1. Bilingualism-Biculturalism and the Utilization of African Languages for the Development of African Nations

Abstract

The slow rate of development of African nations vis-a-vis their counterparts all over the world has been a major concern throughout the 21st c. As we enter the century., it behoves African scholars and intellectuals and other non-Africans who have some goodwill for Africa to rise up and challenge this ugly situation

This paper argues that the lack of development of African nations can be mainly linked to the lack of recognition and underutilization of African languages and cultures. It has consistently escaped the attention of African policy-makers and planners that language has the greatest potentials and capacity to enhance the development of human beings, as individuals or societies, hence their consistent neglect and silence about language when discussing matters of development.

Using Nigeria as a point of reference, the study observes the patterns of social and language policies in Africa. It then examines the basis of government policies in order to identify the sources of socio-linguistic problems militating against national development. Lastly, it suggests the application of a bilingual-bicultural policy towards tackling the problems facing the nations of Africa. The key principles of bilingualism-biculturalism, viz (i) the conception of societal bilingualism-biculturalism, (ii) appropriate integration of tradition and modernity, and (iii) adequate utilization of mother-tongue and second language resources, are explained and related to three key areas of national development -- politics, language choice and development, and education.

The paper concludes by suggesting that new comprehensive language policies be formulated in African nations which will incorporate all features pertaining to the principles of bilingualism-biculturalism stated above.

1. Introduction

Although development is the ultimate goal of national aspirations and individual efforts, it is most apparent that the nations of the world and individuals either attain or fail to attain this goal in varying degrees, thus necessitating the classification of nations as 'developing' and 'developed'. The commonest means of measuring development is in economic terms of GDP and capital formation. While the GDP may sometimes cover up the lopsidedness in the wealth distribution among a population, Seidman (1976:49) claims that development should be based on:

> "... an analysis of the *spread of productivity* and increased levels of living of *the broad masses of the population.* (Emphasis ours).

Seidman's claim is further confirmed by The World Bank (1989) report which says that measuring development in terms of human-centred social indicators such as basic health services, food, education and life expectancy reflects more accurately the condition of most of the population because of their broader distribution across households. From all indicators of measurement, the low GDPs indicate low development observed in several spheres in most African nations, e.g low literacy level, ethnic conflicts, political confusion, leadership crises, poor education, nutrition and water supply services, low technology and poor planning and management of human resource development.

Generally, it is very rare to see scholars relate issues of development to language since the latter is seen purely as no more than an instrument of communication. But the link between language and development is more fundamental than that. Language is the only creative property unique to human beings as individuals. It is the only road to thinking (Sapir 1921), which makes human living possible and also makes the pooling together of individual capacities (of human beings) for social development become inevitable (Afolayan 1994). As the key to the heart of people and consequently their knowledge and treasures (Engholm 1965), one could extrapolate from Whorf's claim (see Caroll 1956) to assume that sociolinguistic structure influences people's development of their society. If human beings can explore, discover and extend knowledge through their languages, and also if

exploration, discovery and extension of frontiers of knowledge are the prerequisites for social development, the languages of African nations must be well-organized and developed for the societies to blossom.

Meanwhile, it should be noted that a language does not exist in a vacuum. It is as a vehicle of culture that language functions as an instrument of human development. Besides, a particular language is itself also an institution within a culture where it co-occurs with other institutions and activities shared by the people (Brosnahan, 1962). Thus a discussion of positive development of African nations through their language resources has also to stir up discussions about the positive cultural resources, activities, thoughts and attitudes of peoples of the nations. Das Gupta (1968) observes that on account of the fact that most new or third world countries are faced with linguistic and cultural diversities, the successful new nation will be that whose leaders acquire 'the political art of holding diverse units together in a national community'.

This study observes the patterns of social and language policies in Africa, with particular reference to Nigeria, and their socio-cultural implications on national affairs. From the socio-linguistic perspective, the study examines the historical-cultural bases (see Tollefson 1991) of the policies in order to make explicit the mechanisms by which policy decisions serve or undermine particular political and economic interests. It then discusses the application of a bilingual-cultural approach to the development of African languages and cultures, and by implication the development of African nations.

2. Current Social and Language Policies in Africa

There is no doubt that the goals of development set as targets of various policies in African countries have not been achieved, at least not with the myriads of socio-political problems still facing them. Decades after many nations achieved political independence, there is political instability in them; currently, a lot of them are engulfed in protracted ethnic crises and highly fatalistic civil wars. In Nigeria, several experiments of political governance have been tried without any success, ranging from parliamentary or presidential democracy to military dictatorship. The current exercise in democratic governance is already being threatened by problems of ethnic

crises and several others.

In other spheres of life such as education, economics, science and technology, policies have been formulated and implemented sporadically and haphazardly. For example, in economic terms the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) has been implemented in various forms in many African countries and several IMF conditionalities have prompted governments to take certain economic measures e.g Second-tier Foreign Exchange Market (SFEM) or Autonomous Foreign Exchange Market (AFEM) in Nigeria. We have also talked a lot about 'technology transfer', which has turned some nations into veritable dumping grounds for unwanted foreign goods. So far, the end result of all these is that socio-economic and political problems still remain.

Apart from the non-linguistic steps taken above, language policies have also been variously formulated and implemented along the lines of the three patterns suggested by scholars -- Amodal, Unimodal and Multimodal (Whiteley 1971, Verdoodt 1979 and Adegbija 1994). The Amodal policy, which extols one exogenous language such as French or Portuguese and belittles all endogenous (indigenous) languages, is practised in most French and Portuguese ex-colonies such as Mali, Cameroon, Niger, Senegal, Togo (French) and Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissua (Portuguese). The 'identity and assimilation' strategy of the French and Portuguese colonialists ensured that the metropolitan community and African peoples share a common political belief and cultural destiny. The Unimodal Policy selects one major endogenous language, such as Swahili in Tanzania, Kirundi in Burundi, Somali in Somalia, Amharic in Ethiopia and Arabic in Egypt, Morocco, Tunisia and Sudan, as national or official language while other languages serve various other functions. In Tanzania, the smallness of over 100 different ethnolinguistic units assisted the selection of Swahili, a neutral language that has developed through trade inter-communication between people. The Multimodal policy type, in which an exogenous language as well as one or more endogenous 'majority' languages are extolled over and above other 'minority' languages, operates especially in former ex-English colonies like Nigeria (English, Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba), Sierra Leone (English and Creole), Kenya (English and Swahili) and South Africa (English and

Afrikaans).

In all of the three policy types above, it is observed that the use of African languages as resource for development is lacking. Even in the few nations where African languages serve official functions, such languages are mere lingua francas or Languages of Wider Communications (LWCs) but serve limited functions in formal education. In other nations, the dominant use of foreign languages as elaborated codes is glaring, while the indigenous languages are either absent or serve restricted functions. For example, in Ghana and Nigeria, English serves as the official language, while Akan, Moshi-Dagomba and Ewe (Ghana) and Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba (Nigeria) serve as LWCs. These are majority languages of the largest ethnic groups in the countries. In addition, these and all other minority indigenous languages are assigned minor roles as media of instruction at the lower rung of the educational system. Meanwhile, Pidgin English also exists as a lingua franca of low status, Arabic is used by Muslims for religious purposes, and French is learnt by individuals in particular for communication across two French-speaking neighbour countries.

In Nigeria there is no comprehensive language policy document anywhere. What is regarded as the language policy now are scanty and sporadic language provisions contained in the *Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria as National Policy on Education* (NPE, 1981). Four of such provisions relevant to our discussion in this paper are presented below:

i.   The business of the National Assembly shall be conducted in English, and in Hausa, Ibo (sic) and Yoruba when adequate arrangements have been made thereof.

——*1999 Constitution,* Section 55

ii. The business of a House of Assembly shall be conducted in English, but the House may in addition to English conduct the business of the House in one or more other languages spoken in the state as the House may by resolution approve.

——*1999 Constitution,* Section 97

iii. In addition to appreciation of the importance of a language in the educational process, and as a means of preserving the people's culture, the government considers it to be in the interest of national unity that

each child should be encouraged to learn one of the three major languages other than his own mother tongue. In this connection, the government considers the three major languages in Nigeria to be Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba.

—— *NPE*, Para. 8

iv (a)----Government will ensure that the medium of instruction will be principally the mother tongue or the language of the immediate community.

—--NPE, Para. 11(3): Pre-primary education.

(b) Government will see to it that the medium of instruction in the primary school is initially the mother tongue or the language of the immediate community and, at a later stage, English.

—--*NPE*, para. 15(4): *Primary education*

3. Impact of Policies on National Development

That the social and language policies mentioned in the discussion above have so far had little positive impact on national development has been attributed to various factors. One of such is the poor or non-implementation of policies generally (Adegbija 1994, Bamgbose 1994); and second is that policies are most often not well-formulated as they do not fully take into consideration the diverse interests and attitudes of the diverse population of Nigeria (Afolayan 1977, Brann 1977, Fafunwa 1982 and Adegbija 1994). When policies are poorly formulated, they cannot have any positive impact on the society whatever the amount of implementation efforts applied to them. What then are the problems inherent in the language policies and planning in Nigeria? And what is the impact of such problems on national development?

3. Problems of Policies

The most important problem identified in the policies is linguistic hegemony, a feature that associates national identity, unity and education with a few languages of dominant groups (see Harman 1988, Tollefson 1991). Linguistic hegemony is established in two ways: (I) dominance of colonial language, and (ii) dominance of three ethnic languages. In policy 'i' English

is identified as the national language of politics. Although the majority languages, Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba, are mentioned, the policy shows that they are not yet capable of performing this role. Other majority languages of over 250 ethnic groups are not mentioned at all. In policy 'ii' English is also rated higher politically than the indigenous languages at the state level, even when it is glaring that the latter will be more suitable in some states, e.g. Yoruba in the south-western states of Nigeria. In policy 'iii' the major ethnic languages are upgraded for nationalistic reasons of achieving unity and cultural preservation. The policy engenders ethnic domination and has not gone down well with minority groups. Meanwhile, it is not stated whether the three languages (or one of them) are meant to replace English at a later stage or are to complement it. In policy 'iv' English is rated higher than Nigerian languages. Although mother tongues are assigned a role in education, they are restricted to the lower level of the system.

3.1 Dominance of English

The dominant role of English in politics and education in Nigeria is understandable. First, as a vestige of colonial administration, the present leaders find it more convenient to maintain the status quo. English is seen as an elitist status symbol which the leaders have used as a means of exclusion and exploitation of the masses. Besides, English is the historical symbol of federalist Nigeria. The amalgamation of Nigeria in 1914 necessitated the use of English for administration; without such amalgamation, there would be no single territory called Nigeria today. Thus English is the language of nationism (or inter-ethnic relations) in Nigeria. No other single indigenous language qualifies to perform this role.

Although, English is incontestably the language of nationhood, it need not dominate the state (even in multi-ethnic states) and local government levels, and also need not be so emphasized in the educational system. But English is seen as a superior language to all other Nigerian languages. It is the language through which (i) the country carries out most of its international transactions and (ii) members access scientific and technological information and even have private dealings with the rest of the world. Quite beyond this, proponents of the modernization theory have to a great extent convinced

many people that the Western form of life, including their education and language, is the key to civilization and development.

However, in spite of the benefits that an African nation may derive from the modernization issue, critics of the modernization theory have warned against its major side-effects which are: "(I) that the spread of English supports unequal relationships between 'developed' and 'developing' societies, and (ii) that English is associated with the institutionalization of inequality in developing countries" (Tollefson 1991:84). Several experiences have borne this warning out. On the one hand, the alienation from African languages and thoughts that was so much a feature of colonial education (Rodney 1972) still haunts the Nigerian elite, many of whom have extensively acquired formal education and knowledge of English but are still barely literate in their own mother tongues. Furthermore, there is the overdependence of African countries on foreign support for food and other products in spite of the potentially rich resources that can be tapped in their area. On the other hand, the unequal relationship between the elite and masses is emphasized by the inability of the latter to participate in political and economic activities because of their inability to speak or write the official medium of communication; English.

3.2 Dominance of Major Indigenous Languages

In the spirit of cultural nationalism, some Nigerian leaders believe that it would be embarrassing to continue to see English alone as the official language (Ikara 1981, Elugbe 1990); afterall, developed countries of the world such as Russia, Japan and China use indigenous languages internally and use English for international communication. Consequently, the three major indigenous languages were inserted into the constitution (Policy 'i'). Although the real intention of the government was that one of these would eventually become the official language, the intention could not materialize. After several heated debates on the national language question in which academic issues as well as ethnic sentiments were raised, the idea of linguistic oneness (unilingualism) was seen as a delicate matter, and a potential source of ethnic conflict, that needed to give way to plurilingualism (see also Policy 'iii' above).

Naturally, the idea of indigenous languages playing prominent roles in the nation, not only in politics but also in education, is welcomed generally by Nigerians. But the policy statements on this (Policies 'i' and 'iii') created resentment among the minority ethnic groups who have continuously and justifiably expressed their feelings against marginalization by the dominant ethnic groups whose languages are recognized. Citing similar attempts in India, Canada and the UK, Essien (1990) has pointed out that coercion or imposition of a language or languages on a people or peoples no matter how small they may be by State apparatus is likely to be resisted by such people. In order to make a start towards associating all nationality groups with power and progress on the basis of equal access, Nigeria must enhance the participation of the majority of its citizens through their language (Oyelaran 1990)

3.3 Under-utilization of Indigenous Languages

The restriction of the role of the mother tongues as medium of instruction to the lower level of education in Policy 'iv' is basically a perpetuation of the colonial spirit by the ruling elite. This phenomenon is observed in many African countries. Even in the few nations where indigenous languages serve as national or official languages, such languages do not serve elaborated functions in the educational system. Colonial officials in several documents over a century had expressed the opinion that indigenous languages of West Africa were inadequate for education beyond the first two or three years of primary school (Ayandele 1979). That Nigerian educationists, supported by the government, could set such a low standard for the use of Nigerian mother tongues is rather unfortunate, given all the recognized benefits of mother tongue (UNESCO 1953, Chumbow 1990). Despite this low target, the government has not even devised the appropriate means of developing the languages in order to successfully implement the policy.

The elaboration of indigenous languages and assignment of higher roles to mother tongues in education in African nations will have a positive impact on national development by improving the quality of education, reducing illiteracy, increasing public awareness in public programmes and thus encouraging mass participation in public affairs. The processes will

undoubtedly require huge costs in the graphization, standardization and modernization of languages, materials development and teacher-training, but the reward will also be great (Elugbe 1990). According to Chumbow (1990:66), what good cause can be achieved without a cost? Whatever other arguments that have been raised against the use of African languages in education are either seen as obstacles that can be surmounted (UNESCO 1953) or mere rationalizations that fail to stand the test of validity when examined closely (Ansre 1979). For this reason, the policy need not have set a low target for indigenous languages in education.

Where there is the will, there is life. The development and use of African languages cannot be left for the government alone. Cultural organizations, Local Planning Authorities (LPAs) and individuals (scholars, linguists and others), media practitioners and publishers have major roles to play here. Essien (1990:167) gives an example of an Ibibio (minority group) Cultural Organization in Nigeria which commissioned the writing of the Ibibio orthography and presented it to the State Ministry of Education in 1983. In the same vein, Adegbija (1994) mentions the contributions of some individual language planners such as Ben Yehuda in Israel and Ivar Aasen (a Norwegian teacher) whose efforts are worth emulating (see Appel and Muysken 1987). Meanwhile, there is a lot to learn about the development and use of mother tongues in education and national life from the experiences in Philippines, Mexico, Wales, Canada, Russia and Yugoslavia. Coming closer home, Emenanjo (1990) advises speakers of minority languages to learn some lessons from the efforts on the development of major languages which have been reported by scholars, for example, in Nigeira (Bamgbose 1969, Afolayan 1976 and 1979, Ikara 1981 and Williamson 1990).

4. Bilingualism-biculturalism and National Development

4.1 Principles of bilingualism-biculturalism

Four basic principles that are relevant to bilingualism-biculturalism in the context of national development are presented in this section. These are: (i) the principle of societal bilingualism, (ii) the integration of bilingualism and biculturalism; (iii) the recognition of tradition and modernity, and (iv) the importance of mother tongue (MT) and second language (SL).

African countries are generally multilingual in the ordinary sense. But the numerous languages of the nations can be classified along two lines based on the 'societal' rather then 'individual' or 'personal' roles they perform (see Fishman 1966, Stewart 1968). In this respect, all endogenous languages which serve societal (communal) uses are referred to as 'mother tongues', while endogenous as well as exogenous languages which serve societal (national and international) uses are referred to as 'second' languages. These are the languages that are most crucial for national development. All other languages which serve personal rather than societal uses are regarded as 'special languages'. Thus from a bilingual-bicultural perspective, the languages in Nigeria will be classified as follows:

Mother Tongues: All indigenous languages, e.g. Fulfude, Hausa, Igbo, Yoruba, Edo, Efik, Kanuri, Tiv, etc.

Second language: English

Special languages: (I) indigenous languages other than speakers' mother tongues, e.g. Hausa to a Yoruba person.

(ii) French, Arabic and Pidgin English.

Note that for the sake of equality in the status of languages, there is no distinction made here between a major and a minor indigenous language. It is not the State that should confer a special status on a language. For the avoidance of any doubt, the following languages will have to be regarded as both mother tongues and special languages in their respective countries: Amharic in Ethiopia, Swahili in Tanzania, Kirundi in Burundi, Arabic in Sudan, Egypt, Morocco, Tunisa and other Arabic-speaking countries and Somali in Somalia. Also, the second language will be the dominant exogenous language in each nation, e.g. French in Cote d'Ivoire, Portuguese in Angola, French and English in Cameroon, English in Kenya and Spanish in Equatorial Guinea.

The bilingualism-biculturalism approach assumes that a societally-bilingual African nation is also essentially (societally) bicultural. Based on the interconnection between language and culture, it suggests that any social-cultural policy must be based on linguistic consideration, while language policies must also be formulated in social-cultural contexts (see 1.2 above).

Bilingualism-biculturalism recognizes the roles of tradition and modernity, and indeed an integration of the two perspectives, in national development. The following quotation from Spencer (1962:16) explains this better:

—multilingual (or societally-bilingual) nations could make a great contribution to the world by virtue of the inevitable variety and mixture of their cultures. They are in contact with the modern world, and have moved right into it, by means of the language introduced under European rule. They are also in contact, through their own languages with an older less feverish, more stable tradition.

And although we all, in the modern world want technological progress—we all—also need stability.

Meanwhile, the distinct media of traditional and modern cultures are the mother tongue and second language respectively. The collaboration between these media can also have two possible outcomes which are positive for national development, viz. Modernization of mother tongues and indigenization of second language(s).

4.2 Application of Bilingualism-biculturalism to National Development

Within the limited space of this paper the bilingual-bicultural approach will be demonstrated by applying it to three areas of national development, viz - politics, language choice and development, and education.

4.2.1 Politics

Two levels of governance are suggested for Nigeria instead of the present three levels (see Adegbite 1999). While the Local Government Authorities (LGAs) cater for local (intra-ethnic) community interests, the National Government will link all local governments together in a federation. Although interactions may also take place voluntarily among local governments, such should be left to the discretion of participating local governments. Under the present dispensation, the state level with its cumbersome and expensive political paraphernalia will be avoided (cf. Sofunke 1990); but the federal government may find it convenient to have a limited number (a maximum of six) administrative rather than political centres to coordinate official activities between the nation and LGAs.

We suggest that enough local government territories should be created to satisfy the valid demands of communal groups. Since this level is closer to the masses, all citizens will have the opportunity to participate actively in the affairs of their communities, i.e. legislative, executive, judicial, law enforcement, civil and citizenship. At the national level, democratically-elected representatives of various local government areas would form members of a national assembly who will legislate on national affairs. The president and vice-president of the nation may be chosen via elections from members of parliament, whereby the person with the highest number of votes cast becomes the president while the second person becomes the vice-president. The national assembly should also deliberate on such other sensitive issues as the constitution of the army, para-military and other non-military bodies and organizations in the nation. With the above arrangement, the atmosphere of free voluntary associations of groups at national and sub-national levels will be created and encouraged, while that of rigid statism and forceful and arbitrary demarcations of groups will be removed. This will augur well for the nation, and it will be able to truly move forward.

4.2.2 Language Choice and Development:

The bilingual-bicultural policy would support the recognition and assignment of both personal and official roles to indigenous languages in the various local governments in which they serve as people's mother tongues. For example, it should be ideal to use the mother tongues at this level for communication in offices, mass media and the schools. It is also quite feasible for each local government and its people to cultivate its language(s) and develop it to perform the above task (see 3.3). With adequate mobilization and support, handy and manageable data to handle, together with communal zeal and a competitive spirit, the local governments should have greater commitment to developing local languages than the federal government.

At the centre, English should serve an expected coordinating role as a means of inter-ethnic and international communication. It should be the business of the national assembly to organize and coordinate efforts to officially promote the development, learning and use of English as a second

language in Nigeria. In this regard two varieties of English may develop. (i) the acrolectal variety for international communication, and (ii) a mesolectal (indigenized) variety for intra-national, inter-ethnic communication. Lastly, the voluntary acquisition and use of special languages should also be encouraged for various reasons of personal development.

4.2.3　Education

Fafunwa (1991) conceives of effective education in terms of functional education, which emphasises individual intellectual development, social responsibility, job orientation, political participation, and positive spiritual **and moral values. This is in line with our perception of what the role of** education in African nations should be. In our view, bilingual-bicultural education will tackle such inherent problems of African education as (i) creation of a hiatus between the school and world of work; (ii) alienation of the scholar from his/her local community, and (iii) failure to effectively tackle the problem of childhood and adult literacy.

The bilingual-bicultural approach recognizes two aspects of functional education which need to be integrated in the total education process, viz. Informal and formal education. Informal education is rooted in traditional values and also involves learning by doing (Fafunwa 1991). It is carried out through the medium of the mother tongue. In contrast, formal education should be geared towards (i) acquisition of modern knowledge, skills and values, and (ii) integration of tradition and modernity in the acquisition process. In this regard, knowledge acquisition in the formal system should entail (i) the learning of mother tongues and second language as compulsory subjects and special languages as optional subjects among other subjects in the curriculum; and (ii) the organized utilization of mother tongues and second language in the acquisition of knowledge of other subjects.

Highlights of other suggestions in bilingual-bicultural education are that:

(i) the second language is complementary to the mother tongue and should be taught sequentially after the latter in the curriculum (Adegbite 1994, Akindele and Adegbite 1999);

(ii) the target role of a mother tongue is to serve as medium of instruction at all levels of education;

(iii) the second language may complement the mother tongue as medium of instruction at higher secondary and tertiary levels of education;

(iv) both mother tongue and second language should serve as media of instruction in adult education as each is found appropriate.

5.　Conclusion

This study has identified 'linguistic hegemony' as the major problem characterizing language policies in Nigeria and some other African nations. This problem has been projected in three ways, vic: (i) dominance of colonial languages, (ii) dominance of some ethnic languages, and (iii) underdevelopment and underutilization of African languages and cultures.

First, the dominant use of colonial languages in the most important aspects of communication in national affairs has prevented national development because: (i) It has alienated the African elite from his/her own indigenous languages and cultures after having totally imbibed the idea of superiority of western 'modernist' culture; (ii) it has excluded the vast majority of the African population for knowledge about governance and participation in development because the colonial languages have been projected to the exclusion of the masses; and (iii) it has resulted in the overdependence of African countries on the resources of foreign countries instead of the internal generation of the rich resources of Africa. Second, the suggestion of dominance of one or more major ethnic languages in national affairs portends great danger for national development because of the constant tensions and fears of ethnic subordination that are generated among ethnic groups. Lastly, the underdevelopment and underutilization of African Languages have stunted the creative potentials of most young Africans and thus have prevented them from benefitting from or utilizing positive experiences from their rich traditional cultures. Thus, the incautious flight towards modernization without the complementation of essential stabilizing features from mother tongue cultures affects the progressive development of African nations.

The problem of linguistic hegemony can be tackled if carefully-designed language policies are formulated which involve the participation of the generality of the people in the implementation for nation-building. Some characteristics of such policies are presented here:

i. Colonial languages should remain as media of inter-ethnic (national and international communication). Colonial languages are symbols of nationalism and there is no need to wish them out overnight. Also to attempt to replace these with major indigenous languages may create further problems, unless there is a unanimous voluntary adoption of such by all ethnic groups.

ii. Colonial domination can be reduced by checking the overblown status of colonial languages. This can be done first by promoting the usage of indigenous languages at intra-ethnic informal and official communication and reducing or avoiding English usage at this level; and second by assigning more roles to mother tongues in education. Colonial languages should support indigenous ones in education and not dominate the latter.

iii. The status of indigenous African languages must be increased. Policies must challenge problems that may prevent the achievement of this objective and not evade them. In this direction, the aspect of corpus planning – graphization, standardization and modernization – of indigenous languages must embrace the efforts of all citizens at the national and local levels.

iv. The roles of special languages (e.g. major indigenous languages, other foreign languages apart from the main colonial language and indigenous languages of neighbouring ethnic groups) need to be observed and stated clearly -- such languages are to be voluntarily acquired by individuals and not forced on them.

Having stated the above characteristics of a socio-linguistic, albeit bilingual-bicultural policy, we expect that new comprehensive language policies will now be formulated which will incorporate all the features above and also specify their application to all areas of national development, viz. Education, science and technology, language and all other aspects of social life (history, literature, fine arts, music, drama, law, politics, economics, religion, sports, etc.). Indeed, no policy on any aspect of national life can be effective without a careful consideration of the language implications.

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