LANGUAGE CONTACT, CONTAMINATION, CONTAINMENT AND SHIFT: LESSONS FROM MULTILINGUAL GWANDA SOUTH, ZIMBABWE

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Abstract

This article seeks to evaluate the level and type of changes in Sesotho as a result of language contact in multilingual Gwanda South, Zimbabwe. It will indicate choices that speech communities have and reasons for specific language preferences. It looks at the multilingual situation in Gwanda South and the language choices that the community is free or forced to make. It seeks to indicate how language contact could result in language shifts in supposed multilingual communities that could be affected by other languages appearing and being used for essential social, political, religious, and administrative purposes. Survey data reveals that Gwanda South has the following languages: Sesotho, Ndebele, Chi-Jahunda, Venda, and English. Sesotho is the home language while Ndebele has come through administrators and its being the original national language for Matabeleland South. Chi-Jahunda is a primary/ indigenous variety for Gwanda South. Attention is centered on the apparent move from the home language to other varieties that have moved into the district over time. The main worry is the apparent demise of the home language due to both internal and external forces. While there might be a high level of retention of the language in the home domain, the use of languages that are spoken by the few combined with English as the official language tends to interfere with the retention and continued use of Sesotho. This suggests that language contact leads to a shift influenced by a speaker's inability to preserve their mother language by switching to dominant languages as mediums at home and school once such languages have been learned and mastered.

INTRODUCTION

Although Zimbabwe is a multilingual country and acknowledges the linguistic diversity of its citizens through statutes such as its constitution, monolingual-oriented pedagogies in education remain the default educational policy. A regularly fronted position by some local educational policymakers is that permitting the use of students' home language alongside English risks negatively affecting the development of the English language (Marupi & Charamba, 2022). In Zimbabwe, the default language of instruction is English language, which happens to be the home language of less than 1% of the country's populace (United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division, 2019). Analysts, researchers, and some educationists suggest this difference in students' home language and the language of instruction to be the major contributing factor toward students' underachievement in local and international assessments (see for example Charamba, 2022). For example, the examination results released by the Zimbabwe Examinations Council (ZIMSEC) for the years 2015- 2019 for the seventh-grade examination showed national pass

rates of 41,6%; 42,9%; 44, 73%; 52,08%, and 46,9% respectively (Zimbabwe School Examinations Council, 2019).

This study is centered on Gwanda South to establish whether there is any language shift to Ndebele or not with attendant social and political considerations as well as linguistic power dimensions over Sesotho. Linguistic science has proved that when speakers of different languages come into contact it is common for their languages to influence each other. The consequence of the contact of languages can result in the replacement of the 'weak' language. The replacement is common in situations where the other language has a higher social influence and power. In such a scenario language shift takes place usually resulting in language endangerment, extinction, or death. But of course it depends on the extent and degree of shift. At a time when after the April 2013 new constitution for Zimbabwe Amendment No 20 which officially recognizes 16 languages – Sesotho included – it is prudent to analyze and evaluate Ndebele influences on Sesotho vis-à-vis charting new courses for the local language.

The primary focal points of this investigation revolve around language shift and change. The central inquiry of this study, therefore, revolves around the factors that exert influence or establish the trajectory of a language's response to contact-induced forces driving language change in the region of Gwanda South. To delve deeper, the study aims to explore the socio-political determinants that shape the evolution of Sesotho, the factors that serve as catalysts for both stability and instability in Sesotho, and finally, the linguistic ramifications stemming from the adverse impact of English-Ndebele usage on the preservation of Sesotho.

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

The home language of students in Zimbabwe is frequently disregarded in monolingual classrooms, making it challenging for them to fully comprehend the curriculum and explicitly engage in learning. For students to do well academically, reading and writing academic materials is essential. The deliberate and intentional teaching of academic language by teachers necessitates their familiarity with academic language and all its components. For students to succeed in class they have have the requisite CALP. Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP) focuses on proficiency in academic language or language used in the classroom in the various content areas. For most EFAL students will not possess the necessary proficiency in the medium of instruction.

Languages are important for the accomplishment of several developmental goals and maintenance of identity among individuals and different societal groups. To understand the implications of language contact, contamination, containment and shift in Gwanda South, this research applied the UNESCO (2003) language maintenance framework. The framework is embedded on endangered languages that are marginalized and requiring revitalization. Scholars such as Brenzinger et al (1991) and Dequenne's (2007) unanimously concur that most threats to the existence of indigenous languages in Africa should not be attributed to colonization only, but to some other factors as alluded to by UNESCO (2003) framework.

The frameworks identifies nine factors which are: Intergenerational language transmission; absolute number of speakers; proportion of speakers within the total population; trends in existing language domains; response to new domains and media; materials for language education and literacy; government and industrial language attitude and policies; community members attitudes towards their own language; and amount and quality of documentation. The UNESCO framework has proved to be a useful guide to language researchers, government and non-governmental organization, communities, research institutions in assessing language endangerment or vitality. The framework is supported by Fishman (1991:81-109)'s Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale which looks at the intergenerational transmission of Language as the key to maintaining a language. It argues

that, if parents do not transmit their language to their children, and children do no learn the language from parents, there will be a break in intergenerational transmission. The (GIDS) and UNESCO frameworks attempts to pave the way forward towards minority language revitalization by highlighting stages for language reversal due to language contact and shift. Without citing the GIDS, the UNESCO frameworks evidently feature the socio-economic and contact factors that contribute towards language shift. The importance of the UNESCO framework as an analytical tool for this study is seen from its emphasis on the importance of usage and promotion of minority languages as mediums.

RESEARCH METHOD
This qualitative study employed a grounded theory approach, which entailed the systematic acquisition and analysis of data to construct theories. The primary objective was to investigate the communicative processes and interactions among individuals proficient in multiple languages in the Gwanda South region. By focusing on multilingual students subjected to monolingual pedagogy, our aim was to develop theories pertaining to substantial communication challenges encountered in educational settings. The adoption of this research design holds significant promise in generating more extensive and varied data compared to conventional research methods, thus justifying our selection of this approach.

Population and Sample
Gwanda District is situated in the Matabeleland South Province of Zimbabwe, approximately 120 kilometers south of Bulawayo, serving as the largest city within the province. Within this district, there exist a total of 512 primary schools, 161 secondary schools, and two universities. The overall population of the district stands at approximately 30,000 individuals, predominantly consisting of native speakers of Sesotho. For the purpose of this study, the sample selection process employed purposive sampling, specifically targeting students who were proficient in Sesotho. This approach allowed for the collection of relevant data from individuals who possessed the necessary language skills and cultural background pertinent to the research objectives.

Instruments
The study involved the conduction of in-depth interviews lasting approximately thirty minutes with selected participants from the Gwanda South region. These interviews took place at the participants' respective schools, specifically during designated lunch breaks. To ensure accuracy and facilitate thorough analysis, the interviews were digitally recorded using appropriate recording devices. Subsequently, professional transcription services were employed to transcribe the interview recordings into written text. This meticulous process of transcription aimed to capture the nuanced details and essence of the participants' responses, ensuring reliable and comprehensive data for subsequent analysis.

Data Analysis
The qualitative data derived from the interviews underwent analysis using a qualitative data analysis approach. This approach was based on Glǎser and Laudel's (2010) model, which aims to construct a structured information base organized into categories. These categories then serve as a foundation for identifying patterns within the data and integrating these patterns into a systematic, theoretically embedded explanation (McMillan & Schumacher, 2010). The data analysis process in this study encompassed two distinct approaches. Firstly, an inductive approach was employed, where themes and patterns emerged directly from the data itself. This approach involved a meticulous examination of the interview transcripts to identify recurring concepts, ideas, and perspectives that were expressed by the participants. These emergent themes were derived solely from the data, allowing for a comprehensive

exploration of the phenomenon under investigation. Secondly, the analysis also incorporated an a priori or deductive approach, drawing upon the researchers' pre-existing theoretical understanding of the subject matter. This involved utilizing prior knowledge, existing theories, and relevant literature to guide the identification and interpretation of patterns within the data.

By incorporating this deductive approach, the analysis aimed to bridge the gap between the empirical findings and established theoretical frameworks, thereby contributing to a more nuanced and comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon. Overall, the analysis of the qualitative data in this study entailed a thoughtful and rigorous process that encompassed both inductive and deductive approaches. This approach allowed for the exploration of emerging themes directly from the data while also integrating theoretical insights to provide a robust and theoretically embedded explanation of the phenomenon under investigation.

RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION
Research Findings
Language Diversity and Complexity in Gwanda South

Gwanda South is found in Matabeleland South which is a province characterized by diverse languages hence the nickname ''the rainbow province'' of Zimbabwe which describes the rich linguistic and cultural diversity of the province. In it are Sesotho, Chi-Jahunda, Ndebele, English, possibly Kalanga, Venda, Remba and Tswana.   The contact situation is fascinating in the area especially perceived influences of Ndebele and emerging Shona influences now strongly pervading the district. While this is the case, many are not aware of the riches of the province in terms of its linguistic diversity. Language is part of society and so, as society changes, so will language change. Approximately 90% of the people in the district of Gwanda belong to the Sotho language group (Marupi & Charamba, 2022a).

An influential small percentage are government and non-governmental organization workers who have an immense linguistic influence in the district and are likely to be speakers of Ndebele, Shona, English etc. Because they are in government offices or in powerful decision position they let their languages filter down to the community. Language will be looked at as an integral part of change in society. Another peculiarity of language is its ability to adapt itself to changes and variation within time in society. Some of these changes are driven by socio-political forces as well as policies that are in place. Language diversity in Africa and Zimbabwe in particular can only be maintained and achieved with a suitable or inclusive language policy. It is crucial to note that an alteration of any major feature in a language is likely to influence some form of language change.

Language Change and Contact

Language change can be viewed as loss, degeneration, gain or creation of new language altogether. Hock and Joseph (1996) cited in Aitchison (2002) proclaim that language change reduces not only the purity of language but also the ability to speak and think in that language. Due to the linguistic diversity and experienced language change, decline and death policy makers have crafted pieces of legislation that mark how to use these languages as a response to their multiplicity. There is an apparent shortage of comparative studies that take an objective look at the existence of Sesotho and this is probably due to policies that have somehow ignored the existence of indigenous languages such as Sesotho in Zimbabwe. Pennycook (2002:91) points out that:

> *Language policy involves more than choosing which language to use in education as it also involves the use of languages for the purposes of cultural governance which reflect and produce construction of the other.*

Based on the above, language restrictions take place affecting how languages are used. Due to language restrictions among the Sotho people, a language shift has taken place as a result of language contact with Ndebele. In other words social contact will result in language contact. According to Thomson (2001: 62) language contact is:

> *Any linguistic change that would have been less likely to occur outside a particular contact situation due at least in part to language contact.*

In the process of contact, a language can either be altered and change or can be swallowed and disappear completely causing what is referred to as language death. Batibo (2005) indicates that a language shift happens when speakers abandon their language and move to the dominant language. In relation to the case under study, the Sotho apparently have abandoned their language for Ndebele due to political, social and economic reasons. From the above context, here is an encouragement that could motivate the Sotho to continuously engage on issues to do with the developments of their indigenous language. While Sesotho has continued to be retained by elders in the home domain, the schools in the district of Gwanda South use Ndebele as a medium in the process making the children adopt Ndebele. Wherever learners attend public schools they are unlikely to have a teacher who speaks Sesotho. Due expansion can be made courtesy of Meinhof (1915) who argues that the state of languages at the present moment is not as important as it is to find out how things came to be what they are. It is this response that has generated the primary interest in the researchers.

Language contact results in any of the following possibilities: One language being preferred over another; One language being rejected; All languages being used together but for different purposes and at different levels; A home language borrowing or adopting terms from language(s) considered more influential or powerful and sometimes through an attitude choosing which language to borrow from; Two or more varieties developing a pidgin or creole; One language being used as a lingua franca; Status being assigned to languages as official, national, minority, local, indigenous, primary etc.; One language being marginalized; One language especially after independence exercising imperial control over others;One language getting extinct.

Teacher-Learner Linguistic Mismatch

A lot has been written about the linguistic mismatch between teacher and learner. The task is then to train teachers who are linguistically competent in Sesotho to meet academic and social needs of all students. The training of teachers who are conversant in Sesotho will make sure teachers know about Sesotho's unique history, culture and of course its essence as a language. Language is an important tool used for expression. It is used as a form of identity by people, families, communities and nations. Language is a vehicle for cultural transmission. The wealth of African languages is illustrated with the figurative speech as noted with how languages such as the Yoruba, Igbo, Sotho, Zulu, Xhosa, Venda and other African languages use proverbs and idioms to express themselves. It can be argued that restriction in language use results in imperfect learning. It is therefore fundamental that people preserve and protect it to avoid language shift and death. Part of that will be possible when teacher-learner linguistic mismatch is avoided by both learning and using the same language.

Language Contact Outcomes

Winfrord (2003) identifies three types of outcomes that are a result of language contact, these are language maintenance, language shift and language creation. Language shift is at the centre of this study. As aforementioned, language shift takes place when a dominant language or strong language group is in contact with a minority language or weak language. Some scholars posit that speakers can abandon their language due to pressure and prestigious value associated with the adopted language. Once the new language is adopted, it spreads

quickly and with much power in the process dominating all other languages around it, and obscuring the home language. The new language is seen as the language of power. In reversing the above scenario, the pieces of legislation and policies crafted should ensure that languages are protected at all levels. Policies on languages have always focused on imposing homogeneity as a way of avoiding promoting all languages on an equal basis.

Endangered Languages

According to Grenoble and Whaley (1998) Africa has the highest number of endangered languages. The school curriculum should therefore embrace indigenous languages and enhance their learning as a way of instilling a sense of belonging and identity. Teaching Sesotho definitely will reverse language shift in Gwanda South. By embracing a linguistically and culturally responsive pedagogy, it will lead to revitalization and maintenance of Sesotho and reverse language shift. When scholars study language contact, they are concerned with the possible outcomes of language contact. These outcomes are inclusive of cultural, sociolinguistic and linguistic death (Charamba, 2017). One can ask what language death is. It is a process through which a language stops its functional purpose by a speech community as noted with the Sotho community of Gwanda South, while other languages takes over and expand in all domains and are passed on to the next generation as is the case with Ndebele which has eclipsed Sesotho.

The remaining Sesotho speakers are elders and some families who use the language in the home domain. The prestige of Sesotho has been associated with religion and education which has generated arguments for its use as medium. The prestige is still evident today with the elderly using it for socialization purposes while churches such as ZCC, Lutheran and the Zionists using it as a liturgical language making it necessary for socio- cultural and religious activities. It is clear mother language is central in day to day lives since it transmits culture. Loss of mother tongue is loss of culture (Trudgill, 1991:67). It is clear that language maintenance creates vitality and as such language shift deprives minority languages the leverage to live and grow. It is an argument further advanced by Crystal (2000: 34-35) by stating that:

> *… The vocabulary of a language provides us with clues about the earlier states of mind of speakers and about kinds of cultural contacts they had…*

All these arguments are based on supporting the benefits of language maintenance vis-à-vis language shift which can be precipitated by the desire to be associated with a language of influence due to the status associated with it. Therefore, the high retention of Sesotho in the home domain could be used to deter language shift. The suggestion is that in a situation of unstable bilingualism speakers may use a subordinate language for economic and political reasons but still maintain their home language for socialization purposes as noted with the case under study. From the above perspective, there are three major issues addressed, how a new language can come on the scene, how the new generation can come to learn it and the outcome of its relation with the existing language (e.g. Ndebele vs Sotho).

The study used the Fishman theory of reversing language shift (RLS). The findings of the study reveal that the home domain of Sesotho language has been overrun by Ndebele. From the above establishment, language shift is inevitable. Children born of Sesotho parents no longer acquire Sesotho as a mother language and hence are socialized into Ndebele causing language shift. Fishman (1991:35) indicates that:

> *Psychologically any ethnic mother (tongue) transmission is a cultural right and societal resource. Mother language espouses the right and ability of small cultures to live and inform life for their own members as well as to contribute thereby to the enrichment of humankind as a whole.*

Maintenance of mother tongue entails complementary use of the indigenous languages against the colonial or official language which is used as a language of trade and commerce. The side by side use of these languages allows them to exercise their functional capacity.

In Zimbabwe Chewa, Chibarwe, Kalanga, Khoisan, Nambya, Ndau, Shangani, Sign Language, Sotho, Tonga, Tswana, Venda, and Xhosa might be officially recognized but if no preparations are made to raise them to the level of English, Ndebele and Shona they might later be classified as endangered (Marupi & Charamba, 2022a).

Discussion

Ndebele has from about 1894 or so been used as a national language in Gwanda South. Colonial administrators used it as a heritage for Matabeleland North and South and imposed it for political and administrative purposes. While missionary schools made an effort to introduce Sesotho, Venda, Kalanga, Tonga, and Nambya as subjects and mediums of instruction in schools, the effort was abandoned and Ndebele was used as a subject and a medium of instruction in the first 3 grades with English taking over from grade 4 onwards. Many Sotho parents inevitably learned Ndebele and spoke it. VETOKA a pressure group consisting of Venda, Tonga and Kalanga advocates argued in 1986 for the introduction of Venda, Tonga and Kalanga as subjects and mediums of instruction for grades 1 to 3. Ndebele and English would take over from grade 4. Orthography was designed for the three in 1986.

Sotho and Shangani communities joined the advocacy in 1987 and orthography was designed in 1987 for Shangani and Sesotho. Venda, Tonga, Kalanga, Shangani, Sesotho were supposed to be taught in all schools that had dominant speakers of the local languages around schools. Two to three years after the introduction of the scheme parents instructed schools to teach their children instead in Ndebele. In 2012 Tonga announced divorce from Ndebele. Use and teaching of Tonga in both primary and secondary education would from then be effected. Ndebele had and is still being used in schools, law courts, markets, home affairs offices etc. Despite official recognition of 16 languages in the 2013 new constitution the Zimbabwean government has not shown how they would be raised so that the influence and use of Ndebele can be reduced in Gwanda South and in other districts where other local languages are dominant, but use Ndebele.

Many people throughout the world speak more than one language due to various reasons which might be socio-political, religious or economic. These variety of factors have influenced communities to shift to languages with ''benefit''. By so doing speakers have been enabled to get along with other groups in the areas of trade, education, politics and socialization. However, it should be noted or pointed out that during the process, second languages that are learnt and adopted replace the mother language and in the long-run lead to mother tongue language death. This is true with the case under study (Sesotho), fears being that it might go the way of Khoisan and Chi-Jahunda which linguists suspect have died. Sesotho has been dominated just as Khoisan and Chi-Jahunda by Ndebele which has been interpreted as the language of power and the Black elite (Marupi & Charamba, 2022b).

As more people speak Ndebele and use it as a medium, it becomes the dominant language of choice. It can be argued that among Sotho youths, a small number of young generation use the language as a medium. Survey data revelations are necessary in this area. Fluency in the language is only among the older generation. On this basis, the adoption of Ndebele as a first language may well be the result of difficulties encountered by youths in learning and speaking Sesotho – probably with limited resources – while learning Ndebele has been easier. Ndebele then emerges as the language of choice. The above move is in line with Appel and Muysken (1990:23) who contend that 'The identity imposed on language by one's group membership is a crucial fact for language choice.'

The adoption of Ndebele as a 'first language' may well be the result of challenges encountered in using Sesotho language as a medium among the different age groups in Matabeleland South which make Ndebele to be the language of choice due to its historic and political influence as well as literature available in that language for teaching and reference. It can also be argued that, Zimbabwe's population diversity pushed by historical factors has engineered the shift to languages which are socially, politically and economically influential. As a language, Sesotho speakers in Zimbabwe have 'shifted'. Minority language tag on Sesotho between about the 1950's and 2012 has not made things any better.   According to Joseph (2006:39):

> *We read the identity of people with whom we come into contact with based on very subtle features of behavior, among those languages which are perceived as particularly central.*

Despite the shift to Ndebele, some families in Gwanda South still continue to use Sesotho in the home domain. Historically, the colonialists clustered languages into one group and picked one language to use as lingua franca to solve lack of intelligibility between languages. Because Sesotho, Venda, Kalanga, Nambya, Tonga happened to be in Matabeleland Ndebele was used in education, trade, commerce, industry in place of any of the local languages. That simple political decision has had far reaching consequences and advocacy in 2019 is proving so. Sesotho and others have been confined to home use.

The colonial policies on language in Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) emphasized the imposition of Ndebele and Shona over other local languages. It thrived on the legacy of sameness where languages would be grouped under one major language as a means of controlling diversity. The degree of imposition is evident in the Education Act of 1987 which states languages to be taught in schools:

> *(i)   Subject to this section, the three main languages of Zimbabwe, namely Shona, Ndebele and English shall be taught in all primary schools from first grade as follows—; (ii) Shona and English in all areas where mother tongue of the majority of the residents is Shona or; (iii)Ndebele and English in all areas where the mother tongue of the majority of the residents is Ndebele.*

The quote indicates the Act recognizes Ndebele as the only mother tongue spoken in Matabeleland South. For speakers of languages such as Sesotho, the Act forbids the use of that language. Despite the amendment of the constitution in 2013, the Education Act still recognizes Ndebele and Shona as the only indigenous languages which should be used as mediums. The government's treatment of Sesotho as a minority language has resulted in language shift though Sesotho is dominant in Gwanda South. Due to colonial remnants, a person using Ndebele enjoys some privileges against a person who uses Sesotho. The current social structure is a replica of the social structure that was introduced by the British that hierarchized languages. The organized portrayal of perceiving Sesotho language and culture as inferior has left a permanent impact that has led to language shift. It can be argued that as a way of cultural and probably social shelter, the Sotho community has linguistically hibernated under Ndebele to avoid being alienated. Based on the studies by Crystal (2000:21):

> *... Languages which have a very big potency to be death languages..., are socially and economically ''left behind''.*

It can be argued that Sesotho is socially and economically not empowered and as such the language are economically and socially behind compared to Ndebele, hence the shift to Ndebele. The shift is influenced by the appetite to identify and participate in economic activities as well socializing. The above argument can be amplified using Fishman (1972) who contends that linguistic minorities are often socially and economically disadvantaged.

The Sotho community is ever faced with a dilemma of either keeping true to their cultural and linguistic roots and be disadvantaged or abandon their traditions and adopt the life style of the 'elite' through the influential and powerful language (Ndebele).

Crystal (1992) defines language attitude as the feelings people have about their own language or language of others. Attitudes are constraints about other languages. Scholars such as Baker (1988) argue that attitudes are scholarly predilection and are not inherited. From the above perspective, attitude is important when studying language shift. Fasold (1984) suggests that attitudes towards a language are often a reflection of the attitude towards members of that speech community. The reaction of the Ndebele and Shona community reveal their perception regarding speakers of Sesotho. The attitude towards Sesotho exert some pressures which cause language shift since it is perceived to be carrying no economic, social and political prestige. Incidentally political meetings, church gatherings and any public discussions are conducted in Ndebele where Sesotho would have been used. Fasold (1984: 147-148) states that "The status accorded to languages by government is responsible for language shift." His argument is that certain languages are accorded official status enabling them the opportunity to be used as mediums at school and in all government business.

In such instances, people whose languages are not used as official languages will be forced to become bilingual so that they participate in social, economic and political life of the country. The above is the case with the Sotho of Gwanda South. Level of prestige can also push other people to abandon their language in favour of a prestigious language. Dorian (1986), Huffiness (1980) and Batibo (2005) argue that speakers of a smaller population, or inferior population or grouping are likely to shift to the language which is of a numerically bigger or prestigious group. The question of course will be what measures to take to counter shift – pride, patriotism, nationalism, effort to arm local language with resources and requirements to withstand pressures of supposedly stronger and forceful varieties.

CONCLUSION
The article has looked at how language contact leads to changes in the local language. People react to languages that have been placed side by side. They look at a variety that will assist them or one that has the force of office. Ndebele has been such a language imposed on the Sotho and used in schools and different levels of local and central administration. What worries researchers is when attitude in people changes and they start to view their own mother tongue as an inferior variety that needs to be replaced. In the article is the contention that both teacher and learner should share common varieties which would promote classroom activities instead of reliance on attitudes to language. Linguistic match is productive while a mismatch disrupts learning. Ndebele is placed curiously in Gwanda South and the younger generation gravitates towards it. The older generation is keen to give its children Sesotho, but a researcher worries that a preference for Ndebele might just run counter to the wishes and hopes of elders.

Linguistic diversity in the area might lead to further complexity if political and administrative requirements are fully followed – Gwanda South might be administered by a large variety of languages and when each one gains official space like Ndebele has done people might feel forced to consider gains they have through the new language and shift would then occur. A counter is necessary and pride in Sesotho might have to be cultured in the people of Gwanda South. this section, the author(s) should give his/her comprise statement regarding the major findings and implications of the study, but not the whole study. It is not suggested to bring any new information in the conclusion.

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