

LANGUAGE PLANNING FOR NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT:
THE CASE OF GHANA.

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ABSTRACT

Studies by Fishman (1968a) and Pool (1971) show some correlation between economic development and multilingualism. In other words, countries that are multilingual tend to be less economically developed. This kind of investigation is not easy or straightforward. Pool mentions three difficulties associated with such a study. The first is what to measure and how to measure it; the second is unreliability in sources of statistical information, and the third, and probably most dangerous, is the risk of making erroneous causal inferences.

While it is necessary to keep these cautions in mind, it is nevertheless appropriate to give these studies some thought. For example, why does multilingualism correlate with poor economic growth? Are there any inherent problems in societal multilingualism that have adverse effects on economic performance of certain countries? Are there any ways that this effect can be minimized?

This study of language planning in Ghana's economic development is an exploratory study of language use in the educational system of Ghana, its relation to the general sociolinguistic and demographic profile of the country, and the potential for greater roles for the indigenous Ghanaian languages in the pursuit of economic progress. The study attempts to contextualize the case study of Ghana within the larger framework of multilingualism and multilingual education, by analyzing the factors which, in the past, determined and continue to determine the language education policies of the developing nations in the former British Colonial Africa. The study has three components: the descriptive, the empirical and the programmatic.

The descriptive component examined the socio-historical factors that shaped language policies in the past and continue to influence present-day policies. Ghana was born out of an amalgamation of several otherwise independent and powerful kingdoms. This was the result of colonial intervention. This amalgamation brought with it a complex linguistic problem. In order to promote unity among the different ethnic groups that have come under the new nation, and to pursue their economic and political agenda, the colonial government set into motion a language policy which gave English a sole official language status, which has remained ever since. With this language policy in the midst of such linguistic diversity as Ghana's, it is expected that problems would be experienced by persons who are not proficient in the official language, and by persons who are illiterate. The purpose of the study, therefore, was to assess the language-related and literacy-related problems that occur in social, economic and political experiences of the people. It was necessary to evaluate the success or failure of this policy, and that is what the second component of the study sought to investigate.

The empirical component comprised a sociolinguistic survey, conducted with the aim of evaluating the present language policies in a small way, and with a view to finding out what went wrong and why. The survey sought to find out the real language situation in Ghana and the level of individual multilingualism or bilingualism in three sample populations, which were assumed to represent the different types of communities found in Ghana: (a) rural homogeneous, (b) rural heterogeneous and (c) urban. It also sought to find out how successfully the ideologies behind the present language policies have been fulfilled. In short, the survey tried to find out the role

played by the various languages used in Ghana in the social, economic and political lives of the people, and how the languages stand in relation to one another as far as their functions are concerned. As part of the empirical component, an English proficiency test was conducted in six Junior Secondary Schools (JSS) in the three districts involved in the survey (two schools from each district). This was to find out to what extent the results would reflect the emphasis placed on the learning and use of English as the official language of Ghana. The following summarize some of the findings:

1. the majority of the people use the indigenous languages more than English, including the elite; English serves only an instrumental role;
2. most of the people are engaged in occupations that do not require English;
3. the emphasis on English prevents the larger masses of the population from having access to vital information on matters that could otherwise promote the economic, social and political well-being of the people;
4. the school drop-out rate is high, and most children drop out at a stage where they have no firm grip on literacy in either English or a Ghanaian language;
5. learning through a second language implies knowing that language, and the conditions for learning English in Ghana are not favorable (lack of native speakers, lack of qualified teachers and textbooks, etc.); the result is that after 9 years of schooling, most children can neither speak nor read and write in English;
6. the results of the proficiency test showed that most of the students in the final year of Junior Secondary (JSS) (the stage which happens to be the terminal point for a majority of the students) have such a low level of literacy in English that they cannot communicate in it in any meaningful way.
7. the unity that English was supposed to bring about seemed to be better served by the indigenous languages. In the urban and linguistically heterogeneous rural communities, the people are more united by the fact that the minority groups are able to learn the language of the majority group without losing their own languages; these major Ghanaian languages feature most in inter-ethnic communication.

The programmatic component is a proposal for a national language policy and a consequent proposal of a framework for language of education in Ghana. The proposal was based on the findings of the survey and other theoretical and pragmatic facts, some of which include the fact that:

1. bilingual education is vital and necessary for Ghanaian children;
2. research into second language acquisition supports the positive role of L1 in L2 acquisition;
3. concept formation is important in the early part of a child's education, and the language that can more efficiently transmit knowledge to the schoolchildren at the early stages of schooling is the mother tongue or L1.

4. the full development of a nation demands (a) mobilization of the population in informed participation in the social, economic and political programs of the nation; (b) equalization of access to information - for example, information regarding workplace health and safety, global problems of population growth, resource consumption and the environment, and how to help deal with the problems. The present policy makes it possible for only a small proportion of the population to become fluent in English and have access to higher education. This situation denies a majority of the population access to information, because they are not literate in the official language in which most of the relevant information is encoded.

The framework proposed gives equal emphasis to English and the Ghanaian languages, and ensures that children who drop out of school early are able to read and write at least a major Ghanaian language. It is also acknowledged that literacy in a Ghanaian language can play positive roles in the lives of the literates by way of acquisition of knowledge and the opportunity to participate better in nation-building.

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Thank you all.

Àkpé (Ewe)

Mèdàmòàsè (Akan)

Spasiba (Russian)

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my wife Selina and my children Gifty, Samson, Justine and Happy.

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

The last three decades have drawn much attention to the concept of development, yet the gap between the North and the South has been widening not only in absolute value but also in relative terms. The rich get richer, the poor poorer, and the gap is more than economic: it is a knowledge gap, a Humanity gap (Ghosh, 1989:76).

Over the past two decades, interest in the questions of language in education has grown considerably. This interest has not grown among only educationists; it has grown among linguists, psychologists and economists as well. The problems of language in education are invariably related to issues of language policy and implementation within the educational system. As Spolsky (1978) says:

Language education takes place in a social context.Recognition of the complex sociolinguistic forms within a community is essential to the development of a valid and workable language education policy (p.3).

It is, therefore, not surprising that the study of language education issues has become an interdisciplinary and multidimensional affair.

This study of language planning in Ghana's economic development is an exploratory case study of language use in the educational system of Ghana, its relation to the general sociolinguistic and demographic profile of the country, and the potential for greater roles for the indigenous Ghanaian languages in the pursuit of economic progress. The study attempts to contextualize the case study of

Ghana within the larger framework of multilingualism and multilingual education, by analyzing the factors which, in the past, determined and continue to determine the language education policies of the developing nations in the former British Colonial Africa. The theoretical base for this study is drawn from research in educational linguistics, sociolinguistics, language planning, bilingual and multilingual education. Support for this study is drawn from a vast number of studies, among them Cooper (1989), Cummins (1979, 1981, 1989), Kennedy (1984), Mackey (1984), Meliane (1986), Reagan (1986, 1987a, 1987b), Rubin (1984), Spolsky (1978), just to name a few.

This study examines why Ghana, in particular, and British Colonial Africa in general, continue to use English as a dominant language in education, as well as the role played by English in relation to the Ghanaian languages in the society. The historical and contemporary dimensions of the role of English and the Ghanaian languages are also examined. In the last three decades (starting around the 1960s), several African countries have gained political independence from their colonial masters from Portugal, Britain, France, Belgium etc. One of the important legacies inherited by these countries from their colonial masters was the latter's educational system. The system of education in the independent African countries differed from that of the colonial masters only in content, (depending on the resources available), and the philosophy underlying the policies of the various colonial powers.

After independence, most African governments were faced with the problem of language of education: what languages were to be used for educational purposes;

which language(s) is/are to be used for instruction; what should be the role of the indigenous languages vis-a-vis the colonial language. In each of the independent African countries, the dominant language in education was the colonial language which had been used as the major language of schooling. In the Portuguese and French territories, these colonial languages were used throughout the school system right from the first year of schooling. The British allowed some years (in most cases, three) of initial mother tongue instruction (Bamgbose, 1976). Years after independence, African governments are still grappling with the language-of-education problem. Apart from a few countries like Tanzania, Somalia and Ethiopia, most African countries continue to use the colonial languages as "official" or "national" languages. Because of the multilingual nature of the situation in these independent African countries, their governments have to grapple with the conflicting demands of "nationalism" and "nationism".¹ The history of most of these countries shows that they were an amalgamation of hitherto independent and linguistically distinct kingdoms with their own traditionally organized systems of government (i.e, they were nationalities). They were brought together under colonial rule through conquests and treaties. Despite these amalgamations, the people still maintain their ethnic identity as distinct peoples. For example, the Asantes of Ghana consider themselves first and foremost Asantes. Being a Ghanaian comes second. The same is true of other ethnic groups like Ewes, Gās, Fantes, Gonjas etc. (see Ward, 1965 for a full history of Ghana). African govern-

¹ *Nationalism* refers to the feelings that develop from and support nationalities. It is more concerned with "ethnic authenticity" and it is best served by developing an indigenous language with an ethnic-based patriotic force (see Eastman, 1983). *Nationism*, on the other hand, is primarily concerned with operational efficiency of the supranational unit and it is best served by political integration.

ments were, therefore, faced with the problem of how they could satisfy the nationalistic pressures of the various ethnic groups without jeopardizing the requirements of the nation.

This case study of educational language planning in Ghana's economic development is an attempt to investigate how far the present language of education policy is a reflection of colonial language policy, how effective this policy has been, and what the possible outcomes of an extended use of the major Ghanaian languages in the educational system might be. Because of the multi-dimensional nature of the problem, the study combines various methodological approaches to the research. It is partly historical and descriptive; historical in the sense that the forces that shaped the present dominant status of English in most of former British colonial Africa are described and analyzed in a historical context. The study is also partly sociolinguistic, in that affective data on language and language use was collected by means of questionnaire and interviews.

1.1 Nature and Purpose of the Study.

This study seeks specifically to examine whether the present educational language policies of Ghana promote or fail to promote economic development. Studies by Fishman (1968a) and Pool (1971) show some correlation between economic development and multilingualism. In other words, countries that are multilingual tend to be less economically developed. This kind of investigation is not easy or straightforward. Pool mentions three difficulties associated with such a study.

The first is what to measure and how to measure it; the second is unreliability in sources of statistical information, and the third, and probably most dangerous, is the risk of making erroneous causal inferences.

While it is necessary to keep these cautions in mind, it is nevertheless appropriate to give these studies some thought. For example, why does multilingualism correlate with poor economic growth? Are there any inherent problems in societal multilingualism that have adverse effects on economic performance of certain countries? Are there any ways that this effect can be minimized? My initial hypothesis is that poor language planning is a factor in the poor economic, social and political development in Ghana, and in most African countries. The role of language in the functioning and development of human society cannot be over-emphasized. However, when faced with heterogeneous multilingual societies in Sub-Saharan Africa (especially those with dominant exoglossic languages and no official national languages) and with complex sociolinguistic profiles and high illiteracy rates, one needs to identify the place of the local languages in development. The solution to the multilingual problems of Ghana or Africa does not lie in the marginalization of the minority languages, which play significant roles in the lives of their speakers. It is possible for the functional roles of some of these languages to be extended so that they can serve their speakers better. This study assesses the roles of high-status English and the various Ghanaian languages in Ghanaian society and how this is reflected in educational language policies. The assumption is that education plays an important part in a nation's development (see Ashworth, 1985). It is possible for education to make significant contributions to the economic development of a nation if it assists that nation in realizing some of its economic goals, which may include:

1. raising the standard of living through industrialization and modernization;
2. giving the citizens greater economic security throughout their lives;
3. producing the goods and services the consumers need;
4. increasing exports;
5. becoming more self-sufficient.

By investing in human capital through a sound basic education, along with vocational and retraining programs, governments can help build an informed workforce of skilled managers, technicians, artisans and even farmers. The net effect can be greater efficiency, resulting in increased productivity and a rise in the Gross National Product (GNP). The earning power of the individual is affected by his/her level of education and productivity. The educational system, therefore, must provide the means by which people can acquire those skills necessary for effective economic development. The language of education is, therefore, crucial in this respect, especially in multilingual countries.

The question of which language(s) among the numerous languages of most multilingual countries should be used in education is crucial. Mother tongue (MT) education has been advocated in many studies (Cummins, 1981, 1989; Fishman, 1984; Szepe, 1984; Pattanayak, 1986; UNESCO, 1953). The current policy of Ghana is that mother tongue instruction is used in the first three years of the student's whole period of education, with English taking over from the fourth year. It is an undeniable fact that English is the most popular international language today and a knowledge of it is necessary for international communication and co-operation and for access to research in various fields of endeavour. At the

same time, if the pattern of language use is carefully observed in Africa in general and Ghana in particular, it is clear that a great disservice is being done to the masses of the people by the educational systems operating in most African countries. I wish to argue that equal emphasis should be given in the educational system to English and the major Ghanaian languages. This position stems from the following considerations:

1. the mass of the people (about 60%) cannot speak English (see Bokamba, 1984; Myers-Scotton, 1993). Even those who speak English have very restricted use for it (i.e., only at the workplace).
2. the school drop-out rate is high; a lot of the drop-outs cannot claim to have literacy in any language;
3. the major Ghanaian languages have a considerable literature. They have the potential for being used to perform many of the functions being performed by English today (provided they are given the right treatment).
4. the conditions necessary for an effective learning of English are not adequately present. As a result, it takes students longer to acquire the necessary skills in English for them to be able to use it effectively. Most students drop out before this "threshold" stage.²

Because the majority of the people cannot use English, they are cut off from the system in which they are supposed to participate. This creates a communication gap between the elite and the masses. It is easier for children of all classes to become literate in their mother tongue or a Ghanaian language than in English.

² I use the term "threshold" in this context to refer to a minimum level of proficiency below which a person would not be able to communicate effectively in a language. In Ghana, this threshold would be equivalent to the General Certificate of Education (GCE) Ordinary Level ("O" Level), which is the basic proficiency level in English required for entry into colleges and universities.

The tasks they have to perform in learning the mother tongue are lessened by the fact that they have already acquired a considerable amount of the spoken language.

It is true that most African governments, educators and individuals have too many languages to deal with. But it should be possible to cultivate a few major ones for internal developmental use. Outside the domain of public administration and education, the major languages of Ghana, which are also regional languages, dominate inter-ethnic communication. The emphasis on an international language (English) has done much to separate the elites from the masses.

The present language policies of several African countries, including Ghana, raise a lot of questions, which the present study sought to investigate. The main question is: what is the role of education in a nation's development, and what has language planning got to do with it? This main question brings up other sub-questions, among which are:

1. What factors shaped the present educational language policy in Ghana?
2. What should the relation be between Language Policy and Educational Language Planning? That is, what implications has language policy at the national level for the educational system?
3. Does Ghana's educational system provide the necessary tool or skills for economic development?
4. What is the relation between school language and home/community language(s)?

Other points that need to be looked at in relation to the first five questions are:

1. What are some of the arguments in favor of the use of English as a medium in Ghana schools?
2. Is the emphasis on English making any positive impact on development?
3. What level of proficiency in English do people need to be able to function better in the system?
4. What is the proficiency in English of Ghanaian students after 6 to 9 years of education in English?
5. What are the attitudes of a cross-section of the Ghanaian population towards English and the Ghanaian languages?
6. Does the whole population need English for occupational purposes?
7. What should the role of the local languages be?
8. How can language policies in education reflect the needs of both the urban and rural populations?
9. When, and for how long, should English and the Ghanaian languages (i) be taught as a subject (ii) be the medium of instruction?
10. Should teachers in Ghana be able to teach in two or more languages (e.g., English and a Ghanaian language)?

A combination of historical, theoretical and empirical investigative procedures was used to investigate the questions of the study. The focus is on the factors that shaped the present language-of-education policy and whether the present policy is worth pursuing, considering the economic, social and political needs of Ghana in particular and Africa in general (since most of these countries shared the same fate). As Gorman (1973) notes:

Most African states inherited from the colonial regimes political, economic, social, and, in some cases, artistic institutions in which the language of the colonial power was characteristically employed,

and have maintained these through the offices of the bureaucracy, whose members are trained to work in the second language (p. 75)

The study is divided into three sections, the descriptive, the empirical and the programmatic.

1.2 Components of the Study.

The Descriptive Component. This component has two parts to it; the first part is concerned with the historical and contemporary aspects of language education policy. The factors and considerations that determined the introduction of English, not only in Ghana, but in several other African countries, are examined. The role of the missionaries as the early agents of education is explored, as well as the ideologies and principles which guided and determined the general education policies of the colonial governments in Ghana and Africa. Pre- and Post-independence language of education policies of Ghana are also examined in this component.

The second part of this component examines the concepts of Language Planning, language planning processes and research studies in Language Planning (henceforth LP). Bilingualism and studies in bilingual and multilingual education are also explored. Various bilingual programs are examined, as well as some of the case studies of bilingual programs in other parts of the world.

The Empirical Component. This involves the analysis and description of affective and cognitive data. The performance of Junior Secondary students on several tests is measured. Their performance on English proficiency tests constructed on the basis

of the "Basic Education Certificate Examination" (BECE) conducted by the West African Examinations Council (WAEC) is described and analysed. The study involves a sociolinguistic survey conducted on attitudes to language in education and language use of a selected sample of the Ghanaian population comprising teachers, students, parents, educators, traders, artisans, administrators etc. The results indicate that the Ghanaian languages play a major role in the lives of the majority of Ghanaians (both at home and in workplaces). It was also found that the emphasis laid on English in the educational system does not yield the expected results. Coupled with the fact that most students drop out after primary school without an educational command of any language, it is logical for language planning policies to be re-examined, taking into consideration some of these results. The results of this survey are discussed in the empirical component.

The Programmatic Component. This component has to do with issues of language education policy and implementation. A framework for language education is proposed, based on the analysis of the descriptive and empirical components. The historical and contemporary factors that shaped language education policies in Ghana, research findings and experiences in other multilingual and bilingual settings, and the views and attitudes of members of the community towards English and the Ghanaian languages - all these factors serve as input to the framework that is deemed most suitable for Ghana's education and economic development. The suggested framework makes it possible for students to have mother tongue or a major African language instruction for at least six years, while learning English as a subject. This enables the students to have a command of at least an African language, in case they drop out after primary school. It also makes the transition to English gradual and smooth.

It may be argued that there is no point in acquiring literacy in a language that leads nowhere in terms of upward mobility and to economic opportunity. But it must also be noted that even in the so-called developed countries, not all people have the same economic opportunity. Moreover, we have to look at the specific contexts in which literacy programs are initiated. For example, in Ghana, about 50% or more of the population is engaged in agriculture, and the majority of this population is rural and generally sedentary. Moreover, the daily activities of the majority of the population is carried out in their local languages. In other words, they do not need knowledge of English to get on with their work. So, there is no point in insisting on English literacy for this population. With the high drop-out rate in the schools, literacy in a major Ghanaian language is much better than no literacy at all.

1.3 Rationale for the Study.

Developing nations, including Ghana, are plagued with many problems - economic, social, political etc. Some of these problems have to do with high population growth due to high birth-rate, poor health due to malnutrition, high illiteracy rate, low per capita incomes and low life expectancy. After three decades of political independence, Ghana is still grappling with these problems. The big question is: why are these African countries still struggling with the quality of life after so many years of self-rule? The search for an answer to this question will lead us into finding out why the low per capita income, poor health and high illiteracy rate persist after so many years. These problems are inter-related. For instance,

a high illiteracy rate may be due to low incomes; and low incomes may be due to illiteracy, which limits one's job opportunities; low incomes may also lead to poor health because people cannot afford health care expenses or proper nutrition. Health and education are probably the most basic requirements for development. Healthy individuals are an asset, not only to themselves, but also to the larger community to which they belong - the nation. Education has been, and continues to be, looked upon as the major producer of the personnel requirements of any nation, developed or developing. Educational planning, therefore, should be closely tied to the economic planning programs of all nations. When we talk about educational planning in multilingual countries, then the question of languages comes in - the question of which of the multiplicity of languages should feature in the educational system and what functions should the various languages play in the system. One very important aspect of any development plan is evaluation (which is discussed in detail later in the study). It is a way of examining the degree of success or failure of a plan or program by assessing it to find out how far the goals set are being fulfilled. It is the most neglected aspect of planning (Reagan, 1986). For language policies to be more effective, there is the need for regular assessment of policies to determine their effectiveness and the effect they have on the people affected by the policies. Just as language is dynamic, so is human society and, therefore, language use in society. There has not been much work done with respect to real case studies of language problems in Africa (i.e., there is a lack of real data for assessing the success or failure of language policies). This is confirmed by Gorman (1975) in the following words.

It is a cause for regret, for example, that despite the numerous English medium programs developed in former British colonial territories in the last two decades, very few studies have been made which

can be used as a source of reference for subsequent programs; since evidence other than the anecdotal regarding the success or failure of aspects of such programs is generally not available (p. xxix)

Other writers such as Amonoo (1989), Bamgbose (1976), Boadi (1976), also suggest that informed decisions or policies cannot be taken or formulated in the absence of hard facts, data and research on the role and use of English in the educational system. It is this task that has been tackled in this study, though in a small way.

The main motivations for the selection of European languages as official languages by most African countries are: first, that since the European languages are culturally neutral, they could create linguistic unity in such multilingual African countries (see Fishman, 1968; Eastman, 1983). This unity would (so it was thought) generate national consciousness, which would in turn lead to the development of the countries; second, these European languages are languages of power, linked with great literary traditions and scientific and technological development. What we need to find out is whether the so-called unity has been or is being achieved through the use of a European language. The other question is why Africa is still "backward" in science and technology, the very areas in which planners thought they could reap good harvests by the adoption of European languages in education. With the present language policies in most African countries, where a European language is the official language, we expect that problems may be experienced by persons who are not proficient in the language, and also by persons who are illiterate. The basic issue is whether or not these two categories of people are adequately informed regarding, for instance, health and safety at work; can they read and understand instructions regarding safe procedures;

can they inform themselves about workplace hazards, and can they inform themselves about their rights and obligations contained in relevant legislation? The purpose of the study, therefore, is to assess the extent to which language-related and literacy-related difficulties may inhibit social, economic and political development of a nation such as Ghana.

There is a growing concern in Ghana about the falling standards of English (Ghana TV News, August 12, 1992). If results do not match the amount of emphasis placed on English in the educational system (i.e, if the expected outcome is not being realized), then there must be something wrong somewhere. An investigation of the level of proficiency attained by students has to consider such non-linguistic variables as the average number of children in a class, number and quality of teachers, quality and availability of teaching materials etc. The findings of such an investigation could lead either to an improvement of conditions under which the English language is taught and learnt within the school system, or to a reformulation of the language education policy. Also, if Ghanaian languages have been neglected in favor of English but this does not yield the expected result, then it becomes "double jeopardy" for most of the students, who end up without literacy in any language.

A well-known and often-cited sociolinguistic survey conducted in Ghana is one undertaken by Ansre (1975). It was a study of language use and attitudes in Madina, a suburb of the capital, Accra. According to the report, Madina was then a small village of about two thousand people. There has not been any substantial survey of that sort since then. Madina today can boast of about fifty thousand

people (about 25 times the population when the first survey was conducted). Surely there are going to be many changes, and the pattern of language use today would definitely be more complex than it was in 1975. This complexity would extend to the school system and directly or indirectly affect the quality of output in the school system. This study is an attempt to throw some light on the existing complex linguistic atmosphere and to find out whether the present language of education policy is able to accommodate this pattern efficiently. The study is an exploratory one, whose results are analyzed, taking into consideration both contemporary theories of LP and Multilingual or Bilingual Education, and the factors that determined the present policies.

1.4 Conceptual Framework

As noted by Cooper (1989), language planning is still at the stage of discovering behavioral regularities. Before these regularities can be discovered and moulded into a comprehensive theory of language planning, we must decide which variables it will be most useful to describe. This study will adopt the descriptive framework suggested by Cooper. He suggests a framework which will tell us what actors attempt to influence what behaviors, of which people, for what ends, by what means and with what results. Two other rubrics that must be addressed in this framework are the conditions under which the planning is undertaken, and the policy-making process. For LP, this framework must tell us who makes language policies; what the goals of such policies are; what the nature of the population whom the policies will affect is; what means are to be adopted to achieve these goals and what results are expected.

1.5 The Language Situation in Ghana

Most African countries are multilingual. In each of these countries, several languages are in use, and individuals in these countries speak one or more languages in addition to their own mother tongue. Thus the concept "multilingual" has two senses: one with respect to a country where several languages are spoken, and the other with respect to individual polyglottism. Ghana is no exception. It is a multilingual country with over forty mutually unintelligible languages and a population of about 15 million. Ghana's indigenous languages fall into three language groups (see language map of Ghana on p. 249).

- (1) *Kwa*: made up of the major languages such as Akan, Ewe, Gã;
- (2) *Mande*: made up of two northern languages, Ligbi and Bisa;
- (3) *Gur*: comprising most of the northern languages such as Dagbani, Kasem, Dagare etc.

The three groups belong to the Niger-Congo family and the Niger- Kordofanian phylum (Greenberg, 1963). There is no available data on the linguistic distribution of the present population because the last census (1984) did not include questions on linguistic information. However, educated estimates give the distribution according to ethnic groups as follows:

Akan (Kwa) :	44.1%
Ewe (Kwa) :	13.0%
Gã/Dangme (Kwa):	8.3%
Mole-Dagbani (Gur):	16%
Guang (Kwa):	3.7%
Gurma (Gur):	3.5%
Others:	11.4%

Source: Chazan (1983:35)

Akan is obviously the most popular indigenous language in terms of number of mother tongue speakers. Akan is a term used in modern times to refer to a cluster of variant dialects (Asante, Fante, Akwapem, Akim, Kwahu etc.), some of which were formerly regarded and written as separate languages (Asante, Fante and Akwapem).³ All these are now known to be dialects of the same language which is now referred to as Akan. A unified Akan orthography is now available. This was made to eliminate the disadvantages of producing the same texts in three different orthographies. Meanwhile, Fante, Asante and Akwapem, which were written as separate languages by the early missionaries, continue to be examined at the General Certificate of Education (GCE), Ordinary Level (O/L) as separate languages by the West African Examinations Council, the main examination body for the English West African region. At the Advanced Level, however, only Akan is featured. Ewe also has several dialects (Tongu, Avenor, Peki, Kpando, Anlo etc), but it has a written standard. It is also an examinable subject at both "O" and "A" Levels of the GCE. The other major languages (Gã, Dagbani and Nzema) also have standard written forms.

Akan seems to be popular among speakers of other languages. It is spoken by a large number of individuals as a second language with varying degrees of proficiency. The popularity of Akan among speakers of other Ghanaian languages is due to the fact that the Akan-speaking areas are the richest areas of Ghana. The area is endowed with most of Ghana's natural resources - minerals and forests - economic resources that attract a lot of other Ghanaians from the grasslands of

³ Dolphyne (1988) discusses the various tribes that constitute the Akan-speaking group. She also distinguishes between ethnographic Akans and linguistic Akans.

the north and south, where the erratic rainfall pattern makes farming ventures unpredictable. Akan-speaking people also own a lot of businesses in the cities, resulting in the spread of their language in most urban areas. Despite the drain to the rich Akan-speaking areas, the majority of the other ethnic collectivities still remain in their original settlements. A few of them move to the cities where they come into contact with other languages. But the majority hardly travel outside their regions of settlement. To these people, Akan is completely foreign. So the picture is that even though Akan is the most extensively-spoken Ghanaian language, it is still not spoken by a majority of the speakers of other languages in other regions.

A description of Ghana's language situation calls for a multi-layered analysis if the complexity of the linguistic landscape is to be fully understood. At one level of analysis, we can distinguish three major types of languages in Ghana: (a) indigenous languages (approximately 44), (b) exogenous languages (English, French), and (c) a neutral language, namely, pidgin English. The term "exogenous" is used to refer to languages which are not native to the community or nation in question. At another level of analysis, the languages show different orders of hierarchical relationship, while revealing contrastive and overlapping characteristics as well as functions. The three language types are examined below. The structural and functional relationships among the languages in each type are highlighted where necessary.

Indigenous Languages. The indigenous languages vary greatly in their personal, functional, structural and spatial characteristics. Based on number of speakers,

range of functions, extent of use in formal education, and degree of official recognition, as criteria for classification, the languages display a tripartite classification.

National Languages: The national language status is given to those languages that are featured on the national broadcasting network. They are Akan, Dagbani, Ewe, Gã, Hausa and Nzema.⁴

Regional Languages: are the same as the national ones, except Hausa. They are regarded as the regional lingua francas.

Local Languages: comprise over 30 others.⁵

Languages in the first and second categories constitute about 80% of Ghana's population. The country is divided into ten administrative regions: Volta, Greater Accra, Eastern, Central, Western, Ashanti, Brong-Ahafo, Northern, Upper East and Upper West. Akan is native to five of these regions, namely Ashanti, Brong-Ahafo, Central, Eastern and Western, hence its numerical strength. Ewe is native to only the Volta Region, but it is spoken across the borders of Ghana, in neighboring Togo. The minority languages are concentrated in the northern part of the country, where about 55% of the languages are located.

Exogenous Languages. Each of the four exogenous languages - English, Arabic, French and Hausa - has its own history, uses and functions. English, the most dominant of the exogenous languages, was probably the first to arrive in Ghana. It first came as a language of the traders in the 16th century, later as a mission-

⁴ There is no legal document giving the status of "national language" to these indigenous languages. They are so regarded by convention.

⁵ The status classification of Ghana's languages is further discussed in Chapter VII.

ary language in the 18th century, and then as the colonial language in the following century. It was finally adopted as the nation's official language during independence in the middle of the 20th century. Today, English is the de facto official language of Ghana, being the predominant language of government and the bureaucracy, education, commerce, mass communication, international trade and politics, science and technology. It is also used for inter-ethnic communication among the educated elite. English is, therefore, the most important language in Ghana today in both status and function.

French, the next largest exogenous language lacks the historical roots of and the range of functions of English. But its importance is international. Ghana's closest neighbors are all French-speaking - Togo on the East, La Cote D'Ivoire (or the Ivory Coast) on the west and Burkina Faso on the north. As a result, French is encouraged in the educational system, especially at the high school level. It is examinable at the "O" and "A" Levels of the GCE and is even included in the curriculum for basic education.

Hausa was probably introduced through Islam which entered the country from northern Nigeria, the native base of the language. It is gaining popularity as a lingua franca in the West African sub-region. It is one of the major languages that feature in radio and television programs, but is not taught in the school system.

Arabic is probably the least popular of the exogenous languages. It is strictly a religious language, used only by Moslems in their worship. It is taught only in Arabic schools where Moslem children are taught to read the Koran. It is also

studied at the university. Outside the mosque and the Arabic class, the language is used nowhere in the society.

The Neutral Language. Pidgin English is referred to as a neutral language (see Akinnaso, 1990) because it is developed from two or more languages in contact. Pidgins in West Africa developed as a result of the contact situation between English, French or Portuguese and the indigenous African languages. So we have English-based pidgin in Ghana, Nigeria and Sierra Leone, for instance, and a French-based pidgin in the Cameroons. Even though Nigerian Pidgin English and the pidgin of Ghana are both English-based, many differences exist because of the differences between the indigenous languages that combine with English to create the pidgin. Pidgin English in Ghana is gaining much popularity as a language of inter-ethnic communication. It was originally thought to be used only by people who were not proficient in the standard English. Today, this assumption can be only partially true, for pidgin is now widely spoken on university campuses and by most high school students, even among people who have the same linguistic background. It has become, for the students, a language of solidarity and for most other users, the only means by which they can communicate with people whose language they cannot speak. For now, it may be argued that pidgin English poses no threat to standard English in Ghana, but it would not be surprising if, in the future, pidgin English began to have some influence on the written English of students. Despite this upsurge in the use of pidgin English, it is still a stigmatized language in official domains, partly because it is viewed as a "corrupt" form of language and partly because it is largely associated with illiterate and "uneducated" users.

The three types of languages described above pattern into a five-tier system of language hierarchy if we take into consideration such factors as degree of official recognition, prestige, context of situation and range of use. English is placed at the top of the hierarchy because it is the official language and the most prestigious. It is followed by the six major national languages, then the minority languages, with pidgin at the bottom of the hierarchy. It should be noted that even though some languages perform certain exclusive functions, considerable functional overlap exists. For instance, it can be noted from the division above that the national languages function as regional languages as well.

From this brief description of the language situation in Ghana, it should be clear that it is not a simple situation at all. Rather, it is a complex situation which needs a complex solution. This does not lie in arbitrary language policies, but in a methodical and rational policy which must take into account the various sociolinguistic facts of the various languages. The solution does not lie in simply saying that a neutral language is the best way to go because that neutral language is more prestigious, and also that its choice would ensure national integration.⁶

The rest of the dissertation is organized as follows: In Chapter 2, multilingualism and bilingualism are discussed. The main thrust of this study has to do with multilingualism and the problems associated with it. So, it is appropriate to discuss some of the issues of multilingualism. Since societal multilingualism normally calls for some kind of bilingual education, some sections of this chapter are devoted to a discussion of the various types of bilingual education, and which

⁶ A more detailed analysis of the language situation is found in Chapter VII.

type would be beneficial to Ghana. Chapter III looks at the concept of language planning (LP): the issues of who makes language policy, for whom, and why. The chapter also discusses the types of LP and some important stages in LP process, which are believed to ensure a successful LP. Chapters II and III form the descriptive component of the study. They give a general conceptual framework within which the study is done. Chapter IV marks the beginning of some specific aspects of the study. It describes briefly the history of education in Ghana, and how LP has been carried out since the arrival of Europeans in the 15th century. Chapters V and VI constitute the empirical component of the study. Chapter V describes the survey: methods of data collection and analysis. Chapter VI discusses the results of the survey. Chapter VII represents the programmatic component of the study. A proposal is made for a language policy for Ghana, based on the results of the survey and some research findings in second language acquisition, psycholinguistics and bilingual education.

Chapter II

MULTILINGUALISM AND BILINGUAL EDUCATION

Polyglottism is a very early characteristic of human societies and monolingualism a cultural limitation (Lewis, 1976:150).

In this chapter, the concepts of multilingualism and bilingualism are examined and the conditions that give rise to multilingualism are explored. The nature of multilingualism demands some form of multilingual or bilingual education; thus this chapter also discusses various definitions of bilingual education. Types of bilingual education are examined and the options discussed in the light of the needs of developing African countries. Education is closely tied to literacy. This relationship and the various issues raised in the literature on literacy are discussed. The issue of language-of-education is discussed and arguments for and against mother tongue education are examined.

2.1 The Concept of Multilingualism.

The concept of *multilingualism* can be viewed from two angles - in relation to the individual and in relation to a nation or country as a unit. So we can talk of *individual multilingualism* and *societal multilingualism*. While the latter refers to a country

in which two or more languages are used, the former can be said to be an offshoot of the latter. That is, people tend to become multilingual as a result of the presence of many languages within the borders of the country they live in (though this is not always the case).⁷

Multilingualism is viewed from different perspectives by different scholars who study it. Linguists who are preoccupied with the formulation of precise rules used to be inconvenienced by what is termed "interference" from another language with the one they are studying. This notion gave rise to studies in the area of "Error Analysis" and "Contrastive Analysis". Today, these terms are no longer used, and what used to be considered as "interference" are now subsumed under linguistic variation and studies in language contact, within the discipline of sociolinguistics. Educational psychologists, on the other hand, are concerned with the effects of bilingualism on the cognitive ability or concept formation of the growing individual. Social scientists of different categories and even laymen tend to look upon multilingualism as a nuisance or a problem, while political scientists worry about national unity. Educators and decision-makers may have nightmares when considering the options for language of education and calculating the cost of education. But multilingualism seems to be the norm in modern times because of rapid growth in transportation and communication, and developments in technology. When several languages come into contact, one of two things may happen: there may be *language shift* or *language maintenance* (with division of functions). *Language shift* refers to a situation where one language becomes dominant, and, as a result, speakers of the minority languages tend to shift to the dominant

⁷ Other languages of a multilingual can be external to the country s/he lives in. The motive for learning such languages may be internationalism.

language. This can lead to language loss or death. On the other hand, it is possible for all the languages in contact to remain in use, each being used in specific domains; this is referred to as *language maintenance*.

One approach to the study of multilingualism is to investigate the different types of contact situations which are at its root and which, in turn, are determined by historical, sociocultural and environmental factors (Mansour, 1987). Three types of contact situations are discussed by Mansour (1987). They are:

- (1) co-existence with minimal contact;
- (2) co-existence with socially-prescribed contact;
- (3) co-existence with acculturation.

2.1.1 Co-existence With Minimal Contact

The first type - co-existence with minimal contact - is characterised by its horizontal features, i.e. separate autonomous linguistic communities live side by side and "form a kind of patch-work quilt over a given geographic space" (Mansour, 1987:139). In this type of situation, inter-ethnic contact is very rare and communication is usually via traders, messengers and interpreters. In such cases, isolation is caused by topographical features such as mountains, rivers, valleys, deserts, surrounding waters etc. This type of situation is characteristic of the pre-historic age. These physical barriers have been overcome to a large extent, thanks to man's ingenuity and the resultant developments in science and technology. But as noted by Mansour (1987), these barriers are reduced only for others to emerge, namely physical-cultural distinctiveness, a strong sense of social cohesion and

separate identity, developed throughout a long history of social development. The survival of the many linguistic minorities in Europe testifies to the power of environmental and sociocultural factors, for example, the Basques of the French-Spanish border, the Bretons in France, and the Welsh in the U.K.

In West Africa, there were large ethnolinguistic groups with a "homeland," a core territory where their language was spoken by the majority of the population, and where a large proportion of that population remained monolingual throughout their lives (Mansour, 1987). While such societies were self-sufficient and independent, there were no communication problems. Problems arose with the advent of colonial administrations, which attempted to combine a number of large or small ethnolinguistic units. Examples of such former independent kingdoms in Ghana were the *Ashantis*, *Ewes*, *Gās*, *Fantes*, *Gonjas*. After independence, the priorities of the former colonies were economic development linked to a transfer of western technology and science. With this priority, the only option which the leaders thought could serve their goals was a European language, and literacy in it. Though the priorities have not changed, there are growing demands for greater autonomy, and this poses new questions and forces decision makers to search for new options - to choose one national language or several? And what about the small linguistic communities? Would they be disadvantaged by the promotion of other African languages or is the maintenance of a European language a guarantee for providing them with equal opportunity?

2.1.2 Co-existence With Socially Prescribed Contact

The second type of contact situation - *co-existence with socially prescribed contact* - is a situation in which two or more distinct groups "share the same geographical space and interact in a well-defined, socially prescribed manner" (Mansour, 1980:143). This contact situation is characterized by the absence of the natural barriers mentioned for the first type. With such favorable conditions, the likelihood of several groups coming into contact and competing with one another is greater than occurs in the first type of situation. In such situations, the original settlers have to defend their territory against invasion. Invasion may result in the expulsion of either the invaders or the original population. Sometimes a solution is arrived at by the two groups agreeing on peaceful co-existence. Two things eventually result from such co-existence; one is the development of a specific pattern of social division of labor. This permits two ethnolinguistically (and possibly racially) distinct groups to live together harmoniously, while preserving their identity and distinction. In such a situation, there is complementarity of economic activity and the use of language rather than competition. For example, an agrarian society may co-exist with a group of traders, with language A dominating the agricultural sector, and language B becoming the language of trade. The other thing that results from such co-existence is eventual fusion, leading to either language shift or the emergence of a creole. These are discussed in the next subsection.

A type of *co-existence with socially prescribed contact* exists in Africa. It is the situation where a European language co-exists with the resident African languages. The contact situation which lies at its root is the colonial conquest. The colonial domination was complete, embracing the political, economic and sociocultural sphere and "often resulting in the destruction of the sociocultural fabric of African societies" (Mansour, 1987:147). The sociolinguistic consequences of such a situation are primarily expressed in language attitudes, i.e a devaluation of African languages and culture, and a shift in psycho-sociological orientation away from the group of origin towards the prestige group. Total assimilation is blocked in most of these cases, resulting in "more individually perceived self-definition and the development of an elite class, isolated from both its matrix and the group it wishes to imitate" (Mansour, 1987:147). One other sociolinguistic consequence is the super-imposition of English, French or Portuguese on an already existing pattern of multilingual language use. The foreign language comes to dominate all the domains of social behavior connected with government, administration, the modern economic sector, education and the mass media.

The type of sociolinguistic situation described above is similar to the *diglossic* situation described by Ferguson (1964). He describes *diglossia* as the co-existence of a socially prestigious form of speech (High) with a less prestigious form (Low), for example, Classical Arabic (High) with Colloquial Arabic (Low), or Standard German (H) with Swiss German (L). There is, however, some difference between the form of diglossia exemplified by Ferguson and the form we find in the African context. In the former, the majority of the population uses both forms of speech, depending on the appropriateness of each to the topic of conversation or the type

of social interaction. In the latter(i.e., the African context), the use of the "High" form of speech (i.e the European languages) is limited to those who have enjoyed adequate education in this language, which may be only about 10% in some countries. We can, therefore, talk about diglossia only in respect of this minority who speak the "High" language: in formal situations, or when discussing topics for which the local languages appear to lack adequate expressions, the foreign language dominates; in intimate situations with members of the same group (in the domain of the family, friendship, religion, village meetings etc.) the mother tongue is spoken. Sometimes a third, more neutral but informal African lingua franca is employed with members of other ethnolinguistic groups. It is often claimed that European languages are also important as a tool of inter-ethnic communication, but the facts do not support this claim.

2.1.3 Co-existence With Acculturation

Co-existence may also lead to fusion eventually, and this constitutes the third type of contact situation. This type is what Mansour (1980) terms *co-existence with acculturation*. A process of acculturation may develop when two ethnolinguistic groups are in close contact for a long time. In acculturation, the two different sets of sociocultural values influence each other and eventually a common set of values may be adopted. Acculturation may be manifested in three different scenarios: linguistic convergence, language shift and the emergence of creoles.

Linguistic convergence may develop between two or more ethno- linguistic groups which are closely related, share a common history and have many sociocultural features in common. Given the right environment, these groups' language affiliations will merge into a readily accepted national language. This may lead to actual convergence of dialects and a reduction in linguistic diversity. But the process is not as simple as it is described, and according to Mansour (1980), it took some European countries about half a millennium to achieve this form of acculturation. An example cited is France, where the decisive step toward language unification was taken in 1539. The English Parliament adopted educated London English (East Midlands) as the standard in 1362.

Language shift is another manifestation of acculturation. It may happen in a contact situation resulting from conquest. It is characterized by a dominance condition which results in language shift.⁸ The contact situation leading to language shift has, in some cases, resulted in the disappearance of ethnolinguistic groups. Language shift may itself result from the socioeconomic dominance of one ethnolinguistic group over the other or others (i.e. not necessarily political dominance through conquest). We may thus distinguish between *forced language shift* and *voluntary language shift*. The former is characteristic of contact through conquest. For example, the Roman conquests resulted in an imposition of Latin on the conquered people. The French colonial policy of assimilation could also fall in this domain. French colonial governments discouraged the use of the vernacular African languages in the school system of the countries they ruled. Voluntary language shift develops as a result of unstable relations between the groups in con-

⁸ A contact situation resulting from conquest does not always lead to language shift, however. It may result, in some cases, in stable bilingualism.

tact. These may be caused by differential socio-economic status, or demographic majority, or both. When one group enjoys a higher socio-economic status than the others, the disadvantaged groups tend to acculturate to the advantaged group by learning the latter's language. The disadvantaged group has to learn the advantaged group's language because they are forced by circumstances to work for them. This situation normally results in language shift for some members (not the whole group) of the disadvantaged group. For others it may be a partial shift, in which case they still maintain their own languages for family use.

Berry (1980) distinguishes five possible forms of acculturation by individuals or groups: *assimilation*, *integration*, *segregation*, *separation*, *deculturation* (these categories are not discrete but continuous). *Assimilation* means the surrender, by a subordinate group, of its cultural identity and its absorption into the larger society. Assimilation is complete when the members of the group see themselves as belonging to another group, and when that other group accepts them as full members. An example of assimilation may be found in Canada, where several minority groups have been absorbed into the larger society, Canada. In the case of *integration*, a group becomes an integral part of the society while retaining its cultural distinctiveness to varying degrees, for example, the French in Canada. *Segregation* is the situation where the dominant group imposes its solution (e.g. apartheid in South Africa). In *separation*, it is the subordinate group that decides to assert its distinctiveness and leave the society. The present attempt by Quebec to leave the federation of Canada may be seen as an example of a separation attempt. In *deculturation*, a group loses its cultural identity without gaining another; this happens when the subordinate group is marginalized. Berry (ibid) also discriminates

between *cultural acculturation*, in which the behavior of one group becomes more similar to that of another, and *structural acculturation*, in which one group participates in the economic and social systems of the larger society without losing its cultural distinctiveness. The question is: what role does language play in these different types of intergroup relations? For example, can one surrender one's cultural identity without surrendering one's language or vice versa (i.e. can language be surrendered without cultural identity being surrendered)? A language may be a defining characteristic of an ethnic group, in which case it is necessary to understand and speak it in order to belong to the group; but it is not always a condition of group membership. Trudgill & Tzavaras (1977, quoted in Hamers, 1989) have shown that it is not essential for the Albanian Arvanites in Greece to speak Arvanitika in order to be considered good Arvanites. An individual or group can abandon their language for another without necessarily losing their original sense of identity. But it seems one cannot do the opposite, that is, one cannot surrender one's identity without losing one's language. The notion of "losing one's language" does not mean the language is lost from memory or that one will not be able to speak it any longer. What it means is that when speakers surrender their identity they assume a new one. In order to function in the new society, they have to learn and use the language of that society. The motivation here is integrative. The result is that these speakers hardly use their original language even though that language is not lost; it can be used when in contact with speakers of the original language who cannot speak the new language. In that case speakers can be said to have surrendered their language together with their identity.

In the West African context, acculturation has usually taken the form of language shift (Mansour, 1987:149). Historical records, oral traditions and the study of toponyms, clan names and tribal names, all give evidence of ethnolinguistic groups which have either disappeared entirely or which count only a dwindling minority of speakers now. But more important in modern times is the type of language shift connected with the development of urbanisation. All the coastal cities in West Africa and some inland capitals and towns have a highly diverse composition. In all these urban centers a local lingua franca can be identified. In most cases, the choice of an urban lingua franca is determined by the original inhabitants and the inhabitants of the immediate neighborhood. For example, in Dakar (capital of Senegal), *Wolof* is the local lingua franca; in Accra (Ghana), we have *Gã*; in Bamako (Mali), it is *Bambara*. But the extent of influence of an urban lingua franca and to what degree it leads to language shift depends on other factors. The assimilative power of *Wolof* in Senegal was examined by Wioland (1965, quoted in Mansour, 1987). It was found that permanent residence in town usually led to language shift in the next generation, a process which was accelerated by inter-ethnic marriage. *Wolof* was found to prevail, not only in the homes of a *Wolof* and non-*Wolof* partner, but also in homes where neither partner was *Wolof*. In Accra, the dominance of *Gã* may be for purely geographical reasons. The influx of people of other ethnolinguistic groups (e.g. Akans, Ewes etc), is creating an ambivalent situation in which Akan is seriously emerging as a co-lingua-franca in the capital. Likewise in Freetown (Sierra Leone), the lingua franca role of Krio is gradually being eroded by an increase in Temne and Mende speakers, now making up 60% of the population (Tabouret-Keller, 1971).

Acculturation with language shift requires very specific sociocultural and economic conditions. Some of the strongest motivations for language shift are socioeconomic advantages. But the likelihood of language shift can be affected adversely or favorably by the type of attitude of the assimilating ethnolinguistic group. If the assimilating group is receptive and tolerant, there is increased likelihood for language shift. But a xenophobic, chauvinist attitude on the part of the assimilating group can repel possible candidates. Past socio-historical factors may also play a role in the promotion or otherwise of language shift. A close linguistic relationship, sociocultural proximity and a tradition of inter-ethnic relations facilitate acculturation with language shift, whereas past hostilities and religious-cultural differences make language shift more difficult. In Senegal, for instance, the Muslim Sereer most readily become "wolofized" (i.e. are assimilated by the Wolof), whereas resistance to assimilation is said to be more pronounced among Christian Sereer and Joola (Mansour, 1987).

The third manifestation of acculturation is the emergence of a neutral language, usually referred to as a *pidgin*. Pidgin is a hybrid language resulting from contact between two or more languages. It is not the native language of any of its speakers. Most of the world's pidgins result from contact between European and non-European languages. While a large percentage of the pidgin lexicon is derived from the dominant language (usually European), the grammar is usually based on that of the less dominant language or languages. A pidgin develops into *creole* when it becomes the first language of a group of speakers. The European component of these neutral languages is usually Portuguese, English, French or Dutch and sometimes more than one. Creole languages developed when people of diverse

non-European ethnolinguistic backgrounds came together as settlers and middlemen at the trading posts and had to communicate with European traders and with each other. Interethnic and interracial marriages led to a pidgin-speaking community where new generations were raised, speaking the new hybrid language as their mother tongue. The result is an extended use of the hybrid language, leading to the development of new vocabulary and grammatical features to convey all the nuances and meaning necessary for the full life of the community.

The West African coast is supposed to have played an important role in the development of creoles all over the world, with the exception of a few mainly in North America. *Portuguese Creole* was the earliest to develop on the West African coast. The Portuguese were the first European traders to reach the area, and for some time they enjoyed a monopoly over the region. Some Portuguese settled in various parts of the region; their main settlements were in Sierra Leone, Guinea Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands. These Portuguese were said to have renounced their allegiance to the Portuguese crown for the sound financial reason of not wanting to pay taxes. They lived with the Africans under the protection of the local kings (Rodney, 1965). The emergence of Portuguese Creole, which is also known as Crioulo, could reasonably be traced to this type of contact situation which favors acculturation and fusion of two races, two cultures and two languages.

The only surviving true creole on the West African coast is Krio, an English-based creole spoken in Freetown, Sierra Leone. Freetown was founded as a settlement for freed slaves captured at sea and liberated by English abolitionists. They

had no common language, but since Sierra Leone had originally been a Portuguese trading ground, it undoubtedly had its communities of Crioulo speakers. This language and a few words learned on board ship were most likely the origin of Krio. Today, native speakers of Krio make up 1.9% of Sierra Leone's population, but about 85% speak it as a lingua franca.

2.2 Bilingualism.

Bilingualism, like multilingualism, can be looked at from the point of view of the individual or the society; that is, we have *individual* and *societal* bilingualism. The concept of bilingualism seems to be semantically open-ended. It is thus very difficult to give it a precise definition without running into problems (Baetens Beardsmore, 1986). Moreover, as Weinreich says:

The practice of alternately using two languages will be called here BILINGUALISM, and the person involved BILINGUAL. Unless otherwise specified, all remarks about bilingualism apply as well to multilingualism, the practice of using alternately three or more languages (p. 5).

Therefore, no attempt is made here at defining the concept of bilingualism. However, some effects of bilingualism are discussed. A bilingual or a multilingual society should have some form of bilingual education in order to offer equal opportunity to individuals to function in the two or more languages of the society. Consequently, some definitions of bilingual education are examined, followed by a discussion of some forms of bilingual programs. The various options of bilingual programs are examined in the context of Africa's developmental goals. Also discussed in this section are the various arguments for or against mother tongue

education. Since the primary goal of education is literacy, this section also looks at some of the literacy programs in parts of Africa.

2.2.1 Bilingualism and Cognitive Development

There have been mixed reactions as to the effects of bilingualism on the individual. Early studies suggested that bilingualism was a hindrance to cognitive development (Hirsch, 1926; Mead, 1927; Mitchell, 1937). However, later studies show that bilingualism has positive effects on the cognitive development of the individual child (Cummins, 1979, 1981, 1989; Pearl & Lambert, 1962; Troike, 1984). Those studies that suggested that bilingualism has negative effects on cognitive development were criticized on the grounds that the tests used and the methods employed were inappropriate (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1984). The investigations involved intelligence testing and were in three categories:

- (1) using verbal tests in the bilingual children's L2, where the IQ of bilingual children was compared with that of monolingual children;
- (2) using both verbal and non-verbal tests, in the children's L2 where their IQ was compared with the IQ of monolingual children in both tests;
- (3) using either verbal or non-verbal tests, or both, in both languages, where the results were compared as between the two languages, and for each of the two languages, the results were compared individually with the results gained by monolingual children.

In the first type of investigation, no attention was paid to the type of test used, and no account was taken of the language in which the test was NOT conducted

(i.e the children's mother tongue). Since the tests were verbal, they implied understanding and use of the test language, which in most cases was the school language. It is also not certain, as noted earlier, whether monolingual norms should be used in measuring the performance of bilinguals. The problem with the test that involves the two languages of the bilingual is that of making the tests equivalent and standardizing them. As Skutnabb-Kangas (1984:225) points out, the children's level of bilingualism was inadequately or not at all controlled in many of the studies. The children could be counted as bilingual if they had immigrant parents, or a foreign surname, or if a foreign language was spoken in the home irrespective of who spoke it; and the children's sex and age were seldom controlled.

There are also a number of studies that show the positive effects of bilingualism. These tests show bilingual children performing better than monolingual ones in tests that measure different aspects of cognitive and linguistic development, as well as various kinds of non-verbal aspects of communication. This better performance has been particularly evident in the areas of:

- (1) general intellectual development;
- (2) divergent thinking;
- (3) linguistic analysis and metalinguistic awareness;
- (4) sensitivity to feedback cues and to non-verbal communication.

Peal and Lambert (1962) produced one of the first well-controlled studies in which bilinguals scored better than monolinguals. They showed a positive connection between bilingualism and general intelligence. In divergent thinking, which involves the ability to reorganize, studies show bilinguals doing better than mon-

olinguals (Guilford, 1973, quoted in Skutnabb-Kangas, 1984). Ben-Zeev (1975) also showed bilinguals performing better than monolinguals in sensitivity to feedback cues.

In an attempt to explain the divergent results of measuring bilingualism, Cummins (1976, 1979) developed the "threshold hypothesis" and the "developmental interdependence hypothesis". In the "threshold hypothesis," Cummins suggests that a first language competence threshold must be crossed in order to avoid cognitive deficit linked to childhood bilinguality. Two thresholds are suggested: the L1 competence threshold, and the L2 competence threshold. The attainment of the latter leads to accelerated cognitive growth, that is, a second language competence threshold must be passed if bilinguality is to positively influence cognitive functioning (see also Hamers and Blanc, 1983). The second hypothesis suggests that competence in a second language is a function of competence in the mother tongue. By these two hypotheses, Cummins sees both bilingualism and monolingualism as tools or instruments that a child uses to operate on the environment. The bilingual instrument is more complex, and so more difficult to master, but once mastered, it may have greater potential than the unilingual instrument for promoting cognitive growth. The threshold hypothesis is schematized in Figure 1 below.

There are several studies supporting Cummins' hypotheses. Duncan & De Avila (1979, quoted in Hamers & Blanc, 1983) found that Hispanic minority school-children in the USA who had developed high levels of proficiency in L1 and L2

LANGUAGE COMPETENCE	TYPE OF BILINGUALITY	STATE OF EQUILIBRIUM	COGNITIVE OUTCOME
	Additive: high levels of competence in both languages	Tends towards equilibrium	Positive effects
Upper threshold of language competence	-----		
	Neutral: high level of competence in at least one of the languages	Dominant or balanced	No effects
Lower threshold of language competence	-----		
	Semilingualism: low level of competence in both languages	Balanced or dominant	Negative effects

Figure 1: Cognitive effects of different types of bilinguality. (Adapted from Cummins, 1979:230).

performed significantly better than monolinguals and other non-proficient bilinguals from the same cultural sample on cognitive tasks. Hakuta & Diaz (1984) also found similar results. Hamers & Blanc (1989) report on a study by Holmstrand (1979) which showed that the interdependence hypothesis is bi-directional. The study, which was conducted in Sweden, found that elementary school-children who already had a high competence in their mother tongue and who started to learn a foreign language at an early age would improve their compe-

tence in mother tongue more than peers who did not have exposure to a foreign language.

Several shortcomings have been noticed about the hypothesis of Cummins (Hamers & Blanc, 1989). First it remains silent on the issue of simultaneous bilingual development and its cognitive correlates. It also fails to explain why some children reach the upper threshold while others never reach the lower one. It is also suggested that it may be an oversimplification to define the threshold levels on the basis of purely language criteria, and also that cognitive development is influenced, not only by language, but also sociocultural factors. For example, Lambert (1977) suggests that the roots of bilinguality are to be found in several aspects of the social psychological mechanisms involved in language behavior, particularly in the relative social status of both languages and in its perception by the individual. He was the first to draw attention to the distinction between *additive* and *subtractive* bilinguality, which has been discussed in a previous section.

To sum up, we can say that bilingualism can have positive or negative effects, depending on the circumstances in which people become bilingual. We have also seen that bilingual education is administered in different forms, which already suggests that we should expect different outcomes. The issue of the effects of bilingualism on the illiterate bilingual is also something to be examined, i.e., it is yet to be determined whether cognitive development by the school child who is bilingual would be different from that of an illiterate but fluent bilingual, and in what kind of tasks.

2.3 Bilingual Education

In the preceding section, some of the problems with trying to define the concept of bilingualism have been unearthed. Problems with the typologies were also noted. In this section, I will examine some definitions of bilingual education, which are as varied as the number of people who study it. I will also discuss some bilingual programs that have emerged from those definitions. Finally I will discuss these types of programs in relation to Ghana's developmental goals.

2.3.1 Definitions of Bilingual Education

Because of the multiplicity of situations where two or more languages are in contact, and where communities are under some compulsion to provide facilities for instruction in more than one language in the educational system, descriptions of what constitutes bilingual education are many and varied. Stern (1972) defines bilingual education as:

schooling provided fully or partially in a second language with the object in view of making students proficient in the second language, while at the same time, maintaining and developing their proficiency in their first language and fully guaranteeing their educational development (p.1).

Cohen (1975) defines it as:

the use of two languages as media of instruction for a child or a group of children, in part or all of the school curriculum (p.18)

while Fishman (1976) views bilingual education as:

some use of two (or more) languages of instruction in connection with reading courses other than languages per se (p.24),

Anderson and Boyer (1970) consider it as:

the instruction in two languages and the use of these two languages as media of instruction for any part or all of the school curriculum. Study of the history and culture associated with a student's mother tongue is considered an integral part of a bilingual education (p.12)

The essential element in each of the above definitions is the statement that at least two languages are to be used as media of instruction. Stern stresses the expectation of proficiency in the two languages, the use of the two as media of instruction and the promotion of educational development. Cohen amplifies his definition by making reference to "one way" and "two way" types of bilingual education and by postulating the presence in the language situation of two ethnic and linguistic groups. Fishman introduces a multilingual dimension with reference to "two or more languages of instruction," while Anderson and Boyer make special reference to the study of history and culture.

Applying these definitions to the language practices of Africa, wide differences become apparent:

1. Equal or appropriate proficiency in the colonial languages on the one hand and the African languages on the other is rarely the objective of language teaching.
2. Proficiency in the colonial language alone is the target, though lip-service is paid to the goal of proficiency in the MT.
3. The two languages are rarely, if ever, used as co-media either in a simultaneous or consecutive sequence.

2.3.2 Types of Bilingual Education.

In an attempt to impose some structure on the varying manifestations of bilingual education and to account for its different forms, several workers in the field have advanced typologies or schemas. These provide a theoretical framework that accounts for the phenomenon of bilingual education in terms of its linguistic, cognitive and sociocultural aspects. The identifiable and isolable issues in bilingual education relate to (a) the choice of language(s) as a medium of instruction; (b) the level of linguistic and scholastic achievement of the learner; (c) the efficiency of the learning and teaching process and (d) the emotional and intellectual development of the learner. Because of the varied ways in which the four factors mesh as determinants in any given language situation, the nature of bilingual education differs from country to country. Mackey (1970) sums up thus:

Schools in the UK where half of the subjects are taught in English, are called bilingual schools; schools in Canada in which all subjects are taught in English to French-Canadian children are called bilingual schools; schools in the Soviet Union where all subjects except Russian are taught in English, are bilingual as are schools in which some of the subjects are taught in Georgian and the rest in Russian. Schools in the US where English is taught as a second language are called bilingual schools as are parochial schools and even week-end ethnic schools (p. 64).

Three major typologies will be discussed in the following subsections, those of Mackey (1970); Fishman (1976) and Mikes (1986).

2.3.2.1 Mackey's Typology.

Mackey (1970) provides a theoretical framework for the classification of different kinds of bilingual schools. He proposes a typology based on language use and distributed in space and time over four domains:

- (1). the learner in the home;
- (2). the curriculum in the school;
- (3). the community in the nation;
- (4). the languages in the social pattern.

The learner in the home domain involves home-school language switch. Children may come to school with one or more languages and may have to learn another language of instruction (i.e they may have to use at school a language or a dialect other than the one they bring from home).

The curriculum pattern of bilingual schools may also vary in terms of being single or dual medium schools, with a transfer or maintenance linguistic orientation, leading to acculturation or irredentism. The languages used in the medium may be used differently, i.e different subjects may be taught in different languages, or all subjects may be taught in both languages, and the languages may be used sequentially or cumulatively.

The significance of the third criterion "the community in the nation" resides in the fact that the selection of a language for use at school must be based on its relative importance within the surrounding community or the wider community. Mackey (1970) argues:

The home and community contexts in which the language is used must be taken into consideration if the language is to be used in

school, since it is on the assumption of usage and consequent knowledge that teaching is based (p.161).

If the language selected for use in school is used neither in the home nor in the surrounding community, the usefulness of the language is, in terms of the wider community, far removed from the center of the learner's world. Motivation for the learning of the language must be in terms of the long-range goals.

Mackey considers the "languages in the pattern" criterion as one of the most important variables in the grid of bilingual education, for it intersects the home, the school and the community. This criterion includes a consideration of the learner's proficiency in the languages of the home, school and community. It may well be that the learner's home language has no place in the school system as a language of instruction. Mackey asserts that the status of languages determines in part the nature and extent of bilingual education. Languages of wider communication (LWC) with an assured international status (Eng., Fr., Russ.) tend to be dominant in bilingual educational settings where the other language is a regional or local variety. Bilingual situations involving the use of language pairs such as English/Akan; French/Creole; or Russian/Yakut are different from those involving the pairs English/French; English/Afrikaans or English/Russian, which counterweight each other on political or economic grounds. Mackey also stresses the importance of linguistic or cultural differences and similarities between languages. Languages which have a close relationship, for example, Portuguese/Spanish, pair differently from languages which are linguistically distant, for example, English/Swahili. Where the difference is both cultural and linguistic, the learner in a bilingual setting may face a formidable task in learning the second language and learning through it.

2.3.2.2 Fishman's Typology.

Fishman (1974) developed a taxonomy of bilingualism in a sociolinguistic perspective. This taxonomy comprises three large categories defined by three sets of variables: (a) intensity; (b) goal and (c) status. Within the first category (intensity), four types of bilingual programs are identified.

- (1). *Transitional Bilingualism* in which L1 is only used to facilitate the transition to an unmarked language (an assimilatory perspective);
- (2). *Monoliterate Bilingualism* in which the school uses two languages in all its activities, but only one (L2) is used to initiate the child into literary skills;
- (3). *Partial Biliterate* in which both languages are used orally and for writing, but academic subjects are divided in such a way that L1 is used for so-called "cultural subjects" (i.e history, folklore) and L2 for science, technology, economics etc.;
- (4). *Total Biliterate* in which all abilities are developed in the two languages for all domains.

According to its goal, Fishman identifies three types of bilingual education:

- (1). *Compensatory*: This goal is founded on the belief that "disadvantaged" children should be educationally and linguistically assisted by being given instruction in the language they know best (L1);
- (2). *Enrichment*: These programs are normally designed for establishment, aimed at developing an additive form of bilinguality;
- (3). *Group Maintenance* : These are programs in which the language and culture of the minority children are preserved and enhanced.

The third set of variables, status, comprises four domains:

- (1). language of primary importance versus language of secondary importance in education.
- (2). home language versus school language;
- (3). major world language versus minor language;
- (4). institutionalized versus non-institutionalized language in the community.

As noted by Hamers (1989), though these typologies attempt to classify bilingual education, they lack theoretical foundations and tend to ignore the determining factors in bilingual education, which he sees to be *social, historical, social structural, cultural, ideological* and *social psychological* in nature.

2.3.2.3 Mikes Meliane's Typology

Mikes Meliane (1986) reiterates that the situation of a language in the educational system is determined in part by institutional factors such as:

- (1). its past and present legal status (i.e its use as national, regional or state language);
- (2). its use by public authorities and the mass media.

and partly by various sociolinguistic factors such as:

- (1). its use among the population;
- (2). the socio-economic stratification of its native speakers;
- (3). the circumstances of its use;
- (4). its cultural and linguistic proximity to any other language(s) spoken in the region.

He suggests that these factors play an essential part in determining the parameters for a possible typology of language of instruction in multilingual societies. In a model based on such a typology, Mikes sees the child/student at the center of a network of factors, the outer segment of which are the community bound factors. The type of language use in the educational system forms a middle layer, intervening between the child's micro-environment (mostly his family) and the community bound factors (macro-environment). His aim in suggesting the typology is to determine whether language policy and use in a given educational system at a given point in time and space are congruent with the micro-environmental and macro-environmental factors identified by the model. The typology described by Mikes is the result of the intersection of three components which he considers to be very essential:

- (1). the child's micro-environment;
- (2). the language education policy;
- (3). the sociolinguistic situation within which the program operates.

The interaction of these three components gives Mikes three types of situations:

- A: Monolingual micro-environment, transitional program, one language one nation socio-political community.
- B: Bilingual micro-environment favoring early bilingualism, language shelter program, pluralistic equal rights socio-political community.
- C: Bilingual micro-environment favoring monolingualism, immersion program, selectively pluralistic socio-political community.

He notes that in each of these sections, there is congruence between the type of instruction, the type of community and the type of environment in which the

child is living. He points out, however, that in the third case, the effect will be different depending on whether the child's language and ethnic collectivity is one favored by the socio-political community or not. He also concedes the fact that the types of instructional policy outlined in his work do not represent homogeneous entities and that there is a great deal of variation.

2.3.2.4 Summary.

From the typologies discussed above, we can classify bilingual programs according to goals and results as follows:

1. *Segregation*: programs are those with a linguistic goal of dominance in L1, and the societal goal is the perpetuation of the inferior position of the speakers. An example of a segregation model is the Bantu education in Namibia (Skutnabb-Kangas & Africa, 1986) whose societal goal was the perpetuation of apartheid. Segregation of a minority group is exemplified by the education of migrant Turks in Bavaria, West Germany through the medium of Turkish. According to Skutnabb-Kangas (1984), the result is a low level of success and the societal goal is to prepare the migrant pupils for forced repatriation when their parents' services are no longer needed or when they themselves become too expensive for West Germany.

2. *Maintenance*: programs involve education in the L1 with a linguistic goal of bilingualism and a societal goal of equity and integration. An example of a maintenance program for a majority group is the mother tongue medium education given in the Soviet republic of Uzbekistan to the seven main language groups

(Skutnabb-Kangas & Africa 1986). Maintenance for minorities is exemplified in the Finnish medium classes for Finnish migrant population in Sweden and the Spanish medium programs in the U.S. (Cummins, 1984).

3. *Submersion*: programs involve education in a second or foreign language. The linguistic goal achieved in this type is dominance in the second language (in the case of Africa, the colonial languages) for the elites and dominance of the MT for the masses. There is limited proficiency in the second or colonial language, and the society becomes highly stratified. Most of the education programs in Africa represent submersion for the majority. Immigrants and indigenous minorities are victims of submersion for minorities. The goal in this case is assimilation into the mainstream.

4. *Immersion*: is a program in which children are educated through the medium of L2. The result is a high level of bilingualism and success at school. Societal goals include linguistic and cultural enrichment and increased employment prospects.

Bilingual education is surely necessary for Africa. As noted earlier, in order to function effectively in the society, most African people have to be at least bilingual and, if possible, trilingual. That is, they should be able to use not only their MT, but also a second language (colonial or African), and in some cases a third language. Of the four types of bilingual programs outlined above, maintenance seems to be the best for Africa because the linguistic goal is bilingualism, which is a must for most African countries. Languages are given equal status in such programs in order to promote equity and integration.

It is important to identify the covert aims of some of the educational programs in order to make a useful evaluation. The Bantu education programs in South Africa and Namibia would at first seem appropriate and useful, but when we examine the covert aims behind these programs, they are found to be discriminatory. They are meant to perpetuate the subservient position of the blacks. As Reagan (1987) notes, segregation schooling in South Africa rests on two interrelated principles - the "ideology of apartheid" and the "mother tongue principle." The term "apartheid" is an Afrikaans term which translates as "apartness" and this is in essence what the whole system is all about: the almost total separation of racial and ethnic groups in South Africa. The educational implications of this "ideology of apartheid" were two-fold: each group was to be educated in its own institutions, preferably staffed by members of the group, and each was to be provided with the skills and training deemed suitable for it by the authorities (Reagan, 1987:302). For the black South Africans, this meant an inferior education designed to stress tribal loyalty and the acceptance of a subservient position in South African society. This was made clear by the Minister of Native Affairs at the time "Bantu education" was introduced. He said (quoted in Reagan, 1987:302, from House of Assembly *Debates*, September 17, 1953):

I will reform education so that Natives will be taught from childhood that equality with Europeans is not for them,..... racial relations cannot improve if the wrong type of education is given to Natives. They cannot improve if the result of Native education is the creation of a frustrated people who ... have expectations in life which circumstances in South Africa do not allow to be fulfilled.

Blacks were therefore to be trained to be "hewers of wood and drawers of water" rather than to receive an education that would ill-suit them for life in a society in which they have no prospects.

There is no place for him [the black South African] in the European [white] community above the level of certain forms of labor... it is of no avail for him to receive a training which has as its aim absorption in the European community.⁹

This process was noticed by its victims. One such group, the Congress of South African Students (COSAS) has this remark:

The education we receive is meant to keep the South African people apart from one another, to breed suspicion, hatred and violence, and to keep us backward.....Education is formulated so as to reproduce this society of racism and exploitation.¹⁰

The "mother tongue principle" is not a bad idea. It is practised in other countries (developing and developed), but the real aim behind it in the South African context makes the blacks in South Africa reject it. In the next section, I shall examine some of the arguments for and against MT education.

2.3.3 The Case for Mother Tongue Education.

In this section, I shall examine some of the arguments for and against MT education. But before going on to that, I wish to digress a little and look briefly at the concept of "mother tongue": what is a mother tongue? Skutnabb-Kangas (1984) identifies four criteria on which the definition of "mother tongue" is based: origin, competence, function and attitudes. Using *origin* as a criterion, mother tongue is defined as the language one learns first (i.e the language in which one establishes one's first lasting communication relationship). Skutnabb-Kangas seems to imply by this criterion that MT refers to the language of one's mother (as I understand,

⁹ Senate Debates, June 16, 1954, quoted in Reagan (1987:302).

¹⁰ Quoted in Reagan (1987:303).

the language of one's ethnic origin). If this is what is implied, then it is misleading in the sense that the language of one's ethnic group is not necessarily the language one learns first. Let us consider a hypothetical example. Assuming A's ethnic group (and therefore the ethnic group of his children) is Ewe, but most of A's children learnt Akan first. By origin, Akan is not their mother tongue. And how do we determine the ethnic group of children of mixed parentage?

The second criterion used is *competence* by which a MT is defined as the language one knows best. It may be difficult to determine what language a bilingual or multilingual knows best when these languages are used for different functions. Bilinguals or multilinguals may perform certain tasks best in a particular language and other tasks best in another language (i.e they may not have an overall best knowledge of one language among their languages).

The third criterion is *function*. By this criterion, MT is defined as the language one uses most. This has its own problems too. Let us take a hypothetical example of someone in an African society who spends most of his waking hours at work. He uses a language other than his native language (e.g English) at work. Does that second language become his mother tongue, even though he is forced by circumstances of the workplace to use that language?

By *attitudes*, a MT is defined as the language one identifies with or the language one is identified as a native speaker of by others. The former context is referred to as *internal identification* and the latter *external identification* (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1984:15-16). In the former, MT is the language through which, in the process of socialization, one has acquired the norms and value systems of one's

own group. The latter has to do with the recognition of someone as a native speaker by other speakers of a language (native and non-native). This recognition may or may not coincide with one's own view about oneself, that is, one may identify oneself with a group but might be rejected; on the other hand one may be identified with a group against one's will. It is possible in these contexts to have someone who identifies with a group but not be fluent in its language. On the other hand someone who does not identify with a group may be very fluent in its language (that may even be the language used most).

One problem with these various definitions is that apart from the one based on origin, "mother tongue" can vary from one place to another or from one period to another, i.e. individuals may have several MTs, depending on the situation. Bilinguals or multilinguals who move from one place to another may have their MT changed, depending on the criteria used. A person may even have several MTs at the same time. If, for instance, one has two languages, X and Y, language X may qualify as a MT on the criterion of "origin". At the same time, language Y may qualify as a MT on the criterion of "competence" or "function". Moreover, someone who is fluent in two languages would be said to have two MTs by the criterion of "competence".

The problems noted so far make an exact definition of mother tongue a herculean task. Even the UNESCO (1968) definition of mother tongue has some problems. It defines a MT as "the language which a person acquires in early years and which normally becomes his natural instrument of thought and communication." The statement then goes on to say that:

a mother tongue need not be the language which his parents use; nor need it be the language he first learns to speak, since special circumstances may force him to abandon this language more or less completely at an early age (UNESCO, 1968:689-90).

The problem with the first statement above is that a person may acquire a language in early years but this language may not become the natural instrument of thought and communication, while a second language learnt later may. The definition, however, seems to suggest two conditions for mother tongue - (a) it should be acquired in early years, (b) it is the language of natural thought and communication, thus to qualify as a mother tongue for a person, the language must satisfy the two conditions. This definition seems to combine the "origin" and "function" criteria of Skutnabb-Kangas (1984). But the second statement seems to contradict the first when it suggests that the MT need not be the language which the speaker first learns to speak, nor the language which his parents use. For example, if a speaker (let's say an immigrant) learns a second language much later in life (not in "early years") and that language becomes his/her natural instrument of thought, how do we qualify that second language? The UNESCO definition therefore does not make things any clearer.

For the purpose of this study, and to avoid the confusion that arises with the use of the term "mother tongue", I shall regard the term "mother tongue" to be synonymous with "first language" (L1), which implies a language one learns first and is the language in which one establishes one's first lasting communion. In most rural areas in Africa, one may find that the mother tongue of a majority of the people coincides with their first language, mostly because the contact situation is quite different from what you find in the urban communities. The terms

"primary" and "secondary" language may also be helpful here. A *primary language* would be one that a person is most competent in and which serves as his/her primary language of communication. All other languages would fall under *secondary language*. I now examine some of the arguments for and against mother tongue education.

Perhaps the first major international support for MT education emerged at the UNESCO meeting of specialists in Paris in 1951. The report of this meeting was published in 1953. The meeting was of the opinion that education is best carried out in the MT and recommended that pupils should begin their schooling through the medium of the MT, and that the use of the MT be extended to as late a stage as possible.

This opinion has been re-echoed many times at other meetings of experts, commissions or national bodies. For example, the UNESCO conference on "The use in education of African languages in relation to English" concluded that:

Ideally, the medium of instruction for a child living in its own language environment should be the MT (Tiffen, 1968:83-84).

and that the child should be educated in the MT as long as possible.

However, this idea has been criticized by people who are particularly conscious of the multiplicity of African languages and the need for a language of widespread use to cope with the demands of modern development and international communication (cf. Mackey, 1984; Kloss, 1969). The main objections raised against the use of the MT in early education are:

- (1) As an idea, it is impracticable because of the large number of minority languages in which literacy work is bound to be uneconomical;
- (2) Most of the vernacular languages do not have writing systems;
- (3) There is a human resource problem, i.e training teachers for the multiplicity of languages (e.g Nigeria has over 300 languages).
- (4) The encouragement of many local languages would limit the loyalty of the individual to his or her geographical boundary delimited by language, and this would promote tribalism.
- (5) The undoubted need for a language of wider communication (LWC) such as English and French will necessarily restrict the scope of education in the MT.

In a paper on the relation of MT use to educational attainment, Mackey (1984) identifies a number of apparent dilemmas which follow from his assumption that a person's MT is an alienable possession and no more than a tool of socialization. As he sees it, it is only under the influence, or even pressure of an ethnic collectivity that an individual is prevented from discarding a MT of minor functional value and replacing it with a more useful one. In Mackey's view, a child who is taught in a language of minor functional value is at a disadvantage. He seems to wonder if there is any purpose in arguing for MT education, given the impossibility of making a credible and consistent case for the thousands of languages involved. He argues for international languages:

Many nations throughout the world are today faced with the unpleasant dilemma. If for ethnic or nationalistic reasons, they promote an unproductive tongue, they may to that extent diminish the potential of their people for economic and scientific development. On the other hand, if they fail to develop their national languages, those will always remain secondary instruments of communication (p.45).

It is not clear what Mackey means by "unproductive tongue." It is hoped that he does not refer to a community in which about 90 per cent of their daily routine is carried out in their MT, which may be termed "minority" within the larger sociopolitical domain. Every language, it is believed, can be made to perform any function that confronts it. Languages are not static but dynamic. The English language, which is probably the most popular international language today, did not reach this height by sudden flight. The language has been and continues to be enriched with material from other languages (Greek, Latin, French, Russian, Chinese etc.). At a certain point in the history of the English language, it was found that

the English vocabulary was not sufficient to express even the traditional learning, much less the rapidly expanding knowledge, experience, and generally increased intellectual activity of the age (Jones, 1953:69).

This challenge was met partially by borrowing from other languages and constructing new terms as they became necessary. Any language can do the same thing if the need arises for it to do so. As noted by Fox (1978)

All living languages are open and complete systems in which a speaker can make a meaningful linguistic response in his language to any experience or stimulus he may undergo, constructing such new terms as may be necessary to do so (p.10)

It is true that the development of the multiplicity of languages in multilingual societies for educational purposes is expensive especially for poor Africa. But research has shown that initial education in MT improves the child's cognitive ability and enhances the learning of other languages (Cummins, 1978, 1981, 1989). There are a few experiments that support the argument for MT education. Among them are the "Iloilo Experiment," "The Six-Year Primary Project" of

Western Nigeria, "The Nigeria Rivers Readers Project," "The Modiano Study," "The Uganda Study" and "The St. Lambert Experiment." The Iloilo Experiment, conducted in the Phillipines, was designed to analyze the effects of initial instruction in the MT on the eventual learning of all subject matter in English, and, according to Engle (1975), was statistically well-designed. It involved the use of Hiligaynon and English. The result was a superiority in Social Studies and reading in MT. All other experiments point to the fact that bilingual education makes a positive contribution to the child's overall development. The one experiment that showed an opposite result was the "Iganga Experiment" (Dakin et. al.1968). It was an experiment in which two classes were taught geography, one in English and the other in the MT. The former class performed better than the latter. There are several factors which could have influenced the result: the fact that there were two separate classes involved (probably with different levels of cognitive ability). Moreover we do not know if the same teacher taught both classes (this could make a great difference).

Whatever the outcome of any experiments in this field, the view is now widely accepted that a child who comes to school with a language of his own and is then introduced to literacy in another language is bound to have problems which are different from those of the child who is taught in his own MT. The inability of children to perform well in class is not necessarily due to the fact that they are stupid. A possible explanation is that they do not understand what they are taught, so they cannot participate fully. As Pattanayak (1986) points out:

A MT is the expression of the identity of a human being. It is the language through which a person perceives the surrounding world and through which initial concept formation takes place (p.7).

Martin-Jones (1989) reports on the multicultural education policies of Britain from the early 1950s to the present. Britain has moved away from its assimilationist policy in the 50s, when the minority languages were seen as a problem. Language is no longer seen as a problem but as a resource. Multicultural education is now being emphasized. This is clearly shown in a statement published by the Department of Education and Science (DES) in 1981, entitled "The School Curriculum":

Far more pupils in the past have a first language which is not English or Welsh. This constitutes a valuable *resource* for them and for the nation. How should MT teaching for such pupils be accommodated with modern language provision so that this resource does not wither away and the pupils may retain contact with their own communities (DES, 1981:16-17).¹¹

The emergence of the Language Awareness movement also lent impetus to the drive for multicultural education. The rationale for the Language Awareness movement is spelled out in a number of documents (e.g Committee for Linguistics in Education, 1985; Donmall, 1985).¹² It is argued that Language Awareness (LA) work can help learners make explicit the tacit knowledge they already have about language. Proponents of LA work believe that it offers a way of combatting social and linguistic prejudices in the classroom. It is claimed that the bilingual minority children derive a number of benefits from the inclusion of their home languages on the classroom agenda. It is said, for example, that it serves as a means of giving their languages higher status within the school context. Children are given the role of "experts" and this gives them a stronger sense of self-esteem.

¹¹ Quoted in Martin-Jones (1989:50-51).

¹² Quoted in Martin-Jones (1989).

The recommendations of the Swann Committee, published in *Education for All* (DES,1985)¹³ revealed a broad language-as-a resource orientation. The report sees the minority languages as a resource, not only for the minority children, but for children from the majority group as well. They, therefore, recommended that community language provision at secondary schools should be open to all students regardless of their background.

From the foregoing, we can see two opposite claims concerning the achievement of literacy: (1) literacy is most effectively achieved in the MT (cf. Pattanayak, 1986; Szepe, 1984); (2) it is most effectively achieved in a language of wider communication which possesses a written culture and economic power (cf. Mackey, 1984; Kloss, 1969). While the first claim is based on pedagogical considerations, the second relies more on economic pre-occupations. These two claims result in two different planning choices with regard to language of education. The first claim, in its extreme form, leads to a curriculum exclusively in the MT. This is the case in most developed countries, for majority groups whose MT is also the LWC with an extended written tradition (e.g the anglophones in the U.S and the French in France who can follow the entire curriculum from nursery to university in one language).

The second claim, in its most extreme form, leads to a monolingual curriculum in an official language which is not the child's MT. An example is found in the French colonies in Africa where the one and only language of instruction is the exogenous language left by the colonial masters. Education exclusively through a L2 often occurs for minority groups all over the world because their

¹³ Reported in Martin-Jones, 1989.

language planning is such that it does not recognize the right to be educated in a non-official language, or the community size is too small to justify MT education, or the cost of writing down a non-written MT, creating teaching materials and teacher training in the MT is too high.

Between the two extremes mentioned above, it is possible to find solutions which combine the MT and second languages to various extents in the curriculum. Such solutions should take into account the "linguistic mismatch hypothesis" endorsed by UNESCO (1953) according to which a mismatch between home language and school language is the major cause of poor academic achievement of minority children.

2.4 Education and Literacy

Since literacy is often related to education, perhaps we should say a few words about it. Literacy is often taken to imply reading and writing. A literate person is defined as someone "who can with understanding both read and write a simple statement on his everyday life" (UNESCO, 1988). It is the custom nowadays to draw a distinction between "literacy" and "functional literacy." The latter is defined by UNESCO (1988) as follows.

A functionally literate person is someone who can engage in all those activities in which literacy is required for effective functioning of his group and community and also for enabling him to continue to use reading writing and calculation for his own and the community's development.

From the above definitions, it is clear that a literate person can be functionally illiterate. It is also clear that literacy is relative rather than absolute, i.e. there can be degrees of literacy just as there are degrees of bilingualism. The problem with the definition is: what do we consider to be the components of an individual's everyday life? And are those components determined by the individual or by the society?¹⁴ Another type of problem relating to literacy is the situation in most of the developing African countries with several languages, including an ex-colonial language. In most of these countries people are said to be literate if only they can read and write the ex-colonial language. So in Angola, people are literate if they can read and write in Portuguese, and individuals are defined as literate in Chad if they can read and write in French and Arabic (Hinzen, 1989). These "narrow" views of literacy could lead to the formulation of language policies that are not workable in the long run. Literacy should not be limited only to the so-called "advanced" or prestige languages, otherwise planners will miss the point. The fact is that in many African and developing countries, the local languages play greater roles in the lives of a majority of the populations than the so-called "advanced" languages. So, literacy in the local languages would be of some benefit to such people. Moreover, with the high drop-out rate in the schools in most African countries (see Bokamba, 1984), many young people drop out of school with hardly any literacy at all. It is believed that literacy in the first language can be acquired much faster than in a second language, especially a foreign one.

¹⁴ These are problems that we shall not attempt to address here.

In discussing the relationship between education, or literacy for that matter, and development, the tendency is to assume that literacy is always followed by development; to put it the other way, that underdevelopment is caused primarily by illiteracy (Ryan, 1985; Thomas, 1989). This tenet is used in comparing the so-called countries of the "North" (e.g. Europe) with those of the "South" (e.g. Africa): a high standard of literacy in the North has preceded and made the present development there possible; its absence in the South has caused underdevelopment. But in Europe before the industrial revolution, most of the people (with the exception of the nobility and the clergy) were illiterate. The majority of the farmers, including probably tradesmen and the first industrial workers were definitely illiterate. Apart from a small group of important scientists and highly qualified engineers, the majority of the representatives of development were and remained illiterate (Hinzen, 1989:509). Today there are probably more scientists in Africa than there were in Europe at the onset of the industrial revolution, but the situation has hardly improved. It is not being suggested here that literacy is not important. What is being argued is that the cause-and-effect relationship, in a more complex global situation as we have today, needs to be re-examined. To see literacy as a prerequisite and panacea for all related problems of development is misleading. For literacy to be an effective tool of development, it has to be with a few questions in mind:

- (1) how much is there to read and write for people who are becoming literate (either through adult education or through schooling)?
- (2) how adequately are the materials related to individual and national development?

(3) how much functionally important and adequate material exists in their own languages?

(4) what is the socio-historical context in which literacy is being pursued?

There was a form of education in Africa before the influx of European colonialism. This traditional education involved training in certain skills as well as moral and character training. All information on traditional education in different ethnic groups reveals that learning by doing has been a dominant principle for training the intellect and imparting technical skills as well as moral values (Hinnen, 1989:511). The current practices in both schools and adult literacy programs are seen to be working against this very important principle of African pedagogy, and thereby against African culture. Very little, if anything, is taught by doing or through practical experience. Bookish memorization and a copying mentality have taken over. It would be more desirable to harmonize this aspect of African traditional education with literacy work in the school system and in adult literacy programs. This is yet to be realized both in content and methods. Of course, we must not forget the language factor. Language of literacy is as crucial to formal schooling as it is to adult literacy programs.

Literacy policies can be unilingual or multilingual, depending on the language situation of the community involved. In many African countries, as has already been mentioned, an ex-colonial language has been chosen as the language of education and, for that matter, the language of literacy, to avoid ethnic conflicts and to promote "unity." But we have seen how Tanzania has managed to tackle its language problem by promoting one language among the myriads of languages. Swahili has a unique position in relation to the other languages in

Tanzania (see chapter III). But we also have an example of a nation that has adopted a multilingual approach to literacy with some success. Ethiopia tried unsuccessfully to adopt a unilingual approach. But they are experiencing more success in the present multilingual approach, with fifteen languages (see Ryan, 1989). Here then are examples of two countries that have tried to cope with linguistic diversity through two very different policies. In the case of Tanzania, one language has been chosen and developed as a national language whereas in the case of Ethiopia, literacy instruction is offered in fifteen languages. The choices made have been determined largely by the prevailing social, cultural, economic, political and linguistic factors.

One important aspect of literacy which, according to Stubbs (1980), has been neglected in most research on the topic, is the relation between spoken and written language. According to Stubbs, reading and writing are sociolinguistic activities, since people read and write in different social situations for different purposes. Therefore, the place of reading and writing within the communicative networks of societies is essential. Stubbs develops a functional approach to written language, following Vachek (1973). The central question in this approach is: what is the functional justification for the existence of a written language alongside the spoken language? This approach also involves the concept of *functional complementariness* which suggests that written and spoken language are complementary to each other by being used, by and large, for different purposes in different situations.

One other contributor to what has been termed *the sociolinguistics of literacy* is Spolsky (1981, 82). Spolsky draws a distinction between individual and societal literacy. In the case of the individual, literacy can refer either to minimal ability or to a very high level of ability in reading and writing. When we talk about societal literacy, "a distinction must be made between the capacities of the individuals making up the social group and the role of literacy in the group as a whole" (Spolsky, 1981:476). In other words, we need to distinguish between a judgement about the number of literate individuals there are in a society and the role played by literacy in it.

Ghana and other African countries can be said to be "oral" societies, where the spoken word dominates the communicative process among the majority of the populations. This is opposed to the developed world which are said to be largely dependent on the written word and are therefore said to be "literate societies." But the question is: should the "oral" societies remain "oral"? With the fast-changing world order, it is necessary that these societies move along with the changing world. In other words, the role of literacy needs to be enhanced in the "oral" societies so that they can reap the benefits thereof. There are limitations on "orality", especially with regard to retention of knowledge, record-keeping and dissemination of information. The rate of illiteracy in Africa ranges from 81.8% in Burkina-Faso to 26.4 in Botswana (Ghana's is 39.7)¹⁵ This high rate of illiteracy prevents the majority of the populations of these countries to have access to information through the written word, which is becoming so important in the modern world. With the nature of multilingualism in Ghana and other African

¹⁵ Source UNESCO Statistical Yearbook, 1992.

countries, the language of literacy becomes a major issue. We can see how the question of language choice in multilingual societies keeps coming up, and also how the setting or the sociolinguistic context in which language planning activities take place are crucial to their success. In the next chapter, the notion of language planning is tackled.

Chapter III

LANGUAGE PLANNING: THEORY AND PRACTICE

It is important to remember that language problems cannot be solved by attention to language alone, since language alternatives are embedded in the social, economic and political context in which they function (Christian, 1988:195).

In this chapter, I examine the concept of Language Planning (henceforth LP) in some detail. Various terms connected with LP are discussed in section one. The next section discusses various orientations of LP - language as a problem, a resource and a right. The discipline of LP has attracted research from various other disciplines, so that language problems are now seen, not only through the eyes of the linguist, but also those of the economist, the sociologist, the social psychologist, the lawyer, the anthropologist etc. In section three of this chapter, I explore how the various disciplines handle language problems. Section four looks at the various types of LP and the various LP choices available to planners, and the implications of these choices. The LP choices of a few countries (Zambia, Botswana, Tanzania and Somalia) are discussed, and the peculiarities of each choice to the existing situations is examined. Ghana's LP choice is discussed in the light of its developmental goals. Finally, the chapter explores the relationship between LP, education and economic development.

3.1 Confusing Terminologies

Before examining the various definitions of LP, it is expedient to look at some confusing terminology and try to synthesize the terms involved. These confusing terms have been used to refer to the same type of activity. Hall (1951:15) uses *glottopolitics* to refer to the application of linguistic science to government policy for determining the best means of achieving bilingualism in colonial areas, and other areas where two or more cultures are in contact.¹⁶ Another term found in the literature is *language engineering*, which Springer (1956) uses to refer to efforts of graphization and standardization of the semi-standardized languages in the Soviet Union. Alisjahbana (1961) uses the same term to refer to the conscious guidance of language development within the larger context of social, cultural, and technological change. He also uses it to mean the transfer of past experiences of codification of the European languages - in the areas of spelling, vocabulary and grammar - to the newly developing languages by deliberate and rational planning. Noss (1967) uses the terms *language development* and *language planning* synonymously in discussing the language situation in Southeast Asia. He refers to *language development* as being primarily vocabulary expansion. The term *language planning*, which has become the most common terminology today, was probably first used in the literature by Haugen (1959) to describe the language issues in Norway (Karam, 1974:104). The terms *glottopolitics* and *language engineering* are no longer common in the modern literature. Jernudd and Neustupny (1986, quoted in Cooper,

¹⁶ Hall was referring to a UNESCO Fundamental Education Project in Haiti, aimed at helping the peasants of Marbial to improve their ecology and technology. A survey of Haitian Creole was conducted to find the most effective means of communication for the peasants. Included in the survey were the choice of language, orthography and methods of teaching.

1989) have proposed the term *language management*, but, as he notes, it is too soon to know if this term will catch on; *Language planning* is the most popular term used to describe the activities referred to by the other phrases. We can, therefore, now turn to the various definitions of LP found in the literature.

3.2 Definitions of LP

Haugen (1969:287) defines LP as "the normative work of language academies and committees, all forms of what is commonly known as language cultivation, and all proposals for language reform." Rubin and Jernudd (1971:xvi) refer to LP as "the organizational efforts which are directed to deliberate change in the language code or speaking, or both." Fishman (1971) describes LP as the organised pursuit of solutions to language problems, usually at the national level. Cooper (1989) views language planning as "deliberate efforts to influence the behavior of others with respect to the acquisition, structure, or functional allocation of their language codes" (p.45). For Jernudd (1973:11), language planning is "a political and administrative activity for solving language problems." Halliday (1972) sees LP as a very conscious attempt at intervention in the self-adapting process of language and of sociocultural development. According to Karam (1974), LP is the attempt to guide the course of language development and the various institutions which channel and diffuse that language. Weinstein (1980:55) views LP as a

government authorized, long term sustained and conscious effort to alter a language itself or to change a language's functions in a society for the purpose of solving communication problems

Apart from Rubin (1983:7) who claims that policy-making is not planning, LP, for most people, not only involves changes in the language code, but also policy-making concerning the functions to be performed by the various languages in the system. This maximalist view of LP seems to be the more appealing when we compare it to other forms of planning. All forms of planning involve some kind of policy-making - a decision setting out the goals and means of implementing and evaluating the plan. LP is no exception. Normally, before any LP activity takes place, there is a policy (written or unwritten) outlining the objectives and goals (either at the national level or at lower levels, e.g. firms and institutions). This, obviously, is part of the planning process. It is this policy that triggers other aspects of planning, as a policy decision has an impact on changes in the language code and structure. For example, when a country decides to make one of its indigenous languages the sole official language, this decision affects that selected language in many ways. It may need to be standardized and modernized to meet the new demands. Sometimes, there may be the need to change the script altogether as a result of the policy. So policy-making should be a part and parcel of LP (see Bamgbose, 1989).¹⁷

¹⁷ For other definitions of language planning, see Cooper (1989). He discusses at least a dozen of them.

3.3 The "Big 5" of Language Planning

In this section, LP is examined within the framework suggested by Cooper (1989) and mentioned in Chapter One. I discuss the definitions of LP according to the question: *who plans what for whom, how and why*. These are five important rubrics suggested by Cooper for a descriptively adequate account of any given case of language planning, hence my label "Big 5".

3.3.1 Who Undertakes LP?

Regarding the question of who makes policy, Kennedy (1982) suggests that apart from governments, who are policy-makers at the topmost level, there are such lower level institutions as departments and classrooms. These levels range from *macro* (governmental level) to *micro* (classroom level). But as Markee (1991) notes, these levels are not exhaustive. Other levels are easily identifiable. Markee (1991) cites the Council of Europe's Modern Language Project. This project seeks to facilitate the movement of individuals within the member states of the European Economic Community (EEC) by developing common communicative goals for instruction in the Community's twelve languages. This is obviously a higher level of planning than the "governmental". At the other end of the spectrum, Markee (1991) cites the activities of Eliezer Ben Yehuda, who promoted the use of Hebrew among the members of his family. This represents a type of micro LP whose scope is even more restricted than that of the classroom. It is possible to posit at this point a still lower level micro LP - the individual level. Individuals seem to be making what could be called LP decisions every now and then. For example, when

the individual is faced with several languages, s/he decides which ones to use, with whom, and on what occasions. These choices may involve varieties of the same language or entirely different languages.

Table 1: Macro and Micro Levels of LP

From Kennedy (1982:268)

	Level	
Macro	1	Government
	2	Ministry
	3	Regional Authority
	4	Institutions
	5	Department
Micro	6	Classroom

But it seems that levels 2-6 are not discrete independent units. They are dependent on the topmost policy to a large degree. For example, a decision to make Swahili the national language of Tanzania affects all aspects of LP decisions that may be taken at the lower levels. The schools have to adjust their programs to reflect the new status of Swahili. This means that Swahili will have to be given greater emphasis in the school system, in the media and all related domains. The motivation of the individual will also change in favor of learning Swahili because it has become the language of power in Tanzania. Similarly, the decision to make English the official language in Ghana has shaped all other language planning activities in the media and education. So LP has become a top-down affair, a state of events which should not always be the case. Sometimes it is necessary to consider what happens at the bottom in order to formulate policy at the top.

It is often difficult to identify who actually makes the policy. Three types of LP are distinguished in the literature - status, corpus and acquisition planning. Status planning which deals mainly with the allocation of functions to various languages is normally done by politicians. But effective status planning requires the help of sociolinguists, sociologists and social psychologists. These are specialists who could conduct an effective initial fact-finding study about the language situation in the society. This information would provide crucial input to an effective policy decision. The fact that politicians leave these specialists out in the process of language policy formulation may be a factor in the inefficient language policies of many African countries. When it comes to evaluation, these same specialists are the best people to formulate appropriate strategies for evaluating LP (e.g designing language survey questionnaires). Corpus planning should be handled by language specialists, since this type of LP involves working on the language corpus (i.e, codification, standardization, modernization etc.). But corpus planning needs policy in order to be carried out. For example, a policy is required to change the script of a national language. But even here, the advice of specialists is needed as to which of the competing scripts is more advantageous and why. So the participation of language specialists and specialists in other related fields is indispensable to language planning if it is to be effective. Even though the final policy comes from the government or other institutions, input from those the policy would affect is indispensable. It is, however, sad that most governments ignore these vital groups, possibly for political reasons, and possibly because governments do not know who is out there who can help.

3.3.2 Types of LP

This section discusses the *what* of language planning, that is, what language planners focus their attention on. Some of the definitions of LP state the focus quite generally. For example, Thorburn's (1971) definition states a general focus when he says:

language planning occurs when one tries to apply the amalgamated knowledge of language to change the *language behavior* of a group of people (p.254).

Other definitions, however, point to or imply some specific foci. An example is that of Kloss (1969). Kloss (1969) distinguishes two types of LP, status planning and corpus planning.

Cooper (1989) proposes a third type, which he calls *Acquisition Planning*. Status planning is concerned with the status or standing of a language with respect to other languages or the language needs of a particular government. Kloss, according to Cooper (1989), views the object of status planning as recognition by a national government of the importance or position of one language in relation to others. But the term has since been extended to refer to the allocation of languages or language varieties to given functions, e.g. medium of instruction, official language, vehicle of mass communication. Gorman (1973) defines *language allocation* as:

authoritative decisions to maintain, extend, or restrict the range of uses (functional range) of a language in particular settings (p.73).

Rubin (1983:304) thinks it is misleading to include all cases of language allocation under the term *status planning*; rather language planning should be put under language allocation. But with the extended use of the term *status planning*,

this position of Rubin may not be tenable. Even under Kloss' original notion, the recognition of the importance of a language in relation to others implies extension of function for that language and restriction of others, if Gorman's definition is anything to go by. So I think in the modern sense, language allocation and status planning refer to the same type of activity.

Corpus planning is concerned with changes in structure, vocabulary, morphology or spelling, or even the adoption of a new script. These innovations have one thing in common: they modify the nature of the language itself, changing its corpus as it were. The language cultivation, reform and standardization mentioned in Haugen's (1969) definition represent an instance of corpus planning; so also do Gorman's (1973) selection, codification and elaboration. *Acquisition planning*, according to Cooper (ibid), is directed towards increasing the number of users - speakers, writers, listeners, readers etc. of a language in response to status planning demands.¹⁸ This additional type of language planning is useful for a number of reasons (Cooper, 1989:33). First, considerable planning is directed toward *language spread*, i.e. an increase in the users or the uses of a language or language variety, but not all planning for language spread can be subsumed under status planning. According to Cooper (1989), when planning is directed toward increasing a language's uses, it falls within the rubric of status planning; but when it is directed toward the increasing the number of users - speakers, writers, listeners, or readers - then a separate category for the focus of language planning seems to be justified. One other reason that Cooper suggests for identifying *acqui-*

¹⁸ The suggestion for this third type of LP emerged from Prator's (1986) s definition of LP, in which he mentions language teaching as an object of policy making.

sition planning as a distinct type is that the changes in function and form sought by status and corpus planning affect, and are affected by, the number of a language's users. New users may be attracted by the new uses to which a language is put; and new users may introduce new uses. It is not certain whether this category of acquisition planning is as useful as Cooper thinks. It is possible to look at acquisition planning as a sub-activity of status planning or an implementation of a status planning decision. For example, planning toward increasing the use of a language (status planning) implies that the language is more important than others, as far as the domains of its use are concerned. This presupposes a desire by the planners for more people to use the language in those domains (acquisition). Implementation of this plan would inevitably involve some attempt to encourage people to learn and use the language or languages concerned.

Language planning seems to be directed toward the solution of language problems. But it is evident that language planning activities try to solve not only language problems but also non-linguistic issues. For example, the Ethiopian mass-literacy campaign (Cooper, 1989), with its use of vernacular languages, was intended to pacify the students and to remove them from the political arena. Rubin (1983), therefore, consequently suggests identifying overt and covert language planning goals. Cooper (1989) points out that it is hard to think of an instance of language planning which has been carried out solely for the sake of improving communication, where problems of communication are the only problems to be solved, or where the facilitation of communication is the only interest to be promoted. As Karam (1974:108) notes:

regardless of the type of language planning, in nearly all cases the language problem to be solved is not a problem in isolation within

the region or nation, but is directly associated with the political, economic, scientific, social, cultural and/or religious situation.

Cooper (1989:35) goes further to assert that the latter considerations of Karam - political, economic, scientific, etc. - serve as the primary motivation for language planning. Thus, language planning is not an end in itself; it is a means to an end. I therefore agree with Cooper (1989) that the definition of language planning as the solution of language problems is misleading, though it is not wrong.

Activities that may be classified as LP are quite varied (Karam, 1974). Some of them deal with the development of vernaculars into national languages, as in the case of Indonesia (Alisjahbana, 1961) or Tanzania (Whiteley, 1971a). Other forms of LP may involve the revival of ancient languages, as in the case of Ireland (Macnamara, 1971) or of Israel; with large-scale language reform, involving script replacement and the expansion and purification of vocabulary, as in the case of Turkey (Gallagher, 1971). Another type of LP activity is one referred to by Karam (1974) as *cross-national language planning*. This is exemplified by the attempt to preserve the semi-intelligibility that prevails between the peoples of Norway, Denmark and Sweden who speak different but related languages (Haugen, 1966c). The activities of missionaries in many parts of the world, in an attempt to convert people to Christianity, may be considered as another type of LP. Their linguistic efforts involve decisions regarding which language of the non-literate population and which variety of that language will be selected as the primary means of communication, which writing system will be adopted, and what type of literature will be produced. The activities of the missionaries culminated in the conversion of many African languages into writing (see chapter IV).

This section cannot be ended without mention of Nahir's (1986) classification of language planning goals. Nahir (ibid) suggests that a clear distinction must be drawn between *LP activities* and *LP goals*. The former are involved in carrying out specific functions or in seeking specific goals (i.e the latter). According to him, identical activities may lead to different goals and vice versa. For example, when a nation or government provides for training in a particular language, the activity may be aimed either at language spread or language revival or both. On the other hand, an LP goal of language revival can involve several activities, including legislation, textbook preparation, offering of courses etc. Nahir notes that while a goal represents an LP agency's intention, an activity represents the implementation aspect of the agency. In all, eleven LP goals are listed by Nahir (ibid). These are:

1. Language Purification;
2. Language Revival;
3. Language Reform;
4. Language Standardization;
5. Language Spread;
6. Lexical Modernization;
7. Terminology Unification;
8. Stylistic Simplification;
9. Interlingual Communication;
10. Language Maintenance;
11. Auxiliary-code Standardization.

As Nahir correctly notes, there is likely to be some overlapping between certain goals. This may be because of similarity between a goal and an activity. For example, a Language Reform activity may be identical to a Lexical Modernization activity. In fact, one even wonders if the latter is not part of the former. Nahir defines language reform as "a deliberate change in specific aspects of language, intended to facilitate its use". Obviously, one of the activities that must be carried out to "facilitate the use of a language" is to modernize the lexicon, which is a Lexical Modernization activity. Language Reform in its broad sense would include Lexical Modernization. But Nahir admits to using the term *reform* in a narrow sense. Apart from *Language Spread* and probably *Language Revival*, most of the goals listed above are related to Kloss' (1969) *Corpus Planning* because most of the goals have to do with some changes in the corpus of the languages involved. But as noted earlier, corpus planning is not divorced from status planning because the former may need the later in order to be carried out.¹⁹

3.3.3 Language Planning for WHOM?

It has been noted that language planning can be undertaken, not only by governments, but other lower level institutions such as firms, schools, and even families or individuals. If this is true, then the targets of language planning can vary as much as the category of planners. This implies that the target of language planning can be a whole nation, a region, a firm or corporation, a school or even a family. The target can also be larger than a state (e.g. the European Community, or the United Nations).

¹⁹ Some of the goals listed above are further examined in Chapter 8.

It may seem trivial to include decisions made by small-scale social groups such as individual schools, workplaces, churches, and families as instances of language planning. But it must be noted that the same processes are involved in both macro-level planning and micro-level ones. The decisions made by an individual as to how s/he uses the languages s/he is confronted with is very important in making decisions at the top. As Cooper (1989) notes, "to exclude such small-scale instances from the study of language planning is to impoverish the field." (p.38).

3.3.4 The HOW of Language Planning.

We have discussed the question of who makes policy, what is the focus of language planning, and what the targets of language planning are. The next question is: how should the activity of language planning be carried out? Neustupny (1983:2) defines language planning as "the systematic, theory-based, rational and organised societal attention to language problems". Fishman (1974b) also uses the term "organised" to describe language planning, and Gorman (1973) uses the word "co-ordinated measures", while Tauli (1974) refers to LP as a "methodical activity". The question is whether language planning as seen in practice is "systematic", "theory-based", "methodical" or "organised". On the question of being "systematic", "organised", or "methodical", we can say, very little. It is hard to find instances of well organised, methodical and systematic language planning (Cooper 1989:41). Most language planning activities, especially in the developing countries, are ad hoc, arbitrary, and mostly politically- driven. As for being

theory-driven, " we have yet to move beyond descriptive frameworks for the study of language planning; there is no generally accepted language planning theory" (Cooper, 1989:41). Language planning, as I noted earlier, is an interdisciplinary field of study. It cannot be said to be an independent field because the research techniques employed by language planning scholars (e.g. interviews, questionnaires, analyses of census data, etc) are employed by other social sciences as well. Moreover, its central focus is closely related to the concerns of what Cooper (1989) refers to as its "parent disciplines": *applied linguistics* and *the sociology of language*.

Applied linguistics, according to Ferguson (1971:135), is "the application of any of the insights, methods, or findings of linguistic science to practical language problems." Language planning and applied linguistics have in common that they both address language problems. *Sociology of language* "examines the interaction between two aspects of human behavior: use of language and the social organization of human behavior" (Fishman, 1971:217). Here too, we find that language planning has something in common with the sociology of language. Language planning attempts to influence language use and it is influenced by language attitudes. There are two competing theories about attitudes in general - the mentalist and the behavioral theories. A typical mentalist definition of attitude is given by Williams (1974, cited in Fasold, 1984:147):

Attitude is considered as an internal state aroused by stimulation of some type and which may mediate the organism's subsequent response.

According to the behaviorist theory, attitudes are to be found simply in the response people make to social situations. Narrowing the scope of attitude to the present study, language attitudes are distinguished from other attitudes by the

fact that they are precisely about language. Language attitudes could include attitudes toward a language or language variety, or toward speakers of a particular language, or even toward language maintenance and planning efforts. In other words, language attitudes involves what people think of, or how they react to the presence of languages they have to deal with.

In a sense, one can say that LP is at the centre of all the other related disciplines - Applied Linguistics, Sociology, Psychology, Economics, etc., from which it draws its substance. One can always find a common thread that binds most of these disciplines.

3.3.5 WHY Language Planning?

The final question in this section is whether language planning is necessary at all. Can nations, communities, and other organisations that use language do without language planning? If we examine the various activities regarded as language planning, then there is no doubt that language planning is necessary, even in ideally homogenous societies. Supposing there is a country in which only one language is spoken or used; that nation still has to undertake some language planning activities in response to changing demands on the language, for example, the need for modernization. The language may have several dialects, and in that case, the variety to be used in the school system has to be decided upon. If such a hypothetically monolingual society needs language planning, then we can see the problem for multilingual societies. It is a well-known fact that there is hardly any linguistically homogenous society on earth today. Language planning

is, therefore, necessary, not only for such overt reasons as facilitation of communication, but also for such covert goals as economic, social, and political development.

3.4 Approaches to Language Planning Theory

As noted earlier, LP has attracted the attention of people from various disciplines - economists, lawyers, social psychologists etc.. This is not surprising, since language does not function in a vacuum, but rather within all spheres of human endeavor, all of which have some influence on how language is used. Theories in economics have been extended to Language Planning (see Marschak, 1965; Vailancourt, 1983; Reagan, 1983). Marschak (1965) published an article dealing with the economics of language as a conceptual entity. He suggested that the field could be conceived of either in *normative* terms or in *explanatory* terms. In the *normative* sense, the economics of language is seen as concerned primarily with policy formulation (basically in terms of efficiency). It is, in short, presumed to be directed toward determining the "communication systems best suited to a given goal or, more generally, best suited to a given scale of values" (Marschak, 1965:136). In the *explanatory* sense, on the other hand, the economics of language functions as a *post hoc* aid to analysis (especially in terms of answering questions about "survivals" and "extinctions of linguistic forms). But it is the *normative* sense of the economics of language as a field of study that is likely to have an impact on LP (Reagan, 1983). Reagan (1983) notes also that the economics of language should be a potential supplement to the language planning process, since there are a

number of non-economic and non-quantifiable variables that also play major roles in the process.

3.4.1 Economic Conceptions of Language

Human language has been conceptualized in different ways. For example, language has been treated as a commodity which is subject to market forces. Ridler & Pons-Ridler (1986) describe second language learning as either a consumer good or an investment, depending on the type of satisfaction to be derived. In other words, language is treated just like any other commodity (e.g a car, a computer, or a shirt). The amount of money one is ready to pay for such a commodity depends on the amount of satisfaction one hopes to derive from it. People invest money in certain ventures because of projected profits. Riddler and Pons-Riddler consider language as an investment because people would spend money or time to learn it if they believe that it would benefit them and that they can get back, in one way or the other, the money invested in learning the language. This economic analysis is used to study the status planning of French either as an international language or an official language of Canada. By postulating a simple theory of consumer and investment choice, it argues that demand for L2 is determined by price and perceived benefits (short or long run). It says that demand within a jurisdiction can be influenced by changing prices and benefits. Outside jurisdictional boundaries, demand is more difficult to influence, leaving supply as the main policy variable. This latter choice is seen to be ineffective, judging from the failure of a *supply-oriented* approach by the French government to spread the

use of French. This is being done through "Alliance Française" programs in various countries. The results have been shown not to be worth the millions of dollars spent on these programs.

Vaillancourt (1983) also sees language as both an ethnic attribute (though only in the case of L1) and as (potential) human capital. He proposes an economic classification of LP measures. These measures are classified as either *Supply-enhancing* or *Demand-enhancing* policies. While the former have the effect of increasing the availability, at a given cost, of units of Target Language (TL), the latter have the effect of increasing the demand, at a given cost, for units of TL.

Cost-benefit analysis is another approach to handling language problems. This is discussed by both Jernudd (1971) and Thorburn (1971). Thorburn (1971) points out that LP, like any other planning, implies a conscious choice between alternative ways of solving a problem, a choice that is made on the basis of a conscious effort to predict the consequences of the proposed alternatives. He notes that, in LP, one wants to compare consequences of proposed alternatives, which is the object of cost-benefit analysis. Costs and benefits, when applied to language choices and alternatives, must be understood to be both tangible and intangible in nature (Jernudd, 1971). This makes it necessary to recognise the role of both quantifiable and non-quantifiable factors in the language planning process. If we consider the *opportunity cost* for an individual to learn an L2, for instance, the loss of wages, price for teacher, cost of textbooks and so on would constitute tangible costs. The emotional and psychological costs would be intangible, but would vary from one individual to the next, and would be significant in many cases. For the

benefits, increased wages would be tangible, while an improved self-image would be intangible (but real) benefits (see Jernudd, 1971: 264-265).

Cost-benefit analysis of language choices is problematic in several ways. Most important, perhaps are the problem of "time lag" between learning an L2 and using it, and the difficulty in separating, first, tangible from intangible costs and benefits and second, social from individual costs and benefits (see Jernudd, 1971:267-270).

3.4.2 Other Approaches to LP Theory

LP theory has been approached also from the social scientists' and political scientists' point of view. One such work is by Apter (1982). He notes a basic problem with the literature on LP which roughly divides into language-nation typologies, comparative studies, case studies and policy guides. The basic problem with the literature, according to Apter, is that it concentrates on the importance of language *per se* at the expense of structural and political variables. Language-nation typologies, he claims, appear more concerned with the number and statuses of different languages within the nation-state than with the form of the state itself. Comparative and case studies fail to specify clearly the non-linguistic bases of incorporation that language divisions may reinforce or cross-cut. This "overdevelopment" of linguistic analysis and "underdevelopment" of political and structural analysis is attributed partly to the fact that most of the literature was written by linguists and partly to the fact that the social scientists who wrote some of the literature failed to apply "appropriate analytical models to the study of societies

where language planning is most pressing and problematic" (Apter, 1982:220). Among the people who have studied language-nation typology are Rustow (1968), Kloss (1968), Fishman (1968) and Das Gupta (1968). Other formulations can be found in Rubin and Jernudd (1971), Rubin and Shuy (1973), Fishman (1974), to name a few. In the next three sub-sections, I discuss the typologies of Rustow, Kloss and Fishman. This is important because knowledge of how nations were formed will give us a better understanding of the language situation characteristic of each type of nation.

3.4.2.1 Rustow's Typology.

Rustow (1968) distinguishes five world-wide patterns of modern state-formation. These are listed as follows:

1. post-imperial states;
2. post-dynastic states of Western Europe;
3. linguistic states of Central and Eastern Europe and the Middle East;
4. countries of overseas immigration, and
5. post-colonial countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

In addition to types of state-formation, a classification of "linguistic constellations" shows how state boundaries and linguistic communities interrelate to form a variety of accommodations based on (a) the number and size of the linguistic communities in a territorial community, (b) the degree of relatedness and distinction between these languages, and (c) whether one or several of these languages has a substantial literary tradition. These three variables combine in different

ways to form six major linguistic patterns or "constellations," and in each case, a linguistic unity is presumed to provide a "secure foundation" for national identity.

Linguistic patterns of type 1 are those in which a distinct language predominates throughout the country. This pattern is the least problematic for national language planning. In some cases, a diversified vocabulary for modern technology must be planned, as in the case of Malagasy. In other cases, lexical items "felt to be alien and to be reflecting a pre-national, imperial past" are eliminated (e.g. Japanese words from Korean or Arabic words from Turkish - Rustow, 1968:98).

Pattern 2 involves a single language predominant in several contiguous countries. This is the situation among the Spanish-speaking countries of Latin America and the Arab countries in the Middle East and North Africa. Relying on the notion that linguistic unity somehow generates national consciousness, Rustow believes that "despite the existing political divisions, there is an underlying feeling of political community within each of these two groups of states that somewhat blurs the dividing line between internal and external politics" (Rustow, 1968:98).

The remaining types of linguistic pattern in Rustow's scheme are (3) a variety of closely-related languages - one of which serves as an official language, such as Tagalog in the Philippines and Swahili in Tanzania; (4) a variety of unrelated languages of which only one has a substantial literary tradition. In these situations, the literary language tends to win out as the national language, as with Arabic in Morocco and the Sudan, Spanish in Peru, Mexico, Guatemala and

Ecuador; (5) a variety of unrelated languages without literary traditions, typical of tropical Africa. Rustow thinks linguistic unity in this situation can only be attained through a foreign language such as English or French; and (6) a variety of unrelated languages each with its own literary tradition as in India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Malaysia and Cyprus. In such situations, as Rustow notes, the selection of one literary language among several for a national language remains highly competitive and problematic.

The main criticism of Rustow's typology comes from Apter (1982). Although an attempt is made to correlate types of state-formation with types of multilingualism or "linguistic pattern", this correlation is purely historical and contingent - no systematic relationships are revealed (Apter, 1982:223). According to Apter, even though Rustow observes that in Sri Lanka, Malaya and Cyprus, linguistic and religious divisions coincide, generating a contrast "mainly between two solid groups" that creates "the most explosive situation" (Rustow, 1968:104), he fails to specify this relationship as a variable in his typology.

3.4.2.2 Kloss' Typology

Kloss (1968) also proposes a language-nation typology, using four sets of variables ;

1. the type of state with regard to the language or languages serving it s government for "national official purposes";
2. the developmental status of a specific language spoken within the boundaries of the state in question;
3. the judicial status of the speech community; and

4. the relative numerical strength of the speech community.

The first set of these variables distinguishes two types of state - the *nation-state* and the *multinational state*. The *nation-state* is defined as a state

"dominated by a single ethnic group which either actually represents the nation at large, or, although forming only a section of the population, has made its mother tongue(s) the national official language(s)" (Kloss, 1968:71)

A state is called *multinational*:

either if two or three indigenous languages spoken natively by as many different ethnic groups are recognised as national official, or if four or more languages, all of them spoken natively by sizeable groups among the citizenry, are considered co-equal, though for practical reasons only one or two of them have been recognised as national official.

Kloss (1968) subdivides nation-states and multinational states into *endoglossic* or *exoglossic*. A country is called *endoglossic* "when the national official language(s) is spoken natively by a sizeable segment of the population" (page 71). An *exoglossic* country is one in which "the national official language has been brought in from abroad, and its few native speakers do not form the majority of the inhabitants in any district or locality" (p.71). This gives four types of states:

- (1) the endoglossic nation-state;
- (2) the exoglossic nation-state;
- (3) the endoglossic multinational state; and
- (4) the exoglossic multinational state.

Kloss also distinguishes between *all-exoglossic* and *part-exoglossic* countries. The former use none of the indigenous languages for the purpose of national government, while the latter grant the status of a national official language to one or several

indigenous rival tongues (p.71). The nation-state is also subdivided into *genuine* and *section-based*. The former exists where the dominant ethnic group forms the bulk of the population, set arbitrarily at 70 to 80 percent. The latter exists where the dominant ethnic group forms less than 70-80 per cent, but considers either itself (as a group) or its language , or both, as symbols and safeguards of the nation-at-large's identity. Nation-states belonging to this second category may be called *section-based* because members of the ethnic group claiming privilege status for themselves or their languages are not sufficiently numerous to represent the nation as a whole automatically (p. 72).

Kloss' typology is actually more complex than has been described here. He posits additional variables to indicate the number of language speakers, the juridical status of the languages as national, regional local, as well as promoted, tolerated, or proscribed. However, there are certain shortcomings with even the provisional typology described here. The first problem is that the variables are not very well defined. The concept of "state" is never defined, but is compounded with "nation", a concept which is roughly equivalent in its usage to ethnic or linguistic group. Thus a nation-state represented by one ethnic group among several is *section-based*, while a nation-state represented by several ethnic groups is *multi-national*. The problem with this formulation is that a single shift in national language policy from one language to several (or vice versa) changes the type of state under consideration. For Kloss, the relationship between nationally representative language groups and the type of state is that they are interdependent. This makes their definitions "circular and tautologous" (Apter, 1982:226). A second problem with Kloss' typology noted by Apter (1982) is the uncritical treatment of

the relationship between language communities and ethnic groups. Norwegians, for example, constitute a single ethnic group, but make use of two standard languages - Riksmål (or Bokmål) and Nynorsk (or Landsmål). As Apter (p.226) notes, the degree to which language, ethnicity, and other bases of incorporation may combine varies from one country to another, but this variation is not represented by Kloss' typology.

Despite the criticisms, Ghana and many other African countries fit into Kloss' fourth type of state, that is *exoglossic multinational state*, because Ghana is multinational and has an official language, which is not native to the country, and whose native speakers do not form the majority of the inhabitants in any district or locality.

3.4.2.3 Fishman's Typology

Fishman (1968b) distinguishes three categories of nations according to the type of language situation. Type "A" refers to nations that have no "great tradition"²⁰ around which they can rally. Type "B" are those that have a single "great tradition", while type "C" have several "great traditions." The type of language planning adopted differs according to the type of nation. Type "B" nations seem to have the least problem, since they have only one great tradition which

²⁰ I use the term "great tradition" to refer to a major ethnic collectivity or nationality with a unique history, culture and language to which there is a strong sentimental attachment. This differs from the one given by Eastman (1983:13), in that the latter considers literary tradition as a prerequisite for a "great tradition". As mentioned earlier, most of the African countries were made up of an amalgamation of different nationalities, who had their own history, political systems and cultural heritages. I consider them to be equally "great traditions".

can easily be modernized into a national/official language to replace whatever "Language of Wider Communication" (LWC) may have been in use for administration, higher education and other purposes. Such a solution would seem, in most cases, to have the greatest functional utility and, at the same time, to contribute to national identity. Apparently, it would be easier to spread this language among the wide segments of the population than it would be to spread the European language that it would be replacing, thus making communication between the central authorities and the population more effective, facilitating the educational process, involving more citizens in the system, and giving the masses of the population greater access to system roles.

But this seemingly easy solution may not be without problems. As Kelman (1971) points out, there are a few disadvantages with this type of solution from a functional point of view. The first is that the replacement of the European language would affect international contacts, which are essential to the development of all new states. Giving up this advantage would seem to be a price worth paying for the contribution of an indigenous language to the functional integration of the larger society and to bridging the gap between elites and the masses.

A second disadvantage of the above mentioned solution, as noted by Kelman (1971), is that the use of a classical version of the indigenous language still accrues to the advantage of the more upper-class, more urbanized segments of the population, who are more likely to have had contact with it and whose children have far more opportunities to master it. Thus such a policy helps to perpetuate existing discrepancies by making it more likely that those who are already well off, and their offspring, will have greater access to system roles.

A third point mentioned by Fishman (1968b) is that efforts to modernize the classical language may arouse resistance from its traditional caretakers who regard the language as sacred and want to keep its original form intact, especially where the classical language is associated with religious traditions.

In type "A" nations which have no "great tradition," the solution, as pointed out by Fishman (1968b), is to select the European language of the former colonial power as the national language, under conditions that are relatively free of conflict. Apart from the fact that this type of solution facilitates international communication, it would be chosen at the cost of national integration, since the distance between the elite and the masses would be perpetuated as mentioned earlier.

Type "C" nations with their several "great traditions" seem to present the most perplexing problems for language planning. These nations contain several ethnic groups, each with its own language and with strong sentimental attachments to it. The appropriate language policy in such situations depends, among other things, on the number of major languages that enter the competition. In discussing the possible ways of handling the problem of multiple languages, Kloss (1967) points out that complete equality of status seems possible only in countries that have two or at most three languages. According to him, no country could conduct its affairs in four or more languages "without becoming hopelessly muddled."

One possible solution in a situation marked by competition between a number of languages, each cherished by its own group, is to choose as the national lan-

guage one that places all groups at a more or less equal disadvantage. This criterion is met in most developing countries by selecting a European language (usually the language of former colonial masters) for that purpose. This solution, though it places all competing languages at a more or less equal disadvantage, is likely to perpetuate elitism and a lopsided class structure and weaken the links of the population with the centre. As Kelman (1971) notes, this problem is complicated by the fact that the use of a European language is resented on sentimental grounds, since unlike Type "A" nations, they have "great traditions" with which various segments of the population identify. He cites the situation in India where neither Hindi nor English has proven satisfactory as a national language.

Another possible solution is to select a minority language which does not enter the competition as the national language. The choice of Swahili as a common national language in Tanzania and Kenya is mentioned as an illustration (see Whiteley, 1968; 1984). This is a situation where a language to which there are no strong sentimental attachments provides the optimal compromise because, although its selection may not arouse tremendous enthusiasm, it also does not arouse threat and resentment. No matter how correct this statement may be, there seems to be another foreseeable problem with this type of solution. It is possible to have a situation in which all the competing ethnic groups forget their differences for a while in order to oppose the selection of a minority language as the national language. Obviously, the pride they derive from their attachment to their languages would not allow them to accept a minority language whose status would be raised as a result of being selected to perform national roles. Moreover, the case of Swahili's success in Tanzania is unique in the sense that the choice

was possible only because tribal groupings were so numerous (about 126, according to Ryan, 1985) that no single tribal language was spoken by a sizeable part of the population. Swahili, the lingua franca of the coastal region derived prestige from the fact that it possessed a literature, was the language of trade throughout the country and had been introduced into the nation's primary schools by the colonial administration (see also Whiteley, 1984).

3.5 Orientations in Language Planning

Basic orientations toward language and its role in society influence the nature of language planning efforts in any particular context (Ruiz, 1984; Akinvaso, 1991). Three such orientations are proposed in the LP literature. They are (a) language-as-problem; (b) language-as-right, and (c) language-as- resource. The first two currently compete for predominance in the literature. Most LP activities have been geared toward problem-solving, but rights- affirmation has gained much ground with the renewed emphasis on the protection of minority languages. The third orientation has received much less attention in the past, but is also gaining in importance in the modern literature (see Martin-Jones, 1989; de V. Cluver, 1991, 1992).

Orientation refers to a complex of dispositions toward language and its role, and toward languages and their roles in society. Orientations are basic to LP in that they delimit the ways we talk about language and language issues. They determine the basic questions we ask, the conclusions we draw from the data, and even the data themselves (Ruiz, 1984). As Ruiz (p.4) notes,

orientations are related to language attitudes in that they constitute the framework in which attitudes are formed: they help to delimit the range of acceptable attitudes toward language, and to make certain attitudes legitimate.

3.5.1 Language-as-Problem

The bulk of the work of planners and those who have written on LP has been focused on the identification and resolution of language problems (Neustupny, 1970; Rubin and Shuy, 1973; Fishman, 1974). Karam (1974) notes that "theoretically, wherever there is a communication problem concerning language, LP is possible" (p.108). Fishman (1974:105) delimits LP as "the organised pursuit of solutions to language problems, typically at the national level". Mackey (1979:48) suggests that language problems are inherent in the multilingual situation: "the more languages there are to choose from, the more complex the problems tend to become". This early focus on language as a problem is not difficult to explain. Language planning activities have been carried out in the past predominantly in the context of national development. Neustupny's (1970) examples of language problems - code selection, standardization, literacy, orthography - suggest a developmental context. In such a context, one can conclude that language is just another of the problems of modernization. Another explanation for this language-as-problem consciousness is given by Ruiz (1984) as the "unique socio-historical context of multilingual societies" (p.7). He notes, for example, that in the United States, the need for language training of large numbers of non-English speaking Americans coincided, in the 1950s, with a general societal concern for the disadvantaged. The importance of this coincidence, he notes, lies in language issues

becoming linked with the problems associated with this group - poverty, handicap, low educational achievement, little or no social mobility. The sorts of programs designed in the 1960s to address these socially undesirable conditions treated language as an underlying problem. Thus the U.S Bilingual Education Act (BEA) of 1968 and the state statutes on bilingual education which have followed start with the assumption that non-English language groups have a handicap to overcome. Because people see language issues as a problem, they prescribe all sorts of solutions. There are the extremists who agitate for uniformity and therefore advocate for monolingualism. For example, President Reagan was said to be strongly opposed to maintenance programs for minority groups (reported in Ruiz, 1984:10). The other solution is a transitional program, the long run result of which is monolingualism. Since language problems are always tied to all spheres of social life (Karam, 1974:108), this particular orientation may represent a more general outlook on cultural and social diversity.

3.5.2 Language-as-Right

There is a strong movement all over the world to consider language as a basic human right. For del Valle, 1981 (quoted in Ruiz, 1984:11), the right to "effective participation in governmental programs" has several aspects: provision of unemployment insurance benefits forms in Spanish for Spanish monolinguals; bilingual voting materials like ballots and instructional pamphlets; and interpreters. The nature of language is so pervasive that it touches on many aspects of social life. Therefore, any mention of language rights would be so extensive that their

solution becomes almost impossible in certain contexts. For example, in Nigeria, it would be difficult to satisfy the right of all the almost 400 languages (Akinna-so, 1989). This type of situation makes the language-as-right orientation very difficult to handle.

3.5.3 Language-as-Resource

This orientation considers language as a human resource. It has been observed by many researchers that language skills in most populations are not being developed and this would lead to eventual language loss for many people. Simon (1980) is concerned with the development of greater language capability, especially because of its usefulness in the areas of foreign affairs and international trade. In most African countries, the imposition of European languages as national or official languages has limited the participation of the majority of Africa's population in the developmental processes. The African languages can perform many of the functions being performed by European languages today if only they are given the right treatment. Most of the languages are societal resources which must be tapped. A fuller development of resources-oriented approach to LP could help to reshape attitudes about language and language groups. Most Africans have been made to understand that it is only the European official language that can make them benefit from the system they are in; English is the only passport to well-paid jobs in Ghana, Nigeria, Kenya, etc; so is French in Ivory Coast, Senegal, etc. This has caused the Africans to develop negative attitudes toward their own languages. Most of them do not see the need for their children to learn the African

languages in school, since they are not going to be of any economic value to them. Yet, a greater majority of students do not get to the level where they can effectively use English, or French (see Bokamba, 1984). These attitudes need to be changed, and a resource-oriented LP may be a good way of addressing such issues. It is LP that shaped these negative attitudes about the indigenous languages, and only LP can reverse it (see Chapter VIII). Language planning efforts which start with the assumption that language is a resource to be managed, developed and conserved, would tend to regard language-minority communities as important sources of expertise. This would help give students a more "natural" language training experience; it would help with any status problems the language and the community might have; and it would give something back to the community by encouraging the persistence of language maintenance institutions like community centers. This would eventually lead to greater social cohesion and co-operation.

3.6 Underlying Ideologies of LP

Closely-linked to orientations is the idea of underlying ideologies of LP decisions. While we may consider orientations as "assumptions" that are brought into the language planning mechanism, ideology may be seen as the underlying goal or driving force that shapes or motivates actual decision making in LP. There are four such ideologies discussed in the literature. They are *linguistic pluralism*, *linguistic assimilation*, *vernacularization*, and *internationalization* (see Cobarrubias, 1983; Wardhaugh, 1986; Akinnsaso, 1989). The four ideologies are based on two basic sets of opposition:

- (1) multilingualism vs. monolingualism;

(2) indigenous vs. exogenous languages (see Akinnaso, 1991).

Linguistic pluralism accords official status to more than one language while *linguistic assimilation* is the belief that everyone, regardless of linguistic background, should learn the dominant language of the society. *Vernacularization* has as its goal the elaboration of an indigenous language and its adoption as an official language. *Internationalization* emphasizes the adoption of an exogenous language of wider communication either as an official language or for such specific purposes as education, bureaucracy and external trade. The various ideologies seem to stem from the orientations of language policy. For example, language-as-problem orientation may lead to the ideology of assimilation or internationalization, while language-as-resource or right orientation may lead to an ideology of vernacularization and pluralism.

3.7 Nationalism vs. Nationism

Two other themes that confront LP decision in multilingual countries are what are termed *nationalism* and *nationism* (Fishman, 1968; Eastman, 1983). *Nationalism* emphasizes the feeling of members of a nationality that they are united and identified with others who share the same history, culture, religion, and language. That is, in the case of *nationalism*, language acts as a powerful symbol of ethnic identification for groups who, resisting fusion into the larger nationality, develop a national consciousness of their own. In *nationism* on the other hand, a language is selected for reasons of national efficiency. These themes are usually conflicting in multilingual countries. As noted earlier, most of the African countries of today

were created by the amalgamation of hitherto independent kingdoms, with their distinct cultures and systems of government. The problem for the leaders of these countries is to initiate policies that would bring about unity of these groups, while at the same time avoiding hurting the nationalist feelings of the various ethnic groups within their borders. They are trying to combine unity with diversity (i.e, satisfy the demands of nationism and nationalism). In pursuit of *nationism*, most African countries have adopted European languages as official languages to avoid any conflicts that might arise from choosing one of the indigenous languages for that function.

3.8 The Language Planning Process

The components that constitute the LP process are discussed by various people. Jernudd (1973) has suggested the terms *language determination*, *language development* and *language implementation*, where *determination* roughly corresponds to policy and *development* to what Paulston (1984) calls "cultivation". *Cultivation*, according to Paulston, deals with the language itself (i.e, Kloss' (1969) corpus planning). Paulston suggests further that Jernudd's (1973) *determination*, *development* and *implementation* are sub-sets of *cultivation* as well as *policy*.²¹ I would like to suggest, at this point, that Paulston's "determination" and "development" refer to the same thing, and, therefore, the latter is redundant. According to Paulston (1984), "determination" refers to the "initial decisions among alternate goals, means and

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²¹ Paulston's distinction between language policy and language cultivation is almost identical to Kloss' distinction between status planning and corpus planning or Wurm's external and internal language planning.

outcomes", while "development" refers to "the working out of the means and strategies to achieve one's putative outcomes" (p.55). I suggest that "determination" and "development" both belong to the policy stage (Rubin, 1971; Bamgbose, 1989). In policy formulation, decisions are made about the alternative goals, and the means to achieve those goals are discussed and spelt out in the policy, ready for implementation. What Paulston refers to as "development" may belong to "implementation". One very important ingredient in the LP process which Paulston does not mention is "evaluation", which is discussed in section 3.8.4.

I shall assume in this study four major stages in LP (Rubin & Jernudd, 1971; Bamgbose, 1989), which are supposed to be indispensable for a successful LP. They are:

- (1) Fact-finding;
- (2) Policy-formulation;
- (3) Implementation;
- (4) Evaluation.

3.8.1 Fact-finding

Fact-finding is a pre-policy activity which serves as input to policy-formulation (Bamgbose, 1989). It may take different forms, such as a survey of the language situation in a country with information on number of speakers, extent of bilingualism, domains of language use etc., a description of the different dialects or a dialect continuum from which a standard is to be selected, an evaluation of the effectiveness of competing media of instruction, or an examination of language needs in specific domains.

3.8.2 Policy formulation

This involves decision-making on the status of the languages in the system and the type of treatment they should receive. It refers to the initial choices among alternate goals, means and outcomes. Among the decisions made under policy formulation are what are to be the national/official language, language of education and language of the mass media. These are the types of decision relevant to what Kloss (1969) calls *status planning* and Wurm (1977) calls *external language planning*. Decisions concerning *corpus planning* (Kloss, 1969) or *internal language planning* (Wurm, 1977) may have to do with changing the script of a language, or modernization of the vocabulary. Bamgbose (1989) notes that the distinction between a status planning decision and a corpus planning one is not very clear.

While decisions in respect to status planning will readily be accepted as policy decisions, in a whole range of activities in corpus planning, it is not so clear whether we are dealing with a policy decision or not (p.25).

For example, the decision on the use of two competing terms for the same concept (cited by Bamgbose, 1989:25). I think this may be either an implementation decision by an individual or a policy issue, depending on who is making the decision. If these competing terms are left open to the public, then the individuals have the option to use whichever they like. The experience of Germany after the Thirty Years' War is an example. After the war, it was realized that many French words had entered the language and were beginning to be popularly used. A group of nationalists who were opposed to this "invasion" of French words, tried to diffuse it by coining German words to replace the French words. Because this was not a national policy decision, people had the option to use whichever words they liked. The result was the emergence of doublets (see Hock, 1986). For example,

French

German

Correspondance

Briefwechsel

Dialect

Mundart

Liberté de conscience

Gewissensfreiheit

Despite this linguistic nationalism, words like "Salon" (living room), "Auto" (car), "Telephon" and "petit gens" (little people) have remained in the language. On the other hand a policy decision (a form of intervention) can be made (whether at a national, or regional or institutional level) to resolve this impasse by adopting one of the competing terms. The decision to adopt one of these terms at the expense of the other is a policy decision.²²

3.8.3 Implementation

This term covers the process of carrying out authoritative public directives (Nakamura & Smallwood, 1980) or the actual attempt to bring about the desired goals (Jernudd, 1973). It is also defined as the process of carrying out, accomplishing, fulfilling, producing and completing a policy (Pressman & Wildavsky, 1984). A policy can be thought of as a set of instructions from policy makers to policy implementers that spell out both goals of the policy and the means for achieving those goals.

After a policy is formulated, it must be communicated to the implementers. In the case of language policy, the implementers vary among schools, the mass media, firms and institutions and even the individual. Nakamura & Smallwood

²² Note that, as suggested earlier, individuals can be said to make "internalized" policies which are instantiated in their attitudes to the various languages they have to deal with, and their use of them.

(1980) point out some difficulties or pitfalls that can influence policy communications. Among them are (a) garbled messages from the senders and (b) misinterpretations by the receivers. Garbled or unclear messages from the senders may result in misinterpretation of the message, which may lead to a breakdown of the whole process. Because of the potential ambiguity of language, a policy directive may lose the essence of communication, and, as a result, render the policy open to several interpretations by implementers. Misinterpretation of policy directives can be either intentional or unintentional. The latter would result from garbled messages. On the other hand, receivers or implementers may intentionally "misinterpret" a message because their own interests are at stake. So receptivity of the implementer is a crucial component of the communication process. In order to reduce these pitfalls, the policy-makers must send "clear" instructions to the implementers. Clarity means being specific about "both *what* is to be achieved and *how*" (Nakamura & Smallwood, 1984:33). In addition, implementers' responsibilities should be clearly spelt out in the policy directives. This would enable the performance of the implementers to be assessed and they can be held accountable for their actions. Despite the advantages of clear policy messages, Nakamura & Smallwood note that policy makers do their work under a series of constraints, each of which can reduce the chances of producing a clear set of instructions to implementers. Among these constraints are (a) technical deficiencies; and (b) conceptual complexity. By technical deficiency is meant inadequate knowledge and information about the adequacy of alternative means for achieving goals. In other words, it is difficult for policy makers to formulate clear instructions when they themselves are uncertain about what should be done. Conceptual complexity

involves limits on how well the problems are understood and defined. Policy vagueness can result from the inability of policy makers to agree on the problem they are solving. When policy makers can clearly state the problem they want solved, such a statement guides implementers by establishing the proper relationship between a goal (the problem to be solved) and the means for reaching it. However, when the statement of the problem is ambiguous, implementers must guess at how the means selected relate to the problem being solved. This raises problems for both implementers, who must devise solutions for unclear problems, and for evaluators, who must gauge the adequacy of those decisions.

Implementation of language policy may involve such activities as writing grammars of hitherto unwritten languages, preparing dictionaries, changing the script for a language or languages, standardization etc. Implementation may also involve the spreading of a standardized variety of a language by employing it in the educational system and the mass media.

3.8.4 Evaluation

Evaluation involves finding out how far the goals of LP and targets set are being reached. The evaluation process could be a measure for holding both policy makers and implementers accountable for their actions. Evaluation is the most neglected aspect of planning (Reagan 1983). It may be undertaken by policy makers, implementers or an independent body. Unfortunately, it is possible for evaluators to manipulate information to promote their own positions and keep their credibility. For example, an implementer's reputation and future may be linked to the

success of the programs s/he manages. In that case, s/he may be concerned with maintaining or expanding the support of policy makers for their programs. This type of approach to evaluation is designed to accomplish a political objective. There are several means by which implementers can shape or control to their advantage the information policy makers receive about their programs. Nakamura & Smallwood (1984) list the following:

- (1) selective release of data and other information that casts the most favorable light on their performance;
- (2) mobilizing program supporters to make claims on policy makers;
- (3) using program resources to build and expand beneficiary groups and other attentive publics who can be mobilized to provide additional program support.

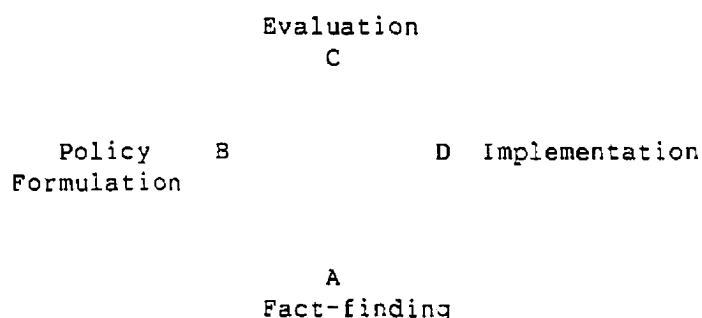
Evaluation is the measurement of a program's accomplishments, and these should be measurable in terms of objective indicators. But it is very difficult to determine what the objective indicators are. As noted by Nakamura & Smallwood,

the problem is that many of the things that can be counted do not count with policy makers, and many of the things that count with policy makers cannot be counted.

In the foregoing section, four stages of the LP process have been identified. But it should be noted that the four stages discussed are not strictly chronological. For example, fact-finding can be said to permeate all the other levels. Some kind of fact-finding takes place at each level of the planning process. So we do not only have pre-policy fact-finding, but also "pre-implementation" fact-finding (Bamgbose, 1989). The latter arises as part of the effort to carry out a declared policy. During the implementation process, problems may arise which require a

further fact-finding. for example, resistance to particular changes or measures may necessitate fresh fact-finding. A language planning process may begin with an evaluation of an existing plan with the view to making changes where necessary. This evaluation can however, not be effective without a "pre-evaluation" fact-finding. So, no matter the order of the other three stages of LP, fact-finding must always come first. But implementation cannot precede policy formulation, and evaluation cannot precede implementation. Bamgbose (1989) proposes a model of LP in which he suggests that since policy decisions can be taken at any stage in the planning process, the unidirectional movement from policy formulation to implementation needs to be reconsidered. He proposes a model of LP which provides for hierarchical planning as well as four directional possibilities of the four elements of LP mentioned above. The model he proposes shows how the four elements of LP are intertwined.

Figure 1: Directions in Language Planning (Bamgbose, 1989:31)



3.9 Language Planning and National Development

In this section, the functions of language as a tool in the development of a nation are explored. The emphasis is on the impact of the language of education on educational output, and the role of education in national development.

The goal of development is often assumed to be economic, i.e. to increase national output and wealth, often by industrialization. The traditional indicator of economic development in this view of development is the gross national product (GNP). When development studies began as a field of study after World War Two, it was taken for granted that the main problem was simply how to provide economic growth. Once this was done, it was assumed, the wealth thereby created would sooner or later "trickle down" to the grass roots and make people better off - although this might not happen right away (Foster-Carter, 1985). This view was never universally accepted, however, and in recent years it has been widely criticized. An alternative view is to argue that, especially in the poorest countries, the prime task of development must be the immediate fulfilment of basic needs. Basic needs encompass food, shelter and clothing; essential services like drinking water, sanitation, health, education and transport; and job opportunities. For advocates of "basic needs", merely maximizing growth of the GNP is not development (cf. Parker & Mohammad, 1977; Schramm, 1964). Parker & Mohammad claim that economic indicators are imperfect measures of the quality of life for which they are surrogates. They believe that "human development" is a better label for the implicit underlying goal of improved human happiness and quality of life. In any society of human beings, economic development is a means to the

end of greater well-being for the members of the society. Parker & Mohammad believe that equitable distribution of resources would lead to the greater well-being of the whole society. They reiterate that even a high rate of economic development as measured by the conventional indicators may lead to some sectors of the population being relatively or absolutely worse off than they were before. The economic development plans of some countries seem to make the rich richer and the poor poorer.

Schramm (1964) mentions that the things that are essential for economic development are education, mechanical skill training, health improvement and adequate living facilities. He also notes that modernization in agriculture will not only raise productivity, but will also contribute to the general health and vigor of the country. Particularly, he notes that agriculture, social overhead and human resources have to be developed to a certain level before any country is ready to make the "big push" through industry.

From the foregoing, what comes out clearly is the fact that developing countries should have as their immediate goal of national development, the fulfilment of basic needs. Ghana is no exception. A healthy, literate, employed and well-fed population is a good investment and an essential starting point for any development program. To reach this goal, the population needs to be well-informed and educated about programs that will lead to the attainment of the goal. In a country with diverse ethnic groups and languages, this is an enormous task if there is to be equitable distribution of the resources. The society has more to gain from educating and motivating the least well-educated and cared-for members of the

society because the gap between their actual and potential contributions is greatest. And these are precisely the people who are least able to invest in their own self improvement. Because the society as a whole is better off when the brain-power and labor-power of all members of the society are mobilized effectively, investment in the equitable distribution of such services as health and education may be the most promising investment a society can make.

A basic needs (BN) approach to development is one which gives priority to meeting the basic needs of all the people (Stewart, 1985). The actual content of BN have been variously defined: they always include the fulfilment of certain standards of nutrition (food and water), and the universal provision of health and education services. They also cover other material needs, such as shelter and clothing, and other needs, such as employment, participation and political liberty (ILO, 1976). The idea of making the meeting of certain fundamental human needs a development priority is not a recent idea nor a sophisticated one (Stewart, 1985:1); it stems from the simple view that development should be concerned with removing absolute deprivation, as a first priority. But, as Stewart notes, when it comes to translating the idea into action - into plans, policies and projects - the achievement of BN becomes more complex, both in terms of identifying the appropriate measures, and in terms of mobilizing the required political will.

The main problem with the "basic needs" (BN) approach to development concerns the identification of what the basic needs are and the justification for selecting a particular bundle of needs. This problem is due to two different inter-

pretations of the meaning of a BN-approach. The first view, referred to as the "three acres and a cow" or the "chicken in every pot" (Stewart, 1985) view, asserts that there are certain goods and services which every human being ought to have in order to live a decent life. This view is very attractive because it offers a well-defined set of targets for planning purposes: deficiencies can be measured; costs of meeting them estimated and so on; and it has strong political attraction. The problem about this view is that of justifying any particular selection of items to be included in the bundle, and establishing priorities between them. One way of selecting the bundle is on the basis that a particular bundle is what the society in question regards as the minimum decent bundle. This makes the bundle to be selected society-specific. Moreover as Stewart (1985) notes, most of the items are not wanted for themselves, but instrumentally as a means of improving the conditions of life. For example, it is not that the objective is *x doctors per 1000 people*, but rather the conditions that will bring good health, which may or may not include *x doctors per 1000 people*.

The second view of BN-approach defines the BN objectives as being the improvement of conditions of life (or quality of life). The bundle of BN goods is selected according to whether or not they contribute to this ultimate objective, which Stewart (ibid) describe as the "full life objective". The full life objective may be defined extensively or minimally. A minimal definition confines the objectives to health and perhaps education. An extensive definition would include all sorts of other characteristics such as the conditions necessary for the enjoyment of art, for entertainment generally, for full participation in the political process, and so on (Stewart, 1985:3). The full-life approach to BN still leaves major prob-

lems of definition (as to which characteristics to include in the objective), but it ties the selection of BN goods firmly to a human welfare context, rather than being plucked out of the air in accordance with the whims of the observer.

This study assumes the "full-life" interpretation of the BN-objective. The characteristics of a truly full life of course include many elements - material, social, cultural and political. The emphasis is on one main feature of the BN-approach - education - and how it relates to some other features like health and agriculture. It is assumed that while education alone does not tell the whole story, it is a necessary condition for the enjoyment of other aspects of a full-life, especially in the developing countries. The role of education in a nation's development are many and varied. Education leads to literacy, which in turn can lead to better health and improvement in agriculture because it is easier to educate a literate population on health matters such as family planning, primary health care, the environment etc. than a non-literate one. Literacy can also help people to improve on their methods of farming for higher yields, because information concerning such issues is easier to disseminate among a literate population than a non-literate one.

Ghana's economy is agrarian. Cocoa is the major export, followed by minerals, such as gold, diamonds, manganese; timber also occupies a prominent position among Ghana's foreign exchange earning products. About 67.2% of Ghana's estimated 15 million people live in the rural areas (UNESCO Yearbook, 1992). 57.1% of the labor force is engaged in agriculture, which represents 49% of the GDP. With such a large rural population and an agrarian economy, one expects

Ghana to be self-sufficient in food production. But it is not; it still imports some food from outside. The reason may be that most of the rural farmers are engaged in subsistence farming; most people can produce for their own needs and do not have surplus for sale to others. Factors that may limit people's production above subsistence level include lack of capital (e.g., money or machines to make bigger farms), lack of land, poor health, lack of innovation, or lack of expertise in farming methods. With such poverty, it is hoped that BN approach to development would be the way to go. This does not preclude development in other areas. The provision of basic needs would ensure a solid base on which other developments can spring up. Education should be able to provide the large rural and agrarian population the necessary inputs to raise their production above subsistence level. It should train people in simple inexpensive farming techniques that can boost their production; education should give people basic training in primary health care and personal hygiene so that they can keep themselves in good health, and thus keep production going. There is no doubt that the rural population will remain high despite the increasing urbanization. The majority of this rural population is illiterate; school drop-out is high. As a result, most of these people cannot benefit from the English medium of communication. However, if language planners would take this situation into consideration and give the indigenous languages greater emphasis in the educational system, then most of these drop-outs would at least have literacy in a Ghanaian language. It is much easier for people to become literate in their own languages than in a foreign one because they do not have to worry about the spoken language, which they already have.

There is currently a global concern about the environment and more and more people and governments are talking about "sustainable development." Sustainable development is defined as "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (UNESCO, 1987:43). Most human activities in pursuit of economic growth do a lot of damage to the environment, as they put pressure on environmental resources. The essential needs of vast numbers of people in the developing world - for food, clothing, shelter - are not being met. Meeting these needs requires not only a new era of economic growth for nations in which the majority are poor, but "an assurance that the poor get their fair share of the resources required to sustain that growth" (UNESCO, 1987:8). Such equity would be aided by political systems that secure effective citizen participation in decision making. Sustainable development, therefore, is not a fixed state of harmony, but rather a process of change in which the exploitation of resources, the direction of investments, the orientation of technological development, and institutional change are made consistent with future as well as present needs. Since sustainable development involves full participation of all citizens, the educational system should provide all citizens with the basic education necessary for their participation in sustainable development programs. Since language is a vital tool in human communication (and, therefore, vital in education), it is important that people are instructed, educated or informed in a language they can handle for fuller understanding and participation. The language of education is, therefore, very crucial in multilingual societies like Ghana.

Having examined the concept of language planning, the orientations of LP, the LP process and the role of LP in literacy, education and development, I now turn to some specific countries and their LP choices.

3.10 Some Case Studies of LP Choices

In this section, some case studies of LP choices of various African countries are examined. The implications of the choices are also discussed. The countries discussed here are Zambia, Botswana, Tanzania and Somalia. Zambia provides an example of LP that gives a foreign language (English) the status of a sole language of education; Somalia has a sole indigenous language as language of education; Tanzania and Botswana are examples of countries with two official languages, one of which is an indigenous language.

3.10.1 Zambian Language Policy

Before independence in 1964, Zambia's educational language policy was four-year local language instruction leading to proficiency in the local languages. It was also a way of showing some recognition for the local languages, but English was considered an important core subject.

After independence, English was adopted and formalized as the main official language in Zambia. Seven local languages were also designated as official languages: *Chibemba*, *Chitonga*, *Chinyanja*, *Silosi*, *Chikaonde*, *Lunda*, *Luyale*. These lan-

guages are widely used in various regions, and they have been recognized for teaching purposes. Time is also allotted to them on Radio Zambia. None of the indigenous languages has the status of a lingua franca. so the choice of English was intended to foster unity among the various ethnic groupings and to avoid ethnolinguistic rivalry.

In 1965, a decision was made to have an English-only medium for education in Zambia. It was thought that that move would democratize education and eliminate inequalities in educational opportunity. Serpell (1977) noted three major problems that seemed to have arisen as a result of the introduction of the primary English medium. First, he noted language stratification (a kind of diglossia) in the Zambian community. State authorities tended to define English as the language of the ruling class, and the Zambian languages as those of the workers and peasants. This decreed a prestige role for English. The second problem noted by Serpell (1977) was the dislocation between home and school ethos:

The English-medium educated student can neither express what he has learnt in school effectively in the language of his home (in which he has a generally diminishing articulacy...) nor relay effectively in English to his teacher the contrary arguments he encounters from his elders in the home language (p.434).

Thirdly, Serpell (ibid) argues that pupils who may leave formal education after Grade 4 or Grade 7 would achieve insufficient competence to operate effectively in the outside world. A great deal of debate took place on the issue of medium of instruction in Zambia, as a result of the 1965 decision. Finally in 1977, the government published the educational reform proposal and presented the most recent policy positions. In this document, the government endorsed the English-only instruction policy in the following words:

Although it is generally accepted by educationists that learning is best done in the mother tongue, this situation has been found to be impracticable in the case of every child in multilingual societies, such as the Zambian society.... Therefore, a satisfactory balance should be struck between pedagogical principles, public acceptability, and practicability in the choice of medium of instruction.²³

However, the government recognized the fact that the English-only medium is not without problems, since most Zambian children do not speak English in the home. As a result, it was suggested that even though the English-only medium should begin from year one, if a teacher finds that there are concepts which cannot be easily understood, he may explain those concepts in one of the seven official Zambian languages, provided the majority of pupils in that class understand the language. The study of Zambian languages as subjects in schools and colleges was to be made more effective and language study should have equal status with other important subjects (UNIN:78).

As a result of government policy and colonialism, English enjoys a more prestigious status than any other of the languages used in Zambia. It is the language of bureaucracy. It is the lingua franca in most parts of the country, and it is used extensively in everyday life in the urban centers of Zambia, particularly in Lusaka, the capital. Multilingualism and extensive code-switching between English and the local languages are found to be common phenomena in the urban centers. English will continue to enjoy its present role in Zambia because none of the indigenous languages has emerged or been promoted as a potential candidate for a national official language.

²³ United Nations Institute for Namibia (UNIN), 1981, page 78.

3.10.2 Botswana Language Policy

Botswana is a developing nation brought forth in the British tradition as a result of colonialism. English, therefore, enjoys a high prestige, and knowledge of English has become the passport to success in life. English became the first official language as well as the second national language. Setswana, spoken by over 80% of the population, became the first national language as well as the second official language.²⁴

Language-of-education policy had been to transfer from Setswana medium to English medium after three years at the primary level. But strong reservations were held about the rapid transition to English. The reasoning was that this would create both educational and cultural identity problems. In the 1978 - 85 National Development Plan, Botswana began to move towards the goal of a nine-year universal basic education cycle to replace the existing system. The language-of-education policy also changed with it. In the new system, great importance was attached to the primary years of education, not only because they serve as a foundation period, but also because during the period of the plan it was estimated that for half of the children completing Standard 7 (Botswana has a 7-year primary cycle), this primary education will be terminal and should therefore be a preparation for life as well. Recommendations made by a National Commission on Education in Botswana regarding the media of instruction were accepted by government for the National Development Plan (1979-85).

²⁴ Language policy in Botswana since independence has not been as complex as we find in other African countries because the great majority of the population are Setswana-speaking.

In the interest of national unity only two official languages, Setswana and English, can be accepted in the nation's schools... The starting of Setswana can be enhanced, and the teaching of Setswana made more conscientious, if Setswana had equal weighting with English in the marking of the primary school leaving examinations.²⁵

The Commission felt that the introduction of English as a medium as early as Standard 3, together with the substantial amount of time allotted to English on the time-table, not only discriminated against the national language, but contributed to the frequent failures of Botswana children to attain literacy in their own language. This situation was further reinforced by the fact that grades in Setswana were excluded from the aggregate totals qualifying candidates for secondary school selection. Hence the Commission recommended that Setswana should be the medium of instruction for the first four years of primary education and English should take over from Standard 5. It was also recommended that Setswana should be given more time (as a subject) in Standard 4 to help avoid some of the dangers of automatic promotion and that Setswana should have the same status as English in the secondary school selection process.

English continues to enjoy its prestigious role in Botswana as the language of bureaucracy, medium of business at least in the urban centers, and medium of instruction for the greater part of the educational experience. English is more likely to thrive in any increasingly industrialized and urbanized environment. Looking at the urban growth rate of Botswana, which is estimated at 12% per year, there is no doubt that the role of English will hardly change for the worse. This fact is strengthened by the fact that all Botswana's neighbors (Zimbabwe,

²⁵ Botswana National Commission for Education, 1977, quoted in UNIN (1981:79)

Zambia and South Africa) are countries where English has been institutionalized as an official language.

3.10.3 Tanzania's Language Policy

Tanzania is an example of an African country with an indigenous national official language. The country has two official languages, Swahili and English. The choice of Swahili was in response to the need to mobilize the people for greater participation in nation-building. English is maintained as a second language in order to promote international communication and access to scientific and technological developments in other parts of the world.

Swahili is used in Parliament meetings of the Cabinet and its committees are conducted in Swahili and most of the official correspondence in government at all levels is in Swahili except where one is obliged to communicate with expatriates or foreigners who do not know Swahili. English is used as a medium of instruction in secondary schools and university, but it does not enjoy the kind of status found in Zambia and Botswana and other African countries. Thus, English has a reduced role in Tanzania, where, administratively, commercially and socially, Swahili is paramount.²⁶

²⁶ The choice of Swahili as a national official language in Tanzania met with great success due to several reasons. These are discussed in section 3.4.2.3.

3.10.4 Somalia's Language Policy

The Somalia case shows how military force can sometimes triumph over democracy.²⁷ The Somali language was passed on from generation to generation by oral tradition without a written form, while the urbanized educated elite wrote in English, Italian or Arabic (Mezei, 1989).²⁸ A large part of the population remained illiterate (about 90%). Well before independence, the debate had begun concerning the selection of a script with which to write the Somali language. There was general agreement that Somali should have a script and should become the official language of the country; it was considered crucial to lessening the divisions caused by tribalism and developing the country. It was also believed that there would be no democracy as long as governmental elites carried on business in languages alien to the great masses of the people. A Somali orthography, therefore, was necessary for "democratic participation, national unity and modernization"(Mezei, 1989:214). Three factions emerged, each supporting a different script; there were proponents of the Latin script, the Arabic script, and what was called a *Far Soomaali* (the devised Somali script). The debate continued into independence, and as a result, there was confusion in government offices. There were demonstrations for or against a particular script, and it was not until democracy was ended that a choice of script could be made.

²⁷ The main source of information on Somali language reform is Andrzejewski, 1974 and Mezei, 1989.

²⁸ Somalia has had contact with the British and Italians through colonialism. Arabic came through religion.

On October 21, 1969, a military government came into power under Moxamad Siyaad Barre. The president and the Supreme Revolutionary Council forced a choice on the script. The Language Commission, which was formed in 1960 to work on the orthography question was revitalized. The commission members were instructed to prepare school texts and adult literacy materials, as well as a dictionary and a grammar, but they were not authorised to choose a script. All these works were to be transliterated into a new orthography after a script had been chosen. On October 21, 1972, the government announced that the Latin alphabet had been chosen. Simultaneously, Somali was declared the exclusive official language of the nation. On that same day, civil servants, policemen, and members of the armed forces were given three months to learn the script or be dismissed. At the end of the 3-month period, all had to pass literacy tests, although there was leniency for some additional months.

The campaign to sell the alphabet to the people began immediately. Signs and notices in the new script were hung in all towns and permanent villages. In early 1973, Somali became the medium of instruction in the elementary schools and in adult education. It was offered as a subject in the secondary schools and in the National University. All high schools were closed for a year in 1974 to enable the students to go out and preach the new orthography and to participate in the massive literacy campaign and adult education campaign. The students learned to read and write Somali within three months. Students, teachers and adult supervisors were trained to live in the countryside to carry out the task effectively.

Within a few months after the policy announcement, Somali preempted other languages in the daily press. The national newspaper *Xiddigta Oktoobar* (The Star of October) became a primary carrier of the new script. The radio was the major medium, since Somalis had relied on radio broadcasts in their language since 1943 (Mezei, 1989:216). Other media that featured in this linguistic revolution were the literacy magazine *Iftiinka-Aqoonta* (Light of Education), and the Somali theater.

There were dramatic changes in the schools also. Primary and secondary school enrollment had increased by 634% between 1968-68 and 1978-79, from 38,439 to 282,167 (Nelson, 1982:281). The female increase was by 747%. At present, Somali is the medium of instruction at all levels, including the university.²⁹ English, Italian and Arabic are studied as subjects, the latter being established as a second language (probably because of its religious significance).³⁰

From the four cases of LP choices discussed above, it is evident that English enjoys considerable prestige all the countries except Somalia. Nevertheless, the indispensability of the indigenous languages in certain aspects of education has also been shown. Despite Zambia's choice of English as the sole language of education, it was realized that the indigenous languages could be used at certain stages to explain concepts. Tanzania's choice of Swahili as a national official language was motivated by the need to mobilize the people for greater participation

²⁹ There were some initial problems with the change in the university because of the foreign (mostly Italian) faculty.

³⁰ It is worth noting that a major factor in the success of the Somali reform is the linguistic and religious homogeneity of the country. The major indigenous language is Somali and the dominant religion is Islam.

in nation-building. As a result, much of the effort that might have been put into expanding secondary and tertiary education was put into a massive adult literacy program. The result is a literacy rate of 90% (O'Connor, 1991). Botswana's policy gives equal emphasis to English and Setswana. Its literacy rate is about 73.6%. Somalia with its sole Somali medium has a literacy rate as low as 24.3% (UNESCO Yearbook, 1992). Despite this low literacy rate, there has been some increase (from about 10%), and there has also been quite a substantial increase in school enrollment as reported earlier. Zambia's literacy rate is estimated at 33.1% (UNESCO Yearbook, 1992). So, we see different LP choices producing different results as far as literacy is concerned. One thing is common, however: an increase in literacy rate. Zambia's literacy rate might have been higher if the indigenous languages had been given some priority in primary education. Even though Tanzania cannot be said to have emerged out of poverty, I think the high literacy rate has created a strong base for further mobilization and education of the masses of the people. It must also be emphasized that LP alone cannot solve the problems of Africa. But LP that results in a high literacy rate for the masses of the people is a means to reaching higher goals in the future. Education and literacy by themselves do not provide economic prosperity, but they are a necessary means to achieve it. Education and literacy can motivate people to perform better, by giving them a new image and self-esteem. I now discuss briefly how LP, education and development are related.

3.11 LP, Education and National Development

Language planning has been defined as a deliberate attempt to influence the functions and the corpus of a language or languages. The school system and the mass media are the major implementation media for language policies. Language planning is closely related to education in that LP decisions (status or corpus) affect the school system in a big way. Language use in the school system has to be consonant with the LP decisions if the LP is to have any effect. Education is the major manpower producer for a nation, and, therefore, a major factor in national development. Educational attainment is dependent on how effectively knowledge is communicated between the teacher and the student. And since language is the major means of communication among humans, it is clear how important it is in educational attainment, leading to a high level of manpower supply, further leading to a possible national development.

Language is by no means the only factor in development. Apart from the human factor, there are important physical factors such as natural resources, capital equipment etc. But a country with rich natural resources without properly trained citizens to use these resources effectively will remain poor. On the other hand a country may have very limited resources, but with the right training available, it can manage these resources to the benefit of its people and the nation as a whole. As noted earlier, development should not only be measured by how many industrial establishments a country has or by its GNP. It should also be measured by how well the people are fed, clothed, and housed (Basic Needs); by how healthy they are and how appropriately educated they are. Developing

countries have the dual problem of being multilingual and poor. But with proper handling of the language problem (which can adversely affect development), the welfare situation in those countries can be improved. The crux of the matter for the developing countries is to be able, first, to feed, clothe and house themselves. This, in a way, depends on how well they are able to manage their resources in order to derive the full benefits. A solution of the language problem is seen as part of the solution to the problem of poverty. A bad language policy can lead to inappropriate or poor education, which can lead ultimately to underdevelopment and, therefore, to poverty.

Chapter IV

A SHORT HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN GHANA

Education involves the medium and message of the communicative process and the chosen medium of communication has great influence on the distribution of knowledge over time and space (Ghosh, 1989:79).

In the last two chapters, I have discussed the concepts of multilingualism and language planning. In Chapter II, the major issues related to societal multilingualism were explored. Bilingual education, which is necessary for multilingual societies, was also discussed. In Chapter IV, LP and its role in development have been examined. These two chapters provided a general conceptual framework for the study. I now go into a more specific aspect of the study: the case of Ghana.

In this chapter, I trace the history of education in Ghana from the beginning of European activity in 1482 through colonial times (1844-1957), then up to and including post-independence educational programs. The factors that shaped these policies are examined, and the question of whether post-independence policies are any different from the pre-independence ones are discussed.

4.1 The Castle Schools

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The earliest contact of Ghana (formerly Gold Coast) with western education was through the coastal forts built by the European slave-trading nations. A number of these from time to time contained a school, but few such schools achieved permanence, as they were dependent on the personal interest of the officials and merchants concerned. Also, attendances were restricted to the sons of European traders by African wives (not to wholly African pupils).

The first recorded western-type school was exceptional as far as the pupils were concerned. For some years after the first Portuguese settlement at Elmina in 1482, the fort there remained a purely commercial establishment until 1529 when Portuguese King John III laid plans for the conversion of the people of Elmina to the Catholic faith. As part of this program, a Portuguese teacher was sent to teach reading and writing (in Portuguese) to African boys living in the village of Edina near the forts. He was to be paid in gold (240 grams a year for each pupil taught, up to a maximum of 15 pupils). He got no more if the enrollment rose above 15, but if a child died or discontinued the course, the teacher's pay was correspondingly reduced (see McWilliam, 1964). A few children were allegedly taken to Portugal for further studies, but the school did not take root because of the alleged murder of four Augustinian missionaries. From then on, Catholic education reverted to the castle and was restricted to the mulatto children as it had been at first. But this situation was ended by the capture of the castle by the

³¹ The early schools in Ghana were called "castle schools" because they were located in the castles along the coast.

Protestant Dutch in 1637.

The Dutch, after driving out the Portuguese, established their headquarters at Elmina and, a few years later, opened a school for the mulatto children. Like the Portuguese, the Dutch efforts had no influence on our present educational system. However, it is during this period that we begin to get a fuller account of the fate of a few Africans who were given the chance of continuing their education in Europe. One of these was a boy called Jacobus Capitein, who was taken to Holland, and after some nine years of schooling, entered Leyden university in 1737. He was ordained the first Protestant African priest and was appointed chaplain to the Dutch company at Elmina in Ghana. His career was short-lived, for he died shortly after at the age of thirty. During his tenure, the Europeans at the castle disregarded him, and his own people ostracised him. He is, nevertheless, remembered for his translation of the "Apostles' Creed" into Fante (a dialect of Akan).

Towards the second half of the 17th century, the Danes had also established themselves along the coast eastward of Accra, with their headquarters at Christiansborg Castle. They too had a school in the castle for mulatto children. One beneficiary of this castle school was Christian Protten, who received some education in Europe, where he met leaders of the Moravian Church. Through his connection, the Moravians became the first Protestant missionaries to start work on the coast in 1737. But in the years that followed, all the Moravian missionaries died of fever, and in 1771, the work was abandoned. However, the castle school continued. The Dutch governor from 1822-1825, Major Richelieu, took a particular interest in it and taught some of the students himself. On his return to Den-

mark, he was determined to have missionary educational work in Christiansborg put on a more permanent basis. This effort led to the event which was to be of the greatest importance in the development of education in Ghana - the arrival of the Basel Missionaries, whose schools were described by Governor Guggisberg, a hundred years later, as "first and foremost as regards quality of education and character training" (McWilliam, 1964:11).

While the Danes were operating at Christiansborg in the east, the English traders also worked from Cape Coast Castle. The Rev. Thomas Thompson was sent by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to Cape Coast Castle, where he established a school in 1751. In 1754, he sent three boys to England to study at the expense of the Society. Two died, and the only survivor, Philip Quarcoo, came back on appointment to Cape Coast as missionary, catechist and school master.

4.2 Arrival of Missionary Groups

As noted earlier, the castle schools restricted their education to mulatto children only. As it appears, the castle schools were managed by the various companies with the help of missionaries who were brought to cater to the spiritual needs of the Europeans. Later, the missionary groups began to come to the Gold Coast on a more independent basis. The three most important missionary groups that laid the foundation for education in Ghana were the Wesleyan Missionary Society from England, the Basel Missionary Society, a German society with headquarters

at Basel in Switzerland, and the Bremen Missionary Society, also a German society.³²

The Wesleyan Missionary Society's arrival was in response to a request by a Christian study group in Cape Coast for Bibles. The greatest threat to the missionaries was fever, which killed most of them. Despite this, they succeeded in establishing schools at Cape Coast and other existing British settlements.

The Basel Missionaries arrived in 1828 at the request of the Danish governor Major Richelieu. They also suffered initial losses as had the Wesleyans. They established themselves in the east at Akropong. There were three important ingredients in the education offered by the Basel missionaries. They realised that:

1. any thorough system of education depends on a supply of trained teachers;
2. girls' education is just as important as boys';
3. training must not be confined to academic subjects.

These are generally accepted principles today, and they seem all too obvious. But for a long time, the Basel Mission was the only educational body in the then Gold Coast that both recognised these principles and succeeded in putting them consistently into practice. In 1848, as soon as pupils with some education were available, a seminary was started to train catechists and teachers. After some initial problems, the missionaries also succeeded in getting many more girls into school. The Mission's efforts in technical education were also, for many years, unique. Industrial establishments were opened at Christiansborg in Accra which gave courses for joiners, carpenters, locksmiths, blacksmiths, shoe-makers and book-

³² The Catholics re-appeared much later, in 1880.

binders. These establishments not only became self-supporting, but by their steady output of craftsmen, caused a general improvement in standards of living, particularly in house-building.³³

The Bremen Mission settled in what is now the Volta Region of Ghana. Their entry differed from those of Basel and Wesleyans in that its pioneers did not start their work from existing European-controlled bases on the coast, but went directly some 70 miles inland into the Ewe country (1847). Their work was similar to that of Basel, with the same emphasis on trade instruction, particularly in building.

4.3 Some Effects of Missionary Education

It has already been noted that the Castle Schools conducted all their teaching in the European languages. This is not surprising, for the acknowledged aim of these schools was to produce merchants and officials under the various merchant companies, whose power did not extend far beyond the coastal forts. The missionaries differed in the way they handled the language question. Emphasis on English can be seen in the work of the Wesleyan Mission. Although Fante was the common language of most of the people they served, it appears that the Wesleyans had worked on the Gold Coast for 43 years before they took any steps to give the people any literature in their own tongue. That first effort was in 1877, when the Rev. A.W. Parker, an African minister, produced a Fante version of two of the

³³ A full account of the Basel system of education is described by one of its products, Rev. Carl Reindorf, the country's first historian, in his 1889 book *History of the Gold Coast and Asante*.

gospels (McWilliam, 1964:22). According to E.W. Smith (quoted in McWilliam, 1964:22),

Everyday life in Cape Coast took on the colour of the Victorian era. *Complete Etiquette for English Gentlemen* sold at the bookshop. English clothing and English names were postulates of the Christian life. It was undoubtedly an English kingdom of God that the Cape Coast prophets looked forward to. So much English (of a sort) was spoken that the Wesleyan missionaries did not, as a rule, think it necessary to learn the language of the country. They preached in English. Mr. Freeman introduced the practice of reading the English liturgy at the morning service in the Wesleyan Church, and at that service even the African ministers delivered their sermons in English, and the hymns and lessons were all in that tongue.

4.4 A Nationalist Reaction

Towards the end of the 19th century, a reaction started, led by one Joseph Casely-Hayford. He started a movement which, while wishing to retain the British connection, sought to raise a nation more closely based on local traditions. But this movement did little to "Africanize" the content of school courses for the main reason that the leaders of the movement wanted European academic and professional qualification for their children, and this involved - even at the lowest level - satisfying the demands of examining bodies in England, who at the time were setting papers solely with English candidates in mind. It was not until 1903 that Ghana started its own Primary School Leaving Certificate examinations.

4.5 The German Missionaries - Ewe, Gã and Twi

The attitude of the Basel and Bremen missionaries in the east, particularly towards the language question was very different from that of the Wesleyans. These missionaries were Germans. They were far away from Cape Coast, which remained the capital of the British-controlled government until 1877. The first Basel missionaries had to learn some Danish before they set out (since they were coming to the Danish settlement at Christiansborg), and when the English took over Christiansborg later, English was equally a foreign language to them. In these circumstances, and also because their main aim was to establish a native African Church, they discouraged the use of English in the schools and mostly used the vernacular.³⁴

The Bremen missionaries were working among the Ewe, at first outside the direct control of any European government. They, therefore, adopted the same attitude towards the Ewe language as the Basel missionaries did towards the vernaculars in their areas. One of the most distinguished of the German missionary scholars was J.G. Christaller, who translated the whole Bible into Twi, and his Twi dictionary became the standard work. First in Gã studies was Zimmermann, another German missionary, whose translation of the four gospels was published in 1855. In Ewe, the missionary Schlegel produced the first Ewe Grammar in 1858, while Westermann's great Ewe dictionary appeared in 1905.

³⁴ *Report of the Educationists' Committee, 1920, page 123.*

4.6 Separation of Cultures

Although the Germans worked through the medium of African languages, they were no more sympathetic to African traditions than the Wesleyans or the government. Their aim was to establish Christian communities isolated from "pagan" influences. Since, in most places, the only education available was in mission schools, it tended to produce two "worlds", separating the literates from the rest of the community. School children were trained to be citizens of minority Christian communities rather than of the community as a whole. African dance and music were banned from the curriculum. Despite this religious mistake (if I may call it so), the missionaries laid a strong foundation for education in Ghana.

4.7 The Re-emergence of the Catholic Mission

After the brief and futile attempts by the Catholics to establish the faith during the sojourn of the Portuguese, they did not show up again until 1880 (see Ward, 1965). As McWilliam (1964) notes, the reappearance of the Catholics introduced a new factor in the spread of Christianity and of education. It seemed a general rule among the various missions to operate in separate areas to avoid the confusion that might be caused by "rival" groups teaching in the same place. However, the Catholics would not be a party to any such agreements, as they recognized no other denominations. When they returned in 1880, the Catholics settled in Cape Coast, and a year later, they began educational work. Another group of French Catholics entered the country through the north after braving several Islamic

threats. This Society, later called the "White Fathers" (because of the long white garments they wore), differed from all the other missionaries, not only in the direction from which they entered, but in its whole approach to missionary work. Their master word was "adaptation" (to local needs). The missionaries must conform in every way "except to vice and error" (McWilliam, 1964:37). At first, the White Fathers were not to preach or baptize, but were to win local goodwill by providing social services, particularly in health and education; in the second stage, they were to give Christian instruction to individuals who asked for it. Only when small Christian communities had been built up in this way over a number of years would the fathers begin teaching to the people at large. The Catholic faith and Catholic education spread so fast that at independence in 1957, the Church controlled the largest number of private schools and hospitals in Ghana.

4.8 A Centralized System

All the preceding historical facts have referred to the activities of merchant companies and the missionaries. The British did not take formal colonial control over Ghana until 1844, when a bond was signed with the local chiefs formally giving the British power over the territory called the Gold Coast Colony. Ashanti and the Northern Territories were added about three decades later. It was from this year (1844) that the British colonial government began to take some interest in education. Hitherto, all the missionary societies had been operating as independent bodies. An Ordinance was passed in 1852 "to provide for better education of

the inhabitants of the British forts and settlements in the Gold Coast" (The Gold Coast Acts 1952-64). The introduction of the ordinance pointed to the benefits derived from the Cape Coast school and went on to say that it was desirable that these benefits be more widely diffused and that a superior system of education should be adopted so as to meet the needs of an advancing society. The education of females was also emphasized in this Act. There was to be a school run by a married European couple. The whole scheme was to be financed by an annual sum of one thousand pounds to be raised by a poll tax. This Ordinance failed partly because of the threat of disease, and partly because of the refusal of the people to bear the cost. At one stage, the British contemplated withdrawing from the Gold Coast. Their unsuccessful and costly campaign against the Ashantis was the catalyst for this decision. But after 1874, with the defeat of Ashanti, the government decided to use whatever money it had in giving grants to the missions rather than improving its own school system. The methods and management of the various missions varied greatly and the government felt it was time to introduce throughout West African settlements, a more uniform system on which grants of public money could fairly be based. The result was the 1882 "Ordinance for the Promotion and Assistance of Education in the Gold Coast Colony". But the man who was sent to implement the ordinance - the Rev. Mr. Sunter - described the ordinance as unworkable and ridiculously complicated. He was also against the idea of education through the African languages, and was described as saying that the African languages are "never likely to become of any practical use in civilization" (McWilliam, 1965:31).

The Education Ordinance of 1887 seemed better and more "workable". It affirmed the partnership between the colonial government and the missions and set out some educational rules on which grants to the missions were to be given. The ordinance created two categories of primary schools: "government" and "assisted", the latter referring to private schools run by the missions. Among the conditions laid down for the giving of grants were:

1. the schools should be open to all children regardless of religion and race;
2. they should have an average attendance of at least twenty pupils;
3. the teachers should hold the Board of Education's certificate;
4. subjects taught should include Reading and Writing the English language, Arithmetic and Plain Needlework for females.

The Ordinance did not forbid the opening of schools which did not satisfy those conditions, but such schools did not receive grants and were labelled "non-assisted".

In 1902, the government introduced a version of a system which had been abandoned in England a few years before. This system was known as "payment by result," by which the amount of a school's grant (and, therefore in many cases the teachers' salaries) depended on how many children in each "standard" passed the annual examination conducted by the inspector of schools. This had a number of bad results. First, it encouraged rote learning. Secondly, it tempted managers to introduce too many subjects into the time table in order to get a larger grant; thirdly, as McWilliam notes, it made the teachers and the inspectors enemies instead of workers in the same field. It was also unfair to the teachers because the implication was that the failure of a pupil was automatically the fault of the school and, therefore, the teacher.

The obnoxious "payment by result" system was abandoned in the 1909 education rules, which sought to make primary education less bookish. More emphasis was to be laid on agricultural training and technical education. Another training college was opened in Accra, in addition to the ones being run by the Basel Mission. As a result of the German defeat in World War I, the German missionaries (Basel and Bremen) were deported from the country. Their departure was described by Governor Guggisberg as "the greatest blow which education in this country has ever suffered" (McWilliam, 1964:45).

4.9 Guggisberg and Education in Ghana.

Perhaps the most dynamic of the British governors that served in the Gold Coast (Ghana), as far as educational matters are concerned, was Governor Gordon Guggisberg (1919-1927). He gave an outline of his education policy as follows:

We want to give to all Africans the opportunity of both moral and material progress by opening for them the benefits and delights that come from literature, and by equipping them with the knowledge necessary to success in their occupations, no matter how humble. We want to give to those who wish it an opportunity of becoming leaders of their own countrymen in thought, industry and professions. Throughout all this, our aim must be not to denationalize them, but to graft skilfully on their national characteristics the best attributes of modern civilization. For without preserving his national characteristics and his sympathy and touch with the great illiterate masses of his own people, no man can ever become a leader in progress, whatever other sort of leader he may become (McWilliam, 1964:48)

During the first part of his vice-regency, Guggisberg gave priority to the building of infrastructure. He developed the country's land and sea communications; this would allow trade to grow and so bring revenue from import and export duties to

pay for developing social services, including education. To ensure that the system would be built on strong foundations, Guggisberg sought advice from various sources.

He first sought local advice by setting into motion an educational committee. For the first time, there was an African on the committee. The members were instructed to investigate past educational efforts in the Gold Coast: their success or failure and the reasons therefor. They were to consider the whole educational policy and make recommendations on a range of questions. One of the recommendations of the committee was that, in the primary schools, English should be introduced as early as possible as a subject of instruction, but that the vernacular should be the medium of instruction. This was in line with the governor's idea that the country's children should not be denationalized. They also made recommendations for the preparation of vernacular textbooks. This reflected the policy of the old Basel Mission, which from the start laid emphasis on the vernacular. Guggisberg considered this as the most important of all the committee's recommendations.

Upon a joint agreement between the British and American missions working in Africa, a Commission was set up to make a thorough enquiry into education in Africa. This commission was financed by the Phelps-Stokes Fund, set up under the will of a wealthy American woman to advance the education of Negroes among others. The Commission toured Africa in 1920. In general, they criticized the existing schools, saying that they were out of touch with the life of the community and that the curriculum was too bookish. Their suggestions on what

should be the aims of future systems were remarkably like those of Guggisberg. They also stressed the need for bringing the rest of the community into line with what was being taught in the schools, particularly in matters of hygiene.

As well as the Educationists Committee and the Phelps-Stoke commission, the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies was also formed at the request of the British missions for a permanent committee to advise on education. This committee produced its *Memorandum of Education in British Tropical Africa* in 1925, which embodied many of the suggestions of the Phelps-Stokes Commission. Collating the efforts of these three bodies, together with his own ideas about education in the Gold Coast, Guggisberg announced to the Legislative Council in 1925, what was to be known as *Sir Gordon Guggisberg's Sixteen principles of Education*. The sixteen principles are listed as follows (McWilliam, 1964:53-54).

1. Primary education must be thorough and be from bottom to top.
2. The provision of secondary schools with an educational standard that will fit young men and women to enter a university.
3. University education should be provided.
4. Equal opportunities to be given to the education of both boys and girls.
5. Co-education is desirable during certain stages of education.
6. The staff of teachers must be of the highest possible quality.
7. Character training must take an important place in education.
8. Religious teaching should form part of school life.
9. Organised games should form part of school life.
10. The course in every school should include special references to the health, welfare and industries of the locality.

11. A sufficient staff of efficient African inspectors of schools must be trained and maintained.
12. Whilst an English education must be given, it must be based solidly on the vernacular.
13. Education cannot be compulsory nor free.
14. There should be co-operation between the government and the Missions; and the latter should be subsidised for educational purposes.
15. The Government must have the ultimate control of education throughout the Gold Coast.
16. The provision of trade schools with a technical and literary education that will fit young men to become skilled craftsmen and useful citizens.

These principles were given legal form by the passing of the *1925 Education Ordinance*.

Of the 16 principles, those that have some bearing on this study are (10), (12) and (16) - those dealing with health, welfare, language of education and the provision of education that is relevant to the people. Guggisberg's principles could be said to reflect a BN approach to development. In line with principle (12), the Ordinance made teaching through the medium of the vernacular compulsory at least in the lower classes of the primary schools. Professor Westermann, then the leading authority on West African languages, was invited to produce a script which might be used in common for the different vernaculars.

This educational language policy did not go over well with some people. They thought the encouragement of the vernacular was, if not a deliberate attempt by

the British to provide Africans with an "inferior" education, at least likely to hold back progress in secondary school and university education. This led the government, in 1956, to appoint a special committee to investigate the possibility of adopting English as the medium of instruction throughout the primary school course. the committee's report reflected a wide division of opinion in the country. One member, who had been educated in the Basel tradition, favoured the continuation of the policy laid down by Guggisberg, while the other, educated in the English tradition of the Wesleyans, was the only one to propose the immediate adoption of English as the medium in all classes.³⁵ This language policy of initial vernacular instruction still holds today, though there were fluctuations in its dimensions over the years.

4.10 The Accelerated Development Plan - 1951

One other remarkable educational reform in the history of Ghana was the Accelerated Development Plan of 1951. Following the country's first general elections in February, 1951, the country's first Minister of Education. was elected. The responsibility for direction from then on passed from the Civil Service, which now became responsible only for carrying out the policies initiated by the cabinet. The government drew up the Accelerated Development Plan for a rapid expansion in education at all levels, but most notably in primary education. The objective was to achieve a measure of education for every child of school-going age. The primary school enrollment doubled the following year. This had to be accompanied by an

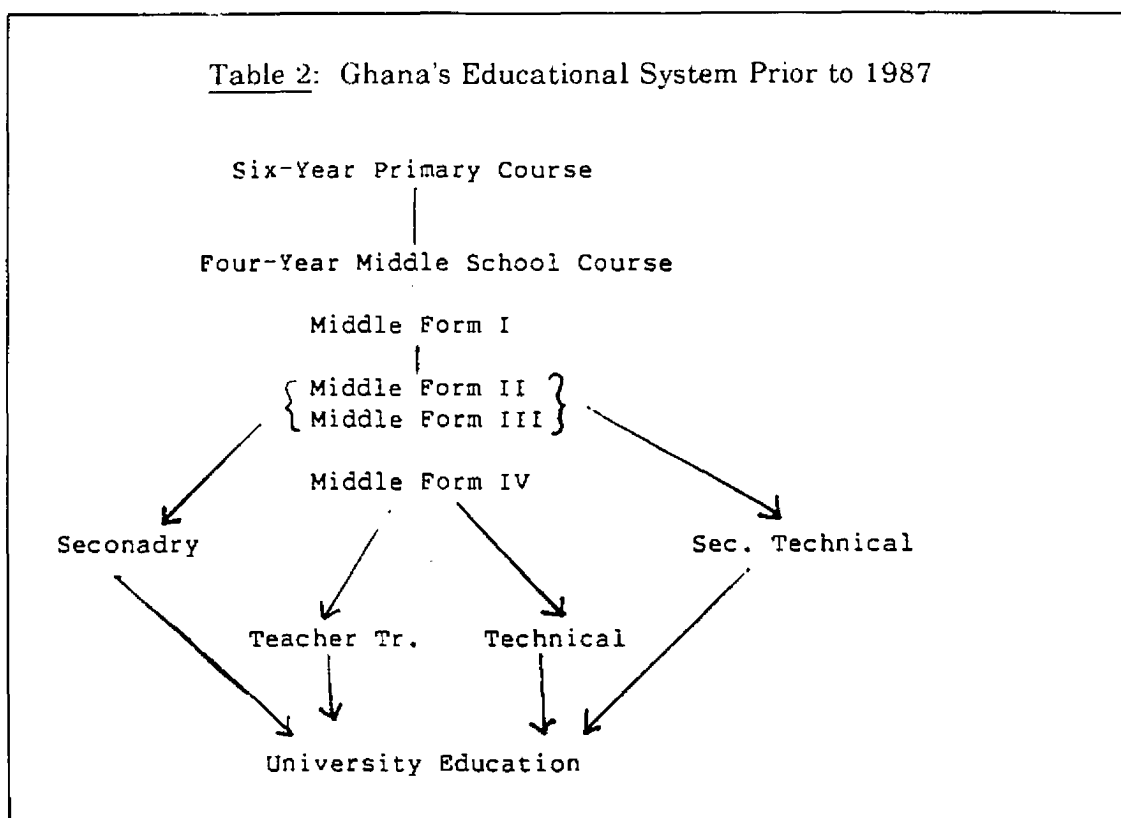
³⁵ Report on the use of English as a medium of instruction in Gold-Coast schools, Accra, 1957.

increase in the number of teachers. A crash program was initiated. An Emergency Teacher Training College was opened at Saltpond, to conduct six-week courses for untrained teachers; later, ten Pupil Teacher Centers were opened in various parts of the country to offer the six-week training programs to the untrained teachers.³⁶ This crash program was criticized by the opposition on the grounds that a lowering of standards would result from the great increase in the use of pupil teachers, but the government always used its majority to carry the day. The outline of the resulting educational system is shown below.

From the sketch shown above, it can be seen that the middle schools occupy an ambiguous position in the educational system. It was the intention that as soon as the standard of English in the primary schools could be sufficiently raised, pupils should go directly from them to secondary school. Students were selected by common entrance examinations from middle forms 2 to 4. Thus the middle schools had to perform the double duty of teaching the small minority of secondary scholars who would leave them after two or three years, and the large majority who would complete the 4-year course and take the Middle School Leaving Certificate (MSLC) examinations. For most people, this was the exit point in the educational system. As a result of the Accelerated Development Plan, the number of children enrolled in primary and middle schools rose dramatically, and at independence, the country had about half a million children in primary school.

³⁶ The term "pupil teacher" is used to refer to the untrained teachers, that is, teachers who do not possess the Teachers' Certificate. They are holders of either the proscribed Middle School Leaving Certificate (MSLC) or the General Certificate of Education (GCE) "O"/"A" Levels. The Teachers' Certificates range from "B", "A"(4-yr), "A"(Post-Sec). The Certificate "B" was offered for a two-year post-primary training; The Certificate "A"(Post-Sec) is for a 2- or 3-year post secondary teacher-training.

Table 2: Ghana's Educational System Prior to 1987



4.11 Post-Independence Educational Policies

The most outstanding result of the Accelerated Development Plan had been the provision of half a million school places. This meant that the number of potential secondary school places was rising fast. To meet this demand, the government set up the Ghana Educational Trust, with an endowment fund of two and a half million pounds by the Cocoa Marketing Board. By September, 1961, the country had 68 public secondary schools, 24 of which were built by the Trust. At independence in 1957, Ghana maintained English as the official language, with the major indigenous languages featuring in radio programs and non-official domains. The

official status given to English helped to raise its importance and plunged the indigenous languages further into oblivion. Ghana's language of education has been characterised by fluctuations since independence (Smock, 1975; Boadi, 1976). In the 1951 Accelerated Development Plan, a change was made from the three year mother tongue instruction (from the Guggisberg era) to early mother tongue medium (basically one year) with transition to an English medium as soon as possible (interpreted to mean the second year of primary education). The mother tongue was to continue to be taught only as a subject, but not used as the medium of instruction throughout primary education. In 1956, the Bernard Committee, set up to investigate the feasibility of using English throughout the primary school, recommended a return to the pre-1951 policy of a three-year mother tongue medium. However, a member of the committee submitted a minority report advocating an English-only medium. Strangely enough, the government accepted the minority report, and on attaining independence, put into effect an English medium policy for the entire primary education system. In 1963, a committee of educators observed that there were not enough competent teachers in the primary schools to carry out the English medium policy. They therefore advocated a return to some form of mother tongue education. This suggestion was rejected by the Minister of Education.

With the advent of a military government in 1966, an Education Review Committee was set up. It recommended a return to the three-year mother tongue medium. It also made a distinction between rural and urban areas, and recommended that the change to an English medium in the latter could start earlier. The government approved, not a three-year mother tongue medium, but a one-year one (as had happened in 1951).

In 1970, a new government (this time civilian) came into power. It went back to the 1967 recommendation which the previous government had rejected. Not only did it accept the three-year mother tongue medium, but went further to propose that mother tongue instruction could last more than three years if possible. It was also announced that from the beginning of 1971, every pupil in Ghana would be required to learn a second Ghanaian language in addition to his or her mother tongue. The approved Ghanaian languages were Akan, Ewe, Ga and Nze-ma.

Another military government came to power in 1972. That government's educational policy was not much different from that of the previous civilian government. The only difference was that the new government recommended the introduction of French into the primary school curriculum. In 1974, a new structure and content of education was approved by government and accepted for implementation. Due to financial, logistic and human resources problems, this educational reform could not be implemented nation-wide until 1987, even though there were some experimental schools established under the umbrella of the new reform earlier than that.

4.11.1 The New Educational Reform

In September, 1987, *A New Structure and Content of Education for Ghana* received initial implementation nation-wide. The need for the reform was based on the recognition that

any system of education should aim at serving the needs of the individual, the society in which s/he lives and the country as a whole. In

particular, the system should, in a country like Ghana, aim at instilling in the individual an appreciation of the need for change directed toward the development of the human resources of the country. Equally importantly, it must generate in the individual the awareness of the ability of man, using the power derived from science and technology, to transform his environment and improve the quality of his life.³⁷

The aim of the reform is to provide every Ghanaian with a basic education, defined as the first nine years of schooling, which is to be free and universal for all children of school-going age. This nine-year basic education consists of 6 years of primary schooling and 3 years of Junior Secondary School (JSS). The JSS may be terminal or continuing; that is, after JSS, school leavers may enter into apprenticeship and prepare for employment for life or they may continue schooling by entering Senior Secondary School (SSS) or post-basic institutions. The reform also attempts to reduce pre-university education from 17 years to 12 years. The previous system consisted of 6 years primary, 2-4 years middle, 5 years secondary, 2 years sixth form (6-4-5-2) before university. Now there is a 6-3-3 system, and students can enter the university or other tertiary institutions after SSS. The new structure is shown in Table 4.

From the table, we see that the first terminal point is after "Basic Education". That is the highest point most people reach. The language-of-education policy has not changed much from the pre-reform period. According to the policy guidelines,

With respect to Ghanaian languages, government policy is that the pupil shall learn his own language and another Ghanaian language. The local Ghanaian language shall be the medium of instruction for the first three years of primary school. English shall be learnt as a subject from the first year at school, and shall gradually become the medium of instruction as from primary class four.

³⁷ Ghana Ministry of Education and Culture, Accra, 1988.

Table 3: Outline of Ghana's New Educational System.

Basic Education:	Primary (6yr) JSS (3yr)
-----> Terminal	
Senior Secondary:	Technical Vocational Buss./Comm. Agriculture General

National Service	
----->Terminal	
Training Schools:	Teacher Training Specialist Training Degree Polytechnics Other Tertiary Institutions

National Service (2 years)	
----->Terminal	
Graduate:	MA/Diplomas M.Phil. Post-Graduate

The study of Ghanaian languages will continue to be compulsory up to Senior Secondary School (Ghana Ministry of Education and Culture, 1988:6).

4.11.2 Summary

The foregoing is a brief history of education in Ghana to date. The language used as a medium of education is very important for a multilingual nation like Ghana, if education is to be meaningful to the student, and to prepare him or her for life after school. This study, as has been mentioned earlier, seeks to find out

- (1) what the real language situation is in terms of its functional importance to the lives of the people,
- (2) whether the educational system reflects this real situation, and
- (3) what the implications are for the overall national development.

In Chapters V and VI, the survey that explored these questions, and the results are described.

Chapter V

THE STUDY: DATA COLLECTION METHODOLOGY AND ANALYSIS

In chapter one, it was mentioned that this study has three components: historical, empirical and programmatic. Chapter four outlined the historical development of education in Ghana. In the preceding two chapters, I discussed some theoretical issues involving language planning, bilingualism and bilingual education which are relevant to the study. The main objective of the study is to explore the role of language planning in the development of Africa, taking Ghana as a case study. This chapter and the next constitute the empirical component of the study. In this chapter, the method of data collection and the analysis are outlined.

5.1 The Data

The basic aim of the data collection was fact-finding. It was to find out the language-use profile of a representative population of Ghana. This was necessary, since planning, as we have already noted, does not take place in a vacuum. It affects people, and must, therefore, take the people's social setting into consideration: what languages they use, for what purposes and under what conditions. Since educational language planning is a central focus of the study, the data were

also intended to find out about language use in the school system and other literacy programs. Data were collected to cover the following areas:

1. Language use in the society;
2. Language use in the school system;
3. Ethnographic distribution of Ghana's population;
4. Statistical information on school enrollments;
5. Statistical information on examination results for a category of students.

5.2 The Sample Universe

The sample universe is made up of three communities in three districts of Ghana:

- (1) Madina (in Madina district);
- (2) Anum-Apapam (in Suhum district);
- (3) Agbakofe (in Tongu district).

Madina is a suburb of the capital, Accra, while the other two are rural areas. Of the two rural settings, one (Anum-Apapam) is linguistically heterogeneous, with several minority languages; the other (Agbakofe) is basically linguistically homogeneous. The aim is to find out how a rural linguistically heterogeneous setting would differ from an urban one, and how the minorities behave in these two settings. Madina is a linguistically heterogeneous community with more than ten of Ghana's languages represented, and with a population in the neighborhood of fifty thousand. The population is made up of such occupational groups as traders, teachers, civil servants, mechanics, drivers, carpenters, painters, builders etc.

Farming is done as a hobby by many people to supplement their incomes. Anum-Apam is a linguistically heterogeneous rural setting, with a population of about five thousand. About ten of Ghana's languages are represented. The majority of the people are settler-farmers from different geo-linguistic areas of Ghana. Most of them settled there after acquiring land from the original owners who are Akan-speaking. A majority of the population are speakers of minority languages, such as *Anum*, *Larteh*, *Kyerepong*, *Dangme*. It is basically a farming community, and is one of the major food-crop producers in the Suhum district. It is also a very important producing area of cocoa, Ghana's major export. It has a market which attracts traders from many places in the region, and even from Accra, the capital city of Ghana. Apart from farmers, who are in the majority, there are other such occupational groups as traders, teachers, agricultural extension workers, and purchasing clerks for the Ghana Cocoa Marketing Board, drivers, mechanics builders and craftsmen. The third community (Agbakofe) is linguistically homogeneous. About 99.9% of the people are first language speakers of Ewe. The community is basically a farming one with a population of about two thousand. There are a few other occupational groups like traders, carpenters, teachers, builders and craftsmen. These three communities represent three basic types of communities that can be isolated in most multilingual societies:

- (1) heterogeneous urban communities;
- (2) heterogeneous rural communities, and
- (3) homogeneous rural communities³⁸

³⁸ Homogeneous urban communities can hardly be found because of the phenomenon of urban migration.

The target populations in these communities were adults, and students in the final year of Junior Secondary School (JSS). The choice of final year JSS students was motivated by the fact that that is the first possible exit point in the new educational system. It is appropriate to find out how well students at that level are prepared for out-of-school life if they should drop out at that level. Two Junior Secondary Schools were randomly selected in each area. In the case of Madina, where there are both public and private Junior Secondary Schools, one school of each type was randomly selected so that both would be represented. This was necessary because of the growing concern about the gap between the private schools and the public ones, where the former are said to perform academically better than the latter.

The populations studied are not ethnically segregated. In other words, the various ethnic groups comprising these populations are mixed up. So the probability of selecting only respondents from one ethnic group is very minimal.

5.3 Method of Data Collection

Three main tools were used in the collection of the data:

- (1) Questionnaires;
- (2) Interviews;
- (3) Language Test

Questionnaires were administered to all members of the populations that were classified as "literate." The criteria used to determine level of literacy was level

of education. All those who had some education up to high school were regarded for the purpose of this study to be literate and therefore capable of completing the questionnaire without the help of others. Interviews were conducted with those who were considered not capable of completing the questionnaire without help from someone. The interviews were based on the written questionnaire. The questionnaire for the adult members of the populations surveyed was in two sections: the first section was to be answered by all respondents; the second section was an additional inquiry to be answered by teachers only. There was also a students' questionnaire to be completed by students of the selected JSS.

The distribution of the questionnaires was done using the direct method method. In other words, I went from house to house seeking first, people who were willing to participate in the survey. Those people who were willing to participate and were found to belong to the "literate" category were given the questionnaire to complete. By mutual agreement, a date was fixed for the collection of the questionnaire.³⁹ The times of collection agreed upon ranged from a week to four weeks. Those willing participants who belonged to the second category (non-literate) were later interviewed by appointment. The interview was preceded by a short explanation of the purpose for the survey. The interviewee was normally put in the right mood by a short period of casual conversation.

³⁹ The direct method was used because it was more effective (even though time-consuming), and also because the postal system was not very reliable. Moreover, the consent of the participants had to be sought first. The method of data collection used is partly responsible for the high rate of success (about 95% of the questionnaires given out were collected).

The administration of the student questionnaire was also done by the direct method. I first sought the permission of the Director-General of the Ghana Education Service (GES), then that of the District Directors, and finally the permission of the Headmasters of the schools concerned. At an appointed date and time I visited the schools and administered the questionnaire. I supervised the completion in order to explain any questions the students might have. I collected the completed questionnaire on the spot. In order not to disrupt curricular activities, the exercise was conducted after normal classes.

The questionnaire sought to gather information about the respondents' general background, level of education, language abilities, type of employment, pattern of language use (at home, work etc). The first part of the questionnaire gathered information about the respondents' mother tongue, other languages known, and their linguistic skills in those languages. Respondents also answered questions dealing with their use of the languages they speak with the various interlocutors they encounter in their work environment, and their choice of languages in the various situations. The "teachers only" section of the questionnaire sought to elicit additional information about the teachers. Such information included their educational and professional qualifications, their linguistic background, level of literacy in the various languages they know; their ability to teach in any of the Ghanaian languages; their preference for language(s) of instruction, and whether they prefer for certain subjects to be taught in particular languages. All the questions in the questionnaire were of the *structured-response* type, in which choices were offered among a limited number of responses. There were, however, two *open-ended* questions, in which respondents were asked to give reasons for the choices

they made in a preceding question. The students' questionnaire focused on their general linguistic background; their language use in the school and community; their preference (if any) for language of instruction for various subjects in the curriculum.⁴⁰

A language proficiency test was conducted on the students to test their ability in English. This was to find out whether the emphasis on English in the school system is reflected in their performance and to find out what factors influence their performance. As pointed out earlier, students were in final year JSS and it seemed appropriate to find out how well they are prepared for the out-of-school life should they drop out at that level (this is the first exit point in the new educational system). The students were tested in written language and reading comprehension. The written language test consisted of comprehension, lexis and structure and written composition. The test in lexis and structure included a cloze test. A cloze test consists of a passage (200 or more words) in which individual words are deleted at standard intervals and replaced by a standard blank space. The student is required to read the passage and write the appropriate words in the blank spaces. Usually, no words are omitted in the first and last sentences of the passage. The intervals between the deleted words may vary in the passage from every 5th to every 10th word. Instead of deleting every nth word, some testers decide to delete special parts of speech such as articles, auxiliaries, modals or prepositions. Students may be given a list of words from which to select the appropriate word to fill the blank space. Apart from the written composition, the other aspects of the test were of the multiple-choice type in which students

⁴⁰ See Appendices A and B for the full questionnaire used in this study.

were required to select the right answers from a list provided for each question. The tests were supervised by the researcher, but in most cases a teacher was around to maintain order. For the reading comprehension, a short passage was selected from one of the popular weekly papers. The news item selected was a report of an important event that took place in the capital, an event which was widely broadcast in the media. Students were asked to read the passage verbally and to answer a few questions on it. The reading was preceded by a short conversation in which students were asked a few questions about the questionnaire they completed earlier, especially where there were some irregularities in the information supplied.⁴¹

5.3.1 Other Data

Data were collected from other sources. One was the West African Examinations Council (WAEC), which is responsible for conducting most examinations on behalf of the Ghana Education Service. A statistical report was obtained on the results of the General Certificate of Education (GCE) examinations since 1975. Statistical information was also obtained from the Ghana Education Service (GES) on enrolment in the primary schools and JSS between 1988 and 1992.

⁴¹ A sample of the various tests can be found in Appendix C.

5.4 Analysis

The data from the sociolinguistic survey will enable us to draw a picture of the sociolinguistic profile of the three types of communities surveyed. In other words, a comparison of the pattern of language use within the three types of settings is made. The data from the survey also provides an index of the degree of bilingualism or monolingualism in the three settings. To construct this sociolinguistic profile, the data for each population were computed showing which languages are represented, which are first languages, which are second or additional languages. These figures are computed as percentages, to find out what percentage of the population spoke what language as first language (L1) or as second language (L2). The functional use of the various languages in each community is computed. This will enable us to find out which languages are functionally more important in the various communities studied, and what their statuses are within the national domain (i.e., whether the languages can be regarded as national, regional or minority). The languages are rated as dominant or minority on the basis of their functional importance.

The students' written proficiency test was arranged in four sections. The first section involved a written comprehension test. The students were required to read a short passage of about 200 words and answer questions based on the passage. The questions were of the multiple-choice type. The second section was a cloze test. It consisted of a passage of about two hundred words in which some individual words were deleted and replaced by blank spaces. A word-list was provided for each blank space from which the correct choice should be made. Section

three was also a multiple-choice type of test. It tested grammatical structure (e.g. tenses, question tags, prepositions, etc). These first three sections were easier to score by their nature. They were multiple-choice types, and only one of the alternatives supplied was correct. So the answer was either right or wrong. Sections 1-3 comprised 30 multiple-choice questions, and each question was awarded one point.

Section four was a written composition. Students were required to produce a short written composition of not more than 20 lines of the paper provided, on the subject of what they would like to do after completing JSS. The composition was scored for accuracy and cohesiveness as follows:⁴²

Accuracy. The composition was scored for accuracy on a four-point scale within each of the following three categories, *grammar*, *spelling*, *vocabulary*. The rating scales used are shown below.

Grammar

- 0=10 or more errors or omissions
- 1=5-9 errors or omissions
- 2=1-4 errors or omissions
- 3=No errors or omissions

Vocabulary

- 0=3 or more incorrect or unintelligible words
- 1=2 incorrect or unintelligible words
- 2=1 incorrect or unintelligible words
- 3=No incorrect or unintelligible words

Spelling

- 0=8 or more spelling errors
- 1=1-7 spelling errors
- 2=No spelling errors

⁴² The rating scales used were adapted from the IEA International Study of Educational Achievement Test of Proficiency in English as a Foreign Language, designed by Glyn Lewis et.al., and published by the Center for Applied Linguistics in *Advances in Language Testing: Series 1*, edited by Bernard Spolsky (1979).

Cohesiveness. The compositions were rated for accuracy and spelling, using the following 3-point scale:

- 0=No attempt to link statements
- 1=Minimal linking of statements (e.g the repeated use of "and")
- 2=Some variety in linking of statements (e.g "and", "but", "as well as")

The ratings for accuracy and cohesiveness were then put together to get an overall total of 10 points for the composition.

The oral reading comprehension was scored for pronunciation, fluency and comprehension, and the following scales were used.

Pronunciation

- 0=10 or more wrong pronunciations
- 1=5-9 wrong pronunciations
- 2=1-4 wrong pronunciations
- 3=No wrong pronunciations

Fluency

- 0=Too many pauses between words
- 1=Several unnecessary pauses
- 2=Reasonably fluent
- 3=Extremely fluent

Comprehension

- 0=5 wrong answers
- 1=3-4 wrong answers
- 2=2 wrong answers
- 3=1 wrong answer
- 4=No wrong answer

The reading comprehension was scored overall for ten points (by the addition of the scores for the three parameters listed above). The grand total for the three sets of tests was 50, made up as follows:

Test 1 (written comprehension, grammar and cloze test)	= 30
Test 2 (composition)	= 10
Test 3 (reading comprehension)	= 10

Total	= 50

The mean scores for each of the tests were computed for each of the schools examined. This made it possible to compare the performances of students in the three types of communities under investigation. I could then figure out any possible correlation of the scores with the type of community and whether this correlation is regular in all the three areas of the test. The results of the proficiency test were also subjected to statistical analysis to determine whether there was a statistically significant difference between the performances of the subjects in the three different groups.

Two main devices were used for the analysis: *Mann-Whitney U-Test*, and the *t-test*. The *Mann-Whitney U-Test* is a non-parametric test designed to find out if there is a significant difference between the performance of two independent groups. *Independent* means that the subjects in the groups have not been matched and that the comparison is not between the performance of one group of subjects before a treatment and the same group after the treatment. A *t-test* is a *parametric* test used to determine if there is a significant difference between or among the performance of groups whose subjects were randomly selected and whose scores are, therefore, normally distributed. For the present study, even though the subjects were not randomly selected, the schools were. And since we are comparing the mean scores of the schools, we expect a normal distribution. The scores, therefore, qualify for a *t-test*. On the other hand, since the individual subjects were not randomly selected, but were intact classes, a non-parametric test would be acceptable. The two tests were, therefore, used to find out if the predictions would be different. The *t-test* was performed using the SPSS package of the Statistics Laboratory on the computer. The *Mann-Whitney U-test* was performed manually (using a calculator), and the procedure is as follows:

1. Look at the scores in both groups. Put them in rank order (from low to high). In cases of ties, split the ranks to accommodate. In other words, if there is more than one occurrence of the same score (i.e, tied ranks), each occurrence is given the mean of the ranks which would have been allocated if there had not been a tie. For example, supposing in a test involving four students, we get the scores 2, 3, 4, 4. The rank order for the first two scores will be 1 and 2. There are two occurrences of 4. In order to get the rank order for the two other scores, we find the mean of the ranks they would have been assigned if there had not been a tie (i.e, the mean of 3 and 4). This gives us 3.5. So the rank ordering for the four scores would be 1, 2, 3.5, 3.5.

2. Add up all the rank numbers assigned to the first group (ΣR_1)

[Note: Σ stands for "the sum of"; R stands for the rank numbers, and the subscript represents the group. So ΣR_1 stands for "the sum of the rank numbers of group one"]

3. Add up all the rank numbers for the second group (ΣR_2)

4. Calculate the U-values for each:

$$U_1 = (N_1 \cdot N_2) + \frac{N_1(N_1 + 1)}{2} - \Sigma R_1$$

$$U_2 = N_1 N_2 - U_1$$

where N is the number of subjects, and the subscripts 1 and 2 indicate the group number.

5. Compare U_1 and U_2 . Select the smaller of the two values. This is the U-value. d error:

6. Compare this U-value to the value in the table of U-values. To find the appropriate value in the table, you will need to use the number of subjects in one group to find the correct column and the number of subjects in the other group to find the correct row. Once you have found the appropriate value in the table, compare it to the U-value you got.

7. If your U-value is smaller than the value in the table, then there is a significant difference between the performances of the two groups.

8. The Mann-Whitney test has room only for values up to 20 for the number of subjects. For samples larger than 20, you convert the U-value you got into a z-value (which is applicable for large samples) as follows:

$$z = \frac{U - N_1N_2/2}{\sqrt{\frac{N_1N_2(N_1 + N_2 + 1)}{12}}}$$

9. The critical value for z is 1.96 for a non-directional test, at 5 per cent level of significance (i.e, $p \leq 0.05$). Note: A test is non-directional when it predicts a difference in the means without claiming anything about the direction of the difference. These are also called two-tail tests. They are opposed to directional tests, which make directional predictions, since they claim that one specified population has a higher mean than the other. For this study, we are using a non-directional test.

If the calculated value is less than the critical value (1.96), we cannot reject the null hypothesis. If the calculated value is greater than the critical value, then we can conclude that there is a significant difference between the groups and sample populations.

Analyses were made of other statistical information. From the statistical report of the West African Examinations Council (WAEC), computations were made about the percentage of students who study Ghanaian languages to the GCE "O"/Level, and what the general results were compared to the results in English. From the enrollment figures obtained from the Ghana Education Service (GES), I tried to compute the drop-out rate among the students in the range of basic education, and how many students are able to continue after JSS. From these figures and the results of the proficiency tests, we can estimate the percentage of students who would be able to get information through the English media.

The results of the data collection and subsequent discussion, together with some other supporting research and theoretical considerations, form the basis for the proposal of a framework for a national language policy and language of education policy for Ghana (see chapter seven).

Chapter VI

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In the last chapter, we presented a description of the data collection method and analysis. In this chapter the results of the survey and other data collection procedure are discussed. This is done under the following headings:

1. The Sociolinguistic Data
 - a. The community data
 - b. The student data
2. The Test Results
3. Other Data
 - a. GCE results
 - b. Enrollment figures

6.1 The Sociolinguistic Data

The sociolinguistic survey was conducted in the three communities mentioned in the previous chapter. In this section, I show the outcome of this survey. I shall examine the results of the community survey and the school survey separately and later compare them. To review, the three types of communities studied were:

- (1) an urban linguistically heterogeneous community;
- (2) a rural linguistically heterogeneous community;

(3) a rural linguistically homogeneous community.

Representing these three types of communities are Madina, Anum-Apapam and Agbakofe. In this chapter, the three communities are marked by the letters M, S and T for the three districts in which these communities are located-**M**(adina), **S**(uhum) and **T**(ongu).

6.1.1 The Community

The sociolinguistic survey of the communities was conducted by means of questionnaires and interviews. The distribution of questionnaires and interviews in the three communities is shown in the table below.

<u>Table 4: Distribution of Questionnaire and Interviews</u>			
Population	Questionnaire	Interviews	Total
POP 'T'	40 (48)	24	64
POP 'M'	35 (40)	25	60
POP 'S'	31 (32)	33	64
	-----	-----	-----
TOTAL	106 (120)	82	188
	-----	-----	-----
Note: The figures in the brackets represent the number of questionnaire given out.			
This shows that out of 120 sent out, 106 were returned.			

In population T, all the respondents, except two have Ewe as their first language. This shows the homogenous nature of the population. About 14 out of the 64 respondents could speak an additional Ghanaian language (mostly Akan). This means about 21.9% of the respondents are bilingual to some degree.

Table 5: Language Distribution in Population T

Language	L1	L2
Ewe	62	2
Gã	1	10
Gonja	1	-
Akan	-	14
English	-	52
	-----	-----
Total	64	78*
	-----	-----

Out of the 14 people who are bilingual, 9 are teachers who had taught in Akan-speaking areas before. The other 5 are people who have once lived with relatives in the Akan-speaking areas. These relatives moved into the Akan-speaking areas for economic reasons, and have acquired lands on which they have cultivated large acres of cocoa, the major export of Ghana. The greater majority of the people in population T have not travelled outside their region, and have therefore remained monolingual.

In Madina (population M), the respondents are represented by the following linguistic profile (see Table 7).

From Table 7, Akan and Gã are the most popular additional Ghanaian languages. 22 of the 37 respondents who are not L1 speakers of Akan speak it as an additional language or second Ghanaian language. For Gã, out of the 54 non-L1 speakers, 26 speak it as an additional language. There were 34 people who claim some knowledge of English. This represents 60% of the respondents in population M. English is a third language to most of its speakers.

Table 6: Language Distribution in Population M

Language	L1	L2
Akan	23	22
Ewe	19	6
Gã	6	26
Dangme	5	-
Hausa	1	4
Dagbani	1	-
Buli	1	-
Grune	1	-
Guan	2	-
English	1	34
German	-	1

In population S (Suhum District), the table below shows the distribution of languages represented.

Table 7: Language Distribution in Population S

Language	L1	L2	L3
Guan	23	19	
Akan	19	45	
Dangme	11	7	
Ewe	10	4	
Nzema	1	-	
English	-	50	

	64		

⁴³ The Guan languages are minority languages spoken in parts of the Volta, Eastern and Northern regions. Those represented in this population are

As seen from Table 4, L1 speakers of Guan languages dominate the population.⁴³ Most of the 19 Akan speakers are teachers. Out of the 64 respondents, 45 speak Akan as an additional language. This represents 100 percent of the non-L1 speakers of Akan ($64-19=45$). In terms of number of speakers (including L1 speakers), Akan is dominant.

6.1.2 The Students' Data

The number of students covered in this survey is shown in the table below.

Table 8: Distribution of Students by Communities			
Population	JSS 1	JSS 2	Total
M	38	23	61
S	26	23	49
T	20	45	65
Total	---	----	----
	86	91	175
	---	----	----

The various Ghanaian languages spoken by the students in population M are shown in Table 6.

The student population in Population M is dominated by L1 speakers of Akan and Ewe (25 and 24 respectively). But as additional or second Ghanaian languages, Gã and Akan are more dominant. This corroborates the community data for Population M, in which Gã and Akan dominate as second languages. About 50 out of

Anum, Larteh and *Kyerepong*, which are all located in the Eastern region of Ghana.

Table 9: Language Distribution Among Students of Population M

Language	L1	L2
Akan	25	24
Ewe	24	3
Gã	9	34
Nzema	1	-
Larteh	1	-
Dangme	1	-

Total	61	

the 61 students surveyed in this population are bilinguals to some degree. Ten monolinguals were recorded, and all of them are L1 speakers of Akan.

For student population S, we have the following picture.

Table 10: Language Distribution Among Students of Population S

Language	L1	L2
Guan	22	5
Akan	13	36
Dangme	7	1
Gã	4	2
Ewe	1	1
Chamba	1	-
Krachi	1	-

Total	49	

The Guan speakers dominate the student population. This reflects the general profile of the area, which was settled mainly by Guan-speaking people. Akan is the popular additional Ghanaian language among the students. All the 36 non-L1 speakers of Akan speak it as a second Ghanaian language. All of them spoke some Akan before entering school. There were 5 monolinguals found in this student population, and they are all L1 speakers of Akan. This leaves us with 44 bilinguals, representing about 89% of the student population M.

Population T is highly linguistically homogeneous. All the students have Ewe as their first language. Very few of them speak a second Ghanaian language. Those who do have parents living in Akan-speaking areas or in Accra, the capital, and they happened to have lived with those parents or relations for some time. Some were born outside their hometown, where they acquired the second Ghanaian language, but were later brought home to attend school. The linguistic profile of this population is shown in the table below.

Table 11: Distribution of Language Among Students (Population T)

Language	L1	L2
Ewe	65	-
Akan	-	14
Gã	-	2
	----	----
Total	65	16
	----	----

Combining the community and student populations, we obtain the following figures.

Table 12: Distribution of Respondents			
Population	Community	Students	Total
M	60	61	121
S	64	49	113
T	64	65	129
	-----	-----	-----
Total	188	175	363
	-----	-----	-----

Populations M and S are linguistically heterogeneous, while population T is quite homogeneous. Societally, the first two populations are multilingual, while the last one (T) is monolingual. When we consider individual bilingualism, the first two (M and S) have more bilingual speakers than the last one (T). This is shown in the table below.

Table 13: Distribution of Bilinguals in the Populations Surveyed			
Population	Total number of Respondents	Number of Bilinguals	Percentage
M	121	114	94.21
S	113	104	92.03
T	129	30	23.26
	-----	-----	-----
Total	363	248	68.32
	-----	-----	-----

The languages that are popular as second or additional languages for the bilinguals are Akan and Gã. The former is the most popular in populations S and T, and the second most important in M. The latter (Gã) is the most popular in M. The table below shows the distribution of the languages spoken as second or additional Ghanaian languages in the three populations put together.

Table 14: Distribution of Bilinguals by Language			
Language	Total Number of Respondents	Number of L2 Speakers	Percentage
Akan	363	155	42.7
Gã		74	20.4
Guan		24	6.6
Ewe		15	4.1
Dangme		8	2.2

The report has so far been concerned with the Ghanaian languages. With respect to English, the number of respondents who claim to know some amount of English is 49, 51 and 52 for populations T, S and M respectively. These figures would at first suggest that English is widely known in the country. But there is not much to tell from these figures, since the level of knowledge of English varies from a few expressions to more elaborate use of it. There are some who understand English to some extent but can speak very little. Most of the respondents who have primary education and live in the rural areas where English is very little used have reported relapsing into illiteracy in English. The table below shows the educational level of the respondents.

Table 15: Distribution of Respondents by Educational Level

Educational Level	Populations		
	M	S	T
No formal education	9	14	12
Primary education	13	20	20
Secondary education	12	12	5
Post-Secondary	18	18	26
University	8	-	1
	----	----	----
Total	60	64	64
	----	----	----

6.2 Language Use

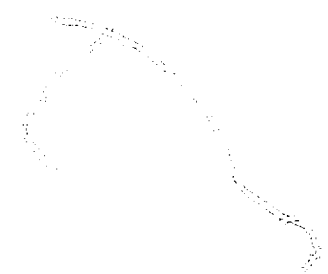
As far as the use of language in the various communities is concerned, the Ghanaian languages seem to dominate most of the domains in which languages are used. The major domains that came up during the survey are: work, home, religion, market, traditional social institutions (e.g village councils) and school (in the case of students and teachers). Following Mansour (1980), the various domains were classified under two broad domain clusters: *primary cluster* and *secondary cluster*. The former comprises *home, school, the market, work, traditional social institutions, religion*. The latter comprises *administration, political institutions, the legal system, the modern economic sector, the professions and modern mass media*. The *primary domain cluster* is dominated by the Ghanaian languages while the *secondary domain cluster* is dominated by English. The particular Ghanaian language used in the primary domain cluster is determined by the needs of the communities involved. For exam-

ple, in the populations M and S, which are societally multilingual, people use various languages in response to their needs. At home, most people use their first languages or mother tongues. In other domains like work, market, they use another language, depending on the specific circumstances. In population T which is fairly homogeneous, the first language features mostly in the primary domain cluster. Bilinguals rarely use their second languages in such domains, except when they go outside their areas of settlement, or occasionally when people with a common second language want to discuss something they do not want others to hear. In population T, therefore, there are not as many choices in the use of a particular language as there are in the other two populations. Thus a single Ghanaian language dominates the primary domain cluster in that population. In the other two populations (M and S), however, the situation is different; the primary domain is not dominated by any one Ghanaian language. The language choice depends both on the specific domain and also on the linguistic ability of the individual. Bilingual or multilingual individuals may switch among languages, depending on who their interlocutor is. This does not happen in the linguistically homogeneous communities like population T. However, all three populations have a common feature - the dominance of the Ghanaian languages in the primary domain.

One domain within the primary cluster that does not fit into the generalization observed about language use between the primary and secondary domain clusters is "work". In population T, respondents who reported using English at work were mainly teachers and educational administrators; the other occupational groups in this population, namely farmers, traders, carpenters, masons etc, all

reported using their first languages at work. A similar pattern is found in population S which is also a rural population. Only teachers reported using English at work. The occupational groups in population S are the same as those of T. The only occupational group in S not found in T is the small group of Cocoa Purchasing Clerks. They use Ghanaian languages most often because they deal with farmers, most of whom do not speak English. These clerks use English only when they encounter their bosses at the district or regional offices. The use of English is more widespread in population M, which is an urban population and has more occupations that require the use of English, especially occupations that belong to the *secondary* domain cluster described earlier, such as civil servants, engineers, lawyers, print media etc. But even in this population, the amount of English used is less than the amount of Ghanaian language used. Most of the official jobs require about eight hours of work a day. Even within those eight hours most of the workers interviewed use Ghanaian languages during breaks, and even sometimes during office hours, as most workers would use Ghanaian languages with their co-workers and subordinates on matters that do not require too much official English. Thus the dominance of a particular language in the work environment depends on the type of community and the type of occupation involved, and also the types of client.

With regard to educational language use, students use Ghanaian languages in the primary domain cluster. English is used in the secondary domain cluster, represented in this context by the school. During breaks, most of the children reported using the Ghanaian languages. It was only in one of the schools (a private school) in population M that most of the children reported using English



during breaks. Table 13 shows the distribution of respondents according to domain of use of English.

<u>Table 16: English and Domains of Use</u>		
Population	Domain	
	Classroom Only	School/Home
M	27	31
S	26	28
T	47	12
	-----	-----
Total	100	71
	-----	-----

From this table, we see that quite a good number of students reported using English in both primary and secondary domain clusters (i.e, in school and home). However, during the interviews that followed the test, it was found that the use of English at home by students was mostly related to the doing of homework. Very few actually use English at home, outside the homework. Table 14 shows which languages students use most during the day.

This table not only shows the nature of the populations (homogeneous versus heterogeneous); it also shows that the students use Ghanaian languages more often than English.

The picture that emerges from the discussion so far is that as far as language use is concerned, the Ghanaian languages dominate most of the domains. Even in the secondary domain cluster, which is usually dominated by English, the real use

Table 17: Languages Used Most by Students in a Day

Languages	Populations			
	M	S	T	Total
Akan	24	34	-	58
Ewe	11	-	59	70
Gã	9	4	-	13
English	19	-	-	19
Guan	-	9	-	9
Dangme	-	5	-	5

of English in those domains is restricted to officialese. The implication this situation has for the educational system is that the school language is not the same as the home or primary domain language. This mismatch has been found to affect the students' learning of a second language (English in this case).

The type of questions that featured most in the questionnaire were closed items. A closed item is one in which the range of possible responses is determined by the researcher. Closed items make things easier for respondents and also save much time. There were, however, two open-ended questions in the questionnaire. These were designed for respondents to offer some reasons for the answers to two preceding questions. The first question was whether literacy in a Ghanaian language should be made compulsory in the educational system. The second was whether such literacy would be of any relevance to Ghana's economic development. The questions that followed each of these two questions requested respondents to give any reasons for their answers to the first two. For example, respondents who thought that literacy in a Ghanaian language should be made

compulsory in the educational system were asked to give reasons for that position. As expected, not many people responded to these open-ended questions. Open-ended questions tend to take too much of the respondents' time, so they are not very popular with subjects. They are also more difficult to collate. However, such questions could more accurately tell a researcher what the subject or respondent wants to say. To the question whether literacy in a Ghanaian language should be made compulsory in the educational system, most of the respondents (98 out of 106 who completed the community questionnaire) said it should be made compulsory. Below are some of the reasons given by respondents.⁴⁴

1. Learning to read and write gives the individual the opportunity to communicate ideas and thoughts to others without dependence on interpreters, especially in matters relating to privacy.
2. Learning to read and write helps to sustain the customs and practices of a people. Customs and practices of a people could be well understood when they are written down and be read by all. Learning to read and write therefore avoids distortions in facts about the society in which we live.
3. To make language a legacy that must be secured, guarded and preserved;
4. To integrate the elite Ghanaian into his/her own milieu and to make him/her conscious of his national identity;
5. To inculcate in the child a sense of appreciating values;
6. To enhance the development of positive self-concept;

⁴⁴ They are reproduced verbatim.

7. At least one Ghanaian language should be made compulsory to serve as our national language in the country. This is because English is not our mother language and many people find it very difficult to learn it. But any Ghanaian language can be easily learnt as it is our mother language. This can be done when more emphasis is laid on the Ghanaian languages.

The other question concerns the relevance of literacy in Ghanaian languages to Ghana's economic development. Again, most of the respondents feel that literacy in Ghanaian languages would be of economic relevance. The following are some of the reasons offered (again, they are reproduced verbatim):

1. Literacy gives the impetus to understand social, political and economic norms. Through literacy, people are made to understand why they should keep their monies in the bank. Economic problems of the country could well be understood if all the people could be informed in their own languages. In a heterogeneous society as Ghana, it is necessary to promote literacy in the diverse languages to give an understanding to the various communities about the common problems and goals of government;
2. Promoting literacy in Ghanaian languages helps the people to understand the government's economic recovery programs so that they can give maximum support;
3. The majority of Ghanaian population is more or less illiterate, especially peasant farmers; hence the need of education to enable them read simple instructions on modern agricultural insecticides for better agricultural development. It can also help people to read the local newspapers about current affairs and also their own letters.

4. There would be no struggling to put ideas across in work places as in a foreign language, with regard to terminology; speeches and panel discussions and reports on economic issues in a Ghanaian language is better understood for practice.

The non-literate population who were interviewed said that, literacy in a Ghanaian language would enable them write their own letters, read the Bible and record their transactions so that they are not cheated or exploited by others.

6.3 The Proficiency Test

In this section, I examine the results of the proficiency test conducted in English with the students of six Junior Secondary Schools (two from each population). The null hypothesis is that all the groups and sample populations have no significant differences. The mean scores of the three populations are shown in Tables 15-18.⁴⁵

<u>Table 18: Mean Scores for Population M</u>				
Group	Scores			
	L/Wc.	Reading	Comp.	Total
1	15.6	4.5	2.8	23.0
2	19.6	5.7	4.5	29.7

⁴⁵ L/WC stands for Lexis and Written Comprehension.

Table 19: Mean Scores for Population S

Group	L/Wc.	Reading	Comp.	Total
1	11.0	2.8	2.0	15.8
2	9.7	1.5	1.3	12.5

Table 20: Mean Scores for Population T

Group	L/Wc.	Reading	Comp.	Total
1	11.6	3.0	1.5	16.1
2	12.2	3.3	2.2	17.7

The overall mean scores for the three populations is shown below.

Table 21: Mean Scores by Population

Population	L/Wc	Reading	Composition	Total
M	16.8	5.1	3.7	25.6
S	10.3	2.2	1.7	14.2
T	12.0	3.2	1.9	16.9

From the mean scores by population in Table 18, population M leads the other populations in the three areas of the test and in the overall mean. There is not much difference between populations S and T, though the latter performs better in the written comprehension exercise and the reading activity, while the former

is slightly ahead of the latter in written composition. The test result reflects the pattern of language use reported by the students. The students of population M (i.e, urban heterogeneous) report more use of English at home than students of the other two populations (rural). This result also supports the hypothesis that the urban students are exposed to more English than the others, and therefore would perform better than their counterparts in the other populations.

The overall performance of the three populations is not very encouraging, judging from the number of students who scored 50% or more in the test.

<u>Table 22: Scores of 50% and Above</u>			
Population	Total Number	No. of Scores 50 % and Above	Percentage
M	61	32	52.46
S	49	1	2.04
T	65	7	10.77
	-----	-----	-----
Total	175	40	22.86
	-----	-----	-----

Table 24 shows the aggregate grade distribution of scores for the multiple-choice test, which is designated by L/Wc in the previous tables.

From the cumulative frequency table (Table 20), we find that 69.15% of the students scored below 50% (i.e, below 15) of the marks for the multiple choice test. This leaves 30.85% for scores that are between 16 and 30. This percentage is a little higher than the percentage in the previous table, which includes marks from reading and composition.

Table 23: Aggregate Grade Distribution of the Three Populations

Mark	Frequency	Cum. Freq.	P/Cent.	Cum. Freq. P/Cent.
03	1	1	0.57	0.57
04	1	2	0.57	1.14
06	4	6	2.29	3.43
07	7	13	4.00	7.43
08	11	24	6.29	13.72
09	16	40	9.14	22.86
10	20	60	11.43	34.29
11	15	75	8.57	42.86
12	25	100	14.29	57.15
13	12	112	6.86	64.01
14	9	121	5.14	69.15
15	9	130	5.14	74.29
16	8	138	4.57	78.86
17	4	142	2.29	81.15
18	3	145	1.71	82.86
19	6	151	3.43	86.29
20	2	153	1.14	87.43
21	7	160	4.00	91.43
22	1	161	0.57	92.00
23	4	165	2.29	94.29
24	5	170	2.86	97.15
26	3	173	1.71	98.86
27	1	174	0.57	99.43
28	1	175	0.57	100.00

To give some statistical validity to the study, the scores of the English proficiency test were subjected to a *t-test*. This was designed to find out if there were any statistically significant differences among the three population samples. This analysis was performed with the SPSS statistical package on a mainframe computer. A probability level of 0.05 ($p \leq 0.05$) was chosen as the level of significance. First, the scores of the two groups in each sample were compared. It was found that there was no statistically significant difference between the perform-

ance of the two groups in samples S and T (i.e, the calculated t-value was lower than the tabled value). In other words, the two groups in each of the two samples were quite homogeneous. In sample M, however, the result indicated some statistical significance. In that sample, the t-value obtained was greater than the tabled value. Tables 25 - 27 show this comparison.

Table 24: T-Test for Independent Samples of Group

Population M (Rural Heterogeneous)

Variable	Number of Cases	Mean	SD	T-Value	Prob.
Group 1	26	10.96	2.95	1.50	.141
Group 2	23	9.65	3.14		

Table 25: T-Test for Independent Sample of Group

Population T (Rural Homogeneous)

Variable	No. of Cases	Mean	SD	T-Value	Prob.
Group 1	20	11.6	3.65	-.82	.481
Group 2	45	12.2	2.58		

The second step was to compare the three population samples as one unit (i.e, the two groups in each sample were put together and the mean score for the

Table 26: T-Test for Independent Sample of Group

Population M (Urban)

Variable	No. of Cases	Mean	SD	T-Value	Prob.
Group 1	23	19.0	6.07	2.30	.026
Group 2	38	15.4	5.67		

whole sample was used). The rural (mixed) sample was compared with the rural (unmixed) sample; then the rural (mixed) and the rural (unmixed) samples were each in turn compared with the urban sample. The result showed significant differences among the three samples. These are shown in the tables 28 - 30 below.

Table 27: T-Test for Independent Samples of Population

Population S (Rural Heterogeneous) vs Population T (Rural Homogeneous).

Variable	No. of Cases	Mean	SD	T-Value	Prob.
Pop. S	49	10.35	3.08	-2.98	.004
Pop. T	65	12.05	2.93		

The other test used was the Mann-Whitney U-test. This was to find out if the two tests would make similar predictions about the performance of the groups and the sample populations. Table 31 shows the ranks for the combined scores for population M.

Table 28: T-Test for Independent Samples of Population

Population S (Rural Heterogeneous) vs Population M (Urban)

Variable	No. of Cases	Mean	SD	T-Value	Prob.
Pop. S	49	10.35	3.08	-7.20	.000
Pop. M	61	16.75	6.04		

Table 29: T-Test for Independent Samples of Population

Population T (Rural Homogeneous) vs Population M (Urban)

Variable	No. of Cases	Mean	SD	T-Value	Prob.
Pop. T	65	12.05	2.93	-5.51	.000
Pop. M	61	16.75	6.04		

The two groups making up this population sample have 23 and 38 subjects respectively (i.e, $N_1 = 23$; $N_2 = 38$). Applying the formula:

$$U_1 = N_1 N_2 + \frac{N_1(N_1 + 1)}{2} - \sum R_1$$

we have the following results:

$$\begin{array}{ll} N_1 &= 23 \\ \sum R_1 &= 859 \\ U_1 &= 291. \\ U &= U_1 = 291 \\ z &= -2.17 \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{ll} N_2 &= 38 \\ \sum R_2 &= 1032 \\ U_2 &= 583 \end{array}$$

Table 30: Ranks for Combined Scores for Population M

Scores	Rank	Group	Scores	Rank	Group
4	1	2	17	32.5	2
7	2.5	1	17	32.5	2
7	2.5	2	18	34.5	1
8	5	1	18	34.5	2
8	5	2	19	37.5	1
8	5	2	19	37.5	1
9	8.5	2	19	37.5	1
9	8.5	2	19	37.5	2
9	8.5	2	21	43	1
9	8.5	2	21	43	1
11	12	1	21	43	1
11	12	2	21	43	1
11	12	2	21	43	2
12	15.5	2	21	43	2
12	15.5	2	21	43	2
12	15.5	2	22	47	2
12	15.5	2	23	49.5	2
13	19.5	1	23	49.5	2
13	19.5	1	23	49.5	2
13	19.5	2	23	49.5	2
13	19.5	2	24	54	1
14	23	1	24	54	1
14	23	2	24	54	2
14	23	2	24	54	2
15	26	1	24	54	2
15	26	2	26	58	1
15	26	2	26	58	1
16	29.5	1	26	58	1
16	29.5	2	27	60	1
16	29.5	2	28	61	1
16	29.5	2			

The smaller of the two U-values is taken to be the U-value for the comparison. In this case, the U-value is 291. Since the number of subjects in each group was larger than 20, we convert the U-value to a z-value, using the formula:

$$z = \frac{U - N_1N_2/2}{\sqrt{\frac{N_1N_2(N_1 + N_2 + 1)}{12}}}$$

Ignoring the negative sign, we have a z-value of 2.17. The critical value for z in a non-directional test at a .05 level of significance is 1.96. Our calculated value exceeds that critical value, suggesting that there is some significant difference between the two groups in what is supposed to be the same type of population. In other words, the null hypothesis that this sample population is a homogeneous one (i.e, that the two groups would not exhibit any significant differences) can be rejected. Note that this result corroborates the one obtained earlier for the same sample (M), using the t-test. The difference in the mean scores of the two groups in this population are, therefore, significant. Group 1 performed better because they had learned more. The main reason for this difference might come from the type of school. Group 1 is a private school while Group 2 is a public one. The results are just a confirmation of the general belief in Ghana that private schools perform better than the public ones.

The comparison of the two groups in each of the other two populations now follow. Table 32 shows the combined rank order numbers for population S, while Table 33 shows the same record for population T.

Using the same formula, we have:

$N_1 = 23$	$N_2 = 26$
$\Sigma R_1 = 498.5$	$\Sigma R_2 = 726.5$
$U_1 = 375.5$	$U_2 = 222.5$
$U = U_2 = 222.5$	
$z = 1.53$	

Table 31: Combined Rank Order Numbers for Population S

Score	Rank	Group	Score	Rank	Group
3	1	2	10	25.5	2
6	3	1	10	25.5	2
6	3	2	10	25.5	2
6	3	2	10	25.5	2
7	6	1	10	25.5	2
7	6	2	11	33	1
7	6	2	11	33	1
8	10	1	11	33	1
8	10	1	11	33	2
8	10	2	11	33	2
8	10	2	12	37.5	1
8	10	2	12	37.5	1
9	16.5	1	12	37.5	1
9	16.5	1	12	37.5	1
9	16.5	1	13	40.5	1
9	16.5	1	13	40.5	1
9	16.5	1	14	43	1
9	16.5	2	14	43	2
9	16.5	2	14	43	2
9	16.5	2	15	45.5	1
10	25.5	1	15	45.5	1
10	25.5	1	16	47.5	2
10	25.5	1	16	47.5	2
10	25.5	1	20	49	1
10	25.5	2			

The calculated z-value is less than the critical value (1.96). Therefore, we cannot reject the null hypothesis. The two groups in this population can be said to be homogeneous. The difference in the mean scores is not significant.

Following a similar procedure, we obtain the following results for population T.

$$\begin{array}{ll}
 N_1 = 20 & N_2 = 45 \\
 \Sigma R_1 = 530.5 & \Sigma R_2 = 1614.5 \\
 U_1 = 597.5 & U_2 = 320.5 \\
 U = U_2 = 320.5 & \\
 z = 1.84 &
 \end{array}$$

Table 32: Combined Rank Scores for Population T

Scores	Rank	Group	Scores	Rank	Group
6	1	1	12	36	2
7	2.5	2	12	36	2
7	2.5	2	12	36	2
8	5	1	12	36	2
8	5	2	12	36	2
8	5	2	12	36	2
9	8.5	1	12	36	2
9	8.5	2	12	36	2
9	8.5	2	12	36	2
9	8.5	2	12	36	2
10	15.5	1	12	36	2
10	15.5	1	13	47.5	1
10	15.5	1	13	47.5	2
10	15.5	1	13	47.5	2
10	15.5	1	13	47.5	2
10	15.5	1	13	47.5	2
10	15.5	1	13	47.5	2
10	15.5	2	14	52	2
10	15.5	2	14	52	2
10	15.5	2	14	52	2
11	24	1	15	55.5	2
11	24	1	15	55.5	2
11	24	1	15	55.5	2
11	24	1	15	55.5	2
11	24	2	16	58.5	2
11	24	2	16	58.5	2
11	24	2	17	60.5	2
12	36	1	17	60.5	2
12	36	1	18	62	2
12	36	2	19	63.5	1
12	36	2	19	63.5	1
12	36	2	20	65	1
12	36	2			

As expected, the calculated z-value is less than the critical value. So the null hypothesis is carried (i.e, there is no significant difference between the two groups).

The next step was to compare the populations. The results are shown in Tables 34 - 36.

Table 33: Mann-Whitney U-Test (M vs. S)

Variables	Populations	
	M	S
N	61	49
ΣR	4315.5	1791.5
U-value	* 566.5	2422.5
z-value	5.6	

Note: * marks the smaller of the two U-values; this is used in calculating the z-value.

$p \leq 0.05$; critical z-value = 1.96.

Table 34: Mann-Whitney Test (M vs. T)

Variables	Populations	
	M	T
N	61	65
ΣR	4817.5	3183.5
U-value	*1038.5	2926.5
z-value	4.6	

Note: * marks the smaller of the two U-values; this is used in calculating the z-value.

$p \leq 0.05$; critical z-value = 1.96.

Table 35: Mann-Whitney Test (S vs. T)

Variables	Populations	
	S	T
N	49	65
ΣR	2267.5	4287.5
U-value	2142.5	*1042.5
z-value		3.15

Note: * marks the smaller of the two U-values; this is used in calculating the z-value.

$p \leq 0.05$; critical z-value = 1.96.

From the three tables that compared the three populations, we notice that the calculated z-value in each case exceeds the critical z-value, indicating that there is some significant difference in the performances of the three populations. It also confirms that the three populations are distinct in some way. We can only speculate at this stage what the causes of these differences are. The fact that population M is different from the other two is not very surprising. Population M is urban, and, as suggested earlier, the students in this population may be more exposed to English than the others. But the difference between the two rural populations is difficult to explain. The one difference between the two rural groups which is considered in this study is that one is linguistically homogeneous and the other is linguistically heterogeneous. We cannot link this difference to any causal effect (i.e, we cannot link the difference in performance to the linguistic difference) until other rural homogeneous and rural heterogeneous groups are compared. The difference in performance could be due to other factors such as individual differences, the performance of the teachers, students' attitudes to learning,

their motivations etc. We can only accept, at this stage, the fact that there is some difference in the performance of the three populations of students. But what implications does this have for educational language planning? Does it mean we should have different plans for each type of population? This question is addressed in chapter seven.

The comparison of the three sample populations was further enhanced graphically by plotting the mean scores into a graph, using the Harvard Graphics Package. This is shown in the Figures below.

6.4 Language of Instruction

With regard to the language of instruction, most of the students would prefer English. At the same time, many of them reported that they do not understand all lessons taught in English. This is shown in the table below.

<u>Table 36: Students' Response Regarding English-Taught Lessons</u>		
Population	Understand All Lessons Taught in English	Do Not Understand All Lesson Taught in Eng.
M	41 (67.2%)	20 (32.8%)
S	22 (44.9%)	27 (55.1%)
T	36 (55.4%)	29 (44.6)
	-----	-----
Total	99	76
	-----	-----

Fig. 2: Mean Score by Population and Group

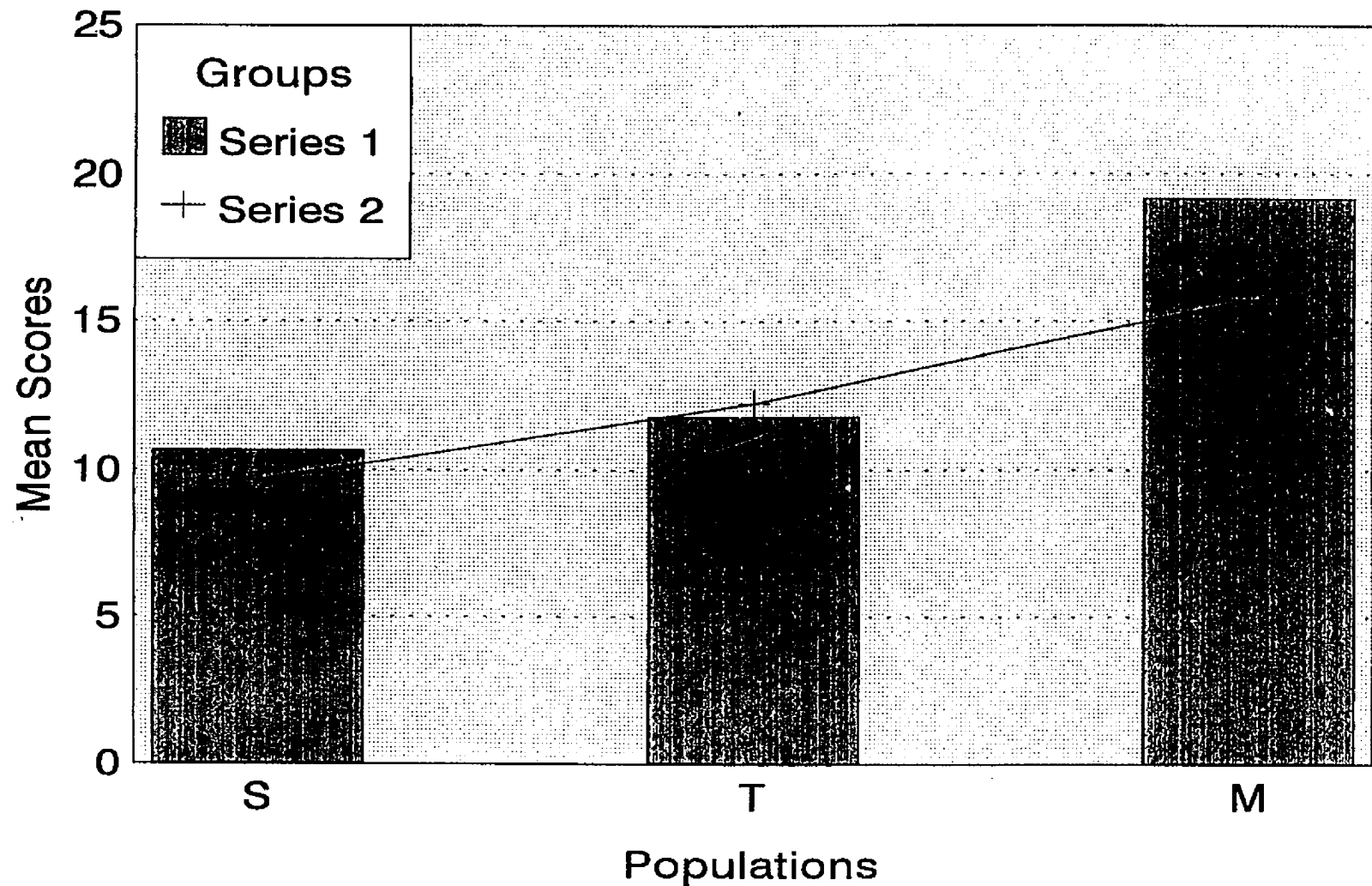
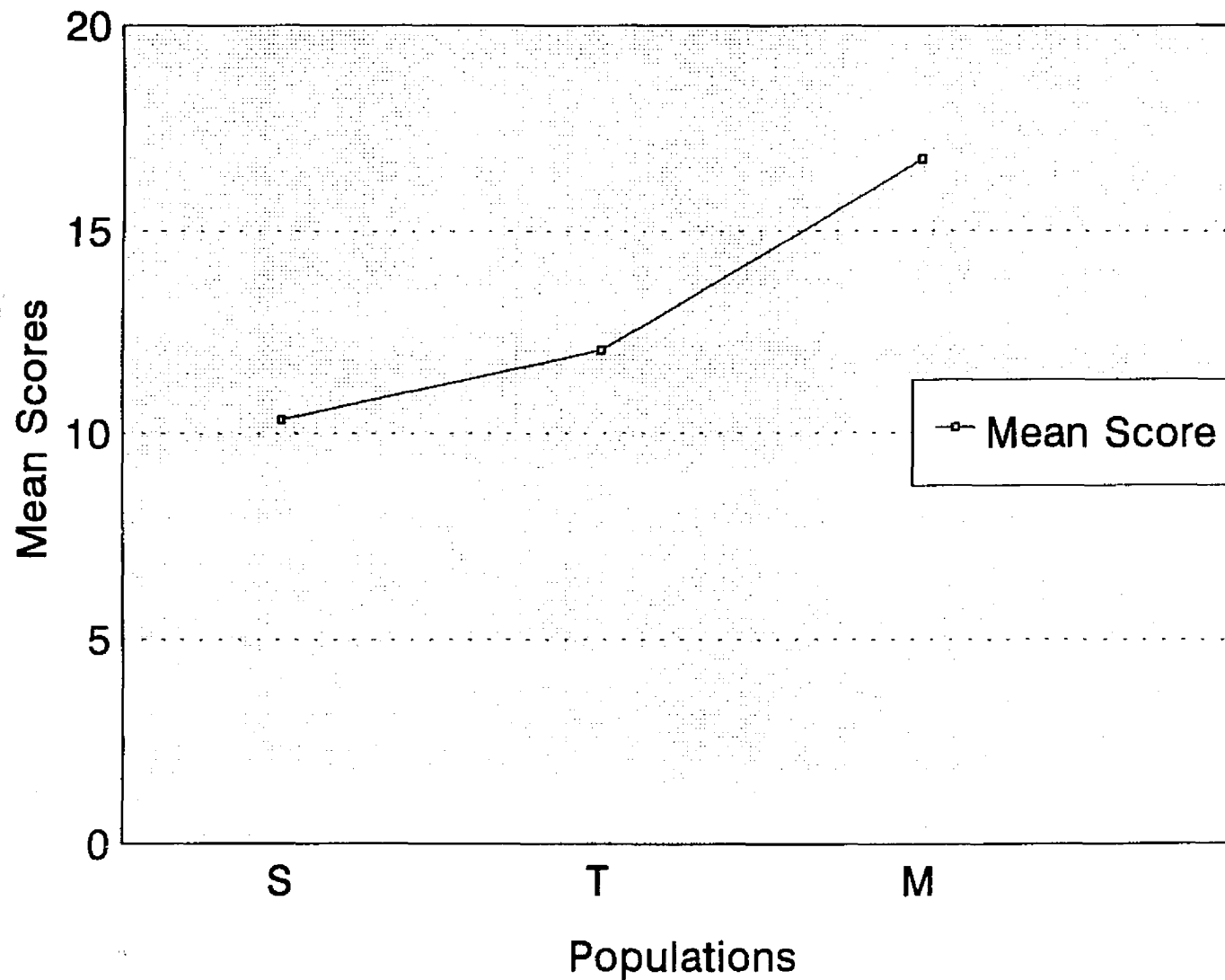


Fig. 3: Mean Score by Population



From Table 33 above, it is evident that quite an appreciable number of the students reported that they do not understand all the lessons taught in English (41.9%). The response turns the other way around when students were asked whether some subjects should be taught in Ghanaian Languages. 109 as against 65 want some subjects to be taught in Ghanaian Languages. That represents about 62.6%. The table below shows the subjects students would like to be taught in Ghanaian Languages.

1. Cultural Studies	43
2. Social Studies	15
3. Mathematics	20
4. Agricultural Science	5
5. General Science	3
6. Technical Skills	5
7. Vocational Skills	3
8. Life Skills	3

Three other questions that were asked students were:

1. Do you think you can read a newspaper in English?
2. Do you read any of the Ghanaian daily newspapers?
3. Can you read a newspaper in any one of the Ghanaian languages?

About 92.6% (162 out of 175) reported that they could read a newspaper in English. As to the question of who actually reads the Ghanaian newspapers, 79 out of 175 (45%) reported that they do read them. Of the 79 who reported that they read the newspapers, 42 were from population M (urban). When it comes to the ability to read newspapers in Ghanaian languages, 130 out of 175 (about 74%) reported that they can read a newspaper in one of the Ghanaian languages. Of these, the least number (25) comes from population M (urban). The self-reports by students were not reflected in their performance in the Reading Comprehension test (except for population M). The table below shows the performance (marks are out of 10).

Table 37: Students' Performance in Reading.

Population	Scores		
	0-3	4-5	Above 5
M	21 (34.4%)	13 (21.3%)	27 (44.3%)
S	36 (73.5%)	10 (20.4%)	3 (6.1%)
T	38 (58.5%)	19 (29.2%)	8 (12.3%)
Total	95 (54.3%)	42 (24%)	38 (21.7%)

We can see from Table 34 that apart from population M where about 44.2% (27 out of 61) obtained scores above 5, the majority of students in the other two populations had scores between 0 and 3. Overall, about 54.3% fall within the latter group. Only 21.7% got marks above 5. Even though there was no test in the Ghanaian languages, the results of such a test would have been worse, or at best have followed the same trend as the English test, if we consider the fact that more time is spent on English than the Ghanaian languages. In one of the schools in population M (a private school), all the students (except three, who had come from other schools in the rural areas) reported that they started learning Ghanaian languages only in the Junior Secondary School (i.e, Grade 7). For those who would drop out at the end of Junior Secondary School (JSS), that would mean only three years of Ghanaian language learning. Unfortunately, the majority of students do drop out at the end of JSS (some even drop out before that). In the 1989/90 academic year, there were 142,328 students in the final year JSS. Granted that there were no repetitions, we would expect all these students to proceed to

Senior Secondary School (SSS) the following year, (1990/91). But according to the statistical report,⁴⁶ only 50,199 were enrolled in SSS in 1990/91 academic year (about 35.3%). The remaining 64.7% could be considered to have either dropped out or been unable to gain admission to SSS for some reason. But the fact remains that the majority of students do not go beyond the JSS. In the 1990/91 academic year, there were 161,297 students in JSS 3. But according to the statistical report of the West African Examinations Council (WAEC), the main examining body, only 105,635 wrote the final Basic Education Certificate Examinations (BECE) in 1991. About 55,662 students are not accounted for. This implies that within the course of the academic year, that number of students dropped out (about 34.5%). With this high drop-out rate and the poor performance in English, it is evident that these students are ill-prepared for life. They are "handicapped" academically and would not be able to function effectively in the ever-changing world around them. They would be information-starved, since the print media is dominated by English.

6.4.1 The Teachers

Apart from the general questionnaire for the public, there was a sub-section for teachers only. This section sought information about the qualification of the teachers, their language use in school and out-of-school, their ability to use and teach a Ghanaian language, and their opinion regarding the use of Ghanaian languages for instruction in the schools. As far as language use is concerned,

⁴⁶ All figures relating to enrollment in the schools were obtained from the Statistical Division of the Ghana Education Service (GES).

most of the teachers use English mostly in school. Outside school, most of them use Ghanaian languages (except when they encounter people with whom they do not share a common Ghanaian language). A majority of the teachers (70 out of 98) claim that they can teach a Ghanaian language and can use it in teaching. The majority also thought that some subjects should be taught in the Ghanaian languages (87 out of 98). Apart from the Ghanaian languages themselves, the subjects that were rated high for instruction in Ghanaian languages (GL) were:

1. Cultural Studies -	34
2. Social Studies -	16
3. Elementary Science -	14
4. Agric. Science -	10
5. Mathematics -	11
6. Life Skills -	10

Most of the teachers were of the opinion that both students and teachers should be able to read and write at least one Ghanaian language, and that the latter should be able to teach a Ghanaian language.

6.5 Other Statistics

Other statistical information obtained was a report of examinations conducted between 1981 and 1990 by the West African Examinations Council (WAEC).⁴⁷ The area of interest in this report is in examining the results of the examinations in the English Language and the Ghanaian Languages. English is a compulsory subject in school and to enter the university, one must have a credit in English at the General Certificate of Education (GCE) Examination. A credit is between

⁴⁷ The West African Examinations Council (WAEC) is the main examination body which conducts various examinations in countries of the former British West Africa (Ghana, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Gambia) and Liberia.

grades 1-6.⁴⁸ I assume this to be the threshold level at which people can effectively communicate in English, and therefore benefit from the system. The results over the years show that the percentage of students who get credit in English is less than fifty.⁴⁹

Table 38: GCE Results in English (1981-90)

Year	Total No. of Candidates	Grades		
		1-6 (%)	7-8 (%)	9 (Fail) (%)
1981	23,497	30.6	37.5	31.9
1982	24,764	25.7	31.2	43.1
1983	26,910	37.4	32.5	30.1
1984	27,714	23.7	29.9	46.4
1985	25,738	18.7	23.6	57.6
1986	27,181	28.7	24.8	46.3
1987	28,806	36.1	21.3	42.7
1988	25,632	36.5	19.7	43.8
1989	26,632	35.4	22.7	41.9
1990	28,993	36.4	18.4	45.3

From the above table, covering a period of ten years, students have never had an overall high percentage credit rating. For all this period (except 1983), the percentage failure was higher than the percentage credit. This does not reflect the emphasis laid on the teaching and use of English in the educational system.

⁴⁸ Grade, as used in this context, refers to marks, and not class level. Grade 1 is the highest and grade 9 is a total failure.

⁴⁹ Grades 1-6 are credits, and are the required grades for entry into the university and other tertiary institutions. I assume a credit grade to be the threshold level at which an educated Ghanaian can effectively communicate in English. Grades 7-8 are very weak passes, while grade 9 is total failure.

Four Ghanaian languages are examined at the GCE Ordinary Level (O/L): Ewe, Fante, Gã and Twi.⁵⁰ At the Advanced Level of the GCE, only Akan and Ewe are examined. The Ghanaian languages are optional subjects of study in the Senior High School. As a result, only between 13.7 and 16.8 percent of the candidates take examinations in Ghanaian languages. For example, out of 28,993 candidates that sat the GCE "O/L" examination in June, 1990, only 4882 took Ghanaian languages as follows:

Ewe -	622
Fante -	717
Gã -	405
Twi -	3138

The success rates in the Ghanaian Language examinations is quite a bit higher than in English. The June, 1990 examination results are shown below.

Table 39: GCE Results in Ghanaian Languages (1990)

Language	No. of Candidates	1-6 (%)	7-8 (%)	9 (Fail) (%)
Ewe	622	79.9	14.3	5.8
Fante	717	76.0	14.6	9.4
Gã	405	76.8	14.1	9.1
Twi	3138	72.2	16.7	11.1

The results of the GCE "O/L" in Ghanaian languages, as shown in the table above, are more impressive than the English results. The best result in English over a ten year period was 37.4% credit passes in 1983, compared to 70% or over

⁵⁰ As pointed out earlier, Fante and Twi were regarded by the early missionaries as different languages, and have been treated and examined as such. But they are now regarded as dialects of the same language. They now have a unified orthography, under the name *Akan*. They continue to be examined as separate subjects at the O/L, but at the Advanced Level (A/L), it is *Akan*.

in the Ghanaian languages.

Summary: The results of the survey can be summarised as follows:

1. Ghanaian languages play a greater role in the everyday life of most Ghanaians than English does. Apart from the government offices and some other related institutions, all other domains of language use are dominated by the Ghanaian languages;
2. though Ghana is societally multilingual, individual bilingualism or multilingualism is not as widespread as one would expect. These phenomena are restricted to the urban areas and some rural areas. Rural areas which are linguistically heterogeneous are the result of migration for economic reasons. In Ghana, this type of settlement is common in the rain forest belt, which is highly suited to the growing of cocoa, Ghana's highest income earner, and some of the nation's most important food crops; mining and logging are other economic activities that attract people to the Akan-speaking areas;
3. most Ghanaian students use Ghanaian languages both in school (during breaks) and at home. The use of English, for most of them, is limited to the classroom;
4. the standard of students' performance in English is quite low, and does not match the amount of emphasis laid on the learning and teaching of English in the school system. This is corroborated by the generally poor results of the General Certificate of Education (GCE) O/Level examinations in English language;

5. the drop-out rate is quite high, and the majority of students do not go beyond Grade 9 (a large number even drops out at grade 6);
6. both students and teachers agree that certain subjects should be taught in the Ghanaian languages;
7. a majority of the subjects agree that literacy in Ghanaian languages is of some economic benefit to the nation and to the literates themselves.

The implication is that there is something wrong. There is a mismatch between policy and the real life situation. The poor performance in English for students at this level of education shows that the situation of the majority who drop out before that level is even worse. These implications are further reviewed in chapter seven, where a proposal is made for national and educational language planning.

Chapter VII

A LANGUAGE OF EDUCATION FRAMEWORK FOR GHANA

The introduction of the colonial languages into African societies, and their use as media of education and as communicative instruments for the modernizing process, froze the opportunities for functional development of almost all the African languages (Spencer, 1985:394).

In the preceding chapter, the results of the survey conducted on a section of Ghana's population were discussed and the results within three different types of communities examined. The types of communities were:

1. Rural Homogeneous;
2. Rural Heterogeneous, and
3. Urban Heterogeneous.

It was found that there were some differences in language use between the two rural populations on the one hand, and the urban population. What the two rural samples have in common is that they have less use of English in the community than is found in the urban sample. This is because there are many more occupations in the latter that demand the use of English than we have in the former. However, the rural heterogeneous sample shares with the urban heterogeneous sample the fact that there are more instances of individual bilingualism or multilingualism in them than in the other rural sample. It was also found that there

was a mismatch between school and home language in all the sample populations. The students' performance in the proficiency test was also found to be generally below average. These results raise many questions about the type of language policy that would best suit Ghana's developmental needs.

In this chapter, I propose a framework for language of education in Ghana, taking into consideration the results of the survey, the English proficiency test, Ghana's developmental needs as I see them, and researches in other areas. The chapter is organized as follows: in sections 7.1, 7.2 and 7.3 I examine English versus Ghanaian languages under the following headings respectively:

1. Administrative and Economic Issues;
2. Sociopolitical Issues;
3. Sociocultural Issues

Section 7.4 looks at the medium of instruction dilemma. In section 7.5, I discuss a few findings by other researchers that would lend support to my proposal. I especially examine works by Spolsky (1989), Wong Fillmore (1984) and Christie (1990). In section 7.6, I summarize empirical evidence from the survey. Section 7.7 introduces a proposal for a national language policy. In section 7.8, I propose a framework for language of education in Ghana and discuss the linguistic, pedagogical and educational implications of the framework.

7.1 English vs. Ghanaian Languages: Administrative and Economic Issues

In chapter two, I examined the history of education in Ghana. The emergence of English as an official language, and, as a result, the language of education in Ghana, is historical. After independence, the developmental goal of the government was industry. Along with industrial development goes technology, which has to be obtained from the West (especially England). English, being the most important language of science and technology, was reinforced as the official language of Ghana. The reason was to have access to scientific and technological innovations all over the world. Since then, English has secured its dominant status in Ghana. It is the language of administration, education and of economic power. But some questions have to be answered. Some of these questions were raised in chapter one.

1. Has Ghana and, for that matter, have other anglophone African countries, achieved the results they envisaged by the adoption of English as an official language?
2. If not, what went wrong?
3. Has the use of English facilitated the economic well-being of the country and its people?

As noted earlier, it is not enough to measure economic development by means of the GNP. It should be measured by that percentage of the people who are well-fed, well-clothed, well-housed, well-educated and healthy. The economic well-being of a nation is the aggregate economic well-being of the individuals who make up the nation. Four basic elements that form the cornerstone of Ghana's development are agriculture, education, health and housing. Let us consider these in turn, by examining the role of language in the attainment of these basic goals.

Education is seen as the major means of economic achievement: it is the major provider of manpower for various sectors of the economy. Therefore, the more well-educated the people are, the better their chances of getting better jobs and as a result making economic progress. All the professional groups (scientists, economists, lawyers, engineers, accountants etc.) have gone through some kind of education. These professions require a high level of education. But what proportion of Ghana's population fall within this group? Almost negligible. The point being made here is that it is impossible to have all the people of a nation reaching such heights in education (even the developed countries cannot boast of that). There is always a middle-level and a lower-level manpower. Apart from these professionals and administrators, the majority of Ghanaians are engaged in occupations such as agriculture, petty trading, carpentry, masonry, dress-making, janitorial work etc. Education should provide all these types of people with the necessary tools and knowledge to perform their duties better, for their own economic benefits and for the benefit of the nation. Empirical evidence from the survey shows that most of the people do not require English in order to perform their duties effectively. It was also found that the school drop-out rate is high, with the result that the majority of people drop out of school without literacy abilities in either English or a Ghanaian language. If equal emphasis had been laid on Ghanaian languages as well, most of these drop-outs would have had a good command of literacy in their own languages or in one Ghanaian language. At least they would be able to have access to information regarding their occupations and how to improve on their performance. Let us take a look at one example, a carpenter. Most of the carpenters in Ghana did not receive their training through

the formal school system; they were trained in private workshops, mostly owned by people who had had little or no education. The language of instruction in those workshops is a Ghanaian language. If such people are able to learn and perform well through a Ghanaian language, they could benefit more if they were at least literate enough in those Ghanaian languages to be able to read material related to their work, to their health and safety, or to the environment.

Agriculture is the major foreign exchange earner for Ghana. About 65% of Ghana's working population is engaged in agriculture, and the majority are illiterate (a few are school drop-outs). If Ghana's economy is dependent on agriculture, then it should be the goal of the nation to improve on its performance in that sector in order to raise the national income. This would mean supplying the farmers with the necessary knowledge that would help them increase their yield; they must have access to modern innovations, modern ways of production. The emphasis nowadays is on sustainable development - development without jeopardy to the environment. These farmers need to be educated about the best means of farming without depleting the environment; they must be educated on the best farming practices. They definitely do not require knowledge of English in order to participate in these programs. They can acquire a lot of information about farming practices through the agricultural extension officers, but they can certainly do better if they are literate and can have access to this information in the Ghanaian languages.⁵¹ At least one useful aspect of writing is that important facts are preserved and can be referred to at any time. The Agricultural Extension Officers

⁵¹ The provision of such literature must be part of the planning mechanism, if the masses of the population are to derive some benefit from the adult literacy programs.

cannot be with the farmers all the time.

Health care is a very important component of the development enterprise. A healthy population will certainly make a healthy economy. If a third of the working population of a nation spends about a third of the working period out of work for health reasons, the loss to the nation will be unimaginable. Since prevention is better than cure, and since Ghana (and the third world) cannot afford the expensive medical equipment needed to give the people the best medical attention, the emphasis should be on preventive medicine. The health care programs in the third world should be geared towards educating the people to live very healthy lives in order to prevent disease as much as possible. This way health care costs can be fairly reduced. Apart from the work of health care educators going to various places to talk to the people about these issues, literacy in Ghanaian languages will help disseminate health information faster and more handily in the absence of a field nurse or health worker.

It should be noted that the advocacy is not for English to be ousted from the system. Ghana definitely needs English in her educational system for economic and international reasons. But the point is that just a few people have access to information in English, depriving the majority of vital information that is crucial, not only to the individual's well-being, but for the well-being of the nation as well. The Ghanaian languages need equal emphasis in the school system, because they can be useful tools for the majority who drop out of school before they can acquire adequate proficiency in English. For this majority, English is not within their grasp.

7.2 English vs. Ghanaian Languages: Sociopolitical Issues

One crucial issue that has influenced language policies in most of Africa is sociopolitical in nature - the need to promote a durable nationhood; the need to get the people of diverse ethnic groups to develop a new national identity which supersedes their ethnic identity. This is a very complicated issue because, as Kelman (1971) notes:

Language is a uniquely powerful instrument in unifying a diverse population and involving individuals and subgroups in the national system. However, some of the very features of language that give it this power under some circumstances, become a major source of disintegration and internal conflict within a national system (p. 21).

Ghana chose English as its official language because it was thought to have a unifying force for an otherwise diverse population. This was also done to avoid any political upheavals that might result from the choice of an indigenous language to fulfill the function being performed by English today. The choice of English definitely avoids political turmoils sparked by linguistic choices. But one question that remains is: what proportion of the population has been unified? It unifies the minority but powerful elite. A national language policy should allow for the selection of a language or languages that are likely to promote the widest possible participation among the citizens in the political, cultural and economic domains of national life. In Ghana, we have a situation where many of the citizens cannot communicate in the official language. Language as a unifying force might depend on a number of other conditions obtaining in the society. Economic, political and social conditions may influence a people's attitudes towards a language and its speakers. For example, a socially, politically and economically

deprived people would be suspicious of the minority elite who exploit them instead of helping and defending them. They would like their children to aspire to that elite group to save them from the exploitation. They are willing to learn the powerful language because they know it is the only way they can also reach the top. But how many actually realize their dreams?

The use of an indigenous language as national official language has been found to be effective in few countries in Africa (e.g Tanzania and Somalia). But as mentioned in an earlier chapter, the cases of these two examples are unique, in that the languages chosen do not pose a threat to any major ethnic group. This is different from the situation in Ghana and other African countries where we have competing ethnic groups or "great traditions". If, as we have seen, governments are restricted in their ability to communicate directly with the people by having an official language which is not understood by the majority, then we must begin to question the responsibility of the government to the people and how far the people's aspirations are being met. English does not seem to have fulfilled the sociopolitical goal of Ghana and many other African nations. If anything, the indigenous languages have rather fostered more unity among the people than English has done. In the linguistically heterogeneous samples surveyed, the people are unified by their ability to learn the dominant local language in addition to their own. In Madina, for instance, most of the people speak either Gã or Akan as second languages. They do not have to go to school in order to learn these languages. But to learn English they do have to go to school, and most of them missed that opportunity because they had dropped out early. Thus the sociopolitical ideology upon which most African countries (including Ghana) based their

language policy has failed because the governments failed to study the real situation and act accordingly. They failed to envisage the impossibility of making English a nation-wide household language which could bring the various ethnic groups together. They have only succeeded in unifying the elite class and perpetuating the elite/masses class distinction.

7.3 English vs. Ghanaian Languages: The Sociocultural Issues.

Ghana is a nation that abounds in rich and diverse cultures. It would definitely be unwise to try to eliminate cultural differences with a view to achieving a monolingual and monocultural society. That is impossible, just as it is impossible to eliminate any of the local languages. If the aim of government is to create a pluri-cultural society, then there is the need to pay more attention to the study of the Ghanaian languages.⁵² These languages are indispensable for the expression of the various cultures with which they are associated. As Halliday (1972) notes:

Now, many of the needs that language serves are universal human needs, common to all societies at all times....But at the same time, there are deep and significant differences between different human cultures; and these are also enshrined in language.... Each language is adapted to its own environment, in the sense of the daily activities, the personal relationships and the spiritual and intellectual concerns of its speakers (p.6).

In most African countries where English has been made the language of administration and education, the tendency has been to overlook the development of the African languages. This is the result of lack of a properly researched language policy which together with the strong institutionalization of the European lan-

⁵² At least, the documents on the educational reforms includes a statement to the effect that emphasis is to be placed on the study of Ghanaian languages.

guages in those countries. has led to the indigenous people developing negative attitudes towards their own languages. An example is the case of Paraguayans cited in UNIN (1981), where the people feel that progress is impeded by the continuing use of Guarani. But the growing awareness of the indigenous people about their languages may turn the scales in the near future. "Uniformity, it is said, does not necessarily produce the desired unity, and artificially produced uniformity may be a source of weakness and hostility, while there may be strength in co-ordinated diversity"⁵³ The high status given to English and the consequent marginalization of the indigenous languages in education only helps to project the indigenous languages as inferior vehicles of communication compared with English. This inferiority is extended to the various indigenous cultures as well. Halliday (1972) writes:

...the consequence is that any language, when taken out of its environment, will appear somewhat imperfect and inadequate... This does not mean, however, that such a language is undeveloped. It means simply that it has been transposed out of its context, and that it has to adjust itself to meet the new requirements... The language of Shakespeare was not undeveloped; but it would have been quite inadequate and inept for describing the workings of the internal combustion engine. Less obviously, but no less significant, it would have been inadequate for a television commercial, a job interview or a circular from the Ministry of Education. These last do not depend particularly on technical vocabulary. They do, on the other hand, depend on language; but on patterns of meaning and forms of expression that are much more intangible than the mere words of a language (which you can put on cards and sort in a machine), and that are perhaps also more significant at the deepest level (p.6-7).

From Halliday's words, we can see that no language is inferior and all languages are capable of being developed to meet new requirements. The English language cannot adequately express the cultures of the Akans or Ewes or Gās, just as these

⁵³ UNESCO Commission on Human Rights, *Study of the Problem of Discrimination Against Indigenous Populations*, report by Jose R. Martinez Cobo (Geneva, UN, 1980) p. 9.

Ghanaian languages cannot adequately express the English culture. To preserve the diverse arrays of culture in Ghana or Africa for that matter, and to keep the young generation in touch with the cultures of their people, more serious language planning is required to give the Ghanaian languages the respect and dignity they deserve. For English to be able to promote socio-cultural integration in Ghana, it is necessary for all segments of the population to have access to and reason for the use of English in their daily lives. This is highly impossible. There is no way English can replace Ghanaian languages in the primary functional domain. It is therefore imperative that every Ghanaian should be able to speak well at least one Ghanaian language, and it is even better if they can read and write in at least one major Ghanaian language in addition to English. English and the Ghanaian languages have separate roles to play in the Ghanaian context: a purely instrumental role for the former and both sentimental and instrumental roles for the latter.

For language to be effectively used, one must acquire *communicative competence* in it. By this we mean one must know not only the syntax, phonology and semantics, but one must also know the appropriate contexts of use, and of the socially and culturally determined norms for production and interpretation. In other words, communicative competence embodies not only the language code and its referential meaning (i.e, Chomsky's linguistic competence), but also what may be said to whom and when; how discourse is to be constructed and interpreted in different contexts; and how what is said (or not said) relates to speakers' role relationships within the society, and to their structures of belief and knowledge. This is not achievable within the child's pre-school years. It is therefore necessary for

this learning to continue even in school. For practical purposes, English and the Ghanaian languages can facilitate Ghana's socio-economic development: English for those sectors of the economy for which it is appropriate, and the Ghanaian languages (GLs) for the majority of the people for whom these languages are their only tools of communication. so they need equal treatment.

7.4 The Medium of Instruction Dilemma

A crucial issue in educational linguistics or educational language planning is the language of instruction. In the previous sections, the role of English and the Ghanaian languages in the economic, sociopolitical and sociocultural contexts of development have been discussed. It has been suggested that despite the high status of English, it cannot fulfill all the functions of the indigenous languages. Therefore its role must be complemented by the Ghanaian languages. When it comes to the language of instruction in schools, there are divergent views. While some favor the mother tongue or first language medium, others favor the English medium. For those who favor the mother tongue medium, the arguments are that:

1. the child knows the mother tongue or L1 before entering school, so it is easier to instruct him/her in that language;
2. concept formation in the child's early years is better facilitated by a language which s/he already knows;
3. the mother tongue preserves the child's identity;
4. there would be a match between home and school language and learning can continue outside school;

5. many children do not go beyond the primary school; so they are ill-prepared for English, which they would hardly need anyway;

Arguments for English medium can be summarized as follows:

1. language planning is facilitated by a single language policy;
2. divisive tendencies would be eliminated by the use of a single language;
3. English would link the country with the world;
4. the child would be well-prepared for higher schools;
5. the training of teachers and preparation of school materials would be simplified.

There are equally convincing arguments for both options. While it is true that a single language policy makes language planning easier, we must not lose sight of the fact that this can only be done at a great human cost. What will a nation gain if it promotes only a single language and as a result creates a class of minority elites and a mass of people who are deprived of their right to decent living and a right to have access to information that affects their lives? As for the question of English counteracting divisive tendencies in the society, it is not certain how true that is. This can happen if all the population is able to use English, but this is not the case. Moreover, it has been found during the survey that in the rural and urban linguistically heterogeneous samples, people are able to communicate with one another through the dominant Ghanaian language (not English). People of different ethnic groups, especially the minority ones, tend to accommodate easily to the majority group (if they find themselves in one such group), and they seem to mix very well.

Psychologists agree that a foreign language cannot be the language of early concept formation or socialization, and that the most natural means would be a language a person is born into or which s/he knows very well. According to Hans Nicholas, in learning a foreign language, terms denoting concrete objects perceived through the senses would present no difficulty to the child. These terms are either directly connected with the objects, or translated from the mother tongue.

But abstract ideas are a different matter As Hans writes:

In any original language, the words denoting ideas and relations were gradually built up from a simile based on some sense impression and changed their meaning through a long process of linguistic adaptation. For a child speaking its native tongue, it is not difficult to recover the connecting links between the original and the transferred significance of the word. For a child learning a foreign language, the second transferred meaning has to be learnt by heart. The child thus loses the intermediate stage closely connecting the idea with sense impressions and his/her knowledge of the meaning of the word is only verbal (p. 41)

Gudschinsky (1971, cited in Africa, 1980) maintains (as does UNESCO, 1953) that children who are monolingual speakers of a minority language will, in general, learn a second language as a medium of instruction more readily and more effectively if they are taught to read and write their own language first.

Afolayan (1978) supports Gudschinsky in the belief that there are more advantages than disadvantages when children learn through the mother tongue. He remarks that children schooled in the mother tongue are "as lively and inquisitive as their counterparts anywhere".

7.5 Evidence From Research

There are several studies which were conducted in an attempt to address the issue of language of instruction. Some of these studies, which have already been mentioned, are the *Iloilo Experiment* in the Philippines, *The Six-Year Primary Project* in Western Nigeria, *The Modiano Study*, and *The Uganda Study*. Though some of the studies (e.g. *The Uganda Study*) did not show any significant difference between mother tongue and second language media, the other experiments (e.g. the *Iloilo Project* and the *Six-Year Primary Project*) have shown considerable advantages of mother tongue instruction over L2 instruction.

To be instructed in a language implies knowledge of the language of instruction by the person who is to be instructed, otherwise learning cannot take place. Most African countries' language policies prescribe the use of a second language (i.e. a European language) for instruction in the school system (Ghana is no exception). I now examine some of the several researches which shed some light on the issue of second language learning.

Success in second language learning depends on several factors. The most important factor is *input*, by which is meant the linguistic data available to the learner, together with the supporting social context in which the data is anchored (see Wong Fillmore, 1991). The quality of the linguistic material available to the learner depends on several sub-factors:

1. the quality of the teacher (i.e. his/her qualification, and whether s/he is a native speaker of the target language);
2. the availability of target language (TL) speakers;
3. the availability of other learning materials, such as books, videos etc.

The quality of the teacher is essential to second language learning. If the teacher is a native speaker of the TL, it is more likely that students will receive authentic input, especially with regard to pronunciation, from him/her. So, the presence or absence of a native-speaker teacher determines what type of accent the students will develop. The best environment for learning a second language is the "natural," where, by "natural," I mean an environment of native speakers of the TL. In the absence of this, the only place that students can be reinforced in their learning is the classroom. Outside the classroom, they have no TL speakers to interact with. This condition does not promote L2 learning. The other factor is the availability of learning materials for both teachers and students. Teachers need materials to teach (e.g, books and other teaching aids), and students need books to read to improve their language abilities.

Spolsky (1989) spells out 74 conditions for second language learning. The first cluster of conditions constitute what he calls the social context. He emphasizes, just as Wong Fillmore does, that second language learning of any kind takes place in a social context. This context includes components such as the sociolinguistic situation, the general exposure of the learners to other languages, the roles of the target language and other languages in the community and in the home, and the general perception of values of the TL and of bilingualism. According to Spolsky, this social context is expressed formally in language policies of various kinds; at the state level, these may be the laws or provisions of language education; at the home level, these include decisions to speak a certain language or to encourage or discourage language learning. The social context, according to Spolsky, influences language learning in two ways: first, the conditions within the

social context influence the learner's attitudes, which are divisible into *instrumental* and *integrative* (Gardner et al., 1983). The second influence of the social context is in the provision of the opportunities for learning a language. These can be formal or informal. The conditions constituting the social context interact with the conditions of the learner, who brings into the learning situation certain capabilities, some of which are universal, and others specific to the learner. From the foregoing exposition, we find that social context, which in part determines the type of input, is very crucial to second language learning.

In Christie's (1990) sociolinguistic theory of learning,

language is thought of both as a resource with which we construct meaning and as a symbolic system with which we make sense of the world (p. 29).

Even though there are many other symbolic systems (e.g music, dance, painting etc) which are of great importance, language has a unique importance in learning. All learning in schools involves learning language. It does not matter whether we are dealing with the "primary language arts" or with mathematics or science. But the role of language in other areas of learning, apart from the "primary language arts," is usually taken for granted. It is true that a subject like mathematics involves the manipulation of symbols, but the processes by which these are manipulated are constructed in language. In solving most mathematical problems, which are couched in language, students must first understand the problem. This means they must first understand the language in which the problem is framed. It is therefore evident that linguistic processes are fundamental to all learning processes. Christie (ibid) points out that language development may be said to have three interrelated elements:

1. learning language;

2. learning through language:

3. learning about language.

It is the first two that concern us here. Children learning through a second language have to first learn the language. The rate of success in learning this second language determines how much learning they can acquire. So if the conditions for learning the second language are not favorable, then the learning of other subjects is impeded. If concepts are to be meaningful at the maturational level of the students, then the language for communicating such concepts to and among children is crucial. Conceptual growth depends on how much students are able to express and discuss ideas with their peers. If they cannot do that their conceptual growth may be stalled or impaired.

For many years, educators have assumed that the development of proficiency in English would result in students' eventual attainment of academic skills needed to succeed in school. Yet very little research has been conducted to address the variables that might influence this process, such as the length of time and the level of L2 proficiency required to achieve academic success in a second language.

It is widely believed that young children are the fastest, most efficient acquirers of a second language. Despite the fact that this assertion is in dispute, increasing research evidence indicates that the age question cannot be separated from another key variable in second language acquisition: cognitive development and proficiency in the first language.

First language acquisition is not a quick and easy process it takes a minimum of 12 years (McLaughlin, 1984). Before entering school, children acquire

enormous amounts of L1 phonology, vocabulary, syntax, semantics and pragmatics, but the process is not at all complete by the time children reach school age. From ages 6 to 12, children have still to develop in the first language complex rules of morphology and syntax, elaboration of speech acts, expansion of vocabulary (which continues throughout a person's lifetime), semantic development, and even some aspects of phonological development (McLaughlin, 1984). For school purposes, language acquisition also must include the vocabulary and special uses of language for each subject area, such as metalinguistic analysis of language in the language arts classes and many other learning strategies associated with the use of language in each content area (Chamot & O'Malley, 1987; Heath, 1986).

Second language acquisition research has found that this process of L1 development has a significant influence on the development of L2 proficiency. One important finding is that the lack of continuing L1 cognitive development during second language acquisition may lead to lowered proficiency levels in the second language and in cognitive academic growth. Lambert (1984) refers to this as subtractive bilingualism; Cummins (1981b) describes this in terms of a lower threshold level in the first language, or limited bilingualism, with which negative cognitive effects are associated.

When the debate about the optimal age for beginning acquisition of a second language for schooling purposes takes this important intervening variable - L1 cognitive development - into account, the arguments can be resolved fairly conclusively. Before puberty, it does not matter when one begins exposure to (or instruction in) a second language, as long as cognitive development in the first language

continues through age 12 (the age by which first language acquisition is largely completed). Cummins (1981b) refers to a common underlying proficiency, or interdependence, existing between a bilingual's two languages (even given widely varying surface features), with development of one language strongly aiding the development of the second one.

One other study that throws more light on the language of instruction dilemma is one by Collison (1974). Using Lansdown's approach to Vygotsky's theory of language and conceptual development, Collison compared the conceptual level Ghanaian children express in their native languages (Gã or Twi) and in their second language (English). The children manipulated and then discussed specially chosen science materials. The study suggested that vernaculars allow better conceptualization for their native speakers than the second language.

From these research reports, it is clear that the development of the Ghanaian languages in schools would not only help in the conceptual development of the children, but would also aid the development of proficiency in English. If this is true, we can conjecture that the low level performance of the Ghanaian students in English is partly due to their low threshold levels in the Ghanaian languages (of course there are other factors affecting the poor level of proficiency).

7.6 Empirical Evidence

In the preceding sections I have examined the economic, socio-political and sociocultural aspects of the use of English versus the Ghanaian languages. I have also examined some of the arguments in favor of the use of the mother tongue medium and English medium. Some researches in the area of second language learning which shed some light on the argument for or against second language instruction have also been looked at. In this section, I briefly summarize the empirical evidence from the survey, the results of which have been discussed in chapter six.

The language policies of most African countries, I believe, are formulated without any consultation with the local people or the "experts". Decisions are made for the people by the minority elites, based on integrative philosophies, and their own protective interests. There is very little (if any) attempt to research into the real language situation before policy decisions are made. Where there is some research available, policy makers do not seem to make use of such research in their decision-making. An example of such research is Boadi's (1971) work mother tongue education in Ghana. The fluctuating language policies of Ghana alluded to earlier is testimony to the fact that policy decisions are not based on rational and systematic procedure. This study is an attempt to evaluate the present policy in Ghana, and also a fact-finding research which can serve as input to future policies. This fact-finding and evaluation were done in the form of a survey of a representative population of the country. Apart from getting information on the pattern of language use among the three types of sample populations, a proficiency test in English was conducted for students in two randomly selected schools from

each sample population. The assumption underlying this component of the study was that the formulation of a potentially successful language policy depends on the recognition of the attitudes and desires of a reasonable proportion of the people. The actual proficiency level in English of the students is a useful index of the success of the educational policy, which follows directly from the broad national policy.

Sociolinguistic surveys have been used in several studies to obtain affective data, which is used in the determination of language education policies. Examples are: Harrison, Prator and Tucker (1975) in Jordan; Ladefoged, Glick and Crippen (1972) in Uganda; Gorman (1974) in Kenya. All these were attempts to obtain information on the attitudes of both schoolchildren and adults towards languages in education. The sociolinguistic data therefore constitutes a basis for recommendation on language policies.

The empirical data collected in Ghana suggests that English serves a purely instrumental goal. While most parents would like their wards to be educated in English for economic reasons, the performance of their wards in the proficiency test shows that the policy is not very effective. Despite their desire for English education for their children, however, most parents agree that the Ghanaian languages need some attention as well.

The debate about the language of education must take into consideration the question of what the aims of education at the various levels are. Since the majority of students do not go beyond primary education, the aim at this level must be basic education for all. This is what the present educational reforms in Ghana

aim at. If that is the aim, then by the end of primary school, students should be able to read and write at least in one Ghanaian language and should be able to get information about what is happening around them. If they end up becoming farmers, carpenters, fishmongers or gabbage men, they should be able to benefit from new and improved methods of doing things that would bring progress to them and to the nation as a whole. That is where literacy is important. It is easier for information to be disseminated to a population that is literate than one that is not. While literacy is one major aim of formal education, there are opposing views about adult literacy. Some people think adult education should take place without literacy. The argument is that adult illiterates are not motivated to become literate; that they do not typically have an immediate use for literacy skills in their milieu; and that information and skills they urgently need can be communicated to them through non-print media without any need for them to become literate first. For those with this view, development must come first, and this will create needs for literacy which can be met when they arise (Crone, 1979). There are those who see literacy as something that cannot be postponed. To them, literacy is needed in the short run, in the middle run and in the long run (Bhola, 1979). They view literacy as not merely a vehicle for development information, but a potent partner in development. When we talk about development, we must consider values about both means and ends. Development always means more production; but production must be accompanied by just distribution. The health of the people must not be compromised by the health of the state. It is the people who produce to keep the state going. The more literate they are, the better they are able to understand issues relating to their health, to their jobs.

The more they stand to gain from the ideas of others through the print media; the better chances they have of participating in the political system.

Literacy has several effects on the individual, no matter the language in which it is acquired. New literates in Tanzania were reported to feel that they have become new persons (Kasam, 1979). Development theorists and planners assert that literacy does often mean higher income for the new literate both in urban and rural settings. In the rural setting, the new literates are able to make use of such economic institutions as extension activities, rural banks and marketing co-operatives. In the urban setting, literacy contributes to safety on the job, and the use of economic institutions. Literacy also releases the individual from a sense of personal inferiority, from the relationship of dependence and subservience, and allocates a new status and potential (Bhola, 1984).

Three program options for promoting literacy in a society have been discussed in Bhola (ibid). These are:

1. the diffusion approach;
2. the selective approach, and
3. the mass approach.

The diffusion approach assumes that literacy would come through universal elementary education. This would then be diffused through the society as graduates of the elementary schools enter adulthood and join the economy, while the older generations pass away. Thus literacy would be eradicated through attrition. The proponents of this approach believe that childhood and adolescence are the best periods for learning, and that adults are normally too overwhelmed by family and

community obligations to engage in literacy training. They should be let alone to muddle through life and pass away instead of taking the scarce resources away from the children. But is that a good option for Ghana and Africa? We have already talked about the high school drop-out rate in Ghana and possibly most other African countries. As long as economic inequality prevails, it will be difficult to eradicate illiteracy, because some children drop out early in school for economic and other reasons. As long as this trend continues, there is no way illiteracy can be done away with. It must also be noted that expenditure on adult literacy may not be necessarily wasteful; rather it is likely to improve the rate of returns on formal elementary education, in that parents would be in a position to help their children at home so that learning is continued outside the classroom.

The selective approach seeks to promote literacy among those select economic regions, select occupational groups and select age cohorts which offer the highest promise of economic returns, and to work with them intensively for maximum effect. But this would amount to discrimination against the unfortunate ones who do not happen to fall within the selected occupations or age groups. Moreover, development of certain sectors cannot take place at the expense of other sectors; otherwise, it would not be a full development. As has been emphasized several times, if development is to be meaningful, it must embody all segments of the population. Like the human body, all sectors of a country's economy can be said to depend on each other. Just as any damage to the arm would affect other parts of the body, so neglect of certain sectors of a country's economy would affect other sectors and the overall economy.

The mass approach seeks to make all adult people in a nation literate within a particular time frame. Literacy is seen as a means to an end - economic, social and political. Most people of Africa have been spectators during their countries' struggle for independence, because they were politically handicapped by illiteracy. Decisions are made for them everyday by the minority elites, who also exploit them most of the time. A successful literacy campaign can provide people with the necessary confidence to participate in nation-building. For pedagogical, linguistic and demographic reasons, adult literacy campaigns would be more successful through the mother tongue or first language medium.

Summary

From the discussions so far, it is evidently clear that English alone cannot solve Ghana's problems. The Ghanaian languages have a major role to play in the development process. While English is required for certain sectors of the economy and for international relations, the Ghanaian languages are crucial for a majority of the population, whose livelihood does not depend on the knowledge of English. Therefore, there is the need to strike a compromise, whereby both English and the major Ghanaian languages are given equal attention and treatment.

7.7 Towards a National Language Policy

Before I propose a framework for language of education for Ghana, I would like to make a proposal for a national language policy. This is important because educational language policies are always the products of the broad national language

policy. For example, the choice of English as the official language has had a tremendous effect on the educational language policy. Before making such a proposal, I would like to briefly re-examine the state of the Ghanaian languages - their demographic vitality and their level of standardization.

As noted in chapter one, Ghana's forty and above languages fall within three language groups: *Kwa*, *Gur* and *Mande*. The *Kwa* group, is probably the largest by way of population, but the *Gur* group embodies the largest number of languages. For the purpose of this study, I would use the sub-grouping suggested by Bodomo (1989) for all the languages in Ghana. Bodomo suggests ten sub-groups for all the Ghanaian languages.⁵⁴ These are:

1. **The Akan Group:** This comprises dialects/languages such as Agona, Akuapem, Akyem, Asante, Brong, Kwahu and Wasa. This language group covers the present-day *Ashanti*, *Brong-Ahafo*, *Eastern*, *Central* and parts of the *Western* regions of Ghana. This group is the largest, with a total population (1960 figures) of about 2.6 million. They represent about 44% of the national population. This language group is represented in the map by (26).

2. **The Buem Group:** Includes such languages as Adele, Lelemi, Bowiri, Sekpele, Siwu, Santrokofi, Logba and Avatime. They are found in the northern part of the Volta Region of Ghana. This is a really small group, with a total population probably around 200,000. The Buem group is found under *Central Volta Region*, represented by the numbers 37-44.

⁵⁴ Bodomo's grouping is a little different from the one in the map (p. 242). The various sections in the map that correspond to Bodomo's grouping are indicated, and can easily be located.

3. **The Gã-Dangme Group:** This group is made up of Gã and Dangme, with the latter comprising Ada, Shai and Krobo. This group covers the Greater Accra Region and parts of the Eastern Region. Extrapolating from the 1960 population figures, Dakubu (1988) puts the population of Gã L1 speakers at about half a million, with the Dangmes a little more than that. This group occupies 34 and 35 in the map.

4. **The Gbe Group:** This group is dominated by Ewe within Ghana. But other languages that belong to this group, and which are found in neighboring Togo and Benin, are Fon, Aja and Mina. This group covers most of the Volta Region. Ewe, which is the largest of this group, and which is also one of the prominent languages in Ghana, has an estimated population of about 1.5 million L1 speakers (Duthie, 1988). The group is represented by (36) in the map.

5. **The Grusi Group:** Making up this group are the following languages: Kasem, Sisaala, Chakali, Tampulma, Vagla and Mo. These languages are found in the Upper-East, Upper-West and Northern regions of Ghana. Kasem and Sisaala, the most prominent of this group are estimated to have about 120,000 and 100,000 L1 speakers respectively. This grouping is the same as the one in the map.

6. **The Guan Group:** Includes such languages as Gonja, Achode, Nchumburu, Krachi, Nawuri, Nkonya, Cherepong, Awutu and Effutu. It is a small group with its languages sparsely distributed around areas in the Northern, Brong-Ahafo, Volta, Central and Eastern regions. Gonja is the larg-

est member of the group with an estimated population of about 150,000 L1 speakers. 28-33 in the map represent this group. 7. **The Gurma Group:** Another small group comprising Konkomba, Bimoba and Bassari, found at the north-eastern border with Togo (i.e, in the eastern sides of Upper-East and Northern regions). The Gurma group is shown in the map by 11-13.

8. **The Mabilia Group:**⁵⁵ includes Dagbane, Dagaare, Gurenne, Kusaal, Mampruli, Buli, Koma, Nabdam, Talni, Hanga and Kamara. This group of languages constitutes about 80% of the population of Northern Ghana and about 15% of the national population. Dagbane, Dagaare and Gurenne are the most prominent languages in this group, with L1 speakers numbering about 500,000 for Dagbane, 400,000 for Dagaare and 450,000 for Gurenne. The group comprises the western and central sub-groups shown in the map (1-10), under "Gur".

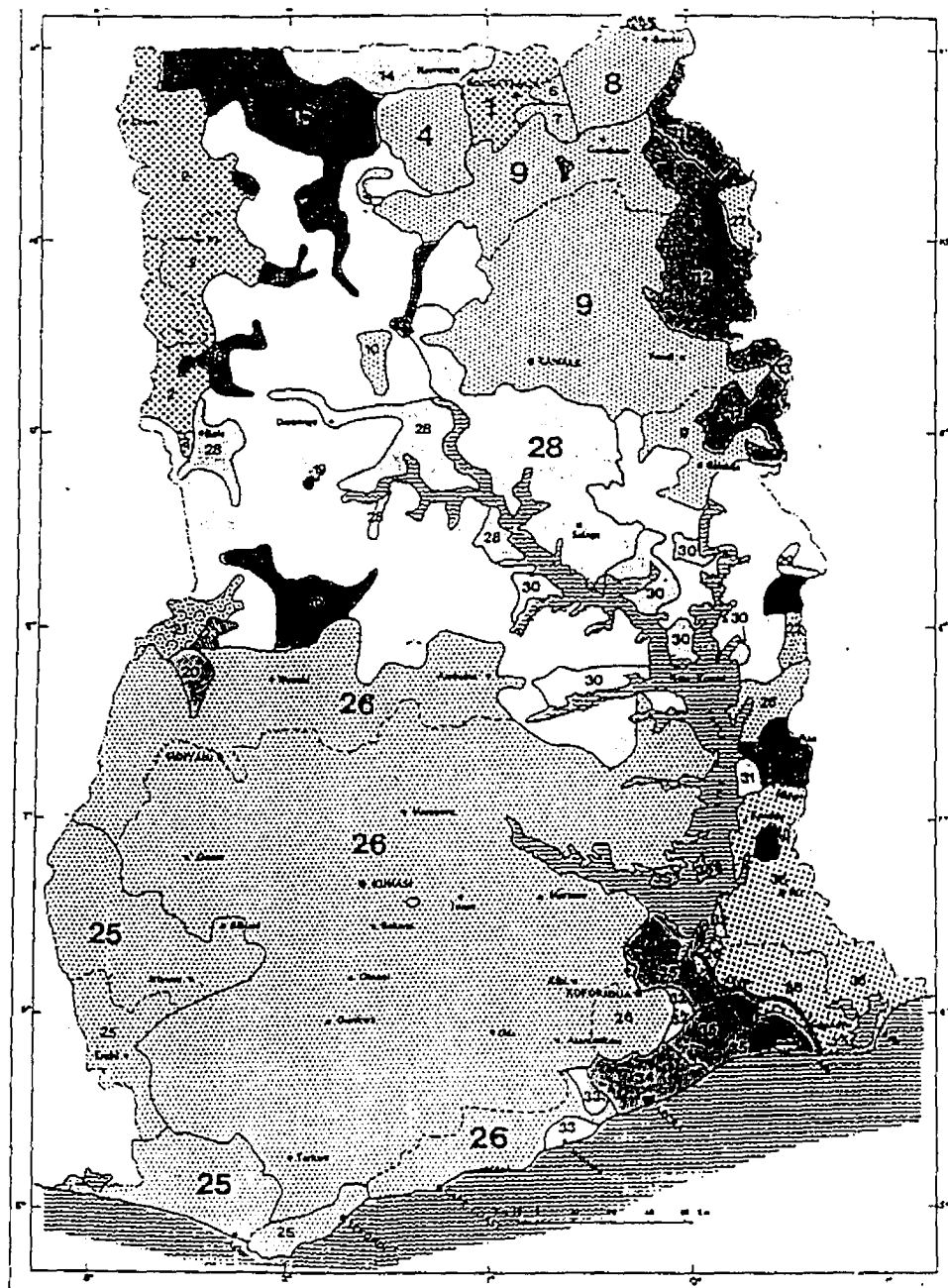
9. **The Nafaanra Group:** is probably the smallest group, comprising such languages as Nafaanra, Nkuraeng and Ntrubo-Chala. The whole group hardly number more than fifty thousand L1 speakers. They are found to the western end of Brong-Ahafo region bordering La Côte d'Ivoire. This group can be found in the map under "Other Gur."

⁵⁵ This group is also known as the *Mole-Dagbane* group. Bodomo (1989) considers this term inappropriate and uses the term *Mabilia*, which is a genetic term meaning brethren (brother or sister) in all the languages in this group.

Fig. 3: LANGUAGE MAP OF GHANA

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- 1 GUR**
- A MOORE-GURMA**
- a WESTERN**
- 1 Frafa
 - 2 Wali-Dagbare-Birfor
 - 3 Safaliba
- b CENTRAL**
- 4 Bull
 - 5 Komung
 - 6 Nabit
 - 7 Talni
 - 8 Kusaa
 - 9 Dagbani-Mumpull-Nanuni
 - 10 Hanga-Kamara
- c EASTERN**
- 11 Bimoba
 - 12 Konkomba
 - 13 Bazzari
- B GRUSI**
- a NORTHERN**
- 14 Kasem
- b SOUTHERN**
- 15 Slaasta
 - 16 Chakali
 - 17 Tampilma
 - 18 Vaga
 - 19 Mo
- C OTHER GUR**
- a KULANGO**
- 20 Nkurazeng
- b SENUFO**
- 21 Nafzansa
- c TEM**
- 22 Ntrubo-Chala
- 2 MANDE**
- 23 Ligi
 - 24 Bba
- 3 KWA**
- A VOLTA-COMOE**
- a CENTRAL (TANO)**
- 25 Schwa-Awerin-Nisoma-Ahanta
 - 26 Akan
 - 27 Chakoli
- b EASTERN (GUAN)**
- 28 Gonja (Gbanzua)
 - 29 Achode
 - 30 Yeji-Nchumburu-Krachi-Nawuri
 - 31 Nkoma
 - 32 Owerpong-Lete
 - 33 Awutu-Efutu
- B GA-DANGME**
- 34 Ga
 - 35 Dangme (Ada-Shah-Krobo)
- C EWE-FON**
- 36 Ewe
- D CENTRAL VOLTA REGION (TOGO RESTSPRACHEN)**
- 37 Adele
 - 38 Buem (Lelami; Lelena)
 - 39 Bawiri
 - 40 Sakpele (Likupe)
 - 41 Siva (Lalobi-Akpafu)
 - 42 Sanerokofi
 - 43 Logba
 - 44 Avelime-Nyungbo-Tefi



- Language boundaries
- - - Some dialect boundaries
- - - National boundaries

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10. **The Nzema Group:** includes Nzema, Sehwi, Aowin, Ahanta and Chakosi. The last of these languages is found in the northern tip of the Upper-East region, and may therefore be mutually unintelligible with the rest, which are found in the Western Region. Nzema is the most prominent, numbering about 100,000 L1 speakers. This group is represented by 25 and 27 under "Central (Tano)".

Using the percentage distribution of ethnic groups in Ghana (see Chapter I), and the estimated figures for the major languages in northern Ghana (Bodomo, 1989), I have arrived at the following rough estimates for the major languages in Ghana, based on the present estimated population of about 15 million (UNESCO Yearbook, 1992.)

Akan	6.6 m
Ewe	2.0 m
Gã/Dangme	1.2 m
Dagbani	0.5 m
Dagaare	0.4 m
Gurenne	0.4 m

It is evident from the above figures that Akan comes on top as the most widely-spoken language. From the survey, it also appeared that Akan is the most common second language for non-L1 speakers. It is, therefore, tempting to suggest that Akan be made the sole national language. But this is not possible because of the history of the various languages. Most of the other languages (e.g Ewe, Gã, Dagbane etc) represent what I would call (following Fishman, 1974) *great traditions*. Even though Akan is the most popular, it embodies less than half the national population. A choice of Akan as the only national language would deny about 60% of the population their rights, and would bring political tension. That

is the main reason why English has been enjoying the present status. But it is possible to have more than one national language, judging from the role most of the Ghanaian languages play in the lives of the people. If we assume Ferguson's (1962) criterion for a language to be a major language (i.e, it should have ten million speakers or a tenth of the population), we would have only Akan and Ewe as the major languages. That would not be good for the other regions. From the distribution of Ghana's languages, it is possible to have at least six major languages, which would serve as both national and regional languages as follows:⁵⁶

Table 40: Proposal for National/Regional Languages for Ghana

Language	Regions
Akan	Ashanti, Brong-Ahafo, Central, Eastern, Western
Ewe	Volta
Gã	Greater-Accra
Dagbani	Northern
Dagaare	Upper-West
Gurenne	Upper-East

It is being suggested from the table above that Ghana should have at least six national languages. These languages also serve as regional languages for the regions specified. Akan would be the regional language or regional lingua franca for five of the ten regions of Ghana; each of the other five regions would have one regional lingua franca. In the case of Akan, we might wonder what would happen to a language like Nzema, which is currently one of the six languages enjoying

⁵⁶ Ghana has ten political regions. The proposal for national languages cut across the political boundaries. Six languages are proposed for the ten regions.

some kind of national language status. The Nzema group occupies a large portion of the Western region of Ghana, but their population is overwhelmed by the Akan speakers. Moreover, as reported in Dolphyne (1988), Akan is used in most schools in the region (except the Nzema area), and many speakers of the languages in the Nzema group (also called the Bia group) are bilingual in their own languages and in Akan. Ethnographically, all the people who speak the languages in the Nzema group are referred to as Akan people.⁵⁷ Akan has a written tradition; it is featured in the radio and television programs; it is taught in the school system; it is examined at the GCE "O" and "A" levels; it is taught at the School of Ghana Languages and at the university

There is no problem with Ewe as a national and a regional language. In the Volta Region, it enjoys a complete monopoly as the most widely spoken language. The other languages fall within the minority Buem group, with populations ranging from about 2000 to about 24,000. There are three major lingua francas among the Buem group - Akan, Ewe and English. The most widely known of the three lingua francas is Ewe (Dakubu & Ford, 1988). Ewe has a written tradition; it is featured on radio and television; it is taught in the school system; it is examined at the GCE "O" and "A" levels; it is also taught at the School of Ghana Languages (SGL) and in the university.

⁵⁷ But for political reasons, and for the fact that Nzema has already been given some national status, it could be regarded as a second regional language for the Western Region.

Gã, the language of the capital city, also has a written tradition it is featured on the radio and television; it is taught in the schools in the region; it is examined at the GCE "O" level; it is taught at the SGL and the university.

Dagbane has the largest number of L1 speakers in the Northern Region. It is mutually intelligible with another language, Mampruli, also in the same region. These two mutually intelligible languages represent the majority of the people in that region. Dagbane features on radio and television; it is taught in schools in the region and also at SGL.

Dagaare has a written tradition (benefitted from missionary LP) it is taught in schools in the region, and also at SGL and the university. It, however, does not feature on the national radio and television.

My choice of Gurenne for the Upper-East Region is purely on demographic grounds. It has the largest number of L1 speakers. It is the language of the regional capital. It is broadcast over the local Ghana Broadcasting Corporation (GBC) FM station. Even though Gurenne suffers from lack of adequate development, it is a better choice, compared to Kasim, which is more developed (it has a literary tradition, having benefited from missionary LP) but has very few L1 speakers (about 120,000). Moreover, Kasim is quite different from the other languages in the group. It is a Grusi language in the midst of Mabilia (or Mole-Dagbane) languages (Podomo, 1989).

Applying Stewart's (1968) typology, the languages proposed here for the status of national languages can be regarded as *standard languages*. According to Stewart (1968), a *standard language* has four attributes:

1. standardization;
2. autonomy;
3. historicity;
4. vitality.

Standardization refers to a formal codification (or graphization) and the acceptance within the language community of a set of norms for "correct" usage (i.e., the emergence of a supradialectal norm, superposed on dialect variants); this usually includes the existence of a standardized writing system, dictionaries and grammar books, perhaps an academy, and schools. Autonomy refers to the belief held by the speakers that the language is an independent one.⁵⁸ Historicity refers to the fact, or the belief that the language is the result of normal development over time and not just something invented or newly established. Validity refers to the existence of a community of native speakers, people who have acquired the language at home from their parents. The presence of these four attributes defines a standard language, according to Stewart (ibid). All the six Ghanaian languages have these four attributes. But one feature that all these languages lack is *elaboration*, by which I mean the process whereby the lexical resources are expanded to cope with the needs of increasing complex social, economic, cultural and technological domains, and the specialization of styles and registers for various fields of study. With the lack of this feature, the selected Ghanaian languages fall within Kloss's (1968) category of a *young standard language*. Kloss (ibid) sug-

⁵⁸ These beliefs are not always right. Sometimes, the fact that people believe a language to be independent, and give it a name, does not necessarily mean the belief is true. Linguists have found out that some such beliefs are false. For example, the languages known in Ghana as Twi, Akuapem and Fante, have now been identified as one language (Akan). This, however, does not deny the problem of distinguishing between a dialect and a language.

gests six stages in the developmental status of a language:

1. *A mature standard language*, fully modernized, which may be used to teach all branches of science and technology at university level.
2. *A small-group standard language*, used by a community of less than 200,000 and unlikely, therefore, to reach full development.
3. *An archaic standard language*, which had its flowering in some pre-industrial time; while poetry, religion and philosophy may have been written in it, it lacks the vocabulary for modern science.
4. *A young standard language*, recently standardized, used for mass education but not for advanced education.
5. *An unstandardized alphabetized language*, recently reduced to writing but not yet standardized.
6. *A preliterate language*, never or rarely used in writing.

From the above typology, it is clear that the Ghanaian languages proposed for national language status are not *mature standard languages*, but rather young ones, having been recently standardized and not fully modernized or elaborated. It must be noted here that these languages would have developed further than they are now if they had been given the right treatment from the beginning. Probably if the missionaries had been given the free hand to pursue their own language planning, most of these languages would have reached higher levels of development. The use of these languages has been marginalized in compromise to the private agenda of the colonial government.

Languages have three attributes - *structural*, *functional* and *symbolic*. Linguists have generally examined the structural attributes of languages: the phonology, the grammar, the lexicon. All the evidence from the structural description of languages points to the fact that all natural languages are fully formed, highly delicate in their grammatical and semantic systems, and capable, given the opportunity, of handling every aspect of the experience and thought and culture of the community to which they belong. It seems, therefore, that all languages have intrinsically an equal capacity to expand their resources in order to accommodate to the developing communicative needs which they might encounter. If this is true, then all languages are equal from a structural point of view. The difference comes when not all languages are given the opportunity to expand in congruence to their communicative needs. This is where some languages fall behind others. So, from the functional point of view, all languages are not equal. But the potential to expand is always there, provided the effort is made. Clearly, Ghana (and other African countries) need both status and corpus planning of their languages: status planning to officially designate some major languages as national languages and give them equal rights with English; corpus planning to standardize those major languages that are not fully standardized, and modernize them to accommodate modern communicative needs, and to make them usable in the mass media and the educational system.

In summary, the language policy being proposed here is that involving one "official" language - English, and six national languages, which would also be regional languages. The following table shows a revised classification of Ghana's languages.

Table 41: Proposed Re-Classification of Ghana's Languages

Type	Languages
Official	English
National	Akan, Dagbane, Dagaare, Ewe, Gã, Gurenne
Regional	Akan, Dagbane, Dagaare, Ewe, Gã, Gurenne, Kasim, Nzema.
Minority	About 35 others.
Neutral	Pidgin English

For language planning to address the pertinent issues involving language use in a multilingual society effectively, I propose a *decentralization* of language planning, in which the central government would handle certain issues, and leave the rest to the lower arms of government. Decentralization means both reversing the concentration of administration at a single centre and conferring powers of local government. It involves the delegation of power to lower levels in a territorial hierarchy (Smith, 1985). In the type of decentralization proposed here, the central government would be responsible for promoting the cultivation and elaboration of all the six national languages, while the regional administrations would deal with the minority languages at the local level.

One issue that needs to be addressed at this stage is the distinction between an *official* and a *national* language. We would regard an *official* language, not only as a language whose function is specified officially in a document (e.g constitution), but rather as a language that really performs certain tasks, among which are:⁵⁹

⁵⁹ These attributes of an official language are suggested in Fasold (1984).

1. it must serve as the spoken language of government officials in their official duties at the national level;
2. it must serve as the language of written communication between and within government agencies at the national level;
3. it must be the language in which government records are kept at the national level;
4. it must be the language in which laws and regulations governing the nation as a whole are originally written;
5. it must be the language in which forms such as tax forms and various applications related to the national government, are published.

As far as the languages used in Ghana are concerned, only English qualifies as an official language. Apart from its official function, English also serves an international function. It is possible for the official function to be performed by more than one language, as we have in Canada (English and French). Official languages are usually chosen for *nationalist* reasons - reasons concerned with the day to day practical tasks of governing.

A *national* language, on the other hand, is required for nationalist motivations - the unifying and separatist functions, the link with the glorious past and authenticity (Fasold, 1984). The two functions require different sociolinguistic attributes of the languages involved, though, in some cases, the same language serves the two functions. It is common to find nations with different languages serving the different functions. Ghana is an example of such a nation; so also are most of the developing African countries. Fasold (1984) outlines some sociolinguistic attributes required of a language serving a national function. They are:

1. the language serves as a symbol of national identity for a sizeable and powerful proportion of the population;
2. the language is used for some everyday, unofficial purposes by a sizeable proportion of the population;
3. the language is spoken fluently and with ease by a sizeable proportion of the population;
4. the language must also be acceptable as a symbol of authenticity;
5. the language must be seen as a link with the glorious past.

All the languages proposed for national status in Ghana have all the attributes listed above. There are other languages in the country which have these attributes, but they may be disqualified by the term "sizeable". Fasold (ibid) did not elaborate on the term, but I would like to take it further by defining the term "sizeable", in the context of this study, to mean *at least one million speakers or about 20 per cent of the population of the geopolitical region in which the language functions*. The reason for introducing the concept of geopolitical region into this definition is that a language may not qualify, if the qualification is based on the whole national population. But this language may be very important within a large, but sparsely populated geopolitical region. On that basis, it qualifies as a national language, even though the population of native speakers would be less than a million.

Having made a proposal for a national language policy for Ghana, I now make another proposal for language of education in Ghana.

7.8 Towards a Framework for Language of Education in Ghana

In the last section, a proposal was made for a national language policy for Ghana. In this section, another proposal, which is a natural follow-up to the proposal for national language policy for Ghana is made. Language policies are best implemented through the educational system and the media. In other words, as stated earlier, language of education policy is the direct product of a national language policy.

In a multilingual society, there are several options for language of education policy. One such option is to select one of the indigenous languages as the sole national official language and consequently as the sole language of instruction in the educational system. As I have already mentioned elsewhere, this option is not possible in Ghana, because of the presence of competing "great traditions".⁶⁰ Another option is to select a neutral language as the sole language of instruction (e.g. English in Zambia). Ghana's situation does not favor this option. We have already seen how a large majority of the people are left out of the system because of their inability to use the official language. A third option is to make all the languages official and give each of them equal recognition and status in central administration. This is of course impossible for Ghana or any African multilingual country to manage. For example, it is impossible for Nigeria to promote all its 400 languages as national official languages. So it is for Ghana's 40 and over languages. Some of the languages are in such minority that promoting them as national languages is economically not viable. Yet a fourth option is to select the

⁶⁰ See Chapter 3 for a discussion of Fishman's typology of language policy options.

major indigenous languages as national official languages. This is nationally sound, but internationally not proper, since international co-operation is the order of the day. So an international language should be promoted to serve such functions. The fifth option, on which my proposal is based, is to select the major indigenous languages in addition to an international language so that both intra-national and international communicative needs can be satisfied.

In proposing a framework for the language(s) of education in multilingual Ghana, the following points should be considered.

1. The language situation (language use among the people) should be surveyed.
2. The developmental goals of the nation.
3. The attitudes of the people towards the various languages.
4. Some theoretical facts.

A framework for language of education should reflect the language situation; the functions of the various languages in the system as it prevails but not as the authorities feel it should be. This consideration should be counterbalanced, if possible, by theoretical facts. For example, most parents would like English to be used as the language of education right from the beginning of schooling purely for instrumental reasons (i.e in order for their wards to get good jobs). But this choice may conflict with theoretical facts (i.e the positive effects of initial MT instruction). A framework should reflect a compromise between these considerations. Most parents in Africa are illiterate. They are ignorant of the advantages of initial MT instruction, and the actual developmental goals of the nation. They only know that English is the language of power; it is the language that can give their

children the passport to well-paid jobs. So the attitudes of the people alone are not sufficient as a deciding factor for such a framework. A sociolinguistic survey of language use was necessary to give an index of the status of various languages in the system and the extent of use of each one. The results of the survey show that the Ghanaian languages play a major role in the day-to-day lives of the people.

The framework should also reflect the developmental goals of the nation. Most African nations have agricultural-based economies. It is expected that these countries should at least be self-sufficient in food supply. As noted earlier, self-sufficiency in such basic needs as food, health care and basic education are essential pre-requisites for any plunge into industrialization. An educational system in which as much equal opportunity as possible is given to every citizen is more desirable. All children have the right to be educated, and language should not be a barrier to that education. This should be reflected in an economic model in which all citizens have the opportunity to progress as far as their resources can take them. There are several other constraints to further education (e.g economic), and language should not be added to that.

One other thing that has to be kept in mind is the fact that education is for people, and should make the people who benefit from it wholesome - wholesome in the sense that it would enable every learner to stretch his or her potential for growth to the fullest extent. Education should offer all possible conditions for the realization of the ideal profile envisioned of an educated person. Among the attri-

butes of an educated person are:⁶¹ one, that s/he must be well informed and directed toward continuous self-improvement to maintain excellence. The rapidly developing frontiers of science and technology, coupled with the growing complexity of social structure, give rise to knowledge. This explosion of knowledge requires man to learn more and to know more about people and the world around them. This tendency brings education far beyond the bounds of the school and makes it a life-long process; secondly, an educated person must have a positive self-identity and a sense of competence - competence in dealing with the world. An educated person must also be healthy - mentally and physically. Since providing adequate health care requires an enormous amount of money (and most of the third world countries cannot afford that), the best approach is preventive medicine. The primary health care program should educate the people on how to take good care of themselves and to protect themselves from disease, by observing some very simple rules of hygiene. This form of education should begin right from the classroom and continued throughout life. The following facts about Ghana are taken into consideration.

1. The majority of the people do not speak the official language (English). So the question of how effective communication between the rulers and the masses of the people can be promoted arises. Moreover, most school children do not use the colonial language at home. It is the African languages that dominate in all domains except the classroom (for school children) and the offices (for the Civil Servants and others). English is as important for international communication as the Ghanaian languages are for intra-national communication. There is no doubt that English opens the door to

⁶¹ See Lee (1985).

new knowledge, new skills and new understanding outside the local environment. But it is not all the people that make use of that knowledge, because not all the people reach the level where they can have direct access to information in English. When we talk about computer age, how many of the world's population actually depend on computers for their survival. Even if they do, how many actually know how the computer works? When we consider all the inventions that have contributed to the civilization of today, what percentage of the world's population was actually involved in the real invention? Almost negligible. The majority are consumers of what the minority have invented.

2. There are a lot of drop-outs in the school system. Apart from economic reasons, these drop-outs could also be related to the inability to cope with the foreign language. Most of these drop-outs end up not being able to read in either the MT or the colonial language.

3. Most of the people are engaged in occupations that do not require the colonial language in order to be effective.

On the basis of the foregoing considerations, the framework in Table 43 below is proposed for language of education in multilingual Ghana (and Africa).

This is a framework in which the MT is used as a language of instruction (LI) in the first three years of schooling, while a Major African Language (MAL) and/or Colonial Language (CL) are taught as subjects. Note that MT and MAL are suggested as alternatives in the first three years. What this means is that in some cases one may find that the MT is not the same as the MAL. In that case, the MT can be used, while the MAL is studied as a subject. In cases where there is a div-

Table 42: A Framework for Language of Education in Africa.

	Years			
	1-3	4-6	7-12	Higher
Medium	MT/MAL	MAL	MAL/CL	CL
Subject	MAL/CL	CL	CL	MAL

Note: CL=Colonial Language; MAL=Major African Language;
MT=Mother Tongue.

For Ghana, CL is English, and MAL are the six
major languages proposed. They are also included in MT.

ersity of MTs in the classroom, it may be possible to find the children speaking fluently a second language which is a MAL. In such a case, the MAL can be used as a medium. This situation is reported in the population sample S, which is a rural linguistically heterogeneous community. Out of the 49 students, 22 are MT speakers of Akan. All the remaining 36 speak Akan as L2. So, Akan can be used as a medium in those schools right from year one.⁶² At the end of the third year (i.e from the fourth year), the MAL takes over as LI while the colonial language (CL) continues to be studied as a subject. Where the MT is the same as the MAL, the problem is less. From the seventh year to the twelfth, the MAL and the CL can be used side by side, each used for specific subjects. It is hoped that six years of study of the CL should prepare students well enough to have some instruction in it. By the end of the twelfth grade, the students' proficiency in the CL should be enough to secure him a good job. At the same time they have literacy in an

⁶² For Ghana, CL is English and MALs are the six major languages proposed - Akan, Dagbane, Dagaare, Ewe, Gã and Gurenne. These are also included in MT.

African language. It also ensures that school drop-outs have literacy in at least one language to be able to function better in the system. It also allows those who proceed higher to have sufficient proficiency in the CL. This framework would ensure a true bilingual education, which is necessary for each child. The transition from the MT to the CL would be gradual; the periods allocated for the study of English increase in the higher grades, since by then children would have acquired sufficient literacy in the MT or MAL, and they would need fewer periods.

Taking Ghana as an example, let me explain how this framework can operate for the full benefit of every school-going child. Ghana has about 40 languages, but six have been proposed as major languages. They are *Akan, Ewe, Gã, Dagbane, Dagaare, Gurenne*. According to the framework being proposed, these languages would take over as languages of instruction after the first three years, during which the MT should be used. In most cases, the MTs would be MALs as well, and therefore the transition would be no problem.⁶³ One conceivable problem would be the case of children who do not have these languages as their MTs. But then most children are bilingual even before they enter school. Most of the minority groups in Ghana have very small populations and most of them are located within the major language groups (i.e they are surrounded by the major language groups) So most of them end up learning the major language even before going to school. As a result, there should not be much problem with the transition. But assuming there is such a problem, we should consider which language would be easier for the child to learn, the African language or the colonial language. In such a situation, considering Spolsky's conditions for language learning, the Afri-

⁶³ It is believed that this would apply to the majority of the students, because these six languages represent about 80% of the population.

can language would be preferred because it would be easier for the child to learn than the colonial language.⁶⁴ The African language may be more related historically to the child's MT. In the case of Ghana, the major languages proposed belong to two main language groups, Kwa and Gur, which embody all the minority languages, and are, therefore, more closely related to them than to English. Moreover, the child would find native speakers of the African language to communicate with (i.e, the child would have the natural environment for learning the second African language, and, therefore, learn it quicker). Also, apart from his MT, the major African language would be the child's next most important means of communication within the regional setting.

Probably the only areas where the mother tongue or the Ghanaian language instruction would pose some problem would be the urban areas, which are generally linguistically heterogeneous. Thus you would find that in a typical urban classroom, about five or six (or even more) languages are represented. But a thorough investigation of the children's linguistic background while they are being enrolled in school would provide educational planners with the necessary information on which to make decisions regarding language of instruction. It is possible to reduce the multiplicity of languages represented in the classroom to about two, if the linguistic background information is painstakingly elicited. Some of the languages represented in the classroom may be minority languages which are not even written, and so can be eliminated. Most of the children of minority languages would be found to speak one of the major languages (at least the survey in pop-

⁶⁴ One of Spolsky's (1989) conditions for language learning is Condition 34, which states that the closer two languages are genetically and typologically, the quicker a speaker of one will learn the other.

ulation M suggests that). For example, it was found that the two most popular Ghanaian languages in the classrooms of the urban population sample were *Akan* and *Gã*. These two languages could serve as the languages of instruction in the primary school classrooms in that area. The children in that particular class could be put into two groups. This is possible since teachers are trained to teach several subjects at the primary level. Moreover, the same curricula are employed in all schools nation-wide. The implication is that instead of teachers being assigned to particular classes, they should rather teach in several classes. For example, a teacher who can teach in *Akan* would teach a number of subjects in a number of classes; so would the teacher who can teach in *Gã*. The only problem with this kind of arrangement is that it would require extra classrooms, and this may not be cost-effective. But it may be worthwhile to spend the extra money on such programs because they would be productive in the long run. The shift system, which is already being practised in some urban areas is a possible alternative for the space problem.⁶⁵ In some cases, it is possible to find all the children able to speak one of the major languages, and this makes things easier.

As far as adult literacy is concerned, the suggestion is that the mother tongue or a major Ghanaian language should be used. Rather than an end in itself, literacy should be regarded as a way of preparing people for social, civic and economic roles that go far beyond the limits of rudimentary literacy training (i.e, the teaching of reading and writing). The process of learning and writing should give the learners an opportunity for acquiring information that can immediately be used

⁶⁵ The shift system is practised where there are more than one class in each grade. One set of classes go to school from 7 a.m to 12 noon, and the other set goes from 12 noon till 5 p.m. After two weeks, the groups change shift.

to improve living standards; it should lead not only to elementary general knowledge but to training for work, increased productivity, a greater participation in civil life and a better understanding of the surrounding world. Adult education can be done by direct oral communication and through the mass media, but this involves personnel who would have to get the information in English and then interpret it in the local languages for the people. Moreover, not all the people can afford to purchase radios or televisions in order to have access to information. It may be cheaper to use the written word for disseminating information about government policies, health education, agricultural extension and environmental protection programs, etc.

Adult literacy, unlike schooling, is generally a voluntary and spare time activity. Should this affect the choice of language? In other words, should the "consumers" (the illiterates) make the choice?⁶⁶ This would seem the more democratic option, but if it has to be done, then they must be given the data on which to make a rational choice. The data should include a clear indication of facilities available, guidance on the potential usefulness of the alternatives open to them in relation to their basic needs, and an assessment of the time and effort needed to achieve each of the alternatives. The choice for a government of a multilingual country like Ghana is generally between providing or encouraging the provision of facilities for adult literacy in (a) the official language only; (b) the major indigenous languages; (c) all the indigenous languages; or (d) the official language and some indigenous languages. A local organizing agency may then provide literacy

⁶⁶ The choice here is either between two African languages (since a lot of people are bilingual in African languages) or between English and an African language.

in any one or more languages that illiterates in its area speak or need to learn, subject to any limitations laid upon it by national policy and by the various psychological and material factors that control and influence choice of languages.

Psychological Factors

Psychological and educational considerations clearly favor the use of the mother tongue. It is naturally quicker and easier to relate written symbols to known sounds and concepts than to those of an unknown foreign language. Moreover, a people who have to speak, read, write, learn and think in a language with which they are not familiar are at a disadvantage: their capacity to express themselves is handicapped; communication is slowed down and misunderstandings cause frustration and tension. These factors may be offset where the illiterate already speaks the second language.

Adults, unlike schoolchildren, must often learn at night when they are tired from the day's activities. They are likely to be pre-occupied with other problems (e.g. undernourishment and disease). Incentives are needed to bring them to study. These considerations again favor the easier and speedier course of literacy in the mother tongue, unless there is a special incentive to learn another language.

Material Factors

The psychological considerations are subject to other factors of a more material kind. One of these is whether the language has an accepted alphabet, grammar, texts, and word lists that establish the spelling of at least common words of the language in a standard form, and preferably also a dictionary. Most of the major Ghanaian languages satisfy this condition.

The availability of teachers capable of handling a particular language is another factor that may influence policy. This is often cited as an excuse for the difficulty in promoting the learning of Ghanaian languages. But this would not have been the case if planners had done their homework well and encouraged the learning and teaching of the Ghanaian languages in the first place. It is not too late to address this problem, especially when it is evidently clear that English can never replace the Ghanaian languages in the everyday life of Ghanaians.

The availability of learning and teaching materials is another factor. When other factors strongly favor a particular language, it is necessary to provide the learning and teaching materials and teachers. That is where priorities have to be set and finances distributed according to the priorities.

One other factor is the aims of literacy. As noted earlier, literacy should be functional. It should be functional for the majority of the population who live in the rural areas which are more linguistically homogeneous. In the linguistically heterogeneous rural and urban populations, the minority groups usually accommodate to the majority language. So, it is not difficult to teach them in the majority language.

7.8.1 Implications of the Framework

The implications of this framework are discussed under

- (a) pedagogical
- (b) linguistic
- (c) educational

7.8.1.1 Pedagogical Implications

The deployment of MT of all school-going children as languages of instruction would entail a massive re-organization of resources. Teachers' competence in the MTs used would have to be enhanced. Training programs for teachers would have to be re-organized. Literacy and teaching ability in at least one African language should be a requirement for all teachers, and adequate provision has to be made for training teachers in this direction. Teachers who want to teach in regions outside their own can do so, but should be required to have proficiency in the regional language, which is also a national language.

The use of the African languages in the higher classes means most of them would have to be developed to meet the demands of the subject matter they would be used to teach.

7.8.1.2 Linguistic Implications

The framework provides for at least six years' MT or MAL instruction, during which period the CL is learnt as a subject. This is a long enough period to ensure that a language is learnt. Studies (Collier, 1989; McLaughlin, 1984) have shown that it takes a minimum of 12 years for a child to develop the first language fully. Assuming this is true, the six years of instruction in MAL will not only enable children to develop their L1 fully, but it will also promote literacy in those languages. There would be adequate support from the home environment, that is, it allows the education of the child to continue uninterrupted from home to school,

permitting immediate progress in concept-building, rather than postponing development until a new language is acquired. Other studies (Collier, 1987; Cummins, 1981a; Collier & Thomas, 1988) have shown that the length of time required for L2 students to reach the level of average academic achievement by native speakers ranges between 5 to 10 years. These studies were conducted in environments which are quite different from the environment under study. That is, these studies involved immigrants, who were not only exclusively instructed in the L2, but also had the natural language environment. This is quite in contrast to the situation in Ghana and other African countries, where the learning of the L2 is restricted to the classroom. It is in very negligible cases that children speak the L2 outside the classroom. So, if children involved in these studies under the conditions stated need 5 to 10 years to reach the level of average academic achievement by native speakers, then one can imagine how long children in Ghana or Africa would take to attain a similar level of achievement. According to studies in psycholinguistics, the level of proficiency in a first or primary language may have a positive influence upon the level of proficiency acquired in the second and subsequent languages (Lewis, 1972; Cummins, 1978). The early introduction of CL as a subject ensures that the transition to its use as a medium is not too abrupt. That period should also prepare the student well enough for instruction in the CL. Comparative competence in both the CL and an African language is promoted by the framework, so that the child who drops out of school would have some tool (i.e an African language) to work with. To achieve this, English has to be less of a dominant medium.

The use of the major Ghanaian languages as languages of instruction would require a major language planning effort, especially in the corpus of the various languages. As noted earlier, what most of the languages need is elaboration (i.e., modernization to meet the new requirements). This is not an impossible task because there are many linguists who can work on these languages. As far as the teaching of science, for example, is concerned, it is possible to nativize scientific terms from English into these languages by sound substitution (i.e. phonological nativization), in which alien sounds are substituted by similar or closest sounds.⁶⁷ For example, the term *potassium* would be the same in all the languages, the only difference being in the spelling, which would reflect the sound system of each language.

7.8.1.3 Educational Implications

The social and psychological advantages of learning through a familiar language are indisputable. The obstacles that a child who is taught through the CL from the beginning of schooling would have to overcome are reduced. That is, child has to cope with both language and subject matter. The assumption in using English for schooling right from the start is that all children can learn a language and master it well enough to follow scholastic work in it even if it is a second language, and without the support systems available to a child using the language

⁶⁷ This is one of the major processes involved in lexical borrowing (cf. Hock, 1986). There are several borrowings from English and other languages into most of the Ghanaian languages already, and this would just be a continuation of that process. Moreover, I think it would be expedient for scientific and technological terms to be internationally unified to make reading in other languages easier.

in a native environment. It must also be noted that when it comes to learning, individual differences come into play. Children learn at different rates, depending on their level of intelligence, and we expect these individual differences to be reflected in their performance, even if the learning of a second language takes place in the natural environment. We can, therefore, imagine what the situation would be if the learning environment is not the natural one. On the other hand, a child taught initially in a familiar language has no language barrier to clear. He only has to deal with the subject matter initially. The child will not be rendered passive and docile in the learning process. Afolayan (1978) has remarked that African children tend to be less responsive and have less initiative than their British or American counterparts, even in the classroom when instruction is being given, not because they are less intelligent, less active, or less talented, but rather because they do not quite get to the root of what is being learnt, let alone question or see the applicability or relevance. A child who starts off with frustration or failure may never catch up. A low self-image, lack of motivation, and unsatisfactory performance are often interrelated handicaps to a child whose initial instruction is in a foreign language. In the framework proposed here, any failure of a child to progress higher up the educational ladder could hardly be blamed on language handicap. Since English would be given adequate treatment in this framework, those children who would proceed higher would have better control of it. At the same time, they would also have better control of their own languages or at least one of the major national languages for intra-national communication with the majority, who may not have the advantage of getting any higher education. All children would be literate, and all the benefits of literacy can be derived.

Chapter VIII

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The survival of minority languages invariably depends not upon some abstract process of "modernization" involving linguistic exercises, but rather upon the ability to shift the language into new domains of language activity. This involves not displacing the dominant language, such a process being inconceivable in most situations, but rather striving to establish some semblance of coexistence. This invariably involves reinstitutionalizing and relegitimizing the domain context of the minority language. Such processes invariably rely upon the support of the state and what passes as LP is a feature of such support. (Williams, 1992:133).

This study was conceived as a preliminary investigation into the role of language planning in the development of a multilingual country, and Ghana was used as a case study. The approach to the study was multi-dimensional. A variety of research procedures were employed in consonance with the fields of enquiry which were found to be relevant to the study. In a nutshell, the

study:

1. investigated the factors that determined the introduction and continued use of English in the educational system of most anglophone countries in Africa;
2. examined the theoretical bases for bilingual and multilingual education;
3. collected and analysed sociolinguistic and proficiency data from a selected sample population of Ghana;

4. presented a framework for a national language policy and for language(s) of education in Ghana, examining the pedagogical, linguistic and educational implications of the framework.

The study was divided into three sections the descriptive, the empirical and the programmatic. The study's findings indicate that the issue of a national language policy and of languages in education is a complex matter which has no simple solutions. There are conflicting forces that make for dynamism in a society, and these forces are more prevalent in multilingual settings where language education policy has to mediate between political and economic constraints on the one hand, and linguistic and educational constraints on the other. In spite of this complexity, it is possible to find a middle ground, which would satisfy the greater majority of the populations of multilingual nations. It is quite impossible to satisfy the demands of every linguistic group in a multilingual nation such as Ghana. But it is possible to devise a means whereby language problems, which have the potential of hindering progress, can be reduced to the minimum.

A number of research questions were posed at the beginning of this work (see Chapter I). I briefly re-examine those questions and suggest possible answers. The first question involves the role of education in a nation's development. As has been mentioned several times, the role of education in nation building cannot be over-emphasized. Education, in one form or the other, is the most important producer of the manpower requirements of a nation. An educational system that cannot produce the various types of manpower required for national development needs an overhaul. The development of a nation is enhanced when the majority (if

not all) of the population can participate meaningfully in the process. This participation would bring progress, not only to the individual, but to the nation as well.

The factors that shaped the present education policies in Ghana and other African countries are historical. The present language policy is a colonial legacy which has been accepted and perpetuated without any revision whatsoever. The policy was the result of a compromise between the missionaries, whose initial language planning efforts favored the indigenous languages, and the colonial administrations, whose major preoccupation was to train cheap middle-level civil servants for the administration of the colonies. The missionaries were forced to yield to this compromise for fear of losing financial support from the colonial administration. As a result, the status of English has risen over the years, while the learning and use of the indigenous languages in the school system has been greatly marginalized. The result is the emergence of a minority elite class (since a majority of the population cannot use the colonial language). Since language use in education is the direct product of the national language policy, whatever status is enjoyed by a language in the national policy naturally extends into the educational system. So there is a direct proportional relation between language policy and educational language planning.

The fourth question seeks to find out whether the present system of education in Ghana provides the necessary tools for development. The answer is that it provides very little by way of preparing students for out-of-school life. A majority of students are found to drop out before high school, at which level their proficiency level in English is not enough to enable them participate in the system by getting

access to information. The educational function of a language requires three attributes (Fasold, 1984: 75-76):

1. the language must be understood by the learners;
2. there must be teaching resources available in the language (availability of teachers and textbooks);
3. the language must be sufficiently standardized.

English does not have all these three attributes in the context of Ghanaian school system (i.e, not all students understand the English at the level it is used). While the third attribute is fully satisfied, the second is only partially satisfied - partially in the sense that there are insufficient textbooks, and the qualification of some of the teachers can be called into question. In the first place, almost all the teachers are non-native speakers of English. Moreover, a large proportion of the teachers (about 33%) are untrained. As well noted by Fasold (*ibid*), the problem that arises when there is no single language possessing all three attributes "is the source of one of the most widespread kinds of language conflict in the world"(p. 76). Very often, countries select a language of education that has the second and third attributes, even when it lacks the first (as English does in most of the developing African countries). This situation provides only two results: either the students come to understand the language of education (that is, they learn it), or almost no education takes place. The latter result is characteristic of most of the developing African countries, including Ghana. Most of the children in these countries end up with almost no education because most of them do not understand the designated language of education, and most of them drop out of school before they can master the language of education. Worse for them,

most of them cannot read and write a Ghanaian language either. Having wasted between 6-9 years in school, some of them go on to enroll as apprentices to private craftsmen and other tradesmen, most of who are illiterate. The language of instruction in those private institutions is, of course a Ghanaian language. So, in brief, the present system of education does not provide the necessary tools to the majority for maximum participation in nation building.

The relation between home and school language is important for continuous learning after school, whereby parents can help children in the studies if they can speak or write the school language. There is a mismatch between the home and school language during the greater part of a Ghanaian child's school life. Even with the initial 3-year mother tongue instruction, many children still face problems because their parents cannot read and write the mother tongue.

Arguments in favor of English education have been discussed at length and need not be repeated here. At the same time very good arguments have been suggested for mother tongue education. It is, therefore, necessary for a compromise to be struck, so that children would have equal access to education, while those with the resources and other abilities would have the opportunity to progress farther. It is impossible to have all the citizens reach the same level of education. But it is possible to allow each child to progress according to his/her ability without creating a language barrier. The emphasis on English has not yielded the expected result; it has not united the people in any way; it has probably united the minority elite, but that can even be questioned. The level of proficiency required in English for effective communication, I suggest, is the General Certificate of Education

(GCE) Ordinary Level, which is the requirement for entry into university and other tertiary institutions. The GCE "O"/Level results in English, which were shown in chapter six, shows how poorly students perform, even at this threshold level. And most students do not make it to this level. There is, therefore, the need to promote the Ghanaian languages more than they are being promoted presently. They have a big role to play in the development (be it economic, political or social) of Ghana. Apart from administration and the justice system, where English enjoys more prestige, the Ghanaian languages play greater roles in all other domains of life than English. Even in work-places, most workers would use a Ghanaian language with co-workers (except sometimes with the boss). Even some bosses are forced by circumstances to use a Ghanaian language with their subordinates because the latter cannot speak English. The only difference is that all transactions are recorded in English.

Concerning the attitudes of the population towards English and the Ghanaian languages, the former enjoys more favorable attitudes when it comes to education. This result is largely influenced by the historical development of English in Ghana. Attitudes are built over a period of time. As long as the conditions that provide impetus to that attitude prevail, the attitude may not change. The favorable attitude toward English has been built over the years, and unless the factors that promoted English as the language of power and the language of economic advancement change, the attitudes of the people will not change. In most cases, the aspirations of the people are not fulfilled. The positions they want their children to attain by learning English are never accomplished. In order to change their attitudes, we need to change the conditions that promoted the attitudes. To

do this there must be a deliberate intervention by policy makers. They must rebuild the confidence of the people in their own languages by putting in place policies that would make maximum use of those languages possible: policies that would put English and the indigenous languages on equal status (with different functions, of course).

As to the question of whether all Ghanaians need English in the various jobs they engage in, the answer is "no." About 50% or more of the people do not really rely on English for their everyday activities - the farmers, the carpenters, the builders, fishmongers, petty traders, mechanics, welders, etc. - all depend mostly on a Ghanaian language. The ability to use English would be an asset to these people, but not a requirement. In the absence of literacy in English, Ghanaian language literacy could boost their performances. Literacy may not always have a direct bearing on economic progress, but it helps in related areas, such as the access to information on health, which leads to healthy living and continued economic performance.

From the comparison of the test scores of students in the three sample populations, we found that there were significant differences in the performance of the three samples. Does that imply that different language planning policies should be made for each type of population? In other words, should language planning reflect separately the needs of urban and rural populations? I dare say no. Supposing we say that more emphasis should be laid on the use of Ghanaian languages in education in the rural areas, and more emphasis on English in the urban areas. This would be based on a wrong assumption that only the urban

child can proceed further up the educational ladder. There are many rural children who have been able to rise up the education ladder, while some urban children drop out before high school. Therefore, such a decision would violate the rights of the rural child. The point is that there are other factors that militate against the further education of many children (e.g economic), and language should not be added to those. All children should have equal opportunity of education and let other factors (not language) limit the level to which each can go. The bottom line is that no matter where the child drops out s/he should have literacy ability in at least one language. Unfortunately, the present system of education does not guarantee that. That is what the proposed framework seeks to promote.

Development requires the mobilization of populations in genuine informed participation in the political and economic activities of all nations. It also requires the equalization of access to information, and what Carrington (1993) calls "the unleashing of brain power rather than the harnessing of manpower" (p. 127). An important strategy for meeting these prerequisites is the exploitation of available linguistic resources and the avoidance of obstacles to the natural development of intellect. This calls for the consideration of language as a resource.

It must be noted that the proposals made in this study do not challenge the presence of English or other colonial languages in Africa; it is their relationship with the indigenous languages within the school system that is being put up for negotiation. The official languages, which, in many cases, are colonial languages, must be taught as precisely what they are. They must not be presented either as

mother tongues or as the obligatory media of education and social communication. The teaching of the official languages must maintain a balance between two considerations - on the one hand, the necessity to break the monopoly that the official language has had over specific domains of communication, and on the other, the maintenance in the classroom of contexts of language usage which are plausible in the society in question.

This study is a preliminary one aimed at throwing some light on the language problems of the developing African countries. There is room for further research into the language situation in the larger society for a confirmation of some of the findings of this study. There are a few suggestions and observations that I would like to make at this juncture, which, I hope, would guide future research into the language problems of multilingual Africa.

1. The first point is that language planning does not take place in a vacuum. It affects people, and, therefore, the people's attitudes and aspirations should be considered in formulating language policies. This means there must be research into the actual language use in the society. The findings of sociolinguistic research would serve as input to policy formulation. This is mostly overlooked in the planning of most African countries. Such fact-finding research should involve the right researchers (e.g sociolinguists, sociologists etc) and such professionals should be involved in the decision-making process. All four stages of LP outlined in chapter 2 - fact-finding, policy formulation, implementation and evaluation - should be given the necessary attention. Most of the time, policies are formulated without the background fact-finding. Nor are the policies well implemented or even evaluated. The actual language use input could be obtained by either con-

ducting a sociolinguistic survey at the national level, or the elicitation of such information could be included in a national census. This information will give the government a fair idea of the real language situation, which will help identify the major languages for development.

2. Secondly, I would like to reiterate Bamgbose's (1990) comments that African governments should desist from what he called the "avoidance principle," where most governments fail to make the necessary decisions for fear of political upheavals. Language planning policies that are made with input from the people will attract very little opposition.

3. Thirdly, policies should be evaluated frequently to see how successful they are, with a view to making revisions. But changing policies anytime a new government comes in does not serve any purpose. Ghana was cited as having changed policies several times over a few years, without much research or evaluation.

4. Governments should initiate research and encourage the linguists and sociolinguists to do research by giving them grants. The major limiting factor in research for many linguists is financial.

5. A Language Academy is necessary to work on the major languages of Ghana, with a view to elaborating and modernizing those which are fully standardized, and standardizing those that are not fully standardized. The Bureau of Ghana Languages is responsible for the publication of material in the Ghanaian languages. The Bureau could be changed into a language academy, with membership reviewed to include more linguists and other professionals whose work would be relevant.

6. The Adult Literacy Campaign is being stepped up, but there is very little sign of effort to provide the new literates with enough reading materials to prevent them from relapsing into illiteracy. The aim of the campaign is to make the majority of the people literate at least in their own Ghanaian languages for easy dissemination of information which would eventually lead to the welfare and well-being of the majority of the population. At the moment there is no well established Ghanaian language newspaper in the country. Without such newspapers and magazines, the new literates will remain information-starved. There is, therefore, the need for government to establish, through the Bureau of Ghana Languages or the media houses, newspapers and magazines (they could be monthly to start with) in the major Ghanaian languages (i.e, the six national languages). Booklets or pamphlets on preventive health care, family planning, environmental protection etc. should be commissioned to provide the new literates with enough to read and keep abreast of the rest of the country and the world.

7. One way of reducing the level of illiteracy is by preventive measures in the school system. By this I mean trying to make all children literate in at least one Ghanaian language before they drop out of school. The majority of children get to grade six at least before they drop out. If greater emphasis is laid on the use of Ghanaian languages in the first six years of schooling, most children would be literate in them by grade six. This brings to mind the question of examinations. It seems the aim of education in Ghana at present is to pass examinations, but most children end up not being educated. The examinations are conducted exclusively in English, since all subjects are taught in it. In the end, because most of the children cannot express themselves well in English, they fail. Those who are

able to pass are really saved by the multiple-choice system, where the child can guess and pass.⁶⁸ With the proposal being made in this study, where children would have six years of Ghanaian language instruction, it is expected that examinations would be conducted in the Ghanaian languages (except for examinations testing proficiency in English) in the first six years of schooling. Thereafter, when English takes over as language of instruction, some of the examinations should be conducted in English. A few subjects like Cultural Studies or Social Studies could still be examined in the Ghanaian languages. This transition would prepare the children for higher education. Examinations in the first three years of schooling need not be written. They should be oral in nature, where children are given problems to solve orally. The children would have the opportunity of expressing themselves better in the oral examinations, depending on how well these examinations are organized. In other words, examinations should be conducted in the language of instruction.

8. The training of teachers should be re-examined; all students entering the teacher training college should be made to study at least one of the major Ghanaian languages. If people want to teach in a region other than their own, they should learn the language of the region. In the primary schools, teachers should be as competent as possible in the regional language which is to be used for instruction. Efforts should be made to reduce the number of untrained teachers in the system.⁶⁹ This could be done by having an intensive one-year training pro-

⁶⁸ The sample compositions in Appendix D indicate how poor the expressive ability of the children is.

⁶⁹ Out of an estimated 93,531 teachers in the school system (Primary and JSS), in the 1990/91 academic year, about 28,726 are untrained, representing about 30.7%.

gram for the would-be teachers. Most of these untrained teachers are high school graduates. It is expected that they already have some knowledge of the subjects they are going to teach.⁷⁰ In that case, the only tool they need is teaching methodology and child psychology. This, I believe, can be acquired in a 12-month intensive training program, instead of three years as now. In that way, more trained teachers can be turned out within a short period (three times the number now being turned out annually).

9. The approach to the teaching of English may need to be examined. As noted earlier, English is, and would remain the official language of Ghana for political and international reasons. If we want highly qualified professionals who can compete with others all over the world, we need to raise our standard of education, which implies that we have to raise the standard of English, which is the language of education at the higher levels. There is a great concern about the falling standards in English and, therefore, in education in Ghana. According to the West African Examinations Council (WAEC) report, there is an appeal to parent-teacher associations (PTAs) and alumni groups to provide facilities in schools to enable students improve their academic performance. The call was made at the end of the International Final Awards and Examiners' Appointment Committee held in Lagos, Nigeria.⁷¹ The committee noted that:

the lack of equipment, teachers and books are adversely affecting teaching and learning in schools and, consequently, examination performance in the sub-region. (*West Africa*, Number 3947).

⁷⁰ This would be true if the academic qualifications of candidates are considered when they are being admitted to teacher training colleges.

⁷¹ Source: *West Africa*, a weekly magazine, Number 3947.

According to the report, the general performance of candidates in many subjects was below expectation. The committee also noted that *candidates generally have a poor command of English* (italics mine). With this gloomy picture, which needs to be addressed with greater efforts, it is ironical and ridiculous to learn that The Ghana Education Service (GES) is planning to make French compulsory in the Senior Secondary Schools (SSS).⁷² There is no doubt that this would worsen the already chaotic situation. After all, how many people need French in Ghana to survive?

A closely-related issue to the issue of effective teaching is the teacher-pupil ratio. The present ratio is 1:27 (according to the statistical information from the Ghana Education service). While this ration is still high, we find in some schools class sizes between 30 and 45. Two JSS classes I worked with had over 40 students each. These large class sizes do not allow teachers to interact effectively and sufficiently with the students. A possible solution to this problem is to train more teachers. But this would only solve the pedagogical aspect of the problem. The material aspect would also have to be addressed(i.e, the problem of classrooms). When more teachers are trained, the large classes need to be broken into smaller ones, and that requires more classrooms. Two alternatives are to either build new classrooms, or run shifts, as is already happening in some schools in the urban areas.

10. If the Ghanaian languages are to be given the needed attention and status I am trying to propose, then literacy in them must be made a requirement for employment in certain sectors of the economy. This is especially important in sectors that deal with the masses, for example nurses, journalists, public relations

⁷² This was reported in *West Africa*, Number 3944.

practitioners, doctors, broadcasters, revenue collectors, magistrates etc. As noted earlier, the present negative attitudes towards the Ghanaian languages has been built over the years as a result of the language policies of the colonial era. We have to rebuild their confidence in the Ghanaian languages through deliberate language policies to let them know how important the Ghanaian languages are.

11. The global rate of population growth and resource consumption is alarming, and there is the call for solutions to the problem. At a recent International Summer Institute on Population Pressure, Resource Consumption, Religion and Ethics, the participants agreed that lack of education (especially for women in the developing countries) is one of the major factors contributing to the high population growth in the third world. The rate at which the world is abusing the ecosphere is also alarming. The talk today is about sustainable development - development without harm to the environment. There are a lot of people out there who do not know what is happening to the ecosphere. They need to be educated to take care of nature so that it can continue to support us and other generations to follow; they need to know that the population growth is taking a heavy toll on the environment and needs to be reduced if we are to survive. This type of education should begin with the children so that they can grow up with positive thoughts about life and the environment. The best language in which to teach them is one they can more easily interact in. The content of education should include issues relating to the environment and population growth.

All the observations made above can, if adequately addressed, bring a great deal of improvement in education in Ghana and, as a result, economic, political and social progress. But the question that is always raised when it comes to edu-

cation is money - and most African countries are not in good financial positions to undertake some of the expansions in education. But that is what economics is all about - the management of scarce resources. That is where priorities have to be made, depending on the available resources. Other things have to be sacrificed for the most important (opportunity cost). The most important things a developing nation needs are food, education, health and shelter - basic things. There is no need for a country to use its scarce foreign exchange to import canned food, when that money could be channelled into producing more food locally. Most of these canned foods lie on the shelves of the shops for years and rust because very few people buy them. There is no need to spend large sums of money in acquiring arms, when people are hungry. The field engineer regiment of the army could be utilized to serve the communities better, by constructing steel bridges to link remote but highly productive food growing areas with the urban areas. Food in some of these areas rot because they cannot be transported for sale because of inaccessibility of the urban centres. No country has more resources than they need. The important thing is to derive the maximum benefit from the scarce resources. To address these issues requires a strong political will and commitment to serve the interests of the people.

Language Planning is equally an economic activity. It involves the management of languages in order to derive the maximum benefit from them. In doing so, there are limits, and that is why choices have to be made. These choices are to either (i) promote the use of English and marginalize the development of the indigenous languages to the exclusion of the majority of the population in nation-building, as it is now; or (ii) give equal status to English and the major indige-

nous languages in order to promote both intra-national and international communication. These choices must be made by the people and for the people. In other words, the choices must be made based on some input from the people - the people's attitudes and aspirations must be considered. In making decisions about languages, language should be regarded as a resource from which as much benefit as possible have to be derived. Within the "language as resource" orientation, the usual assumption is that linguistic diversity does not cause separation nor less integration in society. Rather, it is possible that national unity and diversity can co-exist. As noted by Baker (1993),

Tolerance and co-operation between groups may be as possible with linguistic diversity as they would be unlikely when such linguistic diversity is repressed (page 253).

All the languages in a multilingual setting may not be equally resourceful, but that does not mean that the less resourceful ones should be done away with. Policy should make it possible for those less resourceful languages to play appropriate roles at the appropriate levels, hence the advocacy for a decentralized language planning.

The framework proposed for language of education in Ghana makes sure that the Ghanaian languages as well as English are given adequate attention. Language develops with use. The use of the Ghanaian languages in the nation's life and in education has the potential of making the languages function as vehicles of science and technology at the lower levels. The use of the Ghanaian languages will also increase the rate of literacy. Besides, it would make parents contribute more meaningfully to the education of their children, especially in terms of inter-

action at home and feedback between home and school.⁷³ The use of the Ghanaian languages, especially in the early years of education, can make learning easier, more enjoyable and less cumbersome and thereby result in better performance and greater participation. The continued use of English for all examinations fails to measure what children actually know because they have a language handicap and cannot express their thoughts as accurately as they would do in their own language or another Ghanaian language which they speak very well. Obeamata (1980, cited in Adegija, 1989), in a study of the Nigerian children's language deficiency in intelligence, notes that linguistic problems seriously prevent an accurate assessment of intelligence. Chumbow (1984, cited in Adegija, 1989) notes that a child whose potential endowment is not activated and developed early may never be able to perform close to his potential later in life. Therefore, the best way of maximally developing children's intellectual potential for their good and that of the nation, is for them to be taught continuously in the mother tongue or first language as far up the ladder of education as possible, or at least in the early years of schooling, the period crucial for the development of the intellectual potential. At the same time, English must continue to be given due attention so that by the time of transition to English-instruction, children would have no problem understanding what the teachers teach and participating in the lessons and consequently acquiring knowledge.

⁷³ It will be especially helpful if the parents are literate in the Ghanaian language used in school. They can help children in their home work and other projects that will promote the cognitive development of the children.

Phillipson (1992) argues that adopting English as the language of education and modernization in the developing countries is not in the best interest of those countries. Scarce resources, he notes, are devoted to ensuring that a small proportion of the population becomes fluent in English and has access to further education, where use of the vernacular would permit a much more extensive literacy program and a broader based educational advance. He also notes that the "experts", who often have very little knowledge of the local linguistic situation, take it for granted that English is needed, and do not explore other possible solutions to the problems of educational development, which might draw for instance on existing patterns of multilingualism. He notes that teaching methods are imported wholesale and are often unsuited to the needs of the host country.

One striking example of a multilingual policy outside Africa is a recent one enacted by the Government of the Northwest Territories of Canada (GNWT). A recent publication entitled *Eight Official Languages: Meeting the Challenge*, describes a bold initiative taken by GNWT, recognizing eight official languages for the territory. The languages include English and French (the two official languages of Canada) and six Aboriginal languages. In a preface to the publication, it is noted that the *Official Languages Act* was enacted to provide a framework for choice. Those people who cannot communicate in English, or who prefer to communicate in a language other than English, now have certain guarantees from their government that they can communicate in their own language. According to the document, the Act is also about respect for minorities, about breaking down systematic barriers that have existed for years, and about fairness. It is about equal opportunity for minorities to participate in the affairs of government. This is a challenge to other multilingual societies.

This study, even though it focuses on Ghana, is of some relevance to other developing African countries, which are multilingual, underdeveloped, and have foreign languages as official languages. All these countries need to re-evaluate their language planning programs and give the indigenous languages greater treatment than they have now. I believe the picture in most of these countries is not too different from that of Ghana. The rate of illiteracy in some of these countries is much higher than Ghana's.⁷⁴ There is, therefore, a need for their governments to do more serious language planning, with the people and the economic goals in mind. Africa needs to liberate itself from poverty and nobody can help better than the Africans themselves. I strongly believe that poor language planning has a role in Africa's underdevelopment.

I would like to conclude by borrowing García's (1992b, discussed in Baker, 1993:39-42) metaphor of the "language garden". Her language garden metaphor begins with the idea that if we travelled through all countries of the world and found field after field, garden after garden of the same one-color flower, how dull and boring our world would be. If a single color flower was found throughout the world without variety of shape, size or color, how tedious and impoverished the world would be. But fortunately for us nature has endowed the earth with flowers of different shapes, sizes and colors, which enhance the beauty of the earth and enrich our visual and aesthetic experience. The same natural environment is extended to the language garden of the world. If there were just one language in the garden, it would be easy to administer, easy to tend. But if we had only one

⁷⁴ For example, according to the UNESCO Statistical Year Book 1992, the rate of illiteracy in Ghana was 39.7%, compared with 51.6% for Egypt, 72.8% for Gambia, 49% for Nigeria, 61.7% for Senegal, 43% for South Africa, and 51.7% for Uganda.

language (for instance, English) in this garden. how dull and uninteresting our world would be. Language diversity in the garden of the world makes for a richer, more interesting and more colorful world. In a garden, some flowers and shrubs spread more quickly than others. When the garden is unkempt, one species of flower may take over and the small minority species may be in danger of extinction. Therefore, some flowers need extra protection. So also do some languages fall within the "endangered species" unless some protection is given them through deliberate language planning. This does not deny the fact that dealing with many languages is a difficult task for policy makers. But when we consider the need for maximum (or near maximum) mobilization of the human resources, it is worth the trouble. Even though language diversity makes the garden more difficult to tend, it makes for a richer and more open nation, in which everyone is given the opportunity to develop as far as their ability can carry them.

I would like to take this metaphor of the "garden" a little further, but instead of flowers I use crops. The African language situation can be likened to a commercial gardener who has the choice of several crops to grow in his garden. He decides to concentrate on crop A because of its market value, hoping to get a lot of money at the end of the harvest season. He puts all his resources into growing crop A. Meanwhile, he grows a few crops of B and C just for home consumption. Unfortunately the climatic conditions required by crop A to do well are not met. The result is a crop failure and a poor harvest. Meanwhile, the little of crops B and C which he grows for home consumption flourish so well that he would have made more money if he had grown more of them. It is too late, and he must pay back the loan he took from the bank.

Further still, we can compare the language situation in Africa to the human body, with the organs of the body representing the various languages. All the organs of the body - the heart, liver, kidney, lungs, etc. - have different but important functions to perform for the well-being of the body. If we concentrate on strengthening one of the organs and neglect the others, there will eventually be a breakdown of those other organs, leading to disease and possible death. African governments have spent all their resources on promoting the European languages, forgetting the important roles the local languages play in the socio-economic life of the majority of their populations. The result is widespread illiteracy and ignorance, leading to poverty and disease. Like the organs of the body, all the languages in a multilingual country have some functions which must be promoted. The decentralized language planning being advocated in this study would ensure that all the languages are given the opportunity to develop and function within the social, economic and political limits in which they are capable of functioning.

Let me end with the following quote from Fox (1974:13):

It has become clear that it may not be possible to study, to understand, and to further national development entirely through world languages. Thus it becomes vitally important for those who wish to assure people better educational achievement and increased social and political participation in the national development of their countries, to understand the roles of languages spoken by those whom they wish to assist.

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APPENDIX A
ADULTS' QUESTIONNAIRE

The filling out of this questionnaire is completely voluntary. Should you for any reason not wish to fill out any part of it, please feel free to do so. You are under no obligation whatsoever. Details of personal information will be kept strictly confidential. Any questions which are not applicable should be left unanswered.

I. Please put a cross (x) in the space before the most appropriate answer to each question. For example:

What is the main language used in the home?

English () French ()
Other (please specify: -----)

1. Name (optional) : -----

Age: -----

2. Where were you born? -----

3. Where do you live? -----

4. What is your educational background?

None () Primary () Secondary ()
Post-Sec () University () Other (specify): -----

5. What is your occupation? -----

6. What is your first language?

English () Akan () Ewe () Ga () Nzema ()
Dagbani () Other (specify): -----

7. Which of the following can you do in your first language?

Speak () Read () Write ()

8. Which other language(s) do you speak?

English () Akan () Ewe () Ga () Nzema ()
Dagbani () Other (specify): -----

9. Which other languages can you read?

English () Akan () Ewe () Ga () Nzema ()
Dagbani () Other ()

10. Which of the following languages can you write?

English () Akan () Ewe () Ga () Nzema ()
Dagbani () Other (specify): -----

11. How do you rate your ability in the languages you know?

English: excellent () good () average () poor ()
Akan : excellent () good () average () poor ()
Ewe : excellent () good () average () poor ()
Ga : excellent () good () average () poor ()
Nzema : excellent () good () average () poor ()
Dagbani: excellent () good () average () poor ()
Other (specify):-----
 excellent () good () average () poor ()

12. Do you use English?

Yes () No ()

13. If you do, where do you mostly use it?

At home () At work () For business ()
Other (specify): -----

14. Do you have children? (If "No", go straight to question 22).

Yes () No ()

15. Do you speak to your children in English?

Never () Sometimes () Often () Always ()

16. Do your children speak to you in English?

Never () Sometimes () Often () Always ()

17. Which languages do you want your children to learn?

English only ()

Your home language only ()

Your home language and English ()

Your home language, English and another Ghanaian language ()

18. If your child cannot be taught in your home language, which language would you prefer that he or she be taught in?

English () Another Ghanaian language ()

19. Which Ghanaian language would you like your child to learn apart from your home language?

Akan () Ewe () Ga/Dangme () Nzema () Dagbani ()

Other (specify): -----

20. How important is English for your child?

Very important () Important () Not important ()

21. Which language(s) do you find more important in the job that you do?

English () Akan () Ewe () Ga () Nzema ()

Dagbani () Other (specify): -----

22. Of the following reasons for learning English, which are the most important and least important to you? Write (1) for the most important, (2) for the next most important and (3) for the next etc.

- a. English is required for the GCE Examinations ()
- b. English opens the way to better-paid jobs ()
- c. English is needed to read and study books, newspapers, magazines ()
- d. English is required for higher education ()
- e. English is a pleasure to learn ()
- f. English is a necessity to be used with other Ghanaians ()

23. How do you feel about the use of English as the language of instruction in the primary school?

- a. English should be used as a language of instruction from class one ()
- b. English should be used for instruction after Class 3 ()
- c. English should be used for instruction only after Class ()
- d. English and a Ghanaian language should be used for instruction from Class 1 ()

24. Do you think every Ghanaian should be able to read and write at least one Ghanaian language?

Yes () No ()

25. Say whether you agree or disagree with the following statements. Write "A" beside those you agree with and "D" beside those you disagree with.

- a. Ghanaian languages should be scrapped from the curriculum of Ghanaian schools ()
- b. English and the Ghanaian languages should be given equal emphasis in the school system ()
- c. English should continue to dominate the Ghanaian languages in the school system ()
- d. Ghanaian languages need more attention than they have now, but should not be put on par with English ()
- e. The use of English for instruction in primary schools helps children learn other languages with ease ()
- f. The use of English for instruction in the primary schools helps children learn English quickly ()
- g. The use of English for instruction in the primary school slows down the learning of other subjects ()

26. Please indicate approximately how many hours each day you use the languages you know.

English: -----
 Akan : -----
 Ewe : -----
 Ga : -----
 Nzema : -----
 Hausa : -----
 Dagbani: -----
 Other (specify): -----

27. Which languages do you use at work with the following category of people?

- a. Your supervisors (or bosses)? -----
- b. Your subordinates? -----
- c. Your colleagues? -----

28. If you have the opportunity to learn another Ghanaian language, which one would you learn?

Akan () Ewe () Ga () Dagbani () Nzema ()
 Other (specify): -----

29. Do you think educated people should be able to use a Ghanaian language?

Yes () No ()

30. Do you think learning to read and write a Ghanaian language should be made compulsory in the educational system?

Yes () No ()

31. Could you suggest reasons for your answer to the last question.

32. Do you think promoting literacy in the Ghanaian languages is of any relevance to Ghana's economic development?

Yes () No ()

33. Please, give reasons for your answer.

Section B: (Teachers Only)

34. What class do you teach? -----

35. Which of these professional qualifications do you have?

Cert "A" 4yr () Cert."A" Post-Sec () Teaching Diploma ()
None () Other (specify): -----

36. Which language(s) do you use:

a. In the classroom?

English () Akan () Ewe () Ga () Dagbani ()
Nzema () Other (specify): -----

b. With your boss at school?

English () Akan () Ewe () Ga () Dagbani ()
Nzema () Other (specify): -----

c. With your colleagues at school?

English () Akan () Ewe () Ga () Dagbani ()
Nzema () Other (specify): -----

37. Which Ghanaian languages can you use and be able to teach?

Akan () Ewe () Ga () Dagbani () Nzema ()
Other (specify): -----

38. Do you always teach all subjects in English?

Always () Often () Not always () Seldom () Never ()

39. Do you think all subjects should be taught in English at the level you teach?

Yes () No ()

40. If "No", list some of the subjects you think should be taught in other languages.

- a. -----
- b. -----
- c. -----
- d. -----
- e. -----
- f. -----
- g. -----

41. Do you think all students should be able to read and write at least one Ghanaian language?

Yes () No ()

42. Do you think all teachers should be able to use at least one Ghanaian language and be able to teach it?

Yes () No ()

APPENDIX B
STUDENTS' QUESTIONNAIRE

The filling out of this questionnaire is completely voluntary. Should you for any reason not wish to fill out any part of it, please feel free to do so. You are under no obligation whatsoever. All personal information given in this exercise will be kept strictly confidential. Any questions which are not applicable should be left unanswered.

Please put a cross (x) in the space before the most appropriate answer to each question. For example:

What is the main language used in the home?

English (x) French ()
Other (please specify): -----

1. What is your name? -----

2. How old are you? -----

3. Where were you born? -----

4. Where do you live? -----

5. What is your first language?

English () Akan () Ewe () Ga () Nzema ()
 Dagbani () Other (specify): -----

6. Which of the following can you do in your first language?

Speak () Read () Write ()

7. Which other language(s) do you speak?

English () Akan () Ewe () Ga () Nzema ()
 Dagbani () Other (specify): -----

8. Which languages can you read?

English () Akan () Ewe () Ga () Nzema ()
 Dagbani () Other (specify): -----

9. Which of the following languages can you write?

English () Akan () Ewe () Ga () Nzema ()
 Dagbani () Other (specify): -----

10. How would you describe your ability in the languages you know? Choose the correct answer in each case.

English : excellent () good () average () poor ()
 Akan : excellent () good () average () poor ()
 Ewe : excellent () good () average () poor ()
 Ga : excellent () good () average () poor ()
 Nzema : excellent () good () average () poor ()
 Dagbani : excellent () good () average () poor ()
 Other (specify): -----
 : excellent () good () average () poor ()

11. In which of the following places do you use English?

Only in the classroom ()
 Classroom and Home ()
 Other (specify): -----

12. Which language do you use most in a day?

English () Akan () Ewe () Ga () Nzema ()
 Dagbani () Other (specify): -----

13. Which language or languages does your teacher use in the classroom?

English () Akan () Ewe () Ga () Nzema ()
 Dagbani () Other (specify): -----

14. Does your teacher use a Ghanaian language in teaching any subject?

Yes () No ()

15. If "yes", name the subjects.

a. -----
 b. -----
 c. -----
 d. -----

16. Do you study any Ghanaian language in school?

Yes () No ()

17. Do you understand all the subjects taught in English?

Yes () No ()

18. Do you think some subjects should be taught in Ghanaian languages?

Yes () No ()

19. If "yes", which subjects would like your teacher to teach in a Ghanaian language?

a. -----
 b. -----
 c. -----
 d. -----
 e. -----

20. Which Ghanaian language would you like your teacher to teach in?

Akan () Ewe () Ga () Nzema () Dagbani ()
Other (specify): -----

21. Would you like all school subjects to be taught in a Ghanaian language?

Yes () No ()

22. Which of your parents speak(s) English?

Both of them () Father () Mother () None of them ()

23. Do you speak English with any of your parents at home?

Never () Sometimes () Often () Always ()

24. How important do you think English is to you?

Very important () Not very important ()

25. Do you think every student should learn to read and write at least one Ghanaian language in addition to English?

Yes () No ()

26. Do you think you can read a newspaper in English?

Yes () No ()

27. Do you read any of the Ghanaian newspapers?

Yes () No ()

28. Can you read a newspaper in any of the Ghanaian language?

Yes () No ()

29. If you are not able to continue your education, do you think you are well prepared for a good job?

Yes () No ()

APPENDIX C
STUDENTS' PROFICIENCY TEST

Section A

Read the following passage and answer the questions that follow it

The Akosombo Dam and the great Volta Lake are famous all over the world. The two main reasons for building the dam were, to generate electricity and to use the electricity for the production of aluminium from bauxite.

Aluminium is used throughout the world; so both the production of electricity and the production of aluminium are of great value to Ghana.

It may seem strange to talk about producing electricity by building a dam, but in fact a lot of dams have been built all over the world for this purpose. What happens is that a concrete wall, called a dam, is constructed across a river at a narrow point. A large lake then develops behind the wall. Tunnels are made in the dam so that the water from the lake can rush fiercely through them. This powerful flow of water is used to drive huge machines called turbines, to generate electricity. All the engineers need is the water rushing down from the lake and this costs them nothing. But of course the building of the dam and the fixing of the machines cost a great deal of money.

Big dams have been built in many parts of the world - the Akosombo Dam is one of the biggest. However, the lake which has formed is, in fact, the biggest man-made lake in the world.

1. The main reasons why Akosombo Dam was built were:

- a. to produce electricity and use it to manufacture aluminium;
- b. to produce electricity from aluminium and bauxite;
- c. to find the mineral called bauxite and use it;
- d. to use aluminium and electricity;
- e. to make aluminium, bauxite and electricity.

2. Aluminium is produced from:

- a. dams b. electricity c. bauxite d. machines e. tunnels

3. From the passage, dams are built all over the world to:

- a. produce aluminium from bauxite;
- b. provide water for the generation;
- c. extract bauxite from lakes;
- d. provide water for drinking;
- e. make electricity cheap.

4. Which of the following statements is not true, according to the passage?

- a. The Akosombo Dam is the biggest in the world;
- b. The production of both electricity and aluminium is of great value to Ghana.
- c. Water from the lake runs fiercely through tunnels;
- d. The Akosombo Dam is valuable to Ghana;
- e. A great collection of water running through tunnels can produce electricity anywhere in the world.

5. According to the passage, which of the following statements is true?

- a. In building dams rivers are blocked at their broadest points;
- b. Water used to produce electricity costs a great deal of money;
- c. Building the dam and fixing machines to produce electricity costs nothing at all;
- d. In producing electricity from water, engineers need a lot of petrol to drive the machines;
- e. Turbines are used in the production of electricity.

6. The most suitable title for the passage is:

- a. Akosombo and Bauxite;
- b. Electricity form Water;
- c. Dams of the World;
- d. Electricity and Power;
- e. Aluminium from Electricity

Section B

Choose from the alternatives lettered A to D the one which is nearest in meaning to the underlined word or expression in each sentence.

7. Your dress material is **inferior** to what I bought from the shop.

- a. of poor quality;
- b. very beautiful;
- c. brightly coloured;
- d. expensive.

8. That girl is a **spendthrift**; she used all her pocket money to buy a pair of shoes.

This means she is:

- a. careless; b. bold; c. extravagant; d. kind.

9. The pupils in the town often help in **communal** activities.

- a. all activities;
- b. interesting activities;
- c. public activities;
- d. usual activities.

10. The **aroma** of Kate's food made everyone hungry. This means the food:

- a. smells good;
- b. is tasty;
- c. is spicy;
- d. is valuable.

Section C - Lexis

In the following passage, there are numbered gaps which indicate missing words. Against each number, in the lists below, there are four choices lettered A to D. In each case, choose the word that most suitably fills the gap.

Most farmers in West Africa grow crops for two reasons: money and food. Those which are grown for money are called - 11 - ; those are often groundnuts or - 12 -. Sometimes the government - 13 - farmers who grow certain crops by lending them - 14 - to buy seeds or plants, or by giving - 15 - to enrich the soil. Crops grown for food are many and varied. Where the land is very wet, sometimes even flooded, - 16 - is grown; tomatoes and green and red - 17 - are grown everywhere.

A good farmer improves his land by removing large - 18 -, ploughing the soil and - 19 - around the growing plants to keep the crops free from - 20 -. He will not grow the same crops on the piece of land every year, but will practice crop - 21 - so that the soil does not become exhausted.

A	B	C	D
11. pound plants	cash crops	money crops	exports
12. chocolate	palm trees	cocoa	oil
13. advances	assists	recruits	obliges
14. advice	a profit	a hand	money
15. water	insecticides	fertilizer	sand
16. rice	yams	citrus	wheat
17. peppers	cabbages	coconuts	grasses
18. plants	seeds	grains	stones
19. pruning	shearing	hoeing	sowing
20. flowers	weeds	insects	straw
21. spinning	revolution	rotation	circling

Section D

In each of the sentences below, there is a blank space. After each sentence, there is a list of words or groups of words lettered A to D.

Choose the one which best completes the sentence.

22. I started this exercise -----

- a. since five minutes;
- b. during five minutes;
- c. for five minutes;
- d. five minutes ago.

23. Tema is eighteen miles ----- Accra.

- a. to b. from c. with d. by

24. She was sitting reading a book when suddenly shea loud noise.

- a. had heard b. has heard c. heard d. was hearing.

25. Joe walk to work, but now he has a car.

- a. had used to; b. use to c. will be used to d. used to

26. Two of these books mine.

- a. are being; b. is c. are d. be

27. Although he was late,

- a. because he did hurry;
- b. so he hurried;
- c. he did not hurry;
- d. but he did not hurry.

28. Herds of are driven from the north to the west and east.

- a. cattle; b. cattles; c. much cattle; d. a cattle.

29. It is difficult to see candlelight.

- a. through; b. to c. by d. off

30. The market woman hadn't yams left.

- a. none b. anything c. any d. no

Section E: Composition

Write a short composition about what you would like to do after completing JSS 3. Your composition should not be more than one page of the paper provided.

Reading Passage

Last Wednesday July 1 marked the 32nd anniversary of the Republic of Ghana. The anniversary coincided with the commissioning of the Kwame Nkrumah Memorial Park and the re-interment of the mortal remains of the late President, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, first President of Ghana.

As early as 8 a.m, the park was already filled to capacity with people from all walks of life including dignitaries like the President of the Republic of Namibia, Mr. Sam Nujoma, the leader of the African National Congress (ANC), Mr. Oliver Tambo, Madam Bettey Sarbazz, widow of the African-American liberation fighter, the late Malcolm X.

Questions

1. What date is Ghana's Republic Day?
2. How old is Ghana as a republic?
3. Who was the first president of Ghana?
4. Find a word in the passage that indicates that Dr. Kwame Nkrumah is dead.
5. Who is Mr. Sam Nujoma?

APPENDIX D
SAMPLE COMPOSITIONS OF STUDENTS*

Best Samples

Sample 1:

I would like to further my education up to the SSS (Senior Secondary School) level. This would enable me to get a good job after my schooling.

I would go attend PRESEC (Presbyterian Boys Secondary). It is a school well suited to a student aspiring to be a scientist.

The reason why I would like to continue my education and not do any job is that my aim of a career cannot be achieved if I don't further my education. Also, it is hard to get a good job without at least secondary education.

After complete SSS, I then will go to university. I would like to do these as it will boost my chances of having a successful career.

Sample 2:

What I would like to do after completing JSS 3 is to further my education in a Senior Secondary School to study science.

The reason why I choosed to go to Secondary School to study science is that, I wanted to become a Doctor in order to help people who are sick in the country.

Doctors are not many in the country and many foreign diseases are coming and infecting some of our people in our country, and this is not good for doctors to go to other countries to work there for them because they pay them a lot of money over there.

*These samples are reproduced without any editing.

What is also a problem is that, villages in some part of the country are lacking hygienic surroundings and I wanted specifically, to grow up and go there to teach them on how to keep a proper hygienic surroundings and also treat their sicknesses for them.

After going to secondary school, I would like to go further to the university to know a lot about these diseases and how to cure them before coming out successfully to do all these things.

The reason also I wanted to go to Senior Secondary School, is that after completing JSS, if you don't further your education to come out successfully, you will not be able to work or have any Government work to do.

"Illiterate" Samples

Sample 1:

If I world completing the Junior Secondary I will go to train as a capenter. If I will go to capenter I must very sarrows with it. I sarrows with it I world leane it good. I must be train it with three years. When I was completing this treaining I must be try to come barck with where my perant reashed. After this I will teun to the plase where I treain as a capenter to joining some of the Govenment worlkers. I wost nead some the ending of mounth I also get the many from Govenment.

Sample 2:

If am finishe of my school at Anyidzekpo J.S.S 3 if am pars are will go to school egen for 3 years. If am finishe form my 3 years school are will come bark for my parent befor when they get marne they push me to another school. When they not get marne I will sittheor in the house. If am not pars I will sitthor on my house When they refius to push me the eme place I will sittther in my house.

GHANA EDUCATION SERVICE

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*In case of reply the
number and date of this
letter should be quoted.*

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REPUBLIC OF GHANA

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Your Ref. No.....

May 11, 1992

PERMISSION TO CONDUCT A FIELD RESEARCH

With reference to your letter dated March 16, 1992, I wish to inform you that permission has been granted you to conduct your research in some selected schools and that the District Education Officers of Ga (Madina), Suhum and South Tongu have been duly informed.

~~JOHN ATTA QUAYSON~~
~~DEPUTY DIRECTOR-GENERAL~~
for: DIRECTOR-GENERAL

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