act, 1988 and the Names Alteration Act, 1983) that were supposed to guide (re)naming were

[60] The contestations in place (re)naming were brought to the fore in Bulawayo. Netsianda (2020), a senior court reporter with the *Chronicle* reported a case where the Bulawayo Progressive Residents Association (BPRA) sued the responsible government minister for the renaming of roads and streets in their area. The association was said to have approached the High Court challenging the Minister of Local Government and Public Works, July Moyo's approval of changes to street and road names as published in the Statutory Instrument 167/20 under Names (Alterations) (Amendment of Schedule) Notice (2020). The case in which the cited respondents were Minister Moyo and the Bulawayo City Council (BCC) is still before the court at the time of writing this thesis.

not followed. For instance, the Urban Councils Act [Chapter 29:15], section 212, item 1 on "[n]umbering of houses and naming of roads" stated:

> The council may from time to time assign names to roads within the council area and cause the name of any road to be affixed or painted on any house, building or structure fronting upon any part of such roads. (Urban Councils Act [Chapter 29:15], 1996, p. 78)

The above quotation clearly stipulated the council's responsibility for assigning names to roads, however, these by-laws were not followed in the November 2019 nationwide renaming exercise which caught people by surprise when Cabinet unexpectedly announced that they had renamed places (Nyoka, 2019).

The process of place naming has not always been smooth or peaceful. Figure 4.9 has two excerpts from the National Archives of Zimbabwe (2018b) showing the processes, institutions, people, and controversies involved in naming Bindura. The excerpts in Figure. 4.9 show that the naming process involved people with authority. To start with, the Assistant Director of Land Settlement proposed the name Bindura, which was opposed by the Native Commissioner and the "permanent residents" in preference of a name that honoured Captain "Skipper" Hoste, a pioneer prominent in the occupation and settlement of Rhodesia before 1900. Furthermore, the name was only settled on after a Mr Godfrey Homan wrote to the Civil Commissioner for Salisbury suggesting that Bindura was a good name. In addition, the Native Commissioner and Magistrate at Mazoe had to endorse Mr Homan's suggestions. Moreover, the BSAC superintended the entire process and made the decision to publish Bindura in the Government Gazette on 21 February 1913.

Figure 4.9: Historical notes on the process of naming Bindura (National Archives of Zimbabwe, 2018b).

BINDURA

Historical notes

Within a few months of the Pioneer Column's arrival in Mashonaland, prospectors had discovered the extensive ancient gold workings in the Bindura area. One of the earliest properties to be pegged was the Prince of Wales Mine (on 1 November 1890) and this was followed on 10 August 1896 by the Asp blocks lying to the east. Work began on the Kimberley Reefs mine in 1901 on behalf of the New Rhodesia District Development Company Limited and before 1912 the Hay Mine came into operation. The Asp mine was tributed in 1907 to Captain "Skipper" Hoste, who had played a prominent part in the occupation and settlement of Rhodesia before 1900. The site of Bindura township was until 1913 known as Kimberley Reefs, after the nearest large mine.

Proposals for the creation of a township were put forward in the first half of 1912 but the site was not finally chosen until the following year owing partly to objections by the owners of the principal mining properties. One of them stated that the existing canteen or store known as Thurlow's "is a source of very great trouble and anxiety to the manager of the Kimberley Mine and the fact that miners and fitters and men of that class are likely to become sensitive to alcoholic influence has always induced him to disallow the erection of any sotre or canteen near the Company's property".

There were, however, already two hotels on the site chosen by the government and since it seemed unlikely that a third one would be established if the township were too far from them, the government decided that the original choice was the most suitable.

While the township was being surveyed, a controversy broke out as to the most suitable name for it. The name of the hill between the Hay and Kimberley Reefs mines seemed to be the most obvious choice and this in fact was finally chosen. The Assistant Director of Land Settlement wrote in July 1912 that "in view of the facts that one of the principal towns in the Colony is called Kimberley, and that the principal mine at Kimberley Reefs (Rhodesia) is called the Kimberley Reefs mine, it is proposed in order to avoid confusion that the township should be called by the native name of the hill in the vicinity, namely 'Bindura'." The Native Commissioner at Mazoe declared in August 1912 that he could not "see why a native name should be introduced. Why not call the place after Captain Hoste who was a pioneer and had a good deal to do with the development of that part in the early days. I suggest Hostetown or Hosteville". The 'permanent residents' were equally opposed to the use of 'Bindura' and the British South Africa Company agreed to consider any alternatives they might suggest. A public meeting held on 15 January 1913 "unanimously resolved to submitt...the name Kimberton instead of Bindura for Kimberley Reefs Township, the native meaning of the latter not being appreciated."

/2...

- 2 -

The Native Commissioner suggested 'Mukumbi', the name of another hill in the neighbourhood, or 'Nuri, the name for the ancient workings. He also suggested Kimberton or Skipperton after 'Skipper' Hoste. Mr Godfrey Homan, however, who lived at the Hay Mine, wrote to the Civil Commissioner for Salisbury in January 1913 that 'Bindura' is a good name and originated from some sort of 'muti' the natives got out of the kopje here and used in making gunpowder. The British South Africa Company found it difficult to refer to the problem to the permanent inhabitants since, according to the Estates Office, they consisted of "an hotel keeper and an insolvent black-smith". The Assistant Director of the Land Settlement suggested 'Leander' after Dr Jameson. However, there was a 'general feeling in favour of the retention of the name' /Bindura/, because the Native Commissioner and Magistrate at Mazoe had said that Mr Godfrey Homan's interpretation of the word was the correct one. On 21 February 1913 therefore, the Company decided to retain it and published the decision in the Government Gazette.

The first sale of stands at Bindura took place on 5 February 1913 and as you will know, the village management board was established in 1916. The Salisbury to Shamva railway line was constructed by the Blinkwater Railway Company with funds supplied from the £1,200,000 railway bequest of Alfred Beit, and opened on 23 April 1913. In 1921 discussions for the building of a cottage hospital took place. A local committee asked for 5 acres of land from the British South Africa Company for this purpose. When the village was originally marked out, the Administration had in fact reserved 15 morgen of land for this purpose. The District Medical Officer, Dr Carmody, requested a loan of £100 to erect "two rooms and a bathroom" adjacent to his house, to be used as a nursing home. By December 1922 the hospital seems to have come into operation.

A school for the Bindura locality was being considered in July 1911, before the township was founded. The only children whose attendance could 'definitely be counted upon were 6 in number'. Miss D.E. Hack, who at that time was acting as assistant mistress at Gwelo school, was suggested as the first teacher. In April 1912 the Director of Education held a meeting attended by 14 parents and others from Bindura. It was agreed that a school of the Farm School type should be opened at once with Miss E.C. Scott as teacher. She took up her post and opened the school on 12 August 1912.

4.5 Objectives of place naming

The literature reviewed in Chapter 2 made it evident that varied objectives led to place (re)naming. The list below summarises these objectives:

- To record geographical and spatial knowledge; this was the case of every toponym that identified and distinguished one place from others.
- To record the relationship people had, and continue to have, with the environment. This connection and interaction was noted in section 4.2.1 where I gave examples of toponyms associated with flora, fauna, and topography.
- To construct and maintain individual and collective identity.
- To reclaim collective identity by restoring erased toponyms from the past before colonisation to amend for historical injustices and legitimise territorial claims.

- To create, legitimise, and sustain cultural and political preferences of the ruling elite. This was when places were named after people, values, ideologies, or events that governments uses to legitimise themselves. Some commemorative toponyms are good examples of this.
- To market places, territories, resorts, developments, towns, and cities in a bid to attract trade and investment, give places an international appeal, and promote tourism in today's competitive world.

4.6 Thematic trends in the place names

In this section, I present the themes that I noted among the place names collected. Here, I expand the approaches from prior scholarship as outlined in the literature review and relate them to the context of Bindura. I identified nine themes, guided by the approaches of Giraut and Houssay-Holzschuch (2016), Jenkins (2018), and Tent and Blair (2014). However, the names could not always be distinctly placed into a single category because a name can easily fit into multiple categories. This section has nine subsections (that are further subdivided), in which the different themes are presented. Examples are given in the form of toponyms, tables, and pictures. The table below gives a summary of the themes:

Table 4.4: Summary of place name thematic trends

Theme	Notes
Descriptive	These described features' physical appearance or circumstances surrounding the naming.
Associative	Largely biological or environmental
Occurrence	Some incidents and occasions resulted in place names.
Evaluative/Subjective/Emotive	They generally reflect the name giver's reaction – either the name giver's reaction to a feature or a general emotional reaction.
Shift/Transfer	These recall homelands of the colonial settlers.
Eponymous/Commemorative	They memorialised eminent people (mainly men) in society, events, and places.
Linguistic Innovation	These display creativity on the part of the namers.
Erroneous	Most of these were variants of places whose names were misspelt or mispronounced.
Instrumental	These were given for administrative purposes and they do not carry out any other functions.

4.6.1 Descriptive toponyms

In the data set, descriptive names were in the majority. These place names showed a conscious effort by the name givers to describe the landscape, be it the shapes or appearances of natural phenomena and/or metaphorical comparison. In the following subsections, I outline the different categories of descriptive toponyms and give examples.

4.6.1.1 Descriptive of physical appearance for example, *Greenhill* – the hill is evergreen with the trees and vegetation that grows there. *Musanawenzou* ('the elephant's back') described houses shaped like an elephant's back. *Hexagon Farm* and *Hexagon Extension Farm* described the shape of farms. More examples of descriptive toponyms are *Lion's Head Mountain* (Figure. 4.10), *Redlands, Rocky Spruit, The Bend, The Ridge, The Scrubs, The Vale, Dombotsvuku* ('red stone'), and *Midhadhadha* ('the rows' – the houses are semi-detached and in long rows).

Figure 4.10: Lion's Head Mountain in Msana Communal Lands (Zuvalinyenga, 2018).

Figure 4.10 is a picture of Lion's Head Mountain, a descriptive name because when viewed from the highway facing the west, the shape of the summit of the mountain resembles the head of a lion.

4.6.1.2 Literal comparison, for example, *Adoko* ('the small ones' – the stream/river is small compared to the other rivers and water bodies in the area, e.g., Mazoe, Mutorawangwa).

4.6.1.3 Metaphorical comparison, for example, *Mutungagore* ('the one that hits the clouds') – the mountain is very tall as if it touched the clouds). In addition, there was *Chishayabvudzi* ('the one with no hair') – the mountain does not have any vegetation on it because most of it is hard granite where little vegetation can grow and thrive. Moreover, *Murigabveni* ('the one that floors the baboon') – this mountain is steep and when people attempt to climb to its summit they may fall. The steepness is exaggerated through the suggestion that even baboons, well known for being good climbers, stand no chance. Another example was *Paradise Pools* – which are beautiful pools, like those described in the Bible; participants said visitors and local people swimming in the pools felt heavenly.

4.6.1.4 The generic term for a feature used as a toponym, for example, *Aerodrome, Dip Tank, Cattle Grid, Paddock, Canal,* and *Feeding Trough.*

4.6.1.5 Locational, for example, *Claverhill South, Georgia West, Hay East, Woodbrook North, Uronga South, Sangere North, Richlands North* and *Central Avenue*.

4.6.1.6 Numerical/Measurement

4.6.1.6.1 Cardinals, for example, *Mitimisere* ('the eight trees'), *Mativimana* ('four sides'), *Double Spruit River*.

4.6.1.6.2 Ordinals, for example, *First Street, Second Street, Masuri Sana Number One, Masuri Sana Number Two.*

4.6.2. Associative

4.6.2.1 Local those that are "environmental or biological" (Jenkins, 2018, p. 26). Many are like this, for example *Chipindura* ('the one/thing that turns' – a herb used by herbalists to supposedly change the sex of unborn babies, especially from female to male due to the patriarchal nature of the society that values a male child as compared to a female one). There was also *Manzou* 'many elephants' – the area was reported to have been home to many elephants before the arrival of the white settlers. These settlers could not pronounce nor write *Manzou*, and thus, they referred to the area as *Mazoe*; some variants spelt it as *Mazowe*. Most

street names derived from words for animals, flowers, trees, and any other plants fall under this category. There are many such names.

4.6.2.2 Occupation/Activity, for example, *Kitsiyatota* ('the cat is wet') – gold fields that were known to be not so yielding for most of those prospecting for it, except for the blessed/lucky ones. Frequently the fields bring misfortune to those who go there in search of gold. They were left hopeless and literally 'out in the cold' like a wet cat. The name had elements of slang in it. The young generations referred to one as having had "poured water on" them if a misfortune befell them. *Chanaka* ('the thing is now well') – many people panned for gold (illegally and in dangerous ways and conditions) in the area in the hope of changing their fortunes for the better, but this was not the case for most of them. *Musvosvi Street* ('the one who entices') – the place is known for prostitution.

4.6.2.3 Structures, for example, *Pachibhorani* ('at the borehole'), *Pasupermarket* ('at the supermarket') – the area had a few shops that sold grocery items but did not qualify to be called supermarkets. *Mapako* ('the caves'), *Tawa Raiti* ('tower light') and some names of schools could fit here.

4.6.3 Occurrence

4.6.3.1 Incident, for example, *Garikayi* ('live a good life/well') – a new suburb established after the government carried out a clean-up of illegal settlements or *Murambatsvina* ('the one who does not like dirt'[61]). *Progress* – another new suburb informally known thus because its establishment was a sign of progress for the majority who did not have the opportunity to build houses for themselves prior to the setting up of this settlement.

4.6.3.2 Occasion, although Tent and Blair (2014, p. 23) differentiated between incident and occasion, they seem like the same thing, for example, *Chimurenga Road* ('War of Liberation') can fit in both categories.

[61] This is not the name of a place but a major historical event that impacted the lives of many people. The UN had to dispatch an envoy – Anna Tibaijuka (Executive Director UN-HABITAT) – to Zimbabwe to assess and report on the impact of *Murambatsvina* on the lives of people. I have included it because it is historical and showed how place naming is intertextual and related to wider historical and social processes.

4.6.4 Subjective

Two categories of subjective names were noted: emotive place names that expressed a general feeling at the time of name giving which is not a direct reaction to the feature, and another category that expressed an emotional reaction to a feature.

4.6.4.1 Emotive I concur that "African emotive names are formed from verbs in various tenses and moods … abstract nouns … and metaphorical nouns …" (Jenkins, 2018, p. 27). Examples included *Kudzanai Street* ('respect each other'), *Batanai Suburb* ('be united').

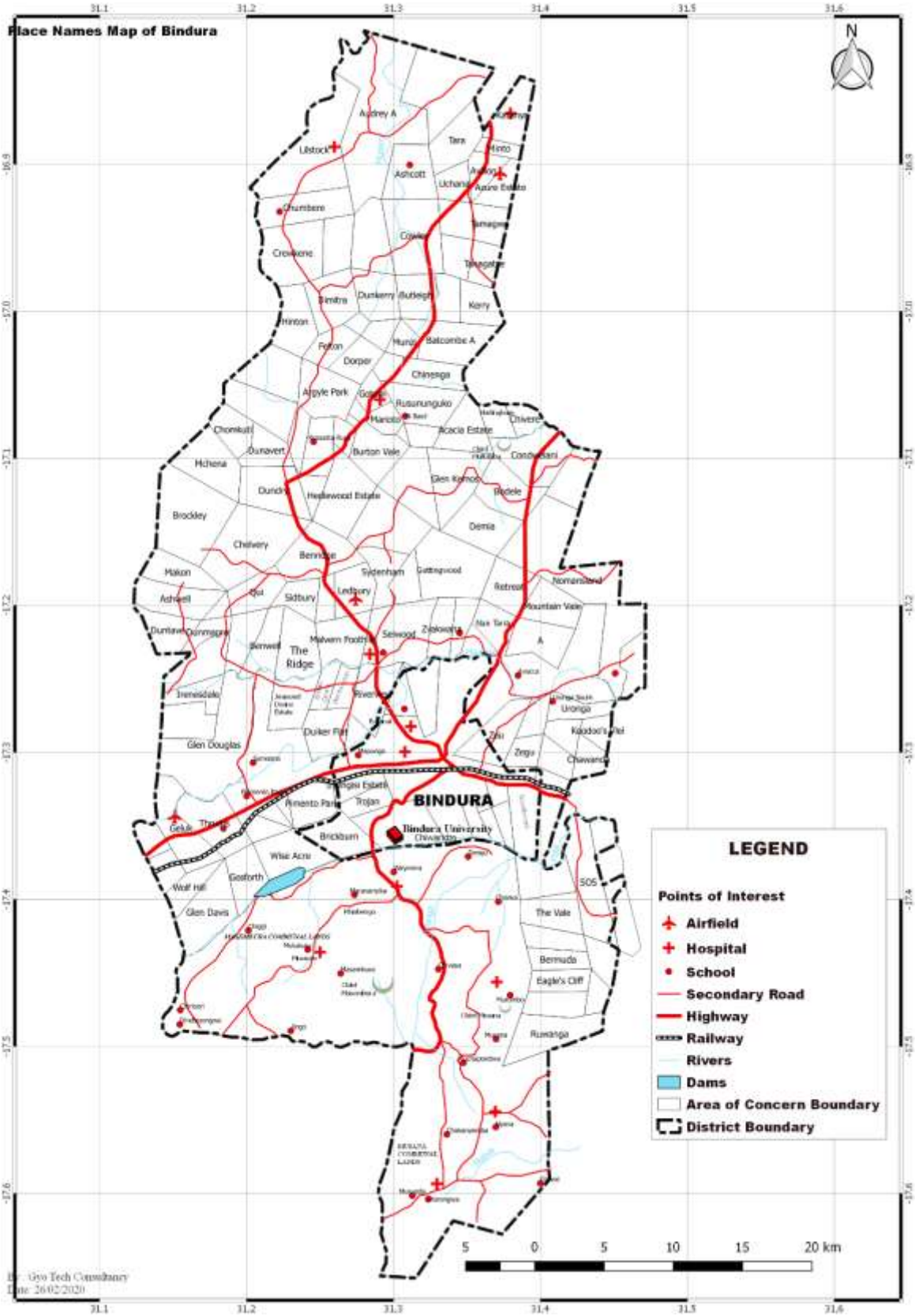
***4.6.4.2 Emotional reaction to a feature*:** These included commendatory names such as *Flamboyant Street*, condemnatory names like *Muchapondwa* ('you will be murdered') – where many murders used to take place in the area. Ironically, recently, three female members of the MDC Alliance opposition party who were abducted in Harare were found in *Muchapondwa*, heavily tortured and left for dead (Chimedza, 2020). Happiness was another emotion reflected in place names such as *Geluk Farm* Dutch or Afrikaans for 'happiness, luck, success, or fortune'. Pride was reflected in *Tashinga House* ('we are brave') and *Tagarika House* ('we are sitting pretty'). Stubbornness was evident in *Ndodahondo Government Complex* ('I love the war'). Defiance was noted in *Taitezvi* ('we have done this'). Jubilation is notable in *Progress*[62] (the nickname given to a newly built area, Chiwaridzo, where low income earners were being afforded a chance to build their own homes).

4.6.5 Shift

4.6.5.1 Transfer: A number of street, mine, and farm names have been transferred from foreign lands to memorialise the homelands of the white settlers. These include *Cambridge Avenue, Cardiff Road, Centenary Avenue, Coventry Road, Oxford Road, Willow Dean Farm, Kimberley Reefs Mine, Selous Avenue, Sussex Farm, Sydenham Farm, Achernar Farm, Arundel Farm, Crewkerne Farm, Geluk Farm, Glen Kermos Farm, Lestock Farm, Lilburn Farm, Lilstock Farm, Otterburn Farm, Pimento Park Farm, Reitbok Vlei Farm, Rosetta Rust Farm* and *Vergenoeg Farm*. Figure. 4.11 below shows examples:

[62] I have cited this example under the occurrence theme; this showed how place names can fit into more than one category. The shops were named *Progress* because the owner was happy to start a business that would enable upward social mobility; thus, they expressed this happiness through the name of their shop (Interview participant A1).

Figure 4.11: Place names map of Bindura (adapted from Police Map of Bindura 2000).



4.6.5.2 Feature shift e.g., *Atherstone Road* (after *Atherstone Farm*), *Chipadze Township* and *Chipadze Farm* (named after Chief Chipadze and his area of jurisdiction, Chipadze) and *Acacia Street* after *Acacia Estates*.

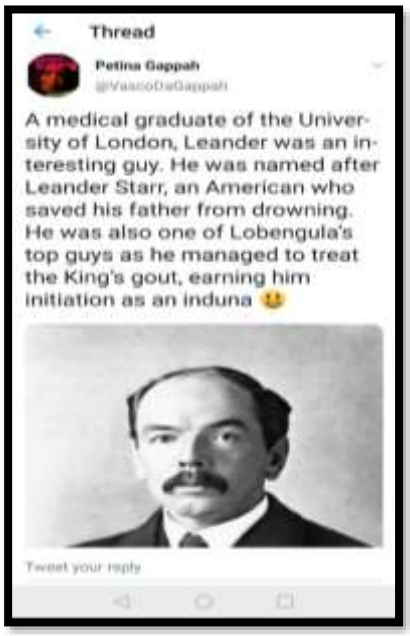
***4.6.5.3 Relational*:** These toponyms used a qualifier within them "to indicate orientation from an adjacent toponym of the same feature type" (Tent & Blair, 2014, p. 24), for example, *East Bindura* (the area is to the east of Bindura), *West Bindura* (area to the west of Bindura town).

4.6.6 Eponymous Names

These use a name, title, or eponym to commemorate or honour people or other named entities. They were sometimes referred to as commemorative toponyms (Mamvura, 2014; Mamvura, Mutasa, & Pfukwa, 2017; Mamvura et al., 2018; Mangena, 2018). Commemorative toponyms honoured different people who played different roles in society, but men are the most memorialised. To begin with, there are biographical-honorary toponyms that honoured expedition[63] members such as *Selous Avenue*, which honoured Frederick Courteney Selous. *Jameson Avenue* was named after Sir Leander Starr Jameson (see Figure 4.12), while *Leon Avenue* took the name of a Jewish businessman and farmer, Behor Shumuel Leon, who came to Rhodesia in 1908 and was one of the early business people and farmers to make the newly established colony thrive. Mamvura et al. (2018, p. 45) referred to them as "builders of the colony". Figure 4.12 is a picture and description of Leander Starr Jameson.

[63] The north-east march to present day Mashonaland by the Pioneer Column under the British South Africa Company (BSAC).

Figure 4.12: A post from Gappah @VascoDaGappah (2020) on *Twitter* describing Leander Starr Jameson.



Some commemorative toponyms were named after eminent people such as *Robert Gabriel Mugabe Way* (memorialising the former head of state) and *Solomon Ngoni Street* (a War of Liberation hero). In fact, most street names fell under this category. Moreover, there were those that honoured religious figures and entities: (a) saints and biblical figures, for example, *St Mary's Church, Marian, St Patrick's Church*, (b) supernatural figures, for instance, *Chavadzimu* ('the ancestors'),[64] *Mudzimundiringe* ('ancestors, be with me').

Other commemorative toponyms are biographical-associative,[65] with *Chipadze Township and Farm* (named after Chief Chipadze), *Musana Communal Lands* (after Chief Musana), *Masembura Communal Lands* (after Chief Masembura) memorialising the person who lived there. Some names honour the person who established the place, e.g., *Hermann Gmeiner Primary* and *Secondary Schools*, *Zimbabwe Ezekiel Guti University* (ZEGU – Ezekiel Guti is the founder) and *Lawleys Grant Farm*. Other toponyms commemorated the person who built the feature. This category almost repeated the information in the category that highlighted the person or group who founded the place; most farm names and house names were named after those who founded them. An example is *Chiwaridzo Primary School*, which was locally referred to as *kuMaChina*, Shona for 'the area of the Chinese', because the Chinese built it.

[64] Ancestors were seen as supernatural figures among the Shona (Kazembe, 2012).
[65] The toponyms in the biographical-associative commemorate a person who may have lived in the place which subsequently takes their name.

Additionally, some commemorative place names memorialised the person who owned the land, for example, *Green's Farm, Hinton's Farm*, *kwaMakusha* ('Makusha's place that is a farm'), *kwaMatangira* ('Matangira's place', which is a farm) and *kwaStondoni* ('Stondoni's place').

4.6.7 Linguistic Innovation

The multilingual and multicultural nature of Bindura enabled contact among various languages, which resulted in the formation of neologisms and other linguistic innovations in place naming. These are explained in the following sections.

4.6.7.1 Blends Bindura had a number of portmanteau names that were derived from two words of different languages or two words from the same language, or both. The languages spoken in the area included Shona, Ndebele, Chewa, English, and Nyanja. Examples included *Binsburg*, which was formed from *Bindura* and *burg*, *Chipstone* (*Chipindura* and *stone*), *Chakanyemba* from *chekayi* 'cut' and *nyemba* 'cowpeas', *Chitomboshava* from *chitombo* 'the stone' and *shava* 'red' and *Mupandenyama* from *mupande* 'strike it' and *nyama* 'meat'.

4.6.7.3 Clipped These clipped placenames were those where a new name was created by leaving out part of an existing name, for instance *C.hill* (from *Claverhill*), *G.hill* (from *Greenhill*) and *T-Hall* (*Tendai Hall*).

4.6.7.4 Transfer of generic terminology *Chipindura Park* is an example of this; the word *park* took on a new meaning because it was now used to refer to a suburb and not an open common area.

4.6.7.5 Nicknames There were many features that were given nicknames. Most of them derived from slang and were sometimes referred to as slang toponyms (Ainiala et al., 2016). However, slang toponyms were more encompassing (there may be slang toponyms for all the other categories (descriptive, associative, occurrence, etc.); therefore, I considered nicknames a better term, as it was specific. For example, *kwanaHenzoo* (Hands' place) – *Henzo* is a well-known thief who used to stay in the area; the name came from a Shona idiom which referred to a thief as someone with hands (*aneruoko* or *anoba*). Other examples were *Kanos'* (a shopping complex in which a businessman going by that nickname has business outlets), *paKavhu* (Kavhu's place, the nickname of a person) and *Kavhukanokanga* (given to a bus stop).

4.6.7.6 Ironic *Munzi* (Nyanja for 'home') was ironic, because the people on the farm could not call it "home", as they were labourers living and working in squalid conditions. They came from their homes for economic reasons.

4.6.7.7 Euphemistic *Condwelani* (Nyanja for 'be happy') masked the bad conditions the farm workers were in, as the conditions did not warrant them being happy. They were overworked, poorly paid, and lived in squalor.

4.6.7.8 Humour: *Nyamambara* (Chilapalapa[66] for 'the naughty one'), *Dzedzereke* ('the stumbling one'), *Mabhombi* ('thick lensed eye-glass wearer').

4.6.8 Erroneous Names

4.6.8.1 Popular etymology: *kwaRidhi* ('lid') mispronunciation and misspelling of *lid*. Shona does not have /l/; thus, it is substituted with /r/.

4.6.8.2 Form confusion: Bindura (variant spelling for *Pindura*), *Pabweno* (variant spelling for *Pabwino/Chabwino*).

4.6.9 Instrumental Names

These were place names given for administrative purposes. The best examples were wards, constituencies put in place for electoral, and census purposes. Bindura has 33 wards and two constituencies – Bindura North and Bindura South. Fields, paddocks, and dams on farms also had names given to them for administrative purposes. In addition, mines also had names for pits; *Freda* and *Rebecca* are the names of two main pits at *Freda Rebecca Min*e. There are also shafts, such as *Trojan Hill*, *Cardiff East*, *Cardiff Far East*, *Upper Greenstones*, *Chinamora Batholith*, *Main Orebody*, and *Hanging Wall Orebody* (also known as *Footwall Massive Orebody* at *Trojan Mine*) whose names were used in an instrumental way.

4.7 Key issues emerging from results

This section briefly highlights the key issues in the results; they will be elaborated on in the discussion chapter. Place naming is identity work in that it distinguishes one place from another. It can also classify people, events, and communities, and be used in power relations

[66] It was interesting to find a *Chilapalapa* (Zimbabwean Pidgin English) place name; this is a pidgin language that is under-researched and is on the verge of dying out, since most of the speakers (white former commercial farmers and their workers) are no longer on the farms or in Zimbabwe.

and politics. Some toponyms are descriptive: they enable users to note one or more aspects of features and places. Since toponyms are examples of the languages and cultures of different communities, they can also be examples of identifying people in terms of the regions and places of the world they inhabit. From the presented results, three historical periods can be read from the toponyms of Bindura: pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial.

Toponyms that can be attributed to the pre-colonial period are those that refer to flora, fauna and topographical features. They exhibit the relationship people had with the environment and where they got their food and shelter. These toponyms include animals, vegetation, rivers, mountains and caves. The colonial period presents transfer, shift, erroneous, and commemorative toponyms. These toponyms bring to the fore issues of conquest, domination, and contestation, and highlight the ways in which some toponymic practices are political and involved power relations. The post-colonial period has toponyms that seek to reclaim the nation's lost or distorted identity. This restoration is being achieved by renaming streets, buildings, and places after heroes of the War of Liberation. Very few heroines have been memorialised so far. Another emerging trend following the oustering of long-serving president Robert Mugabe, is the renaming of places to legitimise the leadership of Emmerson Mnangagwa.[67]

Toponymic commodification was also noted, where place names of tourist attractions are increasingly being used for commercial gain. Wealthy individuals such as Jaguard Padriack, Ezekiel Guti, Toendepi Remigious Matangira, Savanhu Muunganirwa, Munyaradzi Kandemiri, and Kenneth Musanhi have their names in public places, and these names are branded and commercialised. Public entities like the National Social Security Authority (NSSA), Commercial Banks, and companies such as Pick n Pay, N. Richards and Metro Peech & Browne Wholesalers are also using their names for commercial purposes. These commercially oriented toponymic activities use the public space to advertise their businesses and persuade ordinary citizens to buy their products and services.

Overall, this study highlights the question of what place naming has to do with social difference and social inequality. Place naming exemplifies how language use is coming to the fore in struggles for power. Language is central in the struggles for colonial, patriarchal, and

[67] On 21 November 2019, the Cabinet of Zimbabwe announced that many places were going to have their names changed (Nyoka, 2019). This renaming was a second occurrence since Mnangagwa came to power, because earlier on 6 December 2017, soon after his inauguration, he had renamed army barracks (Mamvura, 2020b). The renaming exercises are justified by the regime as a continuation of decolonising the linguistic landscape and reclaiming the national identity that was distorted by colonial settlers.

capitalist power. These struggles unfold in contests over what to name places and things, what names mean, whose names should be memorialised, and movements to change undesirable place names. These struggles unfold in the reclamation of the power to name and naming practices stamped out by the repression of colonial regimes. The results also expose the half-heartedness in ensuring social equality by post-colonial governments as they continue to perpetuate injustices against ordinary people – places are still being ideologically named, women are still marginalised, and capital retains control and power.[68] Yet, there is hope as people fight the injustices by openly contesting unfair practices, scribble graffiti on undesirable place names and signage, or coin unofficial names that they relate to and are meaningful to them.

4.8 Summary

This chapter presented the results of the study. It gave a summary of the names collected using diverse means such as ethnographic fieldwork, maps, gazetteers, archives (physical and online) and observations. These results include a table describing the data, listed in Appendix A, geopolitical contexts, actors involved in the naming, various objectives, aims, and motivations for naming places. In addition, thematic trends and an analysis of the toponyms was also given. Quotations from participants, pictures and documents were used to highlight how and why people in Bindura give places the names they do. The information presented in this chapter also showed how people thought names were given. Intertextuality, as discussed in Chapter 2 § 2.6.6 was evident in that the naming in Bindura reflected local, national, and even international people, places, and events. The next chapter discusses the results in detail.

[68] There is abundant scholarship on this topic. Fanon (1963 [1969]), for example, in the chapter entitled "Pitfalls of National Consciousness" explained this in detail.

Chapter 5 Discussion

5.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the findings presented in Chapter 4. The basic statistical descriptions of the data listed in Appendix A, the various contexts and actors involved in naming and the types of technologies used in toponymic practices are discussed. Referring to several sources of information, the chapter aims to convey multiple perspectives on the relationships between place naming practices, toponyms, identity, power, and communication. This discussion chapter is organised to reflect the key themes that emerged through the analysis of the data. The themes work as prompts for the discussion and are not mutually exclusive or hermetic. Instead, they are used to facilitate the organisation of data and structure the discussion. The themes making up this discussion are accumulative and inductive evidence supporting the argument regarding how, why, when, what, and where the connections between places, names, identity, power and communication come about. Therefore, the chapter is divided into sections, subsections and sub-subsections, with headings that have been derived from the findings.

5.2 Toponym statistics and data division

The seven data taxa listed in Appendix A consist of farm, mine, school, shopping centre, street, village, and other topographical names. The classification of the toponymic data of Bindura into these categories is employed for systematic analyses.

Names of farms, which make up a plurality, 34%, are often those of people (anthroponyms) who owned or founded the farms. In this classification, official and unofficial names give a preview of the area's past, as names endure and persevere even though the individual bearing that name has left the place or is deceased. Most of the former farm owners lost their farms during the land reform programme, but the old names persist. Some farm names can be topographical names, especially those that describe features. For example, *Acacia Estates* is both a farm name and a topographical name. *Acacia polycantha* (*Mubayamhondoro*) is an indigenous thorny tree. Some farm names are commemorative of people, events, and places, while others are humorous, sarcastic, or ironic.

Mine names can also be personal, as there are individuals like Algy Cluff, who named Freda Rebecca Mine after family members. Villages bear names of the clans inhabiting the area, which highlights a personal approach to naming in Bindura, and likely elsewhere in Zimbabwe

and other areas in the world, like Norfolk Island, as reported by Nash (2013). Personal place naming contrasts with official and map-based toponymy. It is mostly spontaneous and improvised to suit individual and sometimes communal likes. For instance, an elderly participant A24 in an interview held on 25 July 2018 said some toponyms were improvised and he gave the example of *Mucherengi*, which is Shona for 'one who scours/rubs' or 'one who survives through struggle'. The village elder said the name was given by the Doma people who had been moved from their ancestral lands in *Mhangura* (Shona for 'copper') to the tsetsefly and malaria prone *Chipuriro* (Shona for 'the place for winnowing' [anglicised to Spolilo]) when the Southern Rhodesian government passed the Land Apportionment Act (1931).

Many school names in the urban and rural settings of Bindura take the names of the places in which they are located. However, some private schools are named after individuals, events, or views that the namers wish to express. Figure 5.1 below shows signage bearing names of some of these schools; the first two at the top are named after the areas they are in, and Lady Enereta High School is a private school named after the mother of the late music star, Oliver Mtukudzi, who was declared a national hero. The situation is similar concerning shopping centre names; however, many shopping centres are known by their unofficial names, especially the names of individual shops at the shopping centres, because they are more popular or were the first to be built. Signage for school and shopping centre names is not standardised. Although it is expected for public schools to have standard signage that indicates their name, most do not have signs in place; where they are available, they are often in disrepair. Most schools lack funding due to the economic predicament the country is in, and signage could be the least of the things they are concerned about. Individual shops and their owners, depending on their financial capabilities, mount their preferred signage. The process for erecting signage for shops is less official than that for schools and seems to be unrestricted by legislation from my observations in the field and gathered from the Urban Councils Act (1996).

Figure 5.1: School name signage photos (Zuvalinyenga, 2018).

The situation is different when it comes to street names. I use the term *street names* to refer to names of roads, lanes, and any named thoroughfares. The local government manages and administers street names. They are required to follow the provisions in the Rural and Urban Planning legislation (1988 and 1996, respectively) throughout the process of name giving and erecting signage. The naming of roads and numbering of houses is the responsibility of the municipality under the Urban Councils Act [Chapter 29:15] (1996), § 212, item 1. However, most streets do not have official signs, and where they exist, they are mostly in poor condition;

again the justification for this disrepair involves the unfavourable economic conditions prevailing in the country.

Bindura has many unofficial street and place names. The use of unofficial odonyms suggests that official processes for street naming did not define how people commonly used those odonyms most of the time. In some instances, street names are contested. This can be seen where official signage has been defaced, vandalised, or removed. Such practices show differences in opinions concerning the implementation of place naming and signage erection. They also highlight social defiance and a dislike of top-down, outsider management of public spaces, which locals may feel are communal matters that should be dealt with internally.

Topographical names describe natural or physical features. These include names of rivers, mountains, hills, caves, buildings, houses, and other physical features of the area which are given proper names. Most of these names describe nature and how people relate to it. The descriptions can be literal, metaphorical, or spiritual, and in other cases emotional.

5.3 Themes and categories that emerged

5.3.1 Descriptive

As shown in § 4.6.1 and the data set listed in Appendix A, descriptive names are in the majority. These toponyms show a conscious effort by the name givers to describe the landscape and/or feature, be it the shapes or appearances of natural phenomena (see § 4.6.1.1) and/or metaphorical comparisons (see § 4.6.1.3) of them. In addition, some place names are generic terms for the feature used as a toponym (see § 4.6.1.4), while others are descriptive locational toponyms (see § 4.6.1.5). Numerical toponyms also contribute to the linguistic landscape of Bindura, with streets being the majority of such names; for example, the Chiwaridzo ‘one that spreads’ suburb has most of its streets designated as numbers.

5.3.2 Associative

Associative toponyms could be local, i.e., environmental, biological, or associated with an occupation, activity, or structure. There are many “environmental or biological” toponyms (Tent & Blair, 2014, p. 22) in the local associative category for Bindura. Many street names (except for those named after people) are derived from words for animals, flowers, trees, and other botanical features. These environmental or biological things may not be present in the particular place they are named after but are part of the greater ecological system of the area.

Most names of farms, settlement areas, mines, and even businesses and industries fall under this category because the toponyms are derived from occupations or activities. For instance, *Ashanti Gold Mine* indicates gold is mined there, *Maizelands Farm* is indicative of the farm specialising in maize growing, and *Chingore Panel Beaters* repair damaged cars. Structures like a streetlight or borehole influenced such place names as *Tawa Raiti*, Shonalised 'tower light' and *Pachibhorani* Shonalised 'at the borehole' respectively.

5.3.3 Occurrence

Incidences and occasions in Bindura, and the world more generally, can influence the naming of places. For example, *Garikayi* (Shona for 'live a good life/well') is a new suburb established after the government carried out a clean-up (*Murambatsvina* – 'the one who does not like dirt')[69] of illegal settlements. *Chimurenga Road* ('War of Liberation'), *Bhekina Faso* (named after the renaming of Burkina Faso from the Republic of Upper Volta on 4 August 1984) and *Centenary Avenue* (refers to common practices in British and other European cultures commemorating the hundredth anniversary of a significant event) are toponyms connected to local, regional, and international occurrences.

5.3.4 Subjective

Two categories, emotive place names that express a general feeling at the time of name giving which is not a direct reaction to the feature, and another category expressing an emotional reaction to a feature were noted. The emotive category includes names that are "formed from verbs in various tenses and moods … abstract nouns … and metaphorical nouns …" (Jenkins, 2018, p. 27). Examples include toponyms in Shona such as *Kudzanai Street* 'respect each other', *Batanai Suburb* 'be united' and *Yemurai* 'to emulate'. Emotional reaction to a feature is noticeable in commendatory names such as *Flamboyant Street*, condemnatory names like *Muchapondwa* (Shona for 'you will be murdered') – many murders used to take place in the area.

5.3.5 Shift

Shift toponyms are those that have either been transferred from one feature to another (known as feature shift) or from one place to another (known simply as transfer). A number of street, mine, and farm names have been transferred from foreign countries to memorialise the

[69] See explanation of *Murambatsvina* in § 4.6.3, Chapter 4.

homelands of the white settlers. These include *Cardiff Road* (from Cardiff in the UK), *Lestock Farm* (from Lestock in the UK), *Otterburn Farm* (from Otterburn in the UK), *Reitbok Vlei Farm* (from Reitbok Farm in South Africa), *Vergenoeg Farm* (from Vergenoeg Farm in South Africa) and *Kimberley Reef Mine* (from Kimberley in South Africa). *Acacia Street* is a toponym shift from *Acacia Estates*, and *Atherstone Street* from *Atherstone Farm.* Tent and Blair (2014, p. 24) added a third component to shift toponyms and argued that were relational shift toponyms which used a qualifier within them "to indicate orientation from an adjacent toponym of the same feature type". Examples of relational transfers include suburbs or farms and their "extensions" e.g., *Chiwaridzo* and *Chiwaridzo Extension* or *Chiwaridzo Phase Two*; *Hexagon Farm* and *Hexagon Extension Farm*; and *Usaramo Farm* and *Usaramo Extension Farm*.

5.3.6 Eponymous names

Eponymous toponyms use the name of a person or their title to commemorate or honour people. Often referred to as commemorative toponyms (Mamvura, 2014; Mamvura et al., 2017; Mangena, 2018; Mapara & Nyota, 2016), they pay tribute to different individuals or organisations which played various roles in society, but most of those memorialised are men. To begin with, there are biographical-honorary toponyms from the colonial era that honour expedition members such as *Selous Avenue*, which honours Frederick Courteney Selous. Selous was a British hunter, explorer, conservationist and soldier who helped to establish British settlements in Africa. *Jameson Avenue* is named after Sir Leander Starr Jameson (British personal doctor to John Cecil Rhodes) while *Leon Avenue* takes the name of a Jewish businessman and farmer, Behor Shumuel Leon, who came to Rhodesia in 1908 and was one of the early businesspeople and farmers who helped make the newly established colony thrive. Mamvura et al. (2018, p. 45) referred to them as "builders of the colony" because they were honoured for their role in setting up the British empire in Africa.

There are some commemorative toponyms, especially street names that memorialise prominent people such as the head of state (*Emmerson Dambudzo Mnangagwa Road*), the War of Liberation heroes (most street names in Aerodrome and the CBD) and important events related to war, independence, and businesspersons. Examples are given in § 4.6.6 of Chapter 4. Additionally, some commemorative toponyms honour religious figures and entities including saints or biblical figures and supernatural figures. Other commemorative toponyms were classified as biographical-associative (Tent & Blair, 2014), and these often memorialise the people who lived in a place, the person who established the place, the person who built the

place, and or the person who owned the place. Most churches, farms, businesses, commercial premises, shops, resettlement areas, mines, communal areas, and houses fall under this category.

5.3.7 Linguistic innovation

The category of linguistic innovation in toponyms brings to the fore language contact matters. According to Sandnes (2007, 2016) toponyms offerred interesting insight into linguistic processes in language contact areas because they are easily borrowed when people speaking different languages meet. As argued by Ndlovu and Mangena (2013) in their article on transphonologisation of toponyms discussed in § 2.2.3 of Chapter 2, loan toponyms are commonly adapted into the sound system of the language that is receiving the adaptation. There are place names in Bindura that are formed from adaptations that occur intermittently on other language levels inclusive of grammar (semantics, morphology, syntax, and lexical elements), translations or substitutions of elements by corresponding sounding words, phonetics, and phonology in the new language, neologisms, and other linguistic innovations. These consist of portmanteau names (blends) derived from different languages spoken in the area, including Shona, Ndebele, Chewa, English, and Nyanja (§ 4.6.7.1), clipped words (§ 4.6.7.3), extended generic terminology (§ 4.6.7.4), ironic names (§ 4.6.7.6), deliberately euphemistic names (§ 4.6.7.7), humorous place names (§ 4.6.7.8) and place nicknames (§ 4.6.7.5).

Linguistic innovation is also present when features are given place nicknames. This thesis' definition of nicknames was guided by Persson's (2013, p. 79) argument that the word nickname came from *eacan*, which is Old English and evolved to *eken*, in Middle English to imply 'to add to' or 'augment'. In this sense, a nickname (or an *ekename* for Persson), is an "also name" that is given to a person over and above their legal names. Nyambi (2017, p. 146) took the argument further to assert that because nicknames were "added names" they suggested the practice of partial renaming, as a result, a process of reidentification. In these arguments given by Nyambi (2017) and Persson (2013), one can see that the need to "add" another name to an already existing one may reflect the nicknamer's objective to reidentify the nicknamed according to their past views or with their shifting perceptions of the nicknamed. These psychological aspects of added names is best understood following de Klerk and Bosch's (1996, p. 3) view of nicknames as having the capacity for swaying the beliefs of users due to their "semantic value". Particularly, de Klerk and Bosch (1996) envisaged nicknames as

buttressing some relationships and social attitudes, refreshing people's memories of the traits of the holder and thus generating assumptions which influenced opinions.

In Bindura, most place nicknames derive from slang and they are sometimes referred to as slang toponyms (Ainiala et al., 2016). However, slang toponyms are more encompassing and may exist in other categories of toponyms (descriptive, associative, occurrence, etc.). Therefore, *nicknames* is a better term for this thesis, as it is specific. Examples of these place nicknames can be noted at most unofficial bus stops such as *pakamusawu* (Shona for 'at the little jujube tree'); the toponym both describes and associates the bus stop with the *ziziphus mauritiana* tree species. In addition, *paKavhu* or *pakaSoil* 'Kavhu's place', is the nickname of a person, and *Kavhukanokanga*, given to a bus stop, and thus, the place nickname is associative. So too is another nickname for a bus stop *panaDhunda* (Shona slang for 'at the chubby one's') – it is both descriptive and associative.

For the ironic, deliberately euphemistic, and humorous place names (mainly used for farms) that were recorded, respondents said these names were coined as resistance or contestation to the ill-treatment that farm workers suffered at the hands of the farm owners. The slang and place nicknames created bonds among marginalised members of society as they appropriated their oppressor's language to create language codes separating them from the oppressor. The explanation from respondents could be true in light of the prevalence of practice of using nicknames as a means of protest in the highly repressive Zimbabwean social and political environment (Nyambi, 2017; Zuvalinyenga & Muvindi, 2013; Zuvalinyenga, 2020 a, b). Nyambi (2017, p. 144) alluded to a general acceptance in the utility of nicknames by Zimbabweans. He posited that nicknaming offered interesting leads into the fondness of Zimbabweans for employing them "to define, describe and grapple with the realities of the social, economic and political pressures affecting them". Ndlovu and Mangena (2013) also confirm that place nicknames were used as forms of protest in Zimbabwe.

5.3.8 Erroneous names

Some toponyms resulted from errors. Ndlovu and Mangena (2013, p. 347) gave examples of what they call "transphonologized Zimbabwean toponyms", where attempts at adapting English place names to Shona or Ndebele are made. The reverse is also true, where Shona or Ndebele place names are adapted to English – errors are mainly from misspelling and mispronunciations. Ndlovu and Mangena (2013) argued that the adaptations were sincere attempts to simplify pronunciation and making the unfamiliar English, Shona or Ndebele

sounds familiar for the different name users. In Bindura, I noted erroneous names where popular pronunciation is adopted, and unfamiliar sounds are replaced by familiar ones. An example is *kwaRidhi* (Shona for 'Lid's place'), which is a mispronunciation and misspelling of *Lid*, which is the name of the farm owner. Shona does not have /l/; thus, it is substituted for by /r/. In addition, *Bindura* is a mispronunciation and misspelling of *Pindura* 'turn' and *Pabweno*, a misspelling of *Pabwino* or *Chabwino* (Chewa for 'nice place' or 'nice thing') respectively.

5.3.9 Instrumental names

Tent and Blair (2014, p. 15) argued that instrumental place names permitted "an insight into the namer's 'frame of mind' or motivation for the naming". These toponyms are given to facilitate research and for administrative purposes. According to Tent and Blair (2014, p. 17), administrative convenience is the "immediately-preceding etymology" implying features such as fields, paddocks, and dams on farms had names given to them for organisational purposes rather than for what these toponyms symbolise. Furthermore, 33 wards and two constituencies (*Bindura North* and *Bindura South*) were named for electoral and census purposes. In addition, mines also have names for pits and shafts whose names are used in an instrumental way, examples are given in Chapter 4, § 4.6.9.

5.4 Social, cultural and geopolitical place naming contexts

The term *geopolitics* is understood in the sense it is used in critical toponymy. Giraut and Houssay-Holzschuch (2016) argued that geopolitics imply international relations in mostly political settings as they are influenced by geographical factors. Rose-Redwood et al. (2018) shared similar sentiments. Since toponymy is interdisciplinary, it encompasses dealing with larger societal matters in the world and considerations of association external to the language system (Motschenbacher, 2020). This implies that the study of place names remains only a part of the research. In order to understand and explain such complex phenomena, there is need to access different sources of data and analyse it from various perspectives, at the same time taking context into consideration.

Here, context is meant in the sense that it is expounded by critical discourse analysts Wodak (2015) and Hasan (2016). The focus is on the relations of context and text (in my case, *text* refers to place names), where the latter was envisaged as a language operative in identifiable social contexts. This view of context emphasises context as an active constituent;

it is not merely the conditions under which words occur. Its encompassing attributes can be seen in the way it plays an important part in the advancement of discourse and shapes the characteristics of language as a process and system, to provide the basis for usable language. Context analysis reveals the power of language to create, maintain, and change human relations. In other words, toponyms and naming processes are motivated (Tent & Blair, 2014, p. 1) and not arbitrary. Therefore, to gain robust insights in toponymic studies, linguistic, social, cultural, and geopolitical factors should be taken into account because place names represent language signs that are meaningful beyond their referential function (Radding & Western, 2010).

Major historical eras (pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial), events, and relationships are noticeable in place names in Bindura. In this sense, place naming exhibits system-external relationships between linguistic, social, cultural, economic, and political attributes. Thus, I adopt and modify Nash's (2013, pp. 31-32) proposal by conceiving of spaces that are demarcated by governmental borders as the home of ecologically structured systems of place names. The notion of envisaging toponyms as part of ecological systems was discussed in Chapter 1, § 1.7.2. In addition, I demonstrated earlier (Zuvalinyenga, 2020b) how the writing and rewriting of the toponymic landscape recalls Tucci, Ronza, and Giordano's (2011, p. 372) assertions of the "layering (of) the toponymic tapestry". In the paper (Zuvalinyenga, 2020b, p. 1) I show that place names can be a replication of a region's "long and contested social and political history where fragments 'of all the different toponymic regimes and hegemonic discourses that took over one after the other over time' will remain inscribed". I gathered these views from Tucci et al. (2011, p. 372) who asserted that the changing of names one government after the other originates "a complex tapestry in which different pasts revive and conflicting ideologies co-exist". Therefore, this section discusses the various contexts outlined above with an extended analysis of the four geopolitical contexts of conquest, revolution, emergence, and commodification, because some of these form the basis for place naming (Giraut & Houssay-Holzschuch, 2016, p. 7).

5.4.1 Pre-colonial period

Uluocha (2015, p. 180) showed how pre-colonial African societies used place names as oral traditions of recording and passing down historical, cultural, cartographic, and geographic information from generation to generation. The data in Table 4.2 (presented in Chapter 4) attest to the fact that there is a resilient connection amongst language, the environment, and society

(see Hasan, 2016 for a comprehensive bibliography that includes B. Malinowski, 1923[1953]; Firth, 1957; Halliday, McIntosh & Strevens, 1964; Whorf, 1957).

The proposal by Hasan (2016, p. 29) that "we use language to do things in social life" is revealing and insightful in verifying three claims. First, one can propose that place naming as language use reflects social situations; given a toponym in a familiar language, the nature of the corresponding situational context may be inferred. For instance, participants from *Manhenga* (Shona for 'the feathers'), did not know for certain where the name came from but were able to infer its meaning because they were familiar with the language and knew that places in the area were often named after trees, animals, parts of animals, and many other natural things. Second, given the context of situation, namers and name users may be able to successfully guess the likely name or its meaning as was the case with *Manhenga*. The third proposal is that language, in our situation toponymy, is a critical tool for creating, maintaining, and changing personalities, social institutions, and values. To support this proposal, results presented in Chapter 4, § 4.6 – toponymic thematic trends – illustrate how place names describe people, social institutions, and values. In addition, in Zuvalinyenga (2020b) I provided evidence of how place names in Bindura reflect the multiple identiies of the place, its people and the values they hold.

These proposals are useful for explaining how toponyms and toponymic practices reveal the connections they have with matters of identity, power, and communication. From a pragmatic point of view, semantics or meaning emanate from socially and culturally prominent processes and practices; places are named because they are used. Guillorel (2008, p. 1) posited that assigning names to space entails constructing territory and is the first manifestation of identity as a political act. Significantly, Guillorel's (2008) arguments seem to build on the following noteworthy propositions by Firth (1957, p. 185):

> The bonds of family, neighbourhood, class, occupation, country and religion are knit by speech and language. We take eagerly to the magic of language because only by apprenticeship to it can we be admitted to association, fellowship, and community in our social organizations which ministers to our needs and gives us what we want or what we deserve. The emphasis is on society and fellowship, in which a man may find his personality.
>
> The various forms of local and familiar speech may be stated by means of constructs, so called cultural systems, the elements of which we may regard as values to the people, who by continuing to give utterance to them maintain them or modify them by their activity.

Thus, this reinforces the need to consider the relationship between conditions within the context and place naming to promote understanding of the interactions between people, places, place names, and their meaning and usage. Toponyms are components of sociolinguistics that involve the differential behaviours of socially defined groups of people.

5.4.2 Colonial period

Studies of colonisation and what has resulted from it continue to grow.[70] The present study, in this section (§ 5.4.2) and the following one (§ 5.4.3), demonstrates that place naming practices in colonial and postcolonial environments have the potential for linguistically-informed research, since the processes of (re)naming are influenced by a complex but close network of social forces. Weyer's (2016) list of Rhodesian place names are exonyms that were introduced by colonial settlers. They are mostly commemorative of foreign places, people, and events. Along the same lines, Calvet (2002, pp. 143-144) argued that in many modern colonial states, the colonizers often rebaptised locales to accommodate their traditions by giving that locale a new toponym. Many suburbs, streets, farms, and mines names of Bindura fall under this category.

The colonial period was characterised by conquest and emergence. This is when new places are set-up (for settlements or other activities such as mining, farming, or industrial development), and place naming becomes a political priority. The introductory chapter has shown that British colonial settlement was characterised by subjugation, displacement, and occupation, and these activities and processes are noticeable in place naming. The names *Arundel Farm*, *Ashcott Farm*, *Athlone Farm*, *Connaught Mine*, *Oxford Road* and *York Street* and even the architecture shown in Figure 4.3 (Chapter 4) gave Rhodesia a British identity. This linguistic landscape exemplifies the political character of toponyms. Adebanwi (2012, p. 661) emphasised the political aspect of toponyms when he made the following statement:

> The practices and dynamics of place naming create opportunities for engaging with and responding to power, contesting or affirming positions and locations, mobilizing consent or dissent, remembering or forgetting, (re)articulating values, and pursuing interests in the context of local and global socio-political and economic processes. (Adebanwi, 2012, p. 661)

[70] Rodney (1972) and Memmi (1965, 2006) are a few examples of such studies.

The colonisers claimed the right to name as a way of place making (Berg & Vuolteenaho, 2009). Scholarship on the politics of place (re)naming is extant in critical toponymy as highlighted in Chapter 2. Radding and Western (2010, p. 402) provided a summary where they asserted that replacements of place names were ordinarily forced on communities by political, usually colonial power. Governments used the significance of place names to communities for their own benefit, influence, and political control. The colonial powers that colonised Zimbabwe changed the names of places to gain control of the people and used these toponyms to establish themselves and legitimise their government (Mamvura et al., 2017; Mangena, 2018).

In addition, to borrow from and expand Searle's (2010, p. 8) concept of "deontic powers", as explained in § 1.7.2, allows place names to be viewed as propositions with a declarative function and thus, their political nature is made more prominent. In this sense, toponyms can be argued to construct the place in accordance with the views of those in authority because, according to Searle (2010, pp. 8-9) they are transporters of "rights, duties, obligations, requirements, permissions, authorisations, entitlements and so on". As an example of how toponyms have a declarative function, Garde (2014, p. 97) illustrates how speakers of Bininj Gunwok dialects in Western Arnhem Lands in Australia "do things" with toponyms. Garde (2014, pp. 119-120) showed that in addition to distinguishing one place from another, speakers in his case study used toponyms as speech acts to achieve interactional goals such as validating knowledge, proving ownership of places, and establish relationships among places. In addition, Nyambi (2016a, p. 151) argued for a comprehension of names as forms of speech-acts that are best understood in the context of the utterance. Furthermore, multiple authors (Kostanski, 2014; Medway & Warnaby, 2014; Tent and Blair, 2014; Tent, 2015) alluded to the pragmatics of and political power in toponyms, and these studies are another basis on which I make my current argument.

Some toponyms discussed in Chapter 4, § 4.6.7 provide examples of language contact because they are evidence of foreign languages introduced to an area that had its own languages. Toponyms in the context of language contact has not been comprehensively studied in Zimbabwe; hence, the data presented in this study in § 4.6.7, under the category of linguistic innovation, provides insights on this aspect of them, especially on how toponyms that were introduced interact with those from local languages in the area.

5.4.3 Post-colonial period

The postcolonial period is characterised by the renaming of places. The government argues that renaming is being carried out to reclaim the country's identity that was erased during colonial times (Pfukwa, 2018) and is an act of decolonisation (Mamvura, 2020d). The renaming seems to be following commemorative naming trends set during colonial times. The new names memorialise the War of Liberation, the people who participated in it, and events associated with it. However, this activity is piecemeal, and not all places with exonyms were renamed, as noted in § 4.3.3.

5.5 People and processes involved in place (re)naming

5.5.1 People or actors

Three actors, the government (local and central), the private sector, and civil society, should be involved in the (re)naming of places, according to bylaws. However, this is not what happens on the ground. Planning authorities, traditional leaders, the private sector, and communities are aware of their roles, but in most cases, they are not allowed to exercise them.[71] They are overlooked because power is centralised at the state level. Places are named by the cabinet, at central government level instead of by naming committees at the local government level where all concerned parties can be fully represented, and names properly constituted. For example, in November 2019, the majority of citizens were surprised to learn that places were being renamed when no consultations had been carried out (Nyoka, 2019). Furthermore, the actors are diverse and likely to have different and sometimes contradictory motives for preferring one name to another. Moral, ethical, and economic reasons for not renaming places may be invoked in Zimbabwe, which has an ailing economy. Activists, public intellectuals, journalists, professional brokers, and concerned residents may oppose toponymic changes for fear of extra costs or lower property values. Other actors may express displeasure with renaming, as it could erase the history of the area, even if that history could be undesirable to some people in the community. Some may feel that name changes may alter their suburb's character.[72] The private

[71] These roles are stated in the Provincial Governors and Local Authorities in Zimbabwe: A Statement of Policy and Directive by the Prime Minister, 1984; Provincial Councils and Administration Act [Chapter 29:11], 1985; Rural District Councils Act [Chapter 29:16], 1988; Urban Councils Act [Chapter 29:15], 1996; The Thirteen Principles Adopted by Cabinet to Guide the Decentralisation Process, 1996; Traditional Leaders Act [Chapter 29: 17], 1998.

[72] There was heated debate in 2002 when a newly formed suburb opposite Warren Park suburb was being named. Residents did not like the name *Warren Park Extension*, as was proposed by city fathers, because they argued that

sector, which includes local chambers of commerce, real estate developers, tourist information offices, shopkeepers, and transnational companies, may base their arguments for preferring certain names for promotion and profits more than anything else.

5.5.2 Processes

Place (re)naming in Zimbabwe is used to construct and maintain collective identity (Chabata, 2012; Mamvura, 2020a,b,c,d; Mushati, 2013; Zuvalinyenga & Libert, 2019; Zuvalinyenga, 2020b). Toponyms are used to define what constitutes a clan, community, and a nation state, because they inscribe the various collective identities intended (overtly or covertly) by the namers onto a space. The official inscription of identities onto places is supposed to be guided by clear policies, but the Zimbabwean government seem not to adhere to guidelines implied in the Rural District Councils Act (1988) and Urban Councils Act (1996) and the Names Alteration Act (1983). Recently the government has been using the Names Alteration Act (1983) to amend names. In any case, the new government, following the ouster of Robert Mugabe, apparently evoked the tenets of the Names Alteration Act (1983) for two reasons. First, they mentioned the Names Alteration Act when the Bulawayo Progressive Residents Association (BPRA) objected to the renaming of streets.[73] Second, they are using it to legitimise their power and control, because the Movement for Democratic Change Alliance (MDC A), the main opposition political party, is challenging the ZANU-PF government's legitimacy. The MDC A claims that the July 2018 elections were rigged in favour of ZANU-PF, and thus the latter is not a democratically elected government. Chiefs, headmen, and community leaders also name places, because they are seen as custodians of communal knowledge, customs and heritage (Traditional Leaders Act [Chapter 29: 17], 1998).

5.6 Objectives for place naming

Places are (re)named for a variety of objectives including distinguishing one place from another, enabling local governments to collect rates and deliver services to residents, and for symbolic and ideological reasons. Tent and Blair (2014, p. 1) argued that it was not always clear *why* namers gave places the kinds of names they do (emphasis added). However, a systematic analysis of various sources and looking at the name giver's intent may be helpful in making informed inferences. The literature reviewed in Chapter 2 and the findings presented

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the name has connotations of the ghetto. They preferred something vogue and stylish such as *Westlea*, and in the end, *Westlea* was the name given to the suburb (City of Harare, 2018).

[73]The full story can be read at http://kubatana.net/2020/07/24/bulawayo-residents-challenge-renaming-of-streets/.

in Chapter 4 revealed some of these objectives which are further explained in the following subsections.

5.6.1 Recording knowledge and relationships

Toponyms record geographical, spatial, linguistic, historical, and cultural knowledge. First, names such as *Musapa* (Shona for 'sandy'), *Dombotsvuku* (Shona for 'red stone'), *Tsimbarembada* (Shona for 'leopard's footprint'), and *Wayerera* (Shona for 'you are washed away') were given to describe the type of soil, the rocks, the animals, and the characteristics of rivers in the area, respectively. Observations and participant interviews confirm that place names have always been used for communicative purposes. Communication occurred through stories, songs, and rituals in addition to that involved in the name and naming.

Participant A22 recalled how their elders told them stories, sometimes coupled with songs and dances, of how certain features such as mountains or rivers were formed, to subsequently pass on to future generations. For example, the participant said the narrative surrounding the formation of the mountains in the area was a case in point. She said that elders argued that the mountains are the ancestors' way of looking out for their descendants because the mountains provide shelter, food supplies and mineral wealth to the people. Tradition has it that areas like these can sustain both human and animal life and have several mineral deposits. The oral tradition could be true to some extent, as (i) toponyms such as *Mashambamhuka* (Shona for 'awash with wild animals'), and *Pinduramhuka* (Shona for 'turn the game') and (ii) that the area is a mining and farming hub, show that some toponyms came from such experiences and beliefs.[74]

Uluocha (2015) concurs with the view that pre-colonial Africa practiced oral map-making, as part of an indigenous knowledge system. The ways in which Arab and European explorers in Africa relied heavily on local informants for geospatial information lend further support for this argument. The use of the oral maps of local residents by these explorers to find their way as they explored unfamiliar territory is well chronicled by historians (see for example A.S. Mlambo, 2014, Beach, 1987; Ranger, 2004). Mapara and Makaudze (2016) also gave

[74] Diop's (1947) *Tales of Amadou Koumba* records a similar story, "The Humps", in which his family griot (a travelling poet, musician and storyteller) narrates how two 'humps' (islands) came to be and to be named as such in the ocean near their village.

evidence of how Shona toponyms in the three provinces they surveyed communicated geographical and spatial information.

Some names record the relationship people had, and continue to have, with the environment. In this regard, toponyms act as repositories of historical and socio-cultural knowledge. Due to place names being part of the oral literature of the local people, linguistically they help to determine the etymology and pronunciation of words in the vocabulary of a particular place or language. They also function as links to other information and/or documents. This is the scenario expounded in critical discourse analysis' tenet of intertextuality (Wodak, 2015), which I extended to apply to a situation whereby a place name is taken as a text that is linked to other texts or discourses. For example, some place names shed light on the history and settlement of an area, thus making the identity of the people who settled in a place and when they did this apparent. In my interactions with participants, I was able to obtain information concerning the history, religion, and civilisations of the very early occupants of Bindura.

The prevalence of names connected to animals or plants, coupled with oral traditions and an understanding of the meaning and function of place names, forms empirical evidence to show that earlier habitants of the place were the Khoi and the San people. This knowledge can also be confirmed by histories[75] of the country, and the presence of rock art credited to the San people[76] in the area. In the rural area of Bindura, the Chavadzimu and Chikupu Caves have rock art representing elephants, porcupines, kudus, snakes, and duikers (see Figure 5.2), while in the same area, the Chisvingo Ruins link[77] the people who inhabited the place in the past to those who built the Great Zimbabwe stone structures also known as Masvingo eZimbabwe.

[75] A comprehensive historiography of Zimbabwe was given in the first chapter and in this historiography the San and the Khoi people are argued to have been the first occupants of the country.
[76] Garlake (1982, 1987, 1990, 1995) has carried out extensive research on rock art, as has Mguni (2005).
[77] Marungudzi (2017, p. 346) explains further how the people are connected.

Figure 5.2: Rock art at Chavadzimu Cave (ZimFiledGuides, 2018)

Therefore, these place names remind people of the important historical events and courses of migration, since they contain information of the past because they are not easily forgotten or lost. The forgoing assertion is in line with arguments made by scholars like Conedera, Vassere, Neff, Meurer and Krebs (2007), Nast (2005) and Sandnes (2007, 2016). Nast (2005) was able to determine the nature of the historical settlement of the Kano of Nigeria through an analysis of place names, and Conedera et al. (2007) were able to reconstruct past land use in Brüsáda ('Berne/Bern') in southern Switzerland by examining the etymologies and meanings of toponyms. Sandnes (2016, pp. 546-547) provides evidence of how the definiteness of the names of rivers *The Thames* and *Der Rhein* were retained in the Scandinavian forms *Themsen* and *Rhinen*; with the final –en being the definite article suffixed according to Scandinavian grammar. Overall, evidence from the research site and literature attests that toponyms function as repositories of socio-cultural and historical information embodying the identity, communication systems, and worldviews of the people who bestow them.

In line with arguments made by Blanár (2009), toponyms can reflect the languages that are or have been spoken in the area.[78] For instance, there is evidence of Shona, Ndebele, English, Dutch, Afrikaans, Portuguese, Chewa or Nyanja, Chinese, Zimbabwean Pidgin English, and Shona slang in the place names in Bindura. The presence of these languages in the linguistic landscape of Bindura conforms to the town's multilingualism and multicultural nature. The table below gives examples:

Table 5.1: Sample of the languages reflected in place names in Bindua

PLACE NAME	LANGUAGE	FEATURE TYPE	NOTES
Mashambamhuka	Shona (particularly the Korekore variant)	Mountain	Participant A22 said many wild animals used to roam the mountain area.
Cardiff,[79] Bath, Coventry	English	Streets	These road names are transferred from the United Kingdom and point to English occupation of the place.
Koodoo Vlei, Kudu Kloof	Afrikaans	Farms	The kudu, a duiker,[80] is common in the savannah woodlands. These examples are names of different places although they both refer to the kudu, but with different spellings. *Kudu/Koodoo* is originally a Khoikhoi word.[81]
***Prazo* (*Purazi* being the Shona variant)**	Portuguese	Farm	According to Pfukwa (2013, p. 57) *prazo* is Portuguese for 'a large estate'. He further asserted that these large farms were rented out to Portuguese settlers and merchants in Africa, especially in the Zambezi River Valley (Pfukwa, 2013).
Muntu	Chichewa	Farm	Most farm labourers were from either Zambia or Malawi, and they spoke Chinyanja or Chichewa.

[78] The different languages spoken in the different areas of the country are not easy to characterise, because few studies investigating them could be found. To the best of my knowledge Hachipola (1998), M. Mlambo (2009), Kadenge and Mugari (2015) and Ethnologue (2018) are the only studies of this nature.
[79] Cardiff is an anglicized version of the Welsh name.
[80] According to Britannica.com (2019), a duiker is an antelope found only in Africa. *Duiker Bok* (scientific name: *Cephalophini)*, is Afrikaans for 'diving buck', which describes the animals' sudden headlong flight when flushed from their hiding place.
[81]Huffman (2004) posited that the word *Kudu* is the Khoikhoi name for the antelope. The word for antelope can also be found in Setswana as *koodoo*, isiXhosa as *iqhude*, and in Afrikaans as *koedoe*.

Chabwino	Chinyanja	Farm	'A good thing'.
Mampara	Chilapalapa (Zimbabwean Pidgin English)	Farm	'The naughty one'.
Bombistombi, Magirosimbi, Kumahwaga,	Shona slang	Multiple features	Young people mostly use slang toponyms as a way to form a distinct group identity. However, people of all ages use slang toponyms.
Kimbini	Swahili	Farm	Refers to chimneys found at the large commercial farm that produced tobacco. Some farm workers were from Tanzania and other Swahili speaking countries, thus the name.
梧桐区	Chinese	Gold Milling site	Chinese: *梧桐区*, pinyin: *Wútóng qū* ('Wutong District Area'). This is is a gold mine some six kilometres from the CBD of Bindura (see Figure 5.3). Due to the tensions between the government of Zimbabwe and the West, the former opted for a look-east policy that has resulted in the influx of many of Chinese businesses and nationals into Zimbabwe. Their presence can be seen in the linguistic landscape.
Insingisi (insingizi is the isiZulu variant)	Ndebele	Farm	Insingisi.com (2018) posits that *iNsingizi* is the isiZulu name of a bird believed to be an omen of impending rains. In English, it is known as the southern ground-hornbill; it can be found Central and Southern Africa. It is revered in the African culture as it is seen to be a protection against evil spirits, lightning, and drought. Its seasonal nature saw the bird being used as a timekeeper to indicate the start and end of a workday, or, when it moves to a new area, to foreshadow the start of the rainy season (Insingisi.com, 2018).

Figure 5.3: A large sign with Chinese: *梧桐区*, pinyin: *Wútóng qū*

'Wutong District Area', at the entrance of a Chinese-owned gold mine (Zuvalinyenga, 2018).

5.6.2 Identity construction, maintenance, and contestation

Toponyms can construct and maintain individual and collective identities. As discussed in §2.3.1 on sense of place, toponyms are closely associated with notions of place identity, dependence and attachment (Kostanski, 2009, 2011b, 2014; Mugudu, Muguti, & Mutami, 2014, p. 10). Thus, place names create both places' and people's identities. People identify places by giving them names, and in return those place names may come to be associated with the people living there. In this way, toponyms impart a certain character on a place. Due to the existence of this reciprocal relationship, dependences and attachments between places and people are formed. Participants who reported that they were born and raised in Bindura had fond memories of and strong connections with it and wished for its development and vibrancy. However, not all toponyms, are endowed with a sense of history and work as stores of personal or social memories and experiences that guide people's actions and identity. Some might be stores of memories for some people but not others. What is defined as memorable is socially mediated and the result of commemorative work and decisions of individuals and groups, including government officials, artists, chiefs, headmen, community activists, tour guides, museum curators and business leaders, who, as "memorial entrepreneurs", influence how the public views, senses, and debates the past (Naef, 2019, p. 171).

Place names are also used to reclaim collective identity. This is done through restoring erased toponyms from the past and renaming places. Although I am not claiming that renaming a place will come close to redressing historical injustices, the exercise is seen as a small step towards that because it legitimises territorial claims. Place renaming can be either official or unofficial. The Zimbabwean government has been renaming places since gaining political independence. In the CBD of Bindura, nine out of twelve streets (Bindura Municipality, 2016) were renamed after War of Liberation fighters and nationalists to give the place a nationalist, collective identity. Such renaming has also been recorded in Harare (Pfukwa, 2018), Bulawayo (Dube, 2018), Mutare (Mapara & Nyota, 2016) and Masvingo (Mushati, 2013). Overall, place renaming can be highly ideological. This ideological toponymic tendency is explained in the following section.

5.6.3 Ideological motives

To create, legitimise and sustain cultural and political preferences of the ruling elite, the Zimbabwean government has been naming places after people, values, ideologies, or events that are favourable to them. Commemorative toponyms are good examples of this practice. Mangena (2018) used the example of the renaming of Rhodes Estate Preparatory School to Matopos Junior School to show that memory names in Zimbabwe were political spaces that exhibited the country's colonial past and its contemporary realities. Next, I explain the dynamics of commemorative place naming, guided by the frameworks of CDA and critical toponymy.

Reisigl (2018b, p. 368) defined commemoration as a "multimodal semiotic practice … and an important political activity that serves the formation, reproduction and transformation of political identities". To grasp fully the connection between commemoration and place naming, one must recognise the socially constructed nature of referencing and remembering history. Commemoration is modelled around the repeated return of an occurrence that relates to a meaningful moment in the past of a political community and its "lessons" for the present and future. However, the vision of the memorable past portrayed through the memorial landscape, which includes toponyms, museums, monuments, historical performances, and heritage sites is not synonymous with all that has happened in the past (Nora, 1989, pp. 7-25). Commemoration is obviously about the past, but it is also situated within the present as social actors and groups control, negotiate, and contest memory to serve contemporary cultural, economic, and political needs (Nyambi & Mangena, 2015). Some ideologically named places

could be products of the work of memorialisation, and in turn produce or perform memories within society.

Place naming gives tangibility and familiarity to ideas and beliefs about the past and allows certain memories to appear as historical and social truth. While many people might treat place names as impartial recorders or markers of history, commemoration is an inherently selective practice that can hide as much as it reveals (Mangena, 2018). Here, the assertions of Ranger (2004, p. 215) that most of Zimbabwe's history is 'patriotic history' are useful.

Ethnic domination and tensions can be noted in the political landscape of Zimbabwe, where commemorative toponyms are carefully selected to serve present political purposes of the ruling elite. One can note a practice of disremembering and setting apart other historic narratives and identities from public reflection which simultaneously accompanies remembering. For instance, Mamvura (2020b) avered that the ZANU-PF led administration, which has mostly Shona leaders in it, uses an overarching account built around discourses of exclusion and an incomplete account of the history of the War of Liberation. They argue that Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) (which was largely made up of Ndebele people) and everyone else did not make significant contributions to the liberation of the country; thus, they are not deserving of a stake in the construction of the country's national identity project.

The partisan toponymic commemoration entrenches Shona ethnic chauvinism and propagates ZANU-PF's political hegemony. Thus, the toponymic landscape of not only Bindura, but of the rest of the country, reflects the beliefs and ideas of the governing elite groups, and tends to ignore the past experiences and struggles of marginalised groups. However, I do not wish to draw a rigid binary distinction between elite and marginalised identities here, because to do so will not fully capture all commemorative tensions and interests competing for control of the past and places (Rose-Redwood, 2008). Instead, I am highlighting that there are disagreements between remembering and forgetting found in commemorative toponymy. Therefore, to gain better insight this section on commemorative toponyms asks and seeks answers to the following questions:

- How do commemorative toponyms contribute to certain groups' feelings of belonging and/or not belonging to particular places and spaces?
- What decisions, social relations, or political actors enable certain people, values, and events to be commemorated publicly?
- Who has the authority and power (or not) to name and remember?

- Whose identities and pasts are enabled or denied through commemorative toponymic practices?

The findings show that commemorative toponyms emphasise the belonging of elite individuals while undermining that of minorities and the less powerful. However, the selective remembering and forgetting found in these commemorative toponyms may sometimes be challenged, because heritage is open to disagreement (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996). Remembrance is more than what is purposely commemorated. Muzaini (2015, p. 102) cogently puts it that even when some pasts are not inscribed into commemorative landscapes, this overlooking of history can bring forth an "absent presence" that affects the feel of places and thus calls attention to what and who is missing. For instance, memories of minorities in Bindura are visibly absent in the linguistic landscape (Bigon & Zuvalinyenga, 2020; Zuvalinyenga & Bigon, 2020; Zuvalinyenga, 2020b). Locals then use slang and unofficial toponyms to make visible those who had long been invisible (Zuvalinyenga, 2020a, b). Elaborate discussions on unofficial toponyms are given in § 5.6.5, but before that, I explain some of the discursive strategies used to (de)legitimise some identities over others in commemorative place naming. Reisigl (2018b) and Wodak (2015) guide the explanation.

5.6.3.1 Discursive strategies

The focus of discourse in commemorative place naming entails the following: (1) the representation of those who belong (or not), (2) the narration of a national political past, (3) the reference to shared (national) values, (4) the reference to a national present and future, and (5) the discursive construction of a national body or national territory.

These efforts are achieved when namers use discursive features relating to commemoration. The strategies involve (a) the discursive construction of social actors, events, and actions relating to commemorated events, (b) argumentation patterns referring to causes and consequences concerning the commemorated people or events and (c) tropology (figurative language), employed to discursively deal with the commemorated past and to construct or represent historical changes and continuities.

The commemorative representation of social actors and events is done through the employment of discursive strategies for the depiction of nationally important individuals, such as founding fathers, national heroes or shining examples of patriotism. These language elements in the form of proper names, honorifics, and positive national attributes can be used

as discursive strategies. Jaroslav (2011, pp. 119-123) elaborates on the specificities of commemorative toponyms. The memorialisation of the War of Liberation and the people who are deemed to have actively participated in it are good examples. Robert Mugabe's name features in place names in almost every town and city, and recently Emmerson Mnangagwa renamed ten roads after himself in the country's ten provincial capital cities, including Bindura. The national in-group and various out-groups are further represented by collective nouns, toponyms, and relational anthroponyms as well as by deictics such as *we* and *you* and anaphoric pronouns such as *they*. A crucial point of commemoration is the question of how certain historical events, actions, and processes are named. For instance, a historical turning point may be named as 'liberation', 'occupation' or 'defeat', and another turning point named as voluntary 'unification', or as compulsory 'annexation'.

Commemorative toponymic practices also use predications with respect to national stereotypes. The ZANU-PF government uses stereotypes to imply that Zimbabweans are peace-loving and united because they got together to defeat colonisation (a common nemesis), and this is reflected in the coining of place names such as *Runyararo* (Shona for 'peace') and *Batanai* (Shona for 'unite') in an attempt to create and maintain a collective national identity born of the war.

The strategy of argumentation patterns (*topoi*)[82] may not specifically refer to toponyms, but to justifications made for choosing and using certain toponyms. *Topoi* are employed to justify specific claims regarding the national past, present, and future. Among these argumentation patterns are the *topos* of autonomy, the *topos* of heteronomy, the *topos* of singularity, the *topos* of will, the *topos* of difference, the *topos* of sameness and justice, the *topos* of victimisation, the *topos* of culture, the *topos* of danger, the *topos* of responsibility and the *topos* of history. Again, the liberation war and its heroes are used to refer to a positive change from the colonial past and serve the positive national self-presentation by praising the "we" group for having learned from its own past and by distracting commemorative attention from others who also deserve attention.

[82] Wodak and van Dijk (2000, p. 35) explained that "*topoi* are a type of stereotypical arguments based on socially shared opinions generally implying common sense reasoning schemes for the sake of persuasion". In other words, arguments were used to persuade people to adopt the same view as the person making the argument and these arguments were usually based on common issues, e.g., the War of Liberation, colonisation, decolonisation etc.

In addition, tropes, that is, rhetorical figures of speech such as metaphors, metonymies, and synecdoches, help to construct historical continuities and historical change. They are not simply rhetorical but work as important cognitive principles which often unconsciously shape and structure human perception and thinking. To begin with, they are used in commemorative naming to promote identification with political actors (for example, the president) and their aims, for instance, via the metaphor of the centrality of Zimbabwe in relation to other nation-states in southern Africa or the Southern African Development Community (SADC).[83] Second, they are employed to promote in-group solidarity, for instance with the help of family or kinship metaphors referring to the imagined community of the nation. Mamvura (2020c) aptly argued that Africa's complex multi-ethnic and multicultural composition posed challenges for independent states such as Zimbabwe when building an inclusive national identity. Therefore, confirming Mamvura's (2020c) findings, leaders may minimise the influence of tribalism and a troubled past (racial tensions) propagating nationalism through inclusive citizenship policies. Mamvura exemplified how this had been achieved in the past when Kenneth Kaunda championed the 'one Zambia, one nation' mantra, Nelson Mandela referred to South Africa as the 'rainbow nation' and Samora Machel of Mozambique said 'for the nation to live, the tribe must die' (Mamdani, 1996, p. 135). In other words, tropes are used to generate a feeling of security, stability, and order, via the construction and building metaphors referring to a state.[84]

However, for Zimbabwe, a collective national identity proved challenging to construct. Instead, a bilingual and bicultural (Ndebele and Shona) identity created by missionaries and the colonial system, persist to the present (Chimhundu, 1992; Ranger, 1993).[85] Therefore, commemorative place naming displays these distinctions with the so-called Mashonaland regions, in which Bindura falls, conspicuously lacking Ndebele toponyms; these are found mostly in the Matebeleland regions. In this case, the toponyms support out-group segregation and discrimination.

[83] Zimbabwe, through the leadership of Robert Mugabe was viewed as leading in the decolonisation of the Southern African region through the practice of reclaiming land (Moyo, S., Chambati, W. & Yeros, P., 2019).
[84] Examples of metaphorical toponyms were outlined in Chapter 4, § 4.6.7.
[85] Mamvura (2020c) quoted Chimhundu (1992) who argued that missionary linguistic politics under the umbrella organisation the Southern Rhodesia Missionary Conference created ethnolinguistic communities based on the language varieties spoken in their different spheres of influence. Chimhundu further posited that after the missionaries failed to come up with a harmonised orthography for the mutually intelligible varieties in the country, they made a recommendation to the colonial government to invite the South African linguist Clement Doke to spearhead the harmonisation of the language varieties. Doke's (1931) *Southern Rhodesia: Report on the Unification of the Shona Dialects* officialised the two super tribes, the Shona and the Ndebele.

Some commemorative toponyms also fulfil justificatory or delegitimising functions with respect to specific political actions or their omission in the past, present, or future. This can be achieved through metaphors of gain e.g., *Rusunguko* (Shona for 'freedom'), *Takunda* (Shona for'we are victorious'), or price associated with the consequences of a specific action or omission of action. Here, the argument of renaming place to decolonise and reclaim the nation's identity becomes pertinent. Thus, metaphors of natural disasters, pestilence, and other cruelties willingly authored and committed by human beings, are used to refer to the difficult past. For example, the colonial settlers and the colonial period is referred to as *vapambepfumi*, (Shona for 'usurpers of wealth') and *nguva yakaoma* (Shona for 'hard times'), respectively. That past is thus portrayed as something to be erased, while the present can be represented through the metaphors of the rebirth of an "innocent" nation without a problematic history (Reisigl, 2018b), for example, Great Zimbabwe, emerging strong from a troubled past.[86]

Furthermore, tropes are instrumental in mobilising political supporters to perform particular actions. Commemorative toponymic practices inciting moving metaphors, journey metaphors like *Famba* (Shona for 'move') or in some cases militarising metaphors, for example *Ndodahondo* (Shona for 'I love the war' - see Figure 5.4) relating to political collaboration are used. The use of militarising metaphors to commemorate the post-war past is a fitting example of how commemoration uses past events to mobilise for the future. Nyambi and Mangena (2015) supported the latter view when they posited that commemoration was obviously about the past, but was also situated in the present as social actors and groups controlled, negotiated and contested memory to serve contemporary cultural, economic, and political needs. Commemoration is modelled around the repeated return of an incident that relates to a meaningful moment in the past of a community and its lessons for the present and future.

[86] Great Zimbabwe is significant to the country's history in that the name and the stone structures it refers to symbolises resilience because *dzimbahwe* (Shona for 'house of stone' or 'stone structures') has been in existence since the 11th century and is still standing today. The construction of the dzimbahwe itself shows unity and teamwork. Unity was also evident in how the community's economy was based on cattle rearing, cultivation of crops, and trade of gold (A.S. Mlambo, 2013, 2014).

Figure 5.4: Official signage at a government complex in the Bindura CBD (Zuvalinyenga, 2018).

In summary, the discursive strategies highlighted above show that discourses such as place names are used to enable or dismiss certain identities over others and exercise "many interwoven layers of power" (Myers, 2016, p. 86). Since toponyms are part of the realm of language, signage used to make them "constitute part of a highly invested political strategy for producing a linguistic landscape" (Bigon & Dahamshe, 2014, p. 606) that maintains or challenges symbolic power. Nevertheless, identities are not fixed; they can change from time to time and place to place. Certain contexts may enable particular socio-political actors to have their way, but this may not go unchallenged or last forever.

5.6.4 Place branding and marketing

Place naming can be motivated by branding and marketing objectives. Branding and marketing occurs in various ways, but I note two. The first is when businesses, land developers, tourist or destination advertisers, influential donors, and companies purchase the right to affix their names to streets,[87] stadia, shops and university buildings. The second way of naming for commercial purposes involves emphasising an area's heritage, global, or international appeal. These initiatives are done to market places,[88] territories, resorts, developments, and cities in a bid to attract trade and investment, and to give the places an international appeal and promote

[87] See Light & Young (2015, pp. 441-443) discussed in § 2.3.
[88] Light and Young (2015, pp. 442-443) give examples of how this is done in Hungary (§ 2.3).

tourism in today's competitive world (Karimi, 2016). Examples of toponymic commodification in Bindura include *Chicken Matty*, *Shashi View*, *Shashi Pass*, *Bindura Prayer Mountain*, *Acadia Dam*, *Dombawera Game Park*, and *Rutati Conference Centre*.

Chicken Matty (see Figure 5.5) is an example of blends or portmanteau toponyms, which employ word play as a marketing strategy for the fastfood outlet. The business blends the English word 'chicken' (their main product) and the shortened Shona name of the owner Remigous Matangira (*Matty*) to come up with a trendy name that appeals to the youthful urbanites who are their main customers. The owner is also a Member of Parliament for Bindura South, has a farm and mines in Bindura, thus he uses his local, and national identities to brand *Chicken Matty* and himself in the sense suggested in Zuvalinyenga and Libert (2019).

Figure 5.5: Shopfront for *Chicken Matty* fastfood outlet (Zuvalinyenga, 2018).

Shashi Pass is the traditional name of the scenic pass just outside Bindura towards Mount Darwin. *Shashi* is probably an anglicised Shona word *shasha* 'genius'. Locals said the area is hilly, and skill is needed to drive through it; skilled people are viewed as geniuses, and thus the pass was called *Shasha*, which was later anglicised to *Shashi*. The Shona heritage appeal and the Anglo-trendiness associated with the name has seen businesses, land developers, and tourist or destination advertisers using the name for commercial value. Residential properties in the upmarket suburb of *Shashi View* cost more than those from other areas, and

some residents aspire to live there because of its poshness. Landowners and real estate agencies emphasise the trendiness of the name when advertising properties there.[89]

The suburb also has a prestigious private school, the Shashi View Junior School. Competition for enrolment at the school is high. In general, affluent members of society are the only ones who can afford to send their children there. Pupils who pass through the school talk about it with pride. Below are excerpts of former students of the Shashi View Junior School giving good online reviews of their school (Vymaps.com, 2019).

> Google User (21/04/2019 19:54)
> It is beautifull (sic)

> Google User (21/03/2019 01:13)
> Best place ever with good stuff (sic) and students

> Google User (17/12/2018 21:24)
> If anyone from Shashi is reading this, this is Tatenda Rusere. This was the best school l have ever learnt at l will never forget this school. I left … because my family was moving to a better country. I was so sad about this. I will never forget this school … I enjoyed my last days being here being around the people l loved l will never forget this school. Goodbye Shashi view primary l hope we meet each other again or some years. Thanks you for everything (sic).

> Google User (28/04/2018 17:28)
> It was the best place i can say obviously with all the tutoring we got from our Grade 7 teacher Mr Chamuka I salute him. surely EXCELLENCE S THEIR HALLMARK WE REALLY MISS SHASHI AND ALL ITS GOOD TIMES (sic)

There is also a prestigious private hospital, the Shashi View Hospital. I noticed that people who work, treated, or provide services there talk fondly of the place, and this could be because of the prestige associated with the name *Shashi*. Hospital personnel usually wear branded clothing with pride. Patients also talk about the hospital as if just going there makes one get better.

Another example, *Rutati*, is a tourist and conference centre that uses a heritage name to market services. *Rutati* is said to be an anglicised version of the Shona word *rutatu* ('three times/occurrences/things'). Participants said the meaning of the name is unclear. Some suggested that the name has biblical connotations relating to the story of Peter denying Jesus Christ three times (John 18: 13-27), others suggested there were three giant baobab trees in the area and thus it was known as *Rutatu*. The latter explanation is more likely to be correct since

[89]Many of my students at the Bindura University of Science Education expressed some pride at staying in the Shashi View area. Some advertisements for off-campus accommodations for university students emphasise the prestige of the Shashi View area, its scenic environments, serenity, gentrified nature, and distinctiveness compared to ghettos e.g., Chipadze Township.

Christianity was introduced to Zimbabwe in the 16th century to an area that was already well settled by the Khoi and the San, who usually named places after flora and fauna as shown in Chapter 4, § 4.3.1 and in Zuvalinyenga and Libert (2019). The sacredness and iconicity of these baobab trees is what the owners exploited in naming and marketing the place.

Yet another example of toponymic commodification can be seen in the toponymic and touristic significance attached to the religious or pilgrimage site of the Zimbabwe Assemblies of God Africa (ZAOGA) Church Mountain in Bindura. Although churches cannot generally be classified as businesses or for-profit organisations, there is an increasing trend among Pentecostal churches to adopt business-like marketing and operational models to the extent that they are branded as "gospel entrepreneurs" (Chibaya, 2017; Collins-Kreiner, 2018; Taringa & Sipeyiye, 2018; Togarasei, 2018). The two concepts of religious tourism and toponymic commodification have been explored independently (Álvarez-García, Rama, & Gómez-Ullate, 2018; Chibaya, 2017; Light, 2014; Stolz & Usunier, 2019), yet the findings and insights gained in these studies are helpful in understanding the contemporary practice of the commercialisation of both religious tourism and toponyms and their effects on the sociolinguistic practices of communities.

Religion, especially, Pentecostal Christianity, is on the rise in Zimbabwe (Mawere, Mubaya, & Mukusha, 2017; Togarasei, 2018) and throughout the rest of the world (Stolz & Usunier, 2019). This rise has seen many religious societies use modern technology and popular culture to market themselves. In addition, tourism is also growing as an industry and contributing over USD2.6 trillion annually to the global gross domestic product (GDP) (UNWTO, 2017; World Travel and Tourism Council, 2019). Given that religious tourism comprises a large part of world tourism (Álvarez-García et al., 2018; Chibaya, 2017; Stolz & Usunier, 2019), it is a very lucrative and significant business, which sometimes involves competition for tourists. This competition has seen players aggressively branding and promoting religious places and phenomena (Stolz & Usunier, 2019) in the same way toponyms are commodified the world over (Light, 2014). A brief history of the church is provided below to contextualise the close relationship between religious tourism and toponymic commodification.

5.6.4.1 History of the Zimbabwe Assemblies of God Africa (ZAOGA)

The Zimbabwe Assemblies of God Africa (ZAOGA) is a Pentecostal African church in Zimbabwe that has spread internationally. Ezekiel Guti has been at the helm of the

organisation, but there have been antagonisms within the church (Biri, 2013, 2014, 2018). People have left the church and have gone on to form their own ministries. Biri (2013) chronicles the history of the church and explains how its international spread has resulted in a growth in congregants' numbers. These congregants would want to connect with their beliefs by visiting the church's sacred sites, one of which is the mountain in Bindura.

This mountain and Bindura are central to members of ZAOGA. Most of the literature on the history of ZAOGA trace the beginning and rise of the ministry to Bindura, especially the mountain where Ezekiel Guti, the founder of the church, is said to have started preaching the gospel (Biri, 2013, 2014, 2018; Chibaya, 2017; Sibanda, 2017; Taringa & Sipeyiye, 2018). Biri (2014) argues that the religious mountain in Bindura is so crucial to the church that members are encouraged to visit it regularly to renew their faith. I witnessed many people visit the mountain over the course of the fourteen years that I resided in Bindura. However, other places are also significant to the church, especially the founder's birthplace, Mutemangaaone Mountain, which is valued and is used to fortify his leadership (Biri, 2014).

5.6.4.2 The significance of the ZAOGA Prayer Mountain in Bindura to the worshipers

The ZAOGA Prayer Mountain in Bindura is significant to the worshipers because the church and other players such as religious people from other denominations or religions, the municipality and private transport operators promote it. It continues to be seen as a place for spiritual nourishment, deliverance, healing, miracles, and tourism. It has been popularised in the history of the church and used to authenticate and cement the position and leadership of Ezekiel Guti as the founder and ordained leader of ZAOGA (Biri, 2014).

The sacred sites that have been set aside by the church as places of pilgrimage are many (see Biri, 2014); however, Bindura is memorialised as "the birth place of ZAOGA" (Biri, 2014, p. 67) and thus holds significance for its followers and some other Christian denominations. The Prayer Mountain is looked upon as a billboard that proclaims the theological history of the church, especially that of the founder (Maxwell, 2000). In this sense, it can be argued to serve the role of advertising the ZAOGA movement and at the same time centralising and glorifying Ezekiel Guti as its founder and leader. If one takes into account that discourse is socially constituted and that society constitutes discourse, the above-mentioned view of the Prayer Mountain confirms that language is powerful due to the way powerful people use it.

Close analysis shows that although the name of the Prayer Mountain may not be seen as very important, the mountain itself has been used as a discursive strategy to legitimise or delegitimise power relations in the ZAOGA movement. Emphasising the Bindura Prayer Mountain as the place where the church began is thus important to the church's theological history and placing Ezekiel Guti at the centre of this history is a referential or nomination strategy (Wodak, 2015) employed by Guti to unify ZAOGA, as well as to cultivate and maintain supreme authority and allegiance to him alone. Argumentation also legitimises his leadership (Wodak, 2015) with stories of Guti encountering God at Bindura Mountain and the cave retold to legitimise him as divinely commissioned to preach the gospel.[90] All this authority is further cemented by encouraging all leaders of the church to visit Bindura, where the headquarters of the church are located.

Other genres of discourse and text such as printed regalia in the form of *doeks* (Afrikaans for 'headwraps'), T-shirts, car bumper stickers, ZAOGA's religious motto at sermons ("Sin not and fear not"), wrapping cloths, and hagiographies (*ZAOGA Sacred History*)[91] are most of the time used as statements of the authority of Guti, his wife, and family. Biri (2012, 2014) argued that these materials in the linguistic landscape have been used as trump cards to silence opponents. She elaborated how some founding members have been silenced or driven out of the church. The regalia can be seen in the linguistic landscape and confirm to the intertextuality of naming. In addition, the church's university in Bindura is named after Guti – Zimbabwe Ezekiel Guti University (ZEGU) – placing his name in the public space. Figure 5.6 shows signage of Guti's university.

[90] This sacred site has also been emphasised to make ZAOGA appear authentically African without any ties to the Western world. Simultaneously, the site could be seen to give the church universal appeal – not entangled with ethnic, racial, cultural, or national differences that may cause dissent – Ezekiel Guti an African started it and it has spread internationally.

[91] This is a book of the history of the church, but Biri (2012, p. 2) argued that it was more of a hagiography of Ezekiel Guti because it was more of a biography of him and it treated its subject with undue reverence. She further says it has been used to stifle dissent in the church.

Figure 5.6: Signage at the university (Zuvalinyenga, July 2018).

There is also an Ezekiel Guti Primary School, a Eunor Guti Academy (Guti's wife), an Ezekiel Guti Farm, and an Mbuya Dorcas Hospital (named after Guti's mother). It has been argued this naming system is an attempt to rewrite the theological narrative of the church for the benefit of Ezekiel Guti and his family (Biri, 2012, 2014; Maxwell, 2000). It resembles the narrative employed by Robert Mugabe, where many features throughout the country bear his name, from major streets in every city and town to the main airport, schools, and a university (Mamvura, 2020a). Emmerson Mnangagwa has also named ten roads in the country's ten provinces after himself. Because place names are more than referential words, having one's name appear in many places is a strategy that these men have used to exert their power and influence.

Concerning toponymic commodification and tourism, it has been noted that visitors are attracted to The Prayer Mountain because of its special properties and the qualities of its name. It has a mythical etymology, and it is linked to a religious figure. The place itself has little visitors and pilgrims can explore beyond the large modern cathedral and the cave with Guti's chair on which no one is allowed to sit. Souvenirs like replicas of the signage of the place name, the ZAOGA motto, and regalia that bears the portraits of Guti and his wife, have been strategies for marketing the place which reinforce a sense of place (Lou, 2017).

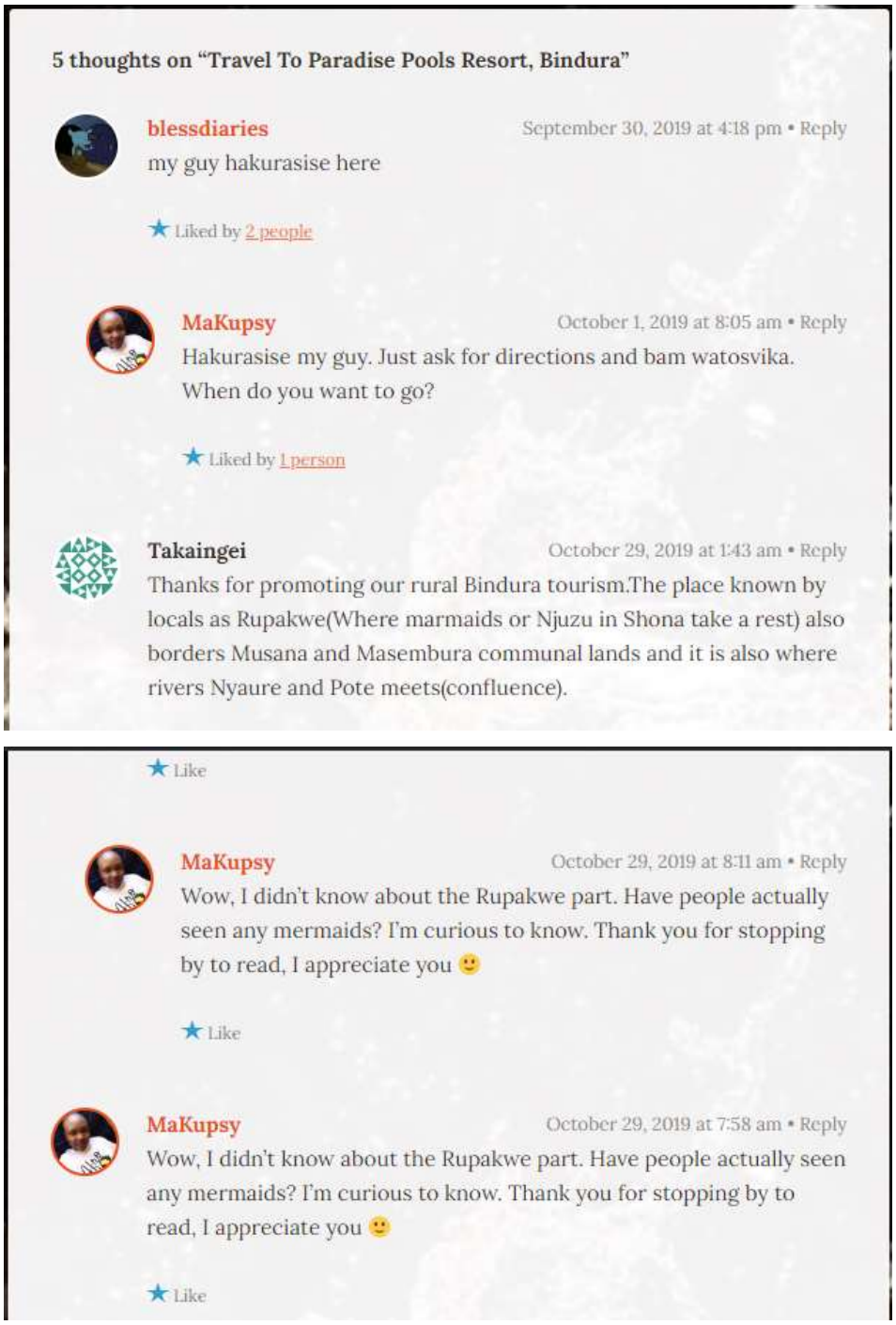
Although the commercialisation of toponyms is rationalised as apolitical (Kearns & Lewis, 2019, p. 3), it may not be free from ideologies and power relations. Kearns and Lewis (2019, p. 3) stated:

> The critical literature on place branding, however, tends to focus attention on civic boosterism, creative city initiatives, major events-based tourism, and economies of provenance. Further, it tends to confine its attention to larger metropolitan centres. With exceptions … it has not engaged in sustained critique

> of the entanglements of product branding, resistance to "toponymic capture" or the appropriation of place names as brands along with the governance place through branding.

In addition, Medway et al. (2019) asserted that the commercialisation of names afforded memories, names, and places an exchange value that superseded their use value for ordinary citizens. The commodified toponyms, thus, reframed local place attachments and the identity of public spaces (Rose-Redwood, Vuolteenaho, Young & Light, 2019). This place branding can lead to a politics of memory dispossession. The value of long-standing names and symbols of local heritage was replaced. Such actions may suppress alternative commemorative messages of greater value to communities (Kearns & Lewis, 2019). However, the public can express resistance to such commercialisation. The use of the name *Paradise Pools* to brand a place that locals have known as *Rupakwe* shows different reactions to commercialisation. Examples of differing usage of place names for the pools can be noted in the following online discussion (see Figure 5.7) on a blog, "Travel to Paradise Pools Resort, Bindura", posted on Wordpress by MaKupsy (2019).

Figure 5.7: Excerpts of an online discussion of different usage of *Paradise Pools* and *Rupakwe* place names (MaKupsy, 2019).



In Figure 5.7, Takaingei explains that local residents of the area know and refer to it as *Rupakwe* to which MaKupsy, a tourist reporting on her experiences after visiting the area, replies that she did not know there was another name for the pools except for *Paradise Pools*, which is used by tourist guides and marketers. The co-existing and sometimes conflicting use of the two names for the same feature may be evidence of resistance, acceptance, or indifference. Those who resist the commercial name may use the traditional one, while those who accept the

commercial name use it, but there are also those who may be unconcerned and use either name for the place.

5.6.5 Resistance

Toponyms are open to control, challenge, and change as history is re-evaluated and repurposed in response to market trends, ideological shifts, and political struggles. Named places have a projective power, that is, they make it possible to elicit, interpret, or reveal their characteristics. Resistance to toponyms is noticeable when people coin unofficial names if they do not like the official ones or in the vandalisation of signage through graffiti or destruction. There is a sizeable corpus of unofficial toponyms in Bindura, but I only recorded a few cases of vandalised signage (see Figure 5.8 defaced signage at the Provincial Heroes Acre).

Figure 5.8: Tampered with signage, informally inscribed "Kennedy Mash" (Zuvalinyenga, 2018).

Figure 5.8 has the name "Kennedy Mash" (indicated by arrow) illegally inscribed on it by war veteran, Agrippah Mutambara, who has since joined the opposition party MDC A and contested to represent Bindura in Parliament in the July 31, 2018 national election. He lost the election. He was arraigned before the courts for vandalising the signpost (Chatumba, 2018). It is ironic that Mutambara, as a war veteran himself, would vandalise the signpost to a shrine dedicated to war veterans. Perhaps he did so because he realised that he would not be interred there, since he had defected to the opposition party. The conferring of the status of hero itself has led to much disdain and many contestations, because it is highly partisan and polarised, just as the entire country is.[92] Those named as heroes or heroines have been from the ZANU-PF party

[92] A number of people who were declared national heroes (or at least their families) have been shunning burial at the National Heroes Acre. For example, Dumiso Dabengwa and Oliver Mtukudzi are buried at their rural homes.

even if their participation in the War of Liberation was questionable[93] or non-existent, with bona fide war veterans being sidelined if they voiced dissent or left the party.[94]

5.6.6 Summary of the objectives for place naming

The preceding discussion shows that toponyms play many roles including the creation of a historical frame of reference and sense of place for people that can structure, legitimise, and reproduce social relations. Additionally, they function as a "political technology" that can be used to order, govern, or even resist the material and symbolic construction of places and to determine who comes to count or matter in those places (Rose-Redwood et al., 2018; Rose-Redwood & Kim, 2020). The discussion on commemorative and commodified toponyms revealed that power-laden identity struggles often control the representation and performance of the past as a cultural, social, and political resource for the acquisition of symbolic capital, profit, or social cohesion and/or distinction. Duminy (2018) gives examples of how commemorative place names in South Africa are politically motivated. Kearns and Lewis (2019) show how place renaming for branding purposes in New Zealand was contested and highlight power struggles.

5.6.6.1 Use to convey messages

In addition to directional messages, place names also communicate valuable information between the name-givers and those they address. The analysis has confirmed that place names are not given to features for the sake of simply identifying them, but that they also reflect information on the traits and/or motivations of the name-giver. During the pre-colonial era most names in the area were descriptive and acted as records of the community's language and socio-cultural identity, as well as of geospatial, historical, ethnographic, and religious or spiritual information. In this sense, they communicated the way people interacted and viewed their world. For instance, the name *Chipindura* (Shona for 'the one that turns') is a reflection of how people in the area relied on traditional herbal medicine to address medical matters. Participant A21 said that *chipindura* was a medicinal herb used by medicine men and women to change the gender of an unborn baby if it was suspected that it was female or to make a woman who constantly bore girl children bear male ones for a change. Males were believed to enable the

[93] The hero status of Chenjeral Hunzvi is questioned, with some sources disputing his participation in the War of Liberation (Moyo, 2013).
[94] Ndabaningi Sithole, who is viewed as the pioneer of ZANU (Moyo, 2013), was ostracised for disagreeing with Mugabe and is not buried at the National Heroes Acre, nor does he have his name on any road or street in Zimbabwe. Surprisingly, he is honoured in Namibia, where a street in the capital Windhoek is named after him.

flourishing of tribes and generations. Machaba (2004), in an overarching study of onomastics in South Africa, also illustrates this communicative power of names.

The colonial era saw English place names transferred from the United Kingdom and other Western countries to the newly established colonial settlements, as a way of making places more familiar for the colonists and to send messages to the colonised. Many features in Bindura bear Western names, and this is reflected in the compiled database (in Appendix A); examples include streets such as *Fleetwood Avenue* and *Hagelthorne Avenue*, farms such as *Arcadia Estates, Arundel Farm* and *Atherstone Farm* and a police station called *St. Basil*. The Western names commemorate Western heroes and memorialise Western places.

The communicative power of naming can also be noted from the way, after attaining independence, the Zimbabwean government embarked on a decolonialising project of renaming some places that bore colonial names. Although renaming has not been systematic, possibly due to the lack of guiding principles and clear legislation, some efforts have been made, especially concerning street names in the city centre of Bindura and other cities throughout Zimbabwe.

Therefore, these naming patterns can be argued to send messages. The colonial settlers could be saying "we have conquered and tamed the new territory and have made it home", while the colonised were being reminded of who was now in control. After independence, the message could be that of reclaiming once conquered territory and reminding the citizens of who has assumed control. Taking into consideration the discussion and examples given in § 5.3 and § 5.6, one could argue that in cases where naming is motivated by power and control, a discourse that reflects what is observed is constructed by those who create the name. Thus, if discourse is taken to mean "practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak" (Foucault, 1980, p. 42), names, although linguistic in structure and form, are social and ideological practices which might affect the ways in which people think, speak, interact, write, and behave. This is the reason critical discourse analysts see language as a social practice (Wodak, 2015, p. 3).

5.6.6.2 Reflections of how power controls and maintains territory

Power dynamics create patterns in naming practices. In the lack of compliance with and absence of legislation and proper naming guidelines, namers have resorted to traditional practices, where naming was the prerogative of the elders in society. In addition, this practice

has been prone to hijacking by powerful social actors for gain. These actors include politicians, businesspeople, patriarchal community leaders, medicine men or women, and some powerful elders. In cases of hijacking, issues of power are prominent. Furthermore, the same is likely to hold when legislation and guidelines exist because those in power make legislation.

For instance, when elders name features because they are believed to have the knowledge and skill needed to create or record history, the act itself equips them with the power and authority for social organisational control. Assigning them with the duty of naming can be viewed as appointing them as custodians of culture and heritage. Their role becomes one of reminding society of events that took place in the past, what is happening in the present, and predicting what the future might hold. In this sense, the elders are given social power and capacity to compel social behaviours and practices as they see fit.

However, these naming practices are not overtly or forcefully imposed; rather, they are legitimised through traditions, social beliefs, and proverbial expressions which are grounded in the language of the authority of the elders. CDA is useful in such instances, because it helps to reveal the power relations playing out in naming practices. Traditions and proverbial expressions, like *remekedzai mazita evakuru* (Shona for 'respect the names of the elders') and *miromo yavakuru haiwiri pasi* (Shona for 'the words of the elders shall come to pass'), legitimise the ideology that the elders are all-knowing and that they are experts in social matters. Therefore, the names they give have to be upheld, even if the names are inappropriate or create an undesirable identity. Kamberelis and Scott (2004) cohere with the preceding argument and emphasise the strong ideological assumptions names carry. The elders' position as experts in naming and the discourses used to legitimate that position can be argued to embody the discursive strategies of legitimation (Foucault, 1994). Labelling namers as experts risks giving to one or more people exaggerated privilege in power relations.

Power-laden place naming procedures bring to the fore the issue of hegemony. This thesis understands hegemony to be the dominance of a social group over others and that this supremacy does not only depend on language and opinions but physical force or the threat of it. Gramsci (1971), Reisigl and Wodak (2009) and Wodak (2015) argue that hegemony is a recurrently one-sided power structure that serves to create and sustain unequal power relations. Therefore, politicians, community leaders, church leaders, powerful businesspeople, and elders who speak with power to address the rest of the group may establish hegemonic identity

narratives and exercise dominance and control over access to naming discourses. They may even abuse their power overtly or covertly (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997).

These people use linguistic forms and expressions to legitimise and manipulate unequal relations of power in naming practices. The discursive strategies of reference and nomination are employed by elite politicians from the ruling ZANU-PF party, some of whom feel entitled to the country due to their participation in the War of Liberation and are in control of most government institutions. In (re)naming places after veterans of the liberation war, speeches and accompanying discussions often pit "us," "we," and "our" against "they," "their," and "them" to discursively construct social actors, objects, phenomena, events, and processes, or actions. Examples can be drawn from news articles, online discussions, and cabinet meetings.[95] Other discourses that show the leadership's entitlement include a speech given by ZANU-PF's spokesperson, Patrick Chinamasa, an online discussion by former cabinet ministers in Robert Mugabe's cabinet, and public opinion on matters of governance. Officiating the launch of a biography by Dr. Obert Mpofu, Chinamasa said that no one was supposed to tell or write the stories of the struggle (War of Liberation) and by extension Zimbabwe but themselves because it was *chinhu chedu* (Shona for 'it is our thing') (Slymediatv Online TV Network, 2020).[96] Dr. Walter Mzembi (@waltermzembi, 2021) posted on *Twitter* his views on how the ruling elite exclude other people in decision making and the economy. Mzembi's former cabinet colleagues also joined the discussion to emphasise how the current leaders were only looking out for themselves (see Figure 5.9).

[95] (*BBC World Africa*, 2019; Blomfield, 2019; *Bulawayo24 News*, 2019; Dube, 2019) reported the renaming. In addition, Walter Nyabadza, a Zimbabwean lawyer, wrote an opinion article in *Bulawayo24 News* (16 December 2018) titled "ZANU-PF '*Chinhu chedu*' politics dominates Esigodini Conference: While Zimbabwe burns!" Furthermore, Takunda Maodza, *The Herald* News Editor wrote, "Of '*Chinhu chedu*' and political economy . . . unpacking Operation Restore Legacy" on 27 November 2017. Moreover, Kubatana (9 March 2018), a non-governmental organisation in its monitoring report of February commented on the increasing politics of entitlement in Zimbabwe.

[96]The video of Chinamasa saying *chinhu chedu* and being celebrated by his colleagues can be found on https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_3yY84dwE7o.

Figure 5.9: A conversation about *chinhu chedu* on *Twitter* (Mzembi, 2021).

In the conversations about (re)naming, arguments for patriotism and justification for participation in the War of Liberation are made; thus, it is more convincing if war veteran's names are used. These discursive strategies of argumentation, framing, and intensification (Wodak, 2015) are meant to persuade people to adopt, fix, or change their perceptions, attitudes, and views (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009; van Dijk, 2001). The War of Liberation and its heroes, as selected by the ZANU-PF politburo, feature prominently in the responses of participants and in the linguistic landscape of Bindura itself, attesting to the discursive construction of a common identity as a way to persuade people to adopt the worldview of those in power.

Power is exerted discursively in naming practices not only through linguistic forms, but also through how an actor controls the social occasion. This control can be exerted via the genre of a text or by regulating access to certain public spaces. Being branded an expert in naming sometimes allows the namer to assume a position of power; thus, the genre of naming as a text has already empowered them and gives them the privilege of using that power as they wish. Legislation and regulations such as the Urban Councils Act (1996), Rural District Councils Act (1988) and Names Alteration Act (1983), which bestow the responsibility for naming on

elected councillors and special committee members or politicians, also legitimise unequal power relations in naming practices. Members of the public who use the names often feel the urge to give the features names that resonate with them, but they may not be able to do so. Legislation or a position of authority has already excluded them, since they are not elected members of municipalities or the politburo, respectively. These practices highlight matters of inclusion and exclusion.

Those who feel left out of formal naming practices due to their positions in society resort to devising other means of naming. This could be in the form of using informal, unofficial, slang or nickname naming practices, or defacing or destroying the signifiers of unwanted names. Other strategies against naming practices include writing letters of complaint to municipalities and protest marches. Figure 5.8 above shows a situation in which people have expressed their displeasure at certain names and the people or stories they represent.

5.6.6.3 The nature of the relationship between place naming practices, identity, power, and communication

The nature of the relationship between place naming practices, identity, power, and communication is complex. It is evident from the discussion thus far that identity is projected on to a place or feature by the bestowal of a name or names. The toponyms themselves act in reverse as furnishers of human identity, making it a two-way process. However, the identities resulting from this process are varied because identity is not fixed. This results from the intertextual nature of naming and its dependence on context, the people involved and the reasons for naming. Other factors like history, memory, community, emotions, and actions or events not directly connected to a particular place name can also play crucial roles. For instance, the place name *Chipadze* gives Chipadze Township a Korekore identity, memorialising the Chipadze clansmen's position as chiefs.

Simltaneously, naming practices fall into the contested politics of (linguistic) hegemony and domination of minorities, because sometimes they give prominence to certain individuals, groups or languages at the expense of others. Where place names of the dominant individuals, groups, and languages are present in the linguistic landscape, they tell stories of the winners in history, socio-cultural, and political space. Bindura has many residents from ethnic groups other than the Shona, but little in the linguistic landscape reflects this diversity. These peoples seem to have been silenced. Mamvura's (2020c) "'Where Art Thou?': Ethnocracy, Toponymic Silence, and Toponymic Subjugation in the Harare Commemorative

Landscapes During the Mugabe Era (1980–2017)" explains the silencing. In addition, the racialisation, gendering, class distinction, and gentrification of public space can also be noted in the analysis of place names and the naming practices responsible for them. The existence of distinct naming patterns where phases or periods of social life are clearly marked is one example.

Moreover, businesses and other commercial entities and actors have a role in place naming, as they use their financial power to motivate the bestowal of particular names, taking advantage of the lack of funding of local municipalities by the central government. However, this commodification of place names is presented as an innovative way of making income, thus creating a toponymic landscape that appears legitimate and noncontroversial. It has not lived up to those expectations and a lot of controversy has been associated with such practices. The commodification of toponyms in this example further demonstrates the associated power dynamics.

5.7 Chapter summary

This chapter discussed the findings of the study. It provided basic statistical information regarding the place names to give the reader some insights. It then presented the categories or themes that emerged from the analyses of the data. These themes were presented in a summary that shows how they address the research questions in line with the principles of conducting a critical discourse analysis. The relationship between these themes has also been presented. Tables, diagrams and pictures have been used to summarise information as well as presenting it in a visual form. An explanation of how place naming has several layers of power was provided. The dynamics of power have enabled the legitimation of some identities over others, the gendering of the landscape, place gentrification, promoted exclusion and inclusion, and commodified public places and toponyms. All of this has resulted in complex interactions of diverse people in the public landscape. The various reactions people had to place naming show the diverse senses of place and belonging in the community. Overall, the chapter has shown that, in addition to referential purposes, place naming is connected to other social, cultural, economic and political practices that are differently significant for different groups and can be used in symbolic ways.

Chapter 6 Conclusion

6.1 Introduction

This thesis studies the interrelationships between toponymic practices, identity, power, and communication in Bindura. The approach taken assumes that these associations are articulated through discourse. Place naming is considered as a key element in place making and sense of place. Furthermore, the study confirms assertions made by other scholars in linguistic landscapes and critical toponymy that these place making activities shape and are shaped by social identities, which are constructed largely in and through discourse. The connections among place naming, identity, power relations, and communication are complex and dependent on the context in which they are situated or enacted. In this concluding chapter, I overview the study to highlight the major conclusions drawn, explain the study's limitations and offer recommendations for practice and future research.

6.2 Overview of the study

In examining the interrelationships, I employ a mixed methods approach which inclues semi-structured interviews with thirty-five participants who included municipal officials, town and urban planners, public transport drivers, conductors, and users, youths, chiefs and the elderly residents of the region. The data gathering methods included analyses of documents such as maps, gazetteers, archives (physical and those hosted on the Internet), and reports, narratives, and participant observations. A range of theories and methodologies from sociolinguistics, linguistic landscapes, critical toponymy, and the discourse-historical approach of critical discourse analysis, supported this study to examine the toponyms and toponymic practices I understood as texts for its effectiveness in making explicit power relationships connected to place naming practices and how those names are used (Wodak, 2015).

Bindura is a peripheral regional town; it is neglected and the discourse-historical approach (DHA) helps highlight marginalisation and call for the correction of toponymic and place naming practices. The DHA in CDA emphasises the need to consider the linguistic, historical, cultural, and sociological context of the subject under investigation. This position enabled me to form a bigger picture of the matter while being aware of the intertextuality of toponymic practices. That is, a toponym is not a detached form of referring to space and/or place but is linked to other toponyms within and/or outside the specific area, that are influenced

by other cultural, social, and economic matters occurring regionally, nationally or globally (Zuvalinyenga & Libert, 2019). Further, the directions for undertaking an analysis outlined in the DHA approach were helpful as they required clarification of the study's context. This perspective to language analysis has an established set of governing principles, premises, and varied but interrelated approaches that make it practical and useable.

The theoretical focus of this thesis is on how identity construction connects to language use (place names) and how toponymic practices can become sites of considerable negotiation and contest, which CDA articulates well. Specifically, the findings confirm that identity is significant in toponymy, because it links individuals with groups and places. As I have shown elsewhere (see Zuvalinyenga, 2020b), this allows comprehension of how individuals connect or disconnect themselves from certain groups of people, the kind of information they aim to convey about themselves, and the ways this information, in turn, reflects the ideas others have about them (Baxter, 2016, p. 40).

I drew from the practical ways of constructing identities demonstrated by Hodge (2012) and De Fina (2011). For instance, Hodge (2012) asserts that when a speaker speaks about a toponym, they sometimes choose how to index a place. He further posits that such choices may express something about the objectives of the speaker and their obligations or intentions communicated through the place name. In this sense, De Fina's (2011) formulations of identity was pertinent as they made it clear that the construction of identity is essential in conveying who we are, where we come from, our ethnicities, the social groups we identify with, and our political affiliations to others (De Fina, 2011). Perceived this way, identity connects with the understanding that language use, in this case toponymy, is a cognitive and intrinsically social undertaking. This view of identity compels us to reflect on the motives for and the circumstances surrounding the practical ways people construct identities through the practice of naming places. Extending Zotzmann and O'Regan's (2016, p. 2) assertions, "[i]dentity is […] a discursive phenomenon, as self and other are co-constructed through language and other semiotic resources", one is persuaded to ponder the ways name givers are viewed by other place name users, the suggestions they want to communicate in certain situations, and the linguistic, social, cultural, political, and economic resources used to do so.

The thesis characterises identity as a conversational occurrence, because the way individuals present themselves is established through linguistic and other semiotic resources. Thus identity is viewed as material, because people practice identities in connection to contexts.

Borrowing from and expanding the arguments of performativity theorists (Austin, 1975; Butler, 1990, 2010; Callon, 1998; Lash, 2015; Kelleher & Milani, 2015), the study views identity as being carried out in time and space, in real situations, and as the product of real circumstances. Findings, articulated in Zuvalinyenga (2020a, b), reveal that individuals perform acts of identity, such as choosing to use an unofficial toponym over an official one or posing for a selfie next to certain signage contingent on the context, which can be interpreted differently. However, it became evident that people did not carry out these acts of identity in similar ways. This was due to different inter-personal experiences, social positions, access to language, economic, cultural, and other social and material resources that result in differing levels of acknowledgement.

Importantly, I observe that the classifications of one person compared to another are determined by discourses about communities that are created and recreated across various levels and sections of society as argued by Zotzmann and O'Regan (2016). These are evident in locations like the media, learning institutions, and politics. These discourses, in turn, are influenced by, and influence, social hierarchies in multiple ways. In other words, identity construction is a process of singling someone or something out as well as a kind of social and discursive work whereby reality is constituted through language and practices that exert an intentional (illocutionary) force under specific environmental circumstances (Austin, 1975; Butler, 2010). Moreover, identity construction entails a relational, intentional, or unintentional effect (perlocutionary act) that has binding consequences. Since power relations and ideology permeate identity constructions that can be uncovered through critical discourse analysis, this approach was selected.

This study reveals that multiple toponymies in Bindura provide insights about the area and people's languages, history, culture, events, identities, and their social and political positions to show the varied ways people make sense of given places. The research study establishes that the interconnections among toponymic practices, communication, identity, and power are multifaceted, as there are various toponymic situations in Bindura. The coexistence of formal and informal toponyms from this study is articulated in Zuvalinyenga (2020b) where I explain that in most cases, the informal toponyms are used and are sometimes incompatible or at variance with the formal ones. Here, toponyms, it can be argued, compete for space and recognition. Thus, a flux of identities and histories is remodelled and imprinted onto toponymy and the linguistic landscape. This transformation and inscription of identities makes place naming an interactive and place/time-related concept that is influenced by various inside and

outside factors. It is in this fluidity that different actors are empowered or disempowered to assert their identities. Empowered groups like the ruling classes position the legislative apparatus to write toponymies influenced by party-political ideologies and standard and/or normative identities through formal place naming. This contrasts with the disempowered, for example, ordinary residents who feel sidelined may contest these formal toponymic practices by openly tearing down toponymic signage, writing graffiti, or coining and using informal toponyms.

The data reveals that the employment of political offices and statutory frameworks disempower those without power and prevent them from participating in creating official toponyms. However, the marginalised do not necessarily remain bystanders. Instead, on occasions they assertively deploy alternate translanguaging and make sense of their existence in and on their own terms. As an example, ordinary citizens in the community create and employ informal toponyms, which co-occur cordially, indecisively, or uneasily with the formal names. The data exposes the use of informal toponyms which turn out to be a practical way of communicating a place and a symbolic act of affirming one's identity (Ainiala & Lappalainen, 2017; Ainiala & Östman, 2017a; Ainiala et al., 2016; Vuolteenaho, Lappalainen, & Ainiala, 2019). This study shows that closely connected groups (such as youths, combi drivers/conductors/users, farm and mine workers), use unauthorised, circumstance-specific, and chosen informal place names. In this way, informal place naming practices assume the role of controlling social relations since people can communicate who they are in their own terms, or in terms not limited to authorised inscription. In Zuvalinyenga (2020a, b) I explain how some of these unofficial names include resistance through slang and humour. I envisage the humour present in some non-standard toponyms assists in mitigating agitations and inspires social bonds. This was based on witnessing the ways informal place names could nurture inclusivity and integration in the multilingual and multicultural society. This strategy provides opportunities and furnishes people and various social groups with the means to convey who they are in their most favored way and allows them to assert their rights to the public space through identity creation.

Earlier, in Zuvalinyenga & Bigon (2020), we provide evidence of how the patriarchal perspectives of both the colonial and post-colonial eras manifest in the linguistic landscape and toponymic practices. For starters, the urban and rural council naming authorities are often comprised of men. To add, the farm or mine owners, as shown by the study, whose name these landscapes bear are men. This is an example of men honoring themselves, but there were also

examples of men honoring their male heroes or colleagues, at the expense of women. For example, *Botha Mine* comes from the Dutch surname that means 'son of a leader' (Names.org, 2018), while *Hamilton Farm* was named after Mr A.F. Hamilton, its male owner. In addition, in Zuvalinyenga and Bigon (2020) we expose gender biases in the naming of streets and roads in Bindura. Furthermore, in Zuvalinyenga (2020b) I confirm that in the countryside, there were no female chiefs or village heads, and it is chiefs and village heads who make the decisions. These male chiefs and village heads are unlikely to consider the views of or suggestions by women when deciding on place names. Therefore, women are left out of place naming and from the toponyms themselves.

Overall, the toponyms of Bindura urban and its rural hinterland provide the place and its inhabitants' many identities and present the diverse ways diverse people connect with it. Accounts of pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial communities, languages, accomplishments, cultures, and practices are clarified in the toponymic landscape. Place names adapted from those of vegetation and animals suggest the connection early occupants of the area had with the surroundings. A.S. Mlambo (2014) attests the San and the Khoi, the first people to settle in Zimbabwe, were hunters and gatherers who left evidence of their lives through naming places from animals, trees, rivers, and nature more generally. This study confirms how colonialism is memorialised in the Western names of farms, mines, and streets (particularly in the Hospital Area). It provides further evidence of how the period after independence is typified by the (re)naming of streets, buildings, and places and provides a distinction that evokes the country's fight for freedom and nationalist beliefs. Commemoration was noted in the street names of the central business district and the residential area of Aerodrome which memorialise the liberation struggle and those who played a part in it.

The study illustrated how toponyms reveal the political choices and inclinations of the diverse actors and users. It made evident how some identities within the region can be detected throughout the three eras examined – the pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial – from the manner in which the naming process is carried out. Toponyms such as *Nzirawa* (Shona for 'the antelope'), *Hata Mountai*n (Shona for 'head cushion'), and *Chamakunguwo* (Shona for 'the crow's place') are connected to the pre-colonial era and early dwellers who relied on their surroundings for subsistence, the San or Khoi. The indigenous people often named places after trees, plants, and animals found in the area. Some toponyms described occurrences, people, their experiences or activities. Toponyms connected to nature could have been given because the plants or animals were present in the area, thus, they used these names to familiarise

themselves with the place. Viewed this way, the hunter-gatherer identity of the early people is visible. Historical oral narratives upheld the interpretation that early inhabitants of the area had close relations with nature and memorialised these connections on rock art and in place names based on flora and fauna. However, the shortcomings of oral narratives are seen in the greater dependence on individual memories, which can be prone to prejudices, gaps, and distortions. All the same, this coheres with Garlake (1987, 1990) who provides archaeological evidence and A.S. Mlambo (2014) who avails historical evidence to substantiate the view that some places were named after flora and fauna.

The study further provides evidence of how the colonial era, which ushered in fortune seekers searching for gold and other minerals, results in the pegging of mines and farms. These farming and mining industries give the region its present identity. In Zuvalinyenga and Libert (2019) we attest that the founding of Kimberley Reefs Mine in 1901 pronounces the beginning of systematised modern settlement in the region. More mines such as RAN Mine and Hay Gold Mine, were eventually established, with some miners such as George Hay Rattray leaving the mining business to practice farming. I (Zuvalinyenga, 2020b) confirm that the colonial era prompted power struggles in race relations and these disputes are apparent in the linguistic landscape and toponymic practices. Illustrations of these disagreements are in the abundance of European names, renaming practices, and the co-occurrence of official and unofficial corpora of toponyms, where the ruling classes assign official names through legislation, but ordinary inhabitants who do not associate with those names come up with their own.

Moreover, we showed (Bigon & Zuvalinyenga, 2020; Zuvalinyenga & Bigon, 2020; Zuvalinyenga & Libert, 2019; Zuvalinyenga, 2020b) how the post-colonial period is typified by decolonisation, repossession of appropriated land, restoration of languages and identities, and reclamation of culture. Pro-independence ideologies and identities espoused during the *Chimurenga* are visible in the linguistic landscape and toponymic space; heroes of the revolution are tributed with places named after them. Indigenous or local languages like Koisan, Kalanga, Chichewa, Nambya, Tshivenda and Tonga that had been peripherised are now recognised in the constitution and are mostly used in unofficial toponymic practices. Nevertheless, inequality still exists as far as gender unevenness and portrayal of minorities in the linguistic landscape is concerned. Gender imbalances persist despite the renaming of some roads and buildings after women by the government on 19 November 2019 and most of the named women were wives and relatives of ministers and politicians aligned to the ZANU-PF party. The linguistic landscape relating to minority languages has seen little change beyond the

official recognition of the 16 official languages in the national Constitution of 2013. Overall, the study recognises that the names of a place are texts and speech acts that reflect some of the ways in which language is frequently used to legitimise certain political dominance and social stratum that sacrifice powerless members of society. However, the marginalised, through coining and use of variant and unofficial nomenclature, overtly or covertly contest their marginalisation.

6.3 Contributions

This study is the first to compile a place name database of Bindura urban and rural. The database could be useful for future research on toponyms, linguistic landscapes, or on language in general. In addition, this study viewed toponyms as texts and speech acts that are used to achieve interactional goals such as proving the ownership of places, establishing relationships between people and places, and validating knowledge.

Another contribution of the study is that of theoretical generalisations. In agreement with the propositions of Hammersley (1991), I employed various methodological tools and a multi-perspective interdisciplinary framework to support and develop existing theories, through an abductive approach (Peirce, 1934, p. 171) that moves between data and theory. Abduction enabled me to enact a profound inferential undertaking that intended to generate new hypotheses and theories grounded in empirical evidence (Peirce, 1934, p. 171). The range of methodologies was eclectic, and they reveal diverse and/or unexpected angles of the different theoretical concepts and the relationships between place naming, identity, power, communication, onomastics, and semiotics. Inasmuch as the abductive exploration comes from the cultural and rational positions of actors, it can be assisted by helpful methods of data assessment. Therefore, exploring the data from a range of theoretical perspectives helped to shed light on the interrelationships between discourse, place naming, and identity.

Furthermore, this study extends the agenda and applications of CDA. By investigating how various and relational identities are constructed through discourse and by analysing the toponymic practices within which these identity constructions are framed; the study contributes to promoting an understanding of how inequalities in social and spatial relations are (re)produced through hegemonic discourses. These discourses both constitute and are constituted by what counts as legitimate and justifiable forms of social action. The analysis feeds into the politics of place naming, which has very real social and material impacts. To my knowledge, CDA has not been applied to toponymic studies in the way I have in this study. By

combining social theories of language, some aspects of cognitive linguistics, and the positioning theory, this thesis explored the interrelated, but under-researched, concepts of place naming, identity, power, and communication, which, as I see it, are largely constituted in and through discourse. The rationale for combining social theories of language and cognitive linguistics stems from the understanding that relationships between toponymic practices and people are grounded in lived experiences. These lived experiences of a structured social and material world then feed into the namers' mental models. These relationships are partially constructed, negotiated, and communicated through a range of discursive practices. Therefore, exploring these practices enables insights to be gained into the ways these interrelationships are enacted.

In employing eclectic CDA, a specific method of positioning analysis was developed and applied to operationalise the research (i.e. to move from linguistic and social theory to data analysis). Thus, a way of linking micro- and macro-levels of analysis provided was created by considering how individual and collective positioning indexes broader social identities and ideologies. Positioning analysis also allowed for the fact that individuals and social groups are always already positioned by others through discursive practices. This point of view follows Jenkins (2014, p. 15) who suggests that identity results from the "dialectical interplay of processes of internal and external definition" and that of Anthias (2002) as noted in Chapter 2 § 2.2.1. In the light of this research, I propose that *positioning*, rather than *definition*, is a better way of conceptualising the relationships between place naming, power, communication, and identity formation. This suggestion is made in view of the fact that *definition* implies something relatively fixed and already achieved, whilst *positioning* is a more subtle way of capturing the dynamic, processual, shifting nature of identity, as well as accounting for how identity is negotiated in talk according to participants' aims and goals within the situational context.

Furthermore, I believe that CDA methods can be fruitfully applied to complement both ethnographic accounts and quantitative toponymic studies. As a methodological framework, CDA can help to build a credible inside perspective on what toponymic practices mean to individuals, as well as how hegemonic discourses on identity and toponymy are formed and serve to position various groups of people. Whilst my own study has focused on toponymic practices, identity, power, and communication, I believe that the specific methods of CDA that I have employed can be used to study many other aspects of social identity. These aspects, which might also be related to toponymic practices and identity, encompass, but are not

restricted to language, gender, social class, national and ethnic identity, and other highly contemporary forms of identity, such as virtual identities.

A further contribution is the perspective the study adds to multi-disciplinary research. Linguistic landscape studies and critical toponymy are vibrant, especially for regions in the Global North. For example, studies from North America (see Alderman, 1996, 2000, 2002a, 2002b, 2003; Alderman & Inwood, 2013; Blommaert, 2016; Dwyer, 2002, 2004; Dwyer & Alderman, 2008; Hoelscher, 2003; Rose-Redwood et al., 2018) and post-socialist era Europe: (see Azaryahu, 1997, 2009, 2011a, 2017; Forest & Johnson, 2002; Forest, Johnson, & Till, 2004; Gill, 2005; Light, Nicolae, & Suditu, 2002; Light & Young, 2010; Shohamy et al., 2010; Vuolteenaho & Puzey, 2018) are prevalent. However, inasmuch as Africa has been witnessing notable growth in critical toponymic and linguistic landscape research (see Adebanwi, 2012, 2018; Bigon, 2016b; Bigon & Njoh, 2018; Duminy, 2018; Mokwena, 2020; Myers, 1996; Myers & Subulwa, 2019; Njoh, 2017; Swart 2008; Wanjiru-Mwita & Giraut, 2020); there are only a few studies which have focussed on Zimbabwe (see Mangena, 2018; Mamvura, 2020a,b,c,d). Therefore, this study aims to contribute a Zimbabwean perspective to linguistic landscape studies and to a critical approach to toponymies.

As the proposal to collect, publish, and analyse African toponyms, made at a UNESCO meeting in Paris in 1978, is yet to come to fruition (UNESCO, 1984), this study contributes to this unmet goal. It also serves as a response to the encouragement provided in the research areas of critical toponymy and linguistic landscapes research to analyse the substantive power of place naming practices (Azaryahu, 2009, 2011; Mushati, 2013; Shoval, 2013). It explores how the place naming carried out by various regimes (including the Zimbabwean government), through commemorative place (re)naming, discursively transforms the cultural landscape to redefine the public space and belonging of the political elite and simultaneously expose the power relations involved.

6.4 Limitations

The small data sample of 35 participants for a population that could be over a thousand makes the study less generalisable. Moreover, the study was largely qualitative; thus, it is difficult to make any strong claims as to the representativeness of the data or the overall generalisability of the findings. Although this qualitative research has enabled me to give detailed descriptions and interpretations of place naming, positing the possible ways in which social reality can be experienced and understood, I recommend that caution be exercised in any extrapolation of the

findings. This thesis has resulted from the interpretation of a sample that emerged from a specific situational and interactional context, together with my own observations of toponymic practices in a particular geographical area. Consistent with the growing body of research in linguistic landscape and critical toponymic studies from which this study draws, only "modest generalisations" (O'Reilly, 2009, p. 82) can be made about the findings in relation to their transfer to the wider fields of linguistic landscape and critical toponymy.

Situating the study in the paradigm of critical research opens the work to assumptions and accusations that interpretations of the findings are biased and value-laden. My response to these assumptions follow that of Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) and Fairclough (2003), who assert that most, if not all, academic work cannot be entirely neutral and objective. Part of the appeal of a critical approach is that it is openly motivated by the aim of providing a sound, academic basis for the questioning of social life from a moral and political perspective (Fairclough, 2018). Moreover, the reflexive approach taken makes the research process as transparent as possible; it may compensate for the possible criticism. Triangulation of the data sources also helped because it revealed the convergence of data and the different dimensions of toponymic practices. Thus, it authenticated the findings that reflect the complexity and multi-faceted nature of the social world.

A further limitation is the lack of emphasis in my analysis on the spiritual and/or emotional dimensions, especially since spirituality and emotions are major components of identity construction, negotiation, and contestations in the Shona cosmos (Maenzanise, 2013). These dimensions were not explicitly defined at the data gathering stage of my research. They were only implied in passing, and thus came up sporadically in the findings. They would make an interesting line of further investigation and expand the scope of the study.

Bringing together the different disciplinary perspectives from linguistic landscapes, onomastics, critical toponymy, and social theories of language, without oversimplifying them or creating an incoherent framework was one of the biggest challenges faced in this study. However, the empirical evidence provided allays this challenge and stands testament to the way insights from multiple disciplines can be integrated to enrich scholarship.

6.5 Recommendations

This study has demonstrated that there are interrelationships between toponymic practices, discourses, identity, power, and communication in Bindura. It has shown the co-occurrence

and continuing articulations, negotiation, and contestations of various identities based on language, history, power, class, race, gender, ideology, culture, communication, and age. The study examined cases of place naming and the contradictory political, linguistic, social, cultural, and ideological beliefs that support such naming. Confirming Myers' (1996) assertions that the toponymic landscape has many interwoven layers of power, this study explored the changes and continuity of various place naming systems and the dominant discourses that took place in connection to the histories, current experiences, and differing ideologies, to which they allude. To an extent, the study was informed by the idea of the "layering (of) the toponymic tapestry" (Tucci et al., 2011, p. 370). This idea suggests that place names give rise to a place's extended, and often contested, cultural and political past. Thus, toponymies and their inscriptions expose the discourses, identities, and social categorisations in Bindura examined from pre-colonial periods to the present. As a result of the study of toponyms, insight was gained into Bindura and its inhabitants. It was made evident that toponyms are not mere denotative spatial elements, but rather, are arenas of political struggle over who has the power to inscribe their values and conceptions of identity, history, memory, and culture into public spaces. This calls for consideration and extreme care in naming places to strike a balance, be inclusive, and avoid conflict and dissonance. The following recommendations are made for practice and further research.

Future research could explore language contact as exhibited through toponyms. Although some examples and explanations of language contact were given in the present study, a gap remains that could be filled by further examination. On one hand, further research is needed on the linguistic annexation of territories through place making, sense of place, giving places exonyms, Euro-African names, misspellings, and mispronunciations, which can be taken to be linguistic-based and linguistic-generated colonialism. On the other hand, further study of the contact of indigenous languages as exhibited in toponyms could be helpful to show how different groups of people relate to each other via language.

In light of place naming being highly symbolic, there is the need for authorities to put in place legislation and traditions of toponymic governance that conforms to the experiences and spatial practices in African public spaces. Based on empirical evidence, we (Bigon & Zuvalinyenga, 2020; Zuvalinyenga & Bigon, 2020), recommended that repressive toponymies and toponymic inscriptions be replaced with inclusive and participatory approaches that respect the multilinguistic, multicultural, and multi-ethnic realities present in the linguistic landscapes

of the continent. There is need to pay attention to everyone's contribution and acknowledge how diversity and diverse views can enrich social life in the linguistic landscape.

There is also a need for future studies into how toponymic decolonisation can be systematically implemented. At present, responsible naming authorities in Zimbabwe seem to be doing this haphazardly and for political gain through campaigns directed at voters or as a reaction to protests such as #RhodesMustFall, #ZimbabweanLivesMatter or #BlackLivesMatter. Furthermore, decolonisation may have greater impact if it is complemented by programs and interventions targeted at redressing the problem of the sidelining of minority groups in society. Reforming the toponymic landscape is helpful and it should be complemented by the implementation of projects that address social inequality and human rights.

Within the field of toponymic studies, the politics of place naming needs further exploration. The creation of an annotated bibliography of case studies on this topic from different sites throughout the world is crucial for obtaining a more precise understanding of the scope of the global politics of toponymic practices, its attributes, major causes, and possible solutions. A comparative analysis may equip researchers with evidence to make strong assertions and conclusions from different linguistic, historical, cultural, political, and social conditions. With theory informing practice, toponymies should be focused on putting into place more democratic and sensitive toponymic policies to ensure they are relevant at district, regional, state, and international levels.

Furthermore, there is a need to decolonise the way toponyms are studied. Most of the present research relies on western norms of knowledge and knowing. To start with, the notion of place, city, or rural has mostly been defined in western terms (epistemologies and ontologies) and by western scholars who dominate the field. In addition, toponymy relies on existing lists and sources such as maps, gazetteers, and other written records. These can be hard to find or non-existent in some African contexts where emphasis and reliance is on the oral communication and keeping records; but the oral narratives could be distorted and not be a true reflection of the reality in the communities. Ethnographic methods may be useful for getting information from local people who use the names. Moreover, local people can see methods prevalent in linguistic landscape studies such as photography as intrusive; thus, they may be unwilling to participate in research. Overall, future studies should rethink how research in

toponymy can be conducted to more strongly align with social and cultural realities of African contexts.

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Appendix A

Bindura toponymic data

	NAME	VARIANT NAME	FEATURE TYPE	PLACE	SOURCE	NOTES	SOURCE TYPE
1	Acacia		Street	Hospital Area	Council minutes	Takes the name from the Acacia tree. This toponym falls under the botanical subcategory because it refers to a tree.	Primary
2	Acacia Estates		Farm	Bindura	Fallingrain Website July 2017	The farm is named after the Acacia tree species, which is prevalent in Bindura and other tropical or warm climates. According to Treenames.net (2018) the *Acacia Genus* are also known as wattle or thorny trees because they bear spikes, clusters of yellow or white flowers, and are typically found in warm climates.	Secondary
3	Achernar		Farm	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	Named after Achernar, a city in the Northern Cape, South Africa.	Secondary
4	Adoko		River	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	*Adoko* is Shona for 'the small ones'. The river itself is small compared to other rivers in the area such as the Pote and Mazowe rivers.	Secondary
5	Agaswa		Mountain	Bindura Rural	Bindura Rural District Council July 2018		Primary
6	Alderbaran		Farm	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	A surname found in Tulse Hill, UK (Hanks, 2006). There is a place called Alderbaran in the UK.	Secondary

7	Anthony Avenue		Street	Hospital Area	Council minutes	Commemorates Sir Anthony Duff (1920 - 2000), who was the deputy Governor for Rhodesia (1973 - 1979) and played a key role in the negotiations for Rhodesia's independence. He was also the M15 Security Services' Director General in 1985. He also participated in World War II and served as a diplomat in several African countries.	Primary
8	Appleby Avenue	Border Gezi Avenue	Street	Bindura CBD	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Appleby Avenue is named after places in the UK (Hanks, 2006). It was renamed after the late Border Gezi, a youth leader of the ZANU-PF party who participated in the establishment of youth training centres. The centres and the youth trained there came to be informally known as *ku/maBorder Gezi* 'the place of Border Gezi' or 'the Border Gezi people', respectively.	Primary
9	Appleby Avenue		Street	CBD	Council minutes	Commemorates Appleby town in England. There are also companies and organisations with the name Appleby.	Primary
10	Arcadia Dam		Dam	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	The name is derived from the farm name. Arcadia is a transfer name from places in the UK.	Secondary
11	Arcadia Estates		Farm	Bindura Rural	Bindura Rural District Council November 2017	The farm is named after Arcadia in the UK.	Primary
12	Arcadia Estates		Shopping centre	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	These shops are in Bindura Rural Ward 8. They are named after the farm on which they are located.	Secondary
13	Argyle Park		Park	Bindura	Police Map 2000	Named after Argyle, a place in the UK.	Secondary
14	Arundel		Farm	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	Named after Arundel, a place in the UK.	Secondary

15	Ashanti		Mine	Bindura	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Named after the Ashanti who are an ancient tribe of Ghana. Ashanti Gold Private Limited owned the mine.	Primary
16	Ashcott		Farm	Bindura	Police Map 2000	Named after Ashcott, a place in the UK.	Secondary
17	Ashwell		Farm	Bindura	Police Map 2000	Named after Ashwell, a place in the UK.	Secondary
18	Asp Mine		Mine	Bindura	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	The meaning of the name of the mine is difficult to ascertain but Brown (2020) shared that the mine was tributed to Captain Henry Francis "Skipper" Hoste in 1907. Captain Hoste was instrumental in the establishement of the British colony before 1900. The ZimFieldGuides.com confirms Hoste led the the pioneer column into present day Zimbabwe.	Primary
19	Atherstone		Farm	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	Commemorates Atherstone, a place in the UK. It is a small industrial and market town and civil parish in the English county of Warwickshire.	Secondary
20	Atherstone Mine		Mine	Bindura	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Named after Atherstone in the UK.	Primary
21	Atherstone Road		Road	CBD	Council minutes	Named after Atherstone in the UK. There is also Atherstone Farm and Atherstone Mine. The road was renamed Emmerson Mnagagwa Road on 21 November 2019 (Nyoka, 2019).	Primary
22	Athlone		Farm	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	Named after Athlone, a place in the UK.	Secondary
23	Audrey A		Farm	Bindura	Police Map 2000	Named after Audrey, a place in the UK.	Secondary
24	Avilin Siding	Avilion	Farm	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	Named after Avilin, a place in the UK.	Secondary

25	Avillion	Avilin	Shopping centre	Bindura Rural	Bindura Rural District Council November 2017	Name derives from that of the farm. It is in Ward 7.	Primary
26	Avoca		Farm	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	Named after Avoca, a place in the UK.	Secondary
27	Avondoor	Avondur	Farm	Bindura	Police Map 2000	The farm is named after a place in the UK. Mr Roy Guthrie was the previous owner before it was given to Bepura Webster, then mayor of Bindura, in February 2000; and then to the late Menard Livingstone Muzariri (Central Intelligent Officers' boss).	Secondary
28	Azikara Estate		Farm	Bindura	Fallingrain Website July 2017	Nyanja for 'they are greedy'.	Secondary
29	Ballantrae		Farm	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	Misspelling of Blantyre, a place in the UK. There is also the City of Blantyre in Malawi.	Secondary
30	Bamboo Creek		Farm	Bindura	Fallingrain Website July 2017	The name describes vegetation common in the place. The farm has a creek with many bamboos. N. Richardson and R. Morkel owned the farm before it was gazetted for resettlement under the land reform programme in 2000.	Secondary
31	Bamboo Spruit		Farm	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	There were many bamboos in the area, a descriptive toponym. *Spruit* is Afrikaans for a small watercourse that is usually dry except in the rainy season.	Secondary
32	Bank ABC		Bank	CBD	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	A captivating way of naming. The name implies banking with this particular bank is as easy as a child learning the alphabet or ABCs.	Primary

33	Banwell		Farm	Bindura	Fallingrain Website July 2017	Named after Banwell, a place in the UK.	Secondary
34	Barassie		Farm	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	Named after Barassie, a place in the UK.	Secondary
35	Batanai		Mine compound	Bindura	Zuvalinyenga July 2017	*Batanai* is Shona for 'unite'. The name calls for people to come together and work as a team.	Primary
36	Batanai		Police base	Bindura	Police Map 2000	Takes after the name of the place it is located.	Secondary
37	Batcombe A	Butcombe	Farm	Bindura	Police Map 2000	Named after Batcombe, a place in the UK, (Hanks, 2006).	Secondary
38	Bath Road		Road	Hospital Area	Council minutes	Named after the city of Bath in England.	Primary
39	Beconhill		Farm	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	A misspelling of Beacon Hill, which is a city in the UK.	Secondary
40	Bemberero Aerodrome		Aerodrome	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	The name means 'celebrations' in Shona. It was given to an aerodrome that was used by the Rhodesian Airforce when training its pilots. The name derives from Mt Bemberero.	Secondary
41	Bemberero Mountain		Mountain	Bindura Rural	Surveyor General Map 1970	Early inhabitants (Participant A7, 9 July 2018) used the mountain as a site for celebrations. These could be celebrations for good rains, therefore good harvests or victory over rival social groups.	Secondary
42	Bemberero Secondary School		School	Bindura	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	*Bemberero* is Shona for 'celebrations'. It refers to a school at Eagles Cliff Farm in Bindura. It is derived from the name of a hill in the same area.	Primary

43	Bennda gate		Gate	Bindura rural	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	According to the House of Names (2020), *Bennda* is German and was first found in Silesia. It was the surname of a prominent family in ancient times.	Primary
44	Benridge		Farm	Bindura	Police Map 2000	Named after Benridge, a place in the UK.	Secondary
45	Benwell	Burnwell	Farm	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	Named after Benwell, a place in the UK.	Secondary
46	Beta Bricks		Company	CBD	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Shonalised *better* to suit the pronunciations locals are accustomed to.	Primary
47	Biafamba Hill		Hill	Bindura Rural	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	A misspelling of *vaifamba*, Shona for 'they were walking'.	Primary
48	Bidson Mangirazi Street		Street	Aerodrome	Council minutes	It is commemorative of a war veteran who participated in the War of Liberation.	Primary
49	Big Catch		Shop	CBD	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	A memorable way of naming a business to persuade customers that if they do their shopping in this particular shop, they are likely to get a bargain as implied by the metaphor.	Primary
50	Billabong	Oxbow Lake	Farm	Bindura	Police Map 2000	Refers to a branch of a river forming a backwater or stagnant pool, made by water flowing from the main stream during a flood. It is also known as Oxbow Lake. It comes from *Bilabang*, which is Wiradjuri (an Australian Aboriginal language) for a lake (*The Macquarie Dictionary*, 2005).	Secondary
51	Bindura	Binsburg, Chipindura, Kimberley Reefs,	Town	Bindura	Bindura Municipality	*Bindura* is anglicised *pindura mhuka* (Shona for 'turn the game') (Bindura Municipality, 2016). Research participant A21 said the name comes from *chipindura* (Shona for 'turn'), which is a medicinal herb. The debate on the naming	Secondary

		Pindura Mhuka Hill				process for Bindura confirms this (National Archives of Zimbabwe, 2018a). The place is known by other several names including the Shona slang *Binsburg*, which is a blend of two words, *Bindura* and *burg*, *Kimberley Reefs*, as well as its indigenous name *Pindura Mhuka Hill*.	
52	Bindura Country Club		Club	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	Named after the town where it is located.	Secondary
53	Bindura Country Club Golf Course		Golf course	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	Named after Bindura town, in which it is located.	Secondary
54	Bindura Country Club Playing Fields		Sports field	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	A name transfer from the name of the town of Bindura.	Secondary
55	Bindura granodiorite		Topographical	Bindura	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	A mining area named after the town it is found in.	Primary
56	Bindura Nickel	Kunikiri, Freda Rebbecca	Mine	Bindura	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Alternative name for Freda Rebbecca Mine. *Nikiri* is Shonalised nickel and *ku* is Shona for a locative 'at'; thus, *Kunikiri* is Shona for 'at the nickel mine'. Nickel is the main mineral mined there.	Primary
57	Bindura Primary School		School	Bindura	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Named after the town where it is located. It was an elite school during colonial times. It was established on 12 August 1912 to cater for the education needs of white miners and famers. There were only 6 learners when it started; one of them was Toby Rattray who was the son of George Hay	Primary

						Rattray, who was instrumental in founding the colonial settlement in Bindura (National Archives of Zimbabwe Historical Collections; Brown, 2020).	
58	Bimha Way	Reedbuck	Street	Chipadze	Council minutes	*Bimha* is Shona for the 'Southern African Antelope', the odonyms falls under the wildlife category.	Primary
59	Blackwood Avenue		Street	Hospital Area	Council minutes	A tropical tree of the pea family that produces high quality dark timber.	Primary
60	Bodele		Farm	Bindura	Police Map 2000	Ben-Ami, Koren, Rudich, Artaxo, Martin and Andreae (2010) say that the Bodele Depression is on the sourthern edge of the Sahara Desert and it is the lowest point in Chad. Therefore, *Bodele* is a transfered name.	Secondary
61	Bombi stombie	Bomby stomby	Bottle store	Bindura	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	The bottle stores are often times named *Bombi stombies* by the imbibers, most of them youthful. This is slang for 'bottle store'.	Primary
62	Bonny		Farm	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	Named after Bonny, a place in the UK.	Secondary
63	Bonny A		Farm	Bindura	Fallingrain Website July 2017	There are two farms named Bonny with one of them distinguished by an A.	Secondary
64	Bonzo		Mine	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	*Bonzo* is Shona for 'bone'.	Secondary
65	Border Gezi Avenue	kumaBorder Gezi, kumaGreen bomber,	Street	CBD	Council minutes	Named after a war veteran leader who actively participated in the establishment of youth service training centres around Zimbabwe beginning in Mashonaland Central. These centres and the people who participate are alternatively known as "(ku)maBorder Gezi" or "(ku)maGreen bomber".	Primary

		panaBorder Gezi					
66	Bosrand		Farm	Bindura	Fallingrain Website July 2017	*Bosrand* is Dutch for 'edge of the forest/wood' (Names.org, 2018). There are many places named *Bosrand* in the Netherlands and South Africa. This transferred name commemorates the homelands of the settlers of the farm in Bindura.	Secondary
67	Botha		Mine	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	According to Names.org (2018), *Botha* is an Afrikaans surname that comes from Middle Dutch meaning 'son of the leader'. They also say that Frederick Botha brought the surname to South Africa in 1678. The former Prime Minister of South Africa (1978-1989) was P.W. Botha.	Secondary
68	Bozangas		House	Aerodrome	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Shona slang referring to the more affluent areas such as *Shashi View* and the low density areas (Hospital).	Primary
69	Bozwells		House	Aerodrome	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	"	Primary
70	Brickdale		Farm	Bindura	Police Map 2000	Named after Brickdale in the UK. Brickdale is also a common surname in the UK (Nunn, 2012).	Secondary
71	Brinkburn		Farm	Bindura	Fallingrain Website July 2017	According to English Heritage (2019a), Brinkburn is a 12th century parish in Morpeth town, Northumberland County.	Secondary
72	Brinkburn		Shopping centre	Bindura	Bindura Rural District Council November 2017	Located in Ward 6, the farm takes its name from Brinkburn, a place in the UK.	Primary
73	Brockdale		Farm	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	A transfer name from Brockdale, a place in the UK.	Secondary

74	Brockley		Farm	Bindura	Police Map 2000	Transferred from Brockley, a place in the UK.	Secondary
75	Brundret		Farm	Bindura	Fallingrain Website July 2017	A transfer name from Brundet, a place in the UK.	Secondary
76	Burkina Faso	Pfugari	Suburb	Chiwaridzo	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	"Burkina Faso is also another (Shona) slang place name ... (laughs) it is very funny, taboo ... it means the backside, it is used to refer to the places on the peripheries of the suburbs especially Pfugari" (Participant A1, 6 July 2018).	Primary
77	Burnside		Farm	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	The Burnside Historical Society (2018) says that the name *Burnside* comes from an amalgamation of 'burn' and 'side; these are a translation of the Scottish word for 'creek'. The Historical Society further says that Peter Anderson, who migrated from Scotland to Adelaide, Australia in 1839, established and named this place Burnside because it was located on the side of Second Creek.	Secondary
78	Burnside		Shopping centre	Bindura Rural	Bindura Rural District Council November 2017	Located in Ward 8, the place is named after Burnside Farm.	Primary
79	Burton Vale	Bourton Vale	Farm	Bindura	Police Map 2000	The English Heritage website (2019b) says, Bourton Vale is a village in the town of Cotswold, in Oxforshire County, UK.	Secondary
80	Burton Vale Estate A	Bourton Vale Estate A	Farm	Bindura	Fallingrain Website July 2017	This is an example of an instrumental name where the letter A is used to distinguish it from Burton Vale Farm.	Secondary
81	Butcombe Farm	Batcombe	Farm	Bindura Rural	Surveyor General Map 1970	Named after Butcombe in the UK.	Secondary

82	Butcombe	Batcombe	Shopping centre	Bindura	Bindura Rural District Council November 2017	Located in Ward 3, the shops take their name from Butcombe Farm.	Primary
83	Butleigh		Farm	Bindura	Police Map 2000	Named after Butleigh in the UK. The Great Britain Historical GIS in "History of Butleigh, in Mendip and Somerset Map and description", *A Vision of Britain through Time*, described Butleigh as a small parish in the Wells district, Somerset, UK.	Secondary
84	Bythorn		Farm	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	Named after a parish in Huntingdonshire, UK.	Secondary
85	Cactus Avenue		Street	Hospital Area	Council minutes	A thorny plant found in the area. The name falls under the botanical category.	Primary
86	Cambridge Avenue		Street	Hospital Area	Council minutes	Named after Cambridge in the UK, Commemorative of places.	Primary
87	Cardiff Road		Street	Hospital Area	Council minutes	Named after Cardiff in the UK, Commemorative of places.	Primary
88	CBZ Bank		Bank	CBD	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Commercial Bank of Zimbabwe. Commercial toponym.	Primary
89	Centenary Drive		Street	Hospital Area	Council minutes	Celebrates centenaries in the United Kingdom. For example, Centenary Square in Broad Street, Birmingham, England that commemorates the centenary of Birmingham achieving its city status (Kennedy, 2004). Commemorative – places and events.	Primary
90	Central Avenue		Street	CBD	Council minutes	It is in the central business district. It is a directional toponym.	Primary

91	Ceres A		Farm	Bindura	Fallingrain Website July 2017	*Ceres* is named after a village in Fife, Scotland (Hanks, 2006). It is an example of a transferred name. The former cabinet minister Nicolas Goche is the new owner. The former owner was Tish Morkel. Although owners changed, the name of the farm remains *Ceres*.	Secondary
92	Chaitezvi-Shumba Village		Village	Bindura Rural	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Biographical name, named after the *Chaitezvi-Shumba* clansmen.	Primary
93	Chakanyemba	Chekanyemba	Communal Area	Bindura	Police Map 2000	A blend of the verb *cheka* 'cut' and noun *nyemba* 'cow peas' located in Musana Ward 17. An example of an amalgamated toponym.	Secondary
94	Chakanyemba		Shopping Centre	Bindura Rural	Bindura Rural District Council November 2017	Named after the area in which the shops are found.	Primary
95	Chakanyemba Primary School	Chekanyemba	School	Bindura Rural	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Named after the place it is located.	Primary
96	Chakona Village		Village	Bindura Rural	Police Map 2000	Shona for 'it has failed'.	Secondary
97	Chamakunguwo		Communal area	Bindura Rural	Surveyor General Map 1970	Shona for 'the crows'. Oral tradition has it that there were many crows in the area, thus it was named after the crows.	Secondary
98	Chamatura		Communal area	Bindura Rural	Surveyor General Map 1970	Shona for 'of the granaries' – the area used to be productive and people stored excess food in the granary for future use.	Secondary
99	Chaminuka Street		Street	Chipadze	Council minutes	Commemorative – person. *Chaminuka* was a spirit medium who was instrumental in the War of Liberation.	Primary

100	Changarara		Communal area	Bindura Rural	Surveyor General Map 1970	Named after a hill in the area.	Secondary
101	Changarara	Changarare	Mountain	Bindura Rural	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	A hill in rural Bindura. *Changarara* could be a misspelling of Shona *nyangarara*, which means 'unkempt or uncombed hair'. This could have been descriptive of the vegetation on the hill; it resembled unkempt or uncombed hair. *Changarare* is the variant spelling.	Primary
102	Chavadzimu		Mountain	Bindura Rural	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Shona for 'of the ancestors' this mountain is sacred for the people, as they believe it is their ancestors' dwelling place. The mountain has caves in which revered members of the community such as chiefs and medicine men are buried.	Primary
103	Chavadzimu Rock Art Shelter		Rock paintings	Bindura Rural	Zimfieldguid-e.com	These paintings are in *Manhenga* Shona for 'the feathers' and are a sign of Khoisan presence in the area. These hunter-gatherers are said to have lived in the area 13,000 years ago (Garlake, 1987).	Primary
104	Chavadzimu Store		Shopping centre	Bindura Rural	Bindura Rural District Council November 2017	Derived from the ancestral shrine in *Manhenga*.	Primary
105	Chavambanga		Mountain	Bindura Rural	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Shona for 'of the Mbanga'. *Mbanga* is a common Shona surname. I could not find its meaning.	Primary
106	Chawagona		Shopping centre	Bindura Rural	Bindura Rural District Council November 2017	Located in Masembura Ward 11, the name takes its name from the infamous jail *Chawagona* that is well-known for putting hardened criminals in line. *Chawagona* is a Shona metaphor meaning 'what have you done' or 'you have erred'.	Primary

107	Chelvery		Farm	Bindura Rural	Police Map 2000	It is a transfer from Chelvery in the UK's Backwell Parish (Hanks, 2006).	Secondary
108	Chemhofu		Shopping centre	Bindura Rural	Bindura Rural District Council November 2017	Shona for 'of the eland' is located in Musana Ward 16. The name is under the wildlife category. Elands (antelopes) can be found in large numbers in the area. The eland is also a totem for the people in the area.	Primary
109	Chemukuti Farm	Chomukute Hute Afrikaans (*Waterbessie*) English (Water berry)	Farm	Bindura Rural	Surveyor General Map 1970	Shona for 'of the *mukuti* tree'. *Mukute* (*syzygium cordatum*) is an evergreen, water-loving tree that grows to a height of 8-15m. It is normally found near streams, on forest margins or in swampy areas (Trees.com, 2018). The name could be a misspelling of a closely related Shona word *makuti* 'the clouds'. However, the first explanation is most likely the closest because the *mukute* tree species is a common variety in the area.	Primary
110	Chenenga	Chininga	Cave	Bindura Rural	Fallingrain website	An anglicised *chininga*, which is Shona for 'a cave'. The place it is located is known as *Chininga*, after the cave.	Secondary
111	Chenjerai Hunzvi Avenue		Street	CBD	Council minutes	Commemorates a war veteran leader who actively participated in the land reform programme. He is originally from *Chiweshe*, just a few kilometres from Bindura.	Primary
112	Chibhorani		Borehole	Chiwaridzo	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Shona for 'borehole' – one of the many unofficial place names in Bindura.	Primary
113	Chicken Inn		Fast-food Outlet	CBD	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Directs people to say you will find chicken in our shop.	Primary
114	Chicken Matty		Fast-food Outlet	CBD	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	A play on words to come up with an innovative business name. The name comes from chicken, their main product and an anglicised, shortened form of *Matangira*, the	Primary

						surname of the owner and founder of the business (see Figure 5.5).	
115	Chidamba Village		Village	Bindura Rural	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Shona for 'monkey oranges'. This is an indigenous fruit tree prevalent in the area.	Primary
116	Chidziva Village		Village	Bindura Rural	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Shona for 'of the stream'. Takes the name of a stream on the outskirts of the village.	Primary
117	Chigiji		Communal area	Bindura Rural	Police Map 2000	A popular surname, *Chigiji* could be Shona for a low place, especially a valley. The naming describes the action of descending into a lower place. Chigiji is in a valley between Masembura and Chiriseri.	Secondary
118	Chihumberi	Chihumbiri	Shopping centre	Bindura Rural	Bindura Rural District Council November 2017	Located in Ward 5 in the communal area, *Chihumberi* is a misspelling of *Chihumbiri*, Shona for a type of edible mushroom species. Botanical naming.	Primary
119	Chikarati		Mountain	Bindura Rural	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Derives from Shona *mukarati* a tree species prevalent on the mountain.	Primary
120	Chikowore Dip Tank		Dip tank	Bindura Rural	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Named after the place it is located in – *Chikowore* village.	Primary
121	Chikowore Village		Village	Bindura Rural	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Named after the people settled there.	Primary
122	Chikupo Cave	Chikupu or Chakupa	Cave	Bindura Rural	Surveyor General Map 1970	Misspelling of *chakupa*, Shona for 'it has given you' which is a cave in the Communal area. The name could be referring to how *Musikavanhu* 'God' and the ancestors are benevolent and always looking out for the people by giving them shelter.	Secondary

123	Chikupu Rock Paintings Shelter		Rock paintings	Bindura Rural	Surveyor General Map 1970	A sign of Khoisan presence in the area. According to Garlake (1987), these hunter-gatherers lived in the area 13,000 years ago.	Secondary
124	Chimadzizi		Communal area	Bindura Rural	Surveyor General Map 1970	Shona for 'of the owls' – many owls were found in the area.	Secondary
125	Chimbetete		Communal area	Bindura Rural	Police Map 2000	Named after the people settled there.	Secondary
126	Chimurenga Road	War of Liberation/ Umvukhela	Street	Light Industry	Council minutes	The Shona name of the War of Liberation, the road commemorates this event.	Primary
127	Chinamora	Chinamhora	Communal area	Bindura Rural	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Family name for the people settled in the area. This family holds the chieftains of the place.	Primary
128	Chindotwe Primary School		School	Bindura Rural	Bindura Rural District Council November 2017	Named after the area it is located in.	Primary
129	Chindotwe Village		Village	Bindura Rural	Bindura Rural District Council November 2017	Named after the people settled there.	Primary
130	Chinemaropa Street		Street	Aerodrome	Council minutes	Shona meaning 'with blood'. The name commemorates the War of Liberation.	Primary
131	Chinenga	Chenenga or Chininga	Communal area	Bindura Rural	Police Map 2000	A misspelling of *Chininga*, Shona for 'a cave'. *Ninga* or cave is a sacred burial place for chiefs and respected people in the Shona society.	Secondary

132	Chingore's		Shop	Bindura Industrial area	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Named after *Chingore* who found the place.	Primary
133	Chin'unu		Police base	Bindura Rural	Police Map 2000	Shona for 'murmur', oral tradition has it that soft indistinct sounds of people could be heard from the mountain thus it was named as such.	Secondary
134	Chinyani village		Village	Bindura Rural	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Named after the people settled there.	Primary
135	Chipadze	Chipadze Township, Chipadza, Chipadzi	Township	Bindura	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	*Chipadza* is Shona for 'a small hoe'. It was anglicised to *Chipadze* and *Chipadzi*.	Primary
136	Chipadze Farm Secondary School	kwaFraser	School	Bindura Rural	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Found in Chipadze Village Bindura Rural, takes after the place it is located in. *Fraser* is the name of the former owner of the farm before it was gazetted for resettlement under the land reform programme.	Primary
137	Chipadze Primary School	Chipadza or Chipadzi	School	Bindura	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	In Chipadze town and takes its name after the suburb.	Primary
138	Chipadze Secondary School	Chipadza or Chipadzi	School	Bindura	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	It is in Chaminuka Street, Chipadze Township in Bindura and it takes after the town's name.	Primary
139	Chipadze Street	Chipadza or Chipadzi	Street	Chipadze	Council minutes	The name of a chief who used to reside where Bindura is now located. The street commemorates Chief Chipadze.	Primary
140	Chipadzi Estates	Chipadze Farm or kwaFraser	Farm	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	A misspelling of *Chipadza* (see explation on precedeeing item). *Fraser* was the owner of the farm; his name was used as an alternative name for the farm.	Secondary

141	Chipadzi mountain	Chipadza or Chipadze	Mountain	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	Takes the name of the place it is found in.	Secondary
142	Chipembere Street		Street	Chipadze	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Shona for 'a rhino' celebrates one of the animal species found in the country.	Primary
143	Chipindura High School		School	Chipindura	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Located at 743 Artherstone Road, Chipindura Linets, it is one of the oldest boarding schools in the area. It takes its name after the *Pindura Hill*.	Primary
144	Chipindura Primary School		School	Chipindura	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Takes the name from that of the suburb it is in.	Primary
145	Chipindura Road 1		Street	Light Industry	Council minutes	A herb, or an imperative 'to turn something'. Botanical - a herb used by the indigenous people for various purposes (National Archives of Zimbabwe Historical Collections, 2018b).	Primary
146	Chipindura Road 2		Street	Light Industry	Council minutes	Takes its name from a hill in the area, which refers to a herb, or an imperative in Shona that means to turn something as explained in the previous item on the list.	Primary
147	Chipopoteke River		River	Bindura Rural	Surveyor General Map 1970	Shona for 'a winding one'. Descriptive of the course of the river.	Secondary
148	Chipuriro Village	Spolilo	Village	Bindura Rural	Surveyor General Map 1970	*Chipuriro* is Shona for 'the place for hitting grain stalks to harvest the grain'. It describes a process of harvesting. *Spolilo* is Anglicisation and misspelling of *Chipuriro.*	Secondary
149	Chireka	Kandemiri	Village	Musana Ward 9	Rural Council	Shona for 'leave it!' *Chileke* is Nyanja for 'let it go'.	Primary

150	Chireka	Kandemiri	Shopping centre	Musana Ward 9	Rural Council	Named after the place it is located in.	
151	Chireka Primary School	Kandemiri	School	Bindura Rural	Surveyor General Map 1970	"	Secondary
152	Chireka Secondary School	Kandemiri	School	Bindura Rural	Surveyor General Map 1970	The school is in Chireka Village Musana Communal Lands and takes the name of the place it is located in.	Primary
153	Chiriseri	Dindinyongwe / Kumapfanya	Communal area	Bindura Rural	Police map 2000	Shona for 'the one at the back'. The place is far from many services and amenities – descriptive name.	Secondary
154	Chiriseri Secondary School		School	Bindura rural	Police Map 2000	Named after *Chiriseri Dindinyongw*e where it is located.	Primary
155	Chishayabvudzi Mountain		Mountain	Musana Ward 15	Rural Council	The mountain has little vegetation on it thus the Shona name 'one without hair'.	Primary
156	Chishayabvudzi		Shopping centre	Musana Ward 15	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Named after the mountain in the area.	Primary
157	Chisvingo Ruins		Ruins	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	A cultural centre with rock paintings and a fortress in the mould of the Great Zimbabwe monument. *Chisvingo* is Shona for 'a fortress'.	Secondary
158	Chitauro Village		Village	Bindura Rural	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	*Chitauro* means 'the talk' in Shona; it is named after people who use that surname.	Primary
159	Chitauro Clinic		Clinic	Bindura rural	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Named after the place it is located in.	Primary

160	Chitauro-Kagande		Shopping centre	Masembura Ward 11	Rural Council	A blended name taking after the names of two places names – *Chitauro* and *Kagande*.	Primary
161	Chitomboshava		Mountain	Bindura rural	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Shona for 'the red stone', the name of the mountain is descriptive - it has reddish granite stones.	Primary
162	Chiumburukwa Mountain		Mountain	Bindura Rural	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Shona for 'the one that makes a person stumble and roll if they misstep'. The mountain has a ragged terrain that makes it difficult to climb.	Primary
163	Chiundu Road		Road	Chipadze	Council minutes	*Chiundu* could be Shona for 'the one that plucks' or Nyanja for 'ache'; or a misspelling of *Chirundu*, a town in Zambia. It also refers to a surname found in Malawi, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. There is also a stream in the Copperbelt, Zambia that is known as *Chiundu*. This toponym commemorates people and places.	Primary
164	Chivare	Chivara	Shopping centre	Musana Ward 18	Rural Council	This could be a variant spelling of *chivara*, which is Shona for 'complexion or colour'.	Primary
165	Chiveso		Communal area	Bindura	Police map 2000	Shona for 'the one to light up a fire with', it could be the name of a stick used in making fires.	Secondary
166	Chiveso		Shopping centre	Musana Ward 13	Rural Council	Named after the place it is located in.	Primary
167	Chivheri village		Village	Bindura rural	Rural Council	Named after the people settled there.	Primary
168	Chivhunga village		Village	Bindura rural	Rural Council	"	Primary

169	Chiwaridza mountain	Chiwaridzo	Mountain	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	*Chiwaridza* is Shona for 'spread'; the mountain is spread over a large area.	Secondary
170	Chiwaridzo Primary School	KumaChina	School	Chiwaridzo	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	School takes its name from the suburb it is located in but is popularly known as *kumaChina* 'place of the Chinese' because it was constructed by a Chinese company and most of the workers were Chinese nationals.	Primary
171	Chiwaridzo Road		Street	Chiwaridzo	Council minutes	A plant that spreads over the ground. The road leads to the suburb. Botanical - a plant and also directional.	Primary
172	Chiwaridzo Secondary School		School	Chiwaridzo	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Situated at 5178 13th Street ,Chiwaridzo Phase 2, it takes the name of the suburb it is in.	Primary
173	Chiweshe		Communal area	Masembura	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Named after the people settled there.	Primary
174	Chiweshe Village		Village	Bindura Rural	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Named after the *Chiweshe* people settled there.	Primary
175	Chiweshe-Besa		Shopping centre	Bindura Rural	Rural Council	Named after the place it is in. Besa is the surname of clanspeople in the area. Chiweshe-Besa is a blend of the Chiweshe and Besa people settled in the area.	Primary
176	Chomkuti	Chomukuti	Communal area	Bindura	Police map 2000	Shona for 'of the water berry trees'. The trees are common in the area.	Secondary
177	Chumbere	Chembere, Churnmbere	Farm	Bindura	Police map 2000	Shona for 'old lady', the toponym is descriptive.	Secondary
178	Church Road		Street	Hospital Area	Council minutes	There are churches on the road (Apostolic Faith Mission, Roman Catholic). The name is metonymic.	Primary

179	Churnbere	Chumbere, Chembere	Farm	Bindura	Fallingrain website	Misspelling of *chembere*, which is Shona for 'old lady'.	Secondary
180	Clan Tungsten		Mine	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	One of the several mines in Bindura. *Tungsten* is the name of a mineral mined in the area.	Secondary
181	Clan Tungsten Mine Dump		Mine dump	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	Named after the mine Clan Tungsten.	Secondary
182	Claverhill Farm	Cleverhill	Farm	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	Named after Claverhill, who was the owner.	Secondary
183	Claverhill Heights	Cleverhill	Suburb	Bindura	Zuvalinyenga 2018	The suburb takes the name of Claverhill Farm, which was converted to a residential area.	
184	Claverhill Mountains		Mountain Range	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	Named after the owner of the farm on which the mountain was situated.	Secondary
185	Claverhill Road		Street	Hospital Area	Council minutes	The road leads to Claverhill Heights, a new suburb, thus the name is directional.	Primary
186	Claverhill South		Farm	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	Directional name, the farm is to the south of Claverhill Farm.	Secondary
187	Clifton		Farm	Bindura	Fallingrain website	Named after the owner of the farm.	Secondary
188	Condwelani		Farm	Bindura	Police map 2000	Nyanja for 'be happy'.	Secondary
189	Condwelani		Shopping centre	Bindura Ward 4	Rural Council	Named after the farm on which the shops can be found.	Primary
190	Conia Farm		Farm	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970		Primary

191	Connaught Mine	Mine		Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Named after the owner.	Primary
192	Corina	Farm	Bindura	Fallingrain website		Secondary
193	Corncopia	Farm	Bindura	Fallingrain website	Part of the name describes a crop farmed there – corn.	Secondary
194	Coventry Road	Street	Hospital Area	Council minutes	From Coventry city in the UK, Commemorative of the place.	Primary
195	Cowley	Farm	Bindura	Police map 2000	Named after the owner.	Secondary
196	Cowley	Shopping centre	Bindura Ward 2	Rural Council	Named after the place they are found in.	Primary
197	Cowley Secondary School	School	Bindura	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Named after Cowley Farm where the school is located.	Primary
198	Craggie Burn	Farm	Bindura	Police map 2000	Named after Craggie Burn in Scotland, UK	Secondary
199	Crewkane	Farm	Bindura	Police map 2000	Could be a misspelling of Crewkerne Town in the UK.	Secondary
200	Croton Close	Street	Hospital Area	Council minutes	The croton is a plant. Thus, this name is in the botanical category of toponyms.	Primary
201	Cumia	Farm	Bindura	Police map 2000	Named after a place in the UK.	Secondary
202	Dalnagreine Estates	Farm	Bindura	Fallingrain website	Named after Dalnagreine in the UK.	Secondary
203	Damba Street	Street	Chipadze	Council minutes	An indigenous ‘monkey fruit’ tree – botanical toponym.	Primary

204	Dambawira Game Park	Dombawera	Game Park	Bindura Rural	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	The name is a blend of damba “monkey fruit” and rawira “ferment”. These monkey fruits are used for traditional beer brewing.	Primary
205	Dambawira Secondary School	Dombawera	School	Bindura	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Located at Crewcken Farm Ward 1, Matepatepa. The school takes its name from the Dambawira Game Park.	Primary
206	Damusi Dip tank		Dip tank	Bindura Rural	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Named after the place it is located in.	Primary
207	Dandazi		Farm	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	A misspelling of Shona *dandadzi* – ‘spider web’.	Secondary
208	Dandazi Street		Street	Chipadze	Council minutes	A transfer from the name of a farm in the area which means spider web.	Primary
209	Dandazi-Chiundu		Street	Chipadze	Council minutes	A multiple name, two place names joined to form one. Botanical - web and ‘the one who plucks’ (item 163) surname.	Primary
210	Dandazi-Saragado		Street	Chipadze	Council minutes	Multiple name - Botanical and a popular surname in the area name.	Primary
211	Darleen Supermarket		Shop	CBD	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Named after the owner.	Primary
212	Delmonds Academy		Academy	CBD	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	A private college offering secondary school and professional courses operating from 839 Showground. The owner said they gave the college an English name to attract would-be students and to make the college seem elite because people associate English with being elite and prestigious.	Primary

213	Dengu		Communal area	Bindura	Police Map 2000	Shona for ‘basket’.	Secondary
214	Dengu Primary School		School	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	Named after the place it is located in.	Secondary
215	Didsbury		Farm	Bindura	Fallingrain website	Named after a place in the UK.	Secondary
216	Dimitra		Farm	Bindura	Police Map 2000	Named after a village in Vartholomio, Elis, Greece.	Secondary
217	Dindinyongwe		Mountain	Bindura Rural	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Could be a misspelling of Shona *dindingwe* ‘cheetah’.	Primary
218	Dindinyongwe Primary School		School	Bindura Rural	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Named after the place the school is located in.	Primary
219	Dochandois		Farm	Bindura	Fallingrain website	Could be a misspelling of Sir John Chandos who was a knight in the UK (Banks, 1807).	Secondary
220	Dombotsoko Mountain	Dombotsvuku	Mountain	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	*Dombotsoko* is a misspelling of Shona *dombotsvuku*, which is descriptive naming for ‘red stone’.	Secondary
221	Dondori Mountain		Mountain	Bindura Rural	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	*Dondori* is the Shona name of a type of a dove that is prevalent in the area.	Primary
222	Dorper		Farm	Bindura	Police Map 2000	South African breed of domestic sheep developed by crossing Dorset Horn and the Blackhead Persian sheep. The breed was created as a source of meat that was suitable to the arid regions of the country. It is now farmed in other areas and has become the second most common sheep breed in South Africa (Department of Agriculture, South Africa, 2019).	Secondary

223	Double Spruit River		River	Bindura	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Afrikaans for 'a small watercourse', typically dry except during the rainy season.	Primary
224	Downunder	Kugomba	Topographical	Chiwaridzo	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Chiwaridzo Phase 2 shops nicknamed because of the place it is located in a valley.	Primary
225	Duiker Flat		Farm	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	*Duiker* is Afrikaans for a small to medium-sized antelope *(Cephalophini* is the scientific name).	Secondary
226	Dunaverly		Farm	Bindura	Police map 2000	Named after a place in the UK.	Secondary
227	Duncave		Farm	Bindura	Police map 2000	"	Secondary
228	Dundarry		Farm	Bindura	Police map 2000	"	Secondary
229	Dundry Matepatepa		Farm	Bindura Ward 3	Rural Council	"	Primary
230	Dundry		Shopping Centre	Bindura	Police map 2000	Named after the farm they are located on.	Secondary
231	Dunkerry		Farm	Bindura	Fallingrain website	Named after Dunkerry, a place in the UK.	Secondary
232	Dunmaggie		Farm	Bindura	Police map 2000	"	Secondary
233	Dunverty		Farm	Bindura	Fallingrain website	"	Secondary
234	Dunverty		Farm	Bindura	Police Map 2000	"	Primary
235	Dzangare Village		Village	Bindura Rural	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Named after the people settled there.	Primary
236	Eagles Cliff Farm		Farm	Bindura	Police Map 2000	Descriptive of a cliff on the farm that eagles liked to perch. The farm takes the name from the mountain in the area.	Primary

237	Eagles Cliff Mountain	Mountain	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	There is a cliff on the mountain that was a favourite perch for eagles.	Secondary
238	Earle Mine	Mine	Bindura	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Named after the owner, Mr Earle.	Primary
239	Eden Graceland	Farm	Bindura	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Descriptive name, the place is as beautiful as the garden of Eden described in the Bible. The Graceland component is consistent with biblical naming.	
240	Eden Graceland Secondary School	School	Bindura	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Takes name from Eden Farm where it is located.	Primary
241	Edgars	Shop	CBD	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Named after the founder of the retail chain.	Primary
242	Edward Danke Street	Street	Aerodrome	Council minutes	Named after a war hero. Commemorative of a person.	Primary
243	Elias Nkubube Street	Street	Aerodrome	Council minutes	"	Primary
244	Energy Park	Park	CBD	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	A service station that has convinient stores - descriptive of the commodity that is sold there - energy.	Primary
245	Erin	Farm	Bindura	Fallingrain website		Secondary
246	Falous Mine	Mine	Bindura	Zuvalinyenga July 2018		Primary

247	Farikeni Musvaire Street		Street	Aerodrome	Council minutes	Named after a war hero. Commemorative of a person.	Primary
248	Farm & City		Shop	Bindura	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Descriptive of the commodities that are sold at the shop.	Primary
249	Felfort		Farm	Bindura	Police map 2000		Secondary
250	Felton		Farm	Bindura	Fallingrain website		Secondary
251	Flamboyant Avenue		Street	Hospital Area	Council minutes	Descriptive of natural beauty of a place – aesthetics.	Primary
252	Fleetwood Avenue		Street	Hospital Area	Council minutes	Refers to a coastal town in Lancashire, England. The name was derived from the surname of landowner Peter Hesketh-Fleetwood, who planned to redevelop the coastal town in the UK (Vision of Britain, 2019). There is also a music group known as the Fleetwood Mac. The band is from London and its original members included Mick Fleetwood.	Primary
253	FMC		Shopping Complex	CBD	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	A micro-finance complex. The abbreviation stands for Finance & Money Company.	Primary
254	Foot bridge (Sangere Area)		Farm	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	Generic name of a feature.	Secondary
255	Foothills	Ladbury, Ledbury	Farm	Bindura	Fallingrain website	Amalgamation of the words ‘foot’ and ‘hills’. Ladbury is a variant for Ledbury, a town in Hereford, UK. There is an avenue (street) and other places known as *Ladbury* in Penrith, Australia.	Secondary

256	Foothills Road	Ladbury, Ledbury	Road	Bindura	Google Map	The road leads to Foothills Farm; this is a directional name.	Secondary
257	Foothills Secondary School	Ladbury, Ledbury	School	Bindura	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	School takes name from Ladbury Farm (named after Ledbury town in the UK) which is commonly known as Foothills Farm.	Primary
258	Freda Rebecca Gold Mine	Bindura or Promotor or Botha	Mine	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	Named after Algy Cluff's mother Freda and an unnamed relative Rebecca. Algy Cluff was the owner of Cluff Resources Zimbabwe Limited. The gold mine started in 1985 when two pits (Freda and Rebecca) were opened. Cluff Resources Zimbabwe Limited (formerly Promotor and Botha Mines) operated it. It is also called Bindura Mine. According to Mining Technology (2018) oxides are extracted at Freda and Sulphides at Rebecca sections. The mine poured its first gold in 1988. Zimbabwe-based Ashanti Goldfields purchased the licensing rights of the mine from Cluff Resources in 1996. Mwana Africa acquired the mine from AngloGold Ashanti in April 2005. The mine is next to Phoenix Prince, an open pit 2km southeast of Freda Rebecca. Phoenix Prince is included in the mineral resources of Freda Rebecca and lies on an east-west trending shear zone that dips towards the north at 75°. Twenty-five valid minerals are found there (Mining Technology, 2018).	Secondary
259	Fricker Close		Street	Hospital Area	Council minutes	There are places known as Fricker Place in the Australian Capital Territory. Fricker is a commemorative place name.	Primary
260	Frinton		Farm	Bindura	Police map 2000	Named after the owner, Mr Frinton.	Secondary
261	Gauda		Shopping centre	Masembura Ward 12	Rural Council	There is Gauda city in the Bengal Region in India.	Primary

262	Geluk		Farm	Bindura	Police map 2000	Afrikaans for ‘be happy’.	Secondary
263	Georgia West		Farm	Bindura	Fallingrain website	There is a country in Europe named Georgia.	Secondary
264	Gibson Mashumba Street		Street	Aerodrome	Council minutes	Named after a war hero. Commemorative of a person.	Primary
265	Glamorgan		Farm	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	Named after a place in the UK.	Secondary
266	Glen Avilin		Farm	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	"	Secondary
267	Glen Davis		Farm	Bindura	Police map 2000	"	Secondary
268	Glen Douglas		Farm	Bindura	Police map 2000	"	Secondary
269	Glen Kermos	Glen Kermus	Farm	Bindura	Police map 2000	Could be misspelling of the other.	Secondary
270	Glenbervie		Farm	Bindura	Fallingrain website	Named after Glenbervie in the UK.	Secondary
271	Glencairn		Farm	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	Named after Glencairn in the UK.	Secondary
272	Glenmaize		Farm	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	An amalgamation of the words ‘glen’ and ‘maize’.	Secondary
273	Gold dust		Mine	Bindura	Ministry of Mines	Describes the gold that is mined there.	Primary
274	Golden Star		Farm	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	A descriptive name that was transferred from the UK.	Secondary

275	Gorwa Village		Village	Bindura Rural	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Named after the people settled there.	Primary
276	Gosforth		Farm	Bindura	Police map 2000	Named after Gosforth in the UK.	Secondary
277	Gotum	Gotumbe	Farm	Bindura	Police map 2000	There is a place named Gotumbe in India.	Secondary
278	Greenheart Road		Street	Hospital Area	Council minutes	A street that is botanical, it is the name of a tree.	Primary
279	Greenhill		Farm	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	Descriptive name, the hill has green vegetation most of the time.	Secondary
280	Greenhill Heights	Greenhill	Suburb	Bindura	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Named after Greenhill Farm, which was converted to a residential area.	Primary
281	Greenhill Close		Street	Hospital Area	Council minutes	Takes its name from that of the farm. It falls in the botanical – vegetation category of a street name.	Primary
282	Greenhill Road		Road	Hospital Area	Council minutes	The street name is both descriptive as explained in 279 above and directional because the road leads to Greenhill Heights, a suburb established where Greenhill Farm used to be.	Primary
283	Gunyere Village		Village	Bindura Rural	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Named after the people settled there.	Primary
284	Gutingwood		Farm	Bindura	Police map 2000	An amalgamation of two words ‘guting’ and ‘wood’. There is a Guting Metro Station in Taiwan.	Secondary
285	Guwa	Guhwa	Village	Bindura Rural	Rural Council	Shona for ‘rumours’.	Primary

286	Guwa Business Centre	Guhwa	Shopping centre	Bindura rural	Rural Council	Located in Musana Ward 18, the shopping centre is named after the place it is located in, Guwa Village.	Primary
287	Guwa Dip Tank	Guhwa	Dip tank	Bindura Rural	Rural Council	Named after the place it is located in.	Primary
288	Guwa Primary School	Guhwa	School	Bindura Rural	Rural Council	The school takes its name from the village it is located in.	Primary
289	Gwara Village		Village	Bindura rural	Rural Council	*Gwara* is Shona for 'coward'. The village is named after the people settled there.	Primary
290	Gwaze		Shopping centre	Musana Ward 16	Rural Council	The shopping centre is named after the name of the village it is in.	Primary
291	Gwezere Village		Village	Bindura Rural	Rural Council	Named after the people settled there.	Primary
292	Hagelthorne Avenue		Street	Hospital Area	Council minutes	A surname, the street name is commemorative of a person.	Primary
293	Haka Avenue		Street	Chipadze	Council minutes	*Haka* is Shona for 'pangolin'. This street is named after wildlife found in Bindura.	Primary
294	Hamilton		Farm	Bindura	Fallingrain website	Named after the owner.	Secondary
295	Harmony		Farm	Bindura	Fallingrain website		Secondary
296	Hastie Mine		Mine	Bindura	Zuvalinyenga July 2018		Primary

297	Hata		Mountain	Bindura Rural	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	*Hata* is Shona for 'a head cushion'. The cushion is normally used by women to protect the head when they carry firewood or other loads.	Primary
298	Hay Mine		Mine	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	Named after the person who established it.	Secondary
299	Hay East Road		Street	Hospital Area	Council minutes	George Hay Rattray is where the name comes from. He pegged Hay Mine in 1908 and later sold it to go into farming at Kingstone Farm- commemorative of a person.	Primary
300	Hay Mine Compound		Mining compound	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	Named after the owner of the mine.	Secondary
301	Hay Road		Street	Hospital Area	Council minutes	Named after George Hay Rattary who sold the mine to Hay Gold Mining Company in July 1910 (The London Gazette, 20 June 1919).	Primary
302	Hedlewood Estate	Hedleywood Estate	Farm	Bindura	Police map 2000	Could be misspelling of the other. The name is also found in the UK.	Secondary
303	Herbert Chitepo Avenue		Street	CBD	Council minutes	Commemorative of nationalist and war veteran.	Primary
304	Herbert Ushehwokunze		Street	Light Industry	Council minutes	Commemorative of a nationalist war veteran who served as a government minister in independent Zimbabwe.	Primary
305	Hereford		Farm	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	A breed of cattle that is named after a place where they were first bred in the UK. Commemorative of the place in the UK.	Secondary
306	Hermann Gmeiner Primary School	SOS	School	Chiwaridzo	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Named after the Austrian philanthropist Hermann Gmeiner, whose foundation established the place.	Primary

306	Hermann Gmeiner Secondary School	SOS	School	Chiwaridzo	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	"	Primary
307	Hette		Mine	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970		Secondary
308	Hexagon		Farm	Bindura	Fallingrain website	Descriptive of the shape of the boundaries of the farm.	Secondary
309	Hexagon Extension		Farm	Bindura	Fallingrain website	Extended name (see previous item in the list).	Secondary
310	Hildadale		Farm	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970		Secondary
311	Hill Top Mine		Mine	Bindura	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Describes the location of the mine, it was on a hilltop.	Primary
312	Hillview		Street	Hospital Area	Council minutes	Descriptive of the place – aesthetic description.	Primary
313	Hilly Mead		Farm	Bindura	Fallingrain website	Descriptive of the place.	Secondary
314	Hinton	kwaHinton	Farm	Bindura	Police map 2000	Named after the owner of the place.	Secondary
315	Hopedale		Farm	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970		Secondary
316	Hormani Plot		Street	Hospital Area	Council minutes	Named after the owner of the place (Godfrey Homan also spelt Hormani) – commemorative of the person.	Primary

317	Hospital section suburb		Residential	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	The area takes the name from the hospital.	Secondary
318	Hugh Gundry Avenue	Hughgundry	Street	Hospital Area	Council minutes	Commemorates a government animal and health inspector who was killed on 17 April 1974 by black soldiers at a village in Madziwa, 11 km north west of Rusambo Mission near Mozambique when he was inoculating villagers' dogs against rabies (Binda, 2007).	Primary
319	Hurlingham	Hurtingham	Farm	Bindura	Fallingrain website/Police map 2000	Could be misspelling of the other.	Secondary
320	Hute Lane		Street	Chiwaridzo	Council minutes	An indigineous fruit tree ‘water berry’ – botanical, tree.	Primary
321	Insingisi Estate		Farm	Bindura	Police map 2000	According to Insingisi.com (2018), this is the name of a bird believed to be an omen of impending rains. In English it is known as the southern ground-hornbill, *iNsingizi* in isiZulu (Insingisi.com, 2018). It can be found in central and southern Africa. It is revered in African culture as it is often seen to be a protection against evil spirits, lightning, and drought. Its seasonal nature means that the cultures in areas where it is found often use it as a timekeeper to indicate the start and end of a workday, or, when it moves to a new area, to foreshadow the start of the rainy season (Insingisi.com, 2018).	Secondary
322	Inyauri River	Munyawiri	River	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	Anglicised Shona word *munyaviri* ‘the hives’.	Secondary
323	Inyauri		Village	Bindura Rural	Surveyor General Map 1970	"	Secondary

324	Jaison Moyo Avenue	Street	CBD	Council minutes	Commemorative of a nationalist and war veteran.	Primary
325	James Mudavanhu Street	Street	Aerodrome	Council minutes	Commemorative - War veteran	Primary
326	James Ndoro Village	Village	Bindura Rural	Rural Council	Named after a person settled there.	Primary
327	Jameson Avenue	Street	Hospital Area	Council minutes	A commemorative street name that honours a member of the Pioneer Column who was in the forefront of the colonisation of Zimbabwe. Leander Starr Jameson was one of the colonial pioneers and was Prime Minister of the Cape Colony from 1904 to 1908.	Primary
328	Jesmond Dean Estate	Farm	Bindura	Police map 2000	Named after the person who founded the place.	Secondary
329	Jet	Shop	CBD	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Innovative naming to persuade potential customers.	Primary
330	Jeta	Mountain	Bindura Rural	Rural Council	A misspelling of Korekore *jata* 'cut'. The mountain has a steep slope. Nehanda Radio (2014) reported the death of a 15-year-old who slipped to his death at *Jeta* mountain.	Primary
331	Jeta Dip	Dip tank	Bindura Rural	Surveyor General Map 1970	Takes the name from a nearby mountain.	Secondary
332	Jingo	Communal area	Bindura	Police map 2000	Named after the people settled there.	Secondary

333	Jingo	Shopping centre	Masembura Ward 12	Rural Council	Named after the place the shops are in.	Primary
334	Jingo Primary School	School	Bindura Rural	Rural Council	Named after the place the school is in.	Primary
335	Jingo Secondary School	School	Bindura Rural	Rural Council	"	Primary
336	Joe Gurupira Street	Street	Aerodrome	Council minutes	Commemorative - War veteran	Primary
337	Jonasi Village	Village	Bindura Rural	Rural Council	Named after a person.	Primary
338	Jooker Reserve	Game Reserve	Bindura	Fallingrain website	Afrikaans for any sharp pointed thing.	Secondary
339	Joshua Nkomo Avenue	Street	CBD	Council minutes	Commemorative of the late vice president.	Primary
340	Josiah Tongogara Avenue	Street	CBD	Council minutes	Commemorative of a nationalist war veteran.	Primary
341	Jumbe Street	Street	Chipadze	Council minutes	Commemorative of a person. Jumbe is a common surname in the area.	Primary
342	Kadiki	Bus stop	Chiwaridzo	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	*Kadiki* is Shona for a person who is small in stature.	Primary

343	Kagande Village	Village	Bindura Rural	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Named after the people settled there.	Primary
344	Kajakata River	River	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	*Kajakata* is Korekore for 'abruptness'.	Secondary
345	Kambira Secondary School	School	Bindura Rural	Rural Council	*Kambira* is Shona for 'a small rock rabbit'. It is at Mount View Farm Ward 14 Mount Darwin Road.	Primary
346	Kanos Shops	Shops	Aerodrome	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	*Kanosvamhira* Shona for 'the one who reaches out', is the first businessperson to own shops in the area, thus the place was named after his shortened named.	Primary
347	Kanukamwe Primary School	School	Bindura	Police Map 2000	Shona for 'one small thing' is a call to unite even in smalll things.	Secondary
348	Kaoko Mountain	Mountain	Bindura Rural	Surveyor General Map 1970	Shona for 'a small hand', the mountain had small trees that resembled fingers on a small hand.	Secondary
349	Kaseke Village	Village	Bindura Rural	Rural Council	Named after the Kaseke clan that migrated from Mozambique and settled in the area after working on the farms in Mazowe and Bindura.	Primary
350	Kashangura Street	Street	Chipadze	Council minutes	Surname of one of the pioneering families to settle in Chipadze and work in Bindura. Commemorative of a person.	Primary
351	Kasvisva River or Stream	River	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	Diminutive /ka-/ 'small' because of the size of the river.	Secondary
352	Katanya Farm	Farm	Bindura	Police Map 2000	In ChiKorekore *katanya* means 'to straddle'.	Primary

353	Kid Marongorongo Street		Street	Aerodrome	Council minutes	Commemorative of a freedom fighter.	Primary
354	Killian Gweshe Street		Street	Aerodrome	Council minutes	"	Primary
355	Kimberley Avenue		Street	Hospital Area	Council minutes	Transfer name of a city and a mine in South Africa; commemorative of a place.	Primary
356	Kimberley Reefs Mine	Bindura or kuReef	Mine	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	"	Secondary
357	Kimbini		Farm	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	Misspelling of chimney. The farm specialised in tobacco farming and this tobacco was cured in barns that had large chimneys.	Secondary
358	Kimpton Njanji Street		Street	Aerodrome	Council minutes	Commemorative of a freedom fighter.	Primary
359	Kingisi River	Kings/ Kingsley	River	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	Could be a Shonalised Kingsley or kings.	Secondary
360	Kingsley Hoard		Mine	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	Named after Kingsley Hoard in the UK.	Secondary
361	Kingston	Kingstone	Farm	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	Named after Kingstone in the UK. After selling his mining businesses, George Hay Rattray settled at Kingstone farm.	Secondary
362	Kippendale		Farm	Bindura	Police map 2000	Named after Kippendale in the UK.	Secondary
363	Kitsiyatota		Mine	Bindura urban	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Shona for ‘the cat is wet’ and is a metaphor implying that a person has been met with some misfortune. It is an illegal	Primary

						mining site mostly used by politicians to lure women & youths for votes.	
364	Koodoo Vlei	*Kudu, koedoe*	Farm	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	According to Huffman (2004) *koodoo* is Afrikaans for Antelope (*Tragelaphus strepsiceros* [scientific name) – wildlife in the area. He further says the word comes from *kudu* (Khoi for 'antelope') (Huffman, 2004).	Secondary
365	Kopje Road		Street	Hospital Area	Council minutes	Transfer of a place name, also descriptive of the place. The hill between Hay Mine and Ran Mine is the one that used to be known as the *Kopje*, which is Afrikaans for 'a small hill in a generally flat area'. There is also the *Kopje* in Harare.	Primary
367	Kudu Kloof	*Koodoo, koedoe*	Farm	Bindura	Fallingrain website	See explanation for *kudu* in item 364. *Kloof* is Afrikaans for a steep-sided wooded ravin or valley.	Secondary
368	Kudzanai Street		Street	Chipadze	Council minutes	Shona for 'respect each other'.	Primary
369	Kugomba	Downunder	Topographical	Chiwaridzo	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	This is the Chiwaridzo Phase Two Shops' nickname because the place is in a valley and it feels as if you are descending into a hole when going there, especially coming from a highland.	Primary
370	Kumaflats	Kugomba	Topographical	Chiwaridzo	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Another Chiwaridzo Phase Two Shops' nickname because the place is in a valley. The place is flat, and the name describes it.	Primary
371	Kunaka Village		Village	Bindura Rural	Rural Council	Named after people. *Kunaka* is Shona for 'it is good/beautiful'.	Primary

372	Kuvaka Building		Office Complex	Bindura CBD	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Houses offices for the Minstry of Local Government and Urban Development. *Kuvaka* is Shona for 'build', thus, the name is metonymic.	Primary
373	KwaBhasvi		Shopping Centre	Chiwaridzo	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	*Bhasvi* is the name of a person who had a shop operating there. He is no longer in business, but the name endures.	Primary
374	Ladbury	Ledbury	Farm	Bindura	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Ladbury could be a variant spelling of Ledbury, a place in the UK. See explanation on item 255.	
375	Lady Enereta High School		School	Bindura	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	A recently (2017) established secondary school with boarding facilities. The school is named after Oliver Mtukudzi's mother and it is on the way to Mtukudzi's rural home in Madziwa.	Primary
376	Lagnaha		Farm	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970		Primary
377	Laurencedale		Farm	Bindura	Fallingrain website	Named after a Laurence.	Secondary
378	Lawleys Grant		Farm	Bindura	Fallingrain website	Named after the owner, Mr Lawley.	Secondary
379	Leon Avenue		Street	Hospital Area	Council minutes	The name comes from that of a Jewish businessperson and farmer, Behor Samuel Leon (1888) a wealthy executive came to Rhodesia in 1908 and tried his luck in a number of businesses including farming, mining and trade stores (predominantly grain and cattle) (The Jews of Zimbabwe Plodon - sefaral.org). He also made money when the property market flourished. The odonym is commemorative.	Primary

380	Leopards Vlei	KwaDuncan	Farm	Bindura	Fallingrain website	The place was known as the Valley of Leopards because it had many of these animals when Dutch farmer Ian Duncan's family took up farming there. Ian Duncan was the owner and the place was popularly known as Duncan's place, and the manager was Bob Duncan. The farm was then given to Reward Marufu who was Grace Mugabe's brother during the land reform programme.	Secondary
381	Leopold Takawira Avenue		Street	CBD	Council minutes	Commemorative of a nationalist war veteran.	Primary
382	Lestock		Farm	Bindura	Police map 2000	Named after a place in the UK.	Secondary
383	Light industry		Street	Bindura	Council minutes	Descriptive of business in the area.	Primary
384	Light Industry Road		Street	Light Industry	Council minutes	Directional, the road leads to the light industrial area in Bindura town.	Primary
385	Light Industry Road 1		Street	Light Industry	Council minutes	Directional and instrumental name to distinguish the different roads that lead to the industrial areas.	Primary
386	Light Industry Road 2		Street	Light Industry	Council minutes	"	Primary
387	Light Industry Road 3		Street	Light Industry	Council minutes	"	Primary

388	Lilburn		Farm	Bindura	Fallingrain website	Named after Lilburn in the UK.	Secondary
389	Lilburn		Shopping centre	Bindura Ward 6	Rural Council	Named after the place the shops are located.	Primary
390	Lilstock		Farm	Bindura	Fallingrain website	Named after Lilstock, a place in the UK.	Secondary
391	Lincoln Road		Street	Hospital Area	Council minutes	It could be named after Abraham Lincoln, America's president (4 March 1861 to 14 April 1865) or Lincoln, a place in the UK.	Primary
392	Lions Den Estates		Farm	Bindura	Fallingrain website	Lions were often seen in the area with some mauling people thus the name served to warn people of their presence.	Secondary
393	Lion's Head	Mhumhurwi, Mumurgwi	Mountain	Bindura	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	*Lion's Head* describes the shape of the mountain, which resembles that of a lion's head (see Figure 4.10 in Chapter 4).	
394	Little Slam Mine		Mine	Bindura	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Describes the size of the mine.	Primary
395	Lochness	Loch Ness	Mine	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	There is a Loch Ness in Scotland. *Loch* is Scottish for 'lake' or 'sea inlet. This name is commemorative of the place.	Secondary
396	Lodore		Farm	Bindura	Fallingrain website	In Keswick, the UK, there is a place known as Lodore.	Secondary
397	Long Acres		Farm	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	Descriptive name. There is also Long Acres in the UK.	Secondary
398	Luton Road		Street	Light Industry	Council minutes	Commemorative of Luton, a place in the UK.	Primary

399	MacKendrick Avenue		Street	Hospital Area	Council minutes	P.A.L. MacKendrick was an attorney, notary, and conveyancer based at Farmers Hall, in the Main Street of Bindura. The hallwas named after Mr Farmer who built it for social purposes for the farmers' wives (Brown, 2020).	Primary
400	Madondo-Tinarwo Village		Village	Bindura Rural	Rural Council	Named after people settled there. Another example of multiple naming.	Primary
401	Madzima		Shopping centre	Musana Ward 15	Rural Council	"	Primary
402	Madziwa Mine	Dry Nickel Mine	Mine	Bindura	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	A nickel mine that takes its name after the place in which it is located.	Primary
403	Magamba Way		Street	Aerodrome	Council minutes	Shona for 'Heroes', the street is commemorative of the War of Liberation.	Primary
404	Maggies Dale	Maggie's Dale	Farm	Bindura	Fallingrain website	Named after the wife of the founder.	Secondary
405	Magodzombo		Mountain	Bindura Rural	Rural Council	Shona for 'wasp bite'.	Primary
406	Mahenzo	Chipindura Park Shops	Shopping centre	Chipindura Park	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	The name (Shona slang) was given because of a young local man who was a notorious thief used to stay there, he was eventually arrested and is now in prison. This is slang derived from a Shona idiom *aneruoko* 'he is a thief'.	Primary
407	Maizelands		Farm	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	Describes the main crop at the farm, maize.	Secondary
408	Makoni		Communal area	Bindura	Police map 2000	Named after the people settled there.	Secondary

409	Makwinja Avenue		Street	Chipadze	Council minutes	Surname of people in the area.	Primary
410	Malberry	Mulberry	Street	Hospital Area	Council minutes	Tree - exotic, brought by the white settlers so that they could have familiar vegetation to remind them of home.	Primary
411	Malvern Foothills		Farm	Bindura	Police map 2000	Named after the person who founded the farm.	Secondary
412	Mandebvu Street		Street	Chipadze	Council minutes	Shona for 'the beards', the street name commemorates and describes a farmer who used to keep a big beard.	Primary
413	Manga Manga Secondary School	Silly Stuff	School	Matepatepa	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Located in Ward 1 Matepatepa, *Manga Manga* is a Chilapalapa (Zimbabwean Pidgin English) word meaning silly stuff.	Primary
414	Manhenga		Communal area	Bindura	Police map 2000	Shona for 'the feathers'.	Secondary
415	Manhenga Rural Service Centre		Shopping centre	Manhenga	Rural Council	Named after the area it is in.	Primary
416	Manna Crest		Farm	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	Named after *manna* from the Bible. It could refer to how the person got the farm; it was a windfall, just like the manna from heaven for the Israelites in the desert mentioned in the Bible.	Secondary
417	Manzou Street		Street	Chipadze	Council minutes	Shona for 'the elephants' – wildlife category. Participant A5 said that there where many elephants in the area that is why there are places named after these animals.	Primary

418	Mapako		Communal area	Bindura	Police map 2000	Shona for 'the caves'.	Secondary
419	Mapinga	Mapunga Siding	Farm	Bindura	Police Map 2000	*Kupinga* is Shona for 'to trip'; *Mapinga* is plural for 'you have tripped'.	Secondary
420	Mapuru Farm	Mapura	Farm	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	Misspelling of *mapura*, which is a Shona word for 'threshing'.	Primary
421	Mapuru range	Mapura	Mountain	Bindura Rural	Rural Council	The farm in item 419 above takes its name from these mountain ranges.	Primary
422	Maravanyika		Communal area	Bindura	Police map 2000	Shona for 'you have read/tasted the country' - the Chikaranga word has two meanings, to read and to taste. Villagers gave both meanings and said they are both used depending on the context.	Secondary
423	Maravanyika		Shopping centre	Masembura Ward 12	Rural Council	Named after the area they are in.	Primary
424	Maravanyika Primary School		School	Masembura	Rural Council	Named after the place it is located.	Primary
425	Maravanyika Secondary School		School	Bindura Rural	Rural Council	"	Primary
426	Marden	Swiswa or Svisva	Farm	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	Named after a place in the UK.	Secondary
427	Marian Primary School		School	Chipadze	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Acording to the Congregation for Divine Worship and the Discipline of the Sacraments (2001), *Marian* is an important name in the Roman Catholic Church. Marian is a blend of *Mary* which is Latin for 'star of the sea' and *Ann* Hebrew for	Primary

						'grace/God has favoured me'. The school in Bindura was founded by Roman Catholic missioneries.	
428	Marimira's	KwaMarimira	Shopping Centre	Chipindura Park	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	*Marimira* was the first shop to open in the area. *Marimira* is the name of the onwer of the shop.	Primary
429	Marimo Village		Village	Bindura Rural	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Shona for 'the village of the one who cultivates', the people in the area earn their livelihoods from farming and market gardening.	Primary
430	Marirangwe		Communal area	Bindura	Police Map 2000	Shona for 'the place where cheetahs are often heard growling'.	Secondary
431	Marirangwe Secondary School		School	Bindura Rural	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	The school is in Mupandawana Village in Musana Communal area and takes its name after the place Marirangwe that means the growling of a cheetah.	Primary
432	Marize Mountain		Mountain	Bindura Rural	Rural Council	Shona for 'scorpions', the mountain had many scorpions, which are a common siting in the area.	Primary
433	Marston		Farm	Bindura	Fallingrain website	Named after the person who founded it.	Secondary
434	Martin Rufu Street		Street	Aerodrome	Council minutes	Commemorative of a war hero.	Primary
435	Marula Cresent		Street	Hospital Area	Council minutes	Indigenous fruit tree – botanical.	Primary
436	Masembura Dam		Dam	Bindura Rural	Police map 2000	Shona for 'you are disgusting'.	Secondary

437	Masembura Primary School		School	Bindura Rural	Rural Council	Takes the name after the place in which it is located.	Primary
438	Masembura Secondary School		School	Bindura Rural	Surveyor General Map 1970	Takes after Masembura Village Ward 12 Muone in which it is located.	Secondary
439	Mashambahaka Village		Village	Bindura Rural	Rural Council	*Mashambahaka* is Shona for 'the place where pangolins take a bath'.	Primary
440	Mashambamhuka		Communal area	Bindura	Police map 2000	*Mashambamhuka* is Shona for 'the place where animals take a bath'. Plenty of game used to be found in the area.	Secondary
441	Mashambanhaka		Shopping centre	Musana Ward 18	Rural Council	*Mashambanhaka* is a Shona idiom meaning 'the place where one washes away their inheritance'.	Primary
442	Mashambanhaka Primary School		School	Bindura Rural	Rural Council	Takes its name after the place its located in – Mashambanhaka.	Primary
443	Mashayamvu		Mountain	Bindura Rural	Rural Council	The mountain is largely bare, with little or no vegetation, thus the name 'the one with no vegetation or trees' from Shona words *shaya mumvuri* 'no shade'.	Primary
444	Mashayamvura		Shopping centre	Masembura Ward 12	Rural Council	Shona for 'no water', the area is semi-arid. Black people were resettled in these dry places during colonial times.	Primary
445	Masiiwa-Majero Village		Village	Bindura Rural	Rural Council	Named after the Masiiwa-Majero clan that is settled there.	Primary
446	Masuri Sana Number One	Mazuri Sana	Farm	Bindura	Fallingrain website	In Swahili, *mazuri sana* means 'very good'. Instrumental name, the namers added numbers to differentiate the farms.	Secondary

447	Masuri Sana Number Two		Farm	Bindura	Fallingrain website	Instrumental named to show difference from Masuri Sana One.	Secondary
448	Matange Village		Village	Bindura Rural	Rural Council	Named after the Matange clan settled there.	Primary
449	Matapi		Shopping centre	Musana Ward 9	Rural Council	*Matapi* is 'big mice' in Shona.	Primary
450	Matepatepa	Mtepatepa	Farm	Bindura	Police map 2000	In Shona, *matepatepa* refers to 'rich soils'. This name describes the area; it has rich soils.	Primary
451	Matepatepa	Mtepatepa	Road	Hospital Area	Council minutes	The road leads to *Matepatepa* area; it is an example of a directional name.	Secondary
452	Matloui Mine	Matlou	Mine	Bindura	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	It could be Arabic meaning 'beginning', 'start', or 'insider' because Chirenje (1973) records that the Shona people traded with Arabs from the 10th century onwards before the arrival of the Portuguese in the 16th century. It could also be a variation of *Matlou*, which means 'elephants' in Southern Sotho. The name also means 'innovation', 'independence', 'determination', 'courage', 'sincerity' and 'activity' in Sotho (Names.org. 2019).	Primary
453	Matonongora		Communal area	Bindura rural	Surveyor General Map 1970	Shona for 'those who shell', especially grain. The place is named after the people who settled there.	Secondary
454	Matsika Chemagwen jere		Shopping centre	Musana Ward 14	Rural Council	Shona for 'to step on a wreck, especially that of a vehicle'.	Primary

455	Matsono		Matsono	Chiwaridzo	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Shona for ‘the needles’. This is the name of the owner of the place.	Primary
456	Mavhunga-Madzima Village		Village	Bindura Rural	Rural Council	Name of the clan settled there.	Primary
457	Mawere Drive		Street	Chipadze	Council minutes	Shona for ‘steep slope’. Descriptive of place.	Primary
458	Mawu river		River	Bindura Rural	Rural Council	*Mawu* is Nyanja for ‘voices’. The river makes thunderous sounds when it is in full flow. These sounds resemble voices, thus it was named voices.	Primary
459	Mazarura-Murembe		Shopping centre	Musana Ward 13	Rural Council	Named after the place it is located in.	Primary
460	Mazoe River	Manzou or Mazowe	River	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	"	Secondary
461	Mazowe Close	Mazoe or Manzou	Street	Hospital Area	Council minutes	Anglicised *Manzou*, which is Shona for ‘the elephants’.	Primary
462	Mchena	Muchena	Farm	Bindura	Police Map 2000	*Muchena* is Shona for ‘white person’, probably named after the white owner of the farm.	Secondary
463	Melfort	kwaReed or Rhidhi	Farm	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	Frank Roger Godwin also known as Reed was the owner before the farm was allocated to Dickson Mafios when the land reform started in the year 2000.	Secondary
464	Metro Peech		Wholesaler	CBD	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Named after the owners (Miles Peech and Browne) of the wholesale business chain (www.metropeech.com).	Primary

465	Mhaka Street		Street	Chipadze	Council minutes	Shona for ‘a crime’.	Primary
466	Mhara Avenue		Street	Chipadze	Council minutes	*Mhara* is Shona for ‘impala’ in English.	Primary
467	Mhofu Avenue		Street	Chipadze	Council minutes	Shona for ‘eland’.	Primary
468	Minto Farm		Farm	Bindura	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Named after *Minto*, a place near Denholm on the Borders in Scotland. It is originally from Scottish *minit* (cognate with Welsh *mynydd* ‘mountain’ or ‘hill’); with the later addition of Middle English *ho(e)* ‘ridge’, ‘hill’ after the original meaning of the first element had been forgotten (GetOutside Ordinance Survey, 2020).	Primary
469	Mkanga	Makanga	Mine	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	Shona for ‘you have roasted’. Mkanga is the anglicised version.	Secondary
470	Money Box		Mine	Bindura	Ministry of Mines	The mine is figuratively a moneybox from the minerals it produces.	Primary
471	Moneyquin Farm		Farm	Bindura	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Named after a place in the UK. According to Hanks, Coates and McClure (2016), Moneyquinn is originally from Irish *Muine Uí Chuinn*, which means ‘Ó Chuinn’s thicket’. They further say *muine* ‘thicket’ is qualified by the family name Ó Coinn earlier spelled *Ó Cuinn*, ‘descendant of Conn’, which is, anglicised as both *Quinn* and *Quin*.	Primary
472	Monoto Farm		Farm	Bindura	Zuvalinyenga July 2018		Primary

473	Monoto Hill		Hill	Bindura Rural	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	A hill with coordinates trig 1422.4. The farm on which it is located is named after it.	Primary
474	Mopani Close		Street	Hospital Area	Council minutes	Indigenous tree – botanical.	Primary
475	Motsi village		Village	Bindura Rural	Rural Council	Named after the clansmen settled there.	Primary
476	Mountain View		Farm	Bindura	Police Map 2000	The farm has a range of mountains where one can have a good view of the surrounding areas.	Secondary
477	Msana Tribal Trust Lands	Musana	Communal area	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	People used to metaphorically 'break their backs' tilling the unyielding semi-arid lands of this area they were settled in by the colonialists.	Secondary
478	Msasa Drive	Musasa	Street	Hospital Area	Council minutes	Anglicised *musasa* – Shona for an indigenous tree that is revered in the Shona culture.	Primary
479	Mubayamhondoro Circle		Street	Chiwaridzo	Council minutes	*Mubayamhondoro* is an indigenous thorny tropical tree which is a variet of the Acacia tree.	Primary
480	Mubveve Road		Street	Chiwaridzo	Council minutes	Indigenous tree.	Primary
481	Muchapondwa	Chirimuuta	Communal area	Bindura	Police map 2000	Shona for 'you will be murdered'; the area was notorious for murders, and the names given as a warning to inhabitants. The Chirimuuta clan are settled there and use the name of their clan to refer to the place because of the negative connotations associated with the name Muchapondwa.	Secondary
482	Muchapondwa		Shopping centre	Musana Ward 14	Rural Council	Named after the place they are located.	Primary

483	Muchapondwa Secondary School	School	Bindura Rural	Rural Council	In Muchapondwa, the school takes its name after the place.	Primary
484	Muchazivepi Village	Village	Bindura Rural	Rural Council	Named after the Muchazivepi clan who are settled in the area	Primary
485	Muchekesi	Shopping centre	Musana Ward 9	Rural Council	Named after the area it is in.	Secondary
486	Muchemenye Village	Village	Bindura Rural	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Named after the clansmen settled there.	Primary
487	Mudyambgwa Mountain Range	Mountain	Bindura Rural	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Shona for 'the mountain that eats dogs'; it has a thicket in which dogs would get lost if they ever wandered into it.	Primary
488	Mudzimund -iringe	Mountain	Bindura Rural	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Shona for 'ancestors, please look after me'. The mountain is so steep that if one missteps, they risk falling to their death or serious injury, thus they need the protection of the ancestors to safely hike or navigate the mountain.	Primary
489	Muere Village	Village	Bindura Rural	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Named after the Muere clan residing there.	Primary
490	Mufenje Circle	Street	Chiwaridzo	Council minutes	Indigenous fruit tree.	Primary
491	Mufenje-pana	Bus stop	Chipadze	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Informal naming of a busstop from an indigenous fruit tree that is common in the area.	Primary
492	Mufurudzi river	River	Bindura Rural	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Shona for 'the one who blows'. The currents of the river were so powerful that they blew everything in their way. It was a cautionary name.	Primary

493	Mugaragungu-wo Circle		Street	Chiwaridzo	Council minutes	Indigenous tree – botanical naming. *Mugaragunguwo* is Shona for 'the place of the crows'.	Primary
494	Muhacha Drive		Street	Chiwaridzo	Council minutes	Indigenous tree - botanical	Primary
495	Mujigwi		Communal area	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	Shona for 'in the group'.	Secondary
496	Mujigwi river		River	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	Named after the area it flows in.	Secondary
497	Mukonowenzou		River	Bindura Rural	Rural Council	*Mukonowenzou* is Shona for 'bull elephant'.	Primary
498	Mukoyo Road		Street	Chiwaridzo	Council minutes	Indigenous tree.	Primary
499	Mukutu Close		Street	Chiwaridzo	Council minutes	"	Primary
500	Mukuyu		Bus stop	Chipadze	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	*Mukuyu* is Shona for 'fig tree'. The bus stop is named after the fig tree on it.	Primary
501	Mukuyu Road		Street	Chiwaridzo	Council minutes	There is a huge fig tree at the beginning of the street. Moreover, fig trees are common in the area.	Primary
502	Mumurgwi	Lion's Head/ Mhumhurwi	Mountain	Bindura	Zimfieldguide.com	Anglicised Shona word *mumugwi* 'in a group' or 'a gang'. See item 393 for explanation for alternative name, *Lion's Head.*	Primary
503	Munenga Estates		Farm	Bindura	Police Map 2000	Could be misspelling or anglicisation of *munhenga,* which is Shona for 'a feather'.	Primary

504	Munwahuku		River	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	Shona for 'the one where the chickens drink'. The name describes how shallow the river is – even chickens can access it.	Secondary
505	Munya's Hardware		Hardware	CBD	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Named after the person who owns the place – Munyaradzi Kandemiri.	Primary
506	Munzi		Farm	Bindura	Police map 2000	Nyanja for 'home'.	Secondary
507	Muonwe		Communal area	Bindura	Police map 2000	Shona for 'be seen'.	Secondary
508	Muonwe		Shopping centre	Masembura Ward 12	Rural Council	Named after the place they are located in.	Primary
509	Mupandira		Shopping centre	Musana Ward 17	Rural Council	Shona for 'the one who hews' or 'intruder'.	Primary
510	Mupembi		Mountain	Bindura Rural	Rural Council	Nyanja for 'beggar'.	Primary
511	Mupfuti Circle		Street	Chiwaridzo	Council minutes	Indigenous tree that has pods which pop like gunshots. The name derives from the gunshot-like sound the pods make when dry.	Primary
512	Murembe Communal Lands	Murembe Village	Communal area	Bindura Rural	Police map 2000	*Murembe* could be Nyanja for 'write his/her name'.	Secondary
513	Murembe Clinic		Clinic	Bindura Rural	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Named after Murembe Mountain, which could be Shona for 'the hanging mountain'.	Primary
514	Murembe Mountain		Mountain	Bindura Rural	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	See previous item on the list.	Primary

515	Murembe Primary School		School	Bindura Rural	Police Map 2000	Named after the place it is located in.	Secondary
516	Murembe Secondary School		School	Bindura Rural	Police Map 2000	The school is in Mazarura Village in Musana Communal Lands and it takes its name after the place it is located in.	Secondary
517	Murigabveni Mountain		Mountain	Bindura Rural	Surveyor General Map 1970	Shona for 'the one that trips the baboon'; the mountain is so steep that even baboons, which are good at climbing, risk falling. It is a cautionary name.	Secondary
518	Muroro Cresent		Street	Chipadze	Council minutes	Shrub bearing edible fruits.	Primary
519	Murowa Circle		Street	Chiwaridzo	Council minutes	Indigenous tree.	Primary
520	Murunani River		River	Bindura Rural	Surveyor General Map 1970	A misspelling of Shona *mhuru yaani* 'whose calf is this' by the English people who drew the map.	Secondary
521	Musana Communal Lands	Msana	Communal Area	Bindura Rural	Surveyor General Map 1970	*Musana* is Shona for 'the back'.	Secondary
522	Musana Primary School	Msana	School	Bindura Rural	Surveyor General Map 1970	School takes the name of the area it is located in.	Secondary
523	Musasa Circle		Street	Chiwaridzo	Council minutes	Indigenous tree.	Primary
524	Musawu Road		Street	Chiwaridzo	Council minutes	"	Primary

525	Musekiwa Village		Village	Bindura Rural	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Named after the clansmen settled there.	Primary
526	Mushamba Road		Street	Chiwaridzo	Council minutes	Indigenous tree.	Primary
527	Mushamban -yama River		River	Bindura Rural	Surveyor General Map 1970	Shona for 'the one that bathes in/with meat'; a sign of the abundance of meat supplies.	Secondary
528	Mushawatu Village		Village	Bindura Rural	Rural Council	The name mixes Shona *musha* 'home' and Nyanja *watu* 'ours' words to mean 'our home'.	Primary
529	Mushayamvu Mountain		Mountain	Bindura Rural	Rural Council	Shona for 'the one that does not have vegetation on it', especially trees that give shade. The name combines two Shona words *mushaya* 'to lack' and *mumvuri* 'shade' to form 'the one that lacks a shade'.	Primary
530	Musvosvi Street		Street	Chipadze	Council minutes	Commemorative of a teacher residing in Chipadze when the township was established in the 1960s.	Primary
531	Mutamba Circle		Street	Chiwaridzo	Council minutes	Indigenous fruit tree commonly known as 'monkey oranges' in English.	Primary
532	Mutara Close		Street	Chiwaridzo	Council minutes	Indigenous tree.	Primary
533	Mutohwe Road		Street	Chiwaridzo	Council minutes	Indigenous fruit tree.	Primary
534	Mutondwe River		River	Bindura Rural	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Nyanja for 'to be astonished'.	Primary
535	Mutorawan-gwa River	Mutorahwa-ngwa	River	Bindura Rural	Surveyor General Map 1970	A misspelling of *mutorahwangwa* 'the one that erodes the sandy banks'.	Secondary

536	Mutowa Village	Village	Bindura Rural	Rural Council	An indigenous tree that is home to edible worms known in Shona as *nhowa.* There are many of the *mutowa* trees in the area.	Secondary
537	Mutowa	Shopping centre	Musana Ward 9	Rural Council	Named after the place it is located in, Mutowa Village.	Primary
538	Mutowa Dip tank	Dip tank	Bindura Rural	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Named after the place it is located.	
539	Mutowa River	River	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	There are many Mutowa trees in the area.	Secondary
540	Mutsamvi Circle	Street	Chiwaridzo	Council minutes	Indigenous tree	Primary
541	Mutsonzowa Cresent	Street	Chiwaridzo	Council minutes	"	Primary
542	Mutsonzowa Road	Street	Chiwaridzo	Council minutes	"	Primary
543	Mutsubvu Loop	Street	Chiwaridzo	Council minutes	Indigenous fruit tree.	Primary
544	Mutsvanzva Close	Street	Chiwaridzo	Council minutes	"	Primary
545	Mutufu	Street	Chiwaridzo	Council minutes	"	Primary
546	Mutungagore Building	Gvt Complex	CBD	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	The first high-rise building to be built in Bindura; the name is derived form a very tall mountain in the area that is thought/envisioned to touch the clouds because of its height.	Primary

547	Mututu Lane	Mtutu	Street	Hospital Area	Council minutes	Shona for ‘nosebleed’.	Primary
548	Muunganirwa		Shop	Chiwaridzo	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Shona for ‘the one who is surrounded’ - named after the owner of the place.	Primary
549	Muwuyu Circle		Street	Chiwaridzo	Council minutes	Indigenous fruit tree.	Primary
550	Muwuyu Cresent		Street	Chiwaridzo	Council minutes	"	Primary
551	Muwuyu Link		Street	Chiwaridzo	Council minutes	"	Primary
552	Mvere Village		Village	Bindura Rural	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Shona for ‘fur’, because of many animals in the area.	Primary
553	Mwakanandi Drive		Street	Chipadze	Council minutes	Commemorative of a local resident.	Primary
554	Mwanga Mountain		Mountain	Bindura Rural	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Swahili for ‘light’ - the name could have been given during the times the indigenous people traded with Swahili traders around the 14th-15th centuries (Chirenje, 1973).	Primary
555	N. Richards		Wholesaler	CBD	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Named after the owner of the place.	Primary
556	Nakowe Mountain		Mountain	Bindura Rural	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	A Swahili/Bantu surname that is prevalent in Tanzania, Democratic Republic of Congo, Botswana, and Zimbabwe (https://forebears.io/surnames/nakowe).	Primary
557	Nan Tarra	Nan Terra	Farm	Bindura	Police Map 2000	One of these names could be a misspelling of the other.	Secondary

558	Nandi Villas		Gated Community	CBD	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Named after Shaka Zulu's mother, Nandi.	Primary
559	Napondoro river	Masikandoro	River	Bindura Rural	Surveyor General Map 1970	A misspelling of *masikandoro*, which is a combination of two Shona words *masika* 'you have created' and *ndoro* 'a button-like token used for batter trading in ancient times'. The *ndoro* is an ancient African symbol of status (Wood, 2012).	Secondary
560	Ncedis Ncube Street		Street	Aerodrome	Council minutes	Commemorative of a freedom fighter with a Ndebele name.	Primary
561	Ndoda Hondo Gvt Complex		Gvt Complex	CBD	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Memorialises the War of Liberation.	Primary
562	Ndoda Hondo Street		Street	Aerodrome	Council minutes	Commemorative of a freedom fighter's war nickname.	Primary
563	Nengara village		Village	Bindura Rural	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Shona for 'the one with an ornament for the head'. *Ngara* refers to an ornament or covering for the head worn as a symbol of sovereignty (Chikowero, 2015). It can be any wreath or garland worn on the head, a coronal.	Primary
564	Ngudu river		River	Bindura Rural	Surveyor General Map 1970	Misspelling of the Shona word *ngundu* 'crown or traditional head gear'.	Secondary
565	Nhedenga Village		Village	Bindura Rural	Rural Council	Shona for 'the roof/sky'.	Primary

566	Nhowedza Chando Street		Street	Aerodrome	Council minutes	Commemorative of a freedom fighter.	Primary
567	Nhungudza River		River	Bindura Rural	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	From Shona *shungurudza* ‘torture’.	Primary
568	Nhungudza ruins		Ruins	Bindura Rural	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Named after the place they are found.	Primary
569	Nomansland		Farm	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	Ironic naming - no man's land yet it is an inhabited farm with many men and women.	Secondary
570	Nyakudya Village		Village	Bindura Rural	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Shona for ‘the one who loves eating’.	Primary
571	Nyamabiwa		Mountain	Bindura Rural	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Shona for ‘the one who gets stolen’.	Primary
572	Nyamambara Farm	Nyamambala	Farm	Bindura	Police Map 2000	Chilapalapa (Zimbabwean Pidgin) meaning ‘the naughty one’.	Primary
573	Nyamasanga		River	Bindura Rural	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Nyamasanga is a misspelling of Shona nyamatsanga "many reeds" - the river had many reeds in it.	Primary
574	Nyamatsatsi River		River	Bindura Rural	Surveyor General Map 1970	Shona for ‘shining star’.	Secondary
575	Nyambe Mountain		Mountain	Bindura Rural	Rural Council	Khoi for ‘the creator’.	Primary
576	Nyampandula River		River	Bindura Rural	Surveyor General Map 1970	Nyanja for ‘the spider’.	Secondary

577	Nyamuyam-buka		Shopping centre	Bindura Ward 4	Rural Council	Shona for ‘the one who crosses’.	Primary
578	Nyanhewe		Shopping centre	Masembura Ward 10	Rural Council	Shona for ‘the one who has hides or animal skins’.	Primary
579	Nyanji Mountain		Mountain	Bindura Rural	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Misspelling of *nyanja.*	Primary
580	Nyaungwe River		River	Bindura Rural	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Shona for ‘the one with the leopards’.	Primary
581	Nyava		Communal area	Bindura rural	Police Map 2000	Shona for ‘a giver’.	Secondary
582	Nyava		Shopping centre	Bindura Rural	Rural Council	Located in Musana Ward 15, Mangezvo Village; the shopping centre takes after the name of the place.	Primary
583	Nyava High School	Nyava Secondary School	School	Bindura Rural	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Named after the place it is in.	Primary
584	Nyava Primary School		School	Bindura Rural	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	"	Primary
585	Nzirawa Village		Village	Bindura Rural	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Named after kudus; they are usually found in the area. *Nzirawa* is Shona for ‘the kudu’ or ‘antelope’; also known as the great kudu. The name kudu comes from Khoi.	Primary
586	Nzirawa Shops		Shopping centre	Bindura Rural	Rural Council	Named after the place they are in.	

587	Oak Road		Street	Hospital Area	Council minutes	Tree species common in the area.	Primary
588	Ojuku Onyango Street		Street	Aerodrome	Council minutes	Commemorative of a freedom fighter with an Igbo (Nigerian) name.	Primary
589	OK		Shop	CBD	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Commercial name.	Primary
590	Otterburn		Farm	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	Named after Otterburn, a place in the UK.	Secondary
591	Oval Road		Street	Hospital Area	Council minutes	Descriptive of landscape's shape.	Primary
592	Oxford Road		Street	Hospital Area	Council minutes	Named after Oxford City in the UK.	Primary
593	Pabweno	Pabwino or Chabwino	Farm	Bindura	Fallingrain website	Comes from the Nyanja phrase *pamaro pabwino* for 'a good/beautiful place'.	Secondary
594	paChipadze High School		Bus stop	Chipadze	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Shona slang toponym descriptive of the place. /pa-/ is a Shona locative meaning 'at'.	Primary
595	paClinic	paChipatara /paKaranda	Clinic	Chiwaridzo	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	*pa-* is a locative in Shona meaning 'at'. The place is referred to as *paKaranda* because the latter is the biggest, private run, fairly well equipped referral hospital in the province, which is named in the local dialect of Chikorekore so people appreciate it.	Primary
596	Paddy's Gulf	paPaddy	Shopping Complex	CBD	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Named after the owner of the place (Jaguard Padriack – he is originally from Mozambique so his name is in	Primary

						Portuguese). The name takes after the Gulf Complex in Harare, which takes after The Gulf in the Middle East.	
597	paKavhu		Bus stop	Chiwaridzo	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Short for *Kavhukanokanga*, which is the surname of a person whose house is near the busstop – slang toponym.	Primary
598	Palmgrove		Farm	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	Named after Palmgrove in the UK.	Secondary
599	Palmgrove Annexe		Farm	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	"	Secondary
600	paMasumba		Bus stop	Chipadze	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Shona slang toponym, named after the owner of the house opposite the bus stop.	Primary
601	panaFarikeni		Bus stop	Chipadze	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Shona slang toponym, named after Farikeni Musvaire Street, because the bus stop is at the beginning of that street.	Primary
602	panaNyathi		Bus stop	Chipadze	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Shona slang toponym, named after a connecting street name.	Primary
603	Paradise pools – Inyauri	Rupakwe	Pools	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	The pools are beautiful; they resemble those mentioned in the Bible. Locals refer to the place by its indigenous name *Rupakwe*, which is Shona for 'mermaids' resting place', whereas tourists use *Paradise Pools* (see Figure 5.7 in Chapter 5).	Secondary
604	Parallel Shamva off Mukuyu		Street	Chipadze	Council minutes	Directional street naming. The street is parallel to Shamva Road.	Primary
605	paSOS		Bus stop	Chiwaridzo	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Shona slang toponym, named after nearest building.	Primary

606	paSOS garden turnoff		Bus stop	Chiwaridzo	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Shona slang toponym – directional.	Primary
607	Pathway Street		Street	CBD	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	A pathway behind Topics shops.	Primary
608	Pednor		Farm	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	Named after Pednor in the UK.	Secondary
609	Pfugari	Burkina Faso or Bhekina Faso	Suburb	Chiwaridzo	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	*Pfugari* is the name of the developer of the suburb. It is popularly known as Burkina Faso, which is a slang place name. Participant A3 (July 2018) says "*Bhekina Faso* ... (laughs) it is very funny, taboo ... it means 'the backside' it is used to refer to the places on the peripheries of the suburbs, especially *Pfugari*".	Primary
610	Phoenix Avenue		Street	Hospital Area	Council minutes	Named after King George VI, who started his reign on 14 December 1895 and died at Sandringham House on 6 February 1952. A phoenix derives from Greek mythology – birdlike creature. A phoenix is reborn from its own death; the phoenix also took on the **c**haracteristics of regeneration and immortality and these characteristics are likened to those of King George VI (Howarth, 1987, p. 66).	Primary
611	Phoenix Mine Compound		Mining compound	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	See explanation on previous item on the list.	Secondary
612	Phoenix Prince		Mine	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	"	Secondary

613	Phoenix Prince East		Mine	Bindura	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Directional naming of places. Named after King George VI.	Primary
614	Piedmont		Farm	Bindura	Fallingrain website	Named after a region in northwest Italy bordering France and Switzerland.	Secondary
615	Piki's	Picky/Peaky kwaPiki	Shopping centre	Shashi View	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Named after the owner of the place.	Primary
616	Pimento Park		Farm	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	Portuguese for 'small red chilli'; was owned by Oliver Newton and later given to politicians during the land distribution.	Secondary
617	Playing Field		Sports field	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	Instrumental naming for administrative purposes.	Secondary
618	Plum Close		Street	Hospital Area	Council minutes	Fruit tree that was introduced to the area by settlers.	Primary
619	Popgum Road	Mupfuti	Street	Hospital Area	Council minutes	Tree, also known as *mupfuti* 'gunshots tree' in Shona.	Primary
620	Pote River	Poorte	River	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	A winding river. Poorte is the anglicised version of Shona *poterera* 'go round'.	Secondary
621	Pote Road		Road	Chipadze	Council minutes	Shona for a circling road, named after Pote river that circles part of Bindura. The road is also winding.	Primary
622	Pote/Inyauri Foot Bridge		Bridge	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	Instrumental name for administrative purposes.	Secondary
623	Powersales		Shop	CBD	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Branding to attract customers.	Primary

624	Prince of Wales Diorite		Topographical	Bindura	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Bowen (1959, p. 53) explains that the diorite in Bindura was so unique such that it had to be named. The name honours Prince Edward Albert Christian George Andrew Patrick David, the Prince of Wales (1911-1936).	Primary
625	Prince of Wales Prospect		Mine	Bindura	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Named after the Prince of Wales (see explanation on previous item on the list).	Primary
626	Progress Shops	Chiwaridzo Shops	Shopping centre	Chiwaridzo	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Comes from the name of the first shop to be build in the area. Owning a shop is a sign of upward social mobility hence the name *Progress*.	Primary
627	Promotor	Botha or Fredda Rebecca	Mine	Bindura	Mindat.org	Promotor was the name of the person who owned the mine.	Secondary
628	R.A.N	Ran or RAN or Rane	Mine	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	The Anglo-American Company (Director of Housing, 20/7/2018) owned royal American Nag. Nag means an old horse. Further research (Swindale, 2002) showed that George Hay Rattray, who ran it with his family, later sold it to Anglo-American, who prospected the mine.	Secondary
629	Rakison Mucheki Street		Street	Aerodrome	Council minutes	Commemorative of a freedom fighter.	Primary
630	Rapids		Farm	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	Descriptive name.	Secondary
631	Red Cross Road		Road	Light Industry	Council minutes	Directional, the road leads to the Red Cross offices.	Primary

632	Redlands		Farm	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	Descriptive of the soil found in the area.	Secondary
633	Reitbok Vlei		Farm	Bindura	Fallingrain website	Afrikaans for ‘reedbuck valley’.	Secondary
634	Reitpan	Rietpan or Retpan	Farm	Bindura	Police map 2000	*Riet* is Afrikaans for ‘cane’or ‘reed’.	Secondary
635	Richlands North		Farm	Bindura	Fallingrain website	Descriptive of the rich soils in the area.	Secondary
636	Rifle Range		Farm	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	Descriptive of an activity that used to occur at the place – shooting practice for soldiers.	Secondary
637	Riverview		Farm	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	The farm overlooked the Mazowe river, hence, the name Riverview.	Secondary
638	Robara		Farm	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	Spanish for ‘pilfer’. Participants said it was Shonalised ‘labourer’.	Secondary
639	Robert Mugabe Way		Street	CBD	Council minutes	Commemorative of the former president and nationalist leader.	Primary
640	Rocky Spruit		Farm	Bindura	Fallingrain website	Descriptive of the place; it is a rocky area.	Secondary
641	Rosetta Rust Secondary School		School	Bindura Rural	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Located at Rossetta Rust Farm and takes the name of the farm.	Primary

642	Rossetta Rust		Farm	Bindura	Police map 2000	Italian for ‘rose cut diamond’ or ‘floral pattern in art’ - descriptive of the landscape.	Secondary
643	Rukainga Village		Village	Bindura Rural	Rural Council	Misspelling of Shona *kukanga* ‘to fry’. The area is very hot in summer.	Primary
644	Rukainga Shops		Shopping centre	Bindura Rural	Rural Council	Named after Rukainga village in Musana Ward 18	Primary
645	Rupakwe	Paradise Pools	Topographical name	Bindura rural	Rural Council	Shona for ‘mermaids’ resting place’. It is a sacred area for the locals.	Primary
646	Ruponesu Avenue		Street	Chipadze	Council minutes	Shona for ‘the healing’.	Primary
647	Rusanze mountain		Mountain range	Bindura Rural	Surveyor General Map 1970	Shona for ‘the one that vomits’. Refers to the mist, which the mountain emits.	Secondary
648	Rusere Kapapiro Village		Village	Bindura Rural	Rural Council	Combination of two Shona words meaning ‘winnowing basket’ and ‘a small wing’.	Primary
649	Rusikana		Farm	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	Shona for ‘the girls' farm’.	Primary
650	Rusumbe		Mountain	Bindura Rural	Bindura Rural District Council	Shona for ‘the pillar’. The mountain is shaped like a pillar.	Primary
651	Rutope Mountain		Mountain	Bindura Rural	Bindura Rural District Council	Shona for ‘mud’, the area can be muddy in the rainy season.	Primary
652	Rutope Secondary School		School	Bindura Rural	Bindura Rural District Council	Located in Chindotwe Chibaya Village of Chief Musana, the school takes its name after Rutope Mountain.	Primary

653	Ruwanga		Farm	Bindura	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Could be Shonalised Nyanja *luangwa*, which means 'guaranteed'. There is also Luangwa River in Zambia where most farm labourers came from.	Primary
654	Ruyafalls		Shopping centre	Bindura Rural	Rural Council	Found in Ward 1; the falls take their names after Ruya river.	Primary
655	Salvation Army Primary School		School	Chipadze	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Named after the church that owns and runs the school.	Primary
656	Sambi Close		Street	Hospital Area	Council minutes	A river in Mutare, it means 'beads' in Shona and Lozi and 'little bird in Kirundi' (Rwanda).	Primary
657	Samvura-Kachere Village		Village	Bindura Rural	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Multiple naming, named after people settled there.	Primary
658	Samvura-Motsi Village		Village	Bindura Rural	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Multiple naming, named after people who settled there.	Primary
659	Sandazi		Farm	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	Misspelling of Shona *dandadzi* 'spider web'.	Secondary
660	Sangere	Sengere	Farm	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970		Secondary
661	Sangere North	Sengere	Farm	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	An example of relational name, Sangere North Farm is named in relation to Sangere Farm.	Secondary
662	Saragado Avenue		Street	Chipadze	Council minutes	Commemorative of the early settlers, it is a popular surname in the area.	Primary

663	Sarudzai Vhareta Street		Street	Aerodrome	Council minutes	Commemorative of a freedom fighter.	Primary
664	Second Street	Joshua Nkomo Avenue	Street	Bindura CBD	Council minutes	Numerical name. Changed to Joshua Nkomo Avenue.	Primary
665	Selous Avenue		Street	Hospital Area	Council minutes	Commemorates the Selous Scouts who were an arm of the Rhodesian army (special forces regiment) which operated from 1973 -1980. They were named after the British explorer, Frederick Courtney Selous (1851- 1917).	Primary
666	Selwood		Farm	Bindura	Police map 2000	Botanical, tree species.	Secondary
667	Sengere	Sangere	Farm	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	Misspelling of Shona *kuserera*, which means 'to go down in volume', especially of liquids.	Secondary
668	Serere		River	Bindura Rural	Bindura Rural District Council	Shona for 'the reduction of the volume of water in a river'. Describes the feature.	Primary
669	Shamuyenh -amva Village		Village	Bindura Rural	Bindura Rural District Council	Shona for 'a whip'.	Primary
670	Shashi Estate		Farm	Bindura	Police map 2000	Takes the name from a nearby mountain. Shashi is corrupted Shona *shasha*.	Secondary
671	Shashi View Suburb	kuShashi	Suburb	Bindura	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	"	
672	Shashi View		School	Bindura	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	"	Primary

	Primary School						
673	Shashi View Road		Road	Hospital Area	Council minutes	"	Primary
674	Sidbury		Farm	Bindura	Police map 2000		Secondary
675	Sika Village		Village	Bindura Rural	Bindura Rural District Council	Shona for ‘create’ or ‘whisking’.	Primary
676	Sikero Village		Village	Bindura Rural	Bindura Rural District Council	Shona for ‘scale’. Shonalised English word.	Primary
677	Simon Chinyere Street		Street	Aerodrome	Council minutes	Commemorative of a freedom fighter.	Primary
678	Simon Vengesayi Muzenda Street		Street	CBD	Council minutes	Commemorative of the late vice president, nationalist, and freedom fighter.	Primary
679	Simoona Estates	Simoona Village 2	Farm	Bindura	Police map 2000		Secondary
680	Simoona Secondary School		School	Bindura	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	The school takes its name after Simoona Estates, in which it is located.	Primary
681	Slam		Mine	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970		Secondary

682	Sojini Street		Street	Chipadze	Council minutes	Commemorates the Sojini family who were early inhabitants of the township; it is a common surname.	Primary
683	Solomio		Farm	Bindura	Fallingrain website		Secondary
684	Solomon Ngoni Street		Street	Aerodrome	Council minutes	Commemorates a freedom fighter.	Primary
685	SOS Hermann Gmeiner Secondary School	SOS	School	Chiwaridzo	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Named after the founder of the SOS organization, Herman Gmeiner. According to the SOS-childrensvillage.org (2018), SOS stands for *Societas Socialis*, which meant a 'socially responsible society' to Herman Gmeiner and those who suppetrd him.	Primary
686	SOS Hermann Gmeiner Primary School	SOS	School	Chiwaridzo	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	"	Primary
687	SOS Maizelands Secondary School	SOS	School	Maizelands	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Located in Acadia Farm Ward 8 Bindura under Chief Musana, the school takes its name after the place it is in – Maizelands Farm.	Primary
688	St. Basil's Secondary School	Piedmont Farm School	School	Bindura	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Found in Piedmont Farm Ward 5 Matepatepa; the school takes the name of a Roman Catholic Saint, St Basil.	Primary
689	St. Basil		Police base	Bindura	Police map 2000	St. Basil was a theologian – 330AD to 379AD, who lived in what is now Kayseri, Turkey.	Secondary

690	Station Road		Street	CBD	Council minutes	Metonymic and directional - the road next to the railway station	Primary
691	Stella		Farm	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970		Secondary
692	Stoney Lee		Farm	Bindura	Police map 2000		Secondary
693	Stratclone Dam		Dam	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970		Primary
694	Sunray		Farm	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970		Secondary
695	Supermarket	Chiwaridzo Shops	Shopping centre	Chiwaridzo	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Extension of toponyms to refer to a place that is not really a supermarket.	Primary
696	Sussex		Farm	Bindura	Fallingrain website	Named after Sussex in the UK.	Secondary
697	Svisva		Shopping centre	Musana Ward 17	Rural Council		Primary
698	Svisva Mountain	Swiswa or Marden	Mountain	Bindura Rural	Bindura Rural District Council		Primary
699	Sydenham		Farm	Bindura	Police map 2000	Named after places in the UK.	Secondary
700	Taitezvi Village		Village	Bindura rural	Bindura Rural District Council	Named after the people settled there.	Primary
701	Takundwa Potency Street		Street	Aerodrome	Council minutes	Commemorative of a freedom fighter.	Primary

702	Tamarind Loop		Street	Hospital Area	Council minutes	Tree.	Primary
703	Tanagatse		Farm	Bindura	Police map 2000		Secondary
704	Tara		Farm	Bindura	Police map 2000		Secondary
705	Tarlington		Farm	Bindura	Fallingrain website	A surname found in the UK, could have been the name of the first owner of the farm.	Secondary
706	Teak Close		Street	Hospital Area	Council minutes	Hardwood tree.	Primary
707	Tembo		Farm	Bindura	Fallingrain website	Shona and Nyanja for *zebra*. Tembo is a common totem in Malawi, Zambia, and Zimbabwe.	Secondary
708	Tendai Hall	T-Hall or TH	Bus stop	Chipadze	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	*Tendai* is Shona for 'be grateful'.	Primary
709	The Bend		Farm	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	The farm's main entrance is at a bend.	Secondary
710	The Carse Estate		Farm	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	A *carse* is Scottish for 'fertile lowland usually beside a river'. This is a descriptive name.	Secondary
711	The Range		Farm	Bindura	Fallingrain website	Descriptive name.	Secondary
712	The Ridge		Farm	Bindura	Police map 2000	Descriptive name.	Secondary
713	The Scrubs		Farm	Bindura	Fallingrain website	Describes vegetation at the farm.	Secondary
714	The Vale		Farm	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	The farm is in a valley.	Secondary

715	The Wall Less University		University	CBD	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	A tutoring centre in a small office on Pathway Street behind Topics Shops. The name describes the place it offers virtual lessons.	Primary
716	Thomas Gadzikwa Street		Street	Aerodrome	Council minutes	Commemorative of a freedom fighter.	Primary
717	Thrums	KwaCrawford	Farm	Bindura	Police map 2000	Used to be owned by Christopher Crawford; now belongs to Matangira, a neighbour to Marufu.	Secondary
718	Thurlows Avenue		Street	CBD	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Commemorates Walter Thurlow, who in 1899, walked from Salisbury along the Mazoe river and opened the first store in Bindura in 1903.	Primary
719	Thurlows Paddock		Paddock	CBD	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Named after Walter Thurlow, who owned it.	Primary
720	Tipperary Estate		Farm	Bindura	Fallingrain website	Named after Tipperary Farm in Ireland, UK.	Secondary
721	TM	Pick'nPay	Shop	CBD	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	A multinational supermarket.	Primary
722	Topics		Shop	CBD	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	An upmarket clothing and luxury goods shop.	Primary
723	Topsman Mine		Mine	Bindura	Zuvalinyenga July 2018		Primary
724	Tower Light		Light	Chiwaridzo	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Unofficial toponym.	Primary

725	Trio		Farm	Bindura	Fallingrain website	A group of three.	Secondary
726	Tripple Tee Primary		School		Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Named after the owner's relatives. His first name begins with a T (Tendai).	Primary
727	Trojan Nickel Mine	Trojan	Mine	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	Named after an event in the city of Troy that was conquered by means of the horse in Greek Mythology. The city was conquered by the Greeks during the Trojan War using a Trojan Horse (which was made of wood and large enough to hide a group of soldiers inside that they dragged inside the city walls for a surprise attack.	Secondary
728	Tsambe River		River	Bindura rural	Police map 2000	Nyanja for 'a species of mouse, white belly fur, very fat, short tail'.	Secondary
729	Tsimbarem-ombe Mountain		Mountain	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	Shona for 'the footprint of a cow'.	Secondary
730	Tumazoss Avenue		Street	Hospital Area	Council minutes	Tumazos could have been related to George Hay Rattray. There is Dino Tumazos, Group CEO of Colcom Zimbabwe and Constantine Tumazos in the Executive Committee of Innscor Africa Ltd (Brown, 2020).	Primary
731	Twana Hill		Hill	Bindura rural	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	*Twana* is Shona for 'little children'. The hill is small.	
732	Umfurudzi Estate		Farm	Bindura	Fallingrain website	Anglicised Shona *mufuridzi* 'one who blows'.	Secondary
733	Umfurudzi Shops		Shopping centre	Bindura	Rural Council	Named after the area it is located in.	Primary

734	Umwindisi Dip Tank		Dip tank	Bindura Rural	Bindura Rural District Council	Named after the area it is located in.	
735	Umwindisi River		River	Bindura Rural	Bindura Rural District Council	Could be anglicised Ndebele *umsindisi* ‘saviour’.	
736	Underson Mhuru Street		Street	Aerodrome	Council minutes	Commemorative of a freedom fighter.	Primary
737	Uronga		Farm	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	Anglicised Shona *hurongwa* ‘the plan’.	Secondary
738	Uronga South		Farm	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	Directional name.	Secondary
739	Usaramo		Farm	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	Portuguese for ‘used it’.	Secondary
740	Usaramo Extension		Farm	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	Transfer of the name *Usaramo*.	Secondary
741	Usk		Farm	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	*Usk* comes from Welsh. It is also known as Brynbuga. Usk is a town in Monmouthshire, Wales, UK. It is located on the River Usk.	Secondary
742	Utapa Close		Street	Hospital Area	Council minutes	Could be anglicised Shona word *kutapa* ‘to keep captive’ or ‘to enslave’.	Primary
743	Vergenoeg		Farm	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	Named after an Afrikaans town in the Northern Cape, South Africa.	Secondary
744	Virginia Dimwe	Virginia	Farm	Bindura	Fallingrain website	Named after a village in northern Surrey, UK.	Secondary

745	Virginia South Extension	Virginia	Farm	Bindura	Fallingrain website	The name is an extension of Virginia Farm.	Secondary
746	Walton		Farm	Bindura	Police map 2000	Named after Walton-on-Thames, a market town on the south bank of the Thames in the Elmbridge borough of Surrey, UK (Hanks, 2006).	Secondary
747	Wapley		Farm	Bindura	Fallingrain website	Named after Wapley, which is a rural village in South Gloucestershire, UK (Hanks, 2006).	Secondary
748	Watchfield		Farm	Bindura	Fallingrain website	Watchfield is a village and civil parish in the UK.	Secondary
749	Waterbem Cresent		Street	Hospital Area	Council minutes	Afrikaans for ‘water berries’, a common tree species.	Primary
750	Wattle Cresent		Street	Hospital Area	Council minutes	A tree commonly found in tropical regions. It is in the Acacia family	Primary
751	Wayerera		Communal Area	Bindura	Police map 2000	Shona for ‘you have been swept away’.	Secondary
752	Wayerera Primary School		School	Bindura	Police map 2000	Named after the place where it is located.	Secondary
753	Wayerera Secondary School		School	Bindura	Police map 2000	Named after Wayerera Village Masembura, Bindura, where it is located.	Secondary
754	Wayerera Street		Street	Chipadze	Council minutes	Commemorates a place in rural Bindura.	Primary

755	Willow Dean	kwaWillow	Farm	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	Named after owner, Willow Dean. *KwaWillow* is Shona for 'Willow's place'.	Secondary
756	Willy Konje Street		Street	Aerodrome	Council minutes	Commemorates a freedom fighter.	Primary
757	Windermere		Farm	Bindura	Fallingrain website	Named after a town in South Lakeland district of Cumbria, UK.	Secondary
758	Wingpod Close		Street	Hospital Area	Council minutes	According to Gardeners' World (2019) the "*Portulaca umbraticola*, commonly known as wing pod purslane, is a small, succulent annual or short-lived perennial with fleshy foliage and colourful blooms that vary in colour, from tangerine oranges to hot reds and pinks".	Primary
759	Wise Acre		Farm	Bindura	Police map 2000	Named after Wise Acre in the UK.	Secondary
760	Wiston		Farm	Bindura	Fallingrain website	Could be a misspelling of Weston or Winston. There is a Wiston in West Sussex, UK (Hanks, 2006).	Secondary
761	Withington		Farm	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	Named after a suburb in southern Manchester, UK.	Secondary
762	Woll Hill		Farm	Bindura	Fallingrain website		Secondary
763	Woodbrook		Farm	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	Named after a place in the county of West Yorkshire, UK.	Secondary
764	Woodbrook North		Farm	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	Extended name. It is also directional and in relation to Woodbrook Farm.	Secondary
765	Woodbrook Siding Spur		Spur	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	Extended name.	Secondary

766	Woodlands		Farm	Bindura	Surveyor General Map 1970	Describes the dense forest that used to make up most of the farm before it was cleared for farming.	Secondary
767	Wray Avenue		Street	Hospital Area	Council minutes	*Wray* is of old Norse origin. Many place names in Lancashire, Yorkshire, and Cumbria contain *Wray*. *Wray* derives from any of the places in Lancashire and Cumberland named with the Old Norse *vra* 'nook, corner, recess', used in placenames to denote a remote valley or isolated place (Hanks, 2006).	Primary
768	York Avenue	Jaison Moyo Avenue	Street	Bindura CBD	Council minutes	Named after a city in the UK.	Primary
769	York Street	Chenjerai Hunzvi Avenue	Street	Bindura CBD	Council minutes	Extended name, the name York is used to name more than one feature or place.	Primary
770	Zakwana	Zvakwana	Farm	Bindura	Police Map 2000	Misspelling of *Zvakwana*, which means 'it is enough' in Shona.	Secondary
771	ZB bank		Bank	CBD	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Zimbabwe Bank.	Primary
772	Zhenje Mountain		Mountain	Bindura Rural	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	*Zhenje* means 'flames' in Shona. Elders said the mountain is sacred and flames, the source of which was unknown, used to be seen at night raging in the mountain. The mountain has several caves in it that were used during the armed struggle – Participant A23, July 2018.	Primary
773	Zonde Village		Village	Bindura Rural	Zuvalinyenga July 2018	Anthroponym; named after people settled there.	Primary

774	Zvinotapira Street	Street	Aerodrome	Council minutes	According to council officials, the name of this street celebrates the attainment of independence because street names in Aerodrome follow the theme of commemorating the War of Liberation. *Zvinotapira* means ‘it is sweet’ in Shona.	Primary

Appendix B

Ethics documents and permission letters

The University of Newcastle Human Research Ethics Committee Approval

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HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

THE UNIVERSITY OF NEWCASTLE AUSTRALIA

Notification of Expedited Approval

To Chief Investigator or Project Supervisor:	**Doctor Alan Libert**
Cc Co-investigators / Research Students:	**Ms Dorcas Zuvalinyenga** **Doctor Catriona Malau**
Re Protocol:	**Naming Practices, Identity, Power & Communication in Bindura, Zimbabwe**
Date:	**30-May-2018**
Reference No:	**H-2018-0147**
Date of Initial Approval:	**30-May-2018**

Thank you for your **Response to Conditional Approval (minor amendments)** submission to the Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC) seeking approval in relation to the above protocol.

Your submission was considered under **Expedited** review by the Ethics Administrator.

I am pleased to advise that the decision on your submission is **Approved** effective **30-May-2018**.

In approving this protocol, the Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC) is of the opinion that the project complies with the provisions contained in the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research, 2007, and the requirements within this University relating to human research.

Approval will remain valid subject to the submission, and satisfactory assessment, of annual progress reports. *If the approval of an External HREC has been "noted" the approval period is as determined by that HREC.*

The full Committee will be asked to ratify this decision at its next scheduled meeting. A formal *Certificate of Approval* will be available upon request. Your approval number is **H-2018-0147**.

If the research requires the use of an Information Statement, ensure this number is inserted at the relevant point in the Complaints paragraph prior to distribution to potential participants You may then proceed with the research.

Conditions of Approval

This approval has been granted subject to you complying with the requirements for *Monitoring of Progress*, *Reporting of Adverse Events*, and *Variations to the Approved Protocol* as detailed below.

PLEASE NOTE:
In the case where the HREC has "noted" the approval of an External HREC, progress reports and reports of adverse events are to be submitted to the External HREC only. In the case of Variations to the approved protocol, or a Renewal of approval, you will apply to the External HREC for approval in the first instance and then Register that approval with the University's HREC.

- ***Monitoring of Progress***

Participant Information Sheet

Dr. Alan Libert
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Information Statement for the Research Project:

Naming Practices, Identity, Power & Communication in Bindura, Zimbabwe

Document version 02: dated 15 May 2018

Dear Participant,

You are invited to participate in the research project identified above which is being conducted by Dorcas Zuvalinyenga, a Ph.D. student from the School of Humanities and Social Science at the University of Newcastle.

The research is part of Dorcas' studies at the University of Newcastle, supervised by Dr. Alan Libert and Dr. Catriona Malau from the School of Humanities and Social Science.

Why is the research being done?

The purpose of the research is to make an analysis of place names and naming practises, identity, power relations and communication at a selected site in Zimbabwe.

Who can participate in the research?

You are invited to participate in this research if you are over the age of 18 and are a resident and/or a professional knowledgeable about the naming processes in Bindura urban and its rural hinterland, Mashonaland Central, Zimbabwe.

To be eligible for participation in the study you must match the following criteria:

- you are a resident of the study area;

- you could be a town clerk/town planner/councillor/district administrator/chief/village head;

- you are knowledgeable about the place names and their meanings that could be in use in the research area;

- you are able to recount stories behind some official and unofficial place names in the area;

- you are aware of how people learn and forget some of the place names;

What would you be asked to do?

If you agree to participate, you will be asked to answer a few questions regarding place names and the naming processes in Bindura. This interview/questionnaire may take up to 45 minutes. It will involve providing meanings, history and uses of place names, and naming practices. You may also be asked to provide demographic information, that is, socio-cultural related information such as your age, gender, length of residence in the area and ethnicity.

If you are selected, you will be asked to complete either or both of the following two tasks:

Consent Form

Dr. Alan Libert
School of Humanities and Social Science
University of Newcastle
Callaghan 2308 NSW
Australia
61-2-4921 5117
alan.libert@newcastle.edu.au

Consent Form for the Research Project:

Naming Practices, Identity, Power & Communication in Bindura, Zimbabwe

DORCAS ZUVALINYENGA

Document Version: 1; dated: 6 March 2018

I agree to participate in the above research project and give my consent freely.

I understand that the project will be conducted as described in the Information Statement, a copy of which I have retained.

I understand I can withdraw from the project at any time and do not have to give any reason for withdrawing.

I consent to:

1. Fill in the questionnaire
2. Participate in the interview.

I understand that my personal information will remain confidential to the researcher.

I have had the opportunity to have questions answered to my satisfaction.

Print Name:_____

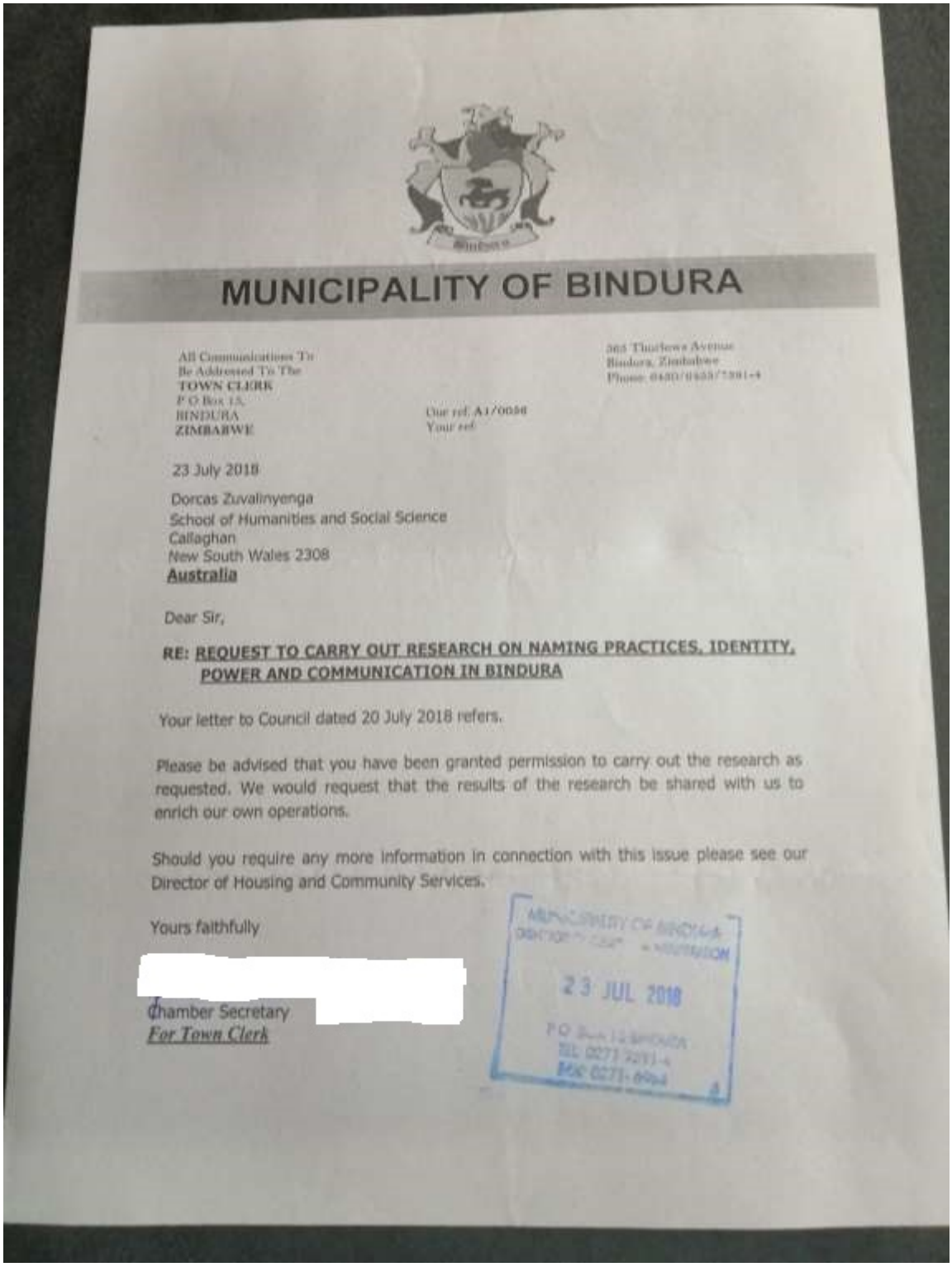
Signature:_____ **Date:**_____

Contact phone: _____

Contact email: _____

1

Municipality of Bindura



MUNICIPALITY OF BINDURA

All Communications To
Be Addressed To The
TOWN CLERK
P O Box 15,
BINDURA
ZIMBABWE

365 Thatcher Avenue
Bindura, Zimbabwe
Phone: 0430/0455/7381-4

Our ref: A1/0058
Your ref:

23 July 2018

Dorcas Zuvalinyenga
School of Humanities and Social Science
Callaghan
New South Wales 2308
Australia

Dear Sir,

RE: REQUEST TO CARRY OUT RESEARCH ON NAMING PRACTICES, IDENTITY, POWER AND COMMUNICATION IN BINDURA

Your letter to Council dated 20 July 2018 refers.

Please be advised that you have been granted permission to carry out the research as requested. We would request that the results of the research be shared with us to enrich our own operations.

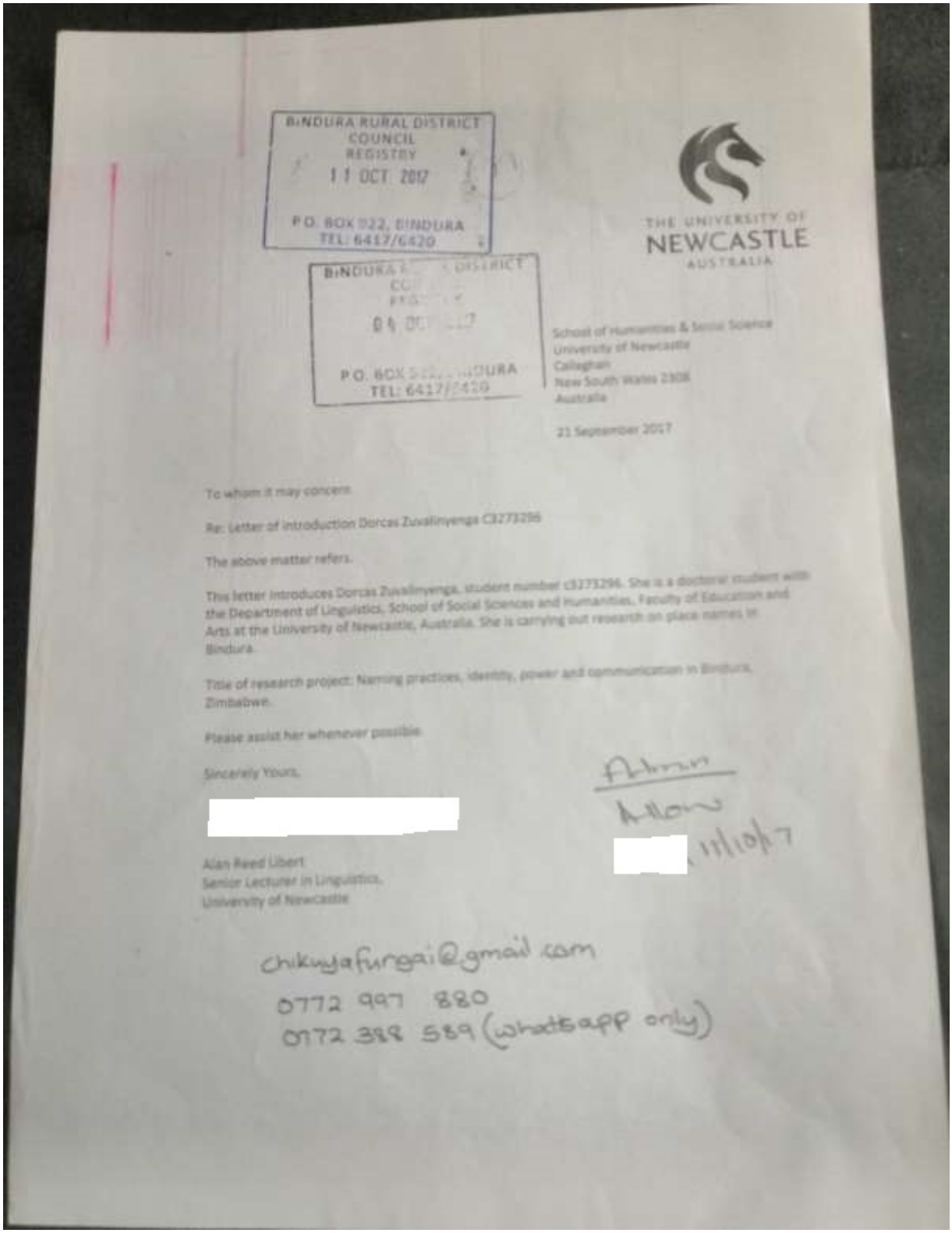
Should you require any more information in connection with this issue please see our Director of Housing and Community Services.

Yours faithfully

Chamber Secretary
For Town Clerk

MUNICIPALITY OF BINDURA
DIRECTOR ... CORP ... ADMINISTRATION
23 JUL 2018
P.O. Box 15 BINDURA
TEL 0271 7381-4
FAX 0271-6964

Bindura Rural District Council



BINDURA RURAL DISTRICT COUNCIL REGISTRY
11 OCT 2017
P.O. BOX 922, BINDURA
TEL: 6417/6420

BINDURA RURAL DISTRICT COUNCIL REGISTRY
09 OCT 2017
P.O. BOX 922, BINDURA
TEL: 6417/6420

THE UNIVERSITY OF NEWCASTLE AUSTRALIA

School of Humanities & Social Science
University of Newcastle
Callaghan
New South Wales 2308
Australia

21 September 2017

To whom it may concern

Re: Letter of introduction Dorcas Zuvalinyenga C3273296

The above matter refers.

This letter introduces Dorcas Zuvalinyenga, student number c3273296. She is a doctoral student with the Department of Linguistics, School of Social Sciences and Humanities, Faculty of Education and Arts at the University of Newcastle, Australia. She is carrying out research on place names in Bindura.

Title of research project: Naming practices, identity, power and communication in Bindura, Zimbabwe.

Please assist her whenever possible.

Sincerely Yours,

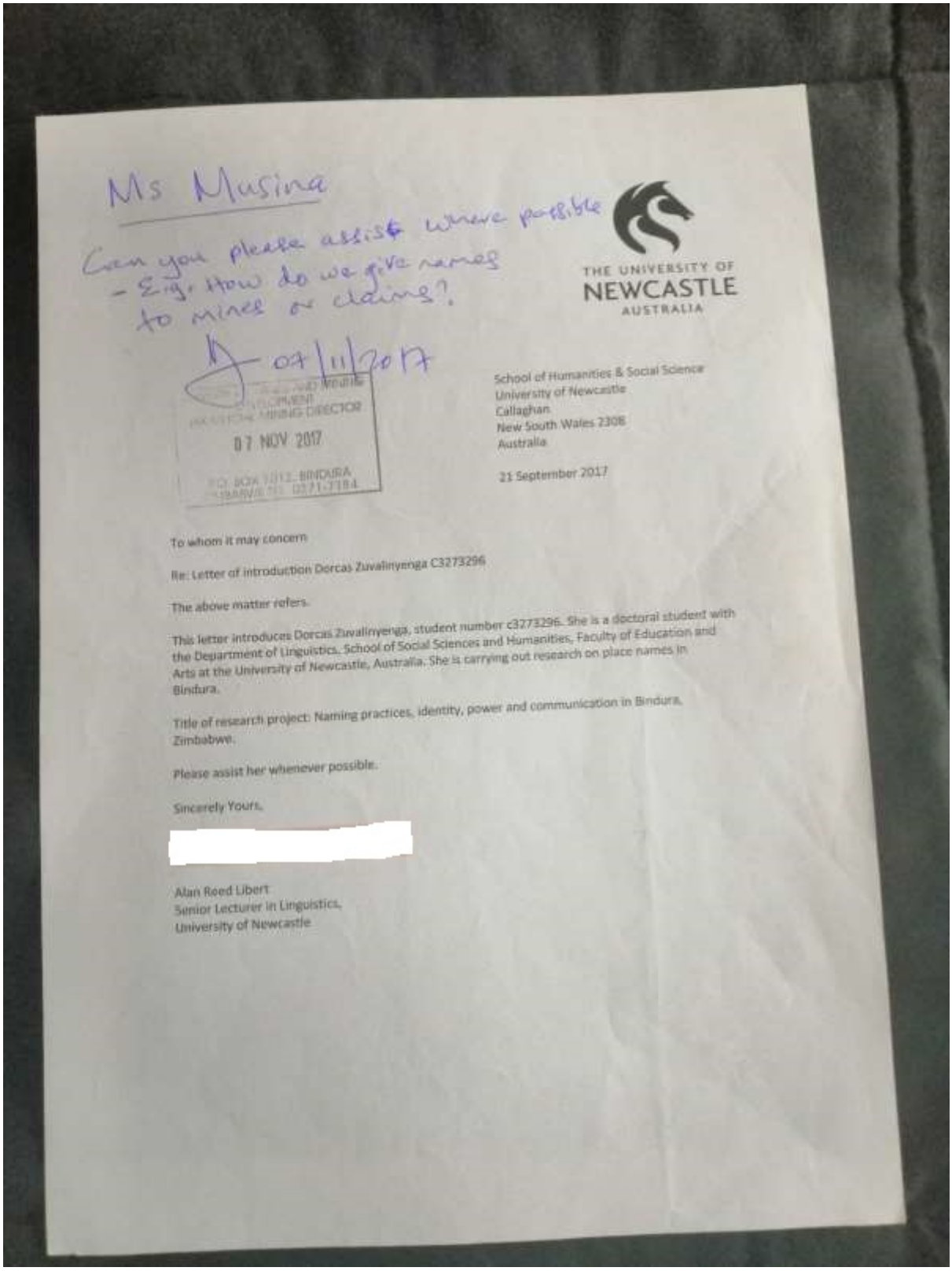
[redacted]

Alan Reed Libert
Senior Lecturer in Linguistics,
University of Newcastle

Admin
Allow
[redacted] 11/10/17

chikuyafungai@gmail.com
0772 997 880
0772 388 589 (whatsapp only)

Ministry of Mines and Minerals



Ms Musina

Can you please assist where possible
- E.g. How do we give names
to mines or claims?

07/11/2017

07 NOV 2017

THE UNIVERSITY OF
NEWCASTLE
AUSTRALIA

School of Humanities & Social Science
University of Newcastle
Callaghan
New South Wales 2308
Australia

21 September 2017

To whom it may concern

Re: Letter of introduction Dorcas Zuvalinyenga C3273296

The above matter refers.

This letter introduces Dorcas Zuvalinyenga, student number c3273296. She is a doctoral student with the Department of Linguistics, School of Social Sciences and Humanities, Faculty of Education and Arts at the University of Newcastle, Australia. She is carrying out research on place names in Bindura.

Title of research project: Naming practices, identity, power and communication in Bindura, Zimbabwe.

Please assist her whenever possible.

Sincerely Yours,

Alan Reed Libert
Senior Lecturer in Linguistics,
University of Newcastle

Use of photographs

Figure P.1: Permission to use photo of destroyed sign at a safari (Andrew Henderson).


Permission to use photo

dorcas zuvalinyenga

Fri, Feb 28, 12:53 PM

Dear Andrew Henderson, I am kindly asking for permission to use one of your photos attached below in an academic article on linguistic landscapes I am writi...

Andrew Henderson <a.henderson@progeneseeds.co.zw>

Fri, Feb 28, 4:44 PM

to me

Morning Dorcas

Yes you may

Cheers

AH

Progene SEEDS

Figure P.2: Permission to use vandalised Robert Mugabe signage (Auntony Zinyange).


Zinyange Auntony <zinyange@gmail.com>

Fri, Feb 21, 5:06 PM

to me

Hi Dorcas

Sorry for the late response to your email. I do approve for the use I have a signed document that I will send to you once I get home.

Zinyange

***

--

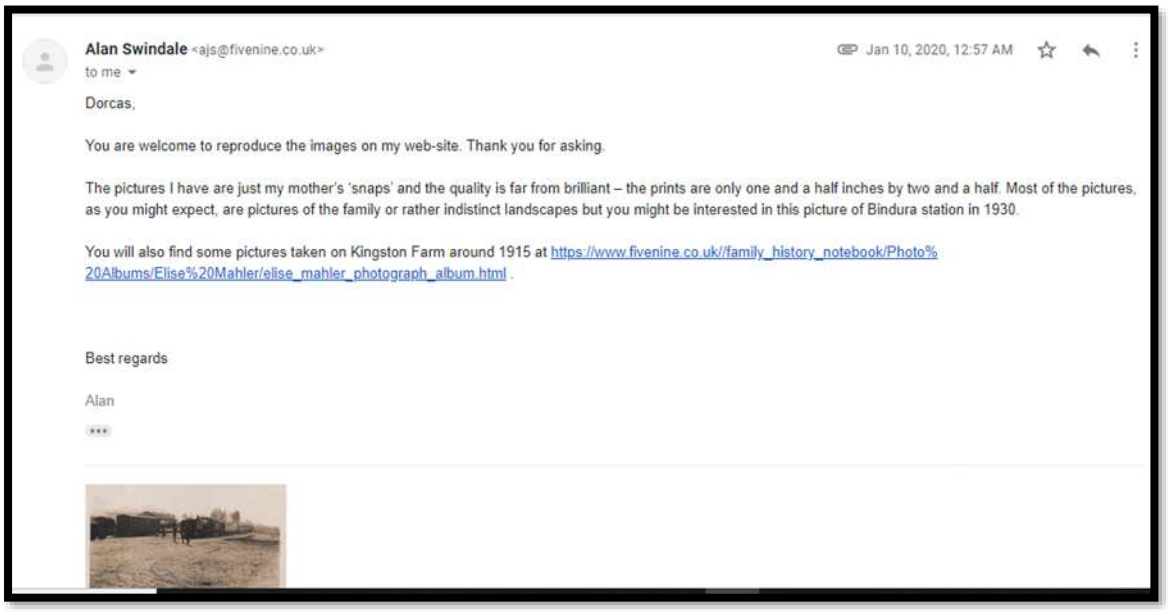
Zinyange Auntony

Photojournalist

+263775471555

www.zinyange.com

Figure P.3: Permission to use multiple photos from Alan Swindale.



Alan Swindale <ajs@fivenine.co.uk>
to me

Jan 10, 2020, 12:57 AM

Dorcas,

You are welcome to reproduce the images on my web-site. Thank you for asking.

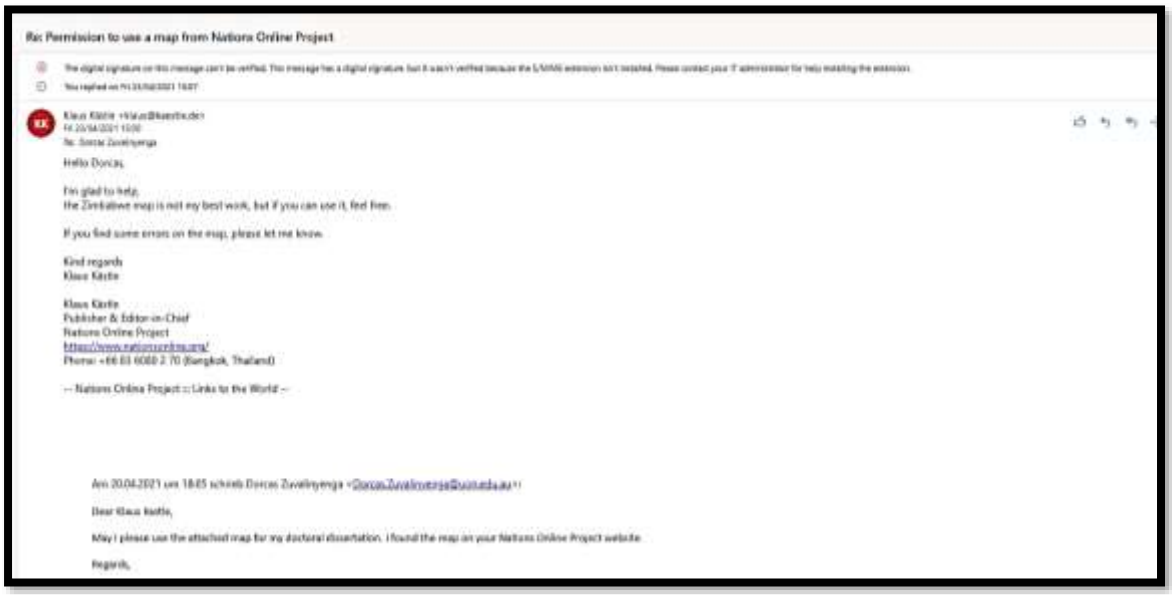
The pictures I have are just my mother's 'snaps' and the quality is far from brilliant – the prints are only one and a half inches by two and a half. Most of the pictures, as you might expect, are pictures of the family or rather indistinct landscapes but you might be interested in this picture of Bindura station in 1930.

You will also find some pictures taken on Kingston Farm around 1915 at https://www.fivenine.co.uk//family_history_notebook/Photo%20Albums/Elise%20Mahler/elise_mahler_photograph_album.html .

Best regards

Alan

Figure P4: Permission to use Zimbabwe map (Nations Online Project).



Re: Permission to use a map from Nations Online Project

Hello Dorcas,

I'm glad to help.
The Zimbabwe map is not my best work, but if you can use it, feel free.

If you find some errors on the map, please let me know.

Kind regards
Klaus Kästle

Klaus Kästle
Publisher & Editor-in-Chief
Nations Online Project
https://www.nationsonline.org/
Phone: +66 83 6080 2 70 (Bangkok, Thailand)

-- Nations Online Project :: Links to the World --

Am 20.04.2021 um 18:05 schrieb Dorcas Zwelinyenga <Dorcas.Zwelinyenga@uniteds.au>:

Dear Klaus Kästle,

May I please use the attached map for my doctoral dissertation. I found the map on your Nations Online Project website.

Regards,

Appendix C

Research instruments

Interview guide

Dr. Alan Libert
School of Humanities and Social Science
University of Newcastle
Callaghan 2308 NSW
Australia
61-2-4921 5117
alan.libert@newcastle.edu.au

THE UNIVERSITY OF NEWCASTLE AUSTRALIA

Interview Guide for the Research Project:

Naming Practices, Identity, Power & Communication in Bindura, Zimbabwe

Document version 01: dated 6 March 2018

Questions

1. How do people name places in Bindura?
2. Have there been any name changes for places in Bindura?
3. Which places were renamed? Can you list them giving both the old and new name and the possible reason for the change?
4. How was this done?
5. Are there any places that are named after commercial enterprises?
6. Has there been a case(s) where place name signs (of streets, buildings, parks, rivers, dams and other landmarks) were defaced, destroyed or removed?
7. As a resident of Bindura, what do some of the names of places (streets, roads, residential areas, buildings etc.) tell you?
8. What are your views regarding renaming places using names of public figures from fields such as education, politics and the arts, as well as business?
9. Are there any place names which you appreciate? Why do you feel this way?
10. Are there any place names which you dislike or avoid? Why do you feel this way
11. Any other comments?

1

Questionnaire

Dr. Alan Libert
School of Humanities and Social Science
University of Newcastle
Callaghan 2308 NSW
Australia
61-2-4921 5117
alan.libert@newcastle.edu.au

Questionnaire for the Research Project:

Naming Practices, Identity, Power & Communication in Bindura, Zimbabwe

Document version 02: dated 15 May 2018

I. Introduction

Dear Participant,

You have consented to participate in the research project identified above, which is being conducted by Dorcas Zuvalinyenga, a student from the School of Humanities and Social Science at the University of Newcastle. The research is part of Dorcas' studies at the University of Newcastle, supervised by Dr. Alan Libert from the School of Humanities and Social Science.

II. Questions

Directions: Please respond to the questions below as fully as possible. There are both open-ended and closed-ended questions. For the closed-ended ones indicate your response by placing a circle (s) on your answer (s). For open-ended ones, write your answer in the space provided below the question.

Q1: How do people name places in Bindura?

a. Through a committee b. individually c. a government minister does that d. community
e. I do not know f. other(specify)
……
……
……

Q2: How are place names in Bindura assigned?

a. **Following a theme b. describing the place c. commemorating individuals/events d. I do not know e. other(specify)**
……
……
……

Q3: Have there been any name changes for places in Bindura?

Q4: Which places were renamed? Can you list them, giving both the old and new name as well as the possible reason for change?

OLD NAME	NEW NAME	REASON FOR CHANGE

NB: If the space provided is not enough, please attach an external page.

Q5: How was the renaming done?

a. By a committee b. individual c. government minister d. community e. I do not know

Q6: Are there any places that are named after commercial enterprises? If yes can you list them?

Commercial Enterprise	Type of business they are in	Place named after it

NB: If the space provided is not enough, please attach an external page.

Q7: Can you list any official street names that you know of giving their possible meanings?

……
……
……

Q8: Can you list any unofficial street names that you know of citing reasons why they may have come up?

……
……
……

Q9: Has there been a case(s) were place name signs (of street signs, buildings, parks, rivers, dams and other landmarks) being defaced, destroyed or removed? If yes, can you give reason(s)?

Place	Nature of tamperedness	Possible reason

NB: If the space provided is not enough, please attach an external page

Q10: As a resident of Bindura, what stories do some of the place names (streets, roads, residential areas, buildings etc.) tell you?

……
……
……

Q11: What are your views regarding renaming places using public figures from fields such as the arts, education, politics, as well as business?

……
……
……

Q12: Are there any place names which you appreciate? Why do you feel this way?

……
……
……

Q13: Are there any place names which you dislike or avoid? Why do you feel this way?

……
……
……

Q14: Any other comments that you wish to share with us?

……
……
……
……
……

III. Demographic Data

Age: ____

Gender: ____

Ethnicity: _____

Number of years resident in study area:

□ **1-2**

□ **3-5**

□ **6-10**

□ **more than 10**

IV. Thank you for sharing your thoughts with us.