TRILINGUALISM IN LANGUAGE PLANNING FOR EDUCATION

IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

by Professor C.M.B. ERANN
University of Maiduguri
Nigeria

Note: The views expressed are those of the author and do not necessarily represent the views of Unesco.
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TRILINGUALISM IN LANGUAGE PLANNING FOR EDUCATION IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

by C.M.B. Brann

Educational Planning and Language Planning

It is sometimes assumed that educational planning is an entirely new area of activity. That this is not so can be seen in the systematic activities, regarding educational outcomes, of state and church (meaning by church any organized religion) throughout recorded history. For millennia, systematic education had been under the control and guidance of the religious; but with the advent of the nation-state, controls passed over to secular government. Systematic mass planning of education is a relatively recent activity and is seen as essential in the 'modern' state - hence the institution of ministries of public instruction in the 19th century. What is novel in the postbellum years - the 1920's in the East and the 1950's in the West - if the perception of education as an economic commodity, which ought to be controlled at the stage of economic planning. Unesco's pioneering activities in this field started with the Educational Planning Division in its Secretariat from 1959, followed by the foundation of the International Institute for Educational Planning in 1965 to advise its Member States, at their request, in their problems of educational planning, in the form of missions to these states, or participation in seminars and courses for their specialized personnel.

As in the case of educational planning, language planning may be said to have existed long before the expression. Again, both church and state are the originators, in recorded history, by standardizing and increasing language (corpus) systematically (church), and by spreading it politically and socially (state). The recent history of the nation-states of the West would be unthinkable without the concomitance of language spread (Cooper 1979), generally the expansion of a national language at the expense of 'minor' languages or dialects, by Calvet (1974) called piettophagy.

What is novel in this process is to see it as a concerted, systematic effort of politicians, administrators, educationists and linguists, to lay down not only the foundations, but to elaborate the details of the language-planning process, and to give the responsibility for this to central planning authorities in the public sector. Language planning is thus seen as an integral part of socio-economic development. This concerted activity started, like educational planning, in the East (USSR) in the 20's, and in the West in the 50's. Here also Unesco gave a lead with the complementary conferences of 1951 in Paris - on the Use of Vernacular Languages in Education - and of 1955 in Jos (Nigeria) - on African Languages and English in Education (1).

But since this was a time when many countries of Asia and Africa were still under colonial administration, its work in this field could not be continued, and could only be resumed in the late 1960's. In the meantime, many of the new States, had transformed former language committees and literacy bureaux into language-planning agencies, to be discussed below.

Whether language planning is here seen as part of the process of educational planning, or part of national planning centrally, is a matter of emphasis, which will differ from one country to another. In many multilingual and multiethnic African states, the national language question as such has been carefully eschewed, or
treated with great caution, because of its potentially divisive impact — as seen in the case of India after its independence (Das Gupta 1972). In multilingual states in Africa south of the Sahara, language-planning is generally seen as part of educational planning and subordinated to educational outcomes and goals. This is logical, since all language development is bound to take place through the rising generations, the training of which is the responsibility of the schools. It is somewhat different in rare cases of ethnically and linguistically homogeneous, or predominantly homoethic states, or in states where a language of ancient cultural tradition had the de facto lead over others: in these cases — Ethiopia, Madagascar, Tanzania, Rwanda, Sudan, Somalia etc., the language question could be solved politically, i.e. centrally by government. Yet even in these instances, it will be seen that state language planning agencies are generally a part of, or attached to, Ministries of Education, showing the intimate relationship between language planning and educational planning.

Educational Planning and Curriculum Development.

Since the 1961 Conference of African States on Education at Addis Ababa (2), there has been tremendous activity in education throughout the African continent. Educational planning was first and foremost seen as a type of economic planning, in terms of rapid manpower development, on the basis of which the new African states could update their structures. The plans of the Conference dealt with quantities, though they gave general guidelines for curriculum development also. Whereas the educational structures were immediately enlarged by the States, as a result of the recommendations of the Conference, the content could only be changed after a long process of study and consultation which, starting in the sixties, is still continuing. It was in the 70's that far-reaching reforms in structure and content were first promulgated by most States, including the fundamental issue of the medium of instruction (1). It is a matter of record that of the many educational planning missions requested of Unesco by States participating in the Conference, only a few explicitly dealt with the medium of instruction, especially in cases where, as in Cameroon and Togo, there was a duality of 'received' languages to choose from, or where the ready availability of a major or unique indigenous language, called for its rapid modernization through language corpus planning — as in the cases of Ethiopia and Somalia (5). On the whole, African States in the 60's shied away from a possible modification — change or addition — in the language(s) of instruction, as that would have raised political, as well as economic and social issues. If any change there was, it was often to minimise the use of indigenous languages, as against the practice inherited from the colonial administrations, as in Ghana, Nigeria and Zaire. This was done in order more easily to centralise education and neutralise the ethnic diversification, that teaching in the vernaculars seemed to imply. In addition, the colonial vernacular policy was considered paternalistic and responsible for the slow modernization of the countries.

However, with the growing self-assurance of the new States, and with the socio-economic emancipation of vast peoples, it became clear in the 70’s that educational reform could not be meaningful, unless it was based on the foundations of indigenous societies, leading down to the grass-roots of language. Educational rather than political considerations, therefore, started the process of language planning — considerations which were not only entertained by governments, but sometimes arose from popular cultural requirements. The call for 'authenticity', i.e. for cultural autonomy, though not violent — as it had been in India in the
50's, and largely limited to the intellectual elite - was nevertheless sufficiently strong for governments to wish to moderate or control - which was the beginning of language planning *stricto sensu*.

**Multilingualism : Bilingualism and Trilingualism**

A glance at a list of African States, as at present constituted (cf. Appendix I) will show that, except in rare cases, they are multi-ethnic and multi-lingual. The identity between language and ethnicity must, however, not be taken for granted - however dear to the school of Humboldt and the European Romantics. There are many cases where ethnic groups live in symbiosis and are either bilingual, or where one has adopted the language of its host, whilst retaining its ethnic identity. In Europe the example of the Normans in France and England comes to mind; in Africa the equally war-like Fulbe have - in Nigeria - adopted Hausa as their second, but often as their only language.(4) This is to say, that there is no one-to-one relationship between language and ethnicity, and that there is a constant shift of language use and language identity through migration, much enhanced by the current rural-urban movement in Africa, not dissimilar to that of Europe during the Industrial Revolution of the 19th and of the Post-Industrial Revolution of the 20th centuries.

Harassed by the multiplicity of developmental problems, of which the language question was only relatively important - African States in the first post-Independence years were content with the status quo ante of the 'received' languages, seeing in them convenient links for government and planning. On the grounds of their linking function, they will here be called *metalects* (m), i.e. as applying to that language or those languages which have official or country-wide administrative functions within each state, and not to those of another state. The sociolinguistic body of the State was seen as a duality of African indigenous languages on the one side and one European metalect on the other. The former were called vernaculars, a term which though it had respectable antecedents in European history (in the battle of Ancients and Moderns) fell out of favour with some linguists, for which reason we shall here adopt the term *chthonol ect* or *language-of-the-soil* (=s), consonant with the frequent African expression of *son-of-the-soil*, or indigene of a particular place (Brann 1980). The dichotomy was thus seen as one of Afro-European bilingualism (Houi 1962), in which the components were chthonol ect/metalect, especially in the francophone countries.

In the last decade, however, there has been a new movement in sub-Saharan Africa to single out certain languages as main, major, majority or national languages: Whilst all indigenous languages in any one State were thought (morally and linguistically) equal, some were now deemed 'more equal than others' (to use Orwell's phrase). The evolution of the meaning of the term *langue nationale* in francophone African usage will clearly show this. Whilst initially the term was applied equally to all autochthonous languages within one State - e.g. 'les langues nationales du Cameroun' where the term national = indigenous, the most recent acceptance of the term has become national or state language. This interesting semantic shift, which in Europe took some 600 years, was accomplished in Africa within a decade (5). But whilst in the francophone countries the term *langue nationale* is now widely applied to a select number of majority languages - which are national by reason of their representative status - in the anglophone countries the term is only rarely applied, because of its political and exclusive implications in English usage, and the term main, major or majority language preferred. To this important new category, the term of *language-of-the-people*, or *demolect* (=d), has been given here.
This socio-linguistic category (d) consists of four distinct groups, according to their function within each State. The first group is constituted by majority ethnic languages, generally spoken by not less than 20% of the total population as a first language, but mainly confined to the ethnic group itself, and hence of limited spread areally (even though in many cases, they provide the language of the capital). To this group has been assigned the name ethno-demoloclect (d-g). Examples are Igbo and Yoruba in Nigeria, Kikongo and ciLuba in Zaire, Galla in Ethiopia, Serer in Senegal, Fang in Gabon, etc.

The second group are those languages that have arisen as a koine or lingua franca from the contact of heteroglotic peoples. These are free from ethnic attachment, and are wholly or mainly used outside their original group, as in the case of Kiswahili, Lingala or Sango in East and Central Africa. To these have been assigned the term koine-demoloclect (d-k). These languages have been particularly important in nation building in multi-lingual countries, because of their acceptability by large populations, being free from ethnic bias.

The third group consists of majority languages which are at once major ethnic languages and at the same time the second language of a large percentage of the population, the latter sometimes equaling the former. To these is assigned the term pan-demoloclect (d-p). Hausa in Nigeria and Niger, Wolof in Senegal, Amharic in Ethiopia (Cooper in Fishman 1978), ciShona in Zimbabwe can count among these.

The fourth group of demoloclects are local varieties of world languages which form a diglossic configuration with the metalect, it being immaterial whether this L (low) variety is seen as a mixed language (pidgin), or as an oral dialect of the metropolitan language, which constitutes its H (high) form. This is the case in the Sudan and Chad (Sudanese/Chadian Arabic - standard Arabic), Seychelles (Creole/standard French), Cap Verde (Crioulo/standard Portuguese), Liberia (Liberian English/standard English), Sierra Leone (Krio/standard English) etc. In some countries the demoloclect, or L-variety, has attained the status of national and official language, as in Haiti (Haitian Creole) and as has been mooted in Cap Verde. In Africa only Afrikaans (formerly an L-variety of Dutch) has so far achieved this status, but only by ousting its metaleclect, or H-variety. This group - here designated as demo-metalect (d-m), is characterised by the attitude towards the metalect, which is not perceived as a foreign or received language (except in the case of Afrikaans), but as the literary or H-variety. It remains to be seen whether the same process applies to Weskos, or the English Pidgin of the West Coast, which is widely used (especially in Cameroun) as a lingua franca.

It is a salient socio-linguistic feature of the past decade that these groups of demoloclects, belonging to one of the above categories, have been detached from the anonymous number of cthnonoclects (alias vernaculars), thus constituting a second order in what has become a trilingual configuration, no longer a bilingual setting. Clearly, the newly growing demoloclects are doing so at the expense of both cthnonoclects and metalects. By being assigned a nation-wide, or even 'national' central role, they are becoming the main object of language-planning (with exception of the 4th group), and are thus assured of even more rapid spread. This has already been seen in the cases of Amharic in Ethiopia (Cooper op cit), Malagasy in Madagascar, Sango in C.A.R. (Bouquiaux 1978). The cthnonoclects - whether minority languages or dialects of the major languages - are bound to be assigned a minor role of mainly oral codes, some of them becoming gradually
absorbed into the major languages by assimilation - as has been incessantly happening to speech forms the world over - pace all egalitarian linguists. The metalects, on the other hand, are being assigned increasingly restricted, or specialist roles, widely different in different States, complementary to the demolects. It is in the nature of language spread, and the general laws guiding states of bilingualism, that where there is language contact, there arises specialization of language use in distinct domains - hence the relatively restricted code of the metalects, even though the actual number of users may dramatically increase with universal (primary) education.

The 3-Language Formula

The trilingual configuration of (multilingual) sub-Saharan Africa, as against the former bilingual interpretation - has been the object of sociolinguistic description for the past decade. Thus it was applied for Northern Nigeria to local language (c), Hausa (d) and English (m) by Skinner (1967); to local language (c), Swahili (d) and English (m) in Tanzania by Abdulasis (1969/75); to Vernacular (c), Swahili (d) and English (m) in Kenya by Gorman (1971); by Nydime (1976) to Zaire in particular and to Africa generally and by Brann (1976/80) to Nigeria generally. These descriptions have in common the consecutive acquisition of Local Language (c)hthonolect), Regional/National Language (demolect) and Received/Link Language (metalect), corresponding generally to the educational triad Home, Community, School (Mackey 1970) in multilingual societies, where the first language (Il) is a distinct minority language, or a dialect of a major one.

There have been additional interpretations of trilingualism by Leboulch (1966) on the acquisition of Wolof (c/d), French (m) and English (p) in Senegal, followed by Haggis (1972) for Akan (c/d), English (m) and French (p) in Ghana and by Tadaajou (1975) for the Vernacular (c) and the two official languages French (m) and English (p). But these specific interpretations do not concern the mainstream represented by the triad c/d/m = chthonolect, demolect, metalect, alias Home Language, Community/National Language and Official/Link Language.

It will be recalled that the 3-language formula was the result of long deliberation in another multilingual sub-continent, that of India, in the years following independence, as described by Chaturvedi/Kebale in their Position of languages in school curriculum in India (1976). Following upon the Report of the (Indian) Central Advisory Board of Education of 1957, the general principle of a hierarchy of three languages for each pupil was laid down, in which (c) or Il was the regional language, (d) Hindi for non-Hindi speakers and a major Indian language for Hindi-speakers, and (m) English, or another modern European language, corresponding more or less to the media of instruction of the primary, secondary and tertiary levels of education.

The model, under the title of the 2½ (two-and-a-half, plus or minus) formula was also discussed by Anwar Dih in his paper 'Towards a general model of language planning policy' in Unesco/AISED 1975 : 55-58, which hypothesises the possession, plus or minus per person, of one Mother Tongue (c), one Other Tongue or Language of Wider Communication (d) and one special language with limited application, which could be a ritual language (h) (?) or world language (m). This corresponds very well to what is generally happening in multilingual Africa. The half language, however, should not be interpreted as the much feared semilingualism, but as a restricted code or specialized language.
Mother Tongue, Other Tongue & Further Tongue
Triglottic model of language use in Africa.

C C. M. B. Brann 1978/79
Moreover, if we cast back our minds to polyethnic and multilingual mediaeval Europe, we would find the same practice of dialect (c), rising national language (d) and Latin, or later French (m) (Jameson 1953). Indeed, in the present-day European Community, the formula is also gaining ground in the guise of minority language/dialect (a), national language (d) + one additional European language of wider communication, generally the neighbouring language (= m/p) (Haarman 1974/75).

These several instances are quoted to show that there is nothing strange in the 3-language formula, but that on the contrary it has been employed again and again in multilingual politics - whether nations, federations or communities of nations.

**3-Language Formula in Education**

<table>
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<th>L3</th>
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<td>regional</td>
<td>national</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>regional</td>
<td>national</td>
<td>inter-national</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>demography</td>
<td>minor</td>
<td>major</td>
<td>maxi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1000 - 1 M</td>
<td>1 - 10 M</td>
<td>100 M +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>domain</td>
<td>home</td>
<td>community</td>
<td>school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>community</td>
<td>school</td>
<td>nation - world</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>motivation</td>
<td>affective</td>
<td>conative</td>
<td>cognitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>conative</td>
<td>cognitive</td>
<td>ideational</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>language</td>
<td>familiar</td>
<td>communal</td>
<td>official</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>register</td>
<td>communal</td>
<td>official</td>
<td>specialized</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>language</td>
<td>vernacular</td>
<td>lingua franca</td>
<td>national L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>terminology</td>
<td>dialect</td>
<td>national L</td>
<td>world L</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>chthonolect</td>
<td>demolect</td>
<td>metalect</td>
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</table>
Language-Planning Processes Applied to Education.

It has become a commonplace of socio-cultural history of Africa to dichotomize the language policies of the former colonial powers as to their attitude and practice regarding African languages. The Latin, or centralist powers of France, Italy, Spain and Portugal have been described as 'assimilationist' i.e. offering their language and culture as varietur - resulting in cultural identification of the elites of francophone and lusophone states with the metropolitan languages, to the detriment of status and development of indigenous languages and culture (cf. Calvet's 'glottophagy' cited above). Following early missionary endeavours of 'the Bible for everyone', the isolating, or topophil powers of Belgium, England, Holland and Germany (mostly Protestant in practice or inspiration) started seriously to develop the major languages from the 1920's onwards, largely as a result of the recommendations of the Phelps-Stokes Commission (1922-25) and the foundation of the International African Institute in London (1926). It is from this time that the 4-language policy of Zaire dates (de Jonghe 1953), which may be taken as a present-day model of the use of demotic in Education (Naluwens 1976 in Bokama, in press). Whilst the centralist powers have often been accused of obstructing the development of indigenous culture and personality, the isolating powers have conversely been charged with impeding the access to modernization of their former colonies, by separating indigenous groups from each other, through their encouragement of ethnicity, and by thus hindering their access to Western technology. This still remains the main objection to the language policy of the RSA which is isolating in the extreme, i.e. 'apartheid', isolating not only in the sense of separating the races from each other, but also the African ethnic groups inter se (cf. Doke 1928, Van den Berghe 1976?). There is thus an inherent ambivalence in the attitude and motivation towards African and European languages over the past fifty years, which is reflected in the changing policies of African states since Independence. Thus whilst Group B States tended after Independence to stress the early ascension of the metrollect (e.g. Zaire, Ghana, Nigeria), Group A States discussed the early introduction of the langues nationales (i.e. authochthonous ethnic languages, with subsequent change in connotation). Such a reversal of (former colonial) policies is a common phenomenon in the evolution of institutions, after a fundamental or revolutionary change. More recently, however, there has been a clear convergence of the educational language policies of the two groups, concerning the early use of the mother tongue or community language in school.

Not infrequently, however, the term mother tongue has obscured the problem of language choice, which is basic to language planning. Though educational psychologists have been unanimous in advising the use of a child's first language as the medium of instruction in the lower primary school, the identification of that language with the mother tongue is by no means certain. Sociologists have often pointed out that a child's peer-group language may be more significant in his socialization than his 'mother tongue'. Thus many African children grow up bilingually, using one code at home and another with their peers outside. This tendency is reinforced by mobility either of the whole family - from country to town --, or by the children towards educational institutions outside their immediate home environment. There can thus be a difference between the chronological first language (1L), and the first-language-by-use, as every bilingual knows. Since a child's language of socialization is also the most adequate and convenient for his cognitive growth, and since the language-of-the-community is generally a wider language, recent educational language policies,
e.g. those of Nigeria (1976/7) and Ghana (1969-79 (8), the interpretation of the latter being in the hands of the local educational authority. This solution is quite different from the right-to-the-mother-tongue in Education of the U.S.A., since the Lau decisions and subsequent provisions by State and local authorities (Troike 1978). It stresses precisely not the ethnic, but the communal aspect of language — an important factor in the planning of language in Education in sub-Saharan Africa.

Having thus defined first (I) or local language (c) in terms of educational planning, we can proceed to L2 or (d). In many sub-Saharan countries the demlects have been recently clearly selected, whilst in others (e.g. Ivory Coast, Cameroun), this has not been convenient. For instance in the recent educational reform of Togo (I) (Ministère de l’Education Nationale : la Réforme de l’Enseignement au Togo, forme condensée, Lomé 1975), the country has been divided into a northern zone, served by Kabie as demlect, and a southern zone, served by Ewe. Whilst in the southern zone it is planned to use Ewe as the language on instruction (=I) for the 1st three years of primary school, Kabie will be taught as a subject, and vice versa in the North. The metalect (French) will become (I) from the 4th primary year — a policy which has been followed by Ghana and Nigeria since the 20’s. Similarly in Nigeria, the 1976 National Policy on Education (Lagos, Federal Ministry of Information, 1977) stipulates that whilst the choice of (I) is left to the local education authorities (LEA’s), one of the three major languages Hausa, Igo or Yoruba should be learned by each pupil, whose mother-tongue it is not, as a subject (a) — with the underlying idea that in one or two generations, every Nigerian will be able to speak a major language understood by another, thus ultimately dispensing with the metalect as a link language (koina). In neither Togo nor Nigeria, however, are there sufficient language teachers to implement this policy. Likewise the Ghana educational policy (Ghana Ministry of Education Report 1968-71, Accra, 1972) distinguishes between local languages as media of instruction in lower Primary (I) and the teaching and study of the 'main Ghanaian languages' as school subjects, one of which became compulsory for every pupil in the Middle School Leaving Certificate examination as from 1975.

The two aspects of these policies satisfy both individual and national development. Individual development is guaranteed by instruction in (c) or (d), whilst national integration is furthered by a common knowledge and use of a select number of (d). In this process what used to be ethnic demlects, with a limited number of L1 speakers will slowly grow into koine-demlects, spoken as L2 by a large number of citizens — thus guaranteeing students' social mobility. The complementary use of the metalects is seen in restricted and specialised areas, ultimately in technical and higher Education, as practised in most Asian countries (and some smaller European countries also). But this is looking far into the future.

Language Planning Processes

In our Model of Language Planning for Education in Africa, 7 parameters are included to form a flow-chart: Factors, Agencies, Processes, Policies, Development, Implementation and Evaluation (diagram 2).

1: Factors: ethnic, linguistic, geographical, demographic, social, psychological, cultural, political, economic.
Model of language planning for education in Africa

1. FACTORS
   - Ethnic
   - Linguistics
   - Geographical
   - Demographic
   - Social
   - Psychological
   - Cultural
   - Political
   - Economic

2. AGENCIES
   a. governmental
      - local authorities
      - state Ministries:
      - Education, Science, Culture
      - Mass Communication:
        - (Press, Radio, Television)
   b. non-governmental
      - family
      - voluntary agencies
      - research institutions
      - professional associations
      - publishers,
      - local language committees
      - commercial sector

3. PROCESSES
   - consultation etc.

4. POLICIES & PLANNING
   - selection etc.

5. DEVELOPMENT
   - language corpus, materials, personnel

6. IMPLEMENTATION
   - non-formal Ed.
   - formal Ed.
     - univ.
     - prelim.
     - upper secondary
       - S 4-6
     - lower secondary
     - upper primary
       - P 4-6
     - lower primary
       - P 1-3
     - pre-primary

7. EVALUATION
   - review and feedback

C M R Brann
1976/80
1. The ethnic factor.
Ethnicity undoubtedly makes for language loyalty and is commonly expressed in European languages through the notion of mother tongue. It remains to be investigated whether the notion of language possession in African languages is not expressed rather as the language of the ancestors, fathers, or place of birth, since many peoples are patrilineal and patrilocal. However, in a multi-ethnic situation, the language-planner in Education has to choose between ethnic authenticity and separateness, and social mobility and national contact. This is the reason why in recent years African governmental agencies have tended to favour the development of link languages which, though often languages of majority ethnic groups, are also used beyond them. The same intra-national link-languages may ultimately serve inter-African communication (cf. Diagne 1978). Many large ethnic groups of today are composed of smaller ones. Thus the Yoruba until the 19th century were not known by that name, but consisted of a number of warring chiefdoms. But by ordering themselves around a centre - Oyo - they grew into the present "nation" (in the ethnic sense) of some 12 million individuals. Similarly the Hausa in Nigeria's North, grouped around a few original principalities which were greatly increased by the 19th century Jihad under Fulani leadership (Westermann 1950, Paden 1968 etc). The Hausa provide a dynamically attractive group, many related groups 'becoming Hausa' by adoption. And though the centre of the polity lies in Sokoto (the seat of the Caliphate), it is in fact the form of the great trading centre of Kano that has furnished the standard form. Similarly present-day world languages have once been ethnic minority languages attached to a local centre, generally a court: English to that of the West Saxon chiefs (kings), French (francien) to the court of Paris, Spanish (Castilian) to the court at Burgos. The modern language planner will be aware of the force of attraction of the ethnic groups within a polity, in order to work with these forces. Mackey (1973) has suggested measures to gauge and quantify such forces, by comparison with others. Thus a demographically smaller group may be endowed with more dynamics than a larger one. Unless it is geographically completely isolated (e.g. the Basques by the Pyrenees), there is no minority ethnic group that does not live in contact with another, often a larger one - whether related or not. These habitual contacts will be used by the language planner when coming out in favour of a communal speech form.

2. The linguistic factor.
In order to reduce the pressure of the number of languages, the educational language planner will be aware of linguistic, as well as of ethnic contacts and affinities. Speakers of languages belonging to the same cluster, group or family may be hereditary enemies, and their communities may therefore prefer - if they have to - to be schooled in a non-cognate, but associate or neighbourly language, with the speakers of which they live in close contact or even symbiosis. Yet on the whole, the major representative of a language group is chosen as the standard, as it has often been done in the case of Bantu languages (cf. Doke op cit.). In recent educational policy, African governments may have combined the linguistic with the demographic factor, i.e. have chosen speech forms currently used by at least 15-20% of the population, in order to minimize the difficulties in developing these chosen demelots.

The present state of development of a speech form often argues in favour of its choice as an educational language. Efik in south-eastern Nigeria, happens to have been chosen as the standard for the much larger Itu Ibibo people, of some 3½ million, because of its early development in the 19th century.
Since most speech forms were developed early on by Christian missionaries, they have a significant start over speech forms of large populations of the Muslim faith - which could lead to an unbalanced language development in the country (cf. political factor infra).

Though intrinsically all languages are equally easily acquired by native speakers, i.e. at home, this is not necessarily so with second languages. In choosing, therefore, a language for development as a koine-demoloc freak) such intrinsic properties as phonology and syntax will be taken into account. Thus in Nigeria, Hausa which is less tonal than either Igbo or Yoruba, has in fact provided a second language for millions of speakers. Non-ethnic contact languages generally develop simplified forms, which is one of the reasons of their acceptability and rapid spread.

Linguistic criteria should be equally applied the metalact in educational planning: what is the precise variety - national or regional - that is going to be used as educational norm? Educational planners have to decide whether to continue teaching the metalact in its standard metropolitan form, or whether to adjust to present realities. Francophone centres of Applied Linguistics are at present collaborating in a vast Inventaire du français en Afrique (Inventory of French in Africa) under the auspices of AUFELF, whilst local (national ?) English variety differentiation is the object of studies in Ghana (Sey 1974), Nigeria (Usahawa ed. 1979) and other anglophone countries. Such descriptive studies will help to determine norms which are both nationally acceptable and internationally intelligible.

3. The geographical factor.

It has been pointed out that the koine-demoloc has the advantage of neutrality and hence of wider coverage, as shown in the phenomenal spread of Swahili in East Africa (Saleh 1971) and Sango in Central Africa (Caprile 1977). This was also the argument in favour of Lingala as a possible single national language in Zaire, proffered at the 1974 1st Colloquium of Linguists of Zaire (Mfene in Bokamba in press). In other cases, dynamic demolocs are associated with the single capital, as in the case of Amharic (Cooper op cit) in Ethiopia or of Wolof in Senegal (Wieland 1976). This is especially the case in well centralised capital as well (the capital of Nigeria is being shifted inland for that reason). In West African coastal countries, the capitals all lie on the coast, and its language can therefore not be representative of the entire country which extends into the land-mass in form of a wedge. Thus in Togo, Ewe is the dominant language of the south, and a counterbalance had to be found in Fante, which does not, however, have either the same status or stage of development. In Ghana, the North has no counterpart to Akan, nor has Fon in Northern Benin. In Nigeria, the north-south dichotomy is represented by Hausa balancing the combined number of speakers of southern Igbo and Yoruba, as a first + second language. In Cameroun, Fulfulde is seen as the koine-demoloc of the North, whilst English Pidgin is the lingua franca of the South; neither has had a notable impact on educational planning. In Zaire, the two ethno-demolocs have their limited geographical area - Kwango and Ziluba, whilst the two koine-demolocs Lingala and KwSwahili are constantly spreading over their original centres.
4. The demographic factor.
The demographic strength of a language group - not absolutely, but as a percentage of the national total - is certainly a significant factor in language selection for Education at the present stage of sub-Saharan development. The highly industrialized countries like those of Northern America or Western Europe, mostly secure in a majority national language, have been recently legislating for Education of their minority ethnic groups - both autochthonous and recent immigrants - (cf. Mackey: la rentabilité des minilangues, Churchill 1979), but in sub-Saharan Africa the situation is the reverse: major languages have first to be developed in order to arrive at 'national' languages. It has, however, been pointed out that demographically minor speech forms have sometimes served as the standard for much larger ones, as in the case of Efik for Ibibio in Nigeria.

From the discussions in Zaire, referred to above, it would seem that given the choice, a demographically strong koine-demoelect may be preferable to a similarly strong ethno-demoelect, on account of the neutrality of the former - even though it may not present culturally the same values. Even so, in Kenya Swahili has not met the same favour as it has in Tanzania, since there are several strong ethno-demoelects (notably Kikuyu and Luo). The reason given by socio-linguists is generally that in Kenya Swahili is associated with the jargon of settlers (British) communicating with the indigenous population (ki-settia), and diluting its quality (cf A. Khalid 1977). A language that is spoken more as an L2 than as an L1 in any given community is bound to undergo considerable changes, as seen by the growing local varieties of world languages in sub-Saharan Africa and Asia. Demographic criteria are constraining for the educational planner, but generally in conjunction with political and economic factors.

5. The social factor.
It has been pointed out above that socialization through a demoelect may be more valuable for an individual pupil than identification with a minority ethnoelect. Hence in their recent language policies, African states have tended to underline the social factor in their educational language policies, over the psychological individual one. Social mobility is best guaranteed through the individual belonging to widening spheres, regional and national, to which he has access with increasing Education. Since in most sub-Saharan states, nationhood did not automatically come with statehood upon Independence, nation-building through a common language, or through common languages, is a salient element in language-planning. As has been pointed out above, this is quite different from the call for 'mother-tongue teaching' of linguistic minorities in the Western states. For the moment, there is no social pressure for language development from minority groups in the multi-lingual states, and it would seem supererogatory and harmful to foment it.

Greater attention than before needs to be given to the social role of the metaelects, in each host country, in terms of the social domains in which they are used and for which they are most useful. A clarification of this issue would clear possible resistance building up among pupils in certain countries, with bad effects on the quality of teaching and learning through those languages.
6. The psychological factor.

Educational planners will attach importance to both affective and cognitive factors in language learning. Though psychologists have written much about the emotional attachment to the mother tongue - meaning the Home language - there is no proof that attachment to the language of peer socialisation is any less. The main element required in the child's rearing and education is the sense of stability and security, which is guaranteed by either, provided they are consistently used. Initial primary schooling through a language outside the child's society, as was the case with the 'straight-for-metalect' policy, is to be discouraged, and is now being modified or abandoned in the majority of educational systems in Africa. The motivation for learning in a local language will largely depend on the dynamics of that language group. Given the choice between two languages, an adolescent will prefer the one in which there is great social contact, hence mobility, as can be observed in any bi- or multilingual school or campus.

As has been hinted at above, the motivation for learning the metalect should now be studied, in relation to contact with the demolects, in order to avoid unnecessary conflicts in growing minds. This motivational aspect has so far been absent from studies of language-contact, as in the important 1976 Dakar Conference (on the relationship between African languages and French, cf. CILF 1976).

7. The cultural factor.

The force of attraction of an ethnic group's cultural tradition (sensus Fishman and Mackey) has often been a determining factor in the growth and spread of language, and will be taken into account by language-planners. For this reason demographically relatively smaller groups have been able to maintain and spread their language. In Nigeria, for instance, the Nune have an ancient and noteworthy cultural tradition, which will be one of the reasons for developing the language for Education even though many, if not most, are bilingual in Hausa. With the recent creation of a Nune Language Committee, there is an evident desire to safeguard the language from 'glottophagy' (cf. Oseji 1979). Undoubtedly, the language planner will here be faced with much heart-searching: to what extent is it possible, in a modern system of Education, and in economically weak countries, to clear the main-stream of language development from obstruction, whilst maintaining the most valuable elements of the cultural heritage, often incorporated into 'smaller' languages? This is precisely where a consideration of the various factors consecutively, as well as simultaneously, will be of assistance to the language-planner in Education.

8. The political factor.

Since the politics of the day change, and since language-planning is a long-term activity, this factor should be kept as low as possible, except for looking for the dynamics of the various ethno-linguistic groups. It is nevertheless patent that in several instances languages have been selected for development as demolects in African states, because leading political figures have identified with them. In other cases African statesmen have subordinated their (minor) ethnicity to the development of the larger group: a notable example was President Nkrumah, who subordinated his own group, the Neima, to the development of the wider language group, Akan, and the latter to the over-all development of the nation as a unit.

The language-planner, whilst aware of the socio-political dynamics of whole country (which is not always easy from the vantage point of an excentric capital), must yet subordinate the ephemeral to the more permanent lines of development, for which reason he will balance the several factors, and minimize the political pressure of the day.
9. The economic factor.

Even before the language issue came to its present stage, most African states spent up to 50% of their annual budget on Education, which is thus the largest single national 'industry'. The selection and standardization of new languages as media of instruction, the training of specialized teacher-trainers and teachers and the production of new syllabi and teaching aids should be costed, before headlong and irrevocable policies are decided. Otherwise policies are made without any possibility of implementation, or, worse still, educational policies, involving the use of language, have to be changed after an unsuccessful trial, with deleterious results in the standards of education and the morale of the school population.

The cost-benefit analysis necessary for language-planning (Thorburn in Rubin 1971) is pertinent not only for the development of demotics in Education, but also regarding the long-term effects of retracting the metallect from its present position, or of withdrawing it altogether as a medium in Schools. There is an obvious difference between a State of 2 million and one 20 million citizens taking such a decision. The larger the population of a State, the easier it will ultimately be to become self-supporting economically, as well as culturally - given an equitable share of natural wealth.

Detailed costing analyses for linguistic (structural, lexical) spadework and curriculum development have already been undertaken by language-planning agencies, and it would be of value if those analyses were made more widely known. Such useful calculations are also often contained in the mission reports of bilateral (e.g. USAID) or multilateral (e.g. World Bank) agencies for technical assistance, in the context of overall educational reform, or of the development of a specific level of education, such as primary or adult Education. Some of these reports have been listed in the bibliography.

Language Planning Agents and Agencies

Language planning starts with individual or group agents of cultural change. History has credited gifted individuals with language planning, such as the great Bible translators who had first to standardize a chosen dialect, provide a structure and vocabulary as well as an orthography and sometimes script: Thus, St. Jerome and the Vulgate, providing for mediaeval Latin; Ulisses providing script and lexis for his Gothic version of the same century; SS Cyril and Methodus providing Old Slavonic with their translation; down to Luther who is credited, by his Bible translation, with the creation of standard Modern German. C.A. Ferguson (in Essays 1971) described St. Stephen of Perm, the 13th century Russian, as the 'patron saint of workers in the applied linguistics of national development', for his choice of a standard, writing system and the creation of a literature in the chosen standard. This 'agent of cultural change' chose the local language as his medium. Similarly it can be said of the Prophet Mohammed that by enshrining the Quran in Arabic, he had created a linguistic standard for centuries to come, which only now is breaking up into national written vernaculars (notably in the Maghreb) (cf. Hurreed 1978).

In recent African history, LP has been the work chiefly of Christian missionaries, in an effort to bring the 'Good News' to the different ethnic groups. Bible translators, both Western and African, have collaborated over a century in the creation of grammars, dictionaries, orthographies and readers,
in connection with their biblical translations. Sometimes their corpus planning was deficient of initial static planning, as when rival denominations worked simultaneously on different forms of the same speech form/language - an object lesson for the modern language planner. Thus in the 19th century 3 distinct dialects of Akan were standardized through Bible translations - Fante, Asante and Akan (Twi) - which only in recent years have begun to be re-united into Akan. Similarly in German-administered Togoland rival Catholic and Protestant missionaries entered for a prize essay (1912) as to which dialect of Eve should be standardized, Anglo or Mina (Anase in Fishman 1974: 569-90); the former was chosen, leading to Lome becoming the capital of Togo. C.H. Doke in his Unification of the Shona dialects (1951) tells of the chaos created by rival denominations, and the solution finally found by him, leading to the present democlet of Zimbabwe. J.A. Ajayi in his essay 'How Yoruba was reduced to writing' (1960), describes the joint endeavour of European and African missionaries, happily choosing the dialect of the new centre of the Yoruba kingdom, Oyo, which, being acceptable to outlying Yoruba groups, became the undisputed standard of that language, already rich in written tradition and contemporary literature.

After the Christian missions, the earliest agents of LP, colonial governments sponsored the standardization of majority languages through language and literature committees, boards and bureaux - often in collaboration with the former. Thus the Inter-Territorial Committee on Swahili is the forerunner of the present National Swahili Council, seated in Dar-es-Salaam (Whiteley 1989, Minha 1978), whilst the Hausa Language Board set up by the colonial administration in Northern Nigeria was at the source of standardizing and modernizing that important democlet and lingua franca, and of the present Hausa Language Committee (Kirk-Greene 1964), no less than the Northern Nigerian Publishing Company (NNPC, cf. Skinner 1970). Similarly in Zaire, the Belgian administration debated for many years the standardization of the four major languages, which are still those chosen by the present Government for national educational purposes. As pointed out above in describing the two types of colonial language policies, there was no parallel concerted endeavour between Missions and Administration in the French and Portuguese territories. Though individual Catholic missions worked on the transcription of African languages (notably the Holy Ghost Fathers), they did not meet with the collaboration of the administration in their metrolinguistic policy (Bouche 1975). Concerning the metallect, there were little signs of planned development in the British territories, confusion in the Belgian Congo over French and Flemish, and only in the French territories some centralised effort in developing French in Africa (Bouche, op cit), but for an elite only. The only metallect that was properly planned was Afrikaans, which, from a local variety (some linguists say pidgin Valkhoff 1966) of Dutch, without literature, rose to have its own grammar, dictionary, academy, university chairs and literature - all within the course of this century - a remarkable feat of language construction.

Since the Independence of African States, there has been both continuity and new effort at language planning. As has been seen in some cases, the pre-Independence language committees continued to provide LP agencies for individual languages. But in the last decade, regional and national governments have for the first time taken up the responsibility of co-ordinating the efforts of religious, ethnic, linguistic or educational groups by giving them national policies and an institutional framework. In the few cases of predominantly homoglotic States, like Madagascar or Somalia, the leading
ethnic language was declared co-official (the other being French and Arabic respectively) and became the object of considerable attention and central planning. In polyglottic, but monocentric States, one National Language Committee and Language Centre has generally proved enough, and was attached to the Ministry of Education, showing the close link between language planning and educational planning. Here it is that the chosen democlects will be standardized and developed for school use, as well as for adult or continuing education, often in collaboration with the ministries of communication. Thus in Ghana the activities of the government-sponsored Literature Bureau, which provides textbooks in the democlects, are supplemented by the Language Centre, which is attached to the University of Ghana (Legon) and further standardizes the languages through pedagogical grammars and dictionaries, whilst a special Training College for Teachers in Ghanaian Languages has been developed.

In a pluri-centric or federal state like Nigeria, language planning activities are coordinated both at the federal level, and at the level of the nineteen component states, whilst the language committees concerning individual languages are mostly organized professionally, with official support. At the Federal level, a National Language Centre has recently been formally inaugurated (July 1980), with the special task of planning the corpus of the three major languages (Hausa, Igbo, Yoruba) for legislative and educational purposes as well as chosen State languages for the Universal Primary Education Project (UPE) - nine languages in all. The NLC is an agency of the Federal Ministry of Education, with a professional Council (Nigeria, NLC 1980).

Whereas the above agencies were mostly created with a view to develop a chosen number of democlects, the same body can deal with the planning of metallect use in the country’s education, as in the Ghanaian and Nigerian centres. Here the question is one of standardizing the plethora of local variants by a judicious selection whilst the maintenance of standards is left to the examining bodies. So far no network analysis has been made of all the professional local, regional, national, non-governmental, semi-official and official bodies that are in part concerned with language-planning and can contribute to the central process. Such a study should now be undertaken for a number of countries, before an overall, comparative synthesis can be made.

Consultation and the Planning Process

On the process of consultation comparatively little has been written in/on sub-Saharan Africa, even in the detailed country reports of the Survey of Language Use and Language Teaching in Eastern Africa (SLUEA, cf. Ledefoged, Whiteley, Bender, Chinesian Polome for Uganda, Kenya, Ethiopia, Zambia and Tanzania), nor in the country profiles compiled at various times by ETIC (English-Teaching Information Centre, British Council) or CAL (Center for Applied Linguistics, Washington), or the country mission reports of national or international agencies for technical assistance. These would best come from within. Useful information can be gleaned from the histories and work schedules of the Language Committees, Boards, Bureaux, Centres and Academies which have generally been established by government with the aid of professional consultants. More recently, such Language bodies have included on their boards linguists, educationists, psychologists, sociologists, communication specialists, economists, publishers and lawyers - corresponding to the various factors discussed above.
At governmental level, consultation on language takes place in the committees of the legislature: there may be a special committee apportioned to the language question, or it may be a feature of committees on Education or Communication. In the case of Canada and France, offices for language questions exist at cabinet level, but this may not be deemed necessary in most African countries. Tanzania also has a National Council on Swahili. On the other hand, ministries of Communication, Internal Affairs, Education and Culture are all concerned with language and thus with the LP process, and could be represented on an inter-ministerial committee, co-ordinated by the Language Centre. The Language Centre - or its equivalent - would also co-ordinate the various professional and individual language committees, academies, university research centres, examining bodies, curriculum development centres, etc. Such professional consultation commonly takes place during seminars, colloquia and conferences, convened by professional associations, university departments, parastatal agencies, or the various ministries. Here, too, the Language Planning Agency (LPA), above called the Language Centre, can act as co-ordinator.

Since it is of long duration and effect, the LP process should take into consideration the aspirations and ideas of as many groups and persons of the national community as feasible. Consultation should be seen as a permanent process in order to guarantee the constant cooperation of professional consultants, to monitor the progress of LP and to keep the public informed of the government's or country's LP activities, including the outcomes.

Enactment of Language Policies

Depending on the forms of government, educational language policies are expressed in the form of bills, laws, decrees, rarely by themselves, and generally as part of an institutional or curricular reform. The present Constitutions of African states either lay down the official language of the State (those of Franco-Roman law), or of the legislature (those of Anglo-Saxon law), or they omit the language question on purpose (12 of 49 states omit language in their Constitutions, including the lusophone. Turi 1977, Blaustein & Flans, in progress). The language of Education and Mass Communication is not mentioned in the Constitutions, but left for enactment by the legislatures. Thus, whilst the metalect(s) is generally laid down in the Constitution, the selection of demlects at the various levels of educational institutions is left to the respective ministries through the legislature. Even so, it can be noted that schedules of educational reform from ministries of Education may not mention specifically the demlects to be used as (I) or (s), in order to leave room for manoeuvre, in case of popular objection (e.g. the Ghanaian and Beninois documents cited above, also the Nigerian White Paper mentions the 3 demlects as subjects, but not those to be used regionally as media of instruction (I), nor, of course, the many chthonolcets). Only in countries where demlects are laid down in the Constitution, as in Burundi (kiRundi), CAR (Sango), Ethiopia (Amharic), Kenya (kiSwahili), Lesotho (sesotho), Madagascar (Malagasy), Nigeria (Hausa, Igbo & Ioruba), Rwanda (kiNyanzaRwanda), Tanzania (kiSwahili), Uganda (kiSwahili ), can languages in Education be clearly derived.

In the formulation of policies for language in Education, three main trends can be distinguished:
1. States which, because of the large number of ethno-linguistic groups—none of which is absolutely dominant or acceptable—have maintained the status quo, by using the exolect/metallect throughout public education.

2. A larger number of States have recently selected a restricted number of demoelects, which are being variously applied as medium (I) and subject (s), or as subject only at various stages of primary education—generally the lower level.

3. A small number of States—those in which a dominant demoelect has already been established constitutionally, use the demoelect throughout primary education, and have introduced into the secondary level, either as medium of instruction and subject, or as subject only—generally at the lower level.

There is thus a clear trend for the use of demoelects as (I) and/or (s) to move up the educational scale, as it has done in many Asian countries since the 1950's. From the point of view of planning, however, it must be noted that the use of a demoelect as medium cannot be abrogated without major educational upheavals—hence the importance of selection and careful phasing.

On the other hand, it has been pointed out that often policies concerning language use in Education have been promulgated for political reasons, but cannot be implemented for want of material means or manpower, or administrative direction. On the other hand, blueprints for implementation can follow a generally laid-down policy: in Nigeria the considerable changes invoked by the 1976/7 National Policy on Education, have been set forth in an Implementation Committee, Government's comments on whose report were published in 1979 and will now become the basis of administrative action—excluding the gigantic programme of introducing demoelects into schools, planning for which may not be completed before the end of the century, since it involves generations of language teachers. In implementing such a large national programme, the creation of special language-planning units in ministries of Education has proved useful, and is now being undertaken by several States—though some countries prefer such Language Centres to have permanent professional advice by being administratively placed outside the ministries, as semi-autonomous bodies, or attached to an institution of higher learning. The training of language planning personnel in such central places might include the disciplines corresponding to the factors outlined above: Ethnology, (Applied) Linguistics, Demography, Psychology, in addition to Sociology, Economics, Education.

**Implementation and Development**

As has been pointed out, the planned development of selected languages for active use in Education, requires a co-ordinating body which can monitor the intricate stage of corpus planning, the training of language teaching personnel and the production of pedagogical materials. Whereas in the pre-Independence years, the Missionaries, coming as they did from outside, were the agents of cultural change, the agents must now come from within the national Society. It is generally through the departments of Linguistics of the anglophone countries, and the Centres for Applied Linguistics of
the francophone universities that the initial work of corpus planning has come - but mostly without co-ordinating guidance from a national policy centre. Yet over the past decade the initiative for setting up such bodies has often come from the universities, e.g. the Consultations on Language Policies (1972) at Accra, the resulting Comité national de Linguistique (National Committee on Linguistics) of Dahomey-Benin (1975), the Language Centre of the University of Ghana (1974) and the National Language Centre of Nigeria - mooted first by the Department of Linguistics of the University of Ibadan, but then established within the Federal Ministry of Education. The CNLD of Dahomey-Benin started on a voluntary basis with 5 language committees on Fon, Yoruba, Bariba, Aja and Atakora group (Risen 1975, Yai 1975) (whilst the remaining two 'national' languages Sonrai and Fulfulde were left to outside bodies for the time being). For most of these languages, work had to start with basic descriptions, i.e. with descriptive grammars, phonology, vocabularies - leaving the pedagogical or prescriptive stage for later. In Ghana, on the other hand, the Bureau of Ghanaian Languages had for some years been working on the preparation of pedagogical materials for seven selected demelcets - beyond the basic description, which had taken place previously. The Ghana Language Centre (University of Ghana, Legon) has worked since 1974 on both the descriptive and applied aspects of language development, including socio-linguistic studies on the application of Ghanaian demelcets and English (metalect) in Education. In Nigeria, with a vastly larger population and number of languages, 9 demelcets were selected by the Language Centre for development in the Universal Primary Education Programme (UPE), starting in 1976: Hausa, Yoruba, Igbo (the three 'major languages'), Edo, Efik, Fulfulde, Igbo, Kanuri and Ibibio (leaving another three - Idoma, Igala and Nupe for regional/stage development). But these 9 languages were very uneven in corpus planning: whilst for Efik, Hausa, Igbo, Yoruba not only excellent descriptive materials, but also pedagogical grammars, orthographies and dictionaries existed (they had been taken as subjects for the secondary School Certificate since the 1950's) - these had yet to be created for the other 5 languages, mainly through language boards/committees attached to the universities. On the other hand the registers of all these languages had to be broadened to function as languages of instruction (I) in the lower primary school, i.e. basic glossaries/terminologies for Arithmetic, Nature Study, Health Science etc. had to be created, from principles of transfer (borrowing), derivation or calque. These activities, grouping specialists in the individual languages on a national basis, whilst centred at the universities, were increasingly co-ordinated by the National Language Centre, which was formally inaugurated as such in July 1980 (Nigeria, NLC 1980). But whereas the Language Centre of Ghana from its early days in 1974 kept in mind the transition, as (I), from the demelcet to the metalect, by conducting applied research into the best use of English in relation to the Ghanaian languages, the Nigerian Language Centre will only now come round to it. Yet in the two major experimental projects in primary school language use - the Ibe Yoruba/English Primary Education Project (Fafunwa, Afolayan, Cokerinde) and the Hausa/English Primary Education Improvement Project (Omojuwa 1978) - demelcet and metalect were well integrated as media and subjects. Of the two projects, only the latter has had state government support, and has therefore flourished.

It stands to reason that the process of language standardization from the descriptive to the prescriptive stages, is easier to perform with a small, than with a large number of languages - quite apart from the economic
implications. Those countries are best off, which, like Madagascar, Burundi, Rwanda, Somalia, have a dominant demotic, which is the L1 of most citizens; or those which like Ethiopia and the Sudan have an ancient and dominant language as their official language, which will thus be learned as L2 by a large population having other first languages; or again those countries which, like Cap Verde, Liberia, Reunion, etc. use a demotic form orally of a standardized world language, which can readily be used as the medium of instruction in school. But the greater part of sub-Saharan States, it has been seen, have elected from two to seven demotics to be developed simultaneously. Such a great weight may exceed the capacity of smaller States, unless each stage in corpus development is carefully planned.

Though so many countries are simultaneously working on similar phases of language planning (corpus development), there is little consultation on the technical and economic aspect. Apart from the fact that some of the demotics are shared by several States and therefore invite parallel treatment and common action, the more technical aspects of method might be the object of joint meetings through Unesco, or other international agencies, where practical experience can be exchanged.

Teaching Materials in and of the new Demotics.

The materials first elaborated by the Missionaries - basic grammars, vocabularies, readers - are no longer adequate for innovative instruction. The production of attractive textbooks and teaching aids in the chosen demotics can become a commercial proposition, once the number of copies has reached a minimum figure (placed at 100,000 by some Nigerian publishers). Otherwise research, composition and trial testing will have to be heavily subsidised by ministries of Education. Here again the experience of some of the anglophone countries, going back some decades, might be shared with the francophone and lusophone States through bilateral or multilateral seminars on primary textbook production; through reasoned guidelines in the form of handbooks; or through exhibitions of work accomplished, or in progress. In this connection, reference is made to Recommendation no. 71 of the 36th International Conference on Education (Geneva 1977), concerning the problem of information at the national and international level, which is posed by the improvement of educational systems. Much could be gained by a quicker and freer flow of information on educational problems and innovations in sub-Saharan States - not least in the area of language planning.

Concerning the production of new textbooks, an increased insistence on local printing, as contrasted with the recent practice of printing in the ex-metropolitan countries, would also encourage the nascent national presses. At the moment, there is a great disparity between the anglophone francophone/lusophone countries, perhaps as the result of the smaller indigenous language groups in the latter, making the production of teaching materials in African languages uneconomic. It remains to be seen whether monolingual textbooks in African languages produced in an anglophone country are acceptable to the education authorities of a neighbouring francophone State: Hausa for Niger, Yoruba for Dahomey from Nigeria; Ewe for Togo, Akan for the Ivory Coast from Ghana; but vice versa, Wolof from Senegal for the Gambia.
This would depend on the attitude of ministries of Education and their adaptability to languages standardized in dialects perhaps used outside their frontiers. It must, however, be recalled that States are inclined to look upon languages within their frontiers as national possessions, and to stress the national variety within their own boundaries. Thus Malay has received in Bahasa Indonesia a nationalized variety, which is consciously different from the standard of Malaysia (though there is a bilateral language commission). Similarly Kirundi and KinyaRwanda are said to be structurally linguistically the same language, divided only by national frontiers. The same is the case with Afar in Djibuti and Somali of Somalia; Comorian of the Comores and Swahili; or the several closely related Bantu languages of South Africa, used in Bechuanaland, Lesotho, Swaziland and RSA, at the level of primary school.

By contrast, the production of books in the metalects, as (s) or (I), has always benefited from their use in several States simultaneously, which has kept the cost of research/composition/pre-testing to a reasonable proportion of ultimate sales. Even here, it is interesting to note that whilst the francophone countries constituted one consolidated market for the great French consortiums, the market in the anglophone countries like Ghana and Nigeria in the West, Kenya, Zambia and Uganda in the East was sufficiently large in each of them to warrant separate editions for each. In the case of Nigeria, there have even been separate editions for North and South, each having a potential population of 6 million primary pupils. In the case of language textbooks for English, this means that national editions could take account of local variations in metalect use. It remains to be seen whether such a development is seen as either desirable (most of them would at present say, not) or feasible in the less populous francophone States (AUDECAM 1969, but AUPELF 1980).

Language-Teaching Personnel.

Greater even than the problems of language corpus planning and materials development is the problem of the quantity and quality of manpower needed to implement the primary reform movement. Hitherto the usefulness of primary teachers has been seen in their general teaching abilities, as well as in their relative mobility. But since the days of the 'vernacular teachers' (i.e. specialists in indigenous languages) of colonial days, right down to the present-day use of language specialists in the two Nigerian experimental projects described above - it has been accepted that the teaching of languages as a subject is the work of specialists, not of generalists. Yet apart from the special teacher-training college for Ghanaian languages, none other is known to the writer. On the contrary, indigenous languages are taught at present only in a few teacher-training colleges, and in even less colleges of Education (i.e. Advanced T.T.C.'s). Thus, in many enthusiastic countries, enlightened policies of mother-tongue teaching have been promulgated, but in only a few is there adequate provision even of teacher-trainers in the languages concerned - chiefly in the countries with a single demeclert. And yet this is undoubtedly an area where development must come entirely from within.
It is therefore at the national universities that the first teacher-trainers of the chosen democlects must be trained jointly at departments of Education and (Applied) Linguistics. And though there are many articles in journals on the subject, the area of African language-teaching, both as L1 and as L2 - and the methods are widely different - has as yet found little overall theory and methodology (but cf. Atonyi 1979). Apart from methods of 'mother-tongue' and 'other-tongue' teaching, the methodology of transition (bridging, cf. Ure 1988) from democlect to metalact as media of instruction has to be investigated. Here the copious work in Contrastive Linguistics of the Centres for Applied Linguistics of francophone universities will come in very useful. In the anglophone countries also, many theses and dissertations on contrastive studies democlect-metalact have been written, but mostly from a purely descriptive angle: they need now to be applied pedagogically to the transitional stage from democlect to metalact, which most policies place in the 3rd or 4th years of primary school.

Whilst the quantity of metalact teachers is not wanting in many countries, it is their quality which has given rise to much professional literature - in both francophone and anglophone countries. As with the primary democlect teacher, the metalact also is best taught by a specialist, so trained at the TTC. This specialist, too, should be conversant with contrastive techniques, like his democlect counterpart - though of course in multilingual countries the metalact teacher will be more mobile than the democlect-teacher. The training of both, in relation to each other, might form the subject of national and inter-national workshops and seminars.

Implementation of the 3-Language Formula

From the foregoing remarks it has been seen that from political choice and economic necessity, African States have settled for a limited number of democlects for educational purposes, variously designated as official, national, main, major, regional or dominant languages. In some writings, this position has been contrasted with the uncompromising use of mother-tongue in Education as if the interest of the State, for reasons of cohesion, concerned the former, and the interest of the individual - for reasons of personal development -, the latter. We do not consider that there is a fundamental opposition in the interests of the individual for education in his mother-tongue, or ethnolect, and of the State for education in the democlect(s). As pointed out by Ferguson (1971) in his seminal essay on Diglossia, there are many instances where diglossia exists between the oral and intimate use of dialect (or L-form) and the literary, public use of a bibliclect, as seen in Alemannic/German in Switzerland, chimonotild/katharevousa in Greece, colloquial (national) literary Arabic in North African countries (Hurries 1978, op cit) and Creole/French on Reunion. The same phenomenon can be transferred, mutatis mutandis, to Sokoto/Standard (Kano) Hausa, Ijebu/Standard (Oyo) Yoruba...and further to the situational diglossia (sansu Fishman) between any chthonoclect used at home (hence 'Mother Tongue') and the community or communal language, or Other Tongue, alias democlect. In each case, the child, and later the adult, uses (orally) one code for familiar, affective, intimate purposes and another code for communal and public purposes. Children for the most are not even aware that they are using two different codes (or registers) at home and at school, or that they are addressing different persons in different 'languages'
so long as the switch-over from one code to the other seems natural in the given context, and the interlocutors play consistent roles.

We would argue from this very frequent diglottic configuration - not only in the linguistic, but also in the extended socio-linguistic sense - that the chosen demelacts can be developed by conscious planning for written use, whilst maintaining the chthonolects for oral tradition and the intimate sphere - chiefly at the pre-primary stage. A pupil's social mobility will be greatly helped if he masters one demelact of his society thoroughly, other than his 'mother-tongue'; and the State will be relieved by keeping the division of the nation's socio-linguistic body to a minimum units. It is this compromise between individual expression and national authenticity that the recent policies of demelacts are offering.

**Fitting the Educational System**

Though there are variations in the number of years allotted to each phase, it is generally recognised (Unesco-IEE Education Thesaurus 1975) that formal education is divided into 4 phases: pre-primary, primary, secondary and tertiary, followed by a fifth, non-formal stage - continuing Education. Whilst the first phase is as yet limited generally to highly urbanised societies, and tends to be elitist in economic terms (the mother being professionally engaged), the last phase tends to be elitist in terms of intellectual ability. Pre-primary Education in the urban centres tended to be given in small elite schools in the metalect, on account of the mixed ethnic attendance, but it has been argued in recent policies that this should take place in the demelact of the city - often a capital; whilst if there are pre-primary schools in the country-side, teaching will be given orally in the chthonolect - the children's 'mother tongue'. At the other end of the scale, higher (tertiary) Education is exclusively in the metalect - with the only exception of special subjects.

The primary phase is sometimes divided into three (traditional francophone) or two (anglophone) movements, but recently there has been a convergence in educational reforms in both parts, tending to teach the lower primary school (year 1-5) through the medium of the community language (generally a demelact), whilst teaching through the metalect in the upper primary (years 4-6). The rationale for this was that for the great majority of pupils, primary education is terminal, and that they would thus have a working knowledge not only of one 'national' language, but also of the country's metalect. Also, it has been argued, language-learning comes easier in the primary, more impressive, than at the secondary, adolescent stage. Against this it can be argued that i) the faster developing countries tend to prolong majority Education to the lower secondary stage, so that primary education need not be considered terminal; and that ii) if primary education were terminal, it would serve most young people as well not to know the metalect, as they will hardly use it in the kinds of vocations they will follow, and that in any case metaelcts are learned so imperfectly at that age (and in situations where it is not a community language) that they are soon forgotten, especially in the rural areas.
In countries where there is but one national language, which is sometimes also the only official language (e.g. Ethiopia), the demol ect tends to be the exclusive medium of instruction (I) throughout primary school, whilst also being a teaching subject(s) throughout. In cases where two national languages of Education have been adopted (Togo: Ewe/Kabie, the theory is that the 1st demol ect, or community language, will serve as the initial medium, whilst the other demol ect will be learned as a subject. A similar policy has been promulgated in Nigeria with regard to the three demol ects (Hausa/Igbo/Yoruba), but any greater number of demol ects would make the possible permutations of use as I) and (S) very complicated indeed.

For primary school, therefore, a consecutive or simultaneous form of trilingual teaching has become the practice: the chthonol ect orally in the entrance phase, as a transition from the Home; the community language as the medium in the lower grades, and the metalec t as medium in the higher grades. Different methods of transition from one medium to another have been practised, by offering some subjects (generally arts and social studies) in the demol ect, whilst taking others (often Maths and Nature Study) in the metalec t. That this graduated bilingual approach necessarily compartmentalises knowledge in terms of language - causing a form of subject diglossia, or schizoglossia - is undeniable. Such a form of instruction was used for many years, even at the secondary stage in the Ecoles Franco-Arabes (French-Arabic schools), not only in the Maghreb, but also in other predominantly Muslim countries, like Mauritania, Chad, etc. The same form of schizoglossia is well known at the tertiary level at universities in Asia (and also in some smaller European countries), where the demol ect serves as (I) for the Social Sciences and Arts, and the metalec t - generally English - for the Natural Sciences. This state of affairs was current in Europe until the French Revolution, with Latin as metalec t and the European vernaculars as demol ects.

There is thus nothing fundamentally strange in graduating, or compartmentalising bilingual instruction - and it may be sounder than trying to introduce the metalec t as medium of instruction all at once for all subjects - generally accompanied by language switch and language mix in the classroom. To our knowledge, little work has so far been done on this gradual approach of language transfer. At the secondary stage, language use must take into account the linguistic demands that will be made on the majority upon leaving school - taking the junior secondary phase to be terminal for most. With the current sweep of curricular reforms, demol ect and metalec t need to be adapted to their new tasks as languages of cognition and interaction. Language registers can be adapted to terminal vocational studies, so that a limited range can be well known, rather than an ill-defined one badly, in the much-feared form of 'semi-lingualism' (the term was coined for bilingual Finnish speakers of Swedish). It is this consideration that makes a schizoglot tic subject division more realistic and desirable. Even the higher secondary stage can be considered terminal in itself, and need not necessarily lead to tertiary education. That is to say that limited objectives and specific language skills can be developed respectively for demol ect and metalec t, in relation to their social functions for the average schools leaver. During the secondary years, both demol ect and metalec t will continue to be studied as 'subjects', whilst it
will in most cases no longer be possible to study the chthonolect.

It has been suggested in several instances that at the level of preliminary undergraduate education, the official demolecets should continue to be the object of non-specialized study, so that the possibilities of internal cross-communication can increase. The same is true of the metalect, which many universities continue to offer to all freshmen/women for study skills - this being even the practice in the USA, where English has been the unique medium of education for most, before entering the university.

Our argument has been that language planning must be applied to school cycles, each of which can be considered complete in itself, whether of 6, 9, 12, 15 years duration. When limited to 6 years, there should at the end be a minimal proficiency in both (c) and (d), i.e. L1 and L2: it is debatable whether (m), L3, is required at this level, except in urbanized society (e.g. the capital). When limited to 9 years (i.e. junior secondary), there should be basic competence in (m) in addition to one (d), whilst higher secondary education - 12 years in all - should provide good competence in metalect skills, as they are required for social mobility and possibly for higher education.

Non-formal Education

Non-formal education concerns traditional and modern religious education, traditional and modern vocational/in-service training, as well as functional literacy and continuing education generally. 'Non-formal' in this context is really a misnomer, as the precise forms of these types of Education have been described. But they rely to a large extent on voluntary organizations and the community, rather than on governmental agencies - with the exception of literacy campaigns. Religious education/training is traditionally the preserve of the ethnic community, and is thus dispensed in the chthonolect. Christian and Muslim religious training take place in Sunday and Quranic schools, the former in the community language, the latter in Arabic (hierolec). There is a trend in certain Muslim areas to incorporate Quranic school with the public school, so that children do not have a double, consecutive schooling daily - in which case due space has to be made for Arabic on the syllabus. In this case the trilingual formula for primary schooling would be (c) + (d) + (h), or (d) + (h) + (m). Whilst traditional apprenticeship to various crafts would be in the community language (c/d), vocational training, or in-service training in the modern sector, is likely to be in both demolecet and metalect. There is little literature so far on the linguistic aspect of traditional and modern apprenticeship.

In the case of functional literacy, often for agricultural workers who have had no formal, or uninterrupted schooling, the question has arisen, whether to dispense it in (c) or (d) (Corman 1977). It has been argued that since there is little printed material in minority languages, it would be preferable to offer literacy in a wider community language, provided it was already well understood beforehand. However, it has also happened that literacy was offered in a written demolecet totally unknown to the agricultural community concerned, in which case the project was self-defeating. In the cities, however, there is reason for Continuing Education Centres to operate
in (m), inasmuch as they have to cater for a heteroethnic community. This has also the advantage of offering greater mobility to mature students. The correspondence colleges and universities of the air, now being sponsored by regional and governmental authorities, have likewise to choose between (d) and (m) - generally the latter, because of the ready availability of textbooks (cf. Unesco 1972 and 1975).

The question may be asked whether non-formal education should be the concern at all of the language planner. Whilst the private sector will always find its own solutions, much of non-formal Education is carried over increasingly into the public sector, for which civic, regional or central authorities take on the responsibility. Literacy campaigns especially and Continuing Education are included in educational policy, and should be carefully co-ordinated with the formal educational system, so that mature persons can benefit from it at various stages.

Language Planning and the Mass Media.

An area which could greatly contribute to planned Education is that of the mass media, especially since radio and television services, and often a part of the press, are publicly owned. Though there exists an abundant literature on the role of the mass media in Africa, special studies on the function of language in Education through broadcasting and television are rare, beyond School Broadcasting *stricto sensu*, i.e. as an integral part of the formal school system. But it is precisely here that in a largely oracy-centred society, the audio-visual mass media could make an important contribution to Education, to which the language planners should be consulted (10). Whilst in societies, where apart from the metalect a single demoloc is dominant, programmes with an educational aspect are easy to plan, the situation is difficult in those States, often quite small in population, in which a multiplicity of demolects are recognised, often accompanied by a number of larger chthonolects. Indeed, it is over the air, that often minority language groups can best be reached. But the quality of programming undoubtedly suffers from too much division, and administrations may consider whether the opening up of separate language channels would not be a worthwhile contribution to public Education, in polities where vast amounts are in any case spent on formal schooling. Not only could the media provide a high standard of teaching from nationally chosen personnel, but also Education mixed with entertainment may prove more motivating to young and old than formal schooling. Here, therefore, is a golden opportunity for the language planner (the writer has not had occasion to view the papers and recommendations of the recent inter-African Conference on Communication in Yaoundé).

Evaluation of Language Planning in Education.

National and international evaluation programmes in second language learning have recently been conducted by the Stockholm Institute for Educational Evaluation, allowing of macro-planning in second lanugage-teaching in Europe, where it has become essential. In Africa, evaluation reports have been made on regional programmes, such as SLUTEA (Abdulazis &
Fox 1978) or national programmes, such as the various surveys made under auspices of the Ford Foundation (Fox 1975). Experimental projects, like the one at Ife, have been made with built-in-evaluation and feedback, whilst others, like the Rivers Readers Project in 28 minority languages (Rivers State, Nigeria) have not.

The question that need be asked of all new language projects in Education is, how will it benefit the individual to function fully as a member of the local, regional or national community. Though they are often difficult to isolate, controllable variables have to be found on which to base meaningful evaluation, as feed-back to the various agencies - governmental and non-governmental - concerned with the use and development of language in Education. In the case of a three-language model, it will be seen which public domains are affected by the three language levels, and whether public harmony has been enhanced by a balance between them. When a new language - e.g. a demolict - is first introduced into an area of Education, the measure of its effectiveness can be made in longitudinal studies of individuals, or select social groups, as has been done for some of the national language-planning agencies. These provide insights also into the process of status planning - how to increase the stature of such a new demolict, as well as of the process of language spread and language shift. Possibly the leading variable in the success of a language-planning project is the attitude and motivation of the various ethnic and social groups in the country towards the language policy. Since diametrically opposite motives have been attributed to identical language policies in the use of 'mother tongues' in Education, it would be useful to evaluate their relative success in terms of the promotion of the individual and society. In this way also the relative significance of the component factors in language planning can be assessed, and adjustments made for future development.

CONCLUSION

The socio-linguistic substance of a given society is an entity or network, the components of which change in relation to each other; they cannot each grow or maintain a given status, without upsetting the social fabric. African societies stand at the crucial point of linguistic development, at which the fast evolving demolects are bound to grow at the expense both of the ethnonolects (local languages) and metallecta (link-languages from abroad). The language planner in Education can help and partly guide this process by preserving on the one hand certain aspects of oral traditions - channelled by the soil-bound, ethnic languages (the ethnonolects), which are fast being swallowed up in the oncoming African industrial revolution; by helping to channel the dynamic flow of the demolects, carrying with them the new social and national identity, and essential for future self-expression and 'authenticity'; and finally by selecting and clarifying valuable aspects of the 'received' world language, with their open networks of communication and knowledge (cf. Masrui, Keith Lecture 1979:60). The planning and treatment of each of these must be made in relation to each other, within the social ecology of each State. It is for these reasons that we consider essential a threefold linguistic development for Education in sub-Saharan Africa.
Table of local languages (chthonolects), major/national languages (demolects) and received/link languages (metalects) in sub-Saharan Africa.

P = 1979 population in millions; LL = number of languages recorded (Ethnologue); P/L = Language: Population ratio; U = linguistic unity index; d = demolect; o = official language; m = metalect.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>COUNTRY</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>LL</th>
<th>L/P</th>
<th>U</th>
<th>d1</th>
<th>U d2</th>
<th>% d2</th>
<th>% d3</th>
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<td>90</td>
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<td>d2</td>
<td>%</td>
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<td>75</td>
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<td>isiNdebele</td>
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</table>

Note: P = population figures in millions, sometimes rounded; LL = no of languages, including metalect (Ethnologue 1978); LiP = Language/Population ratio, no of LL per 1000; U = Language unity index = sum of % speakers of major LL; no of such LL; d1-4 = Major indigenous LL, with estimated % of speakers, whether as first (L1), second (L2) or third (L3) language. It has not been possible on this list to indicate the source or each estimate, taken from: Jeune Afrique 1979, Heine 1979, Morrison 1974, Unesco/BREDA 1971, British Council ELTP, Roberts in Rice 1962, Grimes 1978. Link languages / lingua francas have been indicated by a plus sign +.
NOTES

(1) The main papers of the important 1951 Unesco conference were published in English and French in 1953. The English edition had a second impression in 1958 which also had become a rarity by the time it was reproduced in J.A. Fishman's 1968 collection Readings in the sociology of language, whilst W.E. Boll's significant review of the report had been reproduced in Bell Hymes 1954 collection Language in culture & society. The report appeared in Spanish in 1964 under the title El proceso de las lenguas vernáculas en la enseñanza, and in 1964 in Catalan under the title Us de les llengües vernàcules en l'ensenyament (Barcelona, Ediciones d'Aportació Catalana). However, many valuable papers submitted to the meeting, both private and official, had not been included in the report, some of which are listed in the bibliography attached to this paper.

The papers of the 1952 Jos Conference were similarly published in 1954, both in English (original) and French, both editions having been out of print for some time. The writer has Unesco's permission to reproduce them in a forthcoming reader on Language policies in education in sub-Saharan Africa, since they are no less significant than the better known report of the 1951 conference. It will be noticed that the 1952, i.e., later conference, deals first with language contact between the indigenous languages and the exogenous, official tongue.

(2) The conferences of African Ministers of Education, beginning with that of Addis Ababa of 1961, did not deal with the question of language, until the 1976 Lagos Conference, which took place under the star of the Black Arts Festival: it was here that indigenous and 'national' languages were discussed. It is also significant that there exist permanent conferences of ministers of Education of anglophone, francophone and lusophone countries, each block on its own.

(3) In Somalia, the heavy colonial language heritage of three world languages - English, Arabic and Italian, made it imperative to come to a national solution, as described by Andrzejewski 1980.

(4) The 1952 Nigerian Census notes the following on the relationship between language and ethnicity of the Fulbe: 'The Fulani are intermingled with the Hausa and include all who claim descent (often only in the male line) from the true Fulani stock, which is today preserved only amongst the nomadic herdmens... and a minority of settled communities which have escaped intermarriage with the indigenous people. A majority of those listed as 'Fulani' speak the Hausa, nor the Fulani language as its mother tongue. So much for language statistics, in relation to ethnic identification.

(5) It will be remembered that in the mediaeval European universities, the 'nations' consisted of ethno-linguistic groups, whereas the idea of the nation-state is the result of Renaissance theory and practice, crystallised in the nationalism of the 19th century.

(6) It has been thought necessary to invent art terms for the specific functions of the different types of languages, as seen from each country/state. Thus metalect always refers to the former colonial, now mostly 'received' official language, whilst pkolect (p), refers to the neighbourhood metalect(s). The position of Arabic is that of a hierolect (h) (= Ferguson's 'r', or religious language) in its H form (as an acrolect), whilst in its L-form, Arabic is split into a number of i. national dialects - now becoming languages (Hurreiz 1978) - and ii. lingua francas, going beyond national boundaries.
(7) That the search for ethnic irredentism can lead to political disintegration is the fear of most African governments - especially the majority of multi-ethnic States. For this reason, it is not likely that governments will favour the development of unspecified languages within its boundaries. In fact many governments have shied away from describing, or defining the multi-ethnic composition of their territories. It is quite different with the western nation-states, most of which have a unique national language. In their democratic hours (i.e. not Spain under Franco), they can afford to humour their minorities, both indigenous and immigrant, by making special concessions to the more dynamic among them. Once a nation has been welded together, the constituent ethnic remnants can feel as patriotically national, as the majority. But this process is bound to take some time in sub-Saharan Africa, the time of nation-building.

(8) The existence of a north-south dichotomy in many countries, representing Muslim and Christian influences, Arabisation and Europeanisation, point to the need for geo-linguistic studies. Rather than consolidating these differences, the modern state will seek means to harmonise them.
LANGUAGE PLANNING IN EDUCATION : TRILINGUALISM IN AFRICA

Select Bibliography

The following references have been selected for their relevance to the theme in hand. They are both historical and contemporary - the former to show that present-day problems have often existed some time ago. A historical perspective also helps to see the changes in language policy, as a caveat to language planners. Special reference has been made to the archival papers for the Unesco 1951 Conference, which could not be included in the well-known published report. Some of the papers seem especially valuable.

Since the references mostly reflect the holdings of the compiler, there are some countries that have been wholly or partly neglected, not from any parti pris, but from lack of contact with them. Colleagues are cordially invited to communicate such lacunae to the compiler - or better how to fill them.

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Mali


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