

STRATEGIES FOR NAMING TOURIST SITES IN BOTSWANA

Ethelbert Emmanuel Kari & Budzani Mogara*

Abstract

This paper aims at establishing and discussing the strategies for naming tourist sites in the languages of Botswana using a descriptive approach. In addition, the paper attempts a classification of these tourist sites in respect of personalities or objects after which these sites are named. The data for this paper are largely drawn from publications by the Botswana Tourist Board, Botswana Tourism Organization and Internet resources. Preliminary investigation reveals that different word formation strategies, such as affixation, compounding, reduplication, and borrowing are employed by the speakers of the languages of Botswana in the naming of tourist sites. Of particular interest is the fact that these tourist sites are named after important personalities, rivers, villages, famous trees, vegetation and hills, among others. Also of interest is the observation that the processes of affixation, compounding and reduplication show the large extent to which the speakers of the indigenous languages of Botswana use internal linguistic resources to preserve their languages. Finally, the paper notes that the naming of tourist sites after prominent persons and villages and natural objects found within the country is a deliberate and great way through which the cultural heritage of Botswana has been preserved.

Keywords: tourist sites, strategies naming, affixation, cultural heritage, Botswana, borrowing

1. Introduction

This paper is not concerned with onomastics in general but with place names.¹ As far as we know, there are not many works on place names in Botswana. The works we found in the course of writing this paper are Bennett (n.d.), Botswana Place Names Commission (1989) and Phalaagae (2011). Bennett (n.d.) discusses historical place names that are directly or indirectly associated with Botswana. He highlights the changes that some of these names have undergone in the course of history and the confusion arising from them in respect of their usage. The Botswana Place Names Commission (1989) provides a list of geographical place names, their recommended spellings (in terms of orthography), description (in terms of whether they are hills, cities, valleys, etc.) and their derivation (in terms of their origins and approximate meanings). Phalaagae (2011) discusses geographical place names and activities in Botswana. She discusses the history, functions and achievement of the Botswana Place Names Commission, and the challenges the Commission faces in the course of carrying out its assignment. None of these works makes reference to the morphology of these names,

*University of Botswana, Private Bag 00703, Gaborone, Botswana. Email: ethelbert.kari@mopipi.ub.bw; gabanab@mopipi.ub.bw

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except Bennett (n.d.) who notes that nouns in Setswana, like other Bantu languages, have a stem to which can be attached prefixes to indicate singularity and plurality.

The objectives of the present study are two-fold. First, the study sets out to establish the morphological strategies employed by the speakers of the indigenous languages of Botswana in the naming of tourist sites in Botswana. Second, the paper provides a simple onomastic analysis of the tourist site names by classifying these tourist sites in respect of personalities or objects after which the sites are named, as well as providing information about the location of the sites. The linguistic significance of the naming of tourist sites in Botswana can be seen in the fact that objects, places and whatever that can be named are not just named for naming sake but are named based on certain linguistic and/or sociolinguistic considerations. One such consideration is that naming has to be done according to the allowable or permissible linguistic rules that operate in the language in which the naming is done. That is why names have different morphological and syntactic structures, such as words, phrases and sentences. These structures are determined by several factors, among them the speaker's choice of linguistic construction for naming, context, intention of the name giver, and other sociolinguistic factors, such as linguistic/cultural contact, etc. A cursory look at the paper reveals some of the linguistic and sociolinguistic considerations, such as affixation, compounding and borrowing which are associated with the names of these tourist sites.

Five languages of Botswana, randomly selected, feature in this study. They are Setswana, Kalanga, Shiyeyi, Thimbukushu and Sesubiya. Setswana is the major indigenous and national language spoken in the southern part of Botswana. Kalanga is one of the major minority languages spoken in the Central and North-East Districts. Shiyeyi is spoken in Ngamiland; Thimbukushu is spoken in several different places around the Okavango Delta, while Sesubiya is spoken in the North, mainly in the Chobe District from Kasane westwards and southwards. By virtue of the status of Setswana as a national language, it has a wider spread across the country than any of the other four languages.

The paper is organised into four sections as follows: Section 1 is the introduction. Section 2 discusses different word formation strategies employed by the speakers of the indigenous languages of Botswana in the naming of tourist sites such as parks and museums. Section 3 examines the objects after which these tourist sites are named, as well as the location of these sites, while Section 4 concludes the discussion. Table 1 provides a list of randomly selected names of tourist sites, which are named in the language of the area where they are located. These names are selected by virtue of the fact that they illustrate the word formation strategies under consideration in the paper. Note that this list is by no means exhaustive of the names of tourist sites in Botswana.

Table 1. Tourist Sites in Botswana

S/No.	Name of Tourist Site	Name of Language
1.	Chobe ¹ National Park ²	SES/SET
2.	Domboshaba Ruins	KAL ³
3.	Gandanyemba Hills	KAL
4.	Kgalagadi Desert	SET
5.	Kwalabe Footprints	KAL
6.	Lekhubu Island	SET
7.	Lepokole Hills	SET
8.	Mabuasehube Game Reserve	SET
9.	Machokochoko Hills	KAL
10.	Magapatona Ruins	SET
11.	Makgadikgadi Salt pans	SET
12.	Mantenge Wells and Paintings	KAL
13.	Manyelanong Game Reserve	SET
14.	Matsieng Rock Engravings	SET
15.	Moremi Gorge	SET
16.	Mosu Escarpment	SET
17.	Motlhabaneng Ruins	SET
18.	Nswazwi Royal Cemetery	KAL
19.	Ntimbale Landscape	KAL
20.	Nyangabwe Hill	KAL
21.	Okavango Delta ⁴	THI
22.	Shashe Money Tree	KAL
23.	Supangwao Museum	SET
24.	Tachila Nature Reserve	KAL
25.	Tlapana Ruins	SET
26.	Tsodilo Hills	SHI

2. Word Formation Strategies for Naming Tourist Sites

In this section, we discuss different word formation strategies employed by languages of Botswana in the naming of some of the existing parks and museums in the country. The strategies to be discussed are affixation, compounding, reduplication, and borrowing.

2.1. Affixation

¹ Another name for **Chobe** is **Nogatsaa**, meaning 'a place full of snakes'.

² It appears that the English part of names of tourist sites is added by the Botswana Tourism Board (see Botswana Tourism Board, 2009) to aid visitors.

³ The following are abbreviations used in this paper: CL = noun class marking prefix, KAL = Kalanga, SET = Setswana, SHI = Shiyeyi, DIM = diminutive suffix, INT = intensifier, = LOC = locative, REL = relativizer, SUF = suffix, SES = Sesubiya, THI = Thimbukushu.

⁴ This name, we understand, is borrowed from **Cubango**, the name of a river in Angola.

Affixation is the process of attaching an affix to a base to form words. It is a very common word formation process across the world's languages.¹ Kari (2013a) notes that this process of building words is very common in agglutinating, fusional and polysynthetic languages. Affixation is a very common and productive word-building process in the languages of Botswana. Like other Bantu languages, most of the languages of Botswana are noun class languages. In such languages, nouns are grouped into pairs of classes or genders on the basis of semantically determined alternating singular and plural prefixes² attached to the noun stems (cf. Mutaka & Tamanji, 2000). The semantic content of these groupings include animacy, parts of the body, human relationships, trees, names referring to man-made objects, natural phenomena, liquids, etc. Names referring to human beings, for instance, belong to Classes 1 and 2, where Class 1 is singular and Class 2 is plural. The grouping of these nouns is such that 'most classes with odd numbers include singular nouns while those with even numbers include plural nouns' (Lukusa, 2002, p. 6f).

In general, there is a concordial relationship between a noun and its modifiers and between the subject and the predicate in terms of these class-marking prefixes. For detailed discussions of the noun class systems of some of the Bantu languages, such as Setswana and Shiyeyi, spoken in the country, see Cole (1955) and Lukusa (2002) respectively. Nouns may also take one or more extensional suffixes to modify their lexical meanings.³ Consider the names of the tourist sites in (1) – (3):

- (1) **Tlapa-na (Ruins)**
stone/rock-DIM
'small stone/rock' (derived from **letlapa** 'stone/rock')
- (2) **Kgala-gadi (Desert)**
dry-INT
'very dry'
- (3) **Mo-tlhaba-n-eng⁴ (Ruins)**
CL13-sand-DIM-LOC
'small sand (area)'

The names of these sites in examples (1) – (3) are formed through affixation, specifically suffixation, by attaching one or more suffixes to the base. In (1), a diminutive suffix. **-na** is attached to the nominal base **tlapa** 'stone/rock', while in (2) an intensifying suffix **-gadi** is attached to the adjectival base **kgala** 'dry'. Example (3) is an instance where two suffixes, one suffix **-na** expressing a diminutive meaning and the other **-eng** expressing a locative meaning, are attached to the nominal base **motlhaba** 'sand'.

It is noteworthy that there are cases where names of tourist sites are formed from a combination of a subject-marking concordial prefix and a verb. Mogara (2013, p. 48), working on personal names in Ikalanga, notes that some such names could be formed by prefixing the subject marker to the verb.⁵ Consider the name of the tourist site in (4):

¹ See Štekauer, Valera & Körtvélyessy (2012) for a recent, detailed and excellent discussion of affixation and other word formation processes across languages of the world.

² Since prefixes are to a large extent obligatory in nominal morphology in these languages, our interest is on suffixes, as these are not obligatory.

³ The use of extensional affixes in naming in the languages of Botswana is noted by Mogara (2013).

⁴ In (3), the suffix **-n** is a form of the diminutive marker '**-na**'.

⁵ As Mogara, (2013) notes, names consisting of a subject-marking prefix and a verb stem are sentential names that provide the meaning of a full sentence.

(4) **Ta-chila (Nature Reserve)**

CL1-survive

'we have survived'

In (4), the name **Ta-chila** 'we have survived' consists of a subject-marking concordial prefix **ta-**, which attaches to the verb stem **-chila** 'survive.

2.2. Compounding

Compounding, like affixation, is a very productive strategy for forming words in the languages of Botswana. The names of some tourist sites in Botswana are formed by bringing together two or more words. In this regard, different combinations are possible. The words that are brought together to form a compound word may or may not belong to the same word class or part of speech. Some of the possibilities that exist in the language include noun-noun compounds, noun-verb compounds, noun-adjective compounds, verb-noun compounds, verb-adjective compounds, and preposition-noun compounds. We shall consider these different combinatorial possibilities one by one.

2.2.1. Noun-Noun Compounds

This type of compound is formed by combining a noun and another noun. In the world's languages, two types of noun-noun compounds exist—those with a linking element occurring between the nouns and those without any element linking the nouns (cf. Štekauer et al., 2012, p. 74f). The noun-noun compounds found in our sample data occur without any connective element. In this combination, the noun occurring to the left of the compound modifies the one occurring to the right. These attributive compounds, referred to as "associative constructions" in African linguistics (cf. Welmers 1973), constitute one way of expressing possession in African languages. Consider examples (5) – (7):

(5) **Nyanga bwe (Hill)**

horns stone

'horns of a stone' (lit. a stone with protrusions that look like horns)

(6) **Ganda nyemba (Hills)**

cover beans

'cover of beans' (lit. an area covered by a kind of tree that bears bean-like seeds)

(7) **Nti mbale (Landscape)**

tree scars

'tree's scars' (lit. scars on the legs resulting from sitting close to a hearth)

The nouns **nyanga** 'horns' in (5), **ganda** 'cover' in (6) and **nti** 'tree' in (7) occur to the left of the compound and respectively modify **bwe** 'stone', **nyemba** 'beans' and **mbale** 'scars'. Interestingly, the structural relationship between the modifier and modified in noun-noun compounds, wherein the first noun modifies the second, deviates from the general pattern of modification in noun phrases in Setswana and Ikalanga, for example, whereby modifiers follow the head in noun phrase constructions. Semantically, the meanings of these compounds are compositional. That is to say, their meanings derive from those of the constituents that make up the compounds.

2.2.2. Noun-Verb Compounds

Noun-verb compounds are compounds that consist of a noun and a verb, as seen in the name of the tourist site in (8):

- (8) **Noga-tsa** (**National Park**)
snake take
'snakes infested area'

In (8), the noun **noga** 'snake' forms a compound with the verb **tsaa** 'take'.

2.2.3. Noun-Adjective Compounds

Noun-adjective compounds are those that are made up of a noun and an adjective, as seen in (9) and (10).

- (9) **Dombo shaba** (**Ruins**)
hill red
'red hill'
- (10) **Ma-bu-a-sehube** (**Game Reserve**)
CL14-soil-REL-red
'red soil'

In (9), the adjective **shaba** 'red' follows the noun **dombo** 'hill' structurally, while in (10) the adjective **sehube** 'red' follows the noun **mabu** 'soil'. In terms of structure, (10) is different from (9). Whereas (9) shows a pattern in which the noun **dombo** 'hill' is directly modified by the adjective **shaba** 'red', (10) shows a pattern in which the noun **mabu** 'soil' is modified by a relative clause ending with the adjective **sehube** 'red'.

2.2.4. Verb-Noun Compounds

Some names of tourist sites in Botswana are verb-noun compounds. Structurally, the verb precedes the noun in such compounds. This type of compound belongs to the category known as subordinative compounds. In such compounds, "one element is interpreted as the argument of the other..." (Lieber, 2010, p. 47). Consider examples (11) – (13):

- (11) **Ma-nyela nong** (**Game Reserve**)¹
CL14-defecate vulture
'a place where vultures defecate'
- (12) **Supa ngwao** (**Museum**)
show culture
'cultural exhibition'
- (13) **Kwala-be** (**Footprints**)
write-stone
'to write on stone or rock'

¹ We were informed that the whitish appearance of this hill (tourist site) is believed to have resulted from the faeces or droppings of vultures that frequent the hill.

In (11), the verb **-nyela** ‘defecate’ is followed by the noun **nong** ‘vulture’. In (12), the verb **supa** ‘show’ is followed by the noun **ngwao** ‘culture’, while in (13) the verb **kwala** ‘write’ is followed by the noun **be** ‘stone’. It is observed that in many verb-noun compounds, such as (12) and (13), the nominal part of the compound serves as the internal argument of the verb. Unlike examples (12) and (13), the noun **nong** ‘vulture’ in (11), for reasons that are not very clear to the authors at the moment, serves as the agent of the verb **-nyela** ‘defecate’.

2.2.5. Verb-Adjective Compounds

Some names of tourist sites in Botswana are compound words formed by combining a verb and an adjective, as seen in (14).

- (14) **Ma-gapa tona (Ruins)**
 CL14 seize big
 ‘seize somebody’s property because of inability to return what was borrowed’

In (14), the name **Ma-gapa tona** consists of the verb **-gapa** ‘seize’ and the adjective **tona** ‘big’. Structurally, the adjective follows the verb.

2.2.6. Preposition-Noun Compounds

Names of tourist sites formed from a preposition and a noun exist but these are few. An example of such a combination is seen in (15):

- (15) **Sha-she¹ (Money Tree)**
 without-chief
 ‘without a chief’

Example (15) shows that the preposition **sha** ‘without’ precedes the noun **she** ‘chief’ in terms of structural configuration.

2.3. Reduplication

Reduplication is also a very common and productive word formation strategy in the languages of Botswana (cf. Cole, 1955; Lukusa & Monaka, 2008). It is a process ‘whereby part of the base or the complete base is copied and attached to the base’ (Haspelmath, 2002, p. 24). It is observed that some names of tourist sites involve a complete reduplication of the base whereas others involve bases with sequences of repeated syllables. Repeated syllables in such bases may not necessarily constitute separate lexical items. Consider examples (16) and (17):

- (16) **Ma-kgadi-kgadi² (Salt pans)**
 CL14-dry-dry
 ‘extremely dry’
- (17) **Ma-chokochoko (Hills)**
 CL14-forest
 ‘forest’

¹ **Sha-** is a form of **shaya** ‘without’ that has undergone mutation.

² The form **kgadi** is a variant of **kgala** ‘dry’

In (16), the base **kgadi** ‘dry’ is completely reduplicated, giving a meaning suggestive of extreme dryness, while in (17), the word **chokochoko** ‘forest’ seems to involve a repetition of its syllables. The repeated syllables in the base in (17), interestingly, do not constitute a separate lexical unit, neither do they carry any meaning in isolation. Example (17) is an instance of what Štekauer et al. (2012, p. 103) call ‘onomatopoeic reduplication’. Cases of reduplication express a meaning suggestive of intensity, degree, iterativity or emphasis, among others (cf. Lukusa & Monaka, 2008; Štekauer et al., 2012; Kari 2013b).

2.4. Borrowing

Borrowing results when cultures come into contact with one another. Culture contact could be traced to several factors including but not restricted to trade, migration and colonization. When cultures come into contact, there is a natural tendency for speakers of one language, often referred to as the recipient language, to borrow words and/or other linguistic units from another language, often known as the donor language, and use such borrowed words to name objects or express concepts that are not indigenous to the recipient language. Usually, borrowed words are domesticated so that they conform to the phonology and morphology of the recipient language.

The concepts of borrowing and the domestication of borrowed words in Setswana are aptly expressed by Cole in his *Introduction to Tswana Grammar*, in the following quotation:

The advent of western civilization, and the rapidly changing conditions introduced thereby, has resulted in the adoption into Tswana of hundreds of words from English and Afrikaans, the predominant European languages. Many of these imported words are verbs..., but the majority are nouns. The original word almost invariably undergoes phonetic modification so as to conform to the sound structure of Tswana... (Cole, 1955, p. 123).

Furthermore, he notes that “the great majority of imported nouns are placed in class 5... These nouns regularly form their plurals by prefixing **di-**...” Cole (1955, p. 123).

A look at the names of tourist sites in Botswana reveals two types of borrowing – loan words and hybrids.

2.4.1. Loan Words

These are words that are borrowed into the languages of Botswana from other languages and are used to mean what they mean in the donor languages. There are few cases of loan words used to name tourist sites in Botswana. An example of a loan word is given in (18):

(18) **Okavango (Delta)**

Example (18) appears to be the only loan word among the tourist sites in Botswana. This tourist site is named after a river, **Cubango**,¹ in Angola.

2.4.2. Hybrids

¹ The name **Cubango** does not have any meaning apart from being used to name a river in Angola. It also does not have any meaning in Botswana apart from being used to name a river in Botswana—a river which originates from Angola. This fact is not strange given that loan words, as a type of borrowing, are used in the recipient language to mean exactly what they mean in the donor language. The form **Cubango**, however, may have undergone some phonological and/or morphological domestication to become **Okavango** in the Thimbukushu language of Botswana.

Many of the names associated with tourist sites in Botswana are hybrids or loan blends. Essentially the first part of the name is from one of the indigenous languages of Botswana while the second part is from English. The English part of the name appears not to have undergone any kind of phonological or morphological domestication. The names in example (19), including others discussed in Section 3 are hybrids:

- (19) **Moremi** Gorge
Letsibogo Dam
Lepokole Hills

Each of the names of tourist sites in (19) consists of two parts—a part that is clearly associated with one of the “indigenous” languages of Botswana and another part that is clearly English. The words **Moremi**, **Letsibogo** and **Lepokole** are from the “indigenous” languages of Botswana while the words *Gorge*, *Dam* and *Hills* are from English. Note however, that in hybrids, the English part of the name has its equivalent in the indigenous languages of Botswana. For instance, the equivalents of “Dam”, “Hills”, “Desert”, “Ruins” and “Delta” in Setswana are **letamo**, **mantswe**, **sekaka**, **matlotla** and **makgobokgobo** respectively. Nevertheless, these indigenous equivalents are rarely used or not used at all by the people of Botswana when referring to the names of these tourist sites. They either use the hybrids to refer to the sites or they use only part of the hybrids that is in the indigenous language to refer to the sites where such use is not ambiguous or does not make the reference unclear. The use of hybrids in the naming of tourists sites, as we remarked earlier in the paper, is basically to aid visitors, many of whom are tourists.

The discussion in Section 2 of this paper reveals that affixation and compounding are the main language-internal resources employed in the naming process. Two reasons can be adduced for this pattern. First, morphologically, most of the languages spoken in Botswana are of the agglutinating type. It is therefore expected that words in the languages will feature many morphologically complex forms consisting of free and bound morphemes. Second, semantically, it is clear that in many cases, single words, such as nouns, verbs, adjectives, etc. may not fully express the meanings associated with the names of these tourist sites.

3. Sources of Names of Tourist Sites

In this section we attempt an onomastic analysis of tourist names in this study. We consider the sources from which tourist sites in Botswana derive their names noting that tourist sites in the country are named after important personalities, rivers, villages, famous trees, vegetation and hills. In what follows, we categorize and present information about the names (and locations) of these sites under different headings. The names and information about these tourist sites are largely drawn from publications of the Botswana Tourist Board, Botswana Tourism Organization, and Internet resources. We have included photographs of some of these tourist sites.

3.1. Tourist Sites Named after Important Personalities

3.1.1. Kwalabe Footprints

Kwalabe Footprints are found just a few kilometres outside Kedia—a small Khoesan settlement in the heartland of Boteti region. Kwalabe is believed to be a giant who stepped in this area while the rocks were still wet. He was believed to be a farmer herding goats in the Boteti area and this is also the area where the Batawana split from the Bangwato. This tourist site is part of the legendary Matsieng engravings found in most parts of southern Botswana (Botswana Tourism Board, 2012, Site 13).

3.1.2. Matsieng Rock Engravings

According to the Matsieng Legend, Matsieng, the first man, is believed to be the ancestor of the Tswana people. The Tswana people believe that life began when he emerged from a hole in the ground followed by his people and animals. At that time, the rocks were soft and wet and as such the footprints were left on the rocks. Matsieng engravings, situated at Rasesa village, display mostly animal tracks and human footprints. “Rock engravings are the main attraction to this site. In addition to the engravings, there are two large holes at Matsieng and these retain water for a long time depending on the rainfall conditions. The site is associated with the creation myth that attempts to explain cosmology” (Government of Botswana, 2011a).

Figure 1. Matsieng Footprints



3.1.3. Nswazwi¹ Royal Cemetery

This cemetery is located at Nswazwi Kgotla and is the final resting home of *She* John Madawo Nswazwi who was initially buried in Jetjeni at Rhodesia in 1960. His remains were repatriated and buried here in June 2002. His grave marks the end of the struggle of Bakalanga *ba ka* Nswazwi and Bangwato which began in the 1940s (Botswana Tourism Board n.d., Site 28).

3.1.4. Moremi² Gorge

The Moremi Gorge is situated deep within the hills in Moremi village. It is the source of three permanent waterfalls (see Botswana Tourism Board, 2009, p. 14 for detailed information about this tourist site).

¹ **Nswazwi** is also the name of a tree, village and chief.

² **Moremi** also refers to the name of a village and of a chief.

Figure 2. Moremi Gorge



3.1.5. Magapatona Ruins

This is one of the few terraced stone wall sites found in the region. The ruin was the residence of a district chief during the 17th century. It is located 7 km northeast of Goshwe at Madandume lands (Botswana Tourism Board n.d., Site 31).

3.1.6. Summary of Tourist Sites Named after Important Personalities

Looking at the tourist sites discussed in 2.1, it is clear that the sites are named after personalities. Kwalabe Footprints, for instance, is named after a personality believed to be a giant that first set foot in the Boteti area; Matsieng Rock Engravings is named after Matsieng, the first man believed to be the ancestor of the Tswana people; Nswazwi Royal Cemetery is named after *She* John Madawo Nswazwi; Moremi Gorge is named after Chief Moremi of BaTawana tribe, while Magapatona Ruins is named after the residence of a district chief.

3.2. *Tourist Sites Named after Rivers*

3.2.1. Chobe National Park

This tourist site is situated in Kasane. It was named after the Chobe River that rises in the northern Angolan highlands and travels enormous distances before reaching Botswana at Ngoma. Different kinds of animals, such as cormorant, giraffe sacred ibis, hippo, jackal, elephant, lion, etc. are found here (Botswana Tourism, 2013a).

Figure 3. Chobe National Park (Wikipedia n.d.)



3.2.2. Okavango Delta

The name “Okavango”, we understand, is a name borrowed from *Cubango* in Angola which is a name of a river. The Okavango Delta is situated deep within the Kalahari Basin and is also referred to as the ‘jewel’ of the Kalahari. The Okavango River travels from the Angolan highlands and crosses into Botswana at Molembo. It is reported that the Okavango Delta is home to 122 species of mammals, 71 species of fish, 444 species of birds, 64 species of reptiles and 1300 species of flowering plants (Botswana Tourism, 2013b).

Figure 4. Okavango Delta (Safari Bookings, 2013)



3.2.3. Summary of Tourist Sites Named after Rivers

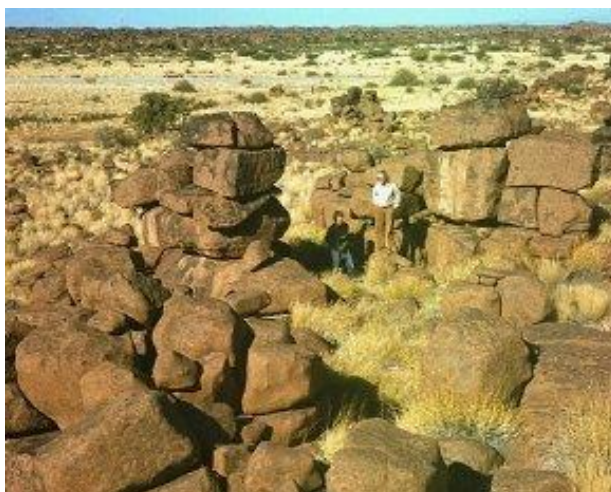
The Chobe National Park and the Okavango Delta are illustrative of tourist sites that are named after Rivers. The Chobe National Park is named after the Chobe River, while the Okavango Delta is named after the Cubango River, which flows from the Angolan highlands into Botswana.

3.3. Tourist Sites Named after Villages

3.3.1. Lepokole Hills

These hills are situated about 25 kilometres northeast of the village of Bobonong and are composed of huge granite blocks often piled on top of each other (Botswana Tourism Board, 2009, p. 17).

Figure 5. Lepokole Hills (Accommodation Direct, 2011)



3.3.2. Mantenge Wells and Paintings

Mantenge well is an extraordinary 7m deep hole. It is located 4 km east of Kalakamati–Masunga junction. A few rock paintings and extensive remains of a 19th century refugee settlement are also found here (Botswana Tourism Board n.d., Site 24).

3.3.3. Mosu Escarpment

This monument is one of the hilltop Iron Age villages found around Mosu. Early farmers living here preferred settling on the edges of the escarpment overlooking the picturesque Sua Pan. The farming people, Zhizo and Leopard Kopje, who lived here between AD 800-AD 1300 grew crops on the sandveld plateau to the south of their villages and reared cattle, goats and hunted wild animals for meat (Botswana Tourism Board 2012, Site 4).

3.3.4. Motlhabaneng Ruins

Motlhabaneng is in the Tuli area and hand-woven baskets are made here. Ancient rock paintings believed to be made by the San people are also found at the outskirts of Motlhabaneng. These paintings are associated with people, animals, and other creatures and hunting scenes.

3.3.5. Summary of Tourist Sites Named after Villages

As tourist sites, Lepokole Hills is named after Lepokole Village; Mantenge Wells and Paintings is named after Mantenge Village; Mosu Escarpment is named after Mosu Village, while Motlhabaneng Ruins is named after Motlhabaneng Village. The naming of these tourist sites after these villages is a great way of preserving the names of these villages.

3.4. Tourist Sites Named after Areas/Locations

3.4.1. Kgalagadi Desert

Kgala means 'dry' in Setswana. The adjective is intensified by **-gadi**, which literally means 'female', giving a meaning that probably refers to a great expanse of dry land. The Kgalagadi desert of Botswana is rich in natural resources and these include the grassland that feeds its wildlife and cattle, thus supporting the country's 3rd largest industry-cattle ranching and its mineral wealth namely diamonds which have fostered and sustained dramatic economic growth. Its vegetation includes savannah types, namely grass, shrub and tree savannah (cf. Botswana Tourism, 2013c). The Khutse Game Reserve, the Central Kalahari Game Reserve and the Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park are located here. These Game Reserves accommodate a larger variety of African wildlife, including the rarest wildlife species of the world (cf. Wikipedia, 2013a).

Figure 6. Kgalagadi Desert (Expedition Portal, 2013)



3.4.2. Mabuasehube Game Reserve

The name Mabuasehube means 'red soil' in Setswana. This tourist site is located in the Kalahari Desert. Its floor is bare clay that is rich in salts, which attract animals that come to lick the surface. The Mabuasehube Game Reserve is home to different species of wildlife, such as cheetah, brown hyena, lynx, and the black-maned lion (cf. Botswana Tourism, 2013c).

3.4.3. Makgadikgadi Saltpans

The Makgadikgadi Saltpans National Park is a large salt pan in the middle of the dry savannah located 160 km east of Maun in Botswana, and is believed to be one of the largest salt flats in the world. Salt layers circled by grassland and shrubby savannah are found in the lake. Massive baobab trees are in abundance in some fringe area and serve as landmarks (Botswana Tourism, 2013d).

Figure 7. Makgadikgadi Pans



3.4.4. Ntimbale Landscape

This tourist site is found in the Masunga area. In the Kalanga language, **Ntimbale** means ‘an area with a lot of trees where people go to fetch firewood to make fire and sit around the fire until they develop scars on their legs’. According to the Botswana Tourism Board (n.d., Site 25), the Ntimbale Dam was built on a gorge known as Die Poort, and served as a historic landmark on the old wagon road to Victoria Falls. Several rock painting sites are said to be found here.

3.4.5. Shashe Money Tree

This popular open craft centre is found on the east of the Shashe Siding Junction. Some women sell locally made crafts such as sugar bowls, mophane walking sticks, palm tree hats and candle sticks (Botswana Tourism Board n.d., Site 2).

3.4.6. Supangwao Museum

This museum, situated in Francistown, contains exhibitions on the history and ethnography of the Kalanga people. Old pictures, crafts, such as pots, cooking utensils, weaved baskets, musical instruments are found here, as well as old farming implements. The main purpose of the museum is to preserve information on Francistown and its surrounding villages (Botswana Tourism Board 2009, p. 19).

3.4.7. Tachila Nature Reserve

Tachila means saviour of all living things. The Reserve is believed to conserve all the things inside of it, including wildlife and other natural resources. According to the Botswana Tourism Board (n.d., Site 3), this ranch is located 5 km South of Francistown on Lady Mary Ranch and covers 8,000 hectares of land which promotes conservation of some endangered

and rare species of game, such as Zebras, snakes, kudus, birds, eland and small antelopes (see also Botswana Tourism Board 2009, p. 21).

3.4.8. Summary of Tourist Sites Named after Areas/Locations

The Kgalagadi Desert is named after the vast semi-arid sandy area that covers parts of Namibia, Botswana and South Africa; Mabuasehube Game Reserve is named after a location in the Kalahari Desert; the Makgadikgadi Saltpans is named after a location in the savannah east of Maun; the Ntimbale Landscape is an area with a lot of trees; the Shashe Money Tree is named after the Shashe Siding Junction, while the Tachila Nature Reserve is named after a location on Lady Mary Ranch.

3.5. *Tourist Sites Named after Hills*

3.5.1. Domboshaba Ruins

Domboshaba Ruins was built during the Great Zimbabwe period around 1400 AD. The first reported excavations in Botswana were undertaken here in 1929. Chinese celadon porcelain, glass beads and clay birds were found here (Botswana Tourism Board, n.d.; see also Botswana Tourism Board, 2009, p. 23). Domboshaba Ruins, consisting of dry stone walls, are located in Vukwi village in the North east of Botswana. The first part of the site is on a hilltop and the second part is on a valley (cf. The Tourism Spotlight, 2013). It is believed that the chief of the Kalanga people lived on the hilltop with some of his assistants. Domboshaba is a sacred site for local communities and there are annual ceremonies conducted at the site (see also Government of Botswana, 2011b). The most popular event is the one held every 30th September or 1st October when the Kalanga people promote their culture and language.

Figure 8. Domboshaba Ruins (Batatu Safari Botswana n.d.)



3.5.2. Gandanyemba Hills

These hills are located 2 km north of Nhlaphwane village. Rock paintings of people in trance dances and some geometric figures are found there. A refugee settlement that was

occupied by Bakalanga people during King Mzilikazi's rule is also reported by the Botswana Tourism Board to be seen at this site (Botswana Tourism Board n.d., Site 18).

3.5.3. Lekhubu Island

This tourist site is reputed to be the wonder of the Makgadikgadi Pans. It is situated along the shoreline of the Sua Pan, off the main track between Gweta, Nata and Letlhakane. Its unique location attracted humans from time immemorial. Ancient Ruins found here are recorded as the Lost City of the Kalahari by early travellers who were impressed by this magnificent island (Botswana Tourism Board, 2012, Site 8). The residents of Sua, Nata, Letlhakane, Gweta and other nearby settlements visit the site to ask God for rain and to make offerings. Traditional taboos governing the use of the island prohibits removal of rocks, fruits and hunting of animals (Government of Botswana, 2011c).

Figure 9. Lekhubu Island (us.123f. nd.)



3.5.4. Machokochoko Hills

This tourist site is located about 5 km west of Gandanyemba Hills. Rock paintings of giraffes, antelopes and human figures holding hands are found here (Botswana Tourism Board n.d., Site 19).

3.5.5. Manyelanong Game Reserve

Manyelanong is the name of a hill north of Otse village located about 15 km outside Lobatse on the Gaborone Road. In the sheer cliffs of the hills, the small Manyelanong Game Reserve protects a breeding colony of cape vultures. At the moment it is reported that there are just about fewer than 70 breeding pairs of birds in the colony, but it is still part of the main colonies of vultures in Botswana (Botswana Travel Guide, n.d.).

3.5.6. Nyangabwe Hill

This is reportedly the tallest hill found in Francistown. It offers a panoramic view of Francistown city. It is the best starting point of the Francistown city heritage trail. An extensive Leopards Kopje and a historic refuge stone wall are found there (Botswana Tourism Board n.d., Site 9). The shape of the hill is like a buck's horns, which is the source of its name.

Figure 10. Nyangabwe Hill (Wikimapia n.d.)



3.5.7. Tlapana Ruins

Tlapana means ‘a small stone or rock’ in Setswana. These Ruins were built between AD 1100 and 1200. The tourist site is located 5 km south west of Mmeya. These ruins were probably built by farmers who lived in the area trading salt glass beads for salt and furs with Khoesan people living around the pans (Botswana Tourism Board 2012, Site 5).

3.5.8. Tsodilo Hills

The Tsodilo Hills are located around the Sepopa village in north-west Botswana near the Namibian Border in the Okavango Sub-District featuring a small area of massive quartzite rock formations. The tourist site features three main Hills—Male, Female, and Child and provides evidence of human habitation for over 100,000 years, and was declared a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 2002 because of its tremendous historical and cultural importance (UNESCO, 2013, Botswana Tourism Organization 2012). The Khoesan people consider these hills sacred and believe this area to be the site where man was first created, and a resting place for the spirits of the dead (see also Wikipedia, 2013b).

3.5.9. Summary of Tourist Sites Named after Hills

The Domboshaba Ruins (first excavation site in Botswana), Gandanyemba Hills, Lekhubu Island, Machokochoko Hills, Manyelanong Game Reserve (name of hill north of Otse Village), Nyangabwe Hill (the tallest hill in Francistown), Tlapana Ruins, and Tsodilo Hills are tourist sites that are named after various hills in the country.

4. Conclusion

Thus far, we have identified and discussed the strategies employed by the speakers of the indigenous languages of Botswana in the naming of tourist sites in the country. The paper reveals that the strategies employed are mainly affixation and compounding. Other processes that are also employed are reduplication and borrowing. Of particular interest is the fact that these tourist sites are named after important personalities, rivers, villages, famous trees, vegetation and hills, among others. Also of interest is the observation that the processes of affixation, compounding, and reduplication show the extent to which the speakers of the indigenous languages of Botswana use internal linguistic resources to preserve their languages. Finally, the paper notes that the naming of tourist sites after prominent persons and villages, and natural objects found within the country appears to be a deliberate and great way through which the cultural heritage of Botswana has been preserved.

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