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RESEARCH REPORT

**A RESOURCE INVENTORY OF INDIGENOUS AND
TRADITIONAL FOODS IN ZIMBABWE ***

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IN THE PAST, food security strategies of traditional societies were based on reliance on a wide variety of foods and diversification of activities related to food procurement, as exemplified by the hunter-gatherers (Jelliffe *et al.*, 1962; Scudder, 1971). A high proportion of such foods consisted of wild food resources of plants and animals while others were naturally selected, climatically adapted, domesticated species. In modern rural communities, a number of factors have combined to cause a shift away from the broad and diversified traditional food resources base. This narrowing of the food base has been seen as a major cause of increased vulnerability to climate- or weather-related food shortages. This is specially significant in the low-rainfall regions of Southern Africa where drought is not merely cyclical but endemic in some areas.

Economic and technological growth debilitates traditional cultural values and food habits, leading to a reduction in the use of traditional food resources. Plantation-scale agriculture and cash-cropping similarly result in physical and ecological changes that lead to the decline and ultimate extinction of several species of food plants and animals. Breeding and selection have also led to a narrowing of the gene pool and the propagation of monocultures. More serious than the physical decline and loss of traditional food resources through a combination of the above-mentioned factors is the loss of a vast and ancient legacy of knowledge in identifying and recognizing these resources and of the often elaborate traditional technologies for their utilization.

In Zimbabwe, there is evidence that with the expansion of organized agriculture, and the land clearing and deforestation resulting from increasing fuel-wood demands, several species of wild fruit and vegetable plants are rapidly disappearing from the rural dietary. In a survey carried out in Masvingo province (Kaeser-Hancock and Gomez, 1985) it was found that communal farmers recognized the names of certain wild fruit trees but no longer consumed the fruit owing to the disappearance of these species from the natural vegetation. In another survey, 76 per cent of women interviewed in Chiweshe, Matibi and Tsholotsho reported infrequent consumption of fruit, having only a scarce supply of wild fruit and being unable to afford marketed fruit for their families (Owen, 1982). Campbell (1985), however, observed that in three locations in Natural Regions II, III and IV selective conservation of more favoured fruit trees was

* This resource inventory is also available as a separate publication. Enquiries should be addressed to the Publications Officer, University of Zimbabwe.

practised by communal farmers during land clearing for cultivation and that deforestation did not appear to affect the abundance of the more favoured species of fruit trees. These latter findings reflect the importance and central role of fruit trees as a food resource in the diets of rural populations and reinforce the need to preserve these resources through systematic study, documentation and domestication.

Several other studies support the importance of wild plants in the traditional African diet (Fleuret, 1979; Tallantire and Goode, 1975). However, other foods such as traditional beers, insects and fruit wines are not as well researched and documented. The development and exploitation of these valuable food resources through improved production practices, storage, preservation and utilization technologies is dependent on a recognition and identification of these foods and on systematic studies directed towards exploiting their potential. It is to be recognized that such food resources have been adapted over several years to the food habits, tastes and needs of traditional societies and to the agro-ecological situations where they occur.

It is imperative, therefore, that efforts are made to investigate and document the lesser-known food resources of plant and animal origin and to conserve those with promising and proven food potential, to improve the yield and quality of these foods through documentation, selection and breeding, and to expand utilization through appropriate technologies. It is equally important to preserve the traditional knowledge — which has hitherto been an oral heritage — in a more durable form for propagation through more systematic and widespread channels such as extension and training.

As an initial step in this direction, the identification and collation of these lesser-known food resources in the form of an inventory or check-list was perceived as a critical need for the development of a data base for planning conservation and improvement strategies. The resource inventory, while not a complete or comprehensive listing of all traditional foods of Zimbabwe, is representative of the variety, diversity and range of food resources used in traditional diets and provides a classified basis for cumulative growth.

The inventory includes several foods that are not essentially 'indigenous' (of local origin) but which have become part of the traditional diet. These include, for example, maize and rape. The inclusion of these items was considered essential for representing a more complete perspective of the present-day traditional diets. On the other hand, several tropical domesticated/cultivated species such as avocado, pawpaw and mango have been omitted from the listing since they are introduced species that generally do not contribute significantly to rural diets. Certain of these species, such as loquat, mango and mulberry, however, have in some regions become 'naturalized' and are frequently encountered in the vegetation bordering forests and roadsides.

No attempt has been made in the inventory to differentiate the nomenclatures in the various dialects (e.g. Karanga, Manyika, etc.), nor is the listing based on regional or ethnic food habits or preferences; it seeks simply to identify the food item by its English, local (Shona and Ndebele), and scientific name.

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PLANT FOODS

CEREALS

Description	Name			Preparation and use
	Scientific	Shona	Ndebele	
Maize	<i>Zea mays</i>			
white, whole grain				
dry		chibage; mangai	umumbu	Boiled whole or milled into flour.
dry, popped		maputi	amaputi	Roasted or popped.
green		chibahwe	umumbu	Roasted or boiled.
green		mafushe	ufutho	Boiled and dried.
green		mutindifu		Pounded, dried and ground into meal. ¹
green, on the cob		chinyoko		Roasted on cob.
samp			itshwswana	Degerminated broken grain.
grits/mealie rice		munhuchu	umngqutshu; amatshakada	Pounded in mortar ² and boiled.
meal				
straight run (wholemeal)		upfu	impuphu	Whole meal, ground commercially or in hammer-mills with removal of bran.
home-ground or mill-ground		mugayiwa	ungayiwa; iphalitsha	Whole grain, soaked and stone-ground.
home-ground		mutibu		Whole grain soaked and dried, then pounded into meal in mortar. ²
meal/flour				
roller-milled		upfu	impuphu	Commercially milled and degerminated, roller-milled and sifted.
super-refined		Ngwerewere™	impuphu ecoekileyo	Commercially milled and refined.
Finger millet	<i>Eleusine coracana</i>			
whole grain (rapoko)		rukweza	uphoko	Milled into flour, malted, or used as a brewing adjunct.

¹ Consumed only when dry maize is exhausted.

² 'Duri' in Shona.

Description	Name			Preparation and use
	Scientific	Shona	Ndebele	
Finger millet (cont.)				
flour		rukweza	imphuphu yophoko	Stone-ground and used in the preparation of porridge.
malted		chimera	imthombo	Whole grain, germinated, sun-dried, ground and used in brewing.
wild		ndenene		Stone-ground and used in the preparation of porridge.
Pearl millet	<i>Pennisetum typhoides</i>			
whole grain		mhunga	inyawuthi	Milled into flour, malted, or used as a brewing adjunct.
whole grain flour		mutsoonono mhunga	impuphu yenyawuthi	Cooked without being ground. Stone-ground and used in the preparation of porridge.
malted		chimera	imthombo	Whole grain, germinated, sun-dried, ground and used in brewing.
Rice	<i>Oryza sativa</i>			
whole grain				
white or brown		mupunga	irayisi	Boiled.
brown			ingqoloyi	Boiled.
Sorghum	<i>Sorghum vulgare</i>			
white or red				
whole grain				
dry		mapfunde	amabele	Milled into flour, malted, or used as a brewing adjunct.
dry		muchakanya		Boiled without grinding.
dry, malted		chimera		Whole grain, germinated, dried and ground. Used in brewing or in the preparation of porridge.

CEREALS (cont.)

Description	Name			Preparation and use
	Scientific	Shona	Ndebele	
Sorghum (cont.)				
flour		mapfunde	impuphu yamabele	Hulled and stone-ground, used in the preparation of porridge.
Edible grasses				
—		uswa		Seeds/grain edible.
—		hoka		Seeds/grain edible.
—		chisekwe		Seeds/grain edible.
—		bunga		Seed ground into meal in famine years.
LEGUMES, NUTS and OILSEEDS				
Cow pea (Black-eyed pea)	<i>Vigna unguiculata</i>			
dry		nyemba	indumba	Boiled.
green		mukove		Cooked in pod.
Broad-bean/peanut	<i>Arachis hypogea</i>			
whole				
dry		nzungu	amazambane	Boiled, roasted or ground into paste.
dry		dovi	idobi	Roasted and stone-ground.
oil		mafuta enzungu; madevere		Oil extracted from ground paste.
Marula nut kernels	<i>Sclerocarya caffra</i>	shomhwe; ³ usomo ⁴	inkelu	Edible kernel eaten per se or roasted.

³ General term for edible or oil-containing kernel.

⁴ Soft kernel of any nut, though especially of marula.

Description	Name			Preparation and use
	Scientific	Shona	Ndebele	
Melon seed	<i>Citrullus lanatus</i>	mhodzi dze magaka		Edible kernel eaten per se, ground into paste or mixed with other foods.
Pigeon pea	<i>Cajanus cajan</i>	ndodzi		Boiled.
Pumpkin seed	<i>Cucurbita maxima</i>			
kernels				
dry		mhodzi dze manhanga	intanga zamathanga	Edible kernel roasted or ground.
dry		mutetenerwa		Edible kernel roasted and salted.
dry		nhetenerwa ⁵		Roasted and used as a dry side-dish.
ground		mbumbwa ⁶	idobi lentanga zamathanga	Edible kernel roasted, ground coarsely into paste and moulded into balls.
Bambara ground-nut (Round bean)	<i>Voandzeia subterranea</i>			
whole				
dry		nyimo	indlubu	Boiled and hulled, or roasted.
dry		mutode		Boiled in pod.
dry		fondokoto		Hulled, boiled and use as a side-dish.
dry, roasted		mufote		Mixed with salt and water and roasted until water evaporates. Prepared as food for journeys.
green		nyimo	indlubu	Boiled in pod.
large variety		goromondo		Boiled or roasted.
brown variety		chibanda		Boiled or roasted.
white variety		nyimwana		Boiled or roasted.

⁵ Also dry ground-nut.⁶ Denotes 'moulded into a round-shape'.

LEGUMES, NUTS and OILSEEDS (cont.)

Description	Name			Preparation and use
	Scientific	Shona	Ndebele	
Soy bean (Common kidney bean)	<i>Phaseolus vulgaris</i>			
whole				
dry		munyemba; 'bhinzi' ⁷ chuchuru	indumba	Boiled.
green		munyemba; 'bhinzi' ⁷ chuchuru	indumba	Boiled.
Water melon seed	<i>Citrullus lanatus</i>			
whole, dry		rhodzi wa mubvembe	intanga zamakhabe	Edible kernels eaten per se or roasted and ground.

VEGETABLES AND MUSHROOMS
Green vegetables

cultivated		muriwo		Boiled or fried.
bean leaf	<i>Phaseolus vulgaris</i>	munyemba	imbida yendumba	Boiled or fried.
cow pea leaf	<i>Vigna unguiculata</i>	munyemba	imbida yendumba	Boiled, fried or dried.
'covo'	<i>Trichunda portugessa</i>	rugare	ikhove	Boiled or fried.
mustard rape	<i>Brassica juncea</i>	ndakupuka		Boiled.
pumpkin leaf	<i>Cucurbita maxima</i>	mutikiti		Boiled, fried or dried.
rape leaf	<i>Brassica napus</i>	'repi' ⁸	'irephu' ⁸	Boiled.
spinach		muboora	ibhobola	Boiled.
wild				
African spider herb	<i>Gynandropsis gynandra</i>	nyevhe; nyovhi		Boiled, fried or dried.
beans	<i>Vigna luteola</i>	kasungunyemba; kanumanyemba		Boiled, fried or dried.

⁷ Adopted from English 'beans'.

⁸ Adopted from English 'rape'.

Description	Name			Preparation and use
	Scientific	Shona	Ndebele	
Green vegetables (cont.)				
black jack	<i>Bidens pilosa</i>	mhuwuwu	umhlabangubo	Boiled or dried.
bush okra	<i>Corchorus olitorius</i>	derere*	idelete*	Boiled or fried.
cow pumpkin	<i>Citrullus vulgaris</i>	mushambarara	amakhomane	Boiled or fried.
cucumber	<i>Cucumis metuliferus</i>	muchacha		Tender leaves cooked as spinach.
duiker-berry tree	<i>Pseudolachnostylis maprouneifolia</i>	mudyamhembwe	umqhobampunzi	Boiled or fried.
nightshade	<i>Solanum nigrum</i>	musungusungu	umsobo	Boiled, fried or dried.
rape	<i>Brassica</i> spp.	ndakupuka		Boiled.
spinach	<i>Amaranthus</i> spp.	mowa	imbuya; ulude	Boiled, fried or dried.
—	<i>Senecio erubescens</i>	chivereve		Boiled or fried.
—	<i>Triumfetta annua</i>	derere renama		Boiled or fried.
—	<i>Corchorus confusa</i>	marupwa		Boiled or fried.
—	—	mudyamwuu		Boiled or fried.
—	<i>Adenia gummifera</i>	muhore		Boiled or fried.
—	<i>Asclepias densiflora</i>	muhenzwa		Boiled or fried.
—	—	mushopwashopwa		Boiled or fried.
—	<i>Cleome monophylla</i>	mutsematsema		Boiled or fried.
—	<i>Chenopodium album</i>	muvhuzandadya		Boiled or fried.
Root vegetables and edible bulbs				
cassava	<i>Manihot esculenta</i>	mafaringya	ikhasava	Boiled or roasted.
sweet potato	<i>Ipomoea batata</i>	mbambaira	imbambayila	Boiled or roasted.
vlei tuber	<i>Coleus esculentus</i>	tsenza		Eaten raw.

* Generic term for vegetables that are mucilaginous when cooked.

VEGETABLES AND MUSHROOMS (cont.)

Description	Name			Preparation and use
	Scientific	Shona	Ndebele	
Root vegetables and edible tubers [cont.]				
yam (elephant ear)	<i>Colocasia antiquorum</i>	madumbe		Boiled.
roots	<i>Babiana hypogea</i>	hwena		Eaten raw or cooked.
roots	<i>Boscia salicifolia</i>	mutiri		Dry roots used for food in famine years.
roots	—		umthwebebe	Eaten cooked.
roots	—		umqwente	Eaten cooked.
bulbs	<i>Ipomoea</i> spp.		amagonsi	Boiled.
bulbs	—	hurumwa		Boiled.
bulbs	—	manyani		Eaten raw or cooked.
bulbs	—	shungwa		Boiled.
bulbs	—	tsembori		Eaten raw.
bulbs	—		umatshudula	Boiled.
Other vegetables				
cucumber, wild	<i>Cucumis metuliferus</i>	muchacha; mugaka		Eaten raw as vegetable or ripe as fruit.
gourd, calabash	<i>Lagenaria siceraria</i>	nhemba	ikhomane	Young fruit edible.
loofah (sponge)	<i>Luffa cylindrica</i>	chisambo ¹⁰		Young fruit edible.
onion	<i>Allium cepa</i>	hanyanisi	ithanga	Added to meat or vegetables in the preparation of relish.
pumpkin	<i>Cucurbita maxima</i>	munhanga	ithanga	Boiled and eaten per se or as porridge.
tomato	<i>Lycopersicon esculentum</i>	mapuno	amatamatisi	Cooked with meat or vegetables in the preparation of relish.

¹⁰ 'Sponge'.

Description	Name			Preparation and use	
	Scientific	Shona tree	fruit		Ndebele ¹¹
Banna	<i>Ensete edule</i>	mutoro	tsoro		Ripe fruit eaten.
Beech	<i>Adansonia digitata</i>	muhuyu; mubuyu	huyu	umkhomo	Ripe pulp eaten per se or made into a drink or porridge.
Bataka plum	<i>Flacourtia indica</i>	mududwe; mutumbula	ntumbula	untunduluka	Ripe pulp eaten per se; juice consumed as a drink.
Blue bush	<i>Diospyros lycioides</i>	mutsvitsva	svitso	umqathuwa	Sweet, mucilaginous edible pulp.
Chocolate berry	<i>Vitex payos</i>	mutsubvu	hubvu; tsubvu	umtshwankela	Ripe fruit eaten.
Custard apple	<i>Anona stenophylla</i>	muroro	roro	ububese	Ripe fruit eaten.
	<i>A. senegalensis</i>	muroro	roro	ububese	Ripe fruit eaten.
Donkey berry	<i>Grewia bicolor</i>	mutongoro	tongoro	umklampunzi	Ripe fruit eaten.
	<i>G. flavescens</i>	mubhubhunu		ubhuzu	Fruit eaten.
Fig	<i>Ficus burkei</i>	mutsamvi	tsamvi	inkiwane	Ripe fruit eaten.
	<i>F. ingens</i>	mutsamvi	tsamvi	inkiwane; idotsi	Ripe fruit eaten.
	<i>F. sycamorus</i>	muonde	onde	umkhiwa	Ripe fruit eaten.
cape	<i>F. capensis</i>	mukuyu	kuyu	umkhiwa	Ripe fruit eaten.
Indaba tree	<i>Pappea capensis</i>	mutendeshuru	tendeshuru	isagogwane	Ripe fruit eaten.
Kel apple	<i>Dovyalis caffra</i>	munhunguru	nhunguru	umqokolo	Ripe fruit eaten; juice made into jelly.
Loquat	<i>Eupasia kirkiana</i>	muzhanje; muhobohobo	hobohobo	mahobohobo	Fruit eaten; juice mixed with sorghum and millet porridge.
Maraia	<i>Sclerocarya caffra</i>	mupfura	pfura	umganu	Ripe fruit eaten; fermented juice used as a beverage.
Medlar	<i>Vangueria infausta</i>	munzwirwa		umviyo	Ripe fruit eaten.
crooked false	<i>Vangueriopsis lanciflora</i>	mutufu		umviyo	Ripe fruit eaten.

¹¹ Ndebele name is the same for both the tree and the fruit.

WILD FRUIT (cont.)

Description	Name			Preparation and use	
		Scientific	Shona		Ndebele
		tree	fruit		
Netels plum	<i>Parinari curatellifolia</i>	muhacha	hacha	umkhuna	Fruit eaten; juice made into beer.
Monkey orange	<i>Strychnos innocua</i>	mukwakwa	hakwa		Ripe fruit eaten.
bitter	<i>S. cocculoides</i>	mutamba-muzhinya		umkhemeswane	Ripe fruit eaten.
sweet	<i>S. spinosa</i>	mutamba	damba	umwawa; umhlali; umkhemeswane	Ripe pulp eaten; seeds toxic.
Prickly pear	<i>Opuntia vulgaris</i>	munanazi		idolotiya	Ripe fruit eaten.
Red milkweed	<i>Boquaertiodendron megalismontanum</i>	musaswa		umhlautshwa	Ripe fruit eaten.
	<i>Mimusops zeyheri</i>	muchechete		umbumbulu	Ripe fruit preserved by pounding whole in mortar and pressing into sheets or blocks and sun-drying.
Sand apple	<i>Parinari capensis</i>	muhacha	hacha	isitshapasi	Fruit eaten; juice boiled to thick consistency and fermented.
Soft apple	<i>Azanza garkeana</i>	mutohwe	tohwe	wakukahu	Sticky sweet pulp chewed like gum.
Saw berry	<i>Securinga virosa</i>	muchagauwe		umhakawuwe	Ripe fruit eaten; consumed mainly by children.
Sour plum	<i>Ximenia americana</i>	mutengeni	nhengeni	inhlokotshiyane	Ripe fruit eaten; seeds rich in oil.
Water berry	<i>Syzygium cordatum</i>	mukute; mubvembe		ikhabe; umdoni	Ripe fruit eaten.
Water melon	<i>Citrullus lanatus</i>	munwiwa	nwiwa	inkhabe	Ripe fruit eaten.
—	<i>Berchemia zeyheri</i>	mumyii	nyii	umnyiyi	Ripe fruit eaten.
—	<i>B. discolor</i>				
—	<i>Garissa bispinosa</i>	mutambiringwa	tsambiringwa	umlugulu	Fruit eaten; juice fermented.
—	<i>C. edulis</i>	munzambara	nzambara	umlugulu	Ripe fruit eaten.
—	<i>Ziziphus abyssinica</i>	musau	sau		Ripe fruit eaten.
	<i>Z. mauritiana</i>				

Description	Name			Preparation and use
	Scientific	Shona tree	Ndebele fruit	
Water melon (cont.)				
—	<i>Rothmania urcelliformis</i>	mutamba webungu		Ripe fruit eaten.
—	—	mutsonzowa	tsonzowa	Fruit edible.
—	<i>Garcinia huillensis</i>	mutunduru	tunduru	Fruit edible.
—	<i>Diospyros mespiliformis</i>	mushenje	shenje	Fruit edible.
			umdlawuzo	

ANIMAL FOODS

Description	Name			Preparation and use
	Scientific	Shona	Ndebele	
Fish				
bottlenose	<i>Mormyrus longirostris</i>	ndikusi		Cooked fresh or salted and sun-dried or smoked.
bream	<i>Oreochromis</i> spp.	gwaya	inhlanzi	Cooked fresh or salted or sun-dried or smoked.
kapenta	<i>Lymnothrissa myodo</i>	matemba	inhlanzi	Cooked fresh or salted and sun-dried or smoked.
Insects				
ants				
flying	—	tsambarapfuta	amahlabusi	Eaten fresh, fried or sun-dried.
tree	—	dendemafuta		Eaten fresh, fried or sun-dried.
beetles				
chafer	<i>Ptutelida</i> spp.	ndere; marupwa		Eaten fried or sun-dried.
christmas	<i>Eulepida masnana</i>	ndiza		Eaten fried or sun-dried.
goliath	—	maivandere		Eaten fried or sun-dried.
caterpillars				
—	—	dendemafuta		
—	—	gandari		
—	—	harati ¹²	amacimbi ¹²	
—	<i>Coimbrasia belina</i>	madora	amacimbi	Gutted, boiled and sun-dried.
—	<i>Colophosphernum mopane</i>	nhemeteme		Gutted, boiled and sun-dried.
—	—	nhete		Gutted, boiled and sun-dried.
—	—	nhowa		Gutted, boiled and sun-dried.
—	—	njanjenjanje		Gutted, boiled and sun-dried.
—	—	shongwa		Gutted, boiled and sun-dried.
—	<i>Sphingida</i> spp.	sinini		Gutted, boiled and sun-dried.

¹² Found on 'mukarati' tree, *Burkea africana*.

Description	Name			Preparation and use
	Scientific	Shona	Ndebele	
Caterpillars (cont.)				
—	—	tsambare		Gutted, boiled and sun-dried.
crickets				
black	—	chikundywe		Boiled, dried or fried.
mole	<i>Curtilla africana</i>	ndororo		Boiled, dried or fried.
sand	<i>Brachytrypes membranaceus</i>	gurwe		Boiled, dried or fried.
grasshoppers				
large	—	gwiza		Eaten, fried or sun-dried.
	<i>Pamphagina lamarckiana</i>	bambamukota; bombomupota		Eaten, fried or sun-dried.
	<i>Cystocanthoseris</i>	mhashu mapfunde		Eaten, fried or sun-dried.
	—	tsumwatsumwa		Eaten, fried or sun-dried.
long-headed	—	mutsumwanumwa		Eaten, fried or sun-dried.
solitary	—	njeru		Eaten, fried or sun-dried.
wingless	<i>Pamphagina lamarckiana</i>		boromhori	Eaten, fried or sun-dried.
locusts	<i>Locustana</i> spp.	zwiwiza	intethe	Eaten fresh, fried or sun-dried.
large, solitary		baribango		Eaten fresh, fried or sun-dried.
winged	<i>Gastrimargus volkensi</i>	mbumu		Eaten fresh, fried or sun-dried.
termites	<i>Macrotermes</i> spp.			
flying		ishwa	izinhwa	Eaten fresh, fried or sun-dried.
soldier		majuru	amagenga	Eaten fresh, fried or sun-dried.
Meat		muteketeke		Cooked meat used at beer parties.
		dzonga		Salted meat.
biltong		muhwabha; chimukuyu	umhwabha	Salted and air-dried, smoked or sun-dried.
game		nyama vikuvhima		Cooked fresh as a relish or preserved by drying.

ANIMAL FOODS (cont.)

Description	Name			Preparation and use
	Scientific	Shona	Ndebele	
Milk and milk products				
buttermilk		mutadzva		Butterfat removed and curds and whey stirred up.
cottage cheese (soured)		mukaka wemabwe	amasi	Fermented for 3-4 days, coagulum then separated and pressed.
sour		mukaka wakakora	ihiga	Soured by natural fermentation in clay pots for 24-48 hours.
one day old thick		mukaka zangira mahorakora	umasi	Fermented to very thick consistency.
whey		mutuvi wemukaka	umlaza	Whey separated from clotted milk.

Description	Name			Preparation and use
	Scientific	Shona	Ndebele	
Beer (opaque)		doro	utshwafa	Fermented, unfiltered, cereal beers.
strong		muchayiwa		Made from re-soaked strainings.
sweet		musungwa		
finger millet		bhume		Beer from first fermentation.
maize		hwahwa	utshwala bophoko	Fermented, unfiltered.
		Chibuku ¹³	isibhiku ingwebu	Fermented, unfiltered. Commercially made.
pearl millet		mhandwa	utshwala benyawuthi	Fermented, unfiltered.
sorghum			utswala bamabele	Fermented, unfiltered.
Others				
maize		maheu	amahewu	Maize porridge soured overnight and prepared as a thin beverage.
monkey orange		mutandabota		Thin porridge made with juice of monkey orange, 'mutamba'.
wild fruit		makumbi ¹³	umkumbi ¹³	Fruit juice extracted and fermented in wines/beers.

¹³ Generic term for beverages made from wild fruits, e.g. marula.

PROCESSED AND COMPOSITE FOODS

Description	Name		Preparation and use
	Scientific	Ndebele	
Cereal-based			
bread, unleavened maize	chipatapata		Made from ground malt and water.
with beans or bambara	mutakura	inkobe	Whole maize boiled and mashed together with cooked beans or bambara ground-nuts.
ground-nuts			
with melon		umxhanxa	Maize and melon boiled together and mashed.
malted grain	chimera		Cereal grain soaked in a sack for 2-3 days, then stored in a warm, damp place for sprouting.
			Germinated grain is sun-dried and coarsely ground.
mealie rice	mashazhare	itshwogana	Broken maize cooked in water until the water is absorbed and the grain resembles rice; served with added salt and peanut butter.
millet			
with honey	chingwe		Wild honey mixed with maize, sorghum or millet meal and cooked.
with sour milk		umcaba	Mixture of very thick sour milk, 'umasi', and ground, cooked millet.
porridge	sadza	isitshwala	A paste of cereal meal in a small quantity of water is stirred into hot water and more mealie-meal added with continuous stirring and heating to the required consistency.
stiff, soured	muswedza	amalaja	Food kept over from first meal of the day, soured overnight.
thin	mushate		Thin porridge cooked and served without sugar or salt.
weaning	bota	iyambazi	Cereal porridge prepared to a thin, pouring consistency.
rice with peanut butter	mashagada		Rice boiled and mixed with peanut butter.
Legume and oilseed-based			
bambara ground-nut			
with maize	mutakura	inkobe	Ingredients boiled to a soft, mushy consistency.
relish	rupiza		Cooked legume mixed with peanut paste.
cowpea			
with maize	mutakura	inkobe	Ingredients boiled together to a soft, mushy consistency.
green, with maize	makura		Ingredients boiled together to a soft, mushy consistency.

Description	Name		Preparation and use
	Scientific	Ndebele	
Cowpea [cont.]			
relish	rupiza		Cooked legume mixed with peanut paste.
peanut butter	dovi	idobi	Peanuts hulled, roasted and ground into a paste.
pumpkin seed with vegetables	mabumbe		Pumpkin seed hulled, coarsely crushed, rolled into balls and cooked with vegetables.
seeds	chaplumbo		Side-dish made from ground, roasted seeds.
Vegetable-based			
cowpea leaf	mutsamhu		Side-dish of pumpkin leaves or cowpea leaf, cooked with peanut butter, 'dovi'.
green, leafy vegetables ¹⁴	muriwo		Boiled or fried.
dried	mufushwa	umfushwa	Vegetables wilted and directly dried in the sun, or first wilted, boiled for a short time and sun-dried.
dried relish/stew	mutsetso usavi		Vegetables that are cooked before drying. Fresh or dried vegetables boiled or fried and mixed with peanut paste/butter, 'dovi'.
pumpkin leaf	chagwanda mutsamhu		'Spinach' prepared from dried pumpkin leaves. Side-dish of pumpkin leaves or cowpea leaf, cooked without peanut butter, 'dovi'.
stew	nhopi	inopi; isijezo	Cooked pumpkin, mashed and mixed with peanut butter, with or without the addition of millet or sorghum meal.
Insect-based			
locusts	chambiswa		Fresh-roasted locust, used as a side-dish.

¹⁴ Nearly all green vegetables are cooked in water or oil. Some vegetables may be cooked repeatedly, the cooking water being drained out. Onions and tomatoes may be added, with or without the addition of peanut butter, 'dovi'. This dish forms a relish, 'usavi', which is the usual accompaniment to 'sadza'.

MISCELLANEOUS

Description	Name		Preparation and use
	Shona	Ndebele	
Sweet foods			
honey	uchi monga wodza	ukuju	Eaten <i>per se</i> or mixed with other foods. Gathered from anthills. Gathered from tree-trunks
sweet sorghum (<i>sorghum bicolor</i>)	ipwa	imfe	Stems chewed fresh or sun-dried.
Salt foods			
	mumyu	umlotha	Ashes from a grass known as 'mangora' and a marsh bush, 'mutsangidze' (<i>Epiltes alata</i>).
Soda	murunganyama ¹⁵ muteka		Ashes from trees/plants used in cooking. Cooking soda made from ashes of, for example, baobab.

¹⁵ Collective name for trees which yield salt.

Formal Sector Employment Demand Conditions in Zimbabwe

Report of a study prepared by

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This report constitutes the draft analyses of the data collected in the course of a study of the conditions affecting the demand for employment in the formal productive sector of the Zimbabwean economy.

One of the objectives of the authors was to encourage debate on the issue of employment in Zimbabwe, which they view as one of the most important public policy issues facing the nation today.

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