From Penhalonga to Nyaronga: Portuguese and Mozambican influence on Zimbabwean onomastics

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Abstract
Portuguese influence on naming systems in Zimbabwe and Mozambique can be traced as far back as the time when Vasco da Gama and other Portuguese sailors who first landed on the shores of East Africa. This paper focuses on the links of over 500 years of contact between Mozambique and Zimbabwe, on one hand, with the Portuguese on the other. The paper briefly examines research that has been done on Zimbabwean onomastics. While the influence of English on Zimbabwean onomastics has been discussed in some depth, less research has been done on the influence of Portuguese on Zimbabwean naming patterns and processes. Based on studies elsewhere, a classification is proposed for this discussion. Data are drawn from telephone directories, literature and historical texts. The paper looks at three categories of names: the personal name, the place name, and the war name. The names are discussed in three groups: first, the local names captured in Portuguese orthography then moved into an Anglophone environment. The second set has names borrowed from Portuguese and adapted into a local Zimbabwean language, Shona. The third set has Portuguese names that shifted into the Zimbabwean environment unchanged.
Background

Zimbabwe is a landlocked country in Southern Africa that is bound to the south by South Africa, Mozambique to the east, Zambia to the north and Botswana to the west. There has been continuing political and cultural contact between Zimbabwe and Mozambique over the centuries. The two countries share a long history that often renders the political boundary artificial. The border divides various ethnic groups that lie on either side stretching from the Chikunda in the Zambezi valley, the Budja and Korekore in the north east of the country, the Manyika and Ndau in the Eastern Highlands in the central part and the Shangaan and Venda in the Southeastern lowveld. Contact and interaction has been recorded for over one thousand years from the Bantu migrations in the Middle Ages, the rise of the Monomotapa and Rozwi dynasties, the first Portuguese traders and missionaries, the Nguni incursions of the early 19th century and European imperialism in the late 19th century as well as the liberation war in the middle of the 20th century (Beach, 1984; Ellert, 1993). Each of these contacts has spawned sets of Zimbabwean place names, personal names and lately war names that can be traced to links with Mozambique and its former imperial master, Portugal.

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

**Research on Names in Zimbabwe**

There has been limited research in onomastics Zimbabwe. In the colonial period there was some work by Marapara (1954), Sandes (1955) and other colonial administrators who acted as ethnographers and anthropologists. They published their work in *Native Affairs Department (NADA)*, an in-house journal of the then Native Affairs Department. They were of reports and case studies that were published regularly by Native Commissioners based on their interaction with the African population in the areas that they administered (Marapara, 1954: Sandes, 1955: Jackson, 1957).

This early literature raises some interesting points. For example, behind the grammatical structures embedded in the names were several layers of meanings that reflected social attitudes and political ideologies that were different from those of the researchers. In some of the interviews much meaning was lost between the interviewee and the recorder through the process of translation. Moreover, the researcher carried a different language with a different set of rules of grammar that s/he tried to fit into the language being studied.

The problems of translation and cultural context are partially resolved by another generation of scholars like Kahari (1990) and Pongweni (1983). Kahari has a detailed study of personal names and proposes seven categories of personal names that are closely linked to Shona culture. He also gives a synchronic analysis of some names and follows this with a glossary of the names. Pongweni’s (1983) seminal work is a major landmark in Zimbabwean onomastics. It is influenced by structural linguistics and like Kahari, his analysis of names is essentially synchronic. His work is also similar in some ways to Koopman’s (1984, 1990, 2002) studies of Zulu names and Neethling’s (1994) work on Xhosa names.

The third group includes contemporary scholars exploring new directions in Zimbabwean onomastics. Chitando (1998), influenced by theology and philosophy, opens up new possibilities in Zimbabwean onomastics as he examines the issue of African Christian names and postcolonial identities in Zimbabwe. Pfukwa (1998, 2007) also examines some war names used in the

South African research has also influenced this study so it has to be examined in brief. South African scholars have been very active in the last quarter of the last century and the research is spearheaded by scholars such as Koopman (1984, 1990); Raper (1987, 1994); Neethling (1994); Meiring (1994); Möller (1998) and Jenkins (1994). These have developed a platform upon which others like De Klerk and Bosch (1995); Haron (1999); Mabuza (1997); Molefe (1999) and Prabhakaran (1999) have built.

**A Scheme of Classification**

Classification is influenced by many factors and each meets a specific purpose. For example, names used in the colonial period are different from those used in the post colonial environment (Chitando, 1998). The location of the study is also important. For example, Pongweni's classification of Zimbabwean names is different from Koopman's (2002) study of Zulu names due to the differences in terms of geography and history. In this respect, Kimenyi's (1989) classification of Kinyarwanda and Kirundi names is different from that of Chitando's (1998) study of Shona Christian names or Prabhakaran's (1999) study of Telegu names. The names in this study have been divided into three categories, the place name, the personal name and the nickname and its subcategory, the war name.

**The Place name**

The place name is an important category in onomastic research. Place name study has strong traditions in national projects in the USA, Canada, Australia, Scandinavia, South Africa and Israel (McGoff, 2001). All these countries work closely with United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names (UNEGGN) which sets standards that all the other countries can follow. Place name research is an inexhaustible source of information for any onomastician. The work of Raper (1994), Möller (1998) and Meiring (1994) are important examples of how place name research can inform other onomastic categories.

Place names can be divided into two types: man-made features and natural features (Jenkins, 1991). Towns, villages, railway stations have their own onomastic characteristics and can be
easily changed over time. On the other hand, topographical features such as rivers or mountains tend to be more onomastically stable and closer to the languages of origin. In this paper, place names are discussed within this dual framework.

**The personal name**

Like other categories, the personal name is a social statement reflecting the bearer, the namer and the social environment in which the name is found. Within the category of personal names is a subcategory of names that are not formal, the nickname. The paper focuses on a small section of a subcategory within nicknames, war names (*noms de guerre*) which were used by guerrillas in the liberation war between 1966 and 1979.

**The nickname**

McDowell (1981) defines the nickname as “another name” and Reany (1967) points out that the word nickname is derived from “eke-name” meaning additional name. He argues that it is an elastic term used for a name or a description which is added to a proper name. Van Langendonck, cited by Neethling (1994), links the nickname to the German *beiname*, the Dutch *bijnaam*, Swedish *binamn*. Koopman (2002) adds an extra dimension when he links nicknames to praise poetry, which is very common in many African communities. The nickname actually carries a lot of information compared to other names since it reflects the most relevant and most current attributes of the bearer (Brandes, 1975: McDowell, 1981). The nicknames discussed in this paper are war names that were used by Zimbabwean guerrillas during the liberation war (Pfukwa 2007). Pfukwa (2007) observes that guerrillas dropped their official names and adopted war names for different reasons but mainly to conceal their identities.

**The Sources of the names**

The names were collected from different secondary sources and this approach is common in onomastic research as seen in the work of Allen (1990), Kahari (1983), de Klerk and Bosch (1995) and De Klerk (1998). For personal names, some researchers such as De Klerk and Bosch (1995) and Prabhakaran (1999) have used telephone directories. Others have consulted hospital
records, registers in government departments, voters’ rolls, name dictionaries and school registers (Prabhakaran 1999, Allen 1990). Musere and Byakutaga (1998) have used school registers, factories, hospitals, clan records and court histories. The Native American Place names of the United States (NAPUS) Project (Bright, 2004) has used similar sources and serves as a further example of current research in the collection of names.

Place names in this study were drawn from the *Philips Atlas for Southern Africa* and Ellert’s (1993) *Rivers of Gold*. The personal names were drawn from the *Zimbabwean Telephone Directory of 1998*. The list is not exhaustive but the names captured reflect Mozambican and Portuguese links on the Zimbabwean onomastic landscape. Ellert's *Rivers of Gold* (1993) is a valuable historiography that traces Portuguese/Mozambican and Zimbabwean links over 500 years. The war names are drawn from a list compiled by the Zimbabwean Ministry of Information in 1983 on guerrillas who lost their lives in the Zimbabwean Liberation war (1966-79). These war names are from one of the two major guerrilla armies, Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army, therefore all the data discussed and conclusions reached here refer to Zimbabwe African National Union and Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army and cannot be said to be representative of the other guerrilla army, Zimbabwe People’s Revolutionary Army.

**Results**

**Table 1 : The Sources of Names**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Zimbabwean Telephone Directory</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>56.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ellert</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>13.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ministry of Information</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>18.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Atlas and other historical sources</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>10.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>163</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1 shows that a total of 163 names were collected and the breakdown of the sources is given. Personal names came from *The Telephone Directory* and Ellert (1993). The war names came from the Ministry of Information booklet and from Ellert (1993). The place names came from the Atlas. The table shows that the directory yielded over half of the names and these happen to be personal names. This list is not exhaustive for two reasons. There are other names.
that were probably overlooked in the process of scanning the directory. A detailed search might yield many more names. Secondly, there are many people who do not own telephones, and their names are likely to appear in other registers such as hospitals, schools and voters’ rolls.

Table 2: Names per Category

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The personal name</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The place name</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The war name</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2 shows that over two thirds (69%) of the names collected are personal names. This because they are contemporary, they are in current use and were taken from an easily available source, the telephone directory. However, other sources could yield a wider range of names. The place names (comprising only 11% of the names) were more difficult to get and were taken up mainly from the atlas. However, more names can be obtained from ordinance survey maps which carry more topographical information. Obviously this is fertile ground for future place name research. The third category (war names) was also low (20%). These names were the most difficult to obtain. These were selected from a wider collection of war names that was compiled for another study (Pfukwa 2007). This category has been deliberately included because it is a testimony of the continuing interaction between the two countries. The full lists of the names per category are attached in the Appendix.

Table 3:
The onomastic processes that have affected the names

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Names from Portuguese modified by Shona orthography, phonology, morpho -syntactic rules</th>
<th>Shona/Nguni names modified by Portugues orthography, phonology, morpho -syntactic rules</th>
<th>Portuguese names that remain unchanged</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>


Table 3 shows the different onomastic processes that have produced the names. There are three groups of names where in one group are Portuguese names that have been adapted and absorbed into Zimbabwean languages. The second set has Shona/Nguni names that have been adapted by Portuguese speakers. Names in this group are often place names. The third set are unchanged Portuguese names which are found in the Zimbabwean community and these are mainly personal names. The different categories of the names are discussed in some detail below.

Discussion

Personal names

The personal names in this study have been subdivided into two sets. A few examples from each set are discussed briefly. The first set includes names that were borrowed directly from the Portuguese language and have not undergone any morpho-syntactic changes. Within this group are names of Portuguese immigrants who settled in Zimbabwe after 1975 when Frelimo took over in Mozambique. They use the Portuguese names in their original form, for example, and Afonso, Pino, Machado, Paiva, Pinto, Ribeiro, Silveira and Ferreira.

Joao Afonso was a Zimbabwean heavy weight boxer of the 1970s and he was nicknamed "Tar Baby". Currently, there is another boxer who carries a first name of Mozambican origin, Afonso Zvenyika. Emmanuel Ribeiro is a priest who wrote Shona novels in the 1970s. There is a prominent family in the eastern border city of Mutare that also carries the name Pinto and there is a building contractor known as Machado in Harare. Pino's is a restaurant in central Harare well known for its Portuguese cuisine. According to Vail and White (1997), Paiva was a Portuguese prazeiro of the 19th Century, noted for his cruelty towards the local population. Ellert
(1993) traces the name Paiva to a Captain J. C. Paiva de Andrade, a Portuguese soldier who carried out military campaigns in central Mozambique in 1889.

The second set includes names that were adopted from Portuguese and have been adapted into the local varieties. In the process of adaptation they retained their phonology but modified the orthography. For example, the morpheme Cae- in Caetano was changed to Kai- producing the name Kaitano. Similarly -nhã in canhão was adapted to –nya while c- was replaced by k- hence the name Kanyau. In this group are names such as Guveya, Kaitano, Kapitau, Luwizhi, Purazi and Sinyoro.

Gouveia was a Portuguese trader who lived in the northeast of the country near the Zambezi valley in the late 19th century and his agents were called goveyas (Ellert, 1983). Ellert points out that Gouveia was of mixed breed and over the generations his descendents are now Shona people. It has been accepted as a Shona surname, spelt as Guveya or as Kuvheya. Kaitano, from Caetano, is also a common family name in the northeastern part of the country especially in the Zambezi valley (Ellert 1993). The name originated from a Portuguese trader called Caetano and went through morphological processes similar to those found in Gouveia. The surname Luwizhi is derived from Luis and is alternatively spelt as Ruwizhi. Purazi is from prazo which is the Portuguese for the lease or title to a piece of land and has several alternative spellings, such as Purazi, Purazeni and Puraze. Sinyoro is a full Shona name used by the Njanja clan of Wedza. It has an interesting history. Derived from the Portuguese senhor, meaning ‘lord’ or ‘master’, it has been used in the Zimbabwean Shona community for centuries and is a title of respect. Ellert (1993:174) explains the importance of Sinyoro as a symbol of status in Mozambique:

In Mozambique, an African who has attended three years of primary schooling is referred to as Sinyoro in recognition of his education and hence elevated status above the illiterate.

Other common Zimbabwean surnames include Vashiko, Vinyu, Zhuwaki and Zhuwawo. The Zimbabweans have retained the phonological attributes but modified the orthography to suit the local language. Vashiko is clearly derived from Vasco. Vinyu is derived from the Portuguese word vinho meaning ‘wine’. Zhuwaki and Zhuwakinyu are a modification of the name
Joachim, while Zhuwawo, Zhuwau, Zhuao are all derived from João and Zuze is derived from Jose.

These are official names that appear in various registers such as births and deaths, identity cards and other legal documents. It is widely agreed that once names have been made official, they attain some permanent status even when time and other variables render them opaque. These few personal names discussed reveal the dynamics of language and how it assimilates words and phrases from other languages.

The Place name

A few names are discussed in some detail here to illustrate the Zimbabwean - Mozambican links. Bileni is a common place name in Ndau oral literature where it is spelt Biyeni and it is also found in some literature that covers Zimbabwean and Mozambican history (Fortune 1989, Abbot, Lowe and Mundeta: not dated). The origins of Bileni are not clear but it is an area in southern Mozambique. The exact geographical extent of the area varies according to the particular writer. For the local people it is the area just north of Maputo where the Limpopo flows into the Indian Ocean. It has been often linked with the Nguni dynasty of Soshangana, Mzila and Ngungunyana. Praia do Bilene is part of this vast territory that was once controlled by Soshangana and his successors for most of the 19th Century.

After fleeing from Chaka in Natal, Soshangana Nxumayo settled in southern Mozambique around 1836 and established the Gaza kingdom. The core of his state was the area that came to be called Bileni. At its greatest extent, Soshangana’s influence stretched as far north as the Zambezi River and was bound on the south by the Limpopo River. To the west the territory was bound by the Save River. There were satellite kingdoms that sent him tribute, such as the Ndau chiefs Musikavanhu and Mtema along the Save river. In his forays north of Bileni Soshangana settled briefly at the source of the Budzi River at the southern tip of the eastern highlands in modern Zimbabwe. He went back south to Bileni where he died in 1861. His successor, Mzila, also shuttled between the northern capital in the highlands and the southern capital in Bileni. Today there is a village called Mzila near Mt Selinda Mission.

The last Nguni king of the Gaza kingdom was Ngungunyana, the son of Mzila. Like his father he entertained Portuguese officers at his court and they dissuaded him from granting concessions to American and British missionaries in the 1880s (Fortune 1989). He lived briefly
in the northern part of his realm near the Budzi River and then migrated to his southern capital Mandlangazi (the power of blood). The Portuguese modified this to Manjacaze and this is the name that appears in official documents. Ngungunyana was in Bileni when the partition of Africa took place in 1884 and the Gaza kingdom was split in half. Most of the northwestern part was taken by the British and the southeastern lowlands became part of Portuguese East Africa. The Portuguese finally defeated Ngungunyana in 1895 and he was sent to exile in the Azores where he died in 1906. One of the last tropical African forests in the eastern highlands of Zimbabwe is called the Ngungunyana Forest.

The Nguni dynasty left a lasting onomastic legacy in Zimbabwe and Mozambique. The people of Gazaland are called Shangaans or Machangana after its founder Soshangana. Today there is a Gazaland District in the Zimbabwean part of the former Nguni kingdom. And people from this area are still called people from Gazaland. There are several schools in the district that have taken the name Gazaland. The name is also found in Harare where there are certain sectors of the city that also carry the name. In Southern Mozambique there is the Gaza province which stretches from Save River to the Limpopo River and it covers most of what was Ngungunyana's kingdom. In the Zimbabwean Liberation War, the ZANLA guerrillas divided the Mozambican front into three main operational zones which were named after the Mozambican provinces, Gaza in the south, Manica in the centre and Tete in the north.

Manicaland is the official title of the eastern province of Zimbabwe which is bound in the north by the Ruangwa River and the Nyanga mountains. The provincial capital Mutare lies in a valley that separates the northern part of the eastern highlands from the southern ranges of Vumba and Chimanimani. The province is bound to the south by the point where the Save flows into Mozambique. To the west it is bound by the Save River and the Odzi River.

The place name Manicaland can be traced back to the 17th Century (Lan 1985, Beach 1984). Portuguese chroniclers recording Manyika names used Portuguese orthography and an English speaking chronicler recorded the same name using English orthography. The Portuguese recorded the area as “Manica” because their orthography failed to accommodate the local form: Manyika. This Lusophone version became the standard over the centuries and has become the official form used in maps, title deeds and all official documents as well as in standard Shona.

When the British came into the country they made another modification to the name by adding a suffix to denote toponymic qualities. They took up the Portuguese form Manica and added -
land to denote the land of the Manyika speaking people just like they created Matabeleland and Mashonaland. It was the form Manicaland that found its way into atlases, title deeds court records and other official documents. The work of Doke and later Fortune ratified its existence and since then nobody has ever questioned it.

Kaitano, is a village in the Mutoko-Mudzi area which was probably derived from the anthroponym Caetano. The name Kaitano is evidence of the centuries of Portuguese trade in northern Zimbabwe (Ellert, 1993: Lan,1985). This is a good example of a Portuguese name that was modified to suit Shona phonology and orthography. The converse also occurred when the Portuguese modified Shona names such as Masekesa to suit their phonology and orthography.

Twenty kilometres north of Mutare the provincial capital of Manicaland is a small gold mining village called Penhalonga. Penhalonga is the Portuguese for Long Rocks. Twenty kilometres across the border on the Mozambican side is a village called Nyaronga. There seems to be some link between the two places. Nyaronga is the probably the local name of the area which was adapted from the Portuguese form Penhalonga but research still has to confirm this. Along the Mutare-Beira route is another small village called Macequece, which was a modification of the local name Masekesa. Ellert (1993) also calls this place Chipangura. Silveira is an important place name on the Zimbabwean landscape especially for the Catholic community. Prominent among these is Silveira Mission in Masvingo Province in Central Zimbabwe and Silveira House, a Catholic Training Centre just outside Harare.

War Names
The war names are the latest addition in the long history of Mozambican/Portuguese-Zimbabwean cultural contact over the centuries. The names discussed here are drawn from a longer list of war names that were used by guerrillas based in Mozambique during the liberation war (Pfukwa 2007). These names were used by ZANLA guerrillas, one of the two major guerrilla armies. The other guerrilla army, ZIPRA, operated from Zambia and had little interaction with Mozambique. From 1972, ZANLA launched operations from northern Mozambique into northeastern Zimbabwe and causing considerable strain on the Rhodesian army. There was a shortlived ceasefire in 1975, followed by renewed hostilities early in 1976 as ZANLA opened new fronts along the whole Mozambican border. Zimbabwean youth streamed into Mozambique in their thousands for military training and for security reasons they had to
assume pseudonyms to conceal their identity (Pfukwa 2007). In the process some took up names that were connected to the host nation. A few examples are discussed here and a full list is attached in the Appendix.

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

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

Viva is the Portuguese for "long live" and the word found its way into guerrilla nicknames such as Viva Gidi meaning “long live the gun” or Viva Chimurenga meaning “long live the struggle”.

Another set of war names from celebrated Mozambican, Angolan and Portuguese leaders. This included names such as Moses Machel, Ndugu Samora, and Samora Machel all based on the name of the first President of Mozambique Samora Machel. Others were inspired by the Portuguese General Antonio Spinola who masterminded the 1974 coup in Lisbon and they took up the name Spinola. Savimbi drew inspiration from Jonas Savimbi when Unita was still fighting the Portuguese.
Conclusion

The data discussed shows that when names move from one language to another they go through lexical, orthographic, phonological or syntactic modification. This process is usually given various descriptions: language purists call it corruption, linguists will suggest it is adaptation or "transliteration" (Haron, 1999) others will call it transformation. Haron (1999:24) captures the essence of the argument well: “Depending upon one’s linguistic background one is prone to spell the name according the language one was brought up in”. De Klerk (1998:1) expresses similar views when she observes that:

Nicknames are acquired informally and offer a rare example of people using language creatively, free from normal phonological and semantic constraint…and … offer an opportunity to speakers to display a touch of linguistic invention, to break away and get away with it.

While De Klerk was only referring to nicknames, the proposition can also be extended to other onomastic categories like the place names and personal names that have been discussed here.

It can be argued that social and historical circumstances surrounding the name are a very important indicator of naming processes and naming patterns in multicultural communities. Some of the names are more complex in that they predate colonialism and some of them have been fully assimilated into the local language. Others are related to the increased European presence in the 19th century, who by naming a place claimed it for the imperial power (Wittenburg 2000, Squire 1996, Meiring 2002). These names were then rendered permanent by cadastral processes which make it difficult and costly to change the place names as written even where they are modifications of the original.

This paper has traced some of the historical and cultural circumstances surrounding certain names of Portuguese origin in Zimbabwe. It has observed that these multicultural links have left a permanent image on the Zimbabwean onomastic landscape. Tracing these names, their origins and historical evolution is narrating and rewriting the spatial history of a subcontinent in postcolonial terms. It is an effort to redraw cultural and social boundaries in a manner that is most relevant and most useful to the peoples of the region.
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*Note. A version of this paper was presented at conference at the university of Zimbabwe, Harare in 2006. It also draws from Pfukwa C. 2009.

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**Appendix**

**A glossary of the names**

Not all names have been given glosses. These names need further research.

**The personal names**

1. **Adolfo**
2. **Afonso Tar Baby**: A Zimbabwean boxer
3. **Afonso Zvenyika**: A Zimbabwean boxer
4. **Alumenda**
5. **Amandulani**
6. **Andifasi**
7. **Andrea**: the English equivalent is Andrew. There was a Renamo leader who had this name.
8. **Andreya**: as in 7
9. Andrigu
10. Antonio
11. Arimando: a character in Zimbabwean comedy
12. Arumando
13. Chari/jari: a shawl or tasseled rug; This is a common name among the Shona probably derived from the Indian word *sari*.
14. Dinyero: Portuguese for coin
15. Feriera
16. Fernando
17. Ferraza
18. Fura
19. Guveya: a Shona surname originally derived from the Portuguese name Gouveia
20. Joao Afonso: A Zimbabwean Boxer in the 1970s nicknamed Tar Baby (see 2)
22. Kaitano Tembo: A prominent Zimbabwean sportsman
23. Kalembo
24. Kalitsilo
25. Kandiero/Kandiyero
26. Kapitau: from the Portuguese equivalent of captain
27. Katandika
28. Konde
29. Kuveya: similar to Guveya
30. Luciano
31. Luwizhi: derived from Lewis or Louis.
32. Mafodhla: From Portuguese term for leaf
33. Mafodya
34. Majoshola
35. Makarau: macarão/macaroni
36. Makarawo: see 35
37. Makwinji
38. Malindi
39. Maliseliwo
40. Mandula Mafiosi
41. Mapira
42. Mapurazi : From prazo
43. Mariko : Mark
44. Mario
45. Maripira
46. Masoapatali
47. Masocha
48. Masoha
49. Mathazi
50. Mazhero
51. Mazhina Mbondia
52. Milanzi
53. Minezhi
54. Miranzi
55. Mirisau
56. Misanjo
57. Missanga
58. Missau
59. Monteiro
60. Moreira
61. Mozalande
62. Musomali
63. Muzungu: European, the word is used widely in Central Africa and as far north as Uganda. (See 102)
64. Pachirera
65. Paiva: A Portuguese prazo trader of the late 19th Century
66. Paulo : Paul
67. Pensao
68. Perezo
69. Perreira
70. Piloto : pilot
71. Pinho: A Zimbabwean restaurant noted for its Portuguese cuisine
72. Pinto
73. Puraze
74. Purazeni
75. Purazi
76. Razau : Lazarus
77. Retso
78. Ribeiro
79. Ricardo : Richard
80. Rodrigues
81. Rupiya : coin, probably from the Indian word rupee.
82. Ruwisi : Louis
83. Ruwizhi : Louis
84. Ruzario : Rosary
85. Sabao
86. Sabau
87. Sabawu
88. Sabuneti
89. Sabuni
90. Sahero
91. Salifu
92. Salimolu
93. Silva :
94. Silveira : Silveira house - a Jesuit mission near Harare
95. Sinyoro : A Shona totem  derived from the Portuguese senhor
96. Spazzou
97. Tizora
98. Tsapata
99. Usanga

100. Vashiko : Vasco
101. Vazhibere
102. Vazungu : Plural form of muzungu (see 63)
103. Vhinyu : wine
104. Yafele
105. Zhanero : January
106. Zhuao : Joao
107. Zhuwaki : Joaquim
108. ZHUWAKINYU : Joaquim
109. Zhuwawo : Joao
110. Zhuwawu : Joao
111. Zhuzheya: probably Jose
112. Zikayo
113. Zitole

2 Place names

1. Bileni: This was part of Soshangana’s southern kingdom that covered most of the area between Save and Limpopo.

2. Feira (Fair/trading station/Market) the lowest point in Zambia, just at the point where Zambezi flows into Mozambique. The Portuguese established many feiras in Zimbabwe before the Nguni incursions.

3. Kaitano: Place name in the north-eastern part of Zimbabwe derived from the Portuguese name Caetano. Is a common Zimbabwean personal name.

4. Gazaland: This was the Nguni Kingdom established by Soshangana around 1836. It was divided into the northern part which had its capital at the headwaters of Budzi river and the southern part which had the capital Mandlangazi.
5. **Gaza Province**: This is the southern province in Mozambique. It was also the southern zone of ZANLA operations (a rough equivalent of the Rhodesian "Operation Tangent").

6. **Macequece**: It is a village between Mutare and Chimoio. The traditional name is Masekesa but the Portuguese modified it to Macequece.

7. **Vila de Manica**: A small town between Mutare and Chimoio in Mozambique.

8. **Manicaland**: This is the land of the Manyika speaking people on the Zimbabwean side. It is the eastern province of Zimbabwe.

9. **Manica Province**: The land of the Manyika on the Mozambican side. It is the central province in Mozambique.

10. **Manjacaze**: Orignally **Mandlangazi**, Zulu term meaning “power of blood”. This was Ngungunyana's capital in **Bileni**.

11. **Musirizwi**: This is a river in the eastern highlands whose source is near that of Budzi River.

12. **Mzila**: Soshangana's successor. This is a village near Mt Selinda near the source of Musirizwi River.

13. **Penhalonga**: A small town 20 kms north of Mutare, possibly named after Count Penhalonga.

14. **Nyaronga**: A village adjacent to Penhalonga on the Mozambican side of the border.

15. **Gogoya**: A village in Mozambique. It is also the name of a tuber that is widely cultivated in the vleis of the eastern highlands of Zimbabwe and in Mozambique.

16. **Pungwe**: A river that rises in the mountains of Nyanga and flows into Mozambique.

17. **Save**: A river that rises in Central Zimbabwe and flows into Mozambique in the Gaza province.

18. **Gaeresi**: A river whose source is in Nyanga and flows eastwards into Mozambique.

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**3. The war names**

All glosses are Shona unless indicated

1. **Bennias Makasha**: Makasha is derived from the Portuguese word *caixha* meaning box.

2. **Bomb Kanyau**: Kanyau is from the Portuguese word *canôn* meaning artillery. In this case it referred specifically to the 75 mm recoiless rifle. (see Pfukwa 2007).

3. **Dhozhi Dhozhi**: derived from the Portuguese numeral *dois* meaning two.
4. **Douglas Tangawaona Povo**: Povo is the Portuguese for peasant and the name can be translated as, "Douglas see the peasants first".

5. **Ferigo**: Portuguese for "danger", a common sign on petrol tanks on the railway line.

6. **George Tom Makasha**: See 1.

7. **John Kachasu**: Kachasu is derived from the Portuguese word *cachaca* meaning alcoholic drink. In Shona it has come to mean an illicit brew with a high alcoholic content.

8. **Joseph Maputo**: Maputo is the capital city of Mozambique.

9. **Kachasu Mparadzi**: The name means "Kachasu is a destroyer".

10. **Kachasu Chibuku**: (see 7) Chibuku is a commercial brand of opaque beer brewed in Zimbabwe.

11. **Kanyau**: See 2

12. **Kanyau Hakatangwi**: The recoiless rifle is not tampered with.

13. **Kanyau Takawira**: Takawira was the name of a prominent Zimbabwean politician who died in detention in 1970.

14. **Kanyau Tarirai**: Look out for the canon.

15. **Komboherayi Nyaya Yepovo**: Bless the matter of the peasants.

16. **Maputo Garai Tichatonga**: Maputo stay, we shall rule."

17. **Moses Machel**: The guerrilla leader who became the first president of Mozambique.

18. **Ndugu Samora**: *Ndugu* is a Swahili honorific term of address for important people.

19. **Nyama Kanyau**: *Nyama* is the Shona word for meat.

20. **Nyedis Makasha**: Meaning of Nyedis is unknown…probably a spelling error.

21. **Povo Tichatonga**: We the peasants shall rule.

22. **Richard Otenda Dhozhi**: Otenda Dhozhi is a modification of the Portuguese numeral *oitenta-e-dois* (eighty two) and this was the name given to an artillery piece, the 82 mm mortar.

23. **Samora Machel**: See 18

24. **Samora Tapambwa**: Samora we have been captured.

25. **Santo Mauto**: Santo was a modification of "dos Santos". In the recording of the name probably the word "dos" was lost.

26. **Savimbi Saranuwando**: After Jonas Savimbi the Angolan guerrilla leader. The meaning of Saranuwando is not known, it is probably a spelling error.
27. **Shungu Kanyau**: Determination of the canon.

28. **Spinola Gumbukirai**: Spinola be annoyed. Spinola was the Portuguese general who staged the coup in 1974 in Portugal.

29. **Tere Kanyau**: Tere is probably a spelling error of another word.

30. **To Santo**: Probably a corruption of *Dos Santos*.

31. **Viva Chimurenga**: “Viva” was the war cry meaning “long live”. In this case it is “long live the liberation struggle.”

32. **Viva Gidi**: Long live the gun.