A SOCIOLINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF SCHOOL NAMES IN SELECTED URBAN CENTRES DURING THE COLONIAL PERIOD IN ZIMBABWE (1890-1979)

By

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DECLARATION

Student Number: 49937855

I, Zvinashe Mamvura, hereby declare that **A Sociolinguistic Analysis of School Names in Selected Urban Centres during the Colonial Period in Zimbabwe (1890-1979)** submitted by me for the Doctor of Literature and Philosophy at the University of South Africa is my own independent work and has not previously been submitted by me at another university/faculty. All the sources used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

June 2014

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Signature   Date

ABSTRACT

This study analyses the different social variables that conditioned the naming of schools during the colonial period in Zimbabwe (1890-1979). The study collects and analyses the names given to schools in Salisbury (including Chitungwiza), Umtali and Fort Victoria the colonial period in Zimbabwe. The study adopts Geosemiotics, a theory propounded by Scollon and Scollon (2003), together with insights from Semantics, Semiotics and Pragmatics in the analysis of school names. Critical Discourse Analysis is used a method of data analysis. One of the main findings of the study is that place names are discourses of power which are used to express and legitimise power because they are part of the symbolic emblems of power. It was possible to 'read' the politics during the colonial period in Zimbabwe through the place names used in the colonial society. Both Europeans and Africans made conscious efforts to imbue public places with meanings. Overall, people who have access to power have ultimate control over place naming in any society. In this case, they manipulate place naming system in order to inscribe their own meanings and versions of history in the toponomastic landscape. The second finding is that place names are critical place-making devices that can be used to create imagined boundaries between people living in the same environment. Place names are useful discourses that index sameness and differences of people in a nation-state. Place names exist in interaction and kinship with other discourses in making places and imposing an identity on the landscape. Semiotics, Semantics and Pragmatics are instrumental in the appreciation of the meaning conveyed by school names. This study makes an important contribution to onomastic research in the sense that its findings can be generalised to other place naming categories during the colonial period in Zimbabwe. This study provides background information on how place naming was done during thecolonial period in Zimbabwe. This makes it significant because it provides insights on place naming in other states that went through the colonial experience, in Africa or elsewhere in the world.

Key Words

School names, Geosemiotics, Pragmatics, Semantics, Semiotics, Critical Discourse Analysis, Linguistic Landscape, Toponomastic Landscape

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my wife and friend, Tsitsi, and my sons, Tadiwanashe Justice, Kelly Jephta (junior) and Ryan Anashe.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Mashoko okutenda

Hakuna kwandaisvika dai vakuru vezvikoro nevadzidzisi vakandirambidza kutsika zviguvare zvezvikoro zvavo. Mikwidza yaiwanikwa apo neapo nevamwe vaiona sekuti zvandaida raiva shoko risina musoro sezvo vaishaya kukosha kungava muzita rechikoro ravaingogara vachidaidza nekunyora mumagwaro avo. Vazhinji vakanditambira nemaoko matatu zvekutosvika pakutoita setaiva totoshandisa hofisi imwe chete. 'Matauriro eudzidzisi' ndiwo aiita kuti ropa rangu neravo rikasire kudavirana. Vanhu ava hava kuita rutsuta nemagwaro andaida neruzivo rwose rwandaitarisira.

Shamwari dzangu dzandinoshanda dzakandibatsira nenzira dzakasiyana-siyana. Mai Mazvita, Baba Kiki (VaGopo), Umama kaLoyiso (Mai Dube), Mai Tanyaradzwa (Mai Mutema), Baba Monji (VaMpemba), Baba Mercy (VaKatikiro), baba Mukudzei (Muzvinazivo Tavengwa Chinyuku Gwekwerere), neshamwari dzangu dzandakadzidza nadzo paMA dzinoti Muzvinazivo C. Tembo, Muzvinazivo Ndabezinhle E. Ndlovu vakabatsira chose. Idzo nyaya dzataiita dzaiita kuti pfungwa dzipore panguva yadzainge dzopisa. Mukoma wangu Kutsirayi Timothy Gondo waigarondinakidza apo tainyorerana tsambagetsi tichinakirwa nechedu chaamai, tichiita iya inganzi ChiShona kutapira apo taibvunzana nezvendima iyi. Mukuru uyu ndiye akandidzidzisa kuti chero zvitsvuke sei, handaifanira kushaya maawa mana pazuva ekusakura ndima iyi. Muhurukuro idzi ndimo mandakaziva kuti; Ukaona gudo rotota mumahobi chiziva kuti mubvumbi (guti) wabvirira kare.

Vamwe vanhu vane moyo wokuti vakaona uchitambura vanotora dambudziko iroro voriita ravo. Rubatsiro rwandakawana kuna Mufundisi Mutero namai Mutero handigoni kurutenda. Nzira yeupenyu inogona kumboshayikwa muupenyu pobva pabuda kurasika. Pataishaya nzira vaindiratidza, padzaiwandisa vaindiratidza yekutora. Vaviri ava vane mwenje unovhenekera kuti mufambi kuti asarasika nzira. Zvichakadaro ndinoda kucherechedza shwiro dzeupenyu andakawana kubva kuna VaSivave Mashingaidze, VaJohn Muzini, VaMakaure naVaEdzai Nyamunokora. Varume ava vakamira chose muupenyu hwangu uye vakandiratidza kuti mikova yeupenyu haivhagwi nomunhu. Maonero avanoita upenyu ndeepachirume chaipo. Havasi vanhu vanotenda muzinzwa akanzwa asi vanoedza chose kutsvaka chokwadi chezvinhu. Ndivo varume vanogona kuona shuga iri mukapu yeti. VaMashingaidze vakakwanisa kuti ndive neshungu yekuverenga. Idzo tsogoro dzataibata gore riya dzaiva nesimba. Shoko guru nderekuti Mwari wakavamba Zion kuti vanotambura vavanhu vake vavandemo (Isaya 14: 32). Question Chaitwa wakaratidza kuva munhu anonzwisisa nekundivhurira mukana kubazi reChiShona. Ipo pataishanda paya paMutendi ndipo pakava nemhodzi yezvidzidzo zvino. Kushanda nevanhu vanokoshesa dzidzo nekuikurudzira kunopa shungu. Ini nevamwe tanga tatozorora tichitofunga kuti tainge tapedza chikoro asi ndakazoona kuti ndaiva ndagumira chikoro munzira.

Shamwari dzangu John (Joni) Mugedhe Chagwesha, Israel Mutekede naTrust Machaya ndinosimba nezvataiita paya tichiri kukura mune zvamabhuku izvi. Ndinozoda kutenda vabereki vangu vaiva neshungu dzekuti ndionewo musuwo wechikoro zvakaoma kudaro. Mudzimai wangu Tsitsi ndinomutenda nekunditsigira kwemhando yose. Vanakomana vangu ndivo vaindipa manyawi nguva dzose. Kuyema, kuchema, kuimba, kuchema, kurovana, kuseka, kunetsa nezvimwe zvose zvavaiita zvaiita kuti ndinakidzwe neubaba. Vana vamai vangu Nancy naNelly netuvana twavo twaiita kuti ndive nechiremera sasekuru vevanhu vakawanda. Zvose izvi zvinodzikamisa pfungwa zvichiita kuti munhu asarasika musango remabhuku.

Ndinoda kutenda ruzivo rwandakawana kuna sekuru vangu vaBhinyaminya (Benjamin) nekundidzisa kuti: "Mucheri weshana ndiye mutevedzi, mudimbudziri anorasa mwena". Pamusoro pazvo zvose ndinoda kutenda Mwari uyo wakandichengeta parwendo urwu. Basa rakafanana neriri hariitwi nemunhu achivimba nekugona kana kuziva ma*answers*. Ibasa risingaitwi neune simba kana unomhanya asi rinoitwa naJehovha munzwiri wenyasha (VaRoma 9: 16).

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ANPS- Australian National Placenames Survey

ATR – African Traditional Religion

BSAC- British South Africa Company

CBD- Central Business District

CDA – Critical Discourse Analysis

FIDS - Falkland Islands Dependency Survey

PLANSUS - Placename Survey of the United States

RF- Rhodesian Front

SRANC- Southern Rhodesian African National Congress

UDI- Unilateral Declaration of Independence

UNGEGEN- United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names

VGCSPN- Virginia Gazette Corpus of SlavePersonal Names

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CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

This is an introductory chapter that provides the background to this study, its significance and what it seeks to achieve, the statement of the problem and the research questions. The concluding parts of the chapter indicate the structure of the whole thesis.

1.1 Background to the study

This section provides the background to this study by way of discussing issues that have influenced the selection and use of names for schools in the urban areas under study during the colonial period in Zimbabwe. This section provides a historical development of cities in Zimbabwe from the precolonial period to the colonial period in Zimbabwe. The aim is to explore the history of cities as human settlements in Zimbabwe because this study specifically focuses on school naming system in cities: Salisbury; Fort Victoria and Umtali (see section 4.4.1 for factors which guided the purposive selection of the three urban centres). A brief history of the colonisation of Zimbabwe which includes race relations between Europeans and Africans is also provided in order to provide a full socio-historical context in which place naming under discussion took place.

1.1.1 Pre-colonial cities in Zimbabwe

The pre-colonial cities can be traced to the classical era of the Shona history, to the period of the Munhumutapa Empire. In the pre-colonial period, human settlements were not characterised by the modern notions of cities and towns. There were sparsely and scattered populated settlements which

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were city-states (Munzwa & Jonga, 2010). Great Zimbabwe, Dlodlo and Khami ruins were typical examples of those city-states. Great Zimbabwe state was also a city with defence and religious significance. The Rozvi Mambo developed a complex political and economic system which left an indelible mark in the history of Zimbabwe with the Great Zimbabwe. Great Zimbabwe stands as one of the significant remains of pre-colonial towns (Mufuka, 1983 cited in Munzwa & Jonga, 2010: 122; Loney, 1975). Great Zimbabwe city state reached its zenith of development between 1100 and 1500AD. Its construction was very slow such that it took about four centuries before the completion of building the city.

Research on the history of Zimbabwe has proved that the Shona people under the great Mwenemutapas built the Great Zimbabwe for religious and political purposes (Mufuka, 1983; Garlake, 1973; Mudenge, 1988 cited in Munzwa & Jonga, 2010: 124). The decline of Great Zimbabwe is attributed to a plurality of factors such as the Mfecane movements which led Zwangendaba to kill Mambo, the Rozvi king. Mzilikazi's exploits marked the final decline of the once mighty Rozvi state. The succeeding empire of the Rozvi (c1400-1900) gave rise to the replication of the stone architecture of Great Zimbabwe in other parts of the country (Garlake, 1973; Mudenge, 1988). This best explains the existence of the Khami and the Dlodlo city-states in other parts of Zimbabwe. The concept of a city in the pre-colonial period in Zimbabwe was radically different from the modern one because the colonial city was modeled after Western concepts of urbanisation.

1.1.2 Cities in colonialZimbabwe

The history of urban development during the colonial period in Zimbabwe has to be traced to the establishment of forts by the Pioneer column when it marched into Mashonaland. The forts were Fort Tuli,Fort Victoria (named after the Queen of England), Fort Charter (named after the Royal Charter, the document that gave the British South Africa Company (hereinafter BSAC) the right to colonise Zimbabwe) and Fort Salisbury. According to   www.britishempire.co.uk/biography/salisbury.htm, Fort Salisbury was named in honour of the British Prime Minister, Robert Arthur Talbot Gascoyne-Cecil, and the 3rd Marquess of Salisbury. Later on, in November 1890, Fort Umtali was established in the eastern parts of the colony. This shows that the early towns were established as forts during the colonial period in Zimbabwe.

Wekwete (1994a) asserts that urbanisation during the colonial period in Zimbabwe was closely related to the capitalist development of the economy. Wekwete (1994a) conceptualises the development of urbanisationduring the colonial period in Zimbabwe as having four phases. The first stage which, he says, spans from 1890 to 1939 saw the search for possible sector of investment by the white Rhodesians with particular focus on mining and early development of the commercial agricultural sector. The hope for a 'second rand' failed to come to fruition, what Loney (1975) regards as the promised golden bonanza which did not materialise. There was a paradigm shift in terms of the colony's economic base because focus was shifted to agriculture. This saw the establishment of cities serving surrounding farming and mining communities such as Marandellas (Marondera), Bindura, Sinoia (Chinhoyi), Shamva, Que Que (Kwekwe), Redcliff, Gatooma (Kadoma) and Hartley (Chegutu). This phase was also characterised by infrastructural development that could support the colonial economy (roads, telephone lines and railway lines) (Wekwete, 1994b).

The second phase which Wekwete (1994b) marks as 1940-1952 was characterised by the development of the industrial base. It was a period of rapid expansion of the established urban centres. The economic boom that characterised the post-World War II era and the rapid migration of Europeans into the country saw the growth of urban centres. In Salisbury, the early post-war period saw the establishment of Waterfalls and Hatfield, to the south of the city, Greendale to the east, Mt. Pleasant to the north, Malborough and Borrowdale (Kay & Cole, 1977). The period also marked the change of purpose and use of farms adjacent to the city centres which were converted into residential areas. Christopher (1977) notes that some of the farming areas that were turned into residential areas during this period were Highlands and Mt. Pleasant, Avondale, Hatfiled and Rhodesville. Urban expansion and growth that characterised this period was not confined to Salisbury, it was also experienced in other major towns such as Bulawayo, Umtali and Gwelo (Munzwa & Jonga, 2010).

The third phase coincides with the federation period (1953-1965). Munzwa and Jonga (2010) assert that major urban developments that we see today were accomplished during this period. However, they were quick to mention that all the development discussed so far concerned the white Rhodesians because Africans were still regarded as temporary sojourners in the 'White man's city'.

The fourth and final phase was the period of the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (henceforth UDI) (1965-1979). It was during this period that an idea for African housing was embraced. The provision of social amenities in urban centres also took centre stage (Munzwa & Jonga, 2010). Most schools for Africans in urban areas were established during this period.

1.1.3 The colonisation of Zimbabwe

The present-day Zimbabwe was colonised by the BSAC on behalf of Britain. In other words, the company was simply an agent of Britain. The company obtained permission from the British government to colonise Zimbabwe through the granting of a Royal Charter on 29 October 1889. It was this document that gave the chartered company, BSAC, powers to colonise the whole region north and east of Botswana (Chigwedere, 2001). It also empowered Cecil John Rhodes to form a company with the mandate of focusing on the exploitation of economic resources such as gold and diamonds as well as political powers to clear way for British financial capital (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009).

The chartered company then had a clear sailing path of colonising Zimbabwe with the full blessing of Britain. Thus, the charter granted the BSAC authority to erect infrastructure in the colony such as roads, railways and establishing and maintaining a police force. With Courtney Selous, a hunter, leading the way, the chartered company branding itself as the Pioneer Column occupied Mashonaland. The Pioneer Column hoisted the union jack, the British flag, on 12 September 1890 in Harare as a sign of total occupation of Mashonaland.

The colonial history of Zimbabwe can be divided into four phases from 12 September 1890 to 18 April 1980 when the Union Jack was finally lowered. The first phase was the chartered company rule (1890-1923). In 1923, the white Rhodesians turned down the offer of forming an amalgamation with the Union of South Africa. They rather decided to form a 'Responsible' Government as a self-governing colony of the British government with Salisbury as its capital. This second phase ended in 1953 when the Federation (this was Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland) was

formed. This third phase ended in 1964 with the collapse of the Federation. The fourth phase spanned from 1965-1979. The year 1965 saw the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (henceforth UDI) under the government of the Rhodesian Front led by Ian Douglas Smith. The radical approach of the Smith government led to the civil war with black Africans fighting for majority rule. UDI also attracted sanctions from Britain and the subsequent international isolation of Southern Rhodesia.

1.1.4 Race relations during the colonial period in Zimbabwe

Race is not a natural condition of man. Jackson (1998) argues that race, just like gender, is a social construct. As a social construct, race is embedded in the discourses of sameness and differences. While there are physical differences between people, for example skin colour, race is a social construction because categories and differences are not natural. They are conditioned by political differences and pressures. It is a concept that formed part of European colonial discourses that also acted as a justification for dominating other countries. The principal aim of the concept of race is the creation of the 'us' and 'other'. It is embedded in the colonial discourses of othering the colonised. It makes it possible to understand the social world as having two radically different realms,namely, white/black, European/Native.

During the colonial period in Zimbabwe, a deliberate distinction was made between Europeans and Native Africans. It illuminates the arguments pursued in this section to unpack and unbundle how the notions of a "European" and "African/native" were conceptualised during the colonial period. In terms of the provisions of The Land Tenure Act of 1969, a European is defined as a person who is not an African. In the 1969 Constitution, the term European includes members of the Asian and Coloured populations. The Land Apportionment Act of 1931 defines a ''Native'', as:

any member of the Aboriginal tribes or races of Africa or any person having the blood of such tribes or races and living among and after the manner of natives, and includes any company or body of persons, corporate or unincorporate, if the persons who have a controlling interest therein are natives as herein defined (Part 1 section 2) (Land Apportionment Act, 1931: 116).

This study acknowledges that the European community was not a homogeneous community, socially, ethnically and also in terms of economic interests (Mlambo, 1998). They were not of common stock because Jews, Afrikaners and the Greeks, were included in the broad class of Europeans. While conscious of their separation from the mainstream/ the Anglo-Celt hegemony, they were united in the common belief among European settlers that there was a Rhodesian identity that could be preserved at all costs. Despite their differences, all Rhodesians had a racial solidarity which minimised nationality, class and cultural differences. Godwin and Hancock (1993: 18) assert:

> There is, in fact, a Rhodesian nation of Europeans which has an indisputable identity of its own. Common interests create a common loyalty which dissolves the differences which are minimal anyway because of the common interests. They also emphasise one facet of White Rhodesia- the apparent, almost uniform, commitment to segregation and White supremacy- at the expense of ethnic, cultural, and class distinction which, in a different social context, might have been of overriding importance.

There was, therefore, a fusion of class interests within a single national identity 'Rhodesia'. Rhodesians had a common cause of segregating Africans in Southern Rhodesia. However, the successive governments were not uniform in their treatment of Africans. Some might be regarded as liberal, for example, Garfield Todd and Edgar Whitehead's governments and others were radical and adopted an extremist approach that reduced the colonial state to a pariah state, such as Ian Douglas Smith's government. Whitehead implemented some reforms which saw the acceptance of some African workers into the urban centres as residents. This study submits that the differences were not of kind but they were a matter of degree because the so-called liberals were largely intolerant to Africans. Garfield Todd said: 'white dominance would continue for the foreseeable future and that it was a good thing for it to so continue' (quoted in Sibanda, 1989: 60). On another hand, Edgar

Whitehead detained African nationalists using The Preventive Detention Act and banned African nationalist movements using the Unlawful Organisations Act.

The colonial government made sure that Africans existed as second class citizensduring the colonial period in Zimbabwe. A case in point was the promulgation and passage of the Land Apportionment Act in 1931 by the 'Responsible' Government which accentuated and exacerbated the proletarianisation of the Africans. The legislation provided bedrock for the creation of separate spaces for different races in the colony. The Land Apportionment Act of 1931 divided the country into European, African, Unreserved and Crown land. In that scheme, urban areas fell under European areas. Africans in urban areas were treated as simply sojourners, temporary residents in a European space, and an immigrant urban proletariat (Chikanza, 2002; Stopforth, 1972; Chenga, 1993). Prior to the passing of the above Act, the Morris Carter commission which was established in 1925 with the mandate of examining the land issue, recommended that:

> only those natives working for Europeans should live in urban locations and that native townships in urban areas or reserves should be established to provide the necessary urban environment for "detribalised" Africans (Musekiwa, 1993: 51).

The act provides for the setting aside of 51% of the land for European settlers and also prohibits Africans from owning or occupying land in areas earmarked for European settlement.

Other legislative frameworks are the Native Land Husbandry Act of 1951 and the Land Tenure Act of 1969. The philosophy behind enacting the Land Tenure Act of 1969 which replaced the Land Apportionment Act of 1931 was to ensure permanent racial land segregation (Godwin & Hancock, 1993). The Land Tenure Act reinforced racial segregation which was initiated by the Land Apportionment Act of 1931 because it ensured that each race (Europeans and Africans) had its own area. The main aim of the Act was, "To provide for the classification of land in Rhodesia into a

European area, an African area…" (Land Tenure Act of 1969: 469). This meant that that neither race could own or occupy land in the area of the other race. Thus, in an area designated as a European Area, no African was allowed to hold or occupy land. It is important to emphasise that racial segregation should not be conceptualised in absolute terms, as if no African was allowed to set foot in areas designated as European areas. Contrary to what has been suggested in a number of urban segregationist studies (Windrich; 1975; Todd, 1989; Sibanda, 1989; Bhebe, 1989; Davies, 1975; Godwin & Hancock, 1993), this study follows Yoshikuni (2006) in asserting that Africans were, in actual fact, accommodated on their European employers' premises located throughout Salisbury. Africans lived as dependents of their white employers in a living-in system which saw them being accommodated in the so-called European areas in the servants' quarters or compounds of white employers. Territorial segregationist policies were enacted so that Africans could not own land or any other immovable property in European areas.

The Natives (Urban Areas) and Accommodation and Registration Act of 1951 was instituted as a way of controlling the movements of Africans and curbing urban influx of Africans. Part 11 section 44 of the Act states: "Natives must obtain passes to seek employment in proclaimed areas and must depart from such areas upon failure to find work" and section 46 has it that: "Natives visiting proclaimed areas must have visiting passes" (Natives Accommodation and Registration Act, No. 20. 1951: 301). The legislation requires Africans to seek for permission to get into European areas.

As time progressed, it then dawned upon the colonial establishment that there was need to consider Africans as permanent residents in urban centres. It was then that the Land Tenure Act (No.55 of 1969) was promulgated. The Act, inter alia, other issues, stressed the need for municipalities to establish African townships. The influx of Africans into towns owing to economic boom that

characterised the post World War II and the attendant industrial growth saw the passing of the Native (Urban Areas) Accomodation and Registration Act (No. 6 of 1946) which compelled local urban councils to designate some parts of land under them for the establishment of native urban locations.

From the perspective of urban planning, spatial mapping was racially based. The cityscape was conditioned by racial segregation. In an interview with this researcher, interviewee A of the University of Zimbabwe's Department of Rural and Urban Planning said spatial mapping in urban areas during the colonial period in Zimbabwe was also racially-based because it was informed by segregationist legislation. Settler cartography was central and instrumental for the imperial project. This is a defining characteristic of all British colonies (Huggan, 1989 cited in Fischer, 2010: 61). Black residential areas were located near industrial infrastructure, while white areas were located far from all the city noise (Chikanza, 2002). During the colonial period in Zimbabwe, urban areas were developed as places for European settlement and the planning and management policies emphasised European values and especially the creation of built environments (Wekwete, 1994a).

Imperialist domination in Zimbabwe could be described as white settler colonialism. The same trend was witnessed in South Africa, Kenya and Namibia, which were also regarded as settler economies developed to serve the interests of European settlers (Wekwete, 1994b). Mandaza (1989: 21) describes this form of colonialism in the four African countries (Kenya, Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa) as "colonialism *par excellence"* [original emphaisis]. The principal aim of the BSAC and the subsequent white governments was to 'build a white man's country' in Southern Rhodesia (Mlambo, 1998). It is Mlambo's observation that whites were supposed to enjoy all the benefits the country could offer. In addition, those willing to migrate into the colony were offered assisted passage to come to Rhodesia as settlers. Urban centres in these countries were considered as places of

European living (Wekwete & Rambanapasi, 1994). Racial segregationist policies also influenced the establishment of African townships because they were created in separate spaces, away from areas designated for European settlement. Kay (1977) holds that Salisbury was a deeply divided city because there were European areas and African areas. In addition to racial separation as the guiding principle regulating spatial planning, there was also racial hierarchy that informed the same process. Moore (2005: 14) regards this situation as "ethnic spatial fix" because race was a marker of spatial, legal and social vector for differences in the colony.

The cityscape in Rhodesia was largely controlled by the Regional Town and Planning Act, 1932. Zinyama (1995) submits that as a brochure on the application of the above Act (No.22 of 1946), the location of Black residential areas was 'done in such a way as to provide the maximum "noise" buffer between the African Native housing area and the nearest European area. The above information showed conscious efforts of creating separate spaces for Africans and Europeans in urban areas in the colony of Rhodesia. The above racially segregationist colonial policies affected all spheres of life of people living under colonial rule. Education was not an exception to the rule. Schools for Europeans were situated in European areas and those for Africans were to be found in African native urban areas.

Segregationist policies of the colonial state led to the philosophy of separate development between the two races; Europeans and Africans. Racial segregation was experienced in schools, hospitals, churches, business areas and even cemeteries. There were two systems of education, one for Europeans, and the other for Africans. The policy of separate racial development in education was meant to ensure that Africans were not to compete with whites. The education system was crafted

along racial lines. Africans were supposed to be prepared to be manual labourers in European mines, farms and industries through exposure to the curriculum that had a bias towards practical subjects.

The naming of schools were done in a way that saw exclusive European schools being given European names, while most schools for Africans got African names. Missionary schools were often given names that showed the identity of respective churches running them, which were largely English names. During the early stages of colonialism, the government was only responsible for white education, while African education was the sole responsibility of missionaries. European education was funded by government with schooling for whites being compulsory until the age of 15. Construction of schools for Africans in urban centres started in 1945 when the colonial government made it policy that it would establish urban primary schools for indigenous Africans. In the same year, the colonial government assumed full responsibility for African primary education in urban areas (Zvobgo, 1996). Education was a contested space during the colonial period in Zimbabwe. Africans were denied equal access to education because of racial discrimination (Chung, 2007; 1989; 1995; Zvobgo, 1987; Shizha & Kariwo, 2011; Summers, 2002).

Against this backdrop, the importance of place naming cannot be overemphasised because place naming is always a socially embedded act (Berg & Vuolteenaho, 2009). This study advances that studying the influence of socio-historical aspects of the society on place naming in Rhodesiadeserves scholarly attention.

1.2 Statement of the problem

The motivation to carry out this research stems from the realisation that place names are equally important sources of socio-historical knowledge of a particular society. There is a tendency to regard archives, written records and other sources other than place names as sources of historical truth about lived experiences in Zimbabwe during the colonial period. Place names are not given due attention as sources of historical knowledge yet they are "social documents" (Evans Pritchard, 1939:237 cited in Koopman, 1986: 132). Place naming being a socially conditioned process implies that names that are given to places are resonant with meanings related to the realities of the society that gives the names. This state of affairs motivated this researcher to carry out this study with the intention of examining the potency of school names as repositories of the colonial history of Zimbabwe. This study argues that school names are pithy and terse statements that reflect the socio-historical realities of the colonial period in Zimbabwe. Meiring (2010: 95-96) corroborates this idea and argues:

> The study of geographical names in any country involves the exposition of many factors that gave rise to the choice of these names. Naming is a basic human activity and reflects how people see the world around them, how they experience life and what they value and remember.

This shows that the selection and use of names stem from particular social contexts in the history of a given society.

In order to provide answers to the research question stated below under section 1.3.2, this study uses the Geosemiotics theory propounded by Scollon and Scollon (2003). The concepts in Semiotics, Semantics and Pragmatics are used to complement Geosemiotics's theory in the analysis of the meaning of school names during the period under review. The three subfields of linguistics are interrelated in their approach to meaning of linguistic units (Makondo, 2009).

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1.3 Aim of the study

The aim of this study is to examine how the socio-historical aspects of the colonial society in Rhodesia influenced place naming patterns and systems with particular reference to school naming.

1.3.1 Objectives

The specific objectives of this study are to:

(i)   Establish the influence of socio-historical realities obtaining in urban centres in Rhodesia on the system of naming schools.

(ii)   Identify the motivation for giving particular names to schools during the colonial period in Shona urban centres.

(iii)   Examine the descriptive backing of school names identified in (ii) above.

(iv)   Determine the contribution of Onomastics to the understanding of history and social realities during the colonial period.

1.3.2 Research questions

For this study to achieve the above objectives, it will have to undertake to address the following research questions:

(i)   How did the colonial socio-historical factors influence the school naming systems in Rhodesia?

(ii)   What was the ideological basis for the selection and use of school names during the colonial period in Zimbabwe?

(iii)   What did school names as linguistic landscapes tell us about the society/community which

hosted the landscape?

(iv)   What languages were displayed in the linguistic landscape of the settings under study?

(v)   Did school names have any meaning or they were just mere labels?

1.4 Significance of the study

The study of the landscape has traditionally been a preserve of geographers and art historians (Cosgrove, 1998). There was tendency to regard the geographical landscape in mechanistic and physical terms before Cosgrove introduced a humanist element in Geography (Cosgrove, 1984; 1998). Cosgrove defines the landscape as a "*way of seeing* (original emphasis) the external world" (Cosgrove, 1984: 46) and "a visual ideology" (Cosgrove, 1984: 47). This turn paved way for the interdisciplinary research on the landscape.

The current interdisciplinary approach to the landscape emphasises on conceptualising it in social and cultural terms. This interdisciplinary approach is aptly summarised by Jaworski and Thurlow (2009) who hold that all landscapes are semiotic and regard the landscape as a "symbolic system of signifiers with wide-ranging affordances activated by social actors to position themselves and others in that terrain" (Jaworski & Thurwol, 2009: 5). Thus, the landscape is a discursive terrain where construction of meaning takes centre stage (Daniels & Cosgrove, 1993). This study which examines place naming in a colonial state where control of public spaces and the social construction of places were significant, participates in the interdisciplinary approach of analysing how space and the landscape are organised, experienced and more importantly represented. This conceptualisation of the landscape dovetails with the defining characteristics of Onomastics as an interdisciplinary field. Onomastics, by its very nature, is mulitidisciplinary. The place-names researcher is primarily a linguist, but in the

process of interpreting the material, they are bound to be involved in other areas of study, especially, the area of cultural history. The extent to which they dwell on non-linguistic aspects of their findings depends upon the purposes of their investigations (Helleland, 1982). This researcher considers the field of history, human geography, cartography and urban planning as very relevant to this study of place names in urban areas during the colonial period in Zimbabwe.

Toponomastic studies have traditionally focused on the etymology and taxonomy of place naming, collecting, classifying place names and standardisation of the same (Zelinsky, 1997; Stewart, 1954; Tent & Blair, 2011; Raper, 2007; 1990; 1989). Rose-Redwood, Alderman and Azaryahu (2010) call for researchers to shift their focus to the politics of place naming practices. It is their wish that future researchers should explore "the political economy of toponymic practices as a step toward expanding the conceptual of critical place-naming studies" (Rose-Redwood, et al. 2010: 454). This study proceeds from such an observation in exploring place names as discourses embedded in the political realities of the society in Rhodesia. School names analysed in this study were political discourses whose selection and use were, largely, determined by those who had access to power.

This study of school names in Southern Rhodesia is significant because it examines the system of place naming in Rhodesia. It appreciates that place naming did not occur in a social vacuum but was conditioned by social factors. The view that naming (both place and personal) is influenced by a wide array of social variables of a given society is also held by a group of scholars called socio-onomasticians in this study (Machaba, 2000; Golele, 1993; Moyo, 1996; Meiring, 2010). This view provides answers to the contentious issue in Onomastic theory concerning the meaning content of names. This study indicates that place names are conditioned by social factors. This argument

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underscores the fact that place names are resonant with the meanings. Place name-givers attempt to imbue landscapes with their meanings. Place names cannot afford to be meaningless because they are situation-tied. In this sense, the proper name is the most meaningful linguistic unit (Raper, 1987; Koopman, 2000).

This study also offers a new interpretation of the historiography of Zimbabwe. The rural areas and guerilla training camps beyond the borders of Rhodesia are projected as major sites of the liberation struggle in most history texts. There is very little information on the urban space as the site of the struggle in Rhodesia. Mlambo (2000: 103) also bemoans this unfortunate situation by saying numerous studies on the history of Zimbabwe create the impression that:

> ... apart from some trade union activity and formally organised political movements in the post-Second World War era, there was nothing else of substance happening in Zimbabwe's urban areas in the which merited serious scholarly analysis.

This research was born out of the realisation that urban centres were sites of the struggle during the colonial period in Zimbabwe (Raftopoulos & Yoshikuni, 1999). In Rhodesia, urban settlements were developed as part of the process of establishing an administrative and political structure for colonial rule. The early forms of urban structures were built on the basis of camps, military settlements and forts (Fort Tuli, Fort Victoria, Fort Charter and Fort Salisbury). They were best suited for surveillance, a necessary part of the economic exploitation which would ensue (Raftopolous & Yoshikuni, 1999). Naming was part of the corpus of strategies used to show domination, possession and control of the immediate environment. However, Africans were not passive victims of colonialism but strove to assert their agency and to control their own space. One way of doing this was to name their immediate environment. Naming the immediate surroundings became a contested area, with both sides trying to assert control over the urban space. However, Africans were allowed to

give names to places that had little political significance. They had limited mandate to give names to buildings, roads and other infrastructure (Magudu, Muguti & Mutami, 2010). It should be noted that while Africans tried to assert their agency in urban centres, colonial machinery blocked their efforts (Summers, 2002).

The selection of Salisbury, Umtali and Fort Victoria stems from the observation that the three cities were the major urban centres in Mashonaland. This study treats Chitungwiza as part of Salisbury because it was established as a dormitory town for Salisbury. Zinyama (1995) advances that Chitungwiza was established in the early 1970s using models similar to those of South Africa's apartheid system which saw to it that Blacks could be tolerated in 'White cities' only during working hours. After working hours they should retire to their houses in new towns developed for them in communal lands that were close to main urban centres (Zinyama & Whitlow, 1986 cited in Zinyama, 1995: 14). Above all, despite having attained city status, Chitungwiza is still regarded as part of Harare Metropolitan Province. The colonial government treated the country as having two parts: Mashonaland and Matebeland. In this scheme of things, the Shona people dominated in the former and the Ndebele were the dominant ethnolingustic group in the latter.

The relations between the colonial state and African population were not the same in the two spheres of Rhodesia. The Shona were conceptualised as weak and hospitable to the invading colonial forces while the Ndebeles were regarded as war-like. In this sense, Mashonaland was occupied while Matebeleland was conqurered. An analysis of place naming in three major centres in Mashonaland provides a general pricture of the whole toponomastic trends in other urban centres that fall under

Mashonaland. Other reasons for choosing Salisbury, Umtali and Fort Victoria are discussed under section 4.4.1 which discusses the purposive sampling of cities.

The focus on place naming in colonial cities provides an opportunity for appreciating the significance of controlling the public sphere in urban centres during the colonial period in Zimbabwe. Place naming is an exercise of power. The power to name is derived from the power to govern and control. Place naming was a contested process embedded in power politics during the colonial period. Onomastics, being interdisciplinary in nature (Smith, 2007; Caffarelli, 2007) makes it possible to examine how Europeans used naming as part of the strategies for showing domination and control of urban spaces. This study advances that place naming was a significant strategy European settlers used to found and establish the colony, Rhodesia. On the other hand, Africans also strove to show their agency in the same space through different strategies, place naming included.

The naming of schools during the colonial period deserves attention from toponomastician given that schools were important institutions to the colonial project in the country. Education was a strategic ideological state apparatus that the colonial establishment used to inculcate its ideology into the minds of the colonised. Chung (2007:43) submits: "…school curriculum was, particularly at primary school, littered with justifications for colonialism and racism". The naming of such institutions is significant since the colonial establishment strove to control symbolic discourses as a way of transmiting its ideology. An examination of naming of schools is important because it sheds light on the totality of social variables that gave rise to different school names during the colonial period in Zimbabwe.

This study advances the frontiers of toponomastic knowledge in Zimbabwe. Current researches in Zimbabwean toponomastics have focused on other name categories, such as names of the country, (Mashiri & Chabata, 2010), names of buildings and streets, (Chabata, 2007), beer halls (Nyota, Mapara & Mutasa, 2009), geographical features, such as mountains and rivers, (Mapara, Nyota & Mutasa, 2011). This study pays particular attention to school names as a toponomastic category. Above all, the trend in current research on place names has been on post-colonial initiatives of denaming and renaming institutions as a way of decolonisation, for example, renaming of schools (Pfukwa & Barnes, 2010; Chabata, 2007; 2012). This study looks at the construction of a European identity using place names which the post-independence Zimbabwean society tries to erase from the landscape. The significance of place names to the colonial project in Rhodesia is an aspect that is yet to receive serious scholarly attention from toponomasticians. This researcher intends to fill this lacuna in onomastic research in Zimbabwe. It goes a step further in approaching place names from a dimension of appreciating the meanings contained in public settings through studying the sign system encountered in the landscape. In addition, the theoretical framework adopted in this study makes it possible for this researcher to analyse the actions that European settlers and Africans took in reference to both their built environments and the sign system in urban areas under study. School names are analysed in this study as signs that derived their meanings from their contexts in terms of where and when they were located in the physical world during the colonial period in Zimbabwe.

The notion of space and location of a linguistic sign is very central to the analysis pursued in this study. This study regards school names as discourses in place, signs that derived their meaning from where they were placed during the colonial period in Zimbabwe. Place names as they are located in the world around us condition human behavior by way of shaping, controlling, enticing and managing

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human relations. In the context of the colonial state, this study explores the influence of school names as they existed in European and African urban areas, on race relations in Rhodesia. This study is a sociolinguistic study since it appreciates the influence of place names on social structure and also the influence of social structure on place naming. It examines how place naming was conditioned by social realities in the colonial state.

The naming of schools during the colonial period in Zimbabwe mirrors the other naming trends in other name categories, such as street names. School naming becomes a reflection of the general place naming practices during the colonia period. This study is also significant because it takes the school name as a text with a very long story about the realities obtaining in the colonial society. The findings of this study shed light on the colonial naming patterns that will properly guide the post-colonial processes of decolonisation. There is an over-growing concern of the need to rename institutions and places as a way of removing all vestiges of colonialism in the post-independence era. This study examines how the European identity was inscribed on the landscape which the post-independence government intends to erase from the public domain as reflected in Fischer (2010); Pfukwa & Barnes (2010); Chabata (2007); (2012).

1.5 Scope of the study

This study is concerned with examining the influence of social factors on the naming of schools as public institutions in Rhodesia. It looks at how socio-historical aspects of the colonial society are reflected in system of naming schools during the colonial period in Zimbabwe. The main observation is that place names cannot be separated from the social events and realities taking place during the time of giving the names. In this regard, school names are treated as 'socially anchored linguistic

signs' (Van Langendonck, 2007) because place naming does not take place in a social vacuum. Place naming is a socially conditioned process in the sense that most of the social variables of the naming society are reflected in the names they give to places in their surroundings. Place names reflect the socio-political realities in the colonial state and the psychology of the period. Neethling (2000) rightly notes that the study of place names falls under the realm of Sociolinguistics since Sociolinguistics is generally defined as study of language in relation to society. In this sense, place names reflect better than any other language form, various socio-political attitudes, relationships, and the psychology of an era in which they are used (Mashiri & Chabata, 2010).

This study builds upon the work of Golele (1993), Raper (1987), Kadmon (1993) in exploring the influence of social factors on place naming. The growing concern in onomastics on the correlation between social structure and place naming has seen the coining of the term 'socio-onomastic' (Van Langendonck, 1982) which allows names to be analysed in their social contexts. This study is a linguistic landscape study. Linguistic landscape is a new approach in Sociolinguistic studies initially applied to multilingualism (Gorter, 2006a; b; Shohamy & Gorter, 2008; Ben-Rafael, Shohamy, Amara & Trumper-Hecht, 2008). It is primarily concerned with the symbolic construction of the public space using linguistic items regarded in linguistic landscape studies as linguistic tokens. New directions in toponomastic studies have appreciated that place names are indispensable elements of the linguistic tokens that participate in the symbolic construction of places (Gorter, 2006b, Tan, 2011; Diver, 2011; Kostanski, 2005; 2009; 2011; Puzey, 2007; 2009; 2010; 2011).

This study specifically examines the use of school names in the public sphere, specifically on public signs. It holds that school names (together with other place name categories and cultural symbols)

participated in the discursive construction of places. It is primarily concerned with how, when and where place names are placed in the material world. Placement of signs in the public domain is critical in a study that focuses on the colonial state. Firstly, place names were critical in asserting the power of the colonisers in the colony. Secondly, place naming was critical in reinforcing imagined boundaries between European areas and African areas in urban areas which were created using different legislative frameworks discussed under section 1.1.4 above.

The basic argument pursued in this study is that place names derive much of their meaning from their placement in the material world. In turn, place names as they appear in the public domain have the potential of regulating human behavior. This dimension of analysis lays the basis for the analysis of how school names index political power and act as identity markers. On the other hand, the race relations between European settlers and Africans were determined and controlled, in part, by discourses in their immediate environment. Place names were indispensable components of the body of discourses that shaped, managed and controlled human interaction in the colonial state.

1.6 Delimitation of study

Chapter 1 provides the basic introduction of the research as well as the specifications of the background to this study, the aims and objectives, research problem and research questions, rationale and justification of this study and the scope of this study.

Chapter 2 deals with the literature review. The review explores research on place naming and power where issues such as denaming and renaming, commemorative place names, spatial mapping and

place names and memory are discussed. It also provides a review on place naming and identity before proceeding to the linguistic landscape as a new direction in toponomastic studies.

Chapter 3 outlines the theoretical framework adopted for this study. The study adopts Geosemiotics, together with aspects of Semantics, Semiotics, and Pragmatics. Chapter 4 describes the methodology for this study. Methods employed in gathering data are described mentioning strength and weaknesses of each method. It also indicates the research design and the method of data analysis and presentation. Chapter 5 provides the analysis of data using methods stated in chapter 4. It is in this chapter that the discussion is done. Chapter 6 provides the findings, conclusions, and recommendations arising from the research. Suggestions for further toponomastic research are also given in this chapter.

1.7 Conclusion

The chapter has provided the introduction to the whole study. It has provided the background to this study, outlined the research aims and objectives, presented a justification for this study and stated the scope of this study. This introductory chapter concludes by presenting an outline of subsequent chapters. Having provided the introduction to the whole thesis, the next chapter focuses on reviewing literature relevant for this study.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

1.0 Introduction

This chapter aims at exploring significant literature published on issues of place naming and power, place naming and identity, place naming and the dominated population and totemism and [place] naming. It also discusses views on linguistic landscape as a new direction in toponomastic studies. The major aim is to show points of departure by showing how this study contributes to an existing body of onomastic knowledge. There are some studies that are insightful to the present research. In such cases, emphasis is on the ways in which they illuminate this study.

2.1 Place naming and power

The discussion of place naming and power is important for this study which examines place naming in a colonial state where there were asymmetrical power relations between European settlers and Africans. European settlers had access to power during the colonial period relative to the colonised Africans. Todd (1989: 118) asserts:

> Throughout the colonial years, white power had been based in the first instance on the occupation and the subjugation of the indigenous population, and secondly on administrative expedients.

White power was supported and anchored on legislative frameworks which led to the marginalisation of Africans. The major ones being The Land Apportionment Act of 1931, The Land Husbandry Act of 1951 and The Natives (Urban Areas) and Accommodation and Registration Act of 1951. The colonial government exercised power over Africans through the Native Affairs Department, which comprised of native commissioners who controlled Africans in every sphere of their lives. Among

their major duties was to oversee the implementation of the Land Apportionment Act of 1931 and the Land Husbandry Act of 1951 (Sibanda, 1989).

The failure to discover a second rand made it mandatory for the Rhodesian state to shift its attention to land. The politics of Rhodesian state-making was hinged on the land, on issues to do with how the land should be used, who should gain access to it, how it should be settled, and the kind of authority to be exercised over it (Alexander, 2006). State-making was basically an issue of the politics of land during the colonial period in Zimbabwe. Place naming was an undoubted mechanism of showing control over the land. This study advances that place naming was a significant mechanism for exercising power over the land in a colonial state.

In general, naming is an exercise of power and hegemony. Hegemonic place naming practices complemented other place-making strategies done by technical experts in Rhodesia such as boundary markings. The potential for place names to accomplish this role stems from their quality as manifestations of power (Certeau, 1984). The analysis of school names done in this study proceeds from the observation that place naming is act of control of the named spaces. Alderman (2008) regards place naming in a colonial state as significant methodcolonial masters use to claim territory. In a related study, Herman (1999) explores the way place names were part of the colonial discourse of hegemony in the Hawaii Islands.

The act of naming places entails putting meanings on the landscape because place names are eloquent with meaning. A space is void of any form of meaning. This study follows argument among human geographers that the process of attaching meaning to spaces converts them into places. Space waits

for people to impose their meanings and versions of truth in it. A place is therefore "a physical location imbued with meaning" (Cosgrove, 1989: 104). These ideas are significant in the analysis of the role of school names in the discursive construction of places during the colonial period in Zimbabwe as either European areas or African areas.

Rofe and Szili (2009) contend that place names are rhetorical devices which are laden and redolent with meaning because they are neither neutral nor natural. Rather, place names are instruments of meaning. Place names are not just morphosyntactic units. Indeed, they are semantically transparent and infused with both real and imagined connotations. They are spatial-texts which communicate meanings pertaining to particular political administrations, periods and places (Pinchevski & Torgovnki, 2002). These arguments point to the important relationship that exists between power and place naming.

The sections of the society with access to power are priviledged to name places as compared to those with limited access to power. The power to name places is, therefore, derived from political power. Mathenjwa (2002) underscores that place naming is a political enterprise becauseplace names have an inherent quality of reflecting the political configuration of the country. This best explains why governments have the ultimate authority over approval or non-approval of any place names proposed by the community. A common phenomenon is a committee set up to approve all proposed geographical names. Place naming is a controlled sociolinguistic process, controlled and regulated by laid down statutes and pieces of legislation (Diver, 2011). Place naming has to be regulated by a government appointed body. A case in point is Singapore where all street names have to be approved by the Building and Street Names Board (formely the Street Names Committee), chaired by a

government minister (Tan, 2011). This study illustrates that in the case of Rhodesia, the colonial government had absolute power over discourses, including place names, used in the public sphere because all place names were approved by the Cabinet appointed committee on place names.

By rhetorical devices, Rofe and Szili (2009: 362-3) mean that place names "communicate a sense of the landscape to which they are attached". Hauser (1986: 2 cited in Rofe & Szili 2009: 363) defines rhetoric as "*instrumental* use of language" (original emphasis). In this sense, place names are instrumental linguistic units in that the ability to name places is an exercise of power (Rofe & Szili, 2009). Place names do not merely reflect the world; they have the potential of constructing the world along the ways deemed proper by those wielding much power in a society.

The ability to control place naming system is directly related to power (Rofe & Szili, 2009; Berg & Vuolteenaho, 2009; Basso, 1990). Berg and Vuolteenaho (2009) argue that place naming is always a social practice one that involves power relations. Berg (2009) makes a similar observation that place naming reinforces claims of national ownership and is indexical of state power. In this regard, place names are embedded in the power politics of the day. Pinchevski and Torgovnki (2002: 366) advance a similar standpoint that the very act of assigning a name to the landscape is "a political act, for a name is always given to someone or something by an external force having the legitimacy to do so". Of significance to this study is the observation that the dominant sections of society that are in control of both ideological and repressive state apparatus can manipulate the naming system and use it as one of the most effective strategies of state formation and declaration of political hegemony.

In support of the argument pursued in this study, Kearns and Berg (2002) submit that place names are significant discourses that provide normality and legitimacy to political regimes. It is those who have access to power who exercise power over the process of place naming. They have power of determining the configuration of the public sphere. This study advances that commemorative place naming was useful in legitimising European political power in Rhodesia. It adds to the above discussion on power and place naming by pointing out that the use of European commemorative place names was a political exercise that pronounced a new political order in Rhodesia. This resulted in the suppression of the indigenous political system which was rendered impotent by the colonial administration.

Berg and Vuolteenaho (2009) assert that hegemonic practices of place naming are important aspects of the practical and symbolic aspects governing social space at various spatial scales. This study also foregrounds the argument that place names are critical in a colonial state for the creation of separate spaces for Europeans and Africans. This study suggests that segregationist policies in Rhodesia found fulfillment in the place names given to created spaces for Europeans and Africans.

The people who wield political power have the power to determine the nature and content of place names to be used in a particular society. This explains why the whole process of place naming is political. Place naming is a three dimensional political practice. Firstly, place naming can be a political struggle in which one option defeated several others. Thus, place naming is "like any other political contest in having a potential for conflict" (Pinchevski & Torgovnki, 2002: 367). Secondly, the decision to give names to places is overally made by the "political bureaucratic institutions having the *legitimate monopoly to name* (original emphasis)" (Pinchevski & Torgovnki, 2002: 367). This

demonstrates that place naming is a demonstration of power over space. Place naming is an instance of a political practice which demonstrates the way political-bureaucratic institutions exercise control over places owing to their exclusive rights to classify and inscribe meanings on an existing social space (Celik, Favro & Ingersoll, 1994 cited in Pinchevski & Torgovnki, 2002: 367). Thirdly, Pinchevski and Torgovnki (2002: 367) note that, "decisions over place names are conducted by political actors who endeavor to engrave their ideological views in the social space, and further into the collective memory".

Place naming demonstrates how the powerful in the society strive to control symbolic instruments which enhance their political power. Azaryahu (1992: 351) regards toponymy of an urban centre as city-text which is an "an official text authorised by the ruling order". Place names are important components of the dominant culture. In giving a European name to a conquered place in the colony, the imperial power wanted to declare its presence (Carter, 1987) and it was also a way of transforming "an unknown and potentially threatening place into a set of knowable and familiar signs" (Wittenberg, 2000:2). These views provide scaffolding information for analysing school naming patterns of European settlers during the period under review.

The relationship between place naming and power makes them prone to manipulation and reconfiguration relative to radical political transformations of the ruling order (Azaryahu, 1990). New governments embark on rigorous exercises of renaming places as a way of inscribing their own versions of truth in the landscape. Renaming is a way of removing names that project the thought system of the previous political system. It is a way of heralding their ascension to a political throne and assumption of political office. In the same manner, this study contends that commemorative place

names European settlers used during the colonial period in Zimbabwe were discourses for asserting political power over the landscape and legitimising European settlers' control of the colony.

The cityscape under study is examined as a space where school names were spatial-texts which demonstrated power-relations during the colonial period in Zimbabwe. The colonial administration, in full control of both repressive and ideological state apparatus, exercised power over place naming system during the colonial period. In Rhodesia, the Minister of Internal Affairs would present a place name to cabinet for approval by the Cabinet Place Names Committee. It is only when a name was approved that an approval card was produced (see appendix 1). Thereafter, the place name could be used as an official place name in Place Names Gazetteers and on maps. The other evidence to the issue of place naming as a political practice was the appointment of a Geographical Names Standing Committee in 1952 as contained in the Government Notice No. 781; Ministry of Internal Affairs' Circular No. 17 of 1952 (see appendix 2). The functions of the Committee were to "advice the Minister of Internal Affairs on the spelling of names of places and of geographical features, such as rivers, mountains, hills, mountains, ranges, features of local interest, etc., in the colony" (Government Notice No. 781; Ministry of Internal Affairs' Circular No. 17 of 1952). All the members of this Standing Committee were Europeans showing that the Committee was a Government arm which was supposed to further colonial interests in Rhodesia. According to information contained in the Minister of Internal Affairs' Circular No. 17 of 1952, the appointed members of the Committee were:

The Surveyor-General, Mr. L. M. McBean	(Chairman)
The Chief Archivist, Central African Archives	(Member)
Mr. W. R. Benzies, O. B. E.	(Member)
Mr. E. G. Howman	(Member)
The Chief Draughtsman, Surveyor General's Department, Mr. G. H. Melvill	(Secretary)

In order to standardise African names, George Fortune, a Professor of African languages at the University of Rhodesia was incorporated into the Committee in 1962 as stated in the minutes of the 30th meeting of the Southern Rhodesia Geographical Names Committee held in the offices of the Surveyor-General, Milton Building, Jameson Avenue, Salisbury on Tuesday 3 April 1962. Prior to the appointment of George Fortune, Hannan, who had compiled a Shona-English bilingual dictionary; *Standard Shona Dictionary* (1954), was part of the committee helping with issues to do with African names.

Place names are political discourses because they constitute part of the political landscape. Yong (2007) asserts that place names express the ideological orientation of the section of the society with access to power. They also reflect the political outlook and the whole process by which nation-states make their imprints on the landscape. This study holds that use of commemorative place names and renaming are some of the effective methods that illustrate how place names can be used as political texts. The two place naming processes can be done concurrently because a commemorative place name can be given to a place which already has another name (renaming). Both processes can, therefore, be treated as instances of "manipulation of semiotic processes carried out within the overall context of reconstructing official culture in the light of major political ruptures" (Azaryahu, 1992: 352).

On the African continent, Myers (1996) examines the relationship between place naming and power in Zanzibar. The main argument of this study is that place names mark the spatiality of power relationships obtaining in a society. It establishes that in Zanzibar, the process of Othering was done using place names. Myers' views are crucial in the analysis of the role of places in inclusion and

exclusion of races in Rhodesia. Africans were treated as 'inferior others' and had their own spaces created for them in conformity with the segregationist policies in the colonial state.

2.1.1 Commemorative place naming

Commemorative place names commemorate key events or personalities from a country's history (Koopman, 2012a). Following Stewart (1970: xxx cited in Herman, 1999: 79), this study extends the meaning of commemorative naming to include places named after living persons as a result of their heroic deeds in the history of a particular people that warrant their immortalisation in the landscape and places that are named after some places in Europe. The latter are also regarded as transferred place names because they are "transferred" from their original European bases to be given to places in Africa founded as a result of the British imprealism in other parts of the world.

The person whose name is used for commemorative purposes is usually designated as a "Great Man". The selection of aspects and personalities to be commemorated is a priviledge of those wielding sound political muscle in the society. Azaryahu (1990; 1996) indicates that it is the agencies in charge or nominated agencies of the ruling order that make determinations on historical figures and events worth honouring through commemorative place naming. It is Azaryahu's (1990: 33) observation that:

> Nominated agents of the ruling order are entrusted with the task of selecting the version of the past from a given reservoir of "historical facts" (historical figures and events). These agents construct the sequential and causal chains that define the particular version of the past according to a prescribed set of ideological and moral guidelines. They determine the heroes of the past accordingly, those heroes who serve as a moral example and as a model for social action.

Commemorative place naming, as a naming trend, is part of the commemorative processes done by nation-states, such as the construction of memorials, museums, preserved sites, and shrines that

commemorate and sanctify the past. In this sense, commemorative place names transform the urban cityscape into a political setting.

A people should have a common position on aspects and/or personalities of their history that are 'commemorable'. Thus, people must judge them worth to be remembered. Alderman (2000a) observes that Martin Luther King, jr. was a historical figure to all African-Americans such that his commemoration "should be accessible - locationally and culturally- to larger and different publics" (Alderman, 2000a: 673). The fact that the King is regarded as an icon in the history of the African-American posed serious challenges when it came to identifying which street was fit to be identified with him. Commenting on memorial sites, Alderman (2000a: 658) observes that "they do not simply reflect public attitude towards history; they shape how we interpret and value the past". Commemorative place names are an attempt by a people to make their past visible and indelible in the landscape. They reflect how the powerful sections in the society construct their past which they would want to present as the natural order of things (Azaryahu, 1996).

Azaryahu (1996) also noted that commemorative place names have the potential of legitimising the sociopolitical order because they naturalise a hegemonic version of history. People wielding political power have control over what should constitute the mechanism for constructing and distributing meaning technically known as a semiosphere. Conscious efforts are made to make the semiosphere reflect versions of history that legitimise the current socio-political order. A city-text, which is the sum total of place names used in a particular city, is a particular 'theory of the world' from the point of view of the ruling elites in a nation-state. Commemoration through naming which Azaryahu (1992: 351) regards as "representing the past" is a political exercise because:

> The political centre controls the means by which its representations of the world may be presented to the community at large. This political centre makes sure that only that representations authorised and endorsed by itself, that is, of its own version of the past, are transmitted by the official channels of social communication.

Street names are part of the official medium of communicating this official version of the past. Official conduits of communicating the ruling order's version of history must not transmit oppositional representation of the world. The history of the opposing forces in the society should be suppressed. Azaryahu (1992) explains that political regimes competing versions of history which pose a challenge to the official version are percieved as threatening. These arguments provide a basis for appreciating the reasons for the suppression of the history of Africans through place naming during the colonial period in Zimbabwe.

European settlers took the cityscape as a surface on which to inscribe the names of important personalities and events in their history. Power entails control over public spaces. Any ruling regime establishes its power through controlling symbols that can grace the public domain. This explains why new governments embark on renaming public institutions and remove symbols of the former regime. The whole process shows the symbolic role of public spaces in reflecting how people with access to power think it is imperative to impose their ideology in the public space. Names of political opponents are either wiped out of or not considered for inscription in the public domain. Controlling public spaces is central to all forms political regimes use to consolidate their power. In this sense, African heroes and heroines could not be included in the names that qualify for immortalisation in the public sphere. African history was not regarded as constituting public knowledge from the perspective of European settlers. The attitude of white Rhodesians towards black African Nationalist movement is aptly summarised by Edgar Whitehead's statement when he labeled African nationalist

party politics "a movement (which) has developed into a canker in our body politic" (Bhebe, 1989: 69).

Commemorative place names, as used by the colonial establishment, convert a place from being an ordinary landscape to a value-charged symbolic space. Commemorative place names have the potential of symbolically remaking a place. Commemorative place naming is a political activity because only those wielding political power can use such names to show how they value their past. In this case, place names serve to reproduce the hegemonic order (Alderman, 2000a).

In the context of colonialism, the colonising force wields much political power. This makes it possible for the colonial powers to celebrate their history through honouring their heroes. The use of commemorative place naming in honour of heroes of the colonising powers is one such effective strategy. In Washington DC, Zelinsky (1993) observes that the pre-1776 era was characterised by a toponomastic practice of honouring the British royalty and statesman through place naming. It is Zelinsky' observation that such place names persist up to this day. A case that illustrates commemorative place naming in the colonial history of Zimbabwe was the naming of some of the forts established in Rhodesia by the Pioneer Column during their occupation of Mashonaland. Fort Victoria was named after the reigning Queen of England; Fort Salisbury was named in honour of the Third Marquess of Salisbury, then the Prime Minister of Britain. It is very interesting to note that the three stone walled forts constructed on the Salisbury Kopje as a reaction to the political instability of the period that marked the era of the occupation of Matabeleland, were given honourary names of important members of the Pioneer Column. Two of the forts were named Fort Forbes (after Major

Forbes) and Fort Leander (after Leander Star Jameson). A Street in the kopje area had also been named Pioneer Street in honour of the Pioneer Column (Jackson, 1986).

2.1.2 Denaming and renaming of places

The twin processes of denaming and renaming can only be executed and accomplished when the concerned place already has another name. In literature, the process of removing an existing name and replacing it with a new one is simply regarded as renaming (Azaryahu, 1996; Saparov, 2003; Lombard, 2012; Khotso, 2012). In post-Soviet countries, Pavlenko (2009) discovers that Russian (the language) is deliberately and consciously removed on public signage as part of the wider Derussification of the public sphere. In South Africa, Du Plessis (2009) shows that the post-apartheid era saw the indigenisation of place names in South Africa. This study contends that the first process is the removal from the scene, of the original place names which is regarded here as denaming. The new naming process becomes the renaming process. This is akin to what Azaryahu (1996) observes on politically motivated commemoration which he regards as a two-fold process involving decommemoration and commemoration.

The process of denaming and renaming are, mostly, motivated by political changes. Kadmon (2000: 6) is of the view that "whenever a new political system comes into power...toponyms... begin to topple". Azaryahu (1996: 317) is convinced that renaming becomes a conventional manifestation of a "ritual of revolution" which indicates the dawn of a new political era. In some cases, place renaming is accompanied by the pulling down of monuments of the previous political regimes as measures targeted at removing every vestige of the previous establishment. In another related study, Azaryahu

examines the politics of street re-naming in East Berlin. The following observation is of particular interest to the argument pursued in this study:

> Politically motivated renaming of streets is a common feature of periods of revolutionary changes. As a ritual of revolution, the 'renaming of the past' is a demonstrative act of substantial symbolic value and political resonance. Introducing the political ideological shift into ostensibly mundane and even intimate levels of human activities and settings (Azaryahu, 1997: 479).

Renaming has a proclamatory function in the sense that:

> It serves as a political declaration in its right, displaying and asserting the fact that political changes have occurred and that the ownership of the official culture and the media for its presentation has indeed changed hands (Azaryahu, 1990: 34).

In a similar manner, Rose-Redwood, et al. (2010) observe that place naming is a political practice. They demonstrate that soon after the US invasion of Iraq in 2003, the US Central Command renamed Saddam International Airport Baghdad International Airport. This toponomastic transformation heralded the beginning of the US occupation of Iraq which has left an indelible ink on Iraq's toponymy even up to this day. Thereafter, the Americans went on an unstoppable process of transforming Iraq's toponymy. American-inspired place names were inserted on Iraq's landscape. Carlifonia Street and Virginia Street and other such names with an American outlook became a common sight in Iraq.

Lefebvre (1991: 54 cited in Azaryahu, 1996: 318) supports that a revolution must bring total transformation in most spheres in his submission that:

> A revolution that does not produce new space has not realised full potential; indeed, it has failed in that it has not changed life itself, but has merely changed ideological superstructures, institutions and political apparatuses. A social transformation, to be revolutionary in character, must manifest a creative capacity in its effects on daily life, on language and on space- though its impact need not occur at the same rate, or with equal force, in each of these areas.

The argument pursued here is that renaming is an indispensable onomastic practice that charactises periods of political transformations and transitions. Gonzalez Faraco and Murphy (1997) observe that the assumption of power of the three socially transformative regimes in Spain during the 20th century was accompanied by radical changes of the place names in Andalusian town of Almonte. Gill (2005) examines renaming of places in Moscow, Russia. Gonzalez Faraco and Murphy's (1997) study establishes that for a new regime to have a sense of legitimacy, the process of manipulating symbols is mandatory. A new political regime is expected to create a symbolic culture in the form of national anthems, flags, coat of arms, among many others. Place names are important components of that symbolic culture. The Bolsheviks created a new symbolic culture for the Soviet state in the form of anthem, flag, the hammer and sickle, the red star, among many other changes. Above all, the renaming of streets was a common practice during the Soviet period. This process saw the removal of Joseph Stalin's name from the public space. Several other names of political figures that had lost in the political struggle were removed from the annals of Soviet history.

Yong (2007) in Sarawak, Malaysia observes that place naming is invested in a political context that changes over time. Rose-Redwood (2008) explores the politics of street renaming in New York City. The transition from the numbering system of street names is related to the view of place-making, memory and symbolic capital. Rose-Redwood establishes that the period before the coming of the Europeans, the original inhabitants Munsee-speaking Lenape named places in their immediate environment using their language. When the Dutch and the British occupied the area, Lenape's presence was erased from the landscape. European commemorative place names and Dutch street names were introduced into the cityscape of the area. Later on, a greater part of Dutch names were later Anglicised by the British. While the above arguments provide important information for

analysing school names, this study advances that the need for a new regime to dissociate itself from the symbolic culture of the former ruling order stems from the potential in place names to impose an identity on the landscape. It is this study's conviction that place names are instrumental in the social and discursive construction of places.

In South Africa, place renaming research has established that political transitions ignite place renaming. The transition from apartheid to democracy sparked a series of attempts to change the toponymy of South Africa through denaming and renaming (Jenkins, Raper & Moller, 1996; Machaba, 2003; Lubbe, 2011; Lombard, 2012; Deane & Koopman, 2005; Labuschagne, 2006; Hilterman & Koopman, 2003; Koopman, 2012a). Lubbe (2011) aptly demonstrates how the five political transitions in the history of South Africa affected place naming patterns. The permanent settlement of Westerners in South Africa began in 1652. Until 1795, the country was a Dutch colony. The dominance of the Dutch was also experienced from 1803-1806. The result was that many places were given Dutch names. Later on came the British after 1795. This had a bearing on the toponomastic configuration of South Africa. At first, the regime was accommodative of some Khoisan names. Later on, with the growing number of settlers in the colony, new place names that reflected British hegemony were given to places. This period saw the use of such names as Port Elizabeth, East London, Adelaide, Scottsburg, Durban, among many other names. The period 1910-1948 which saw the formation of the Union of South Africa whose policy was to maintain cordial relations with the British Empire.

The accompanying place name changes reflected the objective of maintaining the symbiotic relationship with Britain. The following examples suffice: Fochville, Port Edward, Marina Beach,

Lambert's Bay, amongst many others. The Afrikaner rule, 1948-1994, brought about the inevitability of name changes. Many place names acquired an Afrikaner identity. The following examples attest to this argument; Centurion to Verwoerdburg, Sophiatown to Triomf. After 1994, dams and airports which were named after political leaders of the previous governments were renamed. However, renaming was to be done within the spirit of reconciliation. Significant place name changes were witnessed during Mbeki's reign because Mandela was not in full favour of embarking on an extensive renaming exercise that would trample on Afrikaner symbols. After Mandela's retirement from the presidency, the following were some of the place name changes that were witnessed: Louis Trichardt to Makhado, Pietersburg to Polokwane, Potgietersrus to Mokopane, Warmbaths to Bela-Bela, Orange Free Stateto Free State, Johannesburg International Airport (formely Jan Smuts Airport) to OR Tambo Airport, among many others. The preceding discussion shows how turning points in the political history of South Africa were accompanied by place name changes.

In Zimbabwe, the name of country itself changed four times in one century as a result of the changes of political regimes: Southern Rhodesia, Rhodesia, Zimbabwe Rhodesia and finally the name Zimbabwe was adopted for the independent state (Mashiri & Chabata, 2010). Street names, especially in city centres were also renamed by the new political order after the attainment of independence in Zimbabwe (Chabata, 2007, Pfukwa, 2012). Attempts were made to rename schools. However, the programme was met with several challenges (Pfukwa & Barnes, 2010; Pfukwa, 2012). All the above studies have illustrated that renaming is part of the 'ritual of revolution' regimes use to legitimise their political power. Yong (2007: 66) aptly captures this place naming process in saying:

> Like flags, national anthems, public monuments, and other emblems of nationalism, the policy of widespread changes in place-names is one of the common practices nation-states use to solidify their political and territorial sovereignty.

Yeoh (1996) argues from the same perspective by noting that renaming in postcolonial states is a way of reinforcing the dominance of the newly independent state. This argument points to the fact that place names are in a constant state of being redefined as political regimes rise and fall. The above information provides a basis for the analysis of European commemorative place names that were imposed on indigenous place names during the colonial period in Zimbabwe. This study takes the colonial place naming system as a process of denaming and renaming. The places were not onomastically void; they had African place names since they were populated by Africans. The imposition of European place names on the landscape was, thus, a way of denaming and also renaming places in Rhodesia. Denaming and renaming places using commemorative place names are onomastic attempts that aid memory of a particular people. The next section examines the concept of place naming and memory.

2.1.3 Place naming and memory

Public commemoration through place naming is crucial in maintaining the memory of a people. Memory can be either individual or social. Individual memory is personal while social memory derives from collective identity. Balode (2012) asserts that history is a typical example of social memory. People are kept together because of history and memory. Memory comprises of a network of the past with which a people identify with. It also helps people to come to terms with present realities. On another hand, transferred place names are also crucial in maintaining the memory of a people. When a place is named after another place, the concerned name is a transferred name (Mencken, 1967 [1921] cited in Tent and Blair, 2011: 70; Chabata, 2012) or "redirected toponyms" (Koopman, 2011: 110). This naming trend is a defining characteristic of colonial place naming practices. Most places in colonies were named after some places in the mother country of the

colonising population (Wilkinson, Marika & Williams, 2006; Koopman, 2011; Magudu, et al. 2010; Mapara & Nyota (forthcoming).

Place names are a form of spatialisation of public memory. Places bearing commemorative place names are resonant with memory of a particular people, a role they share with museums, memorials, buildings, parks, and monuments (Rose-Redwood, 2008; Alderman, 2000b; Withers, 1996; Crang & Travlou, 2001; Hoelscher & Alderman, 2004). In this regard, commemorative place naming converts places into places of memory. Rose-Redwood (2008: 876) defines places of memory as "sites where the symbolic imaginings of the past interweave with the materialities of the present". A people's memory is enhanced through different ways that includes establishing and celebrating public holidays. The spatialisation of public memory is an act of power because the conception of the past of the group wielding much power in the society dominates places of memory in the public sphere. This study regards places names used for the purposes of recording the history of a particular people as memory management devices.

Commemorative place naming aids in creating the memory of a particular people. A place can be turned into a place of memory through commemorative place naming. Alderman (2002: 99) argues:

> Commemorative place naming is an important vehicle for bringing the past into the present, helping weave history into the geographic fabric of everyday life. Named streets, like any place of memory, can become embroiled in the politics of defining what is historically significant or worthy of public remembrance.

Thus, commemorative place naming transforms a cityscape or city-text into a memorial arena (Alderman, 2002; Hoelscher & Alderman, 2004; Rose-Redwood, 2008; Johnson, 1999; Edensor, 1997; Lewicka, 2008). The relationship between constructing places of memory and power is useful

for the purposes of this study which uses CDA as a method of data analysis because the notion of power is central in CDA.

An attendant process of commemorative place naming is erasure. In cases where a commemorative place name has been given to a place in a process of denaming and renaming, there is bound to be erasure of the memory carried by the deposed name (Azaryahu, 1996). In a related study, Hercus (2009) chronicles how Aboriginal place names were replaced by European names in the Arabana country when John McDouall Stuart gave names in rapid succession to some places during his 1858 expedition, for example Karla Tyurndu 'meaning the wide Creek in the language of the Arabana people' was renamed "The Blyth", in honour of Honourable Arthur Blyth. He observed that many Aboriginal names run the risk of being completely forgotten together with the stories they carry. Hercus establishes that European names were given to places that were significant to the pastoral industry. During the colonial period in Zimbabwe, not every place received European names. Only those which were significant to the European settlers were given European names. The settlers had a tendency of naming places which they came into contact with.

Carter (1987) examines how the name Cape Inscription was embedded in the imperialist project of obliterating indigenous names. He reports that the history of the name Cape Inscription is characterised by denaming and renaming between 1616 and 1801-a sequence of inscription. He recounts the sequence of inscriptions that culminate in the name Cape Inscription in the following way:

> Late in 1616, Dirck Hartog of Armesterdam and his ship, the Eandracht, were blown on to the North-West coast of Australia. The skipper commemorated his involuntary landing on the pewter plate, which he affixed to a post.... In 1697, another Dutchman, Vlamingh, also blown off-course, found Hartog's memorial. He had Hartog's inscription copied onto a new pewter

plate and appended a record of his own visit. In 1699, the English seaman, William Dampier, also visited this coast. He let the Island retain its Dutch connection, but renamed the country to the east Shark Bay. Then, in 1801, one captain Emmanuel Hamelin discovered a pewter plate...on which was roughly engraven two Dutch inscriptions...and named the place Cape Inscription (Carter, 1987: xxiv).

The theme of erasure is prevalent in postcolonial literature (Carter, 1987; Squire, 1996; Wittenberg, 2000; Jacobs, 1994). Carter (1987) adopts the term erasure from Derrida (2000) as he describes the way European explorers erased the indigenous memory and history of Australia and the South Pacific islands using names and inscriptions. Carter submits that the name symbolises "the imperial project of permanent possession through dispossession" (Carter, 1987: xxiv). While Carter (1987) looks at the process of giving commemorative names to natural places in colonies, this study builds on this approach by its analysis of the built environment that is; man-made places. It treats school names as institutional place names. It is important to note that many original Aboriginal names suffered the most in terms of being replaced in places that were significant for pastoral industry.

In Rhodesia, place naming was a conscious strategy embedded in the politics of creating a colonial state. The areas designated for European settlement were very significant to the colonial government in Rhodesia. Thus, components of the built environment in European areas were given European commemorative names, such as schools, streets, hospitals, buildings, among many others. In turn, places in African urban areas were largely given African names. Magudu, et al. (2010) showed that Africans were allowed to name such places because the colonial government considered the places to be less significant politically.

It is important to indicate that the creation of place of memory is related to power. Hoelscher and Alderman (2004) argue that studying the social memory of a particular society obviously brings in the

questions of domination and unequal access to that society's political and economic resources. Commemorative place names put to the fore a history of a particular people and suppress and peripheries the memory carried by the erased name. This study advances that in the context of colonialism, commemorative place names given by European settlers to places in Rhodesia that had their own indigenous African names erased the memory carried by those African names. It is often argued that historically, Africans did not live in towns, but in individual homesteads under the leadership of a traditional leadership (kraal heads, headmen, chiefs and kings) (Machaba, 2000; 2002; Koopman, 2002; 2011).

However, it should be understood that most urban centres were constructed on areas that had indigenous names (Lubbe, 2011). This perspective gives the dimension of denaming and renaming which poses as a mechanism for erasing previous meanings imbued by places (Rofe& Szili, 2009). Thus, Rose-Redwood (2008) regards commemorative place naming as having two objectives of aiding memory and forgetting. A commemorative name given to a place in the process of denaming and renaming enhances the memory of the name-givers. At the same time, the memory carried by the erased name ends up being forgotten. Place names participate in the dual process of selective remembrance and oblivion (Rose-Redwood, 2008). This is how the twin processes of memory and forgetting work.

This study advances that the onomastic stability that used to prevail in pre-colonial Africa was disturbed when the European settlers imposed new colonial names, which were often commemorative, and sometimes anglicised local names as a well-thought out strategy of putting them under their control. European settlers did not step into an onomastically empty landscape. The

African indigenes had names for places in their environment. For example, Mhanyaumire (later Manyame and corrupted to Hunyani) and Mukuvisi were names for rivers in the area where Salisbury was sited. Some African place names were very descriptive of the named places. A case in point was Domboshava (located some twenty-five kilometers out of Harare, using the Borrowdale road) which was descriptive of the colour of granite dwala found in the area. The name is a compound consisting of two base words, Dombo (meaning rock) and shava sometimes spelt as Shawa (meaning red). The rock outcrop is now a natural history park which is open to the public at any given time. In addition, Africans were able to name their kingdoms that existed prior to the coming of the Whiteman. Mutapa state (also known as Mwenemutapa), Rozvi empire were names that were derived from the lived experiences of the Shona people. They have connotations of raiding and destroying properties of other tribes, maybe with the intention of putting them under their control. Oral tradition has it that the name Munhumutapa was given as a descriptive name to the Shona chief by his subjects. The verb /-tapa/ means conquer or take a person as a captive. Mutapa is an agentive noun which points to the one who does the action named by the verb. Munhumutapa then means this person is a conqurer. As for Rozvi, /-rozva/ is a verb that means destroy or defraud. In this regard, the names Mutapa and Rozvi are summative of the Shona chiefs' acts of conquering other people.

The superimposition of European names upon African place names meant an ultimate erasure of the cultural history carried by the names. This study holds that colonial place naming was aimed at achieving permanent erasure of the history and traditions of the named places when they assumed new European outlooks and identities. European settlers used commemorative European place names and anglicisation as coping mechanisms to come to terms with a totally new environment in the colony.

When European settlers anglicised African names, the memory contained in the concerned place names was inevitably interrupted in what Zerubavel (1997: 85) regards as "mnemonic decapitation" or at the extreme, wiped out. Memory interruption happens when there is a disturbance to the mental continuity of a given territory. A landscape was made less unfamiliar to the colonialists through giving anglicised place names. The anglicised place names became unintelligible to the local communities. Mac Giolla Easpaig, (2009) observes a similar toponomastic concept was initiated by the Anglo-Normans in Ireland during the 12th century. Efforts to ascertain the original Irish name was a tall order for the Place Names Commission because Irish and English are not mutually intelligible languages.

In a related study, Abel and Kruger (2008) observe that imperial place naming among the Aboriginals also included the process where native names were substituted with European pronunciations and perspectives as to what the indigenous names meant. Anglicisation in Rhodesia saw African place names getting a European outlook. African place names were made to adapt to the phonology of European languages. Mapara and Nyota (forthcoming) establishe that anglicisation of place names was a conscious strategy European settlers used to empty the memory bank of African in Rhodesia since place names carry the baggage of history of a people. One significant constituent part of that baggage is memory. The continued use of colonial names in a post-colonial period is a perpetuation of the memory loss that started during the colonial period. The overall objective of imperial place naming pattern was to present European settler memory as public memory. While the reviewed literature above points to the relationship between anglicisation and memory, this study adds that anglicisation is related to power. The right to determine the orthographic representation of a name is a

preserve of those with access to power. In Rhodesia, European settlers had power over place naming and the representation of place names for official use.

The discussion on how indigenous place names were given a European outlook through anglicisation is significant to this study because it provides background information on how colonial place naming was done. The corpus of names studied in this study includes school names that were affected by anglicisation: *Umtali High School, Umtali Girls High School* and *Umtali Boys High School*. During the colonial period, anglicisation as a form of onomastic violence was witnessed on both natural landscapes such as rivers and mountains and the built environment. A case in point, is the corruption of Kasambabezi (Tonga name) 'Only those who know the river can bath in it' (presumably because of the crocodiles) to Zambezi river by the colonial government.

Attenbrow's (2005) study on Aboriginal place names in Sydney Harbour, New South Wales, Australia shows how the British colonists used place naming as a strategy for place-making. Attenbrow (2005) observes that an attendant feature of the imperial place naming was that it aided memory of the name-givers. It is his observation: "Place names form system of aids-to-memory for identifying places and are integral to a group's understanding of its history, culture, rights and responsibilities for the land" (Attenbrow, 2005: 1). This salience of names as repositories and memory banks of a people drives and informs this study in its analysis of school names in Rhodesia.

Commemorative place names aid memory when they perpetuate the political hegemony of the ruling regime. Place names derive their meanings, partly from the socio-spatial contexts in which they appear (Rose-Redwood, 2008). The context of colonialism with its entire complexities provides a

platform for a proper appreciation of the meanings carried by place names used during the colonial period. The realities of the colonial society informed place naming system in Rhodesia.

It is important to mention that place names exist in contiguity with other cultural symbols, such as monuments, in aiding memory of a particular people. Erecting and removing a monument is a direct act of demonstrating power over the landscape. In Rhodesia, the cityscape was transformed into a white zone through the erection of monuments such as Rhodes' and Alfred Beit's in central Salisbury. Renaming in independent states is usually accompanied by the removal and disassembling of monuments and statues of the former regime and the mounting of those that are consistent with the new political order. The process of decolonising the landscape can be summarised as an "orderly dismantling of colonial relics" (Fischer, 2010: 65).

2.1.4 Power and spatial mapping

The creation of territories is done by the powerful in terms of how they want the cityscape viewed. An important step when creating a territory is the creation of maps. A map precedes and engenders the territory. It is a significant component that colonial governments use for the administration and control of the colony through demarcating and classifying the land and its people (Given, 2002). In the context of the British colonial mission the world over, settler cartography was very significant to the founding and establishment of the colony (Huggan, 1989 cited in Fischer, 2010: 61). Kitchin, Perkins and Dodds (1997) make a similar argument that the colonial project relies on the map. The maps signify the extent of the European settler government's spatial power. The corpus of names analysed in this study are given to places that were created out of the colonial process of spatial mapping. A map is conceptualised here as someone's way of getting the public view the world from

the point of view of the producer of the map. Spatial mapping, especially in a colony, is not an end in itself. It is embedded in the wider colonial mission of controlling spaces in the colony.

Harley (1989) challenges a tradition in cartography that maps lack any ideological content. In his view, the people who wield power manipulate the map in order to convey and articulate a particular human world that serves their interests. A map is not as neutral and innocent as it might appear. It is, rather, a social construction that serves and reinforces the interests of the powerful in any society.

It is imperative to understand the forces at play during the mapping exercise in order to have a fuller understanding of mapping. In this regard, spatial mapping should be situated within its proper social and historical contexts so that its functions in those contexts can be fully appreciated. Mapping is a conscious strategy employed to generate and create a value system which is consistent with the mission of the power holders. In Harley's (1989) view, through maps, power relations obtaining in a society can be understood because maps themselves are expressions of power. The relationship between map-making and the exercise of power is also evident in Turnbill (1993) who argues that maps make it possible to build empires. The power to map is shown to emanate from the power to control. Turnbill also shows that European maps have some "distortions" intended to paint a picture of Britain and Europe as large relative to the other world consisting of colonised states. This depiction of the relative sizes of European and the colonised populations provides a biased image of the former. Livingstone (1992) posits that the power wielded by European nations of mapping the world gave them a chance of, at least in part, controlling much of the colonised world. These views provide insights into the way European settlers mapped the colony into areas designated as European areas

and set aside some places for African habitation. School names studied in this case are for institutions established in racially segregated urban spaces.

Harley's (1989) argument on the centrality of mapping in imperial projects has been a focus of other researches in different countries around the globe. Dodds (2000) reiterates the argument raised by Harley of maps as instruments of power in the mapping of Antarctica. Britain was competing with Argentina and Chile for the administrative control of Antarctica peninsula and the surrounding island chains such as the South Shetlands and the South Orkneys. His study makes an examination of the political and scientific justification for the mapping of the Antarctica by the Falkland Islands Dependency Survey (henceforth FIDS). The British government employed surveyors, scientists and administrators in the 1940s and 1950s in order to provide geographical information and strengthen its earlier claim of control of the Antarctica. In his exploration of the relationship between Britain and her rivals over the control of the Antarctica, Dodds (2000: 202) observes that, "the map is not an innocent representational tool" because the mapping of the Antarctica reveals a conscious objective of "defence against the 'irrational and ambitious' ambitions of South American competitors such as Argentina and Chile" (Dodds, 2000: 202). FIDS's records indicate calculated efforts of maintaining control over the Antarctica. FIDS was an organisation aimed at protecting imperial interests of Britain because surveyors were more concerned with mapping and research.

Mapping also serves hegemonic functions in the society. Given (2002) in the analysis of mapping in colonial Cyprus observes that the mapping was one of important tools the British colonialists used to control the colonised population. Mapping helped in the creation of "manageable units which can be known, categorised and controlled" (Given, 2002: 19-20). The British colonialists made it policy to

create absolute and fixed boundaries for public spaces in the city, state forests, and plots among others where:

> Symbols on the map and a whole series of cairns, walls, and signs on the ground made the lines outwardly visible, and created an arena for their literal and metaphorical policing (Given, 2000: 20).

This study points to the creation of separate spaces for the coloniser and the colonised which the colonial system in Rhodesia employed in controlling the colonised. It symbolises the socio-political and racial chasm between the coloniser and the colonised. These observations illuminate this study on the sociolinguistic examination of names of schools in the two clearly racially marked spaces in Rhodesia; European areas and African areas.

On a related note, Craib (2000) examines the relationship between cartography and power in the creation of New Spain. Craib establishes that cartography and maps provide a proper window of studying imperialism, colonialism, and state-formation. It is Craib's observation that maps are instrumental in the political and cultural formation of colonial empires and nation-states. In the case of Rhodesia, maps engendered the creation of European areas and African areas. The socio-political factors for creating such a racially-divided society were very significant in conditioning the naming of places in Rhodesia.

Mapping is also used in the creation of what Anderson (1991) regards as 'imagined communities' or 'racialised boundaries' (Anthias & Yuval-Davis, 1992).These observations mirror what was happening in urban centres during the colonial period in Zimbabwe. Biggs (1999) upholds this Andersonian view by examining how cartography shaped the territorial state, which on its own, is a form of power. Biggs' study examines three parallel processes, namely, "acquiring spatial

knowledge, shaping spatial form and grounding political authority" (Biggs, 1999: 376). In Biggs'

(1999) view, the modern notion of a territorial state with its attendant cartographic and mapped image

had been established in Europe as way back as the early nineteenth century. This concept of a

territorial state was applied to all European colonies dotted around the globe. He shows an

inalienable and intricate relationship between knowledge and power. He says:

> ...knowledge must always attach itself, as it were, to power. And power inevitably influences the content of knowledge. So it was with cartography and rulership. Whatever the interplay forms of knowledge and forms of power, all action is predicated upon what is thought as real. Putting the state on the map meant knowing and imagining it as real- and, so, making it a reality (Biggs, 1999: 399).

Crampton's (1996) pursues the above Andersonian view in a critique of the conflict in Bosnia from a

cartographic and geographical standpoint. Crampton's study indicates how efforts of addressing and

solving the crisis have revolved around the cartographic delimitation and demarcation of the territory,

what this study regards as the cartographic mentality. In this regard, Crampton (1996) traces the

centrality of maps in both the Vance-Owen Peace Plan (VOPP) and the Dayton negotiations in

solving conflicts in Bosnia. In Dayton negotiations, Crampton (1996) notes:

> Maps were used to support territorial claims, and the final peace plan itself is predicated upon an agreed map...which partition the state into two major regions separated by internal borders (Crampton, 1996: 353).

Of interest to this study is the use of maps (within Bosnia) to create different territories based on

ethnic affiliation. Crampton interrogates the feasibility of ethnic delineation and partition as a

significant strategy of conflict resolution. Crampton makes an overall conclusion that: "the suggested

spatial divisions by ethnic 'dominance' of an area belie a deeper complexity" (Crampton, 1996: 353).

While Crampton does not specifically look at colonialism and spatial mapping, what is significant to

this study is the functional role of maps in the creation of different spaces for different people (ethnic

groups in Crampton's study). These observations become useful in the analysis of school names in a

context whereby conscious efforts were put in place to create separate spaces for Europeans and Africans during the colonial period in Zimbabwe. This was supported by different racial segregationist legislative frameworks which are discussed under section 1.1.4. In Rhodesia, spatial mapping was conditioned and influenced by the politics of the day. This study discusses spatial mapping and its attendant naming as embedded in the colonial system of separate development.

Spatial mapping does not take place in a vacuum. It is sensitive to the socio-political realities of the day. From the perspective of urban planning, spatial mapping was racially based. Urban planning and policy cannot be divorced from the socio-political processes in the society (Bracken, 1981). The cityscape was conditioned by racial segregation. As early as March 1892, manifestations of racial segregation in tems of housing for African population started to be visible following the move by the Sanitary Board to promulgate regulations to establish a 'Native Location' at a site approximately one kilometer south of the kopje. This established location was named Harare Township (now Mbare) after a local chief Neharawa. Oral tradition has it that the chief was nicknamed Haarari (he doesn't sleep) by his foes and detractors who always found him awake whenever they raided his compound. Racial segregation also affected the siting and the general operations of schools in urban areas in Rhodesia. Schools for Europeans were established in European areas while those for Africans were found in areas earmarked for African settlement during the colonial period.

In the United States of America, Short (2001) explores spatial mapping from a post-modernist perspective. Short builds upon his earlier researches on the relationship between social orders and spatial environments. He first pursued this theme in *Imagined Country* (1991). He does not use a wholesale survey of the mapping of New York to illustrate his concerns, rather he uses selected maps.

His principal aim in this volume is "to show how maps can tell us something about changing perceptions of the world" (Short, 2001: 10). Short examines the function of the agencies appointed by the Federal government in mapping the national boundaries. In an effort to construct a national community, Short examines how national atlases were useful in instituting and constructing imagined and real communities in the United States of America. Short indicates that maps are not neutral because in the United States of America, they were "statements of European dominance... authority and superiority" (Short, 2001:39). This observation emphasises on the link between maps and power. The relationship is very significant in this study of the naming of schools as components of the built environment in a racially segregated urban landscape.

In Australia, Carter's (1987) book *The Road to Botany* explores how European explorers used names and mapping as conscious strategies of transforming spaces into places. Carter examines the significance of explorers' logbooks, diaries, journals, and maps to the imperial project. He observes:

> …their (logbooks, diaries, journals, and maps) importance is found in their...open-endedness, their lack of finish, even their search for words, which is characteristic: for it is here, where forms and conventions break down, that we can discern the process of transforming space into place, the *intentional* [original emphasis] world of the texts, wherein lies their unrepeatability and their enduring, if hitherto ignored, historical significance (Carter, 1987: xxiv).

He further argues that such history that begins and ends in language is spatial history. It endeavors to explore and discover the lacuna left by imperial history. In Carter's view, history predates the arrival of European explorers and settlers. Carter indicates the centrality of the act of naming in creating spatial history. He says:

> For by the act of place-naming, space is transformed symbolically into a place, that is, a space with history. And by the same token, 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 (Carter, 1987: xxiv).

Carter's study illuminates the present research through indicating that place names are significant components of spatial mapping in a colonial state.

2.1.5 Place naming and Christianity

The relationship between Christianity and colonialism is well documented in literature (Welch, 2008; Zvobgo, 1996; Banana, 1996; Hallencreutz & Moyo, 1988; Lapsley, 1986). European colonial mission was not going to succeed without the help of missionaries. Religion was an ideological state apparatus used by the colonial government to perpetuate its ideology. Christian missionaries were useful in proselytising Africans and condemning African culture. Demonising African culture was very useful in creating an image of colonialism as a civilising mission on uncivilised Africans. Christianity created as clear sailing path for colonialism to execute serious heinous acts against the colonised population under the guise of humanising and civilising them. In this sense, the European coloniser and the European missionary were flip sides of the same coin. Ngugi (1982: 56-7, cited in Shizha & Kariwo, 2011: 13) commenting on the relationship of Christianity and British imperialism in Kenya says:

> When the British imperialists came here [Kenya] in 1895, all the missionaries of all the churches held the Bible in the left hand, and the gun in the right hand. The White man wanted us to be drunk with religion while he, in the meantime, was mapping and grabbing our land and starting factories and businesses on our sweat.

In Rhodesia, relations between the church and the state were not consistent throughout the colonial period. Sometimes, the church clashed with the state, especially on radical racist policies enacted and practiced by the latter. However, this study holds that the differences between the church and the state in Rhodesia in their treatment of Africans was not a matter of kind, it was a matter of degree. In that sense, this study advances that naming church-run schools using names which show the church

affliation of the schools was a way of inscribing power on the landscape. In Salisbury, Zinyama (1995) submits that missionary societies that had come into the country to convert the indigenous population to Christianity were granted tracts of land within a 30 kilometre radius of Salisbury. The largest mission lands were given to the Anglican Church which established St. Mary's mission in the south, Methodist church which established Epworth in the south-east and the Catholic Church which constructed Chishawasha to the east of Salisbury. The schools that were established at some of these mission stations form part of the corpus of school names analysed in this study (see sections 5.2.3 and 5.3.1.1).

2.2 Place naming and identity

This section acknowledges that giving a name to a place is not an end in itself. It is, rather, also embedded in the politics of identity building. It is a complex process that participates in the twin processes of the discursive construction of both place and personal identities. The section traverses the terrain of place naming and identity through a discussion of the following concepts: place identity, place attachment, place names and the social construction of places and place names and the social construction of personal and social identities which are central to the subject under discussion here.

Helleland (2009) examines the role of place names as identity markers from both an individual and social points of views. Drawing from his personal experience, Helleland shows that place names trigger some mental relationships between those who use the concerned place names and the named landscapes. The notion of identity is variedly defined. Helleland cites *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED V: 19) which defines identity as, 1) "The quality or condition of being the same in substance, composition, nature, or in particular qualities under consideration; absolute or essential sameness; oneness", 2) "The sameness of a person or a thing at all times or in all circumstances; the condition or

fact that a person or a thing is itself and not something; individuality or personality". Place names have the power of constructing social identities. This complex process is accomplished through two concepts: place identity and place attachment.

2.2.1 Place identity

The concept of place identity is largely studied by environmental pyschologists who examine the relationship between humans and their surroundings. The inception and development of the field of Environmental Pyschology is ascribed to Harold Proshansky who is regarded as the father of this interdisciplinary field of study whose central concern is the psychological implications of the immediate environment. This environment is a continuum that stretches from the physical planning of towns (including the built environment) to the domestic spaces people live in. Place is often distinguished from space in Environmental Psychology. Place is defined as space on which meaning has been attached (Tuan, 1979; Cosgrove, 1988). Following Carter (1987), this study advances that place naming symbolically transforms space into a place. A place is, thus, a space bearing history which the name-giver inscribes his passage permanently on the world through asserting his own place in history. Proshansky (1978: 155) defines place-identity as:

> ...those dimensions of self that define the individual's personal identity in relation to the physical environment by means of a complex pattern of conscious and unconscious ideas, feelings, values, goals, preferences, skills, and behavioral tendencies relevant to a specific environment.

This notion displays how people relate with places in their immediate environment. Central to the concept of place identity is how people interact with the built environment which can be seen through modifying it to reflect who they think they are and who they aspire to be. Place identity projects the self-image of the immediate community. Place identity is a complex process of marking identity

where individuals indicate that they belong to a particular place through names (Helleland, 2009; Korpela, 1989).

2.2.2 Place attachment

In general, place attachment refers to the affective bond or link between people and specific places (Hildago & Hernandez, 2001). The term indicates the special feelings people have towards places in their environment. Place attachment can manifest itself through intense closeness to places. People attach emotional and symbolic meanings to places. In the process, they develop personal attachments towards the concerned places. It examines the concept of human-place bonding taking into consideration "the meanings humans associate with the physical environment" (Kyle, Graefe, Manning & Bacon, 2004: 213). Place attachment offers a paradigm shift from conceptualising places and landscapes in simple physical and textual terms to "understanding the subjective, emotional, and symbolic meanings associated with natural places and the personal bonds or attachments people form with specific places and landscapes" (Williams & Vaske, 2003: 1 cited in Kyle, et al. 2004: 213).

At the centre of the concept of place attachment is the idea of feeling at home. People tend to develop place attachment when the place concerned is friendly to them. People feel at home when they have a feeling of comfort during their stay in a particular place. All elements that have the potential of causing hostilities to people must be eliminated for the concerned places to provide a home to its inhabitants. This experience leads to the creation of cognitive maps which help people to come to terms with the environment and be able to comprehend it. Cognitive maps point to the geographical environment as it exists in a person's mind. Cognitive maps enhance people to feel a sense of belonging because they reflect how people come to terms with and comprehend the immediate

environment (Downs & Stea, 1977). In the colonial state, the creation of maps created imagined boundaries that existed between European areas and African areas. This study looks at names of schools of components of the built environment in different racially marked areas.

There are two broad dimensions of place attachment: social attachment and physical attachment. Social attachment is when attachment to a place stems from social networks people have in a particular neighbourhood. Physical attachment considers the physical component of the place (Hildago & Hernandez, 2001). These dimensions provide scaffolding information for appreciating feelings of rootedness in places that European settlers had in Rhodesia owing to the attachment to the places in their immediate environment. On one hand, social bonds developed among themselves, though they were coming from different parts of Europe and also that they had different economic interests. They were more united by their common present socio-economic agendas than their past experiences. In that sense, they all regarded themselves as Rhodesians bound together by a sense of mission and by a shared national identity (Godwin & Hancook, 1993) (see section 1.1.4). By default, social bonds were also supposed to exist between European settlers and Asians and Coloureds owing to the defective definition of a European as contained in the Land Apportionment Act of 1931 (see section 1.1.4).

This study advances that place naming was central among strategies of socially constructing places that eventually led Europeans to develop attachment to the named places. Commemorative and transferred place names and all other such concepts of imperial place naming were significant in entrenching feelings of rootedness in places. This discussion explains why name givers often wish that place names have permanence, consistency and onomastic immortality because name giving to

them was an act of imposing an identity on the landscape. Helleland (2012) demonstrates that the intricate relationship between place names and identity best explains tensions and politics associated with name changes because place names are important from a national and an ethnic perspective. Jordan (2012) makes a similar observation that place names support emotional ties; where place names are an important element of feeling at home. This explains why any suggestion for name changes or even change of spelling is usually met with discontent and discomfort on the part of name givers. Pfukwa (2012) argues that the individual and collective identity inherent in place names explains why changing a name is a process of rupture. He says a lot of cultural tissue is torn in the process because place names are an indispensable component of the nation's overall identity (Pfukwa, 2012).

2.2.3 Place names and the social construction of places

The concept of a place goes beyond treating a place as merely a geographical location marked on a map or an aggregate of physical structures because places are also complex social constructions (Tuan, 1991; Dunn, McGuirk & Winchester, 1995; Hoelscher, 2003, Guyot & Seethal, 2003). Cohen and Kliot (1992) regard places themselves as symbols because their names had utility for the name-givers. Place names, therefore, are part of the process of attaching meanings to the built environment. In this regard, Cohen and Kliot (1992) establish that place names enhance communication and serve as repositories of values. Cohen and Kliot (1992) argue that landscapes are treated as a conglomeration of human designed spaces. Place naming is an integral component of the 'iconography of landscape' (Daniels & Cosgrove, 1988) because of their ability to transmit symbols, images and meanings.

The process of inscribing a national identity on the landscape includes the creation of places of memory through erecting monuments, constructing museums, denaming and renaming of places. This makes it possible to regard landscapes as 'texts' to be read. Places in a colony cannot afford to be natural. They are, largely, socially constructed by those who have access to power. The social construction of places makes it possible to understand how speech has the potential of transforming nature into a human place (Tuan, 1991).

Place naming is critical in the social construction of places. As what Stewart (1958:3-4 cited in Alderman, 2008: 196) says about names that they "lay thickly over the land". This study observes that places resonate with meanings. The concept of a place encompasses the complex process in which people attach meanings to places. People make efforts to inscribe meanings on the landscape, in the process, turning spaces into places. Lewis (1979: 12 cited in Rofe & Oakley, 2006: 275) asserts, "*all human landscape has cultural meanings*" (original emphasis). Place naming plays a significant role in the social construction of places through its defining characteristic of attaching meanings to the named places (Berg & Kearns, 1996; Low, 1994 cited in Hendry, 2006: 24; Balode, 2012). Rose-Redwood (2011) underscores the importance of place names in the production of place. Rose-Redwood (2011) regards this production of space as the toponymic production of place. This information is very useful in the examination of how place names were useful in the discursive construction of places in Rhodesiawith racial labels: European areas and African areas.

Places are social constructions where meanings are inscribed on spaces. Rofe and Oakley (2006) make a pertinent observation that Port Adelaide was socially constructed through unnatural discourses of texts which were encoded into the Port's landscape. Tuan (1991) discusses the different

ways through which language makes places. Jones (1964) indicates that when Europeans occupied the New World; they performed the following ritual of possession:

> When Columbus went ashore at Guanahani, his captains beside him, the royal standard was displayed, the banners of the expedition were unfurled, one bearing an F and the other a Y for Ferdinand and Isabella, and over each initial there was displayed a crown and on the reverse a cross. After all had come ashore, the crews knelt, they gave thanks, they embraced the ground with ceremonial tears, and two notary publics solemnly recorded the words and the ceremony (Jones, 1964: 100 cited in Tuan, 1991: 692).

The ritual act established the Europeans' legal-political possession of the territory.

In Australia, Tuan (1991) observes that European explorers' place-making strategies were very complex. They included mapping, place naming, surveying, and writing up of trip logs and diaries. Place naming often used transferred names from Western Europe. The names were useful in providing the explorers with a bearing. Carter (1987) while commenting on the use of transferred place names place names in colonies observes that without the names the explorers would feel disoriented and would not have any justification for proceeding. The naming of the temporary places of residence by the explorers left an indelible mark on the landscape. It can lose most of its original meaning as a sign of discovery and a narrative of travelling, but latter inhabitants of the place can relate to the place name as an object on the horizon that delimit the edge of their land (Tuan, 1991). These arguments point to the boundary marking exercise which is critical in this study which focuses on how place names were used to reinforce the imagined boundaries between European areas and African areas in Rhodesia.

Dunn, et al. (1995) examine the social construction of the city of Newcastle, New South Wales. The ultimate identity of the city has been a result of its combined imagery, both material and symbolic.

Material imagery consists of the richly layered landscape while symbolic imagery is a historically constructed set of narrative which was a constituent part of hegemonic discourses.

Zelinsky (1993) examines the namescape of Washington and observes that the onomastic system (place naming, personal naming etc.) reflects more about the name-givers. In addition to revealing the identity of the name-givers, the naming system also points to the thought system of the society which gives names. In the case of Washington DC, the onomastic system reveals the 'American psyche'.

Jordan (2012) also examines the role of place-names as ingredients of space related identity. Jordan's study establishes that place names are repositories of both natural features and also characteristics of settlement history, land use and economy, feudal system, among others. In a sense, place names contribute to the shaping of the cultural landscape where they serve a mental function of shaping geographical spaces. Jordan contends that place names are instrumental in labeling which makes them effective tools in space-related identity building. Jordan notes that place names are more or less similar to flags or coats of arms because they have the power of projecting the identity of a place (Jordan, 2012). Jordan's argument is consistent with the main argument pursued in this study where school names are regarded as having the potential of giving an identity to the named schools.

At another level, when school names combine with other place names they index an identity of the immediate environment, as either European or African, where the named places were found. The creation of separate spaces for Europeans and Africans was informed by a racial segregationist spatial mapping system. This system was supported by place naming, among other mechanisms such as legislative frameworks which includes pass laws. In this regard, this study regards place naming in

Rhodesiaas a system that fits well with what Sorlin (1999: 103) regards as "articulation of territory". One of its main objectives was to mark racial differences in the sense that most European place names were found in European areas while most places in African urban areas had African names. This was a way of indicating the identity of the places as either European or African.

Rose-Redwood, et al. (2010) observed that the Shi'a communities in Iraq embarked on an extensive renaming exercise after the fall of Saddam Hussein's regime of universities, mosques, bridges, streets, hospitals, squares and all places as a way of removing every vestige of Hussein. They also established that Iraq's toponymic transfiguration during the US occupation played a critical role in the social production of place. Relevant to this study is the observation that place names are significant components in the social production of a place.

In a related study, Hendry (2006) explores trends of place naming in the Wine region. Hendry's study established that place naming has been embedded in the strategies of nation-building in order to show the distinct identities of the Basque and non-Basque autonomous communities. Hendry acknowledges the indispensability of names in the process of place-making in the Riojan Wine Region. In Hendry's view, place naming is central to place-making and it also establishes how names are used in the cultural construction of place. Hendry's study has it that leaders of the Basque and non Basque autonomous communities whose spheres of control include portions of the wine zone employ nation-building strategies, naming being one, in promoting separate development for their communities. According to Hendry, identity is connoted when product names and place names correspond. Hendry's study shows that in a society where there is antagonism, conflict and tension, place naming can become a process of including and excluding. Each community manipulates the naming process

as a way of showing different cultural identities. This is typically what obtains in a colonial state. The findings of Hendry's study helps in showing how naming can be used to construct different identities especially in the context of colonialism.

Attenbrow (2005) underscores the importance of place naming in the construction of place identity. Attenbrow examines Aboriginal place names in Sydney Harbour and New South Wales in Australia. It is Attenbrow's observation that the British colonists disrupted the social life of the original inhabitants of the land-the Aboriginals. The dispossession of land in the 1790s resulted in many people leaving coastal Sydney leaving few of the original inhabitants living around its shores. In this period of social upheavals, Aboriginal place names were replaced by British names in an effort to construct a new identity on the named places. In Rhodesia, imperial naming practices did not consider that there were African place names prior to the arrival and subsequent annexation of places by the European settlers in the colony. European just gave names to places as if they were not named before by the original inhabitants. To them, there was an onomastic necessity for naming 'onomastically empty' spaces in the colony.

Commemorative place names are significant markers of political identity (Azaryahu, 1996). The process of interpreting and representing the past is critical in constructing national identities (Gillis, 1994; Johnson, 1995; 1996; Edensor, 1997 cited in Alderman, 2000b: 658; Laversuch, 2006). The trend of giving commemorative names to landscapes or names of places found in the mother countries of the imperial forces, especially, when it is done by imperial forces on places they encounter in colonies is a conscious effort of imposing an identity on the landscape. Among the Australian Aborigines, Wilkinson, Marika and Williams (2009) noted that the local name Nhulambuy

in Yirrkala was renamed Gove, after a navigator on a Hidson Bomber who was killed in 1943 when his Hudson collided with another soon after taking off at Milingimbi. An airstrip that was constructed during World War 1 was also named after this Pilot Officer William Gove. Hercus (2009) chronicles how Aboriginal place names were replaced by European names in the Arabana country when John McDouall Stuart gave names in rapid succession to some places during his 1858 expedition, for example, Karla Tyurndu 'meaning the wide Creek in the language of the Arabana people' was renamed "The Blyth", in honour of Honourable Arthur Blyth. European names were given to places that were significant to the pastoral industry. Laversuch (2006) indicates that in the New World, the British aristocracy was a source of place-names in the colony. This best explains the use of such names, as Prince Edward, Elizabeth City, and Charles City in the New World.

The concept of naming places colonialists encountered in the colonies after some places in their country of origin was also an act of imposing an identity on the landscape. Laversuch (2006) observes that in the New World, the vast majority of placenames identified in the Virginia Gazette Corpus of SlavePersonal Names (VGCSPN) were also names of localities situated throughout in the British Isles. Examples of such place names were Cambridge, Cheshire, Newport, and Essex. A very interesting observation made in Laversuch's study is that not only lands were given transferred names, but also people they owned as slaves were renamed after the colonists' homes they had left behind. The observations made by Laversuch on place names are very consistent with how imperial place naming was executed during the colonial period in Zimbabwe. European settlers used commemorative place names to inscribe and engrave a European identity on the landscapes in the colony (see analysis in section 5.3.2.1.1).

Place naming is an imposition of an identity on the landscape. This is the reason why governments, upon assuming power, often embark on massive processes of renaming and denaming as a way of erasing an identity imposed on the landscape, especially, by a former colonial power. Other studies that look at the significance of place names as identity markers examine the role of street names in the construction of an identity. Azaryahu and Kook (2002) use three case studies to explore how street names were used in the construction of an Arab-Palestinian state. In their view, the three sets of Arab-Palestinian Street names were 'texts of identity' which were central to identity formation procedures. Their study comes to the conclusion that street names participate in the symbolic construction of identity (Azaryahu & Kook, 2002).

Carter (1987) chronicles the process of erasure which saw a sequence of inscriptions being made. As a result of this, the place was called 'Cape Inscription'. A similar study was done by Saparov (2003) in Soviet Armenia. Saparov examines the change of place names and the construction of national identity in Soviet Armenia. Saparov writes that:

> Place names are some of the durable of national symbols. They can outlive most material artefacts of a civilisation. The material components of the cultural landscape may disappear or destroyed, the civilisation that created them may also disappear but its place-names will most probably survive (Saparov, 2003: 179).

Saparov's study establishes that the existence of a system of geographic names (a national toponymy) in the native language of the indigenous population points to the fact that a territory belongs to a particular group. Saparov shows that what obtains in most countries when successive governments remove symbols of deposed regimes also happened in the USSR where Soviet Union destroyed symbols of the Tsarist regime. Place names were not spared in the process because they are important in the construction of a nation-state. Saparov indicates that a national place name policy was put in place and it was regulated by the decrees of the Central Executive Committee and the Supreme

Soviet. Saparov's study traces the historical background of Armenia as an independent state, such as the Berlin Conference of 1878 where the issue of Armenia was brought into national agenda to the genocide of 1915. Place naming in Armenia was regulated by the law because of the salience of place names as identity symbols. The 1927 law has it that the names of newly established places had to be approved by the presidium of the Central Executive Committee [of the Armenian SSR]; a request for it had to be submitted by the district executive committee through the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs. Secondly, the names of the new railway stations opening within the boundaries of the Armenian SSR had to be approved by the Central Executive Committee of the Armenian SSR, with the [subsequent] approval by the People's Commissariat of Communications of the USSR (*Chronological collection of the laws of the Armenian SSR 1920-1938* in Saparov, 2003).

Another stakeholder in the renaming exercise was a government appointed commission which was appointed in 1933 with a clearly defined mandate of determining correct place names. This demonstrates the importance of place names as markers of identity. Overall, place names were at the core of strategies used in the re-creation of an Armenian identity following the demise of Turkic cultural landscape. The whole exercise of creating a new Armenian identity was very symbolic because it overcame the traumatic experiences of the genocide of 1915.

In a related study, Berg and Kearns (1996) analyse the contested place naming system in several areas on the Otago Peninsula of New Zealand. They maintain that naming of places is at the center of the relationship between place and the politics of identity. Overall, they draw the conclusion that place naming is a form of "norming" because "place names are part of the social construction of space and the symbolic construction of meanings about places" (Berg & Kearns, 1996: 99). This points to place

naming as an exercise of constructing a certain identity on the named places which is central to the analysis of place names pursued in this study.

Commemorative place naming, while indexing power politics in a nation-state, is also significant in the social construction of places. Zelinsky (1983); Stump (1988) establish that honouring public figures through place naming index community identity of the name-givers and accentuates a nationalist feeling. Yeoh (1996) explores the toponymic configuration of Singapore as a colonial city.

In South Africa, Guyot and Seethal (2007) advance that the colonial apartheid establishment in South Africa used place names to impose its identity on the landscape during the colonial period because place names, "are spatial symbols of colonialism, racial appropriation, segregation and apartheid" (Guyot & Seethal, 2007: 86). Indigenous identities were erased and new colonial identities were constructed in their place through well calculated means such as edicts, legal instruments and the drawing of maps (Meiring, 1996; 2002; Jenkins, 2010; Coetser, 2004). Zimbabwe was not an exception to this rule. Commemorative names and other names of places found in Britain and other European countries were part of the place naming systems used by European settlers (Magudu, et al. 2010; Chabata, 2007; 2012).

In African states, every effort is made to create an African identity upon the attainment of independence. In Namibia, Mbenzi (2009) indicates that the renaming of place names was also done through *ad hoc* committees which were set up by municipal authorities to oversee the naming and renaming of places under their jurisdiction. Places that had colonial names were named after local national leaders, or in honour of certain individuals, for example, the change of the name of the

airport from J. G. Strydom to Hosea Kutako International Airport, some streets were named after some African leaders, such as Robert Mugabe, Laurent Kabila, and Nelson Mandela.

Ndletyana (2012) shows that in South Africa, renaming of places is currently underway and it started in 2002 after the reconstitution of the Advisory committee, The National Place Names Committee (NPNC) in 1998 into the South African Geographical Names Council (SAGNC) (Department of Arts and Culture 1998) and the issuing of new guidelines: *Handbook of Geographical Names* (Department of Arts and Culture 2002). In South Africa, streets in virtually every town and city were renamed in order to reflect the new socio-political order (Koopman, 2012a; 2012b; 2007; Hilterman & Koopman, 2003; Machaba, 2003; Turner, 2009). Guyot and Seethal (2007) show that in the early 2000, the need for name changes for towns and cities came to the fore following the demarcation of new municipalities. However, a comparison between the renaming in the post-indepence era that took place in South Africa and Namibia and Zimbabwe. In South Africa there is no attempt to name the built environment after fellow African national leaders as a way of projecting a pan-African ideology of the new government. In Zimbabwe and Namibia, names of African heads of state, especially, those who played a part in the fight against colonialism grace the public space as a way of honouring their contributions to the attainment of independence in the respective states. The name Zimbabwe replaced Southern Rhodesia upon the attainment of independence. Chabata (2007; 2012) submits that Zimbabweans have tried to construct a distinct Zimbabwean identity through naming places after their heroes and heroines, both living and dead. These arguments point to the symbolic nature of place names in the construction of identities. In this regard, place names constitute one of the important vectors in the definition of an identity of a place.

The post-independent Zimbabwean state tried to extend the decolonisation process on the onomastic front through renaming institutions such as schools. Pfukwa and Barnes (2010) examine the dynamics and contradictions that accompany the process of renaming schools in post-Southern Rhodesia. In their view, renaming is an act of redrawing ideological and cultural spaces that were erased by the coloniser. In light of this observation, renaming becomes a process of repossession and reconstructing past maimed and disfigured identities. In a related study, Pfukwa (2012) explores the processes of renaming streets in Harare as a way of erasing the English language and the European culture it embodies from the Zimbabwean urban landscape.

The salience of names as identity markers can be seen on the importance attached to the deconstruction (denaming) and reconstruction (renaming) of place naming exercise which is mostly pronounced in independent states. The twin processes are aimed at removing every discursive vestige of the colonial establishment and ultimately create an undoubted identity consistent with the new socio-political dispensation. This information provides a critical basis for the analysis of school names as identity markers for both the school and the immediate environment during the colonial period in Zimbabwe (see section 5.3.2.1.1).

2.2.4 Place names and the social construction of personal identities

There are two levels of identity: individual and collective identity. Dundes (1983: 239) citing Erikson says identity "…connotes both a persistent sameness within oneself (selfsameness) and persistent sharing of some kind of essential character with others". Pfukwa and Viriri (2009) argue that individual identity has a "persistent selfsameness" while the group identity has "collective sameness". It is de Klerk's (1998) (cited in Pfukwa & Viriri, 2009: 428) argument that collective selfsameness

can be described as the "intracultural function" where a nickname usually acts as a cohesive device indicating warmth and solidarity. Collective identity reduces social distance and emphasises commonalities among group members. It enforces group ties and acts as a binding force within a group that keeps the social group intact.

Both group and individual identities are significant in the discussion of the projection of the self and how the individual or the group perceives itself. Projection of the self entails the aspect of self-perception (who am I for others) or how others perceive the projected self of the individual or the group. Pfukwa (2007: 43) asserts:

> 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 above aspects of identity are very important for the discussion pursued in this study because European identity and African identity were important in keeping the distinct races apart physically and socially. The projected self and self-perception were significant in emphasising racial differences between Africans and Europeans.

Simmel (1997) cited in Jaworski and Thurwol (2009: 6) submits:

> We create our identities in part through the process of geographical imagining, the locating of self in space, claiming the ownership of specific places, or by being excluded from them, by sharing space and interacting with others....

Monuments, cartographical features, and place names are among significant elements of constructing an identity on the landscape. Balode (2012) indicates that street names are closely related to the local people's identity. These street names can be called a part of the local people's identity.

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The type of identity discussed here is the one which exists in relation to the physical environment (Proshansky, 1978). Identity is important to the concept of place attachment people have with their immediate environment. This is very significant in discussing the bond that existed between European settlers and places bearing European names during the colonial period in Zimbabwe. In turn, European settlers had affective feelings towards schools in areas earmarked for Europeansettlement in urban areas.

Place names are significant in describing people in terms of how they belong to specific groups and places (Helleland, 2009; 2012a). Helleland (2009) regards this role of place names as identity marking. In this regard, place names are instruments that are used to include (for in-group members) or to exclude (for out-group members). Place names have the power to captureand reflect personal and cultural experiences (Helleland, 2012a). The above discussion provides scaffolding information for the discussion on how racial identities were significant in constructing different communities for Africans and Europeans during the colonial period in Zimbabwe. However, Helleland warns against viewing identity as a stable and constant variable. The notion of identity as held by a certain generation might not be necessarily the same as those of the next generation. Identity is conditioned by several external factors. This study appreciates that place names are significant identity markers. While Helleland's studies are a general analysis of the role of place names as identity markers without any reference to any identifiable context, this study contextualises the study of place names by discussing their identity-building role within the era of colonialism in Zimbabwean urban centres.

2.3 Place naming and the dominated population

The above sections have illustrated the influence of power and ideology on place naming. However, it is not always the case that the process of place naming is governed by the elites and the dominant groups in the society. In some cases, the powerless, the vanquished, the deemed to be voiceless might have a great influence in the process of place naming. This section reviews literature which examines the role of the marginalised and less powerful members of the society in the process of place naming. Alderman (2008: 196) draws examples from the American scene to advance what he calls "naming as symbolic resistance". Alderman illustrates that racial and ethnic minorities make use of place names as means of challenging white racial dominance. Through place names, racial and ethnic minorities are demanding new rights and recognition. As such, Black activists have carried out public campaigns with the following aims:

(1) Removing place names that commemorate white supremacists and purveyors of racial inequality

(2) Renaming places to celebrate black historical figures, particularly from the American Civil Rights Movement.

These efforts ensure that African Americans have some value in the social system and it is also a way of creating a heritage for them. In America, racism is still prevalent. This argument points to a polarised society where there was a marked distinction based on racial differences. The society is characterised by tension and hostility. What obtains in such a society are more or less the same as realities in a colonial society under study in this study. The findings of Alderman's study illuminate this study on the use of some Shona name for some schools. This study acknowledges that colonial rule was not a homogeneous political entity in terms of their treatment of Africans, for example, Todd and Whitehead were liberal and accommodative but the Rhodesian Front which assumed power in

1962 under the leadership of Smith was extremely radical. Education was a central cause of conflict between the nationalist movement and the Rhodesian Front. Zvobgo (1989) submits that the conflict between government and nationalist movements over education increased as the Rhodesian Front sought to restructure African education within the framework of its ideology of separate development. Most schools in urban centres were constructed during the time of the Rhodesian Front.

In post-independence Singapore, Yeoh (1996) indicates that subordinate groups have the potential of contesting the power of dominant groups through formal and political means. Yeoh's study establishes that racial minorities challenge and question the semantic references and some forms of place names through official channels. In Yeoh's view:

> The inscription of hegemonic [dominant] meaning in landscape is hence more akin to an uneven, negotiated process of constant mediations rather than a static consensual once-and-for-all translation of a monolithic ideology into material form (Yeoh, 1996: 304).

In this regard, hegemonic tendencies of dominant groups in the society can be challenged by counter hegemonic ideologies of the less powerful sections of the society.

In a related study, Wilkinson, Marika and William (2009) examine the complexities and contradictions in an attempt by the Europeans to institute what Pfukwa (2007) calls 'onomastic erasure' deriving from Derrida's deconstruction theory. Europeans imposed their own names on the landscape yet some of the indigenous names they intend to fossilise had a spiritual dimension. The places were named by the dream-ancestor Wunal. The Europeans rejected Yolŋu names alleging that they were difficult to pronounce. However, Wilkinson, Marika and William (2009) indicate that despite the asymmetrical power relations between the Yolŋu and the white Australians, the former were not passive objects in the place naming game. They invoked the sacred dimension of names

while the latter used legal instruments in the imposition of names on the landscape. The Yolŋu resisted the name 'Gove Peninsula' because they felt it was very offensive since it was a commemorative name given in honour of Pilot officer William Gove who died in 1943. In turn, they continued to call the place Nhulunbuy in spite of the local authority's decision to name the township Gove. It is interesting to note that the Aborigines never used the name except when talking to European visitors.

In a related study, Attenbrow (2005) shows how pressure exerted by the indigenous Aboriginal people on the use of their place names saw the adoption of the dual naming policy which ensured that Aboriginal place names were recognised by all Australians as a heritage that needed preservation. On the African continent, Myers's (1996) study shows how the less powerful, the inhabitants of Zanzibar's Ng'ambo Neghbourhood, literally the city's 'Other Side' created alternative place name in order to counter official names.

In Zimbabwe, Worby (1994) uses Gokwe (formely Sebukwe) as a case study, to show how power and domination fall short of their goal because the inhabitants of that area refused to be named. In that regard, they defied the colonial mapping principles by changing identities in a clear way of eluding mapping that had ethnic overtones and biases. This constitutes the whole framework of "the power to refuse to be named by and for an Other" (Worby, 1994: 372). Of interest to this study is the resistance of the dominated in the onomastic process. These observations are significant for showing the complex nature of giving names to the landscape during a time of colonialism. Africans were not merely passive as objects to be named by the colonists. In the case of this study, the Africans played a significant role in the naming of places in urban spaces as evidenced by the use Shona names for the

built environment in urban areas during the colonial period in Zimbabwe. In some cases, the colonial establishment gave Africans limited authority of giving names to places that had little or no political significance in their immediate environments (Magudu, et al. 2010).

2.4 Totemism and [place] naming

The concept of totemism and naming is discussed here because the corpus of school names analysed in this study reveals that some school names were derived from the Shona totemic system as illustrated under section 5.2.5. Durkheim (1965) defines a totem as a symbol, a material expression representing some entity in the world. Among the Shona people, everyone is born into some totem. This cultural trait of the Shona people is also found among many other societies, especially African societies. The origin of totemism among the Shona people can be traced to the mythological era in the history of the Shona people in a place called Guruuswa, found in southern Tanganyika (now Tanzania). Chigwedere (1980) puts forward that oral tradition has it that Mambiri, the earliest known ancestor of the Shona people was the one who first adopted the Shoko/Soko (Monkey) totem as a way of guarding against incest and marking identity of his followers. This is understood to be the origins of totemism and the custom of exogamy among the Shona people. Musiyiwa (www.poetryinternationalweb.net/pi/site/poet/item/.../Shona-Praise-Poetry) advances that a second totem Shava/Mhofu (Eland) totem was adopted when the population grew in order to allow for intermarriages between members of the first totem, the Shoko totem and the newly adopted totem. The practice continued up to the present scenario where there are at least 25 identifiable totems (mitupo) with at least 60 principal names (zvidawo).

Durkheim (1965) studies religion among aboriginal tribes in Australia with the principal aim of proving that society is the bedrock of religious beliefs. Arguing from a functionalist school of thought, Durhkeim advances that religion enhances social cohesion and unity in the society. It is Durkheim's contention that the origins of religion is in totemism. The religious character of the totem is seen in the sense that a totem belongs to the class of sacred items in the distinction between sacred and profane items. This concept can be applied to the Shona lived experiences because totemism is embedded in their religious beliefs. There are several myths surrounding the totemic symbol. Traditionally, the totemic symbol (an animal or a part of an animal) is an object of veneration because it is a sacred object. Among the Shona people the following are some of the totemic animals:

> Shumba (lion), Nzou (elephant), Shava/Mhofu (Eland), Ngwena (crocodile), Kiti (cat), Shiri/Hungwe (Fish-eagle), Hove (fish), Nyati (Buffalo), Mbizi (Zebra), Shoko (Monkey/Baboon)

Parts of animals and human body parts are also taken as totemic symbols amomg the Shona people. The following examples suffice: Gumbo (leg), Moyo (Heart) and Gushungo (male genitalia). In Australia, Durkheim (1965) observed that the objects which serve as totems belong either to the animal kingdom or the vegetable kingdom, with the former class being the dominant source of totemic objects.

A totemic symbol also merits avoidance because one is not expected to eat meat from one's totem. Whosoever oversteps this cultural expectation exposes themselves to grave dangers. Chemhuru and Masaka (2010) note that violation of taboos related to taking one's totem as a source of meat invites the loss of one's teeth or illness. Observance of the taboos form part of one's ethos. The prohibition from eating meat of a sacred totemic animal becomes part of the eating habits of people of a particular totem. Frazer (1995- http://books.google.co.zw) also observes similar taboos among the

Xhosa and the Zulu people in South Africa. People are prohibited from eating meat from their motupo (totemic animal).

Among the Shona people, the totemic system goes along patrilineal lines in the sense that a totem is inherited from one's father. A totem among the Shona, just like, what Durkheim (1965) discovers among the aboriginals in Australia, is not merely a name, it is an emblem. Making reference to Schoolcraft (1893), Durkheim, (1965) advances that among the Indians of North America, a totem is a design that corresponds to the heraldic emblems of civilised nations, and that each person is authorised to bear it as a proof of the identity of the family to which it belongs. The same situation also obtains among the Shona people where totems act like identity markers. A totem is an important tool of self-definition which also binds a people together as one. However, in the modern society the totemic system has been affected by forces of social change, especially Christianity which brands it as devilish and evil.

Among the Shona people, some surnames are derived from their totems or clan praise names. Clan praise names feature the most in clan praise poetry. Clan praise names are related to totemism in the sense that the praises that are a defining characteristic of clan praise poetry are derived from the attributes of the animal, or part of an animal taken as a totem of a particular clan. This explains the existence of surnames such as Shoko/Soko (for people of the Soko totem), Shumba (for people of the the Shumba totem), Moyo (for people of the Moyo totem), Shava (for people of the Shave totem), among many others. It is important to mention that the practice is also prevalent among the Ndebele people. It is believed that the Ndebele people who have totems or clan praise names for totems are originally Shona people who were incorporated into the Ndebele society and occupied the lowest

social class named the Hole during the reigns of Mzilikazi and Lobengula (www.bulawayo1872.com).

Totemism is also significant in personal naming among the Shona people in the sense that clan praise names and totems form part of the address system. It is a sign of respect for people to use clan praise names when addressing each other. This practice is also found even in highly formalised contexts, such as workplaces. The following are examples of totems and/or clan praise names that are used as address terms:

Table 2.1: Totems and clan praise names

Totem	Clan praise name
Shava (Eland)	Mhofu
Soko (Monkey)	Mukanya
Gwai/ Hwai (Sheep)	Gumbi
Nzou (Elephant)	Samanyanga
Gumbo (Leg)	Chitova

Having established the place of totemism in personal naming, it is important to mention that some places are named after some personalities whose names might be derived from the Shona totemic system. This naming trend can be illustrated in the following way:

Totem/Clan praise name ⟶ Personal address label ⟶ place
  name

The above sequence can be illustrated by the name Mutasa or Murambwi. Mutasa is a clan praise name for people of the Mbizi totem. Most of them use the praise name as their surname. The traditional chief who rules over the place assumes the name Chief Mutasa. The name of the area under the jurisdiction of Chief Mutasa is called Mutasa [area]. When talking about the place, people

often describe it as KwaMutasa, indicating the sense that the place belongs to Chief Mutasa [and his people, the fellow Mutasas]. The same trend is true for Murambwi. It is a clan praise name for people of the Shumba totem who live in Masvingo Province near Bondolfi Mission. Whoever assumes the chieftaincy in this area also takes the name, Chief Murambwi where name avoidance is done for his personal name or surname as a way of honouring him. The whole area under Chief Murambwi is called Murambwi. When the place name is used together with the locative prefix /kwa-/, it denotes belonging to Chief Murambwi and all the other Murambwis.

Naming places after the clan praise names of the Shona people indicates that a particular geographical space belongs to people of a particular totem. The place name would then indicate who has power over or rules over the place. In this way, the place name Buhera indicates that the named place belongs to the people of the Shava totem who are addressed as VaHera when using their clan praise name, Njanja, a place found in the Hwedza area in Mashonaland East Province, is under the control of people of the Moyo totem who are addressed as Vanjanja when using their clan praise name, Nyajena in Masvingo Province belongs to people of the Moyo totem whose clan praise name is Jena. /Nya-/ is an ownership prefix indexing owner of the Jena area. The locative prefixes /kwa-/ is often used to indicate that people of particular totem exercise control over the named places. Matambirofa (1994) observes that the locative formatives /kwa-/ or its variant form /ku-/ indicates the rightful owner of the named places. Thus, KwaMhizha (an area in Chihota communal lands) means that the place belongs to the people of the Shava totem of the Mhizha clan.KwaMutasa (an area in Manicaland) indicates that the place belongs to people of the Mbizi (Zebra) totem whose clan praise name is Mutasa.

The locative prefix /ku-/ that is found on a place name such as kuBuhera, is suggestive of location on a flat plane of the earth's surface. It is used to a location which is relatively far away from the speaker-hearer (Matambirofa, 1994). The relationship between the Shona totemic system and place naming lays the basis for the analysis of some school names analysed in this study which were derived from the Shona totemic system. These school names are *Nyandoro Primary School, Mhizha Primary School, Mhofu Primary School, Mbizi Primary School*s and *Mutasa Primary School*. Mufakose Township in Salisbury derived its name from the clan praise name of the Shava (Eland) totem.

2.5 New Directions in Toponomastic studies: Linguistic landscape

This study adopts the linguistic landscape approach in studying school names in the cityscapes of Salisbury, Umtali and Fort Victoria during the colonial period. School names were part of public signage which formed the cities' linguistic landscapes. This section examines the inception and subsequent development of linguistic landscape research paradigm in Sociolinguistics.

The concept of linguistic landscape is a relatively new area of study in Sociolinguistics. Traditionally, Sociolinguistics was concerned with spoken discourse (Muth, 2013). Landry and Bourhis (1997) were the first to use the phrase linguistic landscape. However, prior to their survey of ethnolinguistic vitality, Spolsky and Cooper (1991) had carried out a study in Jerusalem which emphasised on sign creation in multilingual Jerusalem considering the influence of political regimes on the linguistic landscape. Landry and Bourhis (1997: 25) provide the following definition of linguistic landscape which has been widely accepted by scholars as standard:

The language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, shop names, commercial signs, and public signs on government buildings combine to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region or urban agglomeration.

While their approach to signs and visible aspects of language is not without its shortcomings, their seminal paper provides a basis for subsequent studies that employs the concept of linguistic landscape. The above definition clearly indicates that names are integral elements of the linguistic landscape. Place names feature greatly on road signs, while commercial names are a major component of shop signs and advertising billboards. Names of institutions and/or names of buildings appear on government buildings (Puzey, 2007; 2009; 2011). Following Du Plessis (2011); Puzey (2011); Kostanski (2011), this study regards signposts and maps as part of the "visible language environment" (Du Plessis 2011: 264). Official place names are used on maps and they also dominate on public signage. It is this researcher's conviction that all school names that appear on maps during the colonial period were standardised and went through the process of standardisation. The linguistic landscape is basically written, posing as an extension of the traditional trend of sociolinguistic studies whose focus is spoken language.

The main focus of a linguistic landscape study is examining written language on visible signage or in the public sphere. Ben-Rafael, Shohamy and Barni (2010) argue that in the community and society, public space is that space which is exposed to the public eye, such as streets, parks, billboards, shops, stores and offices. The early stages of linguistic landscape study as a new dimension of Sociolinguistic analysis shows that it was used in language planning and multilingual studies. Its specific focus was the distribution of languages on public signage and to examine the vitality of languages used in a community.

The approach has been widely used as a new approach to language planning and multilingual studies (Gorter, 2006a; 2006b). Linguistic landscape as used in multilingual studies pays particular attention to language. Gorter (2007) explores multilingualism in Rome, Huebner (2006) examines the linguistic landscape of Bangkok, Thailand; Coupland (2010) regards the linguistic landscape 'as a way of seeing Wales'; Backhaus (2006) examines the multilingual signs in Tokyo, the capital of Japan; Ben-Rafael, et al. (2008) in Israel, Hicks (2002) in Scotland, Kostanski (2011) in Australia, among many other linguistic landscape studies.

On the African continent, some scholars have used the linguistic landscape approach (Reh, 2004 in Uganda; Du Plessis, 2009, 2011; Kayam, Hirsch and Kalily, 2012; Kotze, 2010; Stroud and Mpendukana, 2009 in South Africa; Rosendal, 2009 in Rwanda; Akindele, 2011 in Botswana). Another thrust of linguistic landscape is to consider the representation, place and position of minority and/or endangered languages on public signs because public signage can be monolingual, bilingual or multilingual (Diver, 2011; Cenoz & Gorter, 2006). The common thread running throughout these studies can be aptly summarised by Shohamy (2006:111) when he says, "it (linguistic landscape) serves as a mechanism to effect, manipulate and impose de facto language practices".

Linguistic landscape research dimension is also variably regarded as semiotic landscape (Jaworski & Thurlow, 2010; Sebba, 2010). The motivation for adopting this approach stems from the need to become inclusive through indicating that all visual signs that we encounter in the public sphere mirror the linguistic profile of the society. Semiotic landscape is conceptualised as "any public space... with visible inscription made through deliberate human interaction and meaning making" (Jaworski & Thurlow, 2010: 2). The central tenet of this approach is that space as a landscape is semiotic in the

sense that its meaning is always constructed in the act of socio-cultural interpretation. Language is just but one of the semiotic elements that helps in the construction and interpretation of place, the other discursive modalities being visual images, non-verbal communication, architecture and the built environment. This approach regards the treatment of the construction and interpretation of the landscape in linguistic terms (that is found in the linguistic landscape approach), as limiting and truncating.

It is important to mention that linguistic landscape studies focus on urban areas because that is where public signs are more visible as compared to the countryside (Coupland, 2010; Gorter, 2006b). Consistent with the widely held view in linguistic landscape studies stated above, this study also focuses on the use of place names as linguistic tokens in Salisbury, Umtali and Fort Victoria, which are all urban centres.

2.5.1 Functions of the linguistic landscape

Landry and Bourhis (1997) assert that the linguistic landscape of a territory is capable of serving two basic and irreducible functions: an informational function and a symbolic function. Hicks (2002) (cited in Puzey, 2007: 14) added the mythological or folkloric function.

2.5.1.1 Informational function

Citing Bourhis (1992), Landry and Bourhis (1997) posit that the most rudimentary function of the linguistic landscape is to perform territory marking functions by indicating the geographical boundary of a territory a particular language community inhabits. Constant and consistent linguistic behavior can be a useful marker of territorial boundary between a given language community and its

neighbouring community(ies). The predominance of a certain language on bilingual/multilingual public signs can indicate the linguistic profile of a community. This provides information on the language that dominates social intercourse in that community. The dominant language is the natural choice when one wants to get services in a particular speech community. Simultaneously, bilingual/multilingual signs are a rich source of information on the bi/multingual and bi/multicultural nature of the immediate speech community.

The "dominance of display" (Jaworski & Thurlow, 2009:9) where a particular language takes precedence over another or others on bilingual and multilingual public signs respectively is a reflection of display language preference policies (Azaryahu, 1996) provides information on the relative power and prestige of the languages spoken in a particular speech community. Languages that take precedence over others on public signs are relatively powerful. Public signage can also be a rich source of information on the formal/non-formal status of languages. Usually, formal languages are used on public signs and rarely are non-formal languages used on public signs. For the purposes of this study, toponomastic landscape indexes sameness and differences between Europeans and Africans. This study advances that the toponomastic landscape was crucial in marking imagined racial boundaries and creating cognitive maps in the minds of both Europeans and Africans during the colonial period in Zimbabwe.

2.5.1.2 The symbolic function

The linguistic landscape performs the symbolic function, as the presence or absence of a language in the public sphere contributes to the feelings that the in-group language wields some power relative to the other languages in a multilingual society. This argument is conceptualised in linguistic landscape

studies as the language's subjective ethnolinguistic vitality (Landry & Bourhis, 1997). The linguistic landscape may act as the most observable and immediate index of the relative power and status of the linguistic communities inhabiting a given territory (Landry & Bourhis, 1997: 29). Thus, the notions of power and status on one hand and identity on the other are central in the symbolic function of the linguistic landscape. In this case, the linguistic landscape can mirror the diglossic profile of a speech community. Thus, languages can be described as having either a high (H) status or a low (L) status. The prevalence of a language on public signs then symbolises the language's strength or one language's vitality in relation to other languages. In turn, the absence of one's language indexes that one's language has a low status in the society. This observation echoes Cenoz and Gorter's (2006) argument that the visual information that comes to people and the language in which signs are written can certainly influence people's perception of the status of languages in a multilingual society.

Aspects of power and status derived from the linguistic landscape are important for the purposes of this study because spatial mapping and the subsequent process of place naming are closely related to power politics and relations in Rhodesia. Place naming is an exercise of power and the forms of place names are determined by the most powerful group in a setting where groups exist in a dominant-dominated relationship. This is typical of the colonial set-up, where the colonial group controls symbolic culture including place naming. The powerful make all efforts to reproduce and enhance their power by controlling the public space (Harvey, 1989; 2006). Place names become state apparatus that comment on and/or reinforce the socio-political structure of the society. Commenting on the relationship between power, place-naming and ideology, Kotze (2010: 29) says, "those in power can more easily dominate the official signage domain and therefore send ideological messages about their position..." Place names that dominate a particular sphere; European or African indicate

the dominant race occupying the space. European place names were mostly given to the built environment in European areas while Shona names features greatly for places in African urban areas.

Another dimension of the symbolic function of the linguistic landscape is asserting identity. Landry and Bourhis (1997) state that the presence of a language in the linguistic landscape contributes to the positive social identity of its speakers. The very act is significant is asserting and confirming the power and status of the language. Speakers of a language used in the linguistic landscape feel that they are not marginalised in the society, and the reverse is true for groups whose languages are not present in the linguistic landscape.

2.5.1.3 The mythological/folkloric function

Hicks (2002 cited in Puzey, 2007: 14) added the mythological/folkloric function of the linguistic landscape to Landry and Bourhis' two; the informational and the symbolic. In Hicks' view, this function has only become truly a widespread feature over the landscape of Europe over the past century or so. In support of this assertion, Hicks provides examples of folk etymology that show the centrality of place names to local folkloric traditions, by providing a basis for story-telling. Place names, besides performing the informational function of marking linguistic territory, have the potential of revealing past cultural-linguistic borders. Puzey (2007) asserts this is presumably more useful to the importance of place-names for minority languages in comparison to the value of folktales themselves.

The functions of the linguistic landscape discussed above show the importance of studying the linguistic landscape of a given territory. The mythological function is not very relevant for the

purposes of this study. Following Torkington (2009), this study observes that the linguistic landscape is worthy studying because of the following reasons:

- Linguistic choices (including code choice) in the public sphere is an indication of varied social attitudes;

- Linguistic tokens in the public sphere are potentially markers of power and status; and

- The study of the linguistic landscape may, therefore, reflect the social identities and ideological orientations of a community.

The three inherent characteristics of the linguistic landscape guide the analysis of school names as part of the linguistic landscape during the colonial period in Zimbabwe. The above attendant characteristics of the linguistic landscape are consistent with Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth CDA) as discussed under section 4.5.1, the analytical tool for this study.

2.5.2 Natural landscape and linguistic landscape

An earlier observation by Nicolaisen (2011 [1990]: 226) that: "it does matter in what form a name appears on a sign at the entrance to a village" has pointed to the plausibility of using linguistic landscape approaches in toponomastic studies. Gorter (2006b) argues that the dictionary meaning points to the landscape as both a scenery and a representation of the landscape. The landscape is therefore, "an assemblage of natural features or a pictorial representation of them" (Gorter, 2006b: 82). This conceptualisation of a landscape is informed by the dual understanding of it as both a tract of land as well as a painted representation. The linguistic landscape is related to both aspects of the dual conception of landscape because it is an expression of language that comes to us in written form. It is an instance of scenery of the landscape. In this regard, when one is traversing the streets of an

urban area, they come across language in the public sphere as part of the scenery of the landscape where public signs would be "'shouting' or 'screaming' for attention" (Gorter, 2006b: 85).

Coupland (2010) offers a related view of the landscape by emphasizing that the notion of linguistic landscape is a metaphorical concept, derived from the concept of natural landscape. Coupland's understanding is that the visual aspects of nature that we come across in the landscape are important. This stems from his argument that the notion of natural landscape is not practical because most landscapes are humanly-built since it is difficult to have a natural world uncontaminated by human activity (Coupland, 2010). Cars, houses, signs and other evidence of human interference with the natural environment such as burning grass are all instances of how people 'contaminate' the environment. In the urban set up, they become part of "what 'real nature' is" (Coupland, 2010: 1). Linguistic landscapes constitute mediated visualisations of this nature. Public signage defines the mediated visualisation of the public sphere in urban areas. An urban space where public signage is the norm rather than an exception ceases to be a natural landscape. Public signage helps in transforming a cityscape into a signscape. The signscape is inherently a semiotic one. This cityscape-signscape-semiotic transformation gives birth to the notion of linguistic landscape as, "linguistic objects that mark the public space" (Ben-Rafael, et al. 2008: 7). In Coupland's (2010) view, lingustic landscape becomes a way of 'languageing' of towns and cities which embodies modern ways of seeing urban spaces.

2.5.3 Linguistic landscape and toponomastics

Gorter (2006b) while discussing further possibilities of linguistic landscape study indicates that it is plausible for linguistic landscape to be used in toponomastic studies. He made it clear that linguistic

landscape is related to city planning as well. Commercial signs are indispensable visible elements of almost all new buildings in cities. The visual appreciation of buildings and shopping malls in urban centres is in part influenced by the public signs written on them. Place names are undoubtedly part of these textual displays.

At another level, Gorter (2006b) pointed out that linguistic landscape can also be used in studying Semiotics; the study of the signs and symbols what they mean and how they are used. In the case of street signs, focus can be on the linguistic expressions and how they convey a certain meaning, in particular to understand the social and cultural context in which the signs are placed. This is closely to the notion of indexicality as one of the tenets of Scollon and Scollon's (2003) Geosemiotics, a theoretical framework used in this study of school names as signs in the public sphere as discussed under section 3.2.

It has been pointed under section 2.4.3 that that sociolinguictic studies have treated the linguistic landscape in language planning reasearches as a new dimension of research. Recent trends in linguistic landscape studies have appreciated the merit of using the landscape approach in toponomastic studies (Puzey 2007, 2009, 2010, 2011; Tan, 2011; Kostanski, 2005, 2009, 2011; Diver, 2011). The next sections examine how the above scholars have treated place names as part of the linguistic landscape. Efforts were made in those studies to use linguistic landscape methodology and research paradigms in toponomastic studies.

2.5.3.1 Puzey on the linguistic landscape and toponomastics

Puzey (2011) asserts that when toponomasticians started developing an interest in place names as a constituent element of linguistic landscape, the attention was also on the situation of minority, minoritised or indigenous languages. Examples are studies on Sami in Norway, Gaelic in Scotland and Nova Scotia, Lombard dialects in Italy and Switzerland (Puzey, 2009; 2010a; 2010b) and indigenous languages in Australia (Kostanski, 2009).

Puzey (2011) regards the use of the linguistic landscape approach in toponomastics as a new research direction in toponomastics because the linguistic landscape presents significant research opportunities in the field of toponomastics. In the paper, Puzey underscores the need to regard place names as salient constituent elements of the linguistic landscape, because it provides an opportunity for place names to be displayed such that everyone would see them (Puzey, 2009; 2011). In addition, the linguistic landscape can be a rich primary source of written forms of names, especially those that may not appear in maps or gazetteers. The linguistic landscape also offers a basis for studying commercial and urban names.

While Puzey (2009; 2011) regards linguistic landscape as a theoretical framework, this study follows Gorter (2006b); Ben-Rafael, et al. (2008); Shohamy and Gorter(2008); Spolsky and Cooper (1991); Backhaus (2007) in treating the linguistic landscape as a field of study. Linguistic landscape studies can be approached from different theoretical persuasions and orientations. In language planning and multilingualism studies, linguistic landscape can be approached from the theoretical paradigm of Ethnolinguistic Vitality (Cenoz & Gorter, 2006; Landry & Bourhis, 1997). Geosemiotics, as

propounded by Scollon and Scollon (2003), is another theory that can be used in linguistic landscape studies as discussed in the next chapter.

Puzey (2007) also examines the general functions of place names as a way of showing that place names are part of the linguistic landscape. Drawing parallels between linguistic landscape and place names, Puzey advances that both are products of a social context, and therefore be regarded as reflecting it. At another level, the identity function of place names which is a sum total of the cultural-historical, social and psychological functions, is the best way that can bind toponomastics to linguistic landscape studies.

Socially, place names are instrumental in the construction of both individual and collective identity. At the psychological level, place names invoke different attitudes in the minds owing to the different associations and connotations of the place names- their descriptive backing (Meiring, 1993), a whole lot of baggage carried by the place name (Pfukwa, 2012). Connotation of a name points to the totality of associations of a name with some social aspects which people often make when the name is used in a communicative interactive process. The immediate community can express positive values towards a place name. In most cases, this feature is more pronounced in commemorative place names where people celebrate their history and identity through place naming. In this case, place names fulfill a political function.

Puzey (2007) advances that the addition of place names to the study of linguistic landscape would undoubtedly increase the scope and value of the research. Puzey (2009: 825) illustrates that one way of amplifying the scope and value of linguistic landscape studies is:

The inter-connections between the linguistic landscape and place names, between place-names and places themselves, and between place-names and identity would suggest that it could be possible to incorporate within the symbolic function of the linguistic landscape a function of place identity and attachment.

The aspect of place identity and attachment is discussed at length by Kostanski.

2.5.3.2 Kostanski on toponymic attachment and the linguistic landscape

Kostanski (2009) is credited for formulating a theory of toponymic attachment. The tenets of this theory point to the salience of place names as part of the linguistic landscape. Place names appear on public signage [signposts, names on banners and markings on walls] in written form where, like any other place name, serve the following functions: representing histories; connecting communities; identifying cultural heritage; locating areas; and, defining places in the landscape (Kostanski, 2009). The presence of place names [and sometimes non existence] in the linguistic landscape indexes the cultural, political and social organisation of the immediate community. Thus, considering the emotional and functional aspects of toponymy brings in a dynamic understanding of the linguistic landscape (Kostanski, 2011b). Place names are visible in the built environment where they appear as words on signposts, on banners and they are also marked on walls.

Human beings impose their meaning on the landscape. The meanings help in constructing and the subsequent strengthening of the bond between people and places. Thus, the basic tenets of the theory of toponymic attachment are concerned with describing the functional and emotional attachments people make with places. The utilitarian value of place names in enabling certain goals to be achieved constitutes the functional attachment to place. On the other hand, place identity is another instance of the emotional attachment people have to place names as discussed under section 2.2.2.

In showing the relationship between place names and the linguistic landscape, Kostanski (2011a) explores the linguistic landscape of Australia, in the state of Victoria, specifically, the changing dynamics of the linguistic landscape of Australia whereby there is a paradigm shift with the contemporary community replacing the dual-name public signs of the 1990s with the 'welcome to the country' signage.

The linguistic landscape is significant in enabling place names to form community and historical identity, a bond between the immediate community and places. Displaying place names on public signage, the printing of maps and the use of names to provide a means of way-finding, all help in developing and reinforcing place attachment. Constistent with methodologies in linguistic landscape studies on multilingualism and language planning, Kostanski (2011a) also makes use of photographs as central data gathering tools. This study also makes use of photographs to indicate how place names were used in the public sphere during the colonial period in Zimbabwe.

2.5.3.3 Diver on the linguistic landscape and place names on bilingual signage

Diver (2011) explores how the linguistic landscape can mirror the conflict in the language policies of the State and Region. French is the official language while Occitan is an endangered language. Diver uses two case studies; the first one being the use of Occitan in the city of Toulouse and the second one was the representation of the Occitan language in the linguistic landscape in relation to other French regional languages in Villeneuveles-Maguelone. The two case studies indicate the salience of the linguistic landscape in both language policy and language revitalisation.

The first case indicates that the linguistic landscape in the city of Toulouse can be used as a platform for the revitalisation of an endangered language because Occitan was visible in the linguistic landscape. The city of Toulouse, being the main city of the Midi-Pyrenees region, has a comprehensive language policy that clearly spell out that Occitan should be used on street name signs as a development strategy for the language. That state of affairs indicates the difference of focus and orientation between national and regional language policies.

The second case of Villeneuveles-Maguelone was also a matter of the representation of Occitan in the linguistic landscape. The town had ignited the creation of new legislation that makes it possible for regional languages to be used in the linguistic landscape of France. The common observation in both cases is that place names in the linguistic landscape are crucial in the protection and promotion of an endangered language such as Occitan. The linguistic landscape proves to be a contested terrain that displays power relations and conflicting language policies. Diver (2011) underscores the importance of place names as components of the linguistic landscape, an argument also pursued in this study.

2.5.3.4 Tan on place names in the linguistic landscape

Tan (2011) examines the use of place names in the linguistic landscape of Singapore by considering signs put up by several agencies. Specifically, Tan's study analyses street names, school names, names of buildings, names of metro stations and names of tourist attractions. In a country where four languages are accorded the official language status, Tan explores how Singapore treats them in the linguistic landscape. Thus, Tan also emphasises the centrality of place names as linguistic tokens in the linguistic landscape.

2.5.3.5 Du Plessis on place names and language visibility

Du Plessis (2009, 2011a, 2011b) examines the linguistic landscape of post-Apartheid South Africa. The argument that runs through the studies is that place names enhance the visibility of languages in the linguistic landscape. It is Du Plessis' observation that: "the public display of geographical names on road traffic signs, buildings and maps, and via other means, contributes significantly to the visible language environment, the linguistic landscape" (Du Plessis, 2011: 264). The public display of place names reflects the official language policy of the post-apartheid era in South Africa. The salience of these studies for the purposes of this study lies in choosing place naming as instances of the display of languages, through place names, in the public sphere. Koopman (2012) indicates that street names are always visible in the urban built environment because when one travels in urban centres they see them on each corner and intersection.

The motivation for reviewing the above studies that have examined place names as part of the linguistic landscape is to show that linguistic landscape is a new research direction in toponomastics (Puzey, 2011). Linguistic landscape, as a new area of study in Sociolinguistictics also focuses on the symbolic construction of public space through marking places with linguistic tokens. The linguistic tokens operate as social facts that relate, on a more general note, to social phenomena. Ben-Rafael, et al. (2008: xix) submit: "the study of linguistic landscape focuses on the articulation by actors of [these] linguistic symbols that mould the public space".

This study looks at school names as linguistic landscape. The notion of linguistic landscape as it is known in language planning studies, is very broad for the purposes of this study because of its concern on the reciprocal indexical relationship between sign and space (Backhaus, 2005), or the

visible language texts on signs in public space (Landry & Bourhis, 1997) or the "amalgamation of all the linguistic tokens that are present in, and thus, mark the public sphere" (Torkington, 2009: 123). This study does not focus on all the "linguistic resources that individuals and institutions make use of in the public sphere" (Ben-Rafael, et al. 2006: 7), from graffiti to bi-lingual signs. Its focus is on place names as they are displayed on public signs. This motivates this study to advance that when the linguistic landscape approach is used in toponomastic studies, in examining any category of place names [street names, shop names, school names, names of buildings, names of rail stations and names of hospitals, names of sports centres], the linguistic landscape ceases to be an ordinary linguistic landscape. It becomes a *toponomastic landscape*, to indicate special attention and focus on place names. This study treats toponomastic landscape as the use of place names in the public sphere in their written form. This is the term to be used in this study to analyse school names as they appear in the public sphere. This makes it possible to specifically discuss the linguistic landscape paying particular attention to place names.

The public space in this study is treated at the levels of public signs in schools and maps. Puzey (2011) posits that the linguistic landscape includes the visibility of language(s) in the public sphere in its written form, and also in other written matter, such as in books or on maps. School names, as official names, were also written on maps. Torkington (2009) also supports that the linguistic landscape should not be conceptualised in terms of fixed signs and texts-signs which have some degree of stability in terms of their spatial positions. It encompasses other "mobile" texts, flyers, leaflets distributed in the streets, advertising on buses, vans, and maps. In listing all these 'forms' of linguistic landscape, Torkington (2009) cautions that some texts are more visible than others, but they have a potential of being read in public spaces. It is this study's submission that maps are less visible

to public signs (school signage system such as signposts and others within school premises) because not all people use maps all the times than they come across public signs.

Linguistic landscape is significant to this study because of its focus on the use of place names in urban centres. In a similar manner, linguistic landscape studies deal with language on public signs, the expression written language before one's eyes in urban areas. The general understanding in linguistic landscape studies is that a high concentration of signs is found in cities (Gorter, 2006a; 2006b; Spolsky & Cooper, 1991). Thus, Gorter (2006b: 2) says the term cityscape rather is appropriate than simply linguistic landscape because public signs are so much encountered in cities as compared to the countryside or areas which are largely uninhabited. However, this study sticks to linguistic landscape (which it develops further to toponomastic landscape for the purposes of analysing school names) because it the one widely used in Sociolinguistic researches.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed related studies to the concepts discussed in this study. Different levels of the influence of power on place naming were noted. The powerful decide how they want the world to be viewed through designing maps that best suit their demands and expectations. Maps are never neutral but they should be conceptualised as spatial discourses of power. In a society with different groups of people, the dominant group yields the power to draw maps. Spatial mapping shows the capillary nature of power. The names given to places created through such a spatial mapping exercise are reflective of the power relations in a given society. However, it has been shown that in some cases the less powerful can devise mechanisms that challenge the deemed to be obvious relationship between place naming and power. The chapter proceeded to show that place naming can result in the

imposition of an identity and an ideology on the landscape. Lastly, the chapter indicated that linguistic landscape approaches can be used in toponomastic studies. This has a value addition role because it widens the scope of toponomastic studies. The guiding principle was to find ways in which these studies inform this study and also identifying knowledge gaps which it could fill.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.0 Introduction

The preceding chapter has reviewed onomastic literature related to this study. This chapter presents the theoretical framework to be used in this study. The theoretical framework adopted in this study is premised on the understanding of the place name as capable of expressing onomastic meaning (Nicolaisen, 1978). This study adopts Geosemiotics as propounded by Scollon and Scollon (1993), a theory which looks at the placement of language in the material language. The concepts in Semiotics, Pragmatics and Semantics on meaning construction guide analysis of the process of inscribing meaning on the landscape and the whole exercise of the social construction of places in the three selected urban centres during the colonial period in Zimbabwe. Semiotics, Pragmatics and Semantics help in appreciating the fact that names have a semantic import. The chapter indicates how the adopted theoretical framework can be used in doing a sociolinguistic analysis of place names.

3.1 Geosemiotics

The coining of the term Geosemiotics and its subsequent development as a theoretical framework is attributed to Scollon and Scollon (2003). Geosemiotics is defined as: "the study of the social meaning of the material placement of signs and discourses, and of our actions in the material world" (Scollon & Scollon, 2003: 2). Scollon and Scollon argue from a social semiotic perspective and they proffer an inclusive understanding of a sign consistent with Pierce's (1955) treatment of a sign as "any material object that indicates or refers to anything other than itself" (Scollon & Scollon, 2003: 3).

Scollon and Scollon's (2003) understanding of a sign includes any semiotic system. This implies that language and discourse are constituent elements of the semiotic system that participates in the discursive construction of the public space. The basic tenet of Geosemiotics is that there are sign systems in the world outside of language but to which language points or in which language is used. Scollon and Scollon (2003) are convinced that meaning is not confined to language per se, but it is also located in the complexity and realities of the lived world. These perceptions explain the term Geosemiotics. The theory has it that the interpretation of the meaning of public texts is made possible by the emplacement of the public signs, that is, the immediate world in social and physical terms, where a public sign is located. In this whole scheme, names need to be considered because they are forms of signs which interact with other elements in the material world in the semiotic process (the meaning making process).

Scollon and Scollon's perspective of Geosemiotics is anchored on the argument that: "there is a social world presented in the material world through its discourses- signs, structures, other people- and [that] our actions produce meanings in the light of those discourses" (Scollon & Scollon, 2003:1). The central argument pursued by geosemioticians is that the meaning of a sign is best understood in the material world and in its spatiality. Gottdiener and Lagopoulos (1986) posit that the material objects are the vehicles of significance, so that the symbolic act always involves some physical object as well as social discourse in it. Viewing the landscape in terms of Geosemiotics helps us to appreciate the urban society in the colonial society as an aggregate of semiotic signs (monuments, place names, flags and all cultural symbols that grace the landscape).

The object of study in the present research being place names in a contested space of a colonial society makes it imperative to choose a theoretical framework that studies the meaning system by

which language is located in the material world. This placement of language in the material world goes beyond the location of words in books to include the urban planning designs and the placement of signs in the built environment in urban areas. A case in point is the concern in Geosemiotics on how streets are laid down and the signs placed on those streets (Scollon & Scollon, 2003). In this regard Geosemiotics is an effective tool in studying the general urban spatial mapping system and the subsequent placement of signs in the cityscape. This theoretical framework underscores the salience of the spatial, material, physical context for the meaning of language and signs (Flowerdew &Wei, 2013). A full appreciation of the meanings of place names usedduring the colonial period in Zimbabwe involves understanding the role of place names inthe place-making process. This is consistent with Jaworski and Thurlow's (2009) view of semiotic landscape which is centred on the argument that all landscape is semiotic.

Public signs in a colonial society are unlikely to be neutral given the power relations obtaining in the society. Kress (1993) points out that no sign is innocent. As such, all signs are equally subject to critical reading. While this standpoint might appear to be an overgeneralisation which attracts criticism, what is not debatable is that public signs have a potential of reflecting power and status of groups whose language(s) appear (or not appear) on public signs. This is more applicable to the colonial society where semiotic systems are expected to mirror power relations of the dominating and the dominated groups. It is such observations that Geosemiotics has been chosen as a theoretical framework to analyse the linguistic landscape in the colonial society.

This study examines the relationship between the place name and where the named place is located in space in the colonial urban area. It has been indicated under section 1.1.4 that spatial mapping in the colonial period was controlled by different legislative framework and conscious efforts to create

separate spaces for Europeans and Africans were made. Allensworth (1975) submits that planning does not take place in a vacuum. Local political institutions, such as city and suburban governments and the political processes surrounding these governments control urban planning. The political influence is more pronounced in the colonial set up where the colonial government makes every effort to control public space. In this study, school names as components of the toponomastic landscape are treated as texts. This study, conscious of the salience of space and spatiality in the colonial period, examines the dialogical relationship between school names and the place in which they were found.

Geosemiotics has proved to be very influential in recent studies on linguistic landscapes and multilingual signage (Wielfaert, 2009; Aboelezz, 2012; Tan, 2009; Liang & Huang, 2009; Pierce, 2009; Kotze, 2010; Hamid, 2011, Lou, 2009). The theory is based on Semiotics. Words constitute verbal symbols, and for the purposes of this study, names are the linguistic signs. Using tenets of post-structuralism as advanced by Barthes (1972), Debray (1993), this study goes beyond the Saussurean tradition of regarding the signifier-signifier constituent parts of the semiotic sign by treating a sign as a product of the human [social] meaning construction activity. Tuan (1979), arguing from a human geographical standpoint which studies people's spatial feelings, submits that people give meaning to places by ascribing "personality" and "spirit" to the place. People possess meaning and they are centres of their own worlds. As such, they use language to convert buildings and cities into centres of meaning. It is through language that places are made to have greater emotional charge than merely a location. Tuan (1991) advances that language is core of all place-making strategies.

Unlike Semiotics which studies the sign systems or the properties of signaling systems, whether natural or artificial (Saeed, 1997), Geosemiotics has it that the greater part of the meaning of signs

and symbols is derived from how and where they are placed in the material world.The urban toponomastic landscape in Salisbury, Umtali and Fort Victoria is analysed using the following concepts of Geosemiotics as propounded by Scollon and Scollon (2003): the principle of indexicality, the principle of dialogicality and language choice.

3.1.1 The Principle of indexicality

Scollon and Scollon (2003) submit that indexicality is concerned with how social actors interpret meanings of signs in terms of their location in the built environment. The power of language to index the world around is based on indexicality. Scollon and Scollon (2003: 19) explaining the physical emplacement of signs submit that: "the central thesis of Geosemiotics is that exactly *where* [original emphasis] on earth an action takes place is an important part of its meaning". The meaning of a sign is derived from where it is seen on the landscape. It is Scollon and Scollon's (2003: 2) submission that:

> […] signs and symbols take a major part of their meaning from how and where they are placed- at that street corner, at that time of the history of the world. Each of them indexes a larger discourse […].

Indexicality is anchored on the assumption that the meaning of signs is dependant on their physical location. All signs, whether they are icons or symbols, achieve their meanings through their material placement in their world. In their discussion on finding differences among an icon, a sign and an index, they noted that an icon can be a picture of an entity in the physical world. A sign to them can be a completely arbitrary representation of an entity in the physical world. On index, they argue that it is a sign which derives its meaning from where and when it is located in the world. The overall observation was that indexicality is a quality of all signs because all of the three; icons, signs and indexes also index.

Indexicality as a principle of Geosemiotics helps in the understanding of signs used in a colonial state where conscious efforts were made to create separate spaces for different races. Spatial mapping was largely based on racial lines. European and African urban areas were distinctly marked in the urban landscape. The distribution of school names in European areas and African urban areas indicate their indexicality quality. School names got their meaning from their placement in the material world, in either European areas or native urban areas. European schools were largely given European names. Coincidentally, the schools were found in European areas. On the other hand, schools for Africans were generally given Shona names. The schools were sited in African urban areas (Black Townships) in the three urban centres under study in the present research. Efforts were made to guard against placing a European name, which signify European identity and history, in African areas. In Geosemiotics theory, this mistake of placing a sign in a "wrong" place is known as "transgressive emplacement" (Scollon & Scollon, 2003: 198). Judgment of a transgressive placement is a subjective exercise which depends on the reader and/or interpreter of a sign and the thought system and feelings of the immediate community of the reader.

3.1.2 The principle of dialogicality

A place is understood to be a "geosemiotic aggregate" defined as "multiple semiotic systems in a dialogical interaction with each other" (Scollon & Scollon, 2003: 12). This aspect of Geosemiotics is known as dialogicality. A sign exists in dialogical interaction with other signs and cultural discourses. This principle of dialogicality in Geosemiotics means that:

> All signs operate in aggregate, and there is always a dynamic among signs. Each sign indexes a discourse that authorises its placement, but once the sign is in place it is never isolated from other signs in its environment... (Scollon & Scollon, 2003: 205).

This principle is akin to the concept of "kinship between texts" (Duszak, 2009: 45 cited in Aboelezz, 2012: 2). School names, in this study, are analysed in the way they are embedded in the form of signs which interact with each other. This dialogicality of signs reveals the sensibilities and the thought system of the immediate community. A place name exists in relation to other indices in its environment. This study treats dialogicality at two levels: micro-level dialogicality and macro-level dialogicality. At the micro-level, this study examines the continual dialogue between the school name and other names in the school yard, such as, names of buildings, especially, hostels, libraries and halls and sporting houses. School names also exist in contiguity and continual dialogue with school logos, monuments, school colours and pictures (especially, of people which the schools are named after and other symbolic aspects) as part of the cultural discourses.

At the macro-level, dialogicality entails the dynamic relationship between the school name and other names, signs and cultural discourses that are not within the school. Street names, names of suburbs, names of public institutions, such as other schools, hospitals, stadia, monuments and all the sum total of signs and cultural symbols within the immediate environment are in constant dialogue with the school names.

3.1.3 Language choice

Language choice means the language in which signs are composed. Language choice reinforces the argument that discourses are significant in the social construction of an identity of a particular place because the preferred language on signs depends on the geopolitical location of a sign. Applied to this study, language choice points to the use of a language that is consistent with the socio-political configuration of the place. The principle helps in the analysis of the prevalent use of European names for European schools established in European areas and African names for African schools in African

urban areas (Black Townships). Pan and Scollon (2000) cited in Lou (2007: 107-8) makes use of this dimension of Geosemiotics and observe that monolingual Chinese shop signs indicate the store's geographical location in mainland China or Taiwan.

A language, in addition to being a conduit for communication, also embodies a philosophy of life of a society. The choice of language for the place name is not, therefore, a haphazard exercise. It is conscious process done with the aim of projecting the linguistic and cultural characteristics of the immediate community. In language planning studies, Scollon and Scollon's (2003) discussion on language choice is extended to code preference, on bilingual signs where the language placed above another code or at the centre is the preferred code on bilingual signage. The next section examines the subsystems of Geosemiotics.

3.1.4 The subsystems of Geosemiotics

Geosemiotics has three main systems: interactional order, visual semiotics and place semiotics. It should be noted that three systems of Geosemiotics point to the fact that the theoretical framework integrates other approaches to discourse in context (Flowerdew & Wei, 2013). The theory has managed to bring together the above three separate studies within a single framework. This was a landmark development in terms of a theory of studying the linguistic landscape by its thrust on the way in which language is placed in the material world.

3.1.4.1 Interactional order

This system draws upon interactional Sociolinguistics. 'Interactional order' is Goffman's (1983) term which in Scollon and Scollon's (2003: 16) view"consists of the current, ongoing, ratified (but also

contested and denied) set of social relationships we take up and try to maintain with the other people who are in our presence". This system points to the varied ways in which people use language in interaction among themselves.

3.1.4.2 Visual semiotics

The notion of visual semiotics is borrowed from Kress and van Leeuwen (1996 cited in Scollon & Scollon, 2003: 7). Scollon and Scollon (2003: 7) visual semiotics covers all the ways in which visual materials (signs, images, graphics, texts, photographs, among many others) "are produced as meaningful wholes for visual interpretation". It provides a useful framework for understanding the importance of the physical, material, spatial context for the meaning of language and signs (Flowerdew & Wei 2013). It examines "in place" meanings of signs and discourses. The concept of visual semiotics is significant to this study of school names as visible signs in the linguistic landscape because of its emphasis on "how images mean what they mean because of where we see them, and in how we use images to do other things in the world" (Kress & van Leeuwen 1996 in Scollon & Scollon, 2003: 84).

School names are concretised in the form of other signs (monuments, pictures-painted or photos, among many others) which interact with each other and then considering how the patterns discerned are indexical of the assumptions in the society.

3.1.4.3 Place semiotics

This system is concerned with the physical placement of objects in the material world. The system draws upon humanistic geography and architectural studies. This dimension of the theory makes it

possible to do an analysis of the signs and pictures as semiotic systems. It provides for the analysis of the 'in-place' meanings of signs. Scollon and Scollon (2003) adopted the concept of place semiotics into their theory as a result of their analysis and examination of discourses in the material world. About place semiotics, Scollon and Scollon (2003) advance that the exact location/placement of signs in the physical world constitutes an indispensable component of their meaning. Where a sign is found in the physical world contributes to the overall meaning of the sign. Scollon and Scollon (2003) give an example of a municipal ordinance prohibiting nude bathing or regulating speed which comes about as a result of lengthy procedural stages, including meetings, investigations and the drafting of the ordinance, opening it for public scrutiny, its passing and subsequent posting in the public sphere. It is Scollon and Scollon's (2003) contention that the whole legal process only becomes binding law only when the signs are placed in the public domain, that is "where and when the signs become discourses in place" (Scollon & Scollon, 2003:2). This example buttresses the basic tenet of the theory of Geosemiotics that discourses derive their meanings from how and where they are placed in the world. Place semiotics covers the following components: code preference, emplacement of signs and inscription of an object in space which are also central in linguistic landscape studies.

Geosemiotics is consistent with CDA, the method of data analysis used in this study which is also concerned with issues of ideology, power and status as discussed under section 4.5.1. Scollon and Scollon (2003: 7) posit:

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

In this regard, the toponomastic landscape studied in this study is reflective of the relative power and status of racial groups in the colonial society. In order to account for the discursive construction of

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places which is primarly concerned with inscribing some meanings on the landscape, the chapter discusses Semiotics, Pragmatics and Semantics as interrelated fields that focus on meaning-making.

3.2 Semiotics

Saaed (1997) defines Semiotics as the study of sign systems, the scientific study of the properties of signaling systems, whether natural or artificial identifying and creating signs, of making one thing stand for another. In Semiotics, the process of creating and interpreting symbols is called signification. Central to Semiotics is the investigation of the types of relationships that obtains between a sign and its referent. In Ferdinand de Saussure's terminology, it is a relationship between a signifier (the visible part of the sign) and the signified (which is invisible) while Pierce (1931) posits that the relationship obtains between an icon, an index and a symbol. Words constitute verbal symbols, and for the purposes of this study, school names are the linguistic signs.

From a philosophical standpoint, Pierce (1931), Morris (1971 [1938]), and later on Carnap (1942) argue that Semiotics is a threefold discipline consisting of Semantics, Syntax and Pragmatics. The prime concern of both Semantics and Pragmatics is the way in which language expresses meaning. Turning to names, Makondo (2009) is of the view that Semiotics regards names as signs that convey meaning. It is appropriate to indicate that spatial semiotics is the most applicable for the purposes of analysing schools done in this study. Following Simmel (1908/1924 cited in Shortell & Crase, 2010, www.shortell.org/files/shortellkrase_placespaceidentityesa2010.pdf), spatial semiotics implies that social differences are made part of the visual landscape of cities. In the process, racial and ethnic hierarchies are social constraints that construct spaces with differential meanings. It stands to reason that signs, including place names, have meanings that reinforce social differences in an urban environment. Jakobson (1960) noted three functions of signs that are useful in the understanding of

the visual impressions of urban spaces: the expressive, the conative, and the phatic. Examples of expressive signs are flags, national colours and place names. Jakobson describes the principal objective of conative signs as indicators of group boundaries, making a distinction between the in-groups and the out-groups. Phatic signs are helpful in inducing social interation; they are oriented toward contact (Hawkes, 2003). Expressive signs are important for the purposes of the analysis done in this study because place names are instances of expressive signs. Place names as expressive signs "are just as effective in marking urban social space as belonging to particular social groups" (Shortell & Krase, 2010: 16). Place names indicate that urban spaces should be understood as "texts" to be read (Lynch, 1960; Fritzsche, 1996; King, 1996). They give a spatial view of what map makers would want the urban set-up viewed. This meant that the powerful enhance their power by controlling public spaces (Harvey, 1989; 2006). This study holds that the creation of "imagined communities" (Anderson, 1991) was also made possible by the use of expressive signs such as place names.

3.3 Pragmatics

Pragmatics is a sub-discipline of linguistics which overlaps with Sociolinguistics and Semantics. The most general definitions of Pragmatics are 'meaning in use' or 'meaning in context'. Pragmatics has been studied from two perspectives, namely, the social perspective and the cognitive dimension (Thomas, 1995). The social perspective treats pragmatic and speaker meaning as synonyms. Speaker meaning is the intention of the initiator of a message and is known as the pragmatic force. This perspective is concerned with the speaker to the exclusion of the hearer. On the other hand, a cognitive view of Pragmatics places importance on the interpretation of utterances. This shows that the hearer is important to the cognitive perspective. However, communication is not a unilateral process. Both the speaker and the hearer are actively involved in the process of encoding,

transmitting, receiving and decoding messages. The two parties involved in the process of communication are simultaneously speakers and hearers.

The inherent inadequacies in the above views on Pragmatics led Thomas (1995: 22) to develop a different understanding of Pragmatics as "meaning in interaction". The above view is premised on the fact that the process of making meaning is very dynamic, which considers contributions of both the speaker, and hearer as well as that of utterance and context of making meaning in a process of communication.

The concern of Pragmatics is to explain the ways in which speakers use language in specific contexts to communicate their intended speaker's meaning. This concept of intended speaker meaning is very significant to the process of place-naming in this study. European settlers manipulated the place-making potential in place names in indicating that certain areas had a European identity as defined under the Land Apportionment Act. In turn, African place names were indexical of the identity of the named place as earmarked for African habitation in urban centres. Place names played a significant role in communicating the idea that the whole country was under the control of BSAC on behalf of the British Crown. Naming the colony after Rhodes, the founder and leader of BSAC, and several other places were named after the British royal family, all communicated that there was a new political order in the country. African traditional leadership was rendered impotent under those circumstances. An intention of creating a home away from home was visible in giving places in the colony names of some places in Europe.

The concern of this study is to show how factors outside of language contributed to the meanings which place name-givers communicated through the different place names they gave to schools during the colonial period in Zimbabwe. This study considers place naming as a speech act which indexes various communicative intentions of the namers. Naming is a dynamic process involving the negotiation of meaning between name-givers, and recipients of the names, the context of naming, and the meaning potential of school names.

While Semantics focuses on decontextualised meaning, Pragmatics emphasizes on contextualised meaning. In Semantics, one can therefore request information in this way: "what does it mean?" However, in Pragmatics meaning depends on the speaker's intention. Thus, it becomes proper to say: "what do you mean?" Makondo (2009) rightly points out that the meaning of a name can possibly be teased out by understanding the context in which naming occurs. The process of deciphering meanings conveyed by school names used during the colonial period will be guided by a close appreciation of the context in which the naming was taking place. Meiring (2010:95) supports this argument by making a statement that, "the study of geographical names in any country involves the exposition of many factors that give rise to the choice of these names".

The salience of context in place naming can also be demonstrated by drawing insights from personal naming patterns where the name given to a child may be related to socio-economic, and/or political conditions affecting the family or the immediate community during the time of naming. Akinnaso (1980: 283) talks about "home contexts" to refer to events at the family level which may have an impact on naming. He emphasised that, "...an event must be psychologically, socially, and culturally salient to the Yoruba if it is to meet the home context requirement". Stripping the name of the context

that gives rise to it is tantamount to taking away meaning from the name. Emphasising the importance of context, Suzman (2002) submits that the social context where the name is used is an integral constituent of the name. The centrality of context supports Lyons' observation of the proper name as "synchronically motivated" (Lyons, 1977: 222).

The circumstances obtaining in the immediate environment during the time (social, economic, political, religious, among many others) have a bearing on the names given, both personal and place names. The meaning of the name Rhodesia, for example, can never be understood outside the context of British imperial project in Southern Africa. The name signified Rhodes' control of the named territories on behalf of the British government. It is important to study place names while considering all the socio-historical background that informs the process of place name-giving. This study marshals the argument that the choice of school names during the colonial period in Zimbabwe was often a careful mental process that was conditioned by linguistic, social, cultural and psychological considerations (cf. Kimenyi, 1978; Akinnaso, 1980).

The choice of place names in a colonial state is not done in a random or haphazard manner. The names reflect a practical relationship between language and realities obtaining in the society. The names (both personal and place names) are a window through which we can look into the society that gave birth to the said names. The social context has an undoubted influence on the choice and subsequent use of the name in the society. Drawing evidence from the Arab culture, Abd-el-Jawad (1986) indicates how personal names can be chosen to express important aspects of the community that gives and uses the names, such as sociocultural traits, religious affiliation, or values. These ideas

are useful in appreciating the role of place names in delineating people living in irban areas along racial lines.

This study draws some insights from the Austin's (1975) speech act theory because, "speech act theory has come to assume an important role in Sociolinguistic analysis" (McDowell, 1980: 9). In developing the speech acts theory, Austin who is generally given credit for developing an interest in Pragmatics, was convinced that people do not just use language to make statements, but also to perform actions. He called these actions 'speech acts'. Thus, the title of his book, *How to do Things with Words* (1962), illustrates his understanding of words as actions. Most speech acts rely on the speaker using an utterance to communicate their intention to achieve some action and the hearer inferring that action from the utterance.

A relevant concept drawn from Austin's theory is the concept of nomination. Lyons (1977: 217) defines nomination as "by saying that X nominates some person as John we shall mean that X assigns the name 'John' to that person". Didactic and perfomative nomination are the two types of nomination. Didactic nomination implies "teaching someone, whether formally or informally, that a particular name is associated by an already existing convention with a particular person, object or place" (Lyons, 1977: 217). Perfomative nomination is governed by certain conditions of appropriateness. One example of Austin's original illustration of his concept of perfomative utterances is: "When I say *I name this ship the Queen Elizabeth* I do not describe the christening ceremony, I actually perform the ceremony". In other words, Austin's argument is that in uttering the words, for example, "I declare war," one does not just make a statement they actually perform an act-the act of declaring war. Pragmatics puts forward that people can perform acts [speech acts] by using

language in the same manner they can perform physical acts. Austin's efforts were aimed at indicating how speakers can mean far more than what their words say. This study advances that place name-givers performed several actions through the process of giving different names to different schools during the period under review. The corpus of school names studied here indicates various implied meanings consistent with the communicative intention of the name givers.

In advancing the speech act theory, Austin proposed three terms: *locution* which is the literal meaning of words uttered or the determinate 'sense' and reference, *illocution*, the intended meaning or force behind the words, and *perlocution* points to the effect utterance might have on the hearer. The three concepts can be understood as what is said, what is done and the effect, in that order. Arno (1994) observes that the process of giving names and using them are separate illocutionary acts and reflect motivations or intentions of the name givers and name users. Names can be used in varied performative ways to fulfill several functions in different contexts. Searle (1969) indicates that names as speech acts can be used to accomplish the following performatives: requesting, asserting, questioning, thanking, advising, warning, greeting and congratulating. These speech acts should not be treated as discrete entities because some are related in some way. This information is employed in the analysis of the communicative roles of school names.

In order to account for how messages embedded in school names were encoded by the intended audience, this study employs Grice's (1975) concept of the Cooperative Principle which examines "how a hearer gets from what is said to what it meant from the level of expressed meaning to the level of **implied meaning**" [original emphasis] (Thomas, 1995: 56). Grice's theory illustrates that successful communication is hinged on the existence of an unwritten/unspoken agreement between the speaker and the hearer. In developing his theory, Grice made a distinction between conversational

implicature and conventional implicature. Implicatures "are a set of over-arching assumptions guiding the conduct of conversations" or "general principles underlying the efficient co-operative use of language, which jointly express a general co-operative principle" (Levinson, 1983: 101). However, Grice notes that both conversational implicatures and conventional implicatures convey an additional level of meaning which is above the semantic meaning of words. Thus, the pragmatic implicature of names points to how namers can "hint, suggest, or convey meaning indirectly by means of language" (Thomas, 1995: 58).

Grice proposed the following four conversational maxims that help in understanding what the implicature might be, namely, quantity (informativeness), quality (truthfulness), relation (relevance) and manner (perspicuity). The four principles are evident in most school names, both European and African, given during the period under examination. Relevant, brief, and informative names, such as ***Allan Wilson school, Beit Primary school, Victoria Junior school, Gwinyai*** (be strong) ***Primary School, Shingirayi*** (Persevere) ***School***, ***Fungisai*** (Think seriously about it) ***Primary school*** were used as conduits for inter- and intra-racial communication during the colonial period. The above description of Pragmatics shows that it has an important role to play in Onomastics. Pragmatics helps to indicate the functionality of place names in a colonial state because messages have to reach the intended audience who are expected to decode them as intended by the initiator of the message. It shall be used to examine how name givers were able to "do different things" using school names. This points that place names can be analysed from the point of view of Pragmatics. Van Langendonck (2001) has proved the salience of Pragmatics in name studies.

The semiotic significance of languages in the linguistic landscape has a communicative role because they are discourses which perform particular speech acts. In line with Austin's views on locution,

illocution and perlocution, place names as they appear on public signs, communicated to the intended audience (inter-racial and intra-racial). The audience was expected to decode the message as intended by the name-giver. After decoding the message, appropriate perlocutionary acts would be expected to be displayed by the recipient. The analysis of the corpus of names studied here is also informed by insights from Semantics.

3.4 Semantics

Saaed (1997: 3) defines Semantics as the "study of the meanings of words and sentences". Portner (2006: 137) views Semantics as a field within linguistics which "focuses on the literal meanings of words, phrases, and sentences; it is concerned with how grammatical processes build complex meanings out of simpler ones". Semantics studies meaning without making any reference to the speakers and hearers. Unlike Pragmatics which relates meaning to speakers, hearers and context, Semantics examines "meaning abstracted from users" (Saaed 1997: 18). In Morris' (1938; 1955) tripartite understanding of Semiotics, Semantics studies the relations of signs to the objects to which the signs are applicable.

The study of meaning (Semantics) is approached from different angles, for instance, there is a linguistic dimension and the philosophic approach and the onomastic approach. Logicians, who happen to be philosophers, have an interest in language because of its role as a vehicle of philosophical discourse. The primary concern of the logicians is the inferential uses of language, the formal means by which statements or propositions may be reached or inferred as valid conclusions from preceding statements or propositions acting as premises (Robins, 1989)

Mill (1961) representing the philosophical standpoint advances that proper names are arbitrary labels that do not bear any meaning. He submits that one significant difference between proper names and common names is that the former function to denote particulars, that is; individuals, entities and/or members of classes. The semantic emptiness is captured in Mill's assertion that names: "denote the individuals who are called by them; but they do not indicate or imply any attributes as belonging to those individuals" (Mill, 1961: 20). His arguments are premised on the observation that names have denotation but do not have any connotative capacity. The arbitrary relationship between linguistic items, such as names, echoes Ferdinand de Saussure's characterisation of linguistic signs as connected to their referents (the signified) in an arbitrary way. Saussure advances that a linguistic sign has a signifier which can be a name/sign which exist in concrete terms in that it can be seen or heard, and a signified, which is a totally arbitrary meaning, not the thing itself but an idea or constructions in the minds of people. As a way of substantiating his argument, Mill provides the following example:

> ...a town may have been called Dartmouth, because it is situated at the mouth of theDart....If sand should choke the mouth of the river, or an earthquake shakes its course, and remove it to a distance from the town, the name of the town would not necessarily be changed. That fact (ofbeing situated at the mouth of the Dart) therefore, can form part of the signification of the word; for otherwise, when the fact ceases to be true, no one would think of applying the name (Mill, 1961:20).

In this regard, the name *Dartmouth* lacks any sense because it does not connote. The name does not contribute anything to the meaning of the name Dartmouth as a name for the town situated at the mouth of Dart River. He further contends that, "proper names are attached to the objects themselves and are not dependent on the continuance of any attribute of the object" (Mill, 1961: 20). The philosophical perspectives on language restrict their discussion of proper names to logical argument.

The linguistic perspective has a wide range of theories of meaning, such as the Description theory, the Causal theory and the Referential theory. From a wide array of these theories, this study uses the Referential theory of meaning. The basic tenet of the theory is that words have references. In support of this observation, Raper (1983) posits that the most important function of a name is reference. However, Semantics, treats the name as lacking sense, but have a special kind of meaning which marks a great distinction between them and common nouns. Semantics helps in the analysis of the referential role and denotation of names because, "the simplest case of nominals which have reference might seem to be names. Names...seem to have little other meaning" (Saaed, 1997: 27). Above all, Semantics acknowledges that names have some symbolic meanings in addition to their obvious referential role. Making an inquiry about the meaning of names is less reasonable because names help people to talk about reference. The proper use of names is hinged on knowing their referents. Lyons (1977) observes that names play referential and vocative functions in everyday language behaviuor. The referential use of names draws attention to the presence of the named entity; a person or a place, among many others. The vocative function is realised when personal names are called as a way of attracting the attention of the name-bearer.

The onomastic approach has it that when a word acquires onomastic attributes, its semantic properties are bound to change (Pfukwa, 2007). Nicolaisen (1987: 6 cited in Pfukwa, 2007: 47) notes that: "as soon as a word becomes a name, it is cast loose from its lexical and semantic moorings". According to the onomastic approach, the denotation of a word is subject to change during the transition to a name. A word's denotation is the thing or the entity they refer to in the world. Akmajian, Demers, Farmer and Harnish (1984: 240) submit that: "denotations are events or things in the world (or groups of them); what words and phrases denote are the things and events that the words correctly indicate, name, or describe". Denotation is simply the literal meaning or the dictionary meaning of a word. It

stands to reason that the meaning of each expression is the actual object it denotes, its denotation or referent. There is a difference between referent and denotation. The object (or objects) referred to by a person is called the referent, and the object (or objects) semantically referred to by a word or phrase is called the denotation of that word or phrase (Akmajian, et al. 1984). Changes that happen to the denotation of a word are caused by the different 'associative meanings' (Van Langendonck, 1990; 2001) which it inevitably acquires during the transitional phase from being a word to a name. O'Grady (1996: 233) defines connotation as "the set of associations that a word's use can evoke". Among many Zimbabweans, especially those who were in urban centres in 2005, the word *Tsunami* for a nationwide clean-up campaign code-named *Operation Murambatsvina* (lit: drive/clean out filth), evokes memories of displacement, sleeping in the open and loss of income. The operation was carried out in urban areas with the principal aim of destroying illegal structures and getting rid of illegal and illicit activities. The effects of the operation on the ordinary citizen were far-reaching because most people were left homeless.

Connotation is an inclusive, comprehending process, whereas, denotation is an exclusive, isolating and individualing one (Nicolaisen, 1976; 1978). Connotation is the sum total of the associations that people attach to a word. When applied to place naming, connotation points to the emotional associations surrounding a name, "onomastic associations" (Nicolaisen, 1978: 43). In onomastic theory, these associations are known as descriptive backing. According to Meiring (1993), the notion of descriptive backing can be attributed to Strawson (1950) in his theory of reference and Searle (1958; 1969, cited in Lyons, 1977: 220). It was Donnellan (1960) who first applied the concept of descriptive backing to the study of names by noting that a name is nothing without a backing of descriptions which can be produced on demand to explain the application. Searle (1969:162ff cited in Lyons, 1977: 220) argues that descriptive backing which he also calls descriptive presupposition

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enables names to be used predicatively because they are "logically connected with characteristics of the objects to which they refer". Searle posits that descriptive backing consists of a number of propositions concerning the identity of the name bearer. In Searle's understanding, descriptive backing is not a single set replicated as it is throughout society, but rather a social composite. Nicolaisen (1978) notes that names can function connotatively and they are not necessarily expected to have lexical meanings. For instance, the school names *Dzidzai* (learn) *Primary School*, *Wasarawasara Primary School* connotatively urge people to go to school because of its attendant benefits. Jesperson (1965 cited in Lyons, 1977: 220) is right in observing that proper names are rich in connotation.

Meiring (1993:274) says descriptive backing:

> Amounts to the collective content of all convential beliefs and connotations attached to a name. It...has a subjective content as it is based on individual experience and knowledge about a place, person or object bearing a name.

Pfukwa (2007: 49) supports this argument by observing that descriptive backing extends the meaning of names by viewing it as a loose collection of "all associations" about the name. Descriptive backing makes it possible for names to be indispensable socio-historical narratives of a society. Basso (1988: 103) makes a similar observation. He says:

> Because of their inseperable connection to specific localities, place names may be used to summon forth an enormous range of mental and emotional associations-associations of time, of history, of events, of personal and social activities, of oneself, and stages in one's life.

In this regard, school names studied in this study, such as *Queen Elizabeth Girls High School* carry several overtones, emotional associations and cultural implications. There are several associations to the names people make whenever they hear the names. All connotations surrounding the name come into play when an analysis of the name is done. The name's potential as an instrument for place-

making and state-formation should not be underestimated. While acknowledging that the way people associate with different names is not systematic, but in the case of most European names used as place names in Rhodesia, this study advances that there was some degree of uniformity. European settlers had a united mission and vision as indicated by the adoption of a unifying label 'Rhodesians' as discussed under section 1.1.4. This echoes Lyons' observation:

> When the bearer of the name is a historically, politically or culturally prominent place or person, the connotations of the name of this place or person may be relatively constant   for members of a language community-sharing the same culture.... If they were asked to   say what they knew, or believed, about the bearer of the name, they could be expected to provide a set of identifying descriptions (1997: 220).

This line of argument shows that Europeans had relatively the same connotations for most commemorative names that were given to places during the colonial period. This is supported by the fact that successive colonial governments did not replace these names when they assumed office. Colonial historiography does not provide evidence of any significant changes in the European place names used in the colonial period.

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter has presented the theoretical framework used in this study. Scollon and Scollon's (2003) theory of Geosemiotics has been discussed showing all the salient features of its tenets. The principles of indexicality, dialogicality and language choice are useful in the discussion and analysis of school names used in the three urban centres selected for analysis in this study during the colonial period in Zimbabwe. The theoretical framework also incorporates insights from Semiotics, Pragmatics and Semantics. The three sub-fields of linguistics: Pragmatics, Semiotics and Semantics point to the fact that names carry meaning, at least in the onomastic sense. Semiotics has shown that place names as expressive signs show hierarchies of power on the landscape. Place names demonstrate how those with the power of producing maps can impose their identity and ideology on

the landscape and how they want the urban centres viewed. Pragmatics has been shown to indicate how name-givers can do things with names. Pragmatics is concerned with language use in specific contexts. Pragmatics aims to explain the way factors outside of language contribute to the meanings which speakers communicate using language. The colonial context has a bearing on the use, selection and implied meanings conveyed by school names used during the period under study. A distinction between denotation and connotation in Semantics is important in demonstrating the descriptive backing of names. Descriptive backing helps to show how names convey connotative meanings. It has been shown that onomastics is interdisciplinary in nature. Place names are pithy and terse statements that communicate the feelings and thoughts of the name-givers.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

4.0 Introduction

This chapter covers an overview of the research methodology for this study. The methodology employed in the research of any particular area is dependant on the nature, aims and goals of the study itself, and may thus vary "from methods and techniques of sampling, to data-collection methods, to methods of data analysis" (Babbi & Mouton, 2001: 49). The chapter discusses the research design, qualitative nature of the research, methods of data collection, sampling techniques and the method of data analysis. The chapter proceeds by discussing ethical issues in data collection, analysis and interpretation.

The research is a case study of how the process of place naming was executed during the colonial period in Zimbabwe. It seeks to provide answers to the "why?" and "how?" of the whole onomastic enterprise during the period under study. Place naming in a colonial state is a very complex process where names are given to both institutions and natural landscapes. In order to maintain focus, this study focuses on the naming of schools as institutional places in a colonial state. The next section examines the research design for this study.

4.1 The Research Design: Case study research

The research design can be understood to be a structure of research. Durrheim (2006) defines a research design as a strategic framework for action that serves as a bridge between research questions and the execution or implementation of the research. Sellitz, Jahoda, Deutsch and Cook (1965: 50 cited in Durrheim, 2006: 34) make a similar observation that research designs are plans that guide,

"the arrangement of conditions for collection and analysis of data in a manner that aims to combine relevance to the research purpose with economy in procedure". Research calls for prior planning and this salient feature of research makes it different from ordinary observations of the immediate environment. As such, research becomes a systematic observation (Durrheim, 2006).

A design is important for the purposes of structuring the research. It outlines how all of the significant parts of the research collaborate to try to answer the research questions. It comprises the plan for data collection and analysis of data. It provides an operational framework for conducting research. This study is a sociolinguistic analysis of names given to schools in selected urban areas during the colonial period in Zimbabwe. This nature of the study makes it possible for using case study as a qualitative research design. It is not feasible for this researcher to cover all types of place names in a colonial state. Qualitative research designs are not concerned with breath but depth. As such, this researcher embarks on an in-depth study of school names as a case study of how place naming was done in urban centres during the colonial period in Zimbabwe.

Case study research is one of the qualitative research designs, others being conceptual studies, historical research, action research, ethnography and grounded theory (Creswell, 1998; 2009; Tesch, 1990; Nieuwenhuis, 2007c). Marre and van der Westhuizen (2007) posit that the methods used in qualitative research can be divided into two classes: interactive studies and non-interactive studies. Case studies fall in the category of interactive studies.

Multiple definitions of a case study research have been proffered in literature. This study finds the following definition given by Creswell (2009: 13) as precise and succinct: "a strategy of inquiry in which the researcher explores in depth a program, event, activity, process, or one or more

individuals". This makes it possible to come up with a sounder generalisation of the subject matter under study. For the purposes of this study, the case study research is conceptualised as a concentration on a particular case because a case study is a detailed examination of a single example (Flyvbjerg, 2007). While a case is generally understood to be a person, case studies do not necessarily have to study individuals because a case can be virtually anything (Robins, 2011; Lindegger, 2006; Creswell, 2009). Thus, case studies "can be done on a group, on an institution, on an innovation, on a decision, on a service, on a programme and on many other things" (Robins, 2011: 138). The study of school names stands as a case study of the process of place naming in a colonial state. Places that can be named in a colonial state are numerous and varied. They include streets, buildings, residential areas, landscape features such as mountains and rivers. A case study focuses on the case in its real-life context. Typically, a case study uses multiple methods of data collection (Yin, 2009; Robins, 2011).

The case study research approach adopted in this study helps in providing answers to "how" and "why" questions on the process of place naming in a colonial state. This provides a platform for coming to a deeper understanding of how the process of place naming was done in urban centres during the colonial period in Zimbabwe. It becomes plausible for the whole research design to answer research questions initially set for this study. The guiding principle for choosing case studies as research designs in this study was the observation that generalisations of the whole complex place naming process during the colonial period in Zimbabwe from observing general trends in the school naming system could be made. School names become specific cases that shed light on the general and wider system of place naming in the society under study. School names become "units of analysis" (Nieuwenhuis, 2007c: 75) in the examination of complex place naming exercise in a colonial state. Units of analysis are the focus of investigation in research. A case study helps to develop rich and

comprehensive understanding about the phenomenon under study. Case studies offer significant insight and understanding of the dynamics of the specific situation under investigations (Nieuwenhuis, 2007c; Holliday, 2010).

A major merit of a case study research design is the use of multiple sources and techniques in the process of gathering data. As compared to the technical designs such as experiments which are used in a deductive research which start with general theories to be tested, case studies make use of several data gathering strategies. Yin (1994) posits that case studies make use of the following tools of data gathering: interviews, documentation review, surveys and even the collection of physical artifacts. This ensures that the researcher can draw valid conclusions from the gathered data because it would be coming from varied sources. This becomes a way of ensuring the balance and representativity of the gathered data. Case studies have the strength of allowing new ideas and hypotheses to emerge from careful and detailed observation (Linderger, 2006).

While using the case study, the researcher is expected to determine in advance what evidence to gather and what methods of data analysis to use. In doing all this, the researcher should be guided by the principle of ensuring that the methods and the data are inclined toward answering the research questions. Case studies are largely used in qualitative research, but it may marginally include quantitative data (Nieuwenhuis, 2007c; Robson, 2011). This study is done in accordance with the above arguments.

However, case studies do have limitations. The major weakness of case studies noted in literature is their dependence on single cases. It is claimed that generalisations cannot be made from single case studies (Nieuwenhuis, 2007c; Linderger, 2006, Flyvbejerg, 2007; Rose, 1991). However, research

carried out in research methods refutes such a standpoint. Nieuwenhuis (2007c) is one such proponent of a contrary view who advances that case studies are not primarily concerned with providing platforms for making generalisations rather they are aimed at gaining greater insight and understanding of the dynamics of a specific situation. As a way of justifying the use of a single case as an object of study, Hamel, Dufour and Fortin (1993) cited in Nieuwenhuis, 2007c: 76) describe such singularity as a concentration of the global in the local. Flyvbjerg (2007) proves that it is not true that a case study cannot provide reliable information about the broader class. Flyvbjerg (2007) uses a metaphor of the dewdrop in which the world is reflected to illustrate some of the misunderstandings about case studies. However, case studies offer a researcher an opportunity for engaging in a deep and focussed analysis of the phenomenon under research because the concentration is on a particular case.

Case studies can also generate hypotheses that can be tested by successive researches employing other research methods. Lindegger (2006) argues that the need to check the validity of the original data from which the case is drawn, contemporary case studies often use methods such as video or audio tapes, which provide data that can be re-analysed by other researchers. This section has indicated that case studies are largely used in gathering qualitative data.

This researcher could not illustrate the dynamics of place naming in a colonial state by looking at all cases of place naming, such as the naming of route ways, streets and landscape features like mountains and rivers. It was appropriate for this researcher to narrow the focus to one area of place naming: the naming of schools in a colonial society. School names were chosen because of the salience of educational institutions in Rhodesia. Formal schools were a colonial creation being introduced by the colonial establishment. The naming of such institutions is very significant because it is bound to reflect the worldviews of the society that gave rise to school names in Rhodesia. The

naming of such institutions is very important because the names cannot afford to be neutral. Above all, education is used, especially, in a socio-political situation of tension and rivalry, as an ideological state apparatus communicating dominant ideologies. Results emanating from the analysis of such significant institutions can be used to make judgments and inferences of the whole process of place naming in Rhodesia. The next section discusses the qualitative nature of this study.

4.2 Qualitative research

The two research traditions, the qualitative and quantitative approaches, created two "warring tribes" (Robson, 2011:18) with the quantitative camp claiming that their scientific approach was the only way to conduct proper research. On the other hand, those who advocated for qualitative research argue that the dead hand of numbers and statistics was no way to understand anything significant about people and their problems. Basically, the differences between the two traditions lie in the nature of data they look at, the methods of gathering data, the subsequent methods of data analysis and presentation. Qualitative research is concerned with providing explanations for social phenomena. In doing so, it aims to explain the social world in which we live and how things are the way they are (Hancock, Windridge & Okleford, 2007). It concentrates on the qualities of human behaviuor, that is, qualitative aspects not quantitatively measurable aspects of human behaviuor. In carrying out qualitative research, the researcher is the main research instrument because objectivity is defined in qualitative approaches as gaining trust, establishing rapport with the view to generate truth and credible inter-subjectivity (Babbie & Mouton, 2002). Qualitative research designs locate the researcher at the centre of the research as a "key instrument", (Creswell, 2009: 175, Terre Blanche, Kelly & Durrheim, 2006: 276, Nieuwenhuis, 2007c: 79, Ivankova, Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007: 265), who makes use of multiple sources of data. Qualitative social research methods were chosen

ahead of quantitative methods because of their following descriptors which apply to this study as advanced by www.ukessays.com/essays/psychology/sitemap.php:

- findings are presented in non-numerical form where little or no use of numerical data or statistical analysis was employed,

- an inductive logic is used starting with data collection from which theoretical ideas and concepts emerge,

- the design of the research emerges as the research is carried out and is flexible throughout the whole process,

- the social world is viewed as a creation of the people involved. Reality is subjective,

- contexts are seen as important. There is a need to understand phenomena in their setting,

- it is ideographic because it aims to understand the meanings people attach to everyday life,

- considers that the whole is more than the sum, and

- captures and discovers meaning once the researcher becomes immersed in the data.

The qualitative approach was largely used in this study because place naming is a human [linguistic] behavior. Haralambos, Holborn and Heald (2008) rightly observe tha qualitative data are usually seen as richer, more vital, as having greater depth and as more likely to represent a true picture of a way of life, of people's experiences, attitudes and beliefs. Qualitative research has been applied in various fields, such as ethnography, social and cultural anthropology. In applied linguistics, qualitative research is concerned with the linguistic aspects of communication.

Data in qualitative research gives a picture of the social reality, because:

> Each piece of data...contributes to this emerging picture. The outcome needs to be *thick descriptions* [original emphasis], which is a narrative of what has been found that shows the full complexity and depth of what is going on (Holliday, 2010: 99).

The qualitative approach is an open-ended, inductive exploration of reality. It is exploratory in the sense that it aims to use participants' own understanding of reality in analysing social settings (Allan, 1991). It is based on a naturalistic approach that seeks to understand phenomena in context. Research is carried out in real-life situations and not in experimental situation. The goal is to appreciate how participants experience the phenomenon under study. This research is more interested in the depth of the data rather than breadth and requires the researcher to play an active role in the data collection (Wimmer & Dominick, 1997).

The qualitative paradigm adopted in this study advocates that meaning does not exist in its own right; it is a social construct that comes about as a result of human beings when they interact and engage in interpretation (Robins, 2011). Qualitative research is an inquiry process of understanding in which a researcher develops a complex, holistic picture, analyse words, and report detailed views of informants and conduct this study in a natural setting. It is an attempt to establish how participants create meaning of a specific phenomenon. In this regard, this study embarks on qualitative research within a social constructionist paradigm. This paradigm is concerned with meaning. Of great concern and relevance to this study is the observation that social constructionism treat people as though their thoughts, feelings and experiences were the products of systems of meaning that exist at a social rather than an individual level. It is a paradigm that explores how people make sense of their world.

Place naming is a vital process of how meaning is negotiated and communicated among people, especially in its highly charged form in colonial states. Significant to this study is the observation that

social constructionism holds that the human life-world is fundamentally constituted in language and that language itself should therefore be the object of the study of reality (Terre Blanche, Kelly & Durrheim, 2006). Language is not neutral but is significant in the construction of reality. This line of argument is consistent with the central argument in this study where the place name, as a linguistic unit, is not a neutral label because it is an onomastic attempt at communicating the worldview of the name-givers. It is through place names that were in use during the colonial period in Zimbabwe that socio-political realities of the society are reflected.

In doing qualitative research, the researcher can record data by making some notes during interviews with research participants. The recorded data will then be transcribed for subsequent analysis. Transcription is done by way of coding the data. Nieuwenhuis (2007a: 104) defines coding as:

> Marking the segments of data with symbols, descriptive words or unique identifying names. It simply means that whenever you find a meaningful segment of text in a transcript, you assign a code or label to signify that particular segment.

This process is done in such a way that a researcher sees how each code is distributed throughout the data (Holliday, 2010).

The units of analysis (school names) have an impact on sample selection, data collection and types of conclusions that can be drawn from the research (Durrheim, 2006). As such, the next section examines the methods employed in gathering data for this study.

4.3 Data gathering techniques

The guiding principle of collecting qualitative data is to work with data in context which has to be a natural setting without creating artificial conditions. However, the social constructionism paradigm

adopted in this study advocates that the world is socially constructed. This poses challenges to regard reality as natural and to measure the degree of 'tempering' with natural settings. While acknowledging all those complexities, qualitative social research takes place in natural settings and not in artificially created contexts such as laboratories. There must be a minimum disturbance to the natural setting.

The steps taken during the stage of data collection exercise include setting the boundaries for the study, collecting information through semi-structured interviews, documents and visual sources as well as establishing the protocol for recording information (Creswell, 2009). In literature, the use of different sources of data and using them to build a coherent justification for themes is called (data) triangulation (Creswell, 2009; Robins, 2011; Denzin, 1970; 1988; Kelly, 2006; Marre & van der Westheizen, 2007; Allan, 1991). It is important for qualitative researchers to purposively select interviewees who will participate in the research. Participants who are purposively selected help the researcher in understanding the research problem and questions.

It is important that a researcher decides on the methods of data collection that address the research question (Hancock, Ockleford & Windridge, 2009; Patton, 2002, Henning, 2004). In light of this argument, research question(s) is the driver for carrying out research (Robins, 2011). Overall, the methods of data collection should be appropriate to the research question being asked. The types of qualitative data collection designs in this study are semi-structured interviews, documents (records about school names) and visual materials.

4.3.1 Semi-structured interviews

Semi-structured interviews method satisfies most of the research objectives, especially the patterns and motivations for naming schools during the period under review. Interviews also shed some light on how the naming of schools was conditioned by a wide array of socio-historical factors that were obtaining in Rhodesia. Interviews have been employed in other onomastic studies as indicated in the following studies: Oladunjoye and Adeyemi (Ile-Ife) (2012); Pfukwa (2007); Makondo (2009); Herbert (1995); Suzman (1994); Saarelma-Maunumaa (2003) among many other related studies.

An interview involves direct personal contact with the participant who is asked to answer questions relating to the research problem (Bless & Smith, 2008). Frey and Oishi (1995: 01) provide a general definition of interviews as "a purposive conversation in which one person asks prepared questions (interviewer) and another answers them (respondent)". Nieuwenhuis (2007c: 87) in discussing qualitative research regards interviews as typically qualitative data gathering techniques. In this sense, he qualifies them to be "qualitative interviews". Arguing from such an angle, Nieuwenhuis (2007c: 87) defines an interview as, "a two-way conversation in which the interviewer asks the participant questions to collect data and to learn about the ideas, beliefs, views, opinions and behaviours of the participant". The interview method should be seen as a way of obtaining information from an interviewee. In this sense, the interviewee is the primary source of data. Interviews are a way of understanding the world from the perspective of the interviewees. In doing so, an attempt to appreciate the way participants construct knowledge and social reality is made. An inductive analysis helps in this process where the researcher provides for research findings to come out from raw data without the limitations imposed by a deductive method.

The typology of interviews shows three main distinctions, namely, fully structured interviews, semi-structured interviews and unstructured interviews. A completely structured interview is more or less a questionnaire. It is rigid because it does not give room for deviation from set questions. An unstructured interview takes the form of a conversation where the interviewer has no predetermined questions (Haralambos, Holborn & Heald, 2008). The style of semi-structured interviews has it that the interviewer has an interview guide that serves as a checklist of topics to be covered and a default wording and order for the questions, but the wording and order are often substantially modified based on the flow of the interview, and additional unplanned questions are asked to follow up on what the interviewee says (Robins, 2011). This researcher chose semi-structured interviews ahead of other two types because they provided some form of flexibility which helps to produce desired results. Flexibility stems from the open-ended questions used in conducting interviews on the topic areas under study.

Interviews should provide interviewees with an opportunity of talking about their views on, perceptions and interpretations of the world. Interviews are not a one-directional process where the interviewer asks questions and the interviewee is a respondent. In actual fact, interviews have an indispensable "human embeddedness" quality (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2000: 267) because they are; "an interchange of views between two or more people on a topic of mutual interest ..." (Kvale, 1996: 14).

Patton (2002) posits that basic qualitative research requires a relatively lengthy and intensive period of fieldwork. As such, interviews were conducted between October 2012 and December 2013. Interviews were chosen as sources of data for this study because they provided this researcher an

opportunity for discovering how people think and feel about the process of place naming during the colonial period in Zimbabwe. This researcher was fully aware that the interviewees were not involved in the place naming process. They were chosen on the basis of their expertise as officials in governments departments that oversee place naming and spatial mapping or experienced and retired teachers who experienced realities in the education system during the period under study. In light of this observation, officials in the Department of the Surveyor General were interviewed. Ministry of Education officials were also interviewed because the ministry governs operations of schools in the entire country of Zimbabwe.

The interviewer prepared a "topic guide" (Hancock, Ockleford & Windridge, 2007: 7), "interview schedule" (Kelly, 2006: 298) which contained list of topics which this researcher intended to discuss with the interviewees (see appendix 3). The questions contained in the schedule are supposed to be unambiguous. These questions should not be confused with a list of questions but provide guidelines on the flow of the interview and giving an opportunity for flexible interaction between the interviewer and the interviewee. This made it possible for the respondents to give detailed responses. During the interviews, this researcher tried not to use double-barreled questions which combine two or more questions in one because of the inherent problem of confusing interviewees. Where necessary, the interviewer probed and offered prompts. However, probing was done only when the interviewees were showing that they were comfortable with the interview. Most interviews were conducted in offices since most of the interviewees were officials in government departments and ministries. Thus, the interviewees were very comfortable during the interviews. The interviewer first made appointments with interviewees in order for the interviewee to spare some time from their schedules and give the interview an undivided attention.

This researcher sought consent of the interviewees to tape-record the interviews. In cases where the interviewees consent to be tape-recorded, the interviewer also took down some notes taking down things that might not be obvious from listening to the recorded tape during the transcription of data. Following Kelly (2006), this researcher was taking down some notes while tape-recording the interview as a way of showing the interviewee that this researcher was taking what they were saying seriously. The interviewee ensured that interviews did not consume much of the time of the interviewees because the interviewees were mostly officials who had their own work to do. As a way of concluding interviews, the interviewer asked the interviewees if they had anything more to say concerning the research as a way of maximising feedback from the interviews.

At the very beginning, the interviewer provided a summary of the whole interview. In order to make interviewees feel relaxed, the interviewer usually started off the interviews with "a non-threatening open-ended question that gets the interviewee talking and helps to put them at ease" (Kelly, 2006: 299). The interviewer adopted the approach of moving from the simple questions to those that needed detailed answers. Research has shown that the order or sequence of questions may affect response accuracy (Neumann, 1997). The interviewer always ensured that the interviews were not question and answer sessions. Efforts were made to ensure that this researcher and the interviewee became collaborators in the research.

Following Hancock, et.al (2009), Wimmer and Dominick (1997), Jensen and Jankowski (1991) and Haralambos, et.al (2008), Robins (2011), semi-structured interviews were chosen because of the following strengths:

- They are more flexible than any other method of gathering data

- They can be used to find out about issues that cannot be observed directly. As such, they provide an opportunity for getting to an understanding of detailed information about personal opinions, feelings and perceptions about a subject matter.

- Their flexible nature makes it possible for both the interviewer and the interviewee to engage in deeper discussions on issues that form the interview.

- An interviewee has an opportunity of probing deeper into the initial answers given by the interviewees in order to get a more detailed response to the question by providing cues and prompts that make the interviewee reconsider the question.

- Their face-to-face nature makes it possible for all ambiguities to be clarified.

- High response rate

However, this researcher was fully aware of the following disadvantages/weaknesses of semi-structured interviews:

- Responses given may not be accurate because interviewees may lack the required information, for instance. In issues that they have limited knowledge.

- They can be time-consuming. In terms of the time required for identifying interviewees, making appointments, the interview itself, transcribing data and data analysis.

- The presence of the interviewer may influence the interviewers to act in an unnatural manner.

- There is an unconscious attempt by interviewers of directing the interviewee towards giving certain types of responses. In turn, this affects the objectivity of the

interviewees because they tend to give answers they think the interviewer expects not their actual views.

- Languages as they are used in naming are emotionally laden and this affects the ultimate objectivity of using traditional methods of collecting data such as questionnaires and interviews.

4.3.2 Documentary sources

Generally, documentary sources entail using data sources in some written or otherwise format. When using documentary sources, focus should be on all types of written communications that may shed light on the phenomenon that you are investigating (Nieuwenhuis, 2007c). For the purposes of this study, concern was on documents that could contribute to a better understanding of the process of place naming in general and school naming in particular during the period under review. Documentary sources constitute secondary sources. Mouton (2001) indicates that documentary sources are also known as archival sources. They include historical sources, letters, literary speeches, diaries, official memoranda, annual reports, among many others. The most common forms of secondary data are official statistics collected by governments and government agencies. Kelly (2006) underscores the use of documentary sources such as letters, newspaper articles, official documents, and books in all forms of qualitative research.

Documents can be divided into two classes, namely, public and private. Official memos, records, archival material, minutes of committees, official reports qualify as public documents while diaries and letters are private documents (Creswell, 2009). Nieuwenhuis (2007c) proposed another classification of documentary sources, where they can be divided into two classes; primary sources

and secondary sources. In this sense, primary sources are gathered from the organisations or people who produce them directly. They are the original source documents, for example minutes of meetings, reports and correspondence, while secondary sources are based on previous published works. Books and articles fall into this class.

The documents that are analysed in this study are the official memos and minutes of meetings of the Geographical Names Committee of Southern Rhodesia, Gazetteers of Geographical Place Names in Southern Rhodesia of 1961 and 1963, The Parliament of Zimbabwe Informatics database and magazines of specific schools. Information on naming of schools in areas inhabited by Africans during the colonial period was found from the National archives of Zimbabwe.

In carrying out the research and analysing data from the documentary sources, this researcher always checked the authenticity and accuracy in terms of factual correctness of the records before accepting them at face value simply because they were written down. Interviews with officers in the respective departments where documents were found and wider consultations on related literature came in handy in verifying the authenticity and accuracy of some information in the secondary sources.

Information on the physical location of schools under study was obtained from The Posts and Telecommunications Corporation Zimbabwe telephone directory that lists schools and their respective physical addresses. The information was useful for this researcher on the location of schools. That helped in coming up with a sample of schools to be studied in this study. The physical addresses were useful in ascertaining whether the schools were in former spaces for Europeans or in areas inhabited by non-Europeans. However, this documentary source was not exhaustive because not

all schools are subscribers of The Posts and Telecommunications Corporation Zimbabwe. A comprehensive list of schools was obtained from the Ministry of Education Sport and Culture and the Parliament informatics database. The data were then analysed in order to find out how the process of giving names to schools was done, what was the language of the names, were the school names reflecting anything about the nature and sociolinguistic profile of the society that gave rise to the names.

Following Creswell (2007) (cited in Creswell, 2009: 180) and Kelly (2006) the main merits of using such documents are:

- they enable a researcher to obtain the language and words of participants,

- they are an unobstructive source of information, because the researcher can have access to them at any time convenient to them,

- they are easier as compared to conducting interviews or doing participant observation,

- they represent data which are thoughtful in the sense that due attention would have been made during the process of compiling them, and

- they are written evidence, which saves the researcher's time in transcribing the data.

The Demerits are:

- not all people are equally articulate and perceptive,

- not all documents are easily available to the public since some are deemed to contain classified information, for example, this researcher could not get the list of schools needed for this study from the Ministry of Education, Sport and Culture. The database of schools kept by the parent ministry of schools is not readily available to the public.

- requires the researcher to search out for information in hard-to-find places. The National Archives of Zimbabwe proved to have very little information on place naming patterns during the colonial period in Zimbabwe,

- requires transcribing or optically scanning for computer entry,

- they require very careful management if the researcher is not to be swamped by the sheer volume of material, and

- some materials can be incomplete.

Every effort was made to record the origin of each documentary source. The title, date, page number of the newspaper, the file number in the archive was written down as soon as this researcher collected the documentary source. This was done to reduce the problems of tracing the details of a particular source at a later date. Documentary sources are a vital source of onomastic data as shown in the following studies: Al-Zumor (2009); Saarelma-Maunumaa (2003); Kotilainen (2012); Agyekum (2006); Meiring (2010); Pfukwa (2007) and Makondo (2009)

4.3.3 Visual materials

Photographs of school names on signs were used in this study. Ivankova, Creswell and Plano Clark (2007) acknowledge that a researcher doing qualitative research can collect data from visual materials about the central phenomenon. Other linguistic landscape researches have also used photographies (Lou, 2007; 2009; Backhaus, 2007, Gorter, 2006b). This researcher was interested in the use of school names in the public domain. Signposts at school entrances proved handy for the present research. However, a serious challenge of getting original signposts which were used during the colonial period was experienced during the course of conducting fieldwork. At some school schools,

signposts which were in existence during the colonial period were removed or refurbished during different phases of face-lifting done at the schools. Against such a background, school archives in the form of magazines came in handy in indicating that school names were written on schools signposts. The pictures of the signposts helped in showing the language of the public signs during the period under review. School names are treated as linguistic landscape, a way in which language is used on public signage. This study is mainly concerned with showing the utilitarian value and functional dimensions of the school name as it appeared on the public sign. The existence of the name on the public signs served a wide array of functions because the place name was embedded in the whole process of place-making, state-formation and othering.

The advantages of such sources of information are:

- they maybe an unobstructive method of collecting data, and

- they are creative in that they capture attention visually.

The disadvantages are:

- they may not be accessible easily, and

- they do not tell us directly the ways of thinking of the name-givers.

4.4 Sampling

Sampling as a principle of qualitative data gathering, is a flexible exercise done in accordance with the principles of data saturation which points to the recurrence of previously collected data and information (Flyvbjerg, 2007; Kelly, 2006; Holliday, 2010; Gobo, 2007). Webster (1985) advances that a sample is a finite part of a statistical population whose properties are studied to gain information about the whole. Sampling entails selecting units from a population with the intention of

generalising results form the analysis of the sample back to the population from which they were chosen. Population refers to all the cases and a sample is a selection from the population (Robins, 2011). A population is a totality or aggregate from which samples are drawn for analysis. Judgments and inferences about the whole population can be made on the basis of analysing the sample.

In selecting a sample, the researcher should consider issues to do with accessibility, diversity and representativeness. This implies that the chosen sample should be accessible to the researcher. This researcher selected schools after considering that they are public institutions which can be accessed easily upon applying for permission to do so from the relevant ministry. Diversity is manifested in the existence of two systems of education which were racially based during the colonial period in Zimbabwe. The sample manifests differences in terms of the nature and group of schools because both schools for European settlers and Africans are part of the sample. This researcher also ensured that the sample was representative of the total population of schools. Representativeness of a sample is usually understood in statistical terms. The sampling method employed in this study did not consider the statistical dimension but stresses the social significance of schools. In this regard, the sample of schools had schools with commemorative names (both schools that are named after persons and also those school that were named after some places found in Europe, regarded as transferred place names in this study), school names named after suburbs, school names derived from the Shona totemic system, numerical school names, school names for Church-run schools, school names derived from fauna, flora and topographical features. Gobo (2007: 406) stresses the importance of representativity of a sample but cautions:

> ...representativeness is often a practical matter, hardly ever an outcome of automatic (statistical) procedures, which are often useless (as well as difficult to implement) because in social research we look at the social significance of samples instead of statistical logic.

Sampling involves the process of indicating how the samples were selected for analysis and observation. In literature, this stage of the research design is known as "sampling design" (Kombo & Tromp, 2006; Onwuegbzie &and Leech, 2007; Coyne, 1997). Sampling designs are divided into two categories, namely, probability designs and non-probability designs. Probability sampling is guided by the principle of random selection where each unit in the population has an equal chance of being selected. There are four strategies of probability sampling which are: simple random sampling, systematic sampling, stratified sampling and cluster sampling. These methods of sampling are not going to be discussed in detail in this study because they are not going to be used.

Qualitative research uses non-probability sampling design. Using this sampling design, the interest of the researcher is on the representativeness of the concepts in varying degrees. Instead of using techniques of random sampling methods, this researcher selects samples deliberately. Non-probability sampling uses four sampling procedures, namely, purposive sampling, quota sampling, the emblematic case and snowball sampling (Gobo, 2007; Kombo and Tromp, 2006; Morse, 1991; Marie & Pietersen, 2007). This study chooses purposive sampling out of the four. As the name purposive sampling implies, this sampling method is used in special situations where the sampling is done with a specific purpose in mind in order to satisfy specific needs in a study (Marie & Pietersen, 2007; Robins, 2011). Purposive sampling entails selecting a sample thought to be typical and representative of the population. Typical samples are usually information-rich cases whose analysis can reveal all the possible situations of the total population. The guiding principle is to get the richest possible source of information. Sampling in this study was carefully done using rich sources of information in order to provide answers to the research questions and in turn achieve the research objectives. Patton (1990:169) asserts:

> The logic and power of purposive sampling lies in selecting information-rich sources for study in depth. Information-rich sources are those from which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of the research, thus the term purposive sampling.

In doing purposive sampling of school names for this study, this researcher was guided by some of the strategies proposed by Patton (1990) for selecting information-rich samples which can be listed as: extreme/ deviant case sampling, intensity sampling, maximum variation sampling, homogenous samples, typical case samples, stratified purposive sampling, critical case sampling, chain sampling, criterion sampling, theory-based or operational construct sampling, confirming or disconfirming cases, opportunistic sampling, purposive random sampling, sampling politically important cases, and convenience sampling.

A common thread among the fifteen strategies is the ultimate goal of selecting information-rich cases that purposively fit this study. While there are four strategies of sampling (discussed above), Patton (1990) is convinced that all sampling in qualitative research may fairly fit under broader term of "purposive sampling" because "qualitative inquiry typically focuses in depth on relatively small samples, even single cases, selected purposively" (Patton, 1990: 170).

[Purposive] sampling has been used in other onomastic and linguistic landscape studies as well. Laskowski (2010) while doing a study on how identity is symbolically communicated through women's post-marital name retention, collected data through interviewing 23 women who had retained their maiden names after marriage. All the women were over 18 years. The participants were identified through purposive sampling. Gorter (2007) used a sample comprising 4 different neighbourhoods with a total of 12 different streets which is not a random sample but a purposive sample where those neighborhoods were selected based on their characteristics in order to reflect a

certain degree of variation and diversity. Huebner (2006) used purposive samples from 15 neighbourhoods in central and suburban Bangkok. Ben-Rafael, et al. (2008) in their study of how localities represent ethno-linguistic and national divisions in Israel purposively sampled 30% of public sites and 70% of commercial sites.

4.4.1 Purposive sampling of cities

Purposive sampling decisions "are not only restricted to the selection of elements that constitute the samples but also involve the settings, incidents, events and activities to be included for data collection" (Niewenhuis, 2007c: 79). This researcher conducted field research in the following urban centres in Zimbabwe; Harare (formerly Salisbury), Masvingo (Fort Victoria) and Mutare (formerly Umtali). The three cities were chosen for strategic reasons. It is Kay's (1977) contention that Salisbury's racial based spatial mapping was repeated in all Rhodesian towns. For the purposes of this study, in Fort Victoria, Rhodene was a European area while Mucheke was an African native area. The same division is evident in Umtali where Murambi, Greenside and Florida (for coloureds) were European areas while Sakubva and Dangamvura were African urban areas.

The three cities were established as forts by the BSAC, Harare as Fort Salisbury in 1890, Masvingo as Fort Victoria in 1890 and Mutare as Fort Umtali in 1897. The three place names were prefixed by the term *fort* which has military connotations showing that the BSAC were not coming in peace (Magudu, et al. 2010). The place names of this nature were explicit onomastic attempts that resonated with the principal objective of "building a Whiteman's country" (Mlambo, 1998:123). Salisbury was the capital of Rhodesia while the other two were capital cities for their respective provinces. Fort Victoria was regarded as the first urban centre. The city has great historical significance. There is a

high concentration of information on place naming in the three relatively big cities in Rhodesia. The three cities therefore qualify as an information-rich sample. The sample was thought to be representative of how place naming was done in all the other cities, such as Gwelo, Sinoia and Marandellas.

4.4.2 Purposive sampling of schools

The schools chosen were very diverse in terms of their location and groups. Interviewee B who is a senior educationist said that during the colonial period, there was a two tier education system.In support of this argument, interviewee C of the Ministry of Education, Sport and Culture, Department of Research, said there were two divisions in the Ministry of Education, one responsible for African education while the second was responsible for European education. As such, schools established for Africans in African township and schools for Europeans established in European areas were incorporated into the sample to have a fair coverage of schools during the period under review. The sample also includes church-run schools because of the intricate and inalienable relationship that used to exist between the colonial project and Christianity. Christianity was the vanguard of colonialism. Primary and Secondary (High) schools were also included in the sample. These schools, unlike private schools, were useful in indicating the psychology prevalent in the colonial society because the colonial administration had total control over them. The colonial government exercise direct or indirect control over the siting, naming and general operations of the above categories of schools (see appendix 4 for the sample of schools for this study).

4.4.3 Purposive sampling of interviewees

The interviewees were School Heads, teachers (especially history teachers), academics in the Faculties of Arts, Education and in the Department of Rural and Urban Planning at the University of Zimbabwe; staff from the Ministry of Education, Sport and Culture and the Surveyor-General's Office. The interviews gave some insights on the social variables that influenced school naming patterns and other related information on the various social factors that influenced school naming and spatial mapping in urban centres during the colonial period in Zimbabwe (see appendix 5 for the interviews done for this study).

4.5 Data analysis

In qualitative researches, data analysis entails examining what has been collected during the stage of data collection over a long period of time in a natural setting. Mouton (2001: 108) provides the following explanation of data analysis:

> Analysis involves "breaking up" the data into manageable themes, patterns, trends and relationships. The main aim of the analysis is to understand the various constitutive of one's data through an inspection of the relationships between concepts, constructs and variables, and to see whether there are any patterns or trends that can be identified or isolated, or to establish themes in the data.

Creswell (2009: 183) posits that data analysis involves making sense out of text and image data. It is very interesting to note that Creswell likens data analysis to the act of peeling back the layers of an onion. Mouton (2001) advances that all fieldwork culminates in the analysis and interpretation of some set of data. Mouton defines interpretation as the synthesis of one's data into larger coherent wholes. One interprets (and explains) observations or data by formulating hypotheses or theories that account for observed patterns and trends in the data. Interpretation means relating one's results and findings to existing theoretical frameworks or models, and showing whether these are supported or

falsified by the new interpretation. Interpretation also means taking into account rival explanations or interpretations of one's data and showing what levels of support the data provide for the preferred interpretation.

Different types of research designs in qualitative research give birth to different methods of analysising qualitative data. Unlike quantitative data analysis which uses deductive data analysis, qualitative data analysis uses inductive analyses allowing research findings to emerge from the frequent, dominant or significant themes inherent in raw data, without restraints imposed by a more structured theoretical orientation (Nieuwenhuis, 2007c). The inductive method of data analysis helps in the understanding of how participants construct meaning of issues under investigation. The participants' attitudes, perceptions, knowledge, values, feelings and experiences are useful indexes in the way participants construct meanings of the process of giving names to schools in urban spaces during the colonial period.

Qualitative data analysis should not be treated as an event. In actual fact, it is a process whose constituent elements; data collection, processing and analysis and reporting are not discrete entities. Nieuwenhuis (2007c) notes that in qualitative data analysis there are three stages that are inter-twined, inter-linked and cyclical. These are noticing, collecting and reflecting (thinking about). This researcher often made reference to the notes made during fieldwork and even organised some more interviews with interviewees as a way of getting additional information on issues that arose after the first round of interviews. This researcher ensured that there were constant contacts with research participants in order to verify some issues that cropped up during the data analysis stage.

Data analysis also involved basic statistical analysis. After collecting school names from different sources, statistical analysis was done in order to come up with a total number of all the collected school names. Some calculations were also done in order to come up with a number of school names in each category. After this quantitative approach, came the qualitative method which was used to determine the social variables that conditioned school naming patterns in urban centres during the colonial period.

It is important for the researcher to note that data analysis has a direct relationship with the research design adopted in a particular study. Nieuwenhuis (2007a: 100-01) puts it this way, "how you collect data, how you order it and what you extract from it are very much the product of the lens through which you look at the world and consequently the angle from which you will approach the data". The research design determines the type and nature of data to be collected. The research design adopted in this study makes it possible to use CDA as an analytical framework for school names.

4.5.1 CDA

CDA was used as an analytical framework. Sometimes CDA is used interchangeably with the term 'Critical Linguistics' (Wodak, 2001b). The development of CL can be traced to Halliday's views on grammar and his approach to linguistic analysis which emphasised on the relationship between the grammatical system and the personal and social needs that language is required to serve. This view regards language as shaped by the social functions it has come to serve (Halliday, 1970 cited in Wodak, 2001b: 8; Meyer, 2001; Fairclough, 2001). Following Fairclough (2001a), this study uses CDA as a method of data analysis. Discourse is written or spoken communication or debate. The word discourse is the general idea that language is structured according to different patterns that

people's utterances follow when they take part in different domains of social life. There are different "types" of discourses such as legal discourse, political discourse, and media discourse, discourse of the past- "stretching the meaning of discourse from a genre to a style/register, from building to a political game" (Wodak, 2009: 3). Thus, discourse is an amorphous term which defies a simple definition. As such, people can talk of discourse analysis as the analysis of these patterns (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002). Discourse is defined in various ways by different scholars coming from different scholarly backgrounds. Du Gay (1996: 43) defines discourse as:

> A group of statements which provides a language for talking about a topic and a way of producing a particular kind of knowledge about a topic. Thus, the term refers both to the production of knowledge through language and representation and the way that knowledge is institutionalised, shaping social practices and setting new practices into play.

The above definition is critical in appreciating the potential of discourse in shaping and structuring societies because it regards discourse "as the flow of knowledge-and/or all societal knowledge stored-throughout all time (Jäger, 1993; 1999 cited in Jäger, 2001: 34). Thus, discourse is not an end in itself but a means to an end.

Place names are texts which are part of the constituent elements of what constitutes discourse. Wodak (2001a) submits that texts can be defined as materially durable products of linguistic actions. It is a composite whole of interrelated linguistic acts which come to people in different forms, verbal, written or visual. This study examines discourse in written and visual forms. School names are discourses that constituted the toponomastic landscape as they appeared in written form on buildings and public signage etcetera. They appear in visual form to the community.

Central in discourse analysis is the role of language in the construction of the social world. In terms of formulating knowledge systems, identities, and social relations, it is important to note that discourse analysis occupies the core of strategies of social constructionism, part of the research design adopted in this study. The character of the social world is not pre-given, it is constructed socially. There are different approaches to doing discourse analysis, such as; CDA, Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory and discursive psychology. A common thread among the three approaches is that the way people talk plays a significant role in creating and changing identities and social relations. Of the three, this study uses CDA as an analytical tool. CDA has several approaches to discourse. Central to CDA is the discourse view of language as a form of social practice (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Wodak, 2001b). Thus, CDA views discourse as:

> ...language use in speech and writing – as a form of 'social practice'. Describing [discourse] as social practice implies a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive and the situation(s). Institution(s), and social structure(s) which frame it: This discursive event is shaped by them, but it also shapes them. That is discourse is socially constitutive as well as socially conditioned-it constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people. It is constitutive both in the sense that it helps to sustain and reproduce the social status quo, and in the sense that it contributes to transforming it. Since discourse is so socially consequential, it gives rise to important issues of power. Discursive practices may have major ideological effects-that is, they can help produce and reproduce unequal power relations between (for instance) social classes, women and men, and ethnic/cultural majorities and minorities through the ways in which they represent things and position people (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997: 258).

Thus, discourse is in a dialectical relationship with social variables because there is no external relationship between language and society. There exists rather an internal and dialectical relationship. Linguistic aspects are social phenomena and social aspects are (in part) linguistic phenomena (Fairclough, 2001b). Discourse is treated as a social practice which is both constitutive and constituted. It both constitutes the social world and is constituted by other social dimensions (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002). CDA focuses its critique on the intersection of language/discourse/speech and social structure (Blommaert, 2005). The central tenet is the concern on

the dialectical relationships between semiosis (including language) and other social practices (Fairclough, 2001a). CDA is consistent with school names as discourses which reflected and was conditioned by prevailing social [racial] relations in a colonial state.

Fairclough (1989; 1995) provides the following three salient features of CDA as an analytical framework: the object of analysis in its various manifestations, such as verbal or verbal texts, the production and subsequent reception and consumption of the object [of analysis] by human subjects and the socio-historical factors that govern and condition the above processes. In a way, texts (verbal, written or visual) are socially conditioned forms of discourse. These arguments provide a basis for doing a sociolinguistic analysis of school names putting into consideration the social variables that conditioned the process of giving names to schools during the period under review in this study.

CDA confines the term discourse to the system of signification [semiotic] such as language and images. CDA has a three dimensional model where every aspect of language use indexes a communicative event consisting of the following dimensions:

- it is a text
- it is a discursive practice which involves the production and consumption of texts; and
- it is a social practice

In CDA, the term 'text' is used to refer to written and spoken language as well as to images (Terre Blanche, Durrheim & Kelly, 2006). Thus, school names as toponomastic landscapes (on signposts) and their appearance in documentary sources (in their written form) are treated as texts in this study. This understanding is informed by Geosemiotics, the theoretical framework propounded by Scollon and Scollon (2003) adopted for this study which transcend the traditional focus on grammars of language in studying semiotic systems into the grammars of "texts" taken in a wider sense.

This study uses CDA because, "the model is an analytical framework for... research on communication and society" (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002: 68). In addition, CDA examines the social processes which motivate the production of a text, and the social structures and process in which human beings, individually or collectively as active subjects, create meanings in their interaction with texts (Fairclough & Kress, 1993 cited in Wodak, 2001b: 3). This study proceeds from an understanding of school names as spatial discourses that played a significant communicative role [both inter-racial and intra-racial] during the colonial period in Zimbabwe.

Wodak (2001b) characterises CDA as having three indispensable concepts: the concept of ideology, the concept of power, and the concept of history. The concept of ideology in CDA is understood as, "meaning in the service of power" (Fairclough 1995: 14), or as:

> representations of aspects of the world which contribute to establishing and maintaining relations of power, domination and exploitation. They may be enacted in ways of interaction ... and inculcated in ways of being identities.... Analysis of texts... is an ideological analysis and critique (Fairclough, 2003: 218).

The production of ideologies takes place in a society characterised by social inequalities (racial, gender and class). Discourses occupy a central slot in the hegemonic strategies in varying degrees. Ideology is used in the maintenance of relations of power or relations of dominance in societies. Van Dijk (2001) defines ideologies as the basic representations of social groups which reflect a schematic structure that represents the self-image of each group. They inform the basic principles that organise the attitudes that are shared by a group that participates in the same social domain, a social group.

Power is a central tenet of CDA in so far as it examines language use by those in power who are the architects of [racial, sexual or class] inequalities. Wodak (2001b) posits thatpower is about relations of difference, and particularly about the effects of differences in social structure. CDA's concern is on the way discourse is manipulated by the power holders to communicate and transmit the dominant ideology into the minds of the dominated. This stems from the basic understanding in CDA of discourse as a concrete manifestation of social action which is largely conditioned by social variables. In a colonial society and its attendant relations of domination, such understanding of discourse comes in handy in exploring how school names were used as conduits for communicating the dominant ideology with the principal aim of maintaining the status quo. Following Wodak (2009), school names are analysed as texts which are governed by differences in power of the races during the colonial period in Zimbabwe. The concept of history implies that every discourse is historically produced and interpreted (Wodak, 2001b). Discourse has a quality of situatedness which makes it possible to situate discourse in time and space.

CDA is critical in studying identity because of the salience of identity in producing and sustaining power relationships between different social groups. Social identity is a social construct which is relative to the identity and position of others. Wodak (1996: 126) considers racial and gender identity as 'discourses of difference' because:

> Discourse about others is always connected with one's own identity, that is, with the question 'how do we see ourselves?'   The construction of identity is a process of differentiation, a description of one's own group and simultaneously a separation from the 'others'.

Power is generally about the relations of difference and CDA is concerned with competing discourses in varied public domains and spaces (Wodak, 1996). Language is a powerful tool that expresses power. It participates in the politics of domination and general power struggles in a society

characterised by inequalities. CDA examines how power is anchored in social reality, who exercises it, over whom and by what means it is exercised (Wodak, 2001a). These arguments help in the appreciation of the role of place names in showing [racial] differences in a colonial state. Identity is important for the purposes of this study because identities in terms of being European or African helped in appreciating how school names participated in the politics of inclusion and exclusion. Identities were made more visible through the discursive construction of places as either European or African. Thus, school names acted as discourses of sameness and difference because the supposed differences between European race and the African race were made visible. School names, together with other name categories, reinforced race differences through making the imagined differences very visible.

CDA is used in this study as an analytical tool because it illuminates ways in which the dominant forces in a society characterised by social inequalities construct versions of reality that are consistent with their tastes, values, thought system, interests and to uncover the ideological assumptions that are hidden in the words of our written text or oral speech (Nieuwenhuis, 2007a). Above all, CDA is ideal for researching language in relation to power and ideology because it is through texts such as place names that ideologies are constructed, expressed, transmitted and reconfigured. This gives this researcher an opportunity of analysing place names as spatial discourses of power (Hassid, 2013; Azaryahu, 1996; Bourdieu, 1991; Myers, 1996; Cohen & Kliot, 1996; Vuolteenaho & Berg, 2009).

Ideologies in CDA are treated as what group members "believe is good or bad, right or wrong, for them, and to act accordingly" (van Dijk, 1998: 8). The production of toponomastic landscapes is conditioned by the ideological persuasions of the producers. Thus, the toponomastic landscape has

the potential of reinforcing the hegemonic ideologies by representing certain social relationships of groups living in a given territory. The concept of inclusion and exclusion which is based on identity is informed by ideology and beliefs about in-group characteristics which makes it possible to create concepts of "us" and "other", the sense of belonging (or not belonging) to a particular social group (van Dijk, 2001). Torkington (2009: 126) advances:

> CDA would lend itself perfectly as a complementary means of exploring the linguistic landscape and the more complex social realities which contribute to its shaping. It may also reveal something about the social identities of the place in which it is embedded and the people who 'consume' it.

The above argument provides justification for choosing CDA as an analytical tool in place names studies which focus on societies characterised by social inequality and unequal power relations, typical of a colonial state. Following Nieuwenhuis' (2007a:112) guidelines for using CDA as a method of data analysis and interpretation, this study approached school names as texts with following questions in mind:

- How were school names shaped by purpose and intention of the name-givers?

- How were school names shaped by who the recipients and intended consumers were, what was the relationship between name-giver and intended recipients, and how were name-givers and intended recipients related?

- How were school names shaped by the [colonial] context?

- How were the school names shaped by their medium (which was largely English and Shona)?

It was also important to approach school names as texts from the perspective of CDA in order to analyse the functionality of school names in the context of colonialism. The social variables of the society that give rises to particular place names have a bearing on the nature of place names used in that society. Inter-racial relationship and the general realities obtaining in the colonial society were reflected in the place names used in the colonial society. The analysis shed some light on how name-

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givers managed to accomplish different communicative intentions using school names. The language of the school name has an impact on the functionality and utilitarian value of a place name, especially in colonial contexts because of the ideological nature of language.

Language is a carrier of culture and an indispensable element of a people's identity. In this regard, the language through which a school name was expressed had an impact on shaping the name and its descriptive backing. CDA has an interest on how a particular text is shaped by its medium. This dimension of CDA shows the relevance of linguistic landscape in discussions of place names because focus is on the use of language in the public sphere The language used in naming places and the general use of language on public signs is a way of examining how texts are shaped by their respective media because one of the concerns of CDA is on "how texts are shaped by the text originator's language" (Nieuwenhuis, 2007a:112). This tenet of CDA is consistent with the assumptions and sensibilities of Geosemiotics, the theoretical framework used in this study on the issue of the language in which texts are composed in as discussed under section 3.1.3.

4.5.2 Content analysis

Data obtained from secondary sources is analysed using content analysis. Content analysis is an unobstructive method of data analysis because the researcher interacts with what people produce and in some cases what have been left by people. In doing content analysis, the researcher does not necessarily have to be in direct contact with people. It refers to the analysis of books, magazines, brochures, poems, newspapers, transcripts, news reports, visual media, laws and constitutions, as well as any components or collections thereof (Babbi & Mouton, 2001). As a qualitative research analytical method, it is a deductive and iterative process of looking at data from different angles with

a view to identifying keys in the text that will help us to understand and interpret the raw data (Nieuwenhuis, 2007b). The principal aim is to see how evidence from secondary sources confirm or disapprove theory.

Content analysis systematically describes the form and content of written and/or spoken material. In doing content analysis, a researcher may devise a classification system to record the information. In such an exercise, an indication of importance, attention and emphasis is indicated by the frequency with which a symbol or ideas appears. A number of dimensions are employed in analysing each source of data. The researcher uses the method of selecting secondary sources to analyse and then develops a classification system for recording the information. An example of this exercise is the analysis of school names from the Parliament of Zimbabwe informatics database which contains constituency profiles. It had other information that was not directly related to this study. For the purposes of analysing the data, this researcher had to classify schools according to their ownership statuses, years of establishment and location (European or African areas). This study is concerned with government, council owned and church-run schools for the purposes of arguments pursued here.

4.6 Ethical issues

Ethics refers to rules of conduct; typically to conformity to a code or set of principles (Israel & Hay, 2006 cited in Robson, 2011: 197). Following Creswell (2009) and Robins (2011), this researcher noted the salience of ethical issues throughout the entire process of doing this research because ethical issues should be considered from the outset, right from the stage of identifying the research problem, data analysis to the last stage of writing and disseminating the research. This section discusses some ethical issues considered in carrying out this research. Respecting the interviewees

was the guiding principle throughout the stages of data gathering. The ethical considerations in this study were consent, anonymity and confidentiality.

4.6.1 Consent

This researcher always asked in advance whether participants were prepared to be interviewed. Asking for informed consent of participants is an important step in any research. In most cases, participants indicated their voluntary informed consent by signing the informed consent form which had been developed by this researcher before taking part in the research (see appendix 6).

The initial stages during the process of gathering data require obtaining consent from participants. The process was done in accordance with the steps mentioned by Boynton (2005:93 cited in Robins, 2011: 202). An effort was made all the time to explain to the participants the details of the nature of research so that they could make informed decisions. The decision became informed consent. In some cases, research participants were given some time (days or weeks) to seriously consider whether to participate in this study or not. After participants had accepted to participate, this researcher provided them with a consent form.

Creswell (2009:90) advances that the body of ethical procedures includes the process of gaining the agreement of individuals in authority to carry out the research, for example by providing access to study participants at research sites. This often involved writing an application letter seeking permission to carry out research. The letter should be detailed and clearly outlining the duration of this study, the potential impact, and the outcomes of the research (Creswell, 2009:90). In line with this expectation, this researcher applied for permission to conduct interviews in schools to the

Ministry of Education, Sport and Culture (Head Office, Provincial and District offices) and the request was approved. Approval letters have been attached (see appendix 7).

4.6.2 Anonymity and confidentiality

It is a requirement for a researcher to maintain confidentiality at all times. Confidentiality implies that information provided by participants must not be given to any one, any organisation or any other [interested] party. Information obtained during fieldwork should be treated in a confidential manner. Anonymity ensures that no one other the researcher could know the source of information. A researcher should also ensure the anonymity of the incidents in the research project.

Anonymity also entails that there should be no way in which a link can be made between data and its source. A researcher should devise methods and ways of protecting the identities of research participants. Holliday (2010) underscores that at the most basic level the privacy of the people taking part in research must be preserved at all costs. This researcher coded the interview data using letters of the alphabet in order to protect the identity of the research participants.

4.7 Conclusion

This chapter gave an outline of the methodology used in this study. Methodology was understood to be a way of gathering, organising and analysing data. The chapter mentioned that this study uses case study research as a research design. It has been pointed out that this study used documents, interviews and visual materials as data gathering techniques. Data analysis strategies used in this study were CDA and content analysis. It was observed that data analysis must be appropriate to the research design used in a study. The next chapter is on data presentation, analysis and discussion.

5.0 Introduction

This chapter deals with the presentation of data, analysis and discussion. School names are presented in different name categories following methods in other previous studies. The first part consists of the presentation of data section before proceeding to make an analysis of data using CDA. A sample of 89 school names was selected for the purposes of this study. The names were collected from sources described under section 4.3.2.

5.1 Presentation of data

This section presents school names in different categories following toponymic typologies presented in other studies. The need for classifying names for the sake of analysis is informed by Zelinsky's (2002: 248) call for onomasticians to move "beyond or around the most rudimentary of scholarly endevours" and progress to an exercise of "cataloguing and arranging [of] all the objects under investigation into some logical, coherent classificatory scheme". It is Zelisnsky's view that such a typology or taxonomy gives birth to a theory of names. However, there is no consistency in the classification of place names because each study adopts its own method of classification which is determined by its aim and set objectives. The classification of place names has been done by the following organisations which have a special interest in place names; the American Name Society, the Toponymy Interest Group formerly Placename Survey of the United States (PLANSUS) and the United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names (UNGEGEN), and Australian National Placenames Survey (ANPS). The following studies have also made an attempt on putting place names into typologies; Bright (2004), Rennick (2005), Baker and Carmony (1975), Gläser (1996), Stewart

(1954) and Mencken (1967) [1921] (all are cited in Tent and Blair, 2011). Bright (2004) argues that

the typologies of place names should not be carved in stone. He, therefore, suggests that any typology

is helpful in as far as it helps in a particular research.

The toponymic typologies for school names designed for the purposes of this study consists of

the following name categories:

- (i)   Commemorative names
- (ii)   Schools that derive their names from suburbs
- (iii) Church-run schools
- (iv)   Anglicised school names
- (v)   School names derived from the Shona totemic system
- (vi)   School names derived from flora, fauna and geographical features
- (vii) Shona names that celebrate academic excellence
- (viii) School names as numerical entities
- (ix)   Miscellaneous School names

5.2 Categories of the school names

The above categories indicate a total of eight (8) categories of school names. The classification of

place names done here indicates overlap of categories. A similar problem was observed in previous

attempts on toponym typology. Mencken's (1967) work reveals overlap in the sense that the

categories of "foreign language names", "other and older places" and "biblical/mythological names"

can all subsumed under "personal names" while Stewart's (1975) classification reveals aspects of

overlap between the category of "commendatory names and "names from feelings" (Tent & Blair,

2011). In this study, the overlap of school names category is manifested in the category of

commemorative school names and school names derived from the names of suburbs in which were

sited. Some suburbs were named after some places in Europe making them commemorative place

names. At another level, the cases where the totemic symbol which calls for veneration is an animal,

there is bound to be an overlap between the categories of school names derived from the Shona totemic system and that of school names derived from fauna.

5.2.1 Commemorative names

This place name category is informed by the following earlier attempts to come up with toponym typologies: Mencken (1967), Gläser (1996), Baker and Carmony (1975) and Stewart (1975). While Mencken (1967), Gläser (1996), Baker and Carmony (1975), treat place names from personal names and transferred place names from other and older places as separate classes, this study follows Stewart (1975) who regards commemorative place name category as inclusive of both place names from personal names and place names transferred from other and older places. This category covers schools that were named after the British royalty and others after heroes of the imperialist project in Rhodesia, African historical figures and African personalities who held positions in government or traditional leaders. The basis for classifying the following school names is based on arguments raised under section 2.1.1.

Table 5.1: List of commemorative school names

Name	Commemorated person/place
Allan Wilson Technical High School	Allan Wilson (1856-1893)
Alfred Beit Primary School	Alfred Beit (1853-1906)
Avondale Junior School	Avondale, estate owned by Parnell, an Irish politician, which was situated in the County of Wicklow.
Baring Primary School	Evelyn Baring (1903-1973)
Chaminuka Primary School	Chaminuka, the legendary figure of the Shona people
Chancellor Primary School	John Robert Chancellor (1870-1952)
Churchill Boys High School	Winston Churchill (1874-1965)
Courteney Selous Primary School	Courteney Selous (1851-1917)
David Livingstone Junior school	David Livingstone (1813-1873)
Ellis Robins Boys High School	Ellis Robins (1884-1962)
F. D. Roosevelt Girls High School	Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882-1945)
Hatfield Girls School	Hatfield, the ancestral home of the Marquess of Salisbury
Helen McGhie Primary School	Helen McGhie, the founder of the school
Lord Malvern High School	Godfrey Huggins, 1st Viscount Malvern (1883-1971)
Moffat Primary School	John Smith Moffat, son of Robert Moffat (1835-1918)
Mt. Pleasant Boys' High School	Mt. Pleasant, a large suburban town in Charleston County, South Carolina, United States
Prince Edward school	Prince Edward (Prince of Wales- King Edward VIII) (1894-1972)
Queen Elizabeth Girls High school	Queen Elizabeth II
Salisbury Public Undenominational /Undenominational/Public/High/ Boys' High School	The Marquess of Salisbury
Salisbury East Girls' High School	Salisbury
Seke 1 Primary School	Chief Seke Mutema
Victoria Junior school	Queen Victoria (1819-1901)
Victoria High School	Queen Victoria (1819-1901)
Zengeza 1 High School	Jasper Savanhu Zengeza

5.2.2 School names derived from suburb names

Some schools were given names of suburbs in which they were built. The sequence was such that the residential area was established first and then schools were built later as measures of meeting the social needs of the communities. In the case of European names, most of the names of residential areas are transferred names. They are names of some places in Europe. This argument explains the

use of such names as; Avondale, Mabelreign, Mount Pleasant, among many others. There is an overlap of categories in the sense that the above three place names, in so far as they are derived from suburbs, they are also commemorative. The residential areas then acted as catchment areas for the schools. This trend was experienced in both European schools and African schools. Consider the following examples:

Table 5.2: List of school names derived from suburb names

Name of school	Suburb
Avondale Junior School	Avondale
Dangamvura High School	Dangamvura
Dzivarasekwa 1 High School	Dzivarasekwa
Hatfield Girls School	Hatfield
Harare High School	Harare (later Mbare)
Highfield High School	Highfield
Mabelreign Girls' High School	Mabelreign
Mabvuku High School	Mabvuku
Mt. Pleasant High School	Mt. Pleasant
Mucheke High School	Mucheke
Sakubva High School	Sakubva
Seke 1 Primary school	Seke
The Eastlea Boys' Secondary School	Eastlea
The Eastlea Girls' High School	Eastlea
Vainona Primary School	Vainona
Zengeza 4 Primary School	Zengeza

5.2.3 Names of church-run schools

This category considers church-run schools in Salisbury, Umtali and Fort Victoria. This study considers schools that were run by orthodox churches such as Roman Catholic and Anglican churches.The following are schools to be considered in this study:

Table 5.3: List of names of church-run schools

Name of School	Responsible authority
Don Bosco Primary School	Roman Catholic
St. Aidan's Primary School	Anglican
St. Dominican Convent Primary School	Roman Catholic
St. Joseph's Secondary School	Roman Catholic
St. Martin's Primary School	Roman Catholic
St. Mary's Primary School	Anglican
St. Mary's Secondary School	Anglican

5.2.4 Anglicised school names

Some African place names were anglicised. In turn, the anglicised place names were used for schools. Consider the following examples:

Table 5.4: List of anglicised school names

School name	African Name
Umtali High School	Mutare
Umtali Girls High School	Mutare
Umtali Boys' High School	Mutare

5.2.5 School names derived from the Shona totemic system

A corpus of school names studies in this study reveals that some of the names are derived from the Shona totemic system. This school name category is based on the discussion of the place of totems in place naming in section 2.4. This trend of school naming is most evident in Highfield, the second black suburb in Salisbury. The following examples suffice:

Table 5.5: School names derived from the Shona totemic system

Name of School	Totem
Mbizi Primary School	Zebra
Mhizha Primary School	Eland
Mhofu Primary School	Eland
Mutasa Primary School	Zebra
Nyandoro Primary School	Nhari

5.2.6 School names derived from flora, fauna and topographical features

Some names are derived from flora and fauna. This category is guided by Mencken (1967) who comes up with category of place names suggested by local flora, fauna, or geology. Consider the following examples:

Table 5.6: List of school names derived from flora, fauna and topographical features

Name of School	Flora/fauna
Chembira Primary School	Of rock rabbit
Chengu Primary School	Roan Antelope
Chikato Primary School	A name for hills near Gokomere
Chipembere Primary School	Rhino
Chitsere Primary School	Honey Badger/ratel
Gombo Primary School	Virgin land
Mbizi Primary School	Zebra
Mhofu Primary School	Eland
Mutanda Primary School	A name of a mountain so named because of its physical characteristics; it looks like a lying log-*Mutanda* in Manyika.
Nharira Primary School	Rock rabbit
Shiriyedenda Primary School	Bird of the air

5.2.7 School names that celebrate academic excellence

School names in this category motivate people to consider the merits of attaining education. The morphology of most school names that fall into this category conform to the plural imperative structure. The internal structure is as follows: Verb radical + honourific marker /–i/, as in:

Fungisai, Gwinyai, Kundai, Mukai, among many others.

Consider the following examples:

Table 5.7: List of school names that celebrate academic excellence

Name of School	Gloss
Budirirai Primary School	Develop/progress
Chinembiri Primary School	That which is famous
Chirodzo Primary School	A sharpening object
Dudzai Primary School	Spread the good word (about education)
Farai Primary School	Be happy/enjoy
Fungisai Primary school	Think seriously about it (education)
Gombo Primary School	Virgin land
Kwayedza High School	Dawn (of a new era)
Mukai High School	Wake up (because education is now accessible)
Ruvheneko Primary School	Light
Tamuka Primary School	We have risen
Wasarawasara Primary School	Noone should be left out
Zuvarabuda Primary School	Dawn of a new era

5.2.8 School names as numerical entities

Some school names had numerals as part of the school naming. The following schools display the above naming trend: *Dzivarasekwa 1 High School, Seke 1 Primary School, Seke 2 Primary School, Seke 2 Primary School, Seke 8 Primary School, Zengeza 4 Primary School, Zengeza 7 Primary School* and *Zengeza 8 Primary School*.

There is an overlap of place names categories for Seke and Zengeza names because they fall into this category but they are also commemorative. It was a common practice to give an additional name to the numerical school names presented in this section. Several schools, especially, in Chitungwiza have these names. The following examples suffice:*Seke 1/ Fungisai Primary School*, *Seke 8/Vimbai Primary School*, *Zengeza 8/Takakunda Primary School*, *Seke 2/Chinembiri Primary School*, *Seke 5/Budirirai Primary School*, among many others

5.2.9 Miscellaneous school names

There are some school names that could not be classified in any of the above categories. These names of are as follows:

Table 5.8: List of miscellaneous school names

School name	Gloss
Mberi Primary School	Front, ahead, forward
Nhamburiko Primary School	Poverty, want
Pfumo Primary School	Spear
Rusvingo Primary School	Wall or fortification

5.3 Analysis of data using CDA

In section 4.5.1 it has been indicated that this study uses CDA as a method of data analysis. This section now deploys the concepts of CDA in the analysis of school names. The analysis is guided by the three concepts of CDA: The concept of power, the concept of ideology, and the concept of history (Wodak, 2001b). These concepts are not treated as discrete entities because they are interrelated.

5.3.1 School names as discourses of power

The colonial society was characterised by an asymmetrical power relations between Rhodesians and Africans as discussed under section 2.1. Rhodesians manipulated place naming system to exercise and express power. Toponomastic research has shown that place names can be documents of power (Alderman, 2008; Yeoh, 1996; Herman, 1999; Rofe & Szili, 2009; Pinchevski & Torgovnki, 2002; Berg & Vuolteenaho, 2009; Basso, 1990 cited in Helleland, 2009: 503; Azaryahu, 1992; Myers, 1996; Guyot & Seethal, 2007). There were different levels where place names were used to denote power relationsduring the colonial period in Zimbabwe.

Political regimes determine the configuration of public spaces and discourses that are used in the public space. Rofe and Oakley (2006) rightly observe that the section of society with access to power have discursive authority over places. In this case, discourses that a particular regime considers to be important and that are instrumental in legitimising political authority are chosen to be used in the public landscape. European place names were useful discourses that helped to locate the European on the landscapes in the colony. They affirmed and confirmed European power during the colonial period in Zimbabwe.

Place names are attempts by political players to make their impression on the landscape. They portray the ideology of political regimes, the political psychology guiding and regulating human relations in a nation-state. European school names in Rhodesia were expressive of the thought system of the colonial government. Place names are political discourses that express what political regimes stand

for and its belief systems. Place names are political discourses that express a regime's thinking of itself and its history.

School names were part of political symbols and emblems of the Rhodesian government in the colony. It should be noted that political regimes create and control a symbolic culture that expresses their political power. Place names, national flags, monuments and national anthems are some of the components that constitute the symbolic culture of political regimes. This is the reason why new political regimes usually embark on extensive exercises to reinscribe the landscape with components of their own symbolic culture. Denaming and renaming are political acts meant to erase political meaning inscribed on the landscape by an erstwhile political regime. Changes in the political sphere also imply changes the toponomastic landscape in a nation-state. Old place names are removed and new ones are given to places during political transitions.

The selection of personalities and places to be immortalised in the landscape is a preserve for the sections of the society with access to power. The powerful determine figures in their history worth honouring through commemorative place naming (Azaryahu, 1997; 1996; 1992; 1990). Place names are narrative constructions which are extensively influenced by the dominant cultural forms (Kearns & Berg, 2002).

The corpus of data for this study reveals that European settlers had the priviledge of manipulating the place naming system in order to honour important personalities and places in their history. The general observation is that the personalities whose names were selected for the naming of European schools were of people who were prominent figures in the history of Europeans. Members of the

British royal family occupied an elite class in the British socio-economic stratification system because of their ascribed status as members of the British royalty. Builders of the colonial state had an achieved status in the history of European settlers owing to their contributions to the founding of the colony. The personalities had prospered in life, at least from the perspective of European settlers. The notion of prosperity was also the principal objective of education. Education is a mechanism that leads to upward social mobility in a capitalist stratified society. It ensures that people who excel in education have the potential of climbing up the social ladder. In a sense, it was going to contradict the objective of projecting an image of education as a mechanism that ensures social advancement and achievement in social life had it been that names of non-achievers were used to name schools during the period under review.

This study acknowledges that place names used in Rhodesia were expressive of the name-giver's meanings. In this sense, this study is not concerned with the literal meanings of names (in cases where a school name has any) but with the pragmatic meaning, the meaning in context. This is the meaning which was conditioned by the context of colonialism. In line with the principle of indexicality in Geosemiotics as discussed under section 3.1.1, this study advances that place names imposed on landscapes in Rhodesia derived their meanings as discourses of power because they were used in a colonial state where European settlers wanted to legitimise their power. In this regard, place names as discourses, derived much of their meanings from where they were placed in the material world. The context of colonialism provided a proper platform for European settlers to manipulate place naming in order to exercise power over the named spaces in the colony. Giving European names to places was a significant mechanism for establishing a colonial state. The meanings of

school names analysed in the subsequent sections are derived from their use in a colonial state where Europeans manipulated discourses in order to assert, affirm and legitimise their power.

Following arguments raised under section 2.1.1 on commemorative place naming, this study makes an analysis at differentlevels where place naming was an exercise of power.

5.3.1.1 Mapping the British royal family onto the colonised space

The imperialist act of naming in British colonies was usually characterised by honouring the royal family through naming places in the colony after members of the British royalty. Four schools in the corpus of school names gathered for this study were named after members of the British royal family: *Queen Elizabeth Girls High School, Prince Edward School, Victoria Junior* and *Victoria High School*. In section 2.1.1 it has been demonstrated that those with access to power have the ultimate control over public spaces in order to consolidate their power. This made it possible for the European to honour the British royal familyas a way of celebrating their history. Zelinsky (1993) observes a similar place naming trend in Washington DC where place names in honour of the British royalty and statesman persist even up to this day. In New England, Edney (2009) also notes that Prince Charles derived names from his immediate family five of the names he assigned to places: Cape Anna after his mother, River Charles after himself, Cape Elizabeth after his sister, Cape James after his father, and Stuards Bay after his father.

The British royal family was very significant in the colonisation of Zimbabwe because it was Britain which granted the Pioneer Column the Royal Charter, a document which gave it powers to colonise Zimbabwe. As such, one of the forts established along the Pioneer route was named Fort Charter as

one of the staging posts between Salisbury and the south. A road in Salisbury, Charter road, was also named in honour of the Royal Charter. The colony had never experienced a British military or administrative presence because the Royal Charter empowered the Chartered Company to form an army, make laws, among many other powers. Chartered company rule lasted up to 1923 when the 'responsible' government under the control of European settlers assumed power as a way of establishing a self-governing colony. In spite of the above socio-political configuration of the colonial government, ties with the British Government were not entirely severed throughout the colonial period.

Successive governments made efforts to reduce the influence of Britain in the affairs of the colony as manifested by UDI in 1965. However, ties between Southern Rhodesia and Britain were maintained right up to the end of colonial rule as Rhodesians remained loyal to the British government [monarchy] (Fischer, 2010). This inalienable relationship between the 'self-governing colony' and Britain was symbolised by the significant role played by Prince Charles during the transition from White minority rule of the Rhodesian Front to Majority rule signaled by the lowering of the Union Jack on the 18th of April 1980. This explains why conscious efforts of imposing signs and symbols derived from the British Royal family were made to acknowledge the power of the British royal family in the colony. This naming trend was meant to honour the British government. Paikkala (2001) in Finland observes that attaching commemorative place names in honour of the imperial dynasty was a proof of loyalty to the mother country (Russia) in addition to acting as a symbol of Russian power. This was also true for Rhodesia.

The Pioneer Column also honoured the British royal family through naming the oldest city in their history of occupying Mashonaland after Queen Victoria. In Salisbury, a hotel that was opened on the 31st December 1899 situated at the corner of Manica Road and Pioneer Street was named Queen's hotel. A Street in Salisbury was also named Victoria after Queen Victoria. Edward Building, named after Prince Edward, was found along Baker Avenue in Salisbury. The names from British royalty indexed that Africans were expected to recognise the political power of the local agents of the British Government, the European settlers. This is the reason why some land was defined as "Crown Land" in the Land Apportionment Act of 1931 (Schedule 1: 123). European settlers associated names derived from the British royal family with power.

At the socio-political level, the names discussed above were elliptical discourses that pronounced a new political order. The meaning of such place names is derived from their use in a colonial state where the need for asserting political power cannot be overemphasised. Geosemiotics has it that the exact place in the physical world where an action takes place is an important part of the meaning of the very action. The meaning of discourses is highly dependent on their physical location. In this case, this study advances that the symbolism in European school names were instrumental in the restructuring of the political landscape Rhodesia. The use of school names derived from the British royal family in a colonial state was celebratory of the total subjugation of Africans inhabiting the territory between the Limpopo and Zambezi.

However, prior to the advent of colonialism, Africans had a vibrant and visible political system which was structured along the philosophy of hierarchy. In this order of things, the chief was the ultimate political leader with other political offices such as headmen, kraal head as parts of the political

hierarchy in the Shona lived experiences. The names that were derived from the political structure of the European settlers, who were an invading force, were miniature communication devices of the change in the political structure in the colony. The names pointed to the suppression of African traditional leadership. The names discussed here were very significant in asserting political authority of the Europeans in Rhodesia. The implied meaning of the names was that the country was under a new political leadership. In this sense, the names became speech acts that were meant to inculcate a certain mode of thinking among Africans. Africans were supposed to recognise the new political order because the ultimate control of the political issues in the colony was no longer in the hands of African traditional leadership, but European settlers were in control of Rhodesia. The school names discussed here were conduits that were effectively used to communicate a radical change in the political configuration of the colony.

African political leadership was rendered impotent by the European settlers. Instead of championing the African cause, African leaders were regarded as an extension of the Department of Native Affairs where they were supervised by Native Commissioners. Place names derived from the British royal family should be viewed within the wider framework of regarding the African as invisible from the landscape including in all the other aspects of life. The African, together with his political system, was not considered to have been in existence prior to the coming of the European settlers. The whole territory was regarded as empty and ready for European exploration. The name, Fort Victoria, which was also used for naming two schools analysed in this study, was imposed on areas under chiefs Charumbira and Zimuto. The name was embedded in the whole process of removing the African from the landscape and anchoring the European on the same space.

At the cultural level, naming places after members of the British royal family was an indication that a new culture was being introduced on the African landscape. Colonialism was not just a process of annexation of land: it was also an imposition of foreign culture in Africa. This cultural dimension of colonialism makes it possible to talk about cultural imperialism in countries that went through the process of colonial domination. School names derived from the British royalty were potent shorthands for communicating the introduction of an alien culture. The introduced culture posed as dominant when compared with African culture. The owners of the culture positioned themselves as a superior race that came to dominate an inferior race.The Shona culture was under conditions of external domination and conquest as a result of the colonial experience. Those hostile conditions did not provide a conducive environment for cultural growth. Cultures under colonialism suffer from poor growth. Ngugi (1993) points out that cultures under total domination from others can be crippled, deformed or else die. The Shona culture suffered the same fate owing to the colonial experience because a 'superior' and alien culture was imposed upon it.

5.3.1.2 Honouring builders of the colony

It has been demonstated under section 2.1.1 that ruling regimes ensure that only personalities they regard as heroes are immortalised in the public space through naming places after them or erecting their monuments and other such acts that serve to commemorate them. In the case of Rhodesia, European settlers used landscapes in the colony as platforms for honouring important personalities to the process of founding the colony. Consistent with the principle of indexicality in Geosemiotics as discussed under section 3.1.1, the meaning of honouring builders of the colony stems from the fact that the names were given to places in the colony which they founded, at least in European settlers' perspective. The class of honoured figures included leaders of the BSAC, senior government

officials, high-ranking military personnel, philanthropists, explorers, among many other categories of personalities who helped in the making of Rhodesia as a colonial state in cash or in kind. In terms of the descriptive backing of the names, European settlers regarded the honoured personalities as people who had made invaluable contributions towards the establishment of Rhodesia.

A common place naming practice was to commemorate government officials in the political administration of the colony. The motivation for such naming was to pronounce political hegemony over the colony. Naming landscapes after office-bearers in the colonial government was also a way of acknowledging their role in instituting a political system in the colony. The names were public discourses that celebrate total control of the colony by European settlers. The following examples attest to the issue under discussion here: ***Ellis Robins High School, Chancellor Primary School, Lord Malvern High School, Baring Primary School, David Livingstone Primary School, Courtney Selous Primary School*** and ***Allan Wilson Technical High School***.

Ellis Robins High School was named after Lieutenant-Colonel T. Ellis Robins, D.S.O., the Resident Director of BSAC in Africa. The school was established in 1953 as a coeducational institution. Prior to be given the name Ellis Robins, the school was known as ***Mabelreign Secondary School***.The word 'Secondary' was felt to have some problems in terms of interpretation and the school became known as ***Mabelreign High School.*** Information gathered from interviewee R from the school, ***Ellis Robins High School***, indicates that the school was officially named Ellis Robins in July 1954.

Chancellor Primary Schoolwas a name in honour of John Robert Chancellor who was the governor of Rhodesia between 1923 and 1928. According to *The British Empire*,

, Chancellor was a British administrator who held different administrative posts in several British colonies. Prior to coming to Rhodesia, Chancellor was the governor of Mauritius (1911-1916), Trinidad and Tobago (1916-1921). After his stint in Rhodesia, he became the High Commissioner of Palestine and TransJordan up to 1931.

Lord Malvern High School was named in honour of Godfrey Huggins, 1st Viscount Malvern. He was a Rhodesian politician who was first elected to the legislative council in 1923 when the 'responsible' government was constituted. In 1933, when his Reform Party won parliamentary seats he became the prime minister, a position he held until 1953. He was the fourth governor of Rhodesia. Concurrently, he was also the secretary of Native affairs until 1949 (Windrich, 1975). He is credited in the history of Southern Rhodesia for being the architect of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland which he became its first Prime Minister until 1956. He was knighted in 1941 (www.britannica.com/EBchecked/.../).

Baring Primary School commemorates the British administrator, Evelyn Baring, Baron Howick of Glendale, who served as the Governor of Rhodesia during the 1942-1944 period (Jones, 2013). The period 1944-1951 saw Baring assuming the positions of High Commissioner and Governor in Bechuanaland, Basutoland, and Swaziland on behalf of the British government (Houghton Mifflin Company, 2013).

The other dimension of honouring builders of the colony was done through naming places after explorers. Courtney Selous and David Livingstone are explorers who are honoured through

commemorative naming of schools in the corpus of school name for this study. The two names for schools: ***Courtney Selous Primary School*** and ***David Livingstone Primary School***, express gratitude by the European settlers for the roles the two personalities played towards the founding of the colonial state, Rhodesia. The names indicate that the colonial government recognised the contributions made by the two explorers towards the founding of Rhodesia.

David Livingstone Primary School was a name in honour of David Livingstone, a Scottish Missionary-explorer. His early 'discoveries' in Africa, such as his 'great and monumental discovery' of the mighty waterfall on the Zambezi gorge which he named Victoria Falls after the reigning Queen of England, Queen Victoria, laid the basis for later British colonisation of Central Africa.

At another level, the name David Livingstone, who claimed to have discovered the majestic falls in Zimbabwe was consistent with the dominant thought system of European settlers that the landscape was not populated. David Livingstone claimed to have discovered the falls yet Africans inhabiting that part of Zimbabwe and Zambia had given it a name in their language, *Mosi-a-Tunya* 'The Smoke that Thunders'. The name is descriptive of the falls. Instead, David Livingstone named the falls after the reigning Queen of England. It was a total sign that the Africans were not in existence.

This study advances that naming a public institution such as a school using such a name was a sign that the colonial government was not acknowledging the existence of Africans in spaces that they occupied and claim to be theirs. The colonial system did not recognise an African as an equal human being. Instead, the colonial machinery invented a system that stripped Africans of their humanity, their culture, their language and every other tool of self-definition. Denying that Africans were equal

human beings was a deliberate act done in order to justify treating the colonised people as animals. The name, David Livingstone, was very important to the colonial mission because it was a symbol for the emptiness of the colony, a land that was ready for European exploration. Land expropriation and annexation, for example, was done during the colonial period in Zimbabwe without considering that the concerned land was in the hands of other people. Treating Africans as sub-humans helped the colonial project to achieve its goals and set objectives of enjoying the best of what the colony could offer.

Courtney Selous Primary School honours Frederick Courteney Selous, a hunter and explorer who led the Pioneer Column to its intended destination, Mount Hampden. Interviewee Q from the school said hanging Selous' pictures in the school's hall was a way that further showed that the colonial government honoured him. Selous had familiarised himself with the environment in Zimbabwe prior to the occupation of Mashonaland by the Pioneer Column in 1890. He had made several journeys which enabled him to cover much of Southern Africa. Most of the details of his explorations and hunting expeditions in Africa are detailed in his 1875 publication: *A Hunter's Wandering in Africa.*

It was Frederick Courteney Selous who had given the names Mount Hampden (after John Hampden) to a hill 18 km north-West of Salisbury and Mount Darwin (after Charles Darwin) to a hill in the north east part of Rhodesia before the coming of the Chartered Company into Zimbabwe (Smith, 1978). He also worked very hard towards instituting a colonial state in Rhodesia owing to his knowledge of the topography and the general environment in the territory. As such, he played an invaluable role in guiding the Pioneer Column during the occupation of Mashonaland. Owing to his knowledge of the Ndebele as war-like, he managed to persuade Rhodes to have the Pioneer Column

take a route that could avoid collision with the Ndebele impis. He acted as a guide for Jameson on his visit to Chief Mutasa and they left the Pioneer Column at Fort Charter under the guidance of a deputy who was given clear instructions to "look for a hill with a stream" (Smith, 1978: 185) in order to locate Mt. Hampden. There was an urgent need to acquire as many claims as possible because of the potential threat from the Portuguese seeking the same from Shona chiefs. He also established treaties with Chief Makoni. All those efforts made Selous "one of the heroes of the formation of Rhodesia" (Blair, 1967: 1) because he is ranked third after Cecil John Rhodes and Jameson in the hierarchy of the builders of the colony.

The vulnerability of the Shona people at the hands of Matabele impis that Selous painted in his writings worked to the advantage of the Chartered Company and the British imprealist mission. His literature on the Matabele raids and the massacres of the Shona people created an impression that Europeans came to protect from the marauding Matabele impis. During the Matabele war in 1893, Selous played an active role because he was in command of the 'H' troop Bulawayo Field Force. Blair (1967: 23) summarises Selous' invaluable role in the founding of Southern Rhodesia in the following way:

> His role was unique. In the practical sense, his experience and knowledge were put at the service of the B.S.A.C in guiding the Pioneer Column, in making treaties, roads and maps; on the more theoretical level, Selous was used... as a respected authority with unsurpursed knowledge of conditions in South Central Africa.

This explains why he was commemorated through place naming. A place between Salisbury and Gatooma was also named Selous. A Street in Salisbury was also named after him (It was not affected by the denaming and renaming processes in the post-independence era). A counter-insurgence force with the Rhodesian army was also named the Selous Scouts.

The name Courteney Selous evokes senses of a committed European, at least within the European settlers' community, who made selfless sacrifices towards the establishment of Rhodesia as a colonial state. In this case, naming places using such a name was an act of showing appreciation and gratitude for a dedicated member of the European community. The importance that the colonial state attached to Selous' contribution saw his name being given to several public spaces and institutions in the colonial system of governance. It is interesting to note that the knowledge that Selous had for South Central Africa correlates with the intelligence possessed and exercised by a special counter-insurgence unit within the Rhodesian army, The Selous Scouts. This unit caused a lot of casualities on the side of African nationalist freedom fighters owing to their advanced intelligence system.

Philathropists also fell under the broad category of personalities regarded as builders of the colony. The names fulfilled the same function of other commemorative school names discussed above. The data for this study reveals that Alfred Beit who was a close financial ally of Cecil John Rhodes was commemorated through naming *Alfred Beit Primary School* after him.After Alfred Beit's death, a Trust fund was established which came to be known as the Beit Trust in accordance with the provisions of his will that there be established a Trust Fund for the development and well-being of Rhodesia (including northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland). The Trust funded communication systems in the colony such as bridges over the Limpopo (named Beit Bridge after Alfred Beit), Zambezi and Sabi Rivers, telegraphs and railways. The Trustee funded many projects in education through construction of school and university buildings (most auditorims in Universities and schools were funded by the same fundand they bear the name, Beit Hall), and funding research programs in health and providing grants for hospitals, orphanages and wildlife conservation programmes. This was

consistent with what the founder, Alfred Beit regarded as Britain's beneficient imperial mission in Africa (hup.sub.uni-hamburg.de/volltexte/2012/127/pdf/HamburgUP_MfW09_...)

Personalities who helped found components of the built environments were also honoured through naming institutions and places they founded after them. For the purposes of this study, ***Helen McGhie Primary School*** was named after its founder, Helen McGhie, to cater for Coloureds and Asians. During an interview with this researcher, interviewee S said the school was established in 1944 after the founder, Helen McGhie, herself an Asian, made an official complaint to government about an apparent lack of a school for Asians and Coloureds in the city of Fort Victoria. ***Mucheke Primary School*** was there for blacks while ***Victoria Junior School*** was exclusively for whites. Before the establishment of Eastview as a suburb for Coloureds, the school was first sited at an area in the city centre opposite the present of the Post Office Building with four pupils who were all Asians with Helen McGhie as the only teacher. Her role in founding a school for a section of the European community makes her qualify as one of the builders of Rhodesia whose name warrants to be inscribed in the toponomastic landscape.

The selection of the names suitable for permanent engravement in the landscape was done in a conscious way in order to pay tribute to personalities whom the European settlers were regarding as gallant sons in the struggle for establishing Rhodesia. Place names were part of the national narratives for acknowledging the Rhodesians' contributions to the establishment of Rhodesia as a colony. Yeoh (2003) also notes a similar place naming trend in Singapore where place names commemorate public figures, especially, those who had made significant contributions to urban development and public works.

The influence of political power in the process of place naming during the colonial period in Zimbabwe was demonstrated in the sense that very few African personalities were immortalised in the landscape. It seems there was a planned strategy of denying Africans an opportunity to celebrate their heroes through place naming. The corpus of school names reveals that the names: ***Zengeza High School, Seke 1, 2 and 8 Primary Schools*** and ***Chaminuka Primary School*** were attempts at honouring African personalities. An interview with interviewee J revealed that Zengeza was a name of an African Member of Parliament representing African interests, Jasper Savanhu Zengeza in the Federal government of Roy Welensky. Africans had 15 seats shared between Mashonaland and Matebeleland. Some schools in Chitungwiza were derived from the name of the section of Chitungwiza called Seke, named after a local African Chief, Chief Seke Mutema in the Seke Tribal Trust Lands. Interviewee O from the school indicated that ***Chaminuka Primary School*** was named after Chaminuka who used to stay in the area where the school was sited. The sum total of connotations and associations for the three school names discussed does not parallel the European names given to schools. Zengeza was not part of the African nationalist movement since he was part of the colonial government. His role was more or less the same as that of Africans who were collaborating with the Europeans for the continued oppression of their fellow Africans. He was a window dresser whose presence in the House of Assembly was very insignificant in as far as representing African interests was concerned. He was part of the larger group of Africans who decided to join the European government. Africans, who were like-minded, such as Abel Muzorewa and Chief Chirau, among many others, formed an alliance with the colonial government and established Rhodesia-Zimbabwe, after signing an internal settlement in 1978.

The name Seke, being derived from a local Shona chief, was very harmless to the colonial establishment because the powers of chiefs had been curtailed by the colonial government. Contrary to Magudu, et al. (2010) who hold that Africans named some places after local chiefs as a way of celebrating their power, this study holds that the use of names of chiefs for places in the colonial state was not toxic and harmful to the colonial establishment because African traditional leadership had been neutralised. African traditional chiefs were put under the surveillance of the Native Affairs Department with a local Native Commissioner who was supposed to monitor them. Indigenous political systems were rendered invisible and ineffective in such a set-up. Traditional chiefs were also put on government payroll and became agents of the colonial establishment in the system of indirect rule. This means that they were expected to submit to the new political order. Indirect rule entails that African chiefs were used as a link between the exploited poor Africans and the regime in power. The source of their power became Parliament and their roles shifted radically from being true traditional leaders to a mere extension of the Ministry of Internal Affairs (Windrick, 1975). Names of African chiefs were not as ideologically important as the names of Europeans who were regarded as builders of the colonial state discussed above.

The name *Chaminuka Primary School* was a lone linguistic token in the toponomastic landscape celebrating African vibrant history. Chaminuka was an important spirit medium among the Shona people who used to stay in Chitungwiza. He played an influential role during the first Chimurenga war (cf. Mutswairo, *Chaminuka, Prophet of Zimbabwe,* 1983). Despite having a large pool of significant personalities in the history of Africans who could be used in the naming of schools as a way of celebrating their history, the colonial establishment could not allow places to be named after them. If place naming was not a censored and controlled process, schools and other public institutions

could have been named after Mbuya Nehanda, Sekuru Kaguvi, Mkwati, Mapondera, Tangwena, among many others. The names could be significant weapons for showing resentment with colonial rule. A case in point was that of Tangwena who was well-known for resisting physical displacement from his ancestral area. Mbuya Nehanda, Sekuru Kaguvi and Mkwati were significant spirits that inspired Africans' uprising against European colonial rule. The names of these politically significant African historical figures were not allowed to be visible in the toponomastic landscape. The public domain was meant to celebrate European historical personalities. A common trend was to celebrate the history of the European settlers through commemorative place naming while very little effort was made to name places in honour of important personalities and events in the history of Africans.

The African past was regarded as competing and opposing the official [European] history. Thus, indigenous place names were erased from the toponomastic landscape to pave way for a new toponomastic order. The preservation and presentation of European history in the landscape was meant to naturalise the relationship between Europeans and the landscape during the colonial period in Zimbabwe. That important process which saw the European settlers as the master in the socio-political architecture of the colonial society provided ingredients for the preservation and perpetuation of the status quo. The above factors presented the socio-political order as a natural order of things. A city-text is space for the exclusive presentation of heroes and heroines of a ruling regime. It is not a space for anti-heroes. Public space does not serve to immortalise personalities regarded as anti-heroes by a ruling regime (Azaryahu, 1992). A case in point was the configuration of the cityscape of Salisbury where names of 'heroes' and important aspects of the European settlers history from the perspective in the European settlers' point of view were inscribed were very visible. Consider the following examples of names in the built environment in Salisbury:

>*Street names:* Moffat Street, Victoria Street, Pioneer Street, Stanley Avenue, Forbes Avenue, Livingstone Avenue, Selous Avenue, Rhodes Avenue, Milton Avenue, Colquhoun Street, Chancellor Avenue and Baines Avenue.
>
>*Names of Buildings and public spaces:* Cecil Square, Cecil House, Cecil Building, Cecil Hotel, Milton Building, Edward Building, Vincent Building, Chaplin Building,Charter House and Queen's Hotel.

Moffat Street was an honourary name for John Smith Moffat, son of Robert Moffat. European settlers honoured him for the role he played as an official British agent in persuading Lobengula to sign the Moffat treaty. The treaty that paved way for the subsequent concession, The Rudd Concession which created a clear sailing path for Rhodes to apply for a Royal Charter from the British Government.

Stanley Avenue was named in honour of Hebert James Stanley, who was a British administrator for both Northern and Southern Rhodesia and also South Africa. He held the office of Resident Commissioner for Northern and Southern Rhodesia between 1911 and 1914. In 1935 he assumed the Governorship over Southern Rhodesia until 1942 (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Herbert_Stanley).

Colquhoun Street was named after Colquhoun, Archibald Ross(1848–1914), the first administrator of Mashonaland in Rhodesia from 1890 to 1910. Vincent Building was named after the first Chief Justice of Rhodesia. Charter House was a name that recognises the Royal Charter, the document which gave Rhodes and his BSAC the right to establish a colony.Chaplin Building was named in honour of Francis Percy Drummond Chaplin who was the 5th Administrator of BSAC in Rhodesia. He held office between 1914 and 1923. He was preceded by William Milton and succeeded by Charles Coghlan (www.yatedo.com/.../William...Milton.../875dc1dc07a42bc37ba8a2c8ed3)

Baines Avenue was a commemorative name for John Thomas Baines (1820-1875), an explorer and artist. He was part of David Lingstone's team as an artist and storekeeper having joined the team in 1858 (www.howgego.co.uk/explorers/john_thomas_baines.htm).Chancellor Avenue got its name from John Robert Chancellor, a British colonial administrator who held Governorship over Southern Rhodesia between 1923 and 1928.

The other level of commemorating important builders of the colony was through honouring Rhodesian military personalities. This naming trend underlines the salience of the military in the establishment of the colony. Naming places after military personnel was a way of celebrating military invincibility of European settlers. Naming places after European figures was a way of indicating the military strength of the colonial system. Place names of that nature were 'praise texts' in colonial discourses that commemorated outstanding military personnel during the conquest of Africans. Fischer (2010) observes that naming places in honour of the heroes of their history was a way of memorialising heroism, at least in their own terms.

Allan Wilson Technical High School was a tribute to Major Allan Wilson, who died during the Shangani patrol. Forbes called for volunteers to embark on a mission to capture Lobengula which became known as The Shangani patrol. The group was supposed to cross the Shangani River on a mission to capture Lobengula. Allan Wilson was in charge of a group of 34 men that came to be known as Men of Men in European settlers' discourse. However, they woke up to find out that they were surrounded by Ndebele warriors. The entire group was wiped out during the planned raid on Lobengula. They were killed in December 1893 and this event left an indelible mark in the history of Rhodesians. The Patrol was one of the most heroic incidents in the history of Rhodesia. It was this

patrol that Allan Wilson and his men were accorded the status of brave men in the history of European settlers.

Interview with the Interviewee N from the school indicated that prominent members of the Shangani Patrol were also honoured through naming the four dormitories in the Shangani House, a boarding house at *Allan Wilson Technical High School*, after Major Allan Wilson, Burnham, Borrow and Robertson. The name Shangani itself, commemorate heroic exploits of military men of valour, "Men of Men" for their gallantry. Places that are named after European military personnel for their exploits during a war in Rhodesia were congratulatory in nature and celebratory in tone. Celebrated was the spirit of determination and gallantry displayed by the commemorated personalities. The names were political statements that honoured some personalities in the history of European settlers.

European place names that commemorate builders of the colony were pithy statements that recorded European history erasing African history in that space. European history posed as the worth engraving in the public sphere because it recorded events in the lived experiences of the ruling population during the colonial period in Zimbabwe. Such place names were eloquent with political messages. They were embedded in the whole process of claiming territory and asserting control over the colonised spaces in Rhodesia.

The naming trend described above was not just confined to schools and their infrastructure; it was also evident in other components of the built environment. Major P. W. Forbes was one of the military personnel who were immortalised in the landscape through naming an avenue in Salisbury and a border post with Mozambique after him. He was actively involved in the raid against

Matebeland when he organised a force against Matabele when he was acting under Jameson's instructions (Smit, 1950). Forbes also secured a treaty with Chief Mangwende during the time of the scramble for claims owing to the potential threat of the Portuguese competing with BSAC for the claims. Jameson was honoured through naming an Avenue in Salisbury after him (now Samora Machel Avenue), a street in Bulawayo, a school in Gatooma and a hotel in Salisbury.

5.3.1.3 Honouring European and American statesmen

In addition to commemorating builders of Rhodesia, European place naming trends show an attempt at honouring important government officials of the European settlers' mother countries.It was a common onomastic practice to name schools and places in general in honour of British and American heads of government. In the corpus of school names for this study, Winston Spencer Churchill, Franklin D. Roosevelt and Salisbury's names were given to schools by the European settlers. Europeans made sure that place names in the areas defined as European areas in Rhodesia became "nexuses where physical place and human observation, activity, and history conjoin" (Jett, 2011: 338). This was another level of celebrating European history.

Churchill Boys' High School was named after Winston Spencer Churchill, the Prime Minister of England from 1940-1945 and 1950-1953. Churchill was a symbol of cultural pride among Europeans because he held office during the period of massive British imperial and expansionist projects. That made him a great man in the history of European settlers who thought he befits commemoration through naming places after him. *F. D. Roosevelt Girls' High School* was named after Churchill's contemporary, Franklin D. Roosevelt, the 32nd President of America (Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum http://www.fdrlibrary.marist.edu/

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education/resources/bio_fdr.html). The school was officially named Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1950 by the Minister of Education, Mr. G. A. Davenport at a ceremony held at the school (MacLaren, 1981a).

The name Salisbury was used for the forerunners of *F.D. Roosevelt Girls High School, Prince Edward School* and *Girls High Schools*. Prior to getting the name *F.D. Roosevelt Girls' High School* in 1950, the school was named *Salisbury East Girls' High School* which was used interchangeably with the name, *The Eastlea Girls' High School*. As for *Prince Edward School* and *Girls High Schools,* there were many onomastic turns that were experienced between 1898 and 1908. In spite of the persistent renaming processes, the name Salisbury was retained up to 1925 (for *Prince Edward School* when it got the name Prince Edward). When the school was established in June 1898 it was called *Salisbury Public Undenominational School*. The period November 1898 – 1901 saw the school's name being changed to *Salisbury Undenominational School*. In 1901, the school was renamed *Salisbury Public School* when the Rhodesian government effectively took over the school. Another name change was experienced in 1906 when the school was renamed *Salisbury High School*. The last renaming process was experienced in 1908 which saw the school getting the name *Salisbury Boys' High School* (Pescentum, 1998).

The three names of 'great men' in European settlers' history point to the general affection European settlers had toward their heroes. The descriptive backing of the names in the form of the package of values and traditions in the names from the European settlers' perspective was instrumental in subordinating African history.The names were symbols of political power in the colonial state. Consistent with the principle of indexicality in Geosemiotics, the names derived much of their political meanings from their use in spaces in Rhodesia. The colony was under British rule, hence the

fact that Europeans named places in after their European statesmen as a way of celebrating their own history and affirming political control over the named spaces in the colony. The area in which the schools were established was under chiefs Nyandoro and Mapondera. However, owing to the nature of imperial place naming system described above, the two chiefs were invisible in the toponomastic landscape. Colonial place naming practices were meant to fossilise African history.

Africans were not given space to celebrate their heroes through inscribing their names in the toponomastic landscape because inscriptions in a colonial state prioritised and priviledged settler identity (Ashcroft, 1997 cited in Fischer, 2010: 61). Political power entails the control of discourses to be used in the public space. The public sphere is not a space for celebrating personalities branded as fighting against any ruling regime. Section 2.1.1 has demonstared that any ruling regime has the power of controlling symbols that can grace the public domain. As such, names of personalities who are regarded as enemies of a particular regime, whose history run contrary and oppose the ruling regime do not merit immortalisation in the pubic sphere. Consequently, names of leaders of the nationalist movement such as Joshua Nkomo, James Chikerema, Ndabaningi Sithole, and Robert Mugabe, among many others, could not be used for naming schools and public places in general because they were regarded as enemies of the state. The colonial system branded the above African leaders as saboteurs who were bent on reversing development that had been achieved by the colonial government. That was the reason why African nationalist leaders were arrested on trumped up charges using pieces of draconian laws, such as, the Law and Order (Maintenance) Act which were meant to crush African nationalism once and for all.

The argument advanced here is that no school could be named after African nationalist leaders because the colonial system regarded them as terrorists. The history which they stood for was deemed to be competing with the official history which the colonial government was striving to project to the public at all costs.The public domain in Rhodesia could not serve anti-heroes. This line of argument fits well with Azaryahu's (1992) argument that those who have access to power always see to it that personalities regarded as anti-heroes do not deserve to be immortalised through commemorative place naming or otherwise.

At another level place naming in Rhodesia was a potential platform for making colonial history the only authentic one. African history was rendered invisible in the toponomastic landscape. It should be understood that the urban areas fell under European areas in the Land Apportionment Act; it was not a space for Africans. Africans were regarded as having a permanent home in the reserves (Bhebe, 1989).

5.3.1.4 Naming schools after European places

The other level that demonstrated European settlers' power over place names and general inscriptions in the landscape was the use of place names that recalled British places. In section 2.1.3, these place names have been regarded as transferred place names. The analysis done here is informed by the following previous studies: Marika and Williams (2006); Koopman (2011); Magudu, et al. (2010) and Mapara and Nyota (forthcoming). Transferred place names are also commemorative place names as illustrated under section 5.2.1. School names that are named after suburbs in which they were sited, largely display the motive of creating a little England or a home away from home motif for the European settlers. European settlers had a stong link with their homelands in Europe. Transferred

place names was a way of recreating the same intense closeness and feeling of attachment to places they had with places in their European bases towards spaces in Rhodesia. The following examples of school names drawn from the sample for this study suffice: **Avondale Primary School, Mt. Pleasant High School, Vainona Primary School** and **Hatfield Girls' School**.

The use of transferred place names was not confined to the category of school names; it was also evident in other types of place names. Farmlands were also named after some places in Europe. The following examples attest to that argument: Wiltshire, Lancashire, Little England, Aberfoyle plantations and Kintyre Estates. The inscription of a European identity on the landscape had the ultimate effect of naturalising the relationship between European settlers and the named places.

European place names, together with place names in honour of the British royalty, European statesman, military personnel discussed above provided anchorage for a European settlers' identity to be imposed on the landscape. This argument was also pursued under section 2.2. A place bearing transferred European names had an unmistakable European identity. In addition, all the categories of European names that were given to places in Rhodesia resulted in the concept of place attachment discussed under section 2.2.2. The place names created an affective bond between European settlers and the named places. The place names made Europeans to have a feeling of comfort in the colony. Such place names strengthened the rootedness of Europeans in places in the colony. The names symbolised an imaginary process of importing their European bases into the colony.Transferred place naming was a conscious process of making spaces in the colony look familiar to the European settlers.

Giving European names to places in the colony helped European settlers to come to terms with the environment in the colony. The colony was a totally strange landscape to them. The European names they gave to the places in the colony transform an unfamiliar landscape to a home for the European settler. This explains why they had to fight hard against the African nationalist movement as a way of defending their right to the land in Rhodesia. To them, Rhodesia was their country which they founded. At another level, the place names were instrumental in truncating the distance between the places in the colony and their European bases. This best explains why European settlers, despite their varied backgrounds and interests, had to adopt a universal and convinient term, "Rhodesians" which indicated a united vision in terms of action and goals (Windrich, 1975).

At another level, naming schools after suburbs which were formerly farmlands, such as the case of *Vainona Primary School, Highfield High School* and *Mt. Pleasant High School,* and many other such school names, was also symbolic in the sense that a farm stands for agricultural production. The element of agricultural production was transferred to intellectual production that was accomplished by the education system. This study holds that while most schools got their names from suburbs in which they were sited, the case of schools which were named after suburbs which were once farmlands points to the motivation of indicating the role of education in enhancing intellectual advancement of people who go through the education system.

European commemorative place names were discourses of power during the colonial period in Zimbabwe but in the post-colonial period, Europeans place names lost their political significance. In post-independence Zimbabwe, the names no longer have any political power because the political system they were serving to legitimise collapsed. Instead, the school names index socio-economic

status. An interview with an official in the Ministry of Education, Sport and Culture (interviewee F) indicated that most of the former European schools (regarded as former Group A schools) are elite schools. In addition, the attachments that Europeans used to have with the schools during the colonial period no longer exist in the post-colonial period.

When the school names were significant discourses for legitimising the colonial political order, Europeans used to have strong contact with the schools. In the case of schools named after some personalities, the family members of the honoured person usually paid visits to the schools or make some donations in cash or in kind. A case in point was the relationship betweenthe Roosevelt family and *Roosevelt Girls High School*. At an assembly on the 4th of July 1960 which happens to be the American Independence day, the Mulcahy, the American Consul-General presented to the head-girl gifts from the Roosevelt family and a portrait of Franklin D. Roosevelt signaling the family's interest in the school (MacLaren, 1981a). However, all this relationship changed in the post-colonial period when the school names are reduced to mere historical records of the colonial experience. The toponomastic landscape simply indicates that the country was once colonised by the Europeans who gave places European names as a way of indicating power. The school names ceased to have any political significance in the post-colonial state. The post-colonial period reduced European place names to mere political shells without any political significance.

An Interview with Interviewee U from *Queen Elizabeth Girls High School* revealed that the British royal family did not respond to the several letters the school adminstration wrote them asking for assistance to spruce up the image of the school. At *Prince Edward School*, interviewee M said members of the British royal family last visited the school in 1992 when the country hosted the

Commonwealth Head of Government Meeting summit in 1992. It was the Queen who came to the school and planted a tree at the school. Since then, there is no contact between the school and the British royal family. At **Beit Primary School**, interviewee K said one great grandson to Alfred Beit, on his visit to Zimbabwe, just saw a school bus in town bearing the school name. He was not aware of that there was a school in Zimbabwe bearing the name of his great grandfather. After inquiring from the Ministry of Education and Culture, he was taken to the school. The visit was the only one made by either members of the Alfred Beit's family or those of the Beit Trustees in the post-independence era to the school. Since then, there is no connection between the school and the Beit Trustees.

5.3.1.5 Names of church-run schools

This section illustrates that names of church-run schools were discourses of power owing to the relationship between British imperialism and Christianity and the power relations between Christianity and ATR. All the school names analysed in this study are for either Roman Catholic Church or Anglican Church because they were the major players in urban centres while other churches were active in the countryside. It has been demonstrated under section 2.1.5 that Christianity was the vanguard of British imperial mission in Zimbabwe because it paved way for British colonial mission. Inscribing place names that had a Christian identity and outlook on landscapes in Rhodesia was a way of engraving power in the toponomastic landscape.

St. Dominican Convent School was established in the Central Business District of Salisbury where it existed in contiguity with buildings housing the colonial government offices, streets bearing commemorative names and cultural artifacts of the colonial regime, such as: Cecil Building [which

was the House of Assembly], Milton Building, Edward Building, Vincent Building, Chaplin Building, Charter House, Queen's Hotel, Cecil Square, Rhodes Avenue, Pioneer Street, Colquhoun Street, Chancellor Avenue, Selous Avenue, Moffat Street, Stanley Avenue, Livingstone Avenue, Forbes Avenue and Rhodes Avenue, among many others.

The name *St. Dominican Convent School* became part of discourses that were used in the toponomastic landscape in the Central Business District (henceforth CBD) of Salisbury to indicate political power. One of the objectives of missionaries during the colonial period in Zimbabwe was to advance the interests of the colonial system. The alliance between Christianity and British colonialists during the colonial period in Zimbabwe can also be observed from the relationship between the Anglican Church and the colonial government in Rhodesia. The church built its Cathedral in the CBD of Salisbury. The CBD, especially of a capital city, is a very important space for any ruling regime for the sake of asserting political authority. Political regimes try by all means to control the CBD, its built environment and place names used therein. In addition, the House of Assembly used by the Rhodesian government was owned by Anglican Church.

The name *St. Martin's Primary School* in St. Martins, Salisbury was a terse statement that communicated power when they appeared in the toponomastic landscape. It reminded Africans who see the name in the public sphere of a religion that was brought by missionaries who were close allies of the colonialists. The mission of the missionaries and that of the colonialists was not radically different.

St. Mary's Primary School, St. Mary's Secondary School, St. Aidan's Primary School and ***Don Bosco Primary Schools*** were established in areas that were later on developed as African urban areas. This study treats these schools as satellite stations in African areas meant to symbolise colonial power and the proselytising mission of the missionaries. Mission stations were centres for the ideological and psychological conditioning of the Africans which was a useful method of controlling them. These church-run schools were more or less the same as mission stations dotted throughout Rhodesia, such as: Morgenster Mission ran by the Dutch Reformed Church in Fort Victoria, St. Francis of Assissi established by the Anglican Church in Buhera, Rusitu Mission ran by the United Methodist Church in Manicaland, St. Columba's in Honde Valley established and ran by the Roman Catholic Church and Chishawasha Mission ran by the Roman Catholic Church near Salisbury.

The mission stations established in the immediate environments of Africans represented mini-European centres where western values were inculcated into the minds of the new African converts and students. Mission stations were European bases in African spaces because they introduced western education, western medicine and western religion. The mission station comprises of three things: the school, the church and the hospital. The three subsystems of the mission station posed as superior to what Africans had, that is, African education, African Traditional Religion (henceforth ATR) and African health delivery system. The mission stations became institutions of power during the colonial period in Zimbabwe because they were symbols of European culture. Thus, the names for such instutions were discourses of power.

At another level, there were relations of power between Christianity and ATR. Missionaries brought with them an alien religion which posed as superior to ATR. Christianity posed as a progressive

religion while creating an image of ATR as a retrogressive religion practised by people with no clear idea of God. African tradional religion was dismissed as animism, ancestor worship and heavily characterised by superstition. Demonising ATR, an important tool of self-definition for Africans which permeated in all spheres of an African life, was a way of subordinating African culture and the African person.

Another level of power contained in the names of mission-run schools was that they well funded. This gave them a relatively high status when compared to rural schools or schools for Africans established in African urban areas. The fees in these schools were relatively high and the facilities were also of a relatively high quality. This resulted in a high quality tuition which also saw most children excelling in their studies. Most Africans who excelled in their education during the colonial period and climbed up the social strata system as lawyers, medical doctors, teachers attended mission schools such as *St. Augustine's Penhalonga, Gokomere Mission, Pamushana Mission, Kutama Mission*, among many others. These schools have maintained their status up to this day because the results they produce bear testimony to that. Mission schools top the list of schools which produced the best results in the 2013 public national examinations at Ordinary level. The Minister of Primary and Secondary Education, Mr. Lazarus Dokora is on record saying that mission schools occupied the upper slots in the top 100 schools which produced the best results because they receive enough support from their respective churches. A case in point was *Monte Cassino Girls High School*, a Roman Catholic Church-run school which recorded a 100% pass rate (www.newsdzezimbabwe.co.uk).

5.3.1.6 School names as memory management devices

The arguments raised under section 2.1.3 on the role of place in names in preserving a memory of a particular people are used here in analysing school names. This study notes a close relationship between power and places names as discourses that enhance memory management. Memory of a people constitutes national narratives that communicate their group identity. Azaryahu (1992) observes that the section of society with access to power make their memory appear as natural public memory. This study advances that the spatialisation of memory revolves around determining whose history, knowledge and ideology should dominate the public domain. In this scheme of things, Zelizer (1995 cited in Hoelscher & Alderman, 2004: 349) argues thatpower wins out. In this regard, the lived experiences of the the group wielding political power are spatialised in the landscape and those for the dominated are wiped out and erased.

In terms of the principle of indexicality in Geosemiotics, the placement of such names on spaces in Rhodesia made the objective of managing memory in the colony attainable. The meaning of place names meant to preserve the memory of European settlers was enhanced by the use of such place names in the colonial state. During the colonial period, European settlers used commemorative place names as important memory management devices. Commemorative place naming was a useful strategy of celebrating the history of colonial project and mission. The built environment consisting of buildings, streets, schools, hospitals, stadia, among many others, were converted into places of memory through commemorative place naming.

This study holds that the section of the society with access to power determines what has to be inscribed in the landscape and what does not deserve immortalisation in the public sphere. In this

scheme of things, only experiences that were historically significant to the European settlers were deemed to be worthy remembering through place naming in Rhodesia. The public space was turned into a space for recognition and remembering through place naming. Several places such as ***Cecil John Rhodes Primary School*** in Gweru and Matopos, the name of the colony itself - Southern Rhodesia, Rhodene suburb in Fort Victoria, among many others were named after the founder of the colony Cecil John Rhodes who had bankrolled the imperial project in Rhodesia. School names that were derived from the British royal family, those that honoured builders of the colony, those that were named after some places in Europe and those that honoured European and American statesman were useful memory management devices in Rhodesia. Schools were turned from being just institutions of learning into memorial arenas eloquent with the history of European settlers. The use of European commemorative place names for schools was significant in making them places of memory in Rhodesia.

Names of church-run schools were useful memory management devices for Christianity which was a colonial ideological state apparatus meant to ideologically prepare Africans to accept colonialism as if it was God-ordained. Such place names are reflective of the denominational affliation of the mission stations. Each church has its own unique set of names that it uses for its missions. In some cases, the names themselves also index the group within a particular church that would have found the mission or the schools (in cases where there was just a school). A case in point is Roman Catholic Church where a school name such as ***St. Dominican Convent School*** reflects that the school was established and run by the Dominican sisters. All names for church-run schools are historical records of the close relationship between colonialism and Chritianity in Rhodesia. Had it not been for the alliance between the two, there would have been no school bearing a name with a Christian flavor in

Zimbabwe. Colonialism and Chritianity were introduced simultaneously in Rhodesiabecause they were flip sides of the same coin.

In Rhodesia, school names analysed in this study were not given to places that were onomastically empty. Africans inhabiting in the areas where schools were established gave names to different places for different reasons. In a way, the memory contained in indigenous place names in the colony was wiped out because the aborigines were treated as invisible from the landscape. The superimposition of European place names on an existing toponymic culture fossilised African place names.The superimposition of an alien toponymic culture on the African place naming system was meant to suppress the memory contained in African place names.

Rose-Redwoood (2008) emphasises that when making a place of memory it is important to observe what is remembered or forgotten. For the purposes of this study, European place naming pattern in colonies remembered European experiences and at the same time facilitated amnesia and general forgetfulness of African experiences that were contained in the African place names that were in use before the advent of colonialism. It is a dual process of remembering and conversely a process of active suppression and fossilisation of the memory of the dominated population. Using place naming as repositories of memory is a twin process of preserving, storing memory of European settlers and erasure of the memory of Africans. The spatialisation of memory through the use of commorative place names in Rhodesia converted spaces in the colony into places of memory. The unfortunate reality was that European commemorative place names suppressed the African memory carried by the erased place names.

European settlers, as the section of the colonial society with access to power, had total control over discourses that were used in the public domain, including place names. The ability to control place names is directly related to power. This gave Europeans an opportunity to impose their names on landscapes that already had African names.

Anglicisation was one of the dimensions that demonstrate that European settlers were in full control over the place naming process in Rhodesia. Anglicisation is a conscious effort that empty the memory contained in the affected names. A place name is made to look more European through this process. This study regards anglicisation as a process of mutilation, defacing and disfiguring of place names in Rhodesia. Thus, the memory contained in the name Mutare was completely wiped out when the European settlers anglicised the name to Umtali. The anglicised name was subsequently used for school names in the sample for this study: ***Umtali High School, Umtali Boys' High School*** and ***Umtali Girls' High School***. Power is demonstrated by the intention of wiping out the memory contained in African indigenous names. The African name was very significant to the name-givers. Smith (1978) advances that the name Mutare is derived from the ChiManyika word 'Mutare'or sometimes 'Nyantare' meaning a piece of metal. It is highly probable that the name came into being owing to the discovery of gold in the Penhalonga valley through which Mutare River flows. The geological connotations of the name were completely wiped out when the anglicised name Umtali was imposed on the landscape. This indicates that the colonial administration had absolute control over symbolic items in the landscape.

Anglicisation was, partly, a result of failure by European settlers to pronounce African names. African languages have some phonemes and syllables which Europeans had problems with when it comes to

pronunciation. Europeans, being a section of society with access to power, had control over the public landscape and the symbolic culture that punctuates the public domain. Thus, African names underwent an unfortunate process of being disfigured during this process. European settlers had a tendency of anglicising names for places that were significant to them. They wanted the places to have a European outlook. African names for places where Europeans established urban centres or were engaged in either mining or farming activities suffered the most as a result of anglicisation. Consider the following examples:

Table 5.9: Anglicised place names

African name	Anglicised name
Gweru	Gwelo
Kadoma	Gatooma
Mutare	Umtali
Kwekwe	Que Que
Chinhoyi	Sinoia
Marondera	Marandellas
Mvuma	Umvuma
Chirimuhanzu	Chilimanzi

Anglicisation was an indication that European settlers had an interest in the named places. It indexed that European settlers had interacted with the landscape. Koopman (2011) treats anglicisation as an indication that Europeans had failed to engage with landscapes in Africa with their onomastic labels owing to their general attitudes toward Africa. Anglicisation was a deliberate exercise by the European settlers in order to come to terms with the environment in the colony. It was an act of making places in Rhodesialook more familiar to them. Through anglicisation, European settlers tried to de-Africanise places and Europeanise them so that they create a favourable and conducive environment for European habitation. Anglicisation was a dual process of deconstructing African identities and creating new European identities for the named places.

Consistent with the policy of separate development, Europeans wanted to stay in places with a distinct European identity during the colonial period in Zimbabwe. In this regard, anglicisation was a useful strategy of making a place for European settlement because an anglicised name makes a place more European than African. As a result, European settlers were comfortable with having an anglicised name for their spaces and schools. Urban areas were treated as exclusive European spaces in the early stages of colonialism as indicated under section 1.1.4. This explains why most names of urban centres were anglicised. Consider the following examples: Gwelo, Que Que, Sinoia, Marandellas, Umtali, Gatooma and Umvuma were given to urban centres. European settlers were comfortable in having Umtali as a name for their schools in Umtali: ***Umtali High School, Umtali Boys' High School*** and ***Umtali Girls' High School***. However, caution should be made that not all places bearing anglicised place names were European. Overall, the study advances that the power to disfigure and mutilate African names stems from the political power European settlers had in the colony.

This study also holds that place names are discourses that are useful in preserving the memory of a particular people. Place names are short records of the experiences of a particular people. Naming itself is a reflection of how people come to terms with their environment. The way people name their children, livestock, and places mirrors experiences in the life of the name-giver(s). Names such as Zisco (in Kwekwe), Zimasco (in Shurugwi) for cattle reflect that the name-giver worked in the mines to get the money to buy the named beasts. Personal names such as Tanyaradzwa (we have been comforted) and Takudzwa (we have been honoured), Ntombizodwa (all [our children] are girls) are pithy records of realities obtaining during the time of giving the name. Tanyaradzwa might be a name for a child that came after a death or a series of deaths of other children in the family. Takudzwa is

usually given to a baby boy in cases where the family had only girl children. Ntombizodzwa indexes a family whose children are all girls. Informal personal and place names are also important devices that record history. All these arguments underscore the role of names as memory management devices.

5.3.1.7 School names as indices of the status of schools

This section deploys Torkington's views discussed under section 2.5.1.3 that linguistic tokens in the linguistic landscape sphere are potentially markers of power and status in the analysis of school names. School names for European schools were discourses of power in the sense that they indexed that the named schools were Group A schools while Group B schools were largely given Shona names. Kanyongo (2005) observes that during the colonial period, schools in Zimbabwe were divided into two main categories, Group A schools and Group B schools. Group A schools were for white students while Group B schools were for black students (http://iej.cjb.net). The concept of power between the Group A and Group B schools is explained at the level of the status of the schools. Group A schools had a higher status in relation to Group A schools. There were marked inequalities between Group A and Group B schools.

In 1996, the colonial government introduced a restrictive policy that became to be known as the 1966 Education Plan. The act accentuated the already existing racial discrimination policies of the colonial government. European schools came to be known as F1 schools offering academic subjects while African schools were regarded as F2 schools offering vocational education. Shizha and Kariwo (2011) note that the policy impacted on the lives of indigenous Africans because it reinforced the dehumanisation of Africans as just a pool of cheap labour for Europeans because it introduced a

serious bottle-neck system that ensured that Africans faced serious hurdles of advancing with education. The education act made sure that very few Africans could reach secondary school.

This study advances that school names were significant markers of the status of the named schools during the colonial period in Zimbabwe. School names were part of the symbolic means through which the European settler government used to communicate differences of policies of education for Africans and European settlers during thecolonial period in Zimbabwe. Chung (2007; 1995; 1989); Summers (2002); Zvobgo (1987); Sibanda (1989); Bhebe (1989); and Todd (1989) observe that during the colonial period in Zimbabwe there was an educational system which reflected the racial inequalities that was prevalent in the wider society.

The creation of discrete identities of schools as European schools and African schools was informed by the colonial policy of separate development. The names *Prince Edward School*, *Umtali Girls' High School, Victoria High School, Avondale Primary School, Moffat Primary School,* among many other such European names were significant markers of European schools which were well equipped owing to the government support they were receiving. On the other hand, school names such as *Chikato Primary School, Mutanda Primary School, Tamuka Primary School, Chaminuka Primary School, Sakubva High School,* among many other Shona names for schools, were indicators that the named schools were Group B schools (later F2 schools). Zvobgo (1987) advances that the 1965-79 saw the central government taking full responsibility of European education while district councils and private bodies were supposed to take care of African education. This point to an existence of a two-tier education system where inequalities were experienced at the level of the support rendered to the schools from central government. African schools were ill-equipped when

compared to European schools. Power is manifested whenever there are unequal relations between entities under discussion. The issue of inequalities between European schools and African schools was another front of analysing power relations in Rhodesia because European schools assumed a high status while African schools had a relatively low status.

Commemorative European names for schools that were were drawn from the British royal family, from European and American statesman, from builders of the colony, from places in Europe marked the named schools as having a higher status in relation to schools bearing African names. Names such as *Prince Edward School, Queen Elizabeth School* could not be compared to African names for schools which could not match such names which were eloquent with power. The founding of the colonial state was premised on the use of military force as signaled by the Pioneer Column whose use of the word fortindexes the military nature of the invading force. In this vein, naming schools after military personnel was a sign of celebrating the history of the Rhodesians. Colonialism brought about a social stratification system where race was a determining factor for putting people into two major classes: Europeans and (native) Africans.

Names drawn from European lived experiences were celebrating the way of life of the priviledged class which also had access to power. The name *Allan Wilson Technical High School* evokes senses of a fighter who had made selfless sacrifices for the founding of the colonial state. The European community had a relatively high status to the African society in every sphere of life so were European names as compared to African names. In this case, European names were status symbols that indexed that the named schools were hierarchically higher than schools for Africans. The descriptive backing

of the names given to African schools was not that politically significant as compared to the European names given to schools as discussed under section 5.3.1.6 below.

European school names were celebrating the experiences of a racially superior class. In turn, schools for Africans had names drawn from the Shona language. Africans, being an inferior class, were second class citizens in the colonial state, so were their schools. The curriculum in European schools was meant to maintain their priviledged position in the colonial society while Africans were supposed to learn practical subjects as way of canalising them to be labourers in the colonial capitalist economy. African education was meant to prepare a pool of labour for the European industries, farms and mines. It was a form of education that ensured that Africans became second class citizens. They were not expected to pose a challenge to the European settlers' priviledged position by competing with Europeans on the job market.

Education as an ideological state apparatus, worked towards the maintainance of a racially divided society. Educational policy was crafted along racial lines to such an extent that a dual system of education was established, one for blacks and the other for whites (Zvobgo, 1987). The above scenario was a result of the politics of racial separate development system which saw the establishment of racially segregated cemeteries, recreational facilities, business areas, clinics and hospitals, residential areas and even churches (Todd, 1989; Windrich, 1975).

The different status of the schools for Europeans and schools for Africans during the colonial period was anchored on racial grounds. The notion of power relations between European schools and African schools was redefined in the post-independence era where status is no longer marked by race

but by economic class. European names for school names, at least in urban centres, in the post-independence era index schools for the elite, the well-to-do in the society. The fees in schools known as 'former Group A schools' are beyond the reach of low income earners who happen to be the majority in the post-independence Zimbabwean society. African names for schools indicate that the named school is in high density suburbs, schools that are largerly for the low income earners.

5.3.1.8 Shona school names as escapist labels

A survey of the nature of school names used for schools for Africans shows a marked difference when compared to European school names. Most of the African names given to schools were ideologically empty. Europeans managed to manipulate the mnemonic role of place names and record all important turning points of their history in the names they gave to places in the colony. Place names they gave to the built environment and natural landscapes in the colony chronicled and celebrated their history as discussed under section 5.3.1.6.

At another level, European school names were resonant also with political overtones. They were reflective of the Rhodesians hegemony and control over the landscape and its inhabitants, the Africans. There was a wide difference between the semantic and ideological content of European school names and African school names. Out of the 60 names for African schools, there is no name that can be said to celebrate African socio-political history. Rather than focusing on the power-politics in the colonial state, African school names were very apolitical and escapist in nature. The colonial government exercised power over place naming in the colony through the process of approving place names to be used in the public domain as official place names. All proposed place names went through a process of approval by the Cabinet Place Names Committee. This approval process should be

viewed within the wider framework of colonial censorship practices. All African place names were subjected to a thorough screening and vetting process such that any African place name deemed to carry political messages was not approved. An interview with an official in the Department of the Surveyor General (interviewee E) revealed that no proposed name deemed to carry political connotations could be approved for official usage by the responsible Cabinet Place Names Committee. In the literary terrain, African art which was meant for Africans went through the censorship board, The Rhodesian Literature Bureau because Africans were not supposed to consume art deemed to be subversive to the colonial establishment (Chiwome, 1996; Ngugi, 1981).

Looking at the Shona names for schools one would not believe that they were given to places during the colonial period where racial tensions and conflicts over the control of the means of production were attendant features of the colonial society. Instead of addressing the socio-political realities of the day, names for African schools, rather focus on trivial issues relative to the issues of the colonial society. The escapist 'motif' was evident in Shona school names in the categories of school names derived from suburb names, school names derived from the Shona totemic system, school names that celebrate virtues and academic excellence, and miscellaneous school names.

The classification of school names presented above shows that some African schools were derived from the Shona totemic system. The following examples suffice: **Mbizi Primary School**, **Mhizha Primary School, Mhofu Primary School, Mutasa Primary School** and **Nyandoro Primary School**. While totems are important devices for self-definition and indispensable tools that bind people together as one, they were not very significant as items that could be used for public institutions during the time of socio-political turmoil. The expectation was to have place names that could capture the

socio-political issues of the colonial state, such as expropriation and annexation of land, displacement of Africans, and general acts of injustices committed by the European settlers upon Africans.

The category of school names derived from topographical features, flora and fauna for African schools also display an escapist objective. Two examples are discussed here: *Mucheke High school* and *Chikato Primary School* both in Fort Victoria. The name *Mucheke High School* comes from the name of a river and the suburb in Fort Victoria. The name Mucheke, itself means 'to cut, divide' was used to mean that the river was a boundary between Chief Zimuto's area and Chief Charumbira's area. This explains why there is a road in Mucheke 'A' township named after Chief Charumbira and a police camp along Mutare Road in Masvingo called Zimuto Camp to indicate that the areas fall under the respective chiefs. The name *Chikato Primary School* comes from the Zvikato hills near Gokomere mission. While it is important to have place names that are informed by the immediate environment, the name tends to escape from the political realities of the day. Interviewee G, during an interview with this researcher commented on the emptiness of names for African schools as compared to the historically rich European school names. He had this to say:

> The names which were derived from topographical features, such as Mucheke and Chikato gave an impression that Africans had no history to celebrate through place naming like what Europeans were doing. It seems African history is in rivers and mountains.

This place naming tradition in the colonial period makes all names in the category discussed here to be regarded as escapist place names. Analysing them one would not get a clue that they were given to places during the colonial period considering the harsh realities that were faced by Africans in Rhodesia at the hands of the European settlers. The political grip of European settlers on place names reached its zenith when names for school names "were reduced to mere numerical entities" (Pfukwa and Barnes, 2010: 112). The numbering of the schools followed their years of establishment of the

respective schools. The ultimate objective was to have African names which were ideologically empty, which could not pose any threat to the status quo. This explains the existence of the following school names in the sample for this study as discussed under section 5.2.8: *Seke 1 Primary School, Seke 2 Primary School, Seke 8 Primary School, Zengeza 4 Primary School, Zengeza 7 Primary School, Zengeza Primary School* and *Dzivarasekwa 1 High School*.

School names that celebrated academic excellence also fall under the escapist place names because they were politically neutral. This argument has been pursued under section 5.2.7. While classifying the school names as escapist, this study appreciates that the school names had a sub-text. There is a sense in which the school names generally encouraged Africans to acquire education in order to climb up the stratification ladder of the colonial capitalist system.

It is quite apparent that school names discussed in this section were approved because they were deemed to be politically harmless. Most of the school names in this category were imperatives that exhorted Africans to embrace western education introduced to them by European settlers. Consistent with the principle of dialogicality in Geosemiotics, this study considers the context in which the names were used as quite significant to the meanings conveyed by the names. The need for equal access to education was one of the major reasons that motivated the nationalist movement to wage a war against the colonial system because Africans were denied equal access to education (Sibanda, 1989; Bhebe, 1989; Todd, 1989, Zvobgo, 1987; Chung, 1989). In this case, place names were conduits that were used to communicate the desire by Africans to have access to education. Names for schools such as: *Dzidzai Primary School, Fungisai Primary School, Farai Primary School, Budirirayi Primary School, Shingirayi Primary School, Takakunda Primary School, Kundai Primary School, Kundai*

Primary School and ***Mukai Secondary School, Gombo Primary School*** among many others challenged Africans to consider education as a viable option for upgrading themselves, socially and academically in the colonial socio-political order.

Africans were agitating for the removal of racial discrimination in education and the democratisation of the educational space. When schools were built for Africans in black townships, Africans manipulated the school naming system for communicating the need for 'going to school'. School names became potential conduits for intra-racial communication among Africans to encourage each other to observe the attendant benefits of getting educated. The establishment of schools for Africans in urban areas signaled a dawn of a new era for Africans given the previous era when the colonial government was reluctant to establish schools for Africans in urban areas. This development was captured in the names given to schools during the period in question. School names, such as: ***Zuvarabuda Primary School*** (the sun has risen) and ***Kwayedza High School*** (it has dawned) were meant to encourage Africans to cherish the benefits of getting educated. The names were calls for Africans observe that the colonial government had opened up opportunities for Africans to access educational facilities in urban centres. It took time for the colonial government to establish schools for Africans in urban areas because Africans were deemed to be temporary sojourners in towns.

School names such as ***Wasarawasara Primary School*** (no one should be left out of the race)are eloquent with senses of Africans to join the bandwagon of going to school. Education was the issue in vogue when the colonial government established schools for Africans in urban centres. The school name carried the sense that no African of school-going age should be left out of the race. The names ***Tangenhamo Primary School*** and ***Ruvheneko Primary School*** point to promise for a bright future

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enjoyed by someone who successfully acquires education. Nhamo means poverty, hardships, misfortune or calamity while /–tanga/ is a verb that means begin, commence or start. The name is a truncated form of a proverb:

Tange nhamo, rugare rugotevera. (If beginnings are hard, easier times will follow).

The names **Tangenhamo Primary School** and **Nhamburiko Primary School** are summative of the problems of Africans where the European settlers were denying them equal access to education and the bright future for those who acquire education in the colonial capitalist economy. The hardships had come and go since Africans had been afforded an opportunity to access education. Under those circumstances, the name **Tangenhamo** was a call for Africans to appreciate that acquisition of education in a colonial system was a guarantee for a better future. The name **Takakunda Primary School**carries senses of triumph on the education front on the part of Africans since /-kunda/ is a Shona verb for surpass, conquer or prevail over. The name points to the fact that European government had heeded calls and concerns from Africans to establish schools for them in urban areas. Africans were demanding for the democratisation of the education sector in order to create equal access to education for all races during the colonial period in Zimbabwe. The names, therefore, celebrates the success story for Africans because schools had been established for them in urban areas. The meaning of such names is derived from their physical placement in the material world. The above school names were used in a colonial context where the colonial establishment made conscious efforts to deny Africans the right to access education. A full understanding of the meaning conveyed by the school names discussed above should consider the colonial context that gave rise to the names.

There is a sense in which Africans used the naming system to communicate political message. Education, being a contested terrain in the colonial society, fighting for the democratization of

education was part of the struggle. In this case, names such as *Batanai Primary School* (unity) in Mabvuku emphasised the need for unity of purposes among Africans in order to dislodge the colonial captilalist system. *Shingirayi Primary School* (Strive and persevere)*, Gwinyai Primary School* (be strong, persevere), *Tsungai Primary School* (Endure and persevere) were intra-racial discouses that commeunicated the idea that Africans should not not looses hope even when they were facing serious hardships in the colonial state. There was need for them to endure the challenges because there was hope for dislodging the colonial system as communicated in the names *Vimbai Primary School* (have faith) *Kundai Primary School* (Triumph). This study advances that Shona names were censored but they also resonated with latent political messages. They were muzzled but audible linguistic tokens in the landscape. The colonial establishment could not decipher the political meanings conveyed in the names. For so long as the names were not related to the nationalist struggle, which in their eyes was a 'terrorist insurgency movement', the names could be approved for use in the colony as official geographical names.

The name *Chirodzo Primary School* points to role of education in sharpening minds. Interviewee P from the school indicated that the school name was taken from Proverbs 27 vs 17 which reads: "As iron sharpens iron, so one man sharpens another" (NIV). The school motto of the school is also derived from the same Biblical verse. It reads: *Iron Sharpeneth Iron*. It is education which enriches people's conceptualisation and comprehension of issues in a complex industrialised world. The school name, therefore, falls within the wider framework of school names discussed above that perform the role of enticing and persuading Africans to embrace education because of its intrinsic qualities of improving the status of those who would have acquired it.

Gombo Primary School stands for fertility given that ***gombo*** is a Shona word for a virgin land. Unlike barren and denuded land, a virgin land is an image of fertility and abundance in terms of agricultural produce. Using such a name for a school, signified the view that Africans had towards education. To them, education was meant to achieve socio-economic improvement for the people who acquire it. The name index the role of education in interlectual production which is the same as agricultural production that someone enjoys when they farm on a virgin piece of land. A virgin land gives a guarantee of abundant returns. These high returns are enjoyed for a long period of time. It takes time before the land looses fertility. In the same vein, education was viewed as a personal investment which ensured life-time high returns in the colonial capitalist economy.

This study advances that the power wielded by the European settlers made Shona names for schools to be politically neutral. However, Africans proposed names to the colonial government which had a sub-text of exhorting and encouraging fellow Africans to embrace colonial education because it was the only mechanism that could make them climb up the social stratification ladder in the colonial capitalist economy. Such names were approved for use for African schools by the colonial government through the Cabinet Committee on Place Names because they thought they did not have overt or covert political messages. During an interview with this researcher, interviewee D of the Surveyor-General's office indicated that Africans were given an opportunity to propose a place name for the places in their areas. The names were vetted Cabinet Committee on Place Names.

At another level, there are some school names that Africans proposed for schools in their immediate environment for reasons discussed above which were approved by the colonial government because European settlers thought that the same names were consistent with their conceptualisation of

Africans. This study advances that while the Shona names discussed above were approved by the colonial government because they were deemed to be politically neutral, they were some Shona names which were approved because they were thought to be reinforcing colonial myths about Africa as a dark continent populated by prehistoric and ignorant individuals. The names project the introduction of western education among Africans as a groundbreaking experience against the background of an apparent absence of any form of education among Africans. The names were functional to Africans, at the same time Europeans thought the school names also communicated their civilising agenda in Rhodesia.

European settlers, using their universalistic yardsticks, were in the habit of denying the existence of such things as philosophy, culture, religion and the arts among Africans. Education was not an exception to such ways of perceiving reality which constituted European discourses. However, in Africa of tradition, there was an education system that was closely related with the lived experiences of the people. The home was an important space where cherished values of the society were learnt. Thus, Kenyatta (1962) regards the home, in Africa of tradition, as the school. African education was meant for the development of whole African as compared to western education which was meant for the development of underdevelopment (Rodney, 1976). Colonial education was far removed from the philosophy of life of Africans. As a result, Africans who went through it came out of the process alienated from their culture.

Eurocentric stereotypes and myths about Africa were communicated in discourses that were used during the colonial period. The following examples suffice:

Zuvarabuda Primary School, Ruvheneko Primary School, Tamuka Primary School, Chirodzo Primary School, Mukai High School, Gombo Primary School and *Kwayedza High School.*

The name ***Zuvarabuda Primary School*** and ***Kwayedza High School*** point to a period of enlightenment brought about by colonial education. ***Zuvarabuda*** (the sun has risen) and ***Kwayedza*** (it has dawned) are metaphorical because they presuppose that the period prior to the introduction of western education was characterised by outright and totalignorance. According to Saeed (1997: 258), a metaphor involves the identification of resemblance but it goes further by causing transference where properties are transferred from one concept to another. Eble (1997) also notes that a metaphor names one thing by something in another domain calling forth a likeness or analogy between things that are fundamentally different. In the case of the name ***Zuvarabuda***, the sun and education are unrelated concepts. When the sun rises at dawn, darkness quickly disappears signaling the end of the night and the beginning of a new day. In the same manner, the introduction of education to Africans brought light to a people who were in darkness, at least in European terms. The European settlers understood the darkness to be covering all the spheres of African existence: religion, the arts, philosophy and education. Europeans thought that exposing Africans to western education was a significant mission meant to civilise an uncivilised people. Christians, anthropologists, historians, statesman, philosophers and men of letters were instrumental in projecting a negative picture of Africa. This was a deliberate act which gave an impression that colonialism was a noble exercise meant to civilise Africans. David Hume, a philosopher, wrote:

> The Negro is naturally inferior to the whites. There scarcely ever was a civilized nation of that complexion, nor even any individual, eminent either in action or speculation. No ingenious manufacturer among them, no arts, no science (cited in Ngugi, 1981: 14).

As for Hegel, Africa was "the unhistorical, undeveloped spirit still involved in conditions of mere nature, and the African (as) the natural man in his completely wild and untamed state" (Ngugi, 1981:

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14). Joseph Conrad as one of the men of letters views Africa as a Heart of Darkness with the African regarded as a black figure. The myths were created in order to create a slave mentality among Africans. Africans would then accept their position as sub-human beings who were supposed to be grateful to the colonial master for "his magnanimity in enslaving him to a higher, nobler civilisation" (Ngugi, 1981; 12). Against such a background, the name *Zuvarabuda* is a pithy and terse statement that summarises the colonial mission in Africa of 'civilising' the 'uncivilised', 'taming' the 'untamed' and 'wild' African. The European settlers claimed to be torchbearers for Africans.

The trend of giving names that index the absence of any form of education in Africa is evident in the name *Gombo Primary School.* **Gombo** (class 5 noun) is a virgin land. The name indexes that colonial education was introduced to a people who had no system of education. The name does not acknowledge the existence of any form of education among Africans. It is very clear that western education education that was introduced during the colonial period was radically different from African forms of education in terms of the processing, packaging and dissemination of knowledge. However, as pointed out above that Europeans, using their universalistic canons, denied the existence of African educational system. Names like *Gombo* are summative of the belief among European settlers that they introduced a system of education where none was in existence. This naming trend is an instance of how people with access to power can manipulate discourses in order to communicate their ideology.

The same naming intention is also evident in the name *Ruvheneko Primary School*. *Ruvheneko* is a Shona word for light. It presupposes that the period that predated the introduction of western education among the African people during the colonial period in Zimbabwe was characterised by darkness. Education heralded an era of enlightenment to a people who had never seen light. In the

same manner, the name ***Tamuka Primary School*** (we have woken up) points to the fact that education 'awakens' people who were in a deep sleep. The name indexes that Africans were in a heavy slumber before the introduction of western education. The same naming intention is found in the name ***Mukai High School***. ***Mukai*** (wake up) is a Shona command word. The name paints a picture of an African who was very reluctant to be weaned from his traditional ways characterised by ignorance. Images of that nature were significant to the European settlers because of their role in reinforcing the views they had about Africans. It is very interesting to note that the name ***Tamuka*** (we have woken up) projects that Africans themselves had accepted the role of western education as an enlightenment mechanism. The fact that public institutions were given such names gives an impression that the nature of ignorance among Africans was so pronounced that Africans themselves had come to realise and accept that they were ignorant. */Ta-/* (we) is a subject prefix and */-muk-/* is a verb radical which means wake up. However, it is hard to believe that Africans accepted such stereotypical images. This was an instance of how discourses were manipulated by those with access to power to project an image of the colonised population which was consistent with their own understanding of the people. This study holds that the functionality of school names analysed in this section in perpetuating European settlers' ideology saw them being approved by the Cabinet Place Names Committee in addition to their apolitical texture.

5.3.2 The ideological role of school names

Collins Cobuild English Language Dictionary defines ideology as a belief or set of beliefs, especially the political beliefs on which people, parties or countries base their actions. In other words, ideology is a worldview, a collection of ways of perceiving reality. It is a basis upon which the world is understood. The belief that European settlers had about themselvesduring the colonial period in

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Zimbabwe being racially superior is an example of an ideology. This study advances that Europeans manipulated discourses in order to make them useful mechanisms for reinforcing racial differences between them and Africans. The analysis done in this section is based on the fact that school names were part of the larger discourses of racial sameness and differences as discussed under section 4.5.1. Fairclough (1989; 2001) advance that discourses serve an ideological role when they mark sameness and differences. Rhodesia was a racially divided society. The creation of separate spaces for Europeans and Africans was the guiding principle for spatial mapping in the cityscape in Rhodesia. The argument pursued in this section is that place names were instrumental in indicating racial differences between the two racial groups. Place names are significant in the social construction of places.

The concept of apartheid during the colonial period in Zimbabwe was more pronounced during Godfrey Huggins twenty- year rule who is known for saying that "the 'native' must be ruled by a 'benevolent white aristocracy'" (Windrich, 1975). During the era of the Rhodesian Front, colonial apartheid system reached its zenith because:

> 'Separate development', the slogan of the Rhodesian Front, makes no pretence of 'partnership'. The races are to be strictly segregated and the 'separate but equal' provision is to be applied to a society in which inequality prevails. Mr. [Ian] Smith's statement on 'separate development' only just stops short of the partition solution supported by many of his party followers (Windrich, 1975: 112).

In such a racially segregated society, place names served to emphasise distinct racial identities between Europeans and Africans. For the purposes of analysing data for this study, racial differences and similarities were manifested at two levels: (i) differences between European schools and African schools and (ii) differences between European areas and African areas in urban centres.

5.3.2.1 Sameness and differences at the level of schools

The discussion on the ideological function of place names of indexing similarities and differences among people living in a given territory is guided by the following studies: Raento & Douglas (2001 cited in Hendry, 2006: 26); Cohen and Kliot (1992). School names participated in the process of projecting the identity of the schools as either European or African. The tenets of Geosemiotics discussed under section 3.1 are deployed here in analysing the ideological role of school names. In this sense, this study holds that the language of the school names, the placement of the school name in the physical world and the contiguity between the school name and other names and cultural symbols and artifacts within the school premises were salient indices that were instrumental in the social construction of identities of schools as either European or African. Place names are significant mechanisms for inscribing meanings on the landscape. Imposing an identity on the landscape is one salient illustration of how place names socially construct places. Places are humanly created spaces where meanings are attached to them because place names are never natural or neutral.

The toponomastic pattern in the three cities was such that European schools had European names while African names were largely given to schools for Africans in urban areas under study. Consistent with language choice as a tenet of Geosemiotics as discussed under section 3.1.3, the language of discourses can be used to delineate people living in a given territory. The sensibilities of this tenet are employed here in the analysis of the examination of the language of school names.

The general trend was to give European names to European schools. An analysis of the categories of European school names shows that the majority were European names. Commemorative school names are considered first. Names that honour European personalities which fall under

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commemorative names were obviously European as demonstrated in table 5.1. The honoured personalities were Europeans heroes and heroines whose names were obviously European. The following examples suffice: ***Prince Edward School, Victoria High School, David Livingstone Junior School, Allan Wilson Technical High School, Courteney Selous Primary School, F. D. Roosevelt Girls High School, Queen Elizabeth School, Churchill Boys High School, Alfred Beit Primary School, Lord Malvern High School, Ellis Robins Boys High School, Chancellor Primary School, Baring Primary School*** and ***Prince Edward School***.

Transferred place names, which also fall under commemorative names, also display a similar toponomastic trend. Transferred place names were names of some European places which were given to local places by the colonial establishment as discussed under section 2.1.1. In most cases, the schools took their names from the names of suburbs in which they were sited. The following examples of transferred place names support the argument that most European Schools were given European names: ***Avondale Junior School, Mt. Pleasant High School, Mabelreign Girls High School*** and ***Vainona Primary School***.

Anglicised school names were also used for European schools. This study considers anglicised place names as European names because anglicisation was an onomastic attempt at giving a European outlook to an indigenous African place name as illustrated under sections 2.1.3 and 5.3.1.6. The names Umtali which features on ***Umtali Girls High School, Umtali Boys' High School*** and ***Umtali High School*** is a typical example. Interview with interviewee X from ***Umtali Girls High School*** indicated that the name Umtali was used for the school since the time of establishing the school. The

school was previously known as *Umtali Public School* and *Umtali Academy* with no preference shown to either.

This researcher observes that place names were very significant texts of identity. European settlers used place names in order to inscribe their identity on the landscape in the colony. This study observes that strategies for ensuring separate development through enacting racial segregationist policies such as the Land Approtionement Act and the 1966 Education policy were effectively enforced when European names were put in the toponomastic landscape.

European school names were also instrumental in reinforcing strong bonds between European settlers and the named places during the colonial period in Zimbabwe. The names strengthen the attachments European settlers had with places in the colony. The names were very significant in ensuring that European settlers had a feeling of comfort during their stay in Rhodesia. In the case of school names, a European name concretised a feeling of belonging to the school on the part of European children. The names were significant in making European settlers not feel lost in an 'African jungle'. The use of European names for schools, in addition to the enrolment patterns that ensured that only Europeans were admitted into exclusive European schools, was significant in ensuring racial solidarity. The names had a unifying force for Europeans in making them conscious that they were a disctinct race from Africans. As such, European school names were useful discourses that regulated race relations in Rhodesia.

The general trend was that schools for Africans were given Shona names. The greater part of schools for Africans in the different categories described under 5.2 had Shona names. One such category is

that of schools which took their names from the names of residential areas in which they were established. The following examples suffice: ***Mabvuku High School, Harare High School, Zengeza 4 High School, Seke 1, Dzivarasekwa High School, Sakubva High School*** and ***Mucheke High School.*** Most of the names of suburbs in African urban areas had Shona names: Mucheke in Fort Victoria, Sakubva and Dangamvura in Umtali, Harare, Mabvuku, Dzivarasekwa in Salisbury, Zengeza in Chitungwiza, among many others. In a sample consisting of 51 schools, only ***Highfield High School*** in Highfield and ***George Stark High School*** in Harare have European names. ***Highfield High School*** took its name from Highfield, the suburb in which the school was sited. In turn, the suburb was named after the farm; Highfield farm on which it was developed. The use of a European name for an African suburb can be attributed to the fact that the Shona people, unlike the Ndebeles, took time to assert authority in urban areas. It took them time before they moved into urban centres (Magudu, et al, 2010). There is very little Africans could do when a European place name was imposed for an areas earmarked for their habitation in urban centres. ***George Stark High School*** was named after its founder who was the Director of Native Education in the Ministry of Education, George Stark. The descriptive backing of the two names is not ideologically and politically significant to the settler colonial establishment as the other European names for schools in European areas.

An African school would get a European name when it is named after a founder, as in ***George Stark High School*** in Mbare, or when it was deriving its name from the name of the suburb in which it was established, as in the case of ***Highfield High School***. In the majority of cases, schools for Africans in the areas under study were given African names. In turn, the place naming process saw to it that a distinct European identity was created and maintained through a systematic naming system that

resulted in schools for European schools getting European names. All the 29 European schools in the sample had European names (including anglicised school names).

The other level that displayed the role of school names in projecting the identity of the named institutions was the placement of the school names in the cityscape. This study advances that the meaning of the school names in their different categories was enhanced by their placement in the physical and material world. The social world of the colonial society was presented in the material world through its discourses. School names as presented in the toponomastic landscape were part of the discourses because they had "binding in-place meaning" (Scollon & Scollon, 2003: 1). The following discussion shows that the meaning of school names as signs was related to the act of firmly posting them in the physical world. The analysis of school names done here is guided by indexicality as a tenet of Geosemiotics as discussed under section 3.1.1.

The physical emplacement of a school name in either a European or African urban areas was useful in showing the identity of the school. The argument advanced here is anchored on the siting of schools during the colonial period. Section 1.1.4 has indicated that the urban spatial mapping was guided by legislative frameworks such as the Land Apportionment Act, of 1931 which divided the country into European areas and African urban areas. The siting of the schools was part of the spatial mapping system which produced maps for places in the colony. The following discussion shows that European schools were sited in areas defined as European areas while schools for Africans were established in African urban areas. The schools were then given European and African names respectively. Place names that dominated the toponomastic landscape in European areas were European names and in African urban areas, Shona places names were the majority. School names were instrumental in

showing the distinct identities of schools as either European or African. Place identity is not a natural phenomenon, it is a social construct. Place names are significant in the discursive construction of places.

5.3.2.1.1 European areas

Allan Wilson Technical High School and *Prince Edward School* were located in Milton Park (see appendix 8.1 for Prince Edward signage). The name of the suburb indexes a European identity. It was named after William Milton who succeeded Leander Starr Jameson as the third adminstrator of BSAC affairs in Rhodesia. He later became the first President of a 'democratic government' on 15 May 1899. He guided the affairs well until 1914. An interview with interviewee M from *Prince Edward School* revealed that even the forerunner of the *Prince Edward School* which was called *Salisbury Public Undenominational School* was founded on 13 June 1898 was located in City Centre of Salisbury on the present site for *Girls High School*. Undoubtedly, that was a European area in terms of the provisions of the Land Apportionment Act. Thus, the two school names, *Allan Wilson Technical High School* and *Prince Edward School* were established in European Areas.

Avondale Primary School is located in Avondale and it took its name from the residential area in which it was sited. The suburb, in turn, retained the name of the farm which was subdivided to provide homes and gardens for the increasing settler population. According to Avondale School Golden Jubilee Souvenir (1960), the name Avondale comes from Ireland, when in 1980 it was still fashionable among emigrant Irishmen to call their new homes after that of Charles Stuart Parnell, the Irish leader, then at the height of his popularity. Smith (1978) advances that when O'Connel Farrel, a member of the Pioneer Column was allocated the farm he named it Avondale. It is his view that the

name is derived from an estate owned by Parnell which was situated in the County of Wicklow. According to www.rampantscotland.com/placenames/placename_harare.htm, the place name is also commemorative because it could well honour the Duke of Clarence and Avondale, eldest son of King Edward VII. Avondale, being a northern suburb was a European area because "most African townships are sited to the south and West of the city centre, adjacent to the industrial sites where many Africans are employed" (Smout, 1977: 38).

In Mount Pleasant there was *Mount Pleasant High School* (see appendix 8.2). Interviewee Y from the school who was well-versed with the history of the school said that the school started off at *Prince Edward School* in Milton Park which was also a European area. Mount Pleasant suburb was a European area occupied by prosperous Europeans (Tomlinson & Wurzel, 1977). The suburb is located in the northern part of Harare making it a typical European area. European suburbs were highly concentrated in the northern areas which were physically a distance from the poor urban environment of the southern sector. Mount Pleasant suburb was originally a farm which was first granted in 1892, by the same name Mount Pleasant farm adjacent to Salisbury's Townlands. The transition from being a farmland to the subdivisions into smallholdings and residential stands was also evident in Highlands, Meyrick Park, Waterfalls, Greendale, Hatfield, Mabelreign, and Marlborough (Zinyama, 1993; Christopher, 1977). Mount Pleasant is a transferred place name. www.rampantscotland.com/placenames/placename_harare.htm supports the status of Mt. Pleasant as a transferred place name by advancing that:

> Mount Pleasant occurs widely throughout England, Ireland and Wales, as well as Australia, Canada and the USA it would seem, making it one of the best travelled place names in the English-speaking world.

In Mabelreign there are three schools: *Mabelreign Girls High School, Alfred Beit Primary School* and *Ellis Robins Boys High School*. *Mabelreign Girls High School* took its name from the suburb Mabelreign. Mabelreign together with Hatfield and Waterfalls were less attractive European suburbs because of their relief features (Tomlinson & Wurzel, 1977). Mabelreign, together with Meyrick Park and Marlborough were north-Western White suburbs (Zinyama, 1993). The above arguments serve to show that Mabelreign, where the three schools in the sample under study were sited, was a European area.

Lord Malvern Senior School was located in Waterfalls which was, partly, a settlement area for low-income Whites. Some Coloureds were also part of the European population in Waterfalls (Zinyama, 1993). According to the 1969 census, 12% of the Coloured population found in Salisbury was living in Ardbennie, which is part of Waterfalls. Kay and Cole (1977) advance that Asians and Coloureds were not barred, until 1969, from taking residence in any part of the European areas of Salisbury. In fact, the 1969, census shows that members of the two communities were enumerated in every European suburb.

Out of the European schools in Hatfield, this study looks at *Hatfield Girls High School*. Hatfield was a European area and specifically the suburb was for low-income Whites (Zinyama, 1993). Tomlison and Wurzel (1977) argue that relief played a significant role in the siting of European suburbs where rising grounds were favoured ahead of low grounds. Hatfield, Waterfalls were the only European areas not built on rising ground. The naming of the suburb Hatfield was also consistent with the colonial toponomastic trends. The suburb was named after the ancestral home of Marquess of Salisbury after whom the capital of Rhodesia was named (Smith, 1978).

Vainona Primary School was established in Vainona, and took its name from the suburb. Vainona, just like Avondale was also a farm. It was sub-divided into residential stands to accommodate the rising number of settler migrants in the post-World War II era.

Eastlea is home to *Churchill Boys High School* and *F. D. Roosevelt Girls High School***.** The schools were initially named *Eastlea Boys Secondary School* and *Eastlea Girls' High School* respectively. The latter was sometimes referred to as *Salisbury East Girls' High School*. Eastlea was a European Area. The onomastic transition from *Eastlea Girls' High School* to *F. D. Roosevelt Girls High School* was done in April 1950 after the school opened its doors in February 1950 (MacLaren, 1981a).

There are two schools in the corpus of schools studied in this study which were established in city centres of Salisbury, namely, *Queen Elizabeth Girls High* (see appendix 8.3) and *Girls High School*. *Girls High School,* for example, is located at what is now the corner of Leopold Takawira Street and Park Street. In 1898 when the school was founded, it was called *Salisbury Public School***.** The two schools share a boundary. *Umtali Girls' High School* was located in Umtali city centre. The city centre was undoubtedly a European area.

Rhodene is home to *Victoria Junior School* and *Victoria High School* in Fort Victoria. Rhodene got its name from Cecil John Rhodes, the leader of BSAC, from whom the colony, Rhodesia got its name. The fact that the suburb was named after the man who championed the colonial project shows that it was classified under European area in terms of the provisions of the Land Apportionment of

1931. Kamfinsa was a European suburb in Salisbury. ***Courteney Selous Primary School*** was established in this residential area.

Chancellor Primary School was established in Umtali's Murambi suburb. While Murambi has a non-European name, it is a former European area. The same phenomenon was found in Salisbury, as in the case of Chisipite and Mandara. Greenside was a suburb on the eastern side of Umtali (now Mutare) close to the border with Mozambique. In such cases, where the built environment in European areas had Shona names, the names were simply apolitical. The Shona names found in European areas did not pose any threat to the European senses of feeling at home. Chisipite and Murambi did not have anything to do with the socio-political realities of the day. Chisipite, for example, was descriptive of the place. It is said the place had water springs known in Shona as *Chisipiti* (singular) and *zvisipiti* (plural). As such, the name was politically neutral.

The schools in the sample for this study located in suburbs for Coloureds are ***Moffat Primary*** in Arcadia (Salisbury), ***Baring Primary School*** in Florida (Umtali) and ***Helen McGhie Primary School*** in Eastview (Fort Victoria). Interviewee T from ***Moffat Primary School*** revealed that when the school was established in 1915, it was meant to cater for the Coloured community. Coloureds and Asians were regarded as Europeans. Davies (1975) argues that the colonial constitution classifies all people other than Africans as "Europeans"; its accompanying Act, the Land Tenure Act, therefore, did not preclude members of the Asian and Coloured groups from living in any of the European areas defined by the Act.

5.3.2.1.2 Native African areas

Harare (now Mbare) was established in 1907 in line with the racial segregationist policies of the Salisbury Sanitary Board. It was the oldest Black township. The following schools were established in this suburb: *Harare High School, George Stark High School, Chirodzo Primary School, Chitsere Primary School, Gwinyai Primary School* and *Nharira Primary School*. *George Stark High School* was named after George Stark, the founder of the school. The same naming trend is also evident for *Ellis Gledhill High School* in Sakubva Mutare.

Highfield was established in 1935 as a first government township for Africans. The government created it in order to solve the problem of squatting on the edge of Salisbury (Jackson, 1986). It was the second oldest suburb after Harare. The establishment of Highfield was also a case of transforming a farmland into a residential area because the suburb was founded on what used to be Highfield farm. The following is a list of schools found in Highfield drawn from the sample for this study: *Mukai High School, Kwayedza High School, Kudzanayi Primary School, Mbizi Primary School, Mhizha Primary School, Nyandoro Primary School, Mhofu Primary School, Mutasa Primary School, Rusvingo Primary School, Tsungai Primary School* and *Highfield High School*. Except for *Highfield High School* which got its name from the residential area in which it was sited, all the other schools have Shona names.

The schools that are located in Glen Norah fall into the category of school names that extol values of academic excellence as indicated under section 5.1. These are: *Kundai Primary School, Kudakwashe Primary School, Ruvheneko Primary School, Zuvarabuda Primary School* and *Shiriyedenga Primary School*. Glen Norah was developed by Government in 1971 as a black

township (Zinyama, 1993). It was founded on what used to be Baxter farm. It is located on the southeast of Highfield. Zinyama (1993) indicates that Mabvuku was established in 1959 on Donnybrook farm which was bought by the City Council in 1951. *Mabvuku High school* is the only school from that area in the sample for this study.

Virtually all Government and Council schools in Chitungwiza have Shona names save for church-run school: *St. Mary's Primary School and Secondary School* and *St. Aidan'sPrimary Schools*. The following examples suffice: *Farai Primary School, Chinembiri Primary school, Fungisai Primary school, Tamuka Primary School, Dudzai Primary School, Mberi Primary school, Tangenhamo Primary School, Takakunda Primary School, Zengeza 4 Primary School*, *Seke 11 Primary School* and *Chaminuka Primary School*.

Sakubva was the oldest African/Native urban area in Umtali. The suburb was crafted in the manner of Mucheke in Fort Victoria and Harare in Salisbury. This study considers the following schools which were established in Sakubva: *Sakubva Primary School, Mutanda Primary School* and *Sakubva High School*. *Ellis Gledhill* which was named after the founder is neither a government nor a council school. It is run by a Board of Trustees.

Mucheke was established as an African urban location in the oldest town of Fort Victoria. The suburb was named after Mucheke River. In this suburb, all the schools were given African names. Consider the following examples in the sample for this study: *Mucheke High School* and *Chikato Primary School*.

This study advances that edicts and policies governing urban planning which saw the creation of distinct spaces for Europeans and Africans in urban areas were consolidated through the names given to the built environment. For the purposes of this study, school names were very instrumental in showing the identity of schools as either European or African. The names given to the man-made institutions made racial identities very visible.

Schools were not passive components of the built environment. They were, rather, socially constructed institutions in Rhodesia. School names were social narratives that communicated the identity of schools as either European or African. They were instrumental in projecting the identity of schools in Rhodesia. Place names are social texts that mark identities of the named places. In this regard, people attempt to fix their meanings on the landscape by marking identities through place naming. It was possible during the colonial period, to read school names as social texts that projected either European or African identities of the named schools. The appearance of the school names in areas earmarked for European settlement communicated that the named schools were exclusive European institutions. In turn, school names that appeared in the toponomastic landscape in African areas indexed an African identity for the named schools. Schools were not naturally regarded as either African schools or European schools. Several attempts were made to project such distinct identities, place naming being one of them.

The other level that projected the identities of schools as either European or African was the dialogicality of discourses that used to exist between the school name and other discourses within the school premises. School names also existed in contiguity with other names and cultural symbols in order to give the school an identity as either European or African. This contributed to the role of

school names as discourses of sameness and differences. Names of boarding houses, sporting houses and school's emblems, all contributed to a distinct identity of the named schools. The school names under study were not by themselves in the social and psychological construction of the identity of schools. The analysis and discussion done in this section is premised on dialogicality, one of the tenets of Geosemiotics as discussed under section 3.1.2. The process of meaning making involves other signs that existed in strong kinship with the school name. The school names cannot be separated from other signs in their immediate environment. This study treats dialogicality between the school name and other signs and cultural symbols as existing at two levels: the micro-level and the macro-level. At the micro-level, schools are conceptualised as semiotic aggregates where the school names existed in continual dialogue with other signs and cultural symbols within the school yard. The micro-level entails the relationship between the school name, as a sign and other signs outside the school boundaries. These signs, include among many others, street names, names of suburbs, names of towns and cities, national flag, monuments were significant in the social construction of places discussed under section 5.4.2.2.

At the micro-level, this study establishes that the identity of the schools, as either European or African, was reflected in the continual dialogue between the school name and the following signs and cultural symbols: school logos, names of buildings (especially hostels), names of sporting houses, school anthems and/or mottos, school colours, monuments and pictures. This section advances that school names and other signs within the school compound had a common voice in articulating the identity of the named schools.

Conscious efforts were made to ensure that European names for schools existed in contiguity with other European names and cultural symbols within the schools themselves. This was a deliberate act that projected an undoubted European identity for the schools. The use of European names and European cultural symbols played a significant in the symbolic construction of the named schools as European schools. The whole exercise played a significant place-making role. Schools should not be conceptualised as simply totalities of buildings, roads and playing and sporting fields, they were also socially constructed places.

The corpus of data for this study reveals that most names of hostels at European schools had a European outlook and identity. There was a relationship between the school name *Churchill Boys High School* and the names of the two hostels at the school: Winston House and Spencer House. Both hostels have Winston Spencer Churchill's names, Winston and Spencer. Winston House was completed in 1950, the same year the school was established while Spencer House was built in 1971 (MacLaren, 1981b).

At *Prince Edward School,* the school name combined with the names of the three boarding houses in order to project a distinct European identity for the school. The three hostels were named after significant builders of the colonial state; Jameson, Rhodes and Selous. Jameson House was named after Leander Starr Jameson who succeeded Mr. A. R. Coulquhoun who was the first administrator of the colony (see appendix 8.4 for Jameson House). The administration of the colony during the first nine years was in the hands of an Administrator. Jameson was Rhodes' right hand man and closest friend. As the Adminstrator of BSAC business in Mashonaland, Jameson in 1896 gave Major P. W. Forbes, the Commander of the Salisbury Volunteer Force, orders to organise and command a field

force against the Ndebele. This saw the appointment of Allan Wilson to take charge of the Victoria Column. He invaded Matabeleland at the head of 700 Pioneers from Victoria and Salisbury. Jameson also took some Rhodesian Police for his raid on the Transvaal in South Africa in order to contain Boer insurgence. This became known as the "Jameson Raid". It acted as the immediate cause of the 1896 uprising by the Ndebele warriors who saw in it an opportune time to attack the Rhodesians because very few whites were left in Rhodesia. These are some of the deeds of Jameson which made him one of the instrumental builders of Rhodesia, at least from the perspective of European settlers.

Rhodes House was an honourary name for Cecil John Rhodes (see appendix 8.5 for Rhodes House at *Prince Edward School*). Rhodes was the leader of the BSAC which occupied Mashonaland as a Pioneer Column and hoisted the British flag, Union Jack on the 12th of September 1890 on the Harare Kopje. His position and ambitious mission of spreading British domination from the Cape, extending northwards to the Zambezi, and beyond until it joined up with Egypt became known as the famous 'Cape-to-Cairo dream' in literature. This best explains why the colony, Rhodesia, was named after him. Several other places in different parts of the colony were named after him. The following examples attest to that argument: Rhodene suburb in Masvingo, Rhodesville suburb and Police Station in Salisbury, *Cecil John Rhodes Primary School* in Gwelo, Nyanga Rhodes Hotel in Nyanga, Rhodes Street in Salisbury, Cecil Kop National Park and Nature Reserve, both were on the outskirts of the city of Umtali city. Selous House was named in honour of Frederick Courteney Selous. His contributions towards the establishment of the colony are discussed under section 5.3.1.2.

The commemorative name, *Allan Wilson Technical High School*, existed in kinship with the names of the boarding houses at the school. Interviewee N from the school indicated that the hostels for this

school are Shangani House (see Appendix 8.7), opened in 1944 and Burnham, an austerity hostel completed in 1952. The names of the four dormitories in Shangani House are named Wilson (after Major Allan Wilson), Burnham, Borrow, and Robertson. According to the information gathered during an interview with interviewee N from the school, all the four were the most outstanding figures in the Shangani Patrol. Burnham, the scout, was part of a small party [other members were Ingram and Bain] that was commissioned by Major Allan Wilson to do the final tracking of King Lobengula. King Lobengula of the Matabele kingdom had fled from Bulawayo in fear of the Column's attack under Captain Borrow. According to Smit (1952), Captain Henry Borrow was the commander Troop Local Volunteers (Mashonaland Horse); Captain commanding "B" Troop, Salisbury Horse and eventually took possession of Bulawayo. Borrowdale, a leafy suburb in Salisbury, was also named after him). During the "Last Stand" Trooper Robertson who was part of the Wilson's party, was ordered by Major Forbes to lead Borrow's men.

At *Umtali High School*, one hostel was named Athlone House. The name, Athlone, was part of the history of the school because it was the British High Commissioner, Major-General the Earl of Athlone who officially opened the new buildings (now used by Umtali Girls High School) on 26 August 1926. The other one was Chancellor House, named after John Chancellor, who officially opened the hostel on the 19th of February 1924 (MacLaren, 1981b).

The two hostels at *Umtali Boys High School* were named after the pioneers of the Umtali District: Crawford and Palmer (MacLaren, 1981a). At *Victoria High School*, the names of the five hostels were closely associated with Fort Victoria and Victoria district. The boarding hostels for boys were Fort House (see appendix 8.8) and Tower House (see Appendix 8.9). Information gathered from

interviews with interviewee W revealed that the two names are symbols of defence. The name Fort House has military connotations because it was named after the old Fort in Fort Victoria. The military dimension of the word Fort can be inferred from the name of the centres established by the Pioneer Column *en route* to Salisbury were prefixed by the word Fort: Fort Tuli, Fort Victoria, Fort Charter, Fort Salisbury. Fort Umtali was also created later on. Tower House was named after the Bell Tower in the town, Fort Victoria (The Acropolis, 1980). The name, Tower, also indexes defence and fortification. Interviewee W said the fact that the names are for boys' hostel reflects the colonial mentality of men as protectors of territories and the colonial system. The establishment of the colony was largely executed by men. The builders of the colonial system were mostly men: Cecil John Rhodes, Leander Starr Jameson, Allan Wilson, Fredrick Courtney Selous, Alfred Beit, among many others. These values were inculcated into the minds of the male pupils at the school.

There are also three boarding hostels for girls at *Victoria High School*: Kyle House, Temple House and Les Sharp hostel. Kyle House was named after Kyle Dam near Fort Victoria (The Acropolis, 1980). Temple House got its name from the Temple of the Zimbabwe ruins (The Acropolis, 1980). Les Sharp was named after a founding headmaster of the school. The hostel followed the spirit of co-education because it "houses both sexes with a communal dining hall which has a seating capacity of 240, plus staff" (The Acropolis, 1980: 4). All the names in the toponomastic landscape of the school were European. This helped in the social construction of the identity of *Victoria High School* as a European school.

There was a form of a kinship of discourses between school names and names given to other buildings, such as school halls and libraries within the school. The same objectives of

commemorating, honouring, congratulating or expressing gratitude which characterised the European place naming system were also observable in the naming of some infrastructure within the school. Most European schools have school halls constructed by the Beit Trustees, for example at *Prince Edward School*, *Allan Wilson Technical High School* and *Courtney Selous Primary School*. The halls were given the name Beit Hall. At *Umtali Girls' High School*, the library which was called Beit Library was opened in 1940 by the Governor Hebert Stanley (Interview with interviewee K).

David Livingstone was a name of one the school halls at *Churchill Boys High School,* the other hall being *Churchill.* At *F. D. Roosevelt Girls' High School*, the commemorative name of the school has a close relationship with the naming of Eleanor Hostel which was named after the President of the United States of America, Franklin D. Roosevelt's wife. The hostel was opened on 14 March 1950. Eleanor had to write a letter expressing her sincere gratitude to the school for honouring her husband through naming the school after him. These other names are European. The kinship between them and the names of the school are useful discourses that indexed a distinct European identity for the schools.

In some cases, the names of benevolent people who donated some money towards the construction of infrastructure at European schools saw the buildings being named after them. The colonial establishment used honourary naming as a way of expressing gratitude to the builders of Rhodesia. The names were obviously European and using them together with the school name, contributed to an overall identity of the named schools as European schools. At *Victoria Junior School,* interviewee G gave the information that Cowling House, a hostel for both girls and boys was named after the farmer, a Mr. Cowling, who donated some money for its construction. Vintcent House, originally a

white-only hospital was named after a Medical Superintendent who donated money for the construction of the hospital. The doctor also used to source for medicines and provisions for the hospital from Britain. The growing number of pupils made the school authorities to ask for the building to be converted into a hostel. The hospital then relocated to the present site of Masvingo General Hospital.

At another level, school names existed in relationship with other school emblems such as the school shield, its accompanying motto and school colours. These emblems were significant entities within the school premises that, together with the school name, helped in enhancing the meaning of the school name. They were conduits through which the name-givers' worldview became transparent to the intended audience. This study establishes that there was an inalienable relationship between the school name and the school shield and their accompanying mottos. At *Allan Wilson Technical High School*, the school motto is "We are Men of Men" which is directly related to the bravery displayed by Major Allan Wilson and his Men. The motto cemented the role of Allan Wilson as a commemorative place name in Rhodesia. It records the acts of gallantry displayed by Allan Wilson, and his entire group of "Men of Men". The school motto became a cultural symbol that acted as a repository of the memory of European settlers. Efforts to inscribe the memory of the Allan Wilson and His Men, the Shangani monument which was erected on the spot where the group made their last stand has the inscription "TO BRAVE MEN". The words "THEY WERE MEN OF MEN" are also inscribed on an original painting of the Last Stand in the Council Chamber of the Town House, Bulawayo. The fighting spirit which is known as the *Shangani Spirit* in the discourse of the school speech community is described as a spirit of faithfulness, reliability, display of high character,

honesty, bravery (Interview with the Interviewee N at the school). Like any other school motto, the values pronounced by therein are inculcated into the minds of the pupils such that:

> Every boy can be a man in his small way. It is hardly probable that any school boy will ever encounter a "last stand" similar to that of the Wilson Patrol: but it is a sure fact that all school boys are required to make a "bold stand" in their school life as well as in their career, if they want to succeed. And how will they make sure of success?- by doing their bit every day; by putting their backs into their work, facing their responsibilities all the time; by being polite; and by preparing faithfully for a better future and for good citizenship. By taking pride in their work and play, and every minute aspect of excellent conduct and manner, they can show the true "Shangani Spirit", and they will be looked upon as MEN (Smit, 1952: vii).

The Shangani Spirit "manifested" itself during the 1939-1945 period when several boys and members of staff served in the Second World War. The understanding was that "every man who served or who is able to serve his country truly and faithfully must possess the Shangani Spirit to some extent (Smit, 1952: 41). Such a name was a source of inspiration for Rhodesians to fight for the cause of protecting their interests in Rhodesia. The school motto stood as part of the symbolic culture of the European settlers which helped in projecting a European identity of *Allan Wilson Technical High School*.

Churchill Boys' High School uses the name Churchill as its motto. This makes the school unique because it uses the name of the school as its motto. The descriptive backing of the name Churchill, contributed to the process of identity construction of the school. Churchill was a name for an English statesman. The school also uses the Spencer-Churchill Coat of Arms. MacLaren (1981a: 66) argues that at the request of the first headmaster, Mr. Hougaard, Winston Spencer Churchill sought and "obtained permission from the Duke of Marlborough for the school to use the Spencer-Churchill Coat of Arms, from the escutcheon of the Duke of Malborough, as the school crest". The school name, together with all the other cultural symbols, was significant markers of a European identity of the named schools.

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At **Prince Edward Boys' School**, the shield has been modified since 1925 but what remains constant is Prince Edward, Prince of Wales' Three Feathers. The Prince gave the school permission to use his emblem (The Prince of Wales Feathers) Three Feathers as a Crest encircled by the Monarch's Crown when he visited the school in 1925 (Prince Edward School Magazine, 1998). The motto is a sign because it is found on the school shield. The Latin version of the motto is TOT FACIENDA PARUM FACTUM (was revised from TANTUM FACIENDUM PARUM FACTUM in 1947 when it was felt to be a more acceptable interpretation of Latin). Its English equivalent is "So much to do so little done" is taken from the words of Cecil John Rhodes, the founder of the colony and leader of the BSAC.

The Beit Trust sign shield constitutes the greater part of the linguistic landscape at **Beit Primary School**. The thread of argument for all the above schools is that the school name existed in relationship with all the other discourses within those schools. The kinship of discourses was instrumental in projecting an undoubted European identity of the schools. Discourses discussed above were significant in transmitting meanings about the identity of the named schools. The discursive construction of schools illustrated by the examples discussed above indicates the methods European settlers used to attach meanings to places. The construction of a European identity of a school illustrates that discourses have a potential of inscribing meanings on the landscape. The schools' premises were littered with European cultural symbols that participated in transforming the named places from being African spaces into European places. Place naming, as an identity building strategy, plays an important role in transforming spaces into places. In European settlers' terms, the whole colony was onomastically empty because European place naming did not acknowledge the

existence of African place names. The act of giving European place names and imposing European cultural symbols was a way of turning 'empty spaces' into European places. European school names, together with other European symbols in the schools were significant in imposing a European identity on the landscape.

This researcher observes that African school names existed in kinship with other African names and African cultural symbols in schools as a way of giving the named schools an undoubted African identity. In an interview with this researcher interviewee V from **Sakubva High School** indicated that the school's motto is *dangwe* 'first born' (see appendix 8.10). He indicated that the motto points to the fact that it was the first secondary school for Africans in Umtali town. The school shield at **Chitsere Primary School** is also related to the name. The animal Chitsere is at the centre of the school shield as shown in the picture. The same applies to **Nharira Primary School**, where the image of the animal nharira (rock rabbit) stands at the main entrance of the school. The school motto for **Chirodzo Primary School** has since been "Simbi Inorodza Dzimwe" (Iron that sharpens iron). Older members of staff at the three African schools confirmed that these were the emblems used since the establishment of the schools in the colonial period. The only change was the repainting and repositioning of school signs as a way of sprucing up images of the schools. It is important to mention that some African schools had their mottos in English. A case in point was **Gwinyai Primary School** which had the following motto: *Hard-work, Courage and Discipline.* The use of English could be a result of the assumed high status of the English language in relation to African language propagated by the realities in the colonial society. The schools were institutions where Africans were exposed to the English language and Western values and sensibilities.

School names also existed in contiguity with school colours. The choice of school colours was not haphazard. It was a well coordinated process guided by the need to symbolise using the colours. This argument explains why school colours were significant cultural symbols within schools which interacted with the school name. The school colours for **Prince Edward School** are red and green. The red colour is an emblem of self sacrifice (Pescentum, 1998). It evoked memories of the Pioneers whose life blood gave birth to Rhodesia in the mind of Rhodesians. According to Pescentum (1998), Bishop Beaven's analysis of the school colour red, indicated that the colour reminds him of Ireland and its Patron Saint, who drove out the snakes and all other loathsome things. This was a challenge for all Rhodesians to drive all loathsome things from their lives. Green was then taken as an emblem of lion heartedness, that physical and moral courage which constitutes the only true manhood. Symbolic school colours were predominantly a feature of European schools.

The school colours for **Victoria High School** are bottle green with deep purple and white stripes. The colours are for the striped blazer, hatbands and ties. Interviewee W from the school revealed that the green colour was chosen as most representative of the agricultural background to the area which the school would serve. Purple is the colour linked to antiquity (Fort Victoria being the oldest city in the colonial history of Zimbabwe), and the colour white was suggestive of hope for the future. The symbol of a burning fire on the school shield concept is also indexical of the notion of hope for the future (The Acropolis, 1980). The same concept is also captured in the school motto: Nitor Donec Supero (I strive until I overcome) which was coined by Mr. Les Sharp because he was satisfied that: "his school could hold its own with any in the country... and that it was well on its way to establishing traditions which only come with age" (The Acropolis, 1980: 4).

Pictures and images of European heroes of which schools are named after them are a common sight in European schools. School names cannot be divorced from the signs which are important parts of the visual public signage of the school. At *Allan Wilson Technical High School*, the picture of Major Alan Wilson is engraved on the wall of the school hall (see appendix 8.11). Allan Wilson's potrait is also hung in the Shangani House. The potrait of Winston Churchill hangs in the headmaster's office at *Churchill Boys High School*. It was presented to the school by the Pilgrim Society of America on 19 April 1951 (MacLaren, 1981a). Pictures of Alfred Beit, Courteney Selous, David Livingstone, Queen Elizabeth, Queen Victoria, etc constitute the visual public culture of their respective schools. The potraits of Crawford and Palmer are hung in the hostels that bear their names at *Umtali Boys' High School.* The images reinfroced the identity of the schools. Information that comes to people in visual forms have an impact on their perception of reality. Visual images were useful conduits of communicating the identities of schools in the colonial state. In the post-independence era, the images merely stand as records of history because they have since lost the political significance they had during the colonial period.

It was a common practice for schools to give names of sporting houses that emanate from European experiences and/or the colonial project in Rhodesia. Most of the names of games houses were commemorative and honorary in nature. The names of the six-day boy games houses at *Churchill Boys High School* commemorate the pilots who died during the Battle of Britain. The names are Akroyd, Beaumont, Cardell, Hamilton, Maxwell and Wakeham. The selection of the names was carefully done from a list of young men whose names were not famous. The names of the squadrons to which they belonged are the crests of the six games houses (MacLaren, 1981a).

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At *Prince Edward School*, four games houses were named Jameson, Rhodes, Selous and Wilson when games housing system was introduced (Pescentum of 1998, Prince Edward School Magazine of 1998). Rhodes, Jameson, Wilson and Selous were also the names of games houses at *Chancellor Primary School* in Umtali (Interview with interviewee L from the school; Chanceclair, 1967; 1971).

The choice of school emblems was a conscious process done to preserve, project and maintain a European identity of schools. The relationship between the school names and other discourses was instrumental in projecting the identities of the schools as either European or African. A European school name existed in kinship with other discourses that were either in European languages or indexing a European identity. In turn, African school names existed in relationship with other discourses which were either in African languages or which had an unmistakable Afican identity. During the colonial period, identities of schools as European or African were very instrumental in keeping Europeans and Africans apart. School names were part of institutionalised discourses that regulated race relations between European and Africans.

School names were part of the 'flows of knowledge' (Jäger, 1993; 1999 cited in Jäger, 2001: 34) that conditioned and regulated race relations during the colonial period. CDA takes knowledge to mean the sum total of meanings people use to interpret and shape the surrounding. The discursive contexts in which people find themselves in act as the source of this knowledge (Jäger, 2001). In this regard, school names were part of discourses that shaped human consciousness during the colonial period in Zimbabwe. They were instrumental in distinguishing people on racial grounds during the period under review. Knowledge that Europeans were different from Africans on racial lines was represented in the society through different discourses. They were part of the discourses that transported

knowledge which formed the basis of collective and individual consciousness. In turn, the acquired knowledge of racial character of schools laid the basis for individual and collective human behavior. The knowledge was also instrumental in shaping reality as defined by the European settlers. It formed the consciousness of Europeans that there was need to preserve their privileged position and guard against spoiling their 'pure' race through mingling with Africans in classrooms.

Africans were made to know that schools which were constructed in European areas and bearing European names were exclusively for Europeans. Shizha and Kariwo (2011: 29) advance that: "racial discrimination in Rhodesia was so ubiquitous that no African was allowed to enroll in Whites-only schools". There was no compromise in terms of accommodating Africans as either staff members or pupils. Interviewee H, a retired school teacher, who joined the teaching field in 1968 as a qualified teacher had this say during an interview with this researcher:

> Africans could not be accommodated into Europeans schools, both as pupils or members of staff. Upon the attainment of independence, I was one of the 15 teachers the government redeployed to European schools to test their level of tolerance for working with Africans. I was the only African teacher at Vainona Primary School. We were reporting any development to Mr. Pasipanodya, an official in the Ministry of Education. Racial discrimination was still prevalent in European schools. My children were the first black pupils to be admitted after I pleaded with the School Head, Rose Hall. Africans were stereotyped as lazy, dirty, ignorant and dull. Life was not easy for me in such an environment. To make matters worse, there was an outbreak of lice in 1981 and as Africans we were there to shoulder the blame.

Once the identity of the school had been solidified through different means, naming being central, the schools would operate along the ways demanded by their identities. Recruitment of all members of staff was done along racial lines. Teaching staff and all members of the ancillary staff were Europeans for European schools (see appendix 9.1 for Mt. Pleasant High School; appendix 9.2 for *Victoria High School*; appendix 9.3 for *Lord Malvern School*; appendix 9.4 for *Umtali Boys' High School*; appendix 9.5 for *Chancellor Primary School*; appendix 9.6 for *Queen Elizabeth Girls' High*

School; and appendix 9.7 for ***Hatfield Girls' High School***). Data indicates that even members of the ancillary staff for European schools were supposed to be European. At ***Mt. Pleasant High School*** in 1979 ancillary staff was one hundred percent European as illustrated below:

<u>Grounds</u>: M. S. Richards
<u>Librarian</u>: Miss M. Day
<u>Bursar</u>: Mrs. D. Battiss
<u>Secretary</u>: Mrs. N. Hornblow
<u>Secretary</u>: Mr. A. Berkhuysen

(Source: Impala Magazine, The ***Mt. Pleasant High School***Magazine 1979: 11)

The same situation applies to ***Chancellor Primary School***. According to the school magazine, Chanceclair (1967), in 1967, the secretary was Mrs. G. M. Zambra and Mr. G. Isaac was the caretaker.

The naming of schools was not an end in itself. It served a utilitarian role of constructing identities of the schools as either European or African. This argument makes it possible for school names to be regarded as speech acts which could be used to achieve several intentions of the name-giver. The process of naming schools should also be viewed as one of Austin's (1962) instance of *doing things with words.* School names were actions used to construct the identity of schools during the period under review. In this way, Austin's three concepts of locution, illocution and perlocution come in handy here. The pragmatic force of school names had a pronounced impact on people since they induce, regulate and condition racial human behavior during the period under review. The pragmatic force of an African name for a school was to point to the identity of the school as a school for Africans. The same applies for a school with a European name. The resultant effect on those who consume the names was that Africans would know that it was impossible for them to be enrolled at a school with a European name because it was exclusively for Europeans. Europeans would know that

a school bearing a European name was an exclusive space for them. They were not supposed to mix and mingle with African natives because they had schools built for them in African urban areas which had African names. School names were powerful mechanisms for maintaining racial segregation. They also participated in the politics of inclusion and exclusion.

5.3.2.2 Differences between European areas and African areas in urban centres

School names were part of the larger toponomastic trends in the colonial society. Schools naming system constituted only a constituent element of the composite place-naming system during the colonial period. In such a set-up, school names existed in a network of place names used in the colonial society. This study establishes that spatial mapping during the colonial period was highly informed by racial ideology as discussed under section 1.1.4. Schools were institutions that came about as a result of this spatial mapping process. Streets, suburbs, hospitals, stadia, buildings were some of the several other man-made places that came into being as part of the built environment of the colonial cityscape. The names of those man-made elements of the cityscape were in a system of kinship of discourses with the names of schools in projecting a European or an African identity.

The analysis of the differences between European areas and African areas in urban centres is anchored on the role of place names in the social construction of places and identity politics discussed under section 2.2.3. This analysis is guided by the following studies: Herman (1999); Azaryahu (1990; 1992; 1996); Berg and Kearns (1996); Kearns and Berg (2002) and Sibley (1997). The relationship between school names and other place names outside the school, such as streets, suburbs and buildings, was instrumental in constructing an identity of the named places as either European or African. This study submits that place names were important discourses that gave places the identities

of being European areas or African areas. In this way, place names participated in the discursive construction of places. The labels European and African areas in urban areas were not natural labels. They were socially constructed labels whose identity was enhanced by using discourses. Place names played a significant role in enhancing the identity of the named places.

This study does not treat places as natural spaces. Place names are significant social discourses in the construction of places. Following Jackson and Penrose (1993, cited in Dunn, et al, 1995: 150), places are compositions of material elements. This is the reason why denaming and renaming are processes of erasing an identity from the landscape. Identity of places is closely related to power politics in the colonial state as discussed under 5.3.1 because the European identity of places had narratives of places inhabited by a superior race relative to African urban areas which were populated by an inferior race in the racially based colonial stratification system. Following the discussion on the informational role of linguistic landscapes under section 2.5.1, this section appreciates the territorial function of the toponomastic landscape.

The word street names is used here as an umbrella term covering name for streets, roads, avenues, crescents, drives and closes. The discussion done in this section looks at the macro-level dialogicality between school names and other place names and cultural symbols in the schools' immediate environment. Jäger (2001: 35) makes a similar observation that discourses can be intertwined with one another like vines or strands in order to form a "discursive milling mass". School names were entangled with other discourses as a way of projecting either European or African identities in the selected urban centres under study in Rhodesia.

The following discussion shows the relationship that existed between school names and other names and cultural symbols beyond the school premises. It is important to mention that many place names in residential areas were not affected by Azaryahu's concept of 'ritual of revolution' during the transition from colonial rule to independence. Renaming was mostly pronounced in the city centres. Most places in residential areas still bear the labels they had during the colonial period (Mamvura, 2014). This provides justification for using recent base maps as sources of information for the discussion that follows (see appendix 10.1 for a 2002 Street Map of Harare). All the base maps presented in the appendices section were cropped from this bigger and consolidated Street Map of Harare.

Avondale Primary School was in continual dialogue with the following street names which were all European; King George Road, Oxford Road, Aberdeen Road, Lincoln Road, Cheryl Road, Mount Road, among many other European street names. Section 5.2.1 has shown that the suburb in which the school was established is Avondale, a transferred European place name.

Mabelreign Girls' High School, Alfred Beit School and *Ellis Robins School* all existed in relation to street names such as Sherwood Drive, Westminister Avenue, Gosfield Avenue, Harlow Avenue, Frinston Avenue, Eastwood Avenue, Sandton Road, Moorhouse Road, Shelford Way, Pinxton Close, Ravenfield Close, Dunmow Road, Borough Close, among many other streets bearing English street names. Closer to the schools is a club bearing the name Mabelreign Country Club. The different subsections of Mabelreign suburb all bear English names. The names are, Valencedene, Mayfield Park, Sentosa, Ridgewood and Sherwood. There is no African place name in the immediate environments of the three schools (see appendix 10.2 for the base map of Mabelreign).

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Mt. Pleasant High School was established in Mt. Pleasant suburb, a low density northern suburb in Salisbury. It has been shown under section 5.2.1 that the name Mt. Pleasant is a transferred place name. The street names in the vicinity of the school are all European. Some of the street names are: Mt. Pleasant Drive, Dorset Road East, Broadlands Road, Epping Road, Pendennis Road, Upper Easr Road, Quorn Avenue, Pendennis Road.

There is an insignificant presence of Shona names in the toponomastic landscape of areas surrounding the school. There is just one road called Lomagundi named after a Shona chief. In an interview with this researcher, interviewee I said the chief's name is Nemakonde in Sinoia (now Chinhoyi). The chief was killed by Ndebele impis during one of Ndebele raids in the Shona speaking territory for allegedly refusing to pay tribute to Lobengula. The name was anglicised to Lomagundi by the European settlers. Its use in the toponomastic landscape in the European urban space might be a result of the fact that it had been given a European outlook. European settlers had a tendency of claiming anglicised place names to be theirs as indicated by their use of Umtali for their schools in Umtali. ***Mt. Pleasant High School*** also shared a boundary with the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland as it was called during the Federation. The collapse of the Federation saw the dropping of the Nyasaland component from the University's name. It came to be known as the University of Rhodesia. The sections of Mt. Pleasant, Groombridge, Little Norfolk, Arundel and Pendennis, all bear European names. The place names helped in the overall projection of a European identity of the named spaces (see appendix 10.3 for a base map of Mt. Pleasant).

F. D. Roosevelt Girls' High School and ***Churchill Boys High School*** were established in Eastlea, a descriptive name from the city centre in terms of direction. Eastlea borders with Rhodesville, a suburb named after Cecil John Rhodes. Street names in the immediate environment are all European. Consider the following examples: Clyde Road, Philip Avenue, Wheeler Avenue, Fereday Drive, Daventry Road, Sandford Crescent, Glenara Avenue, Worcester Road, Alex Smith Drive and Rhodesville Road.

Hatfield Girls High School was established in Hatfield. Earlier discussion under section 5.2.1 has shown that Hatfield is a transferred name after some place in Europe. All items in the toponomastic landscape in the vicinity indicate that English is the language of public signs for components of the built environment. A case in point is street names. The following are some of the street names in close to ***Hatfield Girls High School***; Kilwinning Road, Oakley Road, St. Patrick's Road, Falcon Road, Florence Close, Alexandra Drive, Glamis Road, Plummer Close, Fairfield Road, Twentydales Road, Dorington Close, Cade Close, Wenlock Road and Falcon Road. Other components of the built environment in the immediate environment of Hatfield are ***Hatfield Primary School***, Hatfield Airways, Hatfield Public Swimming Pool and Campbell McClun Scout.

Moffat Primary School was established in Arcadia (see appendix 10.4 for a base map of Arcadia). Section 5.3.2.1 has shown that Arcadia is a suburb for Coloureds. English is the prevalent language in the toponomastic landscape in areas surrounding the school. Street names provided a high sphere of public signs that displays that English is the sole language in the toponomastic landscape. The following are some of the street names in areas close to ***Moffat Primary School***: Woodstock Avenue, Jampies street, Thorncroft Street, Bardia Road, Learoyd Road, Canada Drive, Edith Coert Street,

Maitland Avenue, Montreal Road and Helena Road. Public places in the immediate environment of the school are Arcadia Public Swimming Pool named after the suburb, Danny Bismark Stadium, **Morgan High School**, Braeside Police Station and **Braeside Primary School**. English is the language of public signage in this community of Coloureds because they were considered to be part of the fragile European community whose convinient language was English.

This study observes that the kinship that existed between school names and other European names gave the named places a significant European identity. The place names were instrumental in the social construction of places as European areas. European settlers used place naming as one of the strategies for claiming territory in Rhodesia. By giving European names to the built environment in Rhodesia, European settlers could create imagined boundaries between areas they were regarding as theirs and African areas. Said (1995 [1975]; 2000 cited in Hoelscher & Alderman, 2004: 350) regards such boundaries as 'imaginative geographies' that reflect the fantasies and preoccupations of the colonising agents. European place names made it possible for Europeans to use "Europeans only" signs to indicate that certain European named places were exclusive spaces for European settlers.

At another level, giving European names to places strengthened the bond between European settlers and the named places. European place names ensured that European settlers developed an attachment to places bearing European names. Farms, mines, hotels, among many other components that were owned by European settlers were given European names. The reason for such actions was to create strong bonds between the owner and the named place. The strong bond that place names create between people and the named landscapes made it difficult for them to imagine loosing those pieces of land. In Zimbabwe, place naming created strong attachments between Europen settlers and the

named places. This study advances that through giving European place names to places in the colony, European settlers strengthened their senses of rootedness to the the named places and ultimately to the colony itself.

The imagined boundaries between African urban areas and European areas saw places in the former space largely getting African names. The use of African names projected an undoubted African identity for the named places in urban areas. ***Chirodzo Primary School, Nharira Primary School, Shingirayi Primary School, Chitsere Primary School, Gwinyai Primary School, Harare High School*** and ***George Stark Secondary School*** were sited in Harare Township (see appendix 10.5 for a base map of Harare Township). This residential area was designed for African settlement. Shona dominates the toponomastic landscape in the area. Just like in any other European suburbs, street names provide more examples of public signs. The following are some of the street names in Mbare: Sondayi Street, Gwatidzo Street, Chatima Street, Parazangu Avenue, Muchenje Drive, Madzima Road, Zata Street, Vito Street, Rev. Nheweyembwa Road, Adam Chigwida Avenue, Mhlanga Avenue, Seke Street, Sanyanga Avenue, Nyazika Road, Chiota Road. Muchirahondo Crescent. Street naming in Harare Black African Township also took the form of numerical system. Some examples of numerical street names are First Avenue, Second Avenue, Third Avenue, 26th street, and so on (see appendix 10.3 for a base map of Mbare formely Harare Township). However, these English numerical names were used in an environment where Shona was the dominant language for public signs in the toponomastic landscape. There were some European names for streets in Harare Township. A case in point for streets is Ardbennie Road which passed through Mbare from Waterfalls suburb. European place names are relatively very few as compared to Shona names for the built environment. The predominance of Shona in the toponomastic landscape reinforced and

projected the identity of the suburb as an African suburb as defined under the Land Apportionment Act.

Zuvarabuda Primary School and *Shiriyedenga Primary School* were established in Glen Norah. However, the name of the suburb has a European outlook, a Scottish one to be very precise. The word 'Glen' that prefixes several other Scottish place names in Rhodesia, Glen Lorne, Glen View and Glen Forest, means a valley in Scots (Kendall, 2006, www.rampantscotland.com/placenames/placename_harare.htm). The use of Scottish place names in the toponomastic in Salisbury was a reflection of the different backgrounds of European settlers. They were coming from different parts of Europe but were united in mission and purpose in Rhodesia. It has been shown under section 1.1.4 that Europeans adopted the term of address 'Rhodesians' as a commitment to segregation and White supremacy at the expense of ethnic, cultural, and class distinction in Rhodesia. The term minimised differences and emphasised racial solidarity for a people who were committed to enjoy the best that the colony could offer (Godwin & Hancock, 1993).

It is highly probable that place names were descriptive of the topographical features of landscapes in the named places in Salisbury. While Glen Norah and Glen View bear European names they were created for Black African population. It could be a matter observed by Magudu, et al. (2010) that the Shona, when compared to the Ndebeles, took some time to move into Salisbury hence it also took time for them to have an influence on issues that were affecting their social lives. This explains the existence of place names such as Highfield for a black African Township established in 1930 as the second African Township, after Harare. It got its name from a farm on which it was established. The name, just like Glen View and Glen Norah, is also Scottish. The dominant language in the

toponomastic landscape is Shona. The following are some of the street names in areas surrounding the two schools in Glen Norah: Zvimba Street, Ngorima Street, Bimi Lane, Mazowe Crescent, Anwa Street, Zaka Crescent, Gokwe Crescent, Bikita Street, Makuti street, Maruwa street, Kezi Lane, Inyanga Crescent, Gwanda Crescent, Gutu Crescent, Dande Crescent, Dande Crescent, Matobo Crescent, Mangula Crescent, Gwebi Road among many others. Most of the streets in Glen Norah are named after some places in different parts of the country, Zimbabwe. The concentration of English as a language in the toponomastic landscape in Glen Norah is very insignificant. In the areas immediately around the two schools discussed here, there is only one road, Renwick Drive, bearing an English name. The dominance of Shona in the toponomastic landscape gives the named place an unmistaken identity as an African suburb.

Gombo Primary School and *Nhamburiko Primary School* were sited in Dzivarasekwa African Township (see appendix 10.6 for a base map of Dzivarasekwa). The name, Dzivarasekwa, is a Shona place name. The language that dominates the toponomastic landscape in this suburb is Shona. The two school names existed in aggregate with several Shona street names during the colonial period. The majority of the Shona street names in Dzivarasekwa were derived from the Shona totemic system. The following examples suffice: Wamambo Street, Moyondizvo, Gushungo Street, Nyati Street, Murehwa Street, Nyamuzihwa Street, Shumba Street, Zimuto Street, Samaita Street, Madyira Street, Nzou Street, Shava Street and Mbizi Street. Other non-totemic Shona street names are: Dzivarasekwa Road, Binga Street, Street, Shekete Street, Mharadzi Street, Mzikanwi Street, Kwayedza Street, Chimimba Street, Ndangariro Street, Kudzana Street, Boterekwa Street, Misihairabwi Street, Bukutu Street, Mufudzi Street, Nhamoinesu Street, Nyakudirwa Street and Chivaraidze Street, among several others. Numerical street names are also a feature of the

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toponomastic landscape in Dzivarasekwa. However, their existence in contiguity with a large body of Shona place names, gave the named places an unmistaken African identity as an urban space during the colonial period in Zimbabwe.

The argument advanced here is that school names in contiguity with other types of place names were important vectors in defining the identity of places as either European Areas or African urban areas. The distinct identities were consistent with the provisions of the segregationist legislative frameworks such as the Land Apportionment Act. Place names were significant in the social construction of places through attaching a racial identity to the named places. The sum total of place names used in a particular residential area was instrumental in forging the identity of the suburb as either European or African. The colonial apartheid system meant the ultimate need for maintaining separate spaces between the 'two' races, Europeans and Africans, during the colonial period. Place naming was a very significant mechanism for making the separate development policies promulgated by the colonial government work efficiently. Spatial mapping that created separate spaces for Europeans and Africans was consolidated in the names given to the suburbs created for European settlement on one hand and African settlement on the other. It has been indicated that spatial mapping and the subsequent cartographic process of creating maps were informed by racial segregationist policies of the government of the day. Urban planning is conditioned by government policies.

This study observes that urban spatial mapping policies in colonial Rhodesia found fulfillment and full realisation in the place names that were given to the built environment in the two distinct racial spaces. Place names were important devices for the territorialisation of the landscape during the colonial period. They helped in creating imagined boundaries between European areas and African

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areas in urban centres. School names alongside other categories of place names were instrumental in the construction of mental maps that demarcated the landscape along racial lines. The concept of mental maps is discussed in literature as cognitive maps (Downs & Stea, 1977; Kari, 1996:464 cited in Jett, 2011: 332). Cognitive maps, being a representative of the world as its inhabitants believed it to look like, helped people in the colonial society to understand and comprehend the world around them. Place naming was a significant place-making process that gave named places in the colony distinct racial identities. Naming places was a process of toponomastic production of places.

This study contends that places do not have natural identities. Instead, the identity of places is socially constructed through the use of place names and other discourses. During the colonial period in Zimbabwe, European areas and African areas were socially and discursively constructed places. In this regard, place names became instrumental devices in the social construction of places. This study argues that the names given to places in Rhodesia gave the named places an identity as either a European area or an African area. The trend was for European names to be given to European areas while African areas were given African names.This argument points to the tenets of CDA that discourses are not "passive media of 'in-formation' provided by reality" (Jäger, 2001: 36). Discourses do not merely reflect reality; they also determine and participate in the production of social reality. This makes discourse analysis to be more than an interpretation of something that already exists, to be an analysis of the "production of reality which is performed by discourse - conveyed by active people" (Jäger, 2001: 36). Active people are those who wield some power in the society. Fairclough (1989; 2001) puts it that social structures not only determine discourse, they are also a product of discourse. There was a reciprocal relationship between social structure and discourse (place names). In this regard, social variables in the colonial society influenced and conditioned the school naming

process and place naming in general. A case in point was the way place names put into practice the provisions of different legislative frameworks which advocated for an apartheid system for Europeans and black Africans, such as the Land Apportionment Act, The Land Husbandry Act and Pass laws. The role of place names in defining places as either European areas or African areas helped in accentuating the separate development colonial policy.

In a sense, school names in dialogue with other place name categories, qualify as "ideologically biased discourses" (van Dijk, 2001: 103) because they communicated the thought system of European settlers. In turn, school names in kinship with other place name categories, were also instrumental in shaping social structures and reality during the period under review. Discourses are constructed by social structures and they also construct social structures. Place names have a potential of colouring everyday life (LeFebvre, 1991).

It is the role of place names in the spatialisation of the territory that had a resounding effect on human behavior in Rhodesia with particular reference to race relations. The fact that place names accentuated racial consciousness through defining places as either European or African makes racial differences more pronounced. The role of place names in the social construction of places through attaching racial identities to landscapes led to a pronounced 'racial consciousness' which was very instrumental in the politics of inclusion and exclusion. The importance of discursively constructed places on social behavior is aptly captured by Allen (1999: 250) who says "...productions of socially-constructed places and spatial ways of knowing act to shape our consciousness of what we are, what we call ourselves, what we call each other, and who else are we like..." This argument points to the relation between social production and identity. The above influence of place names on human

behavior made it possible to talk of "us" and "them" because place names participate in the politics of inclusion and exclusion.

The inhabitants of different socially constructed places derived their identity from the identities of their places. This stems from the intrinsic quality of place names as significant components of the symbolic and material artifacts of culture (Kearns & Berg, 2002; Yeoh, 2003). In Rhodesia, commemorative place names and names that celebrated European history were indicative of a European culture and presence on the landscape. Above all, the language of the place name indicates cultural affiliation of the names. European place names indicated a European identity while African names indexed an African identity. Language is more than a communication tool, it is an embodiment of culture. Europeans tend to realise that they were a distinct race from Africans owing to their occupation of a racially defined space defined as a European area in urban centres. The same was true for Africans. This made it possible for place names to act as ingredients for the raising of 'racial consciousness' among racial groups.

The role of place names in creating two racial sub-societies within a single urban society heightened the perceived differences between Europeans and Africans. This state of affairs was instrumental to Europeans whose colonial project relied heavily on racism and its attendant social exclusion characteristic. Spatial maps created through place naming were instrumental in creating the world as European settlers believe it to be. This salient feature of place names is instrumental in providing a platform or a "stage or context for much of our everyday or normal behaviour" (Downs & Stea, 1977: 12).

It is important at this point to mention that identity construction potential of place names cannot be divorced from the power politics in the society because "place names reflect the mental images of the dominant" (Yeoh, 2003: 221) and they enable us to see the "fields of power" that contribute to the [re]production of space (Katz, 1994: 68). In Rhodesia, naming places was part of the ideological processes which constitute the wider process of creating imagined racial boundaries. Place names in the colonial cityscape were reflective of the naming intentions of European settlers because they had power over the symbolic systems that were instrumental in the social production of places. The dominant section in the society had the power to determine the discursive configuration of public spaces. CDA treats ideology as central in the establishment and maintenance of inequalities in terms of power relations. A defining characteristic of CDA is the centrality of power as a salient determining factor in social life. Power in CDA is concerned with relations of difference, and specifically on the effects of differences in social structures (Wodak, 2001b).

5.3.3 The concept of history and school names

The concept of history in CDA discussed under Section 4.5.1 is used here in the analysis of school names. The concept of history in CDA implies that every discourse is historically produced and interpreted (Wodak, 2001b). The analysis done here treats school names as discourses with a quality of 'situatedness' in the sense that school names used during the colonial period in Zimbabwe in the selected urban centres derived their meanings from the socio-spatial contexts in which they occur.

The historical fact that the BSAC colonised Zimbabwe provided a context for commemorative place naming. Place names that were in honour of British royalty, European statesman, builders of the colonial state and place names for some European places were used because of the prevailing socio-

political realities in the colonial society. The names were used to achieve communicative intentions from the perspective of the colonial administration. Celebration of the history of the European settlers was necessary for subordinating the history of Africans.

The colonial context provides a basis for a full appreciation of the toponomastic system in the colony. The context made it possible for the namers to express their implied meanings through the names they gave to places in Rhodesia. The context of colonialism provides a platform for European settlers to manipulate the place naming system by way of using place names to indicate the identity of places as European or African and expressing power relations. Had it not been for the process of making and building a colony, place naming of the nature under discussion in this study would not have come into being. The colonial place naming patterns discussed above was informed, conditioned and sometimes regulated by the prevailing conditions in the colonial state. In this regard, the colonial context is very useful in getting a full understanding of the implied meanings of school names. This argument is consistent with insights from pragmatics that centralise context in the appreciation of meanings of words. The meaning of words cannot be analysed without taking context into consideration. The whole place naming system derived its meaning from the socio-political context of the colonial society. The objectives driving place naming system in a colonial society can only be understood if the prevailing situation in the colonial society is taken into consideration. It would be difficult for the objective of control and possession over the landscape to be understood if the politics of conquest are not considered in the discussion of colonial place naming system. The need to herald domination over conquered spaces made it mandatory for Europeans to see it fit to take full control of the symbolic culture in Rhodesia. The subsequent manipulation of discourses to meet the European

settlers' ends saw the landscape littered with commemorative place names, as central defining characteristics of the place naming system used by European settlers in Rhodesia.

The celebration of European history through place naming and the simultaneous subordination of the history of the African aborigines can be understood when the social context in which they were used is taken into consideration. The escapist character and outlook of Shona names for African school is made visible when the social context in considered in the analysis of the concerned names. School names that were derived from the Shona totemic system, school names such as: ***Chirodzo Primary School, Zuvarabuda Primary School, Gwinyai Primary School,*** among many other such, would be interpreted at the literal level if they are analysed out of the colonial context. The implied meanings of such school names can only be understood if the names are studied within the social context of the colonial society. The names derived their meanings from the socio-political configuration of the colonial society. An understanding of the European settlers' modus operandi when it came to Shona place names with political connotations gives an understanding that only names deemed to be void of an overt or covert political identity were approved for official use in the toponomastic landscape. The overall argument made here is that any analysis of the place names used in Rhodesia that fails to consider the socio-political context prevailing when the names were given to schools and places in the colony is bound to produce defective conclusions. This observation is consistent with Puzey's (2007) observation that place names are products of a social context.

The issue of context is central in CDA. Two types of context are discussed as global contexts and local contexts. The definition of global contexts encompasses the social, political, cultural and historical structures in which a communicative event takes place. Local context is usually defined in

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terms of the properties of the immediate, interactional situation in which a communicative event takes place. How people say and how they say it depends on who is speaking to whom, when and where, and with what purposes (van Dijk, 2001). This argument points to the fact that discourse is constrained by context. Both types of contexts are relevant for the purposes of the analysis done in this study. Place names used in Rhodesia were largely conditioned by realities in the colonial society. The sections of society who were actively involved in the place naming process, the communicative intentions they wanted to achieve, and whole context of the lived experiences of the colonial society all had an impact on place names used in Rhodesia.

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter has provided a classification of school names gathered during fieldwork. Data analysis and discussion has been done using CDA as an analytical tool. The discussions were premised on the tenets of Geosemiotics of indexicality, dialogicality and the language of discourses. The centrality of power in shaping discourses has been indicated to impact greatly on place naming during the colonial period. However, place names were not just passive reflectors of social reality. The chapter has indicated that school names in collaboration with other place name categories helped in shaping social reality and social structures. Place names have a salient role of reflecting social reality as determined by the power-holders in a society. In turn, the capacity of place names in constructing cognitive maps helps in shaping human behavior. School names in contiguous relationship with other place names and cultural discourses were instrumental in shaping race relations in the colonial society owing to their potential in making the identities of places as either European or African become more visible and pronounced.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

6.0 Introduction

This chapter starts by giving a summary of the chapters. It proceeds by showing the research findings of this study. Emphasis is on how the findings worked in advancing the frontiers of onomastic knowledge. The chapter ends with some recommendations for further research.

6.1 A summary of chapters

Chapter one was the introductory chapter. It discussed the background to this study. It gave an overview of the development of cities from the earliest times during the classical era of the Shona people, well before the advent of colonialism. Africans had their own models of cities which differ greatly with what was introduced later byEuropeans. After the establishment of Rhodesia as a colony, the several urban centres were created as political and economic centres for the colonial administration. The background section has also chronicled the history of colonialism from the era that predates the occupation of Mashonaland by the Pioneer Column. After establishing the colonial state, the chapter indicated the nature of race relations that used to exist between Europeans and Africans. It showed that European settlers treated Africans as second class citizens. As such, throughout the entire colonial period a system of racial separate development was instituted as a guiding principle that informed and regulated race relations. Different legislative frameworks were promulgated with the principal aim of entrenching racial segregation. A case in point was the Land Apportionment Act of 1931 which divided the country into European, African, Unreserved and Crown land. In terms of the provisions of this act, urban areas were categorised under European land. As such, the urban space was not meant for an African. The chapter proceeded by outlining the

research problem, research questions and the aim and objectives of the study. A justification of this study was then given before outlining the scope of the study.

Chapter two was the literature review. It reviewed relevant literature on place naming and other related issues. The chapter started by reviewing literature on place naming and power. The major argument throughout the reviewed works was that place naming in Rhodesia itself was an exercise of control. People who have access to power exercise ultimate control over place naming. The review was done at different levels. At the level of commemorative place naming, it was pointed out that commemorative place naming provides a platform for celebrating the history of the section which wields much power in the society. Commemorative place naming inscribes the identity of the ruling regime on the landscape. This makes it mandatory to dename and rename the landscape when a new regime assumes office. The chapter also reviewed literature on place naming and identity, showing the salience of place names on the social construction of places and individual and/or collective identities. Reviewed literature shows that those with no access or with limited access to power are not entirely passive in the naming process; rather they devise methods of making their voices heard as a way of their efforts to make a mark on the toponomastic processes.

Place names are significant mnemonic devices that aid in the twin process of remembering and forgetting. Power is also significant in determing the physical configuration of the landscape. Reviewed literature showed that there exists an an inalienable relationship between power and spatial mapping. This study reviews Cartographic literature such as Given (2002); Kitchin, Perkins and Dodds (1997); Huggan (1989 cited in Fischer, 2010: 61); Harley (1989); Turnbill (1993); Dodds (2000), Craib (2000); Biggs (1999); Crampton (1996); Short (2001). A common thread in all these

studies was that settler cartography was very significant to the founding and establishment of the colony. A map was proved to be a significant mechanism that engenders territory. Spatial mapping as a process is influenced and conditioned by the powerful, in terms of how they want the landscape viewed. The chapter proceeded by reviewing literature onlinguistic landscape. The review showed that linguistic landscape approaches and methodologies are applicable to toponomastic studies because place names are indispensable components in the linguistic landscape. The linguistic landscape approach was proved to be a new direction in toponomastic research.

Chapter three discussed the theoretical framework for this study. Accordingly, Geosemiotics as propounded by Scollon and Scollon (2003) was reviewed in terms of its tenets. The three principles of the theory, namely, the principle of indexicality, dialogicality and language choice were discussed. The theory has subsystems which are: interactional order, visual semiotics and place semiotics. The theoretical framework also got insights from Semiotics, Pragmatics and Semantics. The three sub-disciplines of linguistics study the meanings of words from different perspectives.

Chapter four discussed the research design and methodology. Case study research design was indicated to be the research design adopted for this study. A discussion of the differences between qualitative and qualtitative research paradigms was done. It was indicated that the nature of this study makes it a qualitative study. The salience of units of analysis was shown to determine the methods of data gathering techniques. The different methods of data gathering were discussed. These were semi-structured interviews, documentary sources and visual materials. The sampling method used for this study was also discussed. It was pointed out that the research design adopted has a bearing on the

method of data analysis used. The chapter showed that CDA and content analysis were adopted as the methods of data analysis. The chapter closes by discussing ethical considerations.

Chapter five presented and analysed results using CDA. School names were put into categories following methods stated in chapter 3. The chapter then presented place names in nine different categories. Overlaps of school names categories were noted but their occurrence was minimal. The section that followed made an analysis of data using CDA. Consistent with the concepts of CDA: the concept of power, the concept of ideology and the concept of history, data analysis saw the discussion of school names as discourses of power, as discourses of sameness and differences and lastly school names and their socio-historical context.

6.2 A Summary of findings

European settlers were not a homogenous lot. There were differences in terms of class, nationality and culture. However, a common language, environment and a common viewpoint in terms of a deep-seated segregation of black Africans and maintenance of White supremacy. The perceived commonalities created a racial minority class characterised by high solidarity. They adopted the label 'Rhodesians' as an umbrella term that displays racial solidarity and curtailed and truncated any form of differences among themselves. Rhodesians considered themselves as a priviledged racial group who acted in unison in preserving their positions in the socio-political order in the colonial society. One effective way of achieving this was a calculated method of segregating the African in almost all spheres of life.

The creation of separate spaces for a self-conscious racial class which called itself Europeans in order to accommodate Asians and the Coloured community on one hand and black Africans on the other was a careful, well-planned and calculated method that was used to implement racial segregation. The establishment of the first location was a confirmation of the formal policy of territorial segregation. Harare was a racially segregated official suburb for Africans. The policy of an apartheid system guided spatial mapping throughout the colonial period in Zimbabwe. Different legislative frameworks were promulgated in order to regularise the policy of colonial racial segregation which was akin to the South African model of apartheid. Under those circumstances, the country was divided into European areas, African areas and Crown land in terms of the provisions of the Land Apportionment Act of 1931. This colonial cartographic system created separare spaces for Europeans and Africans. Colonial missions usually rely on maps. Maps are created in order to meet the demands and expectations of the colonising power. The colonial force had the power to determine the configuration of the landscape.

The study observed that the overall meaning of school names in areas under study was dependant on the context of use. The colonial context provided a platform for an appreciation of the meanings of school names. This study established that place names are reflective of the socio-political dynamics of the colonial society in Rhodesia. The choice of names for schools was not done in a random or haphazard way. School names [and other place names categories] were conduits for communicating the inner feelings of the section of society which gave the names. The names were pithy texts that resonate with the psychology and political configuration of the colonial society. The names are directly related to the social structure in Rhodesia. Place naming should not be separated from the realities in the society because they reflect the lived experiences of a particular people. This

researcher observed that studying place names in Rhodesia is another way of studying the totality of social realities in the colonial society. Place names reflect a people's way of life, beliefs, fears, hopes, attitudes, among many other issues. Place names are carriers of a people's worldview. They reflect how people come to terms with their immediate environment. This study has shown that school names in Rhodesiawere far more than mere referential linguistic tokens in the toponomastic landscape. Place names are replete with social meanings that reflect the social circumstances that give rise to such names.

This study established that efforts to achieve racial segregation were consolidated in the names that were given to places. Berg and Vuolteenaho (2009: 8) advances that place names can be manipulated to meet intentions of the name-givers because they can act as "pegs on which to hang descriptions" in addition to their referential function of denoting single portions of geographical spaces. The creation of distinct place identities was achieved at two levels: the micro-level where identities of schools as either European or African were made visible and at the macro-level where the school names acted in contiguity with other place names to give the immediate environment either a European or an African identity.

At the micro-level, school names were significant markers of the identity as either European or African. Educational policies were informed by the colonial racist ideology. Segregation at the educational front was experienced by the creation of two systems of education, one meant for Europeans and the other for Africans. The curricula were also different because European education was oriented towards academic subjects while the syllabus for Africans was tailor-made in order to canalise them to cherish manual work. It was an effective way of using education as an ideological

state apparatus to condition the African to work in colonial capitalist economy as labourers in industries, factories and mines. Africans were not supposed to receive a form of education that would improve their socio-economic positions, lest they would compete with white and threaten the priviledged position of European settlers. It has been indicated that the colonial educational policy was premised on the principle of creating a racially divided society.

Schools for Europeans were given European names. The names were largely commemorative. This saw some schools for Europeans being given names of the members of the British royal family. Some schools were named after some European statesman, with some being named after a composite class which has been regarded as 'builders of the colonial state, Rhodesia'. Other schools for Europeans were named after some places in Europe. These names have been regarded as transferred place names in this study. The names described above projected an unambiguous European identity of the schools.

The siting of the schools in European areas together with the language of the school names contributed to the construction of a distinct European identity of the schools. The school names for European schools were in continual dialogue with other names of sporting houses, boarding houses (in the case of boarding schools), names of school halls, libraries and other components of the school infrastructure. Other cultural symbols such as schools' emblems and portraits and images of personalities whose names are used for naming the schools also act in contiguity with the European school names in communicating that the named school is for Europeans.

On the other hand, schools for Africans sited in African townships, were largely given Shona names. This study established that schools for Africans got European names when they got their names from

suburbs which had such names or when they were named after a founder who happened to be a European. A case in point was for ***Highfield High School*** which got its name from Highfield, the second black township to be established in Salisbury after Harare. ***George Stark High School,*** established in Harare Township, was named after its founder George Stark. Place names were very significant in marking the identity of schools as either European or African. Names served to reinforce the policies of colonial apartheid system in Rhodesia. Efforts were made to place linguistic signs in appropriate spaces consistent with the ultimate objective of creating distinct spaces for Europeans and Africans. It is this study's submission that the siting of a school in either European or African townships as a way of showing the different identities of the schools was complemented and affirmed by the nature of the names given to the schools. European schools were given European names while schools for Africans largely got African names.

At the macro-level, school names worked jointly with other place names for some aspects of the built environment and cultural symbols in making racial differences more visible. The colonial policy of separate development found consolidation in the place names for the separate spaces for Europeans and Africans. School names were very instrumental in the creation of what Anderson (1991) regards as 'imagined communities'. Conscious efforts were made to ensure that names that commemorate important events, personalities and places historically important to the European settlers were given to places in areas defined as European areas under the Land Apportionment Act of 1931. Schools bearing names in honour of the British royalty such as: ***Prince Edward School, Queen Elizabeth School, Victoria High School*** and ***Victoria Junior School;*** *s*chools named in honour of builders of Rhodesia, such as: ***Allan Wilson Technical High School, David Livingstone Primary School, Courteney Selous Primary Schools, Moffat Primary School, Chancellor Primary School, Baring***

Primary School, among many others were effective aids in making the identity of European visible to the public. The goals and objectives of the policies of the colonial racial segregation found their ultimate fulfilment in the place names that were used as linguistic tokens in the toponomastic landscape. The totality of place names used in a particular area was significant in reflecting the identity of the place as exclusive place for Europeans.

On the other hand, Shona dominates as the language of school names and place names in general in African townships. This was instrumental in depicting an undoubted African identity. Place names were significant identity markers in Rhodesia. Conscious efforts were made to give European schools and other components of the landscape European names and likewise have Shona place names dominating the linguistic landscape in African township. Place names were significant instruments in the discursive construction of places. School names, together with other place names that were part of the imperial place naming system, were significant in the place-making process.

This study also established the influence of power on place naming. The section of the society wielding much power in the society determines discouses to be used in a particular society. Place naming was a highly state-controlled process in Rhodesia. All place names were supposed to go through a systematic approval process by a Cabinet Place Names Committee. The determination of place names that were to be used in the linguistic landscape was a preserve of the colonial government. The situation best explains the use of commemorative place names that present and celebrate European settlers' history. Under those circumstances African history was subordinated and peripherised. European settlers used school names and other related place names categories of the built environment, such as street names and names of buildings, to manage their memory in a foreign country.

Consistent with the basic tenet of Geosemiotics that the immediate world in social and physical terms, where a public sign is located is crucial in understanding the meaning of discourses, this study observed that the colonial context provided an opportunity for European settlers to express, exercise and legitimise their political power through place names. Race relations in the colonial society also made it mandatory for discourses to be used to reinforce racial differences. Place names were used to project distinct racial identities because of the attendant racial segregation policies that were promulgated in Rhodesia.

European settlers used place names as repositories, reserviors and receptacles of their memory. During the process, African names were removed from the landscape. This led to the memory contained in place names being were wiped out. Power was also instrumental in blocking African names which had political connotations from being used in the toponomastic landscape. The data for this study shows minimal attempts to celebrate African history. European settlers had all the opportunity for celebrating their history through commemorative place naming. African heroes were regarded as enemies of the state with African nationalist being labelled subversive and engaging in acts of banditry. Such personalities did not qualify to be immortalised in the public sphere. Several schools were given names in honour of the British royalty, important personalities in the mission of establishing Rhodesia as a colony and outstanding European and American statesman. The colonial establishment decided to subject place naming to censorship in the same manner they did to [literary] art forms. The colonial government knew the potential in discourses to conscientise the colonised African population. As a result, they devised mechanism for monitoring and regulating the process of naming places.

This study found out that the power wielded by the European settlers had an impact on the configuration of the toponomastic landscape through non-approval of Shona names deemed to carry political connotations. The nature of Shona place names used in Rhodesia was, largely, escapist in nature. Shona school names could only carry hidden political messages. Africans could decode the political messages carried by the names while the colonial system could just approve the names thinking they were politically harmless. This study also establishes that the 'escapist names' for schools had a subtext of entreating, persuading and exhorting Africans to acquire education as far as possible because of its attendant benefits in a colonial capitalist economy. Education was the only mechanism that could ensure that upward social mobility up the socio-economic racially based stratification system of the colonial society. Education was also a political issue because access to education was a cause for conflict between the African nationalist movement and the Rhodesian government.

European settlers used the potential in place names in order to establish the colony. Naming landscapes after some places in Europe or after heroes and heroines of their history was a way of declaring possession and exercising authority over the named landscapes. Commemorative place naming was a significant instrument that was effectively used in the establishing Rhodesia as a colony. Imperial place naming occupied the core of strategies Rhodesians used in state-making. European settlers manipulated the landscape to herald their presence and pronounce domination over the spaces in the colony. The landscape in colonies is, as Carter (1987) argues, one of the significant spatial forms through which a culture declares its presence. Names that European settlers gave to landscape and places in the colony could be well be regarded as 'place names that founded the colony' because they resonate with the principal aim of establishing Rhodesia as a colonial state. The

descriptive backing of the place names European settlers used to name places was instrumental in state-formation. The names were meant to create a sense of attachment to places in the colony.

6.3 Contributions to Onomastic theory

This study has demonstrated that school names were significant constituent elements of the toponomastic landscape in urban centres during the colonial period in Zimbabwe. This study bridges the gap between linguistic landscape approaches and toponomastic studies. Linguistic landscape is a recent approach in Sociolinguistics which has been used mainly in language planning studies. It is a linguistic landscape study because it appreciates the use of place names in the landscape. It also uses approaches and methodologies of linguistic landscape studies. This salient characteristic of this study indicates that it advances the frontiers of toponomastic knowledge.

At the theoretical level, this study makes a significant contribution to the theory of toponyms. The use of a discourse theory, Geosemiotics, as propounded by Scollon & Scollon (2003), points to the discussions of the role of place names in the discursive construction of places. The theory comes in handy in indicating that discourses derive much of their meanings from how and where they are placed in the material world. At another level, discourses exist in aggregates in communicating the intention of their producers. Lastly, the language of place names is very significant in the full appreciation of their [implied] meanings. The theory also makes an appreciation of the landscape as a humanly built space. No landscape can be said to be free from human interference. All landscapes are contaminated by humans (Tuan, 1991; 1979). Goesemiotics helps in indicating the multidisciplinary nature of Onomastics because it emphasises on how place names helped in the 'languageing' of the landscape. The landscape is a also a unit of research in Cartography, Human Geography, History, among many other disciplines (Helleland, 1982; Smith, 2007; Caffarelli, 2007).

6.4 Recommendations

Based on the results and findings of this study, this researcher proposes the following recommendations:

1. The process of decolonisation through erasing all colonial vestiges from the landscape should be informed by thorough research on how the colonial establishment made its imprint on the landscapes in colonies.

2. Toponomastics should be incorporated into the education curriculum from secondary level to tertiary levels in Zimbabwe to give students an appreciation of the salience of place names as spatial texts that reflect different social factors that give rise to the names.

3. When naming schools and the built environment in general, the following procedures should be followed:

   (i) There has to be consultations with the community to give people an opportunity to name their immediate environment.

   (ii) Place naming should not be a top-down process where place names are imposed by authorities on communities. Place name imposition usually results in the community giving informal names to places as a way of resisting official place naming systems. In most cases, these informal place names gain wide currency in the society to an extent of 'erasing' the official name.

4. Research on place names is in its early stages in Zimbabwe. There are so many possibilities in all directions for research on [place] naming in Zimbabwe. The following can be points of departure for future researchers:

(i)   Examination of place naming patterns during the colonial period in Zimbabwe in the other part of the country, Matebeleland may produce different results. It seems the experiences in Bulawayo were not the same as African experiences in Salisbury because important historical figures of the Ndebele people were used for naming the built environment in Bulawayo. Some of the Ndebele names in the toponomastic landscape are Mzilikazi, Lobengula, Nkulumane, among many others. Studying these names would give a balanced view of the process of naming places during the colonial period in Zimbabwe. The Ndebele people, unlike the Shona, moved into Bulawayo in the early stages of colonialism. This gave them an opportunity to have some control over issues affecting them in areas earmarked for African habitation (Magudu, et al. 2010) as discussed under section 5.3.2.1.

(ii)   This study has used the case study research design by paying particular attention to school names. Future researches can look at other place names categories, such as street names, names of buildings, etcetera.

iii)   The toponymic attachment theory as propounded by Kostanski (2009, 2011a, 2011b) could be used in future researches in discussing the complexities and contradictions of place name changes in the post-colonial period in Zimbabwe. The theory could also be used to examine the feeling of rootedness European settlers had during the colonial period in Zimbabwe as a result of European place names they had given to places in Zimbabwe.

(iii)   Similar studies can also be done in other Southern African countries, especially Kenya and Namibia which were established as settler states (Wekwete, 1994; Mandaza, 1989: 21).

(iv)   The naming of satellite schools established in farming communities following the Land Reform in Zimbabwe can generate interesting results on the influence of social factors on place naming in post-independence Zimbabwe.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: APPROVAL CARD FOR MUCHEKE

CHECKED BY

G.P & S. 79452.

APPROVED BY CABINET
PLACE NAMES COMMITTEE

634(8)

Accepted name: MUCHEKE   Date 8/12/80

Provisional name: MUCHEKE

District VICTORIA

Description: AFRICAN TOWNSHIP   Map Sheet: 2030 B2

Latitude: 20° 08'   Longitude: 30° 52'

Position: Easting .... Northing .... (Metres, U.T.M.)

Source: ....

Authority: G.N.S.C. 21/11/1979. (GAZ 2)

Remarks: Named after the MUCHEKE river.

APPENDIX 2: GOVERNMENT NOTICE NO. 781; MINISTRY OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS' CIRCULAR NO. 17 OF 1952

GOVERNMENT NOTICE

No. 781.]   [26th September, 1952.

THE Minister of Internal Affairs has been pleased to approve of the appointment of a Geographical Names Standing Committee as follows to advise on the spelling of the names of places and of geographical features such as rivers, mountains, hills, mountain ranges, marshes, waterfalls, features of local interest, etc., in the Colony:—

The Surveyor-General (Chairman); The Chief Archivist, Central African Archives (Member); Mr. W. R. Benzies, O.B.E. (Member); Mr. E. G. Howman (Member); The Chief Draughtsman, Surveyor-General's Department (Secretary).

Members of the Public are requested to collaborate with the Committee in this matter and interested persons should communicate with the Secretary of the Committee whose address is P.O. Box 99, Causeway, Salisbury.

APPENDIX 3: INTERVIEW SCHEDULES

The interview schedule was a semi-structured one and it was crafted following guidelines provided in Hancock, Ockleford, and Windridge (2007) and Kelly (2006). However, interview questioning did not follow the order below since the questions only acted as guides for the researcher.

3.1 Interview schedule for lecturers in the Departments of African Languages and Literature, History, Economic History and selected Departments in the Faculty of Education
- Role of place names in the Rhodesia
- The role of Africans in place naming
- The relationship between place names and the colonial segregationist policies
- The role of education in the colonial state
- The semantic import and pragmatic meanings of school names
- Relationship between school naming and the colonial system of education
- Relationship between African school names and the goals of the African nationalist movement

3.2: Interview schedule for lecturers in the Departments of Rural and Urban Planning and Geography, University of Zimbabwe and the Department of the Surveyor-General
- The nature of urban spatial planning in Rhodesia
- The relationship between racial segregationist policies and urban spatial mapping
- The system of siting schools in the cityscape
- Any relationship between place naming and racial segregationist policies
- The process of giving names to places in the colony
- Existence of any government-appointed body that regulated place-naming in Rhodesia

3.3: Interview schedule for Ministry of Education officials and school authorities

The role of education in the colonial society

- The nature of African education
- The nature of European education
- The relationship between school names and the nature of education in the colonial state
- The role of school names in the colonial society
- Years of establishments of schools
- History of schools
- Possible motivations for naming schools

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APPENDIX 4: THE SAMPLE OF SCHOOL NAMES

Name of school	Year of establishment	Responsible authority	Location	Types of location: European/African
Alfred Beit Primary School	1952	Government	Malbereign, Salisbury	European
Allan Wilson Technical High School	1940	Government	Milton Park, Salisbury	European
Avondale Junior School	1910	Government	Avondale, Salisbury	European
Baring Primary School	1918	Government	Florida, Umtali	European (Coloureds)
Budirirai Primary School	1978	Government	Seke, Chitungwiza	African
Chaminuka Primary School	1964	Council	St. Mary's, Chitungwiza	African
Chancellor Primary School	1952	Government	Murambi, Umtali	European
Chembira Primary School	1979	Government	Glen Norah, Salisbury	African
Chengu Primary School	1954	Government	Highfield, Salisbury	African
Chikato Primary School	1962	Government	Mucheke, Fort Victoria	African
Chinembiri Primary School	1978	Government	Seke, Chitungwiza	African
Chipembere Primary School	1954	Government	Highfield, Salisbury	African
Chirodzo Primary School	1964	Government	Harare, Salisbury	African
Chitsere Primary School	1946	Government	Harare, Salisbury	African
Churchill Boys High School	1950	Government	Eastlea, Salisbury	European
Courteney Selous Primary School	1953	Government	Kamfinsa, Salisbury	European
Dangamvura High School	1977	Government	Dangamvura	African
David Livingstone Junior school	1940	Government	CBD, Salisbury	European
Don Bosco Primary School	1944	Government	Mucheke, Fort Victoria	African
Dudzai Primary School	1978	Government	Seke, Chitungwiza	African
Dzivarasekwa 1 High School	1979	Government	Dzivarasekwa ,Salisbury	African

Name of school	Year of establishment	Responsible authority	Location	Types of location: European/African
Ellis Robins Boys High School	1953	Government	Mabelreign, Salisbury	European
Farai Primary School	1971	Council	Seke, Chitungwiza	African
F. D. Roosevelt Girls High School	1950	Government	Eastlea, Salisbury	European
Fungisai Primary school	1978	Government	Seke, Chitungwiza	African
Gombo Primary School	1972	Government	Dzivarasekwa ,Salisbury	African
Gwinyai Primary School	1954	Government	Harare, Salisbury	African
Harare High School	1958	Government	Harare, Salisbury	African
Hatfield Girls School	1955	Government	Hatfield, Salisbury	European
Helen McGhie Primary School	1944	Government	Eastview, Fort Victoria	European (Coloureds)
Highfield High School	1971	Government	Highfield, Salisbury	African
Kudakwashe Primary School	1978	Government	Glen Norah, Salisbury	African
Kundai Primary School	1979	Government	Glen Norah, Salisbury	African
Kwayedza High School	1973	Government	Highfield, Salisbury	African
Lord Malvern High School	1959	Government	Waterfalls, Salisbury	European
Mabelreign Girls' High School	1953	Government	Mabelreign, Salisbury	European
Mabvuku High School	1975	Government	Mabvuku, Salisbury	African
Mberi Primary School	1977	Government	Highfield, Salisbury	African
Mbizi Primary School	1939	Government	Highfield, Salisbury	African
Mhizha Primary School	1958	Government	Highfield, Salisbury	African
Mhofu Primary School	1951	Government	Highfield, Salisbury	African
Moffat Primary School	1915	Government	Arcadia, Salisbury	European
Mt. Pleasant Boys' High School	1957	Government	Mt. Pleasant, Salisbury	European

Name of school	Year of establishment	Responsible authority	Location	Types of location: European/African
Mucheke High School	1951	Government	Mucheke, Fort Victoria	African
Mukai High School	1972	Government	Highfield, Salisbury	African
Mutanda Primary School	1954	Government	Sakubva, Umtali	African
Mutasa Primary School	1957	Government	Highfield, Salisbury	African
Nhamburiko Primary School	1978	Government	Dzivarasekwa ,Salisbury	African
Nharira Primary School	1951	Government	Harare, Salisbury	African
Nyandoro Primary School	1957	Government	Highfield, Salisbury	African
Prince Edward school	1898	Government	Milton Park, Salisbury	European
Pfumo Primary School	1979	Government	Zengeza, Chitungwiza	African
Queen Elizabeth Girls High school	1940	Government	CBD, Salisbury	European
Rusvingo Primary School	1962	Government	Highfield, Salisbury	African
Ruvheneko Primary School	1976	Government	Glen Norah, Salisbury	African
Sakubva High School	1959	Government	Sakubva, Umtali	African
Salisbury East Girls' High School	1950	Government	Eastlea, Salisbury	European
Salisbury Public Undenominational/ Undenominational/Public/High/ Boys' High School	1898	Government	CBD, Salisbury	European
Seke 1 Primary school	1978	Government	Seke, Chitungwiza	African
Seke 2 Primary School	1978	Government	Seke, Chitungwiza	African
Seke 8 Primary School	1976	Government	Seke, Chitungwiza	African
St. Aidan's Primary School	1924	Anglican	Seke, Chitungwiza	African
St. Dominican Convent Primary School	1892	Roman Catholic	CBD, Salisbury	European
St. Joseph's Secondary School	1958	Roman Catholic	Chikanga, Umtali	African

Name of school	Year of establishment	Responsible authority	Location	Types of location: European/African
St. Martin's Primary School	1962	Roman Catholic	St. Martins, Salisbury	European
St. Mary's Primary School	1911	Anglican	St. Mary's, Chitungwiza	African
St. Mary's Secondary School	1962	Anglican	St. Mary's, Chitungwiza	African
Shingirayi Primary School	1978	Government	Harare, Salisbury	African
Shiriyedenda Primary School	1975	Government	Glen Norah, Salisbury	African
Takakunda Primary School	1962	Council	Zengeza, Chitungwiza	African
Tamuka Primary School	1978	Government	Seke, Chitungwiza	African
Tangenhamo Primary School	1976	Government	Zengeza, Chitungwiza	African
The Eastlea Boys' Secondary School	1950	Government	Eastlea, Salisbury	European
The Eastlea Girls' High School	1950	Government	Eastlea, Salisbury	European
Tsungai Primary School	1957	Government	Highfield, Salisbury	African
Umtali High School	1896	Government	CBD, Umtali	European
Umtali Girls High School	1954	Government	CBD, Umtali	European
Umtali Boys' High School	1954	Government	Morningside, Umtali	European
Vainona Primary School	1960	Government	Vainona, Salisbury	European
Victoria Junior school	1903	Government	Rhodene, Fort Victoria	European
Victoria High School	1959	Government	Rhodene, Fort Victoria	European
Vimbai Primary School	1976	Government	Seke, Chitungwiza	African
Wasarawasara Primary School	1979	Government	Highfield, Salisbury	African
Zengeza 1 High School	1979	Government	Zengeza, Chitungwiza	African
Zengeza 4 Primary School	1979	Government	Zengeza, Chitungwiza	African
Zengeza 7 Primary School	1979	Government	Zengeza, Chitungwiza	African
Zengeza 8 Primary School	1962	Government	Zengeza, Chitungwiza	African

Name of school	Year of establishment	Responsible authority	Location	Types of location: European/African
Zuvarabuda Primary School	1976	Government	Glen Norah, Salisbury	African

APPENDIX 5: PERSONAL CONVERSATIONS

Interviewee A from a selected university on 07 November 2013.

Interviewee B, a retired Educationist at the University of Zimbabwe on 25 June 2013.

Interviewee C, an official in Ministry of Education, Sport, Arts and Culture on 16 July 2013.

Interviewee D, an official in Department of the Surveyor-General on 25 November 2013.

Interviewee E, an official in Department of the Surveyor-General on 25 November 2013.

Interviewee F, an official in Ministry of Education, Sport, Arts and Culture on 16 July 2013.

Interviewee G from *Victoria Junior Primary* School on 03 December 2013.

Interviewee H, a retired teacher on 22 July 2013.

Interviewee I from a selected University on 26 June 2013.

Interviewee J from a selected University on 26 June 2013.

Interviewee K from *Alfred Beit Primary School* on 18 July 2013.

Interviewee L from *Chancellor Primary School* on 07 November 2013.

Interviewee M from *Prince Edward School* on 23 July 2013.

IntervieweeN from *Allan Wilson Technical High School* on 13 September 2013.

Interviewee O from *Chaminuka Primary School* on 30 October 2013.

Interviewee P from *Chirodzo Primary School* on 29 November 2013.

Interviewee Q from *Courteney Selous Primary School* on 17 July 2013.

Interviewee R from *Ellis Robins Boys High School* on 14 September 2013.

Interviewee S from *Helen McGhie Primary School* on 03 December 2013.

Interviewee T from *Moffat Primary School* on 26 November 2013.

Interviewee U from *Queen Elizabeth Girls High School* on 17 July 2013.

Interviewee V from *Sakubva High School* on 07 November 2013.

Interviewee W from *Victoria High School* on 03 December 2013.

Interviewee X from *Umtali Girls High School* on 03 November 2013

Interviewee Y from *Mt. Pleasant High School* on 25 November 2013.

APPENDIX 6: CONSENT FORM

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

TITLE: A SOCIOLINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF SCHOOL NAMES IN SHONA

   URBAN CENTRES DURING THE COLONIAL PERIOD IN

   ZIMBABWE (1890 -1979)

Name of researcher: Zvinashe Mamvura

I am kindly asking you to take part in the research whose title is given above. I am a lecturer at the University of Zimbabwe doing Doctoral studies with the University of South Africa.

If you agree to be part in this study you will be an interviewee during interviews to be conducted at a time convenient to you.

Information

- I have read and understood the attached information sheet giving details of the research.
- I have had the opportunity to ask the researcher any questions that I had about the research and my involvement in it, and understand my role in the research.
- I understand that data gathered in this research may form the basis of a report or other form of publication or presentation.

Voluntariness

- My decision to consent is entirely voluntary. Participation in this research is up to you, no one will be upset if you do not want to participate.

Consent

   Signing my name at the bottom means that I agree to interviewed

   Participant's signature:…………………………………….Date:…………………

   Participant's name (in CAPITALS)…………………………………………………….

   Researcher's signature:……………………………………Date:………………….

APPENDIX 7: PERMISSIONS TO CARRY OUT RESEARCH IN SCHOOLS

7.1: MINISTRY OF EDUCATION, HEAD OFFICE

ZIMBABWE

Ref: C/426/3
Ministry of Education, Sport,
Arts and Culture
P.O Box CY 121
Causeway
Zimbabwe

11/07/12

ZVINASHE MAMUMRA
DEPARTMENT OF AFRICAN
LANGUAGES AND LITERATURE
P.O BOX MP167
MOUNT PLEASANT
HARARE

RE: PERMISSION TO CARRY OUT RESEARCH

Reference is made to your application to carry out research in the Ministry of Education, Sport and Culture institutions on the title:

AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE SIGNIFICANCE AND
FUNCTIONS OF SCHOOL NAMES IN THE SHONA
SOCIETY IN ZIMBABWE

Permission is hereby granted. However, you are required to liaise with the Provincial Education Director responsible for the schools you want to involve in your research.

You are also required to provide a copy of your final report to the Ministry since it is instrumental in the development of education in Zimbabwe.

I. Gweme
FOR: SECRETARY FOR EDUCATION, SPORT AD CULTURE

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION
SPORT AND CULTURE
POLICY PLANNING SECTION
1 1 JUL 2012
BOX 121, CAUSEWAY
ZIMBABWE

7.2: MINISTRY OF EDUCATION, HARARE PROVINCIAL OFFICE

All communications should be addressed to
"THE PROVINCIAL EDUCATION DIRECTOR"

Telephone : 792671-9
Fax : 796125/792548
E-mail
moeschro@yahoo.com

ZIMBABWE

REF: G/42/1
Ministry of Education,
Sport and Culture
Harare Provincial Education Office
P. O. Box CY 1343
Causeway
Zimbabwe

11-07-2012

Z. Mamvura
of University
of Zimbabwe.

RE : PERMISSION TO CARRY OUT RESEARCH IN SOME SELECTED SCHOOLS

To carry out research into the significance and functions of school names in the Shona society in Zimbabwe.
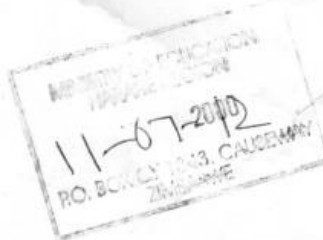
Reference is made to your letter dated 11-07-12

Please be advised that the Provincial Education Director grants you authority to carry out your research on the above topic. You are required to supply Provincial Office with a copy of your research findings.

Makombe

For Provincial Education Director

Harare Metropolitan Province

**7.3: MUTARE PROVINCIAL OFFICE AND MUTARE DISTRICT
OFFICE'S ENDORSEMENT, MINISTRY OF EDUCATION**

*Mutare District has no
objections to the
research*

Ref : C/426/3

A/DEO

*All communications should be addressed to
"The Provincial Education Director Manicaland"*
Telephone: 64216, 64279, 64280
Telegraphic address: "EDUCATION"
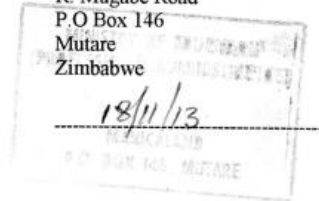**Fax: 60356**
http://www.moesc.gov.zw

ZIMBABWE

Ministry of Education, Sport, Arts and Culture
Manicaland Provincial Office
Cabs Building, Cnr H. Chitepo &
R. Mugabe Road
P.O Box 146
Mutare
Zimbabwe

18/11/13

Mr Mamvura. Z.

UNIVERSITY OF ZIMBABWE

**Re : REQUEST FOR PERMISSION TO CARRY OUT RESEARCH IN
PRIMARY/SECONDARY : NAME :** *Mr ZVINASHE MAMVURA . OF SCHOOL*
~~**COLLEGE**~~**/UNIVERSITY :** *OF ZIMBABWE .*

The above matter refers.

Please be advised that the Provincial Education Director has granted you permission to carry out
research in Primary/ Secondary schools on *THE SOCIOLINGUISTICS OF ANALYSIS
OF SCHOOL NAMES IN SHONA URBAN CENTRES DURING THE Colonial
Period in Zimbabwe (1890 - 1979)*

Mr MAMVURA ----------------is advised to liaise with the District Office and Heads of targeted
schools before embarking on the research.

S. Sithole
A/PROVINCIAL EDUCATION DIRECTOR MANICALAND

Disciplinary Forms/cmr

7.4: MASVINGO PROVINCIAL OFFICE, MINISTRY OF EDUCATION

ALL communications should be addressed to
"The Provincial Education Director for Education
Sport and Culture"
Telephone: 263585/264331
Fax: 039-263261

ZIMBABWE

Reference:

Ministry of Education ,Sport , Arts and Cult
P.O Box 89
MASVINGO

2 December 2013

To Whom It May Concern:

**RE: PERMISSION TO CARRYOUT RESEARCH : MAMVURA ZVINASHE :
RESEARCH STUDY: UNIVERSITY OF ZIMBAWBE : MASVINGO PROVINCE**

The above matter refers.

The bearer, Mamvura Zvinashe a lecturer at the University Zimbabwe, has been granted permission to carry out his research in schools in Masvingo Province:

The title : An investigation into the significance and functions of schools names in the Shona Society in Zimbabwe.

Please do assist him wherever possible.

2013 -12- 02

F. R. JIRIVENGWA
ACTING PROVINCIAL EDUCATION DIRECTOR: MASVINGO

APPENDIX 8: IMAGES AND PICTURES

8.1: Prince Edward School

8.2: Mt. Pleasant High School Signage

8.3: Queen Elizabeth signage

8.4: Jameson House at Prince Edward School

8.5: Rhodes House at Prince Edward School

8.6: Selous House at Prince Edward School

8.7: Shangani House at Allan Wilson Technical High School

8.8: Fort House at Victoria High School

8.9 : Tower House at Victoria High School

8.10: Sakubva High School Motto 'Dangwe' on the School Signage

8.11: Allan Wilson Potrait Engraved on the Walls of the School Hall at Allan Wilson Technical High School

APPENDIX 8: RACIAL COMPOSITION IN EUROPEAN SCHOOLS

9.1: Mount Pleasant High School

The following is a presentation of the staff and students at the school in 1979.

<u>Headmaster:</u> G. Lambert

<u>Deputy Headmaster</u>: P. A Cartwright

<u>Senior Master</u>: J. R. Bannister

<u>Senior Teacher in Charge of Girls</u>: Mrs. P. Macdonald

<u>Teachers</u>

Mrs. C. Bowyer, Mrs. U. G. Chambers, Mrs. D. M. Child, P. de Lacey, H. L. Finn, Mrs. R. C. Flaherty, Mrs. L. Hurst, E. J. W. Manley, Miss P. A. Milner, N. T. Parsons, J. R. Peirson, I.T. Pugh, D. M. Russell, Mrs. A.M. Syme, J. J. Withers, Mrs. K. Withers, R. R. Caithness, J. H. Cooper, Miss L. Curnick, B. J. Durden, Mrs. F. E. Ellenbogen, D. Erskine, Mr. P. Fullstone, Mrs. M. E. Glencross, Mrs. C. A. Haines, Mrs. J. M. Hardwick, T. Hughes, Mrs. F. E. R. Henshall, Mrs. R. Muggleton, Mrs. S. O. Donnell, Mrs. J. R. Parker, Miss S. A. Stewart, Mrs. M. M. Strang, Mrs. L. Thompson, Mrs. J. C. Vickerstaff.

<u>Grounds</u>: M. S. Richards
<u>Librarian</u>: Miss M. Day
<u>Bursar</u>: Mrs. D. Battiss
<u>Secretary</u>: Mrs. N. Hornblow
<u>Secretary</u>: Mr. A. Berkhuysen
(Source: Impala Magazine, The Mt. Pleasant High School Magazine 1979: 11)

The following students were admitted at Mt. Pleasant High School in 1974:

Girls

Anderson, Lee	Roper, Shelbey
Arton-Powell, Rosemary	Rose, Shelley
Balarin, Michelle	Sanua, Laron
Barnett, Alison	Smit, Jean
Baum, Denorah	Sommerville, Debbie
Berry, Laura	Southey, Elaine
Boulton, Gealdine	Starr, Deborah
Bradley, Lynn	Stoole, Kathleen
Caganoff, Sandra	Tait, Noeleen

Christmas, Sheryl

Clarke, Sally

Cleveland, Linda

Colgan, Desia

Corken, Sarah

Cougan, Patricia

Davey, Sandra

Dos Santos, Maria

Dos Santos, Olga

Du Toit, Camilla

Edmondson, Louise

Ellis, Pamela

Francis, Jennifer

Frederikssen, Marella

Gard, Saryta

Johnson, Sally

Jones, Sally

Laubscher, Lorinne

Lemon, Colleen

Levings, Margaret

Levings, Susan

Lodge, Sharon

Mackechnie, Louise

MacKenzie, Karen

Marais, Michelle

McCaffery, Marcille

Te Braake, Sylvia

Thompson, Amanda

Van De Merwe, Karen

Van De Merwe, Maria

Warren, Alison

Watson, Diane

Williams, Ceridwen

Gardner, Sandra

Goodall, Helen

Goodey, Barbara

Gurr, Alexandra

Herman, Gail

Holland, Lynn

Jenkins, Amanda

Lohan, Susan

Richards, Ann

Rawson, Jeanette

Priestly, Lecilia

Potter, Kathleen

Player, Sharon

Pelham, Launa

Olivier, Elfriede

Morris, Linda

Melliar, Pamela

McMillan, Caroline

McGregor, Mercia

Boys

Abrahamson, B.D.

Askes, E. E.

Baddeley, M. C. R.

Bayes, N.

Begbie, D.

Bennett, G. E.

Booth, L. M.

Bowen, R. C.

Bragge, N. H. R.

Bremmer, M. I.

Brown, G. V.

Brown, S. G.

Burness, A.. D.

Colquhoun, D. J.

Johnson, M. A.

Jones, T. P.

Jooste de W.

Kahn, A. S.

Keogh, G. S.

Kruize, A. B.

Lamont, J.

Landau, R. C.

Lohan, K. P.

MacQueen, G. C. M.

Marchussen, N. J.

Marshall, G.

McFerran, C. N.

Meyer, B. C.

Colyvas, N.

Court, C. D.

Cragg, E. K.

Craig, J. M. R.

Creeke, J. E.

Crighton, S. A.

Cryprianos, C.

Davidson, I. M.

Denard, D. H.

De Oliviera, F. J. D.

Doble, P. D.

Eden, M. P.

Edwards, M. A.

Egan, M. E.

Evans, R. J.

Fawcett, A. J.

Feteira, J. C.

Fernandes, M. A.

Fincham, D. C.

Fox, D. M.

Garbutt, A. P.

Gowens, I. M.

Grobbelaar, S. P.

Haji-Varnavas, G.

Hamling, C. M. A.

Harris, M. R. A.

Harris, M. R. D.

Harmann, S. S.

Hill, M. G.

Mohr, G. J.

Mutzuris, A. G.

Ongley, G. M.

Panton, D. J.

Portman, J. E. E.

Prelorentzos, N.

Rosenthal, A.

Ross, R. A.

Round, S. M.

Roussot, C.

Rubin, A. E.

Schwartz, A.

Schwartz, M. J.

Sevadjian, R. K.

Smith, M. J.

Soriano, S.

Syddall, A. J.

Van den Bergh, K. R.

Van Hoffen, H. M.

Walker, P. G.

Watson, D. V.

Williams, I. M.

Willis, N.

Wilson, K. M.

Wilson, R. G.

Young, J. M.

Zillberg, J. L.

Hutchison, C. G.

(Source: Impala Magazine, The Mt. Pleasant High School Magazine, 1974: 80)

9.2: Victoria High School

The following is a presentation of the staff and students at the school in 1979.

Names of Teaching staff

<u>Headmasters</u>

L. H. Sharp 1959-76

P.N. Stokes 1976-79

B. D. Maytham 1980-

<u>Teachers as at 1980</u>

Mr. W. Wotherspoon (Deputy Headmaster), Mrs. E. Scott, Mrs. P. Nunan, Mr. V. Mogg, Mrs. E. Durham, Miss G. Southall, Miss D. Drinkwater, Mr. B. Pingstone, Mr. B. Stone, Mr. M. Nunan, Mrs. J. Lake, Mrs. P. Soper, Mrs. V. Vermaak, Miss B. Venter, Miss W. Lewis, Miss W. Powell, Mrs. W. Powell, Mrs. H. Whitewall, Mrs. H. Smith, Miss R. van Niekerk, Miss B. Healy, Mrs. F. Gordon-McIntosh, Miss J. Travers, Mrs. B. Seymour, Miss D. Hewitt, Miss B. Reid, Mrs. Maytham, Miss P. Hardman, Mrs. E. Milne, Mrs. H. Weigall, Mr. J. Buitendag, Mr. M. Steyn, Mr. J. Millar, Mr. P. Rolt, Mr. R. Williams, Mr. A. Percival, Mr. B. Percival, Mr. J. Jennings, Mr. W. Richards, and Mr. C. de Bruyn.

The teaching staff compliment was entirely European. The same applies to the students. All

students who attended *Victoria High School* were European. The following is a list of Head

Boys and Head Girls for the period under review and names of beneficiary of different

scholarships.

<u>Head Boys</u>

D. W. du Plooy (1963), B. D. Streak (1964), D. Murray (1965), G. Burton (1966), M. Wisher (1967), A. Sherren (1968), R. Smith (1969), I. Wilsher (1970), C. Odendaal (1971), V. Davy (1972), F. Campher (1973), D. Warren (1974), T. Downham (1975), R. Fulton (1976), P. Burton (1977), R. Spencer (1978), M. Botha (1979), and R. Sutherland-Mcleod (1980).

Head Girls

E. A. Carey (1963), D. M. McWilliams (1964), C. M. van Helsdingen (1965), J. Alers (1966), S. Mino (1967), A. Johnstone (1968), J. Rees (1969), J. Friedrichs (1970), D. Johnstone (1971), M. Harvey (1972), M. Barbosa (1973), M. Barbosa (1974), A. Jackson (1975), A. McGrindle (1976), V. Torr (1977), M. Ratcliffe (1978), S. Linder (1979) and K. Herbst (1980)

Students who benefitted from Different Scholarships

Name of Student	Scholarship and Year	Name of Student	Scholarship and Year
A. Wood	Anglo American 1971	B. McLeod	Murray MacDougall
Penelope Randles	Barclays Bank 1971	R. Brown	Pietermaritzburg Friends of Rhodesia
Jane Nineham	Beit 1968	G. Low	Rhodesia Railways
I. Wisher	Fort Victoria Municipal		
J. Koekemoer	Government	A. Murray	S. A. Government
C. Weare	Leon Gluckman Memorial	B. McLeod	Rotary Foundation
D. Brehmer	M. B. Lewis (Music)	E. Richards	Government

(Source: MacLaren, 1981: 34-5)

9.3: Lord Malvern School

<u>Headmasters</u>

Mr. I. J. McLachlan (1958-66)
Mr. J. Francis (1967-78)
Mr. A. C. Dry (1979-)

<u>Head Boys</u>

I.Izzett (1960-2), W. Lowe (1963-4), G. Hockler (1965), C. Costello (1966), L. Visser (1967), J. Ellis (1968), W. Shepherd (1969), A. Crobler (1970), R. Holling (1971), C. Jordaan (1972), C. Szechenyi (1973), I. Noble (1974), P. de Klerk (1975), P. Geach (1976), E. Schebusch (1977), Q. van Graan (1978), J. Taylor (1979) and J. Mhonda (1980)

<u>Head Girls</u>

S. Townsend (1960-2), D. Souchon (1963), D. Casagrander (1964), M. Wheaton (1965), V. Cunnah (1966), M. Archibald, M. Irvine (1968), A. Papaelias (1969), J. Harvey (1970), M. Poole (1971), S. Kendall (1972), E. Hay (1973), C. Henderson (1974), N. van Graan (1975), B. Mitchell (1976), D. Maleham (1977), J. Godsmark (1978), F. Diboll (1979) and J. Spencer (1980)

(Source: MacLaren, 1981: 102)

9.4: Umtali Boys' High School

Headmasters

A. D. Gledhill (1954-55)
 K. M. Fleming (1956-70)
G. E. McGrath (1971-73)
 I. J. McLachlan (1974-77)
P. V. Kolbe (1978)

Head Boys

A.Ferreira (1954), I. McGulloch (1955), B. Bragge (1956), D. McDougall (1957), O. Nobert (1958), H. Stacey (1959), N. Sheppy (1960), C. Heymans (1961), T. Atkins (1962), A. Dryburgh (1963), G. Hobbins (1964), M. Springer (1965), L. de Swardt, W. Torrie, P. Palframan (1968), A. Gagiano (1969), J. Glendining (1970), D. Archibald (1971), F. Steyn (1972), D. Hoffman (1973), A. Hinwood (1974), I. Gwyther (1975), G. Cameron-Dow (1977) and J. Carroll (1978).

Beneficiaries of Scholarships

Name of Student	Scholarship and Year	Name of Student	Scholarhsip and Year
J. Smith	Government 1959	S. Gilmore	Churchill 1977
R. Oddy	Government 1963	E. Blaauw	De Beers 1968
A. Menne	Beit 1956	P. Welsh	Joseph Gordon 1973
M. Hilburn	Government 1967	F. Bleach	Messina Transvaal Development 1972
M. Warren	Anglo American 1968	P. Kockott	Rhodesia Fertilisers 1977
P. Weatherdon	African Explosives (1975)	K. Moors	Roberts Construction
V. Humphrey	Brunette and Partners 1974	P. Watkins	Salisbury City Council 1970

(Source: MacLaren, 1981: 304-305)

9.5: Chancellor Primary School

The following information about Chancellor Primary School projects that the school was exclusively for Europeans.

Staff List

Mr. G. Horsfield (Headmaster), Mr. P. Sinclair (Deputy Headmaster), Miss J. Smith (Senior Mistress), Mrs. C. M. Cent, Mrs. S. Hopkins, Mrs. V. Murphy, Miss E. Car, Mrs. C. van der Walt, Mrs. M. Provan, Mr. B. Morkel, Mrs. S. McDonald, Miss J. Wessels, Mrs. L. Low, Mrs. J. Hardman, Miss S. Mitchell, Miss L. Dunstan, Mr. J. Skillicorn and Mr. B. Muller.

Mrs. C. Langridge (Secreatary)

Mr. G. Isaac (Caretaker)

Names of selected pupils in different catogories

Jonathan Thompson (Head Boy), Gail Atherstone (Head Girl)

Prefects Body

Sean O'Shea, Jacobus de Klerk, Timothy Herdon, Terry Martin, Dean Burns, Fiona v.d. Westhuizen, Georgina de la Fosse, Gayle Pelser, Mary Sidnell, Elaine Theron, Patricia Crocker

House Captains

Rhodes

Captains:	D. Burns	E. Theron
Vice:	P. Norton	L. Easton

Jameson

Captains:	J. Thomson	H. Cloke
Vice:	T. Herdon	T. Yorath

Selous

Captains:	G. Papini	F. v. d. Westhuizen
Vice:	T. Martin	G. de la Fosse

Wilson

| Captains: M. de Kock | G. Atherstone |
| Vice: D. Harris | C. Clark |

School Colours Awards

Netball: G. de la Fosse, T. Yorath, G. Pelser
Hockey: T. Yorath, G. Meekin
Tennis: G. Atherstone
Cricket: T. Herdon, B. Bradford, W. Slack, J. Lamont
Athletics: G. Hammond
Soccer: T. Herdon, W. Slack
Rugby: K. de Klerk, G. Papini, N. van Wyk, B. Bradford, P. Terblanche
Swimming: G. Papini, J. Thomson, T. Yorath, C. Meekin, F. v. d. Westhuizen

(Source: Chanceclair- Chancellor Primary School Magazine, 1976)

9.6: Queen Elizabeth Girls School

G. A. Granelli was the Headmistress in 1959

Prefects

Ann Craford (Head Girl), Joan Kitto (Deputy Head Girl), Shiela Young (Games Captain), Ann Bean, Rosemary Ellis, Ann Gilchrist, Lorna Hull, Jennifer Hamer, Gillian Pye, Claire Rankin, Elizabeth Rowland, Barbara Staniland, Judith Todd and Margaret Yates.

Cambridge Overseas School Certificate 1959

F. Carter, J. Kirby, E. Rowland, J, Yates (8 credits)

A. Bloom, D. Gledhill, G. Johnson, P. Pountney, G. Pye, A. Scott (7 credits)

J. Anderson, C. Cowdy, V. Devine, G. Dods-Brookes, C. Dold, H. Finch, R. Fraser, A. Grimston, M. Hards, I. Heyman, M. McCulloch, V. Pennant-Rea, B. Staniland, G. Sykes and K. Trangmar (6 distinctions)

M. Bernard, A. Bloch, J. Chatwin, J. Dunn, J. Gilfillan, M. Greenfield, A. Hirschman, A. Johnsen, E. Salusbury, R. Trollip, P. Walker, M. Waller and M. Wayner (5 distinction)

L. Chisholm, B. Crowngold, A Kerr-Wilson and M. Richards (4 credits)

J. Downie-Brown, P. Littleton, M. Merryweather and S. Wise (3 credits)

(Queen Elizabeth School Magazine 1960: 8-9)

9.7: Hatfield Girls High School

Heads

Mr. T. Bullock (1955-59)
Miss I. Humphrey (1960-61)
Miss A. Greenshields (1962-69)
Mrs. C. Frizel (1970-80)

Head Girls

F. Glegg (1960), Y. Wright (1961), Y. Verlander (1962), B. Osborne (1963), M. Haumann (1964), L. Lawton (1965), E. Gordon (1967), S. Mercer (1967), Ashmore (1968), G. Strom (1969), B. Paxton (1970), S. Irving-Phillips (1971), C. Wilson (1972), M. Cadenhead (1973), C. Sullivan (1974), R. Barkley (1975), L. Richardson (1976), A. Donaldson (1977), A. du Toit (1978), E. Elliot (1979) and S. Parkes

Academic Honours

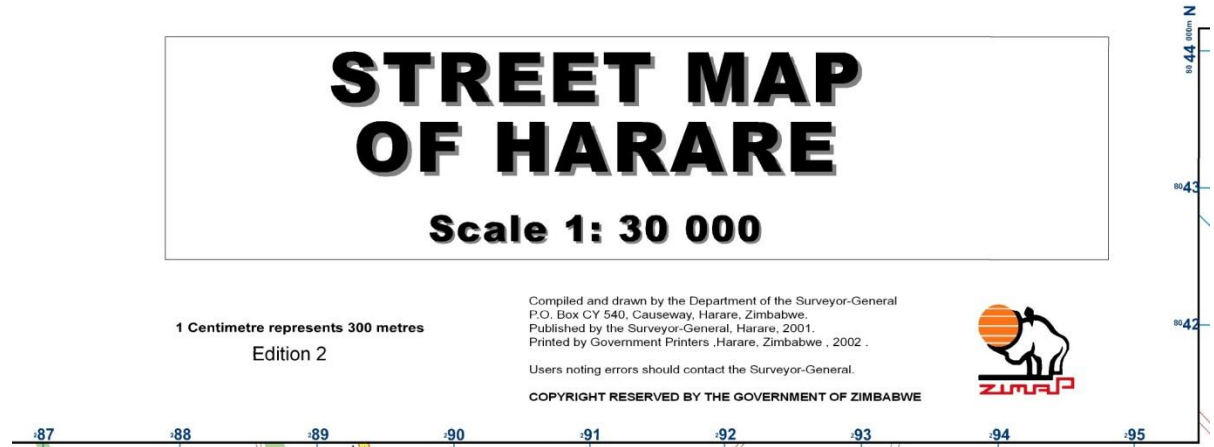| Year	C.O.P (Half Colours)	O' Levels (Colours)	M Level (Colours)
1970	C.Wilson	A. Williams	L. Cross S. Kerr
1971	P. Grace	S. Addison	F. Triaca
1972	S. Duncan	D. Anderson	S. Johnstone
1973	L. Jackson L. Phillip	C. Kerr A. Schevenius	L. Reeves
1974	B. Schultz	R. Barkley	I. Johannsen
1975	E. Halls	L. Ramsbotham A. Weeks	B. Barkley
1976	C. Wilson	F. Donaldson	D. Donaldson B. Heath
1977	D. Dalton	E. Bjorndal	R. Worrall
1978	F. Sharkey	K. Ambler A. Spalding	H. Kerr
1979	J. Hunt	L. Jensen	M. Ladbrooke
1980	T. Ferreira	R. Sims	L. Jensen

Scholarships

G. Crooks   Churchill Memorial Scholarship
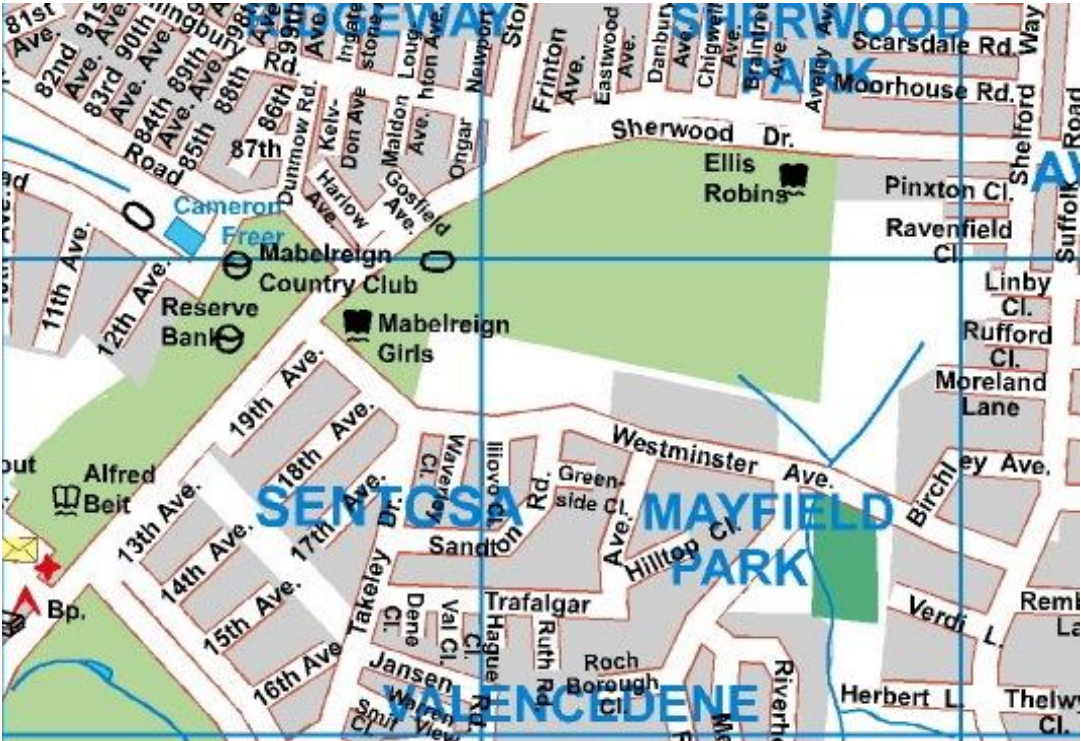L. Ramsbotham   Churchill Memorial Scholarhip

(Source: MacLaren, 1981: 70)

APPENDIX 10: BASE MAPS SHOWING DIALODICALITY BETWEEN SCHOOL NAMES AND OTHER PLACE NAMES
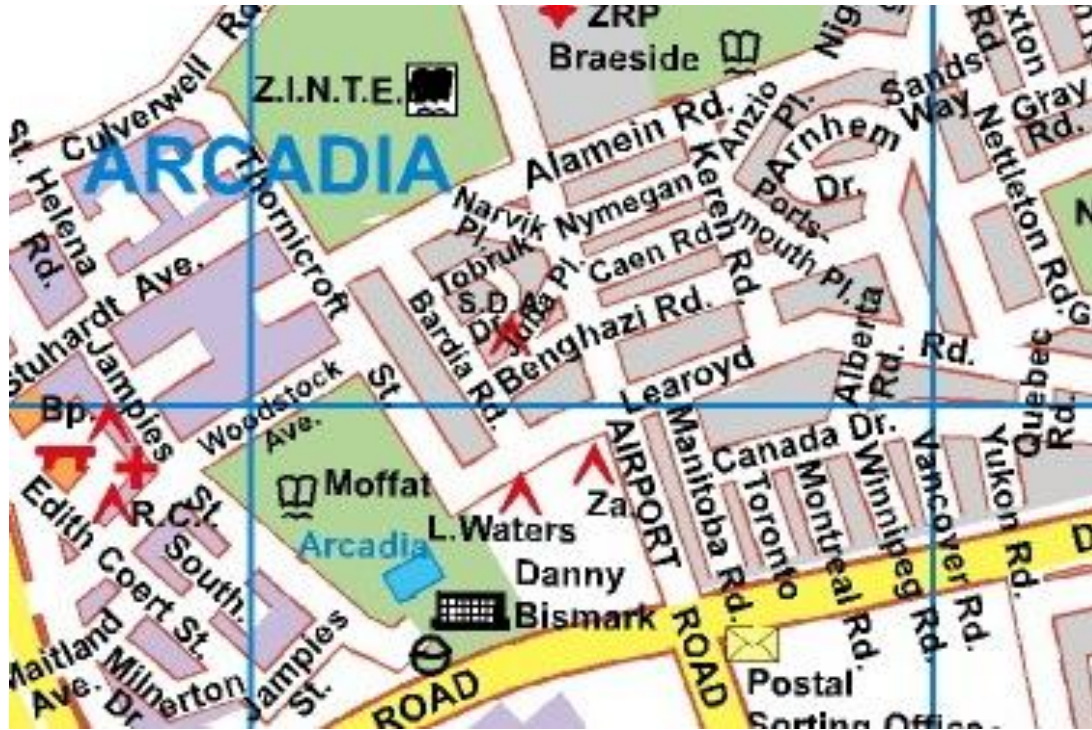
10.1 Street Map of Harare

STREET MAP OF HARARE

Scale 1: 30 000

1 Centimetre represents 300 metres

Edition 2

Compiled and drawn by the Department of the Surveyor-General
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Users noting errors should contact the Surveyor-General.

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10.2: Base map of Mabelreign

10:3: Base map of Mt. Pleasant

10.4: Base map of Arcadia

10.5: Base map of Harare

10.6: Base map of Dzivarasekwa