

A. I. L. A.

Bulletin

1977

No. 1 (20)

PRESENTATION OF THE BULLETIN

PREFACE

As was announced by the President of AILA, Professor Guy Rondeau, in the preface of the last issue of the AILA Bulletin (1976/1), beginning from this issue, and for a period of at least two years, the Bulletin will be prepared by Prof. Antonio Zampolli and Prof. Juan Ollero García.

The few lines which follow are intended only as an indication of some of the objectives which we would like to achieve in this period, some of which we hope to begin to realize immediately, starting with the next issue.

These objectives were proposed, discussed and approved in the last meetings of the International Committee at Pisa and at Ottawa (see also the article by Profesor Rondeau and the minutes of the two meetings in question in the present issue).

1) We feel that it is opportune to strengthen the function of the Bulletin as a channel for the flow and diffusion of information among the various members of AILA. As a first step we have begun to constitute a group of correspondents by requesting each National Association to nominate their own correspondent who would accept the task of sending to the Editors of the Bulletin, in time to meet the publication deadline for each issue, relevant information concerning the scientific and organizational activity in the field of Applied Linguistics in their country. Quite a number of the Associations have already replied and we intend to publish the complete list of correspondents in the next issue.

Secondly, as soon as the coordinators of the Commission have presented their conclusions, we will request an analogous participation also from the various scientific commissions of AILA.

2) It also seems opportune to complete the structure of the Bulletin by adding a section dedicated to articles relative to the various sectors of Applied Linguistics.

The International Committee has confirmed explicitly that the AILA Bulletin should not assume the aspect of a scientific journal since there are already several specialised journals dealing with the activities of various sectors of AILA.

It is necessary, rather, to strengthen the informative character of the Bulletin by including, in each issue, one or two articles of general interest for the members of the AILA.

These articles may be of various types; we intend, for example, especially initially, to include leading articles on general topics or on sectors of Applied

Linguistics, thus supplying, periodically if it be the case, a general view of the results obtained, of the problems which are still open, of the probable directions of research in the future, of the organizational needs and activities in the various sectors, etc. However, we will also, certainly, be very happy to publish articles on specific scientific or organizational problems, particularly if they refer to the activities and the contributions given by the members or by the organizations of AILA.

We hope it will be possible to publish the first articles in the next issue. We have already asked for articles from well-known scholars who have kindly given us positive replies. Furthermore, we have also received some spontaneous offers of articles for the Bulletin; we hope that, in the future, the number of such offers will increase.

We would also like to propose to call for the cooperation of all the AILA Commissions to suggest articles and to send scientific reports on their activities.

The experience which we gain in the publication of the first numbers of the Bulletin will show us whether to proceed with our present idea of establishing formally an editorial board.

3) On the operational level, our aim is to ensure the issuing of the Bulletin twice a year.

The necessary means for publishing the first two numbers of the Bulletin will be provided by the Escuela Oficial de Idiomas in Madrid, and those for the next two issues by CNUCE of Pisa.

The AILA International Committee has decided to include in the Bulletin selected paid advertisements. The International Committee will decide the eventual destination of these funds.

It is clear that the development and the efficiency of the Bulletin depend directly on the cooperation of the various members of AILA, both as regards the realization of the points described above, and, in general, for suggestions and advice of every type.

In this sense, we allow ourselves to request the cooperation of all the readers of the Bulletin, intended to be a means for the exchange of ideas and information which make up such an important part of all scientific and organizational activities.

The dead-line for the receipt of materials for the second issue of 1977 which will appear around July is 15 May; whereas that for the third issue which will appear around December is 15 October. All articles for publication, reports from AILA Commissions and suggestions concerning the structure and the organization should be sent to Professor A. Zampolli. All other types of materials, including announcements, should be sent to Prof. J. Ollero García.

A. ZAMPOLLI.

A I L A

Bulletin

1978

No. 1 (22)

PREFACE

The present issue of the AILA Bulletin contains two articles, both of which deal with topics which fall within the specific fields covered by the AILA Commissions.

The "position paper" of J.C.Sager and R.L.Johnson is dedicated to describing the present state of "terminology", a field which, in recent years, has experienced an extraordinary growth and impulse in its role as an applied linguistic discipline. The paper surveys the development of this discipline, its main areas of concern, current trends, and the institutions which are concerned with its practice and teaching.

T.A. van Dijk, in his paper, reformulates a number of the arguments and problems which characterize the recent research in "textlinguistics", a domain whose development, in the view of the author, is a basis to or a component of applied work in the interdisciplinary field of discourse studies.

I am happy to have the opportunity here to warmly thank the distinguished authors of these two papers and to express my appreciation for the way in which they rapidly responded to my invitation to contribute an article to the Bulletin within the very brief time limit of one month.

In fact, as I was requested by the AILA Executive Committee to begin preparing this issue at the end of February, there were less than two months available for all the work involved for the requesting of the material, its preparation, editing, computer input and the proof reading in order to meet the final printing deadline before the end of April.

On February 28th, we first wrote to the authors of the two articles asking them if they would consider sending us a contribution and, at the same time, we also wrote to all the AILA National Affiliates and Commissions requesting information on their activities, setting March 31st as the deadline for the submission of material. In the event, all material which had arrived by April 5th was accepted and, on April 16th, the printing center of CNUCE began the work of printing the 2,000 copies of the Bulletin, reproducing texts which had been previously formatted using the computer; the various texts and material were computer inputted, day by day, as they arrived and were edited. In fact, we decided to choose the form in which the present Bulletin has been published both in consideration of the very limited time at our disposal and also to reduce reasonably the printing costs involved. In particular, we felt that a rapid and economical production of this number would compensate for its less sophisticated presentation and also for the lack of a rigid standardization in the style and orthographical conventions which have been adopted in the various reports coming as they do from different sources. Indeed this variety in style can be felt in itself to reflect the international diffusion which AILA has now achieved.

Despite the limited time available, the number of National Affiliates and Commissions which replied was surprisingly high: indeed, a number of contributions which were received after April 5th will be published in the next issue. This seems to reveal a growing interest in the Bulletin as a means for the diffusion of information in our field of interest. We believe that this specific function should be strengthened and we would thus aim at issuing another two numbers this year, again preferably adopting printing methods which guarantee a certain speed in publication.

The dates for the next 5 numbers are as follows:

Bulletin no.	deadline for submitting material	approximate date of publication
23	15- 6-78	20- 7-78
24	15-11-78	20-12-78
25	15- 3-79	20- 4-79
26	15- 6-79	20- 7-79
27	15-11-79	20-12-79

Articles, information and material for the Bulletin should be sent to Professor A. Zampolli, Editor, AILA Bulletin, Via Santa Maria 36, 56100 PISA, Italy.

The topics of the articles to appear in the forthcoming numbers will include: adult language teaching, language planning, sociolinguistics, language tests and testing, terminology teaching, computational linguistics, etc. In addition, no. 24 will contain a detailed report of the V AILA Congress at Montreal.

Let me now make some concluding remarks.

As has already been pointed out in the preface to the previous number, the ideas expressed by the authors of the articles and reports appearing in the Bulletin do not necessarily represent the official AILA viewpoint. We feel that a discussion on the problems treated in the Bulletin would be highly desirable. All comments are, therefore, very welcome and will be printed in future issues.

BAAL, the British Association for Applied Linguistics, celebrated its 10th anniversary last year. We have included the speeches given at the anniversary meeting as these, in our opinion, cover, through the history of BAAL, scientific and organizational problems, concerning applied linguistics and its history, which are of general interest.

Finally, I must express our sincere gratitude to CNUCE who authorized us to freely use its computers and printing center. The cost of printing the covers and of the paper used has been borne by AILA.

Antonio Zampolli

A I L A

Bulletin

1978

No. 2 (23)

PREFACE

In accordance with our schedule, this number of the Bulletin appears two months after the last number, no. 22, was issued.

In the preface of the previous issue, we have already explained the various reasons why the present graphic form of the Bulletin was chosen. In particular, we felt that a rapid and economical production would help to compensate both for the somewhat unsophisticated presentation and also for the lack of a strict uniformity in style and in the orthographical conventions in the various articles and reports coming from a number of different sources. It is important to limit, as much as possible, the retyping of the material sent to us. Therefore, from now on, with the agreement of the AILA International Committee, we intend to ask the authors and National Associations to present material, articles and information for the Bulletin in a camera-ready format.

A list of typing conventions is published at the end of this issue: we would be very grateful if authors and Associations could follow these conventions so that it will be possible to reproduce directly their typewritten material. We would also take this occasion to ask members to send in material for Bulletin no. 24 at their earliest convenience. The deadline is 15th November, 1978.

No. 24 will contain, among others, general articles on Adult Language Teaching and Lexicography, a detailed report on the scientific and organizational aspects of the Montréal Congress and a description of multilingual programs underway at the Institutions of European Communities.

As announced by the Secretary General, it was not possible to publish issue no. 21 in Madrid. We plan to publish it in the form of a special booklet dedicated to Mother Language Education which will reach the National Affiliates during the course of 1978.

In this preface, I would also like to thank B. Spolsky, the author of the article published in this issue on the relevance of grammar to second language pedagogy.

There is no doubt that second language pedagogy is one of the main fields of Applied Linguistics. In addition, this topic is connected with the important problem of the applicability, and, in a certain sense, the verifiability through application, of the various theories whose rapid and continuous evolution characterises the actual situation of general linguistics.

By a happy coincidence, in this very period, the AAAL (American Association for Applied Linguistics) of which B. Spolsky is one of the founders, has joined AILA.

A note by M. Gorosch follows Spolsky's article. As was already stated in the preface to the previous issue, we believe that discussions on the topics proposed by the guest authors of the Bulletin are very useful. We will be very happy to publish any comments from AILA members or other scholars.

Finally, I must once again express our gratitude to CNUCE which has allowed us to freely use its computers and printing center. As before, the cost of printing the covers and the cost of the paper used have been covered by AILA.

Antonio Zampolli

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A I L A

Bulletin

1978

No. 3 (24)

PREFACE

The International Congress of Applied Linguistics is, without doubt, one of the most significant of AILA's activities, and one of the most evident signs of the vitality of our Association.

The V Congress held in Montreal last August has been generally judged an extraordinary event, remarkable both on the scientific and the organizational level. A large part of this issue is dedicated to the Congress. In particular, I felt it important that the Bulletin should provide a timely summary report on the scientific highlights of the Congress and on the general trends which emerged in the different fields of our discipline. For this reason, some months before the Congress, I asked G. Gagné, responsible for the scientific program, to request the Chairmen of each section to provide a brief report for publication in this issue. The larger part of these reports have been received in time, and I hope the remaining two will be available for the next number.

I should like here to express my gratitude to each chairman, and, of course, particularly to G. Gagné, who willingly accepted this extra burden in addition to all his hard work for the Congress. This rapid publication has been made possible by their cooperation.

The article by E. Weis, chairman of the AILA commission on lexicology and lexicography, and E. Habermellner also includes a discussion on the new experiences and developments in this field which emerged at Montreal. After a brief survey of the history of lexicography, the authors give a very clear exposition of present problems and trends, with particular reference to the profound changes in the composition of the dictionary consulting public brought about by the international social and cultural situation of the present day.

A brief explanation of the motives behind the adoption of the new format in which this number of the Bulletin appears seems to me to be in order. This format, which we very much hope will now remain stable for some time, has been chosen in order to optimize the printing quality/costs ratio. The total number of copies of the Bulletin now requested is slightly under 3500, instead of the 2000 requested when, last spring, I took over editorial responsibility. This number means that it is now economically convenient to adopt an offset printing technique which, in addition to a certain improvement in the printing quality and uniformity, permits a reduction in the format. This reduction in size has the important advantage of lowering mailing costs and indeed facilitates the mailing of the Bulletin, which is now sent to 28 different countries.

For the moment, the International Committee has decided that AILA can finance half of the Bulletin production costs. The sum which has been made available will permit the publication of two numbers per year of approximately 50 pages each. As a result of this decision, the deadlines for the next 4 numbers have been altered from those announced in Bulletin no. 22. They are now as follows:

no. 25:	20 April 1979
no. 26:	1 November 1979
no. 27:	20 April 1980
no. 28:	1 November 1980

The adoption of the new format for the Bulletin does not however involve any changes in the typing conventions which remain as published on pages 81 and 82 of Bulletin no. 23.

I should like here to express my own appreciation and that of my collaborators to all those who have so far adopted these conventions; we are very happy to say that the material published in this issue was almost all received in this form.

I should like also to confirm the early publication of Bulletin no. 21, the special issue dedicated to "Adult mother tongue education", for which we are at present seeking supplementary financial support.

Antonio Zampolli

A I L A

Bulletin

1979

No. 1 (25)

PREFACE

In this number we are publishing an article by Joan Rubin, chairman of the Language Planning Commission, which continues the series of articles in collaboration with the AILA Scientific Commissions. This article, after briefly outlining the history of the Language Planning Commission and presenting a discussion of the definitions suggested, supplies useful indications concerning the bibliographic tools available and in preparation and gives a thorough overview of the current trends in this sector.

The text by G. Plastre and R. Friedman from the 5th session: "Mesure, évaluation, tests" completes the report of G. Gagné on the 1978 Montreal Congress, which appeared in our previous issue. The minutes of the last meeting of the AILA International Committee, held during the Congress, have been summarised by the AILA Secretary-General, Alan Davies.

Once again, I must express my appreciation to the authors and to all the correspondents who have sent us news on the activities of the National Associations and the Scientific Commissions. Owing to lack of space, it has proved impossible to publish a complete list of the Commissions in this issue, as had been previously announced. This list will be appearing in our next number.

The deadlines for submission of contributions for the next number remain unchanged:

No. 26:	1 November 1979
No. 27:	20 April 1980
No. 28:	1 November 1980
No. 29:	20 April 1981

All material should be sent in original copy, typewritten according to the AILA typing conventions and without corrections.

Antonio Zampolli

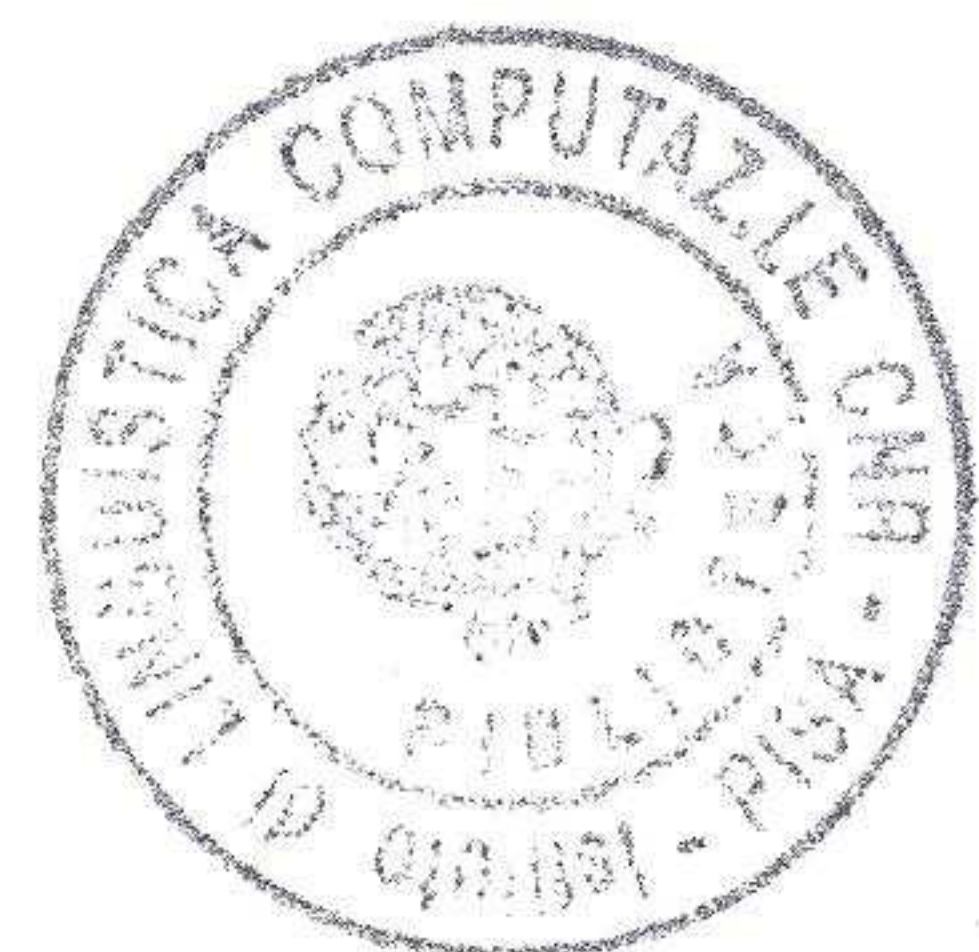
A I L A

Bulletin

1979

No. 2 (26)

PREFACE



First of all, we should like to thank Professor G. Rondeau, President of AILA, for his article "Une nouvelle branche de la linguistique appliquée: la terminologie" which illustrates the development of activity in this field, over the last fifty years, within the historical and sociolinguistic context.

An important part of this Bulletin is devoted to the publication of the lists of the AILA Commissions and National Affiliates which were announced in our last issue.

At the moment, we are studying the possibility of publishing another special issue, during 1980, dedicated to "Language planning and Language teaching".

I should like to take this opportunity to express our appreciation to the Commission Interuniversitaire Suisse de Linguistique Appliquée (CILSA) for its contribution towards the publishing expenses of our previous special volume on "Mother Tongue Education", Bulletin No. 21. No mention of this contribution was made in the introduction to that number as we only received confirmation after printing had been completed.

The dates by which material for the next numbers should be received are as follows:

No. 27 :	20 April 1980
No. 28 :	1 November 1980
No. 29 :	20 April 1981
No. 30 :	1 November 1981

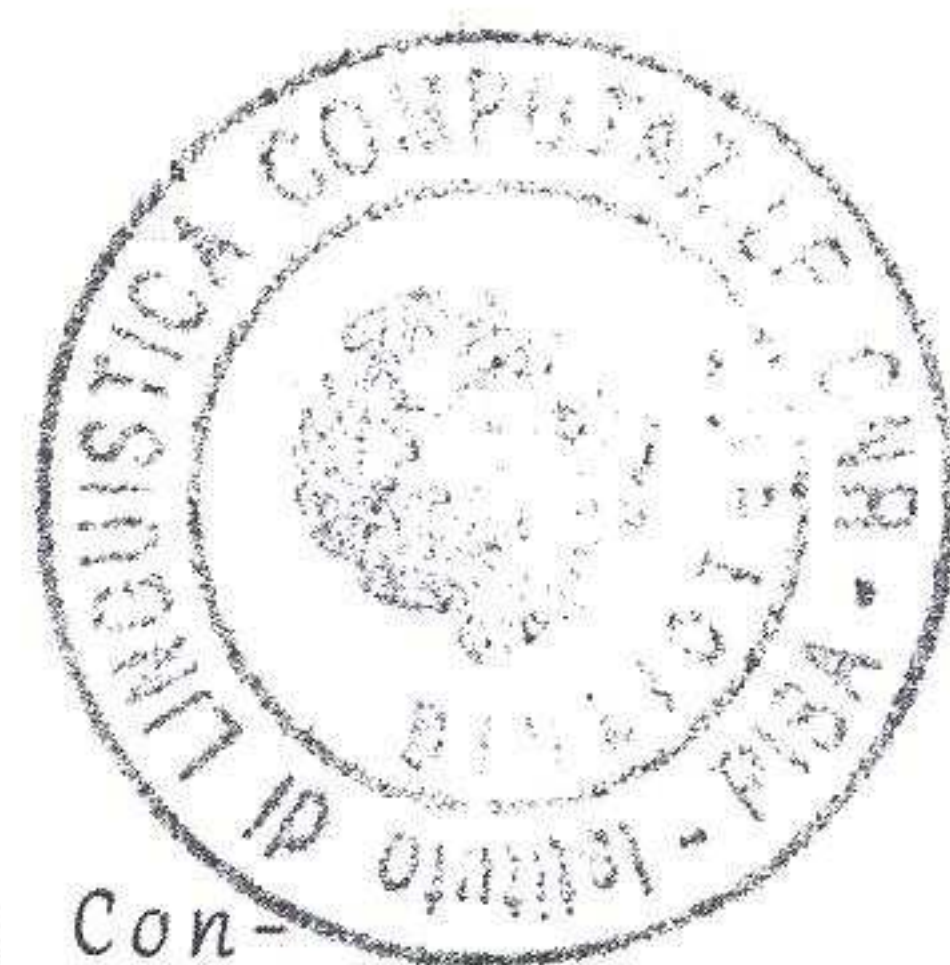
Authors are requested to please submit all material in original copy, typewritten according to the AILA typing conventions and without corrections.

A I L A

Bulletin

1980

No. 1 (27)



PREFACE

The article by J. Fisiak "Some Notes Concerning Contrastive Linguistics", which we are very happy to publish in this Bulletin, examines some of the major and fundamental aspects of this field. The author considers the historical background of Contrastive Linguistics and its various theoretical and applicative components; the relationship to theoretical linguistics and its models, and to applied linguistics and its tasks.

A large part of this number is dedicated to the different institutional activities of AILA; in particular the AILA Statutes and the minutes of the last meeting of the International Committee.

In repeating my appreciation to all those who have contributed to this issue by sending us news and information, I should like to remind everyone that the deadlines for the next Bulletins are as follows:

No. 28 :	1 November 1980
No. 29 :	20 April 1981
No. 30 :	1 November 1981
No. 31 :	20 April 1982

All contributors are requested to please send us material in camera-ready format, following the AILA typing conventions.

Antonio Zampolli

A I L A

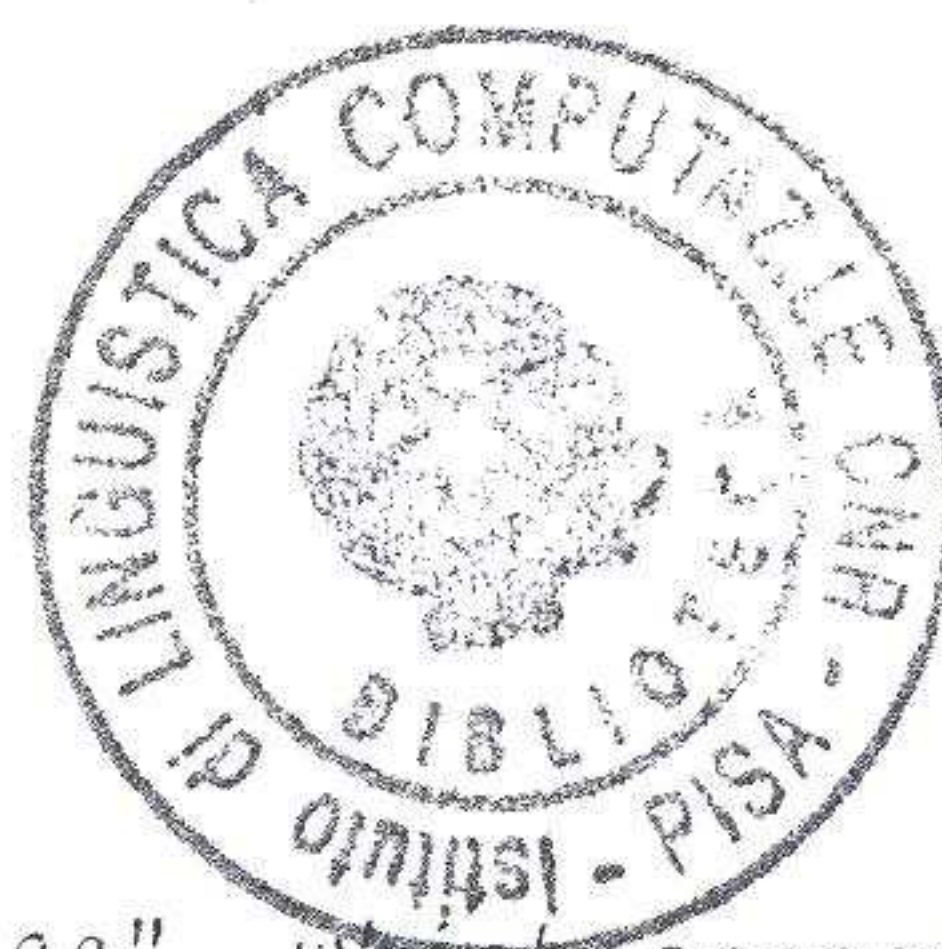
Bulletin

1980

No. 2 (28)

RNU-32

PREFACE



The article "Babillage ou Prélangage", which appears in this number, describes the result of a study conducted at the "Laboratoire de Psychologie" (C.N.R.S. - E.H.E.S.S., Paris), on the vocal production of children between 18 and 20 months, investigating the relationship between "infant babbling" and the following speech developments.

The minutes of the last meetings of the International Committee at Zagreb also appear in this issue.

As usual, we should like to remind all our contributors that the next deadlines for the submission of material to the Bulletin are as follows:

No. 29:	20 April 1981
No. 30:	1 November 1981
No. 31:	20 April 1982
No. 32:	1 November 1982

All contributors are requested to please submit all material in original copy, typewritten according to the AILA typing conventions and without corrections.

Antonio Zampolli

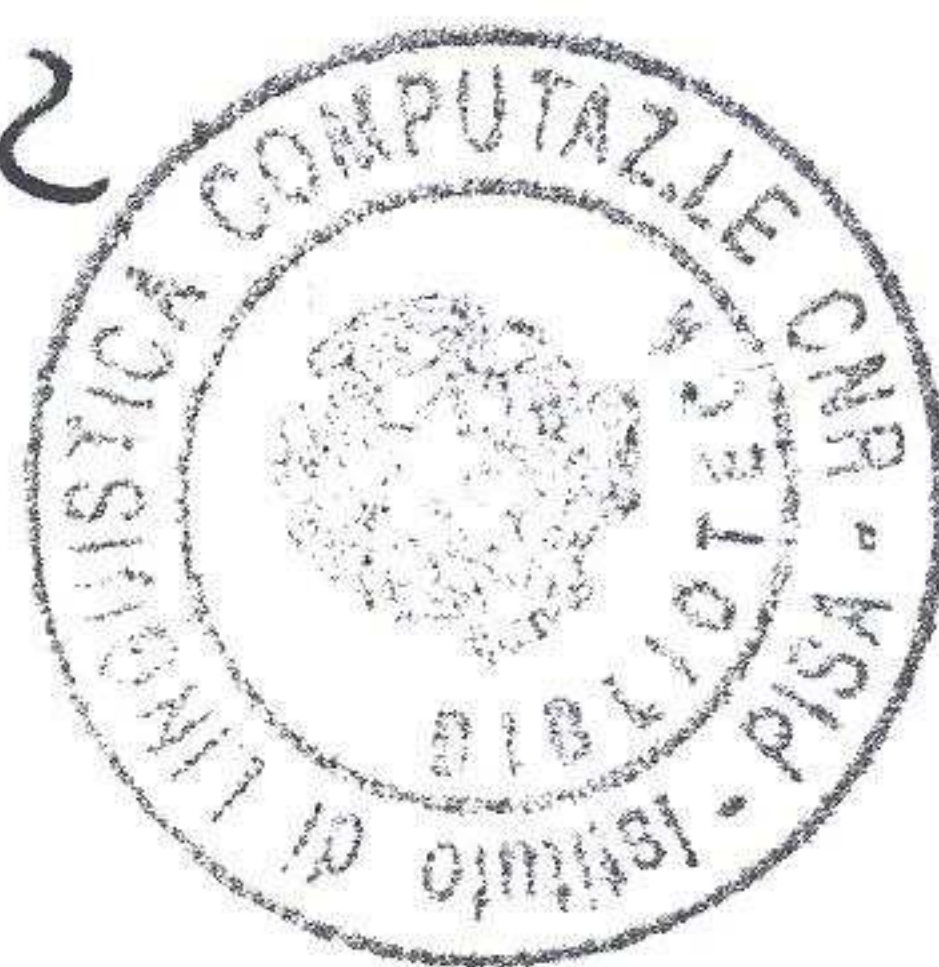
A I L A

Bulletin

1981

No. 1 (29)

RWV. 32



PREFACE

In accordance with the policy previously decided upon, of publishing contributions reporting on the state of the art in different fields of Applied Linguistics, this issue contains a survey article on "Aspects of Error Analysis" by G. Nickel, past editor of the AILA Bulletin, to the development of which he has offered important contributions.

Error analysis is included within the scope of activity of the AILA Commissions on Contrastive Linguistics. Therefore this article, which follows the article by J. Fisiak "Some Notes concerning Contrastive Linguistics", appeared in issue N.27, completes the overview of the field of activity of these Commissions.

The survey appears to be particularly interesting since it gives particular consideration both to the work carried out in connection with the AILA International Congress and the AILA Working Commissions, and to the applied aspects, to foreign language teaching, of insights into the field of error analysis research.

We are pleased to announce that, thanks to the collaboration of the organizers of the 6th AILA Congress, the next number will contain a series of scientific reports on the different sessions of the Congress.

In repeating my appreciation to all those who have contributed to this issue by sending us news and information, I should like to remind everyone that the deadlines for the next Bulletins are as follows:

No. 30	1 November 1981
No. 31	20 April 1982
No. 32	1 November 1982
No. 33	20 April 1983

All contributors are requested to please send us material in camera-ready format, following the AILA typing conventions.

Antonio Zampolli

A I L A

Bulletin

**Special Issue dedicated to
Language Planning**

1981

No. 2. (30)

AN ATTEMPT AT SYSTEMATIZATION IN TEACHING SPANISH TO MEXICAN INDIAN GROUPS

GLORIA BRAVO AHUJA

Within the framework of our research on teaching Spanish as a second language, we are particularly concerned with direct participation in the implementation of an educational program for some 60,000 pre-school children (from 5-7 years old), who are part of a total universe of approximately 420,000 preschoolers, according to the 1970 General Population Census. This program has emerged in response to the Mexican Government's policy of offering bilingual/bicultural education to the different native ethnic groups in need of being harmoniously integrated into the majority mestizo group. (1)

Spanish, as a common tongue for all, is a prerequisite for the attainment of the previously mentioned goal. This problem, which stems from and has been a part of our idiosyncrasy from the very origins of our unique make-up is living proof of a social disintegration phenomenon that has been aggravated by our internal dynamics system.

At present, the fragmentation of our Indian languages is so great that - according to mutual intelligibility criteria - some 183 languages are spoken in Mexico. (2) This notable sociocultural and linguistic heterogeneity hinders the implementation of contrastive programs for Spanish as a second language, in which language as well as culture of each of these particular ethnic groups are contrasted. Thus, the obstacles that must be overcome, which are ultimately economic in nature, are first of all theoretical and methodological for we must develop the technology and instrumentalities suitable for our own circumstances. In general the problem is underscored, among other causes, by the scarcity of teachers in the Indian regions; by a lack of personnel specialized in language teaching; by the need for objective information concerning the attitudes of Indian groups with regard to the target language, and finally, by a lack of studies that would allow us to know the degree of social restrictions which, in verbal interaction, will determine language selection. If we had this information we would know what our expectations for integrative bilingualism were or if what we have is simply a process of instrumental bilingualism.

The situation described in the previous paragraph might suggest different alternatives to the policy chosen by authorities in the field of education, which is to immediately face the problem of teaching Spanish to these groups. Nevertheless, this

decision is due - among other reasons - to the urgent need to eliminate school dropouts, an important factor in the social disintegration of Indian children in elementary school. We know that approximately 116,000 children are enrolled annually in elementary school, but only approximately 83,000 pass, of whom some 68,000 go on to second grade, that is to say, 58.6% of those who initially began first grade. We know that language problems are not the only cause of school dropouts, but they are likely to be one of the major contributors. It is for this reason that we plan to intensify this program through educational techniques suitable to our particular circumstances and which specifically cover three basic aspects: teacher training, preparation of educational materials and instruments to evaluate the different facets of the Spanish program. Naturally, this is an educational pursuit which supplements previous attempts to attain the same goal: unity in the concrete act of speaking a common language; however, this program is being implemented at a historical point in time, in the field of education, and it is fitting to review and promote discussions concerning the dialectic relationship between traditional cultures and modern Western social economic systems. The results of this exchange of thought will ultimately be reflected in this kind of programs and the teaching materials that complement them.

We have committed ourselves to implement this apparently optimistic program, insofar as it rests on solid foundations, in spite of the fact that for the teaching-learning process of a second language we still do not yet have a holistic theory that completely outlines our subject matter; therefore, we believe we may have to increase our monitoring as we progress along the interdisciplinary path which, in principle, is the only really scientific approach, while at the same time bearing in mind two fundamental aspects: the still uncertain links between theory and practice, mentioned by Chomsky and Thorne, in two well-known quotes, the first of which states: "I am, frankly, rather sceptical about the significance, for the teaching of languages, of such insights and understanding as have been attained in linguistics and psychology...it is hard to believe that either linguistics or psychology has achieved a level of theoretical understanding that might enable it to support a 'technology' of language teaching." Nevertheless, he adds: "It is possible - even likely - that principles of psychology and linguistics, and research in these disciplines, may supply useful insights to the language teacher. But this must be demonstrated and cannot be presumed. It is the language teacher himself who must validate or refute any specific proposal." (3) Thorne, when asked how linguistics can be used to its best advantage in language teaching, stated: "This is the kind of question you should ask an applied linguist not a theoretical linguist. As a theoretical linguist, I would have thought no - not directly. All scientific advances always have, to use a fashionable word, spin-off, but it's usually the case that those engaged in work in the field

never see what this is." (4) On the other hand we should not forget that long-term concrete results depend not only on our ability to select the proper methodology based on a solid theory, but also, and above all, on the community's ability to positively influence the present-day marginalizing dynamic process.

Our collaboration with the Ministry of Public Education in language integration programs began in 1967, through a program that was closely related to the present one. Our work in experimental application was carried out at the community level in several towns in the State of Oaxaca, where a large part of Mexico's Indian population is found. The design of the IIISEO Method (5) was based on this experience. In 1972 the scope of the program was broadened and implemented in several communities in other states as well.

Achievement tests were applied periodically, but it was not until 1976 that this procedure became statistically representative. We focused our attention on a sample of 1,000 children in representation of 7,100 who had been taught the first of six units that make up the Method. An individual oral test was applied. In addition to determining the degree of achievement attained, we hoped to verify if the economically sound procedure of applying only one type of didactic material for teaching Spanish to the target universe was feasible or not, since preparation of contrastive materials for each of the Indian languages had been proposed. We also hoped that the test would define the impact of the socio-economic environment on the child's learning. In consequence two groups of variables were initially taken into account. The first group consisted of three linguistic variables: comprehension, morphosyntaxis and lexicon, and was aimed at determining whether or not the child had learned what was taught. The second group, composed of fourteen sociological variables, responded to the need to circumscribe the Method's effectiveness in the society where the children lived. It was decided to include the following variables: language, degree of monolingualism, location of the governing center, use of Spanish, school facilities and materials, age, sex, if the father, mother and/or brothers and sisters speak Spanish, school attendance, if there's a radio at home, whether the child lives in a town or a farm settlement. Lastly, it was necessary to include a third control group, composed of two variables: mechanization and order of presentation, through which we hope to determine, in the first case, the degree of mechanization that the children might have undergone during the teaching process, and in the second case, the objectivity of the achievement test itself.

The behaviour of the linguistic and control variables for the Indian children in the sample was compared to the results of a group of Spanish-speaking children. Similarity in high averages and standard deviations in both cases allowed us to confirm, comparatively speaking, that at least at that particular time, the Indian children were learning by the method.

Analysis of the influence of the sociological variables on the learning process first focused on the language variable. Due to the nominal nature of this variable it was necessary to carry out a unidimensional analysis with a dummy variable. The interpretation of these results showed that none of the fourteen sociological variables exercised a specific influence on achievement. The language variable itself only explained 12.84% of variance in comprehension and 23.57% in morphosyntaxis and lexicon. Such empirical evidence justifies the efficiency of a similar application of this method to different groups of Indian language speakers. (6)

Up to this point we have synthesized our first years of experience, both in the field of applied linguistics, as well as in the field of coordinated work for educational purposes: teaching, preparation of materials and administration.

For us, this new program is a second stage of experience and as a matter of fact, there is an excellent sequence in both didactic material as well as in the infrastructure in which the material is included. We are now using the Integral Method, which is the end product of changes made in the IIISEO Method, based on the results described above. Its theoretical-methodological bases are the same and it sustains the same arguments conducive to the attainment of the goal of bilingual/bicultural education. Its pedagogical foundations are based on the use of the mother tongue: it does not seem advisable to forbid use of the mother tongue in a foreign language course, for it may help make teaching more efficient. According to Smith, "Ten seconds of the native language, however, can avoid ten minutes of pantomime and days or weeks of misperception." (7) Tentatively we have opted to be "aligned", although not too orthodoxly, to the audio-lingual school as represented by the audiovisual variant. Of course we do not blindly concur with dry behaviouristic theory, accepting that verbal behaviour will respond exactly to three events: stimulus, response and reinforcement. We are alert to "the basic premise that underlies most of the research that has been done on child second language acquisition: that the cognitive structure which all normal children possess plays a major role in the way they learn a second language. Given this premise, the basic research question is: what is in the child's head that governs or guides what he learns?" This view of learning is obviously not new. It is the basis of Chomsky's work in linguistics, of Roger Brown's work in first language acquisition, and basically of Piaget's work in developmental psychology that point to the relationship between language ability and manifestations of intelligence. (8) To point out the general lines we wish to emphasize in the Integral Method, it is sufficient to state that we are tenaciously seeking out linguistic creativity in the child through activities and games that stimulate his psychomotor, cognitive, and social affective development and which, in some way, are connected to the specific moment in which he learns the second language.

Quantitatively speaking, this program should increase activities in the following ratio: instead of 1,000 extension workers who taught Spanish to 20,000 children, there will now be 2,700 who will reach 60,000 children. The program will be implemented in strategic points in the States of Chiapas, Chihuahua, Guerrero, Oaxaca, Puebla, Queretaro, San Luis Potosi, Sonora, Tabasco and Veracruz.

The type of training offered to those who apply the Integral Method was not carried out in the same fashion as in our earlier experience at a state level in Oaxaca.(9) At present, intensive courses for Spanish language extension workers are being given by specialized teachers, and we plan to continue to offer them on a regular basis. In general, the proposal to carry out this intensified stage is consistent with our immediate reality and represents a strong challenge for solid coordination.

The input of the design of this program rests on the foundation of many years of experience, the product of the Mexican Indian reality. Original theories and techniques have stemmed from this reality and are concretely linked to the problem set forth in this paper - the need to readapt Indian education to our own particular historical moment - which, in turn, could solve our task of dialectically interrelating traditional societies and modern systems. A very important idea related to Indian tradition, for the problem we are dealing with, has been the establishment of a mechanism that has allowed us to employ a relatively high number of teachers and extension workers who are from Indian backgrounds. Through this team of teachers it is possible to generate nuclei of planned integration, since they provide a link between Western and traditional cultures and are in a position to foster changes and breakthroughs.

Present projects for Indian integration follow along the lines of the Mexican rural school, famous during the 1920's and 1930's. This school of thought was convinced that the subject of education was not just the child, but rather the community as a whole. Indian education, in the last stance, should be seen within the framework of regional development, which will allow for the social and economic integration of the Indians into the mainstream of national life. If we pursue this goal, we will find a social attitude that will facilitate the work we are concerned with: suitable materials for bilingual/bicultural education. With reference to language, we can work with these materials under the assumption that even if a common language does not guarantee harmonious integration, without one it would be impossible to attain this goal. With respect to culture, we trust that the opportunity to enjoy cultural satisfaction contained in the human capacity to assimilate values which come from other systems has not been exhausted. Marmor states that "a biosocial frame of reference can be adopted, by which heritage and environment are fused during the process of personality development and become a new element: the nature of mankind."(10)

FOOTNOTES

- 1) Mexico is a country with a significantly high concentration of Indians. Some 3 million Mexicans are of Indian blood and represent 53 different ethnic groups.
Our responsibility in the educational field - such as the specific tasks we are dealing with in this paper - is based on the activities that we as researchers carry out in the Research Center for Social Integration (CIIS), which is a decentralized government agency of an advisory nature.
- 2) A report published by the Summer Institute of Linguistics on August 21, 1975 in response to a request by the Ministry of Public Education states that "It is estimated that there are 133 languages in Mexico". This document explains the institution's views on what constitutes a language as being unique, special and different from all others. "Our criterion is based on mutual intelligibility. If the inhabitants of two groups or communities can understand each other well when using their own vernacular language, then they both speak the same language (even though the groups may speak two different dialects within the same language). If, on the other hand, two individuals from different communities try to communicate with each other through their respective vernacular languages and cannot understand each other, they will be considered speakers of two different languages. Mutual intelligibility tests are carried out by means of tape recorded stories, which are played back in a different place from where they were recorded. For example, if Mixtecs from town A understand less than 80% of what was recorded from town B's language, and the inhabitants of town B cannot understand the stories recorded in town A, then they will be considered speakers of two different languages."
- 3) CHOMSKY quoted by CORDER in Introducing Applied Linguistics, Penguin Education, London, 1973, p. 143 (Penguin Modern Linguistics Texts).
- 4) THORNE quoted by CORDER, Idem.
- 5) BRAVO AHUJA, Gloria et al.
Método audio-visual para la enseñanza del español a hablantes de lengua indígenas, Secretaría de Educación Pública, Instituto de Investigación e Integración Social del Estado de Oaxaca, México, 1972, 3 vols., XXXIII + 263/270/249 pp.
- 6) BRAVO AHUJA, Gloria.
La enseñanza del español a los indígenas mexicanos, El Colegio de México, México, 1977. 367 pp.
- 7) SMITH, Phillip D.
Toward a Practical Theory of Second Language Instruction, The Center for Curriculum Development, Philadelphia, 1971, p. 43. (Language and the Teacher: A Series in Applied Linguistics, no. 16).
- 8) DULAY, Heidi and BURT, Marina.
"Creative Construction in Second Language Learning and

Teaching", New Directions in Second Language Learning, Teaching and Bilingual Education, Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages, Washington, D.C., 1975, p. 23.

- 9) The Institute of Research and Social Integration of Oaxaca operated from 1969 to 1976. We hoped to create an institutional model, and in fact we believe we did just that. During the time we were in charge of this institution, which is presently under a new administration, five classes of bilingual/bicultural extension workers and other professionals were graduated. IIISEO was considered to be "the Indian bureau that had and carried out the best training program for cultural extension workers". (AGUIRRE BELTRAN, Gonzalo. Ha fracasado el indigenismo? Reportaje de una controversia (13 de septiembre de 1971). Secretaría de Educación Pública, Mexico, 1971, pp 16-17. (SepSetentas 9). Nevertheless, IIISEO's structure requires expenses and attention that perhaps still are not feasible for our particular situation.
- 10) MARMOR, quoted by AIZA, "Los valores culturales en el psicoanálisis", Cuadernos de Psicoanálisis, Vol. II, no. 3 and 4, Mexico, July-December, 1966, p. 90.

LANGUAGE POLICY AND PRACTICE IN EDUCATION IN GHANA

ISAAC K. CHINEBUAH

Introduction

Almost all African countries are multilingual communities. Ghana, for example, with a population of about 10 million has as many as 56 indigenous languages with English, an imposed European language, as the official language. In a national community such as Ghana, where there is more than one language available to its members, there is a need to make decisions about the official medium of communication in those areas of social life of the community which it regards as essential. Some of these important areas may be summarized as:

1. Political

- (a) international communication (both within and outside Africa).
- (b) intranational communication (day-by-day business of government).

2. Educational

- (a) language(s) of instruction.
- (b) language(s) of study.

3. Cultural: the language(s) of national culture.

In the specific field of education, the issues that have to be urgently decided, within the context of clearly-defined national goals of education, are: (a) what language or languages are to be used as media of instruction at various levels of the educational system? (b) what language or languages are to be taught as compulsory or optional subjects for study? and (c) what proportion of school time is to be earmarked for which language?

Throughout the history of education in Ghana, the Vernacular and English have served both as subjects of study and media of instruction, but their respective roles, particularly at the primary school level, have been subjected at various times to shifts of thought with consequent changes of policy. The object of this paper is to review the language policy decisions and statements that have been made from the earliest days of formal education in Ghana to the present day and the educational practices that have been followed as a result of the language policies adopted; and then to set out the main features of Ghana's language policies in the field of education; and finally, in view

of the lack of research data on which language planners and policy-makers can depend, to outline a programme of sociolinguistic research projects, with some references made to relevant research findings, as a source of adequate information on which realistic language planning and language policy formulation can be based.

The early years

During the early years of western education in Ghana, the education work in the country was due mainly to the pioneering efforts of the various Missionary Societies: in particular, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (S.P.G.), the Basel Missionary Society, the Wesleyan Mission, the Bremen Missionary Society and the Roman Catholic Mission.

At this point in time, the Romantic Movement in Europe had stimulated European interest in African vernaculars. The resultant insistence of Protestantism in Europe on the importance of the vernacular in evangelism and worship found expression in Africa, during the 19th century, in their study and reduction to writing of African languages and their desire to put them to educational and religious use. There was indeed an element of vested interest in the missionary promotion of indigenous African languages, since the Christian Missions were anxious to obtain a vernacular medium for the propagation of the gospel. It is, however, to the eternal credit of the Christian Missions that it was they who first raised the question of the appropriate medium of education in Africa and promoted the practice of teaching in the vernacular in the schools they had established in the country. Of the Christian Missions at work in the country the Basel Mission excelled in the wealth of scholarship which its missionaries brought to bear on the study of the vernaculars, in particular Twi and Ga, and the insistence on the acquisition of the vernaculars by its missionaries. No missionary of the Basel Mission was allowed to marry who had not proved by a strict examination his proficiency in the vernacular. (1)

The schools run by the various Missions differed widely in their systems of management and it was mainly for this reason that the colonial administration drew up in May 1882 the first Education Ordinance (2) under which Rules with accompanying Schedules were afterwards formulated. These Rules were for the most part based on the Code in use in England and very little attempt was made to adapt courses to local conditions. The first Education Ordinance, amended in the latter part of 1882 and subsequently in 1883, provided for instruction in Reading and Writing of the English language, Arithmetic and, in the case of girls, Needlework. English Grammar, English History and Geography could also be taught at the option of the teacher.

In addition, the Education Ordinance of 1882 sub-classified schools of primary education into (a) Government Schools and (b) assisted Schools. In the government schools the emphasis had long been on English, with some vernacular work for the very young children. In the Mission or assisted schools vernacular studies received considerable attention. But in his inspection report presented in 1884, the first Inspector of Schools of the West African Settlements, Rev. M. Sunter, described the local languages as "only interesting to the Comparative Philologist and never likely to become of any practical use in civilisation".(3) He accordingly recommended that grants to the Missions for reading in the vernacular should be only temporary, until they were able to replace it by English teaching right from the beginning.(4)

Generally speaking, educated Ghanaians outside the Missions showed little interest in their mother tongue. They tended to see in the use of the vernaculars in education and administration the danger that progress for the African peoples and their advancement into the modern world would thereby be arrested.

J.E. Casely Hayford was probably the first Ghanaian to criticise publicly, in a letter to the "Weekly News" of 5th May, 1908, the prevalent practice of starting children's education in the English language, to which he attributed later inconsistencies of character. Towards the end of the 19th Century, however, there came about a significant change in the attitude of educated Ghanaians towards their mother tongue. "The Gold Coast Nation" of 10th September, 1914 commented favourably on this cultural revolution:

"A hopeful sign of racial advancement is the tendency of native scholars to appreciate their mother tongue and the evincement of natural thirstiness after native literature. A short while ago the majority of our scholars thought it most detractory from their training to be heard speaking their mother tongue in public. Some went to the extent of thinking it a 'grand' thing to affect gross ignorance of the vernacular and would not so much as listen when accosted in it ... Now there is no scholar but holds the vernacular to be as good as the most elegant foreign language".

The Period 1920-1923

It was, however, not until 1920 that the supremacy of the English language in the school system was seriously challenged by the language policy recommended by the Educationists' Committee. Governor Guggisberg had embarked upon educational advancement with characteristic energy and foresight. As a preliminary measure at reforming the inadequacies of the existing educational system, Guggisberg appointed on 5th March 1920 the Educationists' Committee with the following terms of reference: "to investigate

past educational efforts in the Gold Coast, their success or failure and the reasons therefor and also to consider, and report on the principles, methods and policy governing the progress of education in the Gold Coast; and to consider the whole educational policy and then to report and make recommendations." The Educationists' Committee produced a comprehensive report, (5) which included an informative historical survey of educational work in the country and recommendations which covered the whole range of educational activity. As far as language policy in education is concerned, the Committee sounded a new and significant note: "We recommend that the Vernacular should be the medium of instruction. English should be a subject of instruction, and introduced as early as possible. Opportunities should be taken to combine the Vernacular with English, particularly in regard to games". The reason given for this particular recommendation was that "children cannot be interested unless they understand what they are doing and what is being said to them. There can be no real imagination if a child merely repeats by memory certain sounds the meaning of which he does not understand. In later life he can acquire additional knowledge through the English language, hence the necessity for making English a subject in Infant Classes when the acquisition of a language is easy".

Governor Guggisberg hailed this recommendation as "probably the most important of all the Committee's recommendations" and directed that the European staff must learn the (local) language "as without it I fail to see how an Inspector can tell if instruction is being clearly and methodically given".

Educational progress in the Gold Coast was not proceeding in isolation from the outside world. A welcome external stimulus came from the Phelps-Stokes Commission on Education in Africa. The Commission visited West Africa in 1920-1921 and East Africa in 1924. The West African report published in 1922 (6) was the first widespread survey of educational needs and problems in West Africa. The report paid much-deserved tribute to the educational work of the missionaries, but criticised them for failing to adapt school work to African conditions. Turning to the language of instruction in schools as an important aspect of educational adaptation, the report recognised that practically all the colonising nations in Africa had imposed their languages upon the people and discouraged the use of the vernaculars, as had often been done by dominant groups in Europe. Such language policies the report regarded as unwise and unjust and made the following comment:

"With full appreciation of the European language, the value of the Native tongue is immensely more vital, in that it is one of the chief means of preserving whatever is good in Native customs, ideas and ideals, and thereby preserving what is more important than all else, namely, Native

self-respect. All peoples have an inherent right to their own language. It is the means of giving expression to their own personality... No greater injustice can be committed against a people than to deprive them of their own language. It is interesting and significant to note that one of the first and most emphatic demands of the nations that are now endeavouring to realize self-determination is to re-establish their own language." (7)

The Phelps-Stokes Report suggested that in determining the language of instruction, the following factors were to be taken into consideration:

- (1) that every people have an inherent right to their Native tongue;
 - (2) the multiplicity of tongues shall not be such as to develop misunderstandings and distrust among people who should be friendly and cooperative;
 - (3) every group shall be able to communicate directly with those to whom the government is entrusted;
- and (4) an increasing number of Native people shall know at least one of the languages of the civilised nations.

In the application of these factors the Report cautioned that due consideration should be given to the ascertained local conditions, and put forward the following recommendations as guidelines to governments and educators:

- (1) The tribal language should be used in the lower elementary standards or grades.
- (2) A lingua franca of African origin should be introduced in the middle classes of the school if the area is occupied by large Native groups speaking diverse languages.
- (3) The language of the European nation in control should be taught in the upper standards.

In a Legislative Council debate in March, 1923, Guggisberg referred to the Phelps-Stokes Report as 'the book of the century, a combination of sound idealism and practical common sense', and sought to model Gold Coast education on the lines suggested by the Commission. (8)

The period 1923-1945

The reports of the Phelps-Stokes Commission were also closely studied in London, and in accepting and interpreting its responsibility for education in the colonies the British Government was much influenced by them. Thus in November 1923, a second important outside stimulus to educational development was provided by the appointment of the Advisory Committee on Native

Education in the British Tropical African Dependencies to advise the Secretary of State for the Colonies on educational matters and "to assist him in advancing the progress of education" in British tropical Africa. The memorandum produced by the Advisory Committee in 1925 (9) set out the principles which were to guide British educational policy in Africa and recommended, inter alia, that "the study of the educational use of the Vernaculars and the provision of textbooks in the vernaculars were of primary importance and qualified workers should be set aside for this purpose".

The Advisory Committee supplemented the initial statement of policy by memoranda on special subjects including a tentative one on "The Place of the Vernacular in African Education" and invited observations from those who had knowledge of local conditions. On the basis of opinions received from Africa, the Advisory Committee produced in 1927 the first comprehensive policy statement on language teaching in African schools in a memorandum on "The Place of the Vernacular in Native Education".(10) The Committee recommended that vernaculars must be used in the first stages of elementary education and affirmed the great importance of retaining the use of the vernaculars not only in the early stages of education but throughout school life. The Committee, however, identified three main difficulties of vernacular teaching: first, the enormous number of different languages and even dialects of the same language; second, the impossibility of training teachers in a multiplicity of languages; and third, the impossibility, for financial reasons, of providing textbooks and general literature in more than a limited number of native languages. Apart from this, the Committee was gratified to note that in almost all African countries there were Vernaculars already in use in schools, which have increasing value as educational media. In the case of the Gold Coast mention was made of Akan as the most important language as well as of Ga and Ewe.

In addition, the Committee affirmed the importance of a knowledge of English, particularly since it was a necessity in all intermediate, secondary and technical schools. And for this reason the Committee recommended that the introduction of English should not be delayed too long and its teaching should be handled by competent teachers; and since one of the major incentives for Africans in sending their children to school was to enable them to acquire a knowledge of English, any delay in introducing the study of English, the memorandum claimed, would be interpreted by Africans as "an attempt by Government to hold back the African from legitimate advance in civilisation". On the subject of the changeover from the use of the Vernacular to English as a medium the Memorandum was rather vague and made no specific recommendations as to when and how this should come about, apart from endorsing prevailing opinion that a transitional period of one year should be allowed during which the pupils should devote themselves almost entirely to the learning of English in order to facilitate the acquisition of the new medium.

In view of the educational changes and developments which had taken place in the sixteen years since the memorandum was drawn up, the Committee produced in 1944 a memorandum on "Language in African School Education", (11) the object of which was to examine the general policy and consider its application. The memorandum made specific recommendations on the timing of the changeover from the Vernacular to English as a medium. Recognising that the central aim in African education is to keep it truly African, but that there was a claimant need for a knowledge of English, the Committee recommended that all education should be through the medium of the Vernacular in the first three years. In the 4th year English would be introduced as a subject and then, in the 6th year, there would be a switchover to English as a medium in selected subjects; and from then until the 9th year the use of English as the medium would be gradually increased until finally in the 10th year English would become the medium of instruction in all subjects. The recommended plan can be summarized as follows:

1st - 3rd Year	Vernacular only
4th	" English introduced as a subject.
6th	" English as a medium in selected subjects.
7th - 9th	" English gradually increased as a medium.
10th	" English as a medium.

Among the significant consequences of this new emphasis on vernacular studies was the institution at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London University, of language studies at the higher levels of scholarship as well as intensive language courses in Akan (Twi and Fante), Ga (Accra, Adangme and Krobo), Ewe, Mole (Moshi), Dagomba, Nankanni and Hausa meant for missionaries and administrative officers preparing for the Lower Standard Examination of the Gold Coast Board of Examiners first constituted in 1925. (12) And the publication of the international African Alphabet by the International African Institute in 1927 revised in 1930 stimulated the orthographic standardisation of a number of African languages. By 1955, according to Lord Hailey (1957), well over sixty vernacular languages in the British colonies had officially adopted the 'Africa' script. (13)

Within the Ghana education system, the study of the vernacular received considerable boost. At the primary school level, Rule 25 of the Rules made under the Education Ordinance of 1925 prescribed that "in the Infant Classes the vernacular shall be the medium of instruction whenever the nature of the subject permits its use". The vernaculars used were Twi, Fante, Ga, Ewe and Nzema. Simple spoken English was also prescribed as a subject. The reason for the use of the vernacular as the medium of instruction in a child's fundamental orientation at school was that it would "ensure that the reception of knowledge is not delayed by any unfamiliarity with the language in which such

knowledge is imparted." (14) In the Junior standard classes (Standards I-III), the vernacular was also used as the main medium of instruction, but reading and writing (including elementary composition and dictation) of English were taught as subjects. And in the Senior standard classes (Standards IV-VII) the vernacular gave way to English as the medium of instruction and English became almost exclusively the language of the schools, although a certain amount of time in these classes was devoted to the reading of the vernacular. (15) Considerable progress was achieved in the use of the vernacular as the medium of instruction, particularly in the infant classes and by the end of the year 1928-29, the Director of Education reported as follows: "Vernacular as the medium of instruction for infants has become almost universal, with beneficial results. The increased interest that children now show is undoubtedly largely due to the fact that they are familiar with the language by which their knowledge is imparted, and can devote all their conscious thought to grasping that knowledge. When English was more frequently used by teachers, the young child, because of his slight grasp of that language, had to pay such close attention to it that he had little thought left for anything further. Such increased interest means a quicker reception of knowledge, so that the vernacular as a medium of instruction definitely helps forward the aim of a two year infant course". (16)

The vernacular was, however, not tested in the Primary School Leaving Examination. To redress this situation, the Education Committee (1937-41) (17) appointed at the request of the local Board of Education "to examine the existing educational system in the Gold Coast and to make recommendations where necessary for its modification" recommended, among others, the inclusion of the vernacular in the Primary School Leaving Examination. This particular recommendation led to increased provision being made for the study of the vernaculars in the senior classes of the Primary School and caused authors to turn their attention to the preparation of books suitable for use in these classes.

At the secondary school level, the pursuit by the University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate of the general policy of adapting examinations to suit the peculiar educational needs of each territory led to the acceptance of four Ghanaian languages as subjects of examination equivalent to other languages: Twi and Fante in 1930-31 (18), Ga in 1933-34 (19) and Ewe in 1934-35. (20) Following the lead given by the Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate, the University of London in 1934-35 accepted Twi, Fante or Ga as a subject which counted, among others, towards exemption from its Matriculation Examination. Ewe was subsequently accorded the same recognition.

The net effect of the acceptance and recognition of the four languages and the consequent introduction of syllabuses and examination papers on them was that interest in the Ghanaian

languages and culture and allied vernacular studies was much enhanced. For example, in the December 1938 examination, 135 out of a total of 179 School Certificate candidates (i.e. 75.4 per cent) offered the Ghanaian languages as subject; and in the Junior Certificate examination, 154 out of a total of 287 candidates (53.7 per cent) sat for the paper on the Ghanaian languages. (21)

It should be mentioned that since the 1930s the honours list of four languages examinable at the 'O'-Level has never been added to, even though other languages do now fulfil the conditions for acceptance. The obvious candidates are Kasem, Gonja or Wale-Dagaari among languages of Northern Ghana and Dangme and Nzema of Southern Ghana.

At the training college level, for a student teacher to qualify for the Teacher's Certificate evidence was required that the candidate had sufficient knowledge of a vernacular to be able to teach those school subjects which were specified by educational policy to be taught in a vernacular. During the year 1937-38, the Education Department, after negotiations with the Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate, ruled that all male students in training should sit for the School Certificate paper on the Ghanaian Language which was their mother tongue. This rule was subsequently extended to include all (both male and female) students in training as teachers. The promulgation of this rule received a ready welcome from training college authorities, as it established a standard in a subject for which it had been difficult in the past to get a standard. Moreover, the prestige which was attached to the School Certificate was transferred to a subject which many students in training were apt to regard as of limited importance. (22)

As regards teachers already in government service, they were all required, with effect from 1927, to sit for an examination in the vernacular before passing the various efficiency bars in their salary scales. Teachers at the £84 bar were examined in their own vernaculars and those who were at the £138 or £246 bar had, in addition, to pass a test in a second language. (23) This requirement resulted in a closer study of the vernaculars by teachers in the service.

We can, therefore, conclude that from about 1920 up to 1950 the place of the Ghanaian languages in the educational system was assured both by policy and practice. And, despite temporary delays in the production of relevant textbooks caused by the long-drawn-out controversy with regard to the adoption of the Westermann Script (1927-35) and problems of spelling and the (1939-45) war conditions, substantial progress was made, during the period, with the study and teaching of the Ghanaian languages as well as with the preparation and publication of books, including translations, designed for use in the schools.

It would seem, however, that despite the high premium attached to the study of the vernaculars during the period, emphasis on the learning of English overshadowed vernacular studies and in many instances the use of the mother tongue on the school compound was made a serious offence. There are many educated Ghanaians living to-day who recall the inscription on the wall of their classroom: "All Vernaculars forbidden" - a prohibition supported by the threat of various forms of punishment.

The period 1951-1966

Upon Ghana's achievement of internal self-government early in 1951, the new government, even though it was a token government under the colonial administration, took urgent action in terms of The Accelerated Development Plan of Education (24) to expand and democratise educational facilities at all levels. The aim of the Primary School course under the Plan was "to provide a sound foundation for citizenship with permanent literacy in both English and the Vernacular". To this end "at the beginning of the (Primary School) course instruction will be given through the medium of the local vernacular with English taught as a new language. As soon as possible there will be a transition from the Vernacular to English as the medium of instruction, and the upper classes will receive all instruction through the medium of English, except that throughout the whole course the Vernacular will receive special study".

With this aim in view new language syllabuses for the Vernaculars as well as for English were prepared and published by the Ministry of Education in 1953. The Introduction to the syllabuses discusses the purpose of language work in the Primary School whether in the Vernaculars or English and concludes with a paragraph on the medium of instruction in other subjects, which clearly shows the line of practical implementation of the intention of the Plan:

- Classes 1 to 3: the Vernacular should be the medium of instruction in all subjects.
- Class 4 : introduce English as the medium.
- Class 6 : all lessons in English (English of course is to begin as a subject in the first year of school).

And in order to produce teachers adequate in numbers to meet increased demands arising from the expansion of educational facilities crash programmes for teacher training were instituted under the Plan. These included the splitting-up of the four-year post-primary Certificate "A" teacher-training course into an initial two-year course leading to the Certificate "B" followed, after a period of teaching in the schools, by a further two-year

course leading to the Certificate "A". This re-structuring of the teacher-training programme made it difficult to continue to operate the educational rule first promulgated in the year 1937-38 which required all teachers in training to sit for the School Certificate Examination paper in one of the Ghanaian languages; the rule was eventually abolished in 1952. The result was that teachers received little training in vernacular studies in the training colleges and could scarcely be expected to extend to any appreciable extent their pupils' knowledge of the Ghanaian languages.

The issue of the medium of instruction which appeared to have been resolved for some space of years to come by the language policy under the 1951 Plan continued to exercise the mind of the government and the public. And in the latter part of 1954 there was a move in government circles to change the policy and make English the medium of instruction in all Primary Schools from 1957 or even possibly from an earlier date. The proposal was referred to a Sub-Committee of the Central Advisory Committee on Education. On the basis of the report submitted, the Committee urged that some time be given to investigating the matter. The Committee on the Use of English as the Medium of Instruction in Gold Coast Schools (1955-56) (25) was therefore appointed with the following terms of reference: "to consider (i) whether the use of English as the medium of instruction throughout the Primary stage is feasible, intrinsically sound and educationally desirable; (ii) if so, what procedures to this end should be adopted and from what date should any changes be made."

A majority of the four-member Committee including the Chairman, Mr. G.L. Barnard, were of the opinion that the use of English as the medium of instruction from Primary Class I was not feasible. Accordingly they made the principal recommendation that "the language policy of the Accelerated Development Plan should be taken as the basic policy for the country and therefore the attention of all be given to the wholehearted implementation of the intention of that policy." Other relevant recommendations relate to the use of English as the medium of instruction in experimental schools and the place of the vernacular in such schools.

One member of the Committee, Mr. J.T.N. Yankah, submitted a minority report in which he expressed himself in favour of "the use of English as a medium of instruction throughout the Primary stages of school as being feasible, intrinsically sound and educationally desirable." Accordingly he called upon the government "to order the teaching of the diverse vernacular languages and their use as a medium of instruction to be stopped in all state-aided Primary and Middle Schools and Training Colleges from the beginning of 1957. Religious Instruction in the Vernacular in Lower Primary may, however, be allowed."

In spite of the majority view, the government decided to change the language policy under the Plan and in 1958, the medium of instruction in the first three years of the primary school ceased to be the Vernacular. According to the new policy, the Ghanaian languages were to be used as the medium of instruction only in the first year at school and from the second year on, there was to be a transition to the use of English as the medium of instruction. And although the Ghanaian languages would continue to be taught as a subject, the number of periods for the teaching of the Ghanaian languages should be reduced in favour of English, particularly in the senior classes of the Primary School.

Once again in May 1963, the government appointed a committee of educators, under the chairmanship of Mr. C.J. Bannerman, to review pre-university education. With particular reference to the place of the mother tongue in school education, the report of the committee, which was not published, recommended that the mother tongue be given a more prominent place because of the scarcity of trained teachers competent to teach English. The government, however, continued to push in the other direction.

Following from this new emphasis on English in the educational policy and practice, it became increasingly fashionable for Ghanaian parents, particularly those in the urban areas, to encourage their children to learn and speak English at home to the complete exclusion of any knowledge of a Ghanaian language. The establishment of Experimental Schools, in which English was used as the medium of instruction right from the first year of school and the Ghanaian languages taught once a week in the senior classes, was encouraged and such schools became increasingly popular all over the country.

Generally speaking, the initiation of any language policy must be based on a realistic appraisal of the needs and the available resources in the given educational situation. The task of teaching an L2, such as English, to young children, let alone using it as the medium of instruction, is skilled work which requires of the teacher a high level of competence in the L2 and a practical knowledge of the methodology of L2 teaching. A realistic assessment of the human resources available then in Ghana's educational situation would seem to indicate that primary school teachers in the country did not measure up to this high standard. And it was common experience at that time that in the occasional presence of educational officers, an attempt, albeit inefficient, was made to give instruction in English, and that the moment the back of the inspecting officer was turned the teachers switched over into the L1, in which they felt more at home.

As regards L1 teaching, the inadequate number of periods ear-marked for the teaching of the Ghanaian languages were usually used for instruction in other subjects or regarded as a rest-cure; and any vernacular lessons that were taught were generally

inefficient, since the teachers, particularly the newly-trained ones, lacked competence in the Ghanaian languages and methods of L1 teaching. The result was that at the primary school level, the actual classroom practice did not faithfully reflect the policy which required the use of English as the medium of instruction from Primary Class 2 and much of the declared language policy was honoured more in the breach than in the observance.

In the secondary schools, however, the Ghanaian languages continued to be taught and offered for the School Certificate Examination, but Chief Examiners reported a fall in the standard of performance in these languages. There was also a decline in the percentage of candidates offering the Ghanaian languages as an examination subject. (26)

The net effect of the language policy and practice was a general slight and neglect of the Ghanaian languages in the schools and colleges and a consequent low level of literacy and proficiency in them coupled with a low level of competence in English. (27)

The Period 1966-1969

In 1966, the new government of the National Liberation Council (N.L.C.), whose avowed aim was to redress the errors of the previous administration, appointed the Educational Review Committee (1966-1967) (28), under the chairmanship of Professor A.A. Kwapong, with the following terms of reference: "to conduct a comprehensive review of the education system of Ghana, that is: elementary, secondary, teacher-training and higher education; to examine the problems arising from the work of national research; and to make recommendations and suggest reforms for improvement and for eliminating inefficiency and waste".

The Kwapong Committee made a number of recommendations which sought to improve the standard of competence in the Ghanaian languages and enhance their status in the educational system. On the issue of the use of a Ghanaian language as the medium of instruction in the early stages, the Committee endorsed what had in the main been the language policy in the past and accordingly recommended that "a Ghanaian language should be used as the medium of instruction for the first three years of the primary school course; the change to English as the medium of instruction should commence in the fourth year whilst the Ghanaian language continues to be studied as a subject; in the metropolitan and other urban areas where the children are generally more exposed to spoken English than in the rural areas, the change to English as a medium of instruction may commence earlier than the fourth year of the course." The reason which the Committee gave in support of its recommended language policy was that "children learn more easily in their mother tongue and are more readily able to express their

ideas and reactions in that language".

The Committee's recommended policy for the use of a Ghanaian language as the medium of instruction was rejected by the government of the N.L.C., which defended the existing policy of the previous government. The Government White Paper on the Committee's report stated: "Government considers ... that a Ghanaian language should be used in the first year, and that a gradual change to English as the medium of instruction should begin in the second year with practical subjects such as number work, handwork, physical education and games. More and more subjects should be progressively taught in the English medium. In the cosmopolitan areas, however, English may be used as the medium of instruction as early as the first year in school." (29)

In the case of primary schools of mixed nationalities, the Committee recognised the need for the use of English as the medium of instruction and recommended that in such English-medium schools including experimental schools, Ghanaian children should be taught the appropriate Ghanaian language as a subject throughout the course.

And in order to improve the standard of teaching the Ghanaian languages in the schools the Committee made a number of recommendations which include: (a) the addition of the Ghanaian languages to the twelve basic subjects to be taught in the 4-year Certificate 'A' colleges; (b) the raising of the standard of the 4-year Certificate 'A' course to that equivalent to the West African School Certificate or the G.C.E. 'Ordinary' Level in all the basic subjects; (c) the addition of the Ghanaian language to the subjects currently examined externally at the end of the 4-year Certificate 'A' course; and (d) "as soon as teachers who speak the local languages are available, they should be posted to such schools. When this happens, the medium of instruction in the first three years of the course should be the appropriate Ghanaian language".

It should be noted that the arrangement proposed in the latter recommendation would result in the teaching force at each school being composed of a single ethnic group. And though this arrangement might have some educational advantages, it would not promote inter-ethnic communication and understanding.

The Committee made appropriate recommendations which sought to restore the Ghanaian languages to a respectable place in the educational system and to improve competence in them. It, however, failed to pay attention to certain important aspects of the problem which relate to the availability of teachers of the Ghanaian languages, suitable textbooks, and well-thought-out syllabuses geared to recognised levels of the educational system.

The accepted recommendations of the Kwapong Committee could

not be implemented because the N.L.C. which appointed it was replaced, after three years in office, by the elected government of the Progress Party which came into power in September 1969. The laudable recommendations of the Committee, however, influenced subsequent policy.

And yet another post-independence stimulus to improvement in the status of the Ghanaian languages in the educational system was provided by the Conference on the Study of Ghanaian Languages jointly organised by the Institute of African Studies and the Department of Linguistics of the University of Ghana and held at Legon from 5th to 8th May, 1968. A set of sixteen resolutions (30) was unanimously adopted at the conference, calling for the foundation of an association of teachers of Ghanaian languages; the compulsory teaching of Ghanaian languages in Training Colleges and their external examination in Primary Schools and Training Colleges; the appointment of a Principal Educational Officer with special responsibility for Ghanaian language teaching at both the primary and post-primary level; the review of the 'O'-Level Ghanaian language syllabus and the examination of the Ghanaian language at the 'A'-Level; the training of Ghanaian language teachers at the University of Cape Coast and the Winneba Advanced Teacher Training College; and the inclusion of the applied linguistics of Ghanaian languages in the course offerings of the Language Centre at Legon. The Conference resolution further dealt with the up-dating of existing textbooks and the collation of oral and written materials as a means to the production of new textbooks; the review by a government committee of the present number of Ghanaian languages taught in the schools and of those examinable at the 'O'-Level. This Conference, attended by some sixty participants mainly professional linguists and language teachers, was a strong lobby for the preservation and promotion of the Ghanaian languages in the education system and in Ghanaian society. Their principal interest was in improving competence in usage of one's mother tongue but not in increasing communication across language boundaries and improving national integration. As one of the principal architects of the Conference, G. Ansre, has commented: "In almost all previous cases of the linguist's involvement in language planning in Ghana, 'educational' language planning has featured more prominently than 'political' language planning. Typical of this trend was the 1968 Conference ..., in which the focus of attention was clearly on the educational aspects of language planning." (31) The Conference resolutions, which were given maximum publicity, exerted considerable influence on future language policy and practice in education.

The Period 1969-1972

During its brief tenure of office (1969-72), the Progress Party government showed appreciable concern over the study and teaching of the Ghanaian languages in the educational system. In

an address in January 1970, on the occasion of the inauguration of the Association of Teachers of Ghanaian Languages (which had been recommended in Resolution 1 of the 1968 Legon Conference), the Minister of Education gave an undertaking to give every support to the development of Ghanaian languages. Furthermore, in summing up for the government at the end of a parliamentary debate in May 1971 on a private member's motion advocating the promotion and co-ordination of all efforts towards the adoption of a common Ghanaian language or lingua franca, the Minister of Education gave the assurance that all the main Ghanaian languages would receive equal opportunities for study in school and that effective from the following school year, every pupil would learn his own language and in addition one other main Ghanaian language. And there is evidence to show that a number of policy proposals (32) regarding the teaching and development of the Ghanaian languages were receiving the Minister's urgent attention. A study of these policy proposals shows that they were heavily influenced by the Kwapong Committee's recommendations and the Resolutions of the Legon Conference.

The Period 1974 to the present day

In February 1974, the government of the Supreme Military Council/National Redemption Council published "The New Structure and Content of Education for Ghana" (33), outlining its educational policy, changes in the structure of the educational system and subjects to be taught at the various levels. The teaching of the Ghanaian languages and cultural studies is emphasised at all levels. The following is a summary of the current language policy in education:

1. During the Primary course, (a) the child shall learn his own language, and in addition one other Ghanaian language; (b) 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 IV; and (c) as soon as conditions will allow French, at the appropriate level, will be introduced into the primary course, emphasis being on oral and aural activities.
2. A Ghanaian language as well as a second Ghanaian language shall be studied during the Junior Secondary School.
3. In the Senior Secondary Lower Course, the study of a Ghanaian language will be compulsory.
4. A Ghanaian language shall be one of the additional subjects offered in Technical/Vocational Courses.
5. To enable teachers (whose basic qualification for entry into any teacher training institution shall be the GCE "O" Level or its equivalent) cope with the new policy on the teaching and learning of Ghanaian languages, every teacher in training shall learn one other Ghanaian language in addition to his own.

With this aim the government established in 1973 the School of Ghana Languages at Ajumako to provide a specialist course in ten languages (i.e. Akan (Akwapem Twi, Asante Twi, Fante), Ewe, Ga, Dangme, Nzema, Kasem, Wale-Dagaari and Gonja). At the end of the three-(formerly two-) year course, in addition to teaching practice, the students are examined in seven written papers consisting of Phonology and Grammar, Essay and Comprehension including Summary and Translation, Written Literature, Oral Literature, Customs and Institutions and Language and Society in Ghana, and Long Essay. With the exception of the paper on Language and Society in Ghana, all the other papers are set and answered in the Ghanaian language. And during their training the students have the option of studying a second Ghanaian language. Diplomates from the School are employed as language organisers or teachers of the Ghanaian language of their speciality in the primary school, secondary school or training college and from all accounts are making a significant contribution to the improvement of the standard of Ghanaian language teaching.

A number of panels have also been set up to design syllabuses in various subjects including the Ghanaian languages and Cultural Studies meant for recognised levels of the educational system.

In addition, language committees have been established under the aegis of the Bureau of Ghana Languages and charged with the responsibility of ensuring that (a) a standardised form of the language is developed which has the support of members of the speech community and is adopted by authors in the language; (b) works of general literature and textbooks in the language are produced; (c) literacy in the language is acquired and the reading habit encouraged among the greatest number of speakers of the language; and (d) the oral traditions, verbal art forms and customs and institutions of the speech community are collected and documented.

A further development is the examination, since 1976, of Akan and Ewe at the 'A'-Level, as recommended in Resolution 6 of the 1968 Legon Conference.

The main features of Ghana's language policy in education

As the above survey indicates, Ghana's language policy in the field of education has, since the earliest days of formal education, been mainly concerned with the question of the medium of instruction at the primary school stage. There have been fluctuations in the language policy which have often favoured the mother tongue-medium but, on occasion, also the English-medium.

Those who have advocated the use of the Vernacular as the medium of instruction have understandably been concerned about the apparent ease with which young children can understand and acquire

new information through the medium of the mother tongue and the difficulties they encounter in doing so in a foreign language. In addition, children are better able to appreciate their cultural heritage which is best transmitted in their mother tongue. One difficulty which has always confronted the greater utilization of the Ghanaian languages as medium of instruction is the degree of ethnic mixing in both urban and rural schools. According to a survey conducted by the Barnard Committee in 1956 (34) only 499 out of 1,652 schools were unilingual schools in the sense that all the pupils spoke a single mother tongue, whereas 559 of the schools had more than five mother tongues "represented in fair numbers." Moreover the greater expenditure involved in training teachers and producing suitable teaching materials in a wide variety of local languages has also been a prohibiting factor.

On the other hand, those who have favoured the use of the English language as medium have been influenced by its potential for achieving inter-ethnic communication and social and political unification as against the possible tribalistic and divisive tendencies of a mother tongue-medium policy. Advocates of an English-medium policy have also regarded English as important for international communication not only between African states but between them and the rest of the world.

Both the colonial administration and national governments since independence have restricted the role of the mother tongue as medium to only the first three years of the primary school course. And yet there are a number of major and well-codified Ghanaian languages which could be used as the media of instruction throughout the primary course as well as at the post-primary level. As already mentioned, at the School of Ghana Languages, Ajumako, instructions in Phonology, Grammar, Literature, etc. are given in the various Ghanaian languages and examination papers on the various subjects are set and answered in the Ghanaian languages.

A language policy in the field of education for a multilingual nation has great influence on language usage and patterns of national communication. Throughout the history of education in Ghana, school pupils have been required by official policy to study only their mother tongue. Consequently, if a pupil attends school in a locality where his mother tongue is not the predominant local language, he will study a Ghanaian language other than his own mother tongue. The teaching of Ghanaian languages in school has long been seen more as a means of increasing competence in one's mother tongue than as a means of increasing intergroup communication and improving national integration. Perhaps the language policy of "The New Structure and Content of Education for Ghana" is the first major government statement which involves the utilization of language policy in education to increase national communication, consistent with the first principle of the Government's Charter: "One nation, one

people, one destiny." (35) I contend that the promotion of some means of national communication by Ghana's language policy in education is of greater importance than has so far been recognized by educational policy-makers.

A more effective stimulus to intergroup communication and national integration would be the adoption of a common Ghanaian language as a subject of study or medium of instruction. The adoption of Akan as a subject of study was proposed in 1961 by Mr. D.E. Asafo-Agyei in a private member's motion: "That in the opinion of this House it is desirable that the Akan language should now be taught in all schools in Ghana". The motion was lost. But if a common Ghanaian language could be selected, then all teachers would have to achieve a certain level of competence in it before they could teach. This would impose considerable problems on teacher training, but perhaps not less than training teachers in a variety of Ghanaian languages. With careful language planning, however, the problems can be identified and resolved, with the welcome effect that teachers can be transferred to any part of the country and the teaching staff at any given school would be ethnically mixed. Such a resultant arrangement would make for possible improvement in inter-ethnic understanding and tolerance among the school population.

At the post-primary level, English has remained, from the earliest years of formal education in Ghana, the medium of instruction, and this dominant role of the English language has never been questioned. Perhaps the only time any attempt was made to assail the entrenched position of English was when during the change-over from the Cambridge School Certificate Examination to the West African School Certificate/General Certificate of Education it was decided that the School Certificate regulation shall not apply which stipulated that a candidate who failed in the English language paper was deemed to have failed the entire examination. The decision, which now seems the most obvious and sensible, provoked a furore among the educated English-speaking elite who wanted to maintain the status quo for fear that standards might slump. Eventually, they succeeded in making an 'O' Level pass in English language one of the requirements for entry into the university. Underlying this typical attitude is a mistaken view, often insinuated by former colonial powers, that modernization for the new nations of Africa and Asia can only come about through the adoption and use of a world language such as English or French. A concomitant view, equally mistaken, is that the only progressive form of writing is the Roman alphabet. In the world today, there is sufficient evidence to show that progress and modernization for a people can be achieved through an indigenous means of national communication and an indigenous writing system.

A regrettable and surprising feature of the continuing debate over the medium of instruction is that very little research has

been undertaken on the subject in Ghana and for that matter in most other parts of Africa.

The formation of an intelligent and realistic language policy has so many complications and raises so many problems which require for their solution basic research.

Probably the most urgent problem for research is how soon it is desirable to introduce the L2 as subject of study. The investigation may take the form of comparing groups of children taught the L2 as subject after various degrees of delay in introducing the L2.

It would also be useful to assess, through objective research, the effects, if any, of L1 teaching on proficiency in L2. Particular attention may be focussed on the effects, whether beneficial or adverse, of L1 learning on pronunciation, reading, writing and spelling in L2. In addition it would be valuable to measure the degree and nature of L1 interference in L2.

Another relevant issue worthy of investigation is whether the effects of L2 medium on proficiency in L1 is beneficial or adverse.

Equally important is the need to determine whether the use of L2 as medium gives an additional stimulus to fluency and competence in that language.

The current language policy in education requires Ghanaian school children to become proficient in at least two Ghanaian languages in addition to English. It is, therefore, necessary to find out whether or not this imposes an educational burden on primary school children. And since competence in two local languages is supposed to make for inter-group communication and understanding, it would also be useful to have research information on the effects of bi-lingualism on inter-ethnic relations.

It would also be valuable to have more research information on the attitudes of parents, teachers and students regarding the use of the Vernacular or English as the medium of instruction as well as their reactions to the idea of introducing a common Ghanaian language as the medium of instruction. Such a study could be widened to determine the attitude of Ghanaians towards the retention of English as the official language or the adoption of a Ghanaian language as the national language.

A preliminary study bearing on these issues was conducted in 1968 by D.K.Agyeman (36) of the University of Cape Coast. The aim of the study was to find out: (i) whether Ghanaian pupils and students would welcome the use of a Ghanaian language as the medium of instruction in place of English, and (ii) which of the

Ghanaian languages would be preferred by these pupils and students. The study was an attempt to obtain feedbacks from students and pupils which could help educationists and educational policy-makers to correct or re-assess their decisions regarding language policies for the schools. The total of 137 people interviewed were drawn from Middle School Form IV pupils, Secondary Forms V and VI students and final-year university students from the University of Cape Coast and the University of Ghana, Legon. In answer to the first question, 72% (i.e. 136 out of the total of 187) opted for the English language as the medium of instruction; only 26% (i.e. 48 of them) opted for a Ghanaian language in place of English as a medium of instruction. As regards response to the second question, 96% (i.e. 46 out of the total of 48 who opted for a Ghanaian language medium) chose Akan; only 2 chose a Gur language; and no one opted for Ga-Adangbe, Ewe or Guang. And of the 46 who chose Akan about 80% (i.e. 37 of them) were Akan-speaking; the remaining 9 were non-Akan speakers and consisted of 4 Ga-Adangbes, 3 Ewes and 2 Guangs.

The study further showed a degree of positive correlation between the level of education and language preference. For whereas only 11% of the Middle School pupils and 20% of the Secondary School students opted for Ghanaian languages, 24% of the Sixth Formers and 37% of the Final-year University students opted for Ghanaian languages. This rise in preference for a Ghanaian language parallel to the upward movement on the educational ladder Mr. Agyeman attributes to the fact that "Ghanaian students develop intense national consciousness as they move higher on the educational ladder. They consider the vernaculars as one of the essential aspects of the overall Ghanaian culture which should not be dropped in favour of a foreign language".

And finally, given the variety of practices followed by state and private schools in Ghana, there is a need to find out how successful schools can be in educating their pupils if they are taught either through L1-medium or L2-medium. The only documented study in Ghana relating to this issue was conducted by G.O. Collison (37) of the University of Cape Coast. The purpose of his study was to investigate the effect of learning Science in a foreign tongue on the cognitive growth of children. Children in Primary Class 6 handled learning materials for first-hand experience and were immediately afterwards given the opportunity for oral expression and synthesis of what had been learnt in the words of the children. The design of the experiment made it possible for each pupil to use both English and a Vernacular (either Ga or Twi) in class discussions or colloquia in two independent series of lessons. Statements contributed by the children, which provided a measure of the knowledge acquired in the process of science experience, were later analysed.

The analysis revealed that learning Science in the Vernacular resulted in higher level conceptual thinking compared with

learning in English. Apart from this, it was also observed that the subjects contributed more statements in the Vernacular than in English. The Vernacular statements often consisted of several sentences at one stretch and were structurally more complex. In English, the trend was generally a simple sentence not well constructed, a phrase or a word at a time. It was further observed that the English groups experienced various difficulties in following instructions given in English; hence instructions as well as teacher contributions during discussions were given in the Vernacular. And although some group discussions were conducted in English, there were often undercurrents of supporting deliberations in the Vernacular at peer level.

Another observation was that the Vernacular provided more assistance in the construction of models and also afforded the subjects more ample opportunities to suggest tests and investigations. On the whole, then, the subjects, when operating in the Vernacular, had a more comfortable edge over themselves than when operating in English, possibly for the reason that they had greater facility with the Vernacular and possessed a richer store of the vernacular vocabulary.

But perhaps the more thorough-going and better publicised experiment is the Six-Year Primary Project (SYPP) (38) started in January 1970 by the Institute of Education at the University of Ife, Nigeria, with Yoruba as the medium of instruction from primary one to primary six and English taught as a second language throughout the primary course. The four main aims of the Project are:

1. to develop a primary curriculum with an adequately strong surrender value, since primary education is terminal for the majority of Nigerian children;
 2. to develop materials, together with appropriate methodology, for teaching the prepared curriculum effectively;
 3. to use the Yoruba language as the medium of instruction throughout in order to demonstrate that primary education, when given in the child's mother tongue rather than in a second or foreign language, is more effective and meaningful;
- and 4. to teach the English language effectively as a second language through specialist teachers and thereby provide an alternative approach (generally assumed to be more practicable and rewarding than the current education practice) to the equipment of primary school products with a knowledge of English adequate for secondary education or appointments usually given to people of that level of formal education.

The Project concentrated on five areas of the curriculum, two dealing with language and the remaining three with content

subjects: (i) Yoruba language arts, (ii) English as a second language, (iii) Science (including health and sanitation), (iv) Mathematics, and (v) Social and Cultural Studies which embrace Music, Arts, Folklore, Literature, Civics, etc. For each of these areas a detailed syllabus, instructional materials and clearly spelt-out schemes of work both in Yoruba and English were prepared.

The results of the Project, objectively evaluated, have convincingly demonstrated that Yoruba can be used effectively as the medium of a full, rich and meaningful primary education. As regards doubts about the adequacy of Yoruba as the medium of instruction in Science, Mathematics and Social Studies, it has been shown from the data accumulated that the phonological and morphemic resources of the Yoruba language, and those of any indigenous African language for that matter, are rich enough to meet any new demands, whether mathematical, scientific or technological, that may be made upon it.

With particular reference to the teaching of English as a second language, the results of the activities of the Project have shown that teaching English with the use of enriched instructional materials (including functional supplementary readers) through only chosen gifted teachers provides adequate answers to the perennial problems of teaching English effectively to Nigerian children. The enriched materials alone (i.e. in the hands of non-specialised teachers) have produced results which are, at least, as satisfactory as past practice of using English as the medium of instruction in the last three years of the primary school by all teachers.

Conclusion

The language issues described in the foregoing paragraphs and many others demand solution through objective research. The resultant research information will provide a much clearer picture of the language situation on which realistic language planning and language policy formulation can be based. If such research is not carried out, there is a danger that opinion and force of habit will bring about a rigidity of attitude and practice from which it may be difficult to break away.

In the absence of research data on which policy-makers and language planners can depend, Ghana would be well advised to accept for the time being the language policy of "The New Structure and Content of Education for Ghana" as the basic policy and it is hoped that, in its implementation, the policy would receive the wholehearted support of all so that the actual classroom practice would reflect the policy; the Ghanaian languages would be accorded their proper place within both the education system and national life generally; the importance of

English in Ghana as a medium for national and international communication would also be fully recognised; and the means would be found of improving the quality of language instruction for both the mother tongues and English.

In conclusion, there is an urgent need for the establishment of a language planning agency which is superordinate to the language committees that have been set up and will be responsible for language planning in the country and the formulation of a language policy in the essential areas of the social life of the nation.