

Chapter 2

Origin and development of the Setswana language

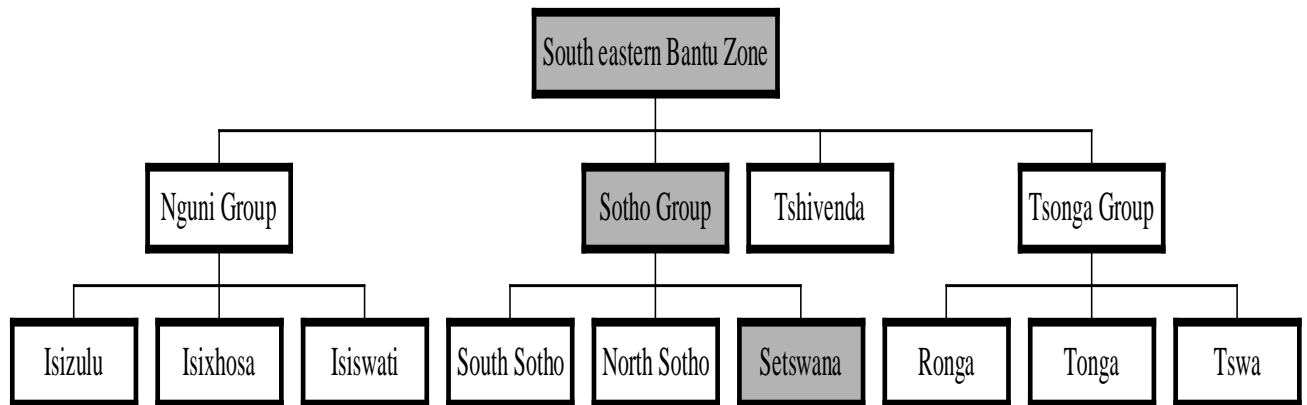
2.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with the origins and the historical development of the Setswana language. Various missionaries and other contributors to the development of the Setswana language will be discussed with emphasis on how their involvement led to the evolution of the language. As the Batswana are widely spread in southern Africa, the influence of various residential environments on their language will be highlighted with the aim of illustrating the emergence of the various Setswana dialects. Maps, illustrations and graphs, will be used to help interpret and comprehend the dynamics of this language. This study will also illustrate how oral Setswana came to be recorded and eventually compiled in grammar books, the Bible and/or hymn books and dictionaries.

No language is stagnant; all languages are affected by various environmental factors giving way to the development of a new dialect, which leads to vocabulary and grammatical changes in the original language. The growth and the development of Setswana necessitates that other language development processes be looked into to make a quantitative comparison between Setswana and other languages. The challenges faced in the development of Setswana will also be illustrated and special reference will be made to the role played and is yet to be played by various stakeholders e.g. the Language Board. The opportunities that are available to the stakeholders in South Africa will be highlighted.

2.2 Historical background

Setswana is one of the nine African Languages spoken in South Africa and is one of the Sotho sub-families of the Bantu language groups. Schapera (1953:14–15) maintains that there is no definite information about the origins of the Sotho peoples, to whom the Batswana belong. It is believed that they broke away from the main body of the Bantu-speaking peoples in and around the area of the Great Lakes in East Africa, and that they could have entered the region of today’s Republic of South Africa through the western parts of southern Zimbabwe (previously southern Rhodesia) in three series of migrations. The first group were the Kgalagadi who settled in Botswana (previously Bechuanaland); the second group were the ancestors of the present Barolong and Batlhaping who first settled in the upper part of the Molopo river and later spread to the south and east; and the last and biggest group, which is regarded as ‘the ancestors of all the Basotho tribes’ settled with the other groups in the south-western part of Limpopo (then northern Transvaal), (<http://Setswana.blogspot.com>).



(<http://Setswana.Blogspot.com>)

Figure 1: Graphical representation of the South-eastern Bantu Zone

It is a well-known sociolinguistic fact that an attachment to a certain language or dialect may be used to signal group solidarity. Given the current available data, we can only conclude that the compelling body of evidence points to the fact that

Setswana has, for at least two centuries, been the body label that includes the various Setswana dialects. According to missionaries, Setswana appeared to be by far the most extensively spoken language in southern Africa comprising a variety of dialects.

These united groups later broke into separate clusters, the biggest being the Bahurutshe, the Bakwena and the Bakgatla. What Schapera (ibid) further emphasizes is that the Batswana had already occupied the eastern half of their present tribal area by A.D. 1600. However, the tribes split constantly owing to constant infighting due to chieftainships and other factors. At present, the Batswana dialects are divided into four sub-groups (Cole, 1955: xvi-xix), each with their own various dialects. The sub-groups are:

(a) Central Setswana

The central Setswana includes the Serolong, Sehurutshe and Sengwaketse dialects.

(a) Serolong is divided politically into four sections:

- o Barolong boorraTshidi spoken in the Mafikeng district.
 - o Barolong boorraRratlou spoken in Khunwana, Kraaipan and Setlagole.
 - o Barolong booRapulana spoken in Lotlhakane and Polfontein (south-east of Mafikeng).
 - o Barolong booSeleka with headquarters in Thabanchu in the Free State. (Even though the neighbouring Sesotho influences this dialect, it retains the characteristics of the central division.
- Sehurutshe spoken at Zeerust in the Marico district.
 - Sengwaketse spoken at Kanye in Botswana.

(b) Southern Setswana

The southern Setswana sub-group includes the Setlhaping and Setlhwere (Setlharo) dialects.

(a) Setlhaping is spoken in the Taung, Vryburg and Barkley West districts of the Cape Province.

(b) Setlhwere is spoken in the Kuruman district.

(c) Eastern Setswana

Eastern Setswana comprises:

- Eastern Sekwena, spoken in Brits, Swartruggens, Rustenburg and Ventersdorp
- Sekgatla, spoken at Mochudi and Moshupa in Botswana, and in the Pilanesberg and Hammanskraal districts in Gauteng. The Sekgatla dialect is further divided into the following sub-dialects:
 - o Sekgatla sa ga Kgafela
 - o Sekgatla sa ga Moche
 - o Sekgatla sa ga Mosetlha
 - o Sekgatla sa ga Mmakau
 - o Sekgatla sa ga Mmanaana

From the above-mentioned sub-dialects, Sekgatla sa ga Mosetlha and Mmakau are the sub-dialects spoken in and around Pretoria. The language with which they are in constant contact is predominantly Sepedi.

Tsonope (1990:33-35) concentrates mainly on the five major Setswana dialects found in Botswana. These are:

- Sekwena, used in the central eastern part of the Kweneng district (previously known as Botswana).

- Sengwato, used over the largely populated area known as the Central District.
- Sengwaketse, used south of the Kweneng, which makes up the Southern District and shows some influence from the Sekgalagadi (Khoi).
- Setawana used near Lake Ngami, not far from the Okavango swamps, known as the North Western District.
- Sekgatla, used in the area called the Kgatleng District.

Tsonope states that there are other numerically far smaller groups such as the Batlokwa, located to the east and south of Botswana, who were originally the Bapedi, speaking the Sepedi language. The Barolong live in the southern district of Botswana and the Batlhaping live further south in the district of Botswana.

The Setswana dialects spoken in South Africa show the influence of English and Afrikaans (the previous official languages of South Africa that were imposed on Batswana students before the change of government in 1994, this includes the use of foreign words) non-changed, as there is no expression in Setswana for these terms and the implementation of words into Setswana as loan words. Currently, Setswana is one of the eleven official languages in South Africa.

In urbanized areas, Setswana is also strongly influenced by the neighbouring languages but in areas where Setswana is predominantly spoken, there is little influence from other languages. Languages in the north-west areas are spoken by small groups of other African tribes such as Sepedi, Sesotho, IsiZulu, IsiXhosa, SiSwati, Tshivenda and foreigners from neighbouring African countries, like Zimbabwe, who are employed in these areas. These smaller groups tend to speak their languages among themselves but, in public, they are forced to communicate in Setswana, Afrikaans or English.

Since research for this thesis was conducted in South Africa, the classification of Cole (1955), interpreting language facts from a South African perspective, is used as a basis

in the discussion of dialects and the standardization of Setswana. The Setswana dialects can be constructed as follows:

Setswana Dialects

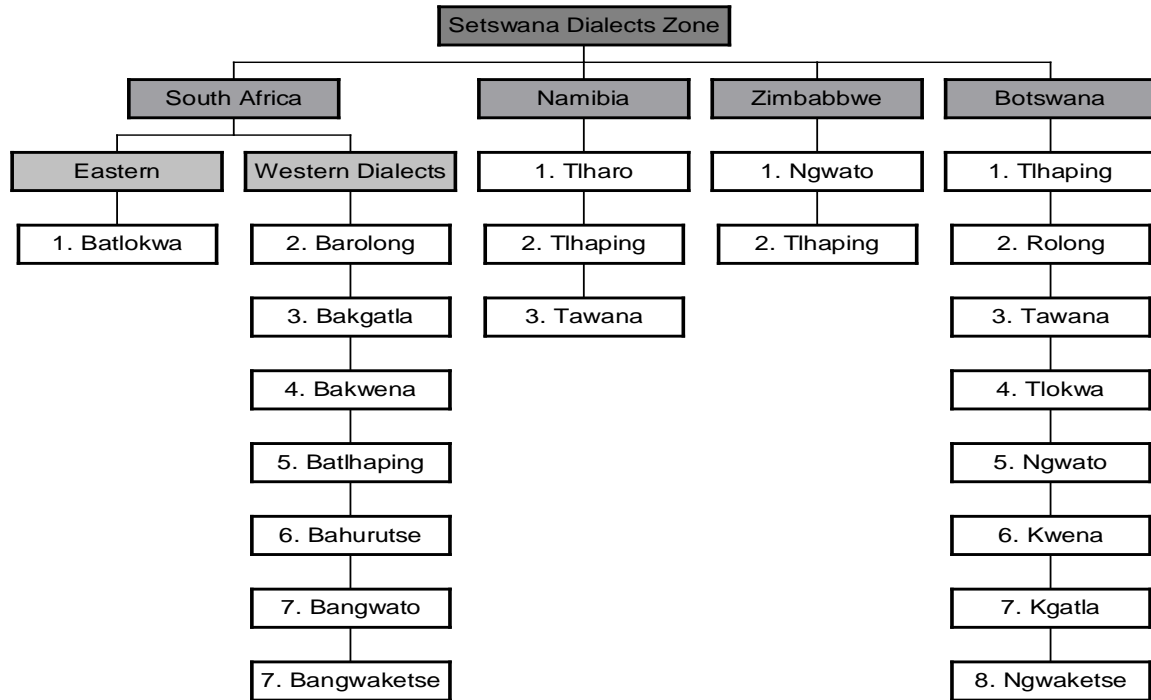


Figure 2: Setswana dialects

2.3 The role of missionaries towards documentation and the development of the language

According to Breutz (1989:10), missionaries in the 1820's who spoke Setswana, distinguished two sister languages namely, *Sichuana* and *Kaffir*. In their opinion, Setswana was more widely spread than the Nguni-languages along the Congo River because of the similarities in the grammar and basic vocabulary (Breutz, 1989:10). Breutz (ibid.) further highlights that Setswana appears to be the dominant language spoken in South Africa.

Setswana is the language most closely related to the Sotho language group, i.e. Setswana, Sesotho (Southern Sotho) and Sesotho sa Leboa (Northern Sotho). The Sotho-Setswana language group is bound in language and custom, and they happen to claim a common ancestor, Mogale. They also share certain family traditions, political and magical beliefs, and organizational culture. According to Breutz (1989:3), while the three Sotho languages are inherently intelligible for various political and historical reasons, they are generally considered to be three different languages.



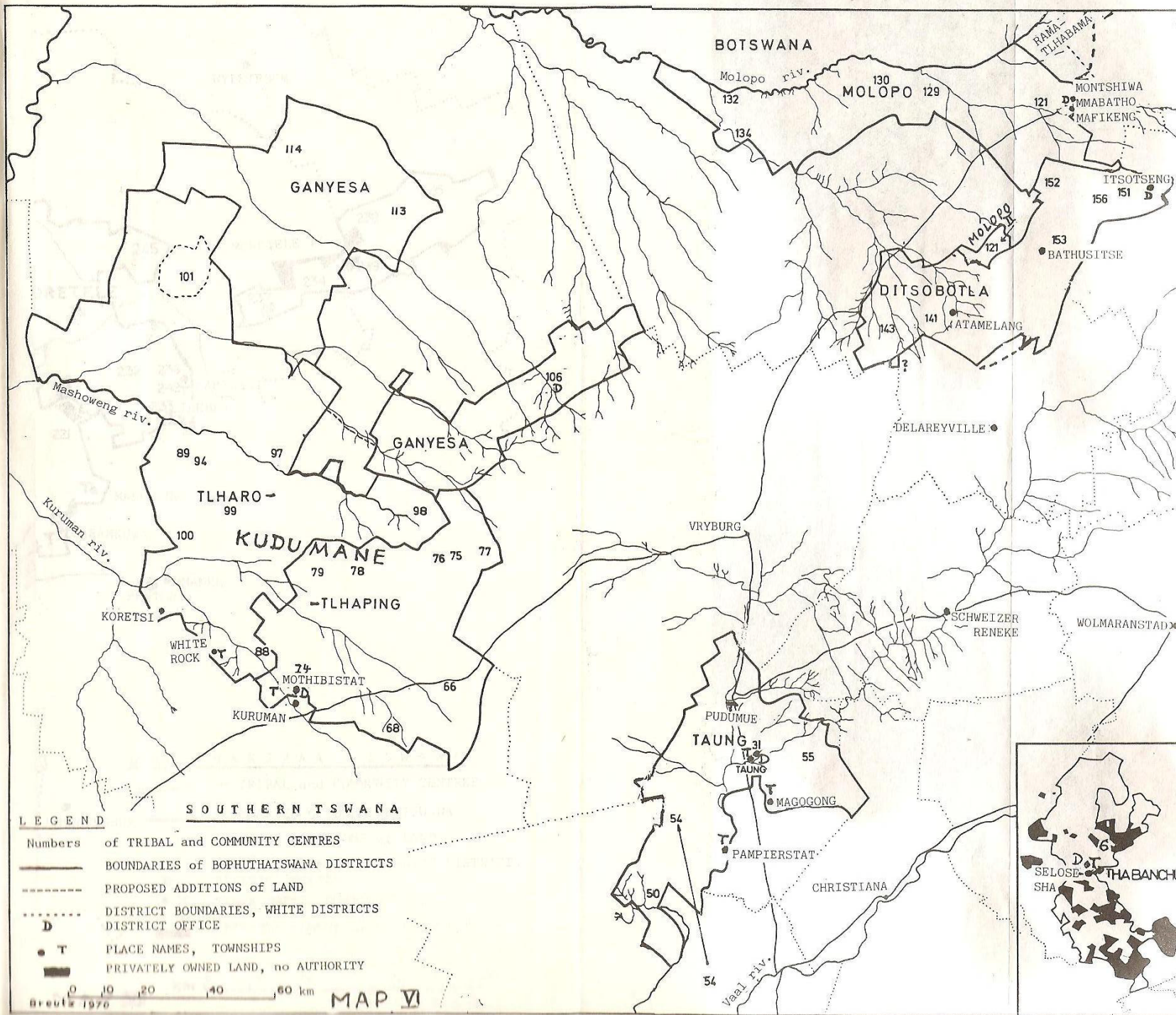
<http://www.african.gu.sc/research/setswana.html>,

Figure 3: Development of Setswana as a national language

Towards the end of the 17th century, the Setswana population increased greatly. Severe drought and famine during this period caused them to search for grazing and water. The Kwena tribe settled west of Rustenburg (now called Madikwe), and others (presently known as the Bangwato tribe) settled in Botswana, in Lobatse. The Barolong tribe migrated south to Taung and settled in Ganyesa. The Batlhaping lived on the banks of the Orange River where they lived on fish (*tlhapi* in Setswana), from

where they received their name. They had contact with the Korana-Hottentots, and ended up settling in Vryburg/Kuruman.

Breutz, (1989:11) draws attention to the fact that the Batlharo migrated south of Ganyesa, and are presently also settled in Kuruman; the Bakgatla migrated to Hammanskraal, north of Pretoria (now Tshwane); the Bakgatla-ba-ga-Kgafela settled in the east; while the Batlokwa from the west came into contact with the amaNdebele tribe in Mamelodi and Eersterus, east of Pretoria. According to Ellenberg (Lit: 1912), a section of the Batswana tribe migrated to Lesotho for further grazing and called themselves the South Sotho.



(Breutz 1970: Map vi)

Figure 4: Distribution of the Southern Batswana tribes

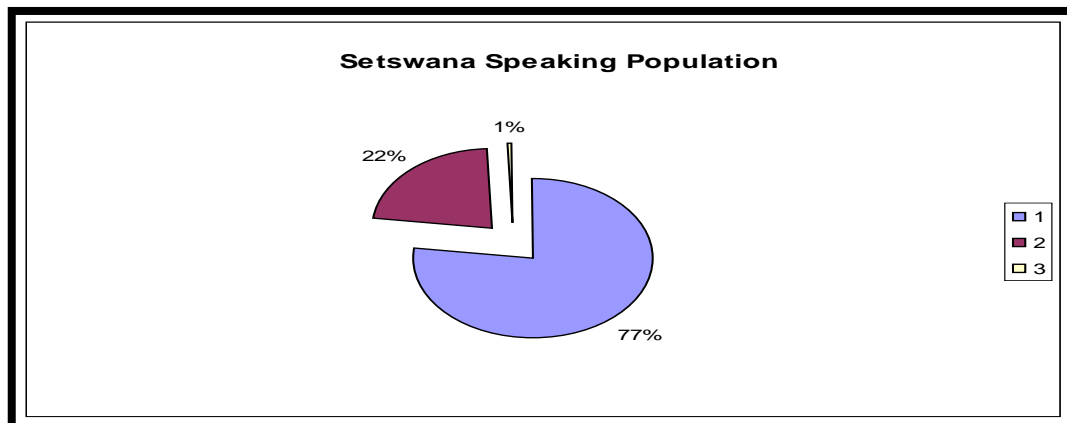
According to Breutz (1989), Rev. John Campbell, an English congregational minister, was appointed director of the London Missionary Society in 1816. His first work as a missionary was among the Batlhaping tribe in Ganyesa (formerly known as Vryburg). Rev. Robert Moffat later joined him and they began building a new mission station in 1824. The people with whom Moffat laboured at Kuruman were called the Batlhaping. They were the southern-most tribe of the Bantu-speaking group, collectively known as Batswana (also written *Bechuana* or *Bachmann*), and were the first group to encounter white people in the area of today's Botswana. Campbell and Moffat translated the Bible into Setswana and printed it at the mission station. From 1827 onwards, Methodist missionaries joined the London Missionary Society.

Cole (1992) and Ramagoshi (2000) are of the opinion that the Batswana was the first language group to receive formal schooling, except for the Xhosa in the south. Pupils of all ages were taught together in one class. In 1870, the first teachers were trained at the Bethanie mission station. Students were taught lessons from the Bible, catechism, singing, reading, arithmetic, geography, writing, Dutch and the method of teaching. Schools were built all over the country.

2.4 Population census of the Batswana speaking people

Setswana is one of the eleven official languages of South Africa, and is the national language of Botswana. According to the Report No: 03-01-11 (1996), there are approximately **3,677,016 (8,2%)** people in **South Africa**, an estimated **1,070,000** people in **Botswana**, and about **30,000** people in **Namibia** whose first language is Setswana.

The Batswana population can be illustrated as follows:



<http://www.cyberserv.co.za/users/jang/unesco/setswana.htm>

Figure 5: Census in brief: Report No: 03-01-11 (1996)

Key: Numbering on the graph.

- 1 = South Africa.
- 2 = Botswana.
- 3 = Namibia.

2.5 Contribution by the missionaries

In summary, the missionaries pioneered the study of the language, devising orthography and systematizing their findings into a first version of a Setswana grammar. (Cole, 1992: xxiii). They defined Setswana as a disjunctively written language, i.e. a language where bound and free morphemes are usually written separately. Thanks to the extensive and detailed work done by the missionaries, in what we speak of today as the history of Setswana orthography, the Setswana language became the first written Sotho language in 1806, (Breutz, 1989:3–12).

Missionaries developed Setswana orthography rather according to their understanding, than according to the phonological rules given below. However, their contributions to the development of Setswana orthography are still significant. Ramagoshi (2000:9) describes the background for the following significant developments:

- In 1806, the German, Hinrech Lichtenstein, wrote ‘The language of the *Beetjuana*’, which was later translated into English. He considered the Batswana to be a single linguistic group and wrote ‘*Beetjuana*’ words. He used the prefix *Bee-* instead of *Ba-*, which is the orthography of the prefix used today and the sound *tj* in contrast to the modern *tsw*, e.g. *Beetjuana* instead of **Botswana**.
- During his travels around South Africa in 1815, John Campbell devised a list of 80 ‘*Bootchuana*’ words. He wrote ‘*Bootchuana*’, the prefix *Boo-* instead of *Ba* (prefix) *tchua* (root) – instead of (*tswa*). Burchell, who wrote about the Batswana in 1824, adopted this writing. Dr Robert Moffat from the London Missionary Society arrived among the Batlhaping in Kudumane in 1825. He used ‘*c*’ instead of *tsh* as in *sh*, for example, in writing *Moshe* in the Bible. Professor Jones and S.T. Plaatjie wrote books called the *Sechuana Reader* and the *Jones Secwana nouns* respectively, in 1929. In 1876, Rev J T Brown wrote the *Lokwalo loa Mahuku a Secoana le Seengelese*. According to Cole (1992) and Ramagoshi (2000) it should however be noted that Brown and Moffat were influenced by the Setlhaping dialect in their writing, while Archbell and Casalis wrote in the Serolong dialect. In the word *kgomo* ‘cow’, Rev Moffat used *kh* in contrast to *kg* in today’s orthography. He used ‘*banona*’ in the place of *banna*. (UNESCO: 2000). Studies of the Batswana history traces the historical development of the major studies and function as a general reference work to the contemporary dictionaries.

2.6 Relationship between Setswana dialects and the standard language

In a descriptive synchronic sense, language can refer either to a single linguistic norm or a group of related norms. A dialect is then any one of related norms comprised under the general name “language”, which is, historically, the result of either divergence or convergence. According to Haugen (1966:923), the two concepts are

cyclically applicable, with language always the super ordinate and “dialect” the subordinate. For example, every dialect is a language, but not every language is a dialect.

In Setswana a dialect suggests neither informal, lower class nor rural speech, but is part of the language. According to (Haugen, 1966:926), there are two distinct dimensions involved in the various usages of language and dialect. One of these is structural i.e. descriptive of the language itself, the other is functional i.e. descriptive of the language its society uses in communication. Setswana has eight dialects; this means that there are eight identifiably different speech forms that have enough cognates to make it certain that they all developed from mutually understandable language. A language can also be functionally defined as a superposed norm used by speakers whose first and ordinary language may be different. Thus a language is the medium of communication between speakers of different dialects. Sociologists on the other hand may be referring to the fact that the language is more prestigious than the dialect while the dialect may be defined as an undeveloped language i.e. not standardized. South Africa is considered to be a country that uses more than one language for official purposes, but English is used as the international language (*lingua franca*).

In African languages, such as Setswana, the process of standardization was intimately tied to technological and scientific changes. These constitute a challenge for the language to achieve full development. The standard is threatened by the existence of rival norms, for example dialects among its users.

It is important to note that every vernacular, Setswana in particular, can at the very least add words borrowed from other languages, but usually possesses devices for making new words from its own resources as well. It is also important to note that where transitions in Setswana are gradual, it may be possible to find a central dialect that mediates between extremes, one that will be the easiest to learn and most conducive to group coherence.

The relationship between the standard language and its dialects described above has very specific implications for dictionary compilation for Setswana. Given the lack of a sufficient number of Setswana dictionaries aimed at specific target users, not to mention dictionaries for the different dialects or for productive or receptive use, the Setswana lexicographer is forced to accommodate the standard language as well as frequently used dialectal forms in the dictionary. There is no opportunity at this point in time to compile separate dictionaries aimed at individual dialects.

2.7 Language planning

Christopher Brumfit (1992:580) describes language planning as “the attempt to control the use status, and structure of a language through a language policy developed by a government or other authority”. The Random House Dictionary of the English Language concurs, but adds some significant detail. Language planning is “the development of policies or programmes designed to direct or change language use, as through the establishment of an official language, the standardization or modernization of a language, or the development or alteration of a writing system”. (See page 27-34).

Commentators usually distinguish between ‘natural’ and ‘interventionist’ language planning. Natural language planning actively supports the evolving language needs of a society as they emerge in response to other-than-linguistic pressures. It supports no major effort to encourage language shift or change which runs counter to the emerging language dispensation induced by other-than-linguistic changes in a society. Interventionist language planning, in contrast, is prepared to challenge the impact on the language dispensation of current sociolinguistic forces. It sets itself to revitalize moribund languages, preserves dialects, maintain languages that are under threat, modernize traditional languages for the use in different domains and defend language rights.

The term ‘language planning’ has often been identified within a third-world context as a way of standardizing national languages as a part of modernization and nation

building. It is therefore to be noted that language planning is indeed neither a modern phenomenon nor is it confined to the third world.

(http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/language_planning).

Cooper (1989) divides language planning into three sub-dimensions, as indicated below:

- **Corpus planning:** Tauli (1968) defines corpus planning as interventions in the forms of a language. Developing orthography and resources of a language to be used as a medium of communication for modern topics equipped with terminology to be used in administration, education, conversation comes under the sub-dimension of corpus planning. Exclusion of foreign words and spelling also come under this dimension. Therefore, all aspects of grammar, writing systems and standardization are concerns of corpus planning.
- **Status planning** refers to the deliberate efforts to allocate the functions of languages and literacy within a speech community. Once a suitable dialect has been chosen it will be elevated into an official language. Status planning creates a new writing system and locates the language and literacy within the community even at the expense of other competing dialects. It is mentioned that status planning is the most controversial aspect of language planning.
- **Acquisition planning** concerns the teaching and learning of languages, whether national, second and/or foreign languages. It involves efforts to increase the number of users and the distribution of languages by creating opportunities or incentives to learn the language, provincial or national, second or foreign language.

It is also important to note that planning is not necessarily conducted on a national level. Ethnic, religious or occupational groups can also carry it out. For example, by

using new and emerging vocabulary to drive language change through our interactions, we pick up new words and integrate them into our daily speech.

2.8 Language change

Diamond (1993) states that in most cases, language change is gradual and occurs through the long course of the intergration of the society with another via political unification, mobility, intermarriage, or education. While societies and their languages continually change in response to internal and external circumstances, there are proactive measures that can be implemented to either maintain the particular direction in which that language is moving or reverse it.

Dorian contends that language change ‘is the gradual displacement of one language by another in the lives of community members’. (cited in Huebner 1987). Huebner (1987) adds that language change can be either partial or complete. The following are some conditions that affect societal language change:

- Origin of the contact situation

Voluntary migration, especially of individuals and families, results in the most rapid language change.

- Status differential in power and economics

The official languages occupy a particular domain, namely that of administrations, government, education and the media, whereas indigenous languages are found primarily in the domains of family and friendship. Mansour (1993) claims that indigenous languages are more susceptible to language change because of their limited function of serving social interactional needs.

- Cultural Values

Kulik (1994, p. 7) posits that ethnic identity or the way in which the expression of positive and highly valued aspects of the self comes to be bound to expression through a particular language is the most crucial factor influencing the rate and finality of language change.

- Demographics

The size of the speech community reflects the vitality and potentiality for language change or maintenance. According to Crawford, (1995), movements of people will affect language use. Mobility often leads to intermarriage with other language speakers.

- Status of the Writing System

According to Spencer, (1992), a writing system legitimates literacy efforts which in turn contribute to the cultural production and vitality of a community. There was a massive effort in Setswana to standardize the writing and spelling system and to develop dictionaries and grammars. (See page 28-35).

The language change is caused by various factors, for instance, sociolinguistic reasons, e.g. the imitation of English and Afrikaans as spoken by the upper classes, the historical dominance of correspondence in English, and so forth. Before 1994, the political boundaries set limits to the degree of intercommunication among people living in the same area, as was the case in the former Bophuthatswana, one of the so-called Bantustans, now the North West Province. The Bophuthatswana government restricted the use of English as a form of correspondence and introduced Setswana as learning and teaching medium from Grade 0 to Grade 6. The implementation of language development activities and literacy was developed and training in the translation and development of literacy materials in Setswana was encouraged.

According to Chaucer (1902), before a language can change, speakers must adapt new words, sentence structures and sounds, spread them throughout the community and transmit them to the next generation.

Lyons (1981:208) refers to two general factors of language change as ‘analogy’ and ‘borrowing’

(a) Analogy

"An analogy can be defined as a spoken or textual comparison between two words to highlight some form of semantic similarity between them. Linguistics defines analogy as a process that reduces word forms perceived as irregular by remarking them in the shape of more common forms that are governed by rules. For example, the English verb ‘help’ once had the preterits *holp* and the past participle *holpen*. These obsolete forms have been discarded and replaced by ‘helped’ by the power of analogy."

Langacker (1987:445–447) states, ‘analogy’ is often presented as an alternative mechanism to generative rules for explaining productive formation of structures such as words. Others argue that they are, in fact, the same mechanism, that rules are analogies that have become entrenched as standard parts of the linguistic system.

Lyons (1992:30) defines ‘analogy’ as the main factor which the neo-grammarians invoked to account for exceptions to their sound-law¹ He states:

"It came to be realized that ‘analogy’ was a major factor in the development of languages at all periods and could be attributed merely to periods of decline and corruption."

¹ The sound-law meant to aim at an orthography that reflects the phonetics of the language

It is important to note that the development of language had frequently been influenced by the tendency to create new word forms with more common and regular patterns of formation. In Setswana, 'analogy' can be defined as 'equivalents' in a language, which are determined by the frequent use of a particular word in a given environment. An example of high frequency is *go kgwa* and *go tlhatsa* (to vomit). The word *go tlhatsa* is more frequently used than *go kgwa*. The rule is also more 'regional' as the words *go kgwa* is more often used in the Free State as a dialect than *go tlhatsa*.

In many languages there are several stages of politeness when people interact. As such, a mother tongue speaker puts several of them into practice in everyday communication. This fact entails that words referring to the same entity appear in different forms in several internal lexicons of the speaker. Each of these forms is only to be uttered in a certain social interaction, dependent on the social roles of speaker and hearer and the context of their interaction, and the position they take in the social hierarchy. For example, some words may be explicitly used by women towards other women; others might be acceptable between teenagers but a taboo towards elders, like, e.g. *lesipa*, as in the following:

'Lesipa' la ntswa le dujwa le sa le metsi (mess of a dog is stirred whilst wet)

'mantle' a ntswa a dujwa a sa le metsi (mess of a dog is stirred whilst wet)

English meaning (Spare the rod and spoil the child)

'Lesipa' (mess) is an offensive, vulgar swearword and must not be used when speaking to adults or elderly people. It is argued that words such as *'lesipa'* encourage the youth to disrespect the values and norms of their community. The word *'mantle'* (mess) is more preferred culturally than *'lesipa'*. An analogy and its explanatory force in the case of exceptions to the 'sound- laws' can be illustrated as follows:

Ke 'tlaa' tla ka moso (I will come tomorrow)

Ke 'tla' tla ka moso (I will come tomorrow)

According to Setswana spelling rules, published in 2008, double vowels appear when ‘a’ vowel occurs twice, as in future tense marker, *tlaa*: Previously, this future tense marker was spelt with one vowel as in *tla* (come) as in: *Ke tla tla ka moso*. (I will come tomorrow) and *ke tlaa tla ka moso*. (I will come tomorrow).

When looking at the behaviour of the ‘*tla*’ and ‘*tlaa*’ the sound ‘*tlaa*’ seems to be more appropriate than ‘*tla*’. In this instance, the behaviour indicates whether it has been modified or not.

Maipolelo (telling about yourself) > Curriculum vitae (CV)

Maikao > Curriculum vitae (CV)

The word *maipolelo* (CV) was replaced by *maikao* by the Language Board since the word *maikao* was considered more relevant than *maipolelo*. In this section, the research is of great significance in advocating the inclusion or exclusion of analogy in the Setswana dictionaries. In the National Setswana lexicography Unit (NLU), it is still a huge debate whether to include the new words (standardized) or those used prehistorically.

(b) Loanwords / Borrowing words

Kruger (1965:6) defines loanwords as words that are not indigenous in a certain language, but that are adapted to the morphosyntactic rules of the language which are used by the speakers of that language. To meet the needs of dictionary users, it is essential to standardize and improve the Setswana corpus to express modern concepts. Adapted words like the following were introduced to provide the terminology needed in subjects such as maths, science and business.

<i>Tafel</i>	(Afrikaans)	→	<i>tafola</i>
<i>Stoel</i>	(Afrikaans)	→	<i>setulo</i>
Cent	(English)	→	<i>sente</i>
Cement	(English)	→	<i>semente</i>
Train	(English)	→	<i>terene</i>
Motorcar	(English)	→	<i>motorokara</i>
University	(English)	→	<i>univesity</i>

(Terminology and Orthography no 4 (1998))

The introduction of modern technology, language change and loanwords from other languages such as English and Afrikaans causes the emergence of new words for Setswana. Consider the following examples:

Cell phone	→	<i>Mogala wa letheke</i>	>	Translation into new term
Programme	→	<i>Motshwara-marapo</i>	>	Translation into new term
director				
Teacher	→	<i>Moruta-bana</i>	>	Translation into new term
Aeroplane	→	<i>Sefofane</i>	>	Extension of meaning of a previously existing word.
Computer	→	<i>Komputara</i>	>	Adaptation to sound-law, loan word.
Celsius	→	Celsius	>	No adaptation, foreign word.

Crystal (1985:183) defines a loanword as a linguistic unit, which has come to be used in a language other than the one in which it originated. Loanwords should be directly translated to further develop the language. Such activity facilitates the preparation of the educational materials, and, generally strengthens the Setswana language. The speakers are not aware of the fact that these words are foreign, but have become part of that language. For example; *mogala wa letheka* (cell phone) is usually used by illiterate people and seldom in informal gatherings and it does not represent the language as it is spoken by the Batswana people.

It is important to note that language planning does not take place in a vacuum. A variety of social factors should be taken into consideration. For example, loanwords are well understood and preferred by the young urban population more than by people living in the rural areas. The use of borrowed/foreign language depends on social factors such as strong cultural contacts, age, geographical area and education. Gumperz (1982:66) defines borrowing words or loanwords as follows:

"...the introduction of single word or short, frozen idiomatic phrases from one variety [i.e. language] into the other. The items in question are incorporated into the grammatical system of the borrowing language".

According to Ramagoshi (2000:38), the Setswana Language Board constituted in 1960 and 1980 by the Department of Education, was the main body focusing on language development and standardization. For example, the Board focused on the translation of government documents including forms, notices and departmental reports.

The Setswana language cannot afford to ignore or neglect foreign influence. In this regard language planners often prefer borrowing or loaning from foreign sources. Thus modern dictionaries should play an important role in the implementation action of new terminologies.

2.9 Language development

Leepiles (2003) defines the purpose of language development as a domain that develops the Setswana language for use in scientific, technological and socio-economic fields and to inform the Batswana in the national language at government level and to promote the use of indigenous language systems. This includes the development of (1) a writing system (2) a dictionary and (3) grammatical rules. It is important to note that (1), (2) and (3) urgently need to be updated in dictionaries for Setswana.

2.9.1 Writing system orthography (1929–1937)

The central committee was disbanded and, in 1930, the Transvaal Sotho committees were formed with a Setswana sub-committee known as ‘The Practical Orthography Committee’. During the same year representatives from the four provinces: Botswana, Free State, Cape Province and Transvaal (now Gauteng) agreed on using a writing system known as the ‘Mafikeng Orthography’. In 1931, they devised another orthography, which differed from both the Mafikeng and the Central Orthography. During the 1937 conference, the differences and similarities between the Central Orthography and the Bloemfontein Orthography were discussed and the following was agreed upon:

- The semi-vowel would be written as **y** and **w**
- The aspiration of affricatives would be written as **h**
- The velar fricative would be written as **g** and no longer as **x**

In the same year (1937), the Setswana Language Board was formed by the Transvaal Education Department. The two Sotho language boards, i.e. the ‘Central Orthography’

and ‘Bloemfontein Orthography’, were combined and the following proposals were made:

- Diacritics would be utilized for technical and scientific work only
- The vowels *ê* and *ô* would be used without diacritics as *e* and *o*
- The *g* would represent *x*; *g* and the *h* would be retained for South Sotho
- Semi-vowels would be written as *y* and *w*

(Bantu Studies, 1937:11-137:148. A practical Orthography for Tswana)

2.9.1.1 Articulator phonetics

Phonological information, such as vowels and consonants, are not provided in most Setswana dictionaries. Thus the forthcoming corpus-based dictionaries should attempt to include them. Consider the following:

(a) Consonants

The following articulations are placed among those used in Setswana and other related languages: (with or without secondary articulations of various kinds). We use the International Phonetic Association (IPA) alphabet for illustration.

- **Bilabial**, the lips are brought together; for example: [p]; [b]; [m]
- **Labiodentals**, the lower lip is brought into contact with the upper teeth, for example: [f], [v] whereas [p], [b], [m] are stops, [f] and [v] are fricatives.
- **Dental**, the tip of the tongue is brought into contact with the upper teeth, for example: [t], [d], [n], [l], [r]
- **Alveolar**, the tip of the tongue is brought into contact with the alveolar ridge e.g. [t], [d], [n], [s], [z]

- **Velar**, the back of the tongue is brought into contact with the velum or soft palate, e.g. [k] , [g] and the **fricatives** [x] and [ɣ]
- **Glottal**, the vocal cords are brought together e.g. [h] and [ʔ]

(Terminology and Orthography no. 3, 1972 and Cole, 1992:19)

The Sotho Language Board of the former Transvaal Department of Education made proposals to change certain consonants which were more related to the Sotho language than the Setswana language. The following consonant changes were made to the Setswana Orthography:

Comparative list orthography	
1929	1950
<i>by</i>	<i>bj</i>
<i>fs</i>	<i>fš</i>
<i>fy</i>	<i>fš (f, šw)</i>
<i>x</i>	<i>g</i>
<i>hl</i>	<i>hl (tlh)</i>
<i>kx</i>	<i>kg</i>
<i>py</i>	<i>pš (pš)</i>
<i>phs</i>	<i>phš</i>
<i>psh/phy</i>	<i>pšh</i>
<i>ths</i>	<i>tšh</i>

(Terminology and Orthography no 4 1988)

In the light of the above changes and the impact they will have on the effectiveness of a dictionary, it is recommended that the existing Setswana dictionaries be revised within the limits of their intended function.

(b) Vowels

a: rata (like)

<i>ê: r êma</i>	(chop)	phonetically <i>ê: rêma</i>
<i>e: lema</i>	(plough)	phonetically [e]: <i>thabeng</i>
<i>î: rîpa</i>	(cut)	
<i>ô: lôra</i>	(dream)	
<i>o: noka</i>	(river)	
<i>u: ruta</i>	(teach)	

Here are two points to bear in mind:

- The letters **e** and **ê** each represents two different sounds namely [e] and [ɛ], [o] and [ô] that are variants of each sound.
- The lengthened vowel (which normally occurs in the penultimate syllable) is written as a single letter: *polelo; ba rata nama; re a ja*

(c) Semi vowels

(a) Nasals **m** (*loma*); **n** (*nama*), **ny** (*nyala*), **ng** (*ngapa*)

There are two significant aspects to note on these nasals:

- Phonetic symbols are not to be used for the writing of **ny** and **ng**, just because people have become used to **ny** and **ng** which function as syllabic nasals and are both represented by **n**, as in *nyyala* and *nngapa*

(d) Bilabial consonants

p (*pula*), **ph** (*phula*), **py** (*bopya*), **phs** (*phsina*), **phš** (*phšatla*), **phy** (*phyaphya*).

Note the following:

- **ps**, **py**, **phs**, **phy** and **phš** are called plosive consonants, and not fricatives.

- The committee points out that *phs* is a variant of *phy*.
- Aspiration is indicated by the letter *h* which appears between the letters *t* and *s/š/y* [*tapa*] [*tanya*]

(e) Alveolar consonants.

t (tau), *th* (*tharo*), *ts* (*tsebe*), *ths* (*thsebe*), *tl* (*tloga*)
th, *ts*, and *thš* are called **plosives**, and not **fricatives**.

(f) Velar consonants

k (*boka*), *kh* (*khumo*), *kx* (*kgomo*)

(g) Fricative consonants (voiceless)

(i) Bilabial consonants

f (*fofa*), *fs* (*lefsifsi*), *fy* (*fyega*)

(ii) Alveolar and palatal consonants

s (*setlhare*), *s* (*supa*), *s* (*sol*)

(Terminology and Orthography No. 4, 1988)

2.9.2 Grammatical rules

According to Lyons (1981:109), part of speech: nouns, verbs, adjectives, prepositions, abbreviations, etc. play a crucial role in the formulation of the grammatical rules of a language. The Setswana language is not an exception. Only abbreviation rules as an example will be discussed in this section. It is important to note that abbreviation plays an important role as follows:

- ❖ Abbreviation is a welcomed device especially in those varieties of language where time or space is at a premium.
- ❖ Abbreviation makes listeners and readers work harder, each element we omit, and each item we introduce, imposes an extra demand on listeners and readers.

2.9.2.1 Abbreviation rules

Current available Setswana dictionaries do not include the abbreviation rules. They should be indicated in forthcoming Setswana dictionaries. According to Lyons (1981:20), the generativist sees language change in terms of the addition, loss or recording of the rules that determine a speaker's linguistic competence.

There are a number of rules that could be applied:

- By using the first letter of each content word forming the description. For example:

LBPS	<i>Lekgotla la Bosetšhaba la Puo ya Setswana</i>
BABD	<i>Biro ya Aforika-Borwa ya Dikelotheo</i>
MPAB	<i>Mophato wa Phemelo wa Aforika-Borwa</i>
DSAB	<i>Ditirelo tsa Sepodisi tsa Aforika-Borwa (South African Police Services)</i>

- By using a small letter with a full stop after every letter. For example:

k.g.k.	<i>ka gore ke</i>	(for that reason)
k.j.	<i>ka jalo</i>	(therefore)
k.m.a.m.	<i>ka mafoko a mangwe</i>	(in other words)
j.l.j.	<i>jalo le jalo</i>	(etc.)

- In case of cardinal points, only the first and third letters are taken as abbreviations. For example:

Bk *Bokone* (North)

Br *Borwa* (South)

Bp *Bophirima* (West)

Bt *Botlhaba* (East)

- **Measurements.** It was agreed at the conference that the international abbreviations used in English should apply. For example:

l *litara*

kg *kilograma*

g *gerama*

kg *kilogerama*

m *mmitara*

cm *sentimetara*

ha *heketara*

- **Acronyms:** Acronyms that are familiar and associated with people's lives cannot be changed. For example:

HIV Human Immunodeficiency Virus

Aids Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome

TB Tuberculosis

JSE Johannesburg Stock Exchange

- **University qualifications:**

SEC Secondary Education Certificate

JC Junior Certificate

BA Bachelor of Arts

BSc Bachelor of Science

LLB Bachelor of Law

B.Com Bachelor of Commerce

- **Personal names:**

Mopr	<i>Moporofeta</i>	(prophet)
Mot	<i>Motlotlegi</i>	(honourable)
Mokan	<i>Mokanseliri</i>	(counselor)
Mopr	<i>Mopresidente</i>	(president)
Mohn	<i>Mohumagatsana</i>	(mrs)
Ng	<i>Ngaka</i>	(doctor)
Mor	<i>Morutabana</i>	(teacher)

(Terminology and Orthography no. 4)

If the lexicographers are concerned about the user's needs, they simply have to consider improving the functional quality of the dictionary. The above-mentioned rules and vocabulary as applied in Setswana orthography require an urgent change in the macrostructure of the Setswana dictionary.

2.10 Somerset House Conference of 1947

Aims and Objectives

- To remove the differences between the Sepedi and Setswana orthography

- To use diacritics only in cases where they differentiate meaning and in technical and scientific publications
- To standardize the Sepedi and Setswana orthography

Committee proposals

- Diacritics should only be used in technical and scientific work
- The vowels e and o should be written without diacritics as in *ê* and *ô*
- The letter g should represent the letter *x*, *g*, and *h*. The letter *h* would be retained for South Sotho
- South Sotho should use *d* and not *l* as in Sepedi and Setswana.
- The letter *g* should represent *x*, *g* and *h*.
- The letter *s* should represent the *s* sound and, the letters [*sh*] should represent [*š*]

(Transvaal Sotho Orthography of 1929 and the Setswana Orthography)

2.10.1 Impact of Bantu education on Setswana orthography

In 1962, the Setswana Language Board was formed and its duties included coining new words, screening new books, prescribing Setswana literature and translating examination question papers. The Setswana Language Board encountered many problems because authors wrote in their own dialects and the editors rejected the manuscripts since they were not written in their own particular dialect. Radio Bantu was used as the media for promoting the Setswana language. During the same year (1962), a new terminology was compiled and forwarded to the Setswana Language Board to be approved and added to the list of Setswana terminology. In 1964, the committee agreed on the standard orthography, which resulted in the publishing of the Terminology Orthography *no 3*.

2.10.2 Challenges facing the Setswana Language Board

The Setswana Language is comprised seven dialects and the committee was faced with a challenge of having to choose the dialect to be used as a standard orthography.

Comparisons were made of the different dialects. They compared the dialects found in the South and discovered a Sepedi influence, for instance: *mpša* and *mpya* (dog) are derived from the Sepedi dialects. The Eastern dialects were also compared and found to be influenced by the South Sotho dialect, for example; *ntša*, *ntja* (dog). They finally decided to use *ntšwa* from the Sehurutse dialect and agreed that Sehurutse was to be used as the basis for standard Setswana. When Bophuthatswana became independent, various committees were formed for the publication and evaluation of the manuscripts.

The Setswana Language Board was established under the Department of Education. Other departments such as the Department of Translation and Development (DTD) for Setswana were formulated. According to Ramagoshi (2000), some words in English and Afrikaans were now given new meaning.

Consider the following examples:

Account	>	<i>Matlotlo</i>
Accountant General	>	<i>Mmalamatlotlo kakaretso</i>
Treasury	>	<i>letlotlo</i>
Fund	>	<i>letlole</i>

Account > *Tshupatlotlo*
Sessional Committee > *Komiti ya motlhaakokoano*

(Terminology Orthography no. 4)

2.11 Principles of the Setswana orthography

According to Ramagoshi (2000:60), orthography rules for Setswana have been determined rather by principles (a) to (f), as there were no standards available.

(a) Phonological principle

The phonological principle is suitable for the immigration of loan words. Such words should be adapted to suit the Setswana morphological rules. Consider the following examples:

Tafel (Afrikaans) > *tafolo*
Stoel (Afrikaans) > *setulo*
Rand (English) > *ranta*
Television (English) > *televisioni*
Fabriek (Afrikaans) > *faboriki*
Vye (Afrikaans) > *feiye*
Style (English) > *setaele*

(b) Semantic principle

The semantic principle is best suitable in the division of a word and recognized by its pronunciation or written the way it is pronounced. For example, the word *modulasetulo* ‘chairperson’ is written as a single word, but sounds as two separate words. Consider the following examples:

<i>Senotsididi</i>	>	(cold drink or cooldrink)
<i>Modulasetulo</i>	>	(chairperson)
<i>Seyalemowa</i>	>	<i>Seya</i> ‘goes’ <i>le mowa</i> ‘along the air’ (radio)
<i>Ntlolehalahala</i>	>	(hall)

Compare also the examples written as one word in English, while in Setswana, they must be expressed in several words, as there is no literal translation available

<i>Sekhurumelo sa pitsa</i>	>	(lid)
<i>Ditlamelwana tsa pula</i>	>	(raingarmets)
<i>Kgwedi ya bosupa</i>	>	(seventh month)

(c) Apostrophe and hyphen

Hyphens are used to connect part of speech that expresses certain ideas. The use of the hyphen is prevalent in poetry and should be avoided as much as possible in grammar. Compound words should be written without the hyphen. For example, *Setsayamodumo* (tape recorder) and *lenanathuto* (syllabus) rather than *Setsaya-modumo* and *Lenana-thuto*.

(Terminology and Orthography no. 4)

(d) Principle to facilitate reading

This refers to word divisions, which help to facilitate reading. Words should be written in such a manner as to make reading easier. Written Setswana is divided according to the parts of speech, for example, *yo o buang* (who is talking) is written as three separate words. In this way, the eyes can easily recognise those parts of speech to facilitate reading.

(e) Principle to facilitate writing

The principle facilitates the spelling so that the writer should not make spelling mistakes while writing. It is for that reason why certain words like Sekgowa, Setswana etc. are always written with capital letters, even when they are used as adjectives. This assists the writers not to make spelling mistakes.

(Terminology and Orthography no. 4)

(f) Principle of the history of orthography

The spelling of personal names and surnames written in the old orthography is determined by these principles. For example:

<i>Huhudi</i>	not	<i>Gugudi</i>
<i>Thabanchu</i>	not	<i>Thabantsho</i>
<i>Setswana</i>	not	<i>Sechuana</i>
<i>Kgomo</i>	not	<i>Khomo</i>

(Terminology and Orthography no. 4)

Principles for the formation of the Setswana orthography rules have previously not been formulated. The only solution to this problem is to include it in the forthcoming Setswana dictionaries.

2.12 Dictionaries

Definition

Leech (1990:204), defines a dictionary as a reference book on the living-room or library shelf. He further describes the dictionary as follows:

“It is the inbuilt dictionary which every one of us carries around as part of his mental equipment as a speaker of a language”.

Wikipedia defines a dictionary as a list of words with their definitions, a list of characters with their glyphs, or a list corresponding words in other languages. Many dictionaries include pronunciation information; grammatical information; word derivations, histories, or etymologies; which may use online databases.

There are three types of Setswana dictionaries, namely; (a) monolingual dictionaries, (b) bilingual dictionaries and (c) trilingual dictionaries.

2.12.1 Monolingual Dictionaries

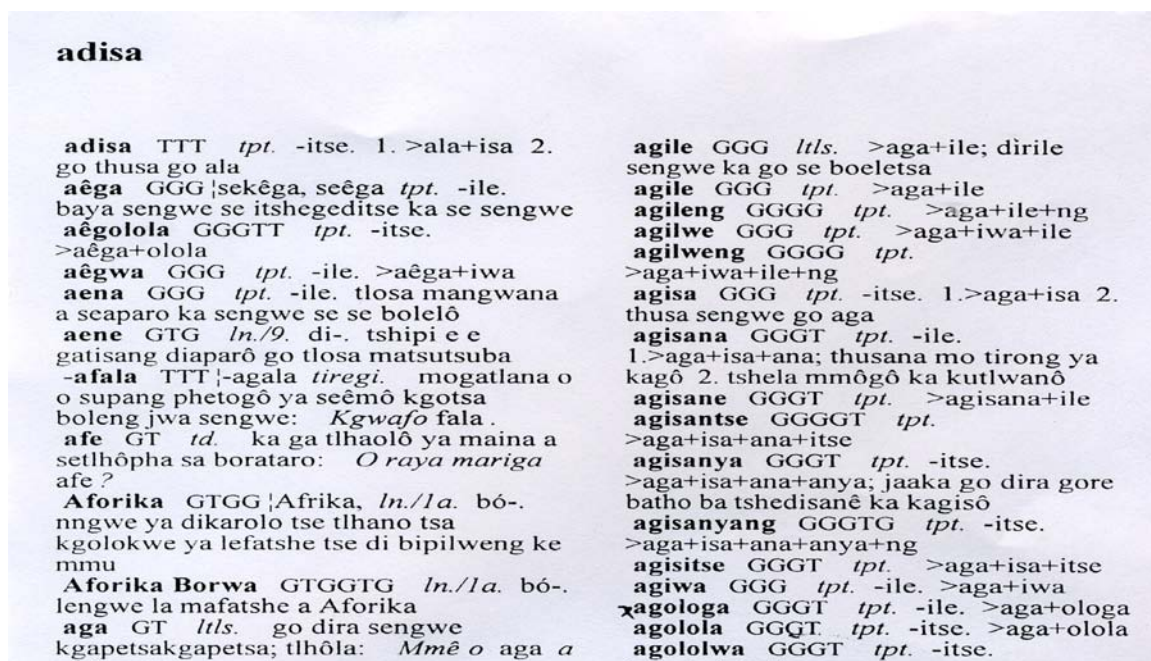
Monolingual dictionaries are designed as an aid to the speakers of the source language i.e. Setswana. Mother tongue speakers as well as the second language speakers who have a broader knowledge of the Setswana language use the dictionary. Two monolingual Setswana dictionaries have been published:

(a) *Thanodi ya Setswana ya Dikole (THAND)*

bogare	boikgantshê
go nyatsa ba bangwe Boganka <i>ga se bobelokgalê</i> .	bogôma-bôna-bodipa. bogonoko botlhôka popêgô, serwê se seyô.
bogare fa e leng go re dintlha tsoo-pedi dia lekana.	bogôrôgelô felô fa go gôrôgêlwang teng.
bogareganaga bokgakala jo botona. bogatlapa tshabô ya motho le phôlogôlô ka kgopolô ya go tshaba loso; tlhokô ya bobelokgalê <i>Mo dilong dingwe bogatlapa boa thusa; mo go tse dingwe boa bolaya.</i>	bogosi (ma) tirô ya kgosi go busa morafe kgotsa setshaba; maêmô a kgosi. bogwata boswata; dithônyana mo mmeding <i>Lejê-le-le bogwata.</i> <i>Ngwana o dule boswata.</i>
bogatô fa go bêwang lonao teng. bogatsu se se omeletsang nama ka lobakanyana bogolo jang fa motho a ntse fatshe lobaka lo loleele.	bogwêra sekole sa basimane sa Setswana se go rutwang bonna mo go sônê.
bogaufi fa go seng kgakala. bogautshwane fa go atametseng thata.	bohula timanô ya dijô; mowa wa go palêlwa ke go ja le ba bangwe <i>Motho yo o bohula ga a ratwe.</i>
bogisa bôna boga. bogisêga nna mo kemong ya go tshwarwa ka bosethogo.	bohutsana (ma) kutlôbotlhoko e e leriweng ke bojosi, bogolo jang moragô ga loso lwa yo o ne a ratêga thata.
bogôbê (ma) bopi jo bo apêwang mabêlê a sena go thugwa (tlhobolwa); seiô se seoalo sa	boi tshabô. hidiidi hontseintei

Kgasa published the first monolingual dictionary THAND in Botswana in 1976. The dictionary comprises of 126 pages. Its main target group are the primary school learners.

(c) Thanodi ya Setswana (THAN)



Kgasa published the second monolingual dictionary THAN in Botswana in collaboration with Tsonope in 1998. THAN is mainly targeted for the secondary school and university students. The dictionary consists of 330 pages.

2.12.2 Bilingual Dictionaries

The existing bilingual Setswana dictionaries serve the speakers of both the source and the target language i.e. the Setswana and the English speakers. Two bilingual dictionaries have been published:

- a) Secwana-English Dictionary (SED)
- b) Setswana-English Dictionary (MSED)

(a) Secwana – English Dictionary (SED)

SHOGOMA—SHONOLA		289
<p>Shogoma, v.i., pft. <i>shogomile</i>, be agitated, as an excited crowd; be shaky, as the spokes of a loose wheel; shake.</p> <p>Shogottha, v.t., pft. <i>shogothhile</i>, rub between the hands, or knuckles, as in washing clothes.</p> <p>Shogothhetsa, v.t., pft. <i>shogothheditse</i>, stab.</p> <p>Shoka, v.t., pft. <i>shokile</i>, twist; wring; turn round; wind, as a watch. <i>Shoka leithò</i>, look with one eye partly closed and the other lid puckered up.</p> <p>Shokama, v.i., pft. <i>shokame</i>, be crooked; err.</p> <p>Shokamisa, v.t., pft. <i>shokamisitse</i>, caus. of <i>shokama</i>, cause to be crooked; make crooked; cause to err.</p> <p>Shokashoka, v., pft. <i>shokashokile</i>, strive either with body or tongue; pull about from side to side; jostle.</p> <p>Shokashokana, v., pft. <i>shokashòkanye</i>, rec. of <i>shokashoka</i>, strive together; wrestle.</p> <p>Shokala, v.t., pft. <i>shokale</i>, prep.</p>	<p><i>Shola molemò</i>, use, or put to a good use; make good use of; put to good account.</p> <p>Sholèga, v.i., pft. <i>sholegile</i>, become smoothed or stroked. <i>Sholèga molemò</i>, be of use.</p> <p>Sholòbòtla, adj., Perfectly naked. <i>O sholòbòtla</i>, he hasn't a stitch on him.</p> <p>Sholohedisa, v.t., pft. <i>sholoheditse</i>, caus. of <i>sholohèla</i>, cause to hope; promise.</p> <p>Sholohèla, v.t., pft. <i>sholohetse</i>, hope; expect; look for confidently.</p> <p>Sholohesèga, v.i., pft. <i>sholohesègile</i>, become hopeful; be in a state in which there is hope.</p> <p>Sholohetsa, v.t., pft. <i>sholoheditse</i>, caus. of <i>sholohèla</i>, cause to hope; promise.</p> <p>Sholohologa, v.i., pft. <i>sholohologile</i>, rev. of <i>sholohèla</i>, cease hoping; despair.</p> <p>Sholwa, v., pass. of <i>shola</i>, pft. <i>shodilwe</i>, is being smoothed.</p> <p>Shoma, v.i., pft. <i>shomile</i>, be full; complete.</p> <p>Shama, n. A bulb of any species:</p>	

The dictionary was published in 1925 by Rev J. Tom Brown. The dictionary was designed to assist the Batswana in the translation of the Bible.

(b) Setswana, English Dictionary (MSED)

maratla	maròpó
<p>maratla N. CL. 6 <i>ma-</i>, PL. OF <i>leratla</i>, noises.</p> <p>maratò N. CL. 6 <i>ma-</i>, PL. OF <i>leratò</i>, DER. F. <i>rata</i>, love; liking; calf love; sensual love.</p> <p>maréélèlò N. CL. 6 <i>ma-</i>, DER. F. <i>rèélèla</i>, named after, as a person, or thing that is named after something; namesake.</p> <p>mareetsane N. CL. 6 <i>ma-</i>, DER. F. <i>reetsa</i>, one who is fond of listening.</p> <p>marekisetso N. CL. 6 <i>ma-</i>, outlet for a chain of stores.</p> <p>marekisetso N. CL. 6 <i>ma-</i>, PL. OF <i>borekisetso</i>, market.</p> <p>marèla V. S. APPL. OF <i>mara</i>, similar to <i>pharèla</i>, bespatter; throw mud at, or on; besmirch.</p> <p>marele N. CL. 6 <i>ma-</i>, same as <i>dihutshane</i>, a mixed flock of sheep and goats. N.B. the expression used when teasing someone, <i>wa re marele a dinbu tsoga mano?</i></p>	<p>mariri N. CL. 6 <i>ma-</i>, COLL. PL. OF <i>moriri</i>. The use of the collective plural serves to bring out the meaning of hair that is big, ugly and frightening. N.B. the ordinary plural is not used to bring out the meaning of several or many strands of hair, but rather, sets of hair from several heads.</p> <p>mariso N. CL. 6 <i>ma-</i>, PL. OF <i>leriso</i>, same as <i>maruswa</i>, a herbaceous plant with large watery edible roots, or bulbs.</p> <p>maritsa N. CL. 6 <i>ma-</i>, NO SING., same as <i>maritsè</i>, dregs; lees of beer, reserved for the oldest member of the group.</p> <p>maritsa N. CL. 6 <i>ma-</i>, PL. OF <i>leritsa</i>, residue.</p> <p>maritshane N. CL. 6 <i>ma-</i>, NO SING., a girl's covering of strings.</p> <p>maritshe N. CL. 1A⁰, SING. OF <i>bomaritshe</i>, a large wood grub; a hairy caterpillar.</p>

The envisaged revision of *Matumo's Setswana-English-Setswana Dictionary* (MSED) is the fourth edition of what is titled since 1993 the *Setswana-English-Setswana dictionary*. The first edition dates back to approximately 1975, the second to 1895, and the third to 1925, entitled SED. The latter was compiled by J. Tom Brown and formed the basis for this dictionary (MSED). It is primarily intended for the English speakers who want to learn the Setswana language visa/verse.

2.12.3 Trilingual Dictionaries

(a) Setswana, English and Afrikaans Dictionary (SEAD)

The *Dikišinare ya Setswana* was published in 1990 by Snyman et al. in South Africa. It is designed to serve all three languages i.e. Setswana, English and Afrikaans. Its target group was the secondary and the university readers.

SEAD

sógwaná

155

somō

fat person's thighs // skaafmerke aan die binnekant van 'n vet persoon se dye
sógwaná, le- ma- dim < *lesogo*, small francolin // fisantjie, patrysie

sóka (sòka), wring, twist (a piece of metal or a limb), stir (stiff porridge while it cooks) // draai, wring ('n stuk metaal of 'n ledemaat), roer (stywe pap terwyl dit kook)

sókámā (sòkama) < *sòka*, become crooked // krom raak

sókámē (sòkame) *perf* < *sòkama*, be or was crooked // is of was krom

sókángwā (sòkangwa) *pass* < *sòkama* in *eg Go a sokangwa*, There is becoming crooked // Daar word krom geraak

sókásòka (sòkasòka) *tr*, persuade, induce, struggle, turn to and fro // oorreed, oorhaal, worstel, sukkel, heen en weer draai

sókē (sòkē), 1. *n mo- me- dev* < *sòka*,

sókótsē (sòkòtse) *perf* < *sòkòla*, (have or has) plodded or trudged // het gesukkel of aangesukkel

sókwē (sòkwē), *mo- dev* < *sòka*, half-closed eye (as a result of a drooping eyelid) // halftoe oog (weens 'n slap ooglid)

sòla, deprive somebody of (something without having use for it), rebuke // iemand iets ontnem (wat jy nie kan gebruik nie), betig

sòla *intr*, shed wool or hair (*eg* animals after winter), gain a healthy complexion, gain weight // verhaar (*eg* diere na die winter), 'n gesonde gelaatskleur ontwikkel, swaarder word of gewig aansit

sòla *tr*, stroke, smear (*eg* leather with grease), remove the wings of locusts (before roasting them), preserve for winter // streek, smeer (*eg* leer met vet), sprinkane se vlerke verwyder (voordat

help om penregop te raak sonder om rond te kyk

sólólétse (sololétse) *perf* < *sololala*, be or was bolt upright without looking around // is of was penregop sonder om rond te kyk

sòma, insert // insteek

sóma (sòma) < *Afr soom* v, hem // om-soom, soom

sómaámábédí, twenty // twintig

sómaámanē, forty // veertig

sómaámaráro, thirty // dertig

sómaámarátáro, sixty // sestig

sómaámatlhánō, fifty // vyftig

sómaáróbedí (somaaróbédí), eighty // tagtig

sómaáróbóngwē, ninety // negentig

sómaásupá, seventy // sewentig

sómárédisa (somarédisa) *caus* // *kous* < *somarêla*, cause or help to use sparingly or carefully // *cause or help to*

2.13 Conclusion

In this chapter, we have gained a greater understanding of the origin and the history of the Setswana language. Also how earlier studies have contributed towards documentation and the development of the Setswana language and the challenges the Language Board was faced with in its standardization. The chapter also reveals how the Bantu Education has impacted on the Setswana orthography. Given the available data gathered on the Setswana language, we can conclude that Setswana has been the ‘body label’ that includes the various Setswana dialects. (See figure 2). An important feature of this chapter is the way maps and diagrams are used to illustrate and show the development of Setswana as a national language and how the South Batswana tribes were distributed. We have seen how the language Board has initiated research and studies aimed at promoting and developing Setswana and the mechanisms identified with the aim of standardising the Setswana language.

The chapter has also shown that language changes offer important evidence about human language — namely that it is rule governed for example, (see 2.8). Important concepts such as analogy and borrowing associated with language change have been defined and discussed. We have also highlighted the changes in the Setswana orthography, spelling rules and abbreviations and how they all impact on the effectiveness of a dictionary. The chapter ends with an overview of the existing Setswana dictionaries which will be dealt in more detail within the forthcoming chapters.