

**THE FUNCTION AND SIGNIFICANCE OF WAR NAMES IN
THE ZIMBABWEAN ARMED CONFLICT (1966-1979)**

by

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ANC:	African National Congress (South Africa)
CIO:	Central Intelligence Organization
FRELIMO:	Front for the Liberation of Mozambique
FROLIZI:	Front for the Liberation of Zimbabwe
GNIS:	Geographical Names Information System
HRSC:	Human Sciences Research Council
ICOS:	International Congress of Onomastic Sciences
MK:	Umkhonto we Sizwe (Armed wing of ANC)
NAPUS:	National Placenames Project of the United States
PLAN:	Peoples Liberation Army of Namibia.
SWAPO:	South West African Peoples Organization
UDI:	Unilateral Declaration of Independence
UNGEGN:	United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names
NADA:	Native Affairs Department (Rhodesia)
ZANLA:	Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (armed wing of ZANU)
ZANU:	Zimbabwe African National Union
ZAPU:	Zimbabwe African Peoples Union
ZIPA:	Zimbabwe Peoples Army
ZIPRA:	Zimbabwe Peoples Revolutionary Army (armed wing of ZAPU)

ABSTRACT

This study is a survey of war names adopted by guerrillas during the Zimbabwean conflict (1966-1979). The study collects, describes and analyses war names that were used by ZANLA guerrillas in the conflict. It explores onomastic patterns and processes that influenced these war names. Names collected from textual sources and from interviews of former guerrillas are analysed and classified into nine categories. One of the main findings is that the background of the namer influenced the naming patterns and processes identified in the study. Another finding is that most guerrillas named themselves and it was also observed that some guerrillas have retained their names. The findings, analysed within the theoretical framework developed earlier from the onomastic and identity theories, indicate that the war name plays a vital role not only in concealing the old identity of the guerrilla but also in creating new identities, which were used as weapons for challenging the enemy and contesting space. Onomastic erasure and resuscitation are proposed as partial explanation for the creation of some war names. The study contributes to onomastic research not only in that it has produced a large corpus of war names that can be used for further research in that it is a significant point of reference in onomastic research in Zimbabwe and in southern Africa, especially in the area of nicknames and war names. It also lays the foundation for further research on the role of naming patterns and processes in peace building and conflict resolution in Zimbabwe, on the southern African subcontinent and elsewhere.

Key Words

Chimurenga, connotation, denotation, descriptive backing, erasure, guerrillas, identity, ideology, onomastics, Shona, war names.

CHAPTER 1

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.0 Introduction

This chapter examines the background detail of the Zimbabwean conflict and its social cultural and historical context. It then outlines the significance of the study and what it seeks to achieve. It briefly examines the methods that are proposed to collect data and how the data is to be analysed. In the penultimate section of this chapter a number of terms used in the Zimbabwean war and in the study are defined. The chapter concludes by outlining how the subsequent chapters will be laid out.

1.1 Pre-colonial Zimbabwe

Pre-colonial Zimbabwe is characterized by small kingdoms that had links with the Portuguese for several centuries. This is examined in some detail below.

1.1.1 Kingdoms and states

The origin of Zimbabwe can be traced back to the Great Zimbabwe state between the 13th and 15th century (Beach 1984). This was followed by the Torwa state which covered the southern part of the country between the 15th and 17th centuries and there was the Munhumutapa state covering the northern part of the country. These states were followed by the Rozwi state from the 17th to the 19th century and finally, the Ndebele / Gaza states in the 19th century which were conquered by the Europeans at the end of that century.

Three points need clarification here: (1) The dates given here are drawn from the work of Beach (1984) who has done extensive research on pre-colonial Zimbabwe. They are approximations and are subject to much debate among historians. (2) The state as described here is not the same as

the modern state but should be seen more as political groupings that merged into some confederate form, for instance, the Ndebele state, which was a small unit but it extracted tribute over a large area. (3) Most of the material in this section is drawn from Beach (1984). The discussion examines each of these political entities in some detail. This section should be read in conjunction with Figures 1 and 2 in Appendix 3 which show the physical extent of these states.

Great Zimbabwe, the earliest of the Shona kingdoms, can be traced back to around 1250 (Beach 1984). It was a stone city near the modern day Masvingo and was the capital of a large Karanga community that thrived on trade and cattle herding. Later kingdoms followed the *Dzimbahwe* (houses of stone) tradition but never reached that scale again. The term Zimbabwe is discussed further in Section 4.2.

Beach (1984) maintains that the Great Zimbabwe state was succeeded in the 15th century by the little known Torwa state which was largely confined to the south of the present day Zimbabwe (see Fig 1.1). To the north of the country around the same time rose the Mutapa state which is better known. The name Munhumutapa, and its variant “Monomotapa”, is found in social and political institutions in modern Zimbabwe. For example, it became a military sector in the Manica province of ZANLA operations (see Fig 1 in Appendix 3). The Torwa state in the south of the country gave way to the Rozwi Kingdom under Changamire Dombo in the 1690s (Ellert 1993, Beach 1984). There are many chronicles about this first Rozwi King who created a powerful state and the name Changamire still persists to this day in the country and it means ‘his majesty’. The Rozwi controlled most of the southwestern part of the present day Zimbabwe until the arrival of the Nguni armies under Zwangendaba, Nxaba and Soshangana in the 1830s.

To the north of the country the Mutapa state remained intact in the form of a loose confederation of tribal groupings and clans and there were elaborate links with the Budya, Barwe, and the Manyika in the eastern part of the country. The area was bound to the north by the Zambezi River and by the Manyame River in the south. The map in Fig 1 in Appendix 3 shows the extent of these kingdoms.

Nguni presence can be dated as far back as the 1830s and Beach (1994) claims that they brought the term “Shona” because the people called themselves different names such as Karanga, Zezuru, Mbire or Manyika. Around 1834 Zwangendaba destroyed the Rozwi capital before moving across the Zambezi River into Malawi. He was followed by Mzilkazi in the late 1830s who simply absorbed most of the remnants of the Rozwi kingdom into the Ndebele kingdom. The Ndebele state raided and exacted tribute over a large area (see Fig 2 in Appendix 3). These states were well established and only fell to the Pioneer column and European influence at the end of the 19th century.

To the southeast of the country Nxaba led the first wave of Nguni invaders between (1827–1836) and settled among the Sanga in the upper Sabi River in the eastern Highlands. He was later displaced by Soshangana who established the Gaza state and his two capitals. The Gaza kingdom stretched as far north as the eastern highlands of modern Zimbabwe where Soshangana built his northern capital near the source of the Budzi river. The second capital was in Bilene near the estuary of the Limpopo River. Soshangana was succeeded by Mzila who in turn was succeeded by Ngungunyana. Ngungunyana was finally subdued by the Portuguese in 1898 (Abbot, Lowe and Mundeta, unpublished). The map in Fig.2 shows these Nguni states and their approximate boundaries. A note on Portuguese influence in the pre-colonial era is appropriate here.

1.1.2 Portuguese influence

Portuguese influence dates back to around 1500 when the Portuguese dispatched traders to look for gold in the present day Zimbabwe (Ellert 1993). This wave was followed by missionaries, notably the Jesuit priest Goncalo da Silveira who was put to death by the ruling Mutapa in 1561. Barreto was sent by the king of Portugal to avenge Silveira's death. He died in 1572 before achieving his goal but he paved the way for traders and missionaries who followed in the subsequent years. Vasco Homem took over the commission to avenge Silveira from Barreto but did not succeed either. Unlike Barreto who travelled up the Zambezi, Homem sailed up the Buzi River in central Mozambique into the highlands of Chimoio and Manicaland. Traders and missionaries were to follow this route later. Though the military initiative collapsed, the traders set up stations and started trade with the local population. The Portuguese traders and missionaries penetrated as far as the Angwa River and Kwekwe (Ellert 1993). They maintained their presence through alliances with local chiefs but they were never able to establish full political control until they were hastened into imperial ambitions by the "Scramble for Africa" in the late 19th Century. Through intermarriage they created a class of traders named *vashambadzi* (traders) (Ellert 1993). They learnt the local languages and traded in the area for over two centuries. This interaction was briefly interrupted by the Rozwi paramount chief Changamire in 1693 and finally broken by the Nguni incursions of 19th century.

1.2 The colonisation of Rhodesia

British rule in Zimbabwe was preceded by a mining concession in 1888 and this was followed by the Pioneer Column in 1890 which was composed of settlers of European descent. The pioneers asserted political control over the country when they raised the Union Jack at Fort Salisbury (now Harare) in 1890. After failing to find gold in abundance they took up large pieces of land and started farming. Inevitably, this led to clashes with

the local population. Military control was established in 1896 after the pioneers suppressed local resistance which is also known as the First Chimurenga. The term *Chimurenga* is fully defined in Section 1.7.1. The settlers claimed the country through conquest and remained in power for almost a century. The country became a crown colony in 1923. Resources were placed in the hands of the settlers, who in a series of legislative measures instituted a policy of separate development with the wealth of the colony largely in their favour. Naturally, this created dissent and protest which at first was mild but intensified after the Second World War.

1.3. The causes of the conflict

David Lan (1985) effectively summarises the major causes of the Second Chimurenga as land, racial inequalities and agricultural policies (see also Chung 2006 and Bhebe 1999). Lan (1985:123) points out that

. . . when resistance came, it had 3 main sources. First, the loss of the lands. Secondly, the enforced restructuring of the black population, once independent agricultural producers and traders, now a labour force divided into two sectors: very low paid male migrants flowing backwards and forwards between town and countryside and unpaid female subsistence producers in the reserves. Thirdly, the enforced disruption of long established agricultural techniques in order to perpetuate a much-hated political and economic order.

Lan's observations suggest that the causes of the Second Chimurenga were rooted in the history of the First Chimurenga.

1.3.1 The decolonisation of Rhodesia: The second Chimurenga

The decolonisation of Rhodesia was largely a violent process. It was an uprising against a small European community that had assumed power on behalf of the British crown by right of conquest. The mild protest described in Section 1.2 became active political resistance in the late 1950s and early 1960s as black nationalists demanded power while the

settlers clung tenaciously to it (Bhebe 1999). Both sides adopted hardline positions and inevitably this led to armed conflict. Amongst the guerrillas the conflict became known as “Chimurenga”.

The military option was only considered after the election of the Rhodesia Front to power in 1962 and the arrest of nationalist leaders in 1963. The Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) by the Rhodesian Government in 1965 accelerated the conflict. The clash in Chinhoyi in 1966 marked the start of the guerrilla war spearheaded by two major Zimbabwean political parties: ZAPU (Zimbabwe African Peoples Union) and ZANU (Zimbabwe African National Union). The war can be divided into three phases with different actors, different levels and different fronts (Ellert 1989; Bhebe 1999; Moorcraft and McLaughlin 1982).

The first phase was between 1966 and 1970 when the armed wings of ZANU and ZAPU launched raids across the Zambezi River from Zambia. These were confined to the Western and Northern border areas. ZAPU linked up with the ANC (SA) and launched joint operations with the ANC (SA) (Beckett 2000; Bhebe 1999). The plan was to fight the Rhodesian forces and then ANC guerrillas would find their way to South Africa. The best known operation during this period was the Wankie campaign. However, the guerrilla armies sustained heavy casualties due to poor military strategies.

In the second phase (1972–1974), the guerrilla armies reorganised themselves and there were sustained guerrilla operations which posed a serious challenge to the Rhodesian government. The start of the new offensive coincided with the rejection of British proposals in 1972 and it appears this strengthened the resolve of the liberation movements. ZANU's military wing, the Zimbabwe African Liberation Army (ZANLA) launched operations from northern Mozambique and spread into the

northeastern area of the country (see Fig 3 in Appendix 3). The war escalated to new levels in 1973 and 1974 and this culminated in the *détente* exercise of 1975. This was an effort by the then US Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger and some southern African leaders, namely John Vorster of South Africa and Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia to broker a peace settlement. They persuaded moderate Zimbabwean nationalists to negotiate some form of settlement. ZANU/ZANLA and ZAPU/ZIPRA (Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army), confident of their growing military power, remained intransigent and the negotiations collapsed at the end of 1975 (Ellert 1989). The failure of *détente* saw the war being relaunched with a greater ferocity at the beginning of 1976 (Bhebe 1999; Tungamirai 1995).

The third phase which stretched from 1976 to 1979 saw the final and bloodiest phase of the war (Bhebe 1999; Beckett 2000; Ellert 1989). ZANLA opened new fronts along the Mozambican border and ZIPRA opened new fronts in western and southern Zimbabwe. This put the Rhodesian forces under severe strain. Casualties on both sides rose to high levels. By 1979 guerrilla armies had penetrated most of the country (see Fig. 1.3). From 1976 there were a series of abortive talks – Geneva (1976), Malta I and II (1978) the Internal Settlement (1978) – until a cease-fire was signed at Lancaster House in December 1979.

1.3.2 The role of the guerrillas

The Zimbabwean conflict became a full scale guerrilla war after 1970 when ZANLA moved into the Dande Valley along the Zambezi River and lived among the local population for two years mobilising support, conducting reconnaissance, bringing in arms and ammunition from Zambia (Lan 1985; Bhebe 1999). By the time the first shots were fired at Altena Farm in December 1972, the guerrillas had firmly established themselves within the local population in the northeastern area of the

country such that Rhodesian forces failed to drive them out despite their superior firepower, elaborate communications network and logistical support (Lan 1985; Bhebe 1999).

ZANLA guerrillas borrowed from strategies used in Communist China and Indochina (Bhebe 1999; McLaughlin 1998). Many guerrilla leaders were trained in China, Russia and other communist countries hence Rhodesian forces called the guerrillas “communist terrorists” or “Charlie Tangos” (Pieterse 2003; Daley 1982; Stiff 1985).

In the villages, guerrillas consulted widely and used existing social structures to their advantage. For instance, where they found a strong presence of spirit mediums they consulted them and followed their advice even when it appeared ridiculous (Lan 1985). Where they met missionaries who had popular support they worked closely with them (Bhebe 1999; McLaughlin 1998; Frederikse 1982). They used different approaches for different communities and each community found itself supporting them. Where persuasion failed, coercion was used (Kriger 1992, 2004).

While recruiting was an important task in the early phase, ZANLA guerrillas after 1977 actually had to stop new recruits from moving into exile because the numbers in the camps in Mozambique and Zambia put severe strain on available resources in those countries (Tungamirai 1995). The political role of the guerrillas increased as they found their way up political structures and they participated in the negotiations at Geneva in 1976 and at Lancaster House (1979) where prominent guerrilla leaders such as Josiah Tongogara played a critical role in drawing up ceasefire plans with General Walls.

1.4 The significance of the study

This study is significant in several ways. At an academic level the study looks at the war names and how they operated as a social reality. Some war names were odd, unconventional and ephemeral but each was a text with a long story about a war which was a movement that sought to overhaul a political system that disadvantaged the majority of the population. The war name was embedded in the history of resistance that probably is longer than that of the Second Chimurenga. The identity of the fighter was part of a wider social discourse that was questioning the status quo and exploring new political, social and cultural identities. It is therefore a sociolinguistic study dealing with the onomastic and pragmatic significance of the names.

The study of war names is a springboard for wider onomastic research and can link with other projects in name studies in Southern Africa and at the international level. The findings of this study should inform policy makers, civic society, NGOs, the media and other stakeholders in their interaction with social groups who have gone through the traumas of war.

This project should lead to the establishment of a vehicle for onomastic research in Zimbabwe and in neighbouring countries. The wider community of southern African nations can consult such studies in the rehabilitation and management of their own war veterans and victims of war especially in Lusophone countries such as Angola where a peace process is unfolding. Methodologies and analyses used here will set bearings for subsequent projects in onomastic research in Zimbabwe and in other countries in the SADC region.

At a wider social level there is insufficient empirical study to support the current images and perceptions of the Zimbabwean conflict. Foreign scholars such as Lyons (2004), Lan (1985), Kriger (1992) and Moore

(2001) have come in, made their studies then retreated to the safety of their seminar rooms across the seas and elsewhere where they ascend on pedestals to claim authority on the Zimbabwean conflict. The Rhodesian side of the war is well documented by a long list of scholars and adventurers who have published their work throughout the world, projecting their own images of the war.

There has been little onomastic research by the Zimbabwean scholars as apart from Pongweni (1983), Kahari (1990), Chitando (1998) and Tatira (2005) and this paucity of local research sends negative signals. It gives the impression that Zimbabweans can only be objects of study and subjects of discourse by international scholars and are incapable of participating in, or even determining the direction of the discourse themselves. Zimbabwean scholars should be actively involved in the interrogation and redefinition of the various images of themselves not as an alternative voice but as the fulcrum in the process.

This study attempts to bring in the different players in the historical process that gave birth to the Zimbabwean nation, to participate in post-colonial discourses and in the continuing reconstruction of their images. It should not be seen as an end in itself or the authoritative voice, but rather that it adds to the body of onomastic knowledge on the Second Chimurenga in general.

1.4.1 Aims of the study

The study has three main objectives:

- The first one is to record and analyse war names used by guerrillas in the Zimbabwean conflict.
- The second objective, which grows out of the first one, is to identify and describe naming patterns and processes within the names collected.

- The third objective is to investigate the variables that influenced the naming process and the patterns that were identified. Out of these objectives two hypotheses were formulated.

1.4.2 Hypotheses

- Guerrilla war names in the Zimbabwean conflict were influenced by the sociocultural background of the namer and the bearer.
- Guerrilla war names served the functions not only of concealing identities but also of creating new identities.

1.5 Methodology

This section gives an outline of how the data for the study was collected and how it was analysed.

1.5.1 Data collection

Data was collected in two parts. In one part the names were collected from different written records and they were described and classified using criteria drawn from other studies which report on similar research. The analysis of the frequency of the names followed this process and forms the basis for the second part of data collection which involved interviews of former guerrillas. Data collection and analysis was influenced by the work of Wray, Trott and Bloomer (1998), Brown (1988), Brumfit and Mitchell, (1989), Johnstone (2000) Seliger and Shohamy (1989) and Nunan (1992).

The second part involved interviews of a number of former guerrillas to identify some of the major variables that influenced the naming patterns and processes identified in the first part. The interviews sought to establish some pre-war variables that might have influenced the choice of the name. The interviews also captured the track record of the different guerrillas in the war, reasons for choice of name, when they chose the name and who

named them. It also sought any relevant post-war data and meaning of the name.

1.5.2 Data analysis plan

The names were categorized and described in the different groups. The study went on to identify and describe the variables that influenced the naming patterns and processes in the different groups. The linguistic and extra linguistic variables taken from other disciplines that influence the formations of identity were then considered. These were linked to variables that have been identified by other researchers such as De Klerk (1998), Koopman (2002), Neethling (1995), and Jenkins (1992). The analysed data gave the direction and shape of the discussion as it linked the findings from the field with theory.

1.6 Review of literature

A historical background to the Rhodesian civil war in the context of other southern African conflicts lays the foundation for the study. Major texts that guide the study through this section include Bhebe and Ranger (1995), Beach (1984), Godwin and Hancock (1993) and Ellert (1989, 1993). The work of Nicolaisen (1987), Van Langendonck (1987), Raper (1987), and Koopman (2000, 2002), Dundes (1983), Edwards (1985), Joseph (2004) and Jacobson-Widding (1983) will anchor the theoretical framework that will guide the study. Other seminal work will be drawn from structuralist and post-structural perspectives, post-modern and post-colonial movements in the work of Derrida (Lucy 2004), Said (1993) and Hall (1997). These will guide the discussion that will develop from the data collected (see Chapter 2).

1.7 Definition of some terms

This section explores some definitions of major terms used in this study. The section starts with some terms that have been used to define the Zimbabwean conflict.

1.7.1 Defining the Zimbabwean War

Chimurenga is a Shona word that reflects the passion and intensity of feeling towards the conflict described in Section 1.4. It carries a long history and it motivated the guerrillas (Lan 1985, Bhebe 1999, Bhebe and Ranger 1995). Giving the conflict their own name was in itself an act of reclaiming a past that had been erased by some ninety years of colonial rule. Naming it *Chimurenga* was an act of reasserting control over ideological space that had been taken by the settlers in the process described in Section 1.2. The name *Chimurenga* developed from the name *Murenga Soro Renzou*, a Zimbabwean chief of the Munhumutapa Dynasty. The name Murenga is opaque and *soro renzou* means the head of an elephant (Vambe 2004b; Beach 1984). The name *Chimurenga* was given to the first wars of resistance to British rule in 1893/1896 that have been described in Section 1.2.

The Zimbabwean armed conflict which raged from 1966 to 1979 was named after these first wars of resistance. Hence the name *Chimurenga* pegs the conflict in some definite historical space that suggests continuation of a struggle that was started some seventy years earlier by another generation of Zimbabweans. This historical perspective justified and legitimised the 1966–1979 conflict as an effort to complete a task that was left unfinished in 1896. Most historians (e.g. Bhebe and Ranger 1995; Simbanegavi 2000; Bhebe 1999; Manungo 1991; Kriger 1992) explore this historical continuity.

Giving the conflict the name *Chimurenga* became an effort to define the armed conflict in a Zimbabwean context that acknowledged a past that was deliberately erased and undermined by the colonial power. It was an effort to establish an identity that has historical roots and justified the conflict of 1966–1979 by closely relating with past struggles against foreign rule. The next term still sees the conflict in the above frame but with a more global perspective.

Liberation Struggle was used as an alternative to *Chimurenga* and in many ways the former echoes most of the ideals enshrined in the latter term. It suggests some sympathies with the guerrillas and the Zimbabwean peasant population that was an important force behind *Chimurenga*. Like *Chimurenga*, the term *liberation* interrogated the legitimacy of Rhodesian rule and the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI). This was the term used when selling *Chimurenga* to international fora such as the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) and the United Nations. *Liberation* also has Marxist overtones and it is widely used in Marxist and Socialist literature. *Liberation* suggests freedom hence it can be argued that the liberation war sought to free the people from colonial rule. *Liberation* seems to go beyond the narrow confines of national freedom into freedom for all nations under an imperial power. It also suggests liberation of the mind along the lines argued by Edward Said (1993). *Liberation war* is closely related to *Guerrilla war*, which is another term that was used to describe the conflict.

Guerrilla war was the term used by neutral observers or people who were not directly involved in the conflict. The etymology of guerrilla is further developed in Section 1.7.2 which dwells on the different terms used to describe the guerrillas in the conflict. This term was widely popular with journalists and scholars who tried to remain neutral in the armed conflict. But such writers were treated with suspicion by the opposing camps and

were often persecuted for this neutrality. They were regarded with suspicion by the guerrillas and they were given little or no access to guerrilla camps. The Rhodesians also harassed this neutral group and preferred their own journalists to cover their operations. Alongside *Guerrilla War* is the term *Bush War*.

The *bush* is a southern African term and is also used widely in Australia. The Oxford Advanced Learners' Dictionary defines it as “. . . an area of wild land that is not cultivated, especially in Africa and Australia.” It is related to bushveld, another southern African word which according to Jenkins (1991:16) “. . . has also meant for some people simply any rural, wild place”. There is also the term *bush telegraph* when a message rapidly moves across the countryside through informal means and the content can be distorted. In this context a bush war can be seen as some irregular armed conflict waged by some unwelcome elements against a legitimate government. To quote Jenkins (1991:24) again:

Bushveld and its cognates have further derisory connotations associated with rusticity and backwardness and to some they also suggest offensive values of brutality, associated with the bushveld's history of hunting and colonial exploitation.

The pejorative connotations attributed to “bushveld,” as given by Jenkins, is a subjective view. In the South African context it has more positive connotations as a reference to peaceful, untainted living with beautiful scenery and excellent tourist attractions. The ruggedness and natural wildlife found in the bushveld is an attribute distinguishing it from the developments of infrastructure for urban living. The term *bush war* could only refer to the fact that the war took place in the rural area between people not living in the towns and cities but people who live in the rural areas or the bush.

These were convenient but one-sided images with reference to the word bush for a Rhodesian government that had to give moral justification for

colonial rule (Chennels 1995). At the other extreme of the terms used to describe the war was *Terrorist* war.

Terrorist War is the ultimate term at the other end of the list of epithets that were used to describe the Zimbabwean armed conflict. Crowther (1995) defines it as “use of violence for political aims. . .” It is in this framework that the Rhodesians and their sympathisers called the armed conflict in Zimbabwe the “Terrorist War”. This gave the impression that it was a senseless war without any moral values or clear political goals.

Each of the epithets that describe the Zimbabwean conflict carries a package of meanings and ideas associated with it and the user selects it to infer specific meanings. The different names used by different social groups for themselves and when referring to others reflect the intensity and passion of the perennial struggle for physical, social and ideological space and the limited resources in these different spaces (Pieterse 2003). This study will take *conflict* as a neutral term that is free from the various connotations of the different epithets. *Conflict* is fairly neutral and does not suggest any partiality towards any of the terms described above. The set of terms used to describe the fighters were equally controversial and these are examined in the next section.

1.7.2 Defining the fighter in the conflict

The guerrillas in the Second Chimurenga called themselves *vanamukoma* (brothers) or *vanavevhu* (children of the soil). David Lan (1985:14) uses the term *autochthons* to describe *vanavevhu*:

To call a people autochthons, ‘literally those who came out of the ground’ implies that they have a special ritual intimacy with the territory they occupy because they are thought of as the earliest ever to have lived there.

Those who use *vanavevhu* saw the conflict as driven by strong historical and cultural traditions drawn from Zimbabwe's pre-colonial past. It is an effort to assert that Zimbabwean identity that other names might not be able to fully project. *Vanavevhu* or *vanamukoma*, very similar to the Irish term for the IRA, *the lads* (McLaughlin 1998), are descendents of Murenga Soro reNzou described earlier in Section 1.7.1 and some of the leaders of the First Chimurenga such as Nehanda, Kaguvi and Chingaira. Close to this group of labels is *freedom fighter*.

Freedom fighters was the English alternative for *vanamukoma* or *varwi verusununguko* (freedom fighters) and it puts the fighters in a positive light. People who were sympathetic to those fighting against the colonial rule used these terms alternatively with *liberation forces*. While the term was politically correct, guerrillas preferred the term *comrades*.

The term *guerrilla* (or *insurgent*) was widely used among scholars and journalists who sought to be neutral yet this neutrality is still questioned. A guerrilla is a combatant engaged in irregular warfare and it is derived from the Spanish and French definitions of war. Webster's *Book of Word Origins* (1991) says guerrilla in Spanish means 'petty war' or a skirmish and it is actually a diminutive of "Guerra" which means war. *The Oxford Dictionary of Current English* (1964:477) defines guerrilla as a "person taking part in irregular fighting". Stowell (1961:60) defines guerrilla as: "a member of an irregular band of fighters attacking enemy forces whenever an advantage is to be gained". *Guerrilla* has lost its semantic force as an independent term and is dependent on context or the ideological standpoint of the user.

Probably *insurgent* is more negative than neutral. It suggests some subversive element or rebellion of some kind and ascribes some criminal attributes to the fighter. There is a suggestion of a condescending regard of

the belligerents with some hint of scorn as if they were engaged in some senseless war. The transitional government of Zimbabwe Rhodesia of 1979, in an effort to legitimize itself, tried to be neutral and used the Shona / Ndebele equivalent of insurgent: *varwi vemusango / abalwe bexatsha* (fighters of the bush). For the guerrillas, *varwi vemusango / abalwe bexatsha* was an amorphous label by a transitional government that was trying to window-dress the insulting term *terrorist*.

Fighters in a *terrorist war* are called *terrorists* and this is the term that was used most widely in Rhodesia to refer to the guerrillas (Stiff 1985, Pieterse 2003, Daly 1982). It carried numerous negative connotations worse than those for *insurgent*. Godwin and Hancock (1993:11) clearly define the term from the Rhodesian perspective:

. . . terrorists were communists, malcontents, and murdering thugs – the Godless embodiment of evil – who made cowardly attacks on defenceless tribesmen and farmers’ families, ran away from the Security forces, and were interested only in personal power or in advancing the cause of Soviet or Chinese communism.

The term *terrorist* carries the image of an ogre who goes about terrifying innocent people and committing atrocities. It is a popular term but it is widely abused by practically everyone who deploys it in any discourse. People have committed the worst atrocities, in the name of fighting terrorism. The terrorist is the ultimate image of the inhuman face of war and all its callousness. The guerrilla can be someone’s terrorist depending on one’s values and perspectives (Pieterse 2003). Edward Said (1993:375) expresses this problem when he observes that terrorism (and fundamentalism) are:

Fearful images that lack discriminate contents or definition, but they signify moral power and approval for whoever uses them, moral defensiveness and criminalization for whomever they designate.

The term *terrorist* thus criminalised and marginalised people who were fighting against a political system they believed to be oppressive. Rhodesian forces often shortened *terrorist* to *terr* which was widely used as well in Rhodesian discourse (Tungamirai 1995; Frederikse 1982). It gave a suggestion of Huns, Goths and Vandals who were bent on pillage, plunder and killing innocent civilians. The Shona equivalent, *magandanga*, was equally damning and it was widely used by the Rhodesian media in an effort to debase the liberation struggle. Using the term *terrorist* was a deliberate attempt to remove any positive values within the *guerrilla*, *insurgent* or *freedom fighter*. Traces of such images still linger in some parts of Zimbabwean society some twenty-five years after the war. This study sees the term *guerrilla* as the most neutral term and it will be used in this thesis.

1.8 Nicknames and war names

1.8.1 The nickname in the onomastic continuum

Various scholars have different categories of names but most of them can be merged into two categories of the place name (toponym) and the personal name (anthroponym). The place name and the personal name have been widely studied and well documented throughout the world. The nickname is a subcategory within the personal name category. Another important subcategory is literary onomastics which is well developed on the American continent and is developing rapidly in South Africa (Jacobs 1990; 1994; Squire 1996).

1.8.2 The nickname in the context of the personal name.

It is important to situate war names in the within the system of anthroponyms. This study takes Van Langendonck's (2001:204)

“pragmatic trichotomy” where he has three categories of anthroponyms determined by semantic-pragmatic criteria. These are:

- a) the personal name, which is primary, official, formal and bestowed in “some perlocutionary act” such as baptism.
- b) the secondary official name, which can be numeric such as Charles I or James Bond’s famous code name 007. It can also be collective as in the case of the totemic name (see Section 2.2.3.1)
- c) unofficial personal names such as bynames, war names and pseudonyms.

Using this trichotomy it can be argued that war names grow out of anthroponyms. The war name or *nom de guerre* is a specific type of nickname that evolves from a war situation. It is an informal name, it is secondary and in the context of this study, it is hypothesized that the bearers of the war names name themselves. The link between byname, war name and pseudonym is discussed in some detail in the next section.

1.8.3 Defining the war name in the context of a nickname

The nickname has been studied extensively, as seen in the work of scholars such as Hjerstedt (1987), Holland (1990), McDowell (1981), Neethling (1994), Reany (1967), Morgan et al (1979). The war name is a subcategory of this group. This discussion will draw significantly from the European and South African scholars.

Hjerstedt (1987:21) defines the nickname as an “additional name” from Middle English *ekenname* from Old English *eaca* ‘addition’ and Old English *nama* ‘name’: it is free of any derogatory meaning. McDowell (1981) defines the nickname as ‘another name’ and Reany (1967) points out that the word nickname is derived from *eke-name* meaning ‘additional name’. He argues that it is an elastic term used for a name or a description that is added to a proper name. Van Langendonck cited by Neethling

(1994) links the nickname to the German *beiname*, the Dutch *bijnaam*, Swedish *binamn*. Van Langendonck (2001) discusses the nickname within the context of a byname in some depth. Neethling (1994) describes the nickname in a Xhosa framework and calls it *izitheketiso* (call name). In Zulu the nickname is called *isidlaliso* and has several shades of meaning (Neethling 1994). The Shona equivalent is given as *zita remadunurirwa* (Pongweni 1983; Kahari 1990). The war name in Shona is given as *zita rechimurenga* (Pongweni 1983) which is in many ways *zita remadunurirwa*.

The term *pseudonym* is closely related to the war name. *Pseudonym* is used more widely than *nom de guerre* but can in some instances carry the same meaning. Van Langendonck (2001) points out that a pseudonym is a byname that one gives to oneself. It is also used to refer to a pen name (*nom de plume*) or as another name to conceal an identity. In this study pseudonym is seen as similar to *nom de guerre*. The term *nom de guerre* is seen as also equivalent to the Shona *zita rechimurenga* as observed above. In this study *nom de guerre* will be used interchangeably with *war name*.

Pfukwa (2003:14) identifies three key features concerning nicknames. Firstly, the nickname is an important statement of social demarcation (McDowell 1981). The second common area is that in most African communities a name is semantically transparent whereas the European counterpart is often semantically opaque. Lastly, naming has a very important social function in Africa and the nature of the nicknames reflects this. These issues are of critical importance in this study because war names fall under this category.

1.8.4 The Function of war names

Behind the name are numerous social attitudes and perceptions: a vast social matrix that gives the name wider shades of meaning. Perception of

the self is influenced by the social environment. Society might also have its own perception of the same name, sometimes different from the self. In line with Pongweni's (1983) view that names are short narratives of long experiences, war names are seen as part of a wider social discourse often underlined by bitterness and mutual dislike (very similar to Pongweni's (1983:62) "argument by proxy", (see Section 4.2.4). These names developed in an environment of conflict and are a vital chronicle of popular resistance. They are a powerful expression of resistance and can encapsulate an experience in the past or can threaten an action in the future (Pongweni 1983). It is in this vein that war names of Chimurenga are examined in this study. The renaming process is part of a whole exercise of establishing a new identity. A war name was the first move towards a new political and social identity. From an onomastic point of view war names are the result of a secondary naming act with the primary aim of identifying the bearer and not primarily as a form of address.

1.9 Limitations

This study has several major limitations. It draws most of its data from the military wing of ZANU-ZANLA during the third phase of the war (1976–1979) due to several reasons;

- Most literature available focuses on this phase because it was the most intense and most decisive stage (e.g. Manungo 1991; Bhebe and Ranger 1995; Lan 1985; McLaughlin 1998; Stiff 1995; Simbanegavi 2000).
- Most records of war names identified fall within this period.
- While war names were used in the first two phases of the war, they became almost mandatory after 1975 due to the movement of large numbers of refugees and recruits into exile.
- Most names can be traced to ZANU PF records which continue to be a rich source of data for scholars covering different aspects of the war as reflected by the detailed research by the likes of Lan

(1985), Kriger (1992, 2004), Simbanegavi (2000), McLaughlin (1998), Bhebe (1999). The bulk of these records fall within the third phase.

While this study restricts itself to names associated with ZANLA, ZIPRA also has a rich resource base that still has to be tapped.

1.10 Delimitation of chapters

Chapter 2 outlines the literature consulted and the theoretical considerations that underpin the study. The literature survey briefly explores research in names, nicknames and war names at three levels: the Zimbabwean level, the Southern African level and the world at large. It focuses in some detail on work done in some selected countries that serve as an illustration of research that has been done in the area. The chapter ends with a brief sketch of the salient features of some research that is of relevance to this study.

Chapter 3 describes the methods that are used to collect the data as well as the difficulties encountered and how they were overcome. It also explains how the research method is shaped to meet the needs of this particular study. Data was collected in two different phases using different methods and each phase of data collection is described.

Chapter 4 presents results from the secondary sources and from the interviews. It breaks the names into different categories following the classification proposed in Chapter 3. It gives a brief analysis of the different categories which are subdivided into subcategories and clusters for a clearer analysis and establishment of different patterns.

Chapter 5 links the findings raised in chapter 4 to the theories of onomastics and theories of identity. It discusses the links between indices of identity and the onomastic categories under discussion.

The final chapter summarises the salient features of the study, and dwells on the findings, the challenges and limitations as well as suggestions for further research in onomastics in Zimbabwe and Southern Africa.

1.10 Conclusion

This chapter has given a background to the study by outlining the Zimbabwean conflict and placing it in a socio-historical context. It went on to give a rationale and significance of the study then spelt out the aims and objectives of the study. Methodology to be used was then laid out and limitations were then spelt out. The chapter draws to a close by outlining how the subsequent chapters will be laid out.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This chapter covers several aspects that are central to the study of personal names. It focuses on the category of nicknames in particular, within which war names form a subcategory. The chapter examines different theoretical perspectives that underpin this study. This includes aspects of theoretical linguistics, aspects of social sciences, post-colonial movements and popular culture. It also gives a survey of the relationship between language and identity and examines the concept of meaning from a semantic and pragmatic perspective. It explores research in personal names, nicknames and war names in Zimbabwe and Southern Africa. It also focuses in some detail on work done in some selected countries that serve as an illustration of relevant research that has been done in the area. This does not mean the excluded countries are not active but that the areas discussed illustrate the trends elsewhere.

2.1 Research on personal names and nicknames

In Section 1.8.1 it was observed that there is a general consensus amongst scholars about the distinction between the place name and the personal name. This section focuses on some of the research that has been done on personal names and nicknames in the US, Europe and in Africa.

The literature consulted reveals that considerable research has been done in personal names in different parts of the world. American scholars have been very active in the study of personal names: for example, Lawson (1973), McGoff (2005), Bright (2005), Smith (in McGoff 2005), Lance (in McGoff 2005) and Callary (in McGoff 2005). In Europe, Van Langendonck (1987, 2001), Caffarelli (in McGoff 2005) and Eichler (1987) have spearheaded European research on personal names. Lawson (2002) has worked on Jewish onomastics. Van Langendonck (1998, 2001)

Allen (1983, 1990), Gilmore (1982), McDowell (1981), Bright (2001) and Leslie and Skipper (1990) and Holland (1990) have done outstanding research on nicknames in Europe and USA.

Holland (1990) observes that while a fair amount of work has been done on personal names, less has been done on nicknames. Leslie and Skipper (1990) share the same view. Musere and Byakutaga (1998), Holland (1990) and Allen (1983) have written valuable reviews of previous research done in onomastics and they are useful points of departure in any onomastic enquiry. Allen's (1983) perspective is influenced by sociological theories most of which lie outside the scope of this study. But the work is essentially onomastic and he makes valuable observations that are of great importance to this study. Holland's (1990) work is of particular importance in that it focuses on nicknames in sports and popular culture in the American setting which makes his work of particular relevance to this study. Musere and Byakutaga (1998) give a comprehensive survey of existing literature in African onomastics south of the Sahara and north of the Limpopo River.

Southern African researchers have been very active in the area of personal names as well, (Koopman 1990, 2004; Raper 1983, 1987; Neethling 1994; 1996; Meiring 1980, 1993, 1994, 1996; Möller 1998; Jenkins 1994). These scholars have developed a platform upon which others such as De Klerk (1998), De Klerk and Bosch (1995), Haron (1999), Mabuza (1997), Molefe (1999) and Prabhakaran (1999) have built.

2.2 Theoretical perspectives

The body of theory that guides this study can be divided into five parts. Firstly, there is theoretical linguistics and its concern with form and structure, standard codes, and the problem of meaning in the context of naming, as seen in the work of Nicolaisen (1978, 1987), Eichler (1987),

Raper (1983, 1987) and Van Langendonck (1987, 2001). Secondly, the influence of the social sciences, such as sociology and anthropology, is considered in the work of Parkin (1989), Jacobson-Widding (1983) and McDowell (1981). Thirdly, there are the informal codes and oral forms such as Fanakalo and Tsotsitaal which consider a pragmatic approach and these are also related to the study of nicknames. Allen (1983, 1990), Leslie and Skipper (1990), Holland (1990), Gilmore (1982), examine the onomastic significance of the nickname from a pragmatic perspective. Fourthly, the wider theoretical perspectives such as structuralism, post-structuralism, postcolonialism and popular culture and their influence on onomastics are considered in the work of Said (1993), Hall (1997) and Derrida (2000). Lucy (2004), Storey (1994) and Carter (1987) have guided the study in this area. Fifthly, theories of language and its relationship with identity are examined. This is done in the light of the work of Edwards (1985), Joseph (2004) and Dundes (1983). All these different theoretical strands will be fused in the interface between language and identity, which in turn will be at the centre of the analysis and discussion of the data collected in the study. In the following sections each of these perspectives is examined in some detail.

2.2.1 Theoretical Linguistics

Theoretical linguistics has probably made the greatest contribution to the growth of onomastics as a discipline. The name is essentially a part of speech and specifically, it is a lexical item. It then acquires other attributes that take it beyond the linguistic realm. It is in this context that the importance of theoretical linguistics to onomastics is examined.

Personal names have been subjected to rigorous linguistic analysis from nearly every angle (Eichler 1987; Nicolaisen 1987, 1978; Raper 1987, 1983; and Van Langendonck 1987, 2001). This method of analysis has worked well for the “formal, standard or canonical” type of name,

following the rules of standard language. Other prominent scholars include Louwrens (1994), De Klerk (1998) and Meiring (1980, 1993, 1994, 1996). The work of these scholars is briefly explored below.

Theoretical linguistics dwells largely on the relationship between linguistics and onomastics. The early work of Nicolaisen (1978, 1987), Eichler (1987) and Van Langendonck (1987) concentrates on how the name grew out of lexis.

South African onomasticians such as Koopman (1994, 1990), Neethling (1991, 1998), Jenkins (1991) and Golele (1991) have focused on different aspects of personal names. They relate their onomastic data to various aspects of structural linguistics and its influence on the naming patterns and processes. All of them have contributed to the development of a body of theory that now drives onomastic enquiry. They developed onomastics into a subdiscipline. Nicolaisen (1987:10) summarises this position well: “names are more, much more, than linguistic items, and . . . their non linguistic aspects are not the proper domain of the linguist.” Similarly, Raper (1987:87) dwells on the problem of analyzing the name linguistically: “When a lexical item becomes an onomastic item, it can no longer be analysed effectively.”

Nicolaisen (1987:10) is in search of a theory that stands on its own, “whose primary concern, focus, stimulus, start and finish with the name.” Van Langendonck (1987) develops Nicolaisen’s argument and then goes into semantics to come up with three levels of meaning, namely lexical, grammatical and associative meaning. Raper (1987, 1983) and Meiring (1994) also grapple with these three levels of meaning and go on to discuss diachronics, synchronics, semantics, pragmatics, denotation and connotation in some depth. The problem of meaning is further developed in Section 2.3. Koopman’s (1994) theoretical framework on onomastic

shift guides his argument of the change from noun to name and from name to “new” name. Raper (1987), Meiring (1980, 1996) and Koopman (1994) are significant in that they are good examples of southern African scholars who have used their background in linguistics to develop theoretical perspectives in onomastics.

De Klerk (1998) argues that formal names are “linguistically stable” and closer to linguistic convention through use over time. Louwrens (1994) looks for rules of grammar that govern the morphology of names. In one of the clearest analyses in onomastics put forward by any linguist, he develops Nicolaisen’s dichotomy of name and noun. Neethling (1995) and Meiring (1993) extend Van Langendonck’s (1987) three levels of meaning to descriptive backing and associative meaning. The concept of descriptive backing as a theoretical issue in onomastics is well developed in Meiring (1980) who cites Donellan (1966) and Strawson (1950, 1969). The different forms of meaning and descriptive backing are discussed in some detail in Section 2.3. Kimenyi (1989) enters the debate from a semiological perspective drawing his examples from Kinyarwanda and Kirundi.

Official names, be they personal or place names, can be described as the “canon” (Möller 1995; Raper 1983; Orth 1989). Rules have been formulated for the use of these names, for example by the United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names (UNGEGN). UNGEGN encourages all nations to set up national bodies to standardise names that will go into a national cadastre which in turn is used in international maps and other international documents. Placenames research is a valuable source of information for any researcher coming in from any perspective in onomastics.

There is the general impression that rules that govern placenames and personal names are sacrosanct, or that if they have to be amended, it has to be through some legal formalities (Van Langendonck 2001). Probably this stems from the legal requirements of personal identities or laws that govern title deeds and company registration which inevitably affect place names and any other names that appear on official documents. Formal names that appear on official documents such as birth certificates, passports and various other legal documents become official tags akin to a brand on livestock that is kept for a whole lifetime. Changing names on official documents is costly and time consuming, so sometimes people end up keeping names they might wish to change because of the long processes required to change them. The function of these names is official and formal, hence they seem to be permanent although an alternative or nickname can be used to refer to an individual in the place of the formal official name.

Others have explored the link between the placename and personal names (Bright 2002). Bright's study in American Indian anthropology reveals the complex relationship between the name, culture and history. The nickname and its subfield, the war name which is the central concern of this study, grow out of this cultural and historical interface.

There is also a lot of work in geolinguistics. Sometimes it has very strong links with historical and social development (McGoff 2005). Geographers and cartographers have always claimed the placename as a part of their field of study and historians can also claim it as they study the origins of certain placenames and ethnic groups. UNGEGN, Geographical Names Information Systems (GNIS), Placenames Survey of the United States (PLANSUS) and Canadian place name studies are significant in this area (Möller 1998; Raper 1987; Meiring 1994). This study will draw

significantly from the vast body of research in this area as it shapes methodology and analysis.

Besides those studies within the broader framework of theoretical linguistics are other studies which have followed a pragmatic perspective. These have moved considerably beyond formal linguistics into the social aspects and collect their data from the oral forms and popular culture.

2.2.1.1 Pragmatics

Pragmatics can be briefly defined as a subfield of linguistics that looks at language usage in conversation and in a specific context. It is the third dimension of the key aspects of semiotics, the other two being semantics and syntax (Levinson 1983). It is a vast area with blurred boundaries that overlap into sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, syntax, morphology and semantics. Major topics in pragmatics include speech acts, deixis, implicatures, declaratives, illocutionary and perlocutionary force in speech acts. Naming can be seen as a speech act carrying certain pragmatic attributes (for instance, perlocutionary force) (Van Langendonck 2001).

Pragmatics takes into account the speakers' intended meaning and the receivers perceived meaning. These are important dimensions in this study as it looks at intended meanings of names and the ultimate meaning the name gets from the target group or audience. This suggests names can be analysed pragmatically and the work of Van Langendonck (2001) reflects the significance of pragmatics in onomastic analysis. This study will use pragmatics as a tool for analysis and discussion of some of the war names in Chapter 5.

2.2.2 The Social Sciences

The second group of onomasticians comes in mainly from the background of the social sciences. They work from the perspective of how names are

socially or psychologically constructed but inevitably, they touch on linguistic issues. For example, there are social scientists such as Breen (1982), Barret (1978), Gilmore (1982), Brandes (1975), Pina-Cabras (1984), McDowell (1981) and Leslie and Skipper (1990). Their work is generally ethnographic and the research has been well developed in two regions, the first being the Mediterranean area and the Middle East (Barret 1978; Gilmore 1982; Brandes 1975; Iszaevich 1980; McDowell 1981). The second is American research with scholars such as Allen (1983, 1990), Holland (1990) and Leslie and Skipper (1990). The latter examine in some detail the social effects of names in different social groups in popular music and sport (Leslie and Skipper 1990). Holland (1990) is particularly relevant for this study as he reviews work on nicknames in some depth.

The social scientist is generally concerned with the social aspects of the name, for example, how the name determines social relations or how social relations determine naming patterns and process (Allen 1983; Morgan et al 1979; McDowell 1981). This interest in the social context marks the point of intersection with the linguists who go beyond the structure of the name to look at the connotations, associations and descriptive backing. These concepts are fully developed in Section 2.3

McDowell (1981:7) says that descriptive backing "consists of a number of propositions concerning the identity of the name bearer". These propositions are similar to indices of identity that are examined in Section 2.2.5. In this respect it can be seen that descriptive backing is closely related to the issues of naming and identity.

Descriptive backing can work outside the confines of structural linguistics and can be extended to the work of the sociologists and anthropologists such as McDowell (1981), Brandes (1975), Gilmore (1982) and Parkin

(1989). Suzman (2002) captures the essence of the argument of descriptive backing in a social framework when she says that the social context where the name is found becomes part of the name. Descriptive backing holds together the different streams of onomastic enquiry and it will be a key concept in this study.

Most of the social scientists mentioned in this section work on personal names and nicknames rather than place names. They look at the relationship between the name and the individual or the relationship between the name and society. Some of them explore the relationships between the nickname and different social groups and also relate them to popular culture (Allen 1983; Leslie and Skipper 1990). Their work will inform this study as variables such as social status and popular culture will be taken into consideration in the study of certain categories of war names.

2.2.3 The relationship between oral forms and the nickname

Nicknames sometimes come from non-formal, non-standard languages, such as Fanakalo and other varieties, that are often linked with the marginalised groups (Allen 1983; De Klerk 1995). This gives nicknames a lower status as opposed to official names drawn from codified languages that have been in use over a long time. McDowell (1981) observes that the nickname is legitimized by general usage rather than by some formal process. On the other hand, there is the point of view that the process of codification and standardization gives the personal name and the placename a legitimacy which uncoded forms such as the nickname can never have (De Klerk and Bosch 1995; Brandes 1973; Gilmore 1982; Holland 1990; Prabhakaran 1999).

The nickname as a category often defies linguistic rules and conventions that govern the personal names discussed in Section 2.2.1 (De Klerk 1998; De Klerk and Bosch 1995; Pina-Cabras 1984; Allen 1983). De Klerk (1998:11) says that speakers are innovative as they adopt foreign names

“and bend them to suit the phonological rules of their own language”. Pongweni (1983:62), describing Zimbabwean war names of the second Chimurenga, says onomastic creativity is reflected in the “bold innovative phonological structure” in some of the names.

Since nicknames are often drawn from oral environments, their significance often lies in their phonological properties and the social context within which they are used. Orthographic and lexical properties are of less importance because their function is largely oral. Given this background, what might be required here is a different set of tools to describe and analyse nicknames and war names. Onomastics should formulate its own rules that handle the names drawn from oral forms and popular culture. These are issues which will have to be considered in this study.

Oral literature and popular culture have influenced nicknames as observed in the work of Holland (1990) and Neethling (1991). The nicknames are often developed from an oral environment where folklore, song and dance are widely used. De Klerk (1998:4), in an effort to give linguistic rationality to the nickname, sees the oral dynamism of the nickname as an orthographical problem: “spelling is a pervasive problem with nicknames in any language”. This can be seen as an effort to circumscribe and enfeather an onomastic form that operates outside the bounds of conventional language. Leslie and Skipper (1990:276) capture the linguistic autonomy of nicknames in the following statement: “meanings of nicknames are not to be found in any dictionary definitions or even in their origins but in their uses in everyday life.” This gives the war names pragmatic force. Most oral forms modify (or defy) linguistic conventions and in the case of war names can be related to some post-colonial movements of protest, resistance and opposition (Hall 1994; Storey 1994).

As different scholars revisit the issue of popular culture from different angles, it is a movement that oscillates from the periphery to the centre of academic enquiry (Hall 1994; Said 1993). Different writers might give it different names but the movement remains the same. It can be suggested that popular culture has carved its own space, its own shape, in academic discourse largely because “high” culture has never willingly conceded that space. This aspect is traced in Section 2.2.4 which discusses popular culture, structuralism and post-structuralism.

In oral forms such as praise poetry, orthographic and syntactical considerations are relegated to a secondary level as the oral impact of a name becomes the critical variable. Names in a musical or poetic context capture mood, action or force that is sometimes difficult to reproduce in a written form. Some war names fall into this group and this has implications for the choice of the tools that should be used to analyse nicknames and war names: they might be different from those used for analyzing formal personal names and placenames. Within this group of war names derived from popular culture are names that are linked to the totem, a very important cultural phenomenon in the Shona community which is discussed in some detail here.

2.2.3.1 The totem

The totem is an animal name that a clan takes up expressing certain values or virtues (Hodza 1979). The Wikipedia (2006) defines it as

any natural or supernatural object, being or animal which has personal symbolic meaning to an individual and to whose phenomena and energy one feels closely associated with during one’s life.

It is a cultural practice that is found in many communities throughout the world notably, among the American Indians, the Chinese, the Aborigines, and many African communities. Each totem is buttressed by myth and

folklore (Hodza 1979; Lan 1986). They argue that totems are a way of seeking harmony between the physical environment and the metaphysical world.

The use of the animal totem among the Shona is a tradition that goes back for centuries rendering some of the totemic names opaque. It is expressed in different ways in the different cultures. In this study it is regarded as a Shona cultural phenomenon. Among the Shona, the totemic name has developed from specific attributes or characteristics of the animal (Lan 1985; Pongweni 1996). For instance, the *Nzou* (elephant) (Zulu/Ndebele - *Ndlovu*) clan can be referred to as *Samanyanga* (Those of the tusks). The porcupine is called *Ngara* among the Shona or for Shona names with Nguni roots it is *Hlatshwayo* or *Maposa*. In celebration of its quills used for protection comes the Shona phrase *chikanda mina wechishanu uri pauta* (The one that releases four arrows simultaneously while stringing the fifth one) (Hodza 1979).

There are many different praise names for the different totems. For example, the Shumba clan is also known as *Nechinanga* (hard thick thorn) and Pongweni (1996) expresses this in the praise poetry of some of the clans of the Shumba totem. The Shumba clan takes up the regal qualities of the lion (Pongweni 1996; Hodza 1979). Praise poetry refers to animal attributes as a metaphor of social values and norms such as thanking the spouse or the person who has given a meal or in tribute to a chief. Pongweni (1996:34) quotes a poem that praises the prowess of a man of the lion totem:

Zvaitwa . . .
Zvaitwa Matikaha nokuone gumbo,
Kuone mhumhu vanovhunduka,

Your good deeds have been performed . . .
They have been performed, causer of surprise even if it is only

Your spoor that (we) see
At the sight of your physique, they panic . . .
(Author's translation)

According to Pongweni (1996), the totem has several important functions. The totem serves as a social bond and is an expression of collective identity for a clan or a family that carries that totem. Totemism is a form of social control. It is an admiration of some animal qualities and is also a statement of solidarity and collectivity of a clan. It controlled endogamy in that it was taboo for people of the same totem to marry. If they did, certain rituals were performed to symbolically break the relationship.

The totem is also used to express gratitude: Pongweni (1996) dwells on one form of praise: thanking the spouse after sexual intercourse (*madanha omugudza*). It is a form of celebration similar to Zulu/Xhosa *izithakazelo* or *imbongi* (Neethling 1990), or the Kirundi *ibiketerezo* and *ubwiru* (Kimenyi 1989). The totem can serve as a clan oath in swearing in ceremonies in the same manner that politicians swear by the Bible when taking the oath of office. It is taboo to eat the animal of your totem. Each person respects his totem hence most animals (domestic and wild) end up with some human protector or clan that reveres and protects them. There are few exceptions such as the hyena and the jackal.

2.2.3.2 Nicknames in oral literature

Some nicknames are drawn from uncoded languages, hence they come in with their own set of unwritten rules (Vambe 2001). These oral codes are not often recognised or taken into account when researchers conduct their studies of nicknames. The codes in oral forms are linked to the popular forms, for instance, the language of motion pictures, comic strips and popular music. The guerrilla environment was a highly oral environment. The study seeks to find out how different oral forms and popular culture influenced the war names.

A group of South African scholars have made significant inroads into studying names in literature in written and oral forms. Jacobs (1994) Squire (1994) and Joffe (1995, 1998) explore different onomastic aspects in fiction, biography and poetry. Koopman (1993, 2000) and Mathenjwa (1996) examine names in Zulu praise poetry. Koopman's (1993) studies of the writer Vilakazi reveal the richness of oral literatures and show that they are a valuable source of onomastic research. These names are also a mirror of cultural and social practices of different communities. Mathenjwa's (1996) *Maskandi* poetry goes into popular forms similar to the Ndebele *imbongi* (Nyathi 2001) or Shona praise poetry (Pongweni 1996). This work is a useful point of reference in this study.

The literature consulted abounds with examples of nicknames drawn from popular music and other artistic forms closely linked with popular culture. Allen (1983) traces these trends in American history. Leslie and Skipper (1990) have done research on Blues Music in the United States. Mathenjwa's (1996) *Maskandi* is a good example of popular music as a source of names in South Africa. Neethling (1996) analyses the songs of a cabaret singer, using the descriptive backing theory. The work of Pongweni (1982) and Vambe (2001) shows that some Zimbabwean war names have links with popular music, film, popular literature and other popular forms which were cultural forms that were contemporaneous with the war. The methodology and analysis used by these scholars will inform the current study.

2.2.4 Popular culture, structuralism and post-colonial theories

Onomasticians have been active in the wider debates that link popular culture, structuralism and post-structuralism (Jacobs 1994; Neethling 1995; Squire 1996; Wittenberg 2000). Squire (1996) takes a post-colonial perspective in her literary analysis of the work of Breyten Breytenbach.

Following Carter (1987) she distinguishes imperial history from spatial history as an analytical tool for analysing names in Breytenbach's stories. She echoes Edward Said's (1993) views on post-colonial identities and the notion of spatial history as distinct from imperial history. Citing Carter (1987), Squire (1996:84) points out that spatial history is not about a particular year or a particular place but is the "act of naming". In rewriting imperial history Squire (1996:84) says that spatial history "points out the gaps in imperial history because imperial history sought to contain all meaning in its narrative, erasing any others."

She develops an analysis of Breytenbach's fiction within the context of post-colonial theory and spatial history. For her, renaming becomes a process of repossession, a process of rewriting identities. She points out that Breytenbach's placenames are not merely geographical names but geographical nodes, a celebration of history. Squire (1996:80) observes:

This religious recitation of names allows Breytenbach to commune with his African ancestors and merge with what has become for him the original site of his imagination.

Squire builds up the argument around post-colonial theories integrating names and identity into her argument.

Post-colonial literature seeks to deconstruct and "decentre" imperial literature, establishing a different agenda and enabling local communities to create their own centre(s) (Said 1993; Jacobs 1994). Squire's (1996) analysis of the work of Breytenbach illustrates this effort to create new centres and shape new identities. The focus on names is the looking glass through which she explores wider social concerns in a post-colonial environment.

The dialectic between popular culture and “high” culture and the relationship between structuralism and the post-colonialism has been helpful in the attempt to give some onomastic order to the nickname, an unconventional but important category in onomastics. This study locates popular culture in the framework of the post-colonial movements, freeing it from the restrictions of structural or Saussurean linguistics. It enables this study to look at war names from a post-colonial perspective and to answer questions about the background of the namer, the bearer and the social context within which the names were used, in compliance with the general principles in onomastic theory.

A number of war names are drawn from the popular cultural forms which are struggling to become “legitimate” or struggling to stand on their own, independent of high culture that has overshadowed them for so long. So this study will examine the war name not as a form of social deviance or as a loanword but as an onomastic expression in its own right. It will be seen as a total experience in its own context and will be analysed with analytical tools that are fashioned independently of the influences of the “canon of high culture”. In this way onomastics will be working towards the goal spelt out by Nicolaisen (1987:10):

What we need . . . as part of an onomastic onomastics is an onomastic philosophy or an onomastic theory of names whose primary concern, focus, stimulus, start and finish is the name.

Post-colonial movements are still trying to give the popular movement an academic legitimacy and onomastics becomes part of this process.

There are categories within onomastics, such as nicknames, which remain marginalized and have not been as fully researched as others such as formal personal names and placenames. In some cases the nickname is associated with delinquents or criminals and war names are sometimes placed in this bracket (Allen 1983; Morgan et al 1979; Smith 2001;

Holland 1990). Thus nicknames, especially those drawn from popular culture, still have to claim their rightful place with other onomastic categories. These popular forms of names interrogate the formal and put pressure on the well-developed categories in their effort to redefine themselves and to be accommodated within the canon.

Some scholars propose that a name should be recorded in the language of origin (Raper 1987; Möller 1995). But what should be done when the language has never been codified? How should scholars respond to rules that are laid down in conference halls and seminar rooms far removed from the people who use them? Of what relevance are such rules when the nickname is an ephemeral phenomenon which changes in form and function faster than the formulation of the rules that are designed to govern it? These are some of the problems associated with the categories of nicknames and war names. Probably pragmatics can answer some of these questions and Section 2.2.1.2 has outlined how pragmatics can be useful in the analysis of war names in this study.

2.2.5 Negotiating identity: an overview

A concept closely linked to name giving is identity. Some important scholars in the study of language and identity are Joseph (2004), Dundes (1983) and Edwards (1985). Joseph (2004) states that Edwards (1985) was the “first to lay a general synthesis of approaches to language and identity.” Dundes (1983) cites the role of Erikson (1968) in setting out the main issues in identity from a social perspective. Dundes (1983) and Jacobson-Widding (1983) look at identity from a social anthropological perspective and pay little attention to its relationship with language. Current thinking is also influenced by the work of Gumperz (Joseph 2004).

Dundes (1983:239), citing Erikson (1968), defines identity in this manner:

[It] connotes both a persistent sameness within oneself (selfsameness) and persistent sharing of some kind of essential character with other.

Joseph (2004) points out that being named is an “enacted identity”. This is how others perceive the self or the group (who am I for others?). Naming oneself can be viewed as an act of self-perception, self-concept or self-praise. There are certain recurrent themes in identity studies.

2.2.5.1 Some recurrent themes in identity studies

According to Dundes (1983) there are two levels of identity:

- The individual and the “persistent selfsameness”
- The collective identity-the “collective sameness.”

There is a perpetual tension between the two levels and this creates a paradox in identity. One level gravitates towards the self and the other pulls towards the group. The individual insists on separation of the self from the group identity yet the collective sameness pulls the self towards the group. Dundes (1983) points out that it is impossible to speak of sameness without reference to differences. Dundes (1983), Edwards (1985) and Joseph (2004) explore these ideas in different ways but essentially come to the same conclusions.

There are several important indices of identity, namely, language, ethnicity, nationalism, religion, age, sex, culture, and political affiliations (Dundes 1983; Edwards 1985; Joseph 2004). These indices are the criteria that will be used to analyse the names in this study.

Joseph (2004) and Dundes (1983) say identity is a reciprocal process that operates at two levels:

- How the individual or group projects or perceives itself.
- How the reader or recipient perceives the projected identity

The self has an image it perceives and seeks to project: this is the projected identity. The recipient or the public have their own perceptions, and this is what Joseph (2004) calls receptive processes in identity. The two processes do not necessarily share the same perspective and this study takes these two aspects of identity into account. In the next section the indices of identity are explored in some detail.

2.2.5.2 Indices of identity

As observed above in Section 2.2.5.1, there are several indices of identity: language, ethnicity, nationalism, religion, age, sex, culture and political affiliations (Dundes 1983; Edwards 1985). There is a general consensus that language can change but groups will still keep “a persistent sameness” in them, as observed by Edwards (1985) and Joseph (2004). Most researchers dwell on the first three indices in greater depth than the rest. Ethnicity means different things to different people (Edwards 1985; Joseph 2004; Allen 1990). Allen (1990) discusses ethnicity on its own in great detail. Edwards (1985) does the same but he examines ethnicity and nationalism in the context of language. Edwards (1985) expresses his misgivings about nationalism as a concept and suggests it has a negative impact on ethnic groups. Joseph (2004) argues that nationalism is a state of mind and a cultural creation. He deals with nationalism and ethnicity in some detail and goes on to look at religion using detailed case studies to illustrate his argument. These indices will contribute to the establishment of criteria that will be used to analyse the war names collected in this study.

Language is an important index of identity but it can change while identity remains. Edwards (1985) cites the example of the Irish and the Welsh and points out that change of language does not mean loss of identity. In both groups the majority speaks English but they have retained their identity. Likewise, guerrillas could use names from other languages and still retain

their guerrilla attributes. Edwards (1985) also argues that there is more to identity than the visible indices. Identity can also be linked to space as shown in the next section.

2.2.5.3 Identity and space

Some scholars (James 1979; Morgan et. al. 1979) view nicknaming and renaming as a social process where different players seek social and cultural space. Renaming becomes a process of repossession – the namer and the named reclaim social and political space (Squire 1996; Koopman 2002; Gilmore 1982; Coetser 2004; Meiring 2002). Allen (1983) observes that to name is to control, redefine and demystify. Similarly, Gilmore (1982:698) observes that:

to name an object is to control it. By naming a thing we make it knowable, thus we disarm a threatening exterior universe of hostile others.

Neethling's (1998) study of names in South African sport is a case in point. The emergence of names such as the *amaBhokobhoko* (a Zulu modification of the *Boks*) and *Bafana Bafana* as nicknames of national rugby and soccer teams respectively reflects the new power relations in the political and social discourse in South Africa. *Boks* is a shortened form of *springbok* (or springbuck) which is a small herbivore common throughout southern Africa. It is the national animal of South Africa. *Bafana Bafana* in Zulu can be literally translated as "the boys". Previously Afrikaans names were used in sport, now most of them have been replaced by names from African languages.

Sporting names do not only mark social space but they have economic implications as well. Sponsors want names that can market their products, such as the South African national football team *Bafana Bafana* and the rugby team of Mpumalanga called *Pumas*. *Puma* can have two meanings here. The *puma* is a feline animal the size of a leopard and is found in

South America. In Zulu the *-puma-* in Mpumalanga is derived from the verb *phuma*, meaning ‘to come out,’ hence *Mpumalanga* means ‘the place where the sun comes out’. So this nickname is particularly appropriate for the Mpumalanga province of South Africa. These are some of the issues that are of central concern in Allen’s (1983) work and they have important bearings for the current study and will be revisited in Chapter 5.

2.2.5.4 Group identity

Allen (1983) and others focus on ethnicity and nationalism as the main indices of group identity. There is a general consensus in the literature that the nickname can be classified into two functional groups. There is a set of nicknames with the intracultural function (De Klerk 1998; Turner 1992; McDowell 1981). De Klerk (1998:3) says that “with social equals within a subculture, a nickname usually acts as a cohesive device indicating warmth and solidarity.” Holland (1990:260) citing Cohen (1977) says that the use of nicknames reflects “an understanding and acute comprehension of the complicated and shifting set of social relations that link the village population together.” The nickname acts as a binding force that keeps a social group together.

The second group covers nicknames given to people outside the socio-cultural configuration which “become powerful symbols of disapprobation and subtle criticism” (De Klerk 1998:2). These are often hostile, derogatory, insulting or even obscene. As observed by Allen (1990:9) “words are weapons”, and he captures the undercurrents of this hostility in the phrase “verbal aggression”. Bright’s (2002) study on the social implications of the word “squaw” is another good example of verbal aggression in American discourse. Bright says that the place name “squaw” means female genitalia in some American Indian languages. The Indian community wants all toponyms with the name “squaw” changed yet the white community is resisting this change for two reasons, cost of

change and they believe it is unimportant. For some people “squaw” is as culturally offensive as “nigger” or “native”. Zimbabwean war names will also be analysed along these lines.

2.2.5.5 The dynamics of identity through time

It can be suggested that identities are perpetually deferred. The nickname is often unstable; it is in a state of perpetual flux (Allen 1983). It is difficult to “freeze” a nickname into some static orthographic form and still retain its connotative qualities and its force in descriptive backing. It is a form of popular expression whose meaning is in constant motion like the language and culture that hold it. Gumbo (1995:8) traces the several war names of a guerrilla in his novel *Guerrilla Snuff* :

Cosmas Gonese called himself *Pfumoreropa* . . . when he arrived first. . .in Mozambique in 1975. He trained at Tembwe under the name *Batai Magidi* . . . and first operated in Chipinge as *Mabwazhe* the warrior. In the Bikita war zone he became *Chakarakata* . . . in Zimuto he became *Weeds* or *Weeds Chakarakata*.

De Klerk (1998:4) suggests that this instability is due to two reasons. Firstly, there are often no written records for the name and secondly, the nickname goes through several morphological changes as it moves from one language to another and into some written form. In this respect the nickname is best understood in the dynamics of its context (De Klerk 1998; Brandes 1975).

Other forms of names are equally dynamic, for example, Herbert and Bogatsu (1990) explore the change of names in Tswana society and even placenames do not escape this, as observed in the work of Jenkins, Raper and Möller (1996). However, the difference is that for these other forms, the changes are often governed by a set of rules.

2.3 Negotiating meaning: an onomastic perspective

Semantics (or the study of meaning) is a complex phenomenon involving different perspectives and approaches, for example, there is the linguist's approach, the philosopher's approach and the onomastician's approach. The linguist usually focuses on the first three levels of semantics, the lexical, the denotative and the connotative level (Louwrens 1994). The philosopher has his own concerns that touch on logic and ethics as he looks at meaning. The onomastician embraces the first three but goes beyond into descriptive backing which is closely related to pragmatics (Nicolaisen 1987; Louwrens 1994; Meiring 1980, 1993; Raper 1986, 1987; Van Langendonck 2001). It is necessary to go through these different perspectives in order to understand the meanings around the war names that are presented in this study.

Lexical meaning is the basic meaning or original meaning and sometimes is also called literal meaning (Louwrens 1994). It entails the origins of the name or word (etymology) and its language of origin. These are all important aspects, especially when taking into account that names like any other linguistic items constantly migrate from one language to another and from culture to culture. The lexical meaning of a name is concerned with the original meaning, before the word becomes a name: it is still regarded as a pure linguistic item that can be subjected to the rigours of linguistic analysis (Koopman 1994; Louwrens 1994). In their language of origin most names have lexical meaning but when they move into other languages they become lexically opaque (Neethling 1995). Nicolaisen (1987:6) points out that a name becomes semantically opaque once it is moved from the language of origin: "As soon as a word becomes a name, it is cast loose from its lexical and semantic moorings". In other words, when a word acquires onomastic attributes, its semantic properties change and one of these changes is described as denotation.

Denotation is defined by Crystal (1980:109) as:

a term used in SEMANTICS as part of classifications of types of meaning; opposed to connotation . . . involves the relationship between a LINGUISTIC UNIT . . . and the non linguistic entities to which it refers . . . it is thus equivalent to REFERENTIAL meaning

Denotation points to an object being referred to. A name can have referential properties or meaning where it points to or denotes a person or an object. This is in line with Meiring's (1980) argument that the importance of a name lies in what it refers to. As observed above, Crystal (1980) calls denotative meaning "referential meaning", i.e. to denote is to refer to. In a way, denotation can be seen as a transitional point in the transformation of a lexical item into a full onomastic item.

In the post-lexical phase a name assumes referential functions and at this stage it begins to collect connotations. Crystal (1980:82) defines connotation as:

A term used in SEMANTICS as part of a classification of types of meaning; opposed to DENOTATION. Its main application is with reference to the emotional associations (personal or communal) which are suggested by, or are part of the meaning of which are suggested by, or are part of meaning of a LINGUISTIC UNIT especially a LEXICAL ITEM . . . Alternative items for connotative meaning include AFFECTIVE and EMOTIVE.

The underlying feature of this term is "association" which carries affective qualities. Meaning here loses its clear-cut literal and referential qualities that are found in lexical and denotative meaning. It moves to the abstract and psychological realms that are more difficult to configure. The lexical item by now has lost its semantic link with its referent and it becomes an onomastic label. At this stage connotation is now firmly saddled in the onomastic realm where names carry their meaning and significance by association with or sometimes by the emotions they evoke. For example,

“Scud” to a citizen of Israel evokes harrowing memories of death and destruction wrought by the Iraqi Scud missile. For a Zimbabwean drinker a “Scud” is a popular beer brewed from sorghum and is packed in a brown two litre plastic container. If consumed in large quantities it can knock you out!

While Van Langendonck (1987, 2001) describes this as “associative meaning” which has social and cultural implications, Raper (1987) calls it pragmatic meaning. Van Langendonck (1978) says associative meaning can be cultural, emotive or social. Most onomasticians, for instance, Meiring (1980, 1993), Nicolaisen (1987), Raper (1987) and Neethling (1995) link connotation with onomastics. To quote Nicolaisen (1978:43):

naming is the process by which words become names through association . . . using a name involves a knowledge of the appropriate associations

The concept of descriptive backing extends the concept of meaning of a name by viewing it as a loose collection of “all associations” around the name. One of the clearest definitions of descriptive backing is given by Meiring (1993) cited in Louwrens (1994:4): “amounts to the collective content of all conventional beliefs and connotations attached to a name.” These beliefs and connotations can include even the wildest speculations. They may have no link with original meaning especially where the name has moved from one language to another. By then it has lost its lexical meaning as it went through the “continuum” of meanings.

Descriptive backing is a concept that takes the study of meaning fully into the onomastic realm as observed by Leslie and Skipper (1990:276): “Meanings of nicknames are not to be found in dictionary definitions or even in their origins, but in their uses in everyday life.” This is closely related to pragmatics which is a key concept in this study. Elsewhere in the same text Leslie and Skipper (1990:279) argue that:

[the] meaning of names is socially negotiated. There are no final arbiters for meanings of nicknames, only our faculties of observation. This indicates that we construct our sense of nicknames through social negotiation rather than give rise to them as epiphenomena to living.

In the framework of descriptive backing each meaning can be seen as an aggregate of speculations that include and simultaneously exclude certain attributes associated with the name in question. Through descriptive backing names become an integral component of the cultural and historical narratives of a community.

Several points can be extrapolated from the above argument:

- Once a word moves from the lexical domain and picks up onomastic attributes, it loses its lexical meaning(s).
- Connotation and association are very close in terms of meaning.
- Names go beyond strict linguistic analysis and pick up non-linguistic associations or connotations.

Table 2.1 below summarises the argument outlined above.

Table 2.1: Negotiating meaning: a summary

	Lexical meaning	Denotation	Connotation	Descriptive Backing
Definition & Characteristics	“Original” meaning	Points to: Referential	Affective Associative Emotional/contextual	All connotations associated with a name regardless of grammatical accuracy (Pragmatics)
Some References	Louwrens 1994, Raper 1987, Nicolaisen 1978, Crystal 1980.	Neethling 1995, Raper 1987, Koopman 1990, Crystal 1980.	Nicolaisen 1978, Raper 1987, Neethling 1995, Crystal 1980, Meiring 1980,1993	McDowell 1981, Brandes 1975, Holland 1990, Neethling 1995, Koopman 1990, Meiring 1993,1994
<p><-----Linguists-----> (Semantics, pragmatics, semiotics)</p> <p style="margin-left: 200px;"><-----Onomasticians -----> (associations, connotations, descriptive backing)</p> <p><-----Philosophers-----> (ethics, logic, semantics)</p>				

2.4 A theoretical framework

This section draws together the major issues raised so far and attempts to present a theoretical framework from which to approach the war names that are found in this study. It proposes an onomastic matrix and borrows ideas of a name theory from Leslie and Skipper (1990) and it also suggests some universal themes regarding nicknames.

2.4.1 An onomastic matrix

The proposed onomastic matrix is a summary of the major issues raised so far in this chapter. It is not intended to be exhaustive but it sets the major signposts that indicate the major streams of onomastics and also attempts to show where the nickname and the war name can be placed.

Table 2.2 An onomastic matrix

Onomastic Status	Linguistic Status	Sociocultural Status
The Placename The Personal name stable, sacrosanct, “Neutral/opaque” often denotative/ referent	The formal, the standard <u>Saussurean</u> Linguistics. Placenames guided by Names Authorities. Some personal names operate independent of linguistic rules <i>literacy</i>	The Canon Primary/Official traditions, conventional, stable
Nickname War name Ethnic epithets/informal Unstable, ephemeral Transparent / Connotative	Slang/ idiolects/ pidgins free of linguistic conventions. postcolonial/ postmodern. <i>Oracy</i>	The popular/ The <i>avante</i> <i>garde</i> / The marginalized / resistance, unstable

Out of the matrix different categories of nicknames (in this case war names) can be proposed. For example, there can be those war names derived from the formal or common name in Shona or in English. There can also be names from slang or idiolects. Another category can be developed from ethnic names or some transparent names that insult or challenge the enemy. The categories used in this study are developed in Section 4.1.3.

Within the matrix a distinction has to be made between the nickname and war name in that:

- Nicknames have always been part of society and are often characterised as informal names and not necessarily in slang or idiolectic terms. Their sociocultural status can be that of confidentiality, open tenderness or open ridicule.

- The war names are contemporary creations full of innovation characteristic of slang or idiolects and sometimes suggest aggression.

2.5 Some common themes regarding nicknames

The Literature consulted reflects several recurrent themes and these can be viewed as universal trends in nicknaming. The following universal trends were identified:

1. Nicknames are ephemeral.
2. Though used by all generations for different purposes, they are more popular among children, teenagers or the younger generation.
3. Their sources are often similar, they are drawn from physical appearance, cultural traits, profession/occupation, social attributes, and from the physical environment.
4. They come at two levels: the intracultural and intercultural spheres. They can be symbols of solidarity and endearment yet they can also be expressions of intergroup/ethnic hostility. Nicknames are often unwritten because they are sometimes drawn from idiolects, slang and other non-standard forms.
5. They are often more semantically transparent than other forms of names in the onomastic continuum.

2.6. Research on names in Zimbabwe

This section looks specifically at studies of names, and the war name in particular, in Zimbabwe and beyond. Onomastic research in Zimbabwe can be divided into the colonial phase and the post-colonial phase (Pfukwa 2003). In the colonial phase there was some work by Marapara (1954), Sandes (1955) and other colonial administrators who acted as ethnographers and anthropologists. The researchers operated in a cultural

configuration that was very different from the subjects they were studying. These studies can best be appreciated in a historical context.

Most of the material in that period can be traced to the NADA series which was an in-house journal of the Native Affairs Department in Southern Rhodesia. These were mainly reports, case studies that were regularly published by Native Commissioners based on their interaction with the people in the areas that they administered (Marapara 1954; Sandes 1955; Jackson 1957). Some were based on oral interviews and much meaning was lost through the process of translation. Part of the problem was that the researcher had a different linguistic background which he tried to fit into the language under study. In addition to this, the researcher carried a different set of cultural and social values. This ultimately affected the final product. In some cases (for example, Jackson 1957 and Sandes 1955) the discourse is patronising if not derogatory. The researchers were aware of the problem of translation and cultural relevance and this is reflected in the translation of names that they describe. The problems of translation and cultural context were partially resolved by another generation of scholars such as Kahari (1975) and Pongweni (1983) who revisited their work.

A few issues emerge from the NADA literature. It is not clear how they established their categories of names. Due to social and political change, some of the names they discuss are no longer popular or widely used. Furthermore, behind the names were denotations, connotations and descriptive backing that reflected social attitudes and political ideologies that were different from those of the researcher. This compromised the quality and objectivity of the work done by the native commissioners. Kahari (1975) takes cognisance of this when he points out that to fully understand the names one must have a good knowledge of the culture as well. This is in line with the concept of descriptive backing and

pragmatics discussed earlier in Section 2.2.1.2 and 2.3. In the same vein, it can be argued that to fully appreciate war names associated with Chimurenga, one has to be thoroughly conversant with the socio-historical background of Chimurenga itself. (The etymology of Chimurenga has been covered in Section 1.7.1.)

The early post-colonial phase saw the publication of Pongweni's (1983) seminal work, *What's In a Name? A Study of Shona Nomenclature*. It is a major landmark in Zimbabwean onomastics in general and the war name in particular. Pongweni's work is strongly influenced by structural linguistics and his analysis of war names is basically synchronic. His work is similar in many ways to Herbert's (1999) "friction names". Another Zimbabwean, Chitando (1998a, 1998b), influenced by theology and philosophy, opens up new possibilities in Zimbabwean onomastics as he examines the issue of African names and post-colonial identities in Zimbabwe. Pfukwa (1998, 2003) also examines the etymology and functions of some of the war names used in the Zimbabwean War. Tatira (2005) is the latest work in Zimbabwean onomastics. It is a study of the significance of dog names in Shona society.

2.6.1 The war name in Rhodesian literature

Rhodesian literature had its own set of names that reflected its own peculiar perception of the guerrilla. Chennells (1995) and Godwin and Hancock (1993) maintain that it was a view that made Rhodesian writers underestimate the potential and resilience of the guerilla armies. According to Chennells (1995:105):

For most novelists the 'terrorists' belong to amorphous organizations, headed by leaders living outside the country who are in turn controlled by international communism.

This was the image that was conveyed in most of the Rhodesian literature.

Chennells (1995) gives a broad overview of Rhodesian literature over the war years up to 1980. Chennells' argument about discursive space is similar to Squire's (1996) view of naming as an act of reclaiming space. Renaming is a critical indicator of changing discourses and new perspectives. In Chennells' analysis of Rhodesian discourse the guerrilla is initially nameless, marginalized and is led by some communist elite from Eastern Europe. He analyses the discourse in some depth and some of the names given to the guerrillas are quite revealing. Some of the names are foreign and sometimes Islamic: for instance, there is **Al Hassim Khan**. In some cases guerrillas are still conceived of as meek teaboys who have names such as **Sixpence**. Zimbabwean names such as **Moyo, Rufu** appear after 1976 as the war intensifies. Towards the end of the war names such as **Mau Mau** begin to appear in the literature. There is a steady progression in the literature from namelessness to civilian names then to the war name. It is a slow process that develops in Rhodesian discourse as the war unfolds (Chennells 1995).

Early Rhodesian literature on the war portrayed the guerrillas as nameless phantoms set to roll back the frontiers of civilization (Carney 1969; Davis 1967). They engaged in a discourse where they were oblivious of the social context of the subjects of their discourse. It is post independence literature that gave the guerrillas a name as they became the centre of some of the discourse. These are stories about guerrillas and peasants about themselves and produced by themselves (Kanengoni 1999; Chinodya 1989; Samupindi 1989).

2.6.2 The war name in Zimbabwean literature

Zimbabwean war names are drawn from (a) the novel and (b) historical texts. The first set of sources is Zimbabwean novelists who write about the guerrilla war and they give their guerrilla characters "authentic" war names and they also effectively capture the social settings where these

names are developed. For instance, Gumbo's (1995) *Guerrilla Snuff*, Samupindi's (1989) *Pawns* and Chinodya's (1989) *Harvest of Thorns* carry war names used by the guerrillas. From the ranks of the guerrillas themselves is Mazorodze's (1989) fiction, *Silent Journey from the East*, where he captures the names as they were used in the war.

The second source of names is historical writings. This group includes scholars such as Bhebe (1999), McLaughlin (1998), Lan (1985), Simbanegavi (2000), Maxwell (1995) and Josiah Tungamirai (1995). These scholars trace the history of the war for different purposes, but they often come up with names of prominent guerrillas or lists of guerrillas as they develop their different arguments. For example, Tungamirai (1995:45) explains why the guerrillas took up *Chimurenga* names:

These names reflected their new political awareness and their new role in the armed struggle. Combatants could not operate using their original names as they would have endangered their families who might have been victimized by the Rhodesian security forces, if ever it became known their father, son or daughter had joined the 'ters' (the Rhodesian short term for "terrorists" - author's explanation)

Most of these writers also include a list of war names in their texts. Of these, McLaughlin's (1998) lists are the most elaborate and most comprehensive. For example, she has records of the command structure of various units of the guerrilla forces in different sectors and provinces of the war. David Maxwell's (1995) study of ZANLA guerrillas in the eastern highlands is also of some interest. Simbanegavi (2000) and McCarthy and Musengezi (2000) take a different angle and look at the role of the women in the war and how this has been distorted because the writers have always written their story from the man's perspective.

2.6.3 Studies of war names in Zimbabwe

A number of scholars have examined Zimbabwean names from an onomastic perspective (Kahari 1990; Pongweni 1983; Pfukwa 1998; Chitando 1998a, 1998b). Kahari (1990) and Pongweni (1983) mark the start of post-war onomastics in Zimbabwe. Kahari's (1990) collection of names from Shona novels includes some guerrilla war names. Pongweni (1983) in his study of Shona nomenclature devotes a whole chapter to war names (referred to earlier in Section 2.6). Pfukwa (1998) suggests some of the reasons for selecting the war names and proposes some categories which might be useful in this study. Chitando (1998a, 1998b) discusses the Zimbabwean names from a religious perspective. He also looks at how the choice of personal names changed as political power changed hands over the years. Tatira (2005) conducted a study of how dog names are part of a silent discourse among relatives or neighbours in a Shona community

There is also a body of unpublished work that needs scrutiny in Zimbabwe. For example, Zivenge's (1995) work on Tonga loan words touches on names and naming systems. Zondo's (1985) Nguni praise poetry can be related to Mathenjwa's (1996) *Maskandi* poetry and Koopman's (2000) *KwaDedangedhlale*.

2.6.4 Southern African studies

Southern African studies can be divided broadly into Anglophone studies (Namibia and South Africa on one hand), and Lusophone studies (Mozambique and Angola) on the other. The nickname is briefly touched on in the work of Moyo (1996, 2002) in Malawi. Neethling (1994), Turner (1992), De Klerk (1998), Herbert (1999), De Klerk and Bosch (1995), Haron (1999), Mabuza (1997), Molefe (1999) and Prabhakaran (1999) have focused on nicknames in South Africa. Apart from Herbert (1999) these authors have not paid attention to war names.

There is little research in the Lusophone countries possibly because there were many years of civil wars and this has inhibited research in those countries. Pepetela's (1980) *Mayombe* carries a cross section of names that often reflect different ethnic groups that were in the guerrilla ranks. However, some of them are also common in all guerrilla armies in southern Africa (Arthur 1998).

2.6.5 Studies elsewhere

The Jedburghs are a good example of the use of war names in the Second World War (Brown 1991). The Jedburghs were special commando units that supported the resistance movement in France and Belgium. After The Second World War the Jedburghs briefly operated in Southeast Asia. Most of them took up war names as undercover names especially when they were airdropped in their own countries. For some, they were personal names, some of which were related to the original names. In most cases the names also revealed nationality. Diament (1986) has done research on the war names used by the French underground in the Second World War. The Vietnam War also had its set of war names (Truong Nhu Tang 1985).

2.7 Conclusion

This chapter traced the major trends in current onomastics and adjacent disciplines that have influenced it. Literature on onomastic categories was examined and this was followed by the orientation of research in onomastics throughout the world. This research was split into two groups with one from theoretical linguistics being spearheaded by scholars such as Eichler (1987), Nicolaisen (1978), Van Langendonck (1998) and others. The second group included scholars from disciplines such as sociology, anthropology, psychology and other social sciences (e.g Dundes 1983; Jacobson-Widding 1983; McDowell 1981; Lawson 1973; Allen 1983). Literature surrounding oral forms, popular culture and their relationship to

onomastics was then examined with some emphasis on the work of Vambe (2004a), Koopman (1993, 1994, 2002), Mathenjwa (1996) and Neethling (1993, 1995, 1996). This led to a survey of the links between popular culture, structuralism and post-colonial theories.

The next section looked at theories of identity and how they influence this study. Dundes (1983), Jacobson-Widding (1983), Edwards (1985) and Joseph (2004) focus on the relationship between naming and identity. The analysis of naming and identity focused on four areas: general themes in identity, the importance of the name in space, collective identity and the dynamics of identity through time. An onomastic matrix was drawn up which summarized the salient features of different issues raised in the review of theories. Some common themes in the study of nicknames were then laid out. Research in onomastics in Zimbabwe and on the subcontinent was examined. Work on war names in the rest of the world was briefly reviewed. The next chapter describes the research methods selected and how the data for the study was collected.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter describes the methods that were used to collect the data. It first gives a brief survey of the literature that guides the methods chosen for this study. It describes the two methods that were used to collect data. The first method was the collection of names from written sources. The second method involved interviews of the war veterans in order to establish variables that influenced the naming patterns and processes. The interview method will be described as well as the population. Some ethical issues are also taken into consideration and the data analysis procedures are spelt out.

3.1 Methodological considerations

The data collection methods in the first phase of the research were partly quantitative and partly qualitative. Names were collected from secondary sources and some elementary statistical analysis was done. The total number of names from the different sources was estimated, numbers per category were also estimated and the most frequent names in the collection were identified. This was followed by the qualitative component where the collected names were placed in categories and onomastic processes and patterns were identified. For example, analysis showed which source gave the most names and how the names were distributed over the categories. The literature that guides this approach is outlined in Section 3.1.2.

The second part of data collection was purely qualitative in that it consisted of semi-structured interviews which were conducted over a period of over 24 months. This made data collection ethnographic. The interviews were conducted after a period of contact with the interviewees gathering relevant background information and getting permission from

the subjects to interview them. The interviewer was sometimes a participant observer and arrangement for interviews sometimes involved protracted negotiations. Johnstone (2000), Wray et.al. (1998) and Borg and Gall (1983) confirm that this is common in qualitative research. Cultural context and group characteristics of interviewees demanded an ethnographic approach. Nunan (1992) makes this observation and it was found relevant in this case.

3.1.2 Methods used in some previous studies

Some of the literature that guided the methodology in this study is briefly explored. The studies that informed the development of the methodological approach in this study are Allen (1983, 1990), Suzman (1994), Neethling (1994), Mathangwane and Gardner (1998), De Klerk and Bosch (1995), Pongweni (1983) and Prabhakaran (1999). Salient features of each study will be described and then common threads that run through all of them will be identified.

Operating from a sociological perspective, Allen (1983) examines how demographic and social conditions generate a lexical culture. He lists, classifies, and annotates over 1000 nicknames and epithets drawn from over 50 published sources. He investigates the frequency distribution of the names and concludes that group size is roughly proportional to the number of racial epithets. He observes that the nicknames are often derived from physical and cultural traits of the group. Allen's work gives useful bearings for this study especially in the classification and annotation of collected war names.

Suzman (1994) draws data from a rural population and then contrasts it with an urban population. She develops a questionnaire and this becomes the basis for informal interviews. The questionnaire also solicits information on general background of the namer such as age, residence,

and sex (Suzman 1994). The analysis and classification is a useful point of reference and has elaborate tables and analyses. The study reveals that changes in social circumstances lead to changes in naming practices.

Neethling's (1994) study of Xhosa nicknames is also a very useful guide. Neethling collected data through questionnaires and the population was drawn from Xhosa-speaking students at the University of the Western Cape. This is a stable population with a high rate of return of questionnaires. Other data was obtained from assignments written by the students. He also proposes a classification which is a useful point of reference.

Mathangwane and Gardner (1998) drew up a questionnaire and circulated it among university students looking at attitudes towards English and African names. In their analysis they draw up matrices combining different variables to explain the naming patterns. They also develop categories to facilitate analysis and discussion. Their findings suggest that European names are as popular as African names among African students. European names also appear to be on the ascendancy because they are important for school and official purposes. This seems to corroborate with De Klerk and Bosch's (1995) findings in the Eastern Cape.

De Klerk and Bosch (1995) use the questionnaire and the oral interview in their study of naming patterns and processes in two different linguistic communities in the Eastern Cape. They collect the data from a sample of 335 subjects. They present their data in tabular form matching different variables. This is a valuable quantitative study with a very clear methodology and analysis. These aspects give useful direction to the current study.

Pongweni (1983) collected data through oral interviews in a war veterans' camp and emerged with about 200 names. It is a useful study because it was done a year after the war, memories were still fresh and it captures a critical voice of the war which is the subject of the current study. He identifies three categories and dwells at length on the synchronic analysis of the war names that he collects. He discusses in great detail the morpho-syntactic aspects of some of the war names in a manner similar to that done by Louwrens (1994). This is the only detailed study that has been done on Zimbabwean war names so far and it is an important landmark in Zimbabwean onomastics.

Prabhakaran's (1999a) work on Telegu in Natal is a very useful guide on data collection methods. The analysis is broken into three stages. In the first stage names are extracted from telephone directories, hospital records, local newspapers, voters' lists and student records. The second phase involved interviews (telephonic and face to face). Lastly, the participant observer method was used to analyse attitudes towards surnames. The data analysis is detailed and reflects the complexity of naming patterns and processes in the Telegu community. This study is a useful point of reference, especially on how the data was collected and analysed.

3.1.3 Common threads in the research

Most researchers collect names from existing records and then classify them. Some end there, but others follow this up with questionnaires and interviews. Data is often presented in tables and the level of analysis varies with different areas of emphasis. Some make a synchronic analysis with a focus on phonology and morphology, while others put emphasis on a diachronic analysis.

3.1.4 Choice of data collection methods

Using guidelines from the studies discussed in Section 3.1.2 two methods were chosen for this study. The first was collecting data from written records. This is a common method in onomastic research and it was found to be appropriate for this study (Allen 1983; De Klerk and Bosch 1995; Pongweni 1983). It can yield a large number of names. This approach satisfies the first objective of collecting, classifying and analyzing guerrilla war names.

The second method of collecting data was the interview method which solicited data to answer the second and third objectives. This was to establish who named the guerrillas and what variables influenced the naming patterns and process identified in the first part of data collection (see Section 1.4.1). The interview was chosen for several reasons and this was guided by literature in the area. Nachimas and Nachimas (1982), Johnstone (2000), Wray et.al. (1988) and Nunan (1992) among others express the strengths of the interview for this kind of research.

- The interviewer identifies closely with the subjects.
- The interviews yield a large body of background information about the subjects and this is useful information from the bearers of the names themselves.
- Data is analysed as each interview is written up and this shapes the next interview.
- Interviews give both parties flexibility and this enables relevant adjustments as conditions change rapidly during the data gathering process.

3.2 Data collection

It will be recalled from Section 1.4.1 that one of the objectives of this study was recording and classifying names used in the war. This is developed in Section 3.2.1.

3.2.1 Sources of names

Names in this study were collected from different written records. This approach is common in onomastic research as observed in Section 3.1 above. Names can be drawn from different sources. This depends on the types of names being collected and how the data will be used. For personal names some researchers have used telephone directories (De Klerk and Bosch 1995; Prabhakaran 1999). Others have consulted hospital records, registers in government departments, voters' rolls, dictionaries and wordlists (Prabhakaran 1999; Allen 1983). Musere and Byakutaga (1998) have used school registers, factory records, hospital records, clan records and court histories. The Native American Placenames of the United States (NAPUS) Project (Bright, 2002) has drawn from several sources and serves as a further example of current research in the collection of names. Bright has collected data from secondary sources, compiled a comprehensive bibliography of sources and consulted previous work in the area. He comes up with questions that are relevant to this study, such as the problems of classification. These issues are revisited in Section 6.4.1.

This study draws most of its data from ZANLA, the military wing of ZANU, in the period between 1976 and 1979, for several reasons. Firstly, most of the literature available focuses on this period because it was the most intense and most decisive stage of the war (Ellert 1989; Godwin and Hancock 1993; Moorcraft and McLaughlin 1982; Bhebe 1999; Kriger 2004 and Chung 2006). Secondly, most records of war names fall within this period. Thirdly, while war names were used before 1975 they became almost mandatory after 1975 due to the movement of large numbers of refugees and recruits into exile. Fourthly, most names can be traced to ZANU-PF records which continue to be a valuable source of data for scholars covering different aspects of the war as reflected in research by

Lan (1985), Kriger (1992), Simbanegavi (2000), McLaughlin (1998), Bhebe (1999). Most of these studies fall within this period. This issue was raised in Section 1.9.

It was unfortunately not possible to include names of ZIPRA guerrillas who lost their lives during the same period. Hence all the data discussed and conclusions reached here refer to ZANU and ZANLA and cannot be said to be representative of all the guerrilla armies. The majority of the ZANLA guerrillas were Shona-speaking; therefore most of the names in this study have been drawn from speakers of one Zimbabwean language. Similar studies of the names of speakers of the other languages of Zimbabwe (e.g. Ndebele) also need to be done. These points are further discussed in Section 6.5.

The names were drawn from several sources. The first is *The Herald*, a local Zimbabwean daily, which in August 1983 published lists of ZANLA guerrillas who died in the war between January 1966 and December 1980. Hostilities officially ended on 28 December 1979, but skirmishes continued until March 1980. Moreover, there were guerrillas and refugees who remained in bases outside the country who were finally repatriated at the end of 1980. The list is not complete and there are numerous orthographic errors and inconsistencies. This problem is discussed in some detail in the next chapter when the results are presented. This list was later consolidated and published in the form of a book, which is the second source that was used in this study.

This second source is a book, *The Fallen Heroes of Zimbabwe*, which has a list of ZANLA guerrillas who died in the war and was published by the Prime Minister's Office in 1983. There are many orthographic and lexicographic problems in this book. A few examples will suffice here. The alphabetical order, spellings and the link between the war name and

home name (the original name of the guerrilla) need extensive revision under the guidance of expert lexicographers. A guide to pronunciation would make it more accessible to the international scholar. The order in which the names are given is chronological. The editors did not take into account other ways of presenting these names, for instance, alphabetical order. Only 27 names fall into the pre-1977 category. Obviously more research is required on the names that were created before 1977. In many cases the home name is missing. The layout is not consistent. In some cases the order is home name, war name, district of origin and some remarks. This order is interchanged with war name first, then the home name (in some cases this does not appear), followed by some remarks on cause of death. However, despite these shortcomings, it is a valuable source of data on Zimbabwean war names.

The third source of war names is Zimbabwean War fiction. Even though they are fictitious names they reflect the reality that was on the ground and other researchers have used fictitious names as part of their data base (Squire 1996; Jacobs 1994). The names are mentioned as characters in the texts. For the purposes of this study the names are gleaned from the text in the manner that Kahari (1972, 1990) collected names in the novels of Patrick Chakaipa and other Shona novels. Lawson's (2002) work on names from the Bible follows this approach as well and is another useful point of reference in this study. The war names are taken from Gumbo's *Guerrilla Snuff* (1995), Shimmer Chinodya's *Harvest of Thorns* (1988), Samupindi's *Pawns* (1989), Mazorodze's *Silent Journey from the East* (1989) and Wigglesworth's *Perhaps Tomorrow* (1979).

The fourth source is the historical text or linguistic text which records war names not as an onomastic exercise but as part of historical research (Bhebe 1999; McLaughlin 1998; Pongweni 1983). Some of these texts have lists that are attached as appendices (Tungamirai 1995; Pongweni

1983) and these are very useful. In other texts the names appear within the text (Simbanegavi 2000; Lan 1985; Bhebe 1999; McLaughlin 1998). All the names collected from all the sources referred to in this section are attached in Appendix 4.

3.2.2 Compiling and annotating the corpus of names

Different name lists are developed for different purposes. Each name list has its peculiarities that reflect the aims and objectives or orientation of its author. For example, characteristics of a place name list are different from a personal name list. Probably the critical point is that each serves some specific purpose within specific circumstances.

Musere and Byakutaga (1998) in their general collection of African names give the name, sex, pronunciation and then the gloss. Kimenyi (1989) focuses on Kinyarwanda and Kirundi names. He gives the name, the sex, then a gloss of the name. Allen (1983) in his study of language of conflict in the United States has a rather complex annotation of names in which he gives the boundaries, source of the name, form, class, dating, phonological structure and a gloss. Smith (2001) in his place name study gives the name, phonological structure, source, language of origin, morphological structure, gloss and the namer. Reany (1967) emphasises etymology and meaning. Pongweni (1983) gives name, meaning and gloss.

Given these different approaches in recording names, those variables that were relevant in recording and analysing war names in this study were selected. In this study the following variables were chosen and a justification of the choice is given.

Source language

The source language of the name is important because it suggests the linguistic influences acting on the namer and the bearer. It can be a useful

indicator of the background of the guerrilla. For example, a name drawn from Fanakalo such as **Bulala Zonke**, might suggest contact with the Afrikaans-speaking communities and may indicate that the bearer's background can be linked to the mines or the white farms.

Gender

Onomastic choices are generally influenced by gender and this is a variable found in all studies of personal names as well as nicknames.

Background

The background of the namer is another important variable. For example, culture or history can be important indicators and many studies have taken these into account. Similarly, myths and folklore of a community can determine the naming process and patterns as well.

Gloss

The names can mean different things to different people or different groups. This is why this aspect has been explored in some detail in Section 2.3.

The collected names are presented in the Appendix 4 and are arranged in the categories that are developed in Section 4.1. It is from these lists that names will be analysed and discussed in Chapters 4 and 5.

3.2.3 The interviews

The interviews capture the track record of the guerrillas in the war, why they chose specific names, when they chose them and who named them. They also seek to capture any relevant post-war data and the guerrillas' current perceptions of the names. These findings were then used as empirical data to support or refute the observations made concerning the

names collected from the different textual sources in the first part of the data collection.

The interview sought to answer specific questions that arose from the data collected in the first part. The first stage is common in onomastic enquiry where names are collected, classified and analysed (see De Klerk 1998; Allen 1990; Pongweni 1982). Some studies end at that point but others go beyond it. The first stage is followed up by some survey to confirm certain hypotheses that may arise from the first phase (De Klerk and Bosch 1995; Mathangwane and Gardner 1998; Lawson 1973). In this study a survey was conducted to confirm the hypotheses that were raised in Section 1.4.2 which are as follows:

- Guerrilla nicknames were influenced by the background of the namer
- The war names served many other functions besides concealing identities

The interview method chosen for this stage was influenced by the work of Nachimas and Nachimas (1982), Johnstone (2000), Wray et.al. (1988) and Nunan (1992). The merits of this method have been raised in Section 3.1.4. In addition to these, research by onomasticians such as De Klerk (1998), De Klerk and Bosch (1995), Herbert and Bogatsu (1991), Allen (1990), Pongweni (1982) and Moyo (2002) guided this study.

The interview was designed to meet the needs of the second and third objectives (see Section 1.4.1) which were as follows:

- Identifying and describing naming patterns and processes in the war from a sociolinguistic perspective.
- Investigation of the variables that have influenced the naming patterns and processes identified above.

(The first objective which required recording of war names has been dealt with in Section 3.2.0.)

The interview was selected for this study for the following reasons:

- It is widely used in onomastic research as reflected in the literature on methodology in Section 3.1.
- The method is essentially interactive in that it allows active participation of the interviewee. The schedule can be adjusted to meet the requirements of specific individuals (Borg and Gall 1983; Nachimas and Nachimas 1982; Johnstone 2000; Nunan 1992 and Seliger and Shohamy 1989).
- There is immediate feedback where the interviewer can rephrase a question or change the orientation of the questions depending on the attitude of the interviewee. In other words, the researcher can always determine progress as he or she goes along and it yields more data once rapport has been established with the interviewee.

However, this method has its own problems and these were taken into consideration:

- One weakness of this method is the danger of subjectivity and possible bias (Borg and Gall 1983).
- Another weakness is the danger of selecting a small sample that is not representative of the whole population.
- A third weakness is the predisposition or attitude of the interviewee. Some interviewees can be indifferent to the whole exercise or in some cases, they can be openly hostile (Nunan 1992; Wray et.al. 1998).

Ideally the interviewer should have a lot in common with the target population in terms of age, sex, class race etc. (Nunan 1992; Wray et.al. 1998). These factors were taken into consideration in this exercise. For the women interviewees, a woman assisted in the interviews because the women were not willing to be interviewed by men. The interviewers were

all first language speakers of Shona and belonged to the same age group as the interviewees.

The interview schedule was designed and this was guided by the work of Bell (1987) and Nachimas and Nachimas (1982) who recommend that a lot of preliminary contact and prior arrangements should be made before actually interviewing the subjects.

Johnstone (2000), Wray et.al. (1998) and Nunan (1992) also make recommendations on how to conduct the interview:

- For the interview, describe clearly the objectives of the exercise to the interviewee.
- Create a rapport with the interviewee.
- Interact with the interviewee as peers.
- Work at their level and do not speak down to them.

These guidelines were followed and this eased a lot of tensions during the interview process.

3.2.4 The interview schedule

The schedule was semi-structured and the questions were divided into three broad sections.

- The first section sought to obtain information regarding background of the interviewee and questions sought information such as why the subjects went into the war, when they went into the war, where they picked up the name, their pre-war status and other relevant background information.
- In the second section questions about the war name were asked, such as how the guerrilla got the name, who named him or her and whether there were any changes or modifications to the name during the duration of the war. Where there were changes,

explanations for the circumstances that led to the change were requested. The interviewees were also asked if the name was retained or dropped after the war. There was also a question on what the name meant to the bearer.

- The third section looked for comments on other names. These sought to confirm names collected from phase 1 and the interviewees were asked what they thought the names they gave meant. This is very important data in the process of building up the descriptive backing of the names.

3.2.5 The population

The population is drawn from former guerrillas as defined in the War Veterans Act of 1992: section 2, subsection (c):

“war veteran” means any person who underwent military training and participated, consistently and persistently, in the liberation struggle which occurred in Zimbabwe and in the neighbouring countries between the 1st January, 1962, and the 29th February, 1980, in connection with the bringing about of Zimbabwe’s independence on the 18th April, 1980.

War veterans come from different social and cultural backgrounds and have often been marginalized, sometimes misrepresented and sometimes manipulated by different pressure groups and political players (Barnes 1995; Kriger 1992, 2004; Lyons 2004). Today they are found at all levels of the socio-economic strata of the nation, with the majority in the security/military establishments and the civil service (Chung 2006; Kriger 2004). Those outside these structures are often difficult to trace.

The population in the study is not representative of the whole population of war veterans in two ways:

- For security reasons the researcher did not have access to some parts of the population in certain military and paramilitary establishments.

- Where there was access, the subjects required a fair amount of persuasion, hence the choice was limited. All those who were available or willing were interviewed.

3.2.6 Sample size

Seliger and Shohamy (1989) discuss at some length subject variability and size of subject population. While there are no absolute figures for sample size, it is advisable to have a large sample. While methods of selection might vary, the larger the population, the more valid will be the data. However, if the topic has not been studied several times even a small sample can be useful (Seliger and Shohamy 1989, Wray et.al. 1998, Nunan 1992). Zimbabwean war names have not been studied in depth and therefore it is assumed this study will generate sufficient interest to justify the use of a small sample.

3.2.7 Ethical considerations

The interviewer has to be careful not to be intrusive or costing subjects' time and has to be sensitive to their questions concerning the whole project. Wray et.al. (1998:171) identify some difficulties encountered while collecting data:

Some people may be suspicious of what looks like an official form. People with low levels of literacy, or whose native language is not the same as that in which the questionnaire is written, may find the whole exercise intimidating.

Moyo (2002) also confirms this in his research in Malawi. He chose the informal interview and the participant observer approach because of suspicion and mistrust of any official interview or questionnaire. In some cases female war veterans are often not keen to be interviewed. Lyons (2004) and Simbanegavi (2000) encountered this in their research. It is critical to explain clearly the objective of the study and to suggest ways in

which the subjects benefit from it and to guarantee anonymity of the subject.

3.2.8 Some problems encountered

This was an exercise that was carried out over thirty six months. The interview was the most suitable method, given the circumstances on the ground. Interviews were done when interviewees were available and they were informal. The former war veterans can be regarded as an unpredictable population that is deeply suspicious of any stranger, especially in the light of the current political climate (see Kriger 1992; 2004; Chung 2006; Lyons 2004). Interviews were unstructured, subjects required persuasion and several contacts. In some cases it required a few drinks. It was the unrehabilitated and the less educated who had problems with these interviews while others were openly hostile, others were suspicious.

Another group felt it was below their dignity to go through this type of interview. Most interviewees wanted to know the purpose of the interview. For the less educated it was seen as another investigation. They did not understand the concept of scholarly enquiry.

One recurring element was that the interviews evoked sad memories and traumas, some of which were as fresh as if they happened yesterday. This was more pronounced in the women and this is why most of them declined to be interviewed. The women were more comfortable with a female interviewer and a female war veteran conducted a few interviews among some women.

Identification of genuine guerrillas was another problem at first. The first group of interviewees had much in common with the researcher. There were common variables such as sharing the same age, similar school or

university background. This group understood the significance of research and willingly participated in interviews. Some were actually doing their own studies. With the help of others who had been interviewed the researcher then identified other potential interviewees who were unknown to him. The war veterans had a way of identifying each other, for instance, they would speak a few Portuguese or Swahili words which were part of the military jargon used during that period to see if the person responded appropriately. The interviewer would describe in detail some of the camps they lived in while they were in Mozambique or the areas where they saw action. The interviewer would follow this with a series of cross references with information from previous interviews or from some written records such as McLaughlin (1998) and Bhebe (1999). Through this vetting process identity of the former guerrillas was confirmed. During this process, a lot of data was actually gathered.

Once common identities had been established appointments could then be set up and these were often after working hours in the bars and other public places. It was sometimes difficult to conduct interviews in these places. Interviews were often conducted after spending time with groups of war veterans as a participant observer, but the researcher always made it clear that he was doing some research. A lot of ethnographic notes were written up after each session of observation and interviews. A number of former guerrillas were also interviewed during formal and informal gatherings, for instance at funerals of war veterans or parties where they would gather in numbers. This exercise required patience and took more time than anticipated. Summaries of the interviews are attached in Appendix 2.

3.3. Data analysis procedures

The first phase of the data collection involved both qualitative and quantitative methods. The total number of names collected was counted

and the names were classified into different categories using guidelines from other studies such as Hjerstedt (1987), De Klerk (1998), Koopman (2002) and Pongweni (1983). The names were placed in meaningful groups and these form the categories in this study. This was essentially a qualitative exercise (see Seliger and Shohamy 1989). This was followed by some elementary statistical analysis which was a quantitative exercise. The most frequent names in the collection were identified. Tables which show number of names per source were drawn. A classification was proposed and this facilitated analysis of frequency of names per category. The most frequent names in the whole collection were also identified and presented in a table. These tables are presented in Chapter 4.

The second part of the analysis was qualitative in that it involved a written presentation of the interview data and this was followed by analysis of categories and subcategories developed in the first part. The analysis was essentially interpretative with “thick description” of data (Seliger and Shohamy 1989, Nunan 1992). In the second stage, analysis established patterns that emerged from the interviews and these were related to the variables discussed in Section 2.2.5.2 and the categories developed in the first part of the analysis.

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter gave an outline of the data collection methods. It also described some of the work done by others that informed this study. It outlined the two phases of data collection which entailed consulting secondary sources and conducting interviews. The war veterans as a population were defined and ethical issues were also discussed. Finally, ethical issues surrounding data collection and the data analysis procedures were also discussed. The next chapter presents the results from the data collected.

CHAPTER 4

CATEGORISATION OF NAMES

4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents results from the textual sources and from the interviews. It presents the names in different categories following a classification developed from other studies. There is a brief analysis of the different categories which are divided into subcategories.

4.1 Presentation of results

4.1.1 The textual sources

A total of 4863 names were collected from the textual sources described in Section 3.2.1. Several points need clarification at this stage. The total guerrilla population has never been fully agreed upon and this problem still remains unresolved some 25 years after the war. Guerrilla leaders submitted figures often in excess of 40 000 broken down thus: about 15 000 to 20 000 inside the country and another 30 000 outside the country. Rhodesian authorities estimates were lower with an upper limit of 10 000 in the country and another 15 000 to 20 000 in camps outside the country (Ellert 1989; Simbanegavi 2000; Beckett 2000). According to Beckett (2000):

By the Security Forces' own estimates, the number of guerrillas operating inside Rhodesia grew from 350 or 400 in July 1974 to 700 by March 1976, 2350 by April 1977, 5598 by November 1977, 6456 by March 1978, to 11,183 by January 1979 and as many as 12,500 by the end of the war . . .

He adds:

. . . At the time of the ceasefire an estimated 22,000 ZIPRA and 16,000 ZANLA guerrillas remained uncommitted outside the country, although not all were trained.

Another point is that these war names are from one of the two major armies, namely ZANLA. The names for the ZIPRA forces have not been

considered in this study because it was difficult to access data on this guerrilla army. Therefore, this sample only represents about 10 to 15 % of the total ZANLA guerrilla population at the end of 1979. Table 4.1 shows the number of names collected. This is followed by a brief discussion of the sources.

Table 4.1. Names per source

SOURCE	NUMBER	% of Total Collected
MINISTRY OF INFORMATION	3449	70,9
HERALD	910	18,7
KAHARI	214	4,2
McLAUGHLIN	147	3
ELLERT	90	1,8
GUMBO	50	1
PONGWENI	47	1
WGGLESWORTH	26	0,5
TUNGAMIRAI	20	0,4
SAMUPINDI	19	0,4
SIMBANEGAVI	17	0,3
CHINODYA	14	0,2
MAZORODZE	14	0,2
BHEBHE	14	0,2
OTHERS	27	0,5
Total	4863	99,5

The major sources of the names in this study are the Ministry of Information collection that yielded 72% of the names and the national daily newspaper, *The Herald* of 13 August 1982, that yielded 19% of the names. These two sources give a total of 91% of the names in the collection.

About 4% of the names collected were extracted from the writings of historians McLaughlin (1998) and Ellert (1989). The concerns of historians such as Tungamirai (1995), Simbanegavi (2000) and Bhebe (1999) lie elsewhere and they merely mention these names as part of their

wider discourse. The linguist, Pongweni (1983), dwells specifically on names and devotes a whole chapter to the war names of ZANLA guerrillas. A limited number were also extracted from the works of the novelists, Chinodya (1989), Samupindi (1989), Mazorodze (1989) and Gumbo (1995). These smaller sources have the names that were most commonly used in the operational zones within the country and they are largely male. Some names come from the guerrillas who were interviewed and these are discussed in the second phase of data collection

4.1.2 A scheme of classification

After collection, the names had to be sorted out in some form of classification. This is standard practice recommended by Holland (1990) and Leslie and Skipper (1990). There are as many classifications of names as there are of authors. Each author classifies his collection of names to meet a specific purpose. The classifications discussed below serve as an example of how nicknames have been classified and they reveal some common ground.

The major studies presented here are by Reany (1967), Hjerstedt (1987), Brandes (1975), McDowell (1981), Holland (1990) and Kimenyi (1989). This list is not exhaustive but serves to illustrate the major trends in the process of classification of names.

Hjerstedt (1987) and Reany (1967) have several common threads. Their area of research is the same: nicknames and surnames in England over the last five hundred years hence their work has a strong historical perspective. Their criteria are similar in that they both have identified the categories: physical attributes, mental and moral characteristics, names from flora and fauna and oath names.

The work of Brandes (1975), Gilmore (1985) and McDowell (1981) was done in a Spanish rural setting. Brandes (1975) identifies three categories of the *Mote* (nicknames) for his study of a Spanish village:

- a) Names reflecting anatomical qualities
- b) Names reflecting personality characteristics
- c) Names that are semantically opaque.

McDowell (1986) in his Spanish study identifies four categories of personal naming: the personal name, the legal name, the garden name and the ugly name. The garden name and the ugly name are nicknames. The garden name is similar to *igama lasekhaya*, mildly humorous, but not derogatory and is used in a small social orbit. The ugly name is derogatory to the bearer and is similar to names such as *bhunu* and *kaffir* (Branford and Branford 1991) and these are similar to the ethnic slurs discussed in Section 4.2.4. It is discourteous to say an ugly name in the presence of its bearer.

However, despite these differences, there are several common elements which warrant some common scheme of classification. Holland (1990) examines this problem in some detail and proposes the following classification:

- a) physical or personality characteristics
- b) habits
- c) geographical or place of origin
- d) lineage
- e) events
- f) occupation
- g) traditions
- h) cultural stereotypes
- i) other associations.

The classifications discussed above have influenced this study and have given shape to the classification that was developed for this study.

4.1.3 A classification for war names

For this study nine categories were identified according to source and function. In addition to the sources given in Section 4.1.2 the following also informed the study: De Klerk (1998), Herbert (1999), Herbert and Bogatsu (1990), Holland (1990), Diament (1986), Allen (1983), Kahari (1990), Pongweni (1983) and Chitando (1998a). Out of these different perspectives a classification suitable for this study has been developed (see further discussion in Section 5.2). The categories are as follows:

1. Shona names
2. Mixed names (Shona and English)
3. Names that reflect influence of popular culture
4. Ethnic Slurs
5. Names from Flora and Fauna
6. Names of women
7. Martial names
8. Ideological names
9. Names from other languages

4.1.4 Categories of names

As observed in Section 4.1.2 nine categories were identified for the purposes of this study. The numbers and percentages of each category are given in Table 4.2.

Table 4. 2. Names per source and per category

Source*	Sh/Sh 1	Eng Sh 2	Pop cult 3	Ethni c 4	Flora 5	Wom en 6	Marti al 7	Ideo 8	Other langs 9	Total	%
Ministry	1068	1114	315	267	177	112	113	68	65	3299	72,4
Kahari	140	32	9	2	19	2	3	9	8	214	4,4
Gumbo	13	8	11	0	5	0	0	2	6	45	1
Chinodya	4	1	0	2	0	3	7	0	0	17	0,2
Bhebhe	6	1	5	0	1	0	0	1	0	14	0,2
McLaughlin	40	53	24	0	7	5	3	4	1	137	3,0
Nhongo	6	4	1	3	0	1	1	1	0	17	0,3
Tungamirai	11	3	0	3	0	0	2	0	0	19	0,4
Ellert	28	37	10	2	1	1	1	3	2	85	1,7
Samupindi	8	0	4	2	0	0	3	1	1	19	0,4
Mazorodze	5	4	2	0	0	0	1	1	1	14	0,2
Wigglesworth	0	19	0	0	1	0	3	3	0	26	0,5
Pongweni	17	10	4	3	1	0	7	3	0	45	1
The Herald	271	272	104	92	52	53	24	38	6	912	19
Total	1617	1558	489	376	254	177	168	134	90	4863	
%	33,25	32,00	10,05	7,77	5,0	3,6	3,4	2,75	1,88		100

Key to the categories in Table 4.2

1. Sh/Sh Shona names (Shona first name and Shona surname)
2. Eng/Sh English first name followed by a Shona surname
3. Pop cult Names derived from Popular Culture
4. Ethnic Ethnic slurs
5. Flora/Fauna Names from flora and fauna
6. Women Female names
7. Martial Martial names
8. Ideo Religious, apocalyptic, nationalist and Marxist
9. Other langs Names from other languages

For each category the most frequent names are identified and quantified. Each category is further broken down into subcategories for further analysis and the major patterns and processes are identified and described.

Table 4.3 shows the number of names per category and percentages in descending order from the largest number of names to the smallest.

Table 4.3. The categories of names, total numbers and percentages

Class /category	Number of names	% of total
1. Full Shona names	1617	33,25
2. English first names	1558	32
3. Popular culture	489	10,5
4. Ethnic slurs	376	7,8
5. Flora and Fauna	264	5,0
6. Female names	177	3,6
7. Martial names	168	3,4
8. Ideological names	134	2,75
9. Other languages	90	1,88
Total	4863	100

In Table 4.3, Category 1 (33,25%) and 2 (32%) have a combined total of about 65% of all the names. These were the most popular categories.

However, there are names that are difficult to classify because there is an overlap between categories. A few examples are given here. **Rovesai Mabhunu** (Hit the Boers hard) can be placed within the women's category (6) or in the category of Ethnic slurs (4). **Peter Masango** (Peter Forests) can fit in the Flora and Fauna category (5) or in the mixed English and Shona category. **Moses Bongozozo** (Moses Chaos) is difficult in that **Bongozozo** is Shona, and **Moses** is a biblical name and therefore the name can fit in the Ideological category (9). Similarly, it was decided that wherever possible, names that fit into two categories were listed in the smaller category. It was easier and more effective to analyse names that were in the smaller categories because the larger categories were more general and did not have specific distinctive features that the smaller categories had. For instance, **Hokoyo Inkomo** (Beware Inkomo) was

accommodated in the Martial category (8) rather than in the Shona category (1). Inkomo Barracks was the headquarters of the Rhodesian military unit called the Selous Scouts (Reid Daly 1982).

For most of these war names there is an underlying assumption of a first name and a second name which looks like a “surname”. Although the surname does not really refer to a family of related people it is a pseudo - surname. For example, in the case of **Tonderai Zimbabwe** (Remember Zimbabwe), the first name is **Tonderai** and the surname is **Zimbabwe**. This is a tradition that the guerrillas carried over from official registration of births in government records and wherever a common identity was required. Some war names were "formal" for instance, a guerrilla called himself **Rogers Matongo** (Rogers Ruins) where **Matongo** is an “official” surname or **Evans Hamadziripi** (where are our relatives?). **Hamadziripi** is a surname that is widely used in certain parts of the country. The concept of a pseudonym in the form of a surname gave the bearer a sense of belonging to some clan or sub group within the country.

However, while most carried some form of surname, some had single names like **Mugaradzakasungwa** (He who is always on the move), **Nyika** (Nation) or **Jongwe** (Cock). There are two possible reasons for this. The first is that the second name was dropped through a clerical error at some point in the transcription of the name. This was very possible, given that personnel records and other clerical records were never given the full attention they required. A second reason can be that there was deliberate use of one name, especially if it was a phrase name such as **Kufahakunamemba** (Death is indiscriminate) or **Kangai Mbeu Kurima Kwaramba** (Fry the seed, farming has failed).

Table 4.4 gives names that were most frequent in the collection.

Table 4.4. Frequent names in the collection (the ‘Chimurenga core’ of war names)

Name	N	% of total
Hondo/Muhondo (war/in war)	396	8.2
Mabhunu (Boers)	365	7.2
Chimurenga (Uprising)	329	6.8
Tichatonga (We shall rule)	113	2.3
Magorira (Guerrillas)	91	1.8
Zimbabwe	72	1.5
Nyika (Nation)	54	1.1
Bazooka (Grenade launcher)	31	0.6
Karikoga (One who is alone)	26	0.5
Paradzai (Destroy)	21	0.4
Tambaoga (Play alone)	20	0.4

N is the number of guerrillas who shared the same name and this was converted into a percentage. (The gloss is given in brackets)

4.1.5 The “Chimurenga core” of war names

Table 4.4 gives the set of common war names that appear either as first names or as surnames across the categories. This set of names has been called the “Chimurenga core” of surnames because it is the most common set of names. These names are discussed widely in this chapter and in Chapter 5. There are names such as **Mabhunu Muchapera** (Boers you shall be wiped out) and **Lawrence Mabhunu**. The most common names were those which had the root **Hondo/Muhondo** (war/in war) group with 8.2 %. It should be noted that **Hondo** had variations such as **Muhondo** (in war), **Kuhondo** (to war), **Dzehondo** (of war) and **Chehondo** (of war) that have all been included in this group. This was a common choice that was a reflection of the state of war that the country was in; taking up such a name was a constant reminder of the armed conflict. **Mabhunu** (Boers) with 7.2% was a close second and was an inflammatory name meant to

insult the white farmers (See Section 5.3.5). Its high frequency underlines the strained relations between the antagonists. The name was more common among the men than the women. Names such as **Mabhunu** (Boers) fall under the category of Ethnic Slurs. **Chimurenga** (Uprising) with 6.8 % was also significant and is semantically close to **Hondo**. As observed in Section 1.7.1, **Chimurenga** was the guerrilla code name for the armed conflict and the name can be traced back to the wars of resistance of the last decade of the 19th and early 20th centuries when Imperial powers came into the country (Beach 1989; Bhebe 1999; Ellert 1989). These three names constituted 22.2% of the whole collection. This is significant in that it reflects the onomastic choices that the guerrillas made.

Within the “Chimurenga core” of names are the names **Tichatonga** (We shall rule) with 2.3% and **Magorira** with 1.8%. The latter was borrowed from the English term "guerrillas" and modified to suit the Shona orthography but retains its semantic properties. **Zimbabwe** with 1.5% and **Nyika** (Nation) with 1.1% looked forward to the nation that would be renamed Zimbabwe after the historical monument that carried the same name. As pointed out in Section 1.1 the Zimbabwe ruins is an edifice which was built between 1250 and 1400 AD in the central plateau of Zimbabwe near the town of Masvingo. The Rozwi dynasty in the 16th century hastened the decline of the town by moving their capital further westwards in the 17th century. The name is derived from the Shona *dzimba dzemabwe* meaning ‘houses of stone’. In Shona, *Dzimbahwe* also means ‘the place of the king or the chief’. This suggests Great Zimbabwe was once the place of the king.

Other names within the “Chimurenga core” of war names had less than 1% each: **Bazooka** had 0,6%, **Karikoga** (the one who is alone) 0,5%, **Paradzai** (destroy) 0,4% and **Tambaoga** (Play alone) 0,4%. The rest of

the names in the collection had very low frequencies but they become very significant when examined in their different categories and subcategories. Given that these names are the most frequent they are discussed in considerable depth in Chapter 5.

4.2 Analysis of the categories and subcategories

An analysis of the different categories is given below. The total number of names in the each category is given and the frequent names in the groups are identified. To facilitate discussion in Chapter 5 each category is further subdivided into subcategories which are briefly explained.

The framework for analysis is guided by the work of Edwards (1985) and Joseph (2004) on identity (Section 2.2.5). These two scholars discuss indices of identity in some depth. These indices have been closely related to the categories proposed by other researchers in onomastics in Southern Africa such as De Klerk and Bosch (1995), Koopman (2002), Herbert (1999), Neethling (1994) (see Section 4.1.2). The first category examines Shona surnames that have Shona first names.

4.2.1 Full Shona names

The total number of names collected in this category was 1617 (about 33,25% of the total collection). This is the largest category with nearly one third of the total number of names collected. This is a reflection of the majority language group. A full list of these names and their gloss appears in Appendix 4.

In the following list of the most frequent names the figure in brackets after the name indicates the number of times the name appears in the collection. **Tendai** (Give Thanks) (41), **Shingirai** (Persevere) (36), **Tongai** (Rule) (35). **Tonderai** (Remember) (29), **Farai** (Be happy) (25), **Nhamo** (Tribulation) (23), **Karikoga** (He who is alone) (21), **Taurai** (Speak) (20),

Fungai (Recall) (16), **Hondo/Muhondo** (War/in War) (16), **Bvuma** (Concede) (15), **Shungu** (Determination) (15), **Tafirenyika** (We die for the nation) (13), **Tambaoga** (He who plays alone) (11), **Pfumo** (Spear) (10).

This category was further subdivided into four subcategories.

	N	%
The Innovative Names	881	68
Common Shona Names	308	4
From Shona Literature	83	6
Humorous Names	22	2
Total	1617	100

4.2.1.1 Innovative names

This subcategory comprised 68% of the names in this category. This semantically transparent group often expressed the aspirations of the guerrillas and is largely self explanatory. Many of the names were closely linked to the objectives of the war. There was **Mushatagotsi** (Ugly back of the head) and **Mugaradzakasungwa** (Always ready to travel).

Within this group is a subset of names borrowed from English and which have undergone phonological and orthographical changes, often retaining their semantic properties. This includes names such as **Fadzai Magorira** (Please the guerrillas) and **Winai Nyika** (Win the country).

4.2.1.2 Common Shona names

These are the conventional or formal names (both in the first name and in the 'surnames'). There were names such as **Tafirenyika** (We are dying for the nation) and **Takawira** (We fell into it) which are common surnames in Shona speaking communities in Zimbabwe.

4.2.1.3 Names from Shona literature

This is a sub-set drawn from names in African literature and folklore. **Jekanyika** (He who cuts across the countryside), **Pfumojena** (White Spear), **Karikoga** (The one who is alone), **Tambaoga** (Play alone), **Kufahakurambwi** (Death is inevitable), **Sherekete** (The mischevious one), **Dzasukwa** (They have been washed) and **Ropa Rembwa** (Blood of a dog). These names were drawn from Shona novels written in the pre-war years.

4.2.1.4 Names associated with humour

This is a small group. Like any other war, the guerrilla war had its share of clowns and jesters who provided some comic relief in the face of horrors and traumas of the endless bloodshed which drove some insane. This includes names such as **Kakari Komusungwa** (A pot of fresh beer), **Chidhoma Chehondo** (Ghost of war), **Chidhoma Chapenga** (The ghost has gone mad), **Hariyanyumwa** (A pot with a sixth sense) and **Matako Enyoka** (Buttocks of a snake).

4.2.2 Shona surnames with English first names

The total number of names in this category was 1558 (about 32 % of the total collection). This is the second largest category accounting for nearly one third of the total number of names collected. A full list of these names and their gloss appears in Appendix 4.

Frequent names in this category are: **Peter** (57), **John** (47), **Charles** (29), **David** (29), **Joseph** (25), **Lovemore** (17), **Patrick** (17), **Bruce** (12), **Herbert** (12), **James** (12), **Rex** (12), **Trust** (12),

Most of these names are common English names that were widely used in the country. This was a fairly large group that often carried a foreign first name, a "conventional" English name or a Christian first name, followed

by a Shona name. Most of these names have become opaque over the centuries.

The category was further subdivided into four subcategories:

	N	%
Common English names	717	46
Biblical names	482	31
Innovative names	312	20
Classical names	47	3
Total	1558	100

4.2.2.1 Common English names

In the first subcategory the guerrilla adopted a European name and added a Shona “surname” to it. For example, there was **Peter Hondo** (Peter War), **Lloyd Chaminuka** (Chaminuka is opaque), **Bruce Chimurenga** (Bruce Uprising). By adopting common English names they remained conventional.

4.2.2.2 Names of Biblical origin

Christian first names such as **Peter, David, Joseph, Zebedee, Aaron, Abel, Josiah,** and **Judah** suggest the influence of the Christian mission in Rhodesia especially after the large influx of school children to the ranks of the guerrillas as from 1975. After 1975 guerrilla ranks in Mozambican camps were swelled by large numbers of school children who abandoned their studies and joined ZANLA (McLaughlin 1998; Beckett 2000). These “plain” names suggested “neutrality” and data from the interviews indicates that some guerrillas who had these names had possibly gone to Christian schools in the country. However, it should be noted that Christian names are common in English speaking communities throughout the world and reflect a Christian cultural heritage. Many people use such names without really thinking they are Christian.

4.2.2.3 Innovative names

This subcategory included names such as **Killmore**, **Nomore Kandonga** (No more small walking stick), **Cancer Musapanduka** (Cancer do not defect), **Sungrey Simbanemutupo** (Sun grey power of the totem). These names are discussed in some detail in Section 5.3.1.

4.2.2.4 Names from classical mythology and history

The last subcategory was comprised of a few names that were borrowed from classical mythology. This included **Hector Muridzo**, **Gorgon Medusa**, **Julius Kunaka** and **Hannibal**. This is a small group that was probably influenced by their reading of Greek and Roman history at school or the study of Latin which was common in Zimbabwean schools prior to the war.

4.2.3 Names from popular culture

This is the third largest category. A full list of these names and their gloss appears in Appendix 4.

Frequent names in this category are: **Kid** (23), **Mike** (19), **Jimmy** (19), **Joe** (16), **Max** (12), **Sam** (11), **Dick** 9, **Zex** 9, **Billy/Bill** 7, **Jack/Jacks** 7, **Amigo** 7.

The category was further subdivided into four subcategories:

	N	%
Western forms	200	41
Shortened forms	192	39
Local slang	60	13
Other	37	9
Total	489	100

This group drew its names from popular cultural forms such as music, films and comic strips emanating from South Africa and the western World in the late sixties and early seventies (Hall 1984). Data from the

Ministry of Information and *The Herald* suggests that most of the names in this category were names used in the operational zone away from the formalities of the camp.

4.2.3.1 The western forms

This subcategory was influenced by music, films and comic strips and novels that came out of South Africa and the western World between 1950 and 1970. **Black Sabbath** was named after a European rock group of the seventies. **Black Moses** was taken up from Isaac Hayes, the composer of the soundtrack for the film “Shaft”. The title of this film inspired someone to take up the name **Donald Shaft**.

James Bond, **Fantomas** and its variant **Funtomas**, **Mike Hammer**, **Double Killer**, **Special Killer**, **Killer** and **Flint** were drawn from films on espionage and crime which were often modelled on the American CIA and FBI or the British MI 5, Scotland Yard and the Special Air Service. The guerrilla who adopted the name **Joe Fraser**, was probably a fan of the heavyweight boxing champion. The name **Alistair Maclean** was undoubtedly inspired by the well-known writer Alistair Maclean. Most teenagers of the 1960s and 1970s read Alistair Maclean along with Ian Fleming’s James Bond series and Mickey Spillane’s Mike Hammer. Most of these novels were turned into films as well, which meant they had a wider audience than the written form.

Names were adopted from comic strips that were popular in the 1960s and 1970s in Zimbabwe and South Africa (for example, **Charlie Brown**, of *Peanuts* fame and **Roy Rogers**.)

4.2.3.2 The shortened (hypocoristic) forms

The second subcategory is comprised of shortened forms of common names and there is some debate over the classification of such names.

Some argue that they are nicknames, others call them “pet” names (Neethling 1990, Jenkins 1991, Mathangwane and Gardner 1998). Koopman (2002:26) expresses his misgivings about calling the short form of a name a nickname. Instead he calls it a “variation” of the personal name: “... if a personal name is ‘Joseph’, Joe is not an extra name, but a variation.” In this discussion the shortened form is taken as a pet name or a nickname and has been handled as a separate subcategory under popular names, given the use of these names in communities associated with popular culture. Some of the war names are derived from Biblical names, for example, **Mike** is derived from Michael, **Jimmy** is from James, **Joe** is from Joseph, **Sam** is from Samuel, **Zex** is from Zachariah. Others reflect contact with cowboy films, for example, **Billy** is probably from Billy the Kid, a western outlaw.

4.2.3.3 Names from local slang

In the third subcategory were names derived from local urban varieties of Shona such as **Tiringindi Open Daiza**. **Tiringindi** is a Shona ideophone expressing an emotion close to the surprise of opening the Pandora’s Box. **Daiza** is Shona slang for money. It is not clear what motivated such a name. In this category there were also names such as **Chongo Chimusoro** (Disorder in a big head), **Hovhiyo** (Chaos) **Mujubeki Bvuma** (Man from Johannesburg accept) and **Danger Skelemu** (Danger is cunning). *Chongo* is Shona slang for chaos. Probably the name denoted a head that was full of the chaos of war. **Chongo** is closely related to **Hovhiyo**, which is also another name from Shona slang meaning chaos and disorder. *Jubeki* is the Shona modification of the shortened form of name Johannesburg, Jo’burg and **Mujubeki** means a man from Johannesburg. In Zimbabwe **Mujubeki** was often a *tsotsi* or a conman and it first appears in Zimbabwean literature in Mungoshi’s Shona novel *Makunun’unu Maodza Mwoyo*. **Skelemu** is a sign meaning danger which is found on high voltage electrical installations and powerlines in Zimbabwe and it is derived from

the Afrikaans word *skelm*, meaning cunning. All these names which are drawn from local urban varieties such as Tsotsitaal reflected the urban background of some of the guerrillas who carried them.

4.2.3.4 Names from common nouns and phrases

The fourth subcategory is comprised of names derived from common nouns or phrases. Most of these were transparent and often had little to do with the goals of *Chimurenga* as found in other categories. There were names such as **Top Ten**, **Small Time**, **Sugar Sugar** and **Still Available**. **Top Ten** was possibly inspired by the music charts that were broadcast over the radio. Some of these names were chosen for their humorous nature. There was **Teaspoon**, **Chingwa** (Bread), **Kitsi Dozen** (Dozen cats) **Munyu Wehondo** (Salt of the war), **Maburezha**, (a corruption for brassieres) and **Backside**.

Munyu Wehondo may have Biblical connotations where Jesus (Matt. 5:13) says “...you are the salt of the earth...” In this case **Munyu Wehondo** meant the salt of the war: meaning “the essence of the war”. Maybe **Munyu Wehondo** had a Christian background. **Mabhurezha** is a morphological modification of the English word brassiere. It retained its semantic properties and the guerrilla chose this name with its effeminate attributes for humour.

4.2.4 Ethnic slurs

The total number of names in this category was 376 and this is the fourth largest category. A full list of these names and their gloss appears in Appendix 4.

Frequent names in this category are: **Mabhunu** (Boers) (365), **Muchapera** (You shall be wiped out) (26), **Vachena** (Whites) (16),

Paradzai (Destroy) (16), **Dzingai** (Expel) (15), **Muchaneta** (You shall get tired) (8), **Pedzisai** (Finish off) (8), **Killer** 7.

The category was further subdivided into three subcategories:

	N	%
Openly aggressive	275	73
'Mild' slurs	56	15
Slurs with English names	45	12
Total	376	100

The phrase 'ethnic slurs' was coined by Allen (1990) in his studies of derogatory names used by different American communities. He observes that "the overt purpose of an ethnic epithet is to insult and to injure" (Allen 1990:8). He also points out that these names become sharper and more bitter when there is some form of conflict. The Zimbabwean War was no exception. Pongweni (1983) coins the phrase "argument by proxy" to explain some of the names that were an open challenge to the enemy. Herbert (1999) calls them "friction names". Gilmore (1982) and Allen (1990) refer to this phenomenon as "verbal aggression" and Prabhakaran (1999) uses the phrase "oral aggression".

Three subcategories have been identified within this category. First, there are names that were very aggressive which openly taunted and challenged the enemy. Secondly, there were the "Mild slurs" and thirdly, there were the "English slurs".

4.2.4.1 The openly aggressive names

Within the openly aggressive subcategory the name **Mabhunu** (Boers) and its variations was by far the most widely used name. It is one of the most common names in the whole collection where it appears 365 times and it was used both as a first name and as a surname. *Mabhunu* itself was an originally innocent label that meant an Afrikaner farmer but it acquired

negative connotations and became a slur (Gumbo 1995, Koopman 2002; Branford and Branford 1981).

The name **Mabhunu** is discussed in some depth in Section 5.3.5, at this point the discussion simply highlights the salient features of the name in this category. **Mabhunu Varoyi Muchapera** (Boers, you wizards, we shall wipe you out) expresses deep bitterness. In most African communities witchcraft was a very serious offence punishable by death. In other words *Mabhunu* were equated with witches and the name was actually a death sentence. **Bayai Mabhunu** (Stab the Boers), **Rovai Mabhunu** (Hit the Boers), **Pfurai Mabhunu** (Shoot the Boers), **Pondai Mabhunu** (Kill the Boers) and **Urayai Mabhunu** (Kill the Boers) were all variations of expressing the desire to eliminate a specific ethnic group and they leave no room for negotiation. **Pisai Mabhunu** (Incinerate the Boers) suggested throwing them into a furnace and **Zondai Mabhunu** (Hate the Boers) is extremely inflammatory. **Dzasukwa Gezai Mabhunu** (The guns have been cleaned, wash away the Boers) was a call to wipe out all *Mabhunu* as if they were dross. **Pfutseki Mabhunu** (*Voertsek* Boers) was equally bitter. *Pfutseki* is a Shona modification of the Afrikaans word *voertsek* meaning “go away” (Koopman 2002) and it has found its way into many Southern African languages. In these other languages as in Shona, it has become a swear word and for someone to use that word when addressing you is a deep insult. The collective identity in the name **Mabhunu** is an address to the whole group.

Within this subgroup were names that made an elliptical reference to **Mabhunu**. While the name was not spelt out, the venom was still retained. **Budai Tirwe** (Come out and let’s fight) and **Kanganwai Hamutikundi** (Forget it, you will never defeat us) were clear statements of defiance and determination. **Tendai Zvatinotaura** (Listen to what we say) is an uncompromising statement and suggests beating the enemy into

submission. **Taiti Vanhu** (We thought they were people) suggests the enemy is a beast devoid of any human values.

4.2.4.2 The mild slurs

In the second subcategory, the "mild" slurs carried less venom and often had first names that were common in the Shona community. Examples include, **Maidei Mabhunu** (Boers what did you want?), **Takawira Mabhunu** (We fell onto the Boers), **Sekai Mabhunu** (Laugh at the Boers).

4.2.4.3 The innovative slurs

Within this subcategory are English names that were openly aggressive and taunted the enemy. These were innovative names that were transparent – a trend that De Klerk and Bosch (1995) observe in their research among the Xhosa. **Pack and Go**, **Boers Ibvai** (Boers get out), **Boer Chopper**, **Killmore Mabhunu**, **Crashmore Mabhunu** and **Slaughter Vasinamabvi** (Those with no knees) were uncompromising names and left no room for any kind of negotiation. *Vasinamabvi* is an old Shona phrase describing the whites. The term is often attributed to a 19th Century Shona spirit medium, Chaminuka, who warned the Shona of people who 'had no knees' who were coming from the south. This referred to the Pioneer Column which came in from South Africa in 1890 because they wore trousers so their knees were not visible (Caute 1983).

4.2.5 Flora and fauna

The total number of names collected in this category was 264. A full list of these names and their gloss appears in Appendix 4.

Frequent names in this category are: **Sango** (Forest) (67), **Shumba** (Lion) (41), **Masango** (Forests) (31), **Chipembere** (Rhino) (15), **Gondo** (Eagle)

(13), **Tsuro** (Hare) (13), **Nzou** (Elephant) (9), **Chapungu** (Bateleur eagle) (4).

The category was further subdivided into two subcategories:

	N	%
Fauna	179	72
Flora	70	28
Total	264	100

This is a small but significant group. Within the fauna subcategory there are names referring to carnivores, herbivores, rodents, birds, domestic animals, insects and snakes. Most of these have some aggressive attribute or some strength. Within the fauna subcategory **Shumba** (lion) is predominant and within the flora subcategory **Sango** (forest/bush) and its variant **Masango** is predominant.

4.2.5.1 Names from fauna

From the names of birds guerrillas took up names such as **Chapungu** (Bateleur Eagle), **Gondo** (Eagle), **Gora** (Vulture), **Shiri** (Bird) and **Jongwe** (Cock). From the mammals came names such as **Tsuro** (hare), **Mhene/Mhembwe** (Duiker), **Chipembere** (Rhinoceros), **Shumba** (Lion). These names are further discussed in Section 5.3.6.

Animal names were common because they were also totems of different clans. It is quite possible that some of the guerrillas took up animal names that were already their own totems. The importance of totems is discussed by Pongweni (1996) and is further developed in Section 5.3.6.

Black Mamba and **Cobra** reflect the names of snakes which were common in the bush, but there are a few records of snakebites in the guerrilla war. Some guerrillas no doubt hoped to put a sting into their personalities by acquiring names such as **Black Bee**, **Mago** (Wasps) and **Chinyavada** (Scorpion).

4.2.5.2 Names from flora

Some took up names drawn from flora such as **Tumai Mashizha** (Send leaves), **Tsanga Dzaoma** (The reeds are dry), **Masango** (Forests). **Sango Dema** (Thick bush) and **Chigara Musango** (The creature that lives in the bush) reflected the link between the guerrilla and the bush.

4.2.6 Names of women

The total number of names collected in this category was 177. A full list of these names and their gloss appears in Appendix 4.

Frequent names in this category are: **Fungai** (Meditate) (8), **Tendai** (Give thanks) (8), **Farai** (Be happy) (6), **Resistance** (6), **Susan** (6)

The category was further subdivided into four subcategories:

	N	%
The "Conventional" English names	75	43
The "Conventional" Shona names	50	28
The "Virtue" names	30	17
Innovative Shona names	22	13
Total	177	100

From the data collected, the most reliable source of women's names is in *The Herald* and the Ministry of Information book. Data on this important category is far from adequate and these figures are not a true representation of the numbers involved in the conflict. There are two possible explanations to this. First, some names were used by both sexes and where this is not made clear the name has been classified as male. Secondly, some women's names were not recorded or were lost in the shift from one camp to another. All names in other categories that have been identified as female names have been brought into this category. This category can be divided into four subcategories.

4.2.6.1 Conventional English first names

The first is the group of "conventional" English first names (43% of the female names collected). It seems that many women looked back to their original identities and this included European names that they knew. To the conventional first name they often added a conventional surname from the common "Chimurenga core" of surnames presented in Table 4.4. They took up surnames such as **Chimurenga** (Uprising), **Hondo** (War), **Mabhunu** (Boers), **Magorira** (Guerrillas) and **Tichatonga** (We shall rule). So **Moreblessing Chimurenga**, **Susan Chimurenga**, **Viola Hondo**, **Lucia Hondo**, **Martha Mabhunu**, **Christina Magorira**, **Petty Tichatonga** and **Dorren Tichatonga** were fairly 'conventional' war names found among women. A few took up other surnames such as **Diana Masango** (Forests), **Choice Nyika** (Nation) and **Mary Vatema** (Black people).

4.2.6.2 Conventional Shona names

In the second subcategory there were "conventional" Shona names that were also taken up from the "Chimurenga core" of names (28% of the collected female names fall in this group). The "Chimurenga core" of names is discussed in Section 4.1.5 and presented in Table 4.4. There was **Tambudzai Mabhunu** (Harass the Boers), **Tendai Chimurenga** (Give thanks to Chimurenga), **Sarudzai Chimurenga** (Choose Chimurenga), **Yeukai Hondo** (Remember the war), **Chipo Tichatonga** (Gift we shall rule), **Paidamoyo** (Where the heart wanted) and **Farai Magorira** (Guerrillas be happy).

4.2.6.3 The "virtue" names

In the third subcategory was the "virtue group" (with 17%) with names such as **Resistance Mauto** (Resistance soldiers), **No Rest Muhondo** (No rest in war), **Takesure Chimurenga**, and **Trymore Muhondo** (Try more

in war). These names are transparent statements of mild resistance and they extol values of resilience, endurance, courage, hence they are called the “virtue” group. While they were innovative, they lacked the offensive and defiant edge found in names such as **Mabhunu Muchatibaba** (Boers, you shall swear by your fathers) or **Fix Mabhunu** (Fix the Boers). They ended as an act of renaming and did not go beyond into the wider psychological realm of redefining political goals and identities (see Section 5.1.5 and 5.3.7).

4.2.6.4 Innovative Shona names

In the fourth subcategory were innovative Shona names (with 13%) where there were names such as **Sekai Muchatida** (Laugh but you shall like us), **Shingirai Hondo** (Persevere at war) and **Zvisinei Tichatonga** (Never mind we shall rule). There were bolder names such as **Vengai Vadzvanyiriri** (Hate the oppressors), **Rwisai Mabhunu** (Fight the Boers) and **Teurai Ropa** (Spill blood) in this subcategory. Probably this is the most aggressive subcategory in the female category. There were also a few Nguni names such as **Nyembezi** (Tears) and **Sithembile** (Trust).

There are several important issues that have to be considered in this group and these are raised in Section 5.3.7.

4.2.7 Martial names

The total number of names collected in this category was 162. A full list of these names and their gloss appears in Appendix 4.

Frequent names in this category are: **Bazooka** (35), **Gidi** (Rifle) (25), **Chigwagwagwa** (Submachinegun) (11), **Sub** (AK 47 submachinegun) (8), **Bomba** (Bomber) (4)

The category was further subdivided into five subcategories:

	N	%
Weaponry	99	61
Ammunition	36	20
Rank	15	10
Tactical names	10	6
Aircraft	8	3
Total	168	100

4.2.7.1 Weaponry

In this subcategory are names such as **Torai Zvombo** (Take up arms), **Gidi Ishumba** (The gun is a lion), and **Ridzai Gidi** (Fire the gun). These names show the importance of weapons in the war and this category is further discussed in Section 5.3.8.

4.2.7.2 Ammunition and explosives

In this subcategory were names such as **Carlos Chombo** (Carlos the weapon), **Gunpowder Shungu** (Gunpowder determination), **Atomic Bomb**, **Mbumburu Kupisa** (The Bullets are hot), **Mbumburu** (Bullets), **Bara Haripotse** (The bullet does not miss), **Mabhombanechombo** (He who bombs with a weapon), **Tonderai Chimbambaira** (Remember the landmine) and **Chimbambaira Chadhuuka** (The landmine has exploded). *Chimbambaira* was a metaphor for the antitank landmine. *Mbambaira* is a tropical sweet potato which grows tubers underground and is found throughout Southern Africa. Planting a mine was expressed in the form of a metaphor borrowed from planting sweet potatoes.

Shona ideophones were a source of lively martial names such as **Chidhamudhamu** and **Chigwagwagwa**. These names often reflect the use of onomatopoeia qualities, alliteration or assonance. Pfukwa (2003:18) explains **Chidhamudhamau** and **Chigwagwagwa**:

Chidhamudhamu was an onomatopoeic rendition of shells exploding in rapid succession . . . the bearer of this name compared himself to this piece of artillery which could fire several shells in a short span of time causing terror and mayhem in the enemy lines. **Chigwagwagwa** is also an onomatopoeic expression, simulating the staccato burst of a sub-machinegun. Again, the bearer chose this name because he wanted to be like the AK 47 sub-machinegun.

4.2.7.3 Military rank

From military rank and similar terms came names such as **Saboteur**, **Zanla Gunner**, **General Jesenga** (General weaver bird), **Captain Hondo** (Captain War), **Captain Dick**, **Marshal Manica** (a province in Mozambique) and **Lancer Man** (The launcher of rifle grenades). The last name was a colloquial term that described a person who operated a rifle that launched grenades. This was a modified version of the AK 47 that launched armour piercing grenades and was capable of immobilising vehicles and aircraft.

4.2.7.4 Tactical names

Others took up tactical names such as **Disperse Patiri Pakashata** (Disperse we are in a dangerous spot), **Vigilance Muhondo** (Vigilance in war), **Dzapoka Manheru** (Gunfire in the evening). There were names such as **Tabatana Muhondo** (We are united in the war) and **Rwirai Nyika** (Fight for the Nation). **Tactics Vanetsa** (Tactics they are difficult) was advice to the guerrillas to be tactical when engaging Rhodesian soldiers. **Zvikaramba Toedza Zvimwe** (If this fails we will try other things) and **Reconnaissance** were self explanatory as well as **Dzasukwa Dzarira** (The guns have been cleaned after use). In the last name there was an echo of *Dzasukwa Mwana Asina hembe* – the novel by Patrick Chakaipa (1967). War names from Shona Literature are discussed in some detail in Section 5.1.5.

4.2.7.5 Names of aircraft

Others took up names of aircraft such as **Dakota Hondo** (Dakota war). The Douglas DC 3/C47 “Dakota” was an old World War II transporter which was the backbone of the Rhodesian Air Force (Ellert 1989). It ferried troops into battle zones and naturally the guerrillas came to detest it. So this guerrilla was suggesting that the sight of a DC3 Dakota or its ominous rumble meant a looming battle. **Dick Nyamhanza** (Dick the bald one) was a nickname used by guerrillas to describe the Alouette III helicopter which played an important part in operations against the guerrillas. The baldness was attributed to the glass windows that gleamed like a bald head. The bigger and more powerful Augusta Bell HU II had less glass and was never given this nickname. **Maturura Ndege** (He who brings down aircraft) saw himself as an anti-aircraft battery.

4.2.8 Ideological names

The total number of names collected in this category was 134. A full list of these names and their gloss appears in Appendix 4.

The category was further subdivided into six subcategories:

	N	%
The Zimbabwe surname	50	37
Marxist	25	19
Judeo Christian/Diabolic	25	18
Africa	18	14
Religious and “apocalyptic”	11	8
Zimbabwean placenames	5	4
Total	134	100

4.2.8.1 The Zimbabwe surname

The Zimbabwe surname projected a national ethos and collective identity. It was an important statement about group identity, a yearning for a nation yet to be born. Nationalistic ideals were inevitably part of the Chimurenga onomastic discourse. **Black Zimbabwe** was all about solidarity but had ethnic overtones. **Dzarira MuZimbabwe** (Gunfire in Zimbabwe) denoted

the state of war in the country and **Manyuchi MuZimbabwe** (Honey in Zimbabwe) “the land of milk and honey” echoed a biblical reference to Canaan, (Exodus 3:8). **Tichaitora Zimbabwe** (We shall take over Zimbabwe) reflected a fierce determination to rule the nation despite the numerous challenges that were encountered. These names reflected the aspirations of a new nation at a time when it appeared impossible to liberate it. The name **Zimbabwe** was discussed in Section 4.1.2.

4.2.8.3 Marxist names

Data from the interviews suggests guerrillas who used this name were generally a literate group which appears to have read Karl Marx and the selected works of Mao Tse Tung and they took up names such as **Marx Shungu, Che Guevara** and **Stalin**. Some of the guerrillas who were interviewed indicated that they had picked these names from their studies at university. Marxist ideology was in vogue around this time and was considered the most effective response to colonial rule and capitalism.

4.2.8.4 Religious and “apocalyptic” names

This is another small subcategory but is very significant in that it cuts through deeply ingrained religious traditions. Names such as **Jesus Christ** or **Jesus Hondo** (Jesus War) questioned Christian values and undermined the very basis of Christianity. Some of these religious names had links with Liberation Theology which is explained in Section 5.3.4. Other names related to the devil, for example, **Devil Eyes** and **Devol Devosa**. **Devol** is a corruption of **Devil** and the origins of **Devosa** are not clear.

4.2.8.5 Other names from Africa and the rest of the world

Some of these names were statements of brotherhood. Guerrillas were very grateful for the material support from the eastern bloc countries such as the Soviet Union, China, Yugoslavia. So there was **China Zulu**, and **Soviet Chimurenga**. **America Mudzvanyiriri** (America the oppressor)

was a protest name accusing the USA of being the mother of all oppressors. **Kissinger Mudzvanyiriri** (Kissinger the oppressor) was an insult on the architect of the southern African *détente* in 1975. This stemmed from the political dichotomy of the Cold War which divided the world between socialists and capitalists. The name **Canada Dry** was derived from the name of a soft drink that was popular in the country in 1970s, but the motive for **Canada Museve** (Canada arrow) is not clear.

Zaire Yauya (Zaire has come), **Namibia Mukono** (Namibia is a bull), **Tanzania Chimurenga** (Tanzania Uprising), **Libya Masango** (Libya forests) were statements of solidarity in the African brotherhood of nations. Ironically, there is little historical record of Zairean support for the Zimbabwean *Chimurenga*.

Makarikari reflected a wider knowledge of the geography of Africa. This is a salt pan in the northern part of Botswana and most probably the bearer picked it up from lessons in geography. **Mboroma** and **Soweto Mujiba** had strong revolutionary connotations. Mboroma was a camp in Zambia where Zanla guerrillas lived in the early 1970s before they moved to Mozambique. The name **Soweto** was a reminder of the 1976 massacres in Soweto. **Mujiba** was the term used to describe young male civilians who gathered intelligence for the guerrillas.

4.2.8.6 Zimbabwean placenames

A few adopted Zimbabwean placenames such as **Enkledoorn**, **Bindura**, **Birchenough** and river names such as **Odzi**. The war name **Enkeldoorn** was ironic in that it was an Afrikaans name for a small town some one hundred and forty kilometres south of Harare and it was in the heart of a European farming area. Birchenough Bridge spans the Sabi River in the eastern part of the country. It was designed by Sir Ralph Freeman and built by Sir Henry Birchenough in 1932.

4.2.9 Other languages

This category is comprised of names derived from languages other than English and Shona. The total number of names collected in this category was 90. A full list of these names and their gloss appears in Appendix 4.

Frequent names in this category are: **Kanyau** (Recoilless rifle) (11), **Chaka** (8), **Dingaan** (5)

The category was further subdivided into seven subcategories:

	N	%
Portuguese Roots	22	24
Nguni	22	24
Zulu/Nguni warriors	14	16
Fanakalo	20	12
Afro - Arab	8	9
Swahili/Malawian	8	9
European/American	6	7
Total	90	100

This is a small but significant group.

4.2.9.1 Names from Portuguese and German

War names with Portuguese roots are in keeping with the long history of Mozambican/Portuguese-Zimbabwean cultural contact over the centuries. There is a set of war names from celebrated Mozambican, Angolan and Portuguese leaders. There was **Moses Machel**, **Ndugu Samora**, and **Samora Machel** all after the first President of Mozambique, Samora Machel. Others were inspired by the Portuguese General Antonio Spínola who masterminded the 1974 coup in Lisbon to take the name **Spinola**. The name **Savimbi** drew inspiration from Jonas Savimbi when Unita was still fighting the Portuguese. There were names drawn from weapons such as **Kanyau** (*cañao*), **Otenda Dozhi** (*otenda e dois*) and **Makasha** (*caixha*). These names are discussed in Section 5.3.8.

A few German names were identified. There was **Mennard Magamba** and **Zeppelin**. **Mennard** was probably a modification of the German name Meinhardt, a name that was found among some people in the Zimbabwean community. **Zeppelin** might have been inspired by the airship built by Graf von Zeppelin at the beginning of the 20th century.

4.2.9.2 The Nguni subcategory

The names of the Ndauspeaking group often carried Nguni influence (Hachipola 1998). Within the group are Ndau names such as **Jimmy Jambaya** (opaque), **Ngungunyani** (the last king of the Gaza state) and Ndebele names such as **Mtunzi we Langa** (Shadow of sun), **Robert Ndlovu** (Robert Elephant), **Charles Ndlovu** (Charles Elephant), **Ngulube** and **Calistus Siziba**. Over the years some guerrillas moved to ZANU from ZIPRA which had large numbers of Ndebele speakers.

4.2.9.3 Names from Fanakalo

Some war names were derived from Fanakalo as well. Fanakalo was a master-servant language that was used in the mines and farms of southern Africa (Finlayson et al. 1987). Some war names suggest that some guerrillas had worked on the farms and in the mines where it was the *lingua franca*. Comrade **Faka Moto** (Set on Fire), **Bulala Zonke** (Kill them all), **Maningi Time** (a lot of time) are some notable examples.

4.2.9.4 Names from Swahili

Swahili names appeared in the latter years of the war with the greater numbers coming in from Nachingwea, a camp in Tanzania. **Harakka** (Hurry up) and **Mahandaki** (Trenches) reflect Swahili influence especially in the last few years when Tanzanian trained guerrillas entered the country in large numbers (Godwin and Hancock 1993; Moorcraft and McLaughlin 1982).

There are others that reflected Arabic/Israeli influence, for example, **Kufa Mahommed**, **Amin**, **Sadat**, **Arafat**, **Moshe**. Some of these were practicing Muslims who found their way into the ranks. Others drew inspiration from the PLO guerrillas such as Yasser Arafat and **Moshe** was inspired by Moshe Dayan the Israeli General who masterminded the Israeli offensive in the Arab-Israeli war of 1967.

4.3. Orthographic and typographic problems

Records in the operational area were not very accurate and for security reasons paperwork was kept at a minimal level. Some names were unclassifiable largely due to scribal errors, hence the names became opaque.

The phrase *scribal errors* was coined by De Klerk (1998) meaning clerical errors made during the recording and registration of names she observed in her research in South Africa. Spelling is a common problem in recording nicknames in any language as there is considerable flexibility between the oral and written forms of the name (De Klerk 1998). When the officials failed to pronounce a name they anglicized it and this also happened in some cases in the recording of the war names. What remains unclear is to what extent these were genuine errors or simply deliberate modifications.

Errors in the Zimbabwean war names were probably due to one or a combination of the following:

1. Low level of literacy of the recording clerk. This was common given that clerical work was a position of privilege and power. The position was not necessarily filled through merit.

2. The second level of errors could have been in transcribing the names from one list to another. There was a lot of duplication and it should be borne in mind that guerrillas were operating in an environment which was not conducive to clerical work.
3. There was frequent movement of guerrillas from camp to camp in the rear or from unit to unit in the operational area. There was no formal system of transfer of personnel records from one unit to another especially in the operational areas. Therefore it was often difficult to trace a person over the years. Moreover, a lot of records were lost during the transfer of cadres from the external camps into Zimbabwe after independence in 1980.
4. Records were lost during the sporadic raids across the borders. The Rhodesian forces regularly seized records whenever they attacked the guerrillas. What they could not carry off they destroyed (Ellert 1989; Reid Daly 1982; Stiff 1985). These records yielded valuable intelligence information hence it was prudent for guerrillas to keep such records to a bare minimum. Where such records were lost it was difficult to reconstruct them (Ellert 1989; Godwin and Hancock 1993; Reid Daly 1982).

There are numerous typographical errors in the Roll of Honour List in *The Herald* and in *The Fallen Heroes* (1983). For example, **Romio, Starlin, Lee Malvern** are clearly clerical errors. The correct forms are Romeo, Stalin and Lee Marvin respectively. However, others are more difficult, for example how does one explain **Fango Sadhuku** and **Spazho**? If properly trained secretaries using the state of the art equipment and with proof readers make typographical errors, we cannot expect much from handwritten records in the middle of the bush in a war situation.

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter has presented, described and categorised names used by guerrillas. It went on to present data from interviews of surviving guerrillas. Names are vast repositories of history and culture and are a part of the total chronicle of a people's experience. This becomes more pronounced in a conflict situation. Most of these names described in this chapter carry a package of perceptions that mean different things to different people and this does not necessarily coincide with the intended meaning as shown by data from the interviews in Section 5.6. The different names used by different social groups for themselves or when referring to others reflect the intensity and passion of the perennial struggle for physical, social and ideological space. Names become the discursive space where identities are carved and power games are played. These are the issues which are explored in some depth in Chapter 5.

CHAPTER 5

NEGOTIATING IDENTITIES IN THE GUERRILLA WAR NAMES

5.0 Introduction

Where Chapter 4 described the naming patterns and classified the names using a system developed by the researcher, this chapter discusses the findings, linking them to onomastic theory, pragmatics and theories of identity that were raised in Chapter 2. It examines the processes of concealing and creating identities and it considers how these identities can be viewed as contested spaces, especially in a conflict situation. It explores the links between indices of identity raised in Chapter 2 and the onomastic categories discussed in some depth in Chapter 4. Salient features of the different categories are examined along with common features across the categories. The various aspects of identity are then brought into perspective as the war names described in Chapter 4 are discussed with supporting examples from the data collected through interviews. In this chapter variables are explored using insights gained from other disciplines such as sociology, anthropology and philosophy.

5.1 Concealing and creating identities

Among the guerrillas concealing an identity was also a process of creating a new identity. The process of renaming opened up to new possibilities, new attributes, new values, reshaping ideologies and creating new concepts of the self as well as redefining the groups within which the self operated. What other functions did these names serve? Beyond concealing identities what other identities did the new names project? To what extent were the guerrillas aware of the meanings of their names? How did they perceive themselves and how did others perceive these names? This chapter seeks to answer these questions.

5.1.1 Functions of the war name

Each war name was given to fulfill certain functions that went beyond simple reference. In the Zimbabwean conflict, the war name was: "...a social statement reflecting the bearer, the namer and the social environment within which the name is found" (Pfukwa 2003:16).

The war names concealed identities and were indicators of the sociocultural background of the guerrillas. They were a medium through which feelings were expressed as shown by some of the ethnic slurs that reflect the bitterness of the conflict. They effectively blurred regional and ethnic identities and were a strong statement of resistance and a new ideology (Pfukwa 2003).

The functions of war names outlined above are similar to those given by Holland (1990) for nicknames which are summarized below:

- 1) The nickname is a form of classification of different social groups
- 2) Nicknames help construct group identities and are symbols of such solidarity
- 3) Nicknames can be a form of social control
- 4) Nicknames can mark out social groups or individuals
- 5) Nicknaming can guide one's perceptions of others
- 6) Names can be agents of "ego identity and oral aggression"

Concealing identities and creating new ones is a process that is continuously being negotiated between the bearer of the name and the community with which the bearer interacts. The next section takes a closer look at the process of negotiating identities.

5.1.2 Negotiating identities

Negotiating identities is a multifaceted process. An identity is not fixed but is constantly being negotiated, as Joseph (2004:94) points out: "Identity is something we construct and negotiate throughout our life."

Any identity is a function of surrounding conditions and circumstances (in pragmatics this is called 'context'), hence the meaning of any nickname is ephemeral: it is never fully resolved. The meaning is not some one-off act but is a process that is in a permanent state of flux as the conditions around the nickname constantly change. Carter (1987:xxiv) expresses a similar view:

. . . the name oscillates between two extreme interpretations. It suggests a kind of history which is neither static nor mindlessly mobile, but which incorporates both possibilities.

This can be closely related to the Derridan notion of *differance* meaning both to defer and differ (Derrida 2000). Derrida cited in Storey (1994:102) argues that meaning is not only a result of difference but it is also "always deferred, never fully present, always both absent and present".

As conditions and circumstances around a name change with time the meanings will also change and the name becomes opaque and in some cases, as it no longer serves a purpose, it is dropped. When a guerrilla took up a name such as **Kid Marongorongo**, it was initially to conceal identity but it also carried other connotations which were sometimes never the intention of the guerrilla. In this case, it is not clear whether this guerrilla wanted to emulate the artistic skills of the South African *Mbaqanga* musician who bore that name.

The guerrilla called **James Bond** became a legend like the original 007 and at some point became an adventurer. Others changed names as they moved from one area to another. **Shupai Mamvura** took up the name **Edgar Winter** when the name **Shupai Mamvura** became known to the enemy. The example of **Weeds** who was originally **Pfumoreropa** (Spear of blood), then **Batai Magidi** (Take up guns), then **Mabwazhe** (opaque) then **Chakarakata** (That which irritates the throat) and finally **Weeds**

(Gumbo 1995) has been highlighted in Section 2.2.5.5. The idea of negotiating identities is closely related to the concept of onomastic erasure which is examined in the next section.

5.1.3 Onomastic erasure

Carter (1987) probably borrows the term *erasure* from Derrida (Lucy 2004) as he describes how, in the act of naming, James Cook and other European explorers erased a whole history of Australia and the South Pacific islands. Likewise, taking up a war name was an act of erasure, an attempt to delete an existing identity. The new name comes along with new attributes that supersede or in some cases wipe out the existing ones. In the case of the war name, it was often an attempt to erase a colonial past or for some, an erasure of any connections with the past, while simultaneously concealing an existing identity. Some guerrillas who were interviewed confirmed that by taking up their war names erasure was intended, for example Kangai Mbeu and Taddeus Tsotsowa expressed this.

Concealing an identity can be seen as an act of onomastic erasure. The war name was an effort to restructure an existing configuration and bring in a new set of onomastic relations in its place. For instance, **Teurai Ropa** (Spill blood) not only erased attributes of the original name but it ushered in a new set of characteristics altogether: the name denotes the bloodshed which is inevitable in war. It assumed aggressiveness and a readiness to sacrifice life. Similarly, **Pururai Mabunu** (Shred the Boers) not only concealed the official identity of the bearer but it also made the intentions of the guerrilla very clear: tear the enemy to pieces like shredding leaves off a branch (Kangai Mbeu).

Onomastic erasure as a concept can be related to the Derridan notion of *deconstruction*. According to Derrida, the process of *deconstruction* is not

the same as *destruction* (Lucy 2004). Deconstruction redefines, restructures and reshapes concepts at new levels and one can look at them from different points of view. In this respect, identities are constantly being rebuilt, modified and reshaped as the function of the name is fulfilled or modified. As function changes, the meaning of the name changes, in some cases the name falls away, in others it retains its phonological or morphological properties but loses its semantic properties. War names such as **Sarendai** and **Giyabox** retained their meanings while they went through various morphological changes. Pfukwa (2003) suggests that **Giyabox** is a morphological modification of the English word “gearbox”. Similarly **Sarendai** was borrowed and modified from the word “surrender” (Pfukwa 2003). Another pertinent example is **Sherai Mabhunu** (Shell the Boers). **Sherai** is a phonological modification of the English word “to shell” (to bombard). It retains its semantic properties but takes up Shona orthography.

As an act of onomastic erasure (albeit a temporary one) the war name deleted a whole history and in some cases a whole culture. **Hovhiyo** (Shona slang for “chaos” or “disorder”) was a choice that sought to rub out any links with the past by linking the bearer to the melee of the battlefield. Maybe **Teaspoon** was taken up for its humorous nature as well as to make a clean break with the past. Sometimes the war name deleted various identities that were linked to a historical past that was seen as hostile to the agenda of Chimurenga. A war name became an act of renaming and opening up new identities that took up the ideals of Chimurenga and the struggle against the colonial power.

Generally speaking, a nickname is not permanent. Being part of language, it carries the dynamics of language change and language contact. Onomastic erasure is a perpetual process where cultures and ideologies

impose themselves upon existing ones bringing in their own identities. This is a common phenomenon wherever there is language contact.

How the incoming identities negotiate with the existing ones is an important consideration. In some cases it is subtle as in baptismal names in religious conversion (De Klerk and Bosch 1995; Chitando 1998a). Erasure can be by mutual consent as seen in the case of names committees in various national and international bodies (Raper 1983, 1993; Möller 1998). In other cases it is a violent process as in an act of conquest where existing identities are erased with new ones being imposed through edicts and legal statutes (Möller 1995; Meiring 1994, 2002; Coetser 2002). **Nehanda** was violently erased along with a host of other names in the colonial period (Bhebe and Ranger 1995; Bhebe 1999). It became an offence to utter the name and she was labelled a witch. She is a legendary hero of the first Chimurenga and became a symbol of resistance in the second Chimurenga. She is a cultural icon widely referred to in Zimbabwean postcolonial narratives (Ranger 1995; Simbanegavi 2000; Vambe 2004 b). Several other names associated with the first Chimurenga became rallying points in the second Chimurenga: **Chaminuka** (opaque), **Kaguvi** (Small pool) and **Mapondera** (He who smashes). These names were found in the guerrilla ranks just as the name **Chimurenga** resurfaced with greater vigour during this period. By taking up some of these banned names, guerrillas were erasing an era and ushering in a new dispensation that represented new political relations in the country. These war names not only questioned the legitimacy of the colonial edifice but took steps to overhaul it. A detailed background of **Nehanda**, **Chaminuka** and **Kaguvi** is given in Section 5.3.1.

However, Carter's notion of onomastic erasure is also problematic in the study of nicknames. It suggests that every act of renaming is an act of erasure that deletes existing identities with new attributes superseding

existing attributes. Named people or objects retain their historical attributes even when they acquire new names. For instance, the guerrilla **Moshe Dayan** was very African and had little in common with the Israeli general except that they were both soldiers. In the case of nicknames, the process of onomastic erasure is generally temporary (James 1979) especially as the war names reveal. Evidence from the interviews suggests some guerrillas went through several names during the war and at the end of the war many dropped the names altogether (see Section 5.3.1). So the relevance of the concept of onomastic erasure in nicknames and war names should be treated with caution.

5.1.4 Resuscitation of dormant identities

Identities around a name accumulate over time and as new meanings are acquired, they subsume the old ones rendering the latter dormant under the cloak of the new meanings. The old meanings can later resurface with changing conditions and changing functions. A name can be dropped, remain dormant only to be resuscitated at some later stage when conditions demand its revival. As observed above in Section 5.1.3, the name **Nehanda** lay dormant, for almost 70 years only to resurface with a greater vigour during the second Chimurenga as part of the ideological bastion of Zimbabwean nationalism after the 1960s.

The collection of war names in their various categories and subcategories as outlined in Chapter 4 is a function of various historical experiences, as well as linguistic and cultural contact over time. This contact gives rise to “layers” of names from different histories and cultures. The categories of war names reflect the complexities of onomastic change over time and in some cases the resuscitation of dormant identities.

In claiming new identities the war names interrogated the existing system, its religious practices, social systems, and cultural traditions that often

marginalised a portion of its population and relegated them to second class citizens. Renaming became a process of repossession continuously re-writing new identities and claiming socio-cultural space. In the past the colonial powers had brought to the local people religious names and European names that carried very little meaning for Black people (Chitando 1998 (b); De Klerk 2002)

To name is to own and control: by naming, the namer can claim social and political space over the named (Holland 1990; Carter 1987). The names express a whole way of life, religious practices, social systems, and cultural traditions. A name is a social peg; it expresses a cultural or social perspective of the namer or the owner of the name. Naming and renaming become an act of claiming and rewriting an identity. To name the self is a declaration of independence from wider social control and it is a choice in identity. Whether society accepts this self-chosen identity is quite another matter (see Section 5.6). The next section looks at naming and space.

5.1.5 Contested space(s) in Chimurenga

Naming is part of the dialectal struggle for space and in Chimurenga contested space(s) were many. Besides the physical space and political space there was ideological and psychological space. The name became a medium to explore new possibilities in a new onomastic landscape set free from the constriction of colonial and biblical names. **Jekanyika** (He who cuts across the countryside) not only physically roamed the countryside but was indeed a Passepartout who traversed the whole cosmos of Chimurenga.

The naming patterns and processes played a role in the guerrilla movements' struggle to take ideological and intellectual space. **Tichaitora Nyika** (We shall take the nation) **Gwazai Mabhunu** (Mow down the Boers), **Hamutikuriri Mabhunu** (You will not defeat us you Boers) or

One Way Chimurenga were very clear about their objectives and they sought psychological space. They were not only physically prepared to fight but, by giving themselves these names, they also mentally conditioned themselves to engage the enemy. Some names, such as **Shingirirai Kurova Mabhunu** (Persevere in fighting the Boers) and **Resistance Magorira**, instilled psychological strength in the face of very difficult conditions (Lyons 2004; Chung 2006; Simbanegavi 2000).

Others were a clear statement of defiance and challenged the enemy, for example, **Tichabayana** (We shall stab each other) and **Muramba Kutongwa** (The one who refuses to be ruled). **Chazezesa Chauya** (That which is feared has arrived) was a statement of the fearsome nature of the guerrilla. **Mangarai Tione** (Report us and we shall see what transpires) and **Hatikundwi Magorira** (Guerrillas will never be defeated) reflected confidence and defiance. They are assertive names and express defiance and a readiness and willingness to engage the enemy on the battlefield despite the odds. Similarly **Pasi nema Talks** (Down with talks), **Kutaura Kunonetsa** (Talks are a problem) denoted someone in no mood for negotiations with the enemy.

Colonial names were part of the “grand narrative” that marginalized those who were ruled. Through the renaming process, the guerrilla sought to rewrite these colonial narratives which supported the government of the day (Chennels 1995, 2005). The fiction of Daniel Carney (1980) and John Gordon Davis (1967) are a good illustration of the “grand narratives” of the colonial period. In contrast, there were Shona narratives which came in the form of poetry and song celebrating and reliving the historical legacies of Zimbabweans. There were epics such as Chitepo’s (1983) *Soko Risina Musoro*. The name **Nehanda** appears in Mutswairo’s (1982:35) groundbreaking Shona novel *Feso* which was banned in Rhodesia:

O Nehanda Nyakasikana!
How long shall we, the Vanyai, groan and suffer?
Holy tutelary spirit!
How long shall we, the Vanyai, Suffer oppression?

...

Where is our freedom Nehanda?
Won't you come down and help us?
(Translation from Shona text)

Nehanda and Chaminuka also appear in Chitepo's (1983:7) epic poem
Soko Risina Musoro (A tale without a head):

III

The land is filled with sickness and dry weather,
Chaminuka has feet no longer,
The wealth of the earth has vanished into its belly
and even Nehanda has refused to suckle her children.

...

Where are our heroes of old?
Where is Chaminuka and Nehanda?
(Translation from Shona text)

These stories and poems were often laden with sharp, piquant phrases which, when unraveled, reflected the deep antagonistic relationships between the different groups. It was from these narratives that some guerrillas took up names such as **Tambaoga** (Play alone), **Karikoga Gumiremiseve** (The one who is alone with ten arrows), **Pfumo Reropa** (Spear of blood), **Kufahakurambwi** (Death cannot be rejected), **Dzasukwa** (They have been cleaned) which all refer to characters from Chakaipa's novels. Chiguvare's (1976) war epic *Kutonhodzwa Kwa Chauruka* (The Pacification of Chauruka) yielded names such as **Mutonhodza** (The cooler), **Ropa Rembwa** (Blood of the dog) and **Sherekete** (Mischief maker).

Bearers of these names reveal a certain level of literacy and drew a lot of inspiration from the heroes of these folktales (The war veteran Jekanyika confirmed this in an interview). *Karikoga Gumiremiseve* (The loner with ten arrows) (Chakaipa 1958) is a Shona warrior who travels to Matabeleland to rescue his wife from the impis. He manages to snatch his

wife from the clutches of impis and returns to his homeland going through a series of adventures. *Kufahakurambwi* is a character in another of Chakaipa's (1967) novel *Dzasukwa Mwana Asinahembe* (The beer has been drained while the child has no clothes). *Roparembwa* (Blood of a dog) is a sorcerer in Chiguvare's novel, *Kutonhodzwa kwaChauruka* (The Pacification of Chauruka). *Sherekete* (Mischief maker) is a general in King Dzumbunu's army in *Kutonhodzwa KwaChauruka* (Chiguvare 1976).

It was established in an interview that the former guerrilla called Jekanyika had done O levels when he went into the war and he had read Mugugu's Odyssean epic, *Jekanyika*. He consciously adopted the name of the epic hero in the novel. There were guerrillas such as Jekanyika who had seen a few years of secondary school education and sought to emulate the ideals of these epic heroes they encountered in the novels.

The names became part of the wider process of deconstructing the myth of imperial invincibility and went on to claim the different ideological and cultural spaces hitherto held by the colonial power (Wittenburg 2001). The naming process became part of the effort to erase an identity and an ideology that had been built over seventy years of colonial rule. This identity had been constructed upon the myth of invincibility of the colonial power (Chennels 1995).

The war names expressed an ideological position that narrated a historical past that had been expropriated by the colonial power. By taking up new names the guerrillas were taking a step in reclaiming and redefining cultural spaces. They adopted names which were unheard of in the colonial period in order to shape new identities. They acquired new meanings, new orientations and new values. **Joseph Black Simba** (Joseph

black power) and **Nyika Ndeyedu** (The country is ours) suggest this new orientation.

Controlling, managing and determining the onomastic patterns became another of the numerous platforms of conflict in Chimurenga. The names transcended the stage of physical engagement of the enemy and went on to carve out new spaces in ideological engagement. They constituted a leap from a mere reassertion of a historical past or reclaiming physical power (which was an important process on its own) into the more complex realm of ideological orientation and a new social consciousness that sought to create new representations of the self (Hall 1997). The next section explores the different categories of the war names that reflected this reorientation.

5.2 Indices of identity and the onomastic categories

In Section 2.2.5.2 the literature consulted yielded several indices of identity and this is in line with Dundes' (1983:238) view that "Identity is decidedly multiple in nature." The multiple nature of identity suggests that there are a number of attributes that can be linked to it and these have been described as indices such as language, sex, age, ethnicity, social status and religion. It is these same indices that determine the different onomastic categories that were developed in the analysis of the war names in Section 4.3 and are revisited in the paragraph below. It can be suggested that there is a strong relationship between the indices described by Dundes (1983), Edwards (1985) and Joseph (2004) and the categories in this study.

The index of language can be linked to the three onomastic categories raised in Section 4.1.3, Shona/Shona, English/Shona and Other Languages. The indices of ethnicity, nationality, gender and religion also correlate with specific categories also proposed in Section 4.1.3. The

index of culture has been linked to the categories of popular culture and flora and fauna. These categories do not have clear boundaries and they sometimes overlap. This problem has been described in Section 4.1.3 and solutions were suggested. Similarly, Edwards (1985) finds the concept of nationalism as an index problematic. Joseph (2004) finds contrasts in the perception of ethnicity and its function as an index of identity. Therefore, identity can be seen as a complex phenomenon that changes as cultures and values change within different groups. These complexities are summarized in the next section where the salient features across the categories are discussed.

5.3 Salient features in the categories

This section builds upon the categories presented in Chapter 4 and the observations raised here are linked to the wider processes of naming and identity.

5.3.1 Shona names

Some Shona names were conventional but others were old names revived or created for special reasons. Sometimes Shona names were mixed with English names.

5.3.1.1 Revival of old names

Some war names were part of the wider attempt to rebuild a tradition that celebrated the oral narratives of the past discussed in Section 5.1.5 and 5.1.4. They became part of the wider project of deconstructing ideological spaces that had been occupied by the literary traditions of the colonial power (Carter 1987; Said 1993; Squire 1996; Jacobs 1994). Originally, when Zimbabwe was colonized in 1890, rather than negotiate and integrate with existing genres, the colonial power through renaming erased existing structures and in their place set up names that obliterated the historical narratives and epics of the local peoples (Chitando 1998). The

guerrillas who picked up names such as **Matodo Maroro**, **Chaminuka** (opaque), **Jekanyika** (He who cuts across the countryside), **Pfumo Reropa** (Spear of blood) were seeking to recover these identities which celebrated narratives of the past.

Every people has its own myths and legends that surround its matriarchs and patriachs. Their names are firmly entrenched in their histories and they become mirrors of that society. The name **Nehanda** is permanently ingrained in the folklore of the nation as a mythical figure and as a source of political inspiration (Frederikse 1982, Vambe 2004(b)). Lan (1985) points out that she was a *mhondoro* which means she was a national spirit medium. According to tradition, the national spirit medium looks after the welfare of a whole nation. She is traced back to the 11th and 12th centuries and is linked to **Chaminuka** and **Murenga Soro Renzou** (Murenga head of an elephant) and the early Munhumutapa referred to in Section 1.1.

Several mediums of Nehanda have been identified over the centuries and this includes Charwe, the medium who played a central role in the first Chimurenga. She was arrested and hanged in 1897 at the age of 42 (Weiss 1986). Legend has it that she refused the counsel of a padre and instead sang all the way to the gallows. She is given credit for the phrase “my bones shall rise” (Lan 1985) which became a source of inspiration for the guerrillas in the second Chimurenga. This phrase carries echoes of Ezekiel Chapter 37:1-10. As observed in Section 5.1.5, **Nehanda** and **Chaminuka** are cited in several Zimbabwean historical, oral and written narratives.

These names were erased by colonial powers because they were a mirror of a past and they did not want the people to know this past. They lay dormant in oral tradition only to be resuscitated in the second Chimurenga when they became an inspiration to many. By retracing these histories and

reclaiming the names, the guerrillas were reclaiming ideological space that had been taken over by the colonial powers.

Erasure of traditional names was an act of rupture – a break from the status quo. The European names were an imperial act that wiped away a whole history and culture (Wittenberg 2000). Resuscitation of names such as **Nehanda** was in itself an act of “derasure” that reversed the process of erasure set in motion by the colonial power. The reappearance of **Kaguvi**, **Chaminuka** and **Nehanda** as war names involved the historical and cultural significance of these figures. It compelled different players to find what made them so important in the grand narrative called Chimurenga. The names become historical nodes in the manner that names such as King Arthur, Henry V, and Nelson constitute the core of English cultural and historical identity.

Some chose names of African warriors of the past such as **Chaka the Professor**. This was an effort to identify with the Zulu king who had found his way into history books and still had strong roots in oral tradition. Names such as **Dingaan**, **Ngungunyana**, **Umslopogaas**, **Dingiswayo** and **Lobengula** were also an attempt to relive the glory of some well known Nguni warriors in southern Africa.

5.3.1.2 New creations appropriate for a war situation

Another group took up more radical or martial names. For example, **Urayai** (Kill) or **Paradzai** (destroy) generally denoted the venom in the bearer who was out to kill the enemy. They were largely imperative verbs which were given onomastic properties and carried pragmatic force. Some of these names such as **Muchatiroto Mabhunu** (You shall be thoroughly cooked you Boers), were deliberately derogatory, a statement of defiance or a challenge to the enemy. For example, **Paradzai Mabhunu** (Destroy the Boers) or **Mabhunu Muchapera** (Boers you shall be wiped out) was a

bold declaration of the readiness to confront the enemy. Such names dispelled the myth that “Mabhunu” were invincible. The sub category **Mabhunu** is discussed in some detail in Section 5.3.4.

Some of these names were long phrase names, for example, there was **Chakapfava Diti Hokoyo** (The one with a weak chest get out of the way), **Tasangana Pano Mabhunu** (We have engaged you here you Boers), **Actmore Gwara Risingateverwi** (Act more the spoor that cannot be followed), **Kwaedza Nedzimwe Nzira** (It is sunrise in another way) and **Zvikaramba Toedza Zvimwe** (If this fails we will try other things). At some stage some of these names were turned into shortened forms, for example **Kwaedza Nedzimwe Nzira** who became **Kwaedza**.

Some combined an English first name with their Shona name. For example there was **Action Magamba** (Action Heroes) which was a call to war. It is not quite clear whether **Cancer Musapanduka** (Cancer do not defect) knew the meaning of cancer. **Gamatox Killmore** and **Never cry** were self explanatory. *Gamatox* was a pesticide that was used in Zimbabwe in the 1960s and 1970s to control pests in crops such as maize and other grains. The bearer probably saw the enemy as a pest which required some pesticides. This attitude was mutual because the regular army saw guerrillas as vermin (Frederikse 1982; Stiff 1985; Carney 1969). Frederikse (1982:163) captures the sentiments of a Rhodesian soldier after the war:

We were psyched into thinking that we were just to clean them out, these terrorists, like vermin. It was pushed by the media, and the hierarchy in the armed forces . . . They gave you this aggressive attitude in your training and they psyched you into this vermin attitude – which was quite normal, I guess in a war situation.

Such attitudes underlined the bitterness of the conflict and the war names used by guerrillas expressed similar feelings. Some names indeed psyched up the guerrillas as seen in the next paragraph.

Some of these names denoted a daring spirit. As seizing the initiative, renaming was the first step in engaging the enemy. So there were bold names such as Peter **Advance**, **Cutmore**, **Crashmore**, **Killmore**, and **Eveready**. The *-more* suffix is common in many Africans that have been in contact with English (De Klerk 1996, 1998). Such people were ready to engage the enemy and naming was part of the psychological preparation.

Others took up unconventional surnames as well: **Resemblance Gumanyundo** (Resemble the end of the hammer) and **Saize Mukurwa-Tasvika** (Size in fighting we have arrived). Some of them were more than a mouthful and were a challenge to anyone who spoke Shona as a second language such as **Sun Grey Simbanemutupo** (Sun Grey power through the totem) and **Actmore Gwararisingateerwi** (Act more the spoor that cannot be followed). **Simbanemutupo** was a reference to a tradition that is found many parts of southern Africa where people in some clans have a totem. The significance of the totem in Shona has been explained in Section 2.2.3.1 and is revisited in Section 5.3.6. **Gwara Risingateerwi** probably referred to the formidable esoteric skills of the guerrilla (Lan 1985). **Marx Shungu** says he used this official war name briefly but **Matanda Manyoro** was more popular in the operational area. **George Onyango** was originally known as **Temai Makwiro**. Some were dropped altogether or shortened forms of the names became more common, for example, **Pasi Nemasellout** (Down with traitors) just became **Pasi**.

There are two points to note here. Firstly, their transparency often made them ephemeral. These names were only appropriate in certain circles and for a certain period. This suggests that as a name goes through different

periods it picks up new connotations and meanings. Sometimes this process renders it opaque and then it either becomes a permanent onomastic entity or it is dropped.

Secondly, there is an inverse relationship between the opaque and the transparent: as a name loses its transparency it becomes permanent and it shifts from the domain of the nickname to the domain of the formal name. The evolution of the surname suggests this (Reany 1967; Van Langendonck 2001; Koopman 2002). Some personal names became placenames such as the ZANLA military sectors of **Nehanda**, **Chaminuka** and **Takawira** (McLaughlin 1998) which were derived from warnames.

Within this group were some humorous names such as **Chidhoma Chehondo** (The ghost of war), **Chidhoma Chapenga** (The ghost has gone beserk), **Teaspoon**, **Kitsi Dozen** (Dozen cats), **Hariyanyumwa** (A pot with premonition), **Sugar** and **MaSweet Kunaka** (Sweets are good). These amusing names reflected the optimistic fighters who could still afford a smile at the height of battle. Keeping a level head in such dire situations was a testimony of the resilience of the guerrillas. The function of war names as comic relief is an area that needs further research.

Pfukwa (1998) suggests that some of these humorous nicknames were often taken up in the operational areas but were never the official war names. Some of these were never written or they never found their way into official records but became so popular that the original war name was soon forgotten. This partly explains why it is so difficult to trace some of the guerrillas who died in Chimurenga.

5.3.2 Other languages

Some guerrillas took up common English names and other common Christian names and added a Shona surname. This created war names such as **Solomon Chimurenga** (Solomon Uprising), **Sydney Chinyama** (Sydney piece of meat), **John Kasikai** (John hurry up) and **Peter Mabhunu** (Peter Boers). Data presented in Chapter 4 shows that English was the greatest source of names.

Another set took English names such as **Clifford Dupont** and **Margaret Thatcher**. Clifford Dupont was the first President of Rhodesia during the UDI period and Margaret Thatcher was the British Prime Minister who finally resolved the Rhodesian crisis. Another group borrowed and modified names from English and other languages to suit Shona orthography and morphology. For example, there were names such as **Hacrebury** and **Long Chest** (Pfukwa (2003)). **Hacrebury** is possibly derived from Huckleberry Finn, the main character in Mark Twain's *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. **Long Chest** was probably derived from "long chassis". This was a reference to vehicles such as landrovers and other four wheel drive vehicles which have either a long chassis or short chassis. Long chassis might suggest great power. It is possible that the term was modified through a spelling error by the recording clerk (Pfukwa 2003).

Such names suggested some exposure to the English language yet for some reason the names were modified when they were presented in some written form. It is evident that the oral form was more common and the name was ultimately modified when rendered in the written form. The significance of oral forms in this study has been raised in some detail in Section 2.2.3.

From other languages Portuguese names were significant. There were names derived from Portuguese such as **Kanyau, Otenda Dozhi, Makasha** and these have been described in Section 4.3.8. Other names from other languages are discussed under the category of popular culture in the next section.

5.3.3 Popular culture

These names were really temporary in that they were negotiating a transition from one political dispensation to another. These names were drawn from a Western background that was different from the ideals of the struggle and such names were a reflection of the popular culture of the day. But it can be suggested that taking up such names as **Roy Rogers, Trinity** or **Tarzan** was an act of erasing an existing identity.

Other names were inspired by comic strip characters. Comic strips yielded war names such as **Captain Devil** or simply **Devil**, originally the nickname for a South African comic book hero called Ron de Ville, a South African version of Rambo. Other South African comic strips of the same period also inspired names such as **Kid Colt, Beau** and **Devil Eyes**. The choice of such names suggests some exposure to Western popular cultural movements especially in the urban communities.

Others took names from rock groups and rock musicians. The music ensembles were often anti-Christian, associated with drugs and were closely identified with the antiwar sentiments and popular culture in Europe and the USA. From these emerged war names such as **Lennon**; after the Beatle's songwriter, John Lennon, **Santana** from the guitarist, Carlos Santana; **Chicago**, taken from the American rock group with that name. **Otis** was derived from Otis Redding the soul musician and others named themselves **Hendrix** after the musician, Jimmy Hendrix. **Straight Shooter** was taken from the title of an album recorded by the Rock group

Bad Company. **Dobie Gray** was inspired by Dobie Gray, the Soul musician. Guerrillas who took up these names had often attended local music festivals similar to the pop festivals in USA and Europe (**Sauso Sox** confirmed this in an interview). They also listened to popular music on the leading commercial radio stations such as Radio Lourenco Marques and its South African successor, Radio 5.

Within this group were those that were influenced by the South African "township jive" and *mbaqanga* music. There is a strong South African flavour in war names such as **Dingaka**, the title of a *mbaqanga* song of the 1970s. Some guerrillas were called **Soweto**, after the sprawling black suburb of Johannesburg which was the hub of Black political resistance in the days of apartheid. Other guerrillas also chose the name **Soweto Mujiba**. **Black Mambazo** was inspired by the South African cultural ensemble *Ladysmith Black Mambazo* that worked on the "Gracelands" project with Paul Simon (Erlmann 1997). **Jive Matapuza** was inspired by a song by a South African *mbaqanga* group.

Popular forms of art such as praise poetry, popular music, community theatre, as forms of art are often spontaneous. For example, Zulu panegyrics such as *izimbongi* are a form of popular culture cited by Koopman (2002). Similarly Mathenjwa's (1996) work on the *Maskanti* and Neethling's (1995) onomastic review of Christopher Torr's "Hot Gates" refer to forms of popular culture. Besides being celebratory, names from such poems and lyrics have a descriptive backing that also narrate whole histories and the finer details of remarkable acts of great courage and resolve in times of conflict. Descriptive backing has been discussed in Section 2.2.2 and 2.3. Such names become points of reference and inspiration for subsequent generations as found in Zulu praise poetry (Koopman 2000) and in Chitepo's *Soko Risina Musoro* mentioned in Section 5.1.5.

It is such popular forms that have inspired contemporary cultural movements in South Africa such as Ladysmith Black Mambazo (Erlmann 1997). Some of these popular forms often redefine African traditional and cultural practices. They have become part of the post-modern movement of redefining the centre and they come in with their own set of unwritten rules and an unwritten code (Vambe 2001). Onomastic analysis of popular forms extends the scope of scholarly enquiry as it strives to "demarginalise" the nickname and place it at the centre of cultural discourse. It becomes part of the post-colonial movement that is seriously interrogating the canon as defined by the West and redefining contemporary cultural movements (Said 1993, Squire 1996, Hebdige 1994). It is a valuable framework for the examination of war names.

5.3.4 Negotiating religious identities

As observed in Section 4.3.9, this category is small but very significant in that it cut across deeply ingrained religious traditions as illustrated by Joseph's (2004:172) assertion that:

Ethnic and religious identities concern where we come from and where we are going – our entire existence, not just the moment to moment. It is these identities above that, for most people, give profound meaning to the 'names' we identify ourselves by, both as individuals and as groups.

In this category, the guerrilla names interrogated Christianity and other religious institutions brought by the colonial powers. Pfukwa (2003) argues that some war names sought to overhaul Christian values and Christian teaching redefining it in a manner that was more acceptable to them.

Chitando (1998(b):113) describes how Christianity during the colonial era sometimes subtly restructured African identities through the use of Biblical and Western names:

Most African writers agree that an overwhelming majority of those who had tasted the 'sweetness' of western culture were quick to denounce their culture-bound names in favour of European ones. Traditional Shona names were a source of shame and embarrassment for many.

Data from the interviews suggests that most of the guerrillas had an ambivalent attitude towards Christianity. Literature consulted also suggests that guerrillas treated all churches with suspicion but where they were given support they welcomed it allowing the churches to operate freely, where the church was hostile the mission was closed (Bhebe 1999; Gumbo 1995; Frederikse 1982; McLaughlin 1998).

The names of Biblical origin suggest the bearers were influenced by Christian traditions, for instance, McLaughlin (1998) observes there were guerrillas with a Christian background such as **Batai Hana** (Keep Calm) **Mushorapinga** (opaque) who worked closely with missionaries in the Inyanga area. Gumbo (1995) cites similar examples in Gutu and likewise Bhebe (1999) in Mberengwa. Together with these Christian first names many took up semantically transparent surnames such as **Hondo** (War), **Chimurenga** (Uprising), **Mabhunu** (Boers) or **Magorira** (Guerrillas). Within this group others took up Shona "conventional" surnames such as **Magwenzi** (Bushes), **Gabaza** (opaque), **Zimunya** (Big morsel) and **Kunaka** (To be good). All of the guerrillas interviewed had some Christian education and this influenced their onomastic choices.

Some guerrillas were religious skeptics who were attracted to Marxist ideology. The names discussed in Section 4.2.9 reflect this complexity. Within this subcategory were names such as **Mao**, **Stalin**, **Soviet**, **Che**

Guevara, Norman Bethune, and Castro. Guerrillas had met these names in history books or in Marxist literature that they read in libraries. In an interview **Stalin Mau Mau** (*Sunday Mail*, 26 Nov 2000) confirms this: “...Stalin was another Russian involved in the revolution. By assuming these names, this reinforced my commitment to the struggle.” Some of them were avowed Marxists who could argue for hours on end about dialectical materialism and scientific socialism.

Marx Shungu, indicated he had read a bit of Karl Marx at school before he went into the war. One **Che Guevara** was a University undergraduate when he went into the war who had heard of the South American revolutionary in Marxist literature. **Stalin Mau Mau** reports that he had read of Stalin before he went into the war. The background of some of the famous revolutionaries whose names were borrowed is given below.

Ernesto ‘Che’ Guevara de la Serna was an Argentinian doctor who joined the Cuban revolution and played a leading role in bringing down the Batista regime in Cuba in 1959. A close ally of Fidel Castro, he became a cabinet minister in the Cuban government for several years and wrote several books on guerrilla warfare. He left the Cuban government in 1964 and went to South America to spearhead another revolution. He was captured and shot in Bolivia in 1966. He became an inspiration for all revolutionaries in the Third World. Che’s image of a bearded guerilla wearing a black beret with a red star became an icon of the revolution in the Third World in the last quarter of the 20th century and this inspired many guerrillas who took up his name. ‘Che’ was a nickname he picked on one of his numerous forays across the South American continent (Dorfman 1999).

Norman Bethune was a Canadian born communist. He was a brilliant thoracic surgeon who overcame his own handicap of TB and went on to

work as a medical doctor in the Spanish Civil War and later worked among Chinese Communist guerrillas of the Eighth Route Army. He died treating Chinese soldiers in 1939 and was buried in China. Upon his death Mao Tse Tung wrote an elegy for him and it has since become part of the *Selected Works of Mao Tse Tung* (Mao Tse Tung 1961).

Kingo (also known as **Kangai Mbeu**) in a personal interview points out that Norman Bethune's career was an integral part of the political orientation of ZANLA guerrillas. He was a good example of the international nature of the revolution which crossed barriers of colour, race and creed. Norman Bethune's career among the Chinese communists justified the links that the African guerrillas had with China. Guerrillas who took up this name might have read about him from the works of Mao Tse Tung or maybe through ZANLA's intensive politicization process. However, Marxist ideology never really influenced the broad spectrum of the cadres and most of the leadership were skeptical about it (Chung 2006; Kriger 2004).

It was pointed out in Section 4.3.8.4 that names such as **Jesus Hondo** (Jesus War) and **Jesu Wepasi** (Jesus of the earth) might be linked to liberation theology. The roots of liberation theology can be traced to Catholic movements, especially the Jesuits, in South America in the 1960s. It was based on the premise that Christ came basically to redeem the poor and the struggling peoples and this included the struggle against colonial rule and the wealthy minorities who had the political power in that continent. It was spearheaded by Jesuit Priests in South America and they were influenced by theorists such as Segundo and Bolo. It flourished briefly in the 1970s and 1980s as revolutionary struggles reached their peak in the Third World. It lost its sparkle and religious appeal because of its links with atheism in Marxist theory. Its influence has diminished

steadily since then and Pope John Paul finally sealed its fate by expressing his misgivings about it in 1979 on a visit to Mexico when he refused to see Jesus Christ as a revolutionary (Boff and Boff 1987).

Jesus Shumba YeZimbabwe (Jesus Lion of Zimbabwe) was a double inspiration which combined the power of the name Jesus and its connotations with the power of the lion as discussed in Section 5.3.6. Taking up such a name might suggest the bearer saw himself as a saviour delivering the nation from the bondage of colonialism. Some guerrillas had the audacity to claim the name **Jehovah** itself. Others took up the seraphic names such as **Gabriel** and **Michael** but there is no evidence that the bearers had any angelic qualities.

Some took up diabolic names such as **Devol Devosa** or **Diabhorosi** (Shona corruption of diabolus) **Satan**. Pfukwa (2003:19) suggests that “[S]uch names were probably chosen to instil terror in the enemy”. Raftery (1991) notes that the name “devil” is from Greek through the Latin *diabolus* meaning “accuser.” **Devil Muhondo** (Devil in war) and **Satan Machedze** (Satan who causes weeping), **Satan Chakaipa** (Satan the evil one) were names that denoted someone who causes suffering – weeping and gnashing of teeth. Through their Christian background many of the guerrillas knew that Satan was an adversary of God. However, some chose the name **Devil** from some popular comics that were in Southern Africa in the 1960s and 1970s. There was Captain **Devil** and **Devil Eyes** who were comic book heroes and these have been discussed in the category on popular culture in Section 4.2.3.

Raftery (1991:46), citing Ashley, says that the names of the devil are significant: “. . . the names we give as we personify evil tell us a great deal about ourselves and our imagination.” Choice of diabolic names reflected the character of the guerrillas who chose them. However, in

some cases intended meaning was different from perceived meaning. Where the guerrillas chose the names to instill terror in the enemy they unwittingly became a personification of evil itself. The diabolic names came to reflect the bearer as a representation of hell. From horror films some guerrillas borrowed names such as **Christopher Lee**, **Count Yoga** and **Dracula**. Christopher Lee was a famous actor who appeared in many of these horror movies. Ironically, such names were appropriate because there was a lot of horror in the war. Equally, the names were also an attempt to frighten the enemy.

A few questions can be raised at this point:

1. Were these guerrillas who now appeared to be undercutting the religion once Christians?
2. What was the motive behind taking up a diabolic name or claiming the name Jehovah himself?
3. Was claiming the name of Jesus or evoking power in the name of Jesus a pentecostal element?

Data from the interviews suggests that most of the guerrillas had some Christian background or at least went to a mission school or were in some way connected to the church. Some literature consulted also reflects this (Bhebe 1999; McLaughlin 1998; Frederikse 1982). So even if they did not believe in Christ, they may have had a lot of respect for Him.

5.3.5 Ethnic and national indices as group identities

Ethnicity is an important index widely found in literature on nicknames (De Klerk 2002; James 1979; Holland 1990; Herbert 1999). Group identities, like ethnicity, are culturally constructed (Dundes 1983). They are based on social relations within different groups and they operate at two levels:

- (a) How a group perceives itself and expresses solidarity.
- (b) How a group perceives its adversaries.

These two aspects manifest themselves well in the guerrilla names in this study. Ethnicity suggests discrimination but simultaneously it is a binding force for the group. Joseph (2004) describes this paradox and it has important implications in any study of ethnic and national identities.

In the solidarity subcategory was the **Vatema** (the black people) group of names which strongly expressed a common purpose; De Klerk (2002:149) holds similar views on this kind of name:

The use of a nickname in the presence of a bearer may also act as a powerfully emotive signal of social solidarity, because the license to use a nickname signals a close or intimate relationship with the bearer, positive warmth and easy familiarity.

Vatema was a collective identity that was found in names such as **Sunungurai Vatema** (Free the black people), **Zivanai Vatema** (Know each other black people), **Tongai Vatema** (Black people rule). These names were a uniting force and they celebrated a black identity which had been erased by the colonial power through use of collective epithets such as *native*, *kaffir* and *munt* which were often derogatory (Branford and Branford 1991).

Vatema literally means black people and this is the term that is acceptable to them. It often stands in contrast to the term “white” which refers to Africans of European descent hence *vanhu vatema nevachena* (black and white people). **Vatema** is a strong statement of collectivity. It is not clear when and how it comes into Shona vocabulary. “Bantu” was an alternative term that was widespread in the pre-colonial era but became derogatory especially in South Africa. The term should be seen against the backdrop of black consciousness in Southern Africa and is a statement of collective identity and collective consciousness. Hence the name **Sunungurai Vatema** evokes the idea of freeing the blacks from colonial bondage.

Some war names such as **Zvichakunakirai Vatema** (It shall all be well for Black people) bubbled with optimism and others expressed confidence and encouraged unity or fierce determination in the face of so many odds. Other examples include **Tawirirana Vatema** (We are in agreement as black people), **Batanai Vatema** (Unite black people), **Vatema Hatiperi** (black people we are limitless), **Black Power** and **Nyika Ndeyedu Vatema** (The nation is ours black people).

Certain placenames used as war names also carried undercurrents of nationalism since the guerrillas sought to create a Zimbabwean nation. These names refer to countries of allies and are a complete contrast to names that described enemy countries such as **America Mudzvanyiriri** (America the oppressor). Solidarity went beyond the nation as other guerrillas took up names such as **Tanzania Chimurenga**, **Namibia Mukono** (Namibia the bull) and **Soviet Chimurenga**. These names celebrated the cordial relations between the nationalists and other countries.

In contrast to the names that express ethnic solidarity, there was a group of names that vilified and taunted the enemy and is widely discussed in this thesis as ethnic slurs (Allen 1990). Ethnic slurs were part of the psychological arsenal of the guerrillas. Allen (1990:9) observes that “words are weapons; and ‘hurling’ epithets is a universal trait of hostile intergroup relations.” De Klerk (2002) expresses similar views. Gilmore (1982:686) cites Hazlitt: “A nickname is the hardest stone that the devil can throw at a man”. Ethnic slurs are a valuable chronicle of race relations and conflict in a community (Pieterse 2003:42). They are part of the discourse of the struggle and reflect the bitterness and the bile in a conflict. Often the guerrillas who bore these names were self-named and very few of the names could be described as conventional. The names in

this category carry strong undercurrents of ethnicism and nationalism which are critical indices of identity (Edwards 1985; Joseph 2004). Holland (1990) calls such naming processes “oral aggression”. Names that people call each other are powerful barometers of social relations (Allen 1983, Herbert 1999) and these ethnic slurs should be seen in the context of the bitterness of the conflict at the time. The names were part of an ideological effort to engage an enemy hitherto thought to be invincible. In the earlier years of the war the ethnic slurs were less pronounced but as the war grew more intense they became more bitter.

The name **Mabhunu** needs to be discussed in some depth as it is one of the most frequent names in Section 4.2.4 and it formed the basis of a large number of ethnic slurs. **Mabhunu** in Zimbabwe is the culmination of a long history of migration and linguistic modification of “Boer”, a term with deep European roots. The word *boer* can be traced to the European continent where it is found in different forms in many languages and it was a common noun simply meaning ‘farmer’ or ‘peasant’. The Dutch brought the word to Southern Africa when Jan van Riebeeck landed at the Cape in 1652. Because most Dutch colonists were farmers, they adopted the word *boere* to refer to themselves. This word was taken up by the British who adopted an anglicised version – “Boers” to refer to Dutch colonists.

For the next 150 years after Van Riebeeck’s landing at the Cape the Boers steadily moved into the interior and called themselves Afrikaners. The language they spoke was Afrikaans. Afrikaans developed through contact between the Dutch and the Malays, Khoi, and other inhabitants of the Cape. British rule at the Cape in 1806 forced the Boers to trek further inland in what became known as the *Great Trek*. Those who took part in the *Great Trek* were called *voortrekkers*. At this point a new meaning was added to Boer: it became synonymous with *voortrekker*. The *voortrekkers*

established the Orange Free State in 1854 and the Transvaal Republic in 1857 as independent Boer republics. The migration of the *voortrekkers* coincided with the northward migration of Nguni people from Zululand in what became known as the *Mfecane* movement. Inevitably, there was conflict over space for settlement and agriculture. Around the same time the name found its way into local languages where it was modified into different forms such as *amabhunu*, *amaburu*, and *makaburu*. Similarly, Boers and the whites in general called all blacks *kaffirs*, a word that was derived from Arabic meaning “non-believer” (Branford and Branford 1991). Originally this did not have a negative meaning but gradually acquired perjorative connotations.

Branford and Branford (1991) trace the various meanings of Boer that have evolved over the last century and the word now carries different connotations and denotations to different communities. The meanings can be divided roughly into two: firstly, how the Boers perceive themselves and secondly, how others perceive them. Branford and Branford (1991) propose seven explanations for the word: 1. It refers to the early Dutch settlers. 2. It means a farmer. 3. It means an Afrikaner fighter in the second Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902). 4. It can mean an Afrikaner especially in political circles. 5. It is prison slang and *tsotsitaal* meaning the policeman or prison warder. 6. For blacks, especially along the border, it meant a member of the South African Army. 7. Some Afrikaners in a democratic South Africa see themselves as Boers and use it as a term of ethnic solidarity.

Several points arise from these definitions that are proposed by Branford and Branford. The reference to Boer in political circles (meaning 4) is often derogatory. Meaning 5 and 6 refers to uniformed forces regardless of colour and this is the sense it was used in Zimbabwe especially given that South African army and police fought against the guerrillas in Zimbabwe

together with the Rhodesian forces during different periods of Chimurenga (Moorcraft and McLaughlin 1982; Ellert 1989). Guerrillas used the name 'Mabhunu' with these latter meanings in mind. Some Afrikaners now refer to themselves as Boers and this has become an important statement of collective identity and solidarity in the post-apartheid South Africa.

By the time the word "Boer" crossed the Limpopo in its northward migration it had picked up the derogatory connotations described above and this influenced the war names that were used by the Zimbabwean guerrillas in *Chimurenga*. It came to refer to most whites: farmers, government officials or soldiers. It was associated with oppression and repression and this was the state of the onomastic relations when the guerrilla war broke out in 1966. However not all whites were "Boers". There was a group that was referred to as *Varungu* (sing. *Murungu*), *Mangezi* (sing. *Mungezi*) or *Makiwa* (sing. *Mukiwa*) (Godwin 1996).

Murungu, meaning white, has different origins. This was and still is a more neutral term and was reserved for the missionary, the tourist and all those who were seen in a positive light by the black population especially the whites of English descent. This reflects the associative force of language with regard to stereotyping. In other words, people with names such as Thompson and MacDonald were often labeled *Varungu* while those with names such as Van der Merwe and Odendaal were labeled *Mabhunu*. In Kirundi the whiteman is called *Muzungu* (Kimenyi 1989) Ironically, *Murungu* in Gikuyu means Creator. In Zimbabwe *Murungu* is Shona slang for anybody who is wealthy or a customer (especially in the informal sector) or an employer (Mawadza 2000).

The **Mabhunu** group has transparent names that reflected deep seated bitterness towards the oppressors. **Mhandu Yemabhunu** (Enemy of the

Boers), **Tukai Mabhunu** (Insult the Boers), **Muchandiona Mabhunu** (You shall see my wrath you Boers) were a form of address with powerful pragmatic force that was an outright challenge to the enemy. The ethnic slurs were an indicator of the bitter relations between the adversaries who had decided to fight it out rather than talk as reflected by names such as **Boers Ibvai** (Boers get out), **Budai Tirwe** (Come out and let us fight), **No Talks Mabhena**, **Chigero Chemabhunu** (Shears of the Boers) and **Crashmore Mabhunu** (Crush more Boers) .

Beyond concealing an identity the ethnic slur became another step in engaging an enemy who over the years had built up a myth of invincibility. Gilmore (1982:698) makes a similar observation:

to name an object is to control it, by naming a thing we make it knowable, thus we disarm a threatening exterior universe of hostile others.

Renaming not only became part of recovering a total identity but it also became part of the wider process of dismantling an ideological fortress that protected colonial power (Squire 1996). These names became more than mere statements of resistance or protest and went on to seize the initiative claiming ideological spaces hitherto held by the colonial power. Names such as **Chakukura Mabhunu** (That which sweeps away Boers), **Tichapedzerana Mabhunu** (We shall see this to the very end you Boers) and **Hamutikuriri Mabhunu** (You will never defeat us you Boers) openly challenged the enemy and prophesied victory.

The ethnic names became ideological graffiti that filled the discursive spaces once held by Western names. They were an aggressive erasure that sought to delete a whole ideological and cultural mosaic called Rhodesia and became part of the changing identities that were arising in the different spaces of the conflict. Wittenberg (2000), Squire (1996) and Carter (1987) express similar views in their arguments on spatial history.

Calling each other names in a conflict is a reciprocal process. While the Europeans were given all these names they also gave the guerrillas equally derogatory names and these were often collective identities. They called guerrillas *terrorists*, *terrs*, *gooks*, *wogs*, *hout*, *magandanga* (Shona ‘murderers’) (Godwin and Hancock 1993; Pieterse 2003; Lan 1985 Frederikse 1982). A less aggressive group of names were those associated with the natural environment.

5.3.6 Flora, fauna and children of the soil

The guerrillas spent most of the time in the bush where they became part of that environment and as observed in Section 1.7.2 they were collectively referred to as *vana vevhu* “children of the soil” (Lan 1985). They turned the natural environment into a valuable resource. Lan (1985:171) traces the origin of *vana vevhu* by pointing out that guerrillas lived:

. . . deep in the forests like wild semi-human creatures so profoundly at one with nature and all the wild animals that live there that they were able to perceive the secret meanings contained in their behaviour . . . Of their own volition they gave their support to the guerrillas either actively or, like the hares and elephants who led guerrillas through the bush and birds and tortoises and snakes that gave advance warning of the outcome of their missions, or passively like lions and snakes who allowed guerrillas free untroubled passage through the forest.

Daly (1982) makes similar observations on this relationship between guerrillas and the natural environment. Some species of wildlife such as baboons and eagles were important indicators of the state of the environment and were harbingers of pending danger. Reid Daly (1982) reports how baboons were used as sentinels in Mozambican camps in the last stages of the war and, similarly, Gumbo (1995:84) gives a good example of how guerrillas were warned by the bateleur eagle of impending doom:

Then came the first omen. During the heated discussions four bateleur eagles flew directly overhead. There they appeared to have a battle of their own, clawing at each other until a few feathers drifted off into the skies....

The behaviour of the bateleur eagle described above can be attributed to simple superstition, but there was also good reason for considering the eagle as part of the guerrillas' radar system. When "aliens", in this case Rhodesian aircraft, invaded the bird's air space, it made this intrusion known to all and sundry. The radius of the eagle's air space can be as wide as 200 to 300 kilometres. Any airborne object entering that radius should account for itself just like an air force protects national airspace. These birds were inspiration for names such as **Chapungu Chehondo** (The eagle of war), **Tafirenyika Gondo** (We have died for the nation eagle) and **Gondo Harishayi** (The eagle does not miss). Neethling (1993) points out that animals play an important role in the cultural context of other ethnic groups such as the Sioux. There is a parallel between the guerrillas' respect for the *chapungu* (the bateleur eagle) and the American eagle in Sioux culture. Neethling (1993:23) observes that "... eagles were sacred to virtually all American Indian tribes".

Within this subcategory are names such as **Mherepere Inonzvenga** (The swallow dodges), **Hungwe** and **Gora** (Vulture). It is easy to imagine that the name **Mherepere Inonzvenga** was chosen because the bearer drew inspiration from the swallow which is swift and agile in flight. However, some bird names are difficult to explain. It is not clear what a guerrilla had in mind when he called himself **Ugly Shiri** (Ugly bird).

A significant set of names taken from wildlife is the **Tsuro** (Hare) subgroup which includes names such as **Tsuro Magenga** (Hare of the plain), **Tsuro Makanga** (Hare the frier) and **Tsuro Yomubhuku** (Hare of

the storybook) or simply **Tsuro**. The name **Tsuro** suggests the wit of the hare which in southern African mythology is the cleverest animal that tricks all other animals in the bush (Godwin 2000). The hare is well known for its speed and can outrun most of its predators. It is also known in folklore for its resourcefulness and creativity such that it always finds its way out of life-threatening situations. The wit of the hare called *Ruvhunambwa* (the breaker of dogs) is spelt out by Pongweni (1983:51):

Ruvhunambwa is a special variety of hare which fools hunting dogs . . . into 'believing' that it is running in a particular direction, especially towards a tree or rock. He changes direction with lightning speed, leaving the dogs to break their necks against the tree or rock.

Other guerrillas took up the names of big game such as **Shumba Yaonda** (The lion is thin) **Shumba Chikara Chesango** (Lion beast of the bush) and **Chipembere** (Rhino). **Gudo** (Baboon), **Chakmar** (Baboon), **Bulldog** and **Mbada** (leopard) were also taken up by some guerillas. Pongweni (1983:50) captures the inspirational force of the rhino in the following passage:

The black rhino is a particularly hostile animal, powerful, swift in attacking intruders in its domain, and generally awe-inspiring. The naming of people after animals is the most explicitly metaphorical aspect of the whole exercise. Whether or not there is some resemblance between the two is mostly immaterial: the man is given the animal tag because he shares some behavioural peculiarity with that animal.

Similarly, the name **Shumba** (lion) suggests the majestic power of the lion as king of the beasts. There is also some totemic significance in some animal names selected by guerrillas. *Shumba* is an important totem among many Zimbabwean clans (Pongweni 1983, 1996). It is possible that some guerrillas who took up animal names were celebrating totems. The concept and mythology of the totem has been discussed in Section 2.2.3.1.

The totem as a cultural phenomenon is clearly linked with some of the war names.

Some guerrillas in adopting some animal names revived the tradition of totems with a new perspective and a new identity. The adoption of animal names was sometimes a resuscitation of the totem with renewed cultural and national significance. The totem as a war name is significant in several ways.

Firstly, the traditional totem is an important statement of identity that related closely to the struggle against the foreign colonial who not only expropriated physical and political space but cultural space by renaming the environment and undermining the local cultural practices that respected and preserved the natural environment. So taking up a totemic name was an act of claiming cultural space. This is closely related to the revival of dormant identities discussed in Section 5.1.4. Secondly, the animal name was a psychological adaptation of animal attributes, for instance the speed and agility of a hare (**Tsuro Magenga**) or the eye of an eagle (**Gondo Harishai**) or the “mystic” power of the bateleur eagle (**Chapungu Chehondo**). For the guerrillas it created a sense of security and solidarity with the environment that supported them in so many ways. Thirdly, the closeness to nature as observed by Lan (1985) and Reid Daly (1982) is reinforced by the use of animal names found in the wild. **Mbada** (Leopard) is known for its stealth and its feline qualities. **Chipembere** was the personification of the rhino with all its aggressiveness. Similarly, **Shumba** (lion) sought to emulate the majesty and aura of the king of the beasts. In many cultures the lion has always been a symbol of strength and courage. For example, in English there was Richard “the Lion Heart” who lead a crusade to Jerusalem in the Middle Ages and Haile Selassie the Emperor of Ethiopia who was also known as “Lion of Judah” There is also a Biblical reference to the “Lion of Judah” in Revelations Chapter 5 vs 5.

Many cultures use the lion or its head as some regal symbol or coat of arms, or seal that denotes power and authority. For example, the lion is on the British coat of arms.

Closeness to the wild reflected the wish to identify with the primeval virgin land that was “raped” by the colonists in the name of civilisation. For example, the *hungwe* is a Zimbabwean bird that has strong historical links with the national monument called Great Zimbabwe and has become an national emblem in the manner that the eagle is an American emblem. Similarly, the springbok was made a national emblem in South Africa. The Kiwi and the Kangaroo have been immortalised as national symbols in New Zealand and Australia respectively.

The totemic names were not necessarily the guerrilla’s real totems, but by choosing a totem the guerrillas were creating rapport and solidarity with the clan that had the totem. For example, if a guerrilla called **Ndlovhu** (Elephant) operated among a clan with elephant totem, he would be regarded as a son of that clan.

Insect names were found among a few guerrillas as well. **Dodwell** (**Rodwell**?) **Gonera** (Beehive) probably wanted to emulate the sting of the bee. *Gonera* is a beehive that has never been harvested and legend has it that such bees are extremely aggressive. **Black Bee**, **Amos Mago** (wasps) and **Scorpion** (also known as **Chikombingo**) also probably suggested the aggression of these insects in the bush. It is not clear altogether what the name **Makanga Nyuchi** (You have fried bees) was suggesting. Probably the bearer was suggesting that the enemy had stirred up a hornets’ nest by fighting the guerrillas.

From plants came names such as **Caston Mhiripiri** (Caston Pepper) Pepper can be irritating in the eyes or if taken in large quantities so maybe

Caston saw himself as an irritant in the eyes of the enemy. **Lamech Matamba** (Monkey apples) chose the name **Matamba** from a wild fruit. *Matamba* (Shona) is the plural of *Damba* which is an edible fruit that is common in the savannah grasslands of Zimbabwe and Mozambique. **Njera** (Finger millet) took his name from this small grain which is often used for brewing beer. It is from this link between the land and its flora and fauna that guerrillas whipped up national sentiments among the local population. The names they took up celebrated this symbiotic relationship between man and his environment and became important statements of common identities and origins.

5.3.7 Female guerrillas

According to Joseph (2004), gender is one of the key indices in negotiating any identity. Holland (1990) among others, is of the opinion that nicknames are more common among men than women. The data collected seems to support this view as it reveals that most of the women's names are closer to conventional names than the men's names. However, this data is not fully representative of women guerrillas. This problem has been raised in Section 4.2.6 and is further developed in this section.

Research suggests that the female ex-guerrillas have been more marginalised than their male counterparts (Kriger 2004, Lyons 2004). McCartney and Musengezi (2000:148-149) capture the sentiments of a female guerrilla:

We found that excombatants were outcasts. Even now it depends on where I am, for me to come out and say that I am an excombatant. Somehow I am reserved about doing this because of the way people generally look at us. The stigma that has been attached to excombatants, makes it very difficult for us to come out confidently in most places . . .

Zimbabwean society has found it difficult to accept them as people who could raise a family in a domestic environment. This view is expressed by Bryce (2005:35):

. . . women excombatants were regarded after the war as loose if not prostitutes, or as uncontrollable and masculine, with the result that they are the most jobless and unmarried group of women in society.

This partly explains why women were not very keen on giving interviews (this problem has been raised in Section 4.2.6). Some of them are still active party cadres and are employed in some of the government departments or are operatives within the party structures. These problems highlight the need for further research on the role of women in the Zimbabwean armed conflict and other conflicts in Southern Africa and elsewhere.

There are two main problems regarding the study of womens' nicknames. The first is that there is insufficient data on the role of women in the war. The second problem is that most of the records were made by men from their own perspective and tended to overlook the role of women. Subsequent studies have been largely done by men. A notable exception is in the detailed studies by Simbanegavi (2000), Lyons (2004) and Weiss (1986).

The data suggests that women often chose the conventional names be they Shona or English, for example, **Rutendo** (gratitude), **Dorcas**, **Doris**, **Sarudzai** (choose). Literature suggests that women usually do not take up nicknames as frequently as the men do. Where they do it, it is in the privacy of the home or in a circle of friends and their names are not as violent or extrovert as men's (James 1979; Allen 1983; De Klerk 1998). Edwards (1985) also points out that women prefer prestige varieties.

These prestige varieties tend to be the standard variety and they prefer “standard” or conventional names.

The women also used the "Chimurenga core" (see Section 4.1.5) of surnames more widely than the men. Data from *The Herald* and the Ministry of Information collection suggests that women's names were found mostly in refugee camps in the rear bases such as Doroei (Fig 7) and Chibabava (Fig 4) .

Some of the names in this class overlap with the other categories but they were treated separately for several reasons:

- There is insufficient research on women who were in the guerrilla ranks. Where it is done, it is often an appendage of work done on the men.
- With the exception of the prominent politicians, the women themselves have not been forthcoming, especially those who retired into civilian life. They remain introvert and are not keen to be interviewed or to lead in the research (Simbanegavi 2000; Lyons 2004).
- Most of the records during the war were made by men from their own perspective and tended to overlook the role of women.
- Women feel they have been neglected and those interviewed expressed this strongly (Lyons 2004). Fay Chung (2006) also dwells on this problem in some detail.
- Some names were used by both sexes, for instance, **Tendayi** (Give thanks), **Fungai** (Meditate) and **Kudzai** (Praise).

Obviously this area still needs a lot of research and hopefully this will be done by women themselves. Where gender was not clear, the name was categorised as male.

The study also opens up the question of the whereabouts of the *chimbwidos* and *mujibas*. Manungo (1991) outlines the role of the *chimbwido* and *mujiba*. These are the civilian youth who supported the guerrillas and bore the brunt of the war in the operational areas. The *chimbwidos* were the girls in their teens that cooked meals for the guerrillas and washed and mended their clothes. The *mujibas* were the young boys who gathered intelligence information for the guerrillas and acted as guides. They simply disappeared in 1980 and there are few records of their names.

5.3.8 The semiotic force of the martial name

The martial name had a powerful semiotic significance. These names were symbols of the potent force of the weaponry that was used by the guerrillas. All these names were transparent and they signified the power and determination of the bearer to engage the enemy. For instance, the weaponry subcategory with names such as **Batai Magidi** (Take up guns) **Rongai Zvombo** (arrange weapons) and **Torai Zvombo** (Take up arms) was a clarion call to war with the echoes of a Kitchener calling a nation to war. In the name **Gidi Ishumba** (The gun is a lion) the gun is equated to the lion (Section 5.3.6). The lion has always been a symbol of strength through the ages and the guerrilla saw the power of the gun being the same as that of the lion. **Gidi Ndirochete** (The gun is the only solution) is self-explanatory: the guerrillas saw force as the only solution to an intransigent enemy. It was permanently ingrained in the subconscious mind of every guerrilla that the gun was the ultimate way to liberty. This is reminiscent of Mao Tse Tung's well worn phrase "political power comes from the barrel of the gun." The term *gidi* came to symbolize all arms. This was a recurrent theme in *Chimurenga* discourse and there were many songs to this effect as recorded by Pongweni (1992:26):

. . . *Mbuya Nehanda kufa vachituara shuwa*
Kuti zvino ndofire nyika
. . . *tora gidi uzvitonge . . .*

(the spirit medium *Nehanda's* last words were
I am dying for the nation
. . . take up arms and rule yourself . . .)

Nehanda is one of the heroes of the first *Chimurenga* who resisted colonial rule in 1896 (Bhebe 1999; Frederikse 1982; Vambe 2004a). She is discussed in some detail in Section 5.3.1.

In each name in this subcategory were powerful undercurrents of force and aggression very similar to Koopman's (2002:101) observations that regimental names "usually portray the regiment as fierce and aggressive." For instance, **AmaBuzangenduku** (Koopman 2002) is a Zulu regimental name which means 'ask by means of a stick'. The name is similar to the guerrilla names **Tangawabaya** (Shoot first) and **Bvunzawabaya** (Shoot first and ask questions later). Kimenyi (1989) observes similar trends in Kirundi and Kinyarwanda martial names.

Bazooka loomed large in guerrillas' onomastic repertoire. A bazooka is an antitank rocket that is used by the infantry and is capable of immobilising vehicles, and machinegun positions (Ellert 1989). Given its portable nature, it was widely used by the guerrillas to neutralize enemy positions and the nicknames associated with it signified this power. An important weapon in the guerrillas' limited arsenal, it came in three forms, the RPG 2 (the Chinese version), the RPG 7 (the Russian version) and the M90 (British version) (Ellert 1989). There was **Bazooka Chivhuno** (Bazooka the immobiliser). *Chivhuno* (Shona) is the aura or mystic power that is associated with the lion which renders its victims powerless and some people sometimes are said to have this aura around them (Lan 1985). The bazooka was given the attributes of a lion and this symbolised its power as a weapon. **Bazooka Chiwororo** (Bazooka the ultimate solution).

Chiwororo is something that provides a permanent solution to a complex problem. The Bazooka often silenced the enemy machinegun or immobilized an enemy vehicle where small arms fire could not. Other names were **Bazooka Hondo** (Bazooka War), **Bazooka Muroyi** (The Bazooka is a wizard) **Bazooka Rehondo** (Bazooka the weapon of war) and **Bazooka Tichatonga** (Through the bazooka we shall rule). The 60mm and 82 mm mortars also gave rise to names such as **Hard Mortar**, **Mortar Fighter**, **Mortar Tichakunda** (Through the mortar we shall win) and **Mortar Haijemi** (The mortar does not get stuck).

The name **Kanyau** was borrowed from the Portuguese word *canhão* which described the 75mm recoilless rifle, the heaviest artillery piece used by the guerrillas in the field (Ellert 1989). They modified the Portuguese spelling to suit Shona orthography, hence the name emerged as **Kanyau** (Pongweni 1983). This weapon was the centre-piece in large scale operations and was often supported by a battery of 82mm and 60mm mortars. From the 82mm mortar came another name **Otenda Dhozhi** *Otenda o dois*, which is the Portuguese numeral 82 and its lexical morphology is similar to that of **Kanyau**. **Dozhi Dozhi** is a name that was borrowed from the Portuguese numeral *dois* meaning two. Why the word “two” was doubled is not clear and this requires further enquiry. The name **Makasha** was derived from the Portuguese word *caixa* which means box. Ellert (1993:178) captures the roots of the name:

. . . *caixa*, was translated into Shona as *kasha* or *makasha* in the plural and was commonly used to describe a box of one thousand rounds of Warsaw pact 7,62 intermediate ammunition suitable for the AK-47 assault rifle, the SKS carbine and the RPD machine gun which were the standard issue weapons for nationalist guerrilla forces based in Mozambique.

Viva is the Portuguese for ‘long live’. Through the slogan the word found its way into guerrilla nicknames, such as **Viva Gidi** (Long live the gun) or **Viva Chimurenga** (Long live the struggle).

There was **Atomic bomb** which was self explanatory. It suggests the horrors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. In an interview Fife reports that an air attack was also nicknamed a *Hiroshima*. It is not clear where **Bombadiari** was derived from. Fife suggested it was a name given to the obsolescent Lynx fighter bomber which was put to good use by the Rhodesian airforce in operations against the guerrillas. Another interviewee suggested it was derived from the Portuguese word for bomber. **Dakota** as observed in Section 4.3.7.5 was derived from the Douglas DC 3 transporter. In response to the aircraft that were assembled against the guerrillas. **Maturura Ndege** (He who brings down aircraft) chose a name that psychologically fortified him.

There were tactical names such as **Zvikaramba Toedza Zvimwe** (If this fails we will try other things), **Disperse Patiri Pakashata** (Disperse we are in a dangerous spot). **Five Ton Faka Bara** (Five ton put a bullet) was a combination of English, Fanakalo and Shona.

5.4 Common features across the categories

This section serves two purposes. Firstly, it summarises the salient features raised in the discussion of the categories in the previous section and in Chapter 4. Secondly, it builds on the common themes spelt out in Section 2.5. There are four distinct aspects that are outlined here.

5.4.1 Self naming was a universal trend in the data

Interview data suggests that most of the guerrillas named themselves. Naming the self was an act of defiance, given that the guerrillas ignored the formal processes of consultation and related ceremonies that each culture follows in the naming process (Obeng 2001; De Klerk 1998; Kimenyi 1989; Chitando 1998a). It is these rituals that create the permanence or legitimacy of a name. The war name was given with little ritual hence it lacked the sense of permanence that is characteristic of the

official or formal name. The guerrillas took it upon themselves to shape their own identity and this gave them power over themselves. Self naming became an act of empowerment as the namer has power over the named (Allen 1990; Holland 1990), so as guerrillas named themselves they were claiming power in a fashion similar to Carter's (1987: xxlv) observation:

. . . the namer inscribes his passage permanently on the world, making a metaphorical word-place which others may one day inhabit and by which, in the meantime, he asserts his own place in history.

5.4.2 The names were ephemeral

Some nicknames are temporary; they flourish for a specific period after which they pale into oblivion as the circumstances around the names change (Herbert 1999; James 1979; Morgan et al 1979; De Klerk 1998). It was highly unlikely that a name such as **Danger Skelemu** (Villain or rogue, Afrikaans *skelm*) could exist beyond the war. A war name is set to satisfy certain functions and one of these is concealing identities. **Top Ten Muhondo** (Top ten in war), **Maburezha** (Brassieres), **Teaspoon**, **At London Tapotseka** (At London we have been missed), were short term names that few would want to print on their identity documents. The names were relevant in a specific context. When the context and circumstances around its inception and use changed, the name lost its pragmatic force. As the descriptive backing around the name changed its functions changed and it lost its significance and often fell out of use. Thus names conceived and used in an environment of hostilities were effectively erased when hostilities ceased and this rendered the names ephemeral.

5.4.3 Transparency of war names was typical of African names

Research by Herbert (1999), De Klerk and Bosch (1995) and Koopman (2002) among many others, suggests African names are generally transparent. For example, Herbert (1999: 109) points out that:

One good generalization is that African names have meaning, i.e., the relationship between the name and its lexical meaning is typically a transparent one, . . . This semantic transparency has been reported for virtually all geographic regions of Africa

Kasikai Patiri Pakashata (Hurry up, we are in a dangerous position), **Chipanera Chinobopa** (The spanner tightens), **Mutemera Kuodza** (He who cuts and leaves to rot), **Matute Dzungu Remabhunu** (He who takes away the folly of the Boers) all meant exactly that. Even the “innovative” English names are transparent: **Advance Magorira** (Advance guerrillas), **Action Moyo** (Action heart), **Resistance Muhondo** (Resistance in war) are all self explanatory and were common as reflected in the data presented in Section 4.3.1. The “opaque” names such as **George, Gerald, Forbes, Knox** and **Carlos** that were used by the guerrillas were often borrowed from English and other languages.

5.4.4 Identities were socially constructed

Each war name projected certain attributes which can be related to the indices discussed in Section 5.2. Some of these could be images that the namer sought to project and others could be perceptions and views constructed by other people or other groups. Dundes (1993:244) points out that “Many features of identity are relative to particular social or interactional settings.” Similarly, Herbert (1999:121) says: “The key to understanding political names lies in an understanding of the sociopolitical context within which they are bestowed.” This ties up with pragmatic theory which emphasises context.

When taking up a war name a person could take up a name that expressed certain attributes with strong family ties such as **Matodo** (an opaque, old family name) or which could be intensely personal such as **Chademunhu** (what a person wants) or **Last Ndega**. Others could be culturally or socially driven, for example, the bearer of **Black Mambazo** was probably impressed by the South African musical ensemble that manifested a resurgence of local cultural movements in South Africa. **Sekuru Gaba** (Grandfather tin) and **Mzee Jomo** (Old man Jomo) sought the wisdom often associated with age. **Sarudzai Chimurenga** (Choose the struggle) and **Chipo Masango** (Gift of the bush) were common Shona names that related closely to the social context expressing solidarity with the people involved in the struggle and also expressed collective identity discussed in Section 5.5. **Martha, Maria** took up common female names that expressed Christian values. Women often took up names that expressed moral values for example **Patience** and even where they were innovative, they extolled some virtue for instance, **Resistance, Perseverance** and **No Rest Magorira** (No rest for Guerrillas). The name **Magorira** expressed a collectivity and this is the theme of the next section.

5.5 Individual identity and collective identity

Collectivity has been briefly touched on in the discussion on ethnic identity in Section 5.3.5 and this section revisits it alongside another important variable, individual identity.

In Section 5.3.5 it was observed that the paradox of ethnic slurs and the national names lies in the effort to remain separate yet satisfy the need to identify with a group (Joseph 2004; Dundes 1983). There is a perennial tension between the identity of the self and the group. The self struggles to retain individuality yet the self possesses some group characteristics as well. This paradox of dual identities manifests itself in the onomastic processes.

The personal or individual identity expressed by some of these names can be seen as inward looking and this is an important variable that came out of the interviews. Some names had little to do with the national aspirations. They were intensely personal and expressed a deep consciousness of the self such as **Matodo Muroro**. **Matodo** is opaque and **Muroro** can mean either an edible wild fruit or the place where people got strong charms. Pongweni (1996:94) says that according to oral tradition *Maroro* was a place where people sought charms for invincibility:

. . . the rendition of Muroro as ‘who came from Maroro’ that is to be understood as of ‘Maroro’ that is one whose origin is the place where outsiders go to buy invincibility.

This second meaning sounds more plausible here. **Matodo** (opaque) named himself after the maternal and paternal ancestors. There is deep personal sentiment and solitude in the name **Last Ndega** (The last one who is alone). The Shona stem *-ga* (alone/individual) is also found in other war names such as **Zindoga** (The only one), **Tambaoga** (He who plays alone) and **Karikoga** (The one who is alone) as observed in Section 5.1.5. These names expressed an individuality and self consciousness. **Last** pointed out that he was the last child and in addition, he was the only (expressed by the suffix *-ga*) boy in the family. Some of the names in the subcategories in popular culture such as **Lone Wolf** can be seen from this perspective because they were personal and individualistic names. These names were ideologically independent of the goals of the struggle but this does not mean that the bearer was a rebel or was not ideologically “upright” but rather that the name expressed an inward-looking perspective.

Karikoga Muhondo (The one who is alone in war) expressed both an individual and collective identity where he was a member of a guerrilla

force waging a war but an individual. Similarly, **Handichatambi Nemabhunu** (I no longer play with the Boers) expressed deep individual resolve. The individual sought to express the self, but the self operates in a socio-cultural configuration which constructs its own identities. Thus the guerrillas found themselves constantly negotiating these tensions through the different war names.

Collective names suggested that the war could only be won through a collective effort and there was a prevalence of names that expressed collective identities. **Tasvinura Muchationa** (We have opened our eyes and you shall see us) expressed the collective purpose and collective resolve of the struggle. This was an open challenge reflecting a new political awareness and the readiness to engage the enemy on his turf. Indeed, **Tasvinura** saw active service in the Chihota area, some eighty kilometres south of Harare in the latter years of the war. Other names expressed group solidarity or drew inspiration and strength from the “collective”: **Tichatonga Vatema** (Blacks shall rule), **Sunungurai Nyika** (Liberate the nation) and **Batanai Magorira** (Unite guerrillas), **Batanai Muhondo** (Unite in war) openly advocated unity in the war effort.

The collective identity expressed by Jacobson-Widding (1983), Dundes (1983), Joseph (2004) and Edwards (1985) is found in the collective will in names such as **Tichatonga** (We shall rule), **Tichabayana** (We shall stab each other), **Tichaitora** (We shall take it). These are aggressive statements reflecting the unity of the guerrilla forces. The stem *Ticha-* (we shall) expressed a collective determination to achieve a goal and the rest of the name denotes this goal. **Tichaitora Nehondo** (We shall take the nation through war), **Tichatonga Nyika** (We shall rule the nation) and **Tichazvipedza Gorero** (We shall resolve the problems this year) all indicate a readiness to engage the enemy – a determination to carry the fight to the finish. The name might be ascribed to an individual but its

connotations were multiple and it drew its strength from the collective identity. When the enemy confronted **Tichapedzerana Mabhunu** (We shall fight it out you Boers) he was not merely engaging the individual who carried the name but was fighting a host of connotations and denotations behind the guerrilla. **Tichapedzarana** along with his companions were prepared to take the fight to the finish – even if he were to fall in action, the “collective” spirit would continue the struggle. Similarly, if the individual called **Tirivazhinji Muhondo** (We are many in this war) were to die in action, the collective spirit in the name would continue fighting the war. Through collective effort the guerrillas saw themselves as **Vatongi Ve Zimbabwe** (The rulers of Zimbabwe).

Muchazotida Mabhunu (You shall like us, you Boers) also expressed group identity. The stem *Mucha-* (you (pl.) shall) is in the imperative mood and leaves very little room for negotiation. The morpheme *-tida* can be split into two where *-ti* is the plural for ‘us’ and the stem *-da* means love which can be translated into ‘like us’. Hence *-tida* expresses a collectiveness and the name **Muchazotida** means you shall love us whether you like it or not. The name suggests the enemy (Boers) were compelled to acknowledge the existence of guerrillas as citizens in the country.

The collective identity went beyond the Shona language into the ethnic group with names such as **Joseph Black Simba** (Joseph black power) **Sunungurai Vatema** (Liberate the blacks) and **Black Africa** which suggest a continental identity. The guerrilla was simultaneously striving for continental solidarity. **Namibia Mukono** (Namibia is a bull) **Tanzania Chimurenga**, **China Kissinger**, **China Zulu** and **Soviet Chimurenga** reflected an international solidarity with brother nations that supported *Chimurenga*. The Namibian conflict was escalating around the time of the Zimbabwean conflict and there was cooperation at different levels

between the guerrilla armies of Zimbabwe and Namibia. Tanzania supported *Chimurenga* from its inception and provided training bases such as Mgagau, Morogoro and Nachingwea. China Kissinger was a contradictory name that merged the East and West. China also gave considerable support to the guerrillas, especially ZANLA (Bhebe 1999; Bhebe and Ranger 1995).

There is an inherent contradiction in collective identities which can reflect negative connotations and this is well described by Joseph (2004:46):

Group identities, particularly national and ethnic identities are double-edged swords. On the one hand, they fulfill the positive function of giving people a sense of who they are, of belonging to a community, in the absence of which one can feel a sense of alienation that can have disastrous consequences. On the other hand, such belonging is always constructed through difference from 'others' – a categorical distancing that can all too easily turn into a desire for segregation, and to hatred.

Some group identities express racial prejudice and the solidarity in this case can be seen as negative. On the other hand a group can come together under an ethnic banner to preserve a threatened extinction (Joseph 2004; Holland 1990). Nicknames have always been seen as a means to separate one group from another, especially where one group dominates the other (De Klerk 2002; Allen 1983; 1990). The names become a subtle expression of underlying bitterness of one group towards another.

Collective identities in this discussion can be viewed in the light of Joseph's sentiments expressed above and should help us understand the background behind some of the various collective identities given as war names. The paradox of collective identities can be linked with another paradox which involves intended identities and perceived identities and this can be extended to elements of pragmatics such as speech acts.

5.6 Intended identities and perceived identities

Joseph (2004:118) discusses intended identity and perceived identity in some detail and points out that the two are not necessarily the same:

...identities are not simply a matter of what their possessors (or would be possessors) project, but of how such projections are received and interpreted.

Elsewhere in the same text he (p83) expresses similar views:

The essential thing is to recognize that *both* authorial intent and reader response have a role to play in the determination of meaning. Ditto for identity: both self identity and the identities others construct for us go into making our real identity.

He sees identity as a productive process which projects images. Conversely, he sees it as a receptive process where identities are interpreted. Intended images or projected images are not necessarily the same as those that are “read” by the audience. Names have collective connotations and meanings similar to illocutionary and perlocutionary force found in pragmatics.

Likewise, all names, including war names need to be understood in this dual frame. Firstly, they can be seen as intended identities where in naming themselves the guerrillas sought to project certain identities. For instance, by taking up the name **Charles Ndlovu** (Ndebele for elephant) this guerrilla sought to forge unity between two major language groups in the country, the Shona and the Ndebele (Sunday Mail: 2000). So he specifically chose a Ndebele name instead of a Shona one although he was Shona-speaking. Secondly, there are the interpreted identities which show how the different communities perceived the projected identities. The name **Charles Ndlovu** might suggest that he was a Ndebele-speaking guerrilla, but he is actually Shona-speaking (Sunday Mail: 11 November,

2000). The war names in this study can be viewed in this perspective and this can be seen as a universal phenomenon in the process of negotiating identities. People give a name their own meaning, hence the meaning is continually being negotiated by the different players as they interact because different people engage the name, coming in with their own descriptive backing.

The name **Killer** was probably intended to mean eliminator of the enemy but it carries connotations of a mass murderer or serial killer and indeed this is Wigglesworth's (1983) interpretation of the name. Wigglesworth also met a guerrilla called **Seduce**, and this name for all intents and purposes sounds sinister. **Seduce** is similar to **Rape Mukaradhi** which was recorded by Simbanegavi (2000). One wonders what the guerrilla had in mind when choosing such a name. Similarly, it is not clear what image **Chimbwa Mupengo** (rabid dog), sought to project in such a name. A rabid dog is mad and should be destroyed, hence such a name sent out negative connotations although of course it expressed a threat to the enemy.

Black Savage ended up ironically carrying the extremely negative connotations of a brutal, uncivilised person (as implied in the epithet *terrorist*) yet this was never the intention of the bearer. As if that was not enough, the name suggests blacks are savages— an image that the guerrillas were trying to erase. Such names projected a negative image. This is why repeatedly **Black Savage** made it explicitly clear in interviews that he had completely erased that name after the war.

As observed in 5.4.1, the guerrillas named themselves and these names were an expression of their own perception of themselves (who am I for myself or how do I perceive myself?). Naming oneself is a process of projecting an image of the self, for example the guerrilla who called

himself **Gamba Gukutu** (Big hero) saw himself as a larger than life figure. **Tsuro Muhondo** (The hare in war) saw himself as the clever hare that outwitted the enemy all the time (Pongweni 1983). **Muchandiona Mabhunu** (You shall see me you Boers), was very threatening and was an open challenge to fight as in the name **Budai Tirwe** (Come out and let us fight) or **Tichapedzerana** (We shall see this to the very end). **Victor Mhizha** (Sunday Mail, 26 November 2000:13) describes his image of the name **Mhizha** as expressing some form of expertise: “Mhizha means someone who is good at handy work” In this case he was claiming expertise in guerrilla warfare. Such a name boosted the guerrilla’s self confidence. The interpreted identities by the different people sometimes projected different meanings altogether.

In compliance with pragmatic theory (Levinson 1983), how the reader interprets this text called the name is sometimes very different from the meanings intended by the bearer. Pongweni’s (1983) interpretation of **Kanyau** is an excellent example of the gap between intended identity and perceived identity. Pongweni (1983:55) suggests that **Kanyau** meant a *nyau* or *gure* dancer:

The masked dancers of Malawi origin are known as *zvinyau* by the Shona: one of them is a *chinyau*, and a small well built agile one is a *kanyau*.

On the other hand, data from the interviews suggests it was derived from the Portuguese word for the 75mm recoilless rifle as a corruption of the Portuguese word *canhão*. Pongweni (1983:55) concurs with this possibility as well. Each of these interpretations of the name are plausible and the bearer’s intended meaning can be only established if a Comrade **Kanyau** could be interviewed.

The name **Mationesa Nhamo** expressed the cruelty of the colonial rulers but it might also suggest the docile guerrilla who was not aggressive but saw the war as a harrowing experience with no end in sight as in Vambe's (2004b:97) definition of **Nhamo**:

The concept 'nhamo' in Shona is a collective word of pain, hunger, suffering, world weariness, despair and all conceivable misfortunes that can visit a mortal.

It is not clear if this was the perception the guerrilla called **Nhamo** had of the name when he took it up. Simbanegavi (2000) records the name **Rape Mukharadhi** (Coloured rapist) which evokes traumatic images. The perception of this name is of the bearer being a rapist whereas his intention might have been to express violence towards the enemy in a way that insulting swearwords often have sexual connotations. Abuse of women is an important issue in the work of Kriger (2004), Simbanegavi (2000) and Lyons (2004). They discuss in some detail some traumatic experience that many women went through during the conflict and this included rape.

Perceived identities and intended identities explain the gap between other interpretations and the data given by the guerrillas who were interviewed. Data from the interviews shows that reasons for names (the intended identities) as given by interviewed guerrillas were sometimes different from the perceptions of scholars such as Pongweni (1983) and Herbert (1999).

The initial speech act of naming has a motive that can only be confirmed by the namegiver. From this there are two points that emerge. One of them is that there is a gap between the guerrillas' intended identities and the perceived identities by people who interpret these names. The second is that with the exception of the names explained by guerrillas in the interviews, most of the explanations and speculations of the names in this

thesis are perceived identities because many names were extracted from lists of deceased guerrillas.

Not only do individuals project their own perceptions of identities but even groups have certain perceptions of certain names which might be at variance with intended identities. Intended identities and interpreted identities each give meanings that suit their purposes and ideologies. As observed in Section 5.3.5, *Mabhunu* initially referred just to the Afrikaner farmers but it ended up as a description of everyone of European descent. But were Fidel Castro, the Russians and other east Europeans *Mabhunu*? Here the collective label is problematic. Similarly, some *Vatema* (Blacks) did not support *Chimurenga*, Houphet Boigny of Ivory Coast and Joseph Mobutu of Zaire were not particularly endeared to the guerrilla armies. Thus we can see the meaning of names being continuously negotiated among different groups at their different levels of interaction. There is perpetual tension between these two positions and Joseph (2004:118) echoes this:

The process of identity rests not simply on the claims made but on how such claims are received, that is validated or rejected by significant others.

From this position it can be argued that negotiating identities is a reciprocal process where people project identities but the others create their own perceptions of these projected identities and they reserve the right to create their own images from these projected identities. The guerrillas named themselves with the intention to project certain identities. Others “read” this name or interpreted it differently in the light of their own perceptions.

It is quite evident that negotiating identities is a complex process since different players have different interpretations of a name. Each of these perspectives should be seen as valid because there is a myriad of

possibilities in every name that is given. The next section looks at this issue.

5.7 Fission of identities

In the light of descriptive backing and pragmatics, interpretation and explanation of the war names is a multiple process. Every interpretation of a name often carries its uniqueness and it is a matter of finding common ground in the different interpretations of a given name, especially where it has gone through changes in space and time. The meanings that others seek to infer might be very different from that intended by the namer.

Two war names will be used to elaborate the tension between intended meanings and perceived meanings: **Gukurahundi** and **Mujiba**. However, before examining them the concept of meaning should be revisited. It will be recalled from Section 2.3 that four levels of meaning were proposed for the war names. These were: lexical meaning, denotation, connotation and descriptive backing. The analysis of **Gukurahundi** and **Mujiba** follows this framework.

Initially, **Gukurahundi** carried its lexical meaning. First, in Shona it means the first rains that wash away the chaff after the threshing of grain after the harvest (Chimhundu 2001). A second meaning emerged during the second Chimurenga when it lost its lexical meaning and the word was extended to describe various platoons, companies and battalions in the different ZANLA camps in the rear bases where it was used alongside other names such as **Chiwororo**, **Chitepo**, **Munhumutapa** and **Musikavanhu**. Thirdly, it became the name of a force that eliminated rebels within ZANLA who were aligned to Thomas Nhari and Dakarai Badza in 1974 (White 2003; McLaughlin 1998; Chung 2006). The metaphor of washing away the chaff was extended to purging rebels in the liberation movement. Fourthly, in 1979 the name accumulated new

connotations when ZANU declared the year as *Gore Regukurahundi*: ‘the year of the people’s storm’. In that year the war intensified to new levels (Beckett 2002; Bhebe 1999). Finally, the latest in the accumulation of connotations and associations moved the name even further from its language of origin. The 5th Brigade of the Zimbabwe National army was called *Gukurahundi* and is well-known for its operations in Matabeleland between 1984 and 1987 (Kriger 2005; Godwin and Hancock 1993).

Mujiba has also evolved several meanings over the years. Initially, it meant Johannesburg (Mfusi: personal communication) and this suggests the guerrilla called **Soweto Mujiba** had a cosmopolitan background as he had lived in Soweto in Johannesburg. In the rural areas of Zimbabwe there was also a form of dance called *Mujiba*, probably it was linked to Johannesburg as well, since the city was the centre of cultural developments related to popular music and other cultural movements explained in section 5.3.3 that later yielded war names such as **Ladysmith Black Mambazo** and **Jive Mathapuza**. Later on *Mujiba* came to refer to the scouts used by the guerrillas to gather intelligence information and logistical support in the operational areas. After the war the name became derogatory as it referred to thieves and marauders. Instead ‘war collaborator’ became a more fashionable name for these scouts. This is now the official tag that is attached to this group.

These two examples serve to illustrate the complexity of negotiating meanings in a nickname and how meanings change over space and time. *Gukurahundi* is a Shona word which now carries different meanings to different speech communities. Each group interprets it in the context within which it encountered the word. Similarly *Mujiba* – a placename in South Africa changed to nickname when it crossed the Limpopo and later became an epithet to describe a set of people. Like *Gukurahundi*, it has acquired connotations as part of its descriptive backing far removed from

its original lexical meaning. All these interpretations are acceptable to the different sets of users. Communities might borrow a name and retain its morphosyntactic properties but will give it their own meanings in line with their own perceptions and aspirations. The process described here partly explains the gap between intended identities and perceived meanings in Zimbabwean war names.

From the foregoing, it can be suggested that within the gap between intended meaning and perceived meanings lie a multiplicity of other possible meanings. Since meanings of names are constantly being negotiated in space and time, there are many possible identities that are neither of two extremes which will arise out of intended meanings and perceived meanings. This gap should not be seen as that of binary opposites but a continuum of meanings where there is “fission” of identities resulting in a postponement of the final resolution of meanings. Meaning is never fully resolved due to changing contexts. The meanings are constantly deferred which is an echo of the Derridan notion of *differance* and the meanings are in a state of perpetual flux (Jefferson 1982).

This study leaves us with several questions unanswered and a few are raised here. Who should determine what meaning, reference, denotation or connotation is most relevant, or rather, is there a “correct” meaning? What criteria should be used to determine which meaning(s), reference(s), denotation(s) or connotation(s) are most appropriate? Should meaning be prescribed or should it be left to unfold as circumstances change? These are some of the questions that research in nicknames can investigate in future studies.

5.8 Implications for research in war names and nicknames

Intended identities and perceived identities inevitably demand methodologies that are necessarily interactive. People might have their own perceptions and explanations of names but they do not necessarily coincide with those of the bearer or the community that gives these names. Holland (1990:267) points out that researchers of names should show:

...a commitment to fieldwork and a willingness to allow our understanding of nicknaming to arise from out of our interaction with those individuals and communities we “study”– these are the qualities which will carry us into the future.

This means that in the research process there must be “collaboration and engagement between researchers and subjects” because the subjects “own” the names and have detailed descriptive backing of them. Some of these issues have been dealt with in some detail in Section 3.3.1.

The ethnographic method is one of the most effective ways of collecting data on nicknames given the endless meanings embedded in layers of history and cultural diversity. These differences in meanings – the fission of meanings – should not be seen as a weakness but as richness in cultural diversities. It also reflects the limitless possibilities of onomastic research and the valuable contributions it can make to multicultural communication and conflict resolution.

5.9 Conclusion

The story of guerrilla names is a story of changing identities. It is another mode of expressing conflict and contradictions that occur between different social groups and social entities over time. This chapter has revealed polarities which when combined create a web of matrices of concepts which give rise to interesting perspectives. This chapter explored the simultaneous unifying and segregatory nature of some identities and the inherent ethnic tension in others. It has touched on the complex nature

of erasure and some times de-erasure, and dormant identities which are sometimes resuscitated. It has identified the tension between the individual and group identity, the intended and perceived identity and the possible “fission” of identities. Each of these areas warrants further study and it is hoped future studies will focus on some of these areas. The last chapter revisits the main themes and major concerns of the thesis and binds them together suggesting directions for future research in Zimbabwean war names and other types of nicknames.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

6.0 Introduction

This chapter gives a brief summary of the chapters in the study. It discusses the significant aspects in the study of war names and how they are interrelated. It goes on to give a summary of the findings and how they contribute to onomastic research as a whole. The major limitations of the research are set out and suggestions for further research are given. The chapter closes with some points on the significance of the study and its contributions to the study of onomastics.

6.1 Summary of the chapters

Chapter one gave an overview of pre-colonial Zimbabwe from the Great Zimbabwe state of the 12th century to the dawn of the colonial period in 1890. It also touched on Portuguese influence in pre-colonial Zimbabwe. It narrated the process of colonization through the “Pioneer Column” and how this led to the first wars of resistance of 1893, 1896/97 called the first Chimurenga. This was followed by a brief history of colonial Rhodesia and an outline of the causes, course and conclusion of the second Chimurenga. The second Chimurenga is one of the many names that have been given to the Zimbabwean conflict between 1966 and 1979 and these different terms were explored. The chapter went on to outline the rationale for the study and its contribution to the study of onomastics as a subdiscipline in linguistics and as a growing discipline on its own. It laid out the aims and hypothesis that have guided the study. It briefly touched on the methodology used in the study and the literature which informed and guided the study. The chapter established working definitions of “guerrillas”, *nom de guerre*, *Chimurenga* and other key terms used in the study. It then looked at limitations of the study and their implications for the study.

Chapter two reviewed the literature in onomastics and other disciplines that influenced the study. The review first of all covered literature on onomastic categories as described and outlined by various scholars. It then went on to look at the orientation of research in onomastics throughout the world. This research was subdivided into two major groups with one coming in from general linguistics spearheaded by eminent scholars such as Eichler (1987), Nicolaisen (1978), Van Langendonck (1998, 2001), Louwrens (1994), Koopman (2002), Meiring (1980, 1994, 1996) and others. The significance of pragmatics in onomastics was also examined briefly (Langendonck 2001). The second group was composed of scholars coming from adjacent disciplines such as sociology, anthropology, psychology and other social sciences. This included scholars such as Dundes (1983), Jacobson-Widding (1983), McDowell (1981), Lawson (1973) and Allen (1983).

The review then moved on to those who have studied the relationship between naming and identity such as Dundes (1983), Jacobson-Widding (1983), Edwards (1985) and Joseph (2004). Four areas were identified: general themes in identity, the importance of the name in space, collective identity and the dynamics of identity through time. It went on to explore the influence of different languages and dialects in the naming process and this included the work of Koopman (2002), Neethling (1988, 1990), Moyo (1996) and others. The aspect of non-standard varieties opened up the issue of oral forms and popular culture and their relationship to onomastics. Literature surrounding these issues was examined with emphasis on the work of Vambe (2004a, 2004b), Koopman (1993, 1994, 2002), Mathenjwa (1996) and Neethling (1993, 1995, 1996). The chapter then briefly explored the links between popular culture, structuralism and poststructuralism as well as other movements such as postmodern and postcolonial theories.

From these observations an onomastic matrix that summarized the major characteristics of the place name, the personal name, the nickname and the war name was proposed. Out of the matrix, some onomastic universals were proposed and these were the common threads that ran through most of the literature consulted. The chapter closed with an examination of research in onomastics in Zimbabwe, the southern African subcontinent and the rest of the world.

Description of the methods selected and how the data was collected are the central concerns of Chapter 3. The chapter opened with the discussion of different methodologies and how these were then selected and modified for use in the current study. It also explained how the research was shaped to meet the needs of this particular study. Literature showed that many researchers consulted different records such as government registers, hospital records and various historical records. This is the general method in most onomastic research.

Using guidelines from the literature consulted, data was collected in two different stages using different methods. The first involved collecting names from written sources. This was both a qualitative and quantitative exercise out of which a list of names were drawn up, described, classified, annotated and statistically analysed.

In the second stage war veterans were interviewed. This stage sought to achieve several objectives. The main one being to test the two hypotheses: firstly, the war names were influenced by the socio-cultural background of the namer and secondly, to confirm the view that the guerrillas often named themselves. The data from this phase was presented as reports which summarised the responses given by the interviewees. The method used here was the semi-structured interview and the literature consulted

revealed that this method is used by many researchers in onomastics. Some of these interviews were repeated over a long period and it was similar to the way in which ethnographers do research. The methods used here presented various challenges and solutions were devised as the exercise unfolded.

Problems encountered during the data collection were outlined and the following were the major problems identified:

- Verification of genuine war veterans. It was important to identify the real war veteran given the proliferation of a large number who wish to claim this status.
- Reluctance of female interviewees. Women were not forthcoming and this problem has been dwelt on in some detail in Section 5.3.7.
- The typographic errors in some of the secondary sources. For example, one of the major sources had many typographical and orthographical problems.
- The data was drawn from one guerrilla army (ZANLA) therefore this study does not represent all the guerrillas in the second Chimurenga.

Chapter 4 presented and analysed the results of the data collected as described in Chapter 3. The written sources were described in some detail. The names were then categorized as proposed in Section 3.2.2 and 4.12. The numbers and percentages of these different categories were presented in tables. Tables showing the most frequent names were also given.

The second part of the chapter presented data from the interviews. 25 subjects were interviewed and some of these were interviewed several times. The interview sought to ascertain the background of the interviewee, what the name meant to the namer, the meaning of other

names given by the interviewee and whether the name was still in use. The results yielded patterns and processes which could have wider implications than what has been presented in this study.

The names were then divided into categories to facilitate analysis and discussion which followed in Chapter 5. Nine categories were proposed following the scheme of classification proposed in Section 4.1.2. The categories were:

1. Shona names
2. Mixed names (Shona and English)
3. Names that reflect influence of popular culture
4. Ethnic Slurs
5. Names from Flora and Fauna
6. Names of women
7. Martial names
8. Ideological names
9. Names from other languages

Out of these categories subcategories or subgroups were derived and the salient features of each were described. Some of these categories overlapped and solutions to accommodate them in specific groups were given.

Chapter 5 was an analysis and discussion of the findings which pulled together onomastic theories and theories of language and identity. It weaved the theory raised in Chapter 2 into the findings presented in Chapter 4. The chapter discussed the processes of creating and concealing identities and how these become a point of contest in a conflict. The indices of identity raised in Section 2.2.5.2 were then linked to the onomastic categories developed in Section 4.1.3. Major features of the different categories were examined in depth and common aspects across the categories were also developed.

Out of the theoretical frame emerged several variables that influenced the subsequent discussion and analysis of the war names. Onomastic erasure and resuscitation were proposed as partial explanation for change or decline of some war names. It was also argued that beyond erasure new identities are created. Another point that emerged was that the name should be seen as part of the many contested spaces in the second Chimurenga. The names are presented in this study as part of the ideological and cultural spaces that are being contested. Naming systems and processes become another site in the struggle for power.

The chapter went on to explore the tension between intended identities and perceived identities and how the tension between the two sometimes produces the ultimate meaning of a war name. This yielded multiple meanings of names which led to the fission of identity and how each name might end up with several denotations, connotations, associations and varying levels of descriptive backing. The chapter concluded by identifying different areas in onomastics that can be pursued beyond this study.

6.2.1 Summary of findings

Data from the interviews confirmed several issues that develop from the hypotheses that drive the study and these are outlined in brief.

1. The interviews confirmed the existence of some of the names found in secondary sources, for example, **Didwell Irwaindiripo, Slaughter Vasinamabvi, Rex Nhongo, Anderson Mhuru, Tafirenyika Gondo, Action Moyo, Tonderai Nyika** and **Teurai Ropa**.
2. The interviews confirmed the hypothesis that the background of the namer influenced the choice of the name. Some of the guerrillas

interviewed confirmed explicitly that their names reflected their linguistic, cultural, religious or social choices, for example, names such as **Marx Shungu**, **Matodo Muroro**, **Last Ndega**, **Jekanyika Munetsi**, **Hewer Mushatagotsi**, **Mhandu Yemabhunu** and **Sauso Sox**.

3. Most guerrillas named themselves hence namer and bearer are in most cases the same.
4. Some guerrillas adopted multiple identities during the war. For example, **Matodo** became **Kays**; **Kangai Mbeu** became **Kingo**; **Shupai Mamvura** became **Edgar Winter** and **Lloyd** became **Chiwira**.

6.2.2 The sociocultural background of the guerrillas

The study confirmed to a large extent the hypothesis that the sociocultural background of the namer determined the naming patterns and processes in the guerrilla names. The study also established that most guerrillas named themselves, hence the names they chose often reflected their sociocultural background. This is in contrast to some name studies which suggest nicknames are often given by others (Morgan et al 1979; De Klerk 1998; Koopman 2002; Neethling 1990). A guerrilla with an urban background tended to reflect this in the name that s/he chose. A guerrilla with some Marxist training sometimes took up a Marxist name as in the case of **Marx Shungu**. Those with a rural background also showed their preferences that revealed their social and cultural affiliations (for example, **Matodo Muroro**). The results also suggest women have a natural aversion for the *avante garde*, so they stuck to the conventional names.

6.3 Contribution to onomastic theory

This study demonstrated the importance of descriptive backing and identity studies in the analysis of war names. The indices of identity, the processes of creation and erasure of identities are subsumed in the concept of descriptive backing. It was suggested in Section 2.2.2 that descriptive backing forms the basis of the explanation of names. Descriptive backing is a loose collection of all associations, connotations (and speculations) around a name. It is these that constitute the background of namer and named.

This thesis has contributed to onomastic theory by drawing from the identity studies of Edwards (1985), Joseph (2004), Dundes (1983) and from spatial history (Carter 1987). Out of their work this study developed the concepts of erasure and resuscitation of dormant identities. These became the platform upon which war names were analysed and examined. For instance, the war names such as **Kid Marongorongo** and **Mahlatini** were seen as acts of erasure and simultaneously acts of creating new identities. Similarly, taking up war names such as **Nehanda** and **Chaminuka** were acts of resuscitation of identities that had been erased for over fifty years of colonial rule. This process of erasure of some identities, creation of new ones in others and resuscitation in other cases was an ongoing battle for ideological space. The names that people carry occupy ideological space and those who give these names control these spaces. In the act of self naming the guerrillas were claiming ideological spaces hitherto held by the colonial power.

The war names became discursive spaces within which identities were negotiated and power games were played out. In redefining oneself through an act of erasure of a name or resuscitation of another the war name became a process of creating new identities which signified new power relations. It became an act of claiming ideological spaces held by other players who controlled the naming process. This study has hopefully

contributed to a deeper understanding of identity creation and the battle for ideological space that is represented by the war names.

At an international level this study is a modest contribution to the study of war names, a field that has not been given sufficient attention. This study could create a new interest in this area of research.

This study takes a multicultural perspective where it projects the conflict called Chimurenga as a melting pot that brought names from several languages, dialects and different cultural situations. Analysis of the names leads to a better understanding of different cultural and ethnic groups. This also leads to improved relations in the multicultural and multiracial settings in the Southern African community and elsewhere. As shown in the work of Koopman (2002) and Bright (2002) onomastics has much to contribute in conflict resolution and peace building. Understanding names people give to themselves and other people around them helps to understand the relations between them and helps to resolve contradictions which at times are antagonistic. This thesis lays the foundation of further research on the role of naming patterns and processes in peace building and conflict resolution in the country, on the southern African subcontinent and elsewhere.

6.4 Limitations

The study was subject to certain limitations.

1. It was difficult to identify true war veterans to interview. Kriger (2004), among others, dwells on this problem in some detail. During the controversies surrounding occupation of farms between 2000 and 2003 many people claimed to be war veterans when they had nothing to do with that history (Pieterse 2003). This study was done when the image of the war veterans was being seriously interrogated. They remain a marginalized social

group and they are inherently suspicious of anyone who approaches them (Kriger 2004, Lyons 2004, Chung 2006).

2. These findings should not be seen as representing the whole guerrilla population because the data was drawn from one guerrilla army, ZANLA, because it has records that are more widely available (see Section 1.9). Similar studies need to be done for the other major guerrilla army, ZIPRA.
3. The gender factor also influenced the research. It was difficult to secure an interview of women and this issue was raised in some depth in Section 5.3.7. The women war veterans have been more stigmatized and marginalized than their male counterparts and as a result they are not very keen to grant interviews (Chung 2006, Lyons 2004, Simbanegavi 2000). Where they do so, it is often in strict confidence and is with a female interviewer (Lyons 2004; McCartney and Musengezi 2000).

These limitations have been highlighted at different stages as the thesis unfolded and any future studies should take them into account.

6.5 Suggestions for further research

While this study has brought light much that has not been published before and is the most extensive study on this topic to date, it has also identified gaps that need further exploration. The following can be points of departure for future researchers:

1. More war names should be collected and this should include the *mujibas* and *chimbwidos* that have been discussed briefly in Section 5.3.7.

2. Research needs to be done on ZIPRA, the other major guerrilla army. This would give a balanced view of the war names used by Zimbabweans during the second *Chimurenga*.
3. From the expanded database raised in 2, a glossary of Zimbabwean war names could be developed. This should not be an end in itself but be a guide to achieve other objectives in onomastic research in the country.
4. This study has focused on how guerillas perceived themselves but how are these identities perceived by the wider population? In other words, research could be broadened to include studies of popular perceptions of guerrilla war names.
5. Women's names need to be studied. This might lead to more work from a feminist perspective on war names and on nicknames and in onomastics as whole.
6. Similar studies should be done for *Umkhonto we Sizwe*, PLAN and other liberation armies in southern Africa.

The corpus of names in this study is not exhaustive but it opens up new possibilities in Zimbabwean onomastic enquiry. The discipline is in its infancy in the country and there are so many possibilities in all directions as suggested by Holland (1990) and Raper (1986). In its own right this study extends Pongweni (1983), Kahari (1990) and Chitando's (1998a) efforts to develop Zimbabwean onomastics.

Most work in southern Africa has covered the nicknames in specific cultural contexts (Zulu, Xhosa and English) and at a multicultural level. This study augments the multicultural dimension found in the work of De Klerk (1996) on English and Xhosa names, Meiring (2002) on German, Afrikaans and English names, Koopman (2000, 2002) on English and Zulu names, Neethling (1996) on Xhosa and English names, Moyo (1996) on

Chewa and English names, Saarelma (1996) on Finnish, Ovambo and Herero names.

6.6 Conclusion

Every name is a full text on its own. It is a narrative that carries with it a vast collection of history, myths, legends, and various other attributes subsumed in the all embracing concept of descriptive backing. As the name endures the vagaries of time and migrates through physical space it accumulates connotations and associations some of which are far removed from those it carried in its language of origin. A name can migrate through categories from personal name to place name and to nickname or vice versa. This study of war names has shown that a name can be an extremely flexible linguistic item and warrants detailed study as it changes in space and time.

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APPENDIX 1

THE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

The interview schedule was a semi-structured one and it followed guidelines of Johnstone (2000) and Nunan (1992) among others. Questions were not asked in the order that they were set but guided to interviewer as the discussion unfolded.

Section 1. Background of the interviewee.

- Age
- First language (and dialect)
- Why the subject went into the war,
- When they went into the war (year and month)
- Level of education (before the war)
- Type of school attended (eg mission, government, other)
- Where they picked up the war name (eg Nyadzonya, Chimoio etc)
- Pre war status or occupation (eg student or employed)
- Post war status (current occupation)
- Other relevant background information.

Section 2: The war name

- How the guerrilla got the name,
- Where they got it
- Namer; self or others
- Changes or modifications to the name during the war.
- Where there are changes what circumstances lead to the change of name.
- Was the name retained or dropped after the war?
- What the name meant to the bearer.
- Other

Section 3: Other names and their gloss

- Interviewees were asked to give at least five war names they recalled.
- They were also asked to give a gloss to each of the names they had given.

APPENDIX 2 THE INTERVIEWS

Introduction

As presented in Appendix I, the interview had three main parts: firstly the personal details of the informant, secondly, the circumstances around which the name was adopted and where it was used. Thirdly, some names that the interviewee recalled are given. Before conducting the interview considerable time was spent creating rapport and covering ethical issues such as confidentiality, privacy, purpose of the interview and getting permission to publish findings. These details are covered in Chapter 3. The interview schedule is given in Appendix 1 and the full list of names given by the interviewees is incorporated in the glossary of names in Appendix 4. These interviews must be read in conjunction with the maps and diagrams in Appendix 3. All glosses are Shona unless indicated.

1. Carlos Chombo

He was born of a peasant family in the northern part of Manicaland Province. He did his secondary education at one of the leading mission schools in Rhodesia. He went into the war as an undergraduate from the then University of Rhodesia. From the squalor of the camps in Mozambique, he went to Eduardo Mondlane University in 1979 to study journalism. He is a fluent speaker of Portuguese and is now a prominent public servant. He is very flexible and this has enabled him to fit into different situations.

He took up the name **Carlos Chombo** upon arrival at Nyadzonya in 1975. Names were given upon arrival after security screening. He says the process of screening was essential because of the high rate of infiltration by the Rhodesian intelligence agents (see Reid Daly 1982). He says the purpose of his name was to conceal identity (He mentions that **Carlos** is

Spanish for Charles) and **Chombo** is a Shona word meaning weapon. He dropped the name after the war. From the series of interviews the highlight of his war experience were the studies at Eduardo Mondlane University. This had considerable impact on his subsequent career.

Names given by interviewee and his gloss.

Matodo Muroro (was opaque to him), **Black Savage** (was transparent), **Top Ten** (was transparent), **Ronald Ngarava** (Ronald Ship), **Mushatagotsi** (the one with ugly back of the head), **Sydney Chinyama** (Sydney piece of meat).

2. Black Savage

He is part of the group of interviewees who went to Eduardo Mondlane University. He is a simple soft spoken middle class civil servant. Like most of his ilk he is introvert, hardly visible but is a powerful party cadre. He comes from the southern part of the eastern highlands of Zimbabwe and had four years of secondary education at a mission school in the same area. He left his studies at a teacher training college and crossed the border into Mozambique in the first half of 1975. He holds very strong cultural beliefs, mainly due to his rural background and his experience in the war. He was trained at Tembue (*Chikoro Chehondo* “Military academy”, see **Kangai Mbeu** below and Fig 6 in Appendix 3). After training he was deployed in the Gaza province and returned to the rear when he sustained injuries. He became a military instructor at Takawira Base 1 at (see Fig 52 in Appendix 3).

He gave himself the name **Black Savage** upon arrival at Nyadzonya (See Fig 8 in Appendix 3). The object of the name was to conceal identity and to deter the enemy. He maintains that war is brutal and savage and *Chimurenga* was no exception. For him, the name **Black Savage** had ethnic connotations and a raw savagery which he grew to dislike over the

years. He says for him, **Black** represented Black people and **Savage** suggested that black Zimbabweans were literally savage. He dropped the name after the war, mainly because it carries deep barbaric connotations of a savage. He repeatedly reminded the interviewer that the name was dropped after the war. This is one example of complete erasure of identity.

Names given by interviewee and his gloss

Maspara (opaque), **Dominic Chinenge** (opaque), **Brown Chimurenga** (Brown uprising), **Carlos Chombo** (Carlos weapon of war), **Paul Njiri Chibende** (Paul warthog small fish), **Matodo Muroro** (opaque)

3. Fife Nhamo

He has a peasant background and was brought up in the Chimanimani area in the Eastern highlands. He went to one of the high schools in the area. He is so introvert like most former guerrillas in the private sector: he does not want his past to be public. He described with passionate detail his stay at Chibabava camp (see Fig 4 in Appendix 3) during 1975 and part of 1976.

He took up the name **Fife Nhamo** at Chibabava and he named himself mainly to conceal identity but the name also indicated the multiple nature of suffering of the black people. He says **Fife Nhamo** meant suffering multiplied by five. It was a metaphor of the endless suffering that the guerrillas and peasants went through during the war. He dropped the name after the war.

He was very sensitive to the colonial injustices and these drove him to take up arms. From Chibabava he went to Nachingwea, Tanzania in 1976 as part of an intake that was codenamed *Songambebe* (Swahili for “push forward”). He also trained as a medical officer. He was deployed in the Manica Province, Tangwena Sector in 1977 (see Fig 3 in Appendix 3).

The Tanzanian influence in his life is confirmed by the Swahili codeswitching he threw into his narrative with the interviewer.

Names given by interviewee and his gloss

July Chimurenga (July in the uprising), **Patts Zvenyika** (Patrick matters of the nation), **Sugar** (He says this guerrilla was a humorous character who was never serious at all). **Loyd Chiwira**, *Chiwira* was the name of a mountain in the area of Manicaland that the interviewee operated. **Diabhorosi Satan** is double meaning for the devil himself, but apparently in contrast to the name, Fife says **Dhiabhorosi** was a pleasant character, it was just a war name. **Mike Pfumo**, (Mike spear)

4. Chademunhu

He grew up in the southern part of the eastern highlands in a rural community. He is warm, pleasant and self motivated. He received his secondary education at a mission school and trained as a teacher before he went into the war. After the war he became a municipal officer and took early retirement. Currently he is a property salesman with a firm of estate agents and is an active member in a local church. He maintains an active interest in war veteran affairs. Like most interviewees he has some sad memories of the war.

He took up the name **Chademunhu** upon arrival at Chibabava in 1975. He chose the name to conceal his identity and to protect his relatives back home. He said **Chademunhu** means “what a person has decided to do”. He dropped the name after the war.

He left Chibabava in the same year and went to Tembue for military training. He described in some detail the harsh conditions at Tembue during the period called *détente* (1975). Like most interviewees, he had a negative image of *détente*. After training he was deployed in the

Monomotapa Sector of the Manica Province (see Fig 3) in the eastern highlands early in 1976. He operated in the same area that he worked as a teacher before going into the war. He described at length a leg injury he sustained in a gun battle. The wound decayed and was infested with maggots until he was saved by some peasants who knew him. They gave him medical care until he could be evacuated to Mozambique in December 1976. He was treated at Parirenyatwa clinic at Chimoio early in 1977 (see Fig 5). He continued teaching until he moved to Maputo in 1979.

Names given by interviewee and his gloss

Gudo (Baboon), **Amos Tsana** (Amos the mouse), **Teurai Ropa** (Spill blood), **Mike Mutare** (opaque), **Tonderai Nyika** (Remember the nation).

5. Marx Shungu (also known as Matanda Manyoro)

Soft spoken, outgoing and looks very civil, nothing in him suggests he is a war veteran. He was born of peasant parents in Honde Valley, some 100km north of Mutare. He received his secondary education at one of the best schools in Rhodesia and went into the war after completing O levels in 1976. He first met guerrillas early in 1976 as they opened up the Tangwena Sector of Manica Province (see Fig 3). After the war he resumed his studies and went on to complete a degree in computer science. He worked in the tertiary services sector for nearly twenty years before retiring and he is now running his own business.

He took up the name **Marx Shungu** upon arrival at Doroei in 1976. He says he chose the name **Marx** after reading about Karl Marx at school. **Shungu** means determination to liberate the nation. He says the name was an inspiration driven by an inner will to liberate the people. He describes the squalor and deprivation of Doroei with gruesome detail, especially the hunger and poor hygiene. The purpose of the name was to conceal an

identity. He later picked up the name **Matanda Manyoro** in the operational area and he says it means freshly cut logs.

He went on to train at Tembue in 1977. This was a very difficult period and Tembue *Chikoro Chehondo* (the military academy) was well known for its difficult conditions. After training he was deployed in the Manica Province, Tangwena Sector (see Fig 3). He saw action in that area until the end of the war in 1979. He dropped the war names in 1980 when he resumed his A level studies before proceeding to University of Zimbabwe in 1982.

Names given by interviewee and his gloss

Mennard Magamba (Mennard heroes), **Paradzai Mabhunu** (Destroy the Boers), **Gray Tichatonga** (Gray we shall rule), **Peter Advance** (transparent), **Mbada** (Leopard), **Njera** (Millet), **Mzee Jomo** (*Mzee* is Swahili for “old man” and **Jomo** refers to Jomo Kenyatta the first president of Kenya), **Zvikaramba Toedza Zvimwe** (If this fails we will try something else)

6. Matodo Muroro Kays

His pre-war profile is similar to that of **Marx Shungu**. He was born in Buhera in Central Zimbabwe and received his education at a mission school in the eastern highlands. He was a brilliant scholar. He stayed at Doroei between 1976 and 1977 serving as a medical officer. He went to Tembue for military training in 1977. After training he stayed at a small camp called Chari as a medical officer before moving on to Eduardo Mondlane University in 1979 and completed a degree in Forestry in 1984. He went on to complete an MSc in Ireland in 1988. At the time of his death he was working on a PhD with the University of the Witwatersrand. He was an environmental consultant who was widely published in his field. He was soft spoken with a sharp intellectual insight and a fine eye

for detail. He had excellent rapport with colleagues and friends. A fluent speaker of Portuguese, he built an elaborate network professionally and socially.

He named himself **Matodo Muroro** upon arrival at Doroëi in 1976 and **Kays** was later added at Eduardo Mondlane University. He suggests urban influence on this addition. He chose the name **Matodo Muroro** with a dual purpose: to conceal identity and to celebrate his ancestral lineage. *Matodo* was the name of his grandmother. He said that his paternal grandfather called *Muroro* was a great hunter and warrior who spent long periods in the bush. He believes he picked up the character of his hunter ancestor when he took to arms. Ancestral names (such as *Nehanda* and *Chaminuka*) were a source of inspiration and the war name **Matodo Muroro** should be seen in this respect. **Matodo** continued his links with the bush when he went into forestry after the war. He conducted a considerable amount of research in indigenous woodlands of the savannah.

He dropped the name after the war but it was still used by a small group of friends, mainly the Eduardo Mondlane alumni. He said literally, **Muroro** is a small wild bush that has edible yellow fruit. The name **Matodo** is opaque.

Names given by interviewee and his gloss

Shingirayi (Perservere), **Bara** (bullet), **Ngarava** (Ship), **Black Savage**, **Top Ten**, **Jekanyika** (He confirmed that the name was from a Shona text), **Ornwell Rindai** (Ornwell is opaque, Rindai to guard), **Farai Kuziva** (Be happy to know), **Pfumo Reropa** (Spear of blood), **Kissinger Mudzvanyiriri** (Kissinger the oppressor), **Sekuru Mawaya** (Grandfather wires).

7. Taxie Dzapasi

He grew up in a remote area in the southern part of the Eastern highlands. Nothing about him suggests his history as a guerrilla. He is a good example of someone who went through successful rehabilitation and integrated into civil society. He went into war at the age of eleven and was too young to be trained. He went to a primary school that was affiliated to some mission but never really practiced Christianity. He went back to school after the war and at the time of the interview he was studying for a degree and is a senior civil servant.

He took up the name **Taxie Dzapasi** at Chibabava when he arrived there in 1976. He says it was merely to conceal identity and he did not attach any significance to the name. He narrated with passion a poisoning incident at Chibabava. He says the enemy poisoned some mealie meal and many people died. In 1979 he moved to Samacueza camp which was near Beira. He never received any formal training. He dropped the name after the war and went back to school.

To him the name **Taxie** was opaque; it was just a name that sounded English. **Dzapasi** means “of the ground” or “belonging to the ground”. His age group marks the cut off point for those guerrillas who actually trained and went into action. Anyone born after 1962 was too young to undergo training and go into fighting.

Names given by interviewee and his gloss

Amos Tsana (**Amos** was opaque to him and **Tsana** is a type of mouse), **Tasangana Pano Mabhunu** (We have engaged you here you Boers), **Dobie Grey** (a singer), **Teurai Ropa** (Spill blood), **Mushatagotsi** (the one with the bad back of a head), **Tovadini Varungu** (What shall we do with the whitemen), **Jan Musungwa** (Jan the prisoner), **Kasikai Patiri Pakashata** (Hurry up, we are in a bad situation), **Advance Mapfumo** (

Advance spears), **Mabasa Kuseni** (work in the morning), **Tsotsowa** (opaque), **Gambiza** (opaque).

8. Shupai Mamvura (also known as **Edgar Winter**)

This subject was interviewed only once: afterwards he was difficult to locate. He is of peasant background and comes from the southern part of the eastern highlands some 60 km south of Mutare. He had completed Grade 7 and was not able to go beyond. He was very talkative but had problems in rehabilitation and is currently trying farming. He was part of the unit that abducted a farmer called Johannes Maartens near Headlands in July 1978. Wigglesworth (1979) describes the abduction of Maartens and his information is in agreement with **Shupai Mamvura**'s narration. This is one episode he talked of in great detail and was the high point of his war career.

He named himself **Shupai Mamvura** upon arrival at Chibabava mainly to conceal identity. He went into the war at the height of *détente*, a period of great hunger and deprivation. Like most of those who went into the war before 1976, he talks in great detail about the problems he encountered during the period of *détente*. He trained at Tembue military academy (see Fig 6) and he gave a graphic description of the hardships there (see **Marx Shungu, Kangai Mbeu** and **Sauso Sox**). In 1976 he was deployed in the Manica Province, Tangwena Sector. He operated extensively in the Headlands area and along the Harare – Mutare railway line. He dropped the names after the war.

Shupai means “harass” and **Mamvura** means “waters”. He said the surname *Mamvura* was just a Shona name with no implication, but **Shupai** really meant “harass the enemy” and indeed he believes he did exactly that. In 1979 he adopted the name **Edgar Winter**. He said that he did this

to confuse the enemy after the abduction of Johannes Maartens because the name **Shupai Mamvura** was now known to the enemy.

Names given by interviewee and his gloss

Action Moyo (Action heart), **Cobra** (a venomous snake), **Sherekete** (Mischievous maker), **Solomon Chimurenga** (Solomon Uprising), **Zvitunha** (corpses), **Amos Mago** (Amos Wasps), **Gwanzura** (the name of a stadium in Harare), **Sauso Sox** (the name was opaque to him).

9. Bob Tendaupenyu

He was born and bred in the Honde valley north of Mutare. He came from a large family. He was modest, soft spoken and went into the war after Grade 7. He was a painter by profession and never managed to pursue further studies. He went into the taxi business after the war and is now a farmer.

He took up the name **Bob Tendaupenyu** when he arrived at Nyadzonya in 1975. Then he went to Nachingwea camp in Tanzania in 1976 and trained with the intake codenamed *Songambebe* (Swahili for “push forward”). After completion of training he was deployed in the Tangwena Sector of Manica Province (see Fig 3).

He says **Bob** is a shortcut for the name Robert and had no particular reason for choosing the name. **Tendaupenyu** means giving thanks to life. He dropped the name after the war and returned to civilian life.

Names given by interviewee and his gloss

Mike Pfumo (Mike spear), **Devil Mapara** (Devil bullets), **Sugar Sugar**, **Joseph Chirombo** (Joseph big animal), **Killer**, **Lloyd Chiwira** (Chiwira was a mountain), **Chidyausiku** (That which eats at night), **Dhiabhoros Satan** (he said it had something to do with evil), **Tsvairai** (Sweep).

10. Sauso Sox

He has a strong urban background. He was born and grew up in Mabvuku, a high density suburb in Harare but has Malawian origins. Despite the advanced years he still has traces of the boisterous character of the Rhodesian ghetto of the 70s. He says he was often misunderstood by his comrades with rural backgrounds. He described some of the films that he watched, such as James Bond series. His language is full of slang typical of most former guerrillas with an urban background. It is a variety that is very similar to Tsotsitaal. His musical tastes were in pop music and rock as opposed to the majority who preferred local music and was often labelled bourgeoisie.

He took up the name **Sauso Sox** upon arrival at Naydzonya but left before the camp was attacked by the Selous Scouts in August 1976. He moved on to Tembue and also mentions the hardships, the hunger and deprivation at the *Chikoro Chehondo* (the military academy). After training he went into action in Manica Province, Tangwena Sector, and saw three years of active service from November 1976 to December 1979 without a break.

He says **Sauso** is a modification of the Chewa word *masautso* meaning suffering. This name is equivalent to the Shona name *Nhamo* which also means suffering. He says he chose the name to conceal identity and was very proud of his Malawian identity in an environment where Malawians were often marginalized. **Sox** is a common Malawian surname and it has nothing to do with socks.

Names given by interviewee and his gloss

Robert Ndlovu (Robert Elephant (Ndebele), **Chamuka Inyama** (Whatever appears will be devoured), **Chidyausiku** (That which eats at night), **Mhuru** (Calf), **Mike Ropa Revhu**, (Mike blood of the soil),

Charlie Brown (it was opaque to him), **Mugara Dzakasungwa** (Always ready to travel), **Tafirenyika Gondo** (The eagle that died for the nation), **Devil Mapara** (Devil bullets).

11 Jekanyika Munetsi

He has a peasant background and grew up in central Zimbabwe. He went to one of the prominent mission schools in the eastern highlands. He went into the war in 1975 when he was doing his O levels. He took up an army career after the war but also pursued his studies and now holds a Bachelor's and an Honours degree. He went into teaching when he retired from the army.

He chose the name **Jekanyika** when he got to Nyadzonya in 1975. He did not stay there long and moved on to Tembue military academy (*Chikoro Chehondo*). After training he was deployed in Tete Province, Chaminuka Sector and saw action for a year. He had to withdraw to the rear after sustaining an injury in action. He later went to Romania for further training in 1978. He said the interviews evoked some painful memories of the war.

He chose the name to conceal identity and it was also to celebrate Mugugu's novel *Jekanyika*. He sought to emulate the qualities of the epic hero Jekanyika in that novel. He read the book as a literature text at O level. He said **Jekanyika** meant "he who is always traveling". It is a name which aptly describes the movement of the guerrillas since they covered large areas on foot. **Munetsi** means mischief maker or one who causes trouble. He dropped the name after the war.

Names given by interviewee and his gloss

John Chigwagwagwa (John the submachinegun), **Anderson Mhuru** (Anderson the calf), **Perence Shiri** (Perence the bird), **Bornwell Masawi**

(Bornwell weeds), **Chando Mukwanisi** (Cold weather the fixer), **Muchapera Mabhunu** (You shall be wiped out you Boers), **Didwell Irwaindiripo** (Didwell fight while I am there), **Charles Ropa** (Charles blood), **Slaughter Vasinamabvi** (kill those with no knees), **John Ronda** (John wound).

12. Tasvinura Muchationa

He comes from a peasant family in the southeastern part of the country. He is very civil and quiet and nothing about him suggests he is a war veteran. He is an active Christian who is prominent in men's fellowship in his denomination. He went into the war when he was training as an apprentice. He was attested to the Zimbabwean national army after the war and rose through the ranks until he retired as a colonel. He went on to establish himself as a businessman. Like most war veterans interviewed he carries his own traumas of the war.

He named himself **Tasvinura Muchationa** upon arrival at Chibabava in 1975. He trained at Takawira Base I at Chimoio and was deployed in the Tangwena Sector of Manica Province.

He says **Tasvinura** means "we are now politically aware of our right to fight for freedom". **Muchationa** means "you shall see us: we will fight to the end". He says it was an expression of determination to fight to the finish.

Names given by interviewee and his gloss

Sparker Sparker (He suggested it has something to do with pleasure, from the Shona slang "spark" meaning pleasure. **Tonderai Nyika** (Remember the nation), **Mugaradzakasungwa** (Always ready to travel) **Chaputika Chaibva** (What burst is ripe), **Mike Mutare** (Mike of Mutare), **Killer Mabhunu** (Killer of the Boers), **Colonel Gaddafi**

(transparent), **Mabhunu Muchapera** (Boers shall be wiped out), **Hannibal Chimurenga** (Hannibal Uprising).

13 Gibson Gumbo

He is a senior army officer who has risen through the ranks over the years. He was born and bred in Masvingo and went into the war in 1973. He entered the war before the massive “exodus” of young people as from 1975. He travelled through Botswana in 1973 and was later airlifted to Zambia in the same year. He took up the name **Gibson Gumbo** in 1975 to accommodate emerging conventions of taking up war names. Many pre-1975 cadres did not have war names but they became mandatory as the guerrilla numbers increased rapidly after 1975 and reprisals against families with relatives in the guerrilla ranks increased. He was named by someone else.

The name was dropped after the war but is still used in certain circles. Gibson is a common English surname. Gumbo literally means leg and he says that it is a totem of a clan among the Karanga people of Masvingo. (Karanga is a dialect of the Shona language).

Names given by interviewee and his gloss

Norman Bethune (after the Canadian doctor who died in China), **Fox Gava** (Gava is Shona for fox), **Dominic Chinenge** (Dominic what resembles), **Rex Nhongo** (Rex was opaque to him and Nhongo is a male goat), **Teurai Ropa** (Spill Blood).

14. Last Ndega

Fairly elderly and he is in his early sixties. He is now a grandparent with several grandchildren. He comes from a Christian family in the southern part of the eastern highlands. He was a trained schoolteacher when he went into war. He continued his teaching career in the war. After the war

he worked in the civil service for over ten years then retired into farming. Currently he is an active member of the local church that he attends.

He says he took up the name **Last Ndega** upon arrival at Chibabava in 1975. Initially the name was just to conceal identity but it also had deep personal connotations that he explained with some detail. He called himself **Last** because he is the last child and **Ndega** meaning he is the only boy in that family. **Last** is an English translation of his Shona middle name. He was trained at Tembue *Chikoro Chehondo* (the military academy) then he moved on to Pungwe base. He dropped the name after the war.

Names given by interviewee and his gloss

Muchaneta Mabhunu (you Boers shall get tired), **Tovadini Varungu** (what shall we do with the white people), **Teurai Ropa** (Bloodshed) **Muchatiroto Mabhunu** (you shall give in you Boers), **Tichaitonga Zimbabwe** (we shall rule Zimbabwe), **Mao Tongai** (Mao rule), **Mao Hurungudo** (Mao the grindstone), **Rugare Rutanhire** (Rugare means peace and Rutanhire was opaque to the interviewee). **Tom Chimoto** (Tom small fire), **Tawanda Magorira** (We guerrillas have increased).

15. Victor Mhizha

He went into the war after A levels at a leading mission school in the eastern highlands in 1975. He is generally quiet, soft spoken but full of self confidence. After the war he went into broadcasting and human resources management. Currently, he is a human resources consultant.

He took up the name **Victor Mhizha** at Nyadzonya upon arrival in 1975. He took up the name to conceal identity and he says it was also a confidence booster because *Mhizha* means expert in Shona. He says he ran into problems over the choice of the name but he insisted on it. He went

into military training at Tembue in 1975 and was deployed in Manica Province early in 1976. He had to withdraw to the rear after an injury in January 1977. He trained as a political commissar at the Chitepo political academy and became a producer of radio programmes for ZANU at Radio Mozambique in 1978 and 1979.

He says **Mhizha** means blacksmith. A *Mhizha* was well known for his expertise in the local community for producing hoes, spears, axes and other iron implements. It is a Shona metaphor that can mean expert, in this case he saw himself as an expert in guerrilla warfare.

He retained his name as a reminder of his role in *Chimurenga*. He values it highly and he sees it as a continuation of an identity that most guerrillas have erased. He gave an example of a former guerrilla who was mistakenly incarcerated in the detention barracks by a former fellow comrade who was now a senior army officer. Had the latter known the *Chimurenga* name of the former he would have escaped imprisonment.

Names given by interviewee and his gloss

Josiah Tungamirai (Josiah lead), **Mau Mau** (the Kenyan uprising of the 1953 to 1956), **Che Guevara** (Opaque), **Sunungurai Nyika** (Liberate the nation), **Muchatiroto Mabhunu** (you shall get cooked up you Boers).

16. Kangai Mbeu Kurima Kwaramba

He was born in Manicaland and went as far as form 2 but was not able to proceed to O level because he failed to raise the school fees. He took employment as a general worker in Mutare. He is about 55 years of age and is an engineer in the army. He stayed at Poshto Machazi, the predecessor of Chibabava camp. He later went to Tembue for military training. He gave detailed experiences of the harsh conditions at Tembue Military academy (*Chikoro Chehondo*) in 1975 and 1976. He says they ate

seeds of the baobab, the msasa and the pods of a wild creeper during the long periods of hunger. After training he was deployed in the Manica Province, Monomotapa Sector, Zimunya Detachment and he saw active service from 1976 until ceasefire in 1979. He was part of the team that conducted reconnaissance on the Grand Reef airport in Mutare and later attacked it. He was attested to the Zimbabwe national army in 1980 and served in the Mozambique and Congo campaigns.

He gave himself the name **Kangai Mbeu Kurima Kwaramba** because the war was so tough. He says the name means you might as well roast the seed because since farming has failed. The shorter form of the name became **Kingo** and it is still widely used.

Names given by interviewee and his gloss

Leonard Pfumo (Leonard Spear), **Tonderai Nyika** (Remember the Nation), **Green Shava** (totem for eland), **Tshaka the Professor**, **Mhangarai Tione** (Report and we shall see).

17. Batsirai Magamba

He is about 48 years of age and of a peasant background. He went to war as a grade 7 pupil and never went beyond that. He is currently employed as a private in the army. He is soft spoken and says he has seen limited opportunities mainly because of his limited education. He trained Takawira Base Two at Chimoio (see Fig 5) and was later deployed in the Manica Province, Tangwena Sector, Mutasa detachment. He operated there until the end of the war.

He named himself **Batsirai Magamba** upon arrival at Chimoio in 1976. **Batsirai Magamba** means “support the heroes”. He said the name was an appeal for everyone to help the heroes of *Chimurenga*, the guerrillas. He dropped the name after the war.

Names given by interviewee and his gloss

Bulldog, Pedzisai Hondo (Finish off the war), **Robson Maranza**, (opaque), **Marvellous, Liberation, George Onyango** (he said it was Swahili)

18 Artwell Mabhunu

He was born and bred in the northeastern part of Zimbabwe. He went into the war after completing form II. Like most children in the area he could not continue with his education because schools were closed down. He has a Christian background and is currently a small trader in the informal sector.

He took the name **Artwell Mabhunu** upon arrival at Doroei in 1976. He describes with a lot of emotion and detail the hunger and squalid conditions of Doroei. Later, he was trained Takawira Base II at Chimoio. He moved to Mudzingazi and later Chibabava as a political commissar. He did not see any military service and he dropped the name after the war.

Names given by interviewee and his gloss

George Mazarire (George who closes in), **Tobias Bvunzawabaya** (Tobias who shoots first and asks questions later), **Rick Nelson Mawere** (Rick Nelson steep slope), **John Muhondo** (John in war), **Erick Desire**.

19 Teddius Tsotsowa

He is about 49 years old and grew up in the southern part of the eastern highlands. He went to a Mission school but dropped out at form II when his parents could not raise fees. He currently works a technician in a private company in Harare.

He says someone named him **Teddius Tsotsowa** when he arrived at Chibabava in 1975. He later moved to Chimoio and was trained at Tembue military academy. He also talks of harsh conditions at the training camp. After training he was deployed in Manicaland Province, Monomotapa Sector, Zimunya Detachment and operated alongside **Kangai Mbeu** from 1976 to 1979. He dropped the name after the war.

Names given by interviewee and his gloss

Mzee Davie (Old man Davie), **Kennedy Mutsanewako** (Kennedy wake up your own), **Green Shava**, **Mukwashawesango** (The son - in - law of the bush).

20. Bulalazonke

He is about 50 years old. He grew up in a small town in central Zimbabwe and went as far as form II at a government school.

He named himself **Bulalazonke** upon arrival at Nyadzonya. He moved to Doroei after Nyadzonya was destroyed by the Selous Scouts in 1976. He later went on into military training at Nachingwea camp in Tanzania. He was deployed in the Gaza Province, Sector 3, Detachment 2. He saw active service in that area until the end of the war and described some of his experiences there. He was attested to the national army in 1980. He dropped the name after the war.

He said the name meant “kill them all”. He said this name is derived from Chilapalapa: the Rhodesian version of Fanakalo. He said it was his wish “to clear off all the Boers”.

Names given by interviewee and his gloss

Maturura Ndege (He who brings down aeroplanes), **Boaz Mavesera** (Boaz who lights up), **George Muteyandima** (George who traps the field) **China Kissenger**.

21 Blessing Vatema

He is a 48 year old man and grew up in communal areas. He never went beyond form II. He was employed as a clerk when he went into war.

He named himself **Blessing Vatema** upon arrival at Doroei camp in 1976. He moved on to Chimoio then on to Nachingwea, Tanzania, where he was trained and was deployed in the Manica Province, Musikavanhu Sector in 1977. He dropped the name after the war.

He chose the name because he sought the blessing of the black people. He says, "I chose the name according to the political situation and aims of the revolution."

Names given by interviewee and his gloss

Chinhambwe (distance), **Billy Takawira** (Billy we fell for it), **Hatina Tsitsi Nemi** (We have no mercy for you), **Blessing Chimurenga** (Blessing struggle), **Tofa Vatema** (We Blacks are dying), **Stannie Matipa** (Stannie you have given us), **Chakanyorova Mukonoweshuro** (The wet male rabbit), **Edward Pedzisai** (Edward finish up).

22 Odzayi Mhandu

Over 50 years of age, he grew up in the rural areas of northeastern Zimbabwe. He could not go beyond Grade 7 because his family could not raise the fees. He was employed as a general worker at a mine before he went into the war. After the war he went into the Zimbabwe National

Army but has since retired and is working as a small trader in the informal sector.

He named himself **Odzai Mhandu** upon arrival at Doroei in 1976. He was trained at Tembue *Chikoro Chehondo* (Military academy) and later deployed in Manica Province, Monomotapa Sector, Bocha Detachment. He operated in that area until the end of the war. He fought alongside **Tsotsowa** and **Kangai Mbeu**. He says the name **Odzayi Mhandu** means “rot the enemy” or “leave the enemy to rot”. He dropped the name after the war.

Names given by interviewee and his gloss

America Mudzvanyiriri, (America the oppressor), **Kingo Kangai Mbeu** (Kingo fry the seed), **Bombadiari** (The bombardier), **Mukwashawesango** (Son – in - law of the bush), **David Mauto** (David soldiers), **Mangarai Tione** (Report we shall see), **Sekuru Gaba** (Uncle tin), **Katsapo** (small load).

23 Joseph Black Simba

He was born in a rural area in the southern eastern highlands. He was in grade 5 at a local mission school when he went into the war. After the war he trained as a school teacher and is teaching in Harare.

He named himself **Joseph Black Simba** at Chibabava. From Chibababava he went Inhaminga and then to Samacueza. The latter was one of the transit camps for Zimbabweans being repatriated after the war. He never went into any training at all. He said the motive behind the **Joseph Black Simba** was that “blacks were fighting for their own power”. *Simba* (Shona) means power. He dropped the name upon return to Zimbabwe and went back to school.

He makes it clear that the objective of the war name was to conceal identity; “ *Chimurenga* names were very important in that traitors could not associate you with your people back home”.

Names given by interviewee and his gloss

Dzingai Mabhunu (Chase away the Boers), **Rex Nhongo** (Rex the male goat), **Josiah Tungamirai** (Josiah lead), **Amos Tsana** (Amos the small mouse), **Mushatagotsi** (the one with the ugly back of a head).

24. Mhandu Yemabhunu

He was born in a rural area in the northeastern part of the country. This was the area that was exposed to sustained guerrillas operations from 1972 to 1974. He went into the war after form II at a mission school. After the war he trained as a teacher.

He named himself **Mhandu Yemabhunu** upon arrival at a transit camp called *Batariyau* (Portuguese: *Battaliao*) in Tete. He went to train at Tembue *Chikoro Chehondo* (military academy). After training he was deployed in Tete Province, Nehanda Sector in the northeastern part of the country. He says *Chimurenga* dispelled the myth of white invincibility. He goes on to say the war also resuscitated the images of the heroine Nehanda and he quotes the phrase that became a war cry “*mapfupa angu achamuka*” (My bones shall rise).

The name **Mhandu Yemabhunu**, means “enemy of the Boers”. He says he took up this name because he says the Boers were enemies of the guerrillas so he was merely reciprocating this, he was the enemy of the Boers.

Names given by interviewee and his gloss

Murehwa (a totem of the monkey clan in the northeast of Zimbabwe), **Sipo** (Ndebele), **Makasha** (Ammunition box), **Judas Black Moses**, **Mudzi Wehondo** (Root of war), **Saraoga** (He who is left alone), **Tambaoga** (He who plays alone), **Moto Muzhinji** (Abundant firepower).

25 Hewer Mushatagotsi

Elderly war veteran, nearly 65 years of age. He went into the war at about 40 years of age. He was born and grew up in the southern part of the eastern highlands. He completed his A levels and was trained as a teacher. He continued as a teacher in the various camps in Mozambique. After the war he worked in the Ministry of Education and is now a party official. He is currently working on a Masters degree.

He named himself **Hewer Mushatagotsi** upon arrival at Chibabava. He later went into training at Takawira I at Chimoio before training as a political commissar at Chitepo political academy. He was deployed as a school teacher at Mavhudzi before going into action in Tete Province. He returned to teach at Mavhudzi and later at Pasichigare.

He says **Hewer** was from the “Biblical hewers of wood”. He also says that *Mushata* (Shona) means “the bad one” and “gotsi” (Shona) is the back of the head. He says it meant “a person with a hard head”. He says the war needed people who were hard headed.

Names given by interviewee and his gloss

Hardson Kundayi (Hardson defeat in war), **Edwin Munyaradzi** (Edwin the comforter), **Chwiwito** (opaque), **Engels**.

Appendix 3

A collection of maps

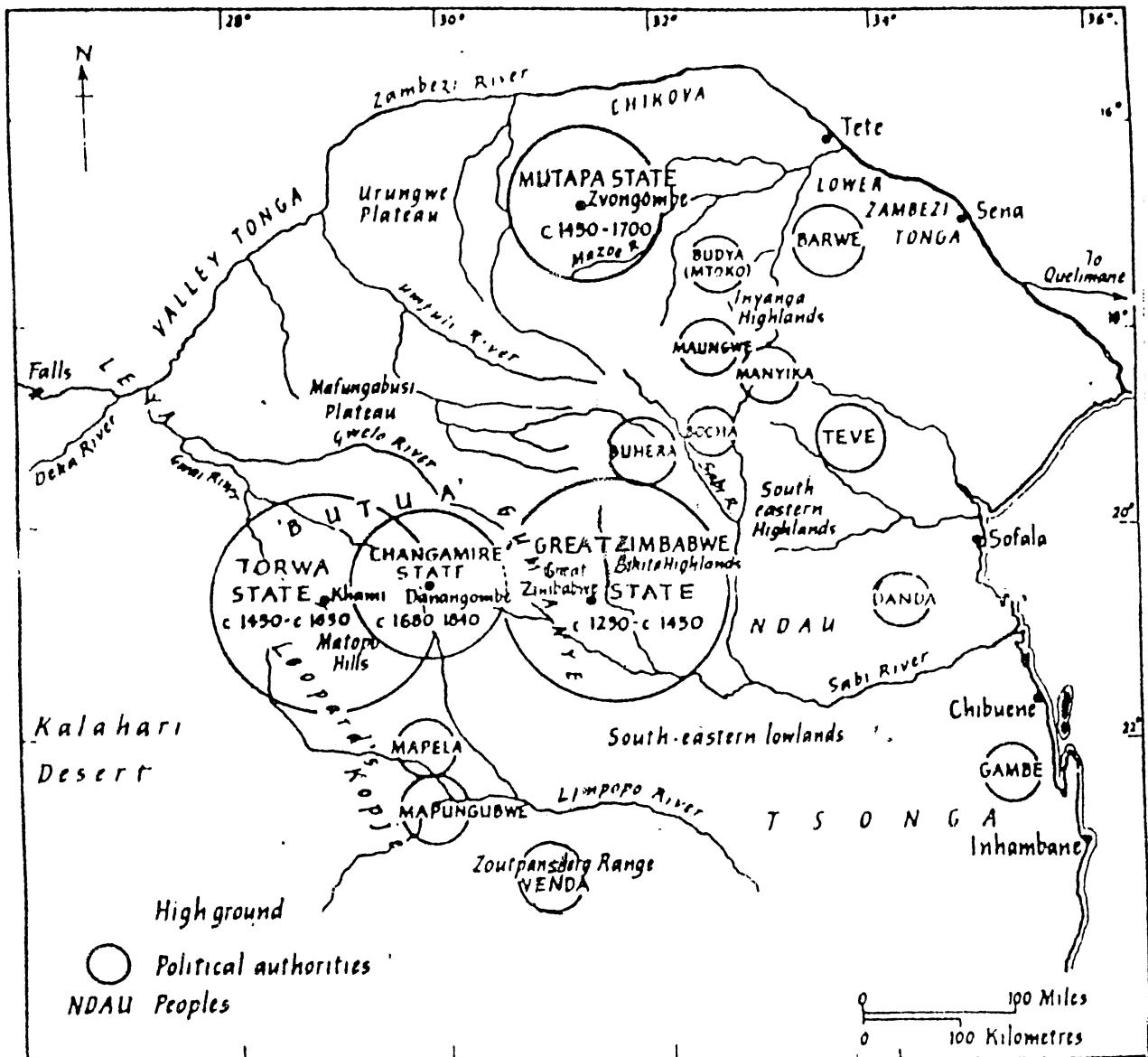


Fig 1. Shona "States" from 13th to 18th Century
 (From: Beach, D.N. (1984). *Zimbabwe Before 1900*. Gweru: Mambo Press.)

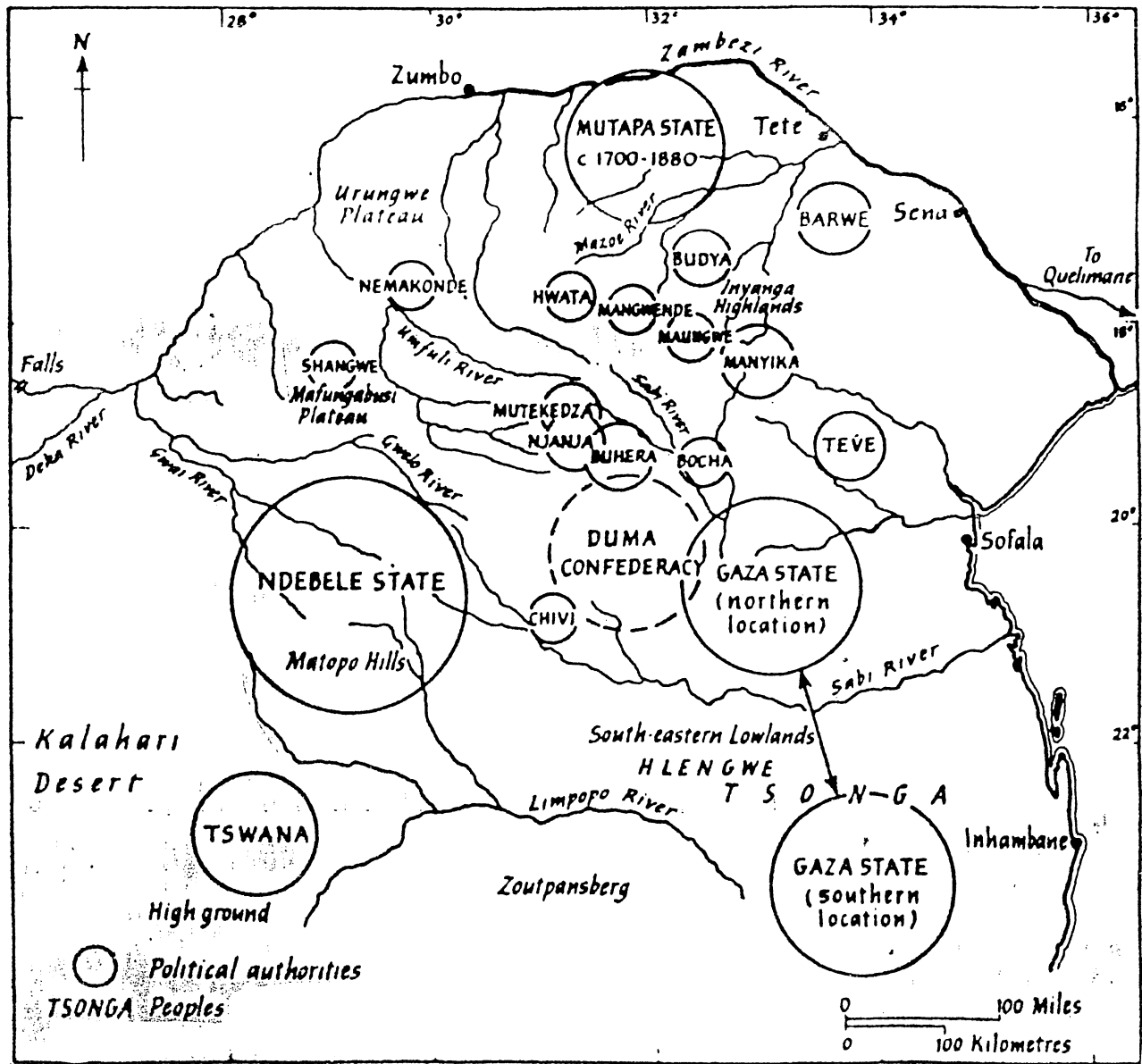
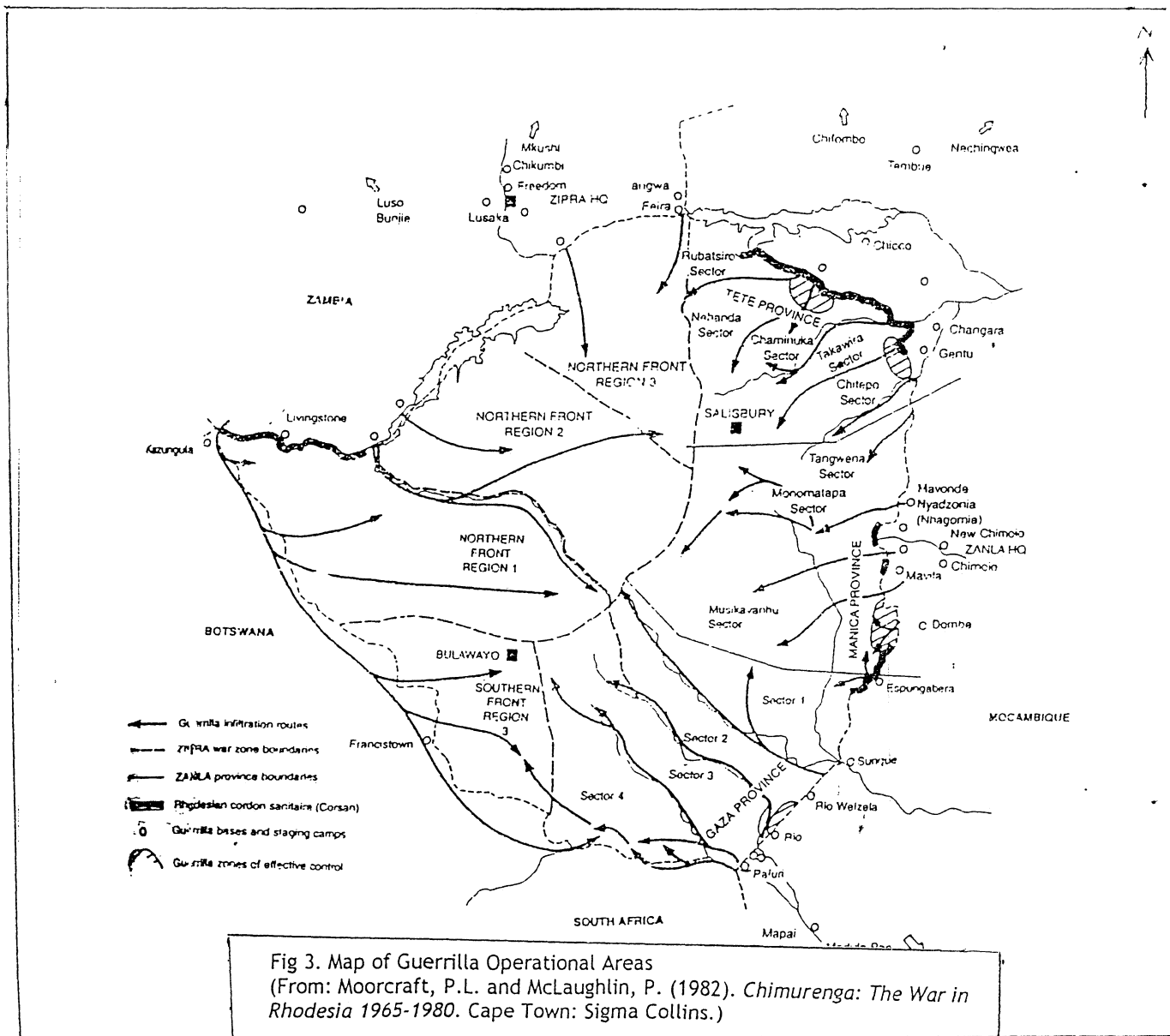


Fig 2. The Gaza / Ndebele "States" of the 19th Century.
 (From: Beach, D.N. (1984). *Zimbabwe Before 1900*. Gweru: Mambo Press.)



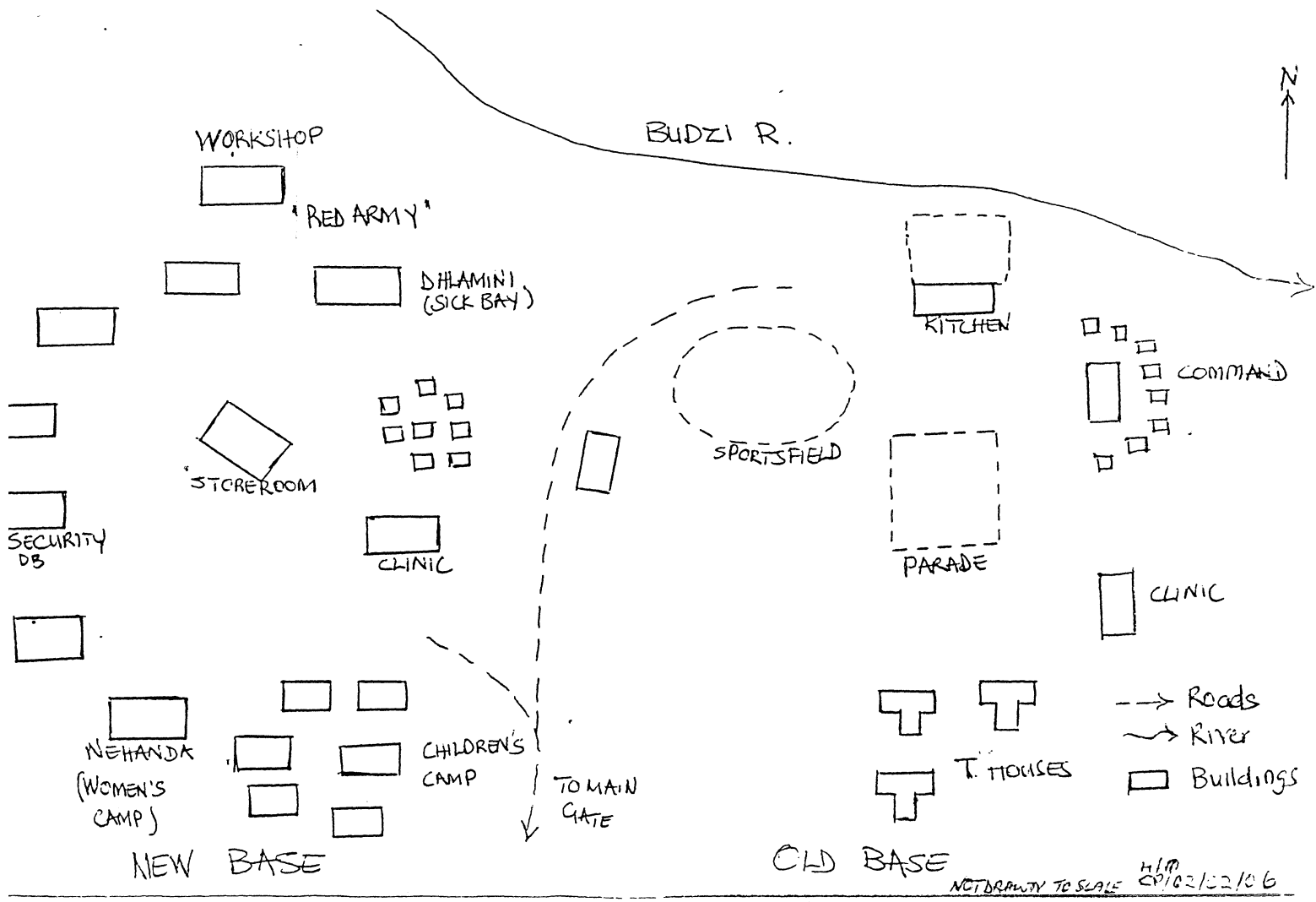


Fig 4. A Reconstruction of Toronga Camp (c Jan 1979). (Better known as Chibabava)

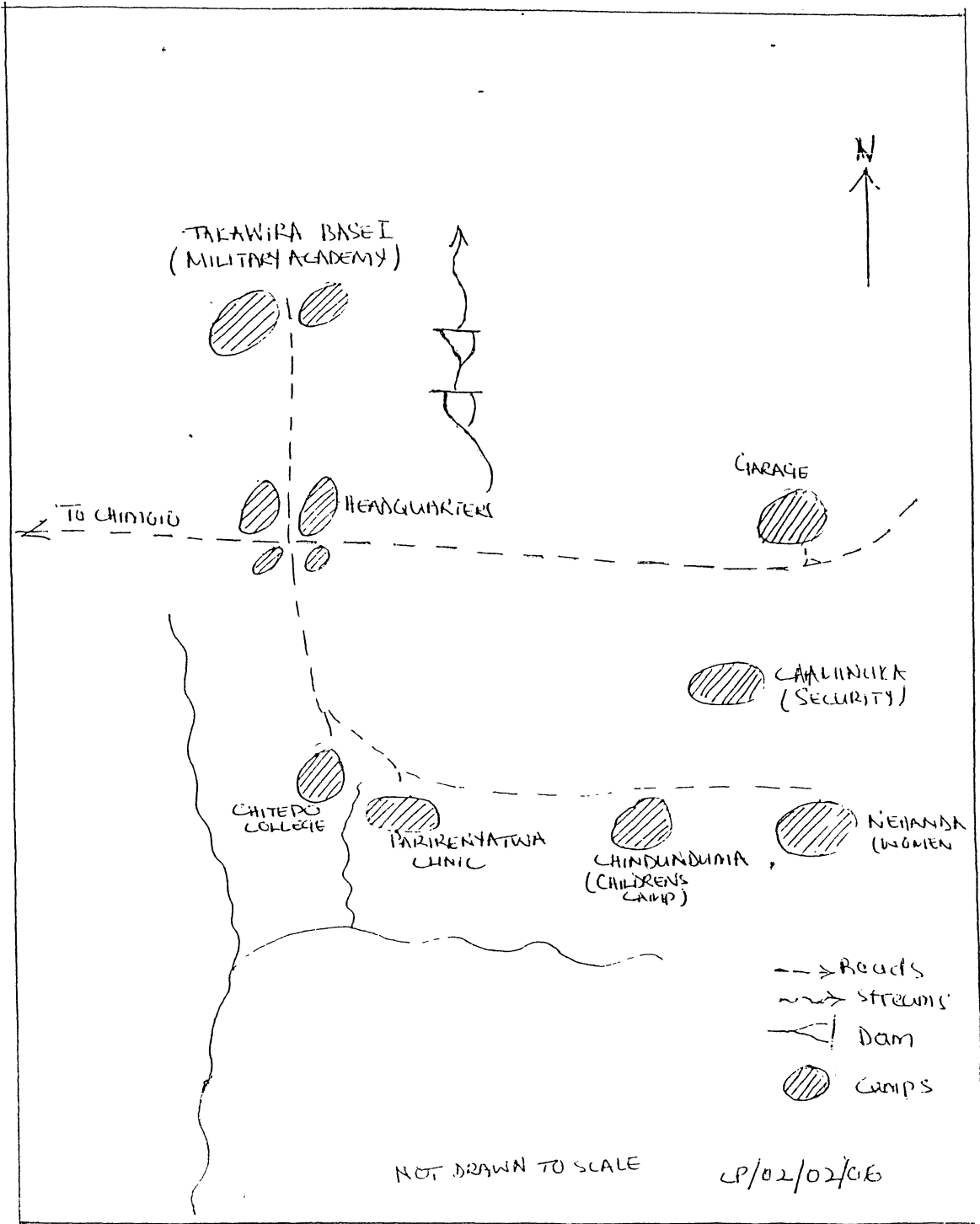


Fig 5. Zanla Headquarters, Old Chimoio (c August 1977)

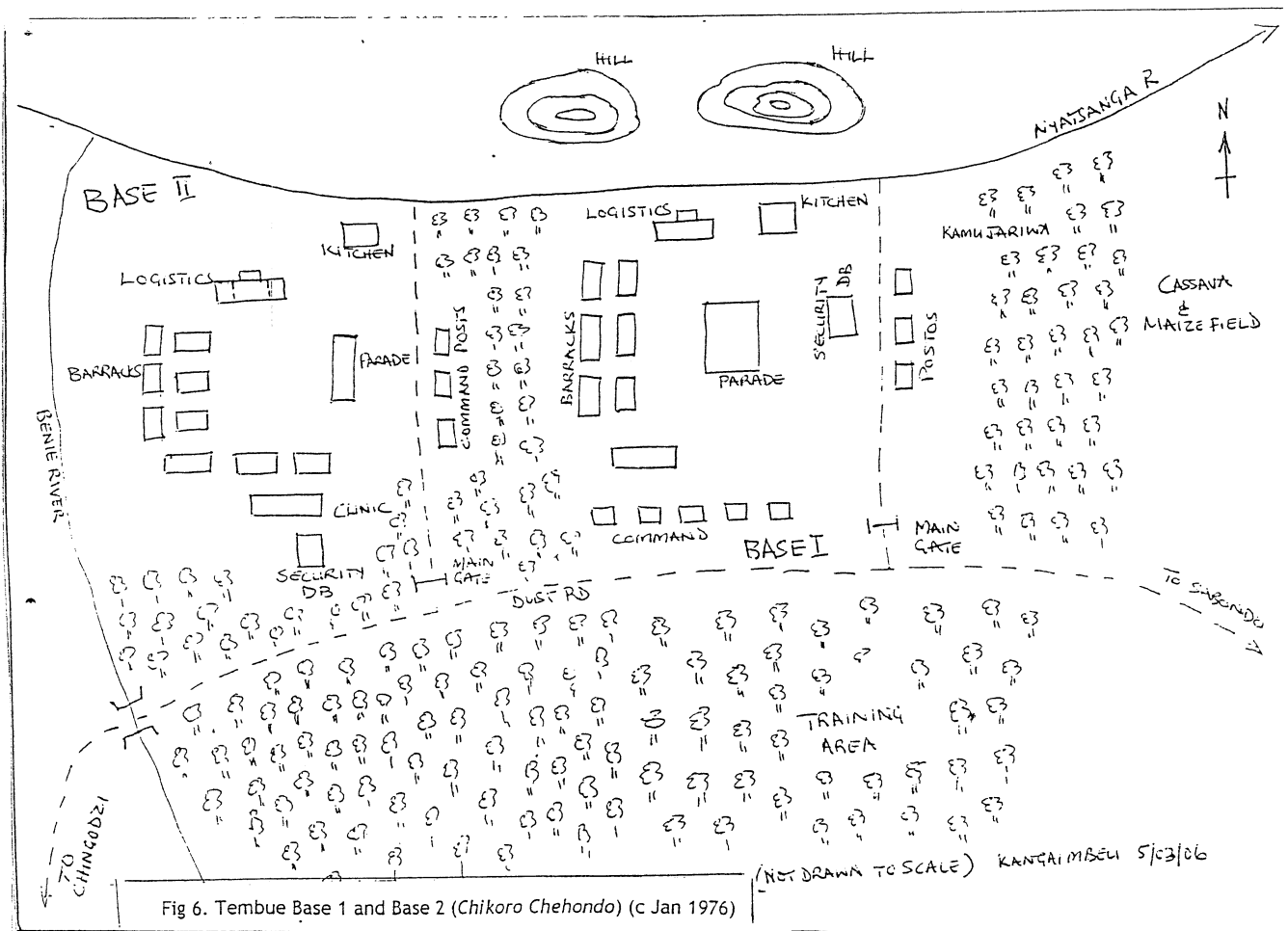


Fig 6. Tembue Base 1 and Base 2 (Chikoro Chehonda) (c Jan 1976)

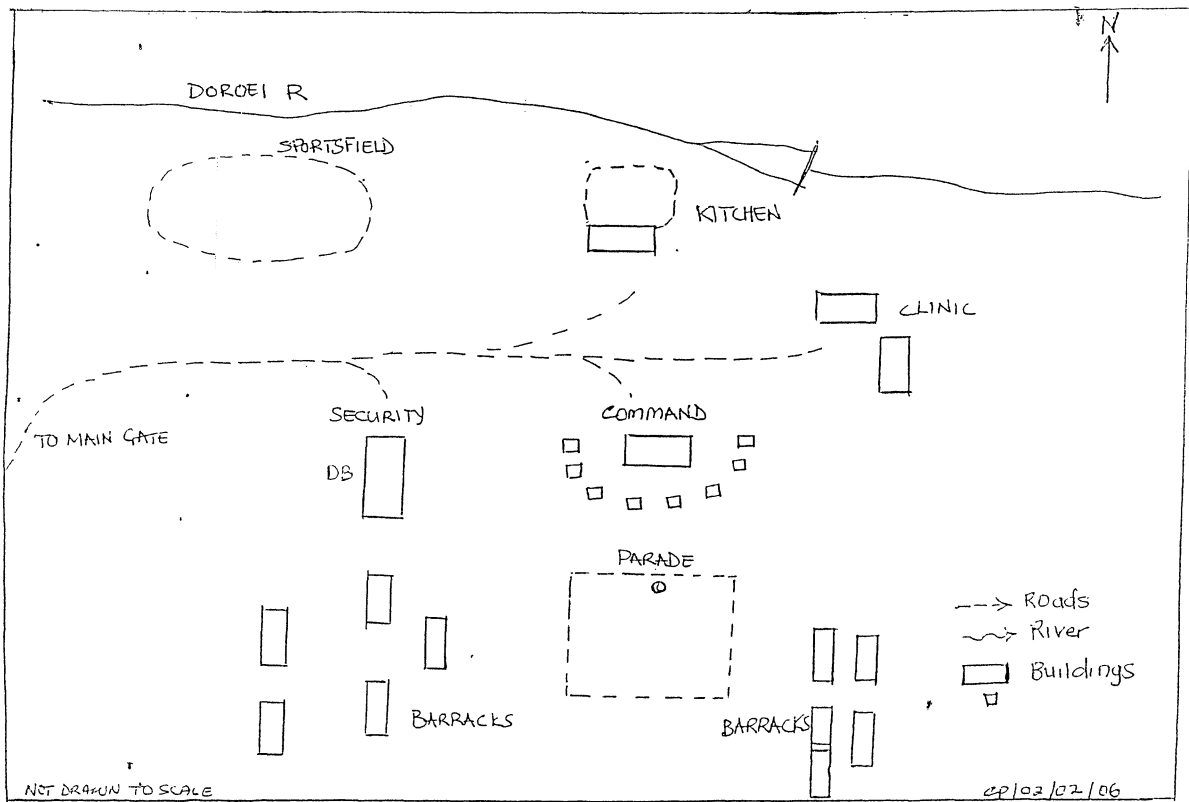


Fig 7. A Reconstruction of Doroei (c Jan 1977)

Appendix 4

A Glossary of the War Names

The glosses given here are in context. They are closer to connotative and associative meanings than the literal meanings of the names. The number of names in the glossary do not correspond to those given in the data base. The names are presented in categories that have been presented in Chapter 4.

Category 1

Shona first names and Shona surnames

The Semantically Transparent Group

1. **Angirai Chimurenga:** Continue the uprising
2. **B.Chakamuka:** B. that which appeared
3. **Baba Vapedzai:** Father of finish it all
4. **Bataihana Mushorapinga:** Do not panic (Mushorapinga is opaque)
5. **Batanai Muhondo:** Be united in war
6. **Batanai Tichatonga:** Be united we shall rule
7. **Batanai Vatema:** Blacks be united
8. **Batisai Chimurenga:** Hold on to the uprising
9. **Baya:** Stab/shoot
10. **Baya Chimurenga:** Stab in the uprising
11. **Bayai Karonga:** Stab/shoot the little arranger
12. **Bhibho Murayi:** (Bhibho is a hairstyle) the Killer
13. **Bikai Sadza:** Cook the *sadza* (Pap)
14. **Binga Guru:** Big cave (a sacred cave in the Mutasa area)
15. **Bvuma:** Give in
16. **Bvuma Zvipere:** Give in and it will be over
17. **Bvuma Chimurenga:** Accept the uprising
18. **Bvuma Wabaya:** Accept only after shooting
19. **Bvuma Zvipere:** Give in and it will be over
20. **Bvumai Chimurenga:** Accept the uprising
21. **Bvumai Zvipere:** Give in so that it will end
22. **Bvunza Wabaya:** Shoot first and ask questions later
23. **Bvunzai Toendepi :** Ask where we should go
24. **Bvunzawabaya Tichatonga:** Shoot first and ask questions later, we shall rule
25. **Hondo:** War
26. **Vopera:** They are being finished
27. **Chadamoyo Chimurenga:** What the heart wants (is) the uprising.
28. **Chadzonga Mukwashawesango:** Chadzonga (opaque) Brother in law of the bush
29. **Chaipa Magunde:** What has gone bad are the stalks of cane.
30. **Chakaipa Ropa:** What is bad is blood
31. **Chakanetsa Chatambudza:** What is difficult has bothered us
32. **Chakanetsa Kufa:** What is difficult is to die
33. **Chakanetsa Matakure:** What is difficult carries it all

34. **Chakanyuka:** What sprung up
35. **Chakanyuka Chofa:** What sprung up is dying
36. **Chakanyuka Hondo:** What sprung up is war
37. **Chakanyuka Muhondo:** What sprung up in war
38. **Chakanyuka Munhu:** What sprung up is a person
39. **Chakoreka:** What hooked up
40. **Chakoreka Chimurenga:** What hooked up is the uprising
41. **Chakwetsa Muhondo:** The cleaner in war
42. **Chaminuka Mapara:** Chaminuka (opaque) bullets
43. **Chaminuka Mudzimuwehondo:** Chaminuka the spirit of war
44. **Chamuka Inyama:** Whatever comes out will be devoured
45. **Chamunorwa:** What do you fight for
46. **Chamunorwa Vavengi:** What do you fight for you enemies
47. **Chandigwinha Mapakatsine:** That which has jolted me he who loads blackjack seed
48. **Chando Mushonga:** The cold weather is therapeutic
49. **Chanetsa Chiororo:** The controversial one which conquers all
50. **Changu Makoni:** Mine Makoni (totem for buffalo)
51. **Chapisa Chimurenga:** The uprising is now hot
52. **Chapisa Dzikandi:** It is hot
53. **Chapura Dima:** He who threshes the darkness
54. **Charakupa Chidhakwa:** What it has given you the drunkard
55. **Chatsiga Hondo:** Burning stick (in) war
56. **Chauya Chauya Chiguri :** Come what may mealie cob
57. **Chauya Chauya Moyo:** Come what may (Moyo is Shona totem for heart)
58. **Chavhunduka Chifamba:** What has been startled walk
59. **Chawadya Chamuka:** What you ate is coming back to haunt you
60. **Chawawa Zindoga:** What itches the lonely one
61. **Chazezesa Chauya:** The feared one has arrived
62. **Chazezesa Muhondo:** The feared one in war
63. **Chemero Zuwa:** Cry for the sun
64. **Chenjerai:** Be alert
65. **Chenjerai Chimurenga:** Watch out for the uprising
66. **Chenjerai Chinopisa:** Watch out for the hot thing
67. **Chenjerai Chivero:** Watch out for the uprising
68. **Chenjerai Maorakure:** Watch out for that which rots at a distance
69. **Chenjerai Mukoma:** Watch out for the the big brother
70. **Chenjerai Zvenyika:** Be careful in matters of the nation
71. **Chenjerai Muhondo:** Be vigilant in war
72. **Chenzira:** Of the road
73. **Chidhoma Chapenga:** The ghost has gone mad
74. **Chidhoma Chehondo:** The ghost of war
75. **Chimurenga:** Uprising
76. **Chimurenga Hondo:** The Uprising is war
77. **Chimurenga Mukadota:** Uprising (Mukadota is a Zimbabwean comedian)
78. **Chingwa:** Bread
79. **Chingwa Rusunuguko:** Bread liberation

80. **Chingwara:** The clever one
81. **Chinono Tafirenyika:** Slow, we die for the nation
82. **Chinoza Muhondo:** What comes in war
83. **Chinyandura:** That which upsets the peace
84. **Chinyavada Timu:** Tim the scorpion
85. **Chipatapata:** Helter skelter
86. **Chipeta Gororo:** He who outwits the criminal
87. **Chiramba Vavengi:** He who rejects the enemy
88. **Chiramba Watanga:** He who rejects the first one
89. **Chirango Ndauya:** I the token have arrived
90. **Chiropa Hondo:** Liver (in) war
91. **Chisara Rambanepasi:** Farewell he who refuses with the ground.
92. **Chitambo Chimurenga:** The game of uprising
93. **Chitsiga Chehondo:** Burning stick of war
94. **Chitombo Cheutsi :** Stone of smoke
95. **Chiutsi Wehondo:** The smoke of war
96. **Chiwaraidze Pfumo:** The entertaining spear
97. **Chiwororo Magorira:** Guerrillas conquer all
98. **Chizengwe Mashiripiti:** (Chizengwe is opaque) miracles
99. **Chongo Tangawabaya:** Chaos shoot first
100. **Chourombo:** That of poverty
101. **Choziya Hondo:** That which knows the war
102. **Dadai Nechimurenga:** Be proud of the uprising
103. **Dadirayi Pasipanodya:** Be proud the earth consumes
104. **Dzamwarira Tafirenyika:** They have spread we die for the nation
105. **Dzaramba Kudya:** They have refused to eat.
106. **Dzawanda Shungu:** Overflowing determination
107. **Dzingai:** Expel
108. **Dzingai Hondo:** Send away war
109. **Dzingai Mutupo:** Send away the totem
110. **Dzingai Tsika:** Send away customs
111. **Dzokai Mudzimu:** Spirit mediums (please) return
112. **Dzungu Chirambakusakara:** Confusion that refuses to get old
113. **Edzai Hondo:** Try war
114. **Edzai Kufa:** Try to die
115. **Endai Zvichapera:** Go away it shall end
116. **Fadza Magorira:** Please the guerrillas
117. **Fadzai Vabereki:** Please the parents
118. **Famba Nenyika:** Move on with the nation
119. **Fambai:** Move on
120. **Fambai Tichakunda:** Move on we shall win
121. **Fambai Tiende:** Move on so that we can go
122. **Farirai Chimurenga:** You should like the uprising
123. **Farirai Hondo:** You should like the war
124. **Farirai Upenyu:** You should like life
125. **Free Magorira:** Free the guerrillas

126. **Fundisai Mass:** Teach the masses
127. **Fundisai Mhaka:** Teach the case
128. **Funga Chando:** Think of the cold weather
129. **Gadza Chinyawera:** Put in place (opaque)
130. **Gamba Gukutu:** Big hero
131. **Ganda:** Skin
132. **Gandanga Marambanepfuti:** The terrorist who refuses with the gun
133. **Gandire Goronga:** He who throws the Gulley
134. **Ganya Chimurenga:** He who mixes the uprising
135. **Gara Maziva:** Be forewarned
136. **Garai Muhondo:** Stay in the war
137. **Garai Pasi:** Sit down
138. **Garisanai Vatema:** Stay together blacks
139. **Gwederai Muchafa:** Come closer you shall die
140. **Gondai Munyika:** Have faith in the nation
141. **Gore Chinetswa:** Trouble every year
142. **Gorerino Hapanachakanaka:** This year there is nothing good.
143. **Gorongwa:** Gulley
144. **Gukurahundi:** The rains that wash away the chaff
145. **Gumbo Mutsvairo:** The leg is a broom
146. **Gumbomunzira Chidakwa:** The leg of a drunkard in the road
147. **Guruva:** Dust
148. **Gutu Chimurenga:** Gutu (Placename) uprising
149. **Gwanzura:** name of a stadium in Harare
150. **Gwati Chiororo:** The snare conquers all
151. **Haanei Tawanda:** He has nothing we are many
152. **Hama Chimurenga:** The relative is the uprising
153. **Hama Dzapera:** The relatives are finished
154. **Hama Yeropa:** A blood relative
155. **Handijairiki Magorira:** Guerillas are not to be underestimated
156. **Haro Shungu:** Determination
157. **Hatikundwi Magorira:** We guerrillas will not be defeated.
158. **Hatineti Sagudhu:** An inexhaustible rucksack
159. **Hatitye Chakaipa:** We are not afraid of what is evil
160. **Hoko Chimurenga:** Peg in the uprising
161. **Hokoyo Inkomo:** Inkomo barracks beware (Inkomo was the home the the Selous Scouts)
162. **Hondo:** War
163. **Hondo Chimurenga:** War Uprising
164. **Hondo Chinembiri:** War that is famous
165. **Hondo Gwinyai:** Persevere (in) war
166. **Hondo Kubatana:** War is unity
167. **Hondo Yakura:** The war has grown
168. **Hondo Yavatema:** Black peoples war
169. **Irwai Chimurenga:** Fight (in) the uprising
170. **Isu Muhondo:** Us in the war

171. **J. Muchapera:** J. You shall be finished
172. **Jeka Moto:** Bright fire
173. **Jema Takawira:** Cry we fell for it
174. **Jera Chimurenga:** Digger of the uprising
175. **Jikinya Muhondo:** Dancing in war
176. **Jokonya Chimuti:** Poke with a stick
177. **Jokonya Nhamoinesu:** Poke on, the troubles are with us
178. **Kabaya Hondo:** That which stabs war
179. **Kadikidiki:** The tiny one
180. **Kagera Kanyangarara:** The scruffy barber
181. **Karekare Mapepa:** Long time ago papers
182. **Kasikai:** Hurry up
183. **Kasikai Chimurenga:** Hurry up uprising
184. **Kasikai Zvenyika:** Hurry up in matters concerning the nation
185. **Kasiyapfumbi:** He who leaves the dust behind (the speedy one)
186. **Kokorayi Magorira:** Summon all the guerrillas
187. **Kubatana Kwavatemala:** Unity of the blacks
188. **Kuda Chimurenga:** Love the uprising
189. **Kufa Mambara:** Death is mischievous
190. **Kufa Ndirori:** Death this is it
191. **Kufa Rwizi:** Death is a river
192. **Kufa Tamai:** Death migrate
193. **Kuoma Nephumo:** To freeze with the spear
194. **Kupanga Manhanga:** To advise pumpkins
195. **Kupfuma Ishungu:** Wealth comes out of determination
196. **Kupukani Nhamoinesu:** ... suffering is with us
197. **Kurura Zvichapera:** Continue it will come to an end (*Kururura* was slang for continuous fire from an automatic weapon)
198. **Kushupika:** Suffering
199. **Kutaura Kunonetsa:** Talks are difficult
200. **Kutunga Chandibaya:** To stab that which has pricked me
201. **Kuvamba Zvasiyana:** To start that which is different
202. **Kwaedza Mwedziwandira:** Sunrise in the month of January
203. **Kwaedza Nedzimwe Nzira:** Sunrise in other ways
204. **Kwapisa:** It is hot
205. **Kwasvika Chanetsa Chii:** The troubleshooter has arrived.
206. **Mabasa Ehondo:** The tasks of war
207. **Mabasa Kuseni:** Early morning tasks
208. **Mabhonzoz:** Bones
209. **Mabiya Mbiri:** Famous pots
210. **Mabwazhe:** (opaque)
211. **Makanya:** He who spoils the fun
212. **Makundangu:** (opaque)
213. **Makuva Tsine:** Graves full of grass seed
214. **Mambo:** Chief
215. **Manhenda:** Gratitude

216. **Manhuhwa:** You smell
217. **Manomano Feso:** (opaque)
218. **Manyangara:** Messy affair
219. **Manyanure Marebete:** (opaque)
220. **Manyika Manheru:** Manyika (Placename) in the evening
221. **Mapera Moto:** You will be wiped out by the fire.
222. **Mapfuma Chimurenga:** You have been enriched by the uprising
223. **Mapipi Munyika:** Miracles in the nation
224. **Maramba Irwayinawo:** You have refused, fight them
225. **Maramba Kutongwa:** He who refuses to be ruled
226. **Marimba:** Musical instrument
227. **Maringira Matambudziko:** You are looking at suffering
228. **Marufu Chegorerino:** The deaths of this year
229. **Marufu Muhondo:** Deaths in war
230. **Marume Mutanda:** A man is a tree trunk
231. **Masasa:** Shelters
232. **Mashoko:** News
233. **Mashoko Pasi:** Down with negotiations
234. **Masiyambiri Magorira:** The guerrillas who leave a trail of fame
235. **Matapi Mapakatsine:** (opaque)
236. **Mataranga:** (opaque)
237. **Matimba Mukondo:** He who digs a spear
238. **Mationesa Kupfuwamhandu Nhundu:** You have shown us how to drag the enemy
239. **Mationesa Nzira:** You have shown us the way
240. **Matsika Chando:** He who treads frost
241. **Matsikachando Zindoga:** The single one who who treads frost
242. **Mavapenzi:** You are now fools
243. **Midzimu Ndione:** Spirits see me
244. **Mudzimuunoera:** The Spirit that is sacred
245. **Moto Chimurenga:** Fire uprising
246. **Motomoto Tichafa:** Fire fire we shall die
247. **Mpakaduvu Mapakadza:**
248. **Muchafa:** You shall die
249. **Muchaitei:** What shall you do
250. **Muchandiona Kapenga:** You shall see me in fury
251. **Muchapera Vatengesi:** You sell outs shall be wiped out.
252. **Muchazviona Kambanje:** You shall see it small twist of marijuana
253. **Mudzimu Chimurenga:** Spirit uprising
254. **Mugaradzakasungwa:** The perpetual traveller
255. **Mukai:** Wake up
256. **Mukai Muhondo:** Wake up in war
257. **Mukayi Vatema:** Blacks wake up
258. **Mukura Zhizha:** That which grows in summer
259. **Munaka:** The good one
260. **Munarwo Chimurenga:** You have it in the uprising

261. **Munhu Haagondwi:** A person cannot be trusted
262. **Munhukwaye:** A good person
263. **Munochemei Taitora:** Why do you cry we shall take it (the nation)
264. **Munochemei Nyika:** What do you cry for nation
265. **Mupedza Hondo:** He who ends the war
266. **Mupetsi:** (opaque)
267. **Muramba Kutongwa:** He who refuses to be ruled
268. **Murefu Muhondo:** The tall one in war
269. **Muropa Mabvonga:** In blood you have mixed
270. **Murume Haachamwi:** The man no longer drinks
271. **Murume Mutanda:** A man is a log
272. **Museve:** Arrow
273. **Museve Dzasukwa:** The arrows have been cleaned
274. **Musi Tongai:** Day rule
275. **Musiya Dsaukwa:** He who leaves them (beer pots) washed
276. **Musveda Muchapera:** (Musveda is opaque) you shall be finished
277. **Muswerakuenda Mukwashawezuwa:** The perpetual traveller who is son-in-law of the sun
278. **Mutamba Neropa:** He who plays with blood
279. **Mutambo:** Game
280. **Mutemera Kuodza:** He who cuts and leaves to rot
281. **Mutimba Nyika:** He who digs the earth (the traveller)
282. **Mutizamhepo:** He who flees the wind
283. **Mvurayachekamakumbo:** Where the water cuts the legs
284. **Mwauya Ziruni:** Hello (Ziruni is opaque)
285. **Mwedzi Mhiriko:** The moon across the the valley
286. **Namashunje Mushumani:** (opaque)
287. **Natsai Zvauya:** Do good on what has come
288. **Ndudza Pasihaparowi:** War charms the ground will not be forgotten
289. **Netsekai Muchazviona:** Suffer you shall see it
290. **Ngoro Yemoto:** Motor vehicle
291. **Ngwarai Tasvika:** Watch out we have arrived
292. **Ngwarai Magorira:** Watch out guerrillas
293. **Nhaka Ndeyedu:** The inheritance is ours
294. **Nhamo Chanaiwa:** Suffering that has been exposed to rain
295. **Nhamo Chakanetsa:** Suffering that has been troublesome
296. **Nhamo Dzatumbuka:** The suffering has matured
297. **Nhamo Dzinesu:** The suffering is with us
298. **Nhamo Ichapera:** The suffering shall come to an end
299. **Nhamo Ine Nharo:** The suffering is persistent
300. **Nhamo Inesu:** The suffering is with us
301. **Nhamo Kufakunesu:** Suffering and death is with us
302. **Nhamo Mucheke-Cheke:** Suffering is widespread
303. **Nhamo Mushambaropa :** Suffering where you wash in blood
304. **Nhamo Tichaitamba:** We suffer for some time
305. **Nhamo Tinayo:** We have the suffering

306. **Nhamo Yebonde:** Trouble of the sleeping mat
307. **Nhamodzatumbuka:** The suffering has matured
308. **Nhamoinesu Magorira :** The suffering is with us guerrillas
309. **Nhamoinesu Vatema:** The The suffering is with us us black people
310. **Nharo Dzashe:** The obstinacy of the chief
311. **Nhota Muparadzi:** (Nhota is opaque) the destroyer
312. **Nyadzonya** (Place name – this was a camp that was destroyed by the Selous Scouts in 1976: see fig 8 in Appendix III)
313. **Nyamayevhu:** Flesh for the soil
314. **Nyanga:** Horn
315. **Nyaradzai Vatema:** Console the black people
316. **Nyarai Chakaipa:** Be embarassed by what is bad
317. **Nyarai Chidzivachepo:** Respect to the original person of that place
318. **Nyika:** Nation
319. **Nyika Ndeyedu:** The nation is ours
320. **Nyika Vanhu:** The people are the nation
321. **Nyika Yababa:** The fatherland
322. **Nyika Yaramba:** The nation has refused
323. **Nyika Yashata:** The nation is in a bad state
324. **Nyikandeyedu:** The nation is ours
325. **Nyikandeyedu Magorira:** The nation is ours guerrillas
326. **Nyikandeyedu Vatema:** The nation is ours blacks
327. **Nyikayedu:** Our nation
328. **Nzara:** Hunger
329. **Omberai Tichazviona:** Clap your hands we shall see it
330. **Pamberi Nehondo:** Forward with the war
331. **Pamberi Magorira:** Forward guerrillas
332. **Pamhidzai Magandanga:** Increase the guerrillas
333. **Panganai Tichakunda:** Conspire we shall win
334. **Paradzai:** Destroy
335. **Paradzai Zvakaipa:** Destroy the bad things
336. **Parirai Runyararo:** Spread peace
337. **Pasi Patinhira:** The earth has shaken
338. **Pasipaona:** The earth has seen
339. **Pasirai Pamwedzi:** (Pasirai is opaque) per month
340. **Pasurai Chirongoma** (opaque)
341. **Pedyo:** Near
342. **Pepukai Tiwirirarane:** Wake up so that we can come to an agreement
343. **Pfuma:** Wealth
344. **Pfumo:** Spear
345. **Pfumo Renhaka:** Spear of the inheritance
346. **Pikirai Nyika:** Swear for the nation
347. **Pindai Chimurenga:** Enter the struggle
348. **Pindurere Moto:** Turn over the fire
349. **Pinona Mapango:** (opaque)
350. **Pisha Gwate Gatse:** (opaque)

351. **Pondai:** Beat up / Kill
352. **Pungwe Chimurenga:** All night uprising
353. **Pungwe Neropa:** All night with blood
354. **Rangarirai Magamba:** Remember the heroes
355. **Rauya:** He (The big one) has come
356. **Rayai:** Advise
357. **Regai Zvamutswa:** Leave alone what has been started by others.
358. **Rekai Marabena:** opaque
359. **Ridazi Mudyandiripo:** He who shoots while eating
360. **Ridzai Mandiambira:** Shoot you have provoked me
361. **Ridzai Museve:** Shoot with an arrow
362. **Ropa Rehondo:** Blood of war
363. **Ropa Rinopfuka:** The blood haunts
364. **Ropa Torai Zvombo:** Blood take up arms
365. **Ropa Zvenyika:** Blood matters of the nation
366. **Ropafadzo Tichafirenyika:** Blessing we shall die for the nation
367. **Rubvumo Panyika:** Acceptance on earth
368. **Rufu Harutizwi:** You cannot run away from death
369. **Rugare Pamberi:** Peace first.
370. **Rugare Tangenhamo:** Suffering precedes tranquility
371. **Rugare Tendai:** Be grateful for peace
372. **Rumbidzai Chimurenga:** Praise the uprising
373. **Runesu Kufazvinei:** It is with us, why don't we die
374. **Rwadzisai Muhondo:** Inflict pain in war
375. **Rwirai Chenyu:** Fight for what is yours
376. **Rwirai Nyika:** Fight for the nation
377. **Samakande:** (opaque - Personal name among the Manyika)
378. **Sando Rinemoto:** A hammer with fire
379. **Sanganai Rombe:** Meet with the poor one
380. **Sarai Tichatonga:** Good bye we shall rule
381. **Sasanai Tichatonga:** Enjoy yourselves we shall rule
382. **Serimwe Musaikwa:** As one do not hide
383. **Sevanga:** Like a scar
384. **Shamba Ropa:** Wash with blood
385. **Shamu Shingirai:** Whip persevere
386. **Shamwarei Yeropa:** Friend in blood (a ZANLA definition of “comrade”)
387. **Shasha:** Champion
388. **Shasha Tendai:** Be grateful for the champion
389. **Shasha Muhondo:** Champion in war
390. **Shilingi Dombo:** Shilling stone
391. **Shingai Munhumutema:** Be brave black person
392. **Shingai Hondo:** Be brave war
393. **Shingai Magorira:** Be brave guerrillas
394. **Shingai Tichaponda:** Be brave we shall kill
395. **Shingai Zvauya:** Be brave, it has come
396. **Shingirai Magorira:** Be persistent guerrillas

397. **Shingirai Nyika:** Persevere (for) the nation
398. **Shingirai Tichavapedza:** Persevere we shall wipe them out
399. **Shingi Gororo:** Persevere the *tsotsi*
400. **Shingirai:** Persevere
401. **Shingirai Vatema:** Persevere black people
402. **Shingirai Magorira:** Persevere guerrillas
403. **Shingirai Tafirenyika:** Persevere we die for the nation
404. **Shingirai Tichazvipedza:** Persevere we shall finish it
405. **Shingirai Chimurenga:** Persevere in the uprising
406. **Shingirai Hondo:** Persevere at war
407. **Shingirai Muhondo:** Persevere in war
408. **Shingirai Mumatambudziko:** Persevere in tribulations
409. **Shingirai Nyika:** Persevere the nation
410. **Shingirari Matambudzo:** Persevere tribulations
411. **Shingirirayi Chimurenga:** Persevere in the uprising
412. **Shingirai Tichatonga:** Persevere we shall rule
413. **Shingirai Tichazvipedza:** Persevere we shall finish it
414. **Shungu Dzangu:** My determination
415. **Shungu Dzehondo:** Determination to go to war
416. **Shungu Dzevatema:** Determination of the blacks
417. **Shungu Dzichapera:** The determination shall come to an end
418. **Shungu Muhondo:** Determination in war
419. **Shungu Musana:** Determination back
420. **Shungu Nenyika:** Determination with the nation
421. **Shungu Shasha:** Champion of determination
422. **Shungu Vatema:** Determination (of) the blacks
423. **Shungu Yehondo:** Determination to wage war
424. **Shunguinesu Magorira:** We have determination as guerrillas
425. **Shupai Mamvura:** Harass the waters
426. **Simba Maoresa:** Power is best
427. **Simba Rehondo:** Power of war
428. **Simba Tichatonga:** Power we shall rule
429. **Simbai Nehondo:** Persevere with war
430. **Simbai Tichatonga:** Persevere we shall rule
431. **Simbi:** Metal
432. **Simbi Kudyana:** Metals consume each other
433. **Simbi Makuta:** You have missed the metal
434. **Simbi Masukuta:** You have ground the metal
435. **Simudzai:** Lift
436. **Simudzai Chimurenga:** Uplift the uprising
437. **Simukai Vatema:** Stand up blacks
438. **Siya Mariga:** Leave when you have brought it down
439. **Sunungurai Nyika:** Liberate the nation
440. **Svinurai Matanda:** Wake up Logs
441. **Svosverai Dzepasi:** Chase those of the underground
442. **Swerakuenda** He who travels all day

443. **T. Mhiri:** T. across the valley
444. **Tabatana Muhondo:** We are united in war
445. **Tafa Tinoda:** We wish to die
446. **Tafadzwa Muhondo:** We are happy in war
447. **Tafara Chimurenga:** We happy (with) the uprising
448. **Tafara Magorira:** We are happy guerrillas
449. **Tafirenyika Chimurenga:** We have died for the nation (in) the uprising
450. **Tafirenyika Hondo:** We have died for the nation at war
451. **Tafirenyika Kundishora:** We have died for the nation as criticise me
452. **Tafirenyika Magorira:** We have died for the nation as guerrillas
453. **Tafirenyika Tichatonga:** We have died for the nation, we shall rule
454. **Tafirenyika Tumai Zvenyu:** We have died for the nation, send us
455. **Tafirenyika Vanhu:** We the people have died for the nation
456. **Tafirenyika Vatema:** We blacks have died for the nation
457. **Tafirenyika tumai Zvenyu:** We have died for the nation send us
458. **Tagara Chamangwana:** We wait for what comes tomorrow
459. **Taidyanawo Chimurenga:** We ate with them uprising
460. **Taizivei Hondo:** We did not know war
461. **Takawira Kavhu:** We fell for it grain of sand (Takawira was also the name of a ZANLA military sector: see fig 5 in Apendix III)
462. **Takazvida:** We chose it
463. **Takunda:** We have defeated
464. **Takunda Hondo:** We have defeated in war
465. **Takura Nehondo:** We have grown with war
466. **Takurira Muhondo:** We have defeated prevailed in war
467. **Tamayi Kurauone:** Emigrate grow and see
468. **Tamba Mudzi:** Play the root
469. **Tambai Magorira:** Play guerrillas
470. **Tambire Nyika:** Play for the nation
471. **Tambudzai Chimurenga:** Harass uprising
472. **Tambudzai Pedonevhu:** Harass the one near the ground/ the short one
473. **Tambudzai Tichatonga:** Harass we shall rule
474. **Tamuka Vatema:** We blacks have woken up
475. **Tanaka:** We are now fine
476. **Tanayo Hondo:** We have the war
477. **Tanga Hondo:** Start the war
478. **Tangwabaya Munhunga:** Shoot first (Munhunga is opaque)
479. **Tangwabaya Muvengi:** Shoot the enemy first
480. **Tangwafunga Hondo:** Plan the war first
481. **Taonezvi Karinganeshungu:** We have seen this he who looks with determination
482. **Tapera Mudzimu:** Spirits we are finished
483. **Tapfumanei Chigarire:** What has made us wealthy as we sit
484. **Tariona Zvikuru:** We have seen it very much
485. **Tariro Tichazvipedza:** We see we shall finish it
486. **Tarisai Kupisa:** See how hot it is
487. **Tarisai Takatonga:** See we have ruled

488. **Tarwira Kugara:** We fight to live
489. **Tasara Madhuura:** We are left after the demolition
490. **Tatenda Magorira:** We are grateful to the guerrillas
491. **Tatsika Mutambara:** We have trodden on (opaque placename in eastern highlands)
492. **Taururanayi Zvipere:** Negotiate so that it can come to an end
493. **Tauya Chimurenga:** We have come with the uprising
494. **Tauya Moto:** We have come like fire
495. **Tauya Muhondo:** We have come into war
496. **Tauya Tichaitora:** We have come we shall take it (the nation)
497. **Tavona Nhamo:** We have seen suffering
498. **Tawanda Magorira:** We are many guerrillas
499. **Tawanda Chimurenga:** We are many in the uprising
500. **Tawanda Muhondo:** We are many in the war
501. **Tawirirana Vatema:** We blacks are in agreement
502. **Tawona Kufahakurotwi:** We have seen that death cannot be forseen
503. **Teedzai Gwara:** Follow the line
504. **Tendayi Mudzimu:** Thank the spirits
505. **Tenda Hondo:** Thank the war
506. **Tendai:** Give thanks
507. **Tendai Munochemeyi:** Give thanks why do you cry
508. **Teurai Ropa:** Spill blood
509. **Teverai Hamandishe:** Follow, the relative is a king.
510. **Tichabayana:** We shall shoot it out
511. **Tichafara:** We shall be happy
512. **Tichafara Magoraia:** We guerrillas shall be happy
513. **Tichafara Taitora:** We shall be happy when we take the nation
514. **Tichafara Vatema:** We blacks shall be happy
515. **Tichaitora Madiro:** We shall take it as we wish
516. **Tichaona Hondo Yakura:** We shall see when the war has escalated
517. **Tichaona Maungaindze:** We shall see the convener
518. **Tichaona Pakura:** We shall see when it has grown
519. **Tichaona Rugare:** We shall see peace
520. **Tichaona Vakafa:** We shall see them dead
521. **Tichaona Zvenyika:** We shall see matters of the nation
522. **Tichapedza Zveudzvanyiriri:** We shall finish matters of oppression
523. **Tichapera:** We shall be wiped out
524. **Tichapiwa Zvenyika:** We shall be given matters of the nation
525. **Ticharwa Muzenda:** We shall beat (Muzenda is opaque)
526. **Ticharwa:** We shall fight
527. **Ticharwa Magorira:** We guerrillas shall fight
528. **Tichashanda Mazorodze:** We shall work, he who brings rest
529. **Tichatonga Nyika:** We shall rule the nation
530. **Tichatonga Magorira:** We guerrillas shall rule
531. **Tichatonga Nyika:** We shall rule the nation
532. **Tichatonga Rongedzai:** We shall rule, start packing

533. **Tichavapedza Gona:** We shall finish magic charm
534. **Tichazvipedza Gorerino:** We shall finish it this year
535. **Tichazvipedza Magorira:** We guerrillas shall finish it
536. **Tichazvipedza Zvinotapira:** We shall finish the sweet things
537. **Tigere Maposa:** We are contented (Maposa is the totem for the porcupine)
538. **Timbai Hondo:** Dig the war
539. **Tinacho Chimurenga:** We have the uprising
540. **Tinayo Hondo:** We have the war
541. **Tinei Mhepo:** What do we have in the air
542. **Tingadini Togarepi:** What can we do where shall we live?
543. **Tinobaya:** We shoot
544. **Tinoda Hondo:** We want war
545. **Tirivangani Magorira:** How many guerrillas are we?
546. **Tirivangani Muhondo:** How many are we in war?
547. **Tiri Muhondo:** We are in war
548. **Tiritese Muhondo:** We are together in war
549. **Tirivashoma Muhondo:** We are few in war
550. **Tirivazhinji Muhondo:** We are many in war
551. **Tonderayi Muchapera:** Remember you shall be finished
552. **Tofirenyika:** We die for the nation
553. **Togarepi Hamadzapera:** Where shall we live, all relatives are dead
554. **Togarepi Mudendere:** Where shall we live in the nest
555. **Togarepi Nyikayakapambwa:** Where shall we live the nation has been captured
556. **Toitora:** We are taking it
557. **Tongai Vatema:** Blacks rule
558. **Tongai Marudzi:** Rule the races
559. **Tongai Magorira:** Guerrillas rule
560. **Tongai Maropa:** Rule the blood
561. **Tongai Mudzimu:** Rule the spirits
562. **Tongai Muhondo:** Rule in the war
563. **Tongai Nyika:** Rule the nation
564. **Tongai Tichiri Vapenyu:** Rule while we are still alive
565. **Tongai Tichivapenyu:** Rule while we are still alive
566. **Tongai Vatema:** Blacks Rule
567. **Tongai Zvenyika:** Rule on national matters
568. **Tsaona Bindu:** Accident garden
569. **Tsaona Tavengwa:** Accident we are hated
570. **Tsengai:** Chew
571. **Tsiga Mukuwa:** Be steady in the fall
572. **Tsikai Matambudziko:** Overcome the tribulations
573. **Tsoka Rinotaya:** The foot is thrown away
574. **Tsono Inobaya:** The needle stabs
575. **Tsungai Muhondo:** Be brave in war
576. **Tsvagai Zvehondo:** Look for matters of the war
577. **Tsvairai Jongwa:** Sweep (Jongwa is opaque)
578. **Tumai Chimurenga:** Send the uprising

579. **Tungamirai Baya:** Lead and stab
580. **Tungamirai Mautoevanhu:** Lead the army of the people
581. **Tunhidzai:** Praise
582. **Upenyu Unesu:** Life is with us
583. **Usha Muchabaiwa:** Usha you shall be stabbed
584. **Utano:** Health
585. **Utsinye Hwasvika:** Cruelty has arrived
586. **Uyai Mudondo:** Come into the bush
587. **Vafungi Vehondo:** The strategists of war
588. **Vasekuru Kasiyeya:** Uncle Kasiyeya (opaque)
589. **Vatema Hatiperi:** The blacks can never be finished
590. **Vatema Hondo:** Black people, war
591. **Vimai Nyika:** Hunt for the nation
592. **Wangirai Togarepi:** Increase where shall we live.
593. **Wiriranai Magorira:** Guerrillas be in harmony
594. **Yanzi Muzire:** (opaque)
595. **Yauya Mheni:** Lightning has arrived
596. **Zamauya Zvanaka:** It is good that you have arrived
597. **Zano Vatema:** Ideas ye Blacks
598. **Zezevai Vatema:** Be awesome ye Blacks
599. **Zhombe Mashayekunzwa:** Zhombe (placename) the mischeivous one
600. **Zindoga Musewe:** The lone arrow
601. **Ziso:** Eye
602. **Ziso Remusangano:** Eye of the party
603. **Zivai Hondo:** Know the war
604. **Zivai Zvenyika:** Know national matters
605. **Zivanai Magorira:** Know each other ye guerrillas
606. **Zivanai Mauto:** Know each other ye soldiers
607. **Zivanai Munyika:** Know each other in the nation
608. **Zivanai Vatema:** Know each other ye blacks
609. **Ziwawako Nhamo Inesu:** Know your own suffering is with us
610. **Ziwengwa Muchacherera:** The hated one that you shall bury
611. **Zuma Hondo:** Zuma (opaque) war
612. **Zuva Muganga:** Sunshine in the vlei
613. **Zvaitika Muhondo:** What happens in war
614. **Zvaitika Zvino:** It has happened now
615. **Zvamauya Zvanaka:** Now that you have come it is good
616. **Zvanyanya Panyika:** It is too much on the nation
617. **Zvanyanya Tambo:** It is too much string
618. **Zvasukwa Munyika:** It has been washed in the nation
619. **Zvekudota:** Of the ashes
620. **Zvenyika:** Matters of the nation
621. **Zvenyika Chifamba:** Matters of the nation walk
622. **Zvenyika Muhondo:** Matters of the nation in war
623. **Zvenyika Tichatonga:** Matters of the nation we shall rule
624. **Zvenyika Zvinonetsa:** Matters of the nation are difficult

625. **Zvichakunakirai Vatema:** It shall eventually be good for you blacks
626. **Zvichanaka:** It eventually shall be good
627. **Zvichanaka Chete:** It shall ultimately be good
628. **Zvichanaka Vatema:** Blacks it shall eventually be good
629. **Zvichanaka Magorira:** Guerrillas eventually it will be good
630. **Zvichapera Chete:** It shall come to an end
631. **Zvichapera Madhaka:** It shall come to an end mud
632. **Zvichapera Matadzo:** Sins shall come to an end
633. **Zvichapera Udzvanyiriri:** Oppression shall come to an end
634. **Zvichakutambudzai:** It shall bother you
635. **Zvido Zvevanhu:** The wishes of the people
636. **Zvidzai Chakaipa:** Dislike the bad things
637. **Zvikaramba Toedza Zvimwe:** If this fails we try other things
638. **Zvinamazuva Muhondo:** There are better days in war
639. **Zviringwa Pasi:** Down with arrangements
640. **Zvirototo:** dreams

Common Shona Names

These names are found among the Shona speaking communities

The common name is underlined

1. **Batsirai**: Help
2. **Batsirai Chimurenga:** Help the uprising
3. **Batsirai Hondo:** Help the war
4. **Batsirai Muhondo:** Help in the war
5. **Batsirai Vatema:** Help the blacks
6. **Chando Mushonga:** Cold weather is therapeutic
7. **Chanetsa Chiororo:** What bothers is the destroyer
8. **Changu Makoni:** Mine (Makoni is a totem for buffalo)
9. **Chazezesa Mutambanengwe:** The feared one who plays with crocodiles
10. **Chengetai Mageza:** Keep when you have washed
11. **Chimedza:** The swallower
12. **Chiororo Makombe:** The destroyer who surrounds
13. **Chitomborwize:** Place name in northwest of Harare
14. **Dakarai Tichatonga:** Be happy we shall rule
15. **Danai Magorira:** Love each other guerrillas
16. **Dudzai Chakaipa:** Say out what is bad
17. **Dudzai Chatambudza:** say out what has troubled
18. **Dudzai Chimurenga:** Say the uprising
19. **Farai Changachirere:** Be happy about what was dormant
20. **Farai Chimurenga:** Be happy about the uprising
21. **Farai Gwinyai:** Be happy be strong
22. **Farai Hondo:** Be happy about war
23. **Farai Magorira:** Guerrillas be happy
24. **Farai Muchapera:** Be happy you shall be wiped out
25. **Farai Muhondo:** Be happy in the war

26. **Farai Musumba**: Be happy
27. **Farai Pasi**: Be happy underneath
28. **Farai Vatema**: Blacks be happy
29. **Fungai**: Meditate
30. **Fungai Kwaedza**: Meditate it is sunrise
31. **Fungai Chimurenga**: Meditate the uprising
32. **Fungai Hondo**: Meditate the war
33. **Fungai Madzimba**: Meditate
34. **Fungai Magorira**: Think about the guerrillas
35. **Fungai Mnehondo**: Think in war
36. **Fungai Zvenyika**: Think about national matters
37. **Fungai Zvepasi**: Think about matters of the earth
38. **Fungai Zvichapera**: Think about, it shall end
39. **Garikai Vatema**: Live well blacks
40. **Garikai Muhondo**: Live well in war
41. **Garikai Tichatonga**: Live well we shall rule
42. **Gwinyai Hamudivana**: Be strong you do not like children
43. **Gwinyai Hondo**: be strong in war
44. **Gwinyai Kakoka**: Be strong ye who invites
45. **Itai**: Do it
46. **Itai Chapisa**: Do it when it is hot
47. **Itai Chimurenga**: Do the uprising
48. **Itai Hondo**: Do the war
49. **Itai Mabasa**: Do the tasks
50. **Itai Muchapera**: Do it you shall be wiped out
51. **Itai Muhondo**: Do it in war
52. **Itai Pfumo**: Do the spear
53. **Itai Savanhu**: Do it as people
54. **Itai Zvehondo**: Do things about war
55. **Jambaya**: (opaque)
56. **Kachingwe**: (opaque)
57. **Kambarami Hondo** (opaque)
58. **Kangai**: Fry
59. **Karakadzai Chimurenga**: Remember the uprising
60. **Kudakwashe**: The wish of God
61. **Kudzai Chimurenga**: Praise the uprising
62. **Kudzai Magamba**: Praise the heroes
63. **Kudzai Muhondo**: Praise in war
64. **Kudzai Vachena**: Praise the whites
65. **Kudzai Vatema**: Praise the blacks
66. **Kudzanai Muhondo**: Respect each other in war
67. **Kudzanai Nyika**: Respect the nation
68. **Kufa**: Death
69. **Kufa Kunesu**: Death is with us
70. **Kufa Nhekairo**: Death (Nhekairo is opaque)
71. **Kufakunesu**: Death is with us

72. **Kundishora**: You criticise me
73. **Kurauone Hondo**: Grow and see the war
74. **Kurauwone Zvenyika**: Grow and see the matters of the world
75. **Madzungu Gumbo**: Confusion leg (Gumbo is a Karanga totem)
76. **Mafuta**: Oil
77. **Makore**: Clouds
78. **Mandebveu Zvenyika**: Beard of the nation
79. **Mandebvu**: Beard
80. **Marapisa Mhlanga**: Healer Mhlanga (totem for Zebra)
81. **Marima Muchayi**: The farmer who beats
82. **Masimba Moyo**: Power heart (totem)
83. **Moyo Zvirange**: Heart (totem) advise yourself
84. **Mrewa**: (Totem for monkey)
85. **Muchemwa Chaipachii**: He who cries what is wrong
86. **Muchena**: The unblemished one
87. **Munetsi Chatambudza**: He who troubles the rabble rouser
88. **Munodawafa Chademana**: You want a dead one (opaque)
89. **Munyaradzi Mwandiringa**: Consoler you have seen me
90. **Musikavanhu**: Creator of people (was the name of a Zanla military sector see fig 3 in Appendix III)
91. **Mutasa Mauto**: Mutasa soldiers
92. **Muza Mugwagwa**: Road
93. **Ngatipere Muyambo**: Let us be finished Muyambo (Totem for the hippo)
94. **Ngoni Magaisa**: Grace the rich men
95. **Nyamayedenga**: Meat for the heavens
96. **Nziramasanga**: the path of coincidence
97. **Odzi Chakaipa**: Odzi the bad one
98. **Paradzai Chimedza**: Destroy the swallower
99. **Paradzai Mamvura**: Destroy the waters
100. **Parerenyatwa Shungu**: Where danger lies determination
101. **Pedzisai Hondo**: Finish off the war
102. **Pedzisai Chanetsa**: Finish off what is difficult
103. **Pedzisai Chimurenga**: Finish off the uprising
104. **Pedzisai Hondo**: Finish off the war
105. **Pedzisai Mazorodze**: Finish off the resting
106. **Pedzisai Muhondo**: Finish off in war
107. **R. Kunaka**: R. The good one
108. **Shingirai Moyo**: Persevere the heart (totem of the heart)
109. **Shoniwa Mufakose**: (Shoniwa is opaque) die everywhere (totem of the eland)
110. **Simbai Moyo**: Be strong heart (totem of the heart)
111. **Tafirenyika Dube**: We have died for the nation (totem of the zebra)
112. **Tafirenyika Dube**: We have died for the nation (totem of the zebra)
113. **Takawira Matongo**: We fell for the ruins
114. **Takawira Muhondo**: We fell into war
115. **Takawira Zviroto**: We fell into dreams
116. **Tapiwa Chimonera**: We have been given raw tobacco

117. **Tapiwa Chimurenga:** We have been given the uprising
118. **Tapiwa Masimba:** We have been given power
119. **Taurai Zvinopera:** Talk it will end
120. **Taurai Chakaipa:** Say out the bad thing
121. **Taurai Chimurenga:** Say out the uprising
122. **Taurai Chitunha:** Speak out the dead body
123. **Taurai Muchaneta:** Speak you shall get tired
124. **Taurai Nahmoinesu:** Speak suffering is with us
125. **Taurai Patiri Pakashata:** Speak we are in a difficult situation
126. **Taurai Tafirenyika:** Speak we die for the nation
127. **Taurai Tichatonga:** Speak we shall rule
128. **Taurai Zviparadzi:** Speak of the destroyers
129. **Taurayi Zvichauya:** Speak it shall come
130. **Tendai Chimurenga:** Thank the uprising
131. **Tendai Chiedza:** Thank the sunshine
132. **Tendai Chigwaza:** Thank he who finishes
133. **Tendai Chikonamombe:** Thank him who manages the cattle
134. **Tendai Chimurenga:** Thank the uprising
135. **Tendai Hondo:** Thank the war
136. **Tendai Magorira:** Thank the guerrillas
137. **Tendai Masango:** Thank the forests
138. **Tendai Mauto:** Thank the troops
139. **Tendai Mudzimu:** Thank the spirits
140. **Tendai Muhondo:** Give thanks in war
141. **Tendai Murombo:** Thank the poor person
142. **Tendai Shasha:** Thank the champion
143. **Tendai Tafirenyika:** Give thanks to him who dies for the nation
144. **Tendai Tirivanhu:** Give thanks we are people
145. **Tendai Vadzimu:** Thank the spirits
146. **Tendai Zvamanzwa:** Give thanks to what you have heard
147. **Tendai Zvenyika:** Give thanks to matters of the nation
148. **Tendayi Kupisa:** Give thanks to the heat
149. **Tichafa Magorira:** We guerrillas shall die
150. **Tichafa Murombedzi:** We shall die (opaque placename)
151. **Tichafa Murwira:** We shall die ye who fights
152. **Tonderai:** Remember
153. **Tonderai Chakaipa:** Remember the bad thing
154. **Tonderai Shingirai:** Remember to persevere
155. **Tonderai Zviudze:** Remember to say it
156. **Tonderai Baya:** Remember to shoot/stab
157. **Tonderai Chimurenga:** Remember the uprising
158. **Tonderai Hondo:** Remember the war
159. **Tonderai Magamba:** Remember the heroes
160. **Tonderai Makore:** Remember the years
161. **Tonderai Muchapera:** Remember you shall be finished
162. **Tonderai Mudzimu:** Remember the spirits

Category 2

English first names with Shona surnames

The gloss for the English name is not given and (opaque) indicates an opaque surname

The Biblical

1. **Aaron Chimurenga:** Aaron uprising
2. **Abel Mapariwa:** Abel you have been scraped
3. **Abisha Elia**
4. **Amon Garikai:** Amon live well
5. **Amos Chimanikire:** Amos the constrictor
6. **Andie Changamukai:** Andie be jerked up
7. **Andrew Chimurenga:** Andrew uprising
8. **Andrew Dzingai:** Andrew expel
9. **Andrew Tapedza:** Andrew we have finished
10. **Andrew Tichawomene:** Andrew
11. **Augustine Chavhunduka:** Augustine what has been disturbed
12. **Augustine Mhere:** Augustine alarm
13. **Barnabas:**
14. **Benjamin Chimurenga:** Benjamin Uprising
15. **Benjamin Rujeko:** Benjamin brightness
16. **Boaz**
17. **Caleb Kufahakurambwi:** Caleb death cannot be rejected
18. **Caleb Moyo:** Caleb totem for heart
19. **Calvin Chauke:** Calvin totem for the porcupine (Maposa)
20. **Cefas Mutisi:** Cefas totem for bird
21. **Cephas**
22. **Cephas Chakaipa:** Cephas the bad one
23. **Cephas Muhondo :** Cephas in war
24. **Cephas Mupando:** (opaque)
25. **Cephas Tindindi :** (opaque)
26. **Chistopher**
27. **Chris Chimurenga:** Chris uprising
28. **Chris Hondo:** Chris war
29. **Christopher**
30. **Christopher Chimurenga :** Christopher uprising
31. **Christopher Maraozi:** (opaque)
32. **Christopher Mutema:** Christopher the black one
33. **Christopher Sam**
34. **Christopher Tauya:** Christopher we have come
35. **Christopher Tichaona:** Christopher we shall see
36. **Cleopas Penias Rukwa**
37. **Daniel Tokorerepi:** Daniel where shall we gain weight
38. **Daniel Zvichanaka:** Daniel it shall be fine
39. **David Bawa:** David Beerhall
40. **David Chimutsa:** David the arouser
41. **David Chizangaendwa:** (opaque)

42. **David Hondo:** David War
43. **David Mandebvu:** David Beard
44. **David Muchapera:** David you shall be finished
45. **David Mupengo :** David the mad one
46. **David Mvurwi:** (Place name)
47. **David Nyasha:** David kindness
48. **David Pasi:** David ground
49. **David Pasipedu:** David our ground
50. **David Runyararo:** David peace
51. **David Sadza:** David thick porridge (Pap)
52. **David Shungu:** David determination
53. **David Simon Kugudza:** David Simon to the blanket
54. **David Siyawakuya:** Leave after you have ground the meal
55. **David Tafirenyika:** David we have died for the nation
56. **David Tichatonga:** David we shall rule
57. **Davis Pondai:** Davis slaughter
58. **Davison Chavhundura:** David who has disturbed
59. **Davison Makwarimba:** (opaque)
60. **Elijah Chiwara:** (opaque)
61. **Elias Hondo:** Elias war
62. **Elias Kupata:** Elias the stupid one
63. **Elias Mhanda:** Elias the branch
64. **Elisha Chareka:** Elias who has stopped
65. **Elisha Chireka:** Elias stop it
66. **Elphas Gapata:** (opaque)
67. **Enoch Chimurenga:** Enoch Uprising
68. **Enoch Maramba:** Enoch you have refused
69. **Ephraim Machora Kanowa:** (opaque)
70. **Gabriel**
71. **Gabriel Chiororo:** Gabriel destroyer of all
72. **Gabriel Farai:** Gabriel be happy
73. **Gamba Tedious:** Tedious the hero
74. **Gedion**
75. **Gedion Chiwoneso:** Gedion the guiding light
76. **Gedion Guri:** Gedion mealie cob
77. **Gedion Hondo:** Gedion war
78. **Gedion Masiyandaita:** Gedion leave things done
79. **Gedion Zvitendwa:** Gedion give thanks
80. **Ignatious Mukonda:** (opaque)
81. **Isaac Chiparane:** (opaque)
82. **Isaac Gwatidzo:** (common surname)
83. **Isaac Mahumbe:** (opaque)
84. **Isaac Sukutai:** Isaac rub down
85. **Isaac Zvanaka:** Isaac it is good
86. **Isaiah Chimurenga:** Isaiah uprising
87. **Ishmael Chibanda:** Ishmael that which devours

88. **Israel Moyo:** Israel Heart (totem for the heart)
89. **Jacob Mupinda:** Jacob who enters
90. **Jairos Chinenembiri:** Jairos the famous one
91. **Jairos Mlambo:** Jairos (totem off the hippo)
92. **Jairos Ruredzo:** (opaque)
93. **Jairosi Chimurenga:** Jairosi uprising
94. **James Batsirai:** James assist
95. **James Charamunwe:** James the fingernail is a finger
96. **James Hondo:** James war
97. **James Kundai:** James prevail
98. **James Mabika:** James the cook
99. **James Shungu:** James determination
100. **James Takawira:** James we fell for it
101. **James Lancer:** James Lancer (move to martial)
102. **Japhet Koto:** (opaque)
103. **Jethro Masikati:** Jethro in the afternoon
104. **Jethro Muuri:** (opaque)
105. **John**
106. **John Madamba:** (opaque)
107. **John Machokoto:** John disorder
108. **John Hondo:** John war
109. **John Mabvudzi:** John mass of hair
110. **John Chabaya:** John who has stabbed
111. **John Chakaipa:** John the bad one
112. **John Chamunorwa:** John what do you fight for
113. **John Chibaya:** John the stabber
114. **John Chiduku:** John the small one
115. **John Chimedza:** John the swallower
116. **John Chimurenga:** John uprising
117. **John Chiponya:** John
118. **John Chiredzo:** John the fishing line
119. **John Hondo:** John war
120. **John Kasikai:** John hurry up
121. **John Muchatipedza:** John you shall finish us
122. **John Muchineripi:** John what do you still have
123. **John Pedzai:** John finish up
124. **John Sherekete:** John the mischief maker
125. **John Shupikai:** John you must suffer
126. **John Tanganyika:** John start a nation
127. **John Toronga:** John pepper
128. **John W. Tichatonga:** John W. we shall rule
129. **John Zvose:** John everything
130. **Johnson Mapuranga:** Johnson timber
131. **Johnson Musiwazvo:** Johnson it has its days
132. **Jonathan Chiropa:** Jonathan liver
133. **Jonathan Chitepo:** (name of a prominent nationalist who was

- assassinated 1975)
134. **Jonathan Maringanise:** Jonathan the leveller
 135. **Jonah Majonga:** (opaque)
 136. **Joseph:**
 137. **Joseph Tarisai:** Joseph look at it
 138. **Joseph Choto:** Joseph fireplace
 139. **Joseph Chacha:** Joseph
 140. **Joseph Cheneso:** Joseph cleanliness
 141. **Joseph Chimurenga:** Joseph uprising
 142. **Joseph Jemedza:** Joseph who causes tears
 143. **Joseph Kuuyanazvo:** Joseph coming with it
 144. **Joseph Masiya:** Joseph left behind
 145. **Joseph Motomoto:** Joseph rapid fire
 146. **Joseph Muchineripi:** Joseph what do you still have
 147. **Joseph Muhondo:** Joseph in war
 148. **Joseph Muranda:** Joseph the servant
 149. **Joseph Taengwa:** Joseph we are hated
 150. **Joseph Tafirenyika:** Joseph we die for the nation
 151. **Joseph Tichafa:** Joseph we shall die
 152. **Joshua Chimurenga:** Joshua uprising
 153. **Josiah Muchapera:** Josiah you shall be finished
 154. **Josiah Rugare:** Josiah Peace
 155. **Josiah Tungamirai:** Josiah lead.
 156. **Josiah Ziso:** Josiah Eye
 157. **Josphat Tafirenyika:** Josphat we die for the nation
 158. **Josphat Tichatonga:** Josphat we shall rule
 159. **Judah Tichatonga:** Judah we shall rule
 160. **Lameck Musonza:** Lamech (opaque)
 161. **Lameck Zvinangwa:** Lameck objectives
 162. **Lazarous Pfumoreropa:** Lazarous spear of blood
 163. **Lazarus Magarika:** Lazarus you are living well
 164. **Lazarus Muchapfidza:** Lazarus you shall regret
 165. **Matthew Mororwa:** (opaque)
 166. **Micheal Chadanyika:** Micheal who wants the nation
 167. **Micheal Chakaipa:** Micheal the bad one
 168. **Micheal Chaparadza:** Micheal the destroyer
 169. **Micheal Hondo:** Micheal war
 170. **Micheal Maparura:** Micheal you have ripped apart
 171. **Micheal Muchada:** Micheal you still want
 172. **Misheck Hondo:** Misheck war
 173. **Misheck Chimurenga:** Misheck uprising
 174. **Misheck Nyika:** Misheck nation
 175. **Moses Chimurenga:** Moses uprising
 176. **Moses Hondo:** Moses war
 177. **Moses Mutuma:** Moses the messenger
 178. **Moses Sando:** Moses the hammer

179. **Moses Tichafa:** Moses we shall die
180. **Nathan Chaminuka:** Nathan (opaque)
181. **Patson Titus Murumehachachemi:** Patson Titus the man no longer cries
182. **Paul Takaengwa:** Paul we are hated
183. **Paul Kamudyariwa:** Paul the planted one
184. **Paul Matinesa:** Paul you have troubled us
185. **Paul Ruvengo:** Paul hatred
186. **Peter Chipota:** (opaque)
187. **Peter Chimurenga:** Peter uprising
188. **Peter Magorira:** Peter guerrillas
189. **Peter Baya:** Peter stab/shoot
190. **Peter Chakaipa:** Peter the bad one
191. **Peter Chifamba:** Peter the thing that walks
192. **Peter Chiweshe:** (opaque)
193. **Peter Demo:** Peter axe
194. **Peter Fadzanai:** Peter please each other
195. **Peter Hondo:** Peter war
196. **Peter Kazinzi:** (opaque)
197. **Peter Kutapira:** Peter the sweet one
198. **Peter Magorira:** Peter the guerrillas
199. **Peter Mairesa:** (opaque)
200. **Peter Mashonganyika:** Peter who dresses the nation
201. **Peter Motomoto:** Peter rapid fire
202. **Peter Muchabaya:** Peter you shall shoot
203. **Peter Muchatipanyika:** Peter you shall give us the nation
204. **Peter Murambatsvina:** Peter who refuses filth
205. **Peter Mushonganyika:** Peter who dresses the nation
206. **Peter Musvipa:** Peter the black one
207. **Peter Mutini:** (opaque)
208. **Peter Mutisi:** Totem for bird
209. **Peter Nhamoyapera:** Peter suffering with blood
210. **Peter Pasinei:** Peter where there is nothing
211. **Peter Tapfumaneni:** Peter what makes us wealthy
212. **Peter Tatoranyika:** Peter we have taken the nation
213. **Peter Tichatonga:** Peter we shall rule
214. **Philemon Jusa:** (opaque)
215. **Philemon Mudyanevamwe:** Philemon who eats with others
216. **Philemon Timire:** Philemon we are standing
217. **Philimon Nakiwa:** (opaque)
218. **Philip Tameropa:** Philip with no blood
219. **Philip Tendai:** Philip give thanks
220. **Phillimon Nherera:** Phillimon
221. **Phillip Kadzenya:** (opaque)
222. **Raphael Chimurenga:** Raphael uprising
223. **Raphael Jichidza:** (opaque)

224. **Raphael Munyuku:** (opaque)
225. **Rapheal Chimurenga:** Rapheal uprising
226. **Sadza Saul:** Saul thick porridge (pap)
227. **Sam Chipwanya Nemabhonz:** Sam who breaks all including the bones
228. **Sam Tichatonga:** Sam we shall rule
229. **Samson Hondo:** Samson War
230. **Samson Tichafara:** Samson we shall be happy
231. **Samson Zvenyika:** Samson of the nation
232. **Samson Zvinotinetsei:** Samson it is difficult
233. **Samuel**
234. **Samuel Johannes**
235. **Samuel Johannes Francis**
236. **Samuel Mapepa:** Samuel papers
237. **Sanders Chimurenga:** Sanders uprising
238. **Sanders Rugano:** Sanders storytale
239. **Shepherd Chimurenga:** Shepherd uprising
240. **Silas Dzungu:** Silas confusion
241. **Silas Gurumwandira:** Silas large crowd
242. **Silas Tsawa:** (opaque)
243. **Simon Mawaya:** Simon wires
244. **Simon Musikiwacho:** Simon the creator
245. **Simon Ropa:** Simon Blood
246. **Simon Rupira:** (opaque)
247. **Simon Tafirenyika:** Simon we have died for the nation
248. **Simon Urayi:** Simon kill
249. **Solomon Ngoni:** Solomon grace
250. **Solomon Chifamba:** Solomon travel
251. **Solomon Chimurenga:** Solomon uprising
252. **Solomon Maida:** Solomon what you wanted
253. **Solomon Ngoni:** Solomon grace
254. **Solomon Takawira:** Solomon we fell for it
255. **Soul Rupenyu:** Soul is life
256. **Stephen Branch**
257. **Stephen Dombo:** Stephen rock
258. **Stephen Siyanyika:** Steven leave the world
259. **Steven**
260. **Steven Hondo:** Steven war
261. **Steven Pasimupindu:** Turn the ground upside down
262. **Tadius Chimurenga:** Tadius uprising
263. **Tapfumanei Jacob:** What has made us wealthy Jacob
264. **Tedious Gwinyai:** Tadeus be strong
265. **Tedious Musemburi:** Tedius who is sickening
266. **Tedius Chimurenga:** Tedious uprising
267. **Tedius Matambo :** Tedius string
268. **Tedius Takazvida :** Tedius we liked it
269. **Thomas Goronga:** Thomas gully

- 270. **Thomas Hondo:** Thomas war
- 271. **Thomas Mapera:** Thomas you are finished
- 272. **Thomas Shasha :** Thomas champion
- 273. **Titos Zvatinetsa:** Titus it has troubled us
- 274. **Titus Kufa:** Titus death
- 275. **Titus Chirau:** (opaque)
- 276. **Titus Hondo:** Titus war
- 277. **Titus Magorira:** Titus guerrillas
- 278. **Titus Muhondo:** Titus in war
- 279. **Titus Muroyi:** Titus the wizard
- 280. **Titus Tichaona:** Titus we shall see
- 281. **Tobias**
- 282. **Tobias Chaparadza:** Tobias who destroys
- 283. **Tobias Chumba:** (opaque)
- 284. **Tobias Nhamo:** Tobias suffering
- 285. **Tsanagurai Isaac:** Select Isaac
- 286. **Zebedia Choto:** Zebedee fireplace
- 287. **Zebediah Ringazuva:** Zebedee look at the sun

Names with European origins

- 1. **Ackim Chauyachauya:** Ackim come what may
- 2. **Ackim Chimurenga:** Ackim uprising
- 3. **Ackim Mukono:** Ackim the bull
- 4. **Admire Chimurenga:** Admire the uprising
- 5. **Admire Hondo:** Admire the war
- 6. **Agrippa Mutonhodza:** Agrippa the pacifier
- 7. **Albert Hondo:** Albert war
- 8. **Albert Rusunguko:** Albert liberation
- 9. **Albert Shungu:** Albert determination
- 10. **Albert Sunugurai Moyo:** Albert liberation (totem of the heart)
- 11. **Alec Dovi:** Alec peanut butter
- 12. **Alec Hondo:** Alec war
- 13. **Alec Masunga:** Alec fresh beer
- 14. **Alec Tichatonga:** Alec we shall rule
- 15. **Alexander:**
- 16. **Alexander Chimurenga:** Aexander uprising
- 17. **Alexander Kachuru:** Alexander anthill
- 18. **Alfred Shungu:** Alfred determination
- 19. **Allen Marshal**
- 20. **Allen Tangaingofa:** (opaque)
- 21. **Alois Alishanda:** (opaque)
- 22. **Antony Chivare:** (opaque)
- 23. **Arthur Njodzi:** Arthur danger
- 24. **Artwell Kufakunesu:** Artwell death is with us

25. **Artwell Mbende:** Artwell mouse
26. **Artwell Tichigere:** Artwell we are not yet ready
27. **Ashwell Chanetsa:** Ashwell what is difficult
28. **Austin Hondo:** Austin war
29. **Austin Muchineripi:** Austin what do you still have
30. **Austine Makuwara:** Austin you are injured
31. **Benard Mugesoro:** (opaque)
32. **Benard Tongai:** Bernard rule
33. **Bernard Chimurenga:** Bernard uprising
34. **Bernard Nikandeyedu:** Bernard the nation is ours
35. **Bernard Zvichapera:** Bernard it shall come to an end
36. **Brian C. Tichatonga:** Brian C. we shall rule
37. **Brian Chimurenga:** Brian uprising
38. **Brian Hondo:** Brian war
39. **Brighton Karikoga:** Brighton what is alone
40. **Brighton Matamisa:** Brighton the mover
41. **Brown Chademoyo:** Brown what the heart wants
42. **Brown Chimurenga:** Brown uprising
43. **Brown Hondo:** Brown war
44. **Bruce**
45. **Bruce Chimurenga:** Bruce uprising
46. **Bruce Magamba:** Bruce heroes
47. **Bruce Munyaradzi:** Bruce the consoler
48. **Bruce Muparadzi:** Bruce the destroyer
49. **Bruce Mutishwe:** (opaque)
50. **Bruce Mutize:** Bruce the escaper
51. **Bruce Tambaoga:** Bruce play alone
52. **Bruce Tichatonga:** Bruce we shall rule
53. **Caspar Tafirenyika:** Caspar we shall die for the nation
54. **Charles Tichatonga:** Charles we shall rule
55. **Charles Chimbiri:** Charles the famous
56. **Charles Chimurenga:** Charles uprising
57. **Charles Chinemudzimu:** Charles with a spirit
58. **Charles Hondo:** Charles war
59. **Charles Kanotembwa:** (opaque)
60. **Charles Magorira:** Charles guerrillas
61. **Charles Mbawa:** (opaque)
62. **Charles Moyo :** Charles (totem of the heart)
63. **Charles Rugare:** Charles tranquility
64. **Charles Tafirenyika:** Charles dies for the nation
65. **Charles Tichatonga:** Charles we shall rule
66. **Charles Tichazvipedza:** Charles we shall finish it
67. **Charles Togara:** Charles we sit
68. **Clemence Mupumhidza:** (opaque)
69. **Clifford Chikova:** (opaque)
70. **Clifford D. Hondo:** Clifford D. War

71. **Clifford Moyo:** Clifford (totem of the heart)
72. **Clifford Vachabvuma:** Clifford they shall give in
73. **Clive Hondo:** Clive war
74. **Cloud Muchemwa:** Cloud the mourned one
75. **Collen**
76. **Collins Zvenyika:** Collins of the nation
77. **Cosmas Chimurenga:** Cosmas uprising
78. **Cosmas Mapera:** Cosmas you are finished
79. **Coster Chapisa:** Coster what is hot
80. **Coster Meda:** (opaque)
81. **Crispen Hongwani:** (opaque)
82. **Crispen Magorira:** Crispen guerrillas
83. **Crispen Mapepa:** Crispen papers
84. **Crispen Mazorodze:** Crispen
85. **Crispen Muchatama:** Crispen you shall migrate
86. **Crispen Vatema:** Crispen the black ones
87. **Danmore Tichaona:** Danmore we shall see
88. **Darlington Chenjerai:** Darlington watch out
89. **Darlington Nhamo:** Darlington suffering
90. **Darlington Tafirenyika:** Darlington we have died for the nation
91. **Denford Urayai:** Denford kill
92. **Denford Zinyama:** Denford chunk of meat
93. **Denis Mugwagwa:** Denis road
94. **Dennis Chenjerai:** Dennis watch out
95. **Dennis Kufahakuna Memba:** Dennis death has no master
96. **Dennis Moyo:** Dennis heart
97. **Dereck Bongozozo:** Dereck chaos
98. **Derick Chinotomba:** (opaque)
99. **Desmond Gamba:** Desmond hero
100. **Desmond Makore:** Desmond clouds
101. **Dick Chimurenga:** Dick uprising
102. **Dick Matare:** Dick of the courts
103. **Dick Muroi:** Dick the wizard
104. **Dickson Mlambo:** Dickson (totem for hippo)
105. **Dickson**
106. **Dickson Chanetsa:** Dickson the troublesome one
107. **Dickson Hatineti:** Dickson we do not get tired
108. **Dickson Magocha:** Dickson the roaster
109. **Donald Edson Mandizvidza:** Donald Edson you belittle me
110. **Donald Manyange:** Donald Manyange
111. **Douglas Chauya:** Douglas what has come
112. **Douglas Chauyachauya:** Douglas come what may
113. **Douglas Muchandida:** Douglas you shall like me
114. **Douglas Siyawamwaya:** Douglas leave after sowing
115. **Dunmore Tichatonga:** Dunmore we shall rule
116. **Duster Kufamba:** Duster to walk

117. **Eddington Mapfumo:** Eddington spears
118. **Edgar Chihota: Edgar** (totem for Zebra)
119. **Edgar Munawa:** (opaque)
120. **Edius Fambai:** Edius walk
121. **Edmond Chimurenga:** Edmond uprising
122. **Edmond Kamuchacha:** Edmond temporary shelter
123. **Edmond Makhanjera:** Edmond candles
124. **Edmore Chimurenga:** Edmore uprising
125. **Edmore Chimutsa:** Edmore early morning meal
126. **Edmore Muchapera:** Edmore you shall be wiped out
127. **Edmore Tichatonga:** Edmore we shall rule
128. **Edmund Kaguri:** Edmund mealie cob
129. **Edson**
130. **Edson Chimedza:** Edson who swallows
131. **Edson George**
132. **Edson Hondo:** Edson War
133. **Edson Mutohodza:** Edson the pacifier
134. **Edson Tiritesa:** Edson we are together
135. **Edward Ndoma:** (opaque)
136. **Edward Chamboko:** Edward sjambok
137. **Edward Kusakadza:** Edward destroyer
138. **Edward Masimba:** Edward strength
139. **Edward Muhondo:** Edward in war
140. **Edward Regai:** Edward stop it
141. **Edward Shungu:** Edward determination
142. **Edward Wanaka:** Edward the good
143. **Edwin Sakubva:** (opaque)
144. **Elliot Chinembiri:** Elliot with fame
145. **Ennert Dzoro:** Ennert herd of cattle
146. **Ernest Shasha:** Enerst champion
147. **Ernest Tichazvipedza:** Ernest we shall finish it
148. **Evans Hamadziripi:** Evans Where are our relatives
149. **Evans Hondo:** Evans War
150. **Evans Takunda:** Evans we have prevailed
151. **Forbes Katende:** Forbes small tent
152. **Ford Gwenya:** Ford cigarette lighter
153. **Francis Chitongo:** Francis small ruin
154. **Francis Kurwaisimba:** Francis fighting is power
155. **Francis Magirazi:** Francis glasses
156. **Francis Usanotekaira:** Francis start travelling
157. **Frank Chimurenga:** Francis uprising
158. **Freddie Matanga:** Freddie cattle kraal
159. **Freddy Madzinga:** Freddie you have expelled
160. **Freddy Pfumburi:** Freddie who kicks up dust
161. **Gailord Zimunya:** Big lump of sadza
162. **Gall Musikavanhu:** Gall creator of people

163. **Gay-Lord Tafirenyika:** Gay-lord we die for the nation
164. **George Bongozozo:** George disorder
165. **George Chatambudza:** George what has bothered
166. **George Chawanda:** George what is many
167. **George Chimurenga:** George uprising
168. **George Marufu:** George deaths
169. **George Mavhiringe:** George the spoiler
170. **George Nhamo:** George suffering
171. **George Rutanhire:** George who picks
172. **George Tafirenyika:** George we die for the nation
173. **George Takawira:** George we fell for it
174. **George Tawengwa:** George we are hated
175. **George Tichatonga:** George we shall rule
176. **George Virimai:** George be proud
177. **George Zvamaida:** George what you wanted
178. **Gerald Chimurenga:** George uprising
179. **Gerald Kurwa:** George fighting
180. **Gerald Mafuratidza:** George you have given your back
181. **Gerry Chakanetsa:** George the troublesome one
182. **Gibson Kamwaya:** Gibson the sower
183. **Gilbert Chamunorwa:** Gilbert what you fight for
184. **Gilbert Chimurenga:** Gilbert uprising
185. **Gilbert Pasipanodya:** Gilbert the earth eats up
186. **Gilbert Pasipanyoro:** Gilbert the earth is soft
187. **Gilson Murapi:** Gilson the healer
188. **Givemore Tichatonga:** Givemore we shall rule
189. **Givemore Zvenyika:** Givemore matters of the nation
190. **Giver Chabaya:** Giver that which stabs
191. **Godfrey Chimurenga:** Godfrey uprising
192. **Godfrey Hondo:** Godfrey war
193. **Godfrey Maorera:** Godfrey gatherer
194. **Godfrey Muchaiti:** Godfrey what shall you do
195. **Godwin Chataika:** Godwin what has happened
196. **Granger Grey Muzanenhamo:** Granger grey
197. **Grey Muzanenhamo:** Grey start with suffering
198. **Guyson Gaza:** (opaque)
199. **Hudson Kundai:** Hudson defeat
200. **Happy Maguta:** Happy cities
201. **Harrison Moyana:** (opaque)
202. **Hebert Zivawako:** Herbert know your kin
203. **Henry Chikaka:** (opaque)
204. **Henry Machipisa:** Henry (common placename)
205. **Herald Chimurenga:** Herald uprising
206. **Herbert Chihombe:** Herbert the big one
207. **Herbert Chimurenga:** Herbert uprising
208. **Herbert Madzima Hondo:** Herbert the stopper of war

209. **Herbert Masiyambiri:** Herbert who leaves fame
210. **Herbert Mauto:** Herbert troops
211. **Herbert Shungu:** Herbert determination
212. **Herbert Tanganeropa:** Herbert start with blood
213. **Herbert Tanyanyiwa:** Herbert this is too much for us
214. **Herbert Zivanai:** Herbert know each other
215. **Howard Rufu:** Howard death
216. **Innocent Chamuse:** (opaque)
217. **Innocent Shungu:** Innocent determination
218. **J.J. Smart**
219. **Joey Nyatwa:** Joey danger
220. **Joy Mukora:** (opaque)
221. **Justice Muhondo:** Justice in war
222. **Justice Tovapedza:** Justice we are wiping them out
223. **Justin Mabasa:** Justin tasks
224. **Justin Zvichapera:** Justin it shall end
225. **Justine Chazezesa:** Justin the feared one
226. **Justine Makwa:** (opaque)
227. **Justine Mandebvu:** Justin the bearded one
228. **Kenneth Hondo:** Kenneth war
229. **Kenneth Cossam**
230. **Kenneth Hazvinei:** Kenneth it does not matter
231. **Kenny Tichaigara:** Kenneth we shall live in it (the nation)
232. **Kezias Tongai:** Kezias rule
233. **Killian Chimurenga:** Killian uprising
234. **Kingsley Muchandiona:** Kingsley you shall see me
235. **Kingstone Chirandu** (Totemic)
236. **Langton Chaminuka**
237. **Langton Chaparadza :**Langton what has destroyed
238. **Langton Fuku: Langton**
239. **Langton Gutura**
240. **Langton Mhandu:** Langton enemy
241. **Langton Tafirenyika:** Langton we die for the nation
242. **Lawrence Tawanda:** Lawrence we are many
243. **Leo Chimurenga:** Leo uprising
244. **Leon Chimurenga**
245. **Leonard Dzapasi:** Leonard of the ground
246. **Leonard Muchadura:** Leonard you shall confess
247. **Leonard Tafirenyika:** Leonard we die for the nation
248. **Lewis Simbarashe:** Lewis power of the Lord
249. **Lewis Tichatonga:** Lewis we shall rule
250. **Liberty Kuwayawaya:** Liberty the loiterer
251. **Liberty Makata:**
252. **Liberty Pedzisai Hondo:** Liberty finish the war
253. **Lindsey Tambaoga:** Lindsey play alone
254. **Lloyd Zvichanaka:** Lloyd it shall be fine

255. **Lloyd Chaminuka**
256. **Lloyd Chimurenga:** Loyd uprising
257. **Lovemore Chakaipa:** Lovemore the bad thing
258. **Lovemore Dombo :** Lovemore stone
259. **Lovemore Hondo:** Lovemore war
260. **Lovemore Mauto:** Lovemore troops
261. **Lovemore Muhondo;** Lovemore in war
262. **Lovemore Muparadzi:** Lovemore the destroyer
263. **Lovemore Musekwa:** Lovemore the one who is laughed at
264. **Lovemore Muteweri:** Lovemore the follower
265. **Lovemore Nyagomo:** Lovemore of the mountain
266. **Lovemore Vheremu**
267. **Lovemore Zvenyika:** Lovemore matters of the nation
268. **Macdonald Mutema:** Macdonald the black
269. **Mackenzie**
270. **Madison Nyarumbwe:**
271. **Marshal Mutsetse:** Marshal line
272. **Marshal Mutsetse**
273. **Martin Mapiya:**
274. **Martin Mutohodza:** Martin the pacifier
275. **Martin Pasi :** Martin underground
276. **Maxwell Gondiwa:**
277. **Maxwell Mapera:** Maxwell you are finished
278. **Maxwell Muchiona:** Maxwell while you see.
279. **Mc’Ntosh**
280. **Memory Maxwell Marange:** (opaque)
281. **Milton Choga:** Milton alone
282. **Moffart Hondo:** Moffat war
283. **Morgan Chiridza:** Morgan
284. **Morgen Tafirenyika:** Morgen we die for the nation
285. **Morgen Zimunya:** Morgan big morsel
286. **Morris**
287. **Morris Hondo:** Morris war
288. **Muchangandava Witness:** Witness He who lays out cases
289. **Muchapera George:** George you shall be wiped out
290. **Nelson Muchazeza:** Nelson you shall fear
291. **Nelson Nesbert Mutunhu:** Nelson Nesbert hill
292. **Never Chimurenga:** Never uprising
293. **Never Tichatonga:** Never we shall rule
294. **Newman Hondo:** Newman war
295. **Newman Tinorwa:** Newman we fight
296. **Newton Mungazi**
297. **Nicholas Tichatonga:** Nicholas we shall rule
298. **Nicholas Zvenyika:** Nicholas of the nation
299. **Norman Khumbula**
300. **Norman Shingai :** Norman be brave

301. **Norton Duze:** Norton near
302. **Norton Gizenga**
303. **Obert**
304. **Obert Jakapasi**
305. **Obert Matambo:** Obert stones
306. **Obey Hondo:** Obey war
307. **Obias Chumba**
308. **Onesmo Tavengwa:** Onesmo we are hated
309. **Oneway Chimurenga:** Oneway uprising
310. **Onesimo Tavengwa:** Onismo we are hated
311. **Oswell Bapiro:** Oswell wing
312. **Owen Giri:** Owen Giri (opaque)
313. **Owen Magamba:** Owen Heroes
314. **Owen Mhandu:** Owen enemy
315. **Paddington Tafirenyika:** Paddington we die for the nation
316. **Palmer**
317. **Pardon Tangarirai:** pardon
318. **Partson Denha:** Pardon incite
319. **Patrick Chakaipa:** Patrick the bad thing
320. **Patrick Chimurenga:** Patrick uprising
321. **Patrick Hapararwi:** Patrick we shall not sleep
322. **Patrick Hondo:** Patrick war
323. **Patrick Mugabe:** Common surname
324. **Patrick Mupunzarima:** Patrick destroyer of darkness
325. **Patrick Murombo:** Patrick the poor one
326. **Patrick Tendai Zvenyika:** Patrick accept matters of the nation
327. **Patrick Zvimba :** move to placename
328. **Peace Muchineripi:** Peace what do you have
329. **Percy Chimurenga :** Percy uprising
330. **Percy Madhaka :** Percy mud
331. **Percy Mashiripiti:** Percy miracles
332. **Perry Negavi:** Percy with msasa string
333. **Phainas Kamunda:** Phainas small field
334. **Phebion Marufu:** Phebion death
335. **Phebion Mulambo :** Phebion
336. **Pheneas Togara:** Phenias we shall stay
337. **Phenias Magizi**
338. **Phenias Mugambashoma:** Phenias
339. **Phenias Togara :**Phenias we shall stay
340. **Raymond Hungwe**
341. **Rexon Zindi: move to placenames**
342. **Richard Bvumai:** Richard give in
343. **Richard Magamba:** Richard heroes
344. **Richard Musha:** Richard home
345. **Richard**
346. **Richard Tafirenyika :** Richard we die for the nation

347. **Richard Zvenyika:** Richard matters of the nation
348. **Ridzai Aggry Muchasuwa:** Richard Aggry you shall be sad
349. **Robert Hondo:** Robert war
350. **Robert Chandada:** Robert what I want
351. **Robert Kadiki:** Robert small one
352. **Robert Masiyambiri:** Robert who leaves a trail of fame
353. **Robert Takawira:** : Robert we fell for it
354. **Robert Taparara :** Robert we are destroyed
355. **Robert Tichatonga:** Robert we shall rule
356. **Robson Garikai:** Robson live well
357. **Robson Kunyangara:** Robson the ugly one
358. **Robson Panyika:** Robson on earth
359. **Robson Tawarwisa:** Robson we have fought them
360. **Rockfeller Machona:** Rockfeller you are broke
361. **Rockfellar**
362. **Roderick**
363. **Rodgers Muhondo:** Rodgers in war
364. **Rodgers Tepu**
365. **Rodgers Tsvetu**
366. **Rodwell Toziva:** Rodwell we know
367. **Rodwell Tozvirewa:** Rodwell we say it out
368. **Ronald Munetsi:** Rodwell the troublesome one
369. **Shakespeare**
370. **Shakespeare Maridza:** Shakespeare the player
371. **Shellington Tonderai:** Shellington remember
372. **Shelton Chimurenga :** Shelton uprising
373. **Stanford Zvapera:** Stanford it is finished
374. **Stanley Magorira:** Stanley guerrillas
375. **Stanley Tichazvipedza:** Stanley we shall finish it
376. **Siyakurima Norman:** leave farming Norman
377. **Stanley Mahovorosi:** Stanley overalls
378. **Steward Dzokerai:** Steward return
379. **Stewart Tafirenyika:** Stewart we die for the nation
380. **Stewart Misiharambwi :** Stewart days are not rejected
381. **Sydney Shasha:** Sydney champion
382. **Sydney Takaora:** Sydney we are rotten
383. **Sylvester Gwiza:** Sylvester locust
384. **Sylvester Nhamo:** Sylvester suffering
385. **Tanson Tapedza:** Tanson we are finished
386. **Tapson Kadzere:** Tapson anthill
387. **Tenson Sithole:** Tenson Sithole (move to totem
388. **Thompson Garanesu:** Thompson live with us
389. **Thompson Simbi:** Thompson metal
390. **Tsanagurai Duncan:** Select Duncan
391. **Urayai Kenneth:** Kill Kenneth
392. **Utsanana Darlington:** Cleanliness Darlington

393. **Valentine Bvuma:** Valentine accept
 394. **Victor Chimurenga:** Victor uprising
 395. **Victor Masimba Mukaka:** Victor power is milk
 396. **Victor Muparadzi** Victor the destroyer
 397. **Victor Musandicheme:** Victor do not cry for me
 398. **Victor Pedzisai:** Victor finish up
 399. **Victor Tafirenyika:** Victor we die for the nation
 400. **Vitalis Mhomho:** Vitalis crowd
 401. **Wallen Andarewa**
 402. **Washington**
 403. **Webster Chakaipa:** Webster what is bad
 404. **Webster Hatitiye:** Webster we are not afraid
 405. **Webster Ngwaru:** Webster the clever
 406. **Webster Taurai:** Webster speak
 407. **Wellington Majasi:** Webster overcoat s
 408. **Wilbert Zimunya :** Wilbert big morsel
 409. **Willard Muchanaka:** Willard you shall be good
 410. **Willard Rufu:** Willard death
 411. **Willard Zondai:** Willard hate
 412. **William Chanetsa:** William what is troublesome
 413. **William Chimurenga:** William uprising
 414. **William Churu:** William anthill
 415. **William Dzautanda**
 416. **William Finhai:**
 417. **William Masese:** William dregs
 418. **William Tafirenyika:** William we die for the nation
 419. **Wilson Chimurenga:** Wilson uprising
 420. **Wilton Shungu:** Wilton Determination
 421. **Wisdom Muhondo:** Wisdom in war

Innovative

1. **1 O'clock Muhondo:** One clock in war
2. **Action Hondo:** Action war
3. **Action Magamba:** Action heroes
4. **Action Mauto:** Action soldiers
5. **Action Moyo:** Action (Move to totem)
6. **Actmore Gwararisingateerwi:** Actmore the track that cannot be followed
7. **Admore Mauto:** Admore troops
8. **Advance Chimurenga:** Advance uprising
9. **Advance Masiyambiri :** Advance he who leaves fame
10. **Ally Nyasha:** Ally kindness
11. **Angria (Anglia) Tichatonga:** Angria (sic) we shall rule
12. **Answers Masara :** Answers we are left
13. **Appolo Two**

14. **Archbaba Chaminuka:** archbaba
15. **Astrido Tapotseka:** Astrido we have been missed
16. **Axe Mherayarira:** Axe the alarm has been raised
17. **Bean Cherowaita:** Bean whatever you do
18. **Bein Kutsanga:** Bein
19. **Big Boy Tichatonga:** Big boy we shall rule
20. **Big Brain Chawada:** Big brain what you want
21. **Big Killer**
22. **Big Number Chiwororo:** Big number destroyer of all
23. **Big Tichatonga:** Big we shall rule
24. **Big Tichatonga Wedza:** Big we shall rule
25. **Bigboy Tichatonga**
26. **Biggie Moral**
27. **Biggie SaChipinga**
28. **Bilon Munodawafa:** Bilon you want a dead one
29. **Black Chiutsi:** Black smoke
30. **Black Musumuri**
31. **Black Power Chamunogwa:** Black power what you fight for
32. **Blackson Chakamuka:** Blackson what has arisen
33. **Blacson Chirau:** Move to place name
34. **Blackwood Chimurenga:** Blackwood uprising
35. **Blood Jee**
36. **Blood Sucker**
37. **Bloody George**
38. **Bloody Jee Nyikandeyedu:** Blood jee the nation is ours
39. **Border Tavhara:** border we have closed
40. **Born Hondo:** Born war
41. **Boss Tapiwa:** boss we are given
42. **Branchmore Chimurenga :** branchmore uprising
43. **Bright**
44. **Bright Chimurenga:** Bright uprising
45. **Brown Chiropa:** Brown liver
46. **Button Bvumai:** Button give in
47. **Button Bvumai:** Button give in
48. **Call Machingauta:** Call layer of bows
49. **Cancer Musapanduka:** Cancer do not sell out
50. **Capture Chimurenga:** Capture the uprising
51. **Carrion Tsingamidzi:** Carrion treat the roots
52. **Cheater**
53. **Chafa :** What is dead
54. **Champion Chimedza:** champion the swallower
55. **Champion Chikumhunu:** Champion
56. **Champion Maranga :** Champion
57. **Checks Moyo :** Checks heart
58. **Chiropa Beef:** Beef liver
59. **Chiropa Beef:**

60. **College Mutekwe**
61. **Company Murongi** : Company planner
62. **Company Siko**
63. **Cooks Makaya**: move to common names
64. **Country Man**
65. **Crispen Weldone**
66. **Danger Mufemberi**: danger the diviner
67. **Danger Muhondo**: Danger in war
68. **David Chimbambaira**: David landmine
69. **Dawson African**
70. **Democracy Muhondo**: Democracy in war
71. **Destroy Tichazofa**: Destroy we shall die
72. **Diamond Tafura**: Diamond table
73. **Disperse Patiri Pakashata**: Disperse we are in a dangerous place
74. **Drama**
75. **Dry Chimwanga**
76. **Dry Hondo** : Dry war
77. **Dunmore Tichatonga**: Dumore we shall rule
78. **Dyton Tumai**: Dyton Tumai
79. **Enjoy Chimurenga**: Enjoy chimurenga
80. **Eveready Nehondo**: Eveready with war
81. **Everlast Zvenyika**: Everlast of the nation
82. **Evershort Tasangana**: Evershot we have met
83. **Everyday Matambudziko**: Everyday suffering
84. **Experience Hondo**: Experience war
85. **Farm Chimurenga**: Farm uprising
86. **Fearless**
87. **Field Zimuto**: field (move to common surnames)
88. **Finch Gadzire**: Finch make up
89. **Finish Zvaitika** : Finish it has happened
90. **Fix Kaseke**: common surname
91. **Flexibility**
92. **Flight Chaibva**: Flight what is ripe
93. **Forward Jonasi**
94. **Free Borned**
95. **Free Order**
96. **Freedom Chimurenga** : Freedom uprising
97. **Freedom Fighter**
98. **Freedom Ropa**: Freedom blood
99. **Freedom Zvichapera**: Freedom it shall end
100. **Frymore**
101. **Fundisa Mass**: Teach the masses
102. **Gamatox Killer**
103. **Gamatox Killmore**
104. **Gear Taparavani**:
105. **Giver Chabaya** : Giver what has stabbed

106. **Giyabox Chimurenga:** Gearbox uprising
107. **Grade Serengwani**
108. **Granger**
109. **Gunity**
110. **Gunstone Kasinganete:** Gunstone the tireless one
111. **Handigayi Dangerboy:** I do not think dangerous one
112. **Happy Face Tirivanhu:** Happy face we are people
113. **Happy Maguta:** Happy in the cities
114. **Hard Fighter**
115. **Hardwork Chipunza:** Hard fighter (common surname)
116. **Harman Ncube** Totemic
117. **Hasani Smart**
118. **High Moral Chimurenga:** High morale (in the) Uprising
119. **Homeback Tafira :**Homeback we have died
120. **Hunter**
121. **Jelous Tamburenyika**
122. **Jet Muzvazvara**
123. **Joe Struggle**
124. **Just War**
125. **Kenwell Saungama**
126. **Killiam Mudzanga:** Killiam cigarette
127. **Killing Muzananhamo:** Killing hundred troubles
128. **Killmore Hamadziripi:** Killmore where are our relatives
129. **Killmore Pedzai:** Killmore finish
130. **Kissmore Mutorounesu:** Kissmore the load with us
131. **Kisswell Kachoya**
132. **Kufa Hakuna Memba :** Death has no master
133. **Liberation Chimutsa:** Liberation morning meal
134. **Lighting Tongoona:** Lightning we shall see
135. **Long Chest**
136. **Longway**
137. **Mafight Zvonodii:** Fight what happens
138. **Majority Vanhu:** Majority are people
139. **Maxmore**
140. **Mhanda Six :** Six junctions branches
141. **Midnight Muhondo:** Midnight in war
142. **Mission Titus**
143. **Modern Guhura**
144. **Morebone Chimurenga:** Morebone uprising
145. **Never Cry**
146. **Never Tichatonga:** never we shall rule
147. **Nobody Knows**
148. **Nuanetsi Infant**
149. **Obvious Matanga:** obvious you are first
150. **Obvious Tototai**
151. **Old Time Marinye**

152. **Oneway Chimurenga:** One way uprising
153. **Opportunity Mirirai:** Opportunity wait
154. **Partson Denha:** Partson engage
155. **Pasi Nema Sellout:** Down with sell outs
156. **Pasmore Chimurenga:** Pasmore uprising
157. **Password**
158. **Perenzi Kambeu:** Perence small seed
159. **Piles Ndodawo:** Piles I also want
160. **Pitwell Gakava:** Pitwell debate
161. **Poverty Zvako:** Poverty yours
162. **Prince Arikasama:** Prince
163. **Professor Ngauye:** Professor let him come
164. **Razor Maoresa:** Razor is the best
165. **Razor Mudamburi:** Razor the ripper
166. **Resemblance Gumanyundo :** Resemblance
167. **Revolution Chimurenga:** Revolution uprising
168. **Richmore Tichatonga:** Richmore we shall rule
169. **Ridzai Angry Muchasuwa:** Fire angry you shall regret
170. **Ringway Muchadura:** Ringway you shall confess
171. **Saboteur Nyamayevhu:** Saboteur meat of the soil
172. **Saize Mukurwa-Tasvika :** Size in fighting we have arrived
173. **Saymore Chakananga:** say more what is aimed
174. **Serious Tichatonga:** Serious we shall rule
175. **Setfree Chimurenga:** Setfree uprising
176. **Shaderman Muchapera:** Shaderman you shall be wiped out
177. **Shakemore Hondo:** Shakemore war
178. **Shakemore Matinyanya:** Sakemore it is too much
179. **Shamabaropa Majean.** Wash jeans in blood
180. **Sharp Goronga :** sharp gulley
181. **Shock Action**
182. **Short Makamba:**
183. **Show Chimurenga:** Show uprising
184. **Show Matope:** show mud
185. **Sign Wafausina** Sign you have died without
186. **Six To Four**
187. **Slogan**
188. **Standard Zvapera:** Standard it is over
189. **Star Mwedzi :** Star moon
190. **Stepmore Chamboko:** Stepmore sjambok
191. **Stock Manzozzo:**
192. **Stock Mazono**
193. **Stubborn Chimuti:** stubborn stick
194. **Success Chiumurenga:** success uprising
195. **Sugar Sugar**
196. **Sun Grey Simbanemutupo:** Sungrey power with the totem
197. **Sunday Moyo Totem**

198. **Super Mukutya:** super in fear
 199. **Takesure Chimurenga:** takesure in uprising
 200. **Talk Zvichapera:** Talk it shall come to an end
 201. **Talkmore Chana:** talkmore child
 202. **Tambudzai Destroyer:** Trouble the destroyer
 203. **Target**
 204. **Teaspoon Masango:** teaspoon forests
 205. **Tichaona Freedom:** we shall see freedom
 206. **Tichatora Masses:** We shall take the masses
 207. **Toasted Chaparadza:** toasted what is destroyed.
 208. **Trymore Chimurenga:** Trymore uprising
 209. **Trymore Magorira:** Trymore guerrillas
 210. **Trymore Masimba:** Trymore powers
 211. **Trymore Shungu:** trymore determination
 212. **Two Boy Ali**
 213. **Vanguard Bvuma;**Vanguard give in
 214. **Vickmore Hama :** Vickmore Relative
 215. **Welcome Zvichauya :** Welcome what shall come
 216. **Willard Rufu:** Willard death
 217. **Wilson Dick :**
 218. **Winai Nyika:** Win the nation
 219. **Wonderous Udzai:** Wondrous tell them
 220. **Workmore Rugare:** workmore peace
 221. **Worry Kushata:** worry the ugly one
 222. **Youngman Zvichaita:** young man it shall happen
 223. **Zindoga High High:** the lone who is high
 224. **Zonke Hamadziripi :** all where are the relatives
 225. **Zvondai Détente** Hate détente
 226. **Serious Tichatonga:** serious we shall rule
 227. **Shakespear**
 228. **Sherkston**
 229. **Short Makamba**
 230. **Show Matope:** show mud
 231. **Spear Gonono**
 232. **Stones Chikweza**
 233. **Sunday Moyo:** Sunday heart
 234. **Sunwell Murefu:** Sunwell the tall one

Category 3. Popular Culture

Common Shona slang

1. **Bhibho Murenje**: Special haircut in the wilderness.
2. **Big Boy**
3. **Big Number Chiwororo**: Destroyer of all
4. **Bigfish Tichatonga**: Big fish we shall rule
5. **Biodo Muchazvirega**: Beard you shall stop it
6. **Black Maoresa**: Black is good
7. **Blaster Chimurenga**: Blaster uprising
8. **Buster**
9. **Checks Muhondo**: Checks in war
10. **Check-Up Dzinomwa**: Check up those which drink
11. **Chongo Chimusoro**: Chaos big head
12. **Chongo Maungeni Muchapera**: Chaos gatherer you shall be wiped out
13. **Dereck Bongozozo**: Dereck chaos
14. **Dhambi**: Dumpie
15. **Digden Bhanaya**: Diggeden (Opaque)
16. **Dirty Game**:
17. **Dzungu Boy**: Dizzy/Confused boy
18. **Dzungu Boy Matambudziko**: Confused person in difficulties
19. **George Bongozozo**: George chaos
20. **Gube Munetsi**: Troublesome criminal
21. **Gunston Spring Shots**
22. **Gwejegweje**: Rattles
23. **Hovhiyo**: Chaos
24. **John Fast Chimoto** : John Fast fire
25. **Juta Mandebvu**: Juta(opaque) beard
26. **Kachana**: far
27. **Kataza Chikombingo**: Troublesome scorpion
28. **Goshas Hondo**: Goshas (opaque) war
29. **Kumbirai Dzenga**: Ask the criminal
30. **Lulumax Chanetsa**: Lulumax the troublesome one
31. **Mabhonz**: Bones
32. **Mahotela Chandiwana**: Hotels it has seen me
33. **Makey Shadow**: Keys shadow
34. **Masini**: Scenes
35. **Moses Bongozozo**: Moses chaos
36. **Mujubeki Bvuma**: Man from J'oburg accept
37. **Ronald Cool Guy**
38. **Seawater Chimurenga**: Seawater uprising
39. **Short Makamba**: Short tortoises
40. **Slog Lazarus**: Opaque
41. **Soweto Mujibha**: Soweto Johannesburg
42. **Spaka Spaka Muhondo**: Pleasure in war

43. **Stones Tichatonga:** Stones we shall rule
44. **Tafirenyika Blaster:** We die for the nation blaster
45. **Tiringindi Open Daiza:** (opaque)
46. **Tizzy Tafirenyika:** Tizzy we have died for the nation
47. **Tsotsi Siyaso:** Leave the criminal alone
48. **Vhuu** (shona ideophone)
49. **Vigoo Tichatonga:** Vigour we shall rule
50. **Weekend Special**
51. **Weekend Togarepi:** Weekend where shall we live
52. **Zuda Muhondo:** Old coin in war
53. **Zvabhenda Zvabhenda:** Come what may
54. **Zvago Zvago Makoto** (opaque)

Shortened forms (hypocorisms)

1. **Alex Tafirenyika:** Alex we die for the nation
2. **Alex Hondo:** Alex war
3. **Ben Chaparadza:** Ben the destroyer
4. **Biggie:** Big
5. **Biggie Chimurenga:** Biggie uprising
6. **Biggie Sachipinga:** Biggie of Chipinge
7. **Bill Killer:** Bill killer
8. **Billy Boy Makombe**
9. **Billy Chimurenga :** Billy uprising
10. **Billy Shungu:** Billy Determination
11. **Billy Tichatonga:** Billy we shall rule
12. **Bloody Joe Nyikandeyedu:** Bloody Joe the nation is ours
13. **Bob Bouncer**
14. **Bob Killer**
15. **Bob Square**
16. **Boby**
17. **Bucks Chimurenga:** Bucks uprising
18. **Charks Hondo:** Charks (opaque) war
19. **Checks Muhondo Magorira :** Checks in war guerrillas
20. **Chamunorwa Jack:** What you fight for Jack
21. **Chris**
22. **Chris Hondo:** Chris war
23. **Dan Svake:** Dan (opaque)
24. **Davie**
25. **Dick Museve :** Dick arrow
26. **Dick Chimurenga :** Dick uprising
27. **Dick Moyo:** Dick Heart (Shona totem)
28. **Dick Mucharumba (Ndau):** Dick you shall run
29. **Dick Nyamhanza:** Dick the bald one
30. **Digden Bhanaya:** Diggeden (opaque)
31. **Diver**
32. **Dixie Masone:** Dixie (opaque)

33. **Dixie Zviripi:** Dixie where is it .
34. **Donnie Tasvika:** Donnie we have arrived
35. **Duster Chauyachauya:** Duster come what may
36. **Stanny Marudze:** Stanny (opaque)
37. **Fix Tichatonga:** Fix we shall rule
38. **Gidds Chekai:** Gidds cut
39. **Biggie Chiororo:** Biggie destroyer
40. **Hatitye Kiddy:** We are not afraid Kiddy
41. **Jack Benders:**
42. **Jack Chimuti:** Jack little stick
43. **Jack Chirambakusakara:** Jack the timeless
44. **Jack Hondo:** Jack war
45. **Jack Mabaya:** Jack who stabs
46. **Jack Mudamburi:** Jack the snapper
47. **Jacks Pasipanodya:** Jacks the ground consumes
48. **Jerry**
49. **Jerry Ncube:** (Ndebele /Zulu) monkey
50. **Jimmy Carter**
51. **Jimmy Chawanda:** Jimmy its many
52. **Jimmy Chigumbu:** Jimmy grievance
53. **Jimmy Chimurenga:** Jimmy uprising
54. **Jimmy Dzingai:** Jimmy expel
55. **Jimmy Hondo:** Jimmy war
56. **Jimmy Jambaya:**
57. **Jimmy Kadiki:** Jimmy the small one
58. **Jimmy Magorira:** Jimmy guerrillas
59. **Jimmy Maunze:** Jimmy who brings
60. **Jimmy Mavhura:** Jimmy waters
61. **Jimmy Pondayi:** Jimmy kill
62. **Jimmy Tafirenyika:** Jimmy we die for the nation
63. **Jimmy Tichatonga:** Jimmy we shall rule
64. **Vic Marrow**
65. **Jimmy Yamurai:** Jimmy assist
66. **Joe Brown**
67. **Joe Chikeya:** (opaque)
68. **Weekend Special**
69. **Joe Chimurenga:** Joe uprising
70. **Joe Goredema:** Joe black cloud
71. **Joe Gurupira:** Joe the helper
72. **Joe Kamhiripiri:** Joe small pepper
73. **Joe Mabasa :** Joe at work
74. **Joe Mauruka:** Joe the jumper
75. **Joe Munya:** Joe cold sadza
76. **Joe Nherera:** Joe orphan
77. **Joe Nyika:** Joe nation
78. **Joe Papas**

79. **Joe Pasi:** Joe ground
80. **Joe Rug**
81. **Joe Rugg Mapfumo:** Joe Rug spears
82. **Joe Tichatonga:** Joe we shall rule
83. **Jonco Zvanaka:** Jonco it is well
84. **Jose Mapera:** Jose you are finished
85. **Knox Chimurenga :** Knox uprising
86. **Lee Joy**
87. **Marapuza Jerry**
88. **Max**
89. **Max Batsirai:** Max help others
90. **Max Chesango :** Max of the forest
91. **Max Chiororo:** Max destroyer of all
92. **Max Hama:** Max the relative
93. **Max Mauto:** Max troops
94. **Max Mudiwa Wehondo:** Max the lover of war
95. **Max Ngaishate:** Max let it be bad
96. **Max Ngoroma**
97. **Max Tafirenyika:** Max we die for the nation
98. **Mike Chaminuka**
99. **Mike Chando:** Max frost
100. **Mike Hammer**
101. **Mike Hondo:** Mike war
102. **Mike Kudzanai:** Mike respect each other
103. **Mike Makwenzi:** Mike bushes
104. **Mike Marufu:** Mike death
105. **Mike Muchapera:** Mike you shall be wiped out
106. **Mike Muparadzi:** Mike the destroyer
107. **Mike Muwambi:** Mike the starter
108. **Mike Pfumo:** Mike spear
109. **Mike Roparevhu:** Mike blood of the soil
110. **Mike Tichatonga:** Mike we shall rule
111. **Mike Zanu:**
112. **Mose**
113. **Patts Zvenyika:** Patts of the nation
114. **Pets Kufakunesu:** Pets death is with us
115. **Ray Rugare Panyika:** Pets peace on the land
116. **Ray Shupo:** Ray troublesome
117. **Ray Tafirenyika:** Ray we die for the nation
118. **Rex Chinembiri:** Ray the famous one
119. **Rex Tichafa:** Rex we shall die
120. **Roddy Ridzo**
121. **Ronnie Bomb**
122. **Ronnie Hondo:** Ronnie war
123. **Ronnie Matereriro:**
124. **Ronnie Mupimbe**

125. **Roy Maedza:** Roy you have tried
126. **Roy Mtetwa :** (opaque)
127. **Roy Shamhuyarira:** Roy the whip has cracked
128. **Roy Tapfumanei:** Roy what has made us wealthy
129. **Sam**
130. **Sam Chimurenga:** Sam uprising
131. **Sam Chipwanyanemabhonzoz:** Sam who breaks the bones
132. **Sam Haaneti:** Sam does not get tired
133. **Sam Kufa**
134. **Sam Magunda:**
135. **Sam Nhamo:** Sam suffering
136. **Sam Tavengwa:** Sam we are hated
137. **Sam Tichazofa:** Sam we shall die
138. **Shakie Nyika Ndeyeduz:** Shakie the nation is ours
139. **Shorty**
140. **Teddy Marikitire:** (opaque)
141. **Teddy Nyatsanga:** Teddy reeds
142. **Teddy Tagara:** Teddy we are sitted
143. **Thadies** (Thaddeus)
144. **Tickey Gandahwe:** (opaque)
145. **Timms Mutsvairo:** Timms broom
146. **Tom Chigaro:** Tom seat
147. **Tommy Denga:** Tommy sky
148. **Tommy Katanga:**
149. **Trinity Killer**
150. **Two Boy Ali**
151. **Vhoo Chimurenga:** Vhoo uprising
152. **Weeds Chakarakata:** Weeds the irritater
153. **Weeds Tichatonga:** Weeds we shall rule
154. **Weeds Zvichapera:** Weeds it shall come to an end
155. **Widds Rongedzai:** Widds pack up
156. **Widds Shungu:** Widds determination
157. **Willie Deveteve:** Willie swamp
158. **Zex Zukwa:** Zex five cents

Western films and Western novels and comics

1. **Alistar Macleans**
2. **Allen Marshall**
3. **Amigo Chimurenga:** Amigo uprising
4. **Amigo Giant Killer**
5. **Amigo Happy**
6. **Amigo Hondo:** Amigo war
7. **Amigo Murozvi :** Amigo the plunderer
8. **Amigo Vapera:** Amigo they are finished
9. **Beau Hondo:** Beau war
10. **Big Killer**

11. **Black Bonanza**
12. **Black Mambazo**
13. **Black Moses**
14. **Black Power**
15. **Blaster Carlos**
16. **Bond**
17. **Bucks Manaya**
18. **Bucks One**
19. **Buddy Chinanga:** Buddy hard thorn
20. **Buddy Spencer**
21. **Checks Muhondo :** Checks in war
22. **Devil Killer**
23. **Chicago**
24. **Chimurenga Mukadota:** Uprising in ashes
25. **Clint Eastwood**
26. **Cooper**
27. **Cooper Munetsi:** Cooper the troublesome one
28. **Cowman Zvekunze:** Cowman of the outside
29. **Daniel Bond**
30. **David Kid**
31. **David Mukadota**
32. **Deluxe**
33. **Devil Eyes**
34. **Devil Killer**
35. **Dhidhi Marima:** Dhidhi you have cultivated
36. **Digden Mhere:** Digden alarm
37. **Disco Tichafa:** Disco we shall die
38. **Donald Shaft**
39. **Double Action**
40. **Double Killer**
41. **Dracula**
42. **Duster Nzunzu**
43. **Easy Fire**
44. **Fantomas**
45. **Flint Hondo:** Flint war
46. **Forbes Fontana**
47. **Forbes Killer**
48. **Forbes Santana**
49. **Freeman Santana**
50. **Funthomas Mtema :** (opaque)
51. **Ghost Of Zolo:** Ghost of Zorro
52. **Giant Killer**
53. **Gringo**
54. **Gringo Chindunduma:** Gringo uprising
55. **Gun Fighter**
56. **Guy**

57. **Guy Bush**
58. **Guy Medicine**
59. **Hacrebury Katandabvu**
60. **Happy Trigger**
61. **Hayes Gandanga:** Hayes the terrorist
62. **Hendricks Kudzanai:** Hendricks respect each other
63. **Hendriks Mutiza:** Hendricks the escaper
64. **Hendrix Chakanetsa:** Hendricks the troublesome one
65. **Hendrix Monor**
66. **James Bond**
67. **James Killer**
68. **Joe Fraser**
69. **Joe Pasi**
70. **John Lone**
71. **Jonco Zvanaka:** Jonco it is good
72. **Jungle Dweller**
73. **Jungle Master**
74. **Kid**
75. **Kid Brown**
76. **Kid Chimurenga:** Kid uprising
77. **Kid Colt**
78. **Kid Fall**
79. **Kid Killer**
80. **Kid Machakaire**
81. **Kid Magorira:** Kid guerrillas
82. **Kid Mangurenje:** Kid big vehicle
83. **Kid Marongorongo**
84. **Kid Mukweshu:** Kid the scrubber
85. **Kid Nyika:** Kid nation
86. **Kid Power**
87. **Kid Tendai:** Kid give thanks
88. **Kid Zvanaka:** Kid it is good
89. **Kid Zvikokoto:** (opaque)
90. **Killer**
91. **Killer Chakaipa:** Kid the bad one
92. **Killer Gallard**
93. **Killer Mudehondo:** Kid lover of war
94. **Knox**
95. **Kwela Madhaka:** Kwela mud
96. **Lee Malvern**
97. **Lenon Gukurahundi:** Lennon sweeper of chaff
98. **Mahotella Chandiwana:** Hotels what I encounter
99. **Marshal Hondo:** Marshal war
100. **Marshall Hope:**
101. **Marshall Muhondo:** Marshal in war
102. **Mike Harrison**

103. **Mukadota**
104. **Mukadota Wehondo:** Mukadota of war
105. **Nicky Charts** (Nicky Carter)
106. **Otis Ndaenda:** Otis I have gone
107. **Philemon Chosa**
108. **Radio Nyamambishi:** Radio raw meat
109. **Ringo Mackenzie**
110. **Sam Biggs**
111. **Sam Gabaza**
112. **Santana**
113. **Shepherd Santana**
114. **Soweto Black Weropa:** Soweto black of blood
115. **Trinity Nziradzemhuka:** Trinity routes of wild animals
116. **Soweto Karakadzai:** Soweto remember
117. **Special Killer**
118. **Straight Shooter**
119. **Tall Groover**
120. **Tarzan Marabwa:** (opaque)
121. **Tarzen Nhamo:** Tarzen suffering
122. **Tarzen Killer**
123. **Ticky Chimurenga:** Tickey uprising
124. **Ticky Gandahwe:** (opaque)
125. **Top Ten**
126. **Topsy Maropa:** Topsy blood
127. **Topten Hondo:** Top ten war
128. **Trinity Chikadaya:** Trinity measuring cup
129. **Trinity Chimurenga:** Trinity uprising
130. **Trinity Tichasununguka:** Trinity we shall be free
131. **Trinity Tinomwaropa:** Trinity we drink blood
132. **Weeds Tichatonga:** Weeds we shall rule
133. **Weeds Zvichapera:** Weeds it shall end
134. **Weekend Special**
135. **Week-End Togarepi :** Week-end where shall we live
136. **Western Chakaipa :** Western the bad one
137. **Zex**
138. **Zex Chibaya:** Zex the stabber
139. **Zex Chimurenga:** Zex uprising
140. **Zex Manatsa :** Zex you have done right
141. **Zex Muchapera:** Zex you shall be finished
142. **Zex Taguta:** Zex we are satisfied
143. **Zex Tichafa:** Zex we shall die
144. **Zex Zacharia**
145. **Zimbabwe Broadcast**
146. **Zolo Muchapera:** Zolo you shall be finished
147. **Zororo Lee :** Rest Lee

Local slang

1. **Big Boy**
2. **Big Number Chiwororo**: Big number destroyer
3. **Bigfish Tichatonga**: Bigfish we shall rule
4. **Bido Muchazvirega** : Beard you shall stop it
5. **Black Maoresa**: Black is good
6. **Blaster Chimurenga**: Blaster uprising
7. **Buster**
8. **Checks Muhondo** : Checks in war
9. **Big Boy**
10. **Check-Up Dzinomwa**: Check-up they drink
11. **Chongo Chimusoro** : Chaos big head
12. **Chongo Maungeni Muchapera** : Chaos gatherer you shall be wiped out
13. **Danger Skelemu**: Danger danger
14. **Dereck Bongozozo**: Dereck chaos
15. **Dhambi**: Dumpy
16. **Digden Bhanaya**
17. **Dirty Game**
18. **Dzungu Boy**: The Dizzy boy
19. **Dzungu Boy Matambudziko** : Dizzy boy suffering
20. **George Bongozozo** : George chaos
21. **Gube Munetsi**: The crook who is troublesome
22. **Gunston Spring Shots**
23. **Gwejegweje**: rattles
24. **Hovhiyo: Chaos**
25. **John Fast Chimoto** : John fast fire
26. **Juta Mandebvu**: Juta the bearded one
27. **Kachana** : Far
28. **Kataza Chikombingo** : The troublesome scorpion
29. **Goshas Hondo** : (opaque) war
30. **Easy Fire**
31. **Kumbirai Dzenga** : Ask the crook
32. **Lulumax Chanetsa**: Lulumax the bothersome one
33. **Mabhonz**: Bones
34. **Mahotela Chandiwana**: Mahotela what has seen me
35. **Makey Shadow** : Old man shadow
36. **Masini**: scenes
37. **Moses Bongozozo**: Moses chaos
38. **Mujubeki Bvuma** : Man from Johannesburg accept
39. **Ronald Cool Guy**
40. **Seawater Chimurenga**: Seawater uprising
41. **Short Makamba**: Short
42. **Slog Lazarus**
43. **Soweto Mujibha**: Soweto
44. **Spak Spaka Muhondo**: Joy in war
45. **Stones Tichatonga** : Stones we shall rule

46. **Tafirenyika Blaster** : We die for the nation blaster
47. **Tizzy Tafirenyika** : Tizzy we die for the nation
48. **Tsotsi Siyaso**: Criminal leave as is
49. **Vigoo Tichatonga**: Vigour we shall rule
50. **Weekend Togarepi**: Weekend where shall we live
51. **Zuda Muhondo** : Old currency in war
52. **Zvago Zvago Makoto**: (opaque)

Other

1. **At London Tapotseka**: At London we have been missed
2. **Backside**
3. **Best Killer**
4. **Big Fish Tichatonga**: Big fish we shall rule
5. **Black Arrow**
6. **Black Bemudha**: Black Bermuda
7. **Blood Jee**
8. **Checks Muhondo**: Checks in war
9. **Coconut Jongwe**: Coconut cock
10. **Crooked Chikara**: Crooked beast
11. **Easy Fire**
12. **Fangs**
13. **Gunstone Springshots**
14. **Jimmy Brown**
15. **Joe Braker**
16. **Kitsi Dozen** : Dozen cats
17. **Manesi**: Nurses
18. **Master Blaster**
19. **Masweet Kunaka**: The Sweets are good
20. **Ndauya Hot**: I have come hot
21. **Patch Marere**:
22. **Rampel Stint Skin** :
23. **Romio: Romeo**
24. **Schoolboy**
25. **Sea-Sea**
26. **Small Time**
27. **Speeds Chimurenga**: Speed uprising
28. **Still Available**
29. **Suckton Suckson**
30. **Sway**
31. **Sweet Mafuta**: Sweet oil
32. **Teaspoon**
33. **Ugly Shiri**: Ugly bird
34. **Weekend Special**

Category 4. Ethnic Slurs

All names are Shona unless indicated.

The Openly Aggressive Group

1. **Budai Tirwe** : Come out and let us fight
2. **Chatsemura Mabhunu** : He who splits the Boers
3. **Chazezesa Mabunu** :He who is feared by the Boers
4. **Chenjerai Mabhunu** : Watch out Boers
5. **Chigero CheMabhunu**: The scissors that cuts the Boers
6. **Chokonyorai Mabhunu** : Thresh the Boers
7. **Chikwasha Mabhunu** : He who grinds the Boers
8. **Chimedza Mabhunu** : He who swallows Boers
9. **Chiororo Mabhunu** : The Destroyer of the Boers
10. **Chiororo CheMabhunu**: The Destroyer of the Boers
11. **Chipembere CheMabhunu** : The Rhino of the Boers
12. **Chipeta Mabhunu** : He who folds Boers
13. **Chipwanya Mabhunu**: He who crushes Boers
14. **Chipwanya Varungu**: He who crushes the whites
15. **Chiurutsa Mabhunu** : He who makes Boers jump
16. **Damburai Mabhunu**: Tear up the Boers
17. **Dzasukwa Gesai Mabhunu**: They have been cleaned (guns), wash way the Boers
18. **Dzingai Mabhunu** : Expel the Boers
19. **Dzvairo Mabhunu**: A broom for the Boers
20. **Foro Dzingai Mabhunu** : Foro Expel the Boers
21. **Gamatox Killer Mabhunu** : Gamatox, pesticide for Boers
22. **Gamba ReMabhunu** : Hero of the Boers
23. **Gezai Mabhunu**: Wash off the Boers
24. **Gwazai Mabhunu** : Finish off the Boers
25. **Hamunyari Mabhunu** :You have no shame you Boers
26. **Hamutikuriri Chimurenga** :You (Boers) will not defeat us in the war
27. **Handichatambi NeMabhunu** :I longer play with Boers
28. **Hatina Tsitsti Mabhunu** : We have no mercy you Boers
29. **Hokoyo Mabhunu** : Watch out you Boers
30. **Imwi Vachena** : You Whites
31. **Itai Muchazvirega** :Do it but you shall stop it
32. **Kamurai Mabhunu** : Reduce the numbers of the Boers
33. **Kanganwai Hamutikundi** : Forget it, you will never defeat us
34. **Kanyangarara Mabhunu** : He who messes up the Boers
35. **Kotorai Mabhunu** : Turn round the Boers
36. **Kundai Mabhunu** : Defeat the Boers
37. **Kungurutsai Mabhunu** : Roll the Boers
38. **Kutungu Mabhunu** : To gore the Boers
39. **Mabhunu Muchapera**: You Boers shall be wiped out
40. **Mabhunu Muchabaiwa** :You Boers shall be stabbed

41. **Mabhunu Muchatibaba** : You Boers shall swear by your fathers
42. **Mabhunu Varoyi Muchapera**: You Boers are wizards you shall be wiped out
43. **Muchadakwa Mabhunu**: You Boers shall get drunk
44. **Muchapera Mabhunu**: You Boers shall be wiped out
45. **Maimboti Muchanyuka**: You claimed you would spring from the ground
46. **Makwetsa Mabhunu**: Cleaner of the Boers
47. **Manyeranda Mabhunu**: You long for lice you Boers
48. **Mapera Mabhunu**: Boers you are finished
49. **Marambiwa Mabhunu**: Rejecter of Boers
50. **Masvaura Mabhunu**: He who strips Boers
51. **Mhandu Kuvachena**: Enemy to the Whites
52. **Muchabaya Mabhunu**: You shall stab the Boers
53. **Muchabvuma Mabhunu**: You shall give in you Boers
54. **Muchadakwa Mabhunu**: You Boers shall get drunk
55. **Muchadura Mabhunu**: You Boers shall confess
56. **Muchafa Mabhunu**: You Boers shall die
57. **Muchafunga Mabhunu**: You shall come to your senses you Boers
58. **Muchaitei Mabhunu**: What shall you do you Boers
59. **Muchakadziya Vachena**: You are still hot headed you whites
60. **Muchandinzwa Mabhunu**- You shall hear from me you Boers
61. **Muchandiona Mabhunu**: You shall see me you Boers
62. **Muchandirega Mabhunu**: You shall leave me alone you Boers
63. **Muchaneta Mabhunu**: You shall get tired you Boers
64. **Muchaneta Vachena**: You shall get tired you whites
65. **Muchanongwa Mabhunu** : You shall be picked out you Boers
66. **Muchaparara Mabhunu** : You shall perish you Boers
67. **Muchapera Mabhunu** : You shall be wiped out you Boers
68. **Muchapera Vachena**: You shall be wiped you whites
69. **Muchatenda Mabhunu**: You shall give in you Boers
70. **Muchavhunduka Mabhunu**: You shall be disturbed you Boers
71. **Muchazviona Mabhunu**: You shall see it you Boers
72. **Mungutsai Mabhunu** : Melt the Boers
73. **Murambiwa Irwainawo** : The rejected one fight them
74. **Musemburi Mabhunu** : He who disgusts the Boers
75. **Mutonhodza Mabhunu** : He who cools the Boers
76. **Mwazhuwa Mabhunu** (Opaque)
77. **Netsai Mabhunu**: Harass the Boers
78. **Paradza Mabhunu**: Destroy the Boers
79. **Pedzisai Mabhunu**: Finish off the Boers
80. **Pfidzai Mabhunu**: Give up Boers
81. **Pfurai Mabhunu**: Shoot the Boers
82. **Pisai Mabhunu**: Burn the Boers
83. **Ponda Ponda Mabhunu**: Beat the Boers into pulp
84. **Pondai Mabhunu**: Beat up the Boers
85. **Pururai Mabhunu**: Shred the Boers
86. **Ranganai Mabhunu**: Conspire against the Boers

87. **Ranganai Tichapedzerana:** Conspire but we shall see this to the end.
88. **Ridzai Mabhunu:** Beat the Boers
89. **Rovai Mabhunu:** Beat the Boers
90. **Rwisai Mabhunu:** Fight the Boers
91. **Shangurayi Mabhunu:** Trouble the Boers
92. **Sherai Mabhunu:** Bombard the Boers
93. **Shingirai Tichavapedza:** Perservere we will wipe them out
94. **Shingirirai KurovaMabhunu:** Perservere in fighting the Boers
95. **Svombai Mabhunu (Opaque)**
96. **Svotesai Vachena:** Nauseate the whites
97. **Svuurai Mabhunu:** Strip the Boers
98. **Tactics Vanetsa:** Resort to tactics they are proving difficult
99. **Taiti Vanhu:** We though they were people
100. **Tambudzai Mabhunu:** Trouble the Boers
101. **Tandai Mabhunu:** Chase away the Boers
102. **Tandanisai Vatakati :** Chase away the Wizards
103. **Tangai Mabhunu:** Challenge the Whites
104. **Tayai Vachena:** Whites must die
105. **Tazvigwira Mabhunu:** We fight the Boers on our own
106. **Tendai Zvatinotaura:** Accept what we say
107. **Teramai Tichatonga:** Settle down we shall rule
108. **Tetai Mabhunu:** Discard the Boers
109. **Ticharwa Mabhunu:** We shall fight the Boers
110. **Tichatonga Mabhunu :** We shall rule the Boers
111. **Tinhai Mabhunu:** Chase away the Boers
112. **Tinonetsana Mabhunu:** We shall engage the Boers
113. **Tinorwa Mabhunu:**We shall fight the Boers
114. **Tizai Mabhunu:** Run away you Boers
115. **Tonderai Utsinye:** Remember the cruelty
116. **Tongai Vachena:** Rule the Wites
117. **Tsikayi Mabhunu:** Tread on the Boers (euphemism for killing)
118. **Tukai Mabhunu:** Berate the Boers
119. **Urayayi Mabhunu:** Kill the Boers
120. **Urayayi Vachena:** Kill the Whites
121. **Vachaendanepi:** They have nowhere to go
122. **Vachafunga Mabhunu:** The Boers shall think
123. **Vengai Mabhunu:** Hate the Boers
124. **Vengai Vadvanyiriri:** Hate oppressors
125. **Vhundurai Mabhunu:** Upset the Boers
126. **Wafa Wafa Mabhunu:** Free for all Boers
127. **Zondai Mabhunu:** Hate the Boers
128. **Zondai Muvengi:** Hate the enemy
129. **Zvichapera Mabhunu:** It shall end you Boers

Slurs with an English name

(some names are self explanatory)

1. **Abisha Mabhunu:** Abisha Boers
2. **Baas Die:** Boss die
3. **Blaster Mabhunu:** Blaster Boers
4. **Boer Chopper**
5. **Boers Ibvai :** Boers go away
6. **Boundary Mabhunu:** Boundary Boers
7. **Crashmore Mabhunu:** Crash more Boers
8. **Dhabhi Mabhunu** (opaque)
9. **Driver Mabhunu:** Driver Boers
10. **Fanuel Mabhunu:** Fanuel Boers
11. **George Mabhunu:** George Boers
12. **Gibson Mabhunu:** Gibson Boers
13. **Joseph Awaranai Mabhunu:** Joseph Boers (**Awaranai** is a typographic error)
14. **Just Mabhunu:** Just Boers
15. **Killer Mabhunu:** Killer Boers
16. **Killmore Mabhunu :** Kill more Boers
17. **Lawrence Mabhunu:** Lawrence Boers
18. **Max Mabhunu:** Max Boers
19. **Nevermind Mabhunu:** Nevermind Boers
20. **Peter Muchatipanyika:** Peter you shall give us the nation
21. **Philip Mabhunu:** Philip Boers
22. **Rubshaker Mabhunu:** Rubshaker (opaque) Boers
23. **Santana Mabhunu:** Santana Boers
24. **Serious Tichatonga Mabhunu** – Seriously speaking we shall rule the Boers
25. **Slaughter Vasinamabvi:** Kill those with no knees
26. **Solomon Chaparadza Mabhunu:** Solomon destroyer of Boers
27. **Takesure Mabhunu:** Take sure Boers
28. **Tambudzai Moffat Mabhunu:** Trouble Moffat Boers
29. **Tex Killer Mabhunu:** Tex Killer Boers
30. **William Chidyamabhunu:** William who devours Boers
31. **Wilson Mabhunu:** Wilson Boers
32. **Wiseman Kudadakwe Mabhunu :** Wiseman the vanity of Boers
33. **Wonder Mwesai Mabhunu:** Wonder split the Boers

"Mild Slurs"

1. **Achapera Mabhunu:** The Boers shall be finished
2. **Batai Mabhunu:** Catch the Boers
3. **Bayai Mabhunu:** Stab the Boers
4. **Bvumai Mabhunu:** Accept you Boers
5. **Chakukura Mabhunu:** The Sweeper of Boers
6. **Chamaida Mabhunu:** What you wanted you Boers
7. **Chamunorwa Mabhunu:** What do you fight for you Boers
8. **Chanetsa Mabhunu:** He who troubles the Boers

9. **Chatambudza Mabhunu:** He who troubles the Boers
10. **Chibaya Mabhunu:** He who stabs the Boers
11. **Batanai Mabhunu:** Unite (against) the Boers
12. **Edzai Mabhunu ;** Try the Boers
13. **Gororo Mabhunu:** Thug called Boer
14. **Mabhunu Apera:**The Boers are finished
15. **Machando Mabhunu:** Winter among the Boers
16. **Madhuura Mabhunu:** He who blasts the Boers
17. **Maenda Mabhunu:**Boers you are gone
18. **Maidei Mabhunu:** What did you want you Boers
19. **Mandionerepi Mabhunu:** Where did you see me you Boers
20. **Mangwanda Mabhunu (** opaque)
21. **Matowa Mabhunu :** You nave fallen you Boers
22. **Muchaneta Vachena:**You shall get tired you Boers
23. **Munetsi Mabhunu:** He who troubles the Boers
24. **Nyarai Vachena:**Be ashamed you whites
25. **Perai Mabhunu:** Be wiped out you whites
26. **Revai Mabhunu:** Slander the Boers
27. **Sarendai Mabhunu:** Surrender you Boers
28. **Takawira Mabhunu:** We fell among the Boers
29. **Tamburai Muchapera:**Struggle you shall be wiped out
30. **Tamisai Mabhunu :** Migrate the Boers
31. **Tichaona Mabhunu:**We shall see the Boers
32. **Torai Mabhunu:** Take the Boers
33. **Tsaona Mabhunu:**Accident among the Boers
34. **Waenda Muchena:**The whiteman is gone
35. **Farai Mabhunu:** Be happy you Boers

Category 5

Fauna and Flora

Fauna

1. **Advance Musinga:** Advance elephant trunk
2. **Alex Chipembere :** Alex rhinoceros
3. **Allen Kashiri :** Allen small bird
4. **Amon Chapungu :** Amon bateluer eagle
5. **Amos Tsana :** Amos mouse
6. **Amos Tsana :** Amos Mouse
7. **Anderson Mhuru:** Anderson calf
8. **Antony Mhashu:** Antony locust
9. **Austine Bvumbi:** Austin puff adder
10. **Barnabas Gondodema :** Barnabas black eagle
11. **Benjamin Chapungu:** Benjamin bateluer eagle
12. **Benson Dhadha:** Benson Duck
13. **Bere:** Heyna

14. **Black Bee:**
15. **Blood Mombeshora** – Blood Straw coloured beast
16. **Brighton Mombe:** Brighton cow
17. **Cephas Mabhiza:** Cephas Horses
18. **Cephas Membwe:** Cephas duiker
19. **Chakmar Gumbojena:** Chacmar (baboon) with a white leg
20. **Chapungu:** Bateluer eagle
21. **Chapungu Chehondo:** Bateluer eagle of war
22. **Chapungu Tichatonga :** Bateluer we shall rule
23. **Charles Sigauke:** Ndaui totem for dog
24. **Chikara Joseph :** Fierce beast Joseph
25. **Chimbiya Hanga:** (Chimbiya may be a typo error) Hanga: Guinea fowl
26. **Chimbwa Mupengo:** Mad dog
27. **Chimombe Chinotaya:** The little cow dies
28. **Chimurenga Chikono:** The uprising is a bull
29. **Chipauturu Shumba :** He who enrages a lion
30. **Chipembere:** Rhinoceros
31. **Chipembere Chauke:** Rhinoceros Chauke (Maposa totem)
32. **Chipembere Chemabhunu:** Rhinoceros of the boers
33. **Chipembere Mhuka YeSango:** Rhinoceros beast of the bush
34. **Chiwororo Machongwe:** Destroyer of cocks
35. **Cobra Fire:**
36. **Cobra Sigauke:** Sigauke (dog) is a totem of the Ndaui
37. **Daniel Humba :** Daniel Humba (wild pig) (totem of the Manyika)
38. **Dennis Mago:** Dennis Wasps
39. **Denny Chikamba:** Denny tortoise
40. **Desmond Chigwenhure:** Desmond topee
41. **Dickson Chikara:** Dickson the beast
42. **Dodwell Gonera:** Dodwell new beehive
43. **Donald Ngwena :** Donald crocodile
44. **Dzaramba Kudya :** they have refused to eat (livestock)
45. **Dzinopisa Shumba:** The lions burn
46. **Edmore Chipembere:** Edmore Rhinoceros
47. **Elijah Shumba:** Elijah Lion
48. **Fanuel Tsuru :** Fanuel Hare
49. **Fox Gava:** Fox Jackal
50. **Freddy Gora:** Freddy Vulture (totem of
51. **Fungai Mhene:** Meditate young duiker
52. **Gabriel Chirodza Bere:** Gabriel marry the heyna
53. **Garikai Tsuru :** Stay well hare
54. **George Diro :** George baboon
55. **George Shumba:** George lion
56. **Gerald Tsuru:** Gerald hare
57. **Gibson Mhlanga** – Ndaui totem for zebra
58. **Gilbert Beta:** Gilbert flying termites (Ndaui totem)
59. **Gondo:** Eagle

60. **Gondo Harishai:** The Eagle does not miss
61. **Gondo Matanda:** The eagle is a log
62. **Gora:** Vulture
63. **Gora Chiridza :** Vulture
64. **Gotoro:** Billy goat
65. **Gudo:** Baboon
66. **Gudo ReShumba:** Baboon of a lion
67. **Gunja Mawaridzakare:** The secretary bird which has already laid the blankets
68. **Hakata Dirorimwe:** Divining bones of one baboon
69. **Hippo Striker:**
70. **Hungry Leopard**
71. **Imbwa YeSango:** Dog of the bush / wild dog
72. **Jakarasi Mhondoro:** Wild dog that is a lion
73. **James Gava :** James the jackal
74. **James Gondo Harishayi:** James the eagle does not miss
75. **James Shato:** James python
76. **Janas Chipembere:** Janas Rhinoceros
77. **Jawangwe Nzombehuru:** Big male leopard
78. **John Mhukayesango:** John animal of the bush
79. **Jongwe:** Cock
80. **Jongwe Muchariona:** You shall see the cock
81. **Jongwe Muhondo:** The cock in war
82. **Kamba Chowa:** The tortoise is mushroom
83. **Kambanje Mapere:** Marijuana hyenas
84. **Kenneth Tumai Mombe :** Kenneth send the cows
85. **Killer Black mamba**
86. **Lion Magorira :** Lion guerrillas
87. **Lion Mavhimo:** Lion the hunter
88. **Lovemore Nyoka:** Lovemore snake
89. **Maclow Jezenga:** Maclow weaver bird
90. **Makiwa Chimurenga:** Whitemen uprising
91. **Makudo Special:** Baboons special
92. **Marxon Nzou:** Marxon elephant
93. **Mashiri Apangana:** The birds have conspired
94. **Matemba (Matemba is dried fish)**
95. **Matemba Usvihwenhamo:** Dried fish, relish for the poor
96. **Matongo Rogers:** Rogers of the ruins
97. **Maxwell Mzilikazi**
98. **Mbada MhukayeSango:** Leopard animal of the bush
99. **Mherepere Inonzvenga:** the swallow dodges
100. **Mhofu Yemukono:** Bull eland
101. **Mhuka YeSango :** Beast of the bush
102. **Mhuru : Calf**
103. **Mhuru Musauki:** Broke calf
104. **Mombe Machena:** Cow that is white
105. **Morgen Shumba:** Morgan lion

106. **Mugara Nzou:** He who sits on an elephant
107. **Mutungwa Mbeva:** He who stabs the mice
108. **Mvuu Nhamo Inesu:** Hippo the troubles are with us
109. **Nhema Chipembere :** Rhinoceros rhinoceros
110. **Nhoro Nhema:** black kudu
111. **Nyamhanza Gondo:** bald eagle
112. **Nyoka Shumba:** Snake lion
113. **Nyoka Haisvosvi :** The snake is not chased
114. **Nzou Chimurenga :** elephant uprising
115. **Nzou Munyika:** Elephant in the nation
116. **Nzou Nyamayevhu:** Eephant meat of the earth
117. **Onward Gono:** Onward bull
118. **Peter Nyati:** Peter buffalo
119. **Peter Shumba:** Peter the lion
120. **Phebion Nzou:** Phebion elephant
121. **Philip Babajuru:** Philip father of white ants
122. **Python Chimedza:** Python swallower
123. **Raymond Hungwe :** Karanga totem for bird
124. **Robson Mpetabere:** Robson love charm
125. **Rodgers Chitiyo:** Rodgers the chick
126. **Rodgers Nzombe:** Rodgers the bull
127. **Rodwell Gava:** Rodwell jackal
128. **S. Dzinopisa Shumba:** S. Lions are hot
129. **Samson Chikukwa:** Samson caterpillar (Ndau totem)
130. **Shingirai Chiva:** Persevere Puff adder
131. **Shiri YeSango:** bird of the bush
132. **Shumba:** Lion
133. **Shumba Baraikuenda:** Lion give birth to go
134. **Shumba Chikara Chesango:** Lion fierce beast of the bush
135. **Shumba Chikoro:** Lion educates
136. **Shumba Hondo:** Lion war
137. **Shumba Inenzara:** Hungry lion
138. **Shumba Inogara Musango:** Lion that lives in the bush
139. **Shumba Mangena:** Lion (surname Ndebele)
140. **Shumba Mbiri:** Two lions
141. **Shumba Nhete:** Thin lion
142. **Shumba Yaonda:** The lion has become thin
143. **Shumba Yarara :** The lion has slept
144. **Shumba Yehondo :** Lion of war
145. **Shumba Yematare :** Lion of the courts
146. **Shumba Yepasi:** Lion of the ground
147. **Stephen Bonga:** Stephen wild cat
148. **Stephen Mombe:** Stephen cow
149. **Sub Shumba:** Submachine gun lion
150. **Svosva Nyokayakafa:** Chase a dead snake
151. **Tafirenyika Chirombo:** We have died for the nation big beast

152. **Tafirenyika Gondo:** We die for the nation eagle
153. **Takesure Chipembere:** Takesure rhinoceros
154. **Tichaona Shumba:** We shall see the lion
155. **Tikana Shumba :** (Tikana is opaque) lion
156. **Tom Chikara:** Tommy beast
157. **Tsuro Danda :** Hare of the log
158. **Tsuro Madzairewa:** Hare where they were talked of
159. **Tsuro Magenga:** Hare of the plain
160. **Tsuro Muhondo:** Hare in war
161. **Tsuro Yemubhuku:** Hare of the story book
162. **Tsuro Yenhamo :** Hare that suffers
163. **Vespa Garwe:** Vespa crocodile
164. **Wine Alec Mbada:** Wine Alec leopard
165. **Wolf Ropa:** Wolf blood
166. **Z. Shumba:** Z. lion
167. **Zanla Mbada:** Zanla leopard
168. **Zebra Kufahakurambwe:** Zebra death is not rejected
169. **Zizi Tambaoga:** owl play alone
170. **Zumard Chimherepere :** Zumard the little swallow

Flora

1. **Atwell Sango :** Artwell bush
2. **Bizeck Chisango:** Bizeck small bush
3. **Brighton Chemudondo:** Brighton of the bush
4. **Buffalo Range** (Air strip in the south eastern lowveld)
5. **Bush Wabayana:** Bush you have stabbed each other
6. **Caston Mhiripiri :** Caston pepper
7. **Charles Masango:** Charles bushes
8. **Charles Mutimutema:** Charles black tree
9. **Chemudondo Chakatanga:** That of the bush came first
10. **Chesango:** Of the bush
11. **Chesango Moyo:** of the bush Moyo (totem of the heart)
12. **Chigara Musango:** That which lives in the bush
13. **Chitsiga Chesango :** firestick of the bush
14. **Chiwanza Midzi:** The multiplier of roots
15. **Cutmore Matambanesango:** Cutmore who player with the bush
16. **Dickson Masango :** Dickson bushes
17. **Donald Katsanga:** Donald small reed
18. **Dzenga Resango:** The crook of the bush
19. **Edwick Masango:** Edwick forests
20. **Elliot Churu :** Elliot termite hill
21. **Ernest Matondo:** Ernest of the bush
22. **Farai Mhepo:** Enjoy the wind
23. **Forbes Magwenzi:** Forbes bushes
24. **George Morris Matanda:** George Morris Logs

25. **Guy Bush**
26. **Gwatakwata:** A vegetable
27. **Harrison Matohwe :** Harrison (Matohwe is a fruit)
28. **Harry Ruredzo:** (Ruredzo is opaque)
29. **Hazvinashuwa Mutowa:** It is uncertain (Mutowa is a shrub)
30. **Jimmy Masango:** Jimmy in the bush
31. **Kambanje Mapere:** Marijuana heyna
32. **Karimugomo Chesango:** That which is in the mountain of the bush
33. **Kenneth Chisango:** Kenneth bushes
34. **Keven Masango:** Keven bushes
35. **Kissmore Chesango:** Kissmore of the bush
36. **Lamech Matamba:** Lamech monkey apples
37. **Land Masango:** Land with the bush
38. **Mago Churu:** Mountain of wasps
39. **Maiti Makwenzi:** You thought they were bushes
40. **Maruva Chimurenga:** Flowers uprising
41. **Masango Nyika:** forests are the land
42. **Masango Bvunzawabaya:** bushes shoot first and ask later
43. **Matodo Muroro :** Matodo is opaque and muroro is a small bush with edible fruit
44. **Moto Masango :** Fire in the bushes
45. **Murovasango Nherera :** The orphan he who travels in the bush
46. **Olly Chemudondo:** Olly of the bush
47. **Patrick Chemusango:** Patrick of the bush
48. **Patrick Musasa:** Patrick shack
49. **Pedzai Masango :** Finish the bushes
50. **Peter Masango:** Peter the bushes
51. **Robson Sango:** Robson bushes
52. **Ronni Masango:** Ronni bushes
53. **Rufas Masango:** Rufas bushes
54. **Sango:** Bush
55. **Sango Dema:** Dark bush
56. **Sango Rehondo:** Bush of war
57. **Sango Rinopawaneta:** The bush rewards the tired one
58. **Stephen Branch**
59. **Tajaira Masango:** We are used to bushes
60. **Takaendesa Masango:** we sent the bushes
61. **Takesure Masango:** Takesure bushes
62. **Taurai Masango:** Speak bushes
63. **Teaspoon Masango:** Teaspoon bushes
64. **Teurai Masango :** Spill bushes
65. **Thomas Chesango:** Thomas of the bush
66. **Tofamba Masango:** We traverse the bush
67. **Toyi Toyi Masango:** Trotting in the bush
68. **Tsanga Dzaoma :** Reeds are dry
69. **Tumai Mashizha :** Send leaves
70. **Twoboy Masango :** Twoboy of the bush

71. **Webster Chesango:** Webster of the bush
72. **William Sango:** Willaim bush
73. **Zacharia Masango:** Zachariah bushes

Category 6.

Names of Women

The names cover all categories in the collection. The only criterion used to classify them was only that they are women's names. All names are Shona unless indicated

The “Conventional” Shona first names

1. **Chengetai :** Look after
2. **Rutendo Muhondo:** Gratitude in war
3. **Chiedza Tichatonga:** Sunshine we shall rule
4. **Chipo:** Gift
5. **Chipo Tichatonga:** Gift we shall rule
6. **Chiwororo Makombe:** Destroyer who surrounds
7. **Dudzai Chimurenga:** Say out the uprising
8. **Farai Chimurenga:** Be happy uprising
9. **Farai Magorira:** Be happy guerrillas
10. **Farai Muhondo:** Be happy in war
11. **Farirai Chimurenga:** love uprising
12. **Fungai Chimurenga:** Meditate the uprising
13. **Fungai Hondo:** Meditate the war
14. **Fungai Zimbabwe:** Meditate Zimbabwe
15. **Fungai Zvenyika:** Think of matters of the nation
16. **Hazvinei Munyaradzi:** Never mind consoler
17. **Kamurai Mabhunu:** Reduce the Boers
18. **Karakadzai Chimurenga:** Remember the uprising
19. **Kuda Chimurenga:** Love the uprising
20. **Maidei Mabhunu:** What did you want Boers
21. **Matambudziko Muzimbabwe:** Suffering in Zimbabwe
22. **Mutimwi:** Keep quiet
23. **Ngoro Moto:** The Cart is fire
24. **Nungu:** Porcupine
25. **Nyembezi (Ndebele/Zulu) Zimbabwe:** Tears Zimbabwe
26. **Paida Moyo:** Where the heart wanted
27. **Rudo Hondo:** Love war
28. **Rudo Tapera:** Love we are finished
29. **Rugare Tendai:** Tranquility give thanks
30. **Rujeko Kuvatema:** Give light to the poor
31. **Rujeko MuZimbabwe:** Light in Zimbabwe
32. **Rumbidzai Hondo:** Praise the war
33. **Rutendo Muhondo:** Gratitude in war

34. **Ruth Hondo:** Ruth war
35. **Sarudzai Chimurenga:** Choose the uprising
36. **Sarudzai Hameno:** Choose we do not know
37. **Sithembile** (Ndebele/Zulu) **Chinembiri:** The trusted one who is famous
38. **Sinikiwe** (Ndebele/Zulu)
39. **Sinikiwe Magorira:** Sinikiwe (opaque) Guerrillas
40. **Tambudzai Mabhunu:** Harass the Boers
41. **Tendai Chimurenga-** Give thanks to the uprising
42. **Tendai Mauto:** Give thanks to troops
43. **Tendai Mudzimu:** Give thanks to the spirits
44. **Tendai Muhondo:** Give thanks in war
45. **Tendai Zanu:** Thank ZANU
46. **Tendie Ndlovhu** (Zulu/Ndebele): Tendie elephant
47. **Teurai Ropa:** Spill blood
48. **Themba** (Zulu/Ndebele) **Mudziwembiri:** Trust the famous root
49. **Tichafa:** We shall die
50. **Tichaitora Zimbabwe:** We shall take Zimbabwe
51. **Tombi Gunyange:** opaque
52. **Tumai Chimurenga:** Send the uprising
53. **Twarai:** Carry
54. **Vaida Mukurwa:** They wanted to fight
55. **Vengai Vadvanyiriri:** Hate the oppressors
56. **Wimbai Magorira:** Rely on the guerrillas
57. **Yeukai Chimurenga:** Remember the uprising
58. **Yeukai Hondo:** Remember the war
59. **Zivanai Munyika:** Know each other in war
60. **Zvinei Tichatonga:** However we shall rule

"Conventional" English names

1. **Agatha Pena** (opaque)
2. **Agnes Chipembere:** Agnes rhinoceros
3. **Alice Taneta:** Alice we are tired
4. **Andie Changamukai:** Andie be alert
5. **Auxilia**
6. **Auxilia Nyika:** Auxilia nation
7. **Beauty**
8. **Blantina Darlington**
9. **Cecilia Chimurenga:** Cecilia uprising
10. **Choice Nyika:** Choice nation
11. **Christina Magorira:** Christina guerrillas
12. **Clarister Mupedzisi:** Clarister finisher
13. **Crescencia Sain** (opaque)
14. **Diana Masango:** Diana bushes
15. **Docas Chikomba:** Dorcas the lover

16. **Dorcas Mudzingwa:** Dorcas the expelled one
17. **Dorcas Takawira:** Dorcas we fell for it
18. **Doreen Chilakomo** (opaque)
19. **Doreen Tichatonga:** Dorren we shall rule
20. **Edina Chitepo :** (Chitepo was a prominent nationalist who was assassinated in 1975)
21. **Edith Hondo:** Edith war
22. **Elina**
23. **Elizabeth Svinurai:** Elizabeth open your eyes
24. **Elsie Simudzai Nyika:** Elsie lift up the nation
25. **Emelda Sibanda** (Ndebele/Zulu): Emelda lion
26. **Emily Nyahunzi :** (opaque)
27. **Eneta Chimurenga:** Eneta uprising
28. **Epiphania Hara:** Epiphania rake
29. **Esnath Mukokoyi :** (opaque)
30. **Feona Caution Chitendero:** Feona Caution agreement
31. **Fiona Chaminuka :** (opaque)
32. **Grace**
33. **Jane Mudenda :** (opaque)
34. **Josephine Muparapanze:** Josephine who scrapes the yard
35. **Juliana**
36. **Diana Masango:** Diana bushes
37. **Letwin Muhondo:** Letwin in war
38. **Lilian Cheche :** (opaque)
39. **Locadia Mazhambe :** (opaque)
40. **Loise Moyo:** Loise Heart
41. **Loveness Chimurenga:** Loveness uprising
42. **Lucia Hondo:** Lucia war
43. **Maria Chimurenga:** Maria uprising
44. **Martha Chimurenga:** Martha uprising
45. **Martha Mabhunu:** Martha Boers
46. **Mary Jekanyika:** Mary who cuts across the countryside
47. **Mary Mangwanani:** Mary morning
48. **Mary Vatema:** Mary blacks
49. **Mavie Ellen**
50. **Miriam Pezisai:** Miriam finish up
51. **Moreblessing Chimurenga:** Moreblessing uprising
52. **Noleen Muchazvirega:** Nolene you shall stop it
53. **Mutisi Patience:** Mutisi (Ndau totem)
54. **Otilia**
55. **Patience Kumalo** (Ndebele/Zulu):
56. **Patricia Muhondo:** Patricia in war
57. **Penny Munetsi:** Penny the troublesome one
58. **Petty Tichatonga:** Petty we shall rule
59. **Precious Magamba:** Precious heroes
60. **Precious Takawira:** precious we fell for it

61. **Prisca Mauto:** Prisca troops
62. **Prudence Masimba:** Prudence powers
63. **Richard Prisca**
64. **Ronica Hondo:** Ronica war
65. **Sarah Hondo:** Sarah War
66. **Sarah Tichasangana:** Sarah we shall meet
67. **Susan Chimurenga:** Susan uprising
68. **Susan Derera :** Susan reduce
69. **Susan Mwandiemudza:** Susan you have admired me
70. **Susan Rusunuguko:** Susan Liberation
71. **Sylvia Hondo:** Sylvia war
72. **Viola Pasipanodya:** Viola the ground eats
73. **Violah Hondo:** Viola war
74. **Wendy Choga:** Wendy the loner

"Virtue"/innovative names

1. **Besai Tichatonga:** Light up we shall rule
2. **Chiwororo Makombe:** The destroyer has surrounded
3. **Confidence Chapwanya:** Confidence what destroys
4. **Consider Nhamo:** Consider suffering
5. **Dzabaka Ngwenya** They have burst into flames Ngwenya
6. **Free Magorira:** Free guerrillas
7. **Future Magamba:** Future heroes
8. **Idai Muhondo :** Love in war
9. **Kamurai Mabhunu:** Reduce the Boers
10. **Karakadzai Chimurenga:** Remember the uprising
11. **Kuda Chimurenga:** Love the uprising
12. **Matambudziko Muzimbabwe:** suffering in the nation
13. **Mutimwi:** Keep quiet
14. **No Mercy Gandanga:** No mercy terrorist
15. **No Rest Muhondo:** No rest in war
16. **Norest Ngwenya:** No rest Ngwenya
17. **Nyembezi Zimbabwe :** Tears Zimbabwe
18. **Pedzai Masango:** Finish the bushes)
19. **Pondai:** Kill
20. **Queen**
21. **Resistance Magorira:** Resistance guerrillas
22. **Resistance Mauto:** Resistance soldiers
23. **Resistance Mbango :** (opaque)
24. **Revai Mabhunu:** Speak ill of the Boers
25. **Rovai Mabhunu:** Beat the Boers
26. **Rwisai Mabhunu:** Fight the Boers
27. **Saymore Chakanaga:** Saymore what is aimed at
28. **Shungu DzeHondo:** Determination to wage war
29. **Takesure Chimurenga:** Takesure uprising
30. **Taudzwa Kuti Kune Hondo:** We were told that there is a war

31. **Tawanda Magorira:** We guerrillas are many
32. **Teedzai Mabhindauko:** Follow tactics
33. **Tekishuwa Zvinoduukaduuka:** Takesure what explodes
34. **Teurai Ropa:** Spill blood
35. **Tichaitora Zimbabwe:** We shall take Zimbabwe
36. **Tombi Gunyange :** (opaque)
37. **Trust Chimurenga:** Trust the uprising
38. **Trymore Muhondo:** Try more in war
39. **Tumai Chimurenga:** Send the uprising
40. **Vengai Vadzvanyiriri:** hate the oppressors
41. **Winai Zimbabwe:** Win Zimbabwe

Category 7. Martial Names

Weaponry

1. **Abel Pfuti:** Abel gun
2. **Alfred Chigwagwagwa:** Alfred machinegun
3. **Batai MaGidi:** Take up guns
4. **Bayonet Chimurenga:** Bayonet uprising
5. **Bazooka Chimbambaira:** Bazooka landmine
6. **Bazooka Chimurenga:** Bazooka uprising
7. **Bazooka Chinoda:** Bazooka what it wants
8. **Bazooka Chiororo:** Bazooka the destroyer
9. **Bazooka Chivhuno:** Bazooka the awesome
10. **Bazooka Hondo:** Bazooka war
11. **Bazooka Mapera :** Bazooka you are finished
12. **Bazooka Munhukwaye :** Bazooka the good person
13. **Bazooka Muroyi:** Bazooka the wizard
14. **Bazooka Pamberi:** Bazooka in front
15. **Bazooka Rehondo:** Bazooka of war
16. **Bazooka Tichatonga:** Bazooka of war
17. **Blackmore Chigwagwagwa:** Blackmore machine gun
18. **Chivhorovhoro:** Revolver
19. **David Gidi:** David gun
20. **Desmond Bazooka:** Desmond bazooka
21. **Dzasukwa Dzarira:** They (the guns) have been washed after being fired
22. **Emmanuel Bazooka :** Emmanuel bazooka
23. **Farai Bazooka:** Be happy bazooka
24. **Firegun Chimurenga:** Firegun uprising
25. **Gidi Chimurenga:** Gun uprising
26. **Gidi IShumba:** The gun is a lion
27. **Gidi Ndirochete:** The gun is the only solution
28. **Givmore Zvombo:** Give more weapons
29. **Gun Chimurenga:** Gun uprising

30. **Gun Trigger Masango:** Gun trigger forests
31. **Hard Mortar**
32. **Hokoyo Bazooka :** Look out for the bazooka
33. **Jackie Pfuti:** Jackie gun
34. **Jeffrey Gidi:** Jeffrey gun
35. **John Bazooka:** John Bazooka
36. **John Chigwagwagwa:** John Machinegun
37. **Kid MaGidi:** Kid guns
38. **L.M.G. Nhamo:** Lightmachinegun suffering
39. **Mortar Fighter**
40. **Mortar Haijemi:** The mortar does not get stuck
41. **Mortar Tichakunda:** Mortar we shall win
42. **Muchaenda Gidi:** You shall go guns
43. **Peter Gidi :** Peter gun
44. **Pfuti Inokosha:** The gun is priceless
45. **Philemon Bazooka:** Philemon bazooka
46. **Ridzai Gidi :** Fire the gun
47. **Rifle Gidi:** Rifle gun
48. **Rongai Zvombo:** Arrange weapons
49. **Shungu YeGidi:** Determination of a gun
50. **Simbai NeGidi:** Persist with the gun
51. **Simbisai Bazooka:** Strengthen the bazooka
52. **Simudzai Gidi:** Lift the gun
53. **Sub Cheka:** Sub cut
54. **Sub Chigwagwagwa:** Submachine gun
55. **Sub Magorira:** Submachinegun guerrillas
56. **Sub Musango:** Submachinegun in the bush
57. **Supersonic Chigwagwagwa :** Supersonic machinegun
58. **Takura Zvombo:** Carry weapons
59. **Tambaoga NeGidi :** Play alone with a gun
60. **Tapiwa Gidi:** We have been given a gun
61. **Tekenyai Trigger :** Pull the trigger
62. **Tendai Bazooka:** Tendai bazooka
63. **Tendai Hondo Gidi:** Thank the war gun
64. **Ticharwa Masabhu:** We shall fight submachineguns
65. **Torai Zvombo:** Take weapons
66. **Trigger Chimurenga:** Trigger uprising
67. **Trigger Mapedza:** Trigger you have finished
68. **Tumirai Bazooka:** Send a bazooka
69. **Zacharia Gidi:** Zacharia gun
70. **Zindoga Gidi:** The lonely gun
71. **Zvifefe Zvinobaya :** Guns kill

Rank

1. **Captain Dick**
2. **Captain Hondo:** Captain War

3. **Captain Mandishora:** Captain you criticize me
4. **Captain Parirenyatwa:** Captain where danger lies
5. **General Gezenga:** General weaverbird
6. **General Juke**
7. **Lancer Man:** He who fires rifle launched grenades
8. **Marshall Manica:** a town in Mozambique
9. **Martial Law Muradzikwa:** (opaque)
10. **Militant**
11. **Military Maraire :** Military who advises
12. **Penga Mauto:** Mad Troops
13. **Zanla Gunner**
14. **Zanla Gunner**

Ammunition/explosives

1. **Atomic Bomb**
2. **Bara:** Bullet
3. **Bara Haripotse:** The bullet does not miss
4. **Bomba Simba :** Bomb is power
5. **Bombadiari:** The Bombadier
6. **Bomber Magwaza –** The bomber who wipes out
7. **Bomber ReZimbabwe:** The bomb of Zimbabwe
8. **Bombs Chakaipa:** Bombs the bad one
9. **Bombshell**
10. **Boozie Katazo:** The shell disturbs
11. **Bullet Grey:**
12. **Cde Blast**
13. **Chidhamudhamu:** ideophone denoting explosion
14. **Chidhamudhamu Chaminuka:** Ideophone denoting explosion
15. **Chimbabaira Muhondo:** The landmine in war
16. **Chimbambaira Chaduuka:** The landmine has exploded
17. **Clever Bara:** Clever bullet
18. **David Chimbambaira:** David landmine
19. **George Tom Makasha:** George Tom ammunition boxes
20. **Green Bomber Kushata:** Green bomber the bad one
21. **Gun Powder**
22. **Gunpowder Shungu:** Gunpowder determination
23. **John Zvinopotika :** John it explodes
24. **Kuda Green Bomba :** Love the green bomber
25. **Mabhombanechombo:** He who bombs with a weapon
26. **Mbumburu Kupisa :** The bullets are hot
27. **Parks Unga :** Parks gunpowder
28. **Paul Manyere:** Paul bullets

29. **TNT Paradzai:** TNT destroy
30. **Tonderai Chimbambaira:** Remember the landmine
31. **Tongai Magazine:** Rule magazine

Aircraft

1. **Dakota**
2. **Dakota Hondo:** Dakota war
3. **Dakota Mupedzanhamo:** Dakota the panacea of all suffering
4. **Dick Nyamhanza :** Dick the bald one (slang for helicopter)
5. **Matururandeg:** He who brings down aeroplanes

Tactical Names

1. **Disperse Patiripakashata:** Disperse we are in a dangerous position
2. **Dzapoka Manheru:** Gunfire in the evening
3. **Dzasukwa Dzarira:** They have been washed after being fired
4. **Kasiyapfumbi Payarira:** He who leaves dust where there has been gunfire
5. **Mabhindauko Ehondo:** Tactics of war
6. **Newton Mabhindauko:** Newton tactics
7. **Reconniassance**
8. **Rovai Hondo:** Wage the war
9. **Sacrifice Muhondo:** Sacrifice in war
10. **Toyi Toyi Masango:** Trotting in the bush
11. **Vigilance Muhondo:** Vigilance in war
12. **Zvirongwa Zvehondo:** Plans for war

Category 8. Ideological names

Only the Shona names are given a gloss.

Religious

1. **Black Jesus**
2. **Jehovah**
3. **Jesu Wepasi:** Jesus of the earth
4. **Jesus Shumba yeZimbabwe:** Jesus Lion of Zimbabwe
5. **Jesus Christ**
6. **Jesus Hondo:** Jesus war

Diabolic Names

7. **Captain Devil**
8. **Devil Devosa**
9. **Devil Eyes**
10. **Devil Mapara:** Devil Bullets
11. **Devil Muhondo:** Devil in war
12. **Dhiaborosi:** Devil (from diabolic)
13. **Diabhorosi Satan**

14. **Satan Chakaipa:** Satan the bad one
15. **Satan Machedze:** Satan who brings tear.

Marxist

16. **Castro**
17. **Che Guevara**
18. **China Zulu**
19. **General China**
20. **Libya Masango:** Libya bushes
21. **Mao Hurungudo:** Mao grinding stone
22. **Mao Tongai:** Mao rule
23. **Marx Shungu:** Marx determination
24. **Mau Mau**
25. **Norman Bethune**
26. **Soviet**
27. **Soviet Chimurenga:** Soviet uprising
28. **Stalin**
29. **Stalin Mau Mau**
30. **Stalin Sojarababa:** Stalin soldier of the father
31. **Tanzania Chimurenga** – Tanzania uprising

Western World

32. **America Mudzvanyiriri:** America the oppressor
33. **Canada Dry**
34. **Canada Museve:** Canada arrow
35. **Kissinger Mudzvanyiriri:** Kissinger the oppressor

Category 9.

Names from other languages

Portuguese Roots

1. **Bennias Makasha** Bennias Ammunition boxes
2. **Dhohidhozhi** : Two at a time
3. **Donorai Mabhunu:** Beat up the Boers
4. **Douglas Tangawaona Povo** : Douglas see the people first
5. **Ferigo:** Danger
6. **George Tom Makasha** : George Tom ammunition box
7. **John Kachasu:** John strong drink
8. **Joseph Maputo**
9. **Kachasu Mparadzi:** Kachasu destroyer
10. **Kachasu Chibuku:** (Chibuku is a beer brewed from millet)
11. **Kanyau:** Recoiless

12. **Kanyau Chimurenga:** Recoiless uprising
13. **Kanyau Hakatangwi :** The recoilless is not tampered with
14. **Kanyau Takawira:** Recoiless we fell for it
15. **Kanyau Tarirai :** Look at the recoilless
16. **Komborerai Nyaya Ye Povo:** Bless the story of the people
17. **Maputo Garai Tichatonga:** Maputo stay we shall rule
18. **Moses Machel**
19. **Nesbert Kanyau:** Nesbert recoilless
20. **Ndugu Samora:** Honourable Samora
21. **Nyama Kanyau:** Meat recoilless
22. **Nyedis Makasha :** (Nyedis is opaque) ammunition boxes
23. **Povo Tichatonga:** People shall rule
24. **Richard Otendadhozhi:** Richard eighty two
25. **Samora Tapambwa:** Samora we have been conquered
26. **Santo Mauto**
27. **Savimbi Saranuwando:** (opaque)
28. **Shungu Kanyau:** Determination recoilless
29. **Spinola Gumbukirai:** Spinola be furious
30. **Tere Kanyau:** (opaque)
31. **To Santo (Dos Santos?)**
32. **Viva Chimurenga:** long live the uprising
33. **Viva Gidi:** Long live the gun
34. **Samora Tapambwa :** Samora we have been conquered

Zulu Generals / the Mfecane

1. **Chaka Hondo Israel:** Chaka war Israel
2. **Chaka Chimurenga:** Chaka uprising
3. **Chaka Gumbo:** Chaka leg
4. **Chaka Mukuru:** Chaka the big one
5. **Chaka the Professor:**
6. **Chaka Ticharwa:** Chaka we shall fight
7. **Chaka Zulu**
8. **Dingaan**
9. **Dingaan Chimurenga:** Dingaan uprising
10. **Dingaan Mubobo:** Dingaan gun
11. **Dingaan Tafirenyika:** Dingaan we have died for the nation
12. **Dingaka Chimurenga:** Dingaan uprising
13. **Dingaka Chimurenga:** DingakaUprising
14. **Dingaka Zulu**
15. **Donald Dinkaka**
16. **Lobengula**
17. **Maxwell Mzilikazi**
18. **Mzilikazi Chinyama:** Mzilikazi piece of meat
19. **Ngungunyani Speed**
20. **Sangson Dingiswayo** (opaque)
21. **Shaka Chiwara** (opaque)

22. **Umslopogaas Tichatonga:** Umslopogaas we shall rule

European/American

1. **Black Napoleon**
2. **Clifford Dupont**
3. **Hitler**
4. **Hitler Chakaipa :** Hitler the bad one
5. **Jimmy Carter**
6. **Magaret Thatcher**
7. **Moshe Dayan**
8. **Mutorashanga:** he who sweeps away maize stalks
9. **Nixon Nduna:** Nixon chief
10. **Nixon Zvichanaka :** Nixon it shall be alright
11. **Starlin Sojarababa:** Starlin soldier of the father

Fanakalo

1. **Babarasi Sorokudya:** Hangover the head is for eating
2. **Bulala Zonke:** Kill them all
3. **Chatika Siyagiya**
4. **Chisa Chimurenga :** Burn uprising
5. **Faka Moto:** Put on fire
6. **Kataza Chikombingo**
7. **Kataza Nyikayababa:** ...Nation of the father
8. **Madzi Avhunduka:** Water has been stirred
9. **Maningi Time:** A lot of time
10. **Mashatini:** Forest
11. **Mashatini Hondo:** Forest war
12. **Ngondo Iyahlaba:**
13. **Norton Duze**
14. **Pikinini Shader:** Small shadow
15. **Shanda Pikinini:** Work small one
16. **Sibuyile Dumela**
17. **Simanjmanje Zvinodhuuka Dhuuka**
18. **Tabara Mulilo:** we have created fire

Afro-Arab /Islamic

1. **Amin Mabhonzo:** Amin Bones
2. **Amin Tirimusango:** Amin we are in the bush
3. **Arafat Tafa:** Arafat we are dead
4. **Black September**
5. **Devchard**
6. **Devchard Takaendesa :** Devchard we sent
7. **General Amin**
8. **Jomo Zvakanaka:** Jomo the good things
9. **Nelson Freedom**

10. **Sonney Nyerere**
11. **Sadat Mutyorashaya:** Sadat who breaks jaws
12. **Kennel Gadafi:** Colonel Gaddafi

Nguni

1. **Bayete Mutorashanga:** Salute he who carries stalks
2. **Calistas Siziva**
3. **Comrade Ngulube**
4. **Dumi Chimurenga:**Dumi uprising
5. **Dzabaka Ngwenya:** They have lit crocodile
6. **Ephraim Zulu**
7. **Ganyabvu Ganyamatope:** Ganyabvu he who mixes mud
8. **George Zuma**
9. **Guyson Gaza**
10. **Hardman Ncube**
11. **Hapson Siziba**
12. **Juma Ngwenya:** Juma crocodile
13. **Kenias Malunga**
14. **Kenneth Ntuli**
15. **Leo Khumalo**
16. **Lincoln Nyoni**
17. **M'pofu**
18. **Mahlatini Hondo:** Forest war
19. **George Diro:** George baboon
20. **Mahlatini Muhondo:** Bush in war
21. **Mathazima Malekazi**
22. **Matapuza Hondo:** Matapuza war
23. **Mpofu**
24. **Mpofu Kakomo:** Mpofu kopje
25. **Mtunzi Welanga:** Shadow of the sun
26. **Nduna:** Chief
27. **No Talks Mabhena**
28. **Norest Ngwenya**
29. **Percy Shabalala**
30. **Phenias Mulula**
31. **Shadreck Mangena**
32. **Siwela Dumela**
33. **Soweto Mujiba**
34. **Temba Chako:** Trust yours
35. **Temba Chimurenga:** Trust the uprising
36. **Temba Newako:** Trust he who is yours
37. **Themba Chimurenga –** Trust the uprising
38. **Themba Mudziwemberi:** Trust the root that is famous
39. **Tunzi Muparadzi:** Shadow destroyer
40. **Muthunzi we Langa:** Shadow of the sun
41. **Zulu Warrior**

Swahili /Malawi

1. **Wellington Mapinduzi** : Wellington revolution
2. **Farai Mahandaki** : Farai Trenches
3. **Juma Takawira**: Juma we fell for it
4. **Max Haraka** : Max Hurry up
5. **Panganai Kamoja**:
6. **Sunungurai Chakaipa**: Release the bad one
7. **Sauso Sox** : Suffering (Sox is opaque)
8. **Zuze Tapfuma** : Jose we are rich
9. **Zuze Tichatonga**: Jose we shall rule

Miscellaneous names

'Humorous/Innovative Names

1. **Baba Vadhebhudhe** : Father of Dhebhudhe (opaque)
2. **Chidhoma Chapenga**: The ghost has gone mad
3. **Chidhoma Chehondo**: The ghost of war
4. **Chingwara Museve**: The clever arrow
5. **Chipanera Chinobopa**: The spanner tightens
6. **Kungwara Hakutengwi**: Cleverness is not bought
7. **Munyu Wehondo**: Salt of war
8. **Mupangaduri**: He who advises the wooden mortar
9. **Gweje Gweje**: Rattles
10. **Gwejegweje Chimurenga**: Rattles uprising
11. **Hariyanyumwa**: A pot with premonition
12. **Hopedzichirira**: Dreaming whilst the guns are blazing
13. **Kakari Komusunga**: A pot of fresh beer
14. **Mvura Yehondo**: Water of war
15. **Nyanga**: Horn
16. **Taiti Kutamba**: We thought it was play
17. **Upenyu Hautengwi**: Life cannot be bought
18. **Kufahakunamemba**: Death has no dignity
19. **Upenyu Hautengwi**: Life cannot be bought

From Shona Literature

The name drawn from Shona literature is italicised and in bold. The source text is indicated in italics and the full details are in the bibliography.

1. **Chamuka Pfumojena** (*Feso*): what has arisen white spear
2. **Chaparendima Kufahakurambwi** (*Garandichauya*): He who scours the route death is not rejected
3. **Chinzvenga Mutsvairo** (*Chinzvenga Mutsvairo*): A lazy person

4. **Chitepo Karikoga** (*Karikoga Gumiremiseve*): (Chitepo is the name of a prominent nationalist leader) Karikoga - The one who is alone
5. **Dzasukwa Mwanaasinahembe** (*Dzasukwa Mwanaasinahembe*): They (the beer pots) have been washed while the child has no clothes.
6. **Philip Godobori** (*Sarura Wako*): Philip the sangoma
7. **Jekanyika** (*Jekanyika*): He who travels across the countryside
8. **Jekanyika Gakawa** (*Jekanyika*): He who travels a cross the countryside and debates.
9. **Jekanyika Murowepasi** (*Jekanyika*): He who travels a cross the countryside and beats the ground
10. **Josiah Rugare** (*Pafunge*): Josiah happiness
11. **Karikoga Chikara** (*Karikoga Gumiremiseve*): The lone one who is a fierce beast
12. **Karikoga Gumiremiseve** (*Karikoga Gumiremiseve*): The one who is alone with ten arrows
13. **Karikoga Hondo** (*Karikoga Gumiremiseve*): The one who is alone (at) war
14. **Karikoga Mubaiwa** (*Karikoga Gumiremiseve*): The one who is alone and is stabbed
15. **Karikoga Muhondo** (*Karikoga Gumiremiseve*): The one who is alone in war
16. **Karikoga Tambaoga** (*Karikoga Gumiremiseve and Tambaoga Mwanangu*): The single one who plays alone
17. **Karikoga Tapiwahama** (*Karikoga Gumiremiseve*): The one who is alone we have been given relatives
18. **Karikoga Zivawako** (*Karikoga Gumiremiseve*): The one who is alone know your kin
19. **Kufa Hakurambwi** (*Garandichauya*): Death cannot be rejected
20. **Pasipanodya** (*Gehena harina moto*): The earth consumes
21. **Pfumo Reropa** (*Pfumo Reropa*): Spear of blood
22. **Porodzodzo** (*Chaitemura Choseva*): Messy
23. **Ropa Rembwa** (*Kutonhodzwa kwa Chauruka*): Blood of a dog.
24. **Saraoga Hondodzino** (*Kumazivandadzoka*): Remain alone in these wars
25. **Saraoga Musarurwa**: Remain alone
26. **Sherekete** (*Kutonhodzwa kwa Chauruka*): The Mischevious one
27. **Tambaoga Farai** (*Play alone my child Tambaoga mwanangu*): Play alone be happy
28. **Tambaoga Mwanangu** (*Tambaoga mwanangu*): Play alone my child
29. **Tambaoga Chimurenga** (*Tambaoga mwanangu*): Play alone my child Uprising
30. **Tambaoga Muhondo** (*Tambaoga mwanangu*): Play alone my child in war
31. **Tambaoga** (*Tambaoga mwanangu*): Play alone my child
32. **Tambaoga Chimurenga** (*Tambaoga mwanangu*): Play alone my child in the uprising
33. **Tambaoga Maidei** (*Tambaoga mwanangu*): Play alone my child what did you want
34. **Tambaoga Masukudeke** (*Tambaoga mwanangu*): Play alone my child (Masukundeke is opaque)
35. **Tambaoga Mupetabere** (*Tambaoga mwanangu*): Play alone my child love charm
36. **Tambaoga Nhamo** (*Tambaoga mwanangu*): Play alone my child suffering
37. **Tambaoga Tichaona** (*Tambaoga mwanangu*): Play alone my child we shall see
38. **Tanganeropa** (*Pfumoreropa*): Start with blood

39. **Tanganeropa Mlambo** (*Pfumoreropa*): Start with blood (Mlambo is totem of the hippo)
40. **Tanganeropa Mutohodza** (*Kutohodzwa kwa Chauruka/ Pfumoreropa*) : Start with blood, He who pacifies
41. **Tanganeropa Zvenyika**: (*Pfumoreropa*) : Start with blood, matters of the nation
42. **Tichazofara Mutohodza** (*Kutohodzwa kwa Chauruka*): We shall be happy pacifier