

LANGUAGE SHIFT AND MAINTENANCE AMONG THE PEOPLE OF EFUTU IN CENTRAL REGION, GHANA

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ABSTRACT

The level in which the language owners use the language especially the youth determine the future of the language. Therefore, this paper portrays a quantitative analysis on the findings of why the Efutu speakers have shifted from their language to Fante in most of the domains in which they operate in and suggested ways forward that could help the Efutu language to be maintained for it not to totally lose its stand. The study was conducted within Winneba and New Winneba using fifty people from each of the communities. The study used purposive sampling techniques. It reveals some reasons why the speakers have shifted from Efutu usage to Fante usage.

Keywords: Efutu, Fante, language shift, language maintenance

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Wars, inter-marriages, quest for greener pastures and other factors cause people to move from their settlements to other places. When immigrants find themselves at new places, their language gets into contact with other languages and they both tend to learn from each other, not only the languages but the whole culture for good social interaction to prevail. After several years, pidgin, creole, code-switching, language shift, and others come into play. It hasn't been easy maintaining community languages as investigations prove especially when the less dominant or the minority language gets into contact with a dominant or the majority language. Several communities tend to neglect their language and adopt other languages in several domains in everyday life and this is a sign of Language shift which gradually may lead to language death (Egyir-Mensah, 2020).

Efutu language is being overshadowed with other languages (especially Fante) in the speech communities especially within Winneba and for this, we see it as a threat to the language. This has limited the use of the Efutu language by most native speakers. Some of these languages according to our research are Fante, Twi, Ga, Ewe, Hausa with Fante dominating much among the listed languages or dialects.

According to Abakah (2006) cited in Agyemang (2013), it has been observed that one rarely hears Efutu spoken in Winneba unless one goes to the fishing beach where the fishermen and their families use it regularly which in a way, we agree with him. On the other hand, he might have limited his survey to only within Winneba town but there is another Efutu speech community known as New Winneba and New Atteitu along the Swedru road which they use the Efutu language very fluently. All the same, this research tries to find out if the same applies to the new Efutu speaking communities mentioned earlier.

Apart from Abakah (2006) and Agyeman (2013), many scholars and researchers have worked on code-switching (see Mufwene, 2006; Dundaa, 2013), language contact (Myers-Scotton, 2006; Owu-Ewie, 2006), language shift/language death (Batibo, 2005; Agyekum, 2010; Dundaa, 2013), language maintenance (Fishman, 1965; Clyne & Kipp, 1991; Adams et al, 2002; Bibiehome et al, 2019) and diagnosis (Fishman, 1967; Amoako-Nanaba, 2019).

This study attempts to answer two main questions, which are; i. What is causing the language shift among the Efutus? ii. What are the possible ways that could help the language to be maintained?

Our study was however conducted to find out the reason why the Efutu language speakers are shifting from their language to the speaking of Fante and suggest some possible ways forward. Through questionnaires, people were consulted to provide answers for the structured questions which aimed at achieving answers to the reasons of the study. Their answers will be discussed in this paper.

This paper, therefore, has been structured as follows: section two reviews pieces of literature related to the topic, section three will give the sociolinguistic background on Efutu, section four presents the Method used to attain the information. Section five talks about the findings from the survey; the causes/ reason and the suggested ways for maintaining the language, the sixth section which is the last one summarizes and concludes the work.

2.0 REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.1 Language Shift

Language shift is the replacement of one language by another as the primary means of communication and socialization within a community (Potowski, 2013). Language shift as described by Batibo (2005) is as a result of when speakers abandon their language, willingly or under pressure, in favor of another language, which then takes over as their means of communication and socialization. These two scholars are all saying something similar which we agree with them.

2.2 Speech community

Nordquist (2017) sees speech community as a term in sociolinguistic and linguistic anthropology for a group of people who use the same variety of a language and who share specific rules for speaking and for interpreting speech.

‘In many ways, speech is a form of social identity and is used, consciously or unconsciously, to indicate membership of different social groups or different speech communities’ (Yule, 2014 cited in Nordquist, 2017)

In addition to these definitions, I will also say that a speech community is a place where a common language is used to communicate for better understanding.

2.3 Language Maintenance

Fishman (1991) cited in Potowski (2013) emphasized that language maintenance must involve the intergenerational transmission of the language.

On this, our definition for language maintenance is that of when speakers of a particular language continue to use their native language despite the pressure or competition with a dominant language in the area in every aspect of their lives.

2.4 Sociolinguistic background of Efutu

Efutu was reduced from the word EWUTU and it came as a result of the oral history narrated below. Ewutu, a dialect of the Guan language is spoken by the people of Guan. Winnebarians who is one of the three-brother Coastal Guanian States was known as EMASA which was created in 1947. In its originality, Ewutu might have tallied with Awutu in alphabetising, as it is used for the other two coastal Guanian states, which are Awutu Braku and Awutu Senya, also known as Senya or Beach Braku. The change in alphabetizing Awutu as Ewutu is said to might have been resulted from pronunciation probably by the Akan immigrants who trekked down from Mende (old Mali) passed through all the way to Bono home.

Ewutu was further reduced to Efutu for the name of the natives of Winneba probably by the very Akans, as they found the dialect of the Efutuans a mixture of vocabularies. They described the dialect as ‘Efutuw’ which means: it is mixed up. Whilst the dialect was called ‘Ewutu (Awutu), the name of the people or natives remained unto this day ‘Efutu’ (Taylor, unpublished). From this story, it could be deduced that the language is not even known as Efutu but Ewutu (Awutu).

Efutu (Ewutu or Awutu) is the language of the Winnebarians. Winneba is a town located along the coast in the central region of Ghana. According to the GSS (2012), Winnebarrians are with a population of about 68,597. Males constitute 48.8 percent and females represent 51.2 percent. This town is located in the south coast of the country, about sixty-five kilometers west of the capital, Accra (Agyemang, 2013). Efutu is also spoken in some surrounding villages and these are: Osebompanyin, Ekroful, Atteitu, Gyaahadze. New Winneba and New Atteitu which also located on the Road leading to Swedru are also Efutu speaking communities. For the actual number of speakers of the language is not actually known because the communities especially Winneba constitute a lot of people who are there for schooling and other activities.

Lewis (2009) cited in Agyemang (2013) lists Efutu as one of the three dialects of Awutu, with Senya and Awutu proper as the other two dialects, and classifies the Awutu language as

follows: Niger-Congo> Kwa> Guang > Southern Guang> Awutu. The immediate linguistic neighbors of the Awutu dialects are Ga and the Fante dialect of Akan.

3.0 METHODOLOGY

This research used ethnography as its research design with the aim of finding out the reason why most Efutu language speakers have shifted from their language and suggest ways in which the Efutu language could be sustained.

The technique used to select participants was purposive sampling. Two Efutu speaking communities were selected and these were Winneba proper and New Winneba. Fifty people were selected from each community for the survey. The targeted group was the indigenous speakers of the language so for Winneba, those who were approached to help answer the questionnaire were the ones in the areas closer to the beach. These were Sakagyaano, Ponko-Ekyir, Nkwantanang and Yepemso. This was so because these are some of the places the indigenes allocate themselves. For New Winneba, because the community was not that big, the whole place was used but the people there were randomly selected for the survey. The two communities included both school-going age and the working age, both males and females were also used for the survey. There was no actual group of people in terms of age in mind.

4.0 DATA ANALYSIS

The data collected from the research is shown below in line with the usage of languages in the various domains. The various domains will be discussed below with each of their findings in terms of language shift.

4.1 Home

The first domain to be looked at is the Home/ House domain. When we talk of home, it comprises of people who are related or non-related that stay together as one family. Most people stay in houses with the whole family. Houses found in Winneba are mostly compound houses in which they have more than one family staying. The number of speakers of the various languages found out from the research that is used or spoken in the home/ house are shown in the table below.

Table 1: language used in the home

| Language | Number of people | Number in percentage % |
|-----------------|------------------|------------------------|
| Efutu only | 37 | 37% |
| Fante | 31 | 31% |
| Efutu and Fante | 29 | 29% |
| Other languages | 3 | 3% |
| Total | 100 | 100% |

It could be seen from the table above that the indigenes of the Efutu language that use only their language regularly in the house or in their homes with their families are 37 representing 37% of the total people interviewed for the research.

Again, when we look at the number of people who are Efutu speakers but have shifted from their language which is the Efutu and to Fante and use in their various homes are 31 people which represent 31% of the total population selected from the research.

On the other hand, there are other speakers who seem to hold on to the usage of their own language in the house but still use the Fante language hand in hand with their own language at home are also 29 people which represent 29% of the total population.

Finally, the researcher met other languages while dealing with the indigenes, she came across the usage Twi and Ga dialect usage and these people were only 3 which also represent 3% of the total population of the people interviewed.

4.2 Friends

Another domain to be looked at is the Friends' domain. Friends are people that are part of human's day in and day out. For friends to understand themselves, they need a common language that will help them all to understand themselves well and have an easy communication. The researcher looked at the languages used among friends. The languages that researcher found out from her participants and the number of people that use them are shown in the table below.

Table 2: language used among friends

| Languages | Number of people | Number in percentage% |
|-----------------|------------------|-----------------------|
| Efutu only | 18 | 18% |
| Fante only | 27 | 27% |
| Fante and Efutu | 35 | 35% |
| Twi | 6 | 6% |
| Ga | 3 | 3% |
| English | 13 | 13% |
| Total | 100 | 100% |

The table above shows that though there is an influence of Fante on the Efutu but people who are typically Efutu who speak their language with their friends are 18 people which represents 18% of the total population of those chosen for the research. These are people who do not speak any language apart from Efutu to their friends wherever they find themselves. 27% of the total population of the people interviewed speak Fante with their friends which their reasons will be discussed later in the findings.

A number of 35 people use both the Efutu and the Fante side by side depending on where they find themselves. The people that use both languages; the Efutu and Fante represent 35% of the population.

6%, 3%, 13% were also found to be using Twi, Ga and English respectively with their friends. All these people have their reasons for using these languages with their friends.

4.3 Market

Market is also another public place or domain where languages are used for transactions. This domain according to the researcher includes; the shore, small stores or kiosk, the main market where, selling and buying goes on. Out of the interview, the researcher found the following result with the usage of language according to the number of speakers of language(s) when they go to the market. This result is also represented on the table below.

Table 3: language used in the market

| Language used | Number of people | Number in percentage% |
|-----------------|------------------|-----------------------|
| Efutu only | 21 | 21% |
| Fante only | 20 | 20% |
| Efutu and Fante | 59 | 59% |
| Total | 100 | 100% |

With the interpretation of this table, those who use only the native language of Winneba which is the Efutu language are 21 in number which give a percentage of 21. With reasons, some of them to speak only Fante whenever they go to the market. With the population of those selected for the research, 20 people use the Fante dialect whenever they go to the shore, market or shop to purchase any item.

However, 59 people which represent 59% of the population size use both Efutu and Fante whenever they go to the market, being the shores, shops, main station to purchase items depending on whom they meet there.

4.4 Church

Church is also another domain where believers go there to worship. It is another domain which makes good use of language for communication. For easy understanding, the preacher, singers, and other leaders in the various churches use a language that enhances easy communication and understanding among its members.

The language used among the worshipers themselves, and the leaders to the members are represented on the table below.

Table 4: language used in the church

| Languages used | Number of people | Number in percentage% |
|-------------------|------------------|-----------------------|
| Efutu | 6 | 6% |
| Fante | 32 | 32% |
| Efutu and Fante | 30 | 30% |
| English only | 4 | 4% |
| English and Fante | 28 | 28% |
| Total | 100 | 100% |

As said earlier, people that attend various churches have their common language of communications. It was only six people that the researcher found out that they use Efutu at church and the sermon or announcement are sometimes translated from the language the

person or the speakers use to the Efutu language. This represents 6% of the total population interviewed.

Because most churches use Fante dialect to have their sermons, 32 people which is 32% of the population uses Fante throughout the service and even after service to communicate with their friends and others.

30 people also made mention that they use both the Efutu and the Fante language during and after Church services but most at times, the Efutu is used outside the church hall with their friends and others that could also communicate with the Efutu language.

While others use these languages mentioned above, other people also made mention that English only is the language they use at church which is often with the service they have. These people represent 4% of the total population.

Most of the churches located within Winneba normally have two services; First and Second services. The first service is held in English and the other one which is the second service in Fante. There are even some churches which have only one service but use both languages during their service. Twenty-eight people of the population gave the information that they use both Fante and English at their churches for their services.

4.5 School

School is another important domain which makes high usage of language. It is a place in which knowledge is imparted unto students, and since there is the need for Formal or accepted language to be used in both classrooms and the school compounds, there some restrictions on the use of the L1 of the students in their various schools with the exception of maybe the Senior High School which the students could use it privately and the Tertiary Institutions where the restrictions are not highly recognized.

Forty students were interviewed in the two communities. The result obtained from the interview or the research is indicated on the table below:

Table 5: language used in the school

| Languages used | Number of users | Number in percentage% |
|--------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|
| Efutu only | 2 | 5% |
| English and others | 10 | 25% |
| English only | 9 | 22.5% |
| English and Fante | 29 | 47.5% |
| Total` | 40 | 100% |

Two people who represent 5% of the total population of students interviewed make use of Efutu when they go to school. These students are not in primary school; one of them is in Junior High School while the other one is at the Senior High School. They said they speak it with those that are also natives or the ones that understand the language.

Twenty-five percent of the students make use of the English language and other languages like French, Twi and Hausa at school. Two people of this group attend an Islamic school in the town.

Only nine students made mention that when they go to school, the only language they use is English because they get punished when they speak vernacular on the school compound. These people represent 22.5% of the total number of students interviewed.

Lastly, twenty-nine students which in percentage are 47.5 speak both English and Fante at school. Though they get punished they still use it because it has become part of them. Also, they made mention that since they most at times get punished when they speak Fante, they use English regularly than the Fante language.

5.0 RESEARCH FINDINGS

The researcher's focus was to look out for the reasons why some of the indigenes are shifting from their native language to another language that is well dominating within the Winneba town. There were various reasons given associated with this and it is going to be discussed in detail, why there seems to be a language shift among the speakers of the Efutu language.

Before these factors concerning language shift would be discussed, there are also many reasons or factors that make the language speakers make use of their language though there is some sort of pressure on their language. The reasons why the indigenes use their language no matter what are as follow:

1. For their identity: for one to feel to belong to the society, they often use their native language whenever they find themselves. In other words, they speak it because they are natives of that language.
2. They speak it when they want to keep something (a secret) away from someone who does not understand the language being negative or positive.
3. They again speak to show some priority they have in their or the language.
4. They speak for people who are not natives to know that such a language also exists and it is in use.
5. It again helps one to know his or her culture well since language is part of the culture.
6. According to the speakers, they sometimes gain opportunities or help when they speak their language. They explained that when they sometimes travel and become in need of certain things like accommodation, job or even money for transportations and when they speak the language for someone who could help them to know they use a common language, they get such offers fast or very often.
7. Last but not the least, it helps them get out of trouble and even saves their life at times. This happens when there is maybe a danger at a place, and since they are speakers over there, they could just turn from the language used over there into their language to save themselves without the knowledge of the other people.

These are some of the laudable reasons why most of the speakers interviewed shared why they still use their language wherever they go.

5.1 Causes of Language Shift among the Efutus

The factors or reasons that have caused language shift among the Efutu speakers are as follows:

One of the reasons the researcher got was; it is not spoken for any reason. Three of the people interviewed made a point that they do not speak the language with their fellow speakers. The reason given was simply that they do not have any reason for not speaking it and nothing within them calls for the usage of their native language.

The second point or factor is shyness. Three of the Efutu speakers made the researcher know that they most often feel shy when they use the language in public and with their friends because when they are using the language sometimes, their friends or people around them that do not understand or know the language make fun of them for the reason that the language sounds funny and thus it is not recognized by many people. Again, some behavior of some of the indigenes makes them feel shy to even reveal themselves as natives of Winneba. This negative behavior of some of these natives gives very bad impressions about the people as a whole and their language. It makes the language to be seen as a language full of insult and it is abusive. They quarrel in public; insult people anyhow and even go to the extent of cursing people in the language. This and other reasons make them feel shy to reveal themselves as indigenes of the language left alone make people know that they are from Winneba.

Thirdly, some of the speakers do not speak it because they are not interested in the language. They made it clear to the researcher that since the language is not widely known as languages like Fante, Twi, Ga, Ewe, Hausa, and other languages which are widely used by many people in and outside the town. Some of the reasons were also that friends sometimes mock them because the language is neither written nor taught in schools even in their own town. This makes these speakers lose interest in their own language.

The fourth reason or cause is where they find themselves. According to the interviewees, there are many circumstances that make them not use the language, and this amounts to one major reason that is where they find themselves. Places like schools, churches, market, and around friends makes it so. School as mentioned earlier is an institution where knowledge is imparted unto learners or students. There are languages that are formally accepted to be used in classrooms and the school compounds which the child's mother tongue is highly restricted to be used at school unless most at times taught as a subject. The Ghana Educational Policy does not also give way for the pupils or students to use their native language. The language is not taught nor written just because it is not a language that is recognized by the Ghana Educational Service and this has affected the use of the Efutu language in the various schools in the town negatively. In short, students are not allowed to speak the language anywhere around the school.

The church is another place where language is often used for communication. The language normally used there is usually a dominant language that is a language that everybody understands. This is so because the town and the Church itself are filled up with both natives and non-natives of the Efutu language and because the church is mixed of people of different linguistic backgrounds, the Fante, Twi and sometimes English are mostly used during services neglecting the usage of the Efutu language. This often pushes the native speakers to the corner which makes them not able to use their language. Despite these reasons, some of

them still do find the chance to speak with their fellow speakers whenever they get the chance to use their language.

The market sellers as well are made up of different linguistic backgrounds. There are many people who just come there to sell things and return when they are done with the selling of their items. Some of the people who sell things at the market are Fantes, Ewes, and others which most of them are Fantes. Some of them bring items to the Winneba town from the neighboring villages to sell mostly on market days. With the exception of the shore where Efutu is mostly used as a language for transactions, the rest of the places where things are sold use the Fante and Twi more than the Efutu. This makes the natives use the Fante mostly when they go to the market. They explained that they are not able to use the Efutu in the market often because most of the sellers do not understand the language. However, they do speak it when they meet some of the sellers who could speak the language or are speakers of the Efutu language. The last point for this is friends. The interviewees pointed out that some of their friends are not speakers of the language and do not understand it either and this makes it difficult for them to speak the language with them. Concisely, the speakers just need to change their tongue to suit the environment they find themselves in to enhance effective communication, and this results in the shift of language among the Efutu speakers.

The fifth reason is; not conversant with the language. Sixteen speakers of the language made the researcher aware that they are not conversant with the language that is they could not speak it very well. This is as a result of the fact that they were brought up with a different language. The environment they grew up in was not using the Efutu language but the Fante rather. Again, their parents did not speak the language with them and this has made them not able to speak the language with their parents, their friends, and even with some of their family members though they understand when other people speak it with them.

The sixth point is that some of them are not fully natives of the town or the Efutu language. Twenty-seven people that the researcher met during her research confessed that they are not fully Winnebarians. These people stay in the areas where the researcher used for the survey. If I say not fully Winnebarians, I mean part of them is from Winneba and other from another town. This is either the mother or father who is or is not a native of the Efutu language. The languages that part of these people belong to are; Ga, Twi, Fante, Hausa, and Ewe while the other half/ part of them are Efutus. This makes these people choose the usage of the other language over the Efutu language since the other languages attract some kind of recognition from non-native speakers of Efutu than that of the Efutu language. Again, due to this reason, they turn to shift often from the usage of the Efutu language to another language like Fante which is given much priority in the town. Another salient point to be added to this is that there are non-native speakers who stay among the natives. During the research work, fifteen people were found to be staying within the typical Efutu speakers' areas but still use their own native languages though they may learn some common terms of the Efutu language but often use their own language. This mostly makes the Efutu speakers shift from their own language to that of those people at the expense of having easy communication with them. Seven of these people were totally Ga speakers, two of them are also Ewe speakers, and the rest of them which is six people are fully Fantes.

One major problem which is the seventh point and the last but not the least is Influence by other languages. Winneba is an educational center where schools are scattered all over

especially the basic schools, both private and public schools. One big institution in the town is the University of Education, Winneba which has three campuses; South, Central and North Campus, and their various campuses have existed on the land for a very long time. It contains many students and workers from so many linguistic backgrounds. People with different linguistic backgrounds come and go all the time, when they are done with their studies and maybe when the workers go for transfers. All these students and workers' language leaves roots when they are gone. This has made the town a multilingual one where many languages are found. When the faculty of Ghanaian language was there, it actually had an influence on the Efutu language and still does even though it is no more there. Akan is agreed to be a language with a different dialect which is used by most people, it is a common language that most people use and both speakers and listeners easily understand it. Aside from the school issues, other works which are located in the town also contribute to this problem. The workers of these various working institutions also turn to influence the Efutu people with their language. With this, the various languages from the university students, university workers, teachers and other workers posted into the town's language have highly influenced the language used in Winneba and thus a major factor that has contributed to the language shift among the Efutus.

The factors discussed above give clear evidence that for something to happen to a language, there is a push of something or there are causes that makes it so whether negative or positive. For Winnebarians to be seen to have shifted from their language for other ones, these are then some of the major factors or causes that has caused that and this is affecting the Efutu language negatively.

5.2 Suggested ways for the Maintenance of the Language

The researchers through their questionnaires asked the interviewees their suggestions on how the Efutu languages could be maintained for it not to be out of the system some time to come since there is a lot of pressure from the Fante language on its use. The following points were the suggestions that the speakers gave to be a solution if they are taken into consideration.

The first suggestion is to be taught in school. Sixty-three of the natives interviewed expressed their grievances that when you go to most places like Accra, Volta, the Northern sector and even the Akan lands, their language is at least taught as a subject and they even teach the kids or the students with their native language which is not done in Winneba. Their children are not even allowed to use their own language on school compound claiming they violate school rules when they speak it. They, therefore, call upon the Ghana Education Service to consider their language to be taught in their schools for their language to be maintained and also take back its stands. In short, the language should be given the priority given to other languages to be at least studied as a subject. They showed their negative attitude towards the fact that their children are taught another person's tongue in school which amounts to the reason why their children are shifting from their own language to go for another person's language.

Secondly, it should be reduced to writing. Sixty-nine people voiced out that, for a language to be well established and recognized, it must be documented, the more people read the language, the more they get to know how to use the language. Languages documented never get lost and even if it does, people will get to know in the future or someday that such a language existed before. Before this could be done, alphabets need to be developed for the

language. One of the speakers who was interviewed showed much interest in this and even said because he wants to show the world that the language is writable, he has written many books in the language and some examples of his books is titled 'Aya Penkye' and Na ane tar Awutu' which are unpublished. He showed that the language already has its alphabet but it is up to the language documenters to take it up and document the language for them. Also, because the language is given less priority by the Ghana Education Service, he has not been able to publish any of them because the books might get fewer readers to purchase it since it is not a language of study.

The third one is to have programs on the radio. Fifteen speakers of the language raised this point. With the confirmation of that, there are two radio stations located in the Winneba; Radio Peace and Radio Windybay. For Radio Peace, there are sections of their program that they do use the language which in a way promotes the language. This should be encouraged for more to be done, and for Radio Windybay, the speakers are yet to see some changes in their programs that is to have programs in the Efutu language.

Fourthly, the speakers should use their language. The indigenes pointed out that some of the indigenes do not use their language as they are supposed to and they do not teach their children the language as well. With this, the speakers through this medium advise their fellow speakers to be speaking their language regularly, they should be proud of their language like how others feel proud of their language for this will even open much opportunities for them where they need help. For those who do not teach their children for one or two reasons, they should because it is their culture and identity. For their friends and neighbors who are not speakers of the Efutu language, they should try to teach them and through this, it will help the language to be promoted.

Finally, the musicians who are indigenes and speak the language should try and use the language in their music, through this, the language could be promoted for many people who are not speakers to be aware of the existence of such language. There are some songs that are played in the Efutu language and some of them are; Ane to ADA (let sing a song), Funkye ape no to ase (open the door) and others and this has really promoted the language in one way or the other.

6.0 SUMMARY

In summary, the paper looked at the definitions of language shift, speech community, and language maintenance. A brief history of the language of the Efutus has been given. Reasons why some speakers always speak the language were highlighted in the work. The reasons why the Efutus have shifted from their language have been discussed. Some of the reasons discussed were; lack of interest in the language by some of the speakers, not being conversant with the language as speakers, the influence of other languages on the Efutu language, and being partial Efutus. Ways to maintain the language were also suggested and some of them were; to be written, should be studied in school, should be spoken always as speakers, one to be proud of their language and using them in programs on radio stations in the town.

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