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African Languages and English in Education

A Report of a Meeting of Experts on the Use in Education of African Languages in Relation to English, where English is the Accepted Second Language, Held at Jos, Nigeria, November 1952.
The report which forms Chapter I of this volume arises from a meeting of experts on the use in education of African languages in relation to English, where English is the accepted second language. This meeting was organized by Unesco at Jos, Northern Nigeria from 17 to 29 November 1952, by an invitation of the Government of Nigeria conveyed through the Government of the United Kingdom.

The problems relating to the use of language in education have been of concern to Unesco since its inception, and it has been part of a continuing programme to carry out clearing house functions in the collecting and distributing of information on such special aspects as the provision of materials designed to combat illiteracy, and materials for the teaching of a second or auxiliary language.

Following a request from the United Nations (Resolution 329 (IV) adopted by the General Assembly at its Fourth Session), Unesco in 1951 undertook a more systematic study of the relation between language teaching and literacy. An expert meeting was held in Paris from 15 November to 5 December 1951 to study the general problem of the use in education of indigenous (or vernacular) languages and second languages, both in and out of school - thus stated, the problem being given in widest possible terms. The conclusions of the meeting with a number of case-studies have been published by Unesco.\(^1\)

The next stage in this programme was to provide the opportunity for authoritative discussion of a less theoretical nature. The co-operation of the Governments of Nigeria and the United Kingdom made possible the Jos Conference in 1952. The topic was limited to African languages and English - a geographical restriction which nevertheless provided a clear illustration of the chief question, the relation of mother tongue to second language instruction - and since the meeting took place on African soil it could not avoid being realistic. As the Director-General of Unesco, in his letter of invitation to the participating Member States stated: ‘It is intended that the meeting should be entirely practical, and that it should aim at helping the national and local authorities concerned to improve methods and materials used in teaching people to read and write in the mother tongues and in English, while at the same time recommending basic principles of wider application.’

The report and special papers which follow will have an obvious and direct interest to those in Africa faced with the problem discussed. In the other areas of the world where English is the accepted second language, the relevance of these discussions will also be apparent. It is felt, moreover, that while the discussions relate to particular areas and problems and to a particular second language, the basic principles which are examined here will prove of interest and use to all who are concerned with second language teaching.

The meeting of experts desired its appreciation of the excellent facilities offered it by the Government of Nigeria - and the ready co-operation both of that Government and of the United Kingdom -

On the recommendation of the meeting, we print with the report three of the working papers specially commissioned by Unesco.

The paper ‘Vernacular Languages as Vehicles of Instruction in British Territories in Africa’, prepared by the International African Institute for the 1951 Paris meeting and revised by the experts at the Jos meeting, together with a short bibliography, have also been added.

\(^1\) Unesco, The Use of Vernacular Languages in Education, (‘Monographs on Fundamental Education’ No. VII). Paris, 1953. xxx pp. Published also in French.
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CHAPTER I

REPORT OF THE MEETING OF EXPERTS
At Jos, Nigeria - November 1952

INTRODUCTION

The report falls into five parts - a statement of the ideal with reasons for it (Part I), a summary of existing practices in the territories concerned (Part II), a statement of causes of divergences from the ideal (Part III), an examination of the problems that emerge and suggestions for possible solutions (Part IV), and a list of recommendations (Part V).

At an early stage in the meeting the question of a definition of a "vernacular" arose. There was considerable disagreement with the definition adopted by the Paris meeting of 1951 (1):

"Vernacular language is a language which is the mother tongue of a group which is socially or politically dominated by another group speaking a different language. We do not consider the language of a minority in one country as a vernacular if it is an official language in another country."

A sub-committee appointed for the purpose considered the question and submitted the following definition:

"A vernacular language is a language which is the mother tongue of a group of the nationals of a country but is not an official language of that or any other country."

After discussion, during which certain members pointed out that there were some languages which they would call vernaculars, using the term in accordance with normal usage, though they were official languages (e.g. Hausa in Nigeria), it was decided that the word vernacular should be avoided and for the purposes of the meeting the term "African languages" should be used. The meeting accepted the other definitions adopted by the Paris meeting of 1951. (2)

The report represents the majority opinion of the participants, and individual members may have disagreed upon specific points.

PART I. THE IDEAL PRACTICE IN THE LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION

Ideally, the medium of education for a child living in its own language environment should be the mother tongue. In many parts of the world, however, the use of a second language of world-wide currency, as a medium of education at the higher levels, is necessary or desirable. In these circumstances the child should ideally receive its education through the medium of the mother tongue as long as is feasible, while also being taught the second language so as to acquire a command of that language sufficient for his or her needs.

Teaching to speak the second language should begin as early as possible, normally in the first or second year of school life. Teaching to read and write the second language should normally begin later. The minimum length of the school course should be adequate to prepare the child to take his place as a full and useful member of the community in which he lives. Literacy, if it is to be effective in contributing to this end, cannot be achieved by the young child in less than four years at school. The schools should play their part in the preservation and development of the mother tongue. Policy should be sensitive in this matter: there should be support for a language of normal vitality, but no artificial preservation of one that is moribund. The reasons for the use of the mother tongue as the ideal medium of education are set out in the paper presented by Dr. P. A. W. Cook which appears as Chapter II of this volume.

The considerations which lead to the conclusion that the mother tongue should be the medium of education in school as long as is feasible apply also to the spreading of literacy among those who have not had the benefit of formal schooling, that is to say, literacy among those outside the school system should also be brought about in the mother tongue. On the part of some of these there is, in many areas, a strong desire to study English. Experience has shown that it is quicker and more efficient for the illiterate first to acquire literacy in the mother

(1) Unesco The Use of Vernacular Languages in Education ("Monographs in Fundamental Education" No. VII) Paris, 1953 p. 46

(2) Unesco Op cit. p. 46
"In university extra-mural work linguistic policy depends upon the aims of such courses. Normally, extra-mural courses of this type are given for the benefit of the intellectual leaders of a community, particularly those who have had a considerable amount of secondary or post-secondary education. It can therefore be expected that the audience will understand English and it is, of course, easier to obtain tutors or lecturers who speak English. To use a regional or local African language as a medium for university extra-mural courses postulates a speaker competent to use it - and that the language has the necessary terminology. Nevertheless, as the general culture of an area increases, the likelihood of such conditions being satisfied will increase. It would be sound policy to encourage the use of African languages in extra-mural courses where competent speakers and suitable audiences are available, because of the likely effects on the languages, their status, and the possibility of reaching wider audiences." (1)

PART II. SUMMARY OF EXISTING PRACTICES IN THE TERRITORIES CONCERNED

A brief summary of existing practices is given below for Liberia, the Union of South Africa and the territories associated with the United Kingdom. (Terminology relating to the different stages of formal education - primary, secondary, post-secondary - varies in application among the different territories in Africa, and among the other countries of the world. Reference is made in this summary to the years of schooling.)

Liberia

English is compulsory as the medium of instruction in the school system. The mother tongue is not the medium of instruction except in the case of those pupils whose mother tongue is English.

In literacy work outside the school system the practice is to teach reading and writing in the mother tongue as the first step towards reading and writing in English.

The Union of South Africa

The mother tongue is the medium of instruction in Bantu primary education in all the four provinces of the Union of South Africa, though there is some variation in the number of years during which it remains so. In the Orange Free State the period is six years, with encouragement of its use wherever possible for the following two years also. In the Transvaal, Cape Province and Natal the period is four years, with similar encouragement of its use in the subsequent years. English or Afrikaans is introduced as a class subject early in the course, usually in the first or second year, and becomes the chief medium of instruction by the seventh year. The second official language (Afrikaans or English) is taught as a class subject from the fifth or sixth year.

Pupils continue to study their own languages as class subjects after the official language has become the medium of instruction, and the seven main Bantu languages are subjects of study in secondary schools.

Outside the school system literacy work in the mother tongue is carried on, and there are classes in the official languages for Africans who are already literate in their mother tongue.

The Eiselen Commission on Native Education (1949-51) has recommended in its Report (2) that the use of the mother tongue as the medium of instruction should be extended, without detriment to the teaching of English or Afrikaans as a class subject from the second year onwards, and of the second official language (Afrikaans or English) from the fourth year.

Territories administratively associated with the United Kingdom

The general policy in African territories associated administratively with the United Kingdom (their constitutions and status differ considerably) is that the mother tongue is the medium of instruction in the first stage of school education - four years in some territories, six in others. English is taught as a class subject by the direct method at an early stage, and becomes the medium of instruction later. The mother tongue may continue to be studied as a class subject when English has become the medium of instruction, and a number of the main African languages are subjects of study in secondary schools.

There are important local variations in practice, resulting from the many factors which complicate the

(1) Unesco: The Place of African Languages and English both in and out of School (see Chapter II).

situation. Details of variations are given in the working document prepared by the International African Institute, as amended by the meeting (see Appendix II).

Literacy work outside the school system is normally in the mother tongue.

In discussion of this subject it was pointed out that the information collected for Unesco by the International African Institute, and given in Appendix II, needed bringing up to date and correcting in many particulars. The changed situation in the Sudan and erroneous statements about the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast were among the points mentioned. The meeting recommends that Unesco should maintain as a continuous activity the collection and dissemination of comprehensive, systematic, and up-to-date information on this subject. In the present state of the development of educational policy in Africa, the availability of such information in a systematic and fully comparable form is of the greatest importance not only to governments but to the peoples concerned.

PART III. SOME CAUSES OF DIVERGENCES FROM THE IDEAL

1. Numerical or other weakness of one language group in relation to a neighbouring language group or groups.
2. Existence of polyglot areas.
3. Inevitable need for communication with other language speaking areas, leading to a demand for instruction in a medium other than the mother tongue.
4. Language as a factor in integration of the political unit.
5. Language as a factor in differentiation within the political unit.
6. Rivalries and resultant emotional attitudes in the matter of dialects or languages.
7. Social and economic factors which derogate from the value placed upon the mother tongue by the speech community itself, both as to its educational importance and its potentiality for future development as a cultural medium.
8. Misunderstanding among the general public of the psychological processes of learning and the aims of education.
9. Complications involved in the teaching of religious knowledge which implies use of another language.
10. Public demand for greater emphasis on English, or in certain cases Arabic, than is consistent with the ideal.
12. Expense of production of literature for small language groups.
13. Limitations of vocabulary, especially with regard to scientific and technical subjects.
14. Difficulties in training of teachers for numerous small language groups.

PART IV. EXAMINATION OF THE PROBLEMS RESULTING FROM THE IMPACT OF PRACTICAL CONSIDERATIONS UPON THE IDEAL LINGUISTIC POLICY, WITH SUGGESTIONS FOR POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS

A. The Mother Tongue

1. The choice of African languages for use in education

The problem of having to make a choice arises from the multiplicity of African languages and dialects, which causes difficulty mainly in:

(a) The production of printed material. It is economically impossible for any administration to produce or subsidize the production of printed material, fully adequate for educational purposes, in every language and dialect spoken within its area.

(b) The training of teachers. To train teachers to teach in every language and dialect would be extremely costly and complicated.
(c) The interchangeability of teachers. Staff casualties cause difficult replacement problems when the total number of teachers available is small owing to the restriction imposed by language groupings.

Suggested Solution

After adequate study of the relationship of the languages and dialects concerned, the acceptance of certain languages or dialects as media for speakers of related groups of languages should be aimed at.

The principles underlying the choice must be decided in the light of local circumstances. Number of speakers is an obvious initial consideration but need not necessarily be decisive. Due regard must be paid to such factors as derivation of language from language, the stage of evolution of the various languages, their intrinsic merits, economic factors, and the existence of isolated groups not related to other groups.

Once languages are accepted they should be introduced from the beginning of school life as a subject, and as the medium when the written or printed word is to be used. This normally implies that governments will limit their financial and other support to the publication of textbooks in those languages which have been accepted.

It has been observed that Africans quickly acquire facility in other African languages, even in those which, except in the very broadest linguistic grouping, are unrelated to their own language.

It should be quite feasible for a child to speak one dialect of a language and to read and write another, unless his attitude has been complicated by non-linguistic factors.

Difficulties

(a) The danger of losing contact with the traditional culture and philosophy of the people, through avoidance of the language to which that culture is closely bound.

No matter how closely related the accepted language is to the mother tongue, it does not embrace the individual characteristics of the culture and philosophy of the tribe which has to learn through a medium that is not its mother tongue, and as culture and philosophy are fundamental to full education as a member of the community, there is the danger of building on sand instead of rock.

(b) Unwillingness of people to accept another African language or dialect as a medium of instruction

Suggested Steps

(a) (i) Immediate and intensive study and recording of traditions

Many of the traditional sayings and much of the lore of African communities survive at present only in the heads of old people, and are therefore in danger of being lost for ever. The need to record these traditions is urgent. Posterity will be grateful to administrations which devote money to such work now, and expert Africans should be encouraged by every means to undertake this task.

(ii) Continuation of traditional studies through the medium of the mother tongue, with modernization of traditional methods

Information obtained under (i) could be published cheaply for restricted use in teacher training centres to give teachers the necessary background. This background information could be taught orally using the old tribal techniques (e.g. social gatherings round the fire) modified in the light of modern pedagogy, and should include all aspects of tribal culture, music, dancing, folklore, and so on.

(b) If a language group is unwilling to accept another African language or dialect as a medium of education, and attempts at persuasion fail, the best solution, which should be adopted, where it is feasible, is to recognize the group's own language or dialect for educational purposes. Where this solution is not feasible, the only alternative appears to be the use of English as the medium.

2. The preservation and development of the mother tongue

Since the cultural development of a people is closely bound up with their language, the progressive study of the language is an essential part of education throughout the school course.

Problem

Many parents and some educators adopt the attitude that English should replace the mother tongue.
completely. This attitude arises from a misconception of the aims of education and of the psychology of language study.

**Suggested Solution**

(a) (i) Immediate and intensive study and recording of traditions

This subject has already been dealt with under Suggested Steps (a) (i) of the section on the choice of African languages for use in education.

(ii) Study of the means whereby the language can be made more effective and functional in the life of the people, especially among its leaders

(b) Inclusion of tribal studies, of which language forms an important part in the curriculum of the upper section of a 12-year course

As the higher classes often include children of more than one tribe, study by all the children of traditions of all tribes represented would be an advantage as it would widen the cultural background of all. This must be achieved through the medium of the accepted language, especially since post-secondary examinations will have an important influence.

(c) Planning of papers by bodies conducting post-secondary examinations to fit in with the educationally sounder and richer courses contemplated under (b) above

It is a curious reflection upon the present system that in some cases papers are little more than translation papers, similar to those set for government officers. The result is that, with the course designed with the examination in view, methods are stereotyped, and studies directed to ends which are educationally undesirable.

(d) Language committees

Everything possible should be done to set up language committees consisting of representatives of all interested parties and to ensure that they are active bodies.

(e) Literature bureaux

Bureaux concerned with the publication of books in mother tongues are needed to provide constant stimulus. These bureaux, acting in conjunction with the language committees, should investigate the needs and tastes of the people.

(f) Financial encouragement of African authors

African authors should receive financial encouragement. All too frequently it is considered that African authors should be proud to have their works published without reward. Competitions can do much to stimulate authorship.

(g) Training of staff for translation and editorial work

Staff for translation and editorial work should be given careful and systematic training.

3. Orthography and Phonetics

(a) The human aspects of the orthographical problem

It is desirable to have a uniform orthography, both for individual languages and for related languages.

Problem

A problem may arise from the unwillingness of a group to accept a new orthography, because of: political reasons; vested interests; conservatism; disagreement with the orthography on its merits.

**Suggested Solution**

Standardization of orthography by representative meetings of speakers of language(s) with experts to advise
The fact that there is to be a meeting, the names of the participants, and an outline of the main proposals should all be published some months beforehand to allow the idea to be discussed by the people, and steps should be taken to explain to them the merits and advantages of the proposals. This can help to ensure that the proposed innovations receive popular support.

**A teaching campaign**

Once the orthography is standardized, a campaign should be conducted with courses for such people as teachers, government officials, religious leaders, clerks and others who are likely to be the agents of dissemination.

**Acceptance of orthography for official purposes and for officially produced or subsidized printed material**

It is desirable that as far as possible the new orthography should be applied consistently in all spheres of the national life. Experience has shown that after an effective official lead has been given, persuasion is more likely than compulsion to bring about a uniform use of the orthography.

(b) **Mechanical aspects of orthographical problems**

(i) A good orthography has as its aim utility, intelligibility and facility in learning for the native reader.

(ii) Where the attitudes of the population towards their orthographic traditions permit a choice in matters of orthography, the following should be preferred:

(a) For practical reasons arising from the nature of modern machinery the system should use a limited set of symbols written in a single line, and ready availability of type should also be borne in mind;

(b) Diacritics are best avoided wherever possible;

(c) The use of digraphs in preference to characters not in the Roman alphabet should be considered. A digraph is often preferable to a single character which is complex, does not have a satisfactory handwritten form, or is of doubtful significance to the eye;

(d) In choosing a character, ease of recognition, significance, and a satisfactory handwritten form should all be taken into consideration;

(e) New characters should be derived from prevailing scientific usage, but the possibility of using an existing character of the Roman alphabet for a sound not usually associated with it should be most carefully considered. This method is often preferable to using a new character. The difficulties of children having later to learn for the purposes of English another association of sound and symbol are often exaggerated;

(f) It is of advantage wherever convenient that the orthographies used in a territory should agree with each other and especially with that used for the national or official language;

(g) Due regard should be had to the mechanics of the reading process both in the choice of characters and in questions of word division.

(iii) Research on the part of experts and subsequent publicizing of their views are necessary for a satisfactory solution of orthographical problems both to ensure that a really practical orthography is achieved and to avoid or break down opposition based on prejudice or conservatism.

(iv) Where a practical orthography has to be worked out for a language which has not had one previously, it would seem wise to start with a comparatively uncomplicated system. It may become necessary at a later stage to add other characters in order to avoid ambiguity, to increase facility of learning, or to clarify morphology. This is preferable to being forced to withdraw a character later through pressure of public opinion or through difficulties caused by unnecessary orthographical complexity.

(v) Where for any reason orthographical changes or innovations have to be made the procedures outlined in (iv) above should be followed.

(c) **Phonetic and linguistic study**

(i) (a) Where a language not already satisfactorily reduced to writing is judged to be suitable for development and for acceptance for educational use a detailed expert linguistic and phonetic study should be conducted as a first step;
(b) This study is best conducted with the assistance of trained personnel whose mother tongue is the language under review;

(c) The provision of such personnel can best be achieved by the training of African students of a high level of educational attainment in post-graduate courses of linguistic and phonetic studies.

(ii) In making the practical application of the results of any detailed study the claims of pure scientific logic and accuracy should be modified by due consideration of the canons of simplicity and effectiveness.

(iii) There is need for research into the practical operation of current orthographies, with special reference to common spelling errors and spontaneous deviations in orthography made by habitual users.

(iv) One role of the language committees (suggested under IV A 2(d)) should be the continued systematic study of the language with special reference to orthographical problems.

4. The production and distribution of reading material

Production

(a) Some form of reading material can be produced for all languages, however small, provided that the language has an orthography and the necessary funds are available.

(b) In the case of reading material for very limited distribution much can be achieved by the use of standard duplicating machines.

(c) While there are good reasons why the printing and publishing of material for wide distribution should be left to commercial printing or publishing firms, or large centralized presses under the direction of such bodies as literature bureaux, the value of offset machines for the production of material for more limited distribution is very considerable.

(d) Provision of Textbooks. In areas where the textbooks for schools are unsatisfactory or insufficient or non-existent, the following conditions for a sound programme of book production are required:

(i) An agreed policy concerning:

(a) the subjects to be taught in each year of school;
(b) the school syllabus;
(c) the use of the African language as an educational medium;
(d) the introduction of a lingua franca as a subject;
(e) the use of the lingua franca as an educational medium;
(f) the introduction and use of English if it is not the lingua franca included under (d) and (e);

(ii) Staff. An adequate staff is needed to survey existing literature and to plan and prepare the new material needed. Since the preparation of books and their technical production are such very different functions, two distinct branches of the organization concerned are required, one to plan and coordinate the writing of necessary textbooks, the other to be responsible for publication. Unless this division is made there is likely to be undue emphasis on one side or the other. The institutes of education and language committees (where they exist) should be associated with the work. Language committees have been found in many areas to provide a powerful stimulus to the production of reading material;

(iii) For each subject in the syllabus, teachers' handbooks on principles and method, pupils' text and reading books, and visual aids, should all be available in the accepted media of instruction.

Before large-scale publication is undertaken these materials should all be thoroughly tested in actual teaching situations and revised in the light of experience;

(iv) In the planning, writing and publication of books, the interest and co-operation of commercial firms should be sought;

(v) It is not sufficient merely to publish books. Schools or pupils must be able to afford to buy them. Where textbooks are provided by a government or a local authority, adequate financial provision for the purchase of new books must be made. Where pupils or their parents are expected to buy the textbooks, it may be necessary to subsidize publication;
It is essential that the production organization has available printing facilities under its own control, even if they are only of the offset(1) variety, so that short experimental runs can be made cheaply and promptly;

Teachers' journals are most valuable in encouraging esprit de corps and maintaining interest and enthusiasm.

Provision of books for those who have left school. The fundamental problem of ensuring that the post-school child shall continue to educate himself, is, of course, a social problem. Books, newspapers and magazines are available in most areas which he can use to further and extend his education and his comprehension of his duties and privileges as a citizen: those, however, are of comparatively little value at the moment except in so far as active organizations in his community use them in relation to the other incentives that are provided by the social conditions of his community.

The organization entrusted with the task of providing printed materials should take the needs of this increasingly large body of people into account and design books for them. Unless this is done much of the effort put into elementary schooling will be wasted owing to the inevitable lapse into illiteracy of many of these ex-pupils.

The provision of magazines and newspapers or news-sheets is a most important part of this programme. Papers with plenty of pictures and strip-cartoons and material suitable for and interesting to the adolescent can be most successfully used.

It is highly desirable that a library service should be provided and arrangements made so that books are readily available over a wide area.

Adult Literacy and Follow up. Assuming that the social problem of arousing a desire for literacy and the language problem have both been solved, it is advisable first to set aside a literacy worker to prepare an experimental set of lessons and produce a small edition by whatever means are available in the area. After the lessons have been tested and revised where necessary, a primer and charts can be mass-produced.

Much has been said about the need for follow-up literature, but a great deal of what is said does not take into consideration the fact that adults are not under the same discipline as schoolchildren. The motives that impel adult Africans to learn to read are many, but they are not always such as to lead them on to the purchase and reading of literature containing what they obviously need to know if they are to take their full share in the life of a changing and developing community.

There do emerge, however, certain facts:

(i) A second reader should follow the primer, and both should contain writing lessons;
(ii) A local newspaper, even if only cyclo-styled (mimeographed), is often popular;
(iii) A book can quickly become popular if it is used as an aid to the consolidation of knowledge on some subject that is the theme of active work going on in the area;
(iv) Co-ordination of books for sale, free leaflets, use of libraries, demonstrations, lectures, films and other media is essential;
(v) Care needs to be taken over the fixing of the price at which books are to be sold. It is usually unwise to publish books at a price higher than an average day's pay of the purchasers, and in some areas it may be necessary to publish in parts in order to avoid this;
(vi) In certain areas subsidies will be necessary at the beginning of a programme of publication. This must be recognized and funds should be provided for the purpose. Subsidies should be large

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(1) The meeting was much impressed by the attractive and yet comparatively inexpensive work, with liberal use of colour and illustration, produced by the Juba branch of the Sudan Government Publications Bureau, using an offset machine of the Rotaprint or Rotomatont variety.

(2) In the Sudan a youth magazine called "El Sibyan" (Boys) was started in 1947 which, after some temporary setbacks, has maintained an average circulation of some 15,000 copies.
enough to enable prices to be fixed at what would be an economic price if a reasonably large circulation had been built up on the normal commercial basis. It is usually not sound practice so to subsidize a book that readers get a wrong idea of the cost of producing books;

(vii) Attractive cover designs, format, interest and relevance of material attract Africans no less than other peoples;

(viii) The promotion of reading should be part of the curriculum of any institution engaged in training for any form of educational work, in order that those who are being trained may know how to encourage their people to use libraries, books and magazines to consolidate and extend their knowledge.

Distribution

(g) If adequate and timely provision of textbooks and reading material is not made, a school loses much of its educational value, and it is important that education authorities should take steps to guard against this danger by making the necessary financial arrangements and by the establishment of an efficient system of distribution. Where it is not possible to ensure efficient distribution of books through voluntary or commercial agencies, the establishment of an official distribution system should be considered.

(h) In view of the wide differences in local conditions and in educational organization, it is not considered possible to recommend any particular method of distribution to schools. Mention may, however, be made of the following possible solutions:

(i) Provision and distribution by education authorities from central stores under the direction of stores officers;

(ii) The sale of books by mobile book vans operated or subsidized by education authorities;

(iii) The encouragement of commercial or mission bookshops, and the establishment of a network of depots or sub-agencies operated by general traders to cover the whole area.

(i) The problem of a wide dissemination of reading material varies largely, depending on the stage of development of the territory concerned and the size and economic status of the literate population. In the earlier stages of development, services sponsored or subsidized by education authorities are probably required, though the ultimate aim should be the distribution of general literature by commercial agencies.

The following suggestions are offered:

(i) Centralized reference libraries. As funds permit and the demand increases, libraries at suitable local centres, community centres, and so on, should be set up in addition to central libraries;

(ii) Library Boxes containing a varied selection of books can serve a very useful purpose if circulated to convenient centres such as schools and community centres;

(iii) Personal distribution by itinerant officers such as education officers. It is considered that such officers could do much to encourage reading by taking a selection of books with them on tour, and by encouraging teachers and others to read;

(iv) Bookshops and mobile book vans should be introduced as soon as the demand justifies such a step. The encouragement of book sales as sidelines by traders in outlying areas is another means of distribution;

(v) Publicity. If any form of distribution is to be successful, wide and continued publicity is necessary. Much can be achieved by the publication of reviews of books and suggestions for reading in teachers' journals, newspapers, and other periodicals.

B. The Relative Place of African Languages and English

1. When should a lingua franca be employed?

When circumstances make it desirable that a lingua franca should be introduced in addition to the language in which literacy is first attained, it occupies the role of a second language. In the statement of the ideal it is said that the second language, which in this context is not English, should be introduced orally as early as possible, but for reading and writing at a later stage. The place of a lingua franca may be affected by three problems:
(a) In a polyglot area, such as an urban, commercial or estate community, there is often no common language practicable as a first school language. There is at the same time an urgent need for a common tongue that all can use. In such areas as these there are three possible solutions:

(i) School pupils can be divided into several language groups. If bilingual teachers are available the use of several languages in the school, though inconvenient, will not be attended by insuperable difficulties;

(ii) The language of the majority of the pupils may be adopted as the official school language and used for the education of the minority also;

(iii) A lingua franca, which may not necessarily be the mother tongue of any of the pupils, may be introduced as the first school language. In view of the African's well-known capacity for learning speedily another African language this solution should not prove unduly difficult to put into effect, where the lingua franca is not English.

(b) The desire may exist or arise for the people in the area to be more closely integrated as a political unit. This process could be greatly facilitated if the people spoke a common language. The suggested solutions for problem (a) would apply equally here.

(c) The need may arise for easy communication with other language speaking areas. In view of the greatly improved means of travel in recent years and the far greater mobility of Africans, the contacts between one centre of activity and another have become much closer and more frequent. The adoption of a lingua franca appears to be the best policy for a school in such an area, and it is suggested that by the time they complete the first stage of school life pupils should have a knowledge of a lingua franca even if it is not the first language used in the school for attaining literacy.

2. When should English be introduced as a subject of study?

As stated in our ideal English should be begun as a subject of study in the first or second year of school life. The following problems, however, may arise:

(a) There may be a lack of teachers qualified to teach English. The only solution that suggests itself is that as many teachers in training as possible should be taught to teach English in schools of the earliest grade.

(b) It may be considered impracticable to introduce English to pupils of a tender age who are already grappling with a second African language. In this case it is suggested that the teaching of English be deferred.

(c) The question may be asked whether it is worth while to teach English for say, two years to pupils who are unlikely for various reasons to remain in school for more than four years. For such children it is suggested that a simple oral knowledge of English covering a vocabulary of local relevance would suffice and that this could be acquired in two years if well taught. Literacy in English might be reserved for the brighter pupils who are likely to remain in school for another four or five years.

(d) In urban and commercial areas where children hear English freely spoken by adults and in the home it may be considered desirable to start English teaching from the beginning of school life.

3. When should English become the medium of instruction?

Where English has been introduced as a subject comparatively late in the child's schooling, it is considered that, if required as a medium, it would be introduced as such for subjects besides English towards the end of the third year of learning English; but where a more gradual approach has been adopted and English has been introduced as a subject towards the beginning of a child's schooling, the immaturity of the child will not allow the use of English as a medium after so short an interval.

4. The method of introducing the teaching of English as a second language

It has been commonly found that pupils entering the secondary stage of schooling suffer from a faulty grounding in English and one suggestion is that a concentrated year of English teaching preceding the introduction of English as a medium might supply this more thorough grounding and so ensure more rapid progress in all subjects of the secondary school curriculum. No general recommendation is offered on this subject.

5. The continuation of the African language after English has become the medium

Clearly any language so used should be one that carries official recognition. The advantages of continuing language study are fairly obvious:
(a) Pupils retain a linguistic, and hence a valuable cultural link with their tribal backgrounds. This is essential if tribal traditions, folklore, music, and so on, are to be preserved.

(b) Pupils who have reached the secondary stage of education may be stimulated to develop at a later stage their own language to the extent of producing literature in it and of undertaking research into the language.

(c) The African language may serve as a subject to be taken in overseas examinations and so help a pupil to obtain a school certificate or exemption from matriculation.

It is therefore recommended that the study of an African language should be continued, when conditions for teaching it exist, right through the secondary course with special attention being paid to composition and literature, including poetry where this exists.

6. The place of African languages as a subject in school examinations

(a) In some territories a public examination is taken about two years before matriculation. It is recommended that such an examination should contain an African language paper or papers.

(b) There should be papers to test the ability to write and comprehend an African language in all teachers' Certificate examinations, assuming that these examinations are normally conducted through the medium of English.

(c) Pupils should be encouraged to offer an African language in the examination for the School Certificate, for the General Certificate of Education, and other matriculation examinations.

C. Problems in Teacher Training

1. Problem

The connexion between teacher-training centres and language policy and teaching in the schools.

Languages are in a constant state of change. Teachers, by the attitude they display towards the use and value of African languages in education, can exert an influence on the attitude of the people.

Recommendations

(a) Teacher-training centres should keep in close touch with the changing language situation.

(b) One of the aims of these centres should be to inculcate in their students a constructive attitude towards the use of African languages.

(c) The recommendations of this meeting might be of value to the staffs of these institutions in this matter and should be made available to them.

2. Problem

The economics of teacher training, in relation to language teaching.

Recommendations

As the financial resources of most African territories are limited, it is necessary that they should be concentrated on training teachers who will be able to teach in both an African language and English. In many areas an ability to speak English has both prestige and economic value. Unless teachers' salaries, conditions of training and terms of service are made not less favourable than those applicable to persons having equal qualifications, recruitment for the teaching profession will be adversely affected.

3. Problem

The attitude in training centres to the use of African languages: (a) as a medium in the training centres themselves; and (b) as a medium in primary schools.

Recommendations

(a) Though in most British territories the use of English as a medium throughout most of the training course
is accepted and encouraged, the possibility of using an African language as a medium of instruction should be seriously considered. In subjects such as school method, school organization and child psychology, teaching in African languages would have great value in ensuring that students understand what they are taught and are able to explain educational practice to parents.

Ideally all members of training centre staffs should be able to teach in and supervise work in an African language.

The staff of every training centre should include suitable African teachers; ideally they should be well equipped men or women and should be trained as specialists in the subjects already mentioned. Where an ideal African staff is not available it is still important that there should be African teachers in the training centres. Much valuable work can be done with selected teachers of a lower grade who receive in-service training.

(b) As one means of assisting towards implementation of recommendation 1, (b) practical teaching in the African language should not only be made available for all students in training, but should be as live and realistic as possible, and the value of lessons given through the medium of the African language should be emphasized by careful supervision and criticism and discussion by the best members of the staff.

4. Problem

The qualifications of teachers of English for the various stages of the primary course.

Recommendation

Carefully planned courses should be provided for inadequately qualified teachers so that they may teach English in any class in the first years of the school course. Specialization by teachers of English may be possible where the staff is adequate. In view of the keen desire to learn English now shown nearly everywhere, the provision of the necessary aids and guidance for all teachers must be a priority, particularly for the early stages.

5. Problem

The maintenance of a high standard of work both in African languages and English after teachers have left the training centres.

Recommendation

The need for follow-up work with teachers on probation must be emphasized. Careful supervision of their teaching is necessary by all concerned.

In order to maintain a high standard of efficiency among teachers, every effort should be made to provide them with reading matter both in the African languages and in English. Every teacher should have a manual of method, preferably written specially to deal with the particular problems of his territory.

Subsidiary aids to the maintenance of efficiency are regular refresher courses, circular letters, and articles in teachers' journals.

6. Problem

How to equip African teachers for their work in teaching English.

Recommendation

Complete, separate and systematic courses in English should be organized in training centres for all teachers. It is also essential that they should understand the general principles of language teaching.

If it is likely that they will be called upon to give courses in English to adults, instruction should be given to them in the special technique required.

D. The Teaching of Reading

Problems in the teaching of reading arise as follows:

1. There is a shortage of teachers trained in modern methods, both for primary schools and for adult literacy work.
2. There is a tendency even for trained teachers to revert to humdrum and unsound methods.

3. Teachers may fail to develop in children the correct attitudes towards reading.

4. Children are often brought to the formal reading stage before they are ready for it.

5. Teachers whose main preoccupation is to press on to the teaching of English forget that a considerable degree of skill in reading an African language should be acquired before reading in the second language is attempted.

6. The supply of readers and supplementary material suitable for use at the different stages of school life is inadequate.

**Recommendations**

1. There is need for a detailed study of modern teaching methods and their application to African schools and languages, with special reference to reading.

2. In devising methods of teaching reading it should be remembered that the sounds of human speech and the symbols which represent them are primarily intended to convey meanings. It is here recommended that a holistic method such as the global or sentence method of teaching reading receive due emphasis in the early stages.

3. Teachers are handicapped by the lack of handbooks to indicate suitable apparatus for reading lessons and instructions for its use. It should be the business of each territory to prepare such a guide and to ensure its use.

4. Readers suitable for one part of Africa are often unsuitable elsewhere. Working on the basis of an agreed skeleton book authors should fill in the local colour to suit local conditions, having regard to both illustrations and text.

5. Since women generally make better teachers of small children, it is desirable that they should be used in preference to men as teachers in junior classes. If women teachers are not available, male teachers should receive special training in the necessary techniques.

6. The production of suitable books is an all-important factor in retaining the interest of the reading population, both children and adults. There is need to stimulate authorship on these lines, bearing in mind the special requirements of the local reader (see IV A 2. (f)).

7. Every school child should be able to widen his reading interests by using a library. It is felt that, in the early stages of school life, class libraries rather than school libraries should be established.

8. It is easily recognized that certain books are NOT suitable for reading at certain ages and stages of education. Very little has been done in Africa to ascertain what books ARE suitable and meaningful for the various stages. This problem should be studied and the results embodied in lists of books made available for each territory.

9. The love of reading as well as the interest and attention of children are easily stimulated when suitable stories are read aloud by the teacher. It is suggested that this technique should be studied and practised by teachers in training.

10. It is recognized that methods of teaching adults differ from the ordinary school methods, and that for some time to come literacy campaigns will in many areas be led by ordinary school teachers. Efforts should therefore be made to instruct such teachers in the special approach needed in adult classes.

**Special Note on Adult Education**

The problem of who shall be responsible for adult education arises out of the purposes which are essentially:

1. Community development, including better village life, health, agriculture, local crafts and industries, and the new sense of dignity which comes to the adult as he becomes literate - all of which involves teaching.

2. Conservation of time, energy and money spent in educating the young, by educating the whole community.

3. Producing a social climate which is favourable to the work of the schools.
In the various territories concerned solutions have been adopted in the present practice of the following official bodies:

1. Department of Public Instruction or Education Department (e.g. Liberia).
2. Ministry of Community Development or Department of Social Welfare (e.g. Nigeria).
3. Department of Social Welfare under Ministry of Education and Social Welfare (e.g. Gold Coast).
4. A special commission composed of representatives from already existing services directly concerned with all that is included in an adult education programme. The executive service to carry out the programme as enunciated by this commission is the education service (French West Africa).

Guiding principle suggested

Whatever Ministry, Service or Department is directly responsible in each territory for adult education, the Education Department should be vitally concerned and thoroughly conversant with the total adult education programme.

Difficulties in adult literacy work arise if the adult outlook is not appreciated.

1. Adults should not be treated as children just because they cannot read; therefore children's primers cannot serve as adult primers.
2. Adults tend to work for immediate results; therefore materials must be practical, useful, immediately rewarding.

Suggested solutions or methods

1. Laubach(1) or other suitable adult primer adapted to the needs of each locality.
2. Audio-visual aids - such as filmstrips, epidiascope, gramophone.
3. Follow-up work. Reading materials based on practical needs and entertainment; library boxes; reading huts; practical English.

E. The Teaching of English as a Second Language

The central problem is that of raising the general standard of the teaching of English in African territories. Out of this central problem arise a number of related problems concerning: 1. The abilities of teachers, 2. The methods to be employed in schools, 3. The structure of the English course.

1. The ability of teachers to teach English

The problem derives from the fact that the majority of teachers may, as a result of developing conditions, be required to teach English, and may not have been trained to do so.

Suggested solution

(a) An appropriate and systematic English course in the Training Centre.
(b) Special training in the principles and methods of teaching English as a second language.
(c) Some knowledge of the mother tongue of pupils on the part of the teacher.

2. Methods

The problem to be met is how a second language can be most effectively learned.

(1) The general view of the meeting was that the Laubach system was valuable, though it might well need particular adaptations for particular localities.
Suggested Solution

(a) Normally the Direct Method(1) should be employed, but there is a place for translation for specific purposes in situations where the Direct Method would prove cumbersome.

(b) Building up new habits should be stressed through the use of the second language.

(c) The language should be used as a tool in practical situations.

(d) Procedures should be adopted whereby a balance between fluency and accuracy may be achieved.

(e) Audio-visual aids should be used wherever possible, particularly in training centres and secondary schools.

(f) The approach to learning the language should be by means of the speech lesson rather than the reading lesson.

(g) The value of oral work, both for its own sake and for its usefulness as preparation for reading and writing, should be stressed at all stages of the course.

3. The structure of the course

The first problem here is that of the stage at which English should be introduced as a subject and the rate at which material can be assimilated.

Suggested solution

(a) Where possible English should be introduced in the first or second year of the school course, in order that it may be possible to adopt a gradual approach, thus avoiding the dangers of overloading the child and of upsetting the general balance of the curriculum.

(b) The rate at which new material is introduced should vary according to local circumstances. In areas where some English is commonly spoken it will be possible to proceed faster than in those areas in which little or no English is spoken.

(c) Whatever the situation, there should be a short period of practice every day.

The second problem is that of the grading of oral work, reading, and written work throughout the course.

Suggested solution

(a) Oral work

(i) The content of the course should be closely related to local needs and conditions.

(ii) A carefully worked out and detailed handbook for teachers should be provided.

(iii) From the first year the course should include the teaching of phrase and sentence patterns as well as vocabulary.

(iv) Special attention should be given to those techniques which promote class activity, rather than to those which involve the activity of individuals only.

(v) From the beginning attention should be paid to the normal spoken form of the English language with due regard to natural intonation and rhythms (i.e. oral work must not be regarded solely as preparation for reading or written work; speech exists in its own right).

(vi) Much time should be given, more especially in the early stages, to listening practice as a necessary preliminary to the children's own speaking.

(vii) Good pronunciation habits should be established from the beginning. This can best be achieved by means of systematic pronunciation exercises, in which special attention should be given to those

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(1) The term "direct method" here refers to language-teaching technique in specifically language lessons and is not to be confused with the use of a foreign language as the medium of general school instruction.
sounds and groups of sounds which cause particular local difficulty. Short and frequent practice of this kind should be given at the beginning of oral lessons.

(viii) A first task of the teacher is the building up of the children's confidence, so that they are encouraged to speak freely. Correction of children's efforts should be incidental rather than the main object of oral work.

(ix) The following methods are advocated for the early stages, and may be developed as the work progresses: mime; dramatic methods; imperative drill; action chains.

(x) In the second year, vocabulary is best extended through the study of related and coherent topics interesting to the children.

(xi) In the second year also, the children may be encouraged to make up sentences of their own about pictures or about matters of interest to them. At this stage, however, there need be no insistence on the arrangement of sentences in a logical or any other order.

(xii) In the third year, attention may be paid to the arrangement of different sentences in the order most suitable to the topic under discussion.

(xiii) In the third year also, dramatic methods may be elaborated to include the depiction of such things as a short story, or an incident from everyday life.

(xiv) In the fourth year, special attention should be given to the elaboration of a connected passage with one central idea.

(xv) In the fifth year, oral work may profitably take the form of lecturelettes lasting for one or two minutes. Other methods mentioned will of course be continued and developed.

(xvi) In the sixth and subsequent years, special efforts should be directed towards training in a variety of skills, e.g. clear description, clear explanation, clear narrative, discussion techniques and debating skills.

(xvii) Activities in oral work should at all times be based on the developing interests of the pupils and should be related to the situations in which the language would naturally be used.

(b) Reading

(i) In the early stages, all reading should be preceded by oral preparation and no word should be introduced in the printed form until it is familiar to the pupils in the spoken form.

(ii) Throughout the course, but specially in the early stages, the teacher should stress the use in reading lessons of words suited to the age and interests of the children. Reading should never be allowed to become a wholly academic exercise, based on a textbook provided solely for this purpose.

(iii) Before the first reader is introduced, much preparatory work in more informal reading (e.g. reading of cards, booklets and blackboard material prepared by the teacher) should be done. If the course suggested in (a) of the suggested solution of the first problem under 3. above is adopted, this work may be profitably done in the second year, leading on to the introduction of the first reader in the third year. The emphasis should be on sentence and look and say methods.

(iv) Throughout the course there should be as much supplementary reading as possible, concurrent with the study of the reader. The production of supplementary readers is not at present adequate, particularly for the early stages. Teachers should endeavour to provide material as plentiful and as varied in nature as possible, so that all children may have the opportunity of developing their skills to the full. Education departments and local and school authorities can help in this by circulating at intervals annotated lists of books available and suitable for different classes.

(v) From the fourth year, most reading should be silent. Children may be grouped according to either ability or interests or both, or according to convenience for particular purposes. Reading aloud may be practised as a form of speech training, but this should not be considered to be the primary function of reading.

(vi) Reading aloud should not be undertaken unless for a specific purpose.

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(vii) Reading competitions for both school pupils and those who have left school are of value in raising standards of speech.

(viii) In the sixth year and after, training may be given in specific reading techniques: e.g., skimming; reading to grasp the main ideas of a passage; reading for detailed information; the use of reference books.

(ix) Attention should be given to the needs of the many children who leave school at an early stage. Officially sponsored correspondence courses, libraries, discussion clubs, and so on, would be of much value in this connexion.

(x) A special problem arises once the limited objective of the simplified English course has been reached. There are various devices which may be employed for bridging the gap between simplified and original texts. These include: interspersion of original text with African language or simplified English text; reading aloud of selected passages by the teacher; intensive reading exercises.

(xi) In the secondary and teacher-training stage, attention should be given to the selection of texts for their literary value - e.g., ordered thinking, style and vitality. Teachers need guidance on this point from the various authorities concerned.

(xii) If possible, investigations should be carried out into the reading tastes and habits of students at the secondary stage.

(xiii) The values derived from good reading of English poetry should not be overlooked.

(c) Written Work

(i) All written work should be prepared orally, at least until the secondary stage is reached.

(ii) Written work in the second year should normally be confined to transcription.

(iii) From the third year onwards, exercises in sentence completion and exercises based on substitution tables may be given. Short passages of dictation may be given very occasionally, provided that they are prepared and based on material already thoroughly familiar to the children.

(iv) The study of spelling should be confined to those words which are useful to the children in their own writing.

(v) Written composition should follow the same lines as those laid down for oral composition.

(vi) Simple letter-writing techniques should be taught from the fifth year at the latest.

(vii) In the later stages of the primary course, exercises should be devised for the increase of speed of writing without loss of legibility. Material for such exercises should be meaningful and varied.

(viii) Training centre course should include instruction in the techniques of marking of written work.

(ix) At the secondary level and in training centres there is a place for note-making and summarizing. This, together with ordinary composition, provides a useful basis for correlation of English with other subjects.

(x) In the stage transitional to the use of normal current English as distinct from simplified English, the preparation of outlines or summaries before the writing of a composition is a useful aid. These may be done on a class, group or individual basis, according to the nature of the topic.

(xi) The meeting is unable to make any proposal on the teaching of grammar. Some members thought that it provided a sound understanding of the structure of the language if taught on a systematic but functional basis. Others considered that it should be used only incidentally as an aid to the classification of the thought-content of sentences. Further research into this matter would be useful.

PART V. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR UNESCO ACTION

In much of its work the meeting was handicapped by the lack of reliable and objective data on many points. The absence of such data must operate to the detriment of constructive work in the field. In view of this situation it is considered essential that active steps be taken to promote research into a variety of linguistic and allied
problems. It is realized that much research has already been done into some of these matters, but there is a wide field, particularly in tropical Africa, which is as yet largely unexplored. Moreover, the results of much that has been done are not widely known.

The meeting therefore recommends that further research be fostered by all possible means, and more especially into the problems enumerated below:

1. Research into the physiological processes involved in learning to read and in skilled reading, with special reference to eye span and movement in relation to the significance of symbols, type-faces and optimum word-division.

2. Research into the practical operation of current orthographies, with special reference to common spelling errors and spontaneous deviations in orthography made by habitual users of a particular language for writing.


4. Research into the effectiveness of various methods of teaching reading in different languages, both to children and to adults.

5. Research into the causes of slow development of reading ability.

6. Research into the reading tastes and habits of secondary school pupils and teachers in training.

7. Research into the interests of adults in relation to the content of literacy and follow-up materials.

8. Research into the effect on the learning of English of a systematic study of the mother tongue at the post-primary level, with special reference to attainment in reading and composition.

9. Research into the effect, on the general educational attainment of children, of the use as a medium of:
   (a) an African language which is not the mother tongue;
   (b) English.

10. Research into the amount of English in current use in the various sections of the community in different areas, in relation to the content of English courses in schools.

11. Research into language development in young children, with special reference to the ways in which the mother tongue is acquired.

12. Research into the vocabulary content and structure of African languages in relation to the vocabulary content and structure of English, with special reference to the classification of concepts within languages and the equivalence of concepts between languages.

13. Research into the current practices in vocabulary extension in African languages, with a view to establishing basic principles which can be used over the widest possible area.


It is further recommended that the results of any research that may be carried out should be given the widest possible publicity.

As stated at the end of Part II of this report, the meeting recommends that Unesco maintain as a continuous activity the collection and dissemination of comprehensive, systematic, and up-to-date information on the languages used for educational purposes in Africa, the use made of them, the numbers of speakers of them, and the educational material available in them.
CHAPTER I

THE PLACE OF AFRICAN LANGUAGES AND OF ENGLISH BOTH IN SCHOOL EDUCATION AND IN EDUCATION OUT OF SCHOOL (e.g. IN FUNDAMENTAL EDUCATION AND IN UNIVERSITY EXTRA-MURAL WORK)

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It should be stated at the outset that the ideas and opinions expressed by the writer are purely his own and are not the expression of any official policy or views on the matter.

The problems under review have been approached from the standpoint of the educator and social anthropologist rather than from that of the linguist. Since the field is so wide and the number of authorities who might have been quoted is so great, apologies are offered in advance for what may seem to be the unjustifiable neglect of authoritative writings on particular areas and problems.

This paper has been written in the hope that it will prove stimulating and useful to the participants in a conference to be called by Unesco. An attempt has been made to present as systematically as possible a number of ideas on a difficult and complex problem which occurs in many parts of Africa each of which is characterized by important local factors which make the task of generalization, always dangerous, exceptionally difficult. It is, however, not the task of this paper to present cut-and-dried solutions but to marshal certain data and suggestions in the hope that they will prove useful to the participants in the conference.

PART I. THE GENERAL PROBLEM

Discussions of linguistic problems are frequently as confusing as the Tower of Babel because terms are used loosely. To avoid ambiguity the following terms will be used in this paper in the sense agreed upon by the committee which met in Paris in 1951 to discuss the use of vernacular languages as vehicles of instruction.

"(a) Indigenous language is the language of the people considered to be the original inhabitants of an area.
(b) Lingua franca is a language which is used habitually by peoples whose mother tongues are different in order to facilitate communication between them.
(c) Mother or native tongue is the language which a person acquires in early years and which normally becomes his natural instrument of thought and communication.
(d) National language is the language of a political, social and cultural entity.
(e) Official language is a language used in the business of government - legislative, executive, and judicial.
(f) Pidgin is a language which has arisen as the result of contact between peoples of different languages, usually formed from a mixing of the languages.
(g) Regional language is a language which is used as a medium of communication between peoples living within a certain area who have different mother tongues.
(h) Second language is the language acquired by a person in addition to his mother tongue.
(i) Vernacular language is a language which is the mother tongue belonging to a group which is socially or politically dominated by another group speaking a different language. We do not consider the language of a minority in one country as a vernacular if it is an official language in any country.
(j) World language is a language used over wide areas of the world."

It is not claimed for these definitions that they are scientific or very exact but they seem to provide a fairly consistent and useful means of expressing certain concepts.

It now becomes necessary to pose the question, "How does the problem of the use of vernacular languages arise?" In general terms, the problem has arisen in Africa because of the intrusion upon the indigenous cultures of Africa of Western European culture, and in terms of the title of the paper, attention is limited to those parts of Africa in which English-speaking Europeans have been the protagonists of Western culture. The indigenous cultures, although profoundly affected in many aspects have shown great vitality and powers of adaptation. Language is a significant and important aspect of any particular culture and the indigenous languages of Africa have likewise exhibited both their vitality and adaptability; and in the present complex processes of culture development they have a tremendously important rôle to play. It is important to bear in mind in reading this paper and considering the problems it presents that both education (or the activities of the schools and other educative agencies) and languages, both the vernacular languages and English, are themselves no more than aspects, albeit highly important, of the wider processes of cultural evolution on the African continent.
The cultural processes mentioned above are taking place all over the African continent at varying velocities and it is important to realize both that these changes are taking place and that they will have important effects on linguistic and educational factors. To take an example, the enormous increase in the mobility of the African population is not only changing the habits and customs of people but it is breaking down some languages, building up the need for regional languages and linguae francae, and increasing the usefulness of certain world languages. This process may be expected to simplify in many respects the present very complicated linguistic position in Africa. The schools too, are vastly affected by this increased mobility of the African because their work is so much more necessary to greater numbers of people and they have to respond to changes in the linguistic and social situation. Indeed, in a rapidly changing Africa the schools will have to be constantly on the alert so that their practice will not only be in accord with the latest developments but will assist in healthy cultural and linguistic change.

It is because the vernacular languages are so closely bound up with the indigenous cultures that, in their eagerness to absorb Western Civilization, many Africans have felt that only by abandoning their own languages, particularly in school, will they absorb what they desire with the maximum celerity. They have mistaken an aspect of a culture for the culture itself. There are a great many parts of Africa where the Africans themselves are opposed to the use of the vernacular languages in school, even in the lowest classes. This is a topic, however, which will be dealt with later and at this juncture it is sufficient for our purpose to note the confusion which exists in the minds of many between language and culture. Despite the affinity between language and culture it is impossible to demonstrate any definite relationship between linguistic structure and cultural type. The culture of a people is very much more flexible and free to develop than the linguistic structure of their language.

In considering the rôle of vernacular languages in Africa certain general characteristics of the African educational situation should be borne in mind:

(a) The large number of languages and dialects encountered. A few examples may be quoted:

Northern Rhodesia has "a total African population of about a million and a quarter, speaking some thirty-two different Bantu languages and dialects". (1)

"Diversity of language is one of the major social problems of Nigeria. Ibo, Hausa and Yoruba are spoken by rather less than two-thirds of the population. No one knows exactly how many different languages (not dialects) are spoken in Nigeria. Eighty is a very moderate estimate." (2)

In the Gold Coast, "The large number of vernaculars with which the Protectorate is afflicted presents a difficult problem since it means that teachers even within a single Native Authority Area are often not interchangeable: it also presents great difficulty at the Training College in Tamale where teaching practice must inevitably be done in the local vernacular only." (3)

In many areas the linguistic situation is complicated by the number of orthographies which have been produced independently by religious and other bodies either for the same language or for dialects. These orthographies have sometimes emphasized differences and impeded the unification of languages. In other areas the linguistic situation is complicated by the number of races which are to be encountered. This is particularly true of the East Coast of Africa and is illustrated by the following quotations:

In the Boys' Secondary School, Zanzibar

"There were 145 candidates for entry into Standard IX in January 1950; fifty-five were accepted, of whom thirty-two were Indians, thirteen Arabs, two Africans, four Shirazis and four Comorians." (4)

In the Girls' Secondary School

"At the Entrance Examinations for 1950, thirty girls were admitted into Standard IX, of whom two were Arabs, five Africans and twenty-three Indians." (5)

"Twenty-six girls were also admitted into Standard VII, of whom eighteen were Arabs, three Baluchis, and five Africans." (5)

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(b) **Rapid social change**

The rapid economic, social and political changes which the last fifty years have seen are likely to be accelerated. The opening up of industries and mines has led to the growth of large metropolitan areas with peoples speaking many tongues. The system of migratory labour has accentuated in many respects the effects of these changes. On many mines on the Witwatersrand African labourers drawn from as many as twenty different linguistic groups may be encountered and this has given rise to a new *lingua franca*, Fanakalo, a simplified form of Nguni.

(c) **The indigenous cultures are relatively retarded**

Without in any way disparaging the merits of African cultures it may be stated that in general they are very undeveloped materially and technologically.

(d) **African communities are generally poor**

Partly as a result of geographic and other natural factors and partly because of retarded cultural conditions the national income per head of population of the African is low. The general lack of wealth is an important consideration in considering educational and other plans. In contrast to North America which, with less than 10 per cent of the world's population, produces some 45 per cent of the world's income, Africa, with 8 per cent of the world's population, enjoys only 3 per cent of the world's income. (1)

(e) **The percentage of children at school tends to be low**

In Nigeria out of the estimated 3 or 4 million children of school age i.e. between 7 and 14 years of age, less than 900,000 were at schools of any sort. (2)

In the Gold Coast out of a total population of some 4,000,000, there were less than 300,000 pupils at school. (3)

In Uganda out of the total African population of some five millions there were in 1948 about 285,000 children at school (147,000 within the aided system). (4)

In Southern Rhodesia in 1948 the total African population numbered roughly one and three-quarter millions. There were approximately 212,000 African pupils enrolled. (5)

In the Union of South Africa approximately 40 per cent of African children of school going age are enrolled in schools. (6)

In Nigeria it was estimated that in 1948 the percentage of boys of school age who were receiving some schooling varied from 70 per cent in Owerri Province to 15 per cent in Ogoja Province. (7)

(f) **The school life of the average pupil is very short**

This is best shown in tabular form.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>The number of children enrolled in the first year of school compared with the total enrolment of all types of schools</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Country or Territory</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Rhodesia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanganyika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bechuanaland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sierra Leone A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union of S. A.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A (aided institutions only). Data from official reports.

These figures have not been assembled for purposes of comparison because the inclusion or exclusion of non-aided schools would make such a comparison invalid. They do show, however, what a high percentage of pupils is to be found in the lower classes and how large the rate of elimination is. This is commented on both by the Beecher Commission in Kenya and the Eiselen Commission in South Africa and seems to be a widespread phenomenon.

(g) **The percentage of girls at school is usually far lower than of boys**

This is, of course, a matter which varies from area to area and is much influenced by religious and economic factors. In Basutoland far more girls than boys go to school in the lower classes but the position is reversed after the eighth year of schooling. In the Union of South Africa generally girls come to school freely and a marked disparity in the sexes is found only in the higher classes of the schools. In Nyasaland, Zanzibar, Kenya, and other areas, including most of West Africa far more boys than girls come to school. Writing of the primary schools of Nigeria the Director of Education reported:

"Over the whole of the Eastern Province there are more than five boys at school for every girl. In Calabar Province the figure is nearer four, but in Ogoja Province it is more like ten."(1)

This is a factor of some significance in determining the place of the vernacular in education.

(h) **The large percentage of illiterate adults**

This is the result of the cumulative effects of the factors mentioned above.

We turn to a brief consideration of the significance of the phrase "where English is an accepted second language". English fulfills many different functions in different places. It may be the language of government, of trade, of higher education, of inter-tribal contacts. It may be the everyday language of European settlers in Kenya, the language of a large number of the European inhabitants of a country like South Africa where English and Afrikaans are spoken and taught in the schools. It may be a lingua franca useful and necessary to the migrant labourer in search of work in East, Central and South Africa. It may be a language hardly ever heard in or near the homes of millions of people or it may be a familiar element of the linguistic atmosphere reinforced with newspapers, books, cinemas and public notices. The range of contact which individuals have with English in different areas is extremely great, and due attention must be given to this in determining immediate local linguistic policy.

Before concluding this introduction it will be convenient to consider the implications of using a language as a medium of instruction in schools. They may be summed up as follows:

(a) **The teachers know and understand the language**

This is normally an argument in favour of using a vernacular but not always as the quotation from Gold Coast on page 23 showed. Vernaculars spoken by small numbers offer difficulties in teacher training because due provision has to be made in training teachers of each language - not always an easy matter.

(b) **Textbooks must be available**

The production of textbooks sufficient in number, quality and variety for use in schools is an essential implication.

(c) **Inspection**

If the teaching is to be efficient and is to develop, it is essential that competent inspectors conversant with the language should be available.

(d) **Examinations**

Facilities for conducting examinations in the language must be available.

(e) **Terminology**

The language must have a vocabulary sufficiently developed to allow it to express accurately and clearly the technical or other terms it needs to express.

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1. The first four years of primary school

It will be convenient to treat the first four years of the primary school as a unit separate from the second four years for two reasons. In the first place, the first four years are tending more and more to be regarded as a separate (and "rounded-off") unit of education as may be seen in such publications as the Beecher Report(1) in Kenya and the Eiselen Report(2) in South Africa. In the second place we find a fairly high degree of similarity in the language policy of African educational systems in the first four years, a similarity not to be found in the later stages of the primary schools in different territories.

In seeking to understand the respective rôles to be assigned the vernacular languages and English in each type of school it is important to understand clearly the functions of the particular school in the educational and social system, and the type or types of pupils for which it caters. In the lower primary school, as the first four years is sometimes called, children of all types are admitted and there has been no selection on the basis of scholastic or intellectual ability. It is the school for the children of all the people and aims not only at giving its pupils some knowledge of the three R's but also at socializing them i.e. imbuing them with a feeling of social solidarity. In societies divided into clans and tribes, this may be a very important aspect of the work of the school: the development of a consciousness of unity which will form the basis of co-operation in later life.

The place of the vernacular

The general practice in British territories in Africa has been summed up by the International African Institute as follows, "It is now the declared policy of the British Administrations that pre-primary and primary education should, wherever possible, be given in the vernacular languages."(3) This policy is of course subject to a good deal of modification in practice but seems in general to cover at least the first four years of schooling. In Tanganyika "All instruction in primary schools has been carried out in Swahili, the lingua franca of the territory, apart from the the first year when the local vernacular may be used."(4) There are areas where English or Pidgin English is used e.g. in a description of the educational position in the south-western and south-eastern provinces of Nigeria it is stated, "There is a great variety of languages and dialects, and in some places no common tongue except Pidgin English, which has almost achieved the status of a local vernacular. But wherever possible the vernacular is used as the medium of instruction in primary education for the first six years. In those areas where the diversity of languages is very great and where no lingua franca exists, the language of instruction is English."(5) In the Cameroons, "The ideal is that among infants and young children all instruction should as far as possible be in the vernacular. The facts appear to be that, owing to the enormous number of languages and dialects in this area (often spoken by the inhabitants of only one village and totally incomprehensible even in the next village), Pidgin English is becoming a lingua franca. Most primary education is in the hands of missions and Pidgin is the medium of instruction after about the first year."(6) In Gambia, "The language of instruction is for the most part English, since most schools are in Bathurst where the African population is English-speaking."(7)

It is therefore suggested that the ideal medium of instruction in the first four years of the primary school is the mother tongue

At this juncture it will be as well to review briefly the reasons which make it important that a child should receive at least his early education through the medium of his mother tongue. These may be summarized as follows:

(i) A fundamental aspect of the function of education is the adjustment of the child to the life and culture of a particular group. A language cannot develop except in a group nor can a society function without a common language. The development of national pride and group solidarity would be impossible if there were no common elements in the experiences of individuals. Language supplies common elements of thought by compelling individuals to go through mental processes which are alike. Language is not merely a vehicle for the transmission of ideas from mind to mind; it is a compelling institution which forces men to become alike in their association of ideas. The learning of a word is a process of socializing the individual and of making his conscious world like that of others who use the same language.

(3) Regional Paper on Vernacular Languages No 4, p. 2.
(4) Ibid. p. 12.
(5) Ibid. p. 5.
(6) Ibid. p. 7.
(7) Ibid. p. 8.
We see from such considerations as these why language is so fundamental to society. In order that men may live together in groups they must have common ideas on all essential items. Common interests and joint modes of action are essential to the very existence of a community. Social unity can be secured only when some method is provided for holding individuals to the same inner patterns of thought and desire...

"In order to effect this union man had to find a means of making its members alike in their inner desires and experiences. That device for producing a common way of thinking was developed in language. By constantly keeping the members of the tribe in communication and by gradually enriching the vocabulary which records common ideas and purposes, man has controlled the thinking of all members of the group until now the ideas and ideals of a nation compel the attention of every newcomer."(1)

(ii) The primary school child in any society needs the socializing influence of his mother tongue or else he tends to be absorbed into and influenced by a competing linguo-cultural group to the detriment of the process normal in a monolingual situation.

(iii) The mother tongue also plays an indispensable rôle in the formation of the child's concepts of the world and of his categories of thought. Sapir remarks, "In spite of the fact that language acts as a socializing and uniformizing force it is at the same time the most potent single known factor for the growth of individuality."

(iv) By the time the young child comes to school he has attained a considerable mastery of a complex instrument of learning, his mother tongue, and this forms a natural and easy means for his further linguistic, intellectual and emotional development. To use any language other than the mother tongue is to jettison the child's acquired store of experience and language, and to compel him to seek new symbols of communication and thought. Every word of the mother tongue has a meaning whereas a word in another language may be only an equivalent or a very approximate equivalent.

(v) Although the young child has attained a considerable mastery of his mother tongue he is nevertheless still in need of further linguistic development. He is still in the early process of concept construction, his vocabulary is limited and his experience not very wide. One of the principal purposes of the lower primary school must therefore be the enlargement of his control and grasp of his mother tongue as a means of his further mental and social development.

(vi) Another reason for the use of the mother tongue in the beginning of the child's school career is the great contrast between his experience before going to school and the treatment he receives inside the school. From living a relatively free and untrammelled existence he is transposed into a régime where he is one of a class, systematically exposed to new and changing experiences which demand his full attention. New information and ideas are presented to him as fast as he is able to absorb them. New companions and new teachers call for rapid emotional and social adjustments on his part. If to all these demands on the child's power of understanding and adjustment the handicap of a strange tongue is also added, the burden becomes almost overwhelming. The child newly admitted to a school needs as much moral support as can be given him and nothing can facilitate his familiarization with the school as much as a teacher who uses his mother tongue.

(vii) An important advantage in the use of the mother tongue as a medium of instruction in the lower primary school is the degree of freedom which it provides for the child to express himself as well as respond to and participate in the activities of the school. This is important emotionally and intellectually to the child, making the work of the school satisfying to him. The fluency of the child also enables the teacher to make certain that the child understands what is being taught and that he learns actively rather than passively.

(viii) The passivity and docility of Bantu-speaking children in the lower classes in South Africa has on occasion been remarked upon, and this is often due to the use of a medium of instruction foreign to the child. If the child is not able to understand fully what is happening, or if he has to concentrate very hard in order to understand what is being said by the teacher, his interest and attention are likely to flag very soon. The mother tongue is thus the readiest means of holding a young pupil's attention for not only is it readily intelligible but it is rich in associated ideas and interests.

(ix) A common criticism of African schools is their alleged failure to integrate the work of the classroom with the experience of children outside the school. The use of the mother tongue as a medium of instruction is a valuable means of effecting such an integration because of its intimate association with outside experience and life. In subjects such as hygiene and religious instruction the use of the mother tongue in Bantu schools in South Africa has been extended above the usual range because it has been found that a lesson given through the medium of English or Afrikaans has little "carry over" into the ordinary life of the pupils. Hygiene in English runs the danger...

of becoming purely an academic activity, something quite apart from living in the home where conditions and facilities often do not make the practice of school-taught hygiene easy. It has been the common experience of missionaries that the Bible to be taught effectively must be presented in the language of the individual so that its message may be clothed in the rich emotional associations of words long dear and familiar.

(x) A powerful argument in favour of the use of the mother tongue in the lower primary school is the short duration of the schooling received by so many Africans. It is safe to say that for the average child his school life is so short that he will not have the opportunity to learn enough of a foreign language to enable him to cope with it satisfactorily as a medium of instruction nor will his knowledge of the language be a sufficient and satisfying goal in itself. It has also been pointed out that the lower primary school is in a very real sense a "school of the people" where there is no selection and where provision must be made for education of all types of pupils. It is therefore of fundamental importance that the work of the school should be satisfying and effective for those children who go no further than the fourth year.

(xi) It is obviously essential that the teachers of the lower primary schools should be able to use whatever language forms the medium of instruction with clarity and skill not only to impart what they have to teach but also to create an intellectual and emotional atmosphere in which the child can learn. The education and training of teachers is a long and costly business, particularly if they have to be taught to teach in a language other than their mother tongue. It is, therefore, most economical to select and train teachers who will teach in their own mother tongue. In the present state of development of the African continent it is impossible even if it were desirable, to train sufficient teachers to teach efficiently in the lower primary schools in English or indeed, with certain exceptions, in any language but the mother tongue of the bulk of the pupils.

(xii) The final factor which we shall consider in favour of using the mother tongue in the lower primary school is the important effects which this practice has on the parents of the children and the community in general. Because the child can converse freely with his parents and relatives about the work of the school, in an idiom familiar to them, their interest and sympathy is aroused. The school stands for something "of" the community. This is of tremendous importance in an undeveloped society. If the medium of the school is not the mother tongue the child is less able and less inclined to tell his parents about the work of the school. He is also more inclined to associate with companions selected from those who know the "language of the school". This point will be touched upon again later in this paper. (See also p.34 et seq.)

Difficulties experienced in applying the principle of mother tongue instruction

The difficulties experienced in the application of the principle of mother tongue instruction fall into two main groups - ideological and practical. The ideological objections may be summarized as follows:

(a) "The inherent inadequacy of the language." The attitude is taken up that a particular language is so primitive and uncivilized that it is incapable of expressing modern ideas adequately. It may even be held that it lacks a grammar. This attitude has no basis in fact. Every language, from its very nature as a means of communication between individuals, has its consistent patterns of construction, and although it may be unwritten it is nevertheless capable of being reduced to rule and writing. No language is inherently incapable of the development necessary to make it a satisfactory medium of instruction. The development of a language (i.e. the production of an alphabet and reading materials) is, of course, far less complicated when the language is to be used as a medium of instruction in the lower primary school than it would in the secondary school.

(b) "The learning of the mother tongue in school is unnecessary." The proponent of this argument holds that because the child needs to learn so many new things at school, to study his own language is to waste precious time. This argument fails to recognize that the child's knowledge of his own language is very slight compared with what it might be, and that without further study he will never attain a real mastery of it. The use of the mother tongue as medium ensures that the child will learn to use his own language with greater effectiveness and it will thus become a more effective means of studying other school subjects. (See also p.34)

(c) "It is better to use the second language as a medium of instruction if a thorough knowledge is sought." In many parts of Africa English has been used as a medium of instruction from the beginning of the school career of the child in the belief that any use of the mother tongue in instruction encouraged laziness and hindered the acquisition of the second language. Children were even forbidden to use the mother tongue (or vernacular) on the playground or after school in boarding establishments. More recent experience has shown that educational processes cannot be hurried without reference to the psychology of the child. Until the child has matured sufficiently he cannot make great progress in learning a second language unless the second language impinges very sharply on his ordinary life. It is better therefore for the young child to be taught through his mother tongue to begin with and then later to learn the second language as a subject at first and not as a medium.

(d) "The use of mother tongue instruction impedes the growth of national unity." Certain countries, like Indonesia, have deliberately departed from the acknowledged advantages of mother tongue instruction in order to
propagate the use of a national language. Even where political conditions are such that there is universal agreement as to the desirability of the use of a particular national language it is certain that the lower primary school can best fulfil its function through the use of mother tongue instruction. The interests of a nation are better served by the maximum effectiveness of its schools rather than by the premature use of a medium not easily understood and perhaps limited in its use to the confines of the school.

Turning now to the practical difficulties of applying the principle of mother tongue instruction to lower primary schools the following may be noted:

(a) the multiplicity of vernacular languages may take the provision of mother tongue instruction in certain schools or areas a matter of great difficulty;

(b) the presence in a country of a number of vernacular languages spoken by very small groups makes the development of these languages as adequate school media too expensive and difficult to be practicable. The training of teachers for such groups is also a matter to be considered.

When, for practical reasons, the principle of mother tongue instruction cannot be applied it is suggested that a medium should be substituted which is as closely related to the life, experience and culture of the child as possible. In mixed areas where Bantu languages are spoken it will be possible to use a regional language or the vernacular of the largest group of pupils as the common medium without subjecting the minority groups to great hardship. In South Africa, for example, Xhosa-speaking children can readily adjust themselves to instruction in Zulu. Even where the languages are not closely related and the child of the minority group has to make a considerable adjustment the similarity of the cultures expressed by the languages and the social contacts made by their speakers outside the school, are factors of major importance.

A lingua franca, such as Swahili in East Africa is hardly likely to be an adequate substitute for a vernacular language as a medium of instruction in the lower primary school in an area of mixed languages. If, of course, all the young children of the area are really familiar with it then such a lingua franca will be an adequate medium, but, if the lingua franca is in effect used and understood by a few village elders only, one of the local vernaculars would be a better medium.

In certain areas it may be that Pidgin English is known to small children and in the absence of a more acceptable medium it could well function in the schools, particularly in the lower classes. It is sometimes argued that the use of Pidgin English makes the later teaching of English more difficult. This is probably true to a degree but it is doubtful if this is a decisive reason for the rejection of Pidgin English as a medium if the other conditions referred to above are satisfied.

The place of English in the lower primary school

In this paper it is assumed that English is the accepted second language and it is therefore unnecessary to argue why it should be introduced. It has also been recommended that the mother tongue or some closely cognate language should be the medium of instruction throughout the lower primary school. It follows, too, that English, if taught, will figure only as a subject and not as a medium except in the English lessons themselves. The problem presents itself whether English should be taught in the first four years of school and, if so, at what stage should it be introduced?

The answer to the above question depends upon the rôle which English plays in the life of the community and the degree in which it affects the life of the child. Consequently the answer to be given will vary from area to area. In certain areas children will come into daily contact with English and will hear and need to speak it. In other parts a limited knowledge of English will form a necessary equipment for the individual who seeks work on mines or farms, or in towns. Owing to the limitation of educational opportunity such an individual may have only a lower primary course during which to acquire some knowledge of English. In those areas in which the young child has little contact with English and is assured of the opportunity of studying for some years in a higher primary or secondary school it may well be that the deferment of English lessons until after the fourth year of schooling is fully justified.

The attitude of parents towards the teaching of English cannot be ignored. A considerable number of Bantu witnesses before the Eiselen Commission pleaded for one or other of two official languages (English and Afrikaans) to be used as media of instruction. It was stated that English or Afrikaans was their "bread language". A compromise has to be reached and English (and/or Afrikaans in South Africa) should be introduced as subjects from the second or third year but the principle of mother tongue instruction should be maintained in the lower primary school.

Another factor determining the stage in the primary school when English should be introduced is the supply of teachers qualified to teach the subject. In Tanganyika, "The demand for English is now increasing rapidly, but until recently Grade II teachers, who mainly staff the village and district primary schools, had not been
taught English". (1) In Nyasaland, "In primary education the teaching of English is introduced in Standard I when a qualified teacher is available". (2)

2. The second four years of the higher primary school

The higher primary school caters for a type of pupil much more mature chronologically and mentally than is to be found in the lower primary school. Pupils in the higher primary schools have also been subjected to a considerable process of selection, largely on economic and social grounds but also on the grounds of school achievement. Describing the position in Kenya the Beecher Commission (3) gives the following enrolment figures for December 1946:

- Standard I 92,836
- II 42,704
- III 26,579
- IV 21,097
- V 17,743
- VI 3,598

In the Union of South Africa (4) the comparable figures for 1949 are:

**TABLE II**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Enrolment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sub A</td>
<td>251,181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub B</td>
<td>127,412</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard I</td>
<td>111,227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>80,249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>64,580</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>46,557</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>31,291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>26,413</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The higher primary school deals thus with a selected group, a considerable number of whom aspire to secondary education and teacher training. Nevertheless, a considerable number of pupils complete their formal education during the second four years of school life and due attention to their needs must be given.

In what we have termed the higher primary classes, i.e. the fifth to the eighth year of school, there is to be found a considerable diversity of practice but in general it represents the period of schooling in which the teaching of English as a subject receives increasing attention and it later becomes the medium of instruction. A few examples may be of interest. In Nigeria, "In theory and to some extent in practice, the present educational procedure in the Southern Provinces is as follows:

- First year - vernacular only.
- Second year - vernacular only; a little oral English introduced.
- Third year - vernacular as medium; English introduced as subject.
- Fourth year - vernacular as medium; English as subject.
- Fifth year - English used as medium of instruction for most subjects but vernacular used in translation and explanation.
- Sixth year - English increased as medium.
- Seventh year - English as medium.
- Eighth year - English as medium." (5)

(1) The International Institute, British Territories; Regional paper on Vernacular Languages, No. 4, p. 12.
(2) Ibid. p. 13.
(4) Regional Paper on Vernacular Languages No. 4, p. 6.
In the Cameroons, "Pidgin is the medium of instruction after about the first year. Before that the local vernaculars, mostly unwritten, may be used. There is no literature in Pidgin and English is taught as a subject and becomes the medium of instruction as soon as possible."(1)

In British Somaliland, "Somali is used only for oral explanations in the early stages, Arabic being the first recognized school language and the medium of instruction in elementary schools. A little oral English is taught in the second and third years in primary schools and it becomes the medium of instruction after the fourth year."(2) In Northern Rhodesia English becomes the medium of instruction in the seventh year having been introduced in the third year as a subject. In the Union of South Africa there is some divergence in the practice of the four provinces. In the Free State the use of the vernacular (mother tongue) is compulsory up to the end of Standard IV (the sixth school year); the use of the vernacular is, however, strongly encouraged in Standards V and VI as well. "Concerning the subjects where the mother tongue is not used as medium of instruction one-half of such subjects shall be taught through the medium of English and the remaining half through the medium of Afrikaans."(3)

In the Transvaal, "The medium of instruction in native schools should for the first four school years, i.e. up to and including Standard II, be in the mother tongue of the pupils. In certain subjects such as e.g. religion and hygiene, in which the subject matter easily adapts itself to their mode of living, it is advisable that the mother tongue should be used throughout. Enterprising teachers who are sufficiently acquainted with the subject matter to manage without the English terminology, should conduct experiments in the instruction of the higher classes with a view to determining whether instruction in the mother tongue as medium would not expedite the educational process generally without undue detriment to the level attained in an official language."(4)

The syllabus for primary schools in the Cape Province prescribes that: "It is the duty of the teachers to see that all instruction is clearly understood by the pupils. All instruction should be given in the language best understood by the pupils. The medium of instruction up to and including Standard II in all subjects, except in languages other than the Home Language, shall be the Home Language of the pupils. Where the Home Language is a Native Language, it may be necessary gradually to substitute an official language as chief medium of instruction in classes above Standard II, but it is desired that teachers conduct experiments in the use of the native language as a medium of instruction beginning with subjects of which their knowledge is sufficiently thorough to make them independent of the terminology of the official languages."(5)

In Natal the medium of instruction is Zulu up to the end of the first four years. In the fifth and sixth years English and Zulu are used almost equally. In the seventh and eighth years English is the chief medium.

**The place of the vernacular in primary higher schools**

It is suggested that the mother tongue should be the medium of instruction throughout the primary higher school in so far as this is practicable, due regard being given to the provision of adequate textbooks, literature and properly trained teachers.

The Eiselen Commission in South Africa expressed its views on this subject in the following terms:

"Your Commission is of the opinion that the question of mother tongue medium in Bantu schools is vital to the whole system. We realize that in this connexion we will have to face grave difficulties and that public opinion, especially among the Bantu, is to a large extent still unenlightened, and that it would consequently possibly be hostile to any drastic change in the use of the medium of instruction. We are satisfied, however, that unless this matter is put in the right perspective not much will be achieved by the system we have recommended in the preceding chapters.

Your Commission wish to point out the following in this connexion:

(a) The Bantu child has the right to expect that the knowledge which is imparted to him should be understood by him. The introduction of the mother tongue as medium has been a slow process and the initiative has usually been taken by the Education Departments. Even today the Education Departments are not completely sure that the regulations in connexion with the use of the mother tongue as medium of instruction are whole-heartedly carried out.

(b) The economic value of the official languages to the Bantu child, even from the very first educational stages, is so great that ample provision must be made for the teaching of these languages. (In this connexion we refer to Section 2, The Official Languages, which follows.)

(1) Ibid. p. 7.
(2) Ibid. p. 9.
(4) Ibid.
(5) Ibid.
In employing the mother tongue as medium of instruction, the language requirements of the pupil in the subsequent stages of his education should be borne in mind so that he will at no time be penalized as a result of his poor knowledge of an official language.

Your Commission therefore recommends:

(a) That the generally accepted principle, viz. the use of the language which the child understands best (the mother tongue) as medium of instruction, should also be applied in Bantu education.

(b) That education authorities should ensure that this principle is applied consistently.

(c) That all education, except in the case of a foreign language, should be through the medium of the mother tongue for the first four school years.

(d) That this principle should also gradually be applied in the subsequent four courses of study in the higher primary school by progressively extending the use of the mother tongue to the higher standards year by year.

(e) That in order to expedite the change-over to the proposed procedure committees should be appointed to compile the terminology which will be necessary in the teaching of all primary school subjects through the medium of the Bantu languages.

(f) That this committee or other committees also be entrusted with the compilation of suitable terminology for all secondary school subjects.

(g) That according as this terminology, together with the necessary manuals, become available the principle of the mother tongue as medium of instruction be also introduced gradually in the secondary schools. "(1)

The problem arises whether in the higher primary school the mother tongue, if undeveloped in the sense of not yet having suitable textbooks and terminology, should be replaced by English or a lingua franca such as Swahili, Pidgin or a regional language.

The Beecher Commission in Kenya recommended "That Swahili be the language of literature and of instruction in primary schools in towns and settled areas, and that for rural areas provision be made for textbooks in Dabida, Kamba, Kikuyu, Masai, Meru, Nandi, Luyia and Luo, covering the whole of four years and in Griama, Pokomo, Galla, Segalla, Taveta, Suk, Kisii, Tende, Tesiot, Boran, Turkan and Somali; textbooks be translated for the initial stages only, after which Swahili should be used for literature, while the vernacular continues as the medium for oral instruction." It went on to remark, "We would call attention to the fact that, at this stage, we have not felt it possible to suggest the general introduction even of spoken English in the primary school because many of the teachers will not be qualified to give this. The transition from a vernacular or from Swahili to English in Standard V is something for which the syllabus must provide, and which can, in any case, easily be accomplished."(2)

In Kenya, Swahili as a medium of instruction in the second four years of school life is giving way to English. The Director of Education wrote in his report for 1950, "It is, however, the policy of the Department to stop the use of Swahili as a language of instruction in those areas in which a vernacular is spoken by enough people to warrant the output of vernacular literature in sufficient quantity; enough Swahili will still be taught to give pupils a working knowledge of it. In the weaker vernacular areas there will still have to be a stage when Swahili is used as the language of instruction."(3)

The place of English in the higher primary school

The importance of English as a future medium of instruction, as a key to a world literature of culture, science and technology, and as a language of contact with government, law and trade makes it an essential subject in the higher primary school but it should not be used as medium of instruction except as a temporary measure until the local mother tongue or vernacular has been developed as an adequate educational instrument.

The Eiselen Commission(4) recommended as follows:

"922. In considering the position the official languages should occupy in Bantu education, your Commission was deeply impressed by the difficulties involved. Considered from a purely educational angle two important questions arise in connexion with this matter, viz:

(a) Whether learning a foreign language in the primary school has a harmful effect on the general progress of the pupil?

(b) At what stage of development the child is best able to learn a foreign language?

Although there has been a good deal of research in South Africa and other bilingual countries, the published results differ so greatly that apparently no final answer can be given to either of these two questions.

923. Your Commission wishes to emphasize, however, that economic considerations make it absolutely necessary that the Bantu child should obtain a knowledge of one or both of the official languages while he is still at school. The Bantu population are indeed so alive to this that they consider it the main object of the child's schooling.

924. We also wish to point out that witnesses, particularly the Bantu, laid great stress on the need to teach both official languages. We are therefore of the opinion that provision should be made for instruction in both these languages even in the lower primary school, and this should be done in such a way that the Bantu child will be able to find his way in European communities; to follow oral or written instructions; and to carry on a simple conversation with Europeans about his work and other subjects of common interest.

925. We therefore wish to recommend:

(a) that a knowledge of both official languages should be considered necessary in Bantu education;

(b) that a beginning with the teaching of the first official language, i.e. the language which is most generally used in the neighbourhood of the school, should be made in Sub-standard B;

(c) that this instruction should be by means of the 'direct method', and that at least for the first two years no reading or writing should form part of the lessons;

(d) that in the teaching of the languages their utility should be concentrated on throughout, i.e. to give to the child an instrument with which he can make and maintain contact with the non-Bantu community;

(e) that even in the more advanced instruction in the primary school the teaching of reading and writing of languages should be based on the things of everyday life;

(f) that, mutatis mutandis, the second official language should be introduced at a later stage (not later than Standard II) i.e. the fourth school year;

(g) that local conditions, and especially the extent to which the one or the other of the official languages is heard and used by the children outside school, should determine at what stage this language is to be introduced;

(h) that all candidates for the Standard VI examination should be required to write a test which will be based on the content and the time of instruction devoted to the first and second official languages, respectively (the first, seven years; and the second, five years)."

3. Secondary education

Pupils who progress beyond the eighth year of school and reach the secondary stage comprise a highly select group. In Kenya the Beecher Commission proposed that to provide an annual intake of 2,625 post-intermediate pupils, no less than 180,000 pupils should be enrolled in the first year of the lower primary school, i.e. the pupils in the ninth year of school would represent 1.5 per cent of the original intake of the primary school. In South Africa in 1949, pupils in the ninth year represented 5.5 per cent of the pupils in the first year.

The secondary school has as its main function the education of those who will enter the higher type of teaching and the university. It is thus fundamentally the training ground of leaders in the professional and cultural life of the community.

The place of the vernacular or mother tongue in secondary education

On purely educational grounds it might be desirable to use the vernacular or mother tongue as the medium of instruction throughout the secondary schools but this is seldom possible because of the absence of textbooks, scientific terminology and literature of a high standard. Other complicating factors are the fewness of the speakers of each vernacular in many secondary schools where the pupils are drawn from a variety of linguistic areas. In none of the African territories where English is an accepted second language is the vernacular used as the medium of instruction except in Uganda where Ganda is used in some schools.
Even the study of the vernacular or mother tongue as a subject is not always possible. In the Union of South Africa the main Bantu languages (seven) are studied as subjects in secondary schools and may be offered for the matriculation examination but the Joint Matriculation Board will not recognize a vernacular language as a subject for examination unless there is an adequate literature.

An interesting position was reported in 1948 in Northern Rhodesia in the secondary school at Munali, "To secure matriculation at nearly all universities it is necessary to gain a credit in some recognized language other than English. Of the Northern Rhodesian vernaculars Cambridge, London, and South Africa now recognize Bemba and Nyanja. . . . . . . This causes no complication for Bemba and Nyanja speaking students, but for the Lozi and Tonga speaking boys (and those of the 'Lwena group) this linguistic discrimination is a handicap. Unhappily tribal pride turns the handicap into a hardship, Lozi and Tonga students being obstinate in their refusal to apply for the matriculation examination but the Joint Matriculation Board will not recognize a vernacular language as a subject in secondary education must not be lost sight of in educational planning.

In brief, the vernacular or mother tongue is studied as a subject in secondary schools when it has reached a certain stage of development and a literature of some dimensions has been created. As a practical measure this has full justification but the desirability that every child should be able to study his mother tongue as a subject in secondary education must not be lost sight of in educational planning.

In a previous section of this paper the reasons why a child in the primary schools should be taught in his mother tongue were briefly reviewed. To those already adduced should be added the following:

(a) The schools and the teachers can achieve a very great deal in the development of the vernacular to cope with new knowledge - a development which will redound to their own benefit in making their task of teaching both easier and more effective. As soon as a vernacular is used to study scientific or technical subjects, or indeed any subject in a scientific manner, a scientific terminology grows up which has to be learnt in a school and cannot merely be picked up. "When we begin to think scientifically about an animal, we find that it is necessary to distinguish between the parts of the animal's body. We find that we must note certain stages in the animal's growth. . . . . . . The more specific this terminology, the clearer will be our thinking. Teachers, therefore, take great pains to drill students in the exact and discriminating use of a specific terminology. Is all this drilling undertaken merely in order that the observer may tell someone else about what he has been thinking? Certainly not. The exact terminology is a guarantee that the one who possesses it will turn his thinking directly and with full regard to detail to those centres of observation which study has shown to be important. A scientific term is a guide to thinking, it is an instrument of discrimination. . . . . . More than this, general scientific terms hold together the results of long trains of research." (3)

(b) Another illustration of how the use of a vernacular as a medium of instruction, particularly in a more advanced school, compels an evolution in that tongue is to be found in teaching arithmetic. Professor Victor Murray, in his well-known book, The School in the Bush, wrote, 'In a mission school near Lake Mweru I found a European teacher laboriously doing arithmetic with numbers in Bemba, and he justified himself because this was the language with which the children were familiar. This was true, but a number is a different thing from a word. It is a pure equivalent whereas a word is a centre of an association of ideas. To insist on saying in Zulu, for instance, 'amakulu amahlanu anamashumi amahlanu anesihlanu' instead of in English 'five hundred and fifty-five' shows not a preference for the 'psychological approach' over its opposite, but a doctrinaire preference for a very clumsy tool over a better one." (4)

This criticism is based on the false assumption that Zulu or Bemba cannot evolve or adopt a better numerical system. The European languages used a number system which was so clumsy and inadequate that complicated arithmetic processes were virtually impossible. Progress was not made until the arrival of Arabic numerals in Europe and "it was not until the ninth or tenth century that there is any tangible evidence of their


(2) Regional Paper on Vernacular Languages No. 4.


The opposition to the introduction of the new numerals was strenuous and prolonged. This seems to show that in the same way Arabic numerals could be acclimatized in all the Bantu languages which have clumsy and inadequate numerical systems and, indeed, in any language in Africa which needs such modification.

In South Africa it has been recommended:

"That where secondary subjects, as for example history, do not require an extensive technical terminology the teachers should be encouraged to start as soon as possible to teach these subjects through the medium of the mother tongue. The pupils, again, should be encouraged to use this language in writing their examination papers. This, of course, means that question papers should also be available in the languages concerned." (2)

The place of English in the secondary school

The importance of learning English because it is the language of government and the key to a vast literature on every conceivable subject of human activity is fully appreciated by speakers of vernacular languages. If anything, they are too anxious to sacrifice other educational values in order to master English. It may therefore be conceded at once that English must occupy an important place in the secondary syllabus as a subject. It must also be conceded that until the vernacular languages have been developed very considerably they cannot function as media of instruction nor are they likely to form satisfactory media in schools with students from mixed linguistic areas. Nevertheless certain factors should be borne in mind:

(a) Secondary education in most parts of Africa is of very recent and rapid growth. For the population of about 27,000,000 in British West Africa, there were 43 recognized secondary schools containing in 1942 a total (in round figures) of 11,500 pupils, of whom 10,000 were boys and only 1,500 girls ...................... (3)

In East and Central Africa there was prior to 1935 only one school which provided a full secondary education for boys. For girls there were no full secondary schools. (4) In South Africa the recency and rapid growth of Bantu secondary education may be seen from the following data:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of Bantu secondary pupils</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>702</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>1,154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>1,955</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>5,808</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>12,925</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1949</td>
<td>19,901</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) To train adequate numbers of teachers able to teach secondary subjects in the vernaculars as well as to provide the necessary textbooks and general literature has been impossible. It has thus been inevitable that English should be the general medium of instruction because books were available and teachers (Europeans) able to use that medium could be found in sufficient numbers.

The recency of secondary education, the undeveloped state of the vernacular languages in general, the scarcity of qualified teachers able to use the vernaculars and the many advantages of English as medium for further education make it inevitable that English should be the medium of instruction in secondary education. This

position is not likely to change very rapidly. Nevertheless the case of Ganda must be watched with interest and the potentialities of the vernaculars as media of instruction for particular subjects must be borne in mind. It is likely that they will be introduced not as general media at first but for the teaching of certain subjects. And such a use of the vernaculars need not in any way lower the standard of English in secondary schools either as a subject or a medium of instruction.

4. Teacher training

It would be very difficult to overstate the importance of the part which the teachers of Africa have to play not only in the educational but also in the general cultural and linguistic development of the people they serve. On them will fall the task of generating and communicating the desired attitudes towards the mother tongue. It will also be their task to play a prominent part in the creation of literature and the general development of their languages. In areas of present linguistic complexity they will have to help in facilitating the unification of languages so that vernacular languages large enough to be truly self-supporting and independent will come into being. On the efficiency of the teachers will also depend the degree of usefulness which English as a lingua franca and a world language will attain among the masses in Africa.

One of the most serious problems facing education in Africa is the lack of trained teachers not merely to expand the number of schools but indeed to staff adequately the schools which are already in existence. The position in different parts of Africa varies greatly. In the Cape Province of South Africa only 152 out of 6,804 Bantu teachers were unqualified in June 1950.\(^1\) In Kenya in 1950 out of a total African staff of 7,699 teachers 3,249 were untrained and had not completed a secondary course.\(^2\) Basutoland had 1,050 untrained teachers out of a total of 1,889.\(^3\) In the Gold Coast out of a total of 9,733 teachers over 6,000 were untrained.\(^4\)

The percentage of untrained teachers varies with different types of schools. In the Gold Coast, for example, in primary schools "maintained or aided from Central Government Funds" less than one-third of the teachers were untrained whereas in primary schools "Not Grant-aided by Central Government or Local Authorities except for occasional contributions from the latter" only 48 teachers out of a total of 2,568 were trained!\(^5\) The vast majority of untrained teachers are to be found in the primary schools.

The position in secondary schools in respect of qualified teachers is, of course, very much better. For example, whereas in 1949 there were 535 untrained teachers out of a total of 819 in the primary schools of Sierra Leone, only 45 out of 138 secondary teachers were untrained.\(^6\) There is also a considerable percentage of well-qualified European teachers in many secondary schools.

The training of teachers varies both as to the standard of admission and the duration of the course. In Nyasaland a T5 Certificate is awarded after one year's training, the standard of admission being the completion of six years of schooling.

It is important to remember the difference in the knowledge and training required to teach a language as a subject and to use that language as a medium of instruction for all subjects, particularly those subjects which are designed not merely to impart a few facts but to produce attitudes and emotions in the pupils e.g. history or religion.

The place of the vernacular languages in teacher training

It is obvious that if future teachers are to be able to teach the vernacular languages as subjects in school they must be given an opportunity to study these languages at the training colleges. This of course throws an onus on the colleges to develop the necessary textbooks and courses of study. It is feared that much of the unpopularity of the study of vernacular languages in schools arises from the failure of training colleges to develop courses of real interest based on books adequate in interest and content. Too often the teacher of the vernacular language is the possessor of the lowest academic qualifications on the training college staff.

\(^{(2)}\) Report of the Education Department, Kenya, for 1950, Nairobi, p. 55.
\(^{(5)}\) Ibid.
\(^{(6)}\) Report of the Education Department, Sierra Leone, for 1949, Freetown, p. 48.
The reasons why the teacher should be not only expert in the use of his mother tongue as a medium of instruction but also interested in using it are the following:

(a) The teacher occupies a position of importance and leadership. His attitude towards the vernacular has an important and decisive influence on the schoolchildren and often on their parents. If he is hostile to the use of the vernacular the community tends to split into two sections, "school people" and "the others". The less advanced majority may refuse the leadership of the "school people".

(b) While a teacher may, after a long and thorough training achieve a fluency in English comparable with his command of his own language, such instances are rare and constitute a minute proportion of teachers in Africa. Not to teach through the vernacular must impose a serious burden on the efficiency of teaching in general. As has been pointed out above the teachers available in Africa are not characterized as a group by length of training or high qualifications.

(c) Teachers with low qualifications in English and in other subjects teach better in their mother tongue than in English. This is not merely due to the increase in fluency and power of expression on the part of the teacher when he uses the vernacular. It is largely due to the fact that when an educational system has to be geared to the use of a very considerable proportion of teachers whose command of English is weak, the training of teachers tends to become formalized, the methods they employ tend to depend heavily on learning by rote and the use of notes. Where the pupil has his power of expression limited by his knowledge of a strange medium, the teacher must of necessity employ methods which do not give full release to the activity of pupils. Much time must of necessity be devoted to the memorization of linguistic formulae rather than to activities. Individual instruction and activities have to be subordinated to class methods. Examinations and tests tend to follow stereotypes.

(d) There is a far greater danger of the teacher drifting into mere verbalism when he uses a medium of which neither he nor his class is master. If he uses the vernacular he must respect the greater power of understanding and criticism of his pupils.

(e) Where a teacher uses a medium of instruction in which he is not fluent nor at ease he may find difficulty in maintaining the interest of his class. He then tends to maintain discipline by forcible methods rather than by interesting his pupils.

(f) The task of the teacher is not limited to his activities in the classroom, and much of his most important work, particularly in backward communities, lies in his influence as a social leader and educator of adults. To carry out this work he must not only speak their language but must be regarded by them as an integral part of the community. In this way he can be a potent influence in raising cultural conditions, the use and applications of the local vernacular and, with wider sympathies and aspirations than the local people, he may be a powerful influence in the unification of dialects and even of local languages.

Teachers are for the most part uncritical of linguistic policy in schools and in their attitude towards the vernacular tend to reflect the attitude of the highest educational authorities. Where the highest posts in an educational system or in a training college are held by persons ignorant of or contemptuous of the vernacular, the teachers tend to adopt this same attitude. They try to excel in the language which is intelligible to their superior and in which they are likely to be examined. This is a very human reaction on the part of the teacher since his future promotion is likely to be affected by such considerations. This attitude tends to carry over into the life of the teacher outside the school and he may conceive such a contempt for the vernacular that he will refuse to speak it. He thus cuts himself off from those who know only the vernacular.

The Eiselen Commission in South Africa recommended:

"(i) That the use of mother tongue medium should be introduced into training schools in the teaching of the courses in general principles of school organization and method, and in child psychology;

(ii) That where a school subject in the primary school is taught through the medium of the mother tongue the method for that particular subject should also be taught through the mother tongue medium in the training school." (1)

The idea underlying this recommendation was that:

(a) it would facilitate true understanding by the students of the subject;

(b) a terminology would grow up which would be useful and understandable not only to the teacher in training but also to the parents when he had need at a later date to explain to them the processes of the school;

(c) it would serve to integrate the experience and knowledge of the students, acquired outside the school, with the theory and practice of the training school; and

(d) it would strengthen the status and the standard of instruction in the vernacular.

The place of English in teacher training

The reasons for which English is used in teacher training institutions may be summarized as follows:

(a) General education

A teacher should receive as good a general education as possible in order to fit him to be a leader in his community. The work of the training school is usually not limited to instruction in the professional or technical aspects of his art but includes a great deal of general education. In most areas this is given in English for much the same reasons which obtain in the secondary schools.

(b) Access to world knowledge

A teacher, like any leader in a community where cultural contacts are limited, should be in a position to read books, newspapers, journals and textbooks after he has left the training school. In this way he can make contact with new ideas and progressive attitudes. He can also keep in touch with peoples speaking different vernacular languages but who form part of the same political, economic or cultural entity to which he himself belongs. For these purposes English forms an essential part of his equipment.

(c) As a subject of instruction

Since in most areas English is taught as a subject in the primary and secondary schools it is essential that teachers be as well grounded in English as circumstances permit.

(d) As a medium of instruction

The widespread use of English as a medium of instruction, particularly in higher primary and secondary school means that teachers prepared for service in such schools must be as fluent as possible in the use of English as a medium.

(e) The availability of qualified teacher training staff

In a great many areas the only staff available for teacher training with adequate academic and professional qualifications is English speaking and this makes it unavoidable that English should be the only or chief medium of instruction, apart from other considerations.

(f) The present inadequacy of vernaculars

Under this heading are included such reasons as the absence of sufficient books, the small number who speak certain vernaculars, the linguistic diversity of people to be served by a particular training school etc. which make the use of a vernacular instead of English impracticable.

In general, it may be said that the place of English and African vernaculars in training colleges must be arrived at by finding a compromise between all the factors mentioned above. Teachers have to be prepared in accordance with the demands of the schools of the area in which they must serve. As conditions in the schools change so the policies of training schools must be altered.

5. University education

Here the situation is considerably easier than in primary and secondary education because of the following factors:

(a) a small number of institutions has to cater for students drawn from a great variety of linguistic groups. This makes the use of English as the medium of instruction virtually imperative;

(b) the need to use a medium in which a world literature and adequate scientific terminology are available;

(c) the need to organize university education in Africa so that advanced and post-graduate studies may be pursued overseas without difficulties;
(d) the present inadequacies of the vernacular languages; and

(e) the availability of highly qualified teaching and research specialists able to use English as a medium of instruction.

It is important, however, that wherever possible African vernaculars should be studied in the universities as subjects because of the influence this has on the development of the languages and on the attitudes of the students.

6. Technical education

In technical education much the same considerations concerning the use of African vernacular languages apply as in the case of teacher training. The work the technician will be called on to perform and the standard of training he is required to achieve are the basic considerations. African technicians working in close contact with the public should be in a position to use the local vernacular. Where they are expected to "teach" the public, as in the case of agricultural demonstrations, they must be equipped as teachers. Where they are assistants to European technicians as in the case of survey assistants, their ability to use English will be an important consideration. In the case of higher grade technicians they will need to know English well in order to benefit from scientific literature. Linguistic policy will also have to take into account the multiplicity of vernaculars spoken by students who will in most cases be drawn from a wide area, and the linguistic qualifications of the available expert staffs required for instruction.

PART III. LANGUAGES IN EDUCATION OUT OF SCHOOL

1. Fundamental education

In the report of the Nigerian Education Department for 1948 the following interesting summary appears:

"of the reasons for the spread of adult education and literacy during the interim period until the schoolchild of today becomes the experienced councillor of the day after tomorrow.

(1) It will tend to reduce the social disunity that is arising between the schooled and unschooled parts of the population.

(2) As we are presumably working towards democracy in which a form of election will be exercised, and at no distant date, it would be of advantage if the majority of adults were literate.

(3) It will be some fifty years before the schoolchild of today becomes the village elder; with a vigorous adult education programme the next generation of village elders could at least be literate.

(4) The present-day schoolchild regards schooling as an excuse for deserting farming; if the parents were literate there would be less reason for their attitude.

(5) Literacy brings about a social awakening.

(6) The individual will have a more interesting life, have a better chance of protecting himself against unscrupulous persons, can write letters, take a more active part in the day-to-day life of the community, can read public notices, and may from his reading develop progressive ideas.

(7) The real place of child education is in the home; the village schoolchild spends only about five of the twenty-four hours in the school. If the parents are literate they are more likely to co-operate with the school in the education of the child.

(8) It will give an opportunity to that section of the people who are very anxious to become literate. With the spread of child schooling this proportion is increasing in the rural areas." (1)

With functions such as these it seems inevitable and desirable that fundamental education should concentrate on the teaching first of literacy in the vernacular languages and then on teaching English and other subjects in the programme. In many areas there is a strong desire on the part of adults to study English but experience seems to have shown that it is quicker and more efficient for the illiterate first to acquire literacy in his mother tongue and then to study English.

2. University extra-mural courses

Linguistic policy here depends upon the aims of such courses. Normally extra-mural courses of this type are given for the benefit of the intellectual leaders of a community, particularly those who have had a considerable amount of secondary or post-secondary education. It can, therefore, be expected that the audience will understand English and it is of course, easier to obtain tutors or lecturers who speak English. To use a regional or local vernacular as a medium for university extra-mural courses postulates a speaker competent to use it and that the language has the necessary terminology. Nevertheless, as the general culture of an area increases the likelihood of such conditions being satisfied will increase. It would be sound policy to encourage the use of vernaculars in extra-mural courses where competent speakers and suitable audiences are available because of the likely effects on the languages, their status, and the possibility of reaching wider audiences.

CONCLUSION

In the long run the linguistic and cultural development of any area of Africa will depend on the status and quality of the culture evolved in that area. It may be expected that parallel with unification of the many cultural entities of Africa there will be a corresponding simplification of the linguistic situation. As African vernaculars become the vehicle of more advanced cultures so their claim to be used as media of instruction in the schools will increase and the role of English as a medium of instruction will change progressively. The dynamic or changing nature of the linguistic situation must be borne in mind.

The schools of Africa are an important developmental agency and their major task is the cultural development of the people they serve. The vernacular languages are significant aspects of those cultures which must be employed as useful and available tools, and developed pari passu, with the evolution of the cultures. It would probably be no service to Africa to perpetuate by artificial means the languages of small groups which are in process of incorporation into larger and more efficient social or cultural groupings. The schools have thus the difficult task of endeavouring to use the vernacular languages in so far as they represent a truly functional aspect of the cultures they serve. In primary education it is in most cases easy enough to determine this matter; in the higher schools the problem is more difficult. Ultimately the peoples of Africa must determine the survival value of particular languages by producing literature and other manifestations of the potency of those languages.

Similarly, the use of English in African schools both as a medium and as a subject will depend on the function it fulfils in the future as a lingua franca, a language of government, of trade, of science and of a world literature.

Finally, this paper has endeavoured to maintain the view that the place of African vernacular languages must be determined in the light of local conditions, including inter alia, the maturity of the pupils, the function of the school, the availability of teachers, the stage of development of the local vernaculars and the functions of English in the locality. Such determinations will have to be reviewed from time to time in the light of evolving conditions.
CHAPTER 11

PROBLEMS IN THE USE OF AFRICAN LANGUAGES AND DIALECTS IN EDUCATION

J. Berry, B.A., Ph.D.

We are still counting the languages of Africa, but 700 is a reasonable estimate. Of these, a few are spoken by social groups of over 1,000,000 people; many by groups of less than 500,000; at least 100, by groups of less than 10,000. The majority are still pre-literate; but between 200 and 300 languages have been reduced to writing in the last century. Whether to develop or neglect the rest is now a fundamental problem of educational policy in Africa.

In one respect at least the linguistic misgivings of many Africans and Africanists are easily understood. Minor speech communities are culturally and financially a bad risk. From a world point of view the social and cultural value of a language is extremely doubtful when the number of speakers falls below 100,000. Below 10,000, the language ceases to have any value outside the most primitive forms of group action and social cooperation. And it is equally evident that a relatively small number of people speaking a separate language cannot support an extensive literature; cost of production and necessarily limited sales preclude this. In the poorer areas of Africa the minimum economic unit for the production of unsubsidized literature may be as high as 500,000 or 1,000,000.

But the immediate future of Africa's many languages is determined politically. Responsible governments have little choice. These are days of self-determination and popular culture. And this means that every considerable speech community should be politically autonomous and its language a means of culture for the masses of its citizens. In the new democracies of today, it is not only the right but the duty of every member to cultivate whatever mind he has in his mother tongue. Africa's difficulties are not unique. China and India, the backward areas of Russia, Central Europe and South America all have much the same cultural and linguistic problems. Many petty States are today compelled to employ languages of little world value as media for the education of their newly enfranchised masses. Popular education gains at the expense of higher culture, but popular enlightenment is the more important social duty.

It has never been suggested that unschooled adults will easily learn to read an alien language. All mass literacy campaigns accept this fact. But in the education of the child it is equally desirable that the transition from the spoken to the written language wherever possible should be made and established in the mother tongue, the language in which the child is cherished, loved and scolded. Otherwise there is likely to be disorientation. Margaret Mead has instanced the example of American Indians, whose capacity for dealing with the English language, particularly the written language, was well below their general intelligence. She attributes this to the fact that they had not written their own language. Much the same could be said, of all but the comparatively small number of Chinese who speak the Mandarin, or Pekin dialect.

In India, where for many years English was used as the medium of instruction, experience has led to a reaction in favour of the vernaculars. And it may seem especially unfortunate in the light of this experience that the African Government of an advanced colony should decide in 1951 on an increased use of English in primary education. "As soon as possible" (i.e. after the beginning of schooling) says the Accelerated Development Plan for Education in the Gold Coast (Accra 1951), "there will be a transition from the vernacular to English as the medium of instruction". The reason is not given but is easy to surmise: the need for English delays secondary education in the Gold Coast by as much as three years. But it is doubtful if this period can be shortened in the way the Gold Coast hopes. Certainly any gain to the secondary school boy will be at the expense of his less fortunate and more numerous brethren whose education finishes in the primary school.

However debatable the Gold Coast Government's decision may appear to be, it is unlikely to meet serious opposition. It is usual in nationalist circles to express enthusiasm for the mother tongue. But this enthusiasm though genuine enough is largely verbal, and so long as the English language is the instrument of power in the land it will be difficult to get fathers ambitious for their sons to take their own languages seriously. It is this ambivalent attitude, characteristic of many educated Africans, that more than any other single factor hinders the development of vernacular languages and vernacular literature.
In other respects, there are grounds for optimism. Above the confusion of Bable, a few speech forms are increasingly predominant: Hausa for example in the West, Swahili in the East. Conditions in general favour the natural amalgamation of languages and the growth and spread of linguae francae. Great as is the seeming multiplicity of languages, there is not an equal measure of diversity: there are striking and essential similarities between individual languages of all the major groups. Speakers of Bantu languages for example share many similar morphemic and phonaesthetic habits. The same is true of Sudanic languages; in all but the most limited historical sense, they are linguistic kin. Under these conditions language learning is not difficult. The African as a rule acquires his neighbour's language painlessly and in a surprisingly short time. And once acquired, this second language serves him in a way that English never will: lexically and syntactically, it is by far the better equipped of the two to express the needs and desires of his daily life. The Gold Coast has undoubtedly backed the wrong linguistic horse: it would have done better to put its money on and into Twi.

Elsewhere in Africa, the spontaneous development of larger language units is now subjected to deliberate measures of educational policy. In the four East African Territories, for example, the use of Swahili as a lingua franca is now officially encouraged and to some extent imposed. And of the value of such a policy there can be little doubt; administrative convenience is not the only benefit. But at its best, it is very much a long term policy: we cannot expect immediate results. And in the interim period we are faced with a dilemma. Our principles compel us to recognize the claims of minor languages; but the literary future of Africa depends largely on their ultimate elimination. Some sort of compromise is inevitable. Governments, it seems, must for the present be prepared to allow, and even to encourage, the writing and use of any language spoken by a community of say, more than 50,000 people (below that figure in most cases, for example the Guans of the Gold Coast, social conditions will have already imposed some degree of bilingualism). Production of literature in many of these languages will require subsidization - either by the Central Government or the community itself. Recently, the Dangme people have expressed their willingness to make good by voluntary contributions any losses incurred in the production of literature in Adangme. This is a spirit which could well be fostered elsewhere and may prove a solution to one at least of our problems.

It is to be expected then, that once they have been reduced to writing, these languages, whatever their status, will become the media of instruction in schools, perhaps the sole media for the first six years of formal education. But there is no reason why the child in these first six years should not begin the study of a second vernacular language, once literacy has been acquired in the mother tongue. And wherever possible it should do so. In some cases, the choice of the second language is obvious: Hausa, for example, in Northern Nigeria. Elsewhere it may not be easy to assess the relative importance of any one language in the linguistic scheme of things, two or more languages may have equal claims to be considered the future lingua franca. In these territories all that can be done for the present is a preliminary zoning; minor languages will have to be grouped around the major language nearest in structure and vocabulary, which will then be taught as the second language of the group. The Gold Coast has two such zones, a northern and southern. Obvious second languages are Twi for the South and Dagbane for the North. It would be premature at this stage to impose Twi on the North and Dagbane will never be acceptable in the South. Here the final reduction of some twenty languages or more to two is a sufficiently ambitious goal and one with which we must be content for a long time to come.

The provision of literature for both school education and the adult population is further complicated in Africa by the non-emergence as yet of one written form of the different dialects of the more widely spoken languages. All modern States must have a standard language to be used in official discourse, in churches for example and in schools, and in all written notation. Speech communities seeking political or cultural independence have long recognized the need. The Serbo-Croats when they threw off Turkish rule had no such standard language: Vuk Karadjich contributed a grammar and lexicon of his own dialect. During the Czech national revival of the nineteenth century, a philologist Debrovsky similarly created a new standard language for Bohemia based on the old neglected language of the Reformation which was originally codified by the great reformer Hus. Shortly after the political separation of Norway from Denmark in 1813, a language student, Ivar Aasen, constructed a standard language on the basis of Norwegian local dialects and proposed its adoption in the place of Dano-Norwegian. Undoubtedly there is the same need and the same demand in Africa today. But so far in our attempts to standardize the major languages, we have not met with much success. The reasons for this failure are many. One would suggest particularly:

1. The social conditions are not yet ripe. The centralization of dialects depends to a large extent on the centralization of political, social and commercial prestige. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries London became the political and in some respects the social centre of English life in a more unified England. And solely because the important affairs of English life were conducted in it, London English became Standard English. Writers to whom other types of English were more natural felt constrained to learn and use the fashionable dialect. Gower, a Kentishman, writes not his native dialect but uses practically the same constructions, forms and spellings as Chaucer, a Londoner born. Standard French, Standard Italian and Standard Dutch have similar histories. Standard French, for example is Paris French: it was acceptable because of the political and social prestige of the
urban centre. Standard German on the other hand seems to have had its origins in the commercially important dialect of the eastern frontier region. A dialect of any one language possessing or likely to possess comparable prestige would be hard to find in Africa: conditions there today too closely parallel those of England, for example, in the twelfth and thirteenth century. Examining the material written during that period we find that most of the legal documents, i.e. the instruments which controlled the carrying on of the political and business affairs of the English people were written not in English but in French or Latin. This was also true of much of the literature and books of learning familiar to the educated upper classes. It is also interesting to note that what few books were written in English, historical records, religious and moral stories and tracts, for example, were written in at least four dialects. But the particular kind of English spoken in southern England and centred around Winchester came nearest to fulfilling the function of a "standard" English because more writings and more significant writings were produced in this type of English than in any other. In Africa we have necessarily but unfortunately been preoccupied with the production of the reading matter for the child. The demands of the school and the lack of an adult reading population have tended to canalize the efforts of would-be authors. A few primers and children's readers are not likely to confer intellectual prestige on any particular dialect.

2. Other factors contributing to the difficulties in the present situation vis-à-vis dialectal problems can be summarized under one general heading: the unenlightened attitude of many Africans where language is concerned. Parochialism and bigotry in language matters is not unknown outside Africa. The correspondence columns of "The Times" or any English literary journal bear eloquent testimony to this. But it is difficult for one who has not worked in preliterate fields to estimate the strength and even violence of feeling that can be aroused by the most trivial decisions affecting language. The writer has so far escaped injury to life and limb. Others have been less fortunate. In Uganda in 1950 for example, rioters with a political comprehensiveness worthy of more advanced societies severely beat a rash exponent of Tuckerian spelling. Mass hysteria in this case centred around devotionist tendencies in regard to double vowels, but less momentous decisions than Tucker's have been known to provoke equally violent reactions.

There is an almost universal mistrust of the expert who is all too frequently looked on as a sort of linguistic screwtaper with the most sinister of motives. On all sides one encounters this fear and even the belief that something unnatural is being forced on the people with each new change in orthography. Under these conditions it is all too easy for groups and individuals wishing to be different and to emphasize differences rather than similarities and affinities, to play on local patriotism and a natural conservatism in respect to existing language forms. There are unfortunately many such groups and individuals in every society and their motives are usually other than linguistic.

Administrations have not always been entirely free from blame. We must and probably do accept the principle that the final decision on all matters concerning his own language rests with the native speaker. But we have often neglected to give any adequate explanation of the linguistic situation in which he finds himself and of the implications of this or that policy with regard to it. Innovations are introduced almost carelessly and without first preparing the ground for them. A little propaganda would obviate many difficulties, and the best propaganda agent is the African teacher. We are paying heavily today for neglecting him in the past. Linguistically, he has rarely been on the side of the angels, and to him can be traced many popular misconceptions. It would be unjust to blame him. He has been asked to teach the mother tongue, but has rarely been given the training for it. It is especially important with languages which are not yet codified and for which there is no social norm that the teaching should be as it were "elastic". And latitude can only be given safely where the teacher has a clear understanding of the principles of language growth and structure. There is then an urgent need to create a cadre of specialist teachers who have received instruction not only in the study of the mother tongue but in the elements of phonetics and general linguistics. These subjects should ultimately figure in the curricula of all training colleges and perhaps of departments of extra-mural studies as well. Until they do, governments should consider the seconding of selected teachers to other institutions and the award of scholarships for overseas study.

During the latter years of the war and immediately afterwards, the Gold Coast Government, and possibly with less enthusiasm, governments of other West African Colonies endorsed and initiated a policy along these lines. A number of scholarships, tenable in London at the School of Oriental and African Studies, was offered to teachers who had shown interest in the mother tongue and were thought able to profit by training in the general principles of language study. The scheme did not prove an unqualified success and has been discontinued. But several valuable lessons were learnt during the time it was in operation. Its partial failure - if we except the possible inadequacy of any tuition given - was chiefly due to:

1. a failure adequately to define the aims of the course,
2. the unsuitability of the candidates, and
3. the short tenure of the scholarships, which were usually given for one year only.

A few of the students who attended the special courses provided had been educated to matriculation standards, none beyond. Experience suggests that this is not really adequate preparation for a subject which in most universities
is still thought of as essentially post-graduate. Few of the candidates had acquired the necessary background or had completed the preliminary reading required for what was originally planned as an intensive course. Three of the writer's own students out of a total of some twenty, showed real promise. One who was permitted to continue his studies for a further period of three years now holds a research fellowship in the University College of the Gold Coast. It is quite probable that the other two, one of whom was a woman, would have done equally well had they also been given an opportunity for further studies. Of the remainder all that can be said is that they acquired a rudimentary knowledge of phonetics (in all cases, a great improvement was noticed in the standard of English pronunciation) and of current grammatical theory, especially with regard to the teaching of the mother tongue. Apart from the three already mentioned none could be considered qualified to conduct original research unsupervised.

By 1950 there was fairly general agreement among those who had in any way taught or supervised these students that it would be in the best interests of all to accept in future only graduates of some recognized university and preferably graduates in subjects allied to linguistics. Students of this type would be allowed to read either for the degree of M.A. (Phonetics and Comparative Philology) of London, later perhaps for a Ph. D. in the same subject, or for the relevant post-graduate Diploma in West African or Bantu languages which is given by the same University. The growing number of graduates from the new University Colleges of West and East Africa suggests the hope that a few such young men and women will be found able and willing to make a career in African languages.

To say that the linguistic scholarships scheme inaugurated by the Gold Coast was not a success is not to imply that it was a complete failure. For the most part, with those whom the writer taught at least, the achievements were negative, in the sense that not a great deal of new linguistic knowledge was imparted. But there was some success in getting rid of old attitudes of mind and preconceptions about language acquired presumably in early life. Every man speaks a language, so everyone feels himself a linguist. A great deal has been accomplished once the student realizes how limited and inaccurate the layman's knowledge often is. Many students came to the writer with the most pronounced views on all matters of language. A few retained them to the end but the majority left the course less ready to argue on little knowledge and far more willing to consult expert advice whenever it was available. Nearly all acquired a linguistic tolerance, which is rare in Africa, and some sense of language values. Orthographic detail occupied their attention less as time went on and in dialect matters some achieved an altogether admirable eclecticism. While perhaps the majority will never be able to make an unprompted contribution to solving major dialect problems in their own languages and could not be trusted completely with any problem of orthographic complexity, all are nevertheless likely to approach these same problems with open and unprejudiced minds, will be quite capable of following the pros and cons of any solution proposed by an expert and of supporting or rejecting it solely on linguistic, not political or personal grounds. Any influence they may have in the future either on their language or on their people's attitude to language, while it may not be profound is none the less likely to be beneficial. The writer still believes that a case can be made for lower-level teaching of the type suggested and that it will serve a more than useful purpose in the long run. To return to the problem of inter-dialect hostilities and the establishment of a standard language - there are at least two solutions:

1. To choose one particular dialect of the language and to accord it official status. Its use may be imposed by educational legislation.
2. To attempt an "artificial" unification of all major dialects of the language.

There are examples in history where the former course has been adopted and proved successful. Vuk Karadjich for example gave the Serbo-Croat peoples a "standard" language based on his own dialect. That this was accepted may be largely due to the strong desire at that time for political and cultural independence and the urgent need for a national language to assert it. Without this sense of urgency and a consequent willingness to sink local differences in the common cause the chances of success are slight.

Often in Africa missionaries and educationists, who first reduced this or that language to writing, chose to follow this course. Their choice of dialect was not always happy, and sooner or later aroused strong resentment amongst the speakers of the other neglected dialects. In many cases this resentment must have our understanding if not our sympathy. The choice of dialect was often made on little knowledge of the language as a whole or was dictated by purely fortuitous circumstances.

Remembering the many failures of the past those responsible for any future decisions of this type must look on the problem as one demanding not merely linguistic study of the traditional type but an examination of all the social considerations involved. They must be prepared in the first instance to produce comparative grammars of the various regional dialects on strictly phonetic principles and set in a social background. Whatever its aims, work of this kind has great practical value socially and in educational work of all kinds.

Faced with conflicting and irreconcilable demands for one or other dialect some have sought a solution by the second method mentioned. Here, too, there are precedents. "Landsmaal" constructed by Ivar Aasen on the
basis of local dialects of Norwegian was originally an artificial unification. It was not an unqualified success, though it has fared better than similar experiments in Africa. Union Igbo for example, so highly praised by Edwin Smith, has failed utterly to satisfy the present generation. This is hardly surprising. Like all artificial languages it provides an interesting philological exercise for those who like such pastimes but it is doubtful if it can ever be anything more. It is especially important at this time as Africa slowly struggles towards literacy and literature, not to fetter the young writer with alien constructions and an artificial vocabulary. Union Igbo does this. And being neither one thing nor the other satisfies no one.

In general we are too prone to legislate for language. We try to solve what time alone can solve. By imposing standards and seeking to interfere with the normal working of social prestige and improved education, we deny ourselves the freedom of experiment by which alone we can arrive at what is best. We should be prepared for some time to allow the parallel use of more than one dialect whenever there is a demand that can be satisfied in no other way. Norwegian still has two "standard" languages, Riksmaal and Landsmaal. And the rivalry between the two has not been altogether unhealthy. Their advocates are often in earnest conflict, but thanks to concessions on either side, the two languages are growing more and more alike.

But at the same time it is important that writers and speakers of the different dialects be constantly reminded that they are writing and speaking one language. It would be a psychological mistake to allow Onitsha or Owerri, Asante or Akuapem to figure too prominently in syllabuses or on the covers of books. What is taught and written should be Ibo and Twi. And on every possible occasion both children and adults must be encouraged to read either dialect indiscriminately, even though they may write in only one.

A similar tolerance is needed in our approach to orthographic problems. Here the expert is not always free from blame. Seeing inconsistencies and weaknesses he is all too often prepared to suggest improvements. Given a different intellectual climate this could do no serious harm. But in Africa it is all too likely to distract attention and dissipate energies. In the ultimate interests of literature we must be prepared to tolerate divergencies of spelling. If we cannot solve the problems, then we must ignore them.

We forget at times that there are no such things as linguistic unity or stability but only continual flux and change. This is particularly true of African languages today. The twentieth century has seen dialect and cultural borrowing on an unprecedented scale. Since this is coupled with a fairly widespread knowledge of the source language, in this case English, we must expect the phonological structure of the borrowed elements increasingly to change. And with it must change the orthography - if we subscribe to current principles. Take Ewe as an example. In the Anglo dialect, but not in all, the dental and pre-palatal affricatives and affricates are palatalized before the close-front vowel "i". The orthography recognizes the non-phonemic nature of this palatalization, i.e. does not represent it. But Ewe in recent years has borrowed from various languages a number of words like the English "cinema" which is pronounced in Ewe almost as in English. Here then is a case where "s" is not palatalized before "i". Again the prior existence of the palatalized variant has allowed words with a pre-palatal affricate before vowels other than "i" to be borrowed and pronounced approximately as in the source. The loan word "tsatsa", "mat", for example contains a pre-palatal affricate before an open vowel. Obviously Ewe has acquired four new phonemes and sooner or later the orthography must be amended to represent them.

It remains to consider the problem of the many African languages which are not yet written but which will soon be used in mass literacy campaigns and possibly in schools. Here we may reasonably hope to be more successful. We start with many advantages. We have for example a better orthographic apparatus and a clearer conception of its use.

One of the activities of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures in 1928 was to lay down principles on which any future system of orthography for African languages should be based. The earlier systems of Lepsius (1850 and 1863), Meinhof, and Pater Schmidt (the Anthropos alphabet) were all admirable instruments of scientific research; but there were practical difficulties in the way of their wider use. The disadvantages of diacritics to the writer, reader and printer are obvious and now generally recognized. The Institute's new orthography, which quickly acquired the name of the'Africa'orthography, was based on an alphabet first introduced by the Association Phonétique Internationale and its guiding principle was that sounds for which the Roman alphabet provides no symbols should be represented by special letter forms not diacritic marks. A number of territories officially adopted the orthography within the first few years of its inception, and the number of languages using it has been steadily growing since.

The "Africa" orthography is undoubtedly an advance on its predecessors. One may not agree entirely, like Meinhof, with its compilers that general uniformity is necessary or even desirable or that the new letter forms are the best answer to the inadequacies of the Roman alphabet, but one must admit that in discouraging the use of diacritics it has performed a useful service.
The "Africa" orthography has been adopted in several cases with unfortunate results. But this was usually due to faulty application rather than any intrinsic weakness in the system itself. The orthography is merely a corpus of convenient and suitable symbols from which the transcriber of any language may make his choice. The majority of the more recent orthographic indiscretions are attributable to failure to recognize the essential difference between phonetics and phonology. A preoccupation with the former has led in many cases to the needless introduction of non-Roman letters. (1) The Shavian principles of "one sound, one letter" and the consequent mistrust of the innocuous and convenient digraph has exerted a baneful influence in Africa as elsewhere and may be equally responsible for many orthographic extravagances. It cannot be too strongly emphasized, even at this late date, that a good orthography has as its aim practical utility and maximum intelligibility to the native reader rather than an exact representation of pronunciation for the foreign student. On the whole it is better to use "gh" for example to represent a voiced velar fricative than "s" if this is possible (i.e., say, aspiration is not a significant feature of the language). In Ga, it has only recently been realized that "dz" will adequately represent the voiced pre-palatal affricate. Since there is no dental affricate, there is no need for recourse to the non-Roman letter. Similar economies could be made with advantages in other Gold Coast languages, particularly Dagbane.

The "Africa" orthography then, is not a ready-made solution to any or all of our orthographic problems. It still has to be applied and it is becoming increasingly evident that its application is in the first instance a task for previous workers in the field.

Fortunately the number and size of institutions in England, Europe and South Africa, where special studies are made of the techniques of modern linguistics and where special attention is paid to African languages, is increasing. Unesco incidentally, might well perform a useful service by compiling lists of the staffs and graduates of these institutions, giving details of their special interests and of the expert knowledge available to Colonial governments and other bodies, should they ever require to consult it. It ought not to be necessary to point out that general and applied linguistics has now acquired the status of a science, and the preliminary training for all who would profess it is as rigorous and lengthy as that of any other academic discipline. A familiarity with IPA and the jargon of current grammatical theory is not in itself enough though all too often it has been thought so. The harm done by pseudo-experts has proved irreparable in many cases. Nor can a phonetician, however competent, provide an orthography overnight. This has been done on occasions faute de mieux, usually in consultation with others possessing detailed knowledge of the language in question but little or no knowledge of orthographic principles. The results have rarely been happy. A sound orthography takes time and demands a considerable amount of preliminary research. This research must be done in the field by the expert himself. Hurried consultations with a few "interested" or "intelligent" Africans can never be a substitute. Too often the transient expert is misled, sometimes deliberately, sometimes unwittingly, and in any case the advice he can give under such conditions is usually worth very little. Governments must understand that linguistic research, though not so expensive as atomic research, still costs time and money. With orthographies, as in other things, the ha'p'orth of taris usually no saving in the end.

The number of linguists qualified in African linguistics is steadily mounting, but it is as yet by no means sufficient for the many tasks that lie ahead. There is an urgent need for more. Here again Colonial governments might well consider grants in aid for training personnel. Wherever possible preference should be given to Africans. Every linguist does his best work in the mother tongue, and there are fields in African linguistics where research is badly needed that for obvious reasons can only be done by an African.

The training of the future linguist will be a fairly lengthy process. It is desirable and, many feel, imperative that he should take a first degree in some suitable subject, such as classical or modern languages. After this he must read for a post-graduate degree in general phonetics or philology and finally take a further post-graduate course in applied linguistics, i.e., African languages. It is likely that at least one English university will give a first degree in African Studies in the near future. This will obviously provide the best introduction to the whole course of study and may shorten considerably the period of training. But it is doubtful if this period can be reduced below five years. And if we are ever to persuade the right type of scholar to undergo so lengthy a training, we must be prepared to give every encouragement. Experience gained in implementing the recommendations of the Scarborough Report on the teaching of Oriental and African languages, has shown how essential such encouragement is. There must be adequate financial aid during the period of training, and more important still, a reasonable assurance of employment afterwards.

(1) In Twi where the palatal affricates and fricatives are rightly evaluated as fronted velars and represented by the digraphs, "ky", "gy", "hy", the suggestion has often been made in the sacred name of uniformity that these would be better transcribed as in Ga or Ewe. Phonologically this is indefensible. On the other hand in Dagbane, again presumably for uniformity, since certainly there could be no other reason, "ky" and "gy" were for a time written where the phonological structure of the language points unmistakably to a treatment of these sounds as pure affricates. In general much that is challengeable is talked on the subject of uniformity. Particularly unconvincing are arguments drawn from the difficulties of children who write two languages with different spelling conventions. When real these are usually magnified out of all proportion by the enthusiastic spelling reformer.
Considering that linguistics is one of the most difficult fields of study, it is particularly regrettable that the newer university colleges of West and East Africa have so far made no adequate provision for teaching and research in these subjects. The immediate creation of departments of African languages in these colleges would provide a much needed stimulus, and however premature a step this may seem in view of the immaturity of these studies and the shortage of trained personnel professing them, it is justified by the peculiar nature of our problems. For obvious reasons we must be prepared in this instance to create the posts before we can hope to find the candidates to fill them.

After these general observations it may be useful to examine in some detail a specific problem of dialect and orthography on which the writer was recently consulted and has worked for a number of years. The linguistic situation in the coastal area of the Eastern Province of the Gold Coast is fairly representative and an account of the language problems of that area and of the success and failure of various attempts to solve them may be of some interest to others working on similar problems elsewhere.

The various Ga and Adangme tribes are held historically to be one people. Their oral traditions agree in describing a dispersal to their present locations shortly after their arrival in the Gold Coast from Nigeria. Before this dispersal they had lived, worked and traveled together as one community. The Ga, settled around Accra, were early subjected to a strong European influence as well as that of the neighboring and powerful Akan peoples. Over the years they have acquired and have maintained a political and social independence of the other Adangme tribes, though they have remained fully conscious of the historical links which bind their two peoples. About the middle of the last century, German missionaries began work in the coastal areas and because of the political and geographical importance of Accra, settled there. In 1853 one of their number, Zimmerman published a grammar and word list of the Ga dialect. To it, he added an appendix on Adangme but admitted to little knowledge of the people or their language. The Bible was translated shortly afterwards into Ga and from then on that dialect was adopted as the official language to be used in churches and schools throughout the whole Ga-Adangme area.

The Government subsequently endorsed this policy which was not questioned until 1935. About that time a group of young Adangme teachers formed an Adangme Literary Society and with the help and encouragement of a German philologist produced a newspaper and several pamphlets, including a translation of the book of Jonah, in Adangme. The demand that Adangme be recognized and taught in schools increased and in 1945 the Director of Education in the Gold Coast consulted Professor Ida C. Ward, who expressed the tentative opinion that the claims of Adangme should be given serious consideration. The matter was then referred to the writer who was asked to give a firm decision and to provide a suitable orthography for Adangme should it be needed. As a first step he requested the seconding of a suitable Adangme informant. A teacher who had taken considerable interest in the language and had been active in the first attempts to write it was chosen and awarded a year's linguistic scholarship at the School of Oriental and African Studies under the scheme already mentioned. He subsequently proved to be highly intelligent and well informed about his language. The need for a "guide" is obvious. In London he was given instruction in the elements of theoretical and practical phonetics and phonology and attended lectures in general linguistics and allied subjects whilst acting at the same time as an informant to the writer. In parenthesis it may be added that experience has shown how desirable is this linguistic training of the informant. The subsequent saving of time alone justifies the initial expense.

Within the year available, it was found possible to complete a fairly detailed analysis of the informant's speech. Tentative phonological and grammatical systems were established which were only valid, of course, for the one individual. But this is an essential first stage in any language investigation. Much muddled work has arisen from a failure to recognize that a language is a plurality of systems and that these systems once established must in the first instance be kept distinct.

A grant from the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund allowed the writer next to spend a period of some nine months in the field. Here the first task was to check the informant's speech against that of other speakers of his particular dialect. Fortunately the Government were willing further to second him for the entire period of field research. The need for a "guide" is obvious. It is doubtful if any phonetician will ever have time to master the African language he is analysing. Nor is it necessary that he should do so. But he must have on hand a native speaker who will introduce him to the society in which he has to live and to whom he can turn for ready advice and information.

It is especially helpful when the "guide" is fully or partially trained in language work. At the same time every effort must be made to check all information obtained from this source. The writer was frequently misled, for the most part unwittingly, but at times deliberately where the personal idiosyncrasies and preferences of his informant were concerned. One ought perhaps to add here that it is little use providing a people with an orthography if one is not prepared to give them at the same time texts which use it. What is the point of literacy without literature? Throughout the expedition, texts needed for analytical purposes were chosen with a view to
their suitability as future reading matter. These included much oral tradition, histories, proverbial lore, folk-tale and songs. The transcription of these texts was quite beyond the writer's competence. They were often spoken, at a rate alarming to the foreigner and obviously there could be no interruptions and requests for repetition. The informant, though himself often in difficulties, usually managed to provide an adequate text which could be edited at leisure. The writer was thus free to look for and give his attention to any special points of pronunciation and so on, which interested him, and he was content on such occasions to take the odd note.

In the final stages of the investigation, schools were visited and experiments conducted to determine the difficulties of Adangme children receiving their primary education in Ga. In each school, meetings were arranged with teachers and their views elicited. Only then was a decision taken that Adangme should be written and a definite attempt made to provide an orthography. The reasons for this decision were:

1. The use of Ga in schools undoubtedly placed the Adangme-speaking child under a disadvantage, particularly noticeable in the first years of primary education when the mechanics of reading were being acquired.

2. The impending Mass Literacy and Adult Education drives in the Adangme area.

3. The statistical evidence: Ga was spoken by approximately a fifth of the total population only.

4. The literary enthusiasm of the educated Adangmes. Unaided they had already produced a body of writing of a high order, and were willing to finance its publication by voluntary contribution, given the opportunity. The literary efforts of the Ga on the other hand, after a period of early productivity, had been negligible.

Once a decision had been taken to sanction the use of Adangme, the writer made his suggestions to his informant. The propounding of the orthography was left to a committee of representatives of various interested bodies under the informant's chairmanship. This committee itself drafted the first statement, the writer acting in an advisory capacity only, and remaining well in the background. In this way it was hoped to obviate any future dissension on the grounds that the orthography was imposed from without.

Although there is a fairly high degree of mutual intelligibility between Ga and the other Adangme dialects, no attempt was made at a 'compromise' dialect. To do this it was felt would be unnecessarily and unnaturally to restrict the freedom of expression so essential to pioneer writers in both dialects. A period was envisaged in which the two dialects would exist side by side, each, however, making certain concessions in spelling and usage as time went on to ensure that they drew towards and not away from each other, and, what is of the utmost importance to future unity, building upon similarities rather than differences. All that the writer suggested - and this was a firm recommendation - was that the two dialects should use basically the same orthography. For example, against the wishes of certain Adangmes, who sought not without reason to introduce certain recent innovations of script, in particular the use of "c" and "j" to represent the pre-palatal affricates (a suggestion of the 'Africa' orthography) it was decided to use only such letters as were used in Ga, sounds peculiar to the Adangme dialect being represented by combinations of letters already in use and not by new single characters (e.g. "hi" to represent the voiceless lateral). The Ga were subsequently asked to make one change of script and they agreed to do so. Adangme has no pre-palatal affricative (except in the dialect geographically and consequently linguistically nearest Ga), but has two pre-palatal affricates. Ga has both types of sound and represents the former by the non-Roman letter of the 'Africa' script and the latter by a digraph composed of the non-Roman letter and "h". To introduce the non-Roman letter in Adangme, which had no need of it, would obviously have been typographically uneconomical. Ga was therefore asked in the interests of uniformity to write in future "ts" for the voiceless pre-palatal affricate. This it could do since there was no dental affricate in the language and as we have already seen the representation of the voiced correlate of "ts" had been similarly modified a few years before.

Beyond a few elementary precautions of this type, nothing further was attempted. But as a contribution to eventual unity, work was begun on a grammar and dictionary of the language in which the morphology, syntax and vocabulary of each dialect was presented impartially in equal detail side by side. In these works a common script is used, but not always a common spelling.

The first Adangme books are now beginning to appear in print. On a recent visit the writer was impressed as never before by the depth of satisfaction accorded to a people who at last find themselves with the promise of a literature exclusively their own, and by the pride in the mother tongue which can be stimulated in this way. Everywhere the literate are busy taking down from the mouths of the illiterate the oral traditions of their people and everywhere the cry is for more and better books. After a period of natural suspicion and mutual hostility, the Ga people have come to see that the writing of Adangme constitutes in itself no threat to their own dialect, but that if Ga is to survive it must prove itself worthy of survival. They too are coming together more than ever before to consult as to what they can best do as a people to encourage the young writers of this generation and to ensure the literary future of their mother tongue. The ensuing rivalry between the two dialects, if the present spirit is maintained, can only profit both, and above all the future language as a whole.

The writer hopes he has not misread the situation, for in it he sees a small token of ultimate success in Africa.
CHAPTER IV

THE TEACHING OF ENGLISH AS THE SECOND LANGUAGE
IN AFRICAN TERRITORIES, WHERE ENGLISH IS
THE ACCEPTED SECOND LANGUAGE

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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper. The purpose of this paper is to provide a starting point for the consideration of the main factors and problems that are to be met with in the teaching of it as the second language in African Territories where English is the accepted second language. It is the intention to give priority to "method", i.e. to the techniques and procedures of the teacher in the classroom, rather than, for instance, to the provision of textbooks, or to theories of vocabulary selection and of the simplification of texts, or to the psychology of language learning. The discussion of method therefore will be much more detailed and complete than that of other factors; but it will be selective. It will deal only with those methods, and principles on which they are based, that are considered to be effective in the teaching of language; in no sense therefore will there be a discussion and weighing up of the rival theories of language teaching, or of the various methods and procedures that textbooks and "courses" require for their handling in the classroom. It seems advisable to give priority to method for several reasons: all teachers of languages should know which methods have proved to be the most effective; the agreement on this question of a body of responsible persons would do much to bring about improvement in the teaching, and there appears to be a very great need in most countries of an amelioration in the methods used by teachers. Although so much is known now about the teaching of living languages, and so much has been written about it, the teachers who can handle these well recognized procedures adequately are comparatively rare, and very many young teachers in Africa and elsewhere do not appear to make proper use of the widely accepted techniques of teaching languages.

Particular problems where the medium of instruction is a new language. During the years immediately before the new language becomes the medium of instruction, it is advisable for certain changes in its teaching to be made; for instance, vocabulary selection could consider the needs of the "subject" teacher, and the pupils might be trained to use the new language with exactness in description and in explanation earlier - possibly much earlier - than those pupils who are taught general subjects in their home language. But it may be put forward, that sweeping changes need not be made, at any rate during the first four years of learning English, and that methods on the whole will not be materially affected, except by being given more focus and intensity in order to increase their efficiency. Consequently, though the problem of enabling English to become an effective medium of instruction must be kept in mind, the discussion of method need not at first take note of what will be required later.

The importance of the vernacular in relation to English. Quite apart from the national aspirations of the people to foster their vernaculars, and from the political urge to do so, the teaching of the home languages has a relevant connexion with the teaching of the second language. It might be sounder to say that it can, and should have this connexion, than to say that it has; for this teaching will not play its full and proper part in the child’s education unless it is well carried out, and unless it also provides special training in the handling of language. This aspect of language work in African schools will be touched on again at the end of this paper.

The need for guidance in the teaching of language. It might be useful to discuss the special need for guidance in the teaching of English where English is the medium of instruction. Not only is this need usually obvious to those who are responsible for children’s education in Africa or who are making a special study of teaching language, but it has been found in visiting schools in different countries that teachers themselves very commonly are aware of their need, and eagerly seek advice and help. It is evident that teachers in West Africa will welcome recommendations resulting from an authoritative conference, and will try to the best of their ability to carry out these. Although the need for improvement in the teaching of English is related to many other factors than method, nevertheless improvement in method more urgently needs attention, and method fortunately is more easily susceptible to improvement, and the success it then brings often stimulates improvement in other directions too.

The General Situation

The present linguistic situation. Excluding those parts of Sierra Leone where English, or some form of speech that is recognizable as such, is the home language, we have in West Africa a fairly homogeneous
linguistic area as far as English is concerned: there is no rival in the field providing a comparable literature, as there is where Arabic is dominant; there is no rival as a lingua franca outside the home languages, as there is in Swahili, except of course in Northern Nigeria and to a much lesser degree in the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast; and there is no complex language situation such as exists in Mauritius, South Africa and in parts of East Africa. In discussing possible changes and recommendations, we are therefore free from certain special difficulties that have to be faced elsewhere.

Furthermore, though English in West Africa has the prestige of a language that will bring learning, modern knowledge and a great literature, it is often sought for its strictly utilitarian value. Thus it has not that extraordinary and rather exotic prestige which singles out a language as a mark of high birth and of an aristocratic society, as French was regarded in Russia and Poland before the revolution, nor is English now closely identified with a religion, as Arabic is for many peoples. Again, compared with many other countries, the problems of teaching English in West Africa are presented to us in a fairly simple form, though this does not mean that they are therefore easier to solve. They can be viewed, therefore, with a mind concerned only with relevant issues in teaching, unclouded with political, religious and social considerations and implications.

The changing situation. Pride in the mother tongue always accompanies a rise in national consciousness, as in Ireland, India, Burma, Denmark, and elsewhere. But where there are many home languages and not one of these dominant, and where a foreign language has established itself as the language of the law courts, of business, trade and education, changes in linguistic policy by government decree, or even by common consent, create their own difficulties, and do not necessarily succeed. In discussing our problem, though we should be aware of these changes in feeling for the home languages, with their increase of printed literature and literature bureaux, we should concern ourselves solely with teaching problems and try to solve those, whatever may be the position of the home languages in the future.

But in this present, and changing, situation there are other factors which we should glance at as they affect, in varying degrees, the learning of English. There is a very real need for the knowledge and wisdom that the nations - mainly European - have been accumulating for hundreds of years, much of which is recorded in books; there is the deep need for a literature that sets the highest standards, and which teaches and inspires by its wisdom, humour, penetration and lofty thought, and by its revelation of truth - the truth about ourselves and our affairs. Now that West African peoples are pressing forward more consciously and more quickly, there is the equally important need for modern technology and the knowledge that research in science, medicine, engineering, is giving to the world. This alone places the vernaculars at a disadvantage, and provides convincing proof that the learning of one of the great European languages is essential.

The general situation as regards the teaching of English. As in the general linguistic situation, so in the limited field of teaching English, there is comparative simplicity. There is no deep-rooted traditional method in West Africa of teaching language, as there is in the United Kingdom; there is no State-controlled programme, syllabus and textbook, as there is in France, and there is no hide-bound conservatism among teachers preventing them from considering new procedures and experimenting with new methods. The evidence that West Africa can supply is therefore singularly valuable, especially as the clean sheet of its teaching record is comparatively unsmudged because teachers have not had to endanger the success of their methods through the imposition of this headmaster's ingrained theories, or of the special hobby-horses of this inspector or that. Moreover, one main method has been used all over the country, and used long enough even to disclose such weaknesses as it has and to prove its worth where it is well handled. The issues appear to be more clean-cut in West Africa than in almost any other part of the world, and the evidence is equally clear. There is likely to be agreement on the main issues, and some valuable recommendations for more effective teaching will no doubt be formulated.

What is the evidence that West Africa can supply? Because one method has been used in West Africa almost to the exclusion of others, because of the similar age levels of pupils in a great majority of the schools, because the previous upbringing, intelligence and background of the pupils have not the great variety that are to be found in many countries, and above all because of the satisfactory level of attainment in English of pupils taught by this one method, the evidence that West Africa supplies is extraordinarily valuable. It may, no doubt, be regarded as a contribution towards solving some of the language learning problems. The evidence provided by West Africa is the overwhelming success of the Direct Method. West African schools provide convincing proof that nine or ten years of schooling can enable a child of good ability to become bilingual; and they can equip a boy or girl of good ability for studies at the secondary school level after eight or nine years of English, and for study at a university level after fourteen or, more usually, fifteen years of it. There can be little dispute about this, as it has actually been achieved for a good many students since the founding of the university colleges in West Africa. On the other hand, the abilities of West African students and school pupils have been found by research to be so satisfactory that obviously much better results could be obtained by better planning, more suitable textbooks, and by improved training of teachers. There is an urgent necessity for improvement in methods of teaching languages and in the organization of English courses for use in West Africa.
The Direct Method

Introductory note. This method has now been used long enough in West Africa to provide satisfactory evi-
dence of its effectiveness and value, in the classroom. Caution, however, is always necessary when dealing with
language teaching, because, for some reason or other, this aspect of education seems peculiarly vulnerable to
encroachment by fanatics - with their "systems", "simplified spellings" and "short cuts to easy English".

The usefulness of the Direct Method. It would be difficult to add anything new or valuable to the descrip-
tions of the method by such great exponents of language teaching as Jespersen, Brereton, Breul, Coleman, Find-
lay, O'Grady, and of course Palmer and Ripman. Nevertheless its true nature has been much obscured and its
usefulness much curtailed by considering it only as a method for the teaching of new words. Its special value is
of course in that direction; but the most difficult task of the language teacher is not in getting meanings of new
words and phrases and idioms understood, as is generally supposed. It is in getting those new language items
used - used correctly for sentence structures, and used often enough to be firmly established in the linguistic habits
of a learner. The new elements have to become so ingrained in the learner's physical and mental habits that
they will always be readily available on demand. Now the Direct Method is of great use in helping to establish
these linguistic habits, and it has therefore a much wider value than is often supposed.

The principle of the "Direct Bond". Although there is perhaps too much general talk about the Direct
Method, it requires in its presentation to teachers in training colleges and at refresher courses a new emphasis
and a wider application than it usually receives. For it is not so much a "method" as a principle, and should not
be regarded simply as a step in the presentation of words and sentences, nor as a set series of steps or proce-
dures in method. It is essentially a principle determining the procedures in many methods - possibly governing
the procedures in all methods that are useful in teaching language. Thus this principle of the "Direct Bond" - be-
 tween word and thing, between word and idea, or between word and intention (wish, command, desire, etc.) - can
operate through such methods, for instance, as "reproduction", chorus repetitions, construction exercises, and
"free" expression work, and it is, of course, the underlying and sustaining principle of "The Oral" and "The Dra-
matic" Methods.

The application of the Direct Method to the teaching of grammar. It has been noticed, not only in West
Africa but in some European countries as well, that the Direct Method has been given only a very limited use in
the classroom, and in consequence the standard of English attained by the pupils has not been as high as their
obvious abilities should have achieved. Clear examples of teaching that has failed to apply the principle of the
Direct Bond can often be observed in the teaching of English grammar. In the teaching of the tenses, for instance,
we can see in almost any country and very frequently in West Africa, each child in turn laboriously constructing
a sentence containing the new tense on the pattern of one given by the master; and these sentences usually bear
no direct relation to reality, they do not express anything that the child wishes to say, and they do not refer to any
real thing or happening that the child has in mind. The whole linguistic process is largely mechanical and super-
ficially verbal - it is learning by rote with a minimum of consciousness. It is not however entirely useless, as
some linguistic habit is being practised - provided pronunciation, grammar, and structure are all correct. When
we look on the other picture, we see a pupil, called out in front of the class by the teacher, going through a series
of actions, which he himself thinks of, and each pupil in turn expressing what he does: "Kofi is standing up",
"He is walking to the table", "He has opened a book", "He is reading silently", "He has just shut the book", "He is
writing on the blackboard", and so on. The pupils of course keep to the one tense at first; but the pupil
in front varies his actions and tries to think of new ones that the class does not expect, and the children all watch
him closely, and eagerly correct their comrades if they miss an action or make a mistake. Here, there is pur-
pose, the reality of a game and the expression of something that the pupils want to express, and often there is
humour. All the ingredients of good language learning are there, and the very mainsprings of linguistic expe-
rience are being tapped.

The Direct Method - its essential nature and particular rôle. We see then that the Direct Method is in the
nature of a general law, operating in many procedures, and as far as possible in all those that are used in the
teaching of language. It is easy enough for a young teacher to pick up the idea of the "Direct Bond" between words
and things; but it will doubtless be necessary later at refresher courses and conferences to explain and to demon-
strate the wider applications of the theory, for it is not so easy to see always how it can operate in some methods.
In thinking of the Direct Method as a general law, we must not let the soundness of the idea prevent us from see-
ing that the Direct Bond operates most successfully in the intellectual sphere - with words and ideas. In the phy-
sical sphere, in bringing the speech mechanisms into play - where the pronunciation of the home language always
strongly intervenes - the effective use of the Method is not so easy. This aspect of teaching with the Direct
Method has been virtually neglected; and yet emphasis on its importance, and warnings as to its difficultly,
might have made teachers aware of their pupils' shortcomings in pronunciation, especially where the rest of the
language is well taught. In order to raise the standard of pronunciation, stress and rhythm to the level of the
pupils' command of vocabulary and sentence structure, special attention will have to be given in West Africa when
new words are being taught, making certain that it is the correct pronunciation that is being directly bonded with
the thing or idea, and not the incorrect.

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The Direct Method - its particular rôle. The usefulness of the Direct Method is that it promotes more spontaneous and natural language habits than the "Translation Method", or a method that emphasizes primarily the learning of grammar; but its particular virtue is often missed. It is not always realized how strong the physical and mental habits of the mother tongue are, except in small children. These habits become so firmly established that years must often be spent in learning a second language. They are so strong that whenever any idea (as image or concept) enters the mind of the learner, the sounds and sound patterns of the home language rush in. The new language that is being learned has not that force and immediacy, and often cannot become available because the mother tongue word or words step in and keep out the new symbols. Now it is the particular virtue of the Direct Method that by its use of an immediate presentation of a thing or situation to the senses or imagination there is a strong check to the inrush of the home language symbols in sound or writing. And this is because the thing itself is in front of the learner's eye, or in the forefront of his imagination, and so he has in mind a mental picture to represent that thing, and his mind does not seek, nor does it need, a verbal symbol.

The door therefore is not open to the home language, and consequently the mind can seek more freely for the symbol that it is hoping for in the new language. In the use of the Direct Method the sight of the thing (or its picture) enables the learner to seek for the new symbol without having unavoidable recourse to the old. And naturally the more the learner gains control of the new language through constant usage, the more firmly the door can be kept shut to keep out the home language, and therefore the more readily the new language will come at his call.

Constant use of the Direct Method is the secret. We see, then, that there is strong support for this method in the psychological processes of linguistic behaviour. Its rôle is not merely to reinforce understanding, or to stimulate new words into activity, but is deeply rooted in the natural processes of linguistic expression and in the use of symbols for thinking and communication.

The Direct Method - its techniques and procedures. The main technique in teaching with this method, i.e. the habitual use of the new language instead of the home language, appears to be well understood in West Africa. But the skillful handling of its details of technique is perhaps rare. One cause of this is the excessive reliance on the textbook which is so prevalent, and which indeed is recommended because the young teacher is thought to be so incompetent and unintelligent that he must have a textbook that tells him exactly what he should do; but no credit is given to him for improving his skill as he gains experience. A clear example of the book dominating the lesson is to be seen in the lesson on the words of the classroom: the book provides a picture of a classroom, and the teacher uses this picture in his presentation of the words rather than making the infinitely more effective use of his own classroom. Yet the essential points of technique in the use of this method are easily learned and are quite simple: new words and sentences should be presented to the pupils in the following ways, and in the following order, (a) by showing the thing and naming it, (b) if that is impossible, by showing a picture of the thing or drawing a sketch on the board, (c) if (b) is impossible, by describing the thing in the words of the new language. In all instruction of young teachers it should be the practice to instil into their minds and to inject into their teaching habits these clear-cut details of technique, and to give sufficient practice in them to ensure their widespread use. The further point of how to deal with the word or idea that cannot easily be put into the new language should also be explained and demonstrated with classes of children during training, as this is not such an easy point of technique to handle. It is now generally accepted that, when a description of the new thing or idea cannot give a clear understanding or mental picture of the thing, then the word of the home language should be used; but that is not all. It has been widely forgotten that further questioning, and, if possible, action, is also necessary - questioning on details about the thing or idea that the children can answer, or calling for actions that show the children have an accurate idea of the thing. For instance, if such a word as "weight" is met with early in the course, or later such words as "tax" or "sap", a young teacher might not be able to explain the meaning clearly in English. He can then give the vernacular word, but must follow this up by using the English word in several different sentences, and must also ask questions that demand the use of the word in the answers; the children could also show the difference between a heavy and a light weight by movements of their hands. Unfortunately, many teachers, especially among the older ones, get impatient in using the new language to explain or to describe, and, not being able to enjoy the skill of the craftsman, fall into the habit of using the vernacular, so that the children do not hear enough of the new language, and, more important still, do not hear it used purposefully - to carry out the need of the speaker to explain something clearly. This frequent recourse to a vernacular may well be common in West Africa, but if teachers knew the value of using the new language in explanation and description many would abandon it.

The use of a "contextual situation" and "realia". The point of technique that builds up a small vocabulary round a central idea and related to a lively contextual situation, instead of presenting assorted words that can be used only in different contexts, is a valuable one, though it cannot be dealt with fully here, and it is one that can be vividly demonstrated with a class, and will be quickly grasped by teachers. So too, the practice of bringing into the classroom the real things used in daily life, for instance, in cooking or in mending a tyre puncture - inner tube, pump, valve, rubber solution - is easy; and the apt demonstration of this point of technique is so impressive and amusing that it is easily learnt - and not easily forgotten. The bringing of real things into the classroom, however, is not merely for the purpose of making a lesson more enjoyable, its purpose is technical: it is to strengthen the bond between things and their names, between action and the expression of action; so that the sight of the real thing and action, or the thought of it (as a visual picture or other mental "idea") will immediately call up the name or expression, and vice versa. The purpose of using real things in the classroom...
The Direct Method identified with the Dramatic Method. The principle of the "Direct Bond" between word and idea, between word and action, and between word and conative impulses, receives its fullest application in the Dramatic Method. In this, some situation is proposed by the teacher or by some of the class, something simple at first, such as the meeting of two friends, or a girl selling fruit in the market, or a mother buying food for her family. The conversation is made up by the class and some of it may be written on the board, except with younger pupils; then pairs, or threes, of children act the little scene in turn. The teacher watches closely for corrections in the compiling of the conversations and in the small variations that a class will introduce during the acting, and makes a note for further sentence practice on necessary points of grammar, etc. On the next day the same scene may be used for the written exercise, and the class then have their own little dramatic episode of a few sentences available in their exercise books as an example, and as the first perhaps of several short "conversation pieces" or "scenes of local life". Though the interest of the children is caught by the fun of "acting" and by the enjoyment of representing character, the technical value for language learning is that the impression of the new language on the muscular and mental linguistic habits of the learners is driven home by the most powerful and the deepest of all the linguistic impulses: the force of purpose and unconscious intention.

Other techniques and procedures. Quite enough has been said, no doubt, concerning the application of the principle of the Direct Bond, but a few comments on other techniques are needed for a discussion on the learning of languages in countries where these have not been long established. For instance, the power of "imitation" in learning a language, especially in learning pronunciation, cannot have been clearly realized by African teachers, otherwise they would have taken more steps to ensure that their own pronunciation of English was closer to an accepted form of spoken English, just as a learner of French who wishes to speak "good French" will listen carefully to the speech of Frenchmen and Frenchwomen. It has not been sufficiently emphasized perhaps in West Africa that pupils learn the English of their teacher, and that imitation is a more powerful teacher than the explanations, instructions and exercises that the man himself gives. Imitation operates in almost every method, and it can be used deliberately and effectively in the teaching of grammar; for instance, it is better for the teacher to say: "Listen to me, I say 'I am going by bus to Accra' and 'I sometimes go home on my bicycle'", instead of "I am going for Accra") than for him to try to explain the use of these prepositions or to refer to their function.

The Direct Method in chorus work. If we attentively observe some chorus work in West African class-rooms, we shall hear some very curious English being repeated under the cover of the general chorus. What usually happens is that the sentences are repeated by a number of pupils correctly, but that there is so much noise from the forty or more children that many of them take no pains to repeat carefully what they have heard, and the teacher cannot possibly hear these mispronunciations. Thus many pupils - and often the weak ones, who need practice in correct English most - get only good practice in incorrect English; consequently this method is often more harmful than none at all; indeed some heads of schools have ruled that no chorus work shall be done. But nevertheless the method is a useful one, especially with large classes, and good practice in correct repetitions can be secured if the groups speaking at one time are quite small - not more than ten or twelve, so that the teacher can detect and check faults. He can then also raise the standard of pronunciation and of "expression", by making one small group compete with another, and try to outdo the other. There is another point to emphasize here: these chorus repetitions are nearly always merely mechanical; and therefore they have only a limited value. But it is easy enough for young teachers to learn how to make better use of this exercise. By applying our principle of the "Direct Bond", a small group of pupils can run through some Tense drill, for instance, by expressing what a single pupil is doing in front of the class; for instance, as the boy does each action, the group says in chorus: "He is walking to the desk - he is opening a book - he is reading a sentence aloud - he is writing on the blackboard - he is walking back to his desk". And the next group says: "He has just walked to the desk - he has just opened a book - he has just read a sentence aloud - he has just written it on the blackboard - he has just walked back to his desk". And the third group says in chorus: "A short time ago he walked to the desk - a short time ago he opened a book - a short time ago ........." and so on. This gives the necessary Tense drill, and it ensures a certain amount of correctness (the teacher listening attentively for any falling off in pronunciation). It applies our principle, and it keeps the class on the qui vive, as no pupil likes to be singled out for correction; and as each enjoys taking part in the game, there is much more effort to maintain correctness than in any unsupervised and careless mechanical repeating.

For similar reasons, it is far better to give "learning by heart" of little stories, short conversations that can be acted and other "whole"pieces of language, than to devote time to the learning of columns of "Principle Parts" of numerous verbs. The past tenses and past participles of these certainly have to be learnt, but this should be done in very short drill repetitions for two or three minutes many times a week. The learning by heart should be used for significant language, and not for mere scraps, which have no life of their own; but when these are combined into meaningful wholes by the cement of purpose and communicable reference to reality, they bring their meanings to bear on the language learning habits of the pupils.

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The Teaching of Grammar

The problem. This is of course a highly debatable subject, and one on which many people take a firm stand, a stand moreover, one may add, that is often impervious to new light - and sometimes to rational argument and practical demonstration. The problem is certainly obscured by the presentation of English grammar in the school grammar books, which is usually too formal and superficial, and occasionally unsound or unintelligent; and one's judgment is often clouded by one's own experience of adult ways of beginning to learn a new language, and also by adult experience and knowledge of grammar. But fortunately the teaching of grammar in West Africa is not much obscured by the blinding dust of uninformed controversy. The situation too is simplified because the pupils have little idea of the grammar of their own languages, and most of them begin to learn the new language at too early an age for them to be taught the traditional names and functions of words. Furthermore the grammar they need to know in the first few years of learning English is very small, and we may perhaps state dogmatically that it need not be known with scientific precision. The first problem, is to find out what grammar the children need to know in their Infant School and Junior School. The next to decide is in what order the various items - Tenses, Plurals of nouns, Personal Pronouns, Degrees of Comparison - should be learnt, and at what intervals. The last problem is to decide how these varied items should be taught, and how the various grammatical changes of word and structure should be brought into the children's linguistic repertoire.

What grammar should be taught at first? Parts of this problem are not difficult, for instance, Plurals can be learnt as the nouns are taught and needed, the Personal Pronouns will be needed in their Subject and Object relations in the earliest stage - but is the Present Simple to be taught before the Present Continuous, or after it? Nevertheless, there are some deciding factors, for if the Direct Method is being used, the Present Continuous will be taught first because it is needed to express what actions are being performed in the classroom, and because it can be used in a very large number of situations. The disability of having also to teach "is-are" is no greater than the puzzle of -s for the Singular verb, 3rd person, -s for the Plural noun, but no -s for the verb that goes with it.

Similarly, the question: When shall the Present Simple be taught if the Present Continuous is introduced first, decides itself if viewed as a practical teaching question, and not a theoretical one. We see that the difference between an action that a boy is doing now, and the action that he does every morning is not difficult to illustrate freely in sentences and actions, and furthermore it does not need any grammatical terms to make it perfectly clear. Both forms of the Tense therefore can be taught early, though copious practice will be needed after the second one has been introduced in order to avoid confusion. This copious practice of course must be in using the Tense in many sentences and in many differing situations; it will not require frequent explanations. It is curious that the simple technique of including "now" in sentences containing the Continuous Tense and of "every day" (or similar words) with the Habitual Present is not in wide use, for it ensures that the young learners are aware of the "time" that is expressed. Apparently teachers do not perceive how useful these and other expressions of time to fix the Tense usage are, and how they do much to lower the high frequency of error in Tense.

How should grammar be taught? It will be seen from the above that very little of the traditional "English Grammar", with its technical terms of Latin origin and its theoretical definitions, will be necessary during the first seven years of English. The teaching will insist always on the pupils' using the new inflexions, forms and structures, and not on the learning of descriptions of their grammatical functions. The descriptions that are necessary can usually be couched in plain, straightforward English without recourse to technical or difficult words, and much grammar can be taught through the use of pattern sentences with copious practice in constructing similar ones. It is usually quite unnecessary to give whole lessons on the meaning and use of most of the technical terms, even for instance such commonly used ones as Transitive and Intransitive. These terms are taught in some African schools for the purpose, for instance of explaining the difference between "lie" and "lay" though an Englishman would not normally turn to theoretical grammar to ascertain which verb to use correctly. He might however try each in a pattern sentence to find out; saying to himself: "I lie down", but "A chicken lays an egg". It is very doubtful how much help the teaching of theoretical grammar can give in achieving "correctness". On the other hand, not less grammar is needed in the teaching of English in African schools but more - more focused practice in using the variant forms and inflexions in sentences and in living contexts.

Types of grammar exercises and the problem of "corrections". The teaching of grammar then should, we hold, be largely carried out through the use of model sentences and copious examples, through sentence-construction exercises, through "changing" exercises - Present into Past, Active into Passive, Singulars into Plurals, at first with sentences and then with short paragraphs. And as for "corrections", there should be a gradual and progressive training of the pupils in the correcting of their own writing. This suggestion is apparently very badly needed in West Africa - it is used in parts of East Africa with complete success, and has been successfully tried in the Gold Coast where it has been strongly recommended by several leading educationists. This should not be so difficult, for since neatness and care for handwriting have been taught widely and successfully in West Africa, a care for grammatical correctness should also be possible. Pupils, however, normally show no concern for grammatical correctness, often leaving words unfinished, and obvious omissions are often prevalent. It is probably the fault of the teaching that care is almost universally shown in handwriting, but no pride in correctness of language.
The Teaching of Reading

The first stage - teaching children to read. It has been widely accepted now that a child should learn to read through his home language. An eminent educationist has recommended the use of elements of all the main methods for teaching reading. Thus the Phonic Method is used for securing the correct sound related to the word in print, and the Sentence Method for ensuring that some thought is active in the early stages of learning to read, for short sentences expressing everyday actions are read early in the process. The "Look & Say" Method of making full use of pictures with names of the things in them and sentences about them may also be used and taken full advantage of.

Reading in the early years of learning English. During the first year with an English textbook the reading of English will normally be mastered. Beyond this, no special reading skills need be brought into play, but, as an important part of the language teaching, there should be simple but thorough questioning on the passage that is worked on during the week's programme. This questioning will improve the children's reading abilities, though its main purpose may be to give effective language practice and familiarity with new words. This questioning should keep closely to the language and information in the passage, and may with advantage make use of exactly the same wording and sentence structures of the text, as far as possible. For instance, instead of asking: "What is the little boy doing?" (when the text with the picture says: "He is playing quietly with the little cat, the cat's baby"), the first question should be: "What is the little boy playing with?", and later in the lesson, after the new words have been practised and the children know the correct answer, the question can be: "What is the little boy doing?". Teachers often have not realized that at first the questions are not for the purpose of finding out if the pupils have understood and can use the new words, but simply to get them to use the words - correctness therefore at first is vital. This kind of questioning, which keeps strictly to the words and ideas of the text ensures a certain amount of correctness; if questions are too "free" at first, incorrectness is encouraged.

Reading in the 2nd to 7th years with an English textbook. During these years there should be an increasingly intensive training in reading in order to develop the reading skills that the pupils will require for further education, and to make full use of all they have gained hitherto. This training will provide, in addition to its main purpose, much effective language practice, and will contribute to the increase of the pupils' command of English. The development of these skills will demand some intensive teaching, but at the same time there must be a steady increase of the amount of reading that each pupil carries out during the year. This is particularly necessary in countries where English is the medium of instruction in the later stages of education. For if the pupil is not to be held back in his general education and in his concentration on the special subjects in his secondary school examination, he must acquire during these years a close familiarity with the varied structures and the very wide vocabulary of English. He must gain such an easy familiarity with the language that it will not interfere, by too many unexpected meanings and associations, with his understanding of the new and often difficult ideas that he will have to master in these new subjects on the curriculum. There is nothing to equal this extensive reading for enabling the learner to acquire a mastery over the language. Some attention to this part of the programme must be given by the teacher. The rôle he plays in it is comparatively simple, though it needs a good deal of interest and keenness to get the best value out of the extensive reading the pupils do, and interest and keenness are not easy to produce.

The development of reading skills. There are three reading skills that will be required above all others for continued progress in learning. These are (a) the skill of reading for precise details - which requires accuracy, (b) the skill of grasping the gist of a passage - where speed is necessary, and (c) the skill of finding required information from print - where relevance is to be aimed at. It is probable that in order to develop these three skills in his pupils, there is no special need for a teacher to learn difficult techniques, or for him to have unusual competence. To develop accuracy in getting precise details from print, all the teacher need do is to question his class regularly on the passages they read. He must question them so that they will attend to what is said in the passage, and the closer he sticks to the text the better, but he must do this frequently and also rapidly, and at the same time exact a high standard of accuracy from his pupils. He will be able to do this because the children will have the passage in front of them in this work, and each pupil can find the correct answer by looking at the text again. Quickness and liveliness in questioning is necessary so that the class will be on the qui vive and pupils will vie with one another in speed and accuracy. They will therefore put more effort into it, as it will seem to them a game.

The reading skill of seizing the gist of a passage. Skill in seizing the gist of a passage quickly can be developed in a somewhat similar way through the pace must be slower as more time has to be allowed for the passage to be read through. In addition, this work requires a more intelligent handling of incomplete or wrong answers in order to give the weaker pupils the help they need. For instance, when a weak pupil has picked on a minor point his attention has to be drawn to the main idea in the passage by a further question. Perhaps the teacher will say: "Which do you think is the more important idea - yours or Kofi's?" and the pupil receives help in finding the main idea by this comparison. Thus some of the weaker answers must be dealt with by teacher and pupil working together. It will be seen that the first stage of a lesson intended to develop this skill can consist of the close questioning on the text, and indeed this close questioning should always be the preliminary stage
with classes of poor abilities. It will help them to gain a thorough understanding of the whole passage, and will be a great assistance to them in attacking the problem of stating the gist of each passage and of the whole in the last part of the lesson. With quick and intelligent classes, a whole chapter can be run through with questions on the gist of each paragraph in turn and on the main sections of the chapter. Regular practice, with exact questioning where there is weakness, for pupils in their seventh, eighth and ninth years of learning English will provide a thorough and efficient training which will be good mental discipline, and will help to equip them for further studies.

The reading skill of finding required information in print. Skill in finding required information in print can be developed in quite simple ways: the teacher proposes a topic, and the pupils search through the passage or passages indicated by the teacher, and the first to be able to state the information on that topic to be found in the passage wins the game. Progressive difficulty also can be easily arranged, starting with a paragraph, passing on to a page and then to a chapter; or starting with a search for one simple fact, and gradually increasing the amount to be found, or the complexity of the information. Young teachers should know, however, that after the first few lessons with this work have been carried out orally, subsequent lessons should demand written answers, otherwise the slower pupils, who usually need the training most, fail to receive profit from it.

The skill of reading aloud. Attention to these three reading skills will leave little time for reading aloud. That is as it should be, for the teaching of reading aloud should be carried out thoroughly during the first two years with an English textbook, and perhaps again in the last two years of schooling as an expression exercise to improve pronunciation, stress and rhythm, and to give greater fluency and ease in spoken English. In the earlier years reading aloud is useful for teaching pronunciation, but the three reading skills dealt with here are so important where the new language is the medium of instruction, that they must be given priority, at least in the sixth to the tenth year of learning English. The methods used in the development may be brought into action frequently during the week's work because they provide such excellent language practice and such a varied use of English in a wide variety of subjects.

Extensive reading - the teacher's part. The most valuable part that the teacher can play in this aspect of the work is to stimulate interest and enthusiasm for wide reading. This is an easy matter for the teacher who has set his heart on it; but something can be done even by a teacher who does not know how to light the spark of enthusiasm. He can arrange for debates and discussions on favourite books and stories, he can read exciting passages out of books that his pupils may like, he can keep a chart recording each boy's achievements in reading, and he can encourage the quick pupils to carry on with silent reading when they have finished the set work of a lesson. By trying many ways of awakening interest, he will find that many of his pupils are forming the habit of turning to books constantly, and then his success is nearly assured. It is often sufficient to have one keen teacher on a staff who will stimulate interest in a school library to ensure that large numbers of pupils will borrow books and will read them. The force of imitation in a school is usually very strong, and once a tradition for pride in the school library, and for using it, is established little more is needed to get enough reading done by the pupils. And copious reading will provide for that constant and close acquaintance with the language which is essential where that language is to be the instrument by means of which the pupils are to be presented with new and unfamiliar ideas - gravitation, for instance, compound interest and geometric progression, the fixed relation of a radius to a circumference, hot air being lighter than cold, seed dispersion, the action of oxygen on the blood.

Extensive reading - further action by the teacher. In addition to giving general stimulus to wide reading, the teacher will need to do some focused work with his class. He will need to question his pupils on the stories they are reading or have just read; and he should do this, not merely to find out if the reading has been thorough enough, for that would give them little help, but to stimulate the readers in forming more vivid and complete pictures of the characters and scenes in the book, and in a fuller understanding of events, action and the motives of the characters. The result of his questioning, provided it is lively and pointed enough, should be to drive home the fuller meanings of words and expressions that light up a scene or reveal some action and its causes, and to deepen the interest in the story. In other ways, too, by getting his pupils to talk about the books they are reading, and to ask each other questions, fresh keenness in the books and in reading may be developed. Further stimulus may be given by holding school reading competitions and inter-school competitions, by having play readings, and the acting of scenes from popular books that are being read. Again, the effect of each of these plans may be small, but the general result of a public and staff interest in what the boys and girls are reading is always very great. At any rate to achieve success in this matter of extensive reading, and of reading for recreation in West Africa the attack must be made on all fronts.

The Teaching of Spoken English

The first few years of English. The evidence that a period of oral English should always precede the use of the textbook is accumulating: the results of Mr. David Anderson's research in China (see Oversea Education, volume XVIII, No. 2, January 1947), the success of two or three years' oral before reading in parts of West Africa, the success in teaching spoken French by the "Oral Method" in England, and experimental work in East
Africa, all indicate that oral should come first. Furthermore, the satisfactory command of sentence pattern and structures that research has shown to be achieved by Gold Coast pupils in Junior and Middle Schools must be partly attributed to the two or three years of spoken English that every child completes before the textbook is in his hands. During these years the simplest sentence patterns are used with countless repetitions, making use of a vocabulary of about 300 new words a year. This programme provides a useful basis for discussion on "When shall English be started, and how long shall the period of oral continue?" In this plan the pupil comes to school in his fifth or sixth (or possibly his seventh) year, and begins to learn English either immediately or in his second year of school (if he goes to a school under the Presbyterian Mission). So he has either two or three years of oral English only; when he leaves the Infant School, he enters Standard 1 of the Junior School, and begins on book one of his English course. The course is designed for oral work to predominate, at least for a number of years, so that a thorough basis of spoken English is established. His Junior School keeps him for three years, and then he goes to the Middle School. During the first year of this course English becomes the medium of instruction; this year therefore is his sixth or seventh year of English. This programme is introduced here to show how important are the three years in the Junior School for consolidating the oral work, and for laying a sound foundation of accurate reading and correct writing so that during his seventh (or sixth) year of English the teacher will be able to make use of English in teaching general subjects.

The Oral Course - types of exercises. It is not possible even to outline an oral course here for the first two stages, but the general lines of a sound course as a model might be planned by a conference of experts. In such a course the exercises giving practice in the Junior School in oral English would perhaps be graded more steeply in difficulty than those in some English courses written for African pupils; and probably these exercises might provide practice in description, explanation, and in other ways of handling the language, for these will be needed in the work on general subjects. Exercises of this nature can be made simple enough for Junior School pupils, and they provide just as good language practice as the monotonous use of the simple sentence question and answer type of exercise, if indeed not better. Exercises carried out as games can give good practice in the handling of language for various purposes; for instance in description the guessing game "What is it like?" can be used, or "What am I?" for younger pupils, or "What am I thinking of?". To secure accuracy of wording and correctness and passing of messages and instructions from pupil to pupil round the class, or in the playground, demands the high standard that provides good training, and it supplies the game element that calls out the pupils' best efforts. It might be advisable, too, to plan a closely co-ordinated course of oral exercises and language games for the Junior School, so that the few years immediately before the new medium of instruction comes into use shall have a programme of focused and intensive practice in English.

Preparation for oral exercises. Many oral exercises of course do not need preparing for, but all those that demand a long answer or some continuous speaking by the pupil should be preceded by a stage of preparation. Similarly, exercises demanding fluency or continuity or the use of a varied vocabulary or the expression of varied ideas or a large number of facts or of unfamiliar information, should not be given to classes that have not been thoroughly trained to carry out work of that kind: the training can be given by careful preparation before the pupils face the comparatively difficult task before them. The preparation may take various forms but nearly always questioning on the subject will do much to prepare the pupils for speaking about it. The more difficult the subject is likely to be for the class, the fuller the questioning should be; the less intelligent the class, the more questions they will need to help them complete the exercise. With good classes the questions should demand longer and longer answers as the work proceeds, as this gives the pupils stimulus and the challenge that will keep them interested and alive.

The oral course to be sharply defined. In all oral work in the teaching of languages there is always the danger that similar exercises and conversational work will cause inattention, or with keen pupils a lack of alertness. This is almost inevitable unless deliberate action is taken to avoid it. It is most necessary to make sure that the oral work is not just going through the same kind of exercises; but that definite training and help are given to the pupils. It can be avoided if exercises are fairly steeply graded in difficulty and length, and care is given to make them varied in subject. But the best plan is to focus the work on a particular kind of task, for instance, on giving instructions, on telling a story, on explaining how to do something. In each case there would be a definite aim and a definite situation to talk about, or to act as the setting for the subject of the oral exercise. It would be a valuable contribution to the teaching of English if a developing course of oral work were outlined, and one that could be in a young teacher's hands to help him plan his work so that it will not drift on through the years with the same kind of exercises, the same kind of tasks and the same methods.

The Teaching of Written English

The general programme for written English. Textbooks for the teaching of English contain instructions and suggestions for written work, but they do not usually give the teacher a clear view of the progress and continuity of the course, so that he can see at a glance what written work he should give at each stage and the exact purpose of it. The proposal that a general scheme of written work should be drawn up, showing types of exercises at each stage and their purpose, might well be worth discussing. A poor teacher would perhaps make little use of such a scheme, but in the matter of trying to effect greater efficiency in teaching it is best not to have
The next and later stages of written English. In the next stage writing is a powerful aid to correctness, especially with English, though with a phonetically written language a considerable amount of writing is not so essential. In this stage therefore the writing of exercises that have been run through orally will be frequent. It might be worth emphasizing, especially to teachers in training, that there is no other way which ensures that each individual has sufficient practice, and which provides an easily applied check on his incorrectness. In later stages writing will have the further aim of training the pupils to handle language in different ways and for various purposes — to give instructions, to write a report (say, of an accident, or of work or an errand carried out), to explain what has to be done (for instance, in repairing a car or clearing land for a farm), and to give accounts of experiments, to explain theories, causes and effects — in fact, to handle language for all the purposes and uses that are required in the study and expression of the other subjects that they will learn through English.

Written English in Junior and Middle Schools. There does not appear to be wide acceptance of the idea that written exercises should be graded in difficulty, and, after the stage of straightforward reproduction has been passed, should gradually demand more and more words and structures to be supplied in exercises by the pupils. In fact the idea that a thorough course of "controlled" exercises should be completed before any kind of "free" expression is attempted appears not to have been widely considered; instead, the most haphazard types of exercise are often given at all stages, without aim or continuity. It is very easy to build up a closely related series of exercises for each half year or term, and to construct them so that ample practice in the appropriate language items is secured, while the purely imitated structures are gradually reduced, and the additions, completions or changes that the pupils themselves have to make are gradually increased; the length of the sentences being slowly increased from week to week until the pupils are dealing with whole paragraphs. These exercises at first will be partially "controlled", and so they will be modelled on a given paragraph; or the additions or completions will be specified; thus phrases expressing place and direction can be added to all the sentences expressing action in a given paragraph. A developing series of exercises of this nature can prevent a good deal of incorrectness, especially as the new elements in each sentence may be simple. Specifying the new elements to be supplied by the pupil, and by keeping to selected types of sentence, prevents them from attempting to use all sorts of idiomatic constructions at first. There is thus some chance of the normal sentence patterns being established; whereas now in the written work of Middle School pupils the frequency of incorrect structures increases, instead of decreasing. Finally, much more thorough and intensive work could be done during the term or terms preceding the beginnings of "free" composition, so that "the bridge" from controlled to "free" writing might do more than is done usually at present to fix the habits of handling correct word order and subordinate clauses and phrases.

The writing of "set" compositions and essays. The fashion of setting "essays" to be written after the style of Lamb's is still prevalent in secondary schools in Africa, and it is likely that this influences teachers in other types of school. It is wholly regrettable that time should be wasted on attempts to train pupils to write with so-called "style". It should be obvious that the ability to write clearly, accurately and correctly, is a far more valuable acquisition than the ability to write gracefully or sententiously. Perhaps an embargo should be put on the setting of long compositions for pupils in their eighth to tenth years of English, and a stop put to the teaching of "essay writing"; there is not enough time, especially when the learning of other skills is so urgently necessary, to teach an achievement that is nowhere recognized as important except in schools. Nevertheless, there is a place for the longer composition in order to give training in the expression and ordering of ideas and information. This training should not begin perhaps until after seven or eight years of learning English; great stress should be laid on the teacher having very clearly thought out aims for each lesson devoted to it. These aims should often be strictly limited; for instance, early in this work a short series of lessons will nearly always be necessary to train the pupils to write with strict relevance to the subject, for irrelevance is a very common weakness in the written work of the older pupils. Another series of lessons should be given on writing with continuity of thought and matter: pupils' "free" compositions often lack continuity. It is likely that some detailed and clear-cut recommendations would do much to effect improvements in the teaching of written compositions in schools above the primary stage.

The Teaching of Literature

The use of simplified stories of great literature. We have to distinguish here between the version that
both shortens and simplifies the language and the story, and the version that only shortens language and story. The version that shortens, but does not simplify, leaves out words, phrases, sentences, passages and perhaps chapters, but does not change the words of the original. This distinction is important; because though the simplified version has the virtues of the story, the characterization, the social attitudes and the presentation of human purposes, impulses and emotions, yet these virtues are much watered down, and are so much the less effective, vivid and moving. The reason is of course that the language of the simplified version lacks the force, fire, expressiveness and vitality of the original. It is not the language of great literature, for most of the efficacy of the words of great literature has been drained away. Nevertheless these simplified versions have other virtues for young readers: West African pupils and pupils in other countries can read them easily enough to enjoy them, and may catch from them some qualities of fine feeling and a finer understanding of character. They will, of course, receive excellent language training from them in meanings, and the appropriate usages of words and structures, and these will be the more firmly impressed on their minds, the more they are caught by the interest and the excitement of the story. So too, they should acquire good reading habits and a love of reading from them. There is every reason why schoolchildren should be encouraged and if necessary persuaded to go on reading them. Indeed, it is essential that they do, quite apart from the fact that these simplified versions are an integral part of the English courses that are in use in Africa, which some teachers seem to have forgotten.

The use of shortened versions of great literature. These will make their special contribution to the education of African pupils in secondary schools - provided these pupils read them with attention and enjoyment, or are given that careful and exact training in literature that will secure for them the discipline of words and ideas that can be given by literature alone. But large numbers of children will leave school without having had a secondary school education. Are they to miss this introduction to the wealth and the penetration of great literature, with its vivid portrayal of character and motive, and the manifold concerns of human nature, and with its story of man's struggle against difficulty and evil, and its triumphant revelation of "man's unconquerable mind"? Clearly, this question is most important, and a decision to answer it might improve the education of the more intelligent pupils who do not enter secondary schools. For these pupils something can be done: thus a teacher might read effective passages to his pupils during their ninth and tenth years of English; or at the end of the week and at the end of terms, special readings might be given to the senior classes, or during the term, when there is a shortage of staff through illness, a teacher could read to a double class. It has been observed that very many of the pupils at the top of a senior or middle school are quite capable of understanding the originals of great literature, provided a sensible choice is made, and the reading is expressive. Though they may not understand every word, the good they would get out of it would far surpass almost anything else they get from their education. Of course, a good teacher will see at once that he must question the class on what has been read, asking the pupils what has happened further in the adventure or situation, why it happened, what made the characters act in such a way, and what we know further about them from this last episode. These questions should not be asked merely to find out if the pupils have understood, but for the more useful purpose of helping them to see more in the story than they could by mere listening, or reading silently themselves, and to assist them to build up the happenings in their imagination more completely and more vividly. In other words, the questions are to train the unaccustomed minds to be awake to the influence of great literature. This kind of training is especially necessary in countries where reading is not customary in the home, and where the resources of great literature are not immediately available to those who can enjoy them.

The selection of texts. Although great literature has been referred to, there are not many books in this category that are really suitable for children. There are a number of other books that may be classed as good literature, and also a large number of popular story-books of lesser quality that act for immature minds in the same way, and with the same values, as great literature acts for mature and critical minds. The adventure stories of our youth, read with unswerving and absorbing interest and growing excitement, with imagination afire in its passionate identification with the hero, and in its deep participation in his difficulties and in his noblest sentiments - these are the stories that will inspire youth with desire for noble deeds, will stimulate its imaginative sympathy to form high ideals, and will awaken its determination to follow a life of service and social usefulness. These are the stories that will be of value in the boy's upbringing at this stage, and then when he has learnt to enjoy these, he may look for and read the greater literature.

In the selection of stories there is one further point of special importance to be mentioned: literature widens experience. This may well be the most forcible reason for planning an ambitious reading programme for the West African pupil, who, like the London boy living in a poor street, knows his own district but nothing outside it, and often has really very limited experience, so that his ideas, his thinking and his interests are also limited. Wide experience is extremely valuable as a stimulus to the growth and development of mental abilities. Of these, imagination and the capacity to deal successfully with new ideas are perhaps the most important. The selection of texts therefore should have this in view, and the books of Henty, Marryat, Kipling, Tomlinson, Buchan, Melville, etc., all need to be considered for suitability.

The Teaching of Pronunciation, Tone and Rhythm

The standard of English pronunciation in West Africa. At present the learning of an acceptable
The absence of phoneticians and the lack of technical skill. There is one outstanding fact that accounts for the low level of pronunciation of English: few of the training colleges have a trained phonetician on the staff, or anyone who is competent to give teachers in training the technical knowledge that is so essential. The consequence of this is that teachers are not able to give their pupils the precise instructions necessary for them to make the correct sounds that they cannot learn by imitation; and so their pupils never have the chance to learn an acceptable form of spoken English. We have to remember that the majority of West African pupils learn the pronunciation of English from West African teachers, and once unacceptable pronunciations are learnt it is far more difficult to eradicate them than it would have been to teach acceptable forms in the first instance. It must be clear to all then that strong recommendations are urgently necessary. We know a great deal now about the ways of language, and we know that a special brand of "West African English" is developing, which may become almost unintelligible to English-speaking peoples, except to those accustomed to recognize the wide phonetic adaptations speakers make when they have been taught by those who do not know exactly how the correct sounds are made by the speech mechanisms.

Proposals for improving pronunciation. The following suggestions might be considered, and recommended if practicable: every training college to appoint a specialist in English who has had training in phonetics, and would give special instruction to training college staffs and to one teacher in every school, or to every teacher in Infant Schools; an Education Officer with training in phonetics to carry out inspections of the teaching of spoken English, and to help and advise teachers; the gramophone to be used regularly in schools (as it is now being used in many parts of East Africa), and special instruction at conferences and refresher courses to be given to demonstrate how the gramophone is to be used in the teaching of pronunciation; (this is very necessary, as the mere playing over of a record can effect very little); short lessons to be given by wireless at regular times each week, and these made use of by teachers (again, mere listening is not enough); the holding of speech festivals and competitions, as is done in the United Kingdom. All these would help to raise the present low standard. So too, special instruction is needed to make West Africans aware of the differences between their own "tone" languages, and the use of tone to express all sorts of attitudes and intentions in English speech. Similarly, the lack of stress of many West African languages, except perhaps under strong emotional excitement, and the consequent differences in rhythm, call for precise and well informed instruction to teachers.

The New Language as the Medium of Instruction

The main problems of learning - for the pupils. First, there is the problem of vocabulary; second, the problem of understanding new ideas and information in a foreign language; and third, the problem of using the new language to express and explain these new ideas and facts, and generally to give an account of them. It is perhaps comparatively easy to arrange for the learning of the vocabulary that will be needed for the new subjects: the necessary words can be collected, sorted and taught systematically; but the other two problems are not so susceptible of easy treatment. Nevertheless, it is probably true that if, during the years before English becomes the medium of instruction, it is taught well and thoroughly, and if the exercises giving practice in English are varied, in nature and length as well as in subject, the pupils will be ready for the teaching of the general subjects in the new language.

Training for the new medium of instruction. It would be best, no doubt, to provide a special programme of training for the pupils who in two years' time will receive instruction in general subjects through the medium of their second language - or it may be their third. It will be still more necessary for those who will receive this instruction in one year's time. The English courses in use in different parts of Africa either do not cater sufficiently for this radical change in the pupils' education, or do not concern themselves at all with it. It will be necessary therefore to make special provision for this along several different lines. Vocabulary has been mentioned, but in addition to what has been suggested, it might be advisable to draw up specimen lessons as examples to demonstrate to teachers how the special words that are needed for general subjects can be worked into a general lesson in English, and how they must be used and practised by the pupils. The reason is that few teachers realize what must be done to establish a new word as an active member of a child's vocabulary, though to be sure, not much need be done for the vocabulary of the linguistically quick pupil.
Using the second language in new subjects. English courses normally include lessons on geography, history, hygiene and the other sciences as part of the course for the learning of English; but though there might well be more of these, what is needed is a series of special exercises for these lessons. If each of these lessons is treated merely as another English lesson, introducing new words and giving further practice in everyday language, they lose their value as training and preliminary practice in the new medium of instruction. They should be regarded as introductory lessons. But above all they should contain special exercises giving practice in such work as the explanation of processes, the recounting of what has been told and the summarizing of what has been discussed. The teacher therefore does not concern himself only with the correctness of the language, but also with the precision of the description, explanation, etc.; so that he will not merely call on a pupil to repeat his sentence in order to correct his English, he will call on several pupils, if necessary, to improve the accuracy of the description, or to make an explanation more complete and an account more detailed. He will, in effect, be giving practice in language that is more purposeful and more closely focused than is usually necessary in his English lessons to those pupils. The difference might be described as the developing of skill in handling language instead of only teaching language. It should be an easy enough task for training colleges to give some brief training in this kind of work. This kind of teaching, which develops skill in handling language, fosters "the thinking in and with the new language" that is so necessary an accomplishment for the mastery of general subjects learnt in the new medium. On the other side of the medal, of course, we note what practice, what impetus, what precision, is given to the learning of English by its use in the study of general subjects.

The teaching of the vernacular may help the learning of English. Though this is not the place for this subject, emphasis needs to be placed on the value of teaching the home language to the learning of the second language. If children are taught and given practice in making effective use of their home language, if they are trained to describe accurately, to explain precisely, and to use their home language expressively and to care for a high standard of correctness in it, then this training will make a contribution to the learning and mastery of the second language. There will be a "carry over" because the elements are identical, the activity is the same and the medium of expression is still language. It will be seen therefore how great is the need for West Africa to take steps to improve the teaching of the home languages everywhere.

The General Teaching Programme

Alternative plans in organizing the teaching of English. There are wide differences in various countries in the year that English is begun; in parts of Asia, for instance, where English formerly was begun during the first year of school, it is now deferred until the sixth or seventh. But where the medium of instruction will be English at a later stage, the subject should, it is held, be taught in the first or second year of school. There will probably be little disagreement with this, because a good command of the medium of instruction is essential if the general education of the child is to give him an equipment that will be of real use to him, and not merely a broken, unhandy tool that will hamper his efforts to do good work. A language that will be the medium of instruction can, of course, be started later, after a thorough, though elementary, grounding in his home language has been first assured; but with that plan much more time during the week's work must be devoted to the second language, and much intensive teaching will be required in the first years of learning it.

A suggested plan. A plan that has much to recommend it would give (a) five lessons a week of Oral English during the first three years; (b) two lessons a week of oral, two of reading and two of writing during the second three years; (c) the seventh year would see the gradual introduction of English in the teaching of the general subjects (with a discarding of the Direct Method), with seven or even eight periods a week of English, increasing the writing by one, and if possible the reading by one; (d) in the eighth, ninth and tenth years there might be not less than five periods of forty minutes for English, of which two should be for writing.

An alternative plan. An alternative plan that might perhaps be equally successful would begin English in the third year of school, with at least five periods of oral English; the next three years would need seven or eight periods a week, with two or three of oral, two or three of reading and two of writing; the seventh year of school would be the first year of English as a medium of instruction and would need six or seven periods of instruction in English. In this arrangement much would depend on the vernacular teaching of reading and writing being sound, careful and very thorough; otherwise the success of the English teaching would possibly be doubtful. In both of these plans, and in others too, recommendations to administrators should emphasize that with less than five periods a week the success of the work of even the best teachers is endangered; but with eight or nine periods a week pupils have a chance of gaining a really good command of the language. It is, however, not of much value to allot more than five periods a week in the years when oral English only is taught, as it throws too much on the teacher, who often is a beginner or an older teacher of no great competence or ambition. It is difficult even for a skilled teacher to avoid monotony and loss of liveliness; furthermore, active and intensive questioning for short periods effects far more than longer time spent on the oral work with a lowered expenditure of energy and interest. Finally, we must note that the deciding factor will always be: in what year will English become the medium of instruction? If this is put later than the seventh year of school, the general standards of education in the country, especially at the top of the secondary schools and at the university college, will not be
The Problem of Equipping Teachers

The problem of English taught by Africans. As far as teaching abilities are concerned there is no problem here: Africans are well known by those who have seen teachers of many nations at work in the classroom to have excellent teaching abilities. Their liveliness, kindliness and sympathetic concern for young children, their cheerful and equable temperament and their humour, particularly fit them for work of this kind. Though there are other qualities that are desirable in a teacher, there can be no doubt at all that the African teacher is well fitted for his task, and is fully capable of performing the service that his country needs. The problem is not there: it is in equipping him for this service. It is perfectly astonishing to find that methods of teaching in constant use in English primary schools are often quite unknown to him, that elementary books on teaching language have not even been heard of by him, and that essential books on teaching English (such as Palmer's The Teaching of Oral English and Daniel Jones' standard work, An English Pronouncing Dictionary), which should be constantly in his hand and always on his desk, are very rarely to be seen in West African schools. It is also amazing to go to conferences for teachers and to refresher courses, and to find no classes - compulsory or voluntary - on the pronunciation and tones of spoken English. On the other hand, African teachers are more interested in linguistic problems, and in variant grammatical constructions, and are readier to appreciate differences of meaning that are solely due to alternative structures, than are the great majority of teachers of English in England (in Scotland it is of course different). The training colleges naturally have their particular and worrying problems, and these may be a severe tax on the energies and strength of their staffs; but something might be done. For instance, there might be some reduction in the number of lectures that would be more appropriate later, and a little more concentration on practical teaching problems: that is a matter for those who have been in close touch with West African training colleges to investigate. It may be that the courses for teachers should be longer, or that new entrants should have some intensive courses to improve their command of English before they begin the normal teacher training course; perhaps training college staffs need strengthening by the appointment of tutors who have specialized in method and phonetics. That might be the best way of raising the standard of English, and in the long run less expensive than any other way, but it is to be hoped that the work of training colleges will come under review, and that some recommendations can be made that will strengthen the effect that they are having on the standard of education in each country. Possibly a conference for training college staffs, or better still, a series of conferences, might produce measures that would eventually equip teachers more specifically for their heavy tasks of teaching English.

Can teachers understand the principles of language teaching? It is believed by some people that African teachers need to be given explicit instructions in teaching language, without proper reference to the principles involved, or that this reference should be subsidiary and much simplified; the reason being that a full discussion of the principles causes confusion in their minds. The main principles, however, are not all complex, and most of them can be explained in a direct and clear way; furthermore, experience has proved convincingly that African teachers, old and young, not only can understand these principles and their practical application in method, but they get much profit and a deeper interest from a fuller discussion of the theories and philosophy that are fundamental to sound language teaching. It is suggested therefore that teachers in training shall be presented with a clear-cut exposition of the principles of modern language teaching; though these must be closely related to the practical work that they will have to carry out in their oral teaching and in the use of the textbook. Even the few who cannot manage to understand the full theory would no doubt learn to understand something of the working of the language learning process, and would learn the reasons for some of their procedures.

There are strong reasons why more than bare instructions should be given to teachers in talks and lectures on method. An appropriate discussion of the main principles provides an intelligent teacher with some critical apparatus whereby he can test the soundness of the various methods and new applications of old methods that he himself employs; it also awakens an interest in the deeper purposes and effects of his work, arouses some enthusiasm for skilled craftsmanship, and helps to evoke a pride in sound and effective work.

The problem of maintaining high standards. It is inevitable that very many West African teachers have never seen the best methods being used by a highly skilled teacher, and so they never realize the full possibilities of a good method and what delight there is in the handling of one that is bringing immediate success. Furthermore they have never seen the nice adaptations that a really skilful teacher constantly makes when he is stimulating a class to purposeful activity in language. Then, as the years of a teacher's experience lengthen, his methods all too frequently become fixed, and unsound or ineffective procedures become firmly established. We also know that only a proportion of teachers continue with experience to improve in skill and competence. This situation is not confined to West Africa; it exists in all countries; but it need not be accepted passively, as it often is; something can be done to remedy it, or at least to alleviate it. To begin with, teachers' interest and competence can be kept alive by refresher courses, by the publication of teachers' journals, by circular letters, and by the maintenance of a small teachers' library in every school, or in one school in every town and village.
The Place of Language Learning in the Child's Education

Language learning in the development of intellect. Experience shows that a satisfactorily high standard in the teaching and in the learning of English can be achieved in the school and college system of African territories. That is a very great achievement, and the evidence for it, such as that of examiners in many examinations in the United Kingdom, is very convincing. But now that level has been reached it is time to look further, and perhaps more critically, if more than the few are to receive a really adequate education. First, we have to review the whole education of the child, and to examine exactly what the school is giving its pupils. We have to make sure that in every way the child is receiving a sound and well-balanced training: that physically, intellectually and morally he is receiving the education that fosters the full growth and development of his abilities, and fits him fully for adult life. We know that a child's intellect develops through the lively use of his senses, through his experiences in handling playthings, tools, instruments, materials and things of all sorts, through the comprehension and handling of new ideas, and through the active participation of his mind in all kinds of intellectual pursuits. Of these the training that he gets in his home language should make the greatest contribution to his intellectual growth; but his second language, especially where it is the medium of instruction, can also play an important part in his development.

Language training and its effect on the growth of intellect. Great strides have been made in English schools (though not so great in Scottish) in improving the teaching of the mother tongue. The training that is now given by good teachers there concentrates on teaching the child to use English for various purposes with skill, with expressiveness and with efficiency. This kind of teaching provides an excellent training for the intellect, and with the best teachers a stimulating mental discipline. Thus with the further linguistic training that they get in learning a second, and sometimes a third, language the English pupil who is taught by especially capable teachers receives a very thorough training in the response to and manipulation of language. And they have a training which tasks their intellect and all their mental powers, so that they are properly equipped for the acquisition and the handling of the many forms of knowledge in the subjects that they study. These pupils then receive a similar kind of training to that which is given by a classical education. Of course, the teachers who give this kind of fine linguistic discipline and training are far too few; nevertheless there is some evidence that the number in England is increasing. Unfortunately, West African teachers of the home languages have not learnt from the example that English teachers in England can give them. Furthermore most of them do not seem to be aware that they can make a serious and important contribution to their pupils' education and intellectual development. There appears to be no widespread and earnest desire to find out how the teaching of the African vernaculars can give a good mental training and intellectual discipline. Until African teachers become more aware of the value of what they can do in teaching the home languages, and until they have learnt to make the changes in the teaching of them that are necessary to make it provide a thorough intellectual training, the teaching of the second language must play that part. Thus at once we see the learning of the second language leap into prominence as a vital instrument in effecting a sound intellectual training for the pupils of West Africa, and in providing an instrument that will task the learners' minds sufficiently to make them efficient, active and capable of dealing with new ideas, learning new subjects, attacking modern technologies, modern science and the advanced techniques of modern mathematics.

Languages and the education of character. Just as the best teaching in England at the present time is effecting so much with the home language by the training it gives to the intellect, so this teaching now has learnt to play its part in the development of character. In a good English course in England the pupils read and act many plays; they therefore participate in the lives and social activities of many different "characters", and they thus have vivid experience of how people think and feel and act, and they become aware of what impels people to take action and to say what they do; they enter into the personal lives of many different kinds of person, and experience their joys and sorrows, their troubles, difficulties and triumphs. Thus their own lives and thoughts are deepened and widened, and their understanding of people becomes wiser and more tolerant. Furthermore, they read many books, and enter similarly into the lives of the personages they read about, and their own minds and feelings are affected. In addition these pupils are given many responsibilities for many things in small ways, and, though small, these are important enough to them to develop their feelings for social service and develop their powers of leadership and trustworthiness. Some of all this has been learned by African teachers, but there is still very
much that has not been understood, or made use of in African schools. Until African education learns to give
more thought and experiment to the education and development of character, the teaching of English must largely
fill that part. This throws much greater weight on to the teaching of literature and drama in African schools than
has hitherto been thought necessary. It is both possible and vitally necessary. Modern life and present-day res-
ponsibilities - of government, of standards, of education, of modern science and knowledge, the understanding of
economics and their relation to government - almost anything one can think of - demand not only the skilled tech-
nician and the well-educated man, but men of strength of purpose, of integrity and determination, men of moral
strength and high principle. The teaching of language must help here, but the chief concern must be in the co-
operation of all subjects and of the whole school life in order to turn out boys and girls who will be able to shoul-
der the responsibilities that confront them, and to carry out the tasks of a modern State that will inevitably be
waiting for fit and well-equipped persons to undertake.
APPENDIXES

I. Participants at the Jos Meeting of Experts.

II. The Use of Vernacular Languages as Vehicles of Instruction, both in School and out of School, and the related problems of teaching in Languages other than the Vernacular in British Territories in Africa.

III. Bibliography.

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APPENDIX II

THE USE OF VERNACULAR LANGUAGES AS VEHICLES OF INSTRUCTION, BOTH IN SCHOOL AND OUT OF SCHOOL, AND THE RELATED PROBLEMS OF TEACHING IN LANGUAGES OTHER THAN THE VERNACULAR IN BRITISH TERRITORIES IN AFRICA

(Note. The paper printed below was prepared for Unesco by the International African Institute for the use of the Meeting of Experts at Paris, November 1951. It was expanded and revised by the Jos meeting and we invite readers to send us any further expansions or corrections which the course of time may dictate, Unesco will issue further revised lists when such a course of action becomes justified.)

In drawing up this report the following sources have been used:

1. Linguistic material, both published and unpublished, collected for the Handbook of African Languages now being prepared by the International African Institute.


3. Articles in Overseas Education, Africa and other periodicals.


5. Information from individuals with special knowledge.

6. Census figures (to the nearest hundred) where available, also figures from local administrative officers collected in connexion with 1. above.

Where no figures are given it is because none exist or because those that do are unreliable. For the same reason it has proved impossible to give literacy percentages.

General

It is generally agreed by educationists and psychologists that a child should first learn to read and write in the language spoken in his home and in which his first verbal communications with parents and siblings takes place. When this foundation has been laid he can acquire a full command of his own and, if necessary, of other languages; without it, there is danger that he will never achieve a thorough command of any language.

The application of this theory to the education of colonial peoples was worked out and placed before the British and French Colonial Authorities by the founders and first officers of the International African Institute - Sir H. Vischer, Professor A. Labouret and Professor D. Westermann - as early as 1928. In 1929 Professor Westermann wrote that Africans "... would learn English better and more quickly if they had learnt to understand their own language in its grammatical construction, in composition, in reading and in debating; if they had learnt to think in their native language". (1) To this end the Institute, as one of its earliest tasks, devised a system of orthography and published a report on textbooks in African schools.

Pre-Primary and Primary Education

It is now the declared policy of the British Administrations that pre-primary and primary education should, wherever possible, be given in the vernacular languages. This policy has recently been extended to mass literacy and fundamental education schemes.

In practice, however, this policy has met with certain serious obstacles, the most important of which are these:

1. The great diversity of languages and of dialects within one language. Within comparatively small areas (e.g. the Bamenda Province of the Cameroons) there exist a number of languages each spoken by a few people and each frequently unintelligible to the people in the next village.

2. Many African languages have never been reduced to writing and therefore no material is available for other than oral teaching.

(1) Africa, II, 4 October 1929.
3. Where languages have been written, there is frequently no generally accepted standard orthography.

4. Among Africans who have become literate in English there has been certain opposition to the use of vernacular languages in education, on the grounds that their use will prevent the spread of Western ideas and culture, will impede the progress of the African and his integration into the modern world, and is in fact a retrograde step.

Educated Africans are, however, showing an increasing interest in their own languages, a tendency to study them, to engage in linguistic research and to produce original literature in vernacular languages. This interest has been stimulated by the literary competitions organized by the International African Institute, the Margaret Wrong Memorial Fund and others.

In view of the considerations enumerated in paragraphs 1, 2 and 3 above, it has been necessary to decide what language or languages in any area should be used as media of instruction. Here again certain difficulties have been met:

1. At first education was entirely in the hands of missions and the selection of a language in which to begin instruction was often haphazard, depending on the language or dialect spoken in the locality where the mission was situated. Moreover, the early missionaries were not as a rule able to estimate the relative importance of the local language, either in terms of the number of speakers or of its structural suitability for development as a literacy medium.

2. The choice of one rather than another language for educational or official use may induce political controversy and the exacerbation of nationalistic sentiments (e.g. the opposition to the use of Union-Ibo see p. 70.)

3. The adoption by different missions or organizations of different orthographies for the same language.

Note: A purely technical consideration has often contributed to the perpetuation of these differences: missions and other unofficial bodies who have set up printing presses and undertaken publication are naturally reluctant to sacrifice stocks and equipment in order to adopt a new standard orthography.

The present situation, as far as it can be ascertained, is set out in the following sections. It is, however, impossible to determine what languages are used in bush schools in remote areas, though the probability is that in most cases the local vernacular, written or unwritten, is used for the initial stages of education of children, and also by missions for religious teaching.

Linguae Francæ

It might be supposed that the adoption of certain widely used and generally intelligible African languages as linguae francæ in various areas would provide a solution of some of the difficulties indicated above, and these are in fact used in many areas: Swahili in East and Central Africa, Arabic in the Sudan, Pidgin English in Sierra Leone and parts of the Cameroons. At the same time, the widespread and increasing desire of Africans themselves to acquire a knowledge of English suggests that the use of African languages as linguae francæ, involving the learning of a second language by a large number of pupils, is at best a pis aller and may be an additional complication and stumbling-block to the acquisition of complete literacy.

Secondary and Higher Education

As is shown below, English is - or is becoming - the medium of instruction in secondary and higher education in most areas of British Africa. (In some instances experiments have been made with Basic English.) African languages are studied as secondary school subjects, while in the university colleges or centres of higher education advanced linguistic studies and researches in them are pursued.

REGIONAL SURVEY

NIGERIA

A. Northern Provinces

(1) Hausa-speaking Provinces

Hausa is widely used as the medium of instruction in primary education, mainly in Sokoto, Zaria.

(1) See list of sources at the beginning of this report.
Katsina, Kano and Bauchi Provinces but also in other areas (see below). The general procedure is that a four-year basic course is given in the vernacular (usually Hausa) followed by a four-year middle course, in the first year of which an intensive English course is given.

The Literature Bureau at Zaria, founded in 1930 by the Education Department as a translation bureau, deals with the production of Hausa textbooks for schools and also general literature. A fortnightly paper, Gaskiya, which had a circulation of 15,800 in 1943, is published and news-sheets in Hausa (Ajemi characters) are given away with it. The Bureau is now reorganized into the Gaskiya Corporation and has recently extended its activities to other vernaculars of the Northern Provinces.

In areas such as the Independent Districts of south east Zaria Province, where there is a considerable Christian population, it is probable that local vernaculars are used in Mission Schools. Fulani is used as a medium of education in Gombe Emirate of Bauchi Province.

Moslems in the Northern Provinces have to learn Arabic, which is the language of their religion and traditional culture, though not their mother tongue. In most cases, however, a mere modicum of Arabic is considered sufficient. It was suggested in 1947 that a school of Higher Arabic Studies was required, the germ of which already existed in the Northern Provinces Law School at Kano.

All secondary education in the Hausa-speaking Provinces is in English.

(2) Northern Provinces other than Hausa-speaking (including that part of the Cameroons administered with Bornu Province)

Hausa is used in some areas as the medium of primary education, but various local vernaculars are also used, mainly in mission schools. Kanuri is used in Bornu and Dikwa Emirates, the Yerwa (Maiduguri) dialect being regarded as the standard. The Sudan Interior Mission covers an area eastward from the Plateau as far as the border of Adamawa Province, and is also active in Ilorin and Kabba Provinces. All its instruction is in the local vernacular, but the rudiments of education only are given, the Mission's main purpose being to enable its adherents to read the Bible for themselves.

There is an increasing amount of low-priced vernacular literature available in Nigeria which is distributed through village agencies, and there are now publications in five local vernaculars, including Hausa and Tiv in the Northern Provinces.

All secondary education in these Provinces is in English.

Mass Education was started in four selected areas of Nigeria, increasing to ten in 1947 and twenty in 1948. It is controlled by the native authorities in the Northern Provinces and by African village committees in the Southern Provinces. Ages range from 14 to 35 years and the aim of the courses, which last four to six months, is to teach the participants to sign their names, to write, address and read a letter, and to read notices, news-sheets and receipts.

B. South Western and South Eastern Provinces

No one language, with the exception of Yoruba in the South Western Provinces, has the dominance that Hausa has in the north. There is a great variety of languages and dialects, and in some places no common tongue except Pidgin English, which has almost achieved the status of a local vernacular. But wherever possible the vernacular is used as the medium of instruction in primary education for the first six years. In those areas, where the diversity of languages is very great and where no lingua franca exists, the language of instruction is English. English is used also in secondary education.

In theory and to some extent in practice, the present educational procedure in the Southern Provinces is as follows:

First year - vernacular only;
Second year - vernacular only; a little oral English introduced;
Third year - vernacular as medium; English introduced as subject;
Fourth year - vernacular as medium; English as subject;
Fifth year - English used as medium of instruction for most subjects but vernacular used in translation and explanation;
Sixth year - English increased as medium;
Seventh year) - English as medium;
Yoruba, spoken in the South Western Provinces, especially Cyo, Abeokuta, Ijebu and Ondo, is used as a medium of primary education and taught as a subject in higher standards, School Certificate and Matriculation papers being set in it. There is considerable vernacular literature, both educational and religious, and there are several vernacular periodicals. The Yoruba interest in their own vernacular is shown by a series of talks broadcast from Lagos on "How to learn our language". Westermann, after a visit to Nigeria in 1929, suggested that Yoruba should become the school language for what are now the South Western Provinces, but that books for infants and religious literature might be necessary in some other languages, notably Edo. Edo, (Bini), Sobo and Kukuruku, which are spoken in Benin and Warri Provinces, are probably used to some extent in primary education.

Igbo (Ibo), spoken in the South Eastern Provinces, Onitsha, Owerri, Rivers and Ogoja, is used in primary education and has a considerable educational and religious literature. An attempt has been made to promote the use of "Union-Ibo" but it has not met with much success. Igbo is also used in pre-primary education in bilingual Ibibio areas and in parts of the Ijo-speaking Niger Delta, though its use is resilient there.

In the Ibibio-speaking area (mainly Calabar Province), the Efik dialect has become the "literary language". Three vernaculars are used in pre-primary education - Efik, Ibibio and Igbo (see above). In primary education the vernacular is used as the medium at first and English is taught as a subject from Oxford Readers. English is gradually increased until by Standards V and VI it is the most important subject in the curriculum. All secondary education is in English, for which there is a great demand both in Calabar Province and in the Ijo-speaking Niger Delta.

Mass Literacy schemes are in operation in Southern Nigeria. Work was started at Okrika in the Niger Delta in 1944. Many primers and a considerable amount of cheap literature have been produced in Yoruba, Igbo and Efik.

THE CAMEROONS (including that part administered with Adamawa Province)

The ideal is that among infants and young children all instruction should as far as possible be in the vernacular. The facts appear to be that, owing to the enormous number of languages and dialects in this area (often spoken by the inhabitants of only one village and totally incomprehensible even in the next village), Pidgin English is becoming a lingua franca. Most primary education is in the hands of missions and Pidgin is the medium of instruction after about the first year. Before that the local vernaculars, mostly unwritten, may be used. There is no literature in Pidgin, and English is taught as a subject and becomes the medium of instruction as soon as possible.

In the south, Duala is also used as a medium of primary education and an attempt has been made to use Bali (as was done under German rule) but it is not popular and is now giving way to Pidgin.

All secondary education is in English.

THE GOLD COAST (including Togoland under British Mandate)

The Education Rules of 1933 prescribe that the vernacular shall be the medium of instruction in infant classes, wherever the nature of the subject permits of its use.

In the south the four main languages (Twi, Fante, Ga and Ewe) are used in primary education as well as the Asante dialect of Twi and Adangme, and printed material is now available in all of them. In the west, Nzima (Nzema) and Sefwi are used in primary education.

In many centres (e.g. Accra, Kumain, etc.) the vernacular taught and used as the medium is not the mother tongue of numbers of the children. Difficulty in the use of the vernacular is also said to be encountered in some mining localities or in areas near large railway centres to which special types of labour have been attracted, and where six or seven different mother tongues may be represented in one school. In some districts children are already bilingual before they go to school, and it is now therefore intended to experiment with English as the medium of instruction from the beginning of school life.

Vernacular mission schools are to be found in remote villages in various areas. Instruction in these is entirely religious and is intended for those who are unable, for reasons of distance or finance, to attend the ordinary primary schools.

In the Gold Coast as a whole, a vernacular which is not the mother tongue of the pupils is used only where the language group concerned is both extremely small and also speaks and understands a more widespread surrounding vernacular.
The policy as regards the medium of instruction has recently changed. English is now taught as a subject from Year I and reading in English from Year II. The transition to English as the medium is made gradually between the middle of Year IV and the middle of Year V. All lessons (except vernacular lessons) are given in English from the latter half of Year V onwards, and it is the medium in all post-primary institutions. Vernaculars are studied as compulsory subjects in Middle Schools and Training Colleges. The four main vernaculars may be offered as subjects in the School Certificate, but they are optional subjects.

In the field of adult education there is a latent demand for literacy in English, but so far no satisfactory primer has been found.

Each educational body chooses its own textbooks. There is a textbooks sub-committee of the Central Advisory Committee on Education, which works in co-operation with the mission bodies.

A Vernacular Literature Bureau has been established and is managed by a representative body known as the Vernacular Literature Board. There is an advisory committee on orthography, together with advisory panels for each language group (e.g. Ga-Adangme); the Bureau has a separate office in Tamale to deal with the special problems of the Northern Territories. Financial provision has been made for the production and distribution of Laubach literacy material and Mass Literacy projects have been launched in most of the main vernaculars. Oral texts in Adangme are being collected and graded for use in such projects, and considerable progress has been made. The People's Educational Association, with aims similar to those of the Workers' Educational Association in Britain, was formed in 1949 and works in close association with the Extra-Mural Department of the University College.

THE GAMBIA

In Bathurst and the Colony, primary education is conducted by the Government, in the Protectorate by the Native Authority. For the most part, English is the language of instruction in the schools in Bathurst, where the African population is English-speaking. There are now more schools in the Protectorate than in Bathurst; some are the responsibility of missions. In these the vernacular, written in Roman characters is the medium of instruction.

A scheme for Mass Education was started in 1948 when broadsheets were issued in Mandinka, the language most widely used in the Protectorate. It was also hoped to issue broadsheets in Wolof, as there is a large Wolof-speaking population in Bathurst, and at a later stage in Fula.

SIERRA LEONE

Mende, Temne and Kono are used in the early stages of primary education in the Protectorate, and also by missions for religious teaching. Other languages, e.g. Limba and Yalunka, are used in a few schools, but no textbooks are available. In these cases, English is used as soon as possible as the medium of instruction. In the Colony schools Krio tends to be used unofficially in the first year of education, but here again English is used as soon as possible.

There is a strong movement for mass education and literacy, which was started experimentally in 1943 and by 1947 had been extended to include 54 towns and villages. A practical result has been that in one chiefdom the authorities are now putting up notices in Mende. The Sierra Leone Protectorate Literature Bureau exists for the production of books, chiefly in Mende. There is no standard literary form of the language as yet, but the Methodists, who have been most active in the production of books, use Kɔ Mende. Plans have also been made for the production of books in Kono and the scheme for mass education in Temne has so far made little progress.

In the Colony 28.99% of the population are said to be literate in English, but the rate is much lower in the Protectorate. School enrolment figures are 68% in the Colony and 4% in the Protectorate.

BRITISH SOMALILAND

Language policy has been affected by local opposition to the development of the use of Somali in schools at the expense of Arabic. Somali is used only for oral explanations in the early stages, Arabic and English being the only written languages. (Arabic is the first written school language only because the Somalis have refused to have Somali written in Roman characters.) A little oral English is taught in the second and third years in primary schools and it becomes the medium of instruction after the fourth year.

There is only one intermediate school but another is to be opened. The medium of instruction is English. Filmstrip projectors are used in schools and a Somali radio programme is broadcast twice daily.
THE SUDAN

A. The Northern Sudan

Arabic is the official language of the Northern Province of the Sudan and is used in primary education. Secondary and higher education are in English. The curriculum at the Gordon Memorial College, Khartoum, includes both English and Arabic, and higher studies, with the exception of Arabic, assume a thorough knowledge of English among the students.

Literacy campaigns on a wide scale have been started in the Northern Gezira and Kordofan Provinces and students from Gordon Memorial College, Badi Seidna Secondary School and the Teachers’ Training College at Bakhter Ruda, are taking an active part. Literature is being provided by the Publications Section of the new Division for Adult Education of the Sudan Ministry of Education, which was constituted in 1951 and incorporates the two existing publications bureaux at Khartoum and Juba. It is also undertaking the production of school textbooks.

Arabic is used as the language of instruction for the first eight years of school life (Elementary and Intermediate Schools) and in the lower classes of Secondary Schools for certain subjects.

English is started as a language in Year 5 and used fully as a medium of instruction not later than Year 10 or 11.

B. The Southern Sudan

The Language Conference which met at Rejaf in 1928 discussed the use of vernacular languages for educational purposes and formed a committee for the production of textbooks. It was decided that the following languages should be considered as "group languages", i.e. languages which should be developed and in which textbooks for use in the elementary vernacular schools of the Southern Sudan should be prepared: Dinka, Nuer, Shilluk, Bari, Lotuko (Lotuho), and Zande.

It was also agreed that both Dinka and Nuer should be retained as literary languages and that Shilluk should be retained as the group language for all the tribes speaking Shilluk, Anuak, Jur, Bolanda (Bor), Dombo (Bodho), Shatt (Thuri), Beri (Puri), that is, the Lwo Language Group, with the exception of the Acoli, who should draw their literature from Uganda (see p. 73). Bari should be used as the medium of instruction in schools among Bari, Nangiara, Mandari and possibly Kuku, and could replace Kakwa. Lotuho should be used for Lofit, Lokoya and Dongotono. It was suggested that Zande might well be used throughout the Bahr-el-Gazaal area and instead of Bor at Raffili; that Madi, a language of which the speakers are found mainly in Uganda and the Belgian Congo, should continue to be used for elementary education and that the dialect of Madi spoken at Moyo, Uganda, should also be adopted in the Sudan.

The position today is that the following vernaculars are used in primary education and textbooks produced in them: Dinka (four dialects, Padang, Bor, Rek, Agar), Nuer (Thiang dialect), Shilluk, Bari, Lotuko, Moru (Miza dialect), Zande, Madi, Taposa, Ndogo, Jur, Mabaan, Uduk, Anuak, Acoli.

Instruction is given in elementary schools (Years 1-4) in 15 main vernaculars. In ten of these there is a more or less satisfactory and growing amount of literature: in the remaining 5 there is a sufficiency of basic books to cover the first two years of the elementary course fairly adequately. Arabic has lately been introduced as a language in all Intermediate and Secondary Schools (Years 5-12). English is the language of instruction from Year 5 upwards and is first introduced orally in Year 2.

The production of cheap booklets for those who have learned to write and read in their own vernacular is being undertaken by the Juba Publications Bureau, which is also preparing pamphlets to assist mass literacy drives in Arabic. These are based on work already done in the Northern Provinces but adapted to local conditions. Pilot experiments in mass literacy in Arabic were recommended in those areas where a genuine desire existed or could be stimulated, where Arabic is commonly spoken or where the situation is such that in order to get any education at all a new language must be learnt. It is the declared policy of the Government that Arabic should eventually become the official language of the Southern Provinces as it is of the Northern. This policy is supported by the missions and it is hoped that by 1954 the government village training centres will be able to provide enough qualified teachers to introduce Arabic into the curriculum of village sub-grade schools.

Secondary and Higher Education are carried out in English.

UGANDA

It was agreed at a meeting of the Directors of Education of the four East African Territories in June 1946 that:
1. The main vernacular in each area should be the sole medium of instruction throughout the primary range (Standards I-VI), if it were sufficiently developed and widespread to justify the production of the necessary textbooks.

2. Local vernaculars spoken in small areas only should be used as media of instruction in the first class in their areas, after which children should be taught in one of the main vernaculars.

3. Since, for most children, not more than four years' schooling was available, there was considerable doubt about the advisability of introducing English as a subject below Standard V.

4. It was desirable to intensify the teaching of English in the first secondary year (Standard VII) so as to make its use as an effective medium of instruction possible from the end of that Standard onwards.

In 1947 the following vernaculars were accepted as educational media in primary schools: Ganda, Nyoro, Lugbara, Teso, Lwo and Swahili. In addition to these, Nyankole was to be allowed during the first two years in the primary schools in Ankole as well as Kuman in Teso District and Karamojong in Karamoja District. English was to be taught as a subject in the fifth and sixth years.

At present the vernaculars used in primary education are: Ganda, Nyoro, Lugbara, Teso, Swahili, Nyankole, Lwo (Acoli and Lango). There is a demand for the use of Madi, Dhopadhola (Budama) and Soga, but this has not been granted. It is also doubtful whether Karamojong is used, although it was one of the recommended vernaculars in 1947. Some other languages in which vernacular literature is known to exist may be used in mission schools. English is used in secondary schools, and Ganda may be taken as a subject in School Certificate and Matriculation. In some schools Ganda is used as the medium of instruction in the lower standards, English in the higher. Swahili is used in schools for the children of prison warders and police. Education at Makerere College is entirely in English.

The whole question of the teaching of English in primary schools was discussed again in 1948, and the final resolution of the Council amended the 1947 regulations concerning the teaching of English (see above). It reaffirmed that English must not be used as a medium of instruction in primary schools, unless in wholly exceptional cases, but laid down that it must be taught as a subject in Standards V and VII in all primary schools. Below Standard V the Education Department should impose no restrictions on the teaching of English, provided that it has no detrimental effect on general education.

A considerable number of modern school textbooks have been prepared in Ganda, Nyoro, Lwo and Swahili. The Uganda African Literature Committee has been instrumental in producing these, as well as literacy charts on the Laubach method, flash cards and posters. Literacy campaigns, using African teachers, have been carried out in Ganda, Gishu (Masaba), and Nyankole. The last area has been one of the most enthusiastic in accepting the literacy campaign and in attempting to stabilize its orthography.

KENYA

In primary schools the vernacular is taught, and used as the medium of instruction from Standards I to IV. Swahili is the vernacular in coastal and town schools, in up-country schools it is normally taught as a second language or as a lingua franca in Standards III and IV. It has been the medium of instruction in junior secondary schools, though now being rapidly replaced by English. English is taught in coastal and town primary schools from Standards III, and it has been possible in some primary schools to give intensified instruction in English in Standard VI to enable it to be used for the rest of the course. Schools can take the Kenya African Preliminary Examination in either Swahili or English, but the use of the former for this purpose is now dying out.

It was recommended in 1950 that Swahili should be the language of literature and of instruction in primary schools in towns and settled areas, and that for rural areas provision should be made for textbooks in the following vernaculars: Kamba, Kikuyu, Masai, Meru, Nandi, Luo, Luyia (Luhyas, etc.) and Dabida (a dialect of Taita), covering a course of four years, and in GIRIAMA, Pokomo, Galla, SAGALLA (a dialect of Taita), Taveta, Suk, Kisii, Tesioy (Teso), Galla (Boran dialect), Turkana, Somali and Tende for the initial stages only, after which Swahili should be used for literature while the vernacular continues as the medium for oral instruction.

In intermediate schools, both the vernacular and Swahili are taught and used as the media of instruction in Standards V and VI. English is taught from Standard V and becomes the medium of instruction in Standards VII and VIII.

The East African Literature Bureau is producing textbooks and reading matter for the use of those who
have acquired literacy in their vernaculurs. A Mass Literacy project was started in 1940 at Meru and about two
hundred women who learned to read and write visited the neighbouring villages and taught what they had learnt.
In 1949, in addition to other books, 2,500 primers were sold to adults. African ex-Service men are trained as
assistant welfare officers at Kabete near Nairobi to carry out mass education work, including mass literacy cam-
paigns.

TANGANYIKA

All instruction in primary schools has been carried out in Swahili, the lingua franca of the territory, 
apart from the first year when the local vernaculars may be used for oral work until the pupils know sufficient
Swahili. The only language used for written work in the primary schools is Swahili. English is now being intro-
duced into the Standard IV class of a few primary schools when qualified teachers are available. A number of the
vernaculars have some religious literature ranging from a single Gospel to the whole of the New Testament and
are therefore presumably used in some form of education by missions.

The demand for English is increasing rapidly, but until recently Grade II teachers, who mainly staff the
village and district primary schools, had not been taught English.

Categories of schools are given as follows:

Bush schools, using the local vernacular or Swahili.

Village schools, where teaching in the early stages may be in the local vernacular. English is not nor-
mally taught, but by the end of the course the pupils have achieved literacy and oral proficiency in Swahili.

Middle schools, where the medium of instruction in Standards V and VI is mostly Swahili. English is in-
troduced as a subject of instruction in Standard V, the first year of the course. English becomes the medium of
instruction during the course of Standard VII.

Secondary schools (Boys), where English is the medium of instruction throughout.

Textbooks and other reading matter are provided by the East African Literature Bureau. A Swahili pri-
mer for adult literacy work has been produced and mass literacy work is under the auspices of the Social Develop-
ment Department.

ZANZIBAR

Zanzibar is a Swahili- and Arabic-speaking area. A local African Literature Committee has been set up
and has produced some Swahili broadsheets in Arabic script.

NYASALAND

According to the Report of the Education Department for 1948, the question of language does not present
any real difficulty in Nyasaland. Nyanja is the lingua franca throughout the territory, and the Yao and Tumbuka
areas are the only ones in which requests for education in any other vernaculars have been made. The request of
the Tumbuka people has been granted and Tumbuka is the educational lingua franca in the Northern Province.

In primary education the teaching of English is introduced in Standard I when a qualified teacher is avai-
lable. It continues to be taught to an increasing degree in Standards II and III and becomes the medium of instruc-
tion in Standard IV, though this development is not fully implemented until Standard VI.

Nyasaland was chosen as the scene of one of three Mass Education pilot projects sponsored by Unesco in
1947. Illiterate adults were taught to read in the vernacular. Owing to illness and other difficulties this project
had to be abandoned in 1948, but the African staff was left to carry on mass literacy work. The Dutch Reformed
Church has also been active in this field. Financial provision has been made for mass education material and
reading matter, including a manual in Nyanja based on the Laubach method. Experiments have been begun at the
Jeanes Training Centre in the use of filmstrips for teaching reading in Nyanja.

The production of vernacular literature, which was formerly carried out by the Education Department, has
now been undertaken by the Joint Rhodesia and Nyasaland Publications Bureau. (See Northern Rhodesia, below.)
The Public Relations Office issues a weekly paper, Msimbi, with articles in the main vernaculars as well as
English.

NORTHERN RHODESIA

There are over forty languages in Northern Rhodesia, and for the first six years of school life instruction
is given as far as possible in the appropriate vernacular. The difficulty of providing schools in many of the smaller languages has, however, made it necessary to limit the production of subsidized readers and other textbooks to five main languages: Bemba, Lozi, Luvale, Tonga and Nyanja. In urban areas of mixed population, the school language is that of the majority of the children, for example Bemba in the Copperbelt and Lozi in Livingstone.

English is begun as a subject in the third year of school (sometimes orally in the second) and becomes the medium of instruction in the seventh (sometimes for some subjects in the fifth). The study of the vernacular continues, however, throughout the school course but, owing to examination difficulties, only Nyanja and Bemba can be studied for School Certificate. Some pupils take Latin as their second language.

Mass literacy projects are organized in most provinces and are controlled by the Education Department of Missionary Societies. Literature is provided by the Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland Joint Publications Bureau. This was set up in 1948 and took over the work formerly done by the African Literature Department. The Bureau aims at providing a joint series of standardized readers for both Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, at co-operating with British publishers, and distributing books on a commercial basis.

SOUTHERN RHODESIA

Ndebele and Shona are both used as media for primary education up to Standard III. From Standard IV most subjects are taught in English, but Zulu is studied as a subject, with Ndebele as the medium of instruction.

There are many Shona dialects and there has been considerable controversy over the production of a unified or "standard" form. Certain religious bodies have fostered particular dialects and produced literature in them, so that the particular dialect used tends to vary according to the religious denomination. Nor is there agreement between Government Departments, the Southern Rhodesia Education Department favouring the "new" orthography while the Government Native Affairs Department rejects it.

Secondary education is entirely in English but some vernaculars can be studied as subjects for examinations.

THE PROTECTORATES

A. Basutoland

Southern Sotho is the medium of instruction for the first five years, English being taught as a subject from the first year. From the sixth year there is a gradual change from Sotho to English as a medium, English becoming the medium throughout by the eighth year (except in Scripture), Southern Sotho continues as a subject and can be studied up to degree standard.

Mass literacy schemes are being considered and there is a small amount of vernacular literature, including works on Basuto folklore and four newspapers. There is a mobile cinema with a library of about a hundred films.

B. Bechuanaland

Northern Sotho (Tswana) is used as the medium for lower primary education, after which English is used. Northern Sotho may be studied as a subject up to degree standard. The Education Department has a modern cinema unit and a growing film library. A weekly paper is published.

C. Swaziland

Zulu, very closely related to Swazi, is the literary medium. Zulu Swazi is the medium of instruction for the first four years, English being taught as a subject from the beginning. English is gradually introduced as a medium from the fifth year, the change being complete by the seventh year. Zulu continues as a subject and can be studied up to degree standard.

(Note. Afrikaans is not used as a medium, and is taught as a subject in only one school - secondary.)

A NOTE ON THE POSITION IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

Northern Sotho (Tswana, the vernacular of Bechuanaland) is used as the medium for lower primary education in the northern part of the Transvaal. Thomga (which is spoken mainly in Portuguese East Africa) and Venda are also used in the Transvaal. Zulu is used in Natal and Xhosa in the Cape. Afrikaans is compulsory in the Transvaal but not throughout the Union.
The Northern Sotho group consists of a number of dialects and there is some controversy about orthography and choice of dialect.

English is the medium of African higher education throughout South Africa, but several vernacular languages, Northern and Southern Sotho, Zulu, Xhosa, Venda and Tonga (see Northern Rhodesia), can be studied up to degree standard.

Little information is available about South West Africa, but parts of the Bible have been translated into Herero and Ndonga (Ambo), which may presumably be used in mission schools.

**LIST OF LANGUAGES SPOKEN IN THE BRITISH TERRITORIES IN AFRICA**

The languages listed here are grouped according to the classification adopted in the Handbook of African Languages prepared by the International African Institute.

Languages which are known to be used in education (in schools or mass literacy schemes) are marked (xx); those on which no evidence is available but in which some vernacular literature exists, and which may therefore be presumed to be used, or to have been used in education of some form, are marked (x).

### WEST ATLANTIC LANGUAGES

| (x) 1. | KISSI | 35,000 on Sierra Leone-Liberia border. |
| (x) 2. | BULOM | Dialects, 200,000 in Sierra Leone, Sherbro District and coastal villages of Sierra Leone peninsula. |
| (x) 3. | LIMBA | 174,000 in Sierra Leone, between rivers Rokel and Scarcie. |
| (xx) 4. | TEMNE | 505,000 in Sierra Leone, between rivers Little Scarcie and Sewa, north and north west of the Mende (see below). The Sierra Leone Protectorate Literature Bureau is encouraging the production of literature in Temne. A scheme for mass education was started in 1948. |
| 5. | DYOLA | 19,500 in Gambia, also in Senegal. |
| (x) 6. | WOLOF | 28,500 in Gambia, also in Senegal. |

An important trade language, widely understood in Senegambia as a second language.

### MANDE LANGUAGES

| (xx) 7. | MANDINKA | (MANDINGO), 96,200 in Gambia; also spoken over a very wide area in French territory. The Yalunka dialect is spoken in the extreme north eastern part of Sierra Leone. Some vernacular literature: a scheme for mass education was started in 1948. |
| (xx) 8. | MENDE | 586,000 in Sierra Leone, much of the south eastern area of the Protectorate as well as in the south western part. Mende is used in primary education; there are several dialects and no standard literacy form, but the K dialect is used by Methodist Missions who have been most active in the production of literature. A scheme for mass education was started in 1948. The Sierra Leone Protectorate Literature Bureau encourages the production of books. |
| 9. | LOKO | 76,400 in Sierra Leone, in the narrow strip along the right bank of the river Mabole. Loko is closely related to Mende. |
| (x) 10. | VAI | 35,700 in Sierra Leone; the majority are in Liberia. Kono dialect, 79,900 in Sierra Leone. Koranbo dialect spoken in north eastern between Yalunka & Kono areas. Parts of the New Testament have been translated and plans for the production of other literature were put forward in 1947. |
| 11. | BUSA | c. 11,000 in Nigeria, Sokoto Province, Bussa Emirate; also in French territories. |

### GUR LANGUAGES

GRUSI dialects in the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast; also in French territories. Include:

| (xx)12a. | KASENA | 32,900 |
| (xx)12b. | BUILI | 53,500 |
| (xx)12c. | SISALA | 21,700 |
| (xx)12d. | TAMPRUSI | in the central part of Mamprussi District and on the right bank of the White Volta. |

MOSSI language group

| (xx)13. | DAGBANE | 179,700 in the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast, between rivers Oti and White Volta, |
and also understood by speakers of Mossi dialects. Dagbane is used in primary education and there is a small amount of vernacular literature, including parts of the New Testament. There is a small printing press at Tamale under the Dagomba Native Authority. Related dialects include:

(x) 13a. KUSASI 93,000
(x) 13b. MAMPRUSI 50,000
14. NANKANSE (GURENSI), 105,000 in the Gold Coast, north west of the Mamprussi and in the adjacent part of Haute Volta.
15. TALLENSI 35,000 in Zuarungu District, mainly in the Tong Hills.
16. WALA 26,000 in Wa District.
17. DAGARI 119,000 in the north western part of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast.
18. BIRIFO 40,500; the majority are in Haute Volta.
19. NAMNAM 8,000, west of the Red Volta, GURMA dialects; mainly in French territory, but include:
20a. KONKOMBA (KOMBA), 60,000 in British Togoland, north of Bassari.
(x) 20b. MOBA 72,000 in British Togoland on the Gambaga Plateau. Also in the Gold Coast,
21. BARGU (BARIBA), 18,600 in Northern Nigeria, Ilorin Province; the majority are in Dahomey and French Togoland.

SONGHAI dialects
22a. SONGHAI mainly spoken in the French Sudan and unrelated to any other language.
(x) 22b. ZARMA (DYERMA) dialect is spoken in Northern Nigeria; there are 12,400 in Sokoto Province. One Gospel has been translated and the New Testament is in the Press (1950).
(xx) 23. FULANI (FULA) dialects; spoken over a vast area from Senegal to Bagirmi; 2,025,200 in the Northern Provinces of Nigeria, also in the Gambia. Fulani is spoken or understood as a second language by many. It is used in primary education in some parts of Northern Nigeria, (see p. 69 ) but only to a small extent. There is little vernacular literature. The dialect of Kano and Katsina is the most widely understood.

KWA LANGUAGES

AKAN language group.
TWI-FANTE dialects, over 1,000,000 total in the southern Gold Coast between rivers Tano and Volta. There are 4 main dialects:

(xx) 24a. AKUAPUEM )
(xx) 24b. ASANTE ) (xx) TWI
24c. AKYEM
(xx) 24d. FANTE )

Twi and Fante are both used in primary education and can be studied as subjects in higher education; the Asante (Ashanti) dialect is also beginning to be used (see p. 70 ) There is a considerable vernacular literature, both educational and religious, in Twi and Fante and the production of books is encouraged by the Gold Coast Bureau of vernacular literature.

ANYI-BAULE dialects, spoken in the Gold Coast east of the Twi-Fante dialects, include:

(xx) 25a. NZEMA
(xx) 25b. SEFWI (NZIMA), which is used in primary education.
26. GUANG also used in primary education.
dialects in the central part of the Gold Coast

(xx) 27a. GA (GA) in Accra and neighbourhood; used in primary education and can be studied as a subject in higher education,
(xx) 27b. ADANGME inland from GA; now being used in schools.
27c. KROBO north of Ga and Adangme.
(xx) 28. EWE dialects, over 1,000,000 in South Togoland and in the south eastern corner of the Gold Coast; also in French Togoland and Dahomey. Ewe is used in primary education and can be studied as a subject in higher education. There is a considerable amount of vernacular literature in the Awuna, Ge and Gu dialects.

(xx) 29. YORUBA over 3,000,000 in Nigeria, mainly Oyo, Abeokuta, Ondo and Ijebu Provinces. A Yoruba dialect is spoken by the Igala. Yoruba is used in primary education and can be studied as a subject in higher education. There is a large amount of vernacular literature, including the whole Bible and several vernacular periodicals. The literary language is based on the Oyo dialect.

(x) 30. NUPE c. 326,000 in Nigeria, mainly Ilorin and Niger Provinces.
There are several dialects.
There is some vernacular literature, including the New Testament and part of the Old.

(x) 31. GBARI
   c. 154,000 in Zaria, Benue and Niger Provinces.
   There are several dialects.
   There is some vernacular literature in four dialects.

(x) 32. IGBIRA
   c. 147,300, mainly in Kabba Province.
   There are several dialects and a small amount of vernacular literature.

(x) 33. BINI
   (EDO) est. 90-100,000 in Nigeria, Benin and Warri Provinces. The New Testament
   and part of the Old have been translated.

34. ISHAN
dialects, c. 93,000 in Ishan Division of Benin Province.

35. KUKURUKU
dialects, c. 93,000, Kukuruku and part of Ishan Division.

(x) 36. SOBO
dialects, c. 108,000 in Warri Province.

Closely related languages are spoken by Erohwa, Evhro and Okpe.

(xx) 37. IGBO
   (IBO) over 3,000,000 in South Eastern Nigeria, Onitsha, Owerri, Ogoja and Rivers
   Provinces.

IGBO is used in primary education and can be studied as a subject in higher education. Understood by many Ijo (see p. 70). There is a considerable amount of vernacular literature in various dialects, the main recognized dialects being those of Onitsha and Owerri. An attempt has been made to promote the use of "Union-Ibo", a synthesis of various dialects, but it has never become popular. Mass literacy schemes are operating in several areas.

OTHER LANGUAGES OF NIGERIA AND THE CAMEROONS

Note. Many of these languages are still very little known and no definitive classification can be made at this stage, owing to lack of reliable linguistic information.

In most cases it is not known whether these languages are used in education even at a primary stage. Vernacular literature is almost non-existent.

38. RESHE
   spoken by very few on islands of the Middle Niger, in Sokoto Province.

(x) 39. KAMBERI
   (KAMBARI) c. 67,000 in Niger and Sokoto Provinces.

40. DUKA
   (DUKANCHI) c. 18,800 in Niger Province.

41. KAMUKU
dialects, 20,500 in Niger and Zaria Provinces.

(x) 42. DAKAKARI
dialects, 45,800 in Niger Province.

43. KATAB
dialects, 39,000 in Zaria and Plateau Provinces; related dialects may also be spoken by Kaje (24,100), Kamantan (3,600), Kagoma (6,100), Ikulu (6,000).

25,400 in Zaria Province.

(x) 44. JABA
dialects, 21,900 in Zaria and Plateau Provinces.

46. GURE-KAHUGU
dialects, 4,900 in Zaria Province.

(x) 47. IRIGWE
dialects, 12,000 in Plateau Province.

(x) 48. GANAWURI
dialects or languages in Plateau Province.

49. JERAWA
   dialects or languages in Plateau Province.

(x) 50. RUKUBA
   in Plateau Province.

(x) 51. BIROM
   estimates vary between 40,000 and 100,000 in Plateau Province.

52. YESKWA
   in Plateau Province.

53. NUNKU
   (MADA) in Plateau Province.

54. EGN
   " " " "

55. RINDRI
   " " " "

56. KALERI
   " " " "

57. NINZAM
   " " " "

58. LONGUDA
11,800 in Adamawa and Bauchi Provinces.

(x) 59. TULA
   19,200 in Bauchi Province.

(x) 60. WAJA
   19,700 " " "

61. LALA
   dialects, 30,500 in Adamawa Province.

(xx) 62. TIV
   (MUNSHI). 700-800,000 in Benue Province.

There is some vernacular literature, including the New Testament and Psalms. Mass literacy schemes are in operation and some primers have been published.

63. BITARE
   in Adamawa Province.

64. YERGUM
   29,000 in Plateau Province.

65. KUTEV
   (MBARIKE, ZUMPER), 15,600 in Benue Province.

66. MKOI
   dialects, 94,300 mainly in Ogoja Province.
67. **BOKI**
   Dialects, 85,700 in Ogoja Province and Cameroons.

(x) 68. **JAR**
   (JARAWA) Dialects in Plateau and Bauchi Provinces.

69. **MBEMBE**
   43,100 in Ogoja Province. (Not to be confused with Cameroons Mbembe (Izare), see below.)

70. **OBRI**
   8,600 in Ogoja Province.

71. **IYALA**
   22,500 in Ogoja Province.

72. **UKELIE**
   20,300 in Ogoja Province.

(x) 73. **IJO**
   (Ijaw) Dialects, 156,400 in Warri and Rivers Provinces, the Niger Delta. There is some vernacular literature. There is a strong demand for the teaching of English and the use of Igbo is resented. (see p. 70).

74. **LUKO**
   (spoken by Yakü), 30,000 in Ogoja Province.

75. **NSAW**
   (BANSAW, BANSO), c. 40,000 in Bamenda Province, Cameroons. Nsaw was used in mission schools before the war.

76. **KOM**
   (NKOM), 15,500 in Bamenda Province.

Note. There are countless other languages and dialects in Bamenda Province of which practically nothing is known. Pidgin English is used as a lingua franca, there are a considerable vernacular literature, mainly religious and educational, in Efik. (see p. 70)

(xx) 77. **IBIBIO-EIFIK**
   Dialects, over 1,000,000 in Calabar Province. The Efik dialect is the best known and has become the literary language. Efik and Ibibio are used in primary education. There are countless other languages and dialects in which practically nothing is known.

(x) 78. **OGONI**
   73,300 in Calabar Province.

79. **ANDONI**
   in Calabar Province.

(x) 80. **IDOMA**
   Dialects, c. 118,000 (figures unreliable) in Benue Province; includes the Arago dialect, Lafia Emirate.

(x) 81. **JUKUN**
   Dialects, 32,000 in Benue and Adamawa Provinces. Jukun is used as a lingua franca over a considerable area and into the Cameroons.

(x) 82. **ANGAS**
   55,200, ANKWE 13,500, SURA 20,100 (languages or dialects?) in Plateau Province.

83. **JEN**
   in Adamawa Province.

(x) 84. **MUMUYE**
   Dialects, 79,500 in Adamawa Province.

85. **NDORO**
   in Benue Province and the Cameroons.

86. **KENTU**
   in Adamawa Province.

87. **MBEMBRE**
   (IZARE) Dialects, c. 3,000 in Bamenda Province. (To be distinguished from Mbembe of Ogoja Province.)

88. **MAMBILA**
   15,800 in Adamawa Province and the Cameroons.

89. **CHAMBA**
   Dialects, One of the 2 "languages" known as Bali (89a.). Bamenda Province is a dialect of this cluster.

(x) 90. **CHAMBA DAKA**
   Dialects in Adamawa Province.

91. **VERE**
   Dialects, 10,900 in Cameroons and Adamawa Province. Others are in the French Cameroons.

(xx) 92. **BALI**
   (ngaa ka) Bamenda Province.

This language was used in education under German rule and is still used to a limited extent by missions (see p. 70).

**CHADIC LANGUAGES**

(xx) 93. **BURA**
   Language group
   72,200 in Bornu Province.
   Used in mission schools. There is a small amount of vernacular literature; the New Testament is being revised.

(x) 94. **MARGI**
   Dialects, 151,300 in Bornu Province.

BATA language group in Adamawa and Bornu Province mandated territory; also in the French Cameroons.

95. **BATA**
   Dialects, 23,000 including

(x) 95a. **BACHAMA**
   c. 11,000. One Gospel has been translated.

96. **CHEKE**
   Dialects

97. **HIGI**
   Dialects

98. **WOGA**
   and some other little known languages and dialects.

(x) 99. **TERA**
   Dialects

100. **MANDARA**
    c. 5,000 in Nigeria; many dialects in the French Cameroons. Includes Gamergu, c. 9,000 in mandated territory administered as part of Bornu Province.
CHADO-HAMITIC LANGUAGES

(xx) 101. HAUSA
spoken by over 3,000,000 in Northern Nigeria and widely understood in other parts of West Africa. Used in education throughout the Hausa-speaking provinces of Northern Nigeria (see p.69). There is a considerable vernacular literature.

102. BADE
c. 32,000 in Bornu Province.

103. BOLEWA
dialects, c. 32,000 in Bornu and Bauchi Provinces, including the Ngamo dialect, 17,800.

104. KAREKARE
39,100 in Bornu and Kano Provinces.

105. NGIZIM
39,200

TANGALE language group

(x) 106. TANGALE
36,000 in Bauchi Province.

(x) 107. KANAKURU
11,300 in Adamawa and Bornu Provinces.

(xx) 108. KANURI
dialects, total speakers probably c. 1,000,000, mainly in Bornu Province, Nigeria (also in French Territory). Kanuri is used in primary education. The dialect of Yerwa (Maiduguru) is accepted as the standard. There is some vernacular literature.

HAMITIC LANGUAGES

109. BEJA
dialects, spoken in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and Eritrea by Beni Amer (109a.), numbers not known; Amarar (109b.), 40-50,000; Hadendowa (109c.), c. 40,000; Bisharin (109d.), c. 15,000; from the Egyptian border in the south, between the Red Sea and the Nile. Most Beja-speakers speak Arabic also.

(xx) 110. SOMALI
dialects, spoken throughout Somaliland and in the northern part of Kenya; also in French Somaliland, Somalia and part of Ethiopia. Somali is used in the early stages of primary education in Kenya; in British Somaliland it is used for oral explanations only (Arabic being the first recognized school language).

(xx) 111. GALLA
(Oromo) dialects c. 37,000 in the northern part of Kenya; also in Ethiopia. Both Galla and the Boran dialect (xx - 111a.), c. 6,000, are used in the initial stages of primary education. Vernacular literature includes the whole Bible in the "Northern" dialect, the New Testament in "Central" and the Gospels in other dialects.

NILOTIC LANGUAGES

(xx) 112. DINKA
dialects, estimated total 500,000 in the Southern Sudan. Four main dialects (xx) PADANG (112a.), (xx) BOR (112b.), (xx) AGAR (112c.) and (xx) REK (112d.) are all used in primary education; Ngok (spoken on River Sobat) was also used for a time; parts of the New Testament have been published in other dialects. Vernacular literature includes readers and school books.

(xx) 113. NUER
Four main dialects, estimated total 260,000, mostly in Upper Nile Province, Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. The Thiand dialect has been adopted as the standard, and is used in primary education. There is some religious and educational literature. The Eastern and Western Jikany dialects were also used in the past.

(xx) 114. SHILLUK
c. 92,000 in Upper Nile Province, mostly on the left bank of the Nile opposite the Dinka. Used in elementary and sub-grade schools (see p.72). Vernacular literature includes graded readers, primers, religious and school books; the New Testament is in preparation.

(xx) 115. ANUAK
c. 10,000 in the A.E.S. (the majority in Ethiopia), on River Akobo south east of the Nuer. A beginning has been made in using Anuak in primary education, but vernacular literature is very slight. Note that Lotuho is used for the Anuak-speaking Pari (Beri) on Lafon Hill near Torit.

(xx) 116. JUR
(LWO), 21,100 in Jur River and Western Districts. Was formerly used in primary education, and is still used in mission schools, otherwise the Rek dialect of Dinka is now used. There is a slight vernacular literature.
and MABAN dialects, 30,000 ?, in Gezira Province, west and south of Kurmuk.

dialects (THURI, BODHO, DEMBO), spoken by small tribes on the western and southern fringes of Dinka country.

THURI 3-5,000, in scattered communities mainly along River Lue, south of the western Dinka.

Used in some Roman Catholic mission schools.

ACOLI (ACHOLI, GANG), several dialects, 209,200 in Acholi District, Uganda.

Used in primary education in both Government and mission schools. The dialect spoken by the Payira clans north east of Gulu is accepted as the standard.

Vernacular literature includes the New Testament, Pilgrim's Progress, and a considerable number of school books. Mass literacy charts are being prepared. The Use of Acoli for education among the Lango (see below) is encouraged by the Government.

LANGO 265,300 in Lango District and part of Acholi District, Uganda. Has been used in education both for the Lango and the Kuman (see p. 73). The use of Acoli is, however, favoured by the Government.

There is slight vernacular literature; mass literacy charts in preparation.

CHOPI (JOPALUO), estimated 5-6,000 in Uganda, in Bunyoro and Acholi Districts.

ALUR 80,700 in Uganda (the great majority in the Belgian Congo). Vernacular literature includes the whole Bible.

DHOLA (DHOPADHOLA, BUDAMA), 73,000 in Uganda, mainly Mbale District.

LUO ("Nilotic Kavirondo"), 725,600 in Kenya, in Central, Northern and Southern Nyanza Districts.

Used in primary education, Swahili being used later. The East Africa Literature Bureau is sponsoring books and there is a small but increasing vernacular literature, including the New Testament; the Old Testament is in preparation.

NILO-HAMITIC LANGUAGES

BARI and associated dialects, c. 177,900 in the A.E.S., on both banks of the Nile between Tombe in the north and Nimule in the south, extending in the south west into the Belgian Congo and into West Nile District of Uganda. Bari is used in primary education for all speakers of related dialects in the A.E.S.; it is replacing the mother tongue of the Lokoya (a Lotuho dialect) and is understood by the Luluba and by some Lotuho and Madi. Vernacular literature includes readers and other elementary school books, as well as parts of the New Testament and other religious books.

KAKWA a Bari dialect, spoken in the A.E.S., Uganda and the Belgian Congo, was used for a time in education and some books were published. Bari is now replacing it.

LOTUHO (LOTUKO) and associated dialects, 63,900 in the A.E.S. Torit District.

Used in primary education for all speakers of Lotuho dialects, also for the Pari of Lafon (Anuak-speakers) and the Irenge (Didinga-speakers). It is also understood by the Luluba. Some religious and school books have been published.

TESO 462,600, in Uganda, mainly in Teso District, extending into Kenya (Iteso, Itsio) in North Nyanza District (44,800).

Used in primary education in Uganda; in Kenya in the initial stages only. It is used for the Kuman (see below) in Roman Catholic schools, and up to the second year in C.M.S. schools. Government policy favours the use of Teso for the Kuman (rather than Lango). There is a possibility that it may also be used for the Karamojong (see below). There is very little vernacular literature. The New Testament has been translated.

KUMAN 55,900 in Uganda, Teso and Lango Districts, south of the Lango.

Used in primary education for the first two years (but see Teso, above, and Lango).

dialects, 80,400 in Uganda, Karamoja District. Perhaps used for the first two years in primary education. It is possible that Teso may be used in the future, in spite of a demand from the Karamojong for the use of their own language. Vernacular literature is very slight; parts of the Bible have been translated.

Note. The Dodos, c. 20,000 in Uganda north of the Karamojong, and some other small tribes, probably speak languages or dialects related to this group.
(xx) 133. **MASAI**
c. 219,400 in Kenya, in Narok, Kajiado and Baringo Districts and the Samburu District of Rift Valley Province; Tanganyika, Masai District of Northern Province.

Used for the first four years of primary education in Kenya, after which Swahili is used, though Masai continues to be used for oral instruction.

There is a small amount of vernacular literature, including the New Testament.

-NANDI language group.-

(xx) 134. **NANDI**
and associated dialects, c. 274,000 (including Kipsigis, see below), in Kenya, Elgeyo-Marakwet and part of Baringo Districts, also in Uganda, Mbale District. Dialects of Nandi are spoken also by scattered communities of Dorobo (hunting folk) in Kenya and Tanganyika, and by the Tatoga in Tanganyika.

Used in the first four years of primary education for most speakers of Nandi dialects in Kenya, and later for oral instruction, Swahili being the language of literacy. There is a small amount of vernacular literature, including the New Testament.

(xx) 134a. **KIPSIGIS**
dialect, spoken by 151,700 in Kenya, Kericho District, south of the Nandi, is also used in primary education. Attempts are being made at a Nandi-Kipsigis union.

(xx) 135. **SUK**
dialects, c. 56,500 in the A.E.S., Yei District (the majority in the Belgian Congo).

Used in primary education (the dialect of Aringa County).

More literature is being prepared.

(xx) 136. **BARABAIG**
9,000 in Tanganyika, Northern Province, Mbulu District.

EASTERN SUDANIC LANGUAGES

(xx) 137. **MORU**
MORU-MADI language group.
dialects, c. 23,000 in A.E.S., Moru District.

Used in primary education (the Miza dialect). Zande is also used in schools in this area.

There is a small amount of vernacular literature, including the New Testament.

138. **AVUK AYA**
dialects, c. 5,000 in the A.E.S., Yei District.

139. **KELIKO**
c. 6,500 in the A.E.S., Yei District.

140. **MADI**
dialects, 64,400 in Uganda, West Nile District, extending into the A.E.S.

Used in some mission schools. There is a small amount of vernacular literature.

141. **LUGRARA**
dialects, 183,100 in Uganda, West Nile District; also in the Belgian Congo.

Used in primary education (the dialect of Aringa County). There is some vernacular literature, including the New Testament, part of the Old, readers and school books.

More literature is being prepared.

(xx) 142. **LENDU**
c. 3,000 in Uganda, West Nile District (the majority in the Belgian Congo).

Used in primary education in mission schools. There is some vernacular literature, including the New Testament and parts of the Old, some readers and school books and a small periodical.

BONGO-BAGIRMI language group.

143. **BONGO**
c. 27,000 in the A.E.S., Western and Jur River Districts.

144. **BAKA**
c. 12,000 in the A.E.S., around Meridi and west of Yei.

145. **MOROKODO**
dialects, spoken by a few in the A.E.S., in the Amadi area.

146. **"BELI"**
dialects, spoken by a few, north of Moru.

147. **YULU, BINGA, AJA, etc.** A number of little-known languages and dialects spoken in the extreme west of Equatorial Province, A.E.S.

(xx) 148. **KRESH**
(KREISH) dialects, in the A.E.S, in the Raga-Said Bandas-Dem Zubeir area.

The Gbaya dialect is to a small extent used in mission schools. There are a few religious books.

(xx) 149. **NDOGO-SERE**
dialects, c. 30,000 in the A.E.S. around the Wau-Dem Zubeir Area (also in French Equatorial Africa and the Belgian Congo).

The Ndogo dialect is used in mission schools; the Italian (Roman Catholic) missions use Ndogo for the Kresh, Bviri, Golo etc. in this area, as it is understood by a good many non-Ndogo. There is a very small amount of vernacular literature (religious books and primers).

150. **MUNDU**
c. 8,000 in the A.E.S. (the majority in the Belgian Congo).

151. **ZANDE**
231,000 in the A.E.S. (the great majority in the Belgian Congo; some in French Equatorial Africa). Used in primary schools in the south western part of the A.E.S., as one of the "group" languages, for a number of non-Zande tribes. Vernacular literature includes the New Testament, readers and school textbooks, and religious books.
(xx) 152. DANDA dialects and Golo. The Banda dialects are mainly spoken in French Equatorial Africa, but also in the Dem Zubeir area in the A. E. S., where Banda is beginning to be used by Italian missionaries in their schools.

NUBIAN LANGUAGES

(x) 153. NILE NUBIAN dialects (Kenuzi, Fladija, Dongolawi, Mahas), spoken on the Nile in the A. E. S. from Meroe westwards and across the border into Egypt.

154. HILL NUBIAN dialects, each spoken by few people scattered on isolated hills in Kordofan.

155. MIDOB c. 18,000 in the A. E. S. (Darfur).

Birgid (related to Midob) is becoming extinct; most now speak Arabic only.

OTHER LANGUAGES OF THE ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN

(Many of these are little known and have not been classified)

(a) Languages of the Ethiopian border and the southern Sudan

156. DIDINGA dialects, c. 17,000 in the A. E. S., Didinga hills.

157. MURLE (BEIR), c. 35,000 on the Pibor river and the Boma Plateau.

158. SURI c. 4,000 on the Boma Plateau among the Murle, extending into Ethiopia.

159. BERTA dialects, c. 10-20,000 south of the Blue Nile (and in Ethiopia).

160. INGASSANA estimated at between 8,000 and 20,000 on Tabi massif and outlying hills.

(x) 161. UKUK c. 5,000 in Upper Nile Province. One Gospel is being translated.

162. GANZO spoken by very few, south of River Yabus.

163. KOMA dialects, on the A. E. S. - Ethiopian border.

(b) Languages of Kordofan and Darfur

(i) Languages of the Nuba Hills.

In this comparatively small area a large number of languages are spoken, each by a few people. Arabic is used as a lingua franca over the whole area.

KADUGLI-KRONGO language group.

164. TULISHI dialects.

165. KEIGA dialects.

166. KANGA dialects.

167. MIRI dialects.

168. KADUGLI dialects.

(x) 169. KATCHA

170. KRONGO ABDULLAH dialects.

(x) 171. KRONGO (KORONGO)

172. TUMTUM dialects.

TALODI-MASAKIN language group.

173. TALODI dialects.

174. ELIRI dialects.

175. MASAKIN dialects.

176. LAFOFA dialects.

KOALIB-MORO language group.

177. KOALIB dialects, including NGIRE, used by the Sudan United Mission in their schools.

(x) 178. HEIBAN

179. LARO dialects.

180. OTORO dialects.

181. SHWHI dialects.

(x) 182. TIRA

(x) 183. MORO dialects.

184. FUNGOR dialects.

TEGALI-TAGOY language group.

185. TEGALI

186. TAGOY
KATLA language group.
187. KATLA
188. TIMA

NYIMANG language group.
(x) 189. NYIMANG
190. AFITTI

TEMEIN language group.
191. TEMEIN
192. KEIGA GIRRU

(ii) Other languages (all speakers of these languages also know Arabic).

DAJU language group (also in French Equatorial Africa).
193. DAJU dialects, c. 20,400 in Darfur and West Kordofan Province.
194. LIGURI dialects, north east of Kadugli (very few speakers).
195. "SHATT" dialects, c. 9,800 south west of Kadugli.
196. FUR c. 170,000 in Darfur.
197. ZAGHAWA c. 41,000 in north western Darfur (also in French Equatorial Africa).
198. MASALIT c. 76,000 in Darfur.
199. TAMA, ASONGORI, JABAL, (BORORIT, MUN), ERENGA dialects, in Darfur; spoken by a few people.

UNCLASSIFIED LANGUAGES OF TANGANYIKA
(x) 200. IRAQW
201. FIOME 14,700 in Mbulu and Kondoa Districts, Northern Province.
202. BURUNGI 8,000
203. MBUGU 7,400 in the Paro mountains.

KHOISAN LANGUAGES

These languages are spoken by the Hottentot and Bushmen tribes, mainly in South West Africa and Bechuanaland Protectorate. The numbers of speakers are not known.

204. Bushmen 7-7,500 in 1926.
205. Hottentots 15,400 in 1926.
206. SANDAWI 22,600 in Tanganyika, Kondoa District, Northern Province. There appears to be practically no vernacular literature in any of these languages, other than a Gospel in Nama (Hottentot).

BANTU LANGUAGES

Note. The Bantu languages are arranged according to Guthrie. The different groups are not named.

207. AMBA (HAMBA) 26,500 in Uganda, Toro District (others in the Belgian Congo).
208. HOROHORO (GUHA) 2,600 in Tanganyika Territory, on the eastern shore of Lake Tanganyika (others in the Belgian Congo).
(x) 209. KONZA (KONJO) 73,700 in Uganda, north of Lake Edward.
(xx) 210. NYARUANDA 289,000 in Uganda, 5,300 in Tanganyika. Used in primary and religious education. There is considerable vernacular literature, including the New Testament and parts of the Old.

(x) 211. RUNDI 56,500 in Uganda (the great majority in Urundi).
212. SUBI 39,900 in Tanganyika, along the Ruandi-Urundi border.
(x) 213. HANGAZA 26,500 in Tanganyika, west of Lake Victoria.
(x) 214. HA 146,000 in Tanganyika, east of Lake Tanganyika. Formerly used in religious education by German missions.

215. VINZA (No figures available), in Tanganyika, south of the Ha.
(xx) 216. NYORO 180,600 in Uganda, mainly in Bunyoro, between Lakes Albert and Kioga (Choga). Used in primary education; vernacular literature includes the whole Bible.

(xx) 217. TORO 162,700 in Uganda, south of Lake Albert.

(xx) 218. NYANKOLE 387,500 in Uganda, east of Lakes Edward and George. Used in primary education. An adult mass literacy campaign is being launched on an experimental scale. Vernacular literature includes the Gospels.
219. CIGA (KIGA) 271,700 in Uganda, north of the Ruanda border.
220. GANDA 836,100 in Uganda (spoken as mother tongue mainly in Buganda, but widely understood throughout the Protectorate). Ganda is used in primary education and in some secondary schools. A mass literacy campaign has been extended into all counties in Buganda and into one county in Busoga. There is a considerable and growing vernacular literature.

221. SOGA 426,600 in Uganda, in Busoga.
222. GWERE 83,200 in Uganda, at the eastern end of Lake Kioga.
223. NYALA on the Kenya-Uganda border on Lake Victoria.
224. NYAMBO (KARAGWE), 48,200 in Tanganyika, on the Ruanda border.
225. HAYA dialects, 246,300 in Tanganyika and Uganda, west of Lake Victoria. Vernacular literature includes the New Testament.
226. DZINDZA (JINJA), 54,400 in Tanganyika, west of Lake Victoria.
227. KEREBE (KEREWE), 26,300 in Tanganyika, on Bukerebe Island in Lake Victoria, and on the neighbouring islands and peninsula.
228. JITA (KWAYA), 63,800 in Tanganyika, on the southeast shores of Lake Victoria. Vernacular literature includes the New Testament.
229. MASABA (GISHU) dialects, 243,700 in Uganda, 9,700 in Kenya, west and south of Mount Elgon. An adult mass literacy campaign is being launched on an experimental scale.
230. LUYIA (LUHYA) dialects, 653,800 in Kenya, 7,200 in Uganda, north of the Kavirondo Gulf. Luyia is used for the first four years of primary education in rural areas. The British and Foreign Bible Society reports that Miss Appleby of the Church Missionary Society has made a thorough investigation of the dialects of North Kavirondo, and, with the assistance of a representative committee of Africans and Europeans, has produced a standard form to cover the whole cluster of languages with the exception of Ragoli (see below). Vernacular literature includes the New Testament in the Hanga dialect and a Gospel in the Wanga dialect.
231. NYORE said to be about 300,000 in Kenya (but not shown in the 1948 Census), on the Kavirondo Gulf.
232. SAAMIA 37,800 in Uganda, 43,400 in Kenya, on the north shore of Lake Victoria.
233. NYULI 57,000 in Uganda, at the south east end of Lake Kioga.
234. RAGOLI 250,000? in Kenya (but perhaps included under Luyia in the 1948 Census), north of the Kavirondo Gulf. It appears to be used (or to have been used) to some extent in primary education, since the vernacular literature includes a small grammar of Ragoli in Ragoli (see under Luyia above).
235. GUSII (KISII) 255,100 in Kenya, east of the Kavirondo Gulf. Used in primary education in the initial stages. Vernacular literature includes the New Testament.
236. KURIA (TENDE), 27,900 in Kenya; the majority are in Tanganyika in the north Mara sub-district of Musoma. Used in the initial stages of primary education in Kenya.
237. ZANAKI dialects, 96,600 in Tanganyika, near Musoma.
238. NATA (IKOMA), 1,600 in Tanganyika round Ikoma.
239. SONJO (SONYO), 2,700 in Tanganyika, a small enclave north west of Lake Natron.
240. KIKUYU 1,026,300 in Kenya, in the Kikuyu highlands between the upper Tana river and the southern slopes of Mount Kenya. Used in the first four years of primary education. Vernacular literature includes the New Testament and the Old is nearing completion.
241. EMBU 203,700 in Kenya, south east of Mount Kenya.
242. MERU 324,900 in Kenya, north west of Mount Kenya. Used in the first four years of primary education. Vernacular literature includes part of the New Testament; the whole is in preparation.
243. THARAKA (SARAKA), in Kenya, on the north bank of the River Tana.
244. KAMBA 611,700 in Kenya, south of River Tana.
245. THAISO 12,100 in Tanganyika, on the north coast of Tanga.
246. RWO 13,100 in Tanganyika, on the eastern slopes of Mount Meru.
247. CHAGGA (CAGA) dialects, 155,900 in Tanganyika, on the slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro. Presumably used in religious education; Gospels have been translated into the Moshi and Machame dialects.
248. RUSHA 26,700 in Tanganyika, in a small area south of Kahe.
249. KAHE 1,500 in Tanganyika, around Kahe and south of Kilimanjaro.
250. GWENO in Tanganyika, on the northern slopes of the Pare Mountains.
251. POKOMO 16,400 in Kenya, in four enclaves along the lower Tana river. Used in the initial stages of primary education. Vernacular literature includes the New Testament.

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(xx) 252. NYIKA (NIKA) dialects - including Giryama and Rabai - 240,700, Kenya, in the coast area north and south of Malindi. The (xx) GIRYAMA dialect is used in primary education (initial stages). Vernacular literature includes the whole Bible in Girayama and two Gospels in (x) RABAI.

253. DIGO 27,600 in Tanganyika; also in Kenya in a coastal area from just south of Mombasa to north of Tanga.

254. TAITA (TEITAT) dialects (DABIDA and SAGALA), 56,900 in Kenya, west of Vol.

(xx) DABIDA is used in the first four years of primary education, (xx) SAGALA in the initial stages only. Vernacular literature includes the New Testament in Dabida and the Gospels in Sagala.

255. TONGWE 5,900 in Tanganyika, south of the lower Malagarasi river.

256. BENEDE 2,400 in Tanganyika, in Kigoma District.

(xx) 257. SUKUMA 1,200,000 in Tanganyika, south east of Lake Victoria.

Used in primary education. There is some vernacular literature, including the New Testament; the Old Testament is in preparation.

(x) 258. NYAMWEZI dialects, 349,500 in Tanganyika, in a vast area centred on Tabora.

Vernacular literature includes the New Testament.

259. SUMBWA 53,800 in Tanganyika, south west of Lake Victoria.

260. KIMBU 23,300 in Tanganyika, north east of Lake Rukwa.

261. BANGU 5,400 in Tanganyika, south east of Lake Rukwa.

(xx) 262. NILAMBA (NIRAMBA), 96,900 in Tanganyika, Singida District.

Used in mission schools in the early stages, and in religious education.

263. RIMI (NYATURU) 143,200 in Tanganyika, Singida District.

264. LANGI (IRANGI) 79,100 in Tanganyika, in Kondoa Irangi District.

265. MBUGUE 91,200 in Tanganyika, around Lake Manyara.

(xx) 266. GOGO 182,100 in Tanganyika, Dodoma District.

Used in initial stages in religious education.

Vernacular literature includes the New Testament; the Old Testament is now being completed.

(x) 267. KAGURU (KAGULU) 30,700 in Tanganyika, in the northern part of Kilosa District.

Used in religious teaching, mainly of old people.

(xx) 268. TAVETA 4,000 in Kenya, south east of Kilimanjaro.

Used in primary education. Vernacular literature includes the New Testament.

(x) 269. ASHU (PARE) 66,600 in Tanganyika in the Pare Mountains.

(x) 270. SHAMBALA (SAMBAAA) 81,100 in Tanganyika, in the Lushoto area north of the Pangani river.

Used in religious teaching. Vernacular literature includes the New Testament.

(x) 271. BONDEI 18,000 in Tanganyika, in the neighbourhood of Amani.

(x) 272. ZIGULA (ZIGUA) 75,600 in Tanganyika, south of the Pangani river, from the coast to about 100 miles inland.

273. NGHWELE (No figures; probably included in Zaramo), in Tanganyika on the north bank of the Wami river.

274. ZARAMO 119,300 in Tanganyika, in the Bagamoyo-Dar-es-salaam area.

275. NGULU 35,000 in Tanganyika, north west of Zaramo.

276. RUGURU (LUGURU) 92,400 in Tanganyika, in Morogoro District.

277. KAMI 32,100 in Tanganyika, south of Ruguru.

278. KUTU 14,200 in Tanganyika, west of Kami.

279. VIDUNDA 8,200 in Tanganyika, west of Kutu.

280. SAGALA (SAGARA) 18,500 in Tanganyika, round Kilosa. Swahili dialects.

(xx) 281. SWAHILI dialects, total speakers probably about 7,000,000 mainly in Tanganyika and Zanzibar.

Swahili is the medium of primary education in Tanganyika and Zanzibar, much of Kenya and some parts of Uganda. It is used as the medium of secondary education in Zanzibar and Tanganyika and in some schools in Kenya (where, however, it is largely being replaced by English). It is the lingua franca of the Uganda Police Force and is the language of instruction in primary schools for the children of police and prison warders.

The standard language is based on the Zanzibar dialect (Unguja) and there is an extensive literature, including not only religious works and school textbooks, but works of fiction, drama, biography, etc. As far as is known, Swahili is the only Bantu language to have a vernacular dictionary. Some poetry in the Lamu dialect (Amu) has been published, and more exists in manuscript (in the Arabic script). Books have also been published in the Mombasa dialect (Mvita). There are several periodicals published by Government, missions and private enterprise. Swahili is used as a lingua franca and trade language over a large part of East Africa, extending into the Belgian Congo (Ngwana or Kingwana).
| 282. PEMBA | 11,800, TUMBATU, 35,000 and HADIMU, 28,500, dialects, on Pemba and Tumbatu islands and parts of Zanzibar. |
| 283. TIKULU | (TIKULU) in small scattered settlements on the Somalia-Kenya border. |
| 284. POGOLO | (POGORO) 37,800 in Tanganyika, Ulanga District. |
| 285. NDAMBA | 19,500 in Tanganyika, north west of Pogolo. |
| 286. SANGO | 15,900 in Tanganyika, north and west of Mbeya. |
| 287. HEHE | 85,900 in Tanganyika, in a large area round Iringa. |
| 288. BENA | 75,400 in Tanganyika, south of Hehe. |
| 289. PANGWA | 20,500 in Tanganyika, on the north shore of Lake Nyasa. |
| 290. KINGA | 27,000 in Tanganyika, in a small area west of Bena. |
| 291. WANJ | 20,400 in Tanganyika, adjacent to Kinga. |
| 292. KISI | 2,100 in Tanganyika, adjacent to Kinga and Wanji. |
| 293. LUCHAZI | (LUCAZI, PONDÁ) 5,200 in Northern Rhodesia (also in Angola). |
| 294. LUVALE | (LUNDA) 68,900 in N. Rhodesia on the upper Zambezi (also in Angola). |

One of the five main languages used in primary education in N. Rhodesia. It is the medium of instruction in primary education and can be studied as a subject throughout the schools course. The Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland Joint Publications Bureau is producing books.

| 295. MBUNDA | 23,700 in N. Rhodesia, south west of Luvaile (also in Angola). |
| 296. NYENGO | 4,500 in N. Rhodesia, adjacent to Mbunda. |
| 297. LOZI | (KOLOLO) 67,200 in N. Rhodesia (total population of Barotseland estimated at about 328,000). |

The lingua franca of Barotseland and one of the five main languages used in education. It is the medium of instruction in primary education, and can be studied as a subject throughout the school course. There is a small but growing vernacular literature. The Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland Joint Publications Bureau is producing books.

| 298. MBOWE | 5,300 in N. Rhodesia, in a very small area adjacent to Luena. |
| 299. SIMAA | 8,100 in N. Rhodesia, around Lisheko. |
| 300. SHANJO | 7,900 in N. Rhodesia, on the Bechuanaland border. |
| 301. KWANGWA | 25,500 in N. Rhodesia, east of Lozi. |
| 302. TOTELA | 14,200 in N. Rhodesia on the east bank of the Zambezi. |
| 303. SUBIA | 3,000 in N. Rhodesia, south of the Zambezi. |
| 304. KAONDE | (KAHONDE) 38,000 in N. Rhodesia (also in Belgian Congo). |
| 305. LUNDA | 82,000 in N. Rhodesia (also in Angola and Belgian Congo). |

Vernacular literature includes the New Testament and much of the Old; the Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland Joint Publications Bureau is producing books.

| 306. MBWERA | 4,100 in N. Rhodesia, between Kaonde and Lunda. |
| 307. NKOYA | 18,600 in N. Rhodesia, south of Kaonde. |
| 308. PIMBWE | 5,000 in Tanganyika, north west of Lake Rukwa. |
| 309. RUNGWA | 5,000 in Tanganyika, north west of Lake Rukwa. |
| 310. FIFA | 53,300 in Tanganyika, on the eastern shore of Lake Tanganyika. |
| 311. RUNGU | (LUNGU) 24,000 in N. Rhodesia, 8,200 in Tanganyika, at the southern end of Lake Tanganyika. |

| 312. MAMBWE | 14,900 in N. Rhodesia, 6,800 in Tanganyika, east of Rungu. Vernacular literature includes the New Testament; a Mambwe-Lungu version of the New Testament has been published also. |
| 313. WANDA | (WANDIA) in Tanganyika, in a very small area south west of Lake Rukwa. |
| 314. MWANGA | (NAMWANGA) 10,100 in Tanganyika, 9,600 in N. Rhodesia, south east of Mambwe. |
| 315. NYIHA | (NYIKA) 25,000 in Tanganyika, south of Lake Rukwa. |
| 316. MALILA | 5,800 in Tanganyika, south of Nyiha. |
| 317. SAFAWA | 23,800 in Tanganyika, around Mbeya between Lakes Rukwa and Nyasa. |
| 318. IWA | 6,900 in N. Rhodesia, south of Mwanga. |
| 319. TAMBO | 3,300 in N. Rhodesia, south of Iwa. |
| 320. NYAKUSA | (NYIKUSA) dialects, 152,000 in Tanganyika and Nyasaland, at the northern end of Lake Nyasa. Vernacular literature includes the New Testament and parts of the Old. |
| 321. TABWA | (RUNGU) dialects, 18,200 ? in N. Rhodesia (also in Belgian Congo), between Lakes Tanganyika and Mweru. |
| 322. BEMBA | dialects, total speakers perhaps 250,000 , mainly in N. Rhodesia, (also in Belgian Congo), in a large area in the northern part of the territory. Bemba is one of the five main languages used in education in N. Rhodesia. It is used as the medium of instruction in primary education and can be studied as a subject throughout the school course. It is one of the two languages in which School... |
Certificate papers are set. It is also the lingua franca of the Copperbelt. There is a considerable and increasing amount of vernacular literature. The Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland Joint Publications Bureau is producing books.

(x) 323. BISA (WISA) 41,600 in N. Rhodesia, south east of Lake Bangweulu.
(x) 324. LALA 41,500 in N. Rhodesia, south west of Bisa.

The Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland Joint Publications Bureau is producing books.

325. SWAKA 12,500 in N. Rhodesia (also in Belgian Congo) west of Lala.
326. LAMBA about 20,000 in N. Rhodesia (also in Belgian Congo), west of Lala north of the Lukan-ga swamp on both banks of River Kafue.

Vernacular literature includes the New Testament and part of the Old Testament and Natives of the tongue are the majority in Portuguese East Africa.

327. SEWA 3,100 in N. Rhodesia (also in Belgian Congo) north of Lamba.
328. LENJE (MUKUNI) 40,500 in N. Rhodesia, south of Lamba.
329. SOLI 13,000 in N. Rhodesia, south east of Lenje.
(xx) 330. ILA 18,700 in N. Rhodesia, on both banks of River Kafue south west of Lenje.

Vernacular literature includes the New Testament and part of the Old Testament. The Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland Joint Publications Bureau is producing books.

(xx) 331. TONGA (1) dialects, 98,000 in N. and S. Rhodesia, in a large area on the middle Zambezi.

One of the five main languages used in education in N. Rhodesia. It is the medium of instruction in primary education, and can be studied as a subject throughout the school course. There is a growing vernacular literature.

(x) 332. MANDA 25,000 (including MPOTO, see below) in Tanganyika, in a small area on the north eastern shore of Lake Nyasa.
333. MATENGO 26,000 in Tanganyika, east of Lake Nyasa on the upper Rovuma river.
(xx) 334. MPOTO (included in MANDA above), in Tanganyika, on the eastern shore of Lake Nyasa.
(xx) 335. TONGA (SISKA) 50,400 in Nyasaland, along the western shore of Lake Nyasa.
(xx) 336. TUMBUKA dialects, including KARANGA (HENGÂ), 156,000 in Nyasaland and N. Rhodesia.

Tumbuka is used in primary education in the Northern Province of Nyasaland. There is a small but growing vernacular literature.

(xx) 337. NYANJA dialects, including MANGANJA, 312,500, together with CEWA, 654,500, in Nyasaland and N. Rhodesia (and extending into Portuguese East Africa, in a wide area mainly to the east and south of Lake Nyasa.)

Nyanja is the lingua franca throughout Nyasaland and the most important of the vernaculars used in education (see YAO and TUMBUKA). It is the medium of instruction in primary education and can be studied as a subject throughout the school course. School Certificate papers are set in Nyanja.

The Bible, or portions of it, have been published in several dialects, but a "Union" version of the Bible, published as early as 1901, and subsequently revised, is intended to supersede versions in other dialects. There is a growing amount of other vernacular literature.

(xx) 338. NSENGA c. 37,000 in N. Rhodesia, on the Loangwa river above its confluence with the Zambezi.

Used in education in sub-standard schools.

Vernacular literature includes the New Testament; the Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland Joint Publications Bureau is producing books in Nsenga.

339. KUNDA 27,000 in N. Rhodesia; also in S. Rhodesia (and in Portuguese East Africa), south and north west of Nsenga.
340. RUE (No figures available), in S. Rhodesia (also Portuguese East Africa).
341. NDENGEREKO 42,100 in Tanganyika, on the coast south of Dar-es-salaam.
342. RUFJI 60,500 in Tanganyika, on both banks of the lower Rufiji river.
343. MATUMBI 23,800 in Tanganyika, on the coast south of the Rufiji delta.
344. NGINDO 53,100 in Tanganyika, south west of Rufiji and Matumbi.
345. MBUNGA 17,800 in Tanganyika, north west of Ngindo.
(xx) 346. YAO 281,200 in Nyasaland, 78,300 in Tanganyika (also in Portuguese East Africa), in a large area stretching from Lake Nyasa in the south across River Rovuma in the north. Used as a medium of primary education in the Yao-speaking part of Nyasaland. Vernacular literature includes the whole Bible.

(x) 347. MWERA 76,800 in Tanganyika, south east of Ngindo as far as the coast.
348. MAKONDE 144,200 (including NDONDE), in Tanganyika, in a coastal area from north of Lindo to the mouth of the Rovuma, extending inland as far as Masasi.
349. NDONDE (See Makonde), in Tanganyika, south of Makonde.
(x) 350. MAKUA c. 75,000 in Tanganyika (the majority in Portuguese East Africa), inland from Makonde and Ndonde.

(1) To be distinguished from Tonga (Siska) of Nyasaland and from Thonga (No. 368 and see footnote to p. 89).
351. NGULU (MIHAVARI), 379,700 in Nyasaland (also in Portuguese East Africa), south west of Makua.

(xx) 352. KWANYAMA (HUMBA), c. 100,000 in S.W. Africa and Angola, mainly east of the middle Okovango river.
Used in education in mission schools in S.W. Africa.
Vernacular literature includes the New Testament.

(x) 353. WDONGA (AMBO) c. 200,000 in S.W. Africa, 9,100 in N. Rhodesia.
Vernacular literature includes the New Testament and much of the Old.

(xx) 354. HERERO dialects, c. 33,000 in S.W. Africa.
Vernacular literature includes the New Testament, a number of religious booklets, readers, etc.

355. YEEI (YEYE) in Bechuanaland, on the lower Okovango river.

(xx) 356. VENDA 175,000 in the Union of S. Africa and S. Rhodesia, on both banks of the middle Limpopo river.
Used in primary and religious education by missions.
Vernacular literature includes the whole Bible; there is a grammar in the vernacular.

(xx) 357. TSWANA (CWANA, CHUANA) (Northern SOTHO), c. 500,000 in the Union of S. Africa, also in Bechuanaland and S. Rhodesia.
Used as the medium of instruction in lower primary education, and can be studied as a subject up to degree standard. There is a considerable vernacular literature, including the whole Bible, and a weekly paper.

(xx) 358. SOTHO (SUTHU, SUTO) (Southern SOTHO), c. 800,000 in Basutoland and adjoining areas.
Used as the medium of instruction up to Standard VI, and can be studied as a subject up to degree standard.
Vernacular literature includes the whole Bible, works on Basuto folklore, and four newspapers.

(x) 359. PEDI c. 500,000 in S. Africa, in an area centred on Johannesburg.

(xx) 360. XHOSA c. 1,700,000 in S. Africa, in the eastern part of Cape Province.
Used as the medium of instruction in primary education, and can be studied as a subject up to degree standard.
There is a considerable vernacular literature.

(xx) 361. ZULU over 2,000,000 in S. Africa, mainly in Natal; the Ngoni dialect is spoken in scattered areas in Nyasaland, N. Rhodesia and even Tanganyika (also Portuguese East Africa). Used in education throughout Natal, also in the south eastern Transvaal.
It is the literary language of parts of S. Rhodesia, and of Swaziland. It is the medium of instruction in Zulu-speaking areas for primary education, and can be studied as a subject up to degree standard. Standard Zulu is based on the form spoken in Zululand proper, with contributions from that of the Natal area.
There is a considerable vernacular literature.

(xx) 362. NDEBELE in S. Rhodesia,
Used as the medium of primary education up to Standard III. In higher standards Zulu is taught, but the medium of instruction (for this subject only) remains Ndebele, English being the medium of instruction for other subjects.
There is some vernacular literature,
c. 153,000 in Swaziland and adjacent territory to the north and west.

(xx) 363. SWAZI Used as the medium of instruction in lower primary education (Zulu being the accepted literary language).
Vernacular literature includes the New Testament.

(xx) 364. SHONA (including KOREKORE, ZEZURU, MANYIKA, NDAU and KARANGA), c. 1,000,000 in Southern Rhodesia.
Used as the medium of instruction in primary education up to Standard III.
Vernacular literature, especially religious, has been produced in a number of dialects; the New Testament and parts of the Old in "Union" Shona.

365. KALANGA 30,000 ? in S. Rhodesia.

(x) 366. TSWA dialects, 500,000 ? in S. Rhodesia and Portuguese East Africa.

367. GWAMBA in the Transvaal and Portuguese East Africa.

(xx) 368. THONGA dialects (THONGA-SHANGAAN) c. 750,000 in the Transvaal. (1)
Used in lower primary education. There is some vernacular literature, including the Bible.

(x) 369. RONGA in Transvaal and Portuguese East Africa, on the coast south of Lourenço Marques.
Vernacular literature includes the Bible.

(1) To be distinguished from Tonga of N. and S. Rhodesia, Tonga of Nyasaland, and Tonga of Portuguese East Africa. Note that Tsonga is one of the Thonga dialects.

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LITERATURE BUREAUX

Nigeria

The Gaskiya Corporation, Zaria. (Hausa and other vernaculars of the Northern Provinces.)

Gold Coast

The Gold Coast Bureau of Vernacular Literature, Accra.

Sierra Leone

The Sierra Leone Protectorate Literature Bureau, Bo.

The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan

The Publications Section of the Division for Adult Education of the Sudan Ministry of Education was constituted at the beginning of 1951 and incorporates the two existing publications bureaux at Khartoum and Juba.

Uganda

The East Africa Literature Committee, Nairobi.
The Uganda African Literature Committee.

Kenya

The East Africa Literature Committee, Nairobi.

Tanganyika

The East Africa Literature Committee, Nairobi.

Zanzibar

A local African literature committee has been set up.

Nyasaland

The Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland Joint Publications Bureau, Lusaka.

Northern Rhodesia

The Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland Joint Publications Bureau, Lusaka.

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Professor Gurrey was for many years Head of the Division of English Teaching, University of London Institute of Education. From 1949 to 1951 he carried out research in the teaching of English in the Gold Coast as Professor of English, University College of the Gold Coast.
APPENDIX III

BIBLIOGRAPHY


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