

Batswana: A New Perspective on the Origin of the Stem *-tswana* in the Name

*HM Batibo**

Abstract

The history of ethnic Batswana and their migration through the Eastern Bantu stream from present day Cameroun, the Great Lakes, the Zambezi valley and Limpopo River into what is now Botswana has been written on extensively. There have been many research studies on Botswana, as a country, and Setswana, the main vernacular and national language of Botswana. However, little attempt has been made to investigate the origin of the stem *-tswana*, the root of the ethnic name. There have only been a few speculative attempts by some scholars. This study re-examined and re-interpreted data from the earlier studies, using a historical and comparative linguistics approach. This method traces the likely historical or evolutionary path that this stem might have taken. The main argument of this study was that names are usually not given by the speakers themselves, but by their neighbours. Another important argument was that there was a shared culture and identity among many of the people in the interior of the Southern African region, despite the various names that have been given to those cultures and peoples over time. This study widened the scope of the investigation to explore the possible origin and development of the stem *-tswana*. One of its premises was that names are not always in congruence with reality.

Introduction

Many people are familiar with the popular saying ‘a rose by any other name will smell as sweet’. This reference originates from William Shakespeare’s play *Romeo and Juliet*, in which Juliet seemed to argue that it did not matter that Romeo was from her family’s rival house of Montague; that he was named ‘Montague’ (Shakespeare 2010). This is true of many names; they are mere labels or symbols that represent or identify a certain reality but do not necessarily represent the core attributes.

One of the first linguists to investigate the structural aspects of a name was Ferdinand de Saussure. According to him, a name is a product of two facets, namely *signifié* (concept, content, meaning) and *signifiant* (form, symbol, referent). The two facets are linked together by a psychological process of association and is often arbitrary (De Saussure 1906). This explains why any name that is given to an object is acceptable; a ‘rose’ will continue to smell as sweet irrespective of what it is called. Thus, when a Setswana speaker hears *pitse* (as a word or form), he/she will automatically associate that form with a reality. As such, he/she will understand the word to mean: ‘a domesticated equine animal, used in home labour and sport’. However, the same animal has other names or labels in different languages, such as *farasi* (Kiswahili), *horse* (English) *pferd* (German), or *cheval* (French). These names have nothing in common as they are mere symbols (Brosnaham and Malmberg 1970).

Although words usually represent reality, such as *pitse* in Setswana representing the domesticated equine animal, some names or words may signal the presence of a certain reality. For example, the name ‘White House’ represents the president of the United States of America as it is associated with that reality. However, it is important to note that the concepts and forms that a name represents can alter over a period of time.

This study investigated the origin of the stem *-tswana* in the name *Batswana*, which is associated with ethnic Tswana-speakers in Botswana. The Batswana, as an ethnic group, are found in Southern Africa, predominately in South Africa and Botswana. There is also a small minority of ethnic Batswana in Namibia

* H. M Batibo, Department of African Languages and Literature, University of Botswana. Email: BATIBO@hm@mopipi.ub.bw

and Zimbabwe. This ethnic group is one of the largest in the Southern African region. Ethnic Batswana speak a language called *Setswana*. Setswana is one of the more than five hundred Bantu languages identified among the more than two thousand, two hundred languages spoken in Africa (Heine and Nurse 2000). Bantu languages are predominately spoken in the southern half of the equator. In the classification of Bantu languages, Setswana has been classified into zone S, group number 21 (S21) (Guthrie 1948). In this study, the stem associated with the name *Ba-tswana* was considered a label that has been used to represent a socio-cultural reality, namely a group of people who have identified themselves by that label.

Origin and evolution of names and words

All names and vocabulary items evolve over a period of time, in both form and content or meaning. This is due to the fact that a name or word is used within a certain social and cultural context which changes over a period of time, depending on usage, social needs and stylistic taste. Thus, the Setswana words *leuba* ('drought') and *poo* ('bull') have evolved in both form and meaning from their Proto-Bantu (the hypothetical language from which all languages of the Bantu family evolved) origins, some 3,500 years ago. This is demonstrated in illustration 1 below:

Illustration 1: The evolution of *leuba* and *poo* in Setswana from Proto-Bantu (shown by asterisk *)

a) 'sun'	>	hot	>	dry environment	>	drought
* <i>le-yuba</i>	>	<i>le-uba</i>	>	<i>le-uba</i>	>	<i>le-uba</i>
b) 'buffalo'	>	bovine wild animal	>	domesticated bovine animal (male)		
* <i>m-bogo</i>	>	<i>mpogo</i>	>	<i>poo</i>		

The words described above have evolved in form and meaning from their earlier Proto-Bantu or reconstructed forms (as shown by an asterisk (*)). In this paper, examples will be given in the current standard Setswana orthography to ensure better understanding for readers.

Usually, the direction of change in languages is unpredictable as each language follows its own evolutionary path. However, some theories have been formulated to predict certain changes (cf Martinet 1965; Chomsky 1976). It is not easy to speculate about the origin or evolutionary path of personal or location names as people do not usually call themselves by their common ethnic group names; they would rather distinguish themselves by their internal groupings. For example, ethnic Batswana do not often use the term *Batswana* when referring to themselves. They would rather distinguish themselves as *Bangwato*, *Bakwena*, *Bangwaketse*, or *Bakgatla*, etc and only use the group name to distinguish themselves from outside groups. Moreover, they would see themselves as *Ba-tswana* while others are addressed pejoratively as, for example, *Ma-kgoa*, *Ma-Zimbabwe*, *Ma-Herero*, *Ma-Kwerekwere*, or *Ma-Sarwa*. Many of these names were collective references to non-Batswana. Although the prefix *ma-* was historically associated with pejorative or derogatory connotations in addressing foreigners, it has gradually acquired new connotations, such as referring to something unique or of quality. Moreover, ethnic names were often given or perpetuated by neighbouring groups.

The Stem *-tswana*

The stem *-tswana* is associated with the name of an ethnic group, *Batswana*. The history of the Setswana speaking people and their migration in the Southern African region has been written on extensively. The classical works include Denbow and Denbow (1989), Denbow and Wilman (1986), Mpulubuzi (1995), Schepera (1976), and Tlou and Campbell (1984). Despite this extensive knowledge on the history of Botswana, little attempt has been made to investigate the origin of the stem *-tswana*. One of the few

known attempts to determine the origin of the stem *-tswana* was made by Cole (1955) who compiled a number of views expressed by other scholars, especially from Europe, on the origin of the name *Batswana*. There were three main theories. The first theory was that the stem *-tswana* was a word that was formed by combining the verb *-tswa* ('come from, go out') with the reciprocal suffix *-an-a*. This created the form *-tswana* which means 'come out from one another, separately'. According to this theory, the word was used to refer to this ethnic group because the Batswana were believed to have originated from one source but had taken different routes and separated. The second theory was that the stem *-tswana* was derived from the verb *-tshwana* (resemble or be alike'). This was due to the fact that the Batswana were believed to resemble one another, both physically and linguistically. The third theory was that the stem *-tswana* derived from the adjectival stem *-tshwana* which means 'darkish', 'blackish', 'light coloured' or 'light skinned'. This form was believed to have been derived from the stem *-ntsho* meaning 'black'. According to this theory, non-Batswana originally called the Batswana 'blackish, light skinned people'; this was apparently due to their light coloured physical appearance.

Although all three theories are tenable, linguistically (albeit with some caution, as the forms and tones were not always consistent), they do not fully explain the origin of the stem *-tswana* and why it was used to refer to this particular ethnic group. Even Cole (1955) was sceptical about the validity of these theories. Cole made the important remark that one should not look for the origin of the term from the Batswana themselves as they called themselves by their tribal names. Rather, one should look for its origin from the Batswana's neighbours.

Theoretical Framework

This study was based on an historical linguistics approach. According to this approach, all items of vocabulary have an origin. This origin can be traced, either from the language itself by looking at the conservative aspects of the language or by comparing that language with other languages in the vicinity or those with which it shares a common origin. Usually, some clues are found in other languages of the same ancestry.

In this study, most of the languages of comparison with Setswana belonged to the Southern Bantu sub-branch. Such languages include the Sotho, Nguni, Venda, Shangani and Makua groups (Batibo 2016; Guthrie 1967 and 1971; Nurse and Philippson 1990).

Methods of Data Collection

As this was a historical linguistics study, the data was mainly sought from earlier studies on the Batswana people and their language. New interpretations were made from this data and new inferences were drawn from some of the earlier interpretations. The review of literature on this topic shows that the first reference to the term *-tswana* was made between the early and middle 1800s.

The available literature that was reviewed included: Lichtenstein (1812), Casalis (1841), Livingstone (1858) and Brown (1876). The spelling of the term differed, presumably, due to the linguistic background of the authors. However, this could also have been due to the different research locations where data was collected from the local people. It was invariably spelt as *se-chuana*, *be-chuana*, *se-cwana*, or *be-tjuanas*. What was peculiar about this spelling was the use of 'c', 'ch', and 'tj', which are palatal sounds, instead of the current 'ts' (alveolar sound). In fact, the palatalised form is still used in some Setswana varieties, such as Setlhaping, Serolong and Sengwaketse who are sometimes referred to as southern Tswana, particularly in the context of the /w/ sound. Moreover, it was interesting that *be-* was used for Noun Class two instead of the commonly used *ba-*. However, the use of *be-* or *abe-* as a prefix for Class 2 was also found in other languages like IsiXhosa. In IsiXhosa it was used with a pejorative connotation, similar to the use of the

ma- prefix in Setswana, in words like Ma-Kgoa, Ma-Herero, Ma-Zimbabwe and Ma-Kwerekwere.

Later writers, who followed in the early nineteenth century, continued using the palatal sound. These included Doke (1945), Jones and Plantje (1910), Lestrade (1930), Price and Brown (1945), Ramoshoane (1928), Tucker (1929), Wookey (1901) and Wookey (1952). It was only from the later part of the 1900s that the spelling of the stem with 'ts' or 'tsh' appeared (Cole, 1955). This could indicate that there was some phonetic change from the palatal to alveolar feature in the pronunciation of the stem, given that the sounds and content of names change over time. In fact, Cole (1955) mentioned that the 1910 African languages orthography conference attempted some harmonisation of the writing system. All the Setswana groups preferred to use the sound /ts/ in spelling the name *Batswana*. But the Northern Sotho (Sepedi) and Southern Sotho (Sesotho) refused this usage (Volz 2004).

Southern Bantu as a Branch of South-eastern Bantu

In order to identify another explanation for the origin of the stem *-tswana*, this study traced the changes which may have happened to it. This meant that one had to move backwards and look at the history of the southern Bantu languages from the time they reached the Zambezi valley around 300 AD, in their migrations from the Great Lakes. At that time they formed a new branch of South-Eastern Bantu (Ehret 1973 and 1996; Phillipson 1977).

When they dispersed from the Zambezi valley around 500 AD, they formed three sub-branches. The Southern Bantu moved to the south, towards the present-day Limpopo River; the Central Bantu moved further to the north-west into present-day Zambia; and the Sala-Shona went to the north-east, into present-day north-western Zimbabwe (Phillipson 1977). Later, the largest group the Southern Bantu sub-branch, divided into smaller groups, namely Sotho, Nguni, Shangani, Venda, Tsonga and Makua (Batibo *et al.* 1997; Janson 1991-1992).

By 800 AD, the Sotho group had expanded geographically to cover a vast area from the eastern mountains of present day Lesotho to the western arid area of the Kgalagadi Desert as well as from the Vaal River to the arid areas of the present-day North West Province in South Africa. As this vast linguistic community diversified into four distinct varieties slowly emerged, namely southern Sotho (present-day Sesotho), northern Sotho (present-day Sepedi), western Sotho (present-day Shekgalagari) and central Sotho (present-day Setswana). However, those who fell into these linguistic varieties usually used their tribal names, like, Kwena, Rolong, Tlhaping, Hurutshe, etc. (Chebanne 2003; Chebanne *et al.* 2003). The name *-Tswana* was later used to refer to the central Sotho variety. The question, then, is how did this name emerge?

Major Linguistic Changes which Affected Southern Bantu

In order to trace the origin and evolution of the stem *-tswana*, it was important to trace the changes which occurred in Southern Bantu at the time of their migration into Southern Africa, more than 1,500 years ago. At the time of the migration of Southern Bantu speakers from the Zambezi Valley towards the south and west, a number of formal and semantic changes took place. These included the aspiration of voiceless plosives (e.g. p > ph, such as *pha* 'to give' in IsiZulu), velarisation of the labial approximant (eg mw > ngw, such as *ngwana* 'child' in Sesotho), dentalisation of palatal plosives (e.g. j > d), lateralisation of dentalised plosives (e.g. d > dl, such as *dla* 'eat' in SiNdebele), strengthening (or fortis) process (e.g. dl > tl, such as *tla* 'come' in Sepedi), vowel reduction (ie 7 > 5 vowels, such as the merger of i/l and u/U that resulted in five vowels in the Nguni languages), affrication (e.g. c > tsh, as in *tshega* 'laugh' in Setswana). The effect of these changes varied from one language or language group to another. The Sotho languages were the most affected by these changes (Batibo *et al.* 1997; Janson 1991-1992).

Morphologically, southern Bantu languages replaced noun classes of diminutives with the suffix

-ana. Thus, instead of *ka-kgosi* ('sub-chief', 'small chief') (Class 12), the form became *kgosi-ana* > *kgosana* in Sotho languages and *inkosana* in Nguni languages (Guthrie, 1967-1971).

A New Theory about the Origin of the Stem *-tswana*

From the above, it is possible to posit a new theory about the origin of the stem *-tswana*. In this new theory, the stem combines two morphemes, namely *-tsw-* and *-ana*. The origin of the two morphemes is explained below:

The suffixation of -ana in southern Bantu

The morpheme *-ana*, as explained above, was introduced into the southern Bantu languages during the post Zambezi period (300-500 AD) and replaced the *ka/tu* (12/13) prefixes for the diminutive notions. Hence, we have to take *-tswana* as a diminutive form. The morpheme *-tsw(a)* was a colonial distortion or later evolution of the palatal /c/ or /ch/, which was used in the earlier pronunciation of the stem.

*The evolution of the Proto-Bantu stem *-ntu*

The Proto-Bantu stem **-ntu* (of the form **mu-ntu* meaning 'person') underwent very drastic changes in Proto-Sotho, the earlier form of Sotho. The first rule it went through was that of aspiration when preceded by a nasal consonant, as in the illustration 2 below.

Illustration 2: Aspiration in Proto-Sotho and other southern Bantu languages

p		p ^h	
t	→	t ^h	n / ___
k		k ^h	

Thus all voiceless plosives were aspirated after nasal consonants. This rule was followed, in Proto-Sotho, by the loss of the preceding nasal consonant. This is demonstrated in the illustration 3 below:

Illustration 3: The loss of a nasal preceding an aspirated plosive consonant

n		P / ___	p ^h
	→		t ^h
			k ^h

In the above rule, the nasal sound /n/ disappeared (represented by the symbol /P/), whenever the following sound was a voiceless plosive sound.

These two rules (2 and 3) are exemplified in the illustration 4 below:

Illustration 4: Examples of aspirated consonants in Sotho

- a) **m-piti* → *m-phiri* → *phiri* 'hyena'
- b) **m-pala* → *m-phala* → *phala* 'gazelle'
- c) **n-tipa* → *n-thipa* → *thipa* 'knife'
- d) **n-kudu* → *n-khudu* → *khudu* 'tortoise'
- e) **mu-ntu* → *mu-nthu* → *mu-thu* (*motho*) 'person'

It should be noted that the nasal consonants did not disappear in cases where the stem was mono-syllabic, such as *m-pho* ('gift'):

Change of *-t^hu* + *-ana* to *-c^hwana*

With the feature changes explained above, when the diminutive suffix *-ana* was attached to the stem *-thu* ('person'), some morphophonological processes occurred. The closed back vowel /u/ became a velarised semi-vowel /w/, as it preceded another vowel. This pulled the alveolar /t^h/ to be palatalised to /c^h/ (or simply /c/) by being assimilated to the [+high] feature of the velar approximant. This is shown in illustration 5 below:

Illustration 5: The change from *-thu* + *-ana* to *chw-ana*

-t^hu + *-ana* > *-t^hw-ana* > *c^hw-ana*

This change explains why, in the early and middle 1800s, scholars used palatal sounds, such as *-c^huana*, *cwana* and *tjuana*. The change from /t^h/ to /c^h/ or /c/ can be explained by the following rule (illustration 6):

Illustration 6: Explaining phonetically the change from /t^h/ to /c^h/

t ^h	→	c ^h		w
[-high]		[+high]	_____	[+ high]
				[+ back]

Thus, the process was that of feature assimilation from [-high] to [+high] because the velar semi-vowel was [+high].

In fact, this feature assimilation is still found in Shekgalagari (once known as western Sotho). In this language a child is called *mo-chwana*. Shekgalagari may have preserved the earlier features of the form and could therefore provide a clue to the origin and evolutionary path of the stem.

The Prefix be-

One other feature in the earlier form of the stem was the prefix /be-/ (sometime realised as an implosive bilabial /^oe-/), which was used in some of the southern Bantu languages. This form was also used by the first scholars of Setswana in the 1800s and early 1900's. These scholars wrote the form, invariably, as *Bechaunaland* (Sillery, 1952), *Bechwana* (Ramoshoana, 1928), *Bechanas's* (Livingstone 1858) and *Beetjuanas* (Lichtenstein 1812, 1814).

This would mean that the prefix *ba-* had *be-* as a variant in some Bantu languages especially in the eastern zone of Southern Africa, more than 500 years ago. This would also explain why the first Portuguese to anchor on the south eastern coast of Africa, in the fifteenth century, were called *Abelungu* (Freeman-Grenville 1962). In fact, according to Volz (2004), Nguni people used the *abe-* prefix when referring to the Sotho or other people whom they considered foreigners in their land.

Similarly, according to Ramashoana (1928), the Xhosa and Zulu people referred to the Tswana people, as *Abe-tswana* or *abe-tshwana*. The use of *Abe-* is still found in some Nguni forms. This means that the original stem may have come from the south-eastern zone of Southern Africa. In fact, the form *be-* is still found in some of the central Bantu languages. For example, the *Chikuhane* (Subiya) speakers call themselves *Be-kuhane* (Chebanne *et al.* 2017).

A possible Explanation for the Origin of the Stem *-tswana*

A possible explanation for the origin of the term *-tswana* could be traced from the early settlement of south-eastern Bantu speakers in the Zambezi Valley, around 300-500 AD, to when they dispersed around 500 AD to form three sub-branches, namely central Bantu, Sala-Shona and southern Bantu (Ehret 1973,

1996). Most of the dispersed language groups clustered between the Zambezi and Limpopo Rivers in the eastern side of Southern Africa. The western side of Southern Africa, at that time, was largely uninhabited as it was sparsely populated by scattered Khoisan groups, especially in what came to be known as the Kalahari Desert and other arid areas (Inskeep 1979). This zone stretched from what is now the Northern Cape, South Africa to present day Botswana and Namibia. As these people were generally thought to be small in stature, they were referred to as *Ba-ntu-ana* meaning ‘the small people’.

When this form changed or evolved, as described above, the term became *Abe-chuana* in the early Nguni languages and *Be-chuana* in the early Sotho languages. Eventually the whole western area was associated with their new reference, namely ‘the land of the small people’. In fact, the reference to *ba-chuana* as ‘small people’ is also commonly used by other groups. In Shekgalagari (Shengologa variety), people of small stature are also referred to by that word as they are associated with children. Most of that was a reference to the Khoisan.

When the Bantu speaking people settled in those parts, starting with the western Sotho, who later became known as the Kgalagari Sotho, around 900 AD (Anderson and Janson 1997; Hichcock and Smith 1982), the name ‘She-Kgalagari speakers’ was actively used in that area. Later, as the various Setswana speaking tribes came into the area, they settled with their own tribal names, such as Kwena, Rolong, Tlhaping, and Hurutshe. However, the people of the east continued to call all the groups in the west (*a*) *Be-chuana*.

When the Kgalagari people were pushed to the far west from the present-day Kweneng District of Botswana to the present-day Kgalagadi District, they were associated with the name Kgalagari which meant ‘people of the dry land’ (Monaka 2014). In fact, there was no original ethnic group known as Kgalagari. The name Kgalagari became an umbrella name for all migrants in that area. The groups themselves were known, for example, as Bangologa, Bashaga, Babolaongwe. Many of these groups have no known close historical affiliations.

The name *-chuana* or *-cuana* was later used to refer to the entire western variety of Sotho (Central Sotho-Tswana), as distinct from the eastern varieties, namely Sesotho (south-east) and Sepedi or Northern Sotho (in the north-east). In fact, the name *Bechuanaland* was used broadly to refer to the entire territory in the west, including present-day Botswana and the present-day North West Province in South Africa. In the late nineteenth century, when a British Protectorate was created in the north-central parts of Southern Africa it was given the name the *Bechuanaland Protectorate*. The name Bechuanaland (or land of the Bechuana) was used as it was already associated with the area.

Conclusion

It is true, as argued by Juliet in William Shakespeare’s play *Romeo and Juliet*, that a rose by any other name will smell as sweet. Although the name *-tswana* may have had a pejorative or derogative origin (given the use of the diminutive *-ana*) aimed at a certain group of people, it has come to be associated with a powerful, proud, foresighted, socio-economically solid and politically well-organised ethnic group. This article has used a historical linguistics approach to demonstrate the complex process of change over time which can take place in a given community.

It is common for an ethnic group to have a name which is popularly used by other groups but which has nothing to do with the ethnic group itself. This is the case with the indigenous people of America who are popularly known as *Red Indians*. Equally, the Khoisan people are referred to by Batswana as *Basarwa* (*ba-sa-rua* ‘people without cattle/livestock’) (Mgadla and Volz 2006) or as *Ba-rwa* or *Basarwa* (the Setswana version of the Bantu form *Batwa* ‘pygmies’). Moreover, in East Africa, the *Wanyanyembe* in central Tanzania are referred to as *Wanyamwezi* (the progenitors of the moon). These names are given

to the groups by their neighbours. Hence, when determining the origins of names one has to investigate outside the ethnic group in question.

This brings us back to the definition of a word or name which has no relationship with reality. This is one reason why earlier studies failed to determine the exact origin of the term *-tswana*. Ironically, many non-ethnic Batswana, such as the Bakalanga, would pejoratively refer to ethnic Batswana as ‘Basarwa’ (Khoisan) or Nkhwa (‘Bakhwa’) (CJ Makgala personal communication). Such reference could be explained by the fact that those groups still associate ethnic Batswana with the ‘land of the small people’ or the Khoisan. In fact, the use of the diminutive form associated with *-tswana* is not exclusively used in Southern Africa. When Kiswahili, a language spoken mainly in Eastern Africa, adopted the suffix *-ana* during its contact with Southern Bantu around 1200 AD (Batibo 2018), it also borrowed the word *mtwana* (mtu-ana) meaning ‘small person’, ‘slave’. In Shekgalagari, the language which is now the main representative of the former western Sotho variety, the word *ba-cuana* is used to refer to ‘small persons’ or ‘children’. This may reflect the earlier reference to the Khoisan communities. Based on the above investigation, it can be concluded that the use of the stem *-tswana* has an extensive history in Southern Africa and has many different understandings.

References

- Anderson, G and Janson, T 1977. *The Language of Botswana*. Gaborone: Longman Botswana.
- Batibo, HM 2016. ‘The Origin and Evolution of Setswana Culture: A Linguistic Account’, *Botswana Notes and Records Special Issue on Humanities at UB and Botswana’s 50 Years of Independence*, vol. 48, pp.130-144.
- Batibo, HM 2018. ‘Over 1,000 Years of Contact Between Arabic and the Eastern and Southern African Languages: The Case of Kiswahili and Setswana’, *Journal of Education and Linguistics Research*, vol. 4 (2), pp.43-55.
- Batibo, HM, Moilwa, J and Mosaka, NM 1997. ‘The Historical Implications of the Linguistic Relationship Between Makua and Sotho’, *Pula Journal*, vol. 11 (1), pp.23–29.
- Brosnaham, LF and Malmberg, B 1970. *Introduction to Phonetics*. Cambridge: Heffer and Sons.
- Brown, JT 1876. *Lokwalo Loa Mahoko a Secwana*. London: London Missionary Society.
- Casalis, E 1841. *Etude Sur la Langue Sechuana*. Paris: Editions Maudis.
- Chebanne, A 2003. ‘Reviving the Sotho-Tswana Language: Some Considerations for the Union Linguistic Development of Sotho-Tswana Variants’, in Chebanne, AM, Jokweni, MI, Mokitimi, MI and Ngubane, S (eds.), *Unifying Southern African Languages: Harmonisation and Standardisation*. Cape Town: The Centre for Advanced Studies of African Society, pp. 59-100.
- Chebanne, AM, Jokweni, MI, Mokitimi, MI and Ngubane, S 2003. (eds.), *Unifying Southern African Languages: Harmonization and Standardization*. Cape Town: The Centre for Advanced Studies of African Society.
- Chebanne, A., Ndana, N, and Mabuta, K 2017. *A Chiikuhane Manual with an Orthography*. Cape Town: The Centre for Advanced Studies of African Society.
- Chomsky, NS 1976. *Reflections on Language*. London: Temple Smith.
- Cole, DT 1955. *An Introduction to Tswana Grammar*. Cape Town: Longman Penguin, Southern Africa.
- De Saussure, F 1906. *Cours de Linguistique Générale*. Geneva: Millard.
- Denbow, JR and Wilman, EN 1986. ‘The Advent and Course of Pastoralism in the Kalahari’, *Science*, vol. 23 (4), pp.1508-1515.
- Denbow, JR and Denbow, J 1989. *Uncovering Botswana’s Past*. Gaborone: National Museum and Art Gallery.
- Doke, CM 1945. *Bantu Modern Grammatical, Phonetical and Lexicographical Studies Since 1860*.

- London: International African Institute.
- Ehret, C 1973. 'Patterns of Bantu and Central Sudanic Settlement in Central and Southern Africa, (c.a. 1000 to AD 500)', *Transafrican Journal of History*, vol. 3 (1-2), pp.1-7.
- Ehret, C 1996. *The Classical Age of Eastern and Southern Africa: A History, 1000 BC to AD 300*. Ms. University of California, Los Angeles
- Freeman-Grenville, SP 1962). *The East African Coast: Selected Documents*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Guthrie, M 1948. *The Classification of the Bantu Languages*. Oxford: Oxford University Press for the International African Institute.
- Guthrie, M 1967-1971. *Comparative Bantu*. London. Gregg. 4 Volumes.
- Heine, B and Nurse, D 2000. *Introduction to African Languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hitchcock, R and Smith, M 1982. *Settlement in Botswana*. Marshalltown: Heinemann.
- Inskeep, RR 1979. *The Peopling of Southern Africa*. Cape Town: David Philip
- Janson, T 1991-1992. 'Southern Bantu and Makua', *SUGIA*, vol. 1-2 (13), pp.63-106.
- Jones, D and Plaantje, M 1910. *A Sechuana Reader in International Phonetic Orthography*. London: University of London Press.
- Lestrade, GP 1930. *The Practical Orthography of Tswana*. Mimeo. Gaborone, Botswana
- Lichtenstein, H 1812. *Travels in Southern Africa in the Years 1803, 1804, 1805 and 1806*. Berlin: Van Rebeek.
- Livingstone, D 1858. *Analysis of the Language of the Bechuanas*. Mimeo. Edinburgh
- Martinet, A 1965. *Théorie de Changement Linguistique*. Paris. Armand.
- Mgadla, P and Volz, SC 2006. (eds.), *Words of Batswana: Letters to Mahoko a Becwana, 1883-1886*. Cape Town: Van Rebeek Society for the publications of South African Historical Records.
- Monaka, K 2014. 'Historical and Linguistic Perspectives of Shekgalagari Language', *Lonaka Journal of Learning and Teaching*, vol. 4, pp.1-12.
- Mpulubuzi, TS 1995. *The Peopling of Botswana. Vol II*. Gaborone: National Museum and Art Gallery.
- Nurse, D and Philippson, G 1990. *The Bantu Languages*. London: Routledge.
- Phillipson, DW 1977. *The Late History of Eastern and Southern Africa*. London: Heinemann.
- Price, R and Brown, JT 1945. *Secwana Grammar*. Ms. London
- Ramoshoana, DM 1928. Vol. III (2). *Theories About Origin of Bechwana*. Ms. Gaborone
- Shakespeare, W 2010. *Romeo and Juliet. Special Edition*. London. Providence College Publishers.
- Schapera, I 1976. *The Tswana*. London: International African Institute.
- Sillery, A 1952. *The Bechuanaland Protectorate*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Tlou, T and Campbell, AC 1984. *History of Botswana*. Gaborone: Macmillan Botswana.
- Tucker, AN 1929. *The Comparative Phonetics of the Suto-Cuana Group of Bantu Languages*. London: Longman.
- Volz, S 2004. 'European Missionaries and the Development of Tswana Identity', *Paris: Le Fait Missionnaire: Social Sciences and Missions*, vol. 15, pp.97-128.
- Wookey, AJ 1901. *Secwana and English Phrases, With Introduction of Grammar and a Vocabulary*. Vryburg: London Missionary Society.
- Wookey, AJ 1952. *Dico Tsa Secwana*. Tiger Kloof: London Missionary Society.