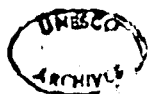


MONOGRAPHS  
ON  
FUNDAMENTAL  
EDUCATION

THE USE OF  
VERNACULAR LANGUAGES  
IN EDUCATION

U N E S C O





ED 16/8

**MONOGRAPHS ON FUNDAMENTAL EDUCATION-VIII**

**Titles in this series:**

- I. *Fundamental Education: Description and Programme.*  
Illustrations by Mrs. Camille Berg. 1949.
- II. *Co-operatives and Fundamental Education,*  
by Maurice Colombain. 1950.
- III. *The Mexican Cultural Mission Programme,*  
by Lloyd H. Hughes. 1950.
- IV. *The Haiti Pilot Project. First Phase. 1947-1949.*
- V. *The Healthy Village.*
- VI. *Progress of Literacy in Various Countries.*
- VII. *Social Welfare Work in Jamaica.*
- VIII. *The Use of Vernacular Languages in Education.*
- IX. *Youth and Fundamental Education.*
- X. *The Teaching of Reading and Writing,*  
by William S. Gray.
- XI. *World Illiterary at Mid-Century: a Statistical Study.*

THE USE OF  
VERNACULAR LANGUAGES  
IN EDUCATION

U N E S C O P A R I S

*Published by the United Nations  
Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization  
19, Avenue Kléber, Paris-16<sup>e</sup>  
1st impression September 1953  
Printed by C. J. Bucher AG., Lucerne  
2nd impression February 1958  
Printed by I.F.M.R.P. Paris*

© Unesco 1953  
*Printed in France*  
E11, 57, III, 82A

## P R E F A C E

In his description of Gulliver's travels among the Laputans, Jonathan Swift relates how his traveller was privileged to be conducted through the Grand Academy of Lagado where, among many other ingenious projects, he found the academicians engaged on a scheme for abolishing words altogether. Since, it was argued, words were only names of things, their properties or behaviour, 'it would be more convenient for all Men to carry about with them, such *Things* as were necessary to express the particular Business they are to discourse on. . . . I have often beheld two of those Sages almost sinking under the Weight of their Packs . . . who, when they met in the Streets would lay down their Loads, open their sacks, and hold Conversation for an Hour together.

'Another great Advantage proposed by this Invention, was that it would serve as an universal Language to be understood in all civilized Nations . . . . And thus, Embassadors would be qualified to treat with foreign Princes or Ministers of State, to whose Tongues they were utter Strangers.'

Today, of course, more than ambassadors are concerned to converse with people to whose tongues they are utter strangers, and many millions are concerned how they might employ their own native tongue both in their education and in their daily life.

To say that a world language problem exists is not only to state a truism but to make an enormous understatement. The exact number of languages spoken in the world is not known but the figure runs into many hundreds. Not only is there the obvious problem of communication between people, but there is also the question as to what use these languages can at present be put. Most of them either have no literature—because no written form of the language exists—or have only an incipient literature or a literature based on classical forms of the language now divorced from the contemporary spoken mode. Because of this lack of literature—and for other social, political, and economic reasons—there still exists an immense number of illiterate people, most of whom are found among under-privileged groups.

We take it as axiomatic that every child of school age should attend school and that every illiterate should be made literate. We take it as axiomatic, too, that the best medium for teaching is the mother tongue of the pupil. But with many hundreds of languages lacking a written form, or when they have one, any literature for the use of pupils, it is difficult at present for both these aims to be pursued.

Yet all languages, even the so-called primitive ones, are capable of becoming media of school teaching; some perhaps merely as a bridge to a second language, while others may be used at all levels of education. But while this is true linguistically, there are many other factors—social, political, economic, and practical—which impede the development of these languages, or even the employment of certain languages already well suited to be used in education. Some of these difficulties may be promptly overcome (e.g. orthography); others (social or political), at best, may take much longer.

The core of this volume is the report of a meeting of specialists on the use of vernacular languages in education which was convened in Paris in November 1951. This report appears as Chapter II. For the layman in these matters, some introductory material has been included, on the nature of language and its use in education, and briefly surveying the world situation. At the request of the specialists themselves, some case studies are added to illustrate certain aspects of their report. The opinions expressed in these are, of course, those of their authors and are not necessarily those of Unesco or of the governments of the territories concerned.

So far as possible we have based the information given on official sources or on authors drawing from official sources. Where neither of these existed we have kept silent. Omissions are not, therefore, a mark of unimportance, but generally an indication of the absence of a problem or the lack of official information.

The authors have limited themselves to a discussion of the use of *vernacular*<sup>1</sup> languages in education. The use of minority or second languages are separate problems which would fill separate volumes, but vernaculars are, in most cases, the key to literacy.

We have, then, the fact that over one-half of the world's population is illiterate and that a large proportion of the children of school-age are not in school or are learning through a tongue which is not their own. We have the proposition that education is best carried on through the mother tongue of the pupil. But we have too the fact that between the proposition and its realization many complex and difficult problems arise. It is with these problems that this volume is concerned.

<sup>1</sup> See definitions, p. 46.



# C O N T E N T S

Introduction.	8
Chapter I A continental survey . . . . .	16
Africa . . . . .	16
The American continents . . . . .	22
Asia and the Pacific . . . . .	25
Europe (including the U.S.S.R.) . . . . .	41
Chapter II The Report of the Unesco Meeting of Specialists, 1951 . . . . .	45
Chapter III Some case histories . . . . .	76
Appendix I Tentative classification of the languages spoken in the world today . . . . .	139
Appendix II Terms of reference . . . . .	144
Bibliography . . . . .	146
Index . . . . .	150

# INTRODUCTION

## THE NATURE OF LANGUAGE

As educators we are concerned in this volume, as our title suggests, with the role and function of vernacular languages in education. But before we can begin our discussion on the role that vernaculars play—either as a subject taught or, more particularly, as the vehicle for the transmission of knowledge—we must examine, at least in outline, the nature of language itself. Such an undertaking may appear superfluous—for what is more familiar to us than language?—yet any disregard of the most elementary facts of the role of language in social and individual life can lead to many errors. In some ways the most elementary facts are also the most important.

There are various ways of looking at language: to a physiologist it is a biophysical device consisting of a certain number of units of sound; to an anthropologist it is a cultural, inherited trait; to a sociologist it is a medium for the transmission of feelings, ideas and knowledge, which may be summed up as social usages or culture. Man being himself at the same time the cause, transmitter and recipient of culture, his language reflects the culture and personality of the individual as well as of the group.

As a purely biophysical device, it is the product of a biological apparatus producing sounds which convey meaning. The apparatus is made up of the lungs, the larynx and vocal chords and the mouth and nose cavities. In the mouth cavity the most active organ is the tongue—and *tongue*, in some languages, is another name for language. As no two apparatuses are exactly alike, each individual has a physical speech quality of his own.

Language, especially that learnt in childhood, is a culturally inherited trait forming part of the habits of man. As with any cultural achievement, a mother or native tongue is handed down as something to be preserved, yet suffers, as do all other cultural traits, changes which relate to the modifications the culture as a whole undergoes. The speech of new generations differs from that of their predecessors in pronunciation, construction and vocabulary,

although some new forms—corresponding to new cultural traits affecting the whole community—are necessarily spoken by everyone. At any given moment it can be found that a language varies in relation to geography, age, sex, occupation, social status and the personality of the speakers. Space, time, social organization and the individual are basic factors in the making of language and of culture, for language is not a static, given thing, but is, like culture, a dynamic process.

Socially, a language works as a link; it is a medium of communication. As such it has to be conventional, to work according to certain values given to the linguistic signs and accepted by all the members of the community. The signs are made up of a certain number of sound units—the phonemes—conveying meaning in isolation or in groups, making complex linguistic units called words, phrases, sentences and forming larger constructions according to certain norms which have to be accepted by the whole community. These accepted rules of building up meaningful arrangements of linguistic forms known by a community, make what we call the grammar of a language, which is another name for the social code of the language.

#### WRITING

When we speak of language we commonly mean its spoken form, but by extension the term language is also applied to any conventional signalling system. Thus we have for example flag language or code, the language of road signals, deaf and dumb language, and written language. Writing in general is a recent development in the life of a spoken language, although some writing systems represent older forms of the language concerned, as actual speech changes at a more rapid pace than its graphic representation. It is a conventional device using visual signs to replace the spoken language, and like spoken language is a cultural phenomenon and a social factor as well as a personal form of expression.

Writing introduces another complexity into the problem of language. In the world today the multiplicity of languages and dialects is aggravated by a multiplicity of scripts and orthographies. There are, however, three main script systems, according to what the character used represents: the *logographic system*, in which each conventionalized character represents an object with a word value; these characters may be combined between themselves or with certain marks for extension of the meaning, as is the case with the Chinese script; the *syllabic system*, using signs to represent syllables;

an example is the Japanese Kana writing; the *alphabetical*, in which the symbols used have single sound values, as in the so-called Roman or Latin script.

But there are many different variants within each system, and the values attached to the symbols may vary (cf. Greek *P* which in the Slavonic script, derived from the Greek, preserves its trill value, but not in the Latin alphabet; the compound *Ch*, which has different values according to the language employed, etc.). Again the orthographies in some languages are inconsistent. In modern English and French, for instance, not only are there changes in value of the symbols according to the word, but for many words we have to write down letters which have nothing to do with the spoken form. The same is often the case with accents and other diacritics in the orthographies of certain languages preserving skeletons of older forms.

#### THE STUDY OF LANGUAGE

To learn a language is not the same thing as to study a language. Children learn to speak by imitating what they hear around them, responding to other stimuli and using what they feel are the same forms in similar situations to produce similar responses from other persons. When they make a mistake and do not obtain the expected result, they are corrected or simply not answered. Children learn a language by a constant trial-and-error process, but very soon the mother tongue becomes a developed habit and the position of their speech organs for producing the right phonemes and the arrangements of the linguistic units becomes automatic. A second language if it is not acquired early in childhood, may well be mastered as regards grammar, but as regards pronunciation it is very difficult to re-educate the process of articulation for the production of sounds not existing in the mother tongue. Nevertheless, this is not a major handicap, and what most commonly happens is that the second language is spoken with a foreign 'accent'.

When a language is a literary language, the form written and taught is a new conventional form of the language; a standard form based on one of the dialects which, because of certain factors, happens to be the form chosen, for purposes of teaching or for political and administrative purposes, to become the official language of the country.

This standard form of a language is used by the educated classes of the community in formal speech and is taught in schools by means of grammars, reading books, dictionaries.

The scientific study of language is the task of linguistics. Linguistics is a new science, still in its infancy, which has not yet reached the schools. Bloomfield says: 'It is only within the last century or so that language has been studied in a scientific way, by careful and comprehensive observation. . . . *Linguistics*, the study of language, is only in its beginnings. The knowledge it has gained has not yet become part of our traditional education; the "grammars" and other linguistic instruction in our school confine themselves to handing on the traditional notions. Many people have difficulty at the beginning of language study, not in grasping the methods or results (which are simple enough) but in stripping off the preconceptions which are forced on us by our popular scholastic doctrine.'<sup>1</sup>

It is an interesting fact that the study and teaching of many vernacular non-official<sup>2</sup> languages now being used as vehicles of education, and of some vernaculars which recently became official—or 'national'—languages of new-born states, are ahead of the study and teaching of some of the most important old literary official tongues; scientific linguistic methods being applied for both purposes and social anthropologists and educators as well as linguists being engaged in the task.

#### LANGUAGE AND EDUCATION

It is axiomatic that the best medium for teaching a child is his mother tongue. Psychologically, it is the system of meaningful signs that in his mind works automatically for expression and understanding. Sociologically, it is a means of identification among the members of the community to which he belongs. Educationally, he learns more quickly through it than through an unfamiliar linguistic medium. But as was said earlier, it is not always possible to use the mother tongue in school and, even when possible, some factors may impede or condition its use.

The nature of these obstacles to the use of a non-official mother tongue as a vehicle of teaching may be: political, linguistic, educational, socio-cultural, economic, financial, practical. Let us examine these in turn.

<sup>1</sup> L. Bloomfield, *Language*, New York, Henry Holt & Co., 1950.

<sup>2</sup> See definitions, p. 46.

### *Political Factors*

In multilingual countries there may be an urgent need for integrating the state into a political and cultural whole. Here the policy adopted may be the use of one of the vernaculars of the state as the official language. In such cases the vernacular may be used only orally, or its written form may be used for a short part of the school period and in adult education. Sometimes even well-developed languages are handicapped by political issues. In multilingual countries where most of the languages are not fitted for educational use, the policy of using the vernacular as a bridge to a second languagesaves money and effort, though it is often questioned whether the official language can be effectively learned and preserved as a cultural achievement, since it is not used at home and because of the short duration of school life for most rural children.

In non-self-governing territories, similar situations may exist. The policy may be that of 'assimilation' where the professed aim is the incorporation of smaller societies and then disparate cultures into a larger society and its common culture.

Inter-group political conflicts may also hinder the use of a given vernacular as a medium of school teaching, and in some countries educational policies are closely related to politics, suffering the consequences of changes in administration.

The imposition of a language, especially if the mother tongue is neglected, may give rise to political troubles, as may preference of one vernacular to others of the same or even higher political prestige.

### *Linguistic Factors*

A careful survey of the linguistic situation of a region by linguists is essential before it is decided which languages should be used in school and which should not. One factor to be considered is the number of speakers; bilingualism is another factor. It may be that the group already knows a second vernacular of wider use and higher utility; or that the majority of the population is familiar with the official language. A language may have various dialects and one of these may offer better qualifications for being chosen as the standard form of the group. Where all the linguistic communities are very small it will not be advisable to use all of them as this would be a waste of effort and money; a lingua franca already known or the official language or one of the vernaculars may be chosen for school teaching. Linguistic factors then may prevent the use of some languages. (There are also linguistic factors of social significance, discussed under socio-cultural factors.)

At times, however, the solutions proposed by linguists interfere with other factors. They have thus often to condition their science to the circumstances and seek compromises. These factors may be social—rejection of forms, orthographies, etc.—or practical—a lack of the mechanical means for printing or typing special alphabets or scripts.

The main linguistic problem, however, lies in making literary an unwritten language, fixing first its grammatical and phonemic structures, giving it a working vocabulary and then providing it with a practical script and orthography. But it is an equally difficult task to recondition for general educational purposes a language with an old aristocratic literary tradition but unfitted for modern school teaching, or to improve a written vernacular so that it can become an official language as well as a suitable instrument for scientific and technological education.

### *Educational Factors*

It may be that a language has been chosen and studied, and that materials have been prepared for its use in school, but that a lack of teachers impedes its immediate use. Even if teachers are available they are sometimes not qualified to use the language; or there may be a lack of teaching materials when trained teachers are available.

All the problems involved here are related to methodology, to the preparation of teaching materials, to the means of measuring results and to the training of teachers. In some places linguistic situations may be so complex that educational problems have to be solved in relation to the use as the medium, and/or the script, of: the mother tongue of the child; a regional official language; a national official language, i.e. the official language of the State; one or more than one European language; and a language for religious teaching.

And finally, to add to the difficulties, there may be in addition to different languages, the problem of dealing with different scripts and orthographies.

### *Socio-cultural Factors*

It sometimes happens that the people whose mother tongue has been chosen for school use as the medium of teaching will reject such a policy and prefer the official or any other second language, on the grounds that the use of their own mother tongue will prevent them from making quick contact with Western civilization. Again, some communities reject the use of a new national language—

formerly a vernacular—on the same grounds, preferring a European language instead. Some communities may reject a language chosen for them to be used in their school because they consider their own tongue a 'better' form of speech, or the language chosen the tongue of an 'inferior' population.

Social organization, patterns of distribution of the population, nomadism, division of labour, type of occupation, social and religious taboos, traditional ideas on some forms of the language or of its script and orthography, lack of opportunities for speaking the language taught, etc. may force changes in language policy, modify the original programme, or hinder the expected results.

### *Economic Factors*

Some groups may prefer a second language because the economic status of their own is at a disadvantage in comparison with it. The economic factor may arise from the poverty of the group, affecting all kinds of co-operation with school or any other form of education. Often knowledge of a particular language is the only sure entry into certain professions, and communities will naturally demand the teaching of this language even if it is not their mother tongue.

### *Financial Factors*

It is obvious that without funds no educational programme can be carried out; therefore their non-existence, scarcity, or mismanagement are decisive factors. A related problem which is often important is to know how the money will be gathered and how it will be managed.

### *Practical Factors*

These factors—some of which are of a technical nature—may appear in conjunction with any of the other factors mentioned above. They are of a variety of kinds and may relate to the availability of mechanical devices, authors, draftsmen or documentation; of printing aids such as ink, types, paper and binding facilities; the availability of electrical power; the distances, roads and other ways and means of communication and transport; to climate, topography, security, health and sanitation, food, administrative methods, and the like.

An adequate budget can solve most of these problems; others may be solved by the use of experienced personnel.



## CONCLUSION

We have seen that language is a physical, social and cultural phenomenon intimately reflecting the physiology, psychology, social status, and culture of the individual using it, that the basis for its scientific study has been laid and is being applied to certain languages now emerging in national and international importance. We have pointed out that education can best be carried out in the mother tongue of the pupil, adult or child, but we have seen that the universal application of this principle is faced with many difficult problems.

The report of the meeting of specialists (Chapter II) discusses how some of these problems can be overcome, but before we take up this discussion it is necessary to obtain a more precise picture of the nature and scope of the problem educators are facing in the chief regions of the world, and what policies they are pursuing to meet these problems. The following survey provides, by way of the minimum background information necessary to an appreciation of Chapter II, a brief continent-by-continent description of the language situation and its relation to educational policy. The order in which the countries are named follows partly their geographical order but is dictated more particularly by the relations between languages groups.

# A CONTINENTAL SURVEY OF VERNACULAR LANGUAGES AND THEIR USE IN EDUCATION

## AFRICA

One can only hazard a guess at the exact number of vernacular languages spoken in Africa. In Nigeria, the Cameroons and certain other regions there are, for example, languages about which practically nothing is known. It is even difficult to speak of language families, there being as yet no definitive classification, several schools of thought having offered possible classifications. It is relatively easy to give names, but these too can be confusing, for a name may signify a group of dialects, one particular dialect, a complete family of languages—or all three. Or again, at times a name is applied to various different non-related idioms or groups of these, or to a group of non-related languages. To make matters worse, a language has sometimes more than one name (e.g. Nankanse and Gurensi) or the name may be written in various ways (e.g. Mandinka or Mandingo). For Unesco purposes, the International African Institute listed the following languages in British African Territories: 6 West Atlantic; 5 Mande; 12 Gur; 14 Kwa; 55 unclassified languages or dialects of Nigeria and the Cameroons; 8 Chadic; 8 Chado-Hamitic; 3 Hamitic; 14 Nilotic; 11 Nilo-Hamitic; 16 Eastern Sudanic; 3 Nubian; 44 unclassified languages of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan; 4 unclassified languages of Tanganyika; 3 Khoisan and 163 Bantu, making a total of 369 entries, each one of which may relate to a group of dialects or to a single dialect.<sup>1</sup>

Regarding the languages in the other African territories no official information is available, and though it would be possible to compile lists of names it would be impossible to give any accurate estimate of the number or indicate a sound classification of all the languages spoken.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Unesco. Meeting of experts on the use of vernacular languages, Paris, 1951. *The Use of Vernacular Languages as Vehicles of Instruction both in School and out of School* [by] The International African Institute, British Territories. Regional paper on vernacular languages, no. 4, Paris, 1951.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix I, p. 139.

In addition to the vernaculars, a new African language, 'Afrikanans', derived from standard Dutch, is one of the official languages of the Union of South Africa. We have, as well, the other European official languages—English, French, Spanish, Portuguese and Italian—all used in education. As minority languages, there are in the continent several Asian languages, including Hebrew, Gujarati, Urdu and others, and a European language, Greek.

Spontaneously developed compromise languages also exist, such as pidgin-English in Sierra Leone, the British Cameroons and Nigeria; Lingala—a language spoken in the Belgian Congo along the banks of the Congo from Niangara to Léopoldville—is said to be also somewhat artificial. Hausa, Swahili and Mandinka are, in a certain form, compromise languages, as are Sango of Gabon and Belgian Ubangi, Keleve-Kilongo (or Fioti) of the Lower Congo, Kingwana in the Eastern Province of Belgian Congo and Kituba of Kasai in the Belgian Congo. Other *ad hoc* standardized languages have been and are still being tried, though not always successfully.

### *Use of Vernaculars in Education*

The problem in Africa is characterized by the fact that a great part of the continent and all its islands constitute non-self-governing territories.

In the territories under British administration 91 languages are used in school and exactly the same number are known to have some literature, though in some cases their use in education is only presumed. The vernaculars are generally used and, where possible, during those years in primary education when English is being introduced to be used as a vehicle for higher education. In some regions the vernaculars are taught as a subject when English is adopted as the medium for instruction. In British Africa there are at present 10 literature bureaux or committees established for the production of teaching and reading materials in the native languages, and for studying technical, linguistic and practical problems involved in producing such literature.

The present use made of vernacular languages in the African continental territories under French administration is only occasional, and generally in oral form, and mainly in adult education.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 'Vernacular languages are to be used in fundamental education programmes with adults who do not understand French.' *Bulletin de l'inspection générale de l'enseignement et de la jeunesse du Ministère de la France*

In French Arabic-speaking territories of Africa, classical Arabic is used for the teaching of some subjects and for teaching the Koran, but colloquial Arabic is not used.

Until recent years, French educational policy has been to teach the French language from the very beginning in school and to leave aside the use of the mother tongue. However, in French Somaliland a primer for Somali is being tried and a movement in favour of the use in school of the Mossi language of West Africa, spoken by more than 5,000,000 persons, was initiated in 1951 by a French Senator.<sup>1</sup>

In 1951 the French Government announced the setting up of a special school in Paris for the training of native-speaking linguists to study and codify for teaching purposes native languages of the African territories under French administration. The near future should therefore see the picture modified.

Outside the continent, in Madagascar, the vernacular, Malagasy, is used to some extent in the primary schools as a bridge to French. It is also taught as a subject in secondary schools.

As for the Belgian Territories, we know that there are 'grammars and dictionaries for twenty-one clearly identified languages and work on thirty-four others is well advanced' and that 'the number will continue to increase and it can be foreseen that twenty years hence, provided the cost of printing is covered, there will be a linguistic library based on at least a hundred Congolese tongues of the Bantu, Sudanese and Negrillo stocks', but that 'it is obviously impossible to draft and print school textbooks in a hundred different languages for a population of 14 millions'.<sup>2</sup> It is said that in Belgian Congo alone there are about 200 different Bantu languages spoken, plus a number of languages and dialects of other families. Most education is in the hands of missionaries and it is known that all of them use the vernaculars at least for part of the school period, but the number of languages used is not known.

*d'outre-mer* (Conférence des Directeurs de l'enseignement de l'Afrique Noire), op. cit., p. 4

In fact it is reported that the many experiments in different regions have received a cool reception among the inhabitants who have at times definitely refused instruction in the local language. They are afraid that this would be the beginning of a policy of segregation and prefer assimilation. All reports are stated to be agreed on this point. The effects of present measures will only be felt in several years time.

<sup>1</sup> See Annex No. 451 in *Journal officiel de la République française*. Documents parlementaires (1951.)

<sup>2</sup> Pierre, Charles, *The Language Problem in the Belgian Congo and in Ruanda-Urundi*. Regional paper on vernacular languages, no. 10, Unesco, Paris, 1951.

Generally the policy appears to be to use the vernaculars first as a bridge to French, then to teach it as a subject, though all higher education is in French. The other languages to be taught in higher education are not yet fixed.

Unesco has no authorized information on the Spanish territories of Africa but it would appear that the policy there regarding the vernacular is similar to that followed by Portugal in its African territories, i.e. the vernacular is used orally to teach the official language. Such is also the situation in Italian Somaliland, where the mother tongue of the indigenous population is used only as an oral vehicle for the teaching of other languages and subjects. The official languages in the territory are Italian and Arabic, the latter being the mother tongue of a small part of the population.

Of the few sovereign States of Africa, the Arabic-speaking countries as a rule teach at least one European language during the primary stage, and at times two—English and French. The main problem in these states, however, is the use of Arabic as the vehicle of teaching in school, there being a wide difference between the colloquial, spoken form and the written language. The written form has been mostly the religious language of the Koran, but there is today a movement in favour of an improvement of the classical form so that it may become the medium of instruction at all levels of education.<sup>1</sup> In the Union of South Africa the principle of using the mother tongue for teaching in school is accepted in all the provinces. Among the Bantu population the mother tongue (in its eight main forms) is generally used during the first years of primary education, after which use is made of one or both official languages, though there is at present no uniform policy. A recent report<sup>2</sup> proposed extending the use of Bantu languages for at least the eight years of primary schooling and improving the languages by adding scientific and other terminology to fit them for use in secondary schools and teacher training institutions. At the same time it is recommended that the teaching of the official languages be introduced in the Bantu primary schools as early as possible.

In Ethiopia, where a rather large number of languages is spoken, Amharic is today the official language of the State. It is taught in all schools together with English as the second language. There is no complete information regarding the treatment given to the other languages, although it may be deduced that they are used only

<sup>1</sup> See the article by Dr. Ahmed Zaki, p. 87.

<sup>2</sup> Union of South Africa, *Report of the Commission on Native Education 1949-1951*, Pretoria, 1952.

in oral form to teach the official languages. Classical Arabic, nevertheless, is taught among the Arabic-speaking population along with the official language.

In Liberia English is the official language and has been rigidly adhered to in the public school system. Through missionary activities, however, many of the people have learned to read their own language even though they may not read or speak English. Vernaculars are also used in literacy campaigns as a bridge to English. In 1951, 13 languages were in use, each having its own primer.<sup>1</sup>

### *Problems in Language Policy*

The main problem in Africa is the enormous number of languages, most of which are not literary languages or are spoken by only a small number of persons. The solution is the use of some languages as *linguae francae* for a certain territory. There are various *linguae francae* in use in the continent, some of which are employed as vehicles of education. Arabic is used in Somaliland, pidgin-English in Sierra Leone, Nigeria and the British Cameroons; Jukum again in two provinces of Nigeria and in the British Cameroons; Bari in the Southern Anglo Egyptian Sudan; Lozi (Kololo), Bemba and Nyanja in Northern Rhodesia; Hausa in Northern Nigeria and other regions of West Africa; Swahili—spoken as a second tongue by probably not less than 7,000,000—in Tanganyika, Zanzibar, Kenya and in Uganda by the Police Force. Its use in education is well extended, being taught both in primary and secondary education in Tanganyika, Zanzibar and to some extent in Kenya. As a trade language its use spreads into the Belgian Congo and over a large part of East Africa.

For teaching purposes the standardization of language clusters is being contemplated in the Belgian Congo, but it appears that this aim has not been achieved. "There are at least five forms of "unified" Kikongo in a single region . . . the same is true of Kiluba, of which there are six "unified" forms. As for Lingala, which is in itself somewhat artificial, it has been "unified", in seven literary forms, each distinct from the others."<sup>2</sup> The reason for this is probably a lack of co-ordination in the task, as in the Belgian Congo education of the indigenous population is mostly in the hands of

<sup>1</sup> Unesco. Meeting of experts on the use of vernacular languages in education, Paris, 1951. *The Use of Vernacular Languages as Vehicles of Instruction*, by Norma Bloomquist. Official Government Report on Vernacular Languages, no. 2, Paris, 1951.

<sup>2</sup> Charles, op. cit.

different religious denominations. The same author points out that 'it is proposed to unify the Kinyaruanda and Kirundi groups (of Ruanda and Urundi respectively). However, we believe that this plan, for psychological reasons, will never be more than a plan. One might as well propose to unify Spanish and Portuguese, for the Banyarmanda are extremely proud of their language—and will not allow themselves to be "contaminated" by the language of their neighbours'. 'And,' he continues, 'there is the Kikongo group to be unified—it comprises rather more than 1,500,000 persons. Despite every effort, and the conferences of experts held on the subject, it has not been possible, even after 25 years, to institute a linguistically unified catechism or prayer-book for the Catholic missions. Yet this is not all; there is the problem of unifying the Luba group, the Mongo group, the Azandi group, the Kibira group and the Lingola, Kiswahili and Kingwana tongues. Eight languages, having already been more or less unified by specialists and having an official literary form, are certainly excessive for a population of 14 millions (the total of Belgian Congo).' But he adds: 'Everywhere one encounters the imperative need for a language more universal than the regional dialects, even when they have been unified; and this need is met by the spontaneous growth of "sabirs" which are detested by linguists and are exemplified by the Lingala of the river basin and the Kingwana of the Eastern regions.'

Various other attempts at 'unions' in Africa—as well as in other parts of the world—have failed. There are the cases of Union Ibo (or Igbo) of Nigeria; of Shona of Southern Rhodesia; and of Akan of the Gold Coast.<sup>1</sup> It appears that an attempt to produce artificially a simple standardized form out of many dialects does not work, but that when one dialect among them is chosen and used as the standard form the results are much more successful. For instance in South Africa, Xhosa and Zulu are the standard forms of two main clusters of the Nguni, formed by more than eight different dialects (Zulu, Xhosa, Tembu, Mpondo, Mpondomise, Swazi, Tonga, Ndebele, etc.); the same is the case with Yoruba of Nigeria, of which the standard form used in education is the speech of the Oyo province. In the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and Uganda a selection was made of main dialects to serve as literary languages of their own cluster. These examples could be repeated from other territories.

The question of orthography has also hampered the use of vernacular languages in education, but in most instances it has

<sup>1</sup> See paper by K. J. Dickens, p. 115.

been successfully solved.<sup>1</sup> In 1928, for instance, Western Soto had three different orthographies, now it has only one. There are still some difficulties: e.g. in Southern Rhodesia a conflict exists between the Education Department favouring a new orthography and the Government Native Affairs Department rejecting it.<sup>2</sup>

A social factor, derived from economic and cultural forces, is pointed out in the same report.<sup>3</sup> 'Among Africans who become literate in English there has been certain opposition to the use of vernacular languages in education on the grounds that their use will prevent the spread of Western ideas and culture, will impede the progress of the African and his integration into the modern world and is, in fact, a retrograde step.'

The same document mentions, as an example of political controversy and the exacerbation of nationalistic sentiments induced by the choice of one rather than another language for educational or official use, the opposition to the use of Union-Ibo in Nigeria.

#### THE AMERICAN CONTINENTS

The linguistic picture of the American continents is more complex than that of Africa. From Panama north, the stocks, families, languages and dialects are fairly well known, but south of Panama is quite chaotic. According to recent studies, in the northern part of the continent about 13 main stocks exist, each one being a group of families (when not isolated clusters of dialects unrelated to any other language group). These 13 greater stocks include about 43 main families and each family may include several languages and each language several dialects and variants. The number of languages runs into hundreds, but today most groups are small and a large number of their members speak the official language of the country, especially in the territories covered by the United States and Mexico.

In South America the exact number of stocks is still unknown, as there remain dozens of languages and dialects with which linguists are poorly acquainted. Some languages are tentatively included in the best known stocks. One author grouped the South

<sup>1</sup> See E. M. K. Mulira, *The Vernacular in African Education*, 'Lantern Library Series', London, 1951.

<sup>2</sup> Unesco. Meeting of experts on the use of vernacular languages, Paris, 1951. Regional paper on vernacular languages, no. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.



American languages into 77 families;<sup>1</sup> another gives 94 families and some 558 languages.<sup>2</sup> Further studies will readjust these divergencies.

There are also some languages other than the indigenous spoken in both Americas and in the islands belonging to that hemisphere. For instance, in Canada in addition to Eskimo and American Indian languages, Gaelic, a Celtic vernacular, is also spoken. In Haiti, a Creole language is spoken by 90 per cent of the population. In Jamaica and in Surinam special kinds of pidgin-English are used by a great part of the population. Minority languages are present in Canada, the United States, Mexico, Brazil and in the Dutch-administered territories. These are mainly European and Asian languages.

The official languages in the American continents are English, Spanish, Portuguese, French and Danish. None of the native languages has yet attained the status of an official language.

Some countries in the American continents have no linguistic problem with regard to vernacular versus official language; some have small native populations speaking American languages or speaking only the official tongue. But there are still certain countries facing the real problem of educating and integrating into the state thousands of Indians who speak no other languages than their traditional mother tongue.

### *Use of Vernaculars in Education*

In the Danish territory of Greenland, where Aleut—a sister language of Eskimo—is the vernacular, this is used in elementary schools and to some extent in the post-primary grades. In advanced schools Danish is used.

In the U.S.A. territory of Alaska, along with Eskimo, various languages of the Na-Dene stock are spoken by some 35,000 aborigines but none is used in education.

In Canada various vernaculars of different American stocks and Eskimo are spoken by about 128,000 and 7,200 individuals respectively, but these languages are used only orally for teaching English when necessary.

In the United States the number of American Indian dialects

<sup>1</sup> Paul Rivet, 'Langues Américaines' in *Les langues du monde*, A. Meillet, and Marcel Cohen, eds., 'Collection linguistique,' published by Société de linguistique de Paris, no. XVI, Paris, Lib. Ancienne Edouard Champion, 1924.

<sup>2</sup> Cestmir Loukotka, *Clasificación de las lenguas sudamericanas*, Edición 'Linguística sudamericana', no. 1, Prague, 1935.

amounts to about 250 spoken by more than 300,000 individuals but the groups are small, most of the members speak English, and when they do not the vernacular is used as a bridge to English. There are teaching materials for many languages. Some groups, although speaking English, teach their children their own vernaculars in written form.

In Mexico about 52 native languages are spoken by about 18 per cent of the total population. These vernaculars are used as a bridge to Spanish; there are teaching materials for about 34 of them. The Indians of Mexico are becoming bilingual.

In Central America, Guatemala is the country with the largest American Indian population (60 per cent of the total), and about 20 different languages are spoken. The country is now contemplating a literacy campaign in the vernaculars for teaching Spanish. Hitherto these languages have not been used as vehicles of education.

With the exception of Panama, where the number of inhabitants speaking only an American vernacular is of some importance (about 60,000), the Central American countries have no problem as the native groups are either very small or when large, speak Spanish. Nevertheless, Costa Rica with 4,500 American Indians, uses their vernaculars in special schools for them. Panama uses none.

Of the South American countries, Venezuela has 10 per cent of American Indians; Colombia 15 per cent, Ecuador according to the last census 41 per cent (600,000 of them monolingual), and Peru and Bolivia about 55 per cent. About 40 per cent of the total population of Peru speak only an American Indian language, and in Bolivia the percentage of monolingual indigenous population is probably higher. The other countries have only a small proportion of American Indians, or none at all.

Of all the sovereign countries of South America, only Peru is teaching Spanish through the native tongue of the Indians in written form; Bolivia uses it only in oral form. Brazil intends to start literacy campaigns in the vernaculars for teaching Portuguese. The others have no special linguistic policy for dealing with the American Indians. Paraguay is practically bilingual, speaking Guaraní and Spanish; but Guaraní is never used in school, although this is one American language that has a literature.

In Surinam the number of American Indians is small; Indians from Asia speak Hindi and Urdu; Malaysians speak Javanese, and the negro population (more than 100,000) speak a kind of pidgin-English, 50 per cent speaking no other language. The linguistic problem is being studied by the government.

In British Guiana there is also an heterogeneous population, which in 1949 totalled 414,306 according to the *Colonial Annual Report* of that year. All the population speak English, except a few isolated American Indians, and English is used in education.

In French Guiana, the census of 1936 gave 1,400 aborigines; 'according to other sources there were also 45,679 American Indians in the colony in 1936'.<sup>1</sup> The sources do not speak about languages and education.

In the West Indies no aboriginal languages remain, but a compromise language developed with the coming together of French and various African dialects in Haiti, where it is known as Créole haïtien. This language is being used as a bridge to French in literacy campaigns organized by various governmental agencies, and particularly in school at the Marbial project, undertaken by the Haitian Government with Unesco's assistance. In the other islands where English is the official language special dialects exist, as in Jamaica, where its use in education is being considered. In Puerto Rico the common language—the native tongue of the larger part of the island—is Spanish, but English is a compulsory subject and is taught as the second language.

The main problems in the hemisphere are: the small size of most of the native linguistic communities, and, in Latin America, the difficulty of reaching jungle communities of the littorales and of the great river basins, where the character of their culture also hinders approach to them. In the countries where great numbers of more accessible aborigines exist, the problem is largely financial; and lack of teachers and certain social and political traditions also contribute to maintain the American Indians in a retarded state.

#### ASIA AND THE PACIFIC

The language picture of Asia and the Pacific is still not clear cut, even for regions where the language groups are known. There are at least 16 main stocks, some of them represented by single isolated languages (Gilyak, Ainu, Japanese, and Korean). Linguists are not yet in agreement as to denomination and classification of certain clusters or families; there is for instance, a combined term Ural-Altaic, which groups as only one stock the Turkish (Turco-Tartar

<sup>1</sup> Hülsmann's *Geographisch-Statistische Tabellen*, 1936. Quoted in ILO Committee of Experts on Indigenous Labour, First Session, La Paz, January, 1951. *Indigenous Workers in Independent Countries; General Report*, Geneva, 1950, p. 65.

or Altaic), Mongol, Tunguse-Manchu, and Finno-Ugrian families. Some authors group Munda and Mon-Khmer families with the Malayo-Polanesian family under the common designation of Austric stock.

The position with regard to the Pacific areas may be summed up as follows: 'Scientific linguistics in the Pacific area is only in its infancy . . . a number of areas remain almost completely unknown. Some of these are as yet unexplored. . . .'<sup>1</sup> This is true also of other areas in Asia.

The present linguistic policy in most of the countries of these regions is influenced by political factors. India, Pakistan, Burma, Ceylon, Indonesia, and the Philippines are new-born States, and all of them adopted Asian tongues as official languages. Their educational problems are now linked with language problems.

The linguistic problem in the Arabic-speaking world is complicated. There is a great difference between the colloquial Arabic (with many dialects) spoken by the masses and the official language, classical Arabic, which is closer to the language of the Koran. But there is a general movement in favour of the development of both forms. Scientific and technological vocabulary are being coined or adopted and adapted from other languages.<sup>2</sup>

In Lebanon—where English or French are taught from the first grade on—'special attention is paid to the difference between the colloquial and the classical languages, and an effort is made to bridge the gap between them by selecting, as far as possible, vocabulary from the colloquial and incorporating it in correct sentences in the classical style. Care is taken not to choose difficult and rare words far from the pupil's environment'.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless there is a tendency to keep uniformity in the classical language used by all the Arab countries. An Arab Academy was founded after World War I in Egypt with corresponding members in other countries and among orientalists. This academy aims at improving the language and adapting a standard form.

The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan uses both forms of colloquial and classical Arabic in school. English is started in the fourth grade of primary school and in secondary schools; during the four years course, English is taught thoroughly.

In Iraq English is taught from the fifth grade of the primary

<sup>1</sup> A. Capell, *A Linguistic Survey of the South-Western Pacific*, South Pacific Commission Research Project S. 6, Report No. 1, Sydney, 1950, mimeo. p. 118.

<sup>2</sup> See article by Dr. Ahmed Zaki on the subject in this volume, p. 87.

<sup>3</sup> Roderic D. Matthews and Matta Akrawi, *Education in Arab Countries of the Near East*, American Council on Education, Washington, D.C., 1949.

school and even used as the medium of instruction for some subjects in private and foreign schools. At the Higher Teachers' College French is taught as a third tongue. It is the medium of instruction at the College of Medicine and in the College of Engineering.

In Syria the teaching of foreign languages has been abolished in primary schools. Nevertheless complementary classes may be annexed to any school in the cities for the teaching of foreign languages to children not expecting to go to secondary schools. Foreign languages are taught in secondary schools; both English and French are taught, but English is more favoured by the pupils, who have the right of choosing their second compulsory language.

Israel is facing the great problem of teaching the national language—Hebrew—to people speaking many different mother tongues. The effect on the educational system can be gauged from the following passage taken from an official report: 'It is practically impossible to keep to the curriculum in its entirety in the new (primary) schools. Most of the first years are dedicated to the teaching of the national language. The children differ greatly: those from Iraq, for example, are not the same as those coming from Yugoslavia and Rumania. The teacher must therefore adapt himself individually to every one of these small groups of children coming from all parts of the world. Only after several years of adaptation have elapsed can there be any real possibility of following the curriculum, by which time the child has reached the age-limit of compulsory education and then goes to work.'<sup>1</sup> An interesting experiment in the rapid learning of a language was started in Israel during the summer of 1951: 'Special schools called *Ulpanim* were opened for the study of Hebrew, for immigrants in possession of teachers' certificates from abroad, but ignorant of Hebrew and the culture of Israel. These immigrants spend four months at the schools at no cost to themselves, and . . . even receive a loan for the maintenance of their families, and will have intensive training for work in schools. . . .'<sup>2</sup> But the same report adds that not only teachers, but doctors, lawyers, engineers, accountants, high administrative officials, and economists, are there busy learning all day long ' . . . in order to be integrated into the life of the country'.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> From the report presented to the Fourteenth International Conference on Public Education by Mr. B. Ben Yehuda, delegate of the Government of Israel. Quoted from *International Yearbook of Education 1951*. Unesco, Paris, and International Bureau of Education, Geneva, 1952, pp. 163-64.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 164.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 167.

Turkey, as a whole, speaks a number of Turkish dialects (Osmanli, Turuk, Turkmen). In addition to Turkish, Armenian is also spoken. Before the reform of 1928, the official language contained a great many Arabic and Persian terms preserving their own orthography and pronunciation. The schoolboy had to learn not only the Arabic script but also grammatical rules of Arabic and Persian in order to know how to speak and write the official tongue. This was a handicap to the development of the language and to the education of the masses. The official language now tries to be more Turkish. To revive words made obsolete by Persian or Arabic terms, a commission 'studied hundreds of manuscripts in ancient dialects and words found in early inscriptions and documents discovered in Central Asia. A list was then compiled, giving the Turkish equivalent of the Arabic and Iranian words which long ago had been incorporated into the language'.<sup>1</sup> Another commission studied the script problem. Today Turkey, having adopted a Roman alphabet, is trying to improve her official tongue by adopting technical terminology from European languages, especially from French.

In Iran the official language is Persian, which has at least five main dialects. Turkish, Pushtu, Arabic, and Armenian are also spoken, but Persian is spoken practically by everyone as a *lingua franca*. Arabic is taught as a compulsory language in secondary education and is considered the second language of the country. The only vernacular is Armenian, spoken by a small number of Armenians and used in their schools (six in Teheran and four in other provinces).<sup>2</sup> 'Arabic is stressed since it is the language of the Koran, and French, which was once the most popular foreign language, has within the last few years been supplanted by English.'<sup>3</sup>

Afghanistan has adopted two official languages, Pushtu and Persian, both of which are used in education. English, French and German are also used in the foreign colleges. Other languages spoken in the country are Baluchi (related to Persian), Mongol, and some Turkish dialects. Both Pushtu and Persian are written in Arabic characters and Arabic is the language used in religious teaching; therefore Arabic is also taught. The main educational problem in Afghanistan is that the children have to spend a great part of their school life studying languages. The treatment given to native languages other than Pushtu and Persian is not clear in the documents consulted. It is said that many of the people speaking

<sup>1</sup> Selma Ekrem, *Turkey*, New York, 1947, p. 62.

<sup>2</sup> A. A. Hekmat, 'Iran' in *International Yearbook of Education*, 1949.

<sup>3</sup> Donald N. Wilber, *Iran Past and Present*, Princeton University Press, 1950.

the Turkish languages also speak Persian, but about 10 per cent of the total population only speak languages other than Pushtu or Persian. Although these are closely related, they nevertheless differ in literary development, Persian being more developed than Pushtu.

Pakistan has problems similar to those of India. Many languages are spoken; in addition to Urdu, which is the national language of the new State, Bengali, Sindhi and Pushtu are recognized as official regional languages. The Government policy is that the medium of instruction should be the regional tongue and that Urdu must be compulsorily taught to those not speaking it. English is also taught as a compulsory subject. Recommendations have already been made for the use of Urdu as the medium of instruction at the university in all subjects up to the Intermediate, but the main handicap is the lack of textbooks. Today English is still the official language of instruction in university teaching, as well as for State and judicial business. The question of modernizing the languages with the provision of technical and scientific terminology has been considered; script problems are also being solved, together with the production of suitable literature.

India, a country in which some 100 different languages are spoken, has chosen Hindi as its official federal language; at the same time, 14 languages are recognized as official regional tongues, including Hindi. Nevertheless, for all official business and for education, English—the official language during British rule—is being kept for a period of 15 years in order that the substitution of Hindi may take place gradually. As regards the other 86 tongues, the policy is to start school teaching using the mother tongue of the child, who at the same time has to learn his regional language as well as Hindi and English. Some Indian states have more than one regional language—Madras has four—and how they proceed in these cases is not clear from the reports we have. Of course, the present situation is one of re-organization and the particular problems are being solved in the best way possible. India has many languages of high and ancient literary prestige; some of the problems are indeed related to the modernization of languages and script, production of teaching and other modern literature, the spreading of Hindi, the training of teachers and in some cases the way of teaching more than two other languages in primary school.

Ceylon is officially bilingual; Sinhalese and Tamil are the official languages and both are used in education. A new educational plan has been prepared for the country. 'Under this scheme of educational reconstruction, education is to be divided into three stages: primary, secondary and further. It is functional and not

based, as in the past, on linguistic divisions. . . . The medium of instruction is to be one of the national languages, Sinhalese or Tamil, although in the secondary stage some subjects will still have to be taught for the time being through the medium of English. English will be taught as a compulsory second language from the third standard.<sup>1</sup>

The official language of Nepal is Pahari, a dialect of the Rajasthani group of the Indic branch of the Indo-Iranian family. This is the language used in school and in official business. But several other languages of the Indo-Chinese or Sino-Tibetan family are spoken, and indeed one of these, Newari, is considered to be the most widely spoken in the country; a literary language in the Nepal epigraphy it was for a long time used in place of Sanskrit, before Pahari became the official idiom. The latter has been greatly influenced by Sino-Tibetan both in grammar and vocabulary, and has in its turn influenced many Sino-Tibetan dialects. It is said that Pahari is becoming lingua franca for the whole country. This language is also called Khas-Kura by its own speakers, or Gorkhali, the language of the Gurkhas. The English call it Nepali or Nepali. It is not known what is the exact number of dialects of both families in Nepal—nor what policy is followed regarding the vernaculars. One of the sources consulted refers to the languages used in college education as follows: 'In addition to some sixty schools spread round the valley, there is at Katmandou a school affiliated to the University of Patna. In this central school, three languages are taught: English, Sanskrit, and Urdu. . . . In 1919, an English school was set up in Katmandou. . . . Because of recent political events, Nepal has considered important reforms in the educational field. A commission was set up in September 1948 to study a plan for the establishment of a university where European languages would be studied.'<sup>2</sup>

The problem in China is of a special character.<sup>3</sup> The large Chinese language community has many dialects, four of which are specially important. North Chinese includes various sub-forms such as Middle Chinese, West Chinese (Szechuen) and Peking Chinese.

<sup>1</sup> Report by Mr. R. J. F. Mendis, delegate of the Government of Ceylon, presented to the Fourteenth International Conference on Public Education, in *International Yearbook of Education* 1951, p. 65.

<sup>2</sup> *La documentation française. Notes et études documentaires*. No. 1595, 28 March 1952, 'Le Népal', p. 24.

Part of the information given here was taken from this monograph and part from *Encyclopaedia Britannica* under 'Pahari'.

<sup>3</sup> For an analysis of various problems of language education in China see Chao Yuen-Ren in *Fundamental Education, Common Ground for All Peoples*, Paris, Unesco, 1947, pp. 203-24.



The latter is also called Mandarin and is becoming the most widely spoken Chinese dialect. The second main dialect is the Central Coastal cluster (Shanghai, Ningpo, Hangkow). The third is the Kiangsi cluster, and the fourth the South Chinese group (Foochow, Amoy-Swatow, and Cantonese-Hakka). In addition to Chinese, other languages of the same Sino-Tibetan stock are spoken, as well as some Altaic, Indo-European, and Austro-Asiatic languages in the border regions. It is known that a department of border education existed in recent times for those groups speaking a mother tongue other than Chinese. When the community had a literary language, the native language was used as a medium and Chinese as a subject taught. When the group was not literate, Chinese was used from the very beginning and the mother tongue left aside. The traditional writing system of China—a very old one—is the difficult logographic script comprising about 50,000 logograms, which can be interpreted when known in terms of any spoken tongue. But the mastering of such a system—no matter how much it could be simplified—is an enormous task. To change the logographic writing system into a phonetic one means that a dialect of all those now forming the Chinese language should be chosen to become the official language and taught as a compulsory subject to all Chinese children not speaking it. It means also that all the traditional Chinese literature written with the logographic script would become a subject only for a learned minority until transliterated into the adopted phonetic writing. Many attempts have been made to solve the problem of simplification of Chinese script using both the old characters and the Roman alphabet. In 1913 a special commission recommended a Chinese simplified system to be used in school together with the Roman alphabet; both systems became official. As to the official language, in 1916 a language bureau was established 'to study the problem of selecting a form of Chinese vernacular to serve as the standard in education'.<sup>1</sup> The phonetic system was used 'to enable beginners to know the exact pronunciation and to recognize the meanings of the Chinese characters',<sup>2</sup> i.e. to unify the spoken tongue of all China. The traditional simplified characters were acquiring a fixed spoken value, thus making a standard national language. This national language was called 'Kuo-yu' and is a form of Mandarin or North Chinese.<sup>3</sup> This

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Cheng Chi-pao, MS., 1950.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Another document consulted says: 'The forty Chinese phonetic symbols announced by the Chinese Ministry of Education in 1919 (*su*) are based upon the Peiping dialect, a living vernacular of China, and their phonetic values are defined by the International Phonetic Symbols.

double process of teaching the Roman alphabet and an official language written in a simplified set of old characters was being followed in 1948. The present situation (1952) is not known.

In the Union of Burma more than 120 languages are spoken, but Burmese has been chosen as the official tongue and English as the auxiliary European language. Among the vernaculars spoken, Karen, Shan, Chin, Kachin and Mon are the most important. Chinese and a group of Indian languages are also spoken. The policy is to use the mother tongue in the primary stage and Burmese in the post-primary stage as media of instruction. English is taught as a subject. One of the main handicaps is the lack of textbooks in Burmese.

Thai, the official language of Thailand, belongs to the Sino-Tibetan stock, but has been greatly influenced by Pali, especially in the religious literature. Thai is spoken by most of the population. There is a group of Moslems speaking Malay in the region bordering on the Malay States. Members of this group are taught in their own tongue and also learn Arabic (Malay is written in Arabic script). There is also an important group of Chinese (820,564), but there is no information about their education. The second language taught in Thailand is English.

In Viet-Nam the official language, called in modern documents the Vietnamese language, is linguistically known as Annamite, a member of the Mon-Khmer family. Annamite has been influenced by Chinese and more recently by French. 'The Vietnamese writers composed (in former times) their works in Chinese characters and went to Chinese culture for their inspiration. . . . However, in the XIIIth Century, the Viet-Nam experienced a "Renaissance". Gradually a national idiom, derived from the popular spoken language, grew into the "chu nom" using demotic characters, a system developed from Chinese ideograms but completely incomprehensible to the Chinese themselves. Towards the end of the XVIIIth Century, Portuguese, Italian and French missionaries attempted to replace the demotic ideograms by the Roman alphabet. As a result, the Vietnamese language developed considerably and was able to free itself entirely from Chinese influence. This romanization also enabled literature to take a great stride forward. . . . With the arrival of Western Culture in our country, a literary revolution has occurred, especially from 1930 onwards:

When one gets the mastery of them, one can pronounce the character printed with symbols alongside.' Wu Tang. *A Project of Making a Chinese Popular Reader*. MS. No date. (The most recent date mentioned in the bibliography is 1948.)

this is still far from coming to an end.<sup>1</sup> The official language is being given scientific terminology through an *ad hoc* central committee. The Vietnamese language is written now in a romanized script called *quốc-ngữ*.

The official language of Cambodia is Cambodian (or Cambogian) an important member of the Mon-Khmer family. But among the population there are several groups called Indonesians who speak languages and dialects of their own. Those of the right side of the river Mekong speak also Cambodian, but not those of the other side. This last is the larger group. According to a report dated 1947 (two years before France recognized the Kingdom of Cambodia as an independent associated state within the French Union): 'Primary teaching in Indochina . . . is given in the language of the country, not only in *Quốc-ngữ* in the Annamite countries, but also in Cambodian and in Laotian in Cambodia and Laos, and even in languages used by ethnic minorities, for the Mois (Rhades, Bhanars), the Thais, the Tols. Given in the mother tongue, instruction remains close to the life of the country, respecting and teaching its traditional ethics and even its religion.'<sup>2</sup> It is quite probable that in relation to Cambodia, the policy described above is still continued and that the second language is, naturally, French.

Of Laos we only know that two main language families are represented: the Sino-Tibetan and the Mon-Khmer, which some scholars think is related to the Malayo-Polynesian. In Laos the official language is Laotian, a member of the Thai group; the orthography was reformed to make it phonetic, and although some opposition has been encountered by its popularization, it is being taught in school and is gaining favour. Now the two language families represented have their three main groups of dialects, French has been the favoured European tongue. The modern official script of Laotian is derived both from an old Indian form called Sukhot'ai writing and from an old script used by the Shans, called by the Laotians *th'am* writing.<sup>3</sup>

On Korea, we can only refer here to the writing problem. It is likely that in those parts of the country in which schools are still

<sup>1</sup> *Vietnam, Old Nation—Young State*. Booklet issued by the Vietnamese Government, on the occasion of the Sixth Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations Organization, Paris, December, 1951.

<sup>2</sup> A. Charton, *L'enseignement populaire en Indochine*, in *Education Hanoi*, No. 1, Juin-Août, 1947.

<sup>3</sup> Thao Phou.vong, *Initiation à la littérature laotienne*, Publication de l'école française d'extrême orient, Hanoi, 1948-49.

open, educational policies are governed by political factors. Therefore, as far as the second language is concerned, North Korea and South Korea today follow different trends. It is certain that Japanese, which in former times was a favoured second language, has lost prestige, although a great many Koreans still speak it. The writing problem in the Republic of Korea has been solved, and typewriters have been devised for writing Korean with a horizontal left-to-right adaptation of the traditional alphabet. It is supposed to be 'so highly scientific in principle that even the International Phonetic Symbols have to bow before the Korean alphabet'.<sup>1</sup> Formerly, the alphabet—which was invented in A.D. 1446 by King Seh-Jong—was used vertically in columns from right to left in conglomerated syllabic units imitating Chinese characters. But this alphabet was banned for 400 years, until 1894, when it was re-introduced by Christian missionaries. During this long period Chinese script was used. During the Japanese occupation it was again banned. In 1919, a movement in favour of horizontal writing started, but it was only in 1946 that efforts crystallized. Nevertheless, owing to the war, the present situation in Korea as a whole is one of disorganization: schools and teaching materials have been destroyed. Classes are held 'on hillsides, in river beds, railway stations, parks, go-downs, public staircases, woods—anywhere where there is free space. There are no textbooks. I told the teachers to teach from life. . . . This, however, is not enough. So I propose to issue war-time emergency readers.'<sup>2</sup> It is not known whether these textbooks will be written in the traditional alphabet or in the new horizontal one. The Director of the Institute of Korean Alphabet Reformation complains in a circular letter<sup>3</sup> that 'The door of this wonderland, which is wide open to every Western nation, is, so far, strictly forbidden to Korea because of her deadly conservatism of clinging tenaciously to the backward, snail-paced, conventional system of writing!' The horizontal system of writing Korean can today also be printed by the Inter-type process.

'The Japanese language is written with characters selected from

<sup>1</sup> John Starr Kim, in *Ink—Remington Rand*, vol. III, no. 4, September 1947. Mr. Kim was one of the technicians who developed the Korean type-writer keyboard.

<sup>2</sup> L. George Paik, Minister of Education, Republic of Korea. 'Wartime education in Korea,' *International House Quarterly*, vol. XV, no. 4, Autumn 1951, p. 204.

<sup>3</sup> From the Institute of Korean Alphabet Reformation, 136-06 Jewel Avenue, Kew Gardens Hills, Flushing 67, New York.

the 50,000 known Chinese logographs plus an addition of one of the two major phonetic syllabaries or *kana*, which have 49 symbols and two diacritical marks.<sup>1</sup> But the language may be written in four common styles and innumerable official variations. 'The four common ones are vernacular style (*kogotai*), literary style, (*bun-gotai*), epistolary (*sorobun*) and Chinese classics style (*kambun*). The student who will go on to university level must learn all of them.'<sup>2</sup> In school, teaching starts with the official language (*kogotai*). There are different dialects of Japanese, but practically all native speakers of these dialects speak also *kogotai* and according to their education may know also the other official styles.

The main difficulty in Japan is the writing problem, which is more difficult than in China as the logographs used in Japan (*kanji*) may be written in five different styles, which have to be learned in school. In addition to this, children have to learn at least two forms of *kana* writing, such as *katakana*, the printed form, and *hiragana*, the cursive form; but there are also the poetic form or *hentaigana*, and the old *manyogana*, in which *kanji* characters are used with a phonetic value.

'There is basically only one reform,' says Robert King Hall, '... the adoption of some phonetic system of writing. For practical reasons the choice is limited to one of the traditional syllabaries (*kana*) or to one of the various romanized forms (*romaji*).'<sup>3</sup>

Since the Meiji era, Japan has felt the necessity of a language reform both in vocabulary and in script. In 1946, an American education mission pointed out the importance of such a reform from the educational point of view; the Japanese Government, however, suspended judgment. A recent report says: 'Our attitude and way of thinking taken on this final problem is still very judicious and we are still making a scientific, cultural, practical, historical research on a large scale until we reach the final conclusion, approved of by the entire nation. This does not mean that we feel attraction toward the speech culture of the past and hesitate to make a radical change. Though we appreciate our friends' recommendation, yet we want to solve this fundamental problem by a careful study and through our own effort.'<sup>4</sup> A national language research institute has been established to study the solution of the problem; the old Japanese Language Council has also been reorganized.

<sup>1</sup> Robert King Hall, in *International Yearbook of Education* 1950, p. 582.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 583.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 584.

<sup>4</sup> Japan, Ministry of Education, *Progress of Educational Reform in Japan*, Tokyo, 1950, chapter VII, p. 2.

The Philippines chose Tagalog, a former vernacular, as the official national language. This language had to be improved, both structurally and lexically. An institute of national language was founded with 'authority to correct, alter, or amend the linguistic forms and expressions of any or all textbooks written in the national language of the Philippines'.<sup>1</sup> 'The decisions of the Institution on all linguistic matters, when approved by the President of the Philippines, shall be adopted as literary standard in all official publications and school texts.'<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless English has continued to be the medium of instruction till Tagalog can occupy its primary place, the official language being now taught as a subject. For fundamental education, 'Recent educational studies and nation-wide surveys, however, have given conclusive evidence that English, though highly desirable as a means of access to the world of culture and to the "one world" of nations, is not an effective medium of instruction. . . . To reach the masses of the people, this medium must be their own native tongue. The attainment of literacy, and individual and social betterment represent too long and too arduous an effort, if conducted in the medium of a foreign language.'<sup>3</sup> The Philippines have now as official languages Tagalog, English and Spanish. A special report written for Unesco says: ' . . . the presence here of 10 large linguistic groups and 87 dialect groups makes the language situation difficult indeed. . . . What then is the safest and most sensible course to follow under the present situation? Available evidence for the present experiments indicate that the use of the vernacular as a medium of instruction in the lower grades will contribute a long way to community. Pending the final results of the experimentation in the solution of educational problems on the use of the vernacular as a medium of instruction now going on in one division and on the use of the "cartilla method" in another division, no general changes should be taken on the matter of language instruction until valid scientific evidence has been established. Meanwhile, similar experiments with the use of different dialects and other aspects of the problem should be encouraged in as many divisions as possible. Department Order No. 4, S. 1939, which authorized the use of the local dialect as auxiliary medium of instruction under certain conditions, has not been rescinded. The provision of this Department Order should

<sup>1</sup> Republic of the Philippines, Commonwealth Act No. 333, 18 June 1938.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Report by Mr. Benito Pangiliman, delegate of the Government of the Philippines, presented to the Fourteenth International Conference on Public Education, Unesco, Paris, and International Bureau of Education, Geneva, 1951.

be enforced and the reactions of the field as to its result should be sought'.<sup>1</sup>

Indonesia chose Malay, used as the trade lingua franca of a great part of Southern Asia, as its official national language. This language, called Bahasa Indonesia, had like Tagalog in the Philippines, to be developed, and special commissions were established for that purpose. The Indonesian problem is quite difficult and is similar to that of the Philippines. The new language has to be taught to 72 million people speaking about 200 different languages among which Javanese, spoken by more than 30 million, is a well-developed literary language. Sundanese and Madurese are other important tongues spoken both together by more than 15 million people. About this situation an authority says: 'What should be the position and function of the Javanese, Sundanese and Madurese languages in Indonesian cultural life in the future? Can a language like Javanese—bearing a rich literary tradition, simply disappear—or shall we have in the future a rivalry for supremacy between the different Indonesian languages? Javanese is handicapped by its complexity. There are several levels involved: one language is used by a younger person addressing his elders or by an inferior to his superiors; a second is used among equals, while a third is employed by an older person addressing his juniors or by one of higher rank with his inferiors. There are even more distinctions giving rise to many more than these three possibilities. This is not democratic in the modern sense. . . .'<sup>2</sup> The same author points out that 'Bahasa Indonesia is for most Indonesians to some extent a foreign language, or at least a language so different from their mother tongue that it must be studied before they can master it. However, Bahasa Indonesia has been for more than five centuries the lingua franca of the Indonesian, so that everywhere in the archipelago, as in South-East Asia, people have at least some knowledge of it, however superficial, and this knowledge can be the starting point for the teaching of Bahasa Indonesia in schools, without recourse to the mother tongue. On the other hand, the teaching of the numerous local dialects and languages confined to small isolated mountain or island communities would obviously prove expensive and impracticable. But with regard to

<sup>1</sup> J. V. and V. Aguilar, 'Problems of Elementary Education,' *Philippine Journal of Education*, vol. XXVII, no. 10, April 1944, pp. 601-2. Quoted in Antonio Isidro, *Teaching of the Mother Tongue* (A documentation) 30 January 1951. (A special report written at Unesco's request.)

<sup>2</sup> Unesco. Meeting of experts on the use of vernacular languages, Paris, 1951. *The Indonesian Language* [by] S. Takdir Alisjahbana. Regional paper on vernacular languages, no. 1.

Javanese, Sundanese, Madurese, and other languages spoken by a million or more people, we are confronted with another situation. Before the war these languages were used as the vehicle of teaching in the countries concerned, not only in primary schools, but also in some of the training colleges. Up till now this question has not been sufficiently studied, so that no satisfactory solution has been found. The present situation is that Javanese, Sundanese and Madurese are used in the first three classes of the primary schools while gradually these languages are being superseded by Bahasa Indonesia in the higher classes. The secondary schools have entirely changed over to the Indonesian language. But even in primary schools the diversity of languages creates difficulties for the children of State officials, who, owing to the complete centralization of the Indonesian constitution, are liable to be transferred from one country and language group to another'.<sup>1</sup> Bahasa Indonesia contains Sanskrit elements for political expressions; for religious and legal vocabulary, it uses terms of Arabic extraction; for scientific and technical terminology, it has extracted words from Dutch, English, and Portuguese; it also contains Chinese and Japanese elements as well as expressions from other Indonesian vernaculars, all clinging to the Malay linguistic patterns. The future of the minor vernaculars of Indonesia is uncertain.

In Australia the aboriginal population is small in number. 'When the First Fleet reached Sydney Cove in 1788 the aboriginal population of Australia, according to expert estimates, was about 350,000, divided into about 500 tribes or well-differentiated sub-tribes. Today there are about 48,000 full-bloods and 25,000 mixed bloods.'<sup>2</sup> The Australian languages are little studied, though some vocabularies have been published. It is said that all these languages were mutually related, but that their relationship with other stocks offers some difficulties. In 1947 it was announced that 'the Commonwealth Government had approved in principle of "a new deal for aborigines"'. The Government has also created a new post-Director of Native Affairs in the northern territory—to supervise the scheme....' Again in the *International Yearbook of Education 1950*, the following paragraph appears under Australia: 'Education of Aborigines. Plans were also made for a new scheme of aboriginal education in the northern territory. Preliminary surveys were made by the Commonwealth Office of Education and discussions

<sup>1</sup> Unesco. Meeting of experts on use of vernacular languages, Paris, 1951, *The Indonesian Language*, op. cit.

<sup>2</sup> Edgar Bee, *New Deal for Australian Aborigines*, no place, 28 February 1947, mimeo.



were held with other departments. The scheme was launched in 1950.<sup>1</sup> The corresponding section of the *International Yearbook of Education 1951* does not mention anything on aboriginal education nor on the languages used in education.

New Zealand has a larger aboriginal population speaking a vernacular—Maori—than does Australia. Missionaries founded the first schools for the Maoris. 'The mission schools had attempted to improve the Maori way of life by infusing into it the spirit of Christianity. . . . The scriptures were translated into Maori, the Maori people were taught to read and write their own language and the mission teachers learned the Maori tongue and taught in it. In the new Maori schools (started after the internal wars of the sixties), however, this policy was changed completely. The temper of the Government after the wars was such that their educational aim was the direct and rapid Europeanization of the Maori people. The language to be used in the schools as the medium of instruction was to be English. . . .'<sup>2</sup> But this policy of 'direct and rapid Europeanization' failed. 'Studies made in 1930 and 1931 indicated that though Maori children . . . were learning to speak English well, and made good progress with the scholastic subjects of the primary school curriculum, the Maori language continued to be spoken in the vast majority of homes, the Maori way of life had been modified far less than had been hoped, and the children after leaving school dropped most of the European custom they had been taught . . . the Maori, in short, had lost much that was valuable in his own culture and had not yet assimilated the European culture. It was clear that the educational policy of the preceding half century had been productive of much harm in its attempt to cut off the Maori people from their earlier way of life. A radical revision of the Education Department's aims now took place.'<sup>3</sup> The revised policy included the bringing of 'the arts, the crafts, the traditions, the history, the games, and the social life of the Maori people into the schools, to foster them, to perfect them, and thus to help the Maori child to grow up proud of the Maori culture he inherited.'<sup>4</sup> English, however, continues to be the sole medium of instruction in both native and general primary schools. The Maori language is taught as a subject in some mixed schools.

Tongan is a Polynesian language spoken with few variations in

<sup>1</sup> *International Yearbook of Education 1950*. Unesco, Paris and International Bureau of Education, Geneva, 1951, p. 49.

<sup>2</sup> *Compulsory Education in New Zealand*, a study initiated by the New Zealand National Commission for Unesco, Paris, Unesco, 1952, p. 64.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 65.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 65-66.

the Tonga archipelago. There is a certain amount of literature in Tongan, produced over the last 100 years. From a speech delivered by Prince Tungi of Tonga at the South Pacific Conference of 1950, it would appear that in the schools the vernacular is used as the medium and English taught as a subject first and then used as vehicle of higher instruction.<sup>1</sup>

*Non-self-governing Territories of the Pacific*

In the non-self-governing territories of the South Pacific, generally speaking education of the indigenous population 'is receiving every consideration', as 'the Administering Authorities are applying themselves very seriously to furthering economic and social development within their territories and to promoting the cultural and political self-realization of the Native peoples. . . . A review of the present position, however, reveals that there are in operation (as in Africa) two distinct philosophies of education, by which the French-speaking and the English-speaking metropolitan powers respectively are seeking to help indigenous peoples to achieve distinctive cultural ideals. In the territories where the language of the Colonial Powers or Administering Authorities is English, the *motif* of the educational pattern is the conservation and development of the best elements in the Natives' cultural inheritance. A necessary concomitant of this ideal is the use of the mother tongue, since language is an aspect of culture and "the shrine of a people's soul". On the other hand, the experiences of Authorities in the French Establishments in Oceania and in the territory of New Caledonia and Dependencies, as well as the deference shown to the expressed wish of the interested populations, have resulted in another approach to the fulfilment of cultural aspirations. . . . The use of the vernacular is not a fundamental requirement in this programme of native education.'<sup>2</sup> Some territories of course, present more difficulties than others. In Polynesian, for instance, a single language is spoken with a minimum of dialectal variations in large areas, but in Melanesian territories several mutually unintelligible languages may coexist within a small area. The use of the vernacular in this case is limited or nil, a lingua franca being used instead. In some

<sup>1</sup> 'There are ways of thought for us that are not quite translatable into English, so the vernacular must be retained.' And also: 'The mastery of English will give us access to current general and technical literature.' In G. J. Platten, 'The Use of Vernacular Languages as Vehicles of Instruction . . . in the South Pacific' [Sydney?] 1951, MS., taken from *Missionary Review*, Sydney, October, 1950.

<sup>2</sup> G. J. Platten, op. cit.

cases, as in Nauru, the indigenous population is not numerous, so that the written use of the vernacular is not practical. The use of the vernacular in the South Pacific territories does not preclude the oral instruction of the official language from the very beginning of school life, as it is the medium of higher education. But the teaching of English is sometimes hindered by lack of teachers. New Guinea is one of the regions of the world where language research has not yet covered all the area. 'Several Administering Authorities including Australia, New Zealand, the United Kingdom and the United States of America, have appointed or are seeking the services of language research officers to co-ordinate linguistic activities within their territories to standardize the orthography, to establish in written form those languages which are considered necessary to preserve Native cultures, and to facilitate education in the vernacular by the production of much-needed textbooks.'<sup>1</sup> In New Guinea one useful language is Pidgin, which although not admitted by some authorities, is being used as a literary lingua franca to a certain extent.<sup>2</sup> In literacy campaigns and all adult education the medium is the vernacular, except in New Caledonia and French Oceania, where French is used.<sup>3</sup> Several newspapers are published in the area, some bilingual, some only in the vernacular (including Pidgin used in newspapers at Raboul, Lae, Kavieng and Bougainville).

#### EUROPE INCLUDING THE U.S.S.R.

Europe is a cross-roads of languages and cultures. Not including the Soviet Union, some 50 main languages, belonging to four main stocks, are spoken in Europe. The Indo-European, the so-called Ural-Altaic, Semitic—and Basque which stands alone. The first three stocks split into different groups of languages.<sup>4</sup>

Each main language is subdivided into various dialects; the number of ways of speaking in the whole of Europe and the Soviet Union is therefore enormous.

Of the main languages mentioned only 26 (including as one unit Czech and Slovak, and Serbo-Croat and Slovene) are official languages; the rest are vernaculars. Some of these vernaculars are

<sup>1</sup> G. J. Platten, 'The Use of Vernacular Languages as Vehicles of Instruction . . . in the South Pacific,' p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> See article by Hon. Camilla Wedgwood in this volume, p. 103.

<sup>3</sup> Tahitian is used in the *Journal officiel de Tahiti*. There are, too, some publications in the vernaculars in New Caledonia.

<sup>4</sup> See Appendix I, p. 139.

dialects of main official languages as Alsatian, spoken in France, which is a dialect of German, as Letzenburguer of Luxembourg and Frisian of Holland and Germany. Macedo-Rumanian spoken in Greece is a variant of Rumanian; Walloon of Belgium may be taken as a French dialect; Judaeo-Spanish is a variant of Castilian; the language of the Faröe Islands is very close to Icelandic; Galician of Spain is similar to Portuguese; Ruthenian and White Russian speakers can understand Great Russian.

Main languages which are real vernaculars in Europe, not including the Soviet Union, though some of them are also spoken in the Union, are:

Armenian, spoken in Bulgaria, Turkey and the U.S.S.R.

Basque, spoken in Spain and in France.

Lapp, spoken in Finland, Norway, Sweden and the U.S.S.R.

Catalan, spoken in Spain, France and in Italian Sardinia.

Lusatian-Serb or Wend, spoken in Germany.

Maltese, spoken in Malta (under British Administration).

Manx, spoken in the Isle of Man.

Provençal, spoken in France.

Breton, spoken in France.

Welsh, spoken in the United Kingdom.

Gaelic, spoken in the United Kingdom.

Lithuanian spoken in Poland, Germany and the U.S.S.R.

Karaite spoken in Poland.

Romany or Gypsy, spoken in varied forms almost everywhere.

Most of the speakers of the languages speak also an official language. With possibly only few exceptions all these languages are literary tongues; some of them, such as Catalan and Provençal, are languages with a highly-developed literature.

In the Soviet Union about 100 different main languages are spoken; these include 6 Slavic (Great Russian, Polish); 11 Finnish; 43 Caucasian (Georgian is the most important); 27 Turco-Tatar; 4 Mongol; 4 Iranian; 1 Manchurian (Turco-Tatar; Mongol and Manchurian are classed as Altaic by some authorities); and some Paleoasiatic and Samoyede minor languages. 'Soviet educational policy,' an authority writes, 'has aimed at providing education in the vernacular; languages that had no written form have been endowed with scientifically-devised alphabets and grammars, a work of great magnitude and which is still proceeding, for obviously the earlier grammars were first approximations. Those languages whose alphabets were difficult and ill-adapted were made to replace them by simpler Latin and later by the Russian script; this made the art of reading and writing more accessible to the masses. In time, the need for a unifying language led to the intro-

duction of compulsory Russian and the concomitant use of the Russian alphabet for most vernaculars. With the extension of compulsory attendance from four to seven or eight years, and the provision of boarding schools for pupils from outlying villages the standards of proficiency in Russian are likely to improve; this will help solve the problem of more advanced education among minor linguistic groups.

'So far there have been no attempts at devising a simplified form of pidgin-Russian. The aim seems to be a bilingual population proud of its own national achievements yet enjoying access to the wider world through Russian. In this connexion, it should be borne in mind that even great Russian writers have not scorned the work of translating from other languages; the modern Soviet writers consider it part of their vocation. As a consequence, unusually good translations of both major European works and popular native songs and epics are available in Russian. A Chuckchi may read the *Manas* and a Karelian the works of Rustavelli in Russian. This is admittedly not the best way of knowing the poetry of other nations but it broadens the range of reading of the multilingual population of the U.S.S.R. and enables small linguistic groups to participate in the intellectual life of a much larger community.'<sup>1</sup>

In France a recent law authorizes the use of the vernacular languages for teaching French in primary schools, when the pupils ask for it. The languages, literature and folk-lore become a subject in teachers training colleges, and an optional subject in secondary schools and university faculties.<sup>2</sup>

In Spain political factors today impede the use of the vernaculars, which in other historical periods have been used in school, but most of the vernacular-speaking people know Castilian.

In Germany the vernacular communities know also the standard official language.

In the United Kingdom, Welsh is used in education and the other—rather small—linguistic communities speak also the literary standard English. In Malta, Maltese is used as a bridge to English.

In Poland, Lithuanian is used in school; the Karaite groups are very small and scattered, and their members probably speak also Polish. We have no recent information.

As to Romany or Gypsy, spoken in almost every country, cultural factors hamper its use in school and the Gypsies generally

<sup>1</sup> E. Koutaïssouf, *Literacy and the Place of Russian in the Non-Slav Republics of the U.S.S.R.* Regional paper on vernacular languages, no. 21, Paris, 1951, MS.

<sup>2</sup> Law No. 51-46 of 11 January 1951.

understand and speak the official language of the country in which they live.

Sweden uses Lappish in some degree for teaching Lapps, but Swedish is most commonly used.

No recent information is available on Finland's treatment of Lappish, nor on the Catalan spoken in Sardinia.

The linguistic provinces, or the distribution of the linguistic communities in Europe, overlap the political frontiers in a complicated pattern, leaving concealed within each state minority groups, which at times have played a role in the reshaping of the European map or have forced political adjustments in some countries.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Stanley Rundel, *Language as a Social and Political Factor in Europe*, London, 1946, p. 82, for the example of Alsatian in France.

## CHAPTER II

# THE REPORT OF THE UNESCO MEETING OF SPECIALISTS, 1951

### INTRODUCTION

From the foregoing survey it can be readily appreciated that the language problem in education is world-wide and therefore a proper field of investigation for the educational agency of the United Nations.

Moreover, in many of its own activities and projects Unesco has been continually confronted with one aspect or another of the problem, chiefly in relation to fundamental education. To mention but one example, the educators entrusted with carrying out the pilot project in the Marbial Valley of Haiti found that little or no progress could be made before a decision had been reached as to what language should be used as the medium of instruction.<sup>1</sup> Similarly the Unesco advisory missions sent to Thailand, the Philippines, Afghanistan and Burma, had to take into consideration the local version of the same problem; the reports of these missions contain useful supplementary information to the present volume and recommendations that repay careful study.<sup>2</sup>

Since therefore the question of the medium of instruction is a recurrent problem in fundamental education and in the development of adequate systems of schooling in so many countries, the General Conference of Unesco at its Fifth Session in 1950 recommended that it should be made a subject for separate study on a world-wide scale. This decision was strengthened by a resolution previously passed by the General Assembly of the United Nations, asking Unesco to take action.

Accordingly, towards the end of 1951, specialists from all parts of the globe met at Unesco House, Paris, to discuss in particular

<sup>1</sup> Unesco, *The Haiti Pilot Project; Phase One 1947-1949*, 'Monographs on Fundamental Education', IV, Paris, 1951, 83 pp.

<sup>2</sup> Unesco, *Report of the Mission to Thailand*, Paris, 1950, 56 pp.; *Report of the Mission to the Philippines*, Paris, 1950, 75 pp.; *Report of the Mission to Burma*, Paris, 1952, 91 pp.; *Report of the Mission to Afghanistan*, Paris, 1952, 83 pp.

the use of vernacular languages. The meeting considered its main task to be the provision of some answer to two important questions: under what circumstances is the use of the vernacular possible in education; and what measures might be taken to facilitate and encourage its use? The meeting recorded its findings in a draft report, which is now published in the pages that follow.<sup>1</sup>

To avoid ambiguity the following terms are used with the senses indicated:

*Indigenous language.* The language of the people considered to be the original inhabitants of an area.

*Lingua franca.* A language which is used habitually by people whose mother tongues are different in order to facilitate communication between them.

*Mother or native tongue.* The language which a person acquires in early years and which normally becomes his natural instrument of thought and communication.

*National language.* The language of a political, social and cultural entity.

*Official language.* A language used in the business of government—legislative, executive and judicial.

*Pidgin.* A language which has arisen as the result of contact between peoples of different language, usually formed from a mixing of the languages.

*Regional language.* A language which is used as a medium of communication between peoples living within a certain area who have different mother tongues.

*Second language.* As referred to in this report, is the language acquired by a person in addition to his mother tongue.

*Vernacular language.* A language which is the mother tongue of a group which is socially or politically dominated by another group speaking a different language.<sup>2</sup> We do not consider the language of a minority in one country as a vernacular if it is an official language in another country.

*World language.* A language used over wide areas of the world.

<sup>1</sup> For preliminary matters such as terms of reference, list of members, etc., see Appendix II. p. 144.

<sup>2</sup> Unesco recognizes that, while this definition holds in the generality of cases, for it to be universally applied and comply with the conditions governing individual, particular cases, variations in emphasis and wording would be necessary. *Ed.'s Note.*



## MOTHER TONGUE AND SECOND LANGUAGE

*A General Statement*

It is through his mother tongue that every human being first learns to formulate and express his ideas about himself and about the world in which he lives. This language in which he first learns to express his ideas need not be the language which his parents use; nor need it be the language he first learns to speak, since special circumstances may cause him to abandon this language more or less completely at an early age.

Every child is born into a cultural environment; the language is both a part of, and an expression of, that environment. Thus the acquiring of this language (his 'mother tongue') is a part of the process by which a child absorbs the cultural environment; it can, then, be said that this language plays an important part in moulding the child's early concepts. He will, therefore, find it difficult to grasp any new concept which is so alien to his cultural environment that it cannot readily find expression in his mother tongue. If a foreign language belongs to a culture very little different from his own (as for example French is to an English child) the child's chief difficulties in learning that language will be only linguistic. But if the foreign language belongs to a culture very different from his own (as for example English to a Nigerian child), then his learning difficulties are greatly increased; he comes into contact, not only with a new language, but also with new concepts. Similar considerations apply to adults.

In learning any foreign language a child may find difficulty in mastering the alien vocabulary and syntax sufficiently to express his ideas in it. Where the foreign language belongs to a wholly alien culture he is faced with the added and much greater difficulties: to interpret to himself the new ideas in terms of his own medium of thought—his mother tongue—and to express his own ideas and thoughts through the new modes of the alien tongue. Ideas which have been formulated in one language are so difficult to express through the modes of another, that a person habitually faced with this task can readily lose his facility to express himself. A child, faced with this task at an age when his powers of self-expression even in his mother tongue are but incompletely developed, may possibly never achieve adequate self-expression.

For these reasons it is important that every effort should be made to provide education in the mother tongue. What can be done is discussed on pages 52-54.

On educational grounds we recommend that the use of the

mother tongue be extended to as late a stage in education as possible. In particular, pupils should begin their schooling through the medium of the mother tongue, because they understand it best and because to begin their school life in the mother tongue will make the break between home and school as small as possible.

We consider that the shock which the young child undergoes in passing from his home to his school life is so great that everything possible should be done to soften it, particularly where modern methods of infant teaching have not yet penetrated to the school. He passes from being one of a few children under his mother's eye to being one of a large group under a teacher. Instead of running about and playing and shouting he is usually expected to sit still and be quiet; to concentrate, to do what he is told instead of what he wants to do, to listen and learn and answer questions. New information and ideas are presented to him as fast as he can possibly absorb them, and he is expected to show evidence that he has absorbed them. Almost everything is different from home and it is not surprising that many children find difficulty in adjusting themselves to their new surroundings. If the language in which all these bewildering new communications are made is also different from the mother tongue, the burden on the child is correspondingly increased.

Even when the child has been at school long enough to be familiar with school life, he still has to cope with the incessant stream of lessons in many different subjects. He will find a lesson in geography or almost any other subject easier if he is taught it in his mother tongue. To expect him to deal with new information or ideas presented to him in an unfamiliar language is to impose on him a double burden, and he will make slower progress.

The use of the mother tongue will promote better understanding between the home and the school when the child is taught in the language of the home. What he learns can easily be expressed or applied in the home. Moreover, the parents will be in a better position to understand the problems of the school and in some measure to help the school in the education of the child.

There may, however, be circumstances which justify abandoning the mother tongue very early in the child's formal education. For example, the mother tongue may be closely related to a more widely used language, and the practical convenience of being able to use this language as a medium of instruction may be so great as to justify a small burden on children who find some difficulty at first in using it. In such cases as these, we urge that everything possible should be done to help the children to pass over to the new medium. They should, for example, be taught by teachers who

speak their mother tongue, and their task of passing to the new medium should take priority over other tasks.

We now discuss several objections often urged against the use of the mother tongue as the medium of instruction, which we consider unsound. Later we examine others which do in fact limit the extent to which the mother tongue can be used in certain circumstances.

*'This language has no grammar and no alphabet.'* Frequently someone who has not analysed the languages of people without a modern technology or civilization is of the opinion that a language which has never been written has no grammar. This is not true. Every language, even an unwritten one, has its consistent patterns or rules by which its speakers combine words into sentences, and so on. Often such grammatical structure is as complicated or as regular as those of any world language. In fact, we hold that there is nothing in the structure of any language which precludes it from becoming a vehicle of modern civilization. Similarly, any unwritten language can be written; some of the problems involved in writing a hitherto unwritten language are discussed in pages 60-62.

*'The child already knows his mother tongue.'* The second objection is that the child already knows his own language before he comes to school, and that there is no need for the school to teach it to him. There are two replies to this. In the first place, he has not completely learnt it before coming to school. He has learnt it enough for his own childish purposes, but he will still need to develop his knowledge of it as he grows older. The English or French child devotes a great part of his time throughout his school career to studying his mother tongue. In the second place, the school is not merely teaching the child his mother tongue; it is using his mother tongue as the most effective means of teaching him other things.

*'The use of the mother tongue will prevent acquisition of the second language.'* Some people claim that it is impossible for children to acquire a good use of the second language unless the school adopts the second language as a medium of instruction from the very beginning. In fact, it is on the basis of this action that some schools in the past have actually forbidden any use whatsoever of the vernacular anywhere in the school. However, recent experience in many places proves that an equal or better command of the second language can be imparted if the school begins with the mother tongue as the medium of instruction, subsequently introducing the second language as a subject of instruction.

*'Using the vernacular impedes national unity.'* It cannot be denied that the business of government is easier in a monolingual than in a multilingual nation. However, it does not follow that legislation or school policy requiring the use of the official language at all times will give the same results as actual monolingualism. On the contrary, it is fairly likely that absolute insistence on the use of the national language by people of another mother tongue may have a negative effect, leading the local groups to withdraw in some measure from the national life. In any event, it seems clear that the national interests are best served by optimum advancement of education, and this in turn can be promoted by the use of the local language as a medium of instruction, at least at the beginning of the school programme.

*Practical Limitations in the Use of the Vernacular in School*

We have already said that we think all children should at least begin their schooling in their mother tongue, and that they will benefit from being taught in their mother tongue as long as possible. There are, however, certain practical difficulties—some temporary, some permanent—which may compel the school authorities to abandon the use of the vernacular as the medium of instruction at some stage.

*Inadequacy of the vocabulary.* The first difficulty is that the language may not yet have a vocabulary sufficient for the needs of the curriculum. In this case a second language will have to be introduced at an early stage, and as soon as the pupils have learnt enough of it the second language can become the medium of instruction. The transition to a second language should normally take place gradually and should be made as smooth and as psychologically harmless as possible. Thus, if the second language is completely different from the mother tongue it should be taught as a subject for some years, and until such time as the child has an adequate working knowledge of it, before it is brought into use as a full teaching medium. The reasons for this, and the methods to be used, are discussed on pages 55-59. We would only add that the adoption of a second language as a medium need not be total, that is, one or more subjects may continue to be taught through the mother tongue, even though for others the second language has become necessary.

*Shortage of educational materials.* One of the most important and difficult problems connected with the use of the vernacular

languages in education is that of providing reading materials. It will often happen that even a language which is quite capable of being used as a medium of instruction will be almost or entirely without school books or other materials. The difficulty is not so much in printing, since there are various machines and techniques in existence which are designed to produce books and other printed matter in small quantity. The difficulty is to find or train competent authors or translators; to obtain supplies of materials (such as paper, type and machinery) in days of general shortage; to distribute the finished product under conditions of great distances and poor communications; and above all to find the money. These are practical problems, extremely difficult and of the highest importance. We are not, however, competent to advise on those problems and we strongly urge that Unesco should investigate them by consulting those who have had to face them in different parts of the world; and that it should make available the results of the investigations.

*Multiplicity of languages in a locality.* If a given locality has a variety of languages it may be difficult to provide schooling in each mother tongue simply because there are too few students speaking certain of the languages. In such cases it may be necessary to select one of the languages as the medium of instruction, at the cost of using a language other than the mother tongue of some of the students. Before accepting this necessity, the school should seek ways and means to arrange instruction groups by mother tongue. If mixed groups are unavoidable, instruction should be in the language which gives the least hardship to the bulk of the pupils, and special help should be given those who do not speak the language of instruction.

*Multiplicity of languages in a country.* A country which faces the problem of providing schools for a number of different linguistic groups may find itself temporarily unable—for lack of resources and personnel—to provide for all of them in the mother tongue. In this case, it may have to begin with the language spoken by the largest populations or having the most developed literature of the greatest number of teachers. The ideal of education in the mother tongue for the small groups can be worked toward as conditions make it possible.

It must be recorded that there is a wide variation in the strength and validity of these reasons for not using the mother tongue. In some areas they are indeed very strong; in others they are advanced without complete justification.

We must here lay down as a general principle what must have already been made apparent by our general approach to the problem: that in order to ease the burden on the child, the mother tongue should be used as the medium of instruction as far up the educational ladder as the conditions referred to on page 50 permit (in other words that the transfer to a second language, if necessary, should be deferred to as late a stage as possible); and that authorities should do everything in their power to *create* the conditions which will make for an ever-increasing extension of schooling in the mother tongue, and make the transition from mother tongue to second language as smooth and as psychologically harmless as possible.

We now discuss the policy which should be followed with regard to the use of the mother tongue in certain specific linguistic situations.

*Need for reading material.* We have already referred to the practical problems that are involved in providing an adequate supply of textbooks and reading material both for children and for adults. It will be useless teaching either schoolchildren or adults to read unless they have a supply of textbooks and other reading material. Indeed to do so may easily cause disappointment and resentment, and also a reversion to illiteracy on the part of many.

This problem has three aspects:

1. Provision of textbooks and reading materials for children in school.
2. Provision of follow-up materials of all kinds for adolescents and others who have had some years of formal education.
3. Provision of suitable material for newly literate adults.

We wish to emphasize that it is not enough to provide material for the actual needs of all classes, whether for children or adults; further material must be provided for follow-up purposes. There are two main reasons why people read: one is to improve themselves, the other is for entertainment. Newspapers and periodicals are a valuable means of holding the interest and spreading the habit of reading, and government authorities can do a great deal to encourage reading by the official notices they display. If it is desired to help people who can read in their mother tongues to pass over to reading in a second language, much can be done by printing books, newspapers, and official notices in two versions. We wish to emphasize, too, that the fact that a given language may not possess an adequate supply of reading material to enable it to be used as the medium of instruction right up to the highest grades of education, does not mean that it cannot be used in the primary

and possibly part of the secondary stage. It should be used in education as far as the existing resources in reading material allow, and as the efforts made to extend the supply of reading material bear fruit, the use of the language should correspondingly be extended.

*The shortage of suitably trained teachers.* Teachers who have themselves received their education and professional training in a second language have real difficulty in learning to teach in the mother tongue. The main reasons for this difficulty are of two kinds. First: they have to teach subjects in a language which is not the language in which they are accustomed to think about them; and some of what they have to teach involves concepts which are alien to their pupils' culture and therefore have to be interpreted in a tongue to which they are alien. Secondly, there is often a lack of suitable books to guide or help them both in teaching and in teaching through the mother tongue; they have to depend, therefore, more on their own initiative and skill than when teaching through the second language in which they themselves have been trained. In those regions where a mother tongue is spoken by a large population, it should not be difficult to give teachers much of their theoretical training and all their practice teaching in the mother tongue. In those regions where there is a multiplicity of languages, it may be very difficult to do this. Nevertheless, we urge the importance of enabling teacher trainees to do at least some of their practice teaching in the mother tongue, and that authorities should make every effort to make this possible. One very important feature of teacher training and guidance is the need, now generally recognized, for special teachers' guides and hand-books in order to prevent old-fashioned methods of teaching by rote.

*Popular opposition to use of mother tongue.* Some people in a locality may be unmoved by the benefits to be derived from the use of the mother tongue in education and may be convinced that education in the mother tongue is to their disadvantage. We believe that educationists must carry public opinion with them if their policy is to be effective in the long run, since, in the last resort, the people of a country must always be in a position to express their free choice in the matter of the language in which their children are to be educated; and we urge that the educational authorities should make every effort to take the people into consultation and win their confidence. The problem will lose many of its elements of conflict if the people are confident that the use of languages in the

educational system does not favour any section of the population at the expense of others. If the people as a whole will not accept the policy of education in the mother tongue, efforts should be exerted to persuade a group to accept it at least for experimental purposes. We believe that when the people as a whole have had an opportunity of observing the results of education in the mother tongue, they will be convinced that it is sound policy.

*Lingua franca.* Sometimes, as in the case of Swahili in parts of East Africa, there is a lingua franca which is so widely used that there is a great temptation to use it instead of the mother tongue as the medium of instruction. This has the great advantages of economy and of simplicity of administration, and in particular cases in the problem of supplying textbooks and other reading matter, both for schoolchildren and adults. Our view on the use of the lingua franca will depend in each case on how familiar the lingua franca really is. If nearly all the children have some knowledge of the lingua franca as well as of their mother tongue before they come to school, it may be worth while to incur some inconvenience to the individual pupil for the sake of more efficiency in the educational system as a whole. But the lingua franca may not be as familiar as this. It may simply be the case that one or two people in each village have some knowledge of it, but that it is not used in the village as a common medium of intercourse, and the schoolchildren seldom or never hear it. If this is so, we should be opposed to its use as the medium of instruction in the lowest classes, since it is in fact a foreign language to the children. The claim of the lingua franca to become the medium of instruction at a later stage would have to be weighed against the claims of a world language.

*Pidgin.* In some countries pidgin languages, such as Creole and pidgin-English, are spoken. These languages are sometimes only used by a section of the population in commercial or work contacts with people with whom they have no other means of communication. But in other regions a pidgin tongue is freely used over a wide area as a lingua franca between peoples in habitual social contact, and the children become familiar with it from an early age. When this is the case, it can be used as a medium in the schools. There are, however, two main objections to this: (a) when the pidgin contains elements based upon a European language, it is feared that the use of the pidgin in schools will make it harder for pupils to learn the European language correctly; (b) the people are often opposed to it because of its association with economic and social subordination.



## THE SECOND LANGUAGE IN EDUCATION

In the preceding section we have stated our view that the mother tongue should be used in the early stages of education, even when another language must be used for further training. The early training in the mother tongue should serve as a bridge for learning the second language.

Each of these languages, however, represents far more than a mere set of grammatical forms and vocabulary lists; each tends to carry with it a set of concepts and traditions which in large measure constitute a separate culture. The use of the mother tongue in learning a second language, therefore, helps to provide a foundation of culture as well as one of language.

*The need of knowing a second language.* If, however, a child is brought up in a community which speaks a language different from the official one of his country, or one which is not a world language with a well-developed technological and cultural vocabulary and literature, he needs to be taught a second language: in order to feel at home in the language in which the affairs of his government are carried on; and in order to have access to world history, news, arts, sciences and technology.

The teaching of the mother tongue in school is sometimes complicated by the necessity of learning the national language. Because of the intimate relations of language and sentiment, a government may desire to have its national language spoken throughout the nation as an essential common bond or as the principal earmark of its very nationality. Moreover, the national language eases the task of administration by allowing a system of communication in one language, the easier spread of information concerning its laws, policies, and economic procedures, and the more economical establishment of a school system. At times, too, identity of educational procedure has appeared to governments to be an essential part of an over-all policy of equality of treatment for all men under their domain.

Individuals, too, very often strongly desire to learn the national language—although the imposition of such a language against their will may arouse hostility instead. For specific individuals the reasons underlying their desire to learn the official language, or a world language, often differ from those given thus far, and may be locally even more influential. For them the learning of a second language may be the door to skilled jobs and leadership in commercial establishments or in the civil service; or it may be the first step toward travel and study abroad. Much more subtle, and

frequently more important, may be the expressed or unexpressed conviction that the acquisition of the foreigner's tongue will guarantee a like kind of wealth, freedom, self-government, power, and social status.

The knowledge of a world language can help to promote understanding between peoples and should be encouraged as one means of increasing international sympathy and mutual appreciation of the cultural contribution of East and West, and of the important contribution from individual persons in the past. The child should be brought into the modern world as easily and as quickly as our schools can bring him, while preserving in him the traditional values of his own society.

Nevertheless, for the reasons given earlier, it is our conviction that these peoples should be counselled to be patient, and to approach the second language through the mother tongue. We believe that, in the end, their best interests will be the better served that way. Even though they must ultimately learn to think and speak and read in the second language, this goal is, we believe, psychologically and pedagogically as a rule best achieved by two short jumps (that is, from illiteracy to literacy in the mother tongue, and from literacy in the mother tongue to literacy in a second language) than by one long jump (that is, from illiteracy in the mother tongue to literacy in a second language).

We have stated our view that if the change to a second language cannot be avoided, it should at least be postponed for as long as possible, and that the transition to it should be made as smooth and as gradual as possible. We now discuss some of the practical considerations which arise.

*First use of a second language in the school.* Since the desire to learn the second language may be very great—enough to make the child or his parents impatient with this approach—it may be wise during the first or second year to supplement the major teaching in the mother tongue by a small amount of oral initiation into the second language. Even a small amount may be encouraging to the pupils and begin to make them familiar with the pronunciation and some phrases of the second language.

*Gradual transition to the second language as a medium of instruction.* From this point, the amount of the second language used may be increased gradually, with the speed controlled by local factors. At first it should be taught as a subject, that is, as a foreign language. As soon as the competence of the class allows them to understand it well enough, the second language can, if necessary, be used as

the medium of instruction for some subjects, but with the vernacular used where necessary for explanations. Finally—say in the secondary school—it may have to be used almost exclusively as long as no textbooks at that level are available in the mother tongue.

*Variations in the programme.* Various facts may make it necessary or advisable to use a somewhat different progression. Where all or almost all the pupils speak the second language well before beginning school, it may be used from the beginning. Where many people in the community speak the second language and serve as models, or where the second language is closely related to the mother tongue, change-over to it may be much faster. Where no texts at all are available in the mother tongue or where no vernacular-speaking teachers are available or where in the same classroom several languages are represented, it may be necessary to concentrate almost exclusively for a time on the teaching of the second language as a subject, in order to use it very soon as a medium of instruction.

*Goal of instruction.* The degree to which the students are expected to use the second language will also modify the programme. For students who are not following a course leading to university education, more stress may be placed proportionately on learning useful things through the mother tongue; for those who are working for university entrance, the second language may become increasingly important.

As a general principle, however, we hold that the child should not begin to learn two foreign languages at the same time; where a third language is taught, its introduction should be delayed until the second is well under way.

Secondary school students who are working for certificates transferable to other countries will need to have the second language introduced soon enough and taught vigorously enough, so that by the end of their secondary training their knowledge of the second language should be not more than a year or two behind that of students whose mother tongue is that second language. We believe that with efficient teaching such a goal is possible within the general programme suggested here.

*Methods and materials.* In introducing a second language, the teachers should use the best available techniques for teaching foreign languages. We consider it a fallacy to assume that an adequate method for these students consists either (a) simply of using the language as a medium of instruction or (b) of teaching

'grammar' to them with the same texts, goals, and pedagogical philosophy as are used for students who are studying their mother tongue. We also call attention to the fact that a large body of materials exists which deal with the teaching of English, for example; and we emphasize strongly the fact that a teacher must not be considered as trained to do an adequate job of teaching English or French or Spanish as a foreign language simply because he speaks the language as a native and has studied the conventional grammar. For this purpose special techniques and materials specially controlled in vocabulary, cultural content, and presentation of structural complexities are highly important.

Control of vocabulary is especially important. No language can be successfully used as a medium unless the student has previously acquired: an active working command of the essential nucleus of the language, consisting as a rule of about one 1,000 words, the main grammatical forms and the most necessary idioms; a semi-active, semi-passive command of an additional vocabulary; and a technique of expansion, through a dictionary using a controlled defining vocabulary. This method demands that this essential nucleus of the language be determined.

It is important that the subject matter of the course used in the teaching of the second language should be closely related to the social, economic, and other needs and interests of the pupils or students to whom it is being taught.

*Interdependence of mother tongue and second language.* Finally, we would emphasize that the promotion of swifter and more effective techniques of second language teaching has a very direct bearing on the use of the mother tongue as the medium of instruction. It is clear that the development and enrichment of a mother tongue can be achieved only by the interest and efforts of the people whose language it is, and their interest in and understanding of it will be stimulated by an intimate knowledge of a second language and its associated culture. Moreover, if through the use of modern techniques, pupils can acquire a good knowledge of the second language taught as a subject in one or two periods a day, then there need be no anxiety that, in order to acquire a good command of it, they should use it as the medium of instruction from the beginning of their schooling.

*Languages in adult education.* Wherever possible, adult education should be carried out in the mother tongue. The great majority of adults will not have the time to master a foreign language sufficiently for it to be used as an effective medium of education. Moreover the

new ideas which teachers desire to convey to adults, for the purpose of stimulating and guiding community development, can best be conveyed if interpreted to the people through the medium in which they are accustomed to think. Where people of many tongues are gathered together (e.g. in towns or work centres) some form of lingua franca is usually already used between them and this can then be used also as the medium for adult education. In teaching adults to read it is always best for them to begin in the mother tongue. They will often aspire to achieve literacy directly in a second, foreign, language, particularly if this second language is the one in which their children have become literate. Such a desire should be discouraged, especially if the gap between the mother tongue and the foreign language is very wide; for if they try to begin to learn to read in a foreign language most of them will never become truly literate. The gap between the generations will be smaller if the older and the younger read in different languages than if the older cannot read at all. However, those adults who—having learnt to read in their mother tongue—want to learn a second language, should be encouraged. In townships and elsewhere where a lingua franca is freely used among the people themselves, this can usefully replace the mother tongue as a first literacy language, for it usually has the advantage of already being used for the production of news sheets, public notices, etc. Thus new literates would be assured of some reading matter on which to exercise their new skill.

Desire to study may be aroused and maintained if the efforts of the adult learners towards literacy and better citizenship are tied up with their special interests. An adult will continue to learn only as he sees that his literacy will further his economic, social or cultural improvement. It is our considered opinion that teaching for literacy alone will have ephemeral effects.

*Methods and materials for teaching adults.* The teaching of adults requires special techniques and materials, both of which are adapted to the needs and psychology of the mature learners. It must be borne in mind that the interests of adults are much more specific and immediate than those of children and that there must be greater variety in the contents of reading materials provided for them.

The importance in all schemes of fundamental education of providing adequate incentives and opportunities for women cannot be over-estimated.

## SPECIAL PROBLEMS

Certain technical issues arising from the general questions so far discussed have been reserved for fuller treatment in this section. Because we recognize the importance of a scientific basis for language policies and because the discussions have shown a divergence of opinion on fundamental matters, our procedure is to reflect these differing points of view without pronouncing judgment upon them. We feel that the importance of these problems is great enough to require further study by linguists in all parts of the world. The sections that follow deal with the choice of writing systems, problems of a multilingual area, and questions of vocabulary and structure.

### *Choice of Writing System*

New departures with regard to language policy in education and in the social-cultural life of various countries frequently raise the question of choosing between different possible systems of writing. The language may never have been written before, or may have been recorded only by travellers or scholars for their own purposes. Again, there may be two or more distinct systems of writing used in different sections of the country, by different religious groups, or by people under the influence of different scholarly traditions. Any one system of writing may or may not have a standardized spelling for individual words.

Even where there is uniformity in the system of writing, special problems may exist. Many traditional orthographies date back to the time when the only important technique of graphic representation was handwriting. The number of separate characters was not too important, and they could be interlaced with each other in complicated ways. Modern machine writing, including the typewriter and various typesetting machines for printing, work best with simple writing systems using a limited number of characters which can be arranged in a single line.

In cases where the school uses a local mother tongue in the early years but later changes to a second language of regional and national importance as the main instrument of communication, it is advantageous to the students if both languages are written in the same way. This means that they do not have to learn to read and write a second time for the second language, but make a more or less direct transfer of their previously acquired abilities.

Where there are several major regional languages in one country or where more than one language has official status, it is of value

to have relative uniformity in the way in which they are written. To the extent that they are similar, the learning of the additional language is facilitated. Even within a single country, there may be obstacles towards achieving unification of alphabets because of the attachment people may have developed towards a given form of script or because of strong feeling they may hold against another one. These same attitudes may stand in the way of achieving the simplification of a writing system along lines that may be more suitable for typewriting, machine typesetting, and telegraphy.

Where new characters are needed in an alphabetic system, they should be taken from prevailing usage in the field of phonetics. This has the effect of maintaining unity between innovations adopted for different languages.

Despite the obstacles, simplification or unification of alphabets can sometimes be achieved, notably when new opportunities for general education are opened up or when a newly independent nation is in the process of developing governmental procedures. Because it is sometimes possible to effect orthographic improvements, it is well to have a clear notion of what is desirable in this regard.

An ideal writing system should be in agreement with the actual system of sounds, recognizing that some languages make distinctions of sounds that pass, as it were, unnoticed in other languages. The speakers react to the differences which their own language forces them to make, and are largely unaware of distinctions which may exist in other languages. Language specialists speak of phonemic and non-phonemic distinctions. A writing system, to be easily learned and used, must provide a clear means of distinguishing the phonemes of a language and must ordinarily disregard any phonetic distinctions which do not show a contrast of phonemes in the given language. It may be desirable in some areas to maintain similar spellings for related but phonemically different words or elements, provided that the difference between spelling and pronunciation is not too great.

For practical needs in terms of modern machinery, the system should use a limited set of symbols written in a single line. An alphabetic system is the easiest, but a simple syllabic system is almost as good. Availability of type is a consideration, and one should prefer types which are commonly available on all the principal modern machines (typewriter, linotype, monotype, etc.). The handwritten form should be considered; it should be possible to make the letters easily in the style of handwriting which is likely to be used. For ready recognition and ease of writing, diacritics are best avoided except for the indication of accented (emphasized)

syllables or for tone. Other things being equal, a single letter for each phoneme is desirable, but digraphs (sequences of two letters) may, in certain cases, be preferable to complex characters.

In so far as possible, unification between orthographies should be sought, especially among the languages within a country. If possible, the writing of a local language should agree with that of the regional, national or official language, so as to facilitate transition from one to the other. In general, care should be taken not to force distinctions in the local language because they exist in the second language. In some instances the impact of the second language on the speech or writing habits of the bilinguals may make it advisable to modify the application of this principle. If the spelling of the second language is very complicated or irregular in certain respects, this is not a reason for introducing unnecessary complexity in the writing of the local language. For example, it is not advisable to use English or French vowel spellings in other languages, even when these are local idioms within an English-speaking or a French-speaking political entity. There are cases in which a given local language is found in two adjoining countries, each with its own official language, for example, Hausa in several territories in West Africa. In such cases it is desirable that efforts be made to achieve uniformity in the spelling used for the local language in the two places.

To summarize, where the attitudes of the population towards their orthographic traditions permit a choice in matters of orthography, one should prefer:

1. Spelling in conformity with contemporary pronunciation.
2. Agreement with phonemes of the language.
3. Simplicity in typography (available types, limited numbers of characters, etc.).
4. Letters without diacritics (if equally satisfactory).
5. Digraphs in preference to new characters unless they cause ambiguity.
6. Derivation of new characters from prevailing scientific usage.
7. Agreement between different languages of the region or country, especially with the national or official language.

### *Some Problems of Multilingual Areas<sup>1</sup>*

There are places in the world where the population is divided into a great number of small language groups, some consisting of

<sup>1</sup> In relation to the remainder of this report opinion was divided. The majority group approved the text of all the paragraphs as they appear



not more than a 1,000 speakers, or even less (e.g. New Guinea). In such cases the smallness of the language group goes with a simple local culture and social organization. When such a small group is brought into active relationship with a larger political unit of complex culture, special measures are needed to help the process of adaptation. Such measures should be planned and carried out according to the best practices of applied anthropology in consultation with trained social anthropologists and linguists, in order to achieve the proper understanding and co-operative effort.

If, because of the complicated linguistic situation, it is not possible immediately to provide education for children and adults in the mother tongue of each linguistic group, some other solution must be found. If one of the languages has already been used by different groups as a means of social intercourse, however superficial the previous contact may have been, this language should be encouraged in its regional function. (See Annex A, 1, p. 70.)

Such an area of small language groups may form part of a nation which wants to extend the use of the national language everywhere within its boundaries. This unquestionably has great value in that it gives the small linguistic groups a medium for talking to each other as well as to those people who speak the national language as their mother tongue. There is of course no question of insisting that the small groups stop talking their languages in their own homes and communities, but only that they acquire the use of the national language for the purpose of wider relationships, including participation in national life and the acquisition of new knowledge. In the case of the smallest linguistic groups, it is also clear that it will not be practical to conduct education beyond the first few years

here. But a group formed by Dr. C. C. Berg of the University of the Netherlands of Leyden, and Dr. Aurdlian Sauvageot of the Ecole nationale des langues orientales of Paris, did not approve it. The majority groups supported the thesis that vocabulary is the main item to be treated in undeveloped languages, leaving the structure as it is found, as even the most technologically-fitted languages present inconsistencies and aberrations, although some minor features may be avoided or modified. Dr. Berg and Dr. Sauvageot maintained that languages could and must suffer structural modifications (additions or subtractions) when lacking some categories to express new concepts or when containing unnecessary features which could make learning them more difficult. It was agreed then that this divergence was itself interesting, and that the two points of view should be reflected. Dr. Berg and Dr. Sauvageot, independently, sent the Secretariat their own drafts modifying or changing the text of some paragraphs. These paragraphs are indicated, and the alternatives of Dr. Berg and Dr. Sauvageot will be found at the end of this chapter in Annexes A and B. pp. 70-75.

in the mother tongue and that the local people will have to learn the national language in order to continue their schooling. (See Annex A, 2, p. 71.)

In these areas, it is particularly valuable to devise graded materials in the national language, making it possible to impart to the learner at the outset a well-chosen limited vocabulary which can serve his purposes temporarily until he has had an opportunity to go still farther. Such materials should include much used words, so chosen as to make it possible to carry on communication in fairly satisfactory form. To some extent one can avoid grammatical complexities in the initial material while still maintaining correct and natural expression. The initial instalment of the new language meets the immediate needs of the learner and serves as the basis for subsequently perfecting and completing his knowledge.

In polyglot States, where peoples living in a simple culture have to be assimilated into a complex civilization, a simplification of text materials will be especially helpful. Precaution should be taken, however, that various degrees of complexity should not result in the development of various pidgin dialects. In addition, the long range ideal goal should be the learning of the entire standard form of the national language by all segments of the population, since the administration of the nation and the welfare of its people is likely to be best promoted thereby. (See Annex B, 1, p. 72.)

The nation may find it highly desirable, if it contains a complex linguistic situation, to establish a bureau or institute, to supervise the choice of languages for regional use and the preparation of scientifically prepared pedagogical material.

### *Questions of Vocabulary and Structure*

Natural vocabulary development. The vocabulary of a language has a relation to the life of the people who speak it, in that there are always enough words and expressions to enable them to express, with fair accuracy, the objects and beliefs which are of importance to them. The relationship is far from rigid, since there is always a considerable flexibility in the use of words; in different languages, and even in a single language, there is usually more than one way of saying essentially the same thing, and it is possible to describe new experiences by means of the current vocabulary. Nevertheless, it is the effort to describe new experiences which gives rise to modifications in the sense of old expressions and which leads to the introduction of new terms. Much of this vocabulary growth is spontaneous, being the crystallization of many separate efforts of expression. However, in the event of new departures in education

and culture, including particularly the introduction of the mother tongue into the school for the first time or the attempt to develop scientific and technical literature and training in a language which has previously been little used in this way, then the need arises for conscious planning of vocabulary development. (See Annex A, 3, p. 71 and Annex B, 2, p. 73.)

Planned vocabulary development. To be successful without requiring an overwhelming outlay of time and resources, the planned vocabulary development should make the best possible use of the natural tendencies of the language. Those who undertake such work should avoid the kind of wasted efforts which in the past has frequently resulted from an impractical approach to vocabulary building and which produced thousands of words for notions which people were not discussing or which went against the tendencies in popular usage. Consideration of these facts leads to some such guiding principles as we now offer. (See Annex B, 3, p. 73.)

1. Begin by making a study of the vocabulary already in use, including recent borrowed words and native expressions recently formed to describe new concepts. The principle methods used include giving new meanings to old terms, using native descriptive expressions or derivatives, adopting foreign terms, modelling native descriptive expressions after convenient foreign models. The problem, then, is to determine which of these procedures are most generally used and in what way they tend to be applied to different sets of concepts. (See Annex B, 4, p. 73.)
2. Avoid coining new words where native words are already in general use or where there are words which could easily be stretched to include the new concept without special confusion. If the native word is mainly used by people in a given section of the country or by specialists in some particular craft, then the problem would be simply that of generalizing its use. Along with the employment of words of strictly native tradition, one must give full consideration to relatively new words adopted from other languages, particularly if they already have general currency. (See Annex B, 5, p. 74.)
3. Before adding a word to the vocabulary, be sure that it is really needed either at once or in the relatively near future. It is not wise to prescribe words which will not be used with some frequency, since such needs can be met by using brief descriptions. People generally will not bother to learn special words in such cases, and those few persons who go out of their way to use the prescribed terms may not be understood. A difference should

be made in the case of new terms whose meaning is reasonably self-evident. (See Annex B, 6, p. 75.)

4. Where a whole set of terms applying to a given field of science has to be adopted, try to maintain general consistency among them—consistency as to type of formation and language of origin. The international terms from Latin and Greek, and other terms in widespread usage through the world, should be given special consideration.
5. Make necessary adaptations to the phonemic structure and grammar of the language.
6. Once the new terms have been chosen, try them out on a number of people to see how readily they take to them. If possible, experiment with the use of the new terms in lectures, class instruction and general conversation for a while before publishing.

**Organization of vocabulary development.** Where the problem is to develop a simple vocabulary for primary school purposes, it probably can be done by a small committee of experts acquainted with both the subject matter and the native culture, and advised by one or more linguistic scholars of a practical turn of mind. Where the aim is to develop the use of a language for technical purposes, a permanent commission or society would be in order. A conference to launch the new effort may have good results. Specialists in each field should be encouraged to collaborate with each other and with the commission in developing the vocabulary they need. It is further suggested that a manual or guide on the principles to be followed in adapting or coining words should be made widely available among all people who may have occasion to devise technical or literary terms. From time to time findings and recommendations should be published.

To ensure the best results of planned vocabulary enrichment, it is well to emphasize popularization rather than word coining as such. This is best done by stimulating scientific and cultural activity. The commission or society should preferably be a general literary or cultural organization devoted to the stimulation of arts and letters, considering vocabulary always in the larger context. Finally, in its programme, it should make the best possible use of modern media of diffusion, including press, radio, cinema, and theatre, in order to reach the general public as well as scholars.

**Grammatical structure.** In cases where a homogeneous speech community is given instruction in its mother tongue, there is no need for changing the grammatical structure of the language concerned

either by adding or by abolishing categories, the main problem then being how to extend its vocabulary. In other cases, however, where a language is used for educational and cultural purposes in a multilingual society, it may be useful to reconstruct it to some extent by abolishing irregularities and by adding new useful categories in order to make it a better vehicle of modern thought. This is especially desirable if the language of education is a foreign language to the majority of the pupils concerned, and if the speech community who owns it as its mother tongue is relatively small and/or unimportant, so that it may be expected that such a community will gradually accept the reconstructed form as a result of its becoming the normal language of the greater community. (See Annex A, 4, p. 71.) ✓

#### SOME FACTORS TO BE TAKEN INTO CONSIDERATION IN PLANNING A LANGUAGE PROGRAMME

Authorities who wish to extend the benefits of instruction through the mother tongue to many different language-groups under their control, will naturally want to deal with those offering least difficulty first, gradually encompassing the more difficult as time and funds permit. The list of priorities need not be based on purely numerical considerations. Other factors may in fact outweigh numerical inferiority. What is needed is some sort of weighting to cover the chief factors. We suggest here some of the points to be considered in addition to that of numbers, relating to any given language-group. //

##### *Geographical*

1. How intense is the community life?
2. How far is the group mixed with speakers of other languages?
3. How good are external and internal communications?
4. How far is industry developed in the region?
5. Is it likely that new developments, such as the establishment of new industries or the opening up of new lines of communication, will change the linguistic situation?

##### *Social*

1. Do many people speak another language as well—which are these second languages?
2. What is the present attitude of the people themselves on language matters, and is it likely to change?
3. Do people feel there is an economic advantage in knowing some language other than their own?

*Linguistic*

1. What are the linguistic relations of the language—is it a local variety of some more widely spoken language?
2. Is there a traditional system of writing, and if so, can it easily be printed and taught?
3. Has the language a traditional literary form? If so, does this differ much from the modern form, and are the people much attached to it?
4. Does the language acquire new words easily, and does it take over more easily borrowed words or native phrases?
5. Is its vocabulary already adequate for cultural and technical purposes?

*Educational*

1. How large is the educated population?
2. Are there any organizations concerned with developing the language?
3. Is there a present supply of trained teachers who speak the language, and can others be recruited?
4. What educational materials exist in the language, and what opportunity is there for producing more?
5. Has any work already been done in using the language in education and in publishing reading material in it?
6. Have educationists in other regions recorded their experience of similar situations?
7. How long do pupils usually stay at school?
8. If a new project for using the vernacular in education is developed, what budget, staff, and machinery for co-operation with the community are likely to be provided?

**SUMMARY**

1. The mother tongue is a person's natural means of self-expression, and one of his first needs is to develop his power of self-expression to the full.
2. Every pupil should begin his formal education in his mother tongue.
3. There is nothing in the structure of any language which precludes it from becoming a vehicle of modern civilization.
4. No language is inadequate to meet the needs of the child's first months in school.
5. The problems of providing an adequate supply of schoolbooks and other educational materials should be specially studied by Unesco.

6. If the mother tongue is adequate in all respects to serve as the vehicle of university and higher technical education, it should be so used.
7. In other cases, the mother tongue should be used as far as the supply of books and materials permits.
8. If each class in a school contains children from several language groups, and it is impossible to regroup the children, the teacher's first task must be to teach all pupils enough of one language to make it possible to use that language as the medium of instruction.
9. A lingua franca is not an adequate substitute for the mother tongue unless the children are familiar with it before coming to school.
10. Adult illiterates should make their first steps to literacy through their mother tongue, passing on to a second language if they desire and are able.
11. Educational authorities should aim at persuading an unwilling public to accept education through the mother tongue, and should not force it.
12. Literacy can only be maintained if there is an adequate supply of reading material, for adolescents and adults as well as for school children, and for entertainment as well as for study.
13. If a child's mother tongue is not the official language of his country, or is not a world language, he needs to learn a second language.
14. It is possible to acquire a good knowledge of a second language without using it as the medium of instruction for general subjects.
15. During the child's first or second year at school, the second language may be introduced orally as a subject of instruction.
16. The amount of the second language should be increased gradually, and if it has to become the medium of instruction, it should not do so until the pupils are sufficiently familiar with it.
17. Efficient modern techniques should be used in teaching the mother tongue and a foreign language. A teacher is not adequately qualified to teach a language merely because it is his mother tongue.
18. Where there are several languages in a country, it is an advantage if they are written as uniformly as possible.
19. For convenience of printing, languages should as far as possible be written with a limited set of symbols which are written in a single line. For a summary of other recommendations on orthography, see p. 62.

20. For the needs of a polyglot state which is developing a national language, the materials for teaching the language should be simplified for instructional purposes, so that pupils may progress towards full mastery without having anything to unlearn.

#### RECOMMENDATIONS FOR UNESCO ACTION

1. Since the main obstacle to the use of the vernacular languages is shortage of educational materials, Unesco should investigate the technical questions involved—paper, type, machinery, etc.—from the point of view of the needs already known.
2. Unesco should investigate the possibility of co-ordinating scientific and technical terminology in world languages so as to help the developing languages to create their own terminology as far as possible in conformity with the terminology in world languages.
3. Unesco should investigate the possibility of promoting the exchange and extension of copyrights and the like with the particular aim of helping the developing languages to have sufficient reading and study material up to the highest level.
4. To further its work on exchange of persons, Unesco could help the younger countries which send students abroad if it pressed for having the certificates of educational achievement granted by these countries accepted in the countries to which students normally go.
5. Within Unesco's Exchange of Persons Programme some priority should be given to training in linguistic and in second language teaching.

#### ANNEX A

Dr. Berg's alternatives to indicated paragraphs.

1. If because of the complicated linguistic situation it is not possible immediately, or even in the long run, to provide education for children and adults in the mother tongue of each linguistic group, some other solution must be found which will meet this situation. If one of the languages has already been used by different groups as a means of social intercourse, however superficial the previous contact may have been, this language should be encouraged in its regional function. If not, the



simplest language of the area should be chosen, and in special cases the advantages of simplicity may over-rule the advantage of numerical superiority or wider use.

2. Such an area of small language groups may form part of a nation which wants to extend the use of the national language everywhere within its boundaries. This unquestionably has great value in that it gives the small linguistic groups a medium for talking to each other as well as to those people who speak the national language as their mother tongue. There is of course no question of insisting that the small groups stop talking their languages in their own homes and communities, but only that they acquire the use of the national language for the purpose of wider relationships, including participation in national life and the acquisition of new knowledge. On the other hand, in the case of the smallest linguistic groups, it is also clear that it will not be practical to conduct education beyond the initial stage in the mother tongue and the local people will have to learn the national language in order to continue their schooling. As the national language in such cases provides the best means to overcome isolation and backwardness, a policy of slow and gradual conversion of a polyglot (multilingual) area into a national language area should not be regarded as irreconcilable with the principle of non-insisting.
3. In the event of new departures in education and culture, including particularly the introduction of the mother tongue into the school for the first time or the attempt to develop scientific and technical literature and training in a language which has previously been little used in this way, then the need arises for conscious planning of vocabulary development.<sup>1</sup>
4. In general the position to take with regard to grammatical structure is the same as that which we have followed with reference to the vocabulary. One should at all times make the best possible use of the existing grammatical structure rather than

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Berg in this paragraph dropped out all the previous sentences of the draft approved by the majority, because 'According to my opinion, the theory of the introduction to this paragraph is false, as it states that language suits the needs of the people who use it. I stressed in my paper ("The Question of the Methodical Simplification and Development of Language, in Connexion with Educational Problem in Underdeveloped Areas", Unesco/EDCH/Meeting VER./9, Paris, November 1951) that people depend on the structure of the language they acquire in childhood, and that mental development is checked by the rigidity of linguistic structure. But I am aware that this point of view—which is the point of view of many biologists—is not shared by many linguists'—*Letter of the author, dated 12 January 1952.*

undertake complex programmes of grammatical reform which would require large expenditures of time and resources and might take up the attention of the best minds for generations. It should be remembered that all the present world languages are, as it were, marred by irregularities and complexities. A good example is the presence in many world languages of arbitrary grammatical gender, which at times is related to biological sex but disregards it in many ways which are confusing not only for new learners but occasionally also even for native speakers. The category of number, requiring nouns to be put in the singular or plural even when one is making a general scientific statement which is true regardless of number, is another case in point. While many world and local languages have this category, it is actually more logical to operate without it, using quantitative expressions only in these contexts where it is important to the sense. In view of these considerations, it follows that one should generally accept the native grammatical categories as they are. However, there are cases where usage is divided, where some people say things one way and some another. In such cases, it is justified to adopt and favour the simpler usage.

#### ANNEX B

Professor Sauvageot's alternatives to indicated paragraphs.

1. To facilitate the execution of a programme of this kind, it may be necessary to undertake a judicious codification of the language selected as the national tongue of the new state or nation.

There are two possible ways of arriving at a new national tongue; (a) building on the most widely-used existing idiom; (b) combining the existing dialects to form a new codified language.

In either case, consideration should be given to the question of what can be done in the way of correction, simplification and regularization to make the new language more readily usable by those sections of the people whose mother tongues diverge in some degree from the dialect or dialects used to form it. Simplification will consist in excising forms that are too disparate; regularization, in making words and their variants more fixed and uniform; and correction, in eliminating the most glaring contradictions or anomalies. All these procedures will

only be used by properly qualified experts after due consideration and with the concurrence of a majority of the best-educated speakers of the language.

These are indeed the same procedures that were applied, consciously or otherwise, in the development of the majority of the civilized languages known today. Modern linguistic knowledge makes it possible to secure results in less time.

2. It has already been pointed out that an idiom may be in such a state as to make its use difficult even in elementary teaching, either because of the inadequacy of its vocabulary or for other purely linguistic reasons.

Thanks to modern linguistics, these deficiencies can be remedied by the conscious and systematic application of procedures which have proved their effectiveness throughout history whenever a particular language has had to adapt itself to express a new type of thought for which it was not originally designed.

3. The most frequent case is one in which only vocabulary is inadequate.

Here, it is enough to provide the idiom in question with the vocables it lacks; and for this any one of the following procedures can be adopted, in the order of preference given below:

- (a) The formation of new words from existing ones, in conformity with the correct word-formation rules for the language in question.
- (b) The 'calquing' of foreign words by the substitution, for each of their components, of an equivalent from the native vocabulary.
- (c) The borrowing of essential foreign terms, with phonetic adaptation to conform to the rules of the borrowing language.

The last of these procedures should be avoided as far as possible, as it brings with it the danger of upsetting the etymological balance of the language and causing confusion by permitting the co-existence of words similar in aspect but different in origin. In addition, borrowing on any scale has the disadvantage of introducing a large number of words which cannot be understood immediately by reference to their etymology, thus rendering the task of teaching more difficult.

4. In other circumstances the difficulty lies in the internal structure of the idiom concerned, in that it does not much lend itself to the expression of the categories which are seen to be necessary to convey a more modern and scientific type of thought.

In this case, adjustments and, if necessary, innovations must

be made in the syntax or even the morphological structure of the language concerned.

For instance, should it become necessary to express the category of tense where the only existing category is that of aspect, recourse will be had to an adaptation associating tense with aspect in conformity with a prescribed system (this actually occurred in certain Polynesian languages during the nineteenth century under the impact of translations of the Bible and other European texts). Or again, in a language in which the category of number is customarily ignored, a means of expressing number will be devised by reserving a particular *construction* for the expression of that particular idea (cf. Tahitian, etc.).

Today, adjustments or innovations of this kind can be effected more quickly and surely by co-operation between qualified linguists and the users of the language, who are usually well aware of the need for such improvement and amplification of it.<sup>1</sup>

5. It is obvious that all these endeavours must aim at providing the native with a means of linguistic expression enabling him to make contact with modern thought without thereby emasculating his own. The salvage of indigenous cultures is only conceivable given the preservation, in its essence, of the idiom in which those cultures have been expressed, and this can only be done if the idiom in question succeeds in adapting itself to the new needs. Otherwise it will gradually wither and atrophy, and finally vanish. The people speaking it will change their language, and that change will involve the death of the civilization to which they formerly belonged.

The degree to which it is considered desirable to preserve local civilizations is the measure of the need to adapt the languages which are their armature and in the absence of which they are not even conceivable. If Finnish had not adapted itself through the centuries to the successive needs with which it was confronted, the Finnish people would today speak only Swedish, and would thereby have lost all the treasures which they have inherited from their ancestors and which they have succeeded in handing down to the present generation. Many other examples of the same type could be quoted showing that, for a people desirous of preserving their heritage, no price could be too high in effort to adapt their language to the needs which circumstances impose upon them. Success in this is essential if

<sup>1</sup> See E. M. K. Mulira, *The Vernacular in African Education*. 'Lantern Library Series'. London, Longman & Co., 1951. p. 13, etc.

we wish to preserve, for the future of mankind, that diversity of civilizations which enriches all, and modern linguistics vastly facilitate it.

6. To make it possible to adapt, under the best conditions, languages suffering from deficiencies in grammar and vocabulary, a sound policy would be the foundation of schools or study centres where specially qualified natives could receive the scientific training fitting them to undertake this task for their own native languages. Such institutions could be the scene of fruitful collaboration between the learned of all countries and representatives of those peoples whose languages have not yet developed sufficiently to express modern thought.

## SOME CASE HISTORIES

From the outset the specialists summoned by Unesco to report on the use of vernacular languages in education were well aware that the generalizations they were seeking to establish, although derived from a close study of a great number of situations, would not necessarily meet the essential needs of a given local problem. The implication is that educationists and administrators, however well-armed with theory and guiding principles, will always have to study the complex of historical, geographical, sociological, political, religious, cultural and linguistic factors peculiar to a given community before attempting to formulate a suitable language policy in education.

In order to illustrate and emphasize this point, the Unesco meeting of experts strongly recommended that a number of 'case histories' be added to its report and itself drew up a list of interesting 'cases'. Taking up the suggestion, Unesco invited several specialists to furnish these studies, which indeed cover a wide range of linguistic, sociological and educational problems. The reader will hardly fail to notice similarities and differences, but this chapter makes no attempt to compare the cases. Furthermore, the authors have been allowed to write from their own standpoint and express their personal views on the cases they describe. It must be emphasized that the authors bear full responsibility for these opinions and that their studies do not necessarily reflect the official attitude of the various administrations concerned.

The contributors to this chapter are:

Professor A. Barrera Vásquez, member of the Unesco Secretariat and formerly Director of the Instituto de Alfabetización para Indígenas Monolingüe, Mexico.

Dr. Ahmed Zaki, President of Fuad I National Research Council, Cairo, Egypt.

Mr. Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana, Director of Balai Pustaka, an institution for the production of literature for the newly literate in Indonesia.

The Hon. Miss C. H. Wedgwood, Senior Lecturer in Native

Education at the Australian School of Pacific Administration, Sydney, Australia.

Dr. Pedro T. Orata, member of the Unesco Secretariat.

Mr. K. J. Dickens, member of the Unesco Secretariat and formerly Deputy Director of Education, Gold Coast.

Dr. Aurélien Sauvageot, Professor at the Ecole nationale des langues orientales, member of Unesco's French sub-committee on Fundamental Education.

## THE TARASCAN PROJECT IN MEXICO

(A. Barrera-Vásquez)

Of Mexico's 19,660,000 inhabitants reported by the 1940 census, almost 2,500,000 (2,490,909) were registered as having an Indian mother tongue. This does not include all people of Indian descent, since the majority of Mexicans are mestizos; it refers to people who live in specifically Indian communities or who maintain their connexion with such communities and preserve much of their home culture even though they have moved away. Almost 50 per cent of them (49.66 per cent or 1,691,194) are reported as monolingual, that is as knowing only their native Indian tongue.

Over 50 languages are spoken by the Indians of Mexico, some of them by relatively large numbers of people, some by mere remnants of former speech communities. The census does not classify the groups consistently, in most cases indicating the number who speak a single language but in some cases lumping together two or more mutually unintelligible though closely related languages. Nevertheless, one can gain an idea of the linguistic unities within the indigenous population from the census figures. The 15 languages listed with the largest numbers of monolingual speakers are: Nahuatl 360,000, Mixteco 125,000, Maya 114,000, Zapoteco 105,000, Otomi 87,000, Totonaco 59,000, Mazateco 56,000, Tzotzil 49,000, Mazahua 40,000, Tzeltal 35,000, Mixe 27,000, Huasteco 26,000, Chinanteco 20,000, Tarasco 20,000, Chol 19,000. People speaking these 15 groups constitute almost nine-tenths of all monolingual Indians.

The Indian population of Mexico is for the most part concentrated in the southern portion of the republic, about four-fifths of the total number living in the states south of the Tropic of Cancer. North of this the Indian groups are found almost entirely in the west mountain areas; south of it they are everywhere—on the

coast and in the plains as well as in the mountains. The Indians speaking a given language generally occupy a continuous area contiguous with other Indian or Spanish-speaking areas in a mosaic where the Spanish-speaking rural mestizos form a transitional element between the rural Indian cultures and the modern urban culture. The Indians are not however completely rural; a few may be found permanently settled in cities.

Among Indians living close to urban centres, bilingualism in some degree is fairly common. But it often happens that only certain persons in a village do the bulk of the travelling and trading, and it is these mainly who are bilingual. Among the Zapoteca, this applies chiefly to adult women; elsewhere it is mostly adult men. In a few areas, especially Yucatan and Oaxaca, it is principally the non-Indian population which is bilingual. In other words, people who by descent and culture are Spanish, Creole, or even foreigners, necessarily learn to speak the Indian language fluently in order to carry on normal economic and social relations with the Indians.

It is an interesting fact that there is little tendency nowadays for Indians to speak Indian languages other than their own. For example, a Mixtec and a Zapotec are more likely to speak to each other in Spanish than in either of their native tongues. This contrasts of course with ancient times when Indian bilingualism was very common in many areas. Here and there the old practice of Indian bilingualism and even trilingualism is still found.

While the great majority of Indians pursue a self-sufficient economy and hold firmly to their own community life, they nevertheless have certain needs which only modern science and technology can satisfy—land, drinking water and protection against diseases. The Indians are often acutely conscious of their lack of arable land, of a shortage of drinking water and of inadequate means of coping with disease, but are frequently unaware of the techniques known to modern science for meeting these deficiencies. In particular, their experience with schools has not been such as to lead them to understand how improved education will help them solve their problems.

#### INDIAN EDUCATION

The first serious attempt to establish universal education came after the revolution of 1911-20, when the government recognized the high illiteracy of the country and undertook systematically to provide schools and teachers for the villages as well as for the cities.



It was realized that Indian education presented special problems because of the difference of language. Three approaches were tried: the boarding school, the cultural mission and the ordinary village school.

The idea of the boarding school was to bring Indian boys to a good city school where they could learn Spanish along with a trade. Two of these schools were opened, the *Ciudad Escolar de los Mayas* and the *Casa del Estudiante Indígena*. It was expected that the pupils would return to their communities passing their knowledge on to their fellows, but after learning Spanish and a trade most of the boys remained in the city. Thus the programme succeeded as far as the individuals were concerned but failed with reference to the community. After 1932, it was replaced by decentralized boarding schools in a series of Indian regions. The programme now includes girls as well as boys and teaches agriculture and crafts adapted to the needs of the Indian area. It is no longer believed that a few specially-educated individuals will transform the Indian way of life in a short time, but the programme is considered to have a definite though limited value.

The cultural missions consist of teams of about seven experts, including generally a chief, a social worker, a nurse, an agricultural teacher, a teacher of recreation or of music, a teacher of rural industries and one or more teachers of crafts or occupations. The mission spends from one to three years in a village, helping to solve problems of health and productive economy, offering fundamental education both to children and adults. Its members are expected to learn the local language in order to carry on their work successfully, but they try to teach the natives Spanish. The cultural missions have brought a great many local improvements and have succeeded in changing to some extent the traditional attitude of distrust with which the Indians regard the government and all outsiders. However, the community does not switch to speaking Spanish because of the visit of a mission. The technological and cultural influence of the mission is excellent as far as it goes, but it does not provide a solution of the language problem.

Mexico has attempted to provide schools for Indian villages, but there are not yet enough schools and teachers. Generally, schools have been provided first for the towns which demanded them most insistently, and these on the whole have been the places where there is considerable bilingualism. Up to the middle thirties, the idea of teaching Spanish by what was called the 'direct method' prevailed. In practice this involved the use of Spanish by the teacher without regard to the pupil's ability to understand, and without taking adequate measures to help the children acquire it.

The textbooks were the same as those used in the non-Indian school, being written in Spanish and with subject matter based on the life of the non-Indian population. The results were generally very poor. Monolingual children learned very little Spanish in school, and hence little arithmetic, geography, history or science. Because they learned so little and so slowly, many monolingual families stopped sending their children to school at all, arguing that they could be more helpful to their families, and at the same time learn useful arts, by working with their parents at home and in the fields. The school was generally attended by the children of Spanish-speaking families and of those families who were particularly insistent on breaking away from the Indian pattern of life. Eventually some of these pupils went on to secondary school and beyond, but, like the graduates of the Casa del Estudiante Indígena, they tended to leave their community rather than to give their people the benefits of their education. If an Indian youth advanced in his schooling to the point of becoming a rural school teacher, as sometimes happened, it was official policy to assign him to a school outside his native region.

By the middle thirties, the failure of Indian education led to a new departure, namely the idea of bilingual education with the native tongue being used as a medium of instruction in the first years of school and as a bridge to the learning of Spanish. One of the first experiments along these lines was undertaken in 1936 by the State of Chihuahua. In 1939 the federal government undertook to apply the new approach.

#### LAUNCHING OF THE TARASCAN PROJECT

In June 1939, a conference of linguists was called together under the auspices of the Department of Indigenous Affairs (Departamento de Asuntos Indígenas) to work out concrete measures for establishing education in the native tongue for the Indian groups of Mexico. Plans were worked out for encouraging the scientific study of the Indian languages, for establishing unified and easily learned alphabets for the separate languages, for producing primers for children and adults, and for organizing literacy campaigns. The Council of Indian Languages (Consejo de Lenguas Indígenas) was set up for promoting scientific studies, and the Tarascan project was planned as the first applied experiment. Other projects were envisaged and indeed minor experiments were subsequently undertaken with Otomi, Yaqui and Nahuatl, but the main effort was to be with Tarascan.

This group consists of about 60,000 people in the State of Michoacan. They inhabit a largely mountainous area including Mount Parangaricutiru, which has recently been in volcanic eruption, but also including Lake Patzcuaro, an important source of fish and one of the scenic attractions of Mexico, and now the seat of Unesco's Training Centre for Fundamental Education. The Tarascans are mainly farmers producing maize as their principal crop on a generally difficult soil, but each village has some additional industry, including fishing in Lake Patzcuaro and various handicrafts. Important highways pass through some of the villages and a few of them have become tourist centres in recent years. A sprinkling of Tarascan men migrate to the United States to work, usually returning after a few years with some knowledge of English. Despite many contacts with the outside world, about a third of the Tarascans in 1940 were still monolingual and many of those classed as bilingual spoke only a little Spanish. Spanish very evidently had been spreading in some of the towns but there were others which were nearly or completely monolingual. The federal schools operating in Spanish were effective for the bilingual population, but had given very poor results among the monolinguals. A comparison of the 1930 and 1940 census figures shows an increase in the Tarascan population but very little change in the amount of bilingualism.

The proposal to employ Tarascan in the schools was received with various reactions by the local people. Some Tarascans objected that this would interfere with the learning of Spanish, others welcomed the idea of having their native language expressed in writing. Non-Indians in the region were also divided, with some of the most influential and vocal persons opposed to the idea.

A rapid research in typical villages showed that there were noticeable variations in Tarascan pronunciation and vocabulary, and although these localisms were a matter of considerable interest to the people, none of the differences was sufficiently great to cause serious difficulty. It was therefore decided to admit any dialect for the purpose of publication, except that writers and translators were asked to avoid words of narrow local usage. Some relative preference was given to the dialect of Cheran, a town of the Sierra de Paracho, because it was one of the larger towns and centrally located. The practice was established of mentioning the home village of an author on the title-page of a publication, both because the natives are always interested in knowing where a person is from and because this showed that the project had accepted all the local forms without prejudice.

## RECRUITMENT AND TRAINING OF TEACHERS

To begin the project, about 20 young Tarascans of both sexes were recruited among the pupils of the State normal school, the boarding school for Indians in Morelia, the boarding school for Indians in Eroúgaricuaro and the boarding school for children of military personnel in Pátzcuaro. In volunteering for the project they had to interrupt their studies in these schools and agreed to do this either because of the opportunity to serve their people or because they hoped to qualify as rural school teachers through their training and experience in the project. When the promised appointments as rural teachers were repeatedly postponed, some of the youths resigned but the bulk of them, with infinite patience and despite personal hardships, persisted.

The recruits were given a month's course which covered reading and writing their native language, methods of teaching to read and write, general conceptions of linguistics and ethnology, and traditions of the Tarascans. They were taught how to translate from Spanish to Tarascan, and in so doing to convey the sense without introducing artificialities. They were taught to make clear printscript letters, so that they could prepare public notices on wall newspapers. A group of them was taught to set type and to operate a small press. Others were taught to type and to operate a printing machine. Those with artistic talent were called upon to produce illustrations for the publications being produced.

The training period for the teacher recruits simultaneously gave the linguist-ethnologists an opportunity to learn more about the Tarascan language and customs. Since the teachers come from a number of different villages, they were able to give information on local variations in language and customs.

Teachers and linguists collaborated in the preparation of reading material, which consisted principally of folk tales and translations of government pamphlets on health and sanitation. A weekly mural newspaper was prepared and set up in the town square on market days, with one of the teachers in attendance to explain and demonstrate how the new alphabet represented the Tarascan language.

After the training period, a small group of the Tarascan youths was assigned to the operation of the Tarascan Press and other headquarters activities, while the rest were dispersed among the villages. In choosing a village in which to open a school, account was taken of the demand: that is, assignments were made in response to specific requests by villagers based upon the interest created by the wall newspapers and the printed publications. The

fact that the teachers were Tarascans played an important role in developing interest in the project.

#### WORK IN THE VILLAGES

The teachers were distributed in the villages in ones, twos and threes, according to the size of the village. They offered day classes to children, and late afternoon and evening classes to adults. The first emphasis was on reading and writing Tarascan, and on arithmetic. Other subjects were added later. The reading of Spanish for bilingual adults was introduced soon after literacy in Tarascan was achieved, or at times even simultaneously with Tarascan. Because of the similarity of the Tarascan alphabet to the Spanish, the reading of Spanish hardly needed to be taught separately.

Two types of teaching materials were used: a series of primers each of which contained eight words of one or two syllables, and a series of drawings which illustrated the principal syllables of the Tarascan language. In the primers some of the words were repeated several times on the same page, especially if they contained the same syllables. On the first page there were words that contained only three letters, but on the following ones a new letter was introduced on each page. Through these primers the pupils were taught to recognize words and through the comparison with similar words, to learn syllables. The pictures of the second type of material aided them to recognize words and later, through the comparison of different words, to note which part of them contained the syllable illustrated. Within a short time the pupils were able to learn to read simple texts with either of these methods.

Having learned to read, they were then encouraged to copy letters from the primers on lined paper which served as a guide for the size of letters. Experience showed that the primers which illustrated letters with pictures were most suitable for children, and that those which began with the learning of syllables were most useful for adults.

An analysis of the results of the project showed that the student—child or adult—learned to recognize and use the letters of the alphabet, and consequently to read, in 15 to 20 days; and that with 10 or 15 days more of practice, copying letters from the primers, also to write. This meant that within 30 to 45 days the Tarascan illiterates could learn to read and write.

When the pupils had learned to read and write in Tarascan they were encouraged to practice reading short texts prepared specifically

for this purpose in the standard language of the region, which was collected and collated by two of the linguists attached to the scheme.

The resources available to the Tarascan project were always limited. At the outset the Department of Indigenous Affairs set aside a sum of a few thousand pesos for special expenses, and small amounts were added from time to time. Modest salaries were provided for four ethnologist-linguists. In addition, arrangements were made for visits to the project for short periods by members of the faculty of the *Instituto Politécnico Nacional*, by personnel of the National Museum and by other linguists and ethnologists from various institutions. The visiting scholars came partly to observe and partly to make scientific studies in the region, but some of them participated in the regular work of the project.

The provisions for native teachers consisted at the outset of standard boarding school allowances for food (60 centavos a day) plus lodging and clothes. The young teachers were promised regular appointments as rural school-teachers as soon as they qualified, but administrative obstacles delayed these appointments for many months. During this period the teachers continued to receive only the boarding school allowance, supplemented very slightly by additional payments from the project budget to meet special personal needs. Since some of the best teachers had family responsibilities, it was not easy to carry on under these circumstances. Only the willingness of the teachers to make sacrifices in the interests of their people made it possible to continue the experiment. Working as it did with a very limited budget, the Tarascan project had to find the most economical method for providing its teaching materials.

#### TRANSFORMATION OF THE PROJECT AND CURRENT ACTIVITIES

The Tarascan project as described above continued for a little over a year. However, several of the teachers had received regular appointments as rural school teachers in the Department of Education, and these continued teaching. In 1945 the Tarascan project was restored as part of the programme of the Institute for the Literacy of Monolingual Indians (*Instituto de Alfabetización para Indígenas Monolingua*), and has been functioning ever since on a much higher plane than was possible in the initial effort.

The new Tarascan project, which was organized by the Institute for the Literacy of Monolingual Indians in 1945, has made every effort to base its work on the results of the previous experiment.

However, a new policy with respect to the teaching of the mother tongue has been adopted, namely that the double objective of introducing the child to the alphabet and using the mother tongue to serve as a bridge to literacy in Spanish, the national language, is achieved in two years, after which the child enters the second grade of the regular public school where Spanish is the sole language of instruction.

The project employs 80 bilingual teachers who serve 63 special schools known as Centros de Alfabetización (Literacy Centres) which had 2,400 pupils in 1951. In addition, a technical office is maintained in Chéran, one of the principal Tarascan towns. This office is administered by a qualified Tarascan teacher assisted by an expert linguist supplied by the Summer Institute of Linguistics. This Institute has also provided the project with a press which produces materials of all types for use in the region. A multilith press is also available at the headquarters of the Institute for the Literacy of Monolingual Indians in Mexico City.

The initial materials used by the project consist of pre-primers and the regular primers. The pre-primers are printed in Tarascan and are used as a gradual introduction to the regular primer, which is bilingual. This does not mean that the lessons are translated, but rather that there are two distinct sections of the primers, one written in Tarascan and the other in Spanish, which are completely independent.

Two periodicals are issued; one, *Pampiri*, is a bulletin for teachers; the other, *Mitakwa*, is more general and is designed to encourage the use of Spanish, though it carries articles in both Tarascan and Spanish which are not translations but original articles.

Follow-up material in both languages is now being prepared for the region with the co-operation of the teachers. The primers are distributed free, but the periodicals and other materials are sold at low prices.

Special courses are organized for the bilingual teachers once a year in an important Tarascan town. These courses last for a fortnight and are mainly concerned with teaching methods, the use of the pre-primers, the primers and supplementary reading material, as well as with the teaching of reading and writing in the mother tongue. The teachers also watch demonstration lessons showing how all the various materials might best be used, and they are assisted in solving the educational and social problems of their respective communities.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Angélica Castro de la Fuente, *Teaching in the Indian Languages in Mexico*, Paris, Unesco, 1951, 11 pp., processed.

Two similar additional projects of a similar nature are being carried out by the Institute for the Literacy of Monolingual Indians—the Otomí project and the Maya project—and two others will be started as soon as the required funds can be allocated to them.

The problem of teaching illiterates to read and write in Mexico is economic rather than technical. 'The institute has been prevented from extending its activities, and even from beginning work in Nabu districts, mainly for financial reasons. Considerable funds are needed, and the national government is unable to face such a large expenditure. The only solution would be for the governments of States with Indian problems to co-operate financially by providing adequate funds from their own budgets.'<sup>1</sup>

#### SOURCES OF INFORMATION

CASTILLO, Ignacio M. del. 'La alfabetización en lenguas indígenas, el proyecto Tarasco,' *América Indígena*, v. 5, pp. 139-51, April 1945. With an English summary.

CASTRO DE LA FUENTE, Angélica. *Teaching in the Indian Languages in Mexico*. Paris, Unesco, 1951. 11 pp., processed.

HUGHES, Lloyd H. *The Mexican Cultural Missions Programme*. 'Monographs on Fundamental Education,' III, Paris, Unesco 1950. 77 pp. 'Institute for the Spread of Literacy in Indian Languages.' *Boletín Indigenista*, v. 5, pp. 161-81, June 1945. English and Spanish on opposite pages.

INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE. Committee of Experts on Indigenous Labour, First Session, La Paz, January 1951. *Indigenous Workers in Independent Countries* (CEIL/I/3), Geneva, 1950. 252 pp., processed. Published also in Spanish.

Mexico. Instituto Nacional Indigenista. *Densidad de la población de habla indígena en la República Mexicana*. 'Memorias', vol. 1, no. 1, Mexico, 1950. 76 pp. Maps.

SWADESH, Morris. Direct information. Paris, 1951. (Dr. Swadesh organized and directed the Tarascan project in its first period.)

<sup>1</sup> Ibid.



## THE RENOVATION OF ARABIC

(Dr. Ahmed Zaki)

When a community that has once enjoyed a high standard of culture experiences a period of political, economic and cultural regression it often happens that only part of its language remains in use, while the rest goes into the 'cold storage' of records and books. If centuries later the community awakens to a new life, and perhaps to a new civilization, with new needs, new ways of life and new ideas, it attempts to express these needs and ideas by resorting to its 'dormant' vocabulary, but finds the old terms inadequate and insufficient. A difficult problem arises: how to accommodate the old to the new. Human nature clings to the past, and has its good reasons for doing so, but at the same time man is intelligent enough not to forego the benefits of progress which the future promises.

In such a state of mind the peoples of ancient civilizations in India, China, and Egypt and the Arab world find themselves today. This report describes the problem as it affects the Arabic language in countries of the Middle East where this language was and is used, especially in Egypt and in what was formerly Syria and its neighbouring State of Iraq.

## THE ARABIC LANGUAGE AND CULTURE TO THE END OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The Arabic language grew and flourished in the conditions created by Islam and in the civilization that followed upon it. This civilization almost came to an end with the fall of Baghdad in A.D. 1258. The Tartar invasion of the city and the destruction of a great deal of the books and records which contained the best of what the Arabic and Islamic mind could produce, followed by mass massacres and persecution, led to a general migration westward. In considerable numbers, scholars, theologians and linguists found their way to the valley of the Nile, Cairo replaced Baghdad as the seat of the Caliphate and a revival of learning took place in Egypt akin to that which began in Italy after the fall of Constantinople. The Arabic language benefited a great deal under Mameluk rule. This period was marked by the appearance of authors whose names are well known to all students of Arabic culture: Ibn Nubata, Ibn El-Wardi, Safi Eldin Elhilli, El-Kastallani, Ibn Hisham, El-Seyouti, El-Maqrizi and many others. The period was also marked by the publication of many well known encyclopaedic works such as *Sobn El-Aasha*, *Nihayet El-Arab* and others.

This revival continued for more than three centuries at the end of which Egypt, which had become the centre of Arabic culture, was invaded by the Turks, in A.D. 1517.

With the coming of Turkish rule, Egypt was ransacked and all people of note, including the Caliph, were transported to Constantinople. In place of Arabic, Turkish was made the official language in Egypt and other non-Turkish provinces of the empire. The general deterioration in material and cultural life also led indirectly to the deterioration of Arabic. The result was disastrous to production, both literary and linguistic; one can cite only very few and very mediocre Arabic authors belonging to that period.

The renaissance of the Arabic east began on the day Napoleon Bonaparte first set foot on Egyptian soil, in 1798. Egypt and all other Arab countries were by that time at their lowest ebb, and were as cut off from modern civilization as were the Japanese before the visit of Commodore Perry half a century later. Bonaparte brought with him a great number of scientists and scholars who set to work at once to study Egypt in a systematic way. He founded the Institut d'Egypte, whose object was to bring the fruits of the new civilization to the birth place of one of the oldest civilizations in the world. That institute still exists. The French stayed in Egypt only three years, but they left an indelible impression on the people and opened their minds to the possibility of a new and fascinating world.

Western culture came to Syria at a later date and to other countries in the Arabic east much later still.

#### THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

When Napoleon left Egypt there followed a state of unrest and political manoeuvres which ended in the appointment of Mohammad Ali as Governor of Egypt by popular consent. He soon started to make a modern kingdom of this country. His policy centred round the creation of a strong army, and one of the first things he did was to open a college for military education. The army required medical men, so he opened a school of medicine; and since medicine required pharmacy, he had to provide for the education and training of pharmacists. Soon he found himself confronted with the task of providing higher education in many branches of science, mathematical, physical and biological, all of which, in their new form, were unknown in Egypt.

He therefore brought in foreign instructors from Italy, and then from France. But these could not speak Arabic, and the Egyptians

could not speak either French or Italian, so he resorted to the help of a middleman who stood between professor and students to translate what the former had to say to the latter. It was on the shoulders of these men that the very heavy responsibility of adapting the Arabic language to modern science first rested. These were, however, mostly men who understood languages, but no science, so the system had to be complemented by the production of Arabic books on anatomy, physiology, surgery, pharmacy, chemistry and the rest of the subjects taught in the new colleges. The creation of these books necessitated the co-operation of four different people with four different duties. First was the author who was usually a European scientist. Then came a translator whose knowledge of the foreign language was more adequate than his knowledge of Arabic. Then came a proper Arabic scholar whose strong point was mainly Arabic. Finally there was a man who went over the proofs and who had also something to do with the text.

Mohammad Ali, in his eagerness to secure his ends as quickly as possible, brought European teachers to Egypt, and sent Egyptian missions to Europe. On their return to Egypt the members of these missions, the first of which numbered over 40 persons, took up posts in the various institutes of higher education created by Mohammad Ali, and thus formed the backbone of the translating movement whose object was to render the new modern knowledge into Arabic, either by direct translation or by writing books.

To strengthen this movement of transcribing the new civilization to the Arabic-speaking world, Mohammad Ali created the School of Languages, where European languages were taught to Egyptian students. In 1821 was also established the Egyptian Government printing press, the first Arabic press in Cairo, which later played a great part in the revival of Arabic literature in the east and which is still the largest Arabic printing press in the world.

Two points must be stressed here. The first is that Mohammad Ali, after a few years of his reign, came to look upon Egypt as the nucleus of an Arab empire which he hoped to build, and this explains his sudden enthusiasm for the Arabic language. Secondly, he recruited his speaking professors from El-Azhar, one of the oldest schools in the world, and the stronghold in which the Arabic language and Islamic culture took refuge in troubled times throughout the centuries. Furthermore, the adaptation of the Arabic language to the new circumstances was an individual effort on the part of many teachers, as there was at that time no academy or similar organization.

The reign of Mohammad Ali and the one-year rule of his son

Ibrahim ended in 1849. From 1849 to 1863 Egypt was governed by two men who had no interest whatever in progress, and who stopped many reforms already begun. They were followed, however, by Ismail, whose accession signalled a further drive toward the revival of Egypt. His first duty was to reinstate what his predecessors had abolished, and to organize education on a broad basis. The School of Languages was reopened, and the sending of missions to Europe was resumed. More types of schools of higher education were created, including a school of law, a school of technology, and the well known school of Dar-el-Ulum, which had a great deal to do with the revival and teaching of Arabic in Egypt. The name is partly misleading. It means the Home of Sciences, but in fact it was a college for producing teachers of Arabic whose training was supported to some degree by the teaching of new branches of modern knowledge that could not be introduced into El-Azhar at the time. The pupils for this school were recruited from among the Azharites.

The press, which had a tremendous influence in forming modern Arabic, began in the time of Ismail with the foundation of the paper *Wadi el-Nil* (The Nile Valley) in 1866.

With the occupation of Egypt by the British, Arabic as a language of higher education and of education in general suffered a severe setback. National feeling, however, kept growing year by year, and as it had to be expressed in some sort of language, Arabic, as the national language of Egypt, gained the benefit—at least in its political, literary and social aspects. The press expanded, playing the biggest role in the national movement, and indirectly, but very forcibly, in the revival and renovation of the Arabic language. This was helped by the British Resident, the unofficial overlord of Egypt at the time, who had a fairly liberal outlook and allowed the press a great measure of liberty. The theatre also flourished at the beginning of this century, and to some extent helped the Arabic revival.

Under pressure of public opinion, Arabic replaced English as a language of instruction in the secondary schools from about 1910. Hishmat Pasha, the Minister of Education at the time (1910-13), was responsible for the change. He also started the publication of the principal encyclopaedic works in Arabic and allotted the task to the Government Public Library, founded officially in Ismail's time in 1870. Hishmat also formed a committee for the translation of scientific terms into Arabic, and another for the translation of science texts.

In 1908 the first modern Egyptian University was founded under that name by a few national leaders with money supplied

from their own pockets and raised by public subscription. Its foundation represented public censure of the government for the small concern it had shown for higher education in Egypt. The university had as one of its main objects the use of Arabic as the language of higher education, in contradiction to the government's policy. The new university sent missions from Egypt to Europe, and brought European teachers to Egypt, as Mohammad Ali had done, but it concentrated on the humanities omitting science on the ground of expense. The creation of the university was a definite step towards the revival of Arabic. This institution was later taken over by the government, and is now, under the name of Fuad I University, the older of the two modern Cairo universities.

This report speaks more of Egypt than of other Arab countries because the renovation of the Arabic language went hand in hand with the general revival and with the contacts made with Western civilization. In these matters Egypt came first, historically and otherwise: the other countries, in varying degrees, followed in Egypt's steps.

Syria, which at that time meant Syria proper, Lebanon, Palestine and Transjordan, made its first significant contacts with Western civilization in the nineteenth century with the arrival of missionaries. Owing to the continuance of Turkish rule, however, progress was very slow. Persecution forced many Syrians to emigrate to Egypt, especially after 1860, and these immigrants, through their work in the press and elsewhere helped to further progress by using the Arabic language.

#### FROM 1914 TO THE PRESENT DAY

The years after the first world war brought with them a very great measure of independence to Egypt, and the country began to develop in many directions. Total school enrolment rose from 634,000 in 1925 to 1,309,000 in 1937. In 1914, there were only four or five government secondary schools, in 1944, 53. The first State university was officially founded in 1925, its students drawn from the old high schools in Cairo. Today Egypt has three universities, two in Cairo, and one in Alexandria. A fourth is being established in Upper Egypt, in Assiut. The students registered at Fuad I University totalled 10,478 in 1945. Besides the universities there are also various higher institutes and specialized schools.

The language of instruction in all higher schools and universities was at first English, and sometimes, especially in the Law schools, French; but Arabic is now used in many of these high schools and

university faculties wherever it can serve adequately as a medium of instruction. In pure science and in medicine, however, teaching is conducted in English, especially in the higher classes. This is because of the inadequacy of the Arab terms, and also because the student can the more readily consult English literature on the subjects concerned.

The technical departments forming part of the Government administration, e.g. the Department of Electrical and Mechanical Engineering, the Irrigation Department, the Department of Bridges, the Railways Department, the Physical Department, the Chemical Department, the Meteorological Department, etc. were ordered to use Arabic in all their communications, and therefore had to find the necessary Arabic terms. This need was felt before the order was given, and some efforts were made to meet it.

The press too, with its huge expansion in modern times, was confronted almost daily with words for which there were no recognized equivalents.

It must be said at once that, in the schools and universities, in the technical departments, in the press, in everything that had to deal with modern ideas and the new Western civilization with its deluge of words, above all in science and in the political and social spheres, all attempts to produce the equivalent Arabic terms were individual efforts. The result was that there were often several expressions for the same thing. Some of these differences were smoothed out in use, especially by the uniformity of schoolbooks. In the less popular branches of knowledge, one does not now find many Arabic terms that have the power of calling to one's memory instantly their equivalent European term.

#### FUAD I ACADEMY OF ARABIC LANGUAGE

The need of a co-ordinating body to deal with this problem of Arabic terms was the main concern of those responsible for the institution of the Royal Academy of Arabic Language in 1932. This academy now has 40 members recruited chiefly from among men of letters and scientists, and the medical and legal professions.

To make the academy an Arab rather than a purely Egyptian body, a number of memberships was allotted to distinguished men from other Arab countries. European orientalists were also admitted, and while the members resident in Egypt meet once a week during the academic year, all members meet for four or five weeks, usually in December and January, every year.

The main aims of the academy were: to preserve the purity of

the Arabic language, to furnish adequate terms for the needs of science and technology, and in general to adapt the language to modern life. The academy was also given the task of making an etymological dictionary for Arabic, of organizing a study of present day Arabic dialects, and of investigating anything that would lead to the progress of the language.

The members of the academy formed themselves into committees, e.g. a Dictionary Committee, a Committee for Physical and Chemical Terms, a Committee for Biological Terms, a Committee for Medical Terms, a Committee for Legal Terms, etc. The work of these committees is submitted to the Academy at its routine sittings for discussion and approval, and then to the annual conference in December and January, when all Egyptian and foreign members are present, for ratification.

The academy has tried mainly to expand the vocabulary of Arabic and up till now over 10,000 terms in chemistry, physics, biology, mathematics, philosophy, law, etc. have been created or adopted. The academy has also nearly completed a medium-sized dictionary intended for the ordinary school student. The basis for the proposed etymological dictionary has been laid. Many decisions have been made concerning certain rules of derivations and others relating to grammar and orthography, with the object of simplifying the language for the modern student. The question of alphabet has also been discussed, and the idea of substituting Latin characters for Arabic characters was thoroughly thrashed out but failed to gain favour. Much good work is being done, although inadequate funds and lack of staff make it difficult for the academy to keep pace with the needs of progress. For instance, through concentrating on standard scientific subjects taught in schools, the academy has been unable to share in the creation of terms of a general nature, dealing with many aspects of civilization, that are too recent to be included in school textbooks. It is left to newspapers to do the best they can, with the result that now we often have more than one way of expressing a definite European term. An example is the word 'jet plane', some call it 'naffatha', from a verb meaning 'to spit out with blowing', and some call it 'nafouria' meaning 'fountain-like'.

#### SOME POSSIBLE LINES OF ADVANCE

In the opinion of the writer the renovation of Arabic to meet modern needs has been and still is a matter of individual endeavour, and this is the natural way of growth. Of the words that are thus

created only those that meet general approval will survive. The function of an Arabic Academy is normally to ratify a new word that has been generally accepted. But there are many fields in which individual efforts lag far behind. In these cases it is for the academy to create and propose, although acceptance depends on general approval and the adoption of new terms by writers and others. In this connexion it is very important that the renovation of the Arabic language should proceed in all Arabic countries on similar lines. At present other Arab countries are represented at the meetings of the Fuad I Arabic Academy, but this method seems inadequate.

The academy or some other body might take up the necessary task of carrying new words to where they should be used. It is easy to control this matter where public schools, universities and higher technical and professional institutions are concerned, but is more difficult in the case of most common arts and trades. A special problem arises with scientific terms. It is desirable that these be international, but words of Greek or Latin origin are unsuitable for popular use among Arabic speaking people. A possible solution is that there should be two different types of terms, one conforming to scientific international requirements, for use by specialists, and the other, of Arabic derivation, for everyday use in speaking and writing.

Many words which have been introduced fairly recently and rather hurriedly into Arabic will always remain foreign to the language, either by the strangeness of their form or because they do not suggest to the Arabic mind any association between them and the thing named. Of most of these the language could well be purged. Others, however, which are now too deeply rooted in the language to be extricated, might be adapted to suit the Arabic tongue and thus be given a passport for permanent residence. On the other hand many words exist in colloquial Arabic which sound perfect to the Arabic ear but which are not mentioned in the classical dictionaries. Their omission is taken by the purists as an indication of their foreign origin, and writers are therefore reluctant to use them. Some of these colloquial words can easily be traced to a possibly genuine Arabic root; others are of obscure origin, but sound perfectly Arabic and can accept the application of Arabic grammar and derivation easily. Words like these might well be adopted and used freely in writing, especially where there is no Arabic equivalent for them. Example: *Gazma*, *Shibshib*, *Markoub*, *Bolgha*, *Bartousha*, all of which stand for various types of shoe. The pure Arabic word for shoe is *Naal* or *Hidhaa*, both of which are very general terms.



Apprehension lest the introduction of colloquial words into written Arabic contaminate the language of the Koran might be allayed by providing an annotated glossary of all terms in the Koran, a task already taken up by Fuad I Arabic Academy. This collection would then be at the disposal of those who seek new terms, and thus give the words of the Koran a permanent place in the language of the people.

## DEVELOPING A NATIONAL LANGUAGE IN INDONESIA

(Sutan Takdir Alisjahbana)

Indonesia is a large country, stretching from long. 95 E to long. 141 E and from lat. 6 N to lat. 10 S, comprising thousands of islands with a population of approximately 80 million. Because there are so many islands, which again are subdivided by ranges of high mountains, there was from the very beginning a tendency to form many racial groups and sub-groups, speaking as many different tongues. Among the approximately 200 languages and dialects of the Indonesian archipelago, Javanese (spoken by 40 million people), Sundanese (12 million), Madurese (6 million) and Malay (4 million), are the most extensively used, while in the isolated islands and mountain villages there are languages that are spoken by only a few thousands of people.

Owing to the favourable situation of Indonesia between two continents and two oceans, the seafaring habits of its people, and the fertility of its soil, there has been from time immemorial intensive intercourse, not only between the inhabitants of the many islands, but also between the inhabitants of the Indonesian archipelago and foreigners. This communication between many peoples speaking different languages has of course from the very beginning favoured the growth of lingua franca, and by the sixteenth century, when European sailors first disembarked on Indonesian shores, Malay was already fulfilling this function in South-East Asia. Though Malay has never been the most widely-spoken language in the archipelago, several factors contributed to its rise as a lingua franca. Among these one might mention the favourable situation of the homeland of the Malays (both sides of the Strait of Malacca, the main entrance to the Indonesian archipelago), the fact that they are a seafaring people who liked to swarm to foreign countries, and the simple and supple structure of the Malay language. The European settlers continued to use Malay as a lingua franca in

their commercial, political and missionary activities in the following centuries.

At the turn of the nineteenth century, however, the language problem in Indonesia took on another aspect. A new language, Dutch, was steadily growing in importance, being the language of the Dutch colonial rulers in their administration, law, etc. and the language of the new economic order. Above all, it was the key to Western culture, then being introduced into Indonesia.

#### HOW THE LINGUA FRANCA BECAME THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE

The evolution of the Indonesian national language has been closely associated with the political awakening of the Indonesian people and their struggle for freedom and equality with the other independent nations of the world. In their early efforts to improve their position *vis-à-vis* their rulers, many Indonesians were eager to attain proficiency in Dutch, which they regarded as the most direct and best method for acquiring the knowledge, skills and social status of their rulers. Hence, at the beginning of the present century, numerous Indonesians applied for permission to study in Dutch schools. The Netherlands Indies Government established *Hollandsch Inlandsche Scholen* (Dutch Indonesian Schools) and other educational institutions to enable Indonesians to study but from the outset applicants everywhere outnumbered openings.

Before long certain reactionary Dutch groups became alarmed at the steady increase in the number of Dutch-speaking Indonesians who, as they acquired a Western-style education, sought equal status with the European rulers. The government accordingly created the *Hollandsch Inlandsche Onderwijscommissie* (Dutch Indonesian Educational Commission) which, after considerable discussion, recommended strict limitations on the use of the Dutch language by Indonesians.

Meanwhile the birth of the nationalist movement in Indonesia had raised the question of language in another context. Indonesian political leaders, wishing to revitalize their people, sought the most effective means of arousing and organizing them in the greatest possible numbers. Since such a programme of political education would have been almost impossible if it had relied on the use of regional languages, of which at least 200 are spoken in Indonesia, attention centred at once on Malay, which was adopted unhesitatingly by the big political parties such as the *Serikat Islam* (Moslem League) and the *Partai Komunis Indonesia*

(Indonesian Communist Party). As for the Indonesian intellectuals, the government policy of limiting their opportunities to study Dutch had the effect of deflecting them to the use of Malay instead. Developments in the use of Malay after 1930 should be regarded as the logical consequence of those two factors.

Even before the second world war, the trend toward making Malay the common and unifying language for all Indonesia had become apparent. In 1930, for example, all-Indonesia youth organizations approved a resolution pledging support of the concept of one nation, one people, and one language. At that time the term 'Malay language' was altered to 'Indonesian language' (Bahasa Indonesia)—a significant change because it testified to the general acceptance of an ideal of national unity. Three years later appeared the cultural and literary magazine *Pudjangga Baru* (The New Poet), which championed, among other causes, the adoption of the Indonesian national language. The followers of *Pudjangga Baru* provided the initiative for convening an Indonesian Language Congress in Solo in 1938.

It is undeniable that the most striking developments of the Indonesian language occurred after the Japanese invasion. On their arrival, the Japanese discovered that Indonesian offered the most effective means of communication with the 80 million people of the archipelago. Dutch, of course, lost its traditional position as the official language; and since the Japanese prohibited its use by Indonesians, its importance as a medium of polite intercourse among educated groups declined rapidly. Although it was evident that the invaders intended to make Japanese the principal language in the islands, their long-term goal could be attained only very slowly. In the early years of adjustment the Japanese had to follow the simplest and most immediately practical course—use of the Indonesian language—in order to implement necessary measures in the field of government, economics, communications, education and the like. The Japanese decision to develop the Indonesian language as quickly as possible caused a major upheaval within the Indonesian community, because every leader in every field had suddenly to abandon Dutch in favour of Indonesian. Not only schoolteachers but all government officials, irrespective of rank, most of whom were only slightly acquainted with the Indonesian language, found themselves compelled to study and use it. Indonesian was employed not only in the writing of public laws and official pronouncements but in all official correspondence between government organs and between the government and the people, as well as in all educational institutions. Since many subjects seldom or never touched upon before had now to be dealt

with, the language developed rapidly. It underwent a period of forced growth so that it might fulfil the manifold functions of a mature modern language as speedily as possible. Moreover, because the Japanese were determined to enlist the energies of the entire Indonesian population in the war effort, they penetrated into villages in the remotest backwaters of the islands, using the Indonesian language as they went.

Thus the language flourished and as more and more people learned to speak it freely, they became aware of a common bond. It became a symbol of national unity in opposition to the efforts of the Japanese ultimately to implant their own language and culture. By the time, therefore, of the Japanese surrender, the position of Indonesian had improved enormously both in strength and in prestige *vis-à-vis* not only Dutch but also the various regional languages of the archipelago, which had had no opportunity to develop during the occupation.

After the Japanese surrender, its relative importance increased still further. The republican government at once proclaimed Bahasa Indonesia the official language, and in the ensuing four years the same course was followed elsewhere in the country. It is probably true to say that the position of the Indonesian language had been permanently established.

#### BAHASA INDONESIA AND THE OTHER MOTHER TONGUES

We have mentioned that there are in Indonesia about 200 languages and dialects, most of them belonging to the group scientifically termed Indonesian, which is in turn a sub-division of a larger Austronesian language group, spreading as far afield as Madagascar and Easter Islands. Consequently Bahasa Indonesia is for most Indonesians to some extent a foreign language, or at least a language so different from their mother tongue that it must be studied before they can master it. However, as it has been for more than five centuries the lingua franca of the Indonesians, with people everywhere in the archipelago, as in South-East Asia, having at least some knowledge of it, this knowledge can be the starting point for the teaching of Bahasa Indonesia in schools, without recourse to the mother tongue. On the other hand, the teaching of the numerous local dialects and languages confined to small isolated mountain or island communities would obviously prove expensive and impracticable through lack of teachers, books and other materials.

The position is quite different again for Javanese, Sundanese,

Madurese, etc., which before the war were used as the medium of instruction in the countries concerned, not only in primary schools but also in some of the training colleges. In this connexion many questions have yet to be faced; for example, what should be the position and function of Javanese, Sundanese and Madurese in Indonesian cultural life in the future? Can a language like Javanese, spoken by 40 million people and with a rich literary tradition, simply disappear—or shall we have a rivalry for supremacy between the different Indonesian languages? Javanese is handicapped by its complexity. It has several levels, so that the languages used by a lower or younger to a higher or older person is different from that used by a higher and older to a lower or younger, and these are also quite different to the language spoken among equals. There are even more distinctions giving rise to many more than these three possibilities. This is not democratic in the modern sense, and does not appeal to the generation which has coined the slogan, 'One country, one people, and one language'.

Hence although the Parliament has a Javanese majority and the President and the Prime Minister are of Javanese origin, there is no movement at all in the Javanese-speaking countries to substitute Javanese for Indonesian. That a people of more than 40 million should voluntarily accept the language of a minority as the vehicle of its political, economic and cultural life, is unique; and this is also the reason why the language problem in such a large country, with hundreds of languages and dialects, is relatively easy and simple, if we compare it with the other young countries of the world.

#### THE LANGUAGES OF INSTRUCTION IN AND OUT OF SCHOOL

The present position in the Indonesian educational system is as follows:

##### *The Primary School*

For the first three years the vernacular is used as medium of instruction in the Javanese, Sundanese, Madurese, Batak, Macassar and Balinese-speaking countries, Indonesian being introduced in increasing proportions. From the fourth year the medium of instruction is Indonesian, while the six above-mentioned vernaculars become a subject of instruction in their respective areas.

In other parts of the archipelago, from the first year, the medium of instruction is the Indonesian language.

## VERNACULAR LANGUAGES IN EDUCATION

### *The Secondary School (3 years + 3 years)*

The only medium of instruction is Indonesian. English is introduced from the first class and remains an important subject until the sixth year.

In some schools, French, German, Javanese, old Javanese and Sundanese are also taught.

### *The Universities*

The only medium of instruction in the universities will be the Indonesian language. At present, however, Dutch is used for some subjects owing to the lack of Indonesian-speaking lecturers.

### *Fundamental Education*

The Indonesian language is also employed as the medium of instruction in fundamental education (literacy campaigns, etc.), except in the six areas mentioned under the heading 'The Primary School' above, where the instruction sometimes starts with the vernacular, but after a short time changes over to Indonesian.

## THE DEVELOPMENT OF BAHASA INDONESIA AND ITS PROBLEMS

Today the problem is how to develop the Indonesian language to meet the requirements of the twentieth century and thus achieve the position formerly occupied in all fields by Dutch. Unless Indonesian is modernized within a decade, the decision to make it the official language in place of Dutch may prove to have been detrimental to the country, and the Indonesians will not advance with the modern world.

In order to become a modern language in any way comparable to such Western languages as English, French or Dutch, Indonesian must meet certain basic requirements. For one thing it must have a vocabulary that embraces the varied and intricate ramifications of modern human activity, and that is adequate for abstract philosophical concepts and the recording of detailed scientific observation.

The first decisive step towards modernizing Indonesian was taken during the Japanese occupation. On 20 October 1942, the Komisi Bahasa Indonesia (Indonesian Language Commission)

was established in Jakarta.<sup>1</sup> The task of this commission was first to supply the language with a modern, adequate grammar; second, to examine and make a selection from the words arising out of everyday life (in books and newspapers), and third, to supply an adequate technical and scientific terminology.

#### THE NEW GRAMMAR

The task of making a modern Indonesian grammar was not easy because the commission had first to consider several problems. First, what should be the character of the grammar?

A descriptive grammar would be difficult to compose because the differences in local Bahasa Indonesia are very considerable. Even the books and newspapers published in the various parts of Indonesia showed discrepancies too great to be summarized in one comprehensive volume. It was decided, after all, that the most urgent need was a normative school grammar, not differing radically from those already in use.

Even this is not easy to compose because of the conflicting tendencies in Indonesian life which are of course manifested in language. The Indonesian language is an extension or adaptation of Malay in as much as it has been modified by the regional languages and dialects as well as by modern foreign languages. In certain cases this intermixture has tended to corrupt Indonesian, a process which should be halted. A solution to this problem gives rise to new difficulties. If it were to cling to the purely Malay pattern, Indonesian would become rigid and would diverge from the living vernacular of the daily press, magazines and books. If, on the other hand, the influence of the regional languages were left unchecked, Indonesian would develop in several directions at once, producing a language excellently adapted to everyday conversation but lacking sufficient character and uniformity to serve satisfactorily as a unifying language, and being too simple for a proper medium of expression on higher cultural levels.

The influence of modern languages and ideas will, if given free play, tend to overlay the basic Malay-Polynesian characteristics of the Indonesian language, thus giving rise to many new difficulties which cannot now be clearly foreseen.

<sup>1</sup> Another commission was established in 1943 in Sumatra, which was separated from Java during the Japanese occupation.

## VERNACULAR LANGUAGES IN EDUCATION

### WORDS IN EVERYDAY USE

So rapid was the development of Indonesian society during these war years that it appeared futile to try to keep pace with the vocabulary of popular usage. Words tended to spring up and disappear overnight. Thus the list of 2,000 words examined and selected by the Indonesian commission was not very useful. More significant was the publication of two Indonesian-Dutch dictionaries, one compiled by W. J. S. Poerwadarminta and Dr. Teeuw, and the other by Pernis, both including as many as possible of the words in vogue in recently published books, periodicals, etc.

### TECHNICAL AND SCIENTIFIC TERMINOLOGY

Experience has shown that the fixing of scientific terminology is the most pressing need, not only for schools, which have to use the Indonesian language in all subjects, but for the government and economic life—in short, for all contact between peoples and communities. Diversity in terminology is confusing, and has caused many misunderstandings and errors in matters of economics, law and so on. On the other hand the terminology of every modern language is so extensive that the establishment of a fixed terminology in every department would take a very long time. For example, to fix the names of all plants and insects in Indonesia would alone take many years. The first concern is to have a basic range of terms for general scientific and technical subjects.

By the end of the war the Indonesian Language Commission had fixed about 7,000 words in the fields of medicine, mathematics, chemistry, physics, law, and administration. In 1947 a new commission was established to continue the work of the former, which had been banned by the Japanese. Soon Jakarta was occupied by the Dutch, so that the Indonesian government, moving to Djokjakarta, lost touch with the commission. However, members of it who remained in Jakarta carried on the work until 1950, and during that time fixed some 7,000 terms in the fields of domestic science, botany, agriculture, commerce, economics, linguistics, etc. After the Declaration of Sovereignty a new commission was established, which is still working steadily.

### INDONESIAN BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

Apart from these difficulties, and other problems relating to the structure and vocabulary of Indonesian, there is one important



factor which can determine the future development of the language, namely the amount of reading matter available. Until the Japanese occupation the language used in schools and in modern intellectual life in Indonesia was Dutch. Almost all textbooks from the secondary schools to the university, and all scientific publications (even the results of research on purely Indonesian matters) were written in Dutch. The Japanese occupation put an end to this situation. There are now enough textbooks in Indonesia for the secondary schools, but if Indonesian is to fulfil its functions as the unifying and official language in the modern sense, it is essential that in a short time books on a university level should also be available, and that all books of international importance should reach the Indonesian reader. At the same time, of course, and as part of the same process, the Indonesian people must learn as quickly as possible to think and to express themselves fluently in their national tongue, so that there may shortly appear in Indonesia a variety of publications dealing with all aspects of modern life. This is proceeding very rapidly.

## THE PROBLEM OF 'PIDGIN' IN THE TRUST TERRITORY OF NEW GUINEA

(C. H. Wedgwood)

The use of pidgin languages has arisen in various parts of the world and in various political and economic settings. It is not possible, therefore, to make any statements about the social 'climate' or of the linguistic potentialities of any one pidgin tongue which could be accepted as necessarily valid for all. What is said in the following pages concerning Pidgin as it is spoken in the Trust Territory of New Guinea is not intended to refer necessarily to any pidgin language elsewhere, not even in such closely adjacent areas as other islands in the Western Pacific, or Australia. I think it probable that the situation in the British Solomon Islands resembles that in the Trust Territory of New Guinea (where the pidgin spoken is similar) and perhaps also in the Condominium of the New Hebrides; but in those parts of Australia where a pidgin is spoken between Europeans and Aborigines, the social, economic and therefore psychological setting is very different—as also is the type of pidgin used.

## THE LINGUISTIC SITUATION IN PAPUA AND THE TRUST TERRITORY

The peoples of New Guinea live either in small villages, or in smaller hamlets loosely associated, or in scattered homesteads. The largest effective political unit is the village, but even this seldom numbers more than 300 to 400 souls, and many of the villages and hamlets are much smaller. The inhabitants of a number of villages or of groups of hamlets are linked through the possession of a common culture and common language, but there is no social or political unity between them. The numerical size of such a language-group varies very greatly. Except in the interior of the mainland it is common to find that people in villages separated by only a few miles cannot understand each other's speech; the existence of languages spoken by not more than 500 people has been recorded, and many have no more than 4,000 or 5,000 speakers. In the interior of the mainland the situation is somewhat different for here there are language groups of 20,000 to 30,000 speakers. How many distinct languages there are in the whole of the Trust Territory is not yet fully known, but the number runs into hundreds.<sup>1</sup>

With the exception of the Polynesian languages spoken in a few outlying islands, the languages of Papua and the Trust Territory fall into two main groups: Melanesian and non-Melanesian, or Papuan. The former are found in the coastal regions of the large islands, on the small islands and in scattered places along the mainland coast. Although they are clearly related, they are not more nearly allied than are the languages spoken in Europe, and some have been so greatly affected by neighbouring Papuan tongues that they are very aberrant forms of Melanesian. To call a language non-Melanesian or Papuan does not imply that it is related to any other Papuan language. It is true, however, that all Papuan languages have a few features in common, of which extreme complication in the tense and mood scheme of the verb is one, and the power of agglutination another. For Europeans and Melanesian-speakers alike, Papuan languages are very difficult to master; nor

<sup>1</sup> The most complete survey and analysis of the languages of Papua and the Trust Territory that has yet been made is to be found in the report of a survey carried out by Dr. A. Capell in the South Pacific area. The survey was made on behalf of the South Pacific Commission in 1949-50, and the report is shortly to be published in book form by the Oxford University Press. See also: A. Capell, *Language Study for New Guinea Students* ('Oceania Monographs', no. 5). Sydney, Australian National Research Council, 1940.

does a speaker of one Papuan language necessarily find the task of learning another much easier. It can be appreciated, therefore, that the multiplicity of languages, each one of which is spoken by a relatively small group of people, presents a very difficult linguistic problem for the administrator and educationist. Before any real advance can be made in the economic or political development of the people of New Guinea, there must be some medium through which those speaking different mother tongues can communicate with one another. This is also necessary before there can be any marked progress in the education of either children or adults.

#### THE HISTORICAL AND SOCIAL BACKGROUND OF NEW GUINEA PIDGIN

When the Europeans came into regular contact with the natives of the territory of New Guinea, first as visiting traders, later as settled planters and Government officials, some medium of intercommunication was necessary. Apart from the missionaries, the newcomers were unwilling to trouble themselves with learning any local language, and, moreover, no one such language would have been of much use to them, since no single one had any wide currency. Following the practice which had become usual throughout other Pacific islands, therefore, all the Europeans, whatever their nationality, used a variety of pidgin-English in their contacts with the indigenous population—and apparently also in their contacts with each other when they had no common mother-tongue.<sup>1</sup>

One important effect of the establishment of the *pax Germanica* in the coastal areas of the territory of New Guinea, was that natives from many regions and speaking many different languages were brought together as workers on plantations or as companions in jails. These new contacts made a medium of intercommunication necessary, and Pidgin was adopted and developed for this purpose. In pre-European days trade had brought people speaking different languages into contact and in some places this had given rise to pidgin vernaculars such as Trade Motu (spoken between the people of the Port Moresby area and their trade-partners along the Elema some 200 miles north-west along the coast) but, partly perhaps because of the system by which the trade passed along a

<sup>1</sup> Before the South Pacific War, many of the non-British missionaries (who in fact formed the great majority of missionaries in the territory of New Guinea up to 1940) were unable to speak English and used Pidgin as their medium in talking with government officers and Australian planters.

chain of exchange-partners, no one of these 'pidgin vernaculars' ever seems to have been widely used.<sup>1</sup> The ability to speak Pidgin was, and still is, regarded as a useful accomplishment in that it enables a native to speak directly with a government officer and employer, and so does away with that sense of insecurity which is felt by those who can only communicate through an interpreter. But it seems that even in early days Pidgin passed quickly from being only, or even primarily, a trade language between Europeans and natives, to becoming the inter-tribal *lingua franca* of the Territory.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, for a native to be able to speak Pidgin was a sign that as a plantation worker (or even as one who served a sentence in jail) he had 'seen the world',<sup>3</sup> and thus a knowledge of Pidgin conveyed a certain prestige.

Even today one may see a child in an outlying village putting on airs because he can say a few sentences in Pidgin to the confusion of his less knowledgeable companions. On one occasion I even heard a man invoking the spirit of a dead friend in Pidgin, because the latter did not respond to the calls made to him in his mother tongue. As the influence of the government penetrated further and further, men from more and more regions, speaking more and more diverse tongues, were drawn together in work on the plantations or the goldfields, or in government employ, so that a knowledge of Pidgin spread far and wide throughout the territory. Today there can be few villages within those parts under full government control (that is throughout the major part of the Trust Territory) where at least one or two men cannot speak Pidgin fluently; while

<sup>1</sup> The fact that 'Trade Motu', now called 'Police Motu' and not Pidgin became the official medium of communication between the Administration and the Papuans was doubtless largely due to the fact that the headquarters of the Administration were established at Port Moresby, adjacent to those villages which for long had taken a leading part in the trade with Europeans, and where therefore 'Trade Motu' already provided an easily learnt medium of communication.

<sup>2</sup> This is a convenient though rather inexact term, for there are in New Guinea no large, politically unified local groups such as are usually called 'tribes'. The term is however permissible if 'tribe' can be used to indicate a group of people speaking one language, or mutually intelligible dialects of one language, and having the same culture.

<sup>3</sup> Usually the fact that a native has served a jail sentence does not damage his prestige among his fellow-villagers. The laws enforced by the government are not necessarily in harmony with native ethical codes, and therefore not necessarily backed by the sanction of local public opinion. Indeed, sometimes they are in opposition to what is regarded as right (e.g. the regulation against burying the dead under the house, and another against vendetta slayings) and to suffer for breaking such a law may sometimes enhance a man's reputation.

in those villages which are situated near a township such as Rabaul or Lae, or near a centre of business such as a large plantation, one finds that usually even the children are bilingual, and use Pidgin as well as their mother tongue in their play together. If in the Trust Territory one hears a group of natives talking on board ship on the wharf, in hospital, in the street of any township, in the market-place, or in any other spot which may be the meeting ground of people from diverse villages or districts, it is Pidgin which one hears spoken. And it is used not only to give factual information, but also to express ideas.<sup>1</sup>

#### PIDGIN AS A LANGUAGE

Those who imagine that, by speaking a broken form of English, liberally besprinkled with 'em' and reduplication, and ignoring all syntax, they are speaking New Guinea Pidgin, are woefully astray. In fact I have met more than one European in the territory whose invectives against the 'stupidity' of native employees would more rightly have been directed against his or her own failure to speak Pidgin correctly.

New Guinea Pidgin is a hybrid language.<sup>2</sup> Its structure is basically that of a Melanesian tongue: the word order, the use of the inclusive and exclusive plurals, the use of a dual form, the absence of any classification of nouns and of any change in the form of the noun according to case and number (these concepts are expressed by other grammatical processes) are some of the noticeable characteristics of both. The most English characteristic of the language is perhaps the facility with which nouns are used as verbs. The vocabulary is very polyglot in its sources: English (unfortunately too often the uninhibited vocabulary of British traders and seamen), German, Samoan, and various local tongues have all contributed. The few Samoan words probably came in through the Samoan wives of early German settlers. Of the local languages the one which has contributed most words is that of the Blanch Bay region (the eastern end of New Britain, where Rabaul is situated) where in the early days the contact was closest. The

<sup>1</sup> Just as many natives distinguish good and bad style in the recounting of stories in their mother tongue, so I believe do some recognize good and bad style in story-telling in Pidgin.

<sup>2</sup> R. A. Hall, *Melanesian Pidgin-English Grammar, Texts, Vocabulary*. Published for the United States Armed Forces Institute by the Linguistic Society of America, 1943. Mr. Hall's work, however, was not based upon a first hand knowledge of Pidgin or of its New Guinea setting.

great majority of words in New Guinea Pidgin have an English origin, but they have nearly all undergone a great change in both their pronunciation and their content.<sup>1</sup>

The phonemes of Pidgin are wholly Melanesian: for example, with few exceptions, two consonants are never sounded successively but must be separated by a vowel, and so *aeks* (axe) has become *akis*, and *slip* (sleep) has become *silip*; certain consonant sounds have been replaced by others, so that *finis* (finish) has become *pinis*, and *fens* (fence) has become *banis*. Again, stress and intonation are wholly native and un-English, both in respect of words and phrases. As regards the meaning of the words, this has often become altered, and the range of meaning much enlarged, through metaphor or a non-English association of ideas; some words have entirely lost their primary English meaning. Thus *balus i laik go nau* means 'the aeroplane is about to leave', though *mi no laik* does mean 'I don't want to' or 'I don't like (it)'; *giras* (or *garas*) is more often used to mean 'hair' than 'grass' though it can have the latter meaning; *pus* can only be used to mean 'copulate', never 'push' in its dictionary sense. It must be noted, too, that Pidgin, like any other living language, is not static. New words are constantly being added to it to meet new situations, and old words are changing or enlarging their meaning. And so, as the natives feel the need to express new ideas, new subtleties of thought, they enrich this lingua franca which is so simple in structure and so malleable. There are many Europeans living in New Guinea who find it hard today to do more than follow the general thread of a conversation carried on between a group of voluble natives; and, indeed, relatively few who can express themselves—their thoughts and their emotions—fluently in Pidgin. But those who have the most intimate knowledge of the language and are the most skilled in it claim that it is capable of being used, and is being developed, as an effective medium of thought and self-expression by the natives among themselves.

So live a language is Pidgin that already minor dialectal variations have been observed within the Trust Territory. They are mainly variations in vocabulary, the result of adopting certain words from local vernaculars. The differences are, however, so slight that a Pidgin-speaker from say the Middle Sepik can converse freely with one from South Bougainville.

<sup>1</sup> When I first went to New Guinea in 1932 I met several elderly men who used a number of Pidgin words which were derived from German, such as *beluistib* (Bleistift) and *gumi* (Gummi). These have now been largely replaced by words derived from English; though the German *raus* (heraus) will certainly remain as long as Pidgin is spoken.

Today Pidgin is a written as well as a spoken language. It was first reduced to writing by missionaries. These men were usually not trained linguists and came from different language backgrounds, and there is therefore a good deal of variation in the system of phonemic spelling used. Nevertheless natives from different areas in the territory are able to correspond with each other.

It seems, then, that despite its origins New Guinea Pidgin is today a genuine language in that it is being used as an effective medium for thought and communication; and that it can no longer be rightly regarded as only a trade language, a degenerate or bastard form of English, but rather as a new, inter-tribal vernacular. The question which has to be considered is whether, or to what extent, it should be given official recognition, and be used or taught in the schools and in adult education.

#### THE FUTURE OF PIDGIN

There are probably few Europeans, and none whose mother tongue is English, who do not deplore the use of Pidgin. There are however those who, while deploring it, recognize that it is today the common language of the people of the territory, believe that this fact must be accepted and that the best use of it should be made for educational purposes. In many of the Lutheran mission village schools it has long been a subject of instruction during the fourth year of the primary course; in many of the Roman Catholic schools it has been and is being used as a medium of instruction for children and adults. Although the Director of Education hopes that Pidgin will in due course be replaced by English as a medium of inter-communication, and refuses to allow it a place in any government primary or secondary school, he is forced to use Pidgin as the medium of instruction in technical schools; it is also so used by the Department of Public Health for teaching medical assistants, and midwives; and by other Government Departments, such as Public Works, and Agriculture and Fisheries, for instructing their trainees. It has, hitherto, also been the vehicle of communication in much community development work. Posters, news-sheets and booklets are produced in Pidgin by both the Department of Education and the missionary societies, and it seems that, where the people are literate, the government weekly Pidgin news-sheets are widely read.

What is to be the future of New Guinea Pidgin? Will it, as many hope, be replaced by English as the means of inter-tribal com-

munication or will it persist, whatever the European may think or feel about it? And if it does seem likely to persist should it be recognized and used in education?

It is certain that some medium of inter-tribal communication for the whole of the Trust Territory is essential if there is to be any significant social, economic and political development.<sup>1</sup> In theory there are four possible ways of achieving such a medium: (1) by a single existing vernacular spreading throughout the territory; (2) by means of a number of 'regional vernaculars', and the use of English between the more highly educated; (3) by the use of English throughout the territory; (4) by the use of Pidgin throughout the territory.

1. There is at present no sign of any one existing vernacular becoming a lingua franca. In theory it might well be the best solution of the problem to select and develop one vernacular to become the national language, as Tagalog is being developed and used in the Philippines. Probably the greatest difficulty in the way of doing this would be the attitude of the natives themselves: they would almost certainly resent and misunderstand any attempt on the part of the government to introduce any such vernacular into the schools. (Even in the Philippines and in Indonesia the spread of the single national language has, it seems, met with some local opposition, although there it was the peoples' own government which introduced the move for obvious national motives.)

Regional vernaculars as taught by the missions have been accepted in the past because they have had at least the prestige of being associated with the mission and of having books printed in them. But there have been murmurings against even these. One Papuan, a very intelligent elderly man, of high standing in his community, a non-Christian but very anxious for the spread of education among his people, was opposed to the local mission schools on the ground that the children 'wasted their time' learning the mission's regional vernacular instead of learning Police Motu. (He dismissed the suggestion that they should be taught English as beyond the capacity of the average villager.) It would be difficult and would probably take several years of

<sup>1</sup> As far as the natives themselves are concerned the political divisions between Papua and the Trust Territory are entirely artificial. From their point of view what is really required is a lingua franca for the people of both territories. If the choice lies between two 'pidgin' languages, 'Police-Motu' and Pidgin, then, if we can judge by present trends, and allowing for the smaller population and area of Papua, the lingua franca is likely to become Pidgin.



tactful and continuous propaganda to persuade the natives of the solid advantages, political, economic and educational, of a single vernacular to be taught in the schools and so spread throughout the country as a *lingua franca*. The very selection of the vernacular would be fraught with difficulties arising from local prejudices and jealousies.

2. The second possibility is in accordance with the policy which has long been followed by the missionary societies in Papua. In the Trust Territory, too, the missions have used regional vernaculars, but prior to 1945 very little had been done by the Roman Catholic and Lutheran missions to teach English (largely no doubt because to the majority of the missionaries themselves it was a foreign tongue which few spoke with any fluency). Pidgin having been used for inter-regional purposes.<sup>1</sup>

There are probably certain advantages for the intellectual development of a people in using a genuine vernacular instead of Pidgin for inter-communication, but there are also certain serious disadvantages—social, political and administrative. To mention only a few: The use of regional vernaculars does not make for true political unity among the people of the territory as a whole; it may result in emphasizing jealousies and rivalries (which already exist) between the adherents of the different missions with which such regional vernaculars are associated; it requires that European officers and others shall learn all of the regional vernaculars or else work through an educated, English-speaking intermediary; and it adds to the labour and cost of producing reading matter (recreational and instructional) for the ever-increasing number of literate adults and school children.

3. The total replacement of Pidgin by English, and the use of the latter as the *lingua franca* throughout both territories (Papua and the Trust Territory) is the wish of most of those who are genuinely concerned with the well-being and future of the inhabitants. As a medium of communication between Europeans and natives, the former regard Pidgin as a means whereby the social and economic subordination of the latter will be perpetuated. Added to this there is the ardent desire of the natives themselves to learn English, primarily so that they may speak on equal terms with Europeans—particularly with government officers—but also because most of them believe that English

<sup>1</sup> A few natives who have spent almost all their lives on or in close contact with mission stations under the direction of German-speaking missionaries, have become fairly fluent in German.

will prove to be the key to knowledge, and hence to wealth and power. I doubt whether more than a handful of natives have envisaged English as the common medium of communication between themselves, though it is possible that such gatherings as the South Pacific Conference of 1950 may have suggested this to a few. The fear lest Pidgin should perpetuate a condition of social inequality, and the fact that the natives are demanding to learn English (even though some of the reasons for this demand are fallacious) are both cogent reasons for pressing for the teaching of English in the schools and in adult classes. The question remains, however, whether within three or four generations, or ever, English can be used as an adequate medium of inter-communication by ordinary villagers from different language-groups—that is between those who in all probability will not pass beyond the primary school, and whose lives will be spent mainly among speakers of their own vernacular and away from any frequent contact with those who speak English fluently and habitually. For English, however well it is taught, cannot be easy to any Melanesian or Papuan speaker: its sounds, its grammatical structure are wholly alien; and the culture of which it is both a part and an expression is utterly unfamiliar if not practically unknown to most of them. To use a language as an effective medium of communication, to be able to think in it, requires a very considerable mastery of it and frequent opportunities of using it. To hope that any large majority of the New Guinea natives will achieve such mastery over English within the next 100 years, is to be over-sanguine. The policy of the Director of Education in respect of Pidgin and Police Motu is based upon the hope and belief that both Pidgin and Police Motu will disappear in due course, and he believes that 'the ultimate use of English is considered to be the only solution to the problem of the linguistic diversity of the territory', but he recognizes and admits that 'the achievement of this will, in the majority of localities, be extremely remote'. And yet the need is precisely this: that even now, within the life-time of the young men and women living today, there shall be an effective medium of communicating facts and ideas to, and between, the large majority of the people; it is not enough that a relatively small educated *élite* should have such a medium.<sup>1</sup> It would seem that Pidgin, which is already being

<sup>1</sup> It is significant, in this context, that the members of the Village Council of Hanubada, in Papua, who live in very close and daily contact with English-speaking Europeans, and all of whom have learnt English in

used for inter-tribal communication, and not English, is the tongue which is destined, despite what seem to us its drawbacks, to satisfy that need.

4. If this is truly so, then we must accept Pidgin as an important element in the culture of the people of New Guinea. If the aim of the schools is to prepare children for life in the adult world, then we cannot in our educational programme ignore the existence and importance of this language in that adult world.

#### PIDGIN AS A MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION

If Pidgin were accepted as an inevitable part of adult and therefore of school life, its position as a lingua franca could be exploited for educational purposes. One of the great stumbling-blocks in the path of educational advance in the territory has been and is the multiplicity of languages. Although it is generally agreed that ideally the medium of all instruction for all children should be the mother tongue, it is recognized that in many parts of the world, and the Trust Territory of New Guinea is certainly one of them, this is often not practicable beyond the first four or six years of schooling, sometimes not beyond the kindergarten stage. The present policy in the Trust Territory and Papua is that English should be taught as a second language during the four years of the village school (orally during the first three years) and the first year of the higher village or elementary school; in the second year of the elementary school a beginning is to be made in using English as a medium of instruction and it will be increasingly so used during the next two years. It is expected that at the close of the four years of the elementary school course 'the pupil . . . should have a sufficient command of simple English for all practical purposes'.<sup>1</sup>

The use of any Pidgin or 'Police Motu' while not absolutely debarred as a temporary measure in those mission schools which have used it hitherto, is discouraged, and it is not permitted in Government schools. The chief objections to the use of either of

school, have abandoned their original intention of holding their meetings in English. They found that they could not express their thoughts sufficiently well in it. The meetings took on a new life, and the discussions became really valuable, when it was decided to carry on all business in Motu, the mother tongue of most members, and one in which the non-Motuans were fully bilingual.

<sup>1</sup> New Guinea, Department of Education, *Syllabus of Work for Native Schools*, Jan. 1950, pp. 1 and 8.

these 'pidgin' languages in education are that they are 'marginal' languages, and 'are not considered to be adequate educational media'. In particular the Director of Education considers pidgin to be undesirable since he believes that familiarity with this will make it more difficult for the natives to learn to speak correct English.<sup>1</sup>

It is intended that until English can be used as the full medium of instruction, that is until the last year of elementary schooling or the beginning of the 'higher elementary' course (i.e. seventh or eighth year of school life) the vernacular shall be used. In fact it is by no means always practicable to use the child's own mother tongue so far up the educational ladder, particularly in such places as government or mission stations and on plantations, where children speaking different tongues are gathered together: the choice then lies between teaching them in a regional vernacular, teaching them in English, or teaching them in Pidgin. From the point of view of speedy learning the last is probably the best, particularly as it is probably the tongue which they hear their parents speaking together and which they themselves use in out-of-school play: English is certainly the language which they will find most difficult to learn.

But even in the elementary and higher elementary schools, after from seven to eight years of school life, it seems doubtful whether a child will have gained sufficient familiarity with English to be able to think in it and to apprehend truly new ideas presented to him in it, particularly since it is a language which he seldom (perhaps never) hears spoken out of school. Education is more than the acquisition of facts. If we fail to enable the child to understand the significant relations of facts to each other, to think about them intelligently, and also to express his thoughts, then the education which we give him is a failure. For to the native of New Guinea today, living as he is in a cultural environment which is changing rapidly, self-confidence and the ability to think clearly and constructively are vitally important. If we use as a medium of instruction a language so alien as English, we are putting a premium on parrot-learning and we enormously increase his difficulties in thinking about and understanding the unfamiliar world of facts and ideas to which his school lessons are introducing him. Because Pidgin is much simpler for him to acquire than English, because it is freely spoken by a large proportion of (if not all) his elders and is a part of the cultural environment into which he has been born, it is an easier medium of learning and thought to the New Guinea child

<sup>1</sup> *Syllabus of Work for Native Schools*, pp. 9 and 20.

than English is, and therefore a better medium of instruction for him—however ugly and ungainly a tongue it seems to us. That it is inadequate for use in primary and post-primary (or post-elementary) education, Europeans who speak it fluently deny, and indeed its successful use for training medical assistants and technicians of various kinds has already shown something of its potentialities as an educational medium. Whether a knowledge of Pidgin makes the learning of true English harder is still a matter for debate. Some experienced Europeans have expressed the view that the two languages are so dissimilar that familiarity with Pidgin will neither help nor hinder the learning of English. Much will doubtless depend upon the way in which English is taught and whether by one whose mother-tongue it is or by a native teacher to whom it is still a foreign tongue and whose accent is not truly English.

It is desirable that English should be taught in the schools as a 'world language', and the sooner in a child's life that he can begin to learn it without overstrain or harm to his general intellectual development, the better. For English, it may be expected, will play much the same role in the Pacific that Latin played in medieval Europe: it will be the international medium of social, political and intellectual communication, and the vehicle for higher learning. In addition it can be the medium for bringing into closer and more friendly relations the European and non-European peoples of the territory.

### UNIFICATION: THE AKAN DIALECTS OF THE GOLD COAST (K. J. Dickens)

The Akan language of the Gold Coast, a rich and beautiful language though at present undeveloped for such purposes as modern science and technology, has two branches, Fante and Twi, in their various dialects.

Fante and Twi themselves, despite the often half-humorous protestations of individuals among the less highly-educated speakers, are mutually intelligible. Even a European who has learnt enough Twi for ordinary everyday use can understand what is said to him in Fante at the same level, and vice versa.

Fante, which is spoken by several hundred thousands of people in the western coastal area and immediate hinterland of the Gold Coast (the most southerly of the three regions of the Gold Coast administration—the other two being Ashanti and the Northern

Territories) and, of course, by groups of Fantes who have settled in some of the towns in other parts of the country for commercial reasons or in connexion with the religious and educational work of the Methodist and other churches (a point which will be mentioned again later) has never suffered to any practical extent from dialectal rivalries within itself, although in its case, too, individuals will sometimes affect not to comprehend the speech of other Fantes living a few miles away. Fante has been written for over 100 years. Its literature developed more slowly than that of Twi, but in the course of the present century, and particularly in the last 25 years, has become fairly extensive so far as school requirements are concerned. There have been relatively mild orthographical controversies, but such matters have in recent years been disposed of by a representative and authoritative committee.

Twi, the speech, in its various dialects, of well over a million people in the greater part of the Gold Coast proper, the whole of Ashanti, the southern border of the Northern Territories, and the western border of central Togoland, has also been written for over 100 years and has developed an extensive religious and educational literature.

The main Twi dialects are Akuapem, Asante (in its various sub-dialects), and Akyem. All are mutually intelligible, though as in the case of Twi and Fante and of different Fante groups, individuals sometimes allege otherwise out of excessive local patriotism. As education and communication develop still further, no doubt these parochialisms will diminish.

For more than a century Akuapem was the standard literary dialect of Twi. The literature produced in it was almost solely for religious and educational purposes, and still forms almost the whole of existing printed material in Twi. The old Basel Mission, which gave devoted service to the Gold Coast, was responsible for this great work. It was carried on after the first world war, 1914-18, by the Scottish Mission, which has since made way for its offspring, the Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast, an indigenous self-governing African Church.

#### ADOPTION OF ORTHOGRAPHIES

A landmark in the early history of this literary development was the publication of Christaller's remarkable dictionary of the Twi language in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, which, as Professor Ida Ward has said, 'is in the first rank of dictionaries

of African languages, or indeed of any language'. It is made clear in the original introduction that the dictionary was based on the Akuapem dialect (though with reference to Asante, Akyem, Fante, and other Akan dialects) not, as has been sometimes alleged in recent years of dialectal controversy, merely because the Basel missionaries established their headquarters for the Akan-speaking areas of the Gold Coast in the Akwapim District, but because, after investigation, they found that the Akuapem dialect offered a middle way between the extremes of variation in the other Akan dialects. From the linguistic point of view it was perhaps unfortunate that Fante soon became the preserve of the Methodist Mission in the westerly part of the Gold Coast littoral, since otherwise more might have been done later by the Basel Mission towards an assimilation of the different Akan dialects. As it turned out, the exigencies of necessary production of printed religious and educational material resulted in the *de facto* establishment of the Akuapem dialect as the standard literary form of Twi. In the ensuing 100 years a very large amount of religious and educational publication was affected, and it is usually overlooked by modern controversialists in this subject that most of this material remains either out of print or in the 'old script' (very little different from the 'new script') because of the uncertainties which controversy has engendered.

Chrastaller and his colleagues and successors wrote their works in a thoroughly sound orthography based on a thorough phonetic analysis of the language in its various dialects. Its only defect was the use of a few diacritics (a line under the symbols 'e' and 'o' to represent the corresponding open vowels, a dot over the symbol 'n' to represent the corresponding velar consonant, and a line over a vowel in some instances to denote length; the nasal sign also was used over vowels, and ceased to be necessary as time went on, however helpful it no doubt was in the early stages of educational development in the Gold Coast).

In the middle twenties of the present century, at the instance of the Gold Coast Education Department and on the invitation of the Gold Coast Government, Professor Westermann paid two visits to the Gold Coast to advise on linguistic problems there. Among the results of his visits were recommendations for the improvement of the orthography of Gold Coast languages already written, and comments and suggestions on the question of the possible unification of Twi and Fante in writing. It should be noted that at this time there was no threat to the position of the Akuapem dialect as the established standard literary dialect of Twi.

There was no difficulty about the introduction of the improve-

ments in orthography. The Westermann Script, which afterwards in its fuller, more generally applicable form, became the Africa Script of the International African Institute, meant, so far as Twi was concerned (apart from a few minor rectifications of spelling), only the few changes which were involved in the abolition of the diacritics indicated in the preceding paragraph but one. It meant very little more for Fante, Ga or even Ewe, though of course for all four it necessitated the transcription and reprinting of existing literature—in the case of Twi a somewhat formidable undertaking. But the precipitancy of some persons in the Gold Coast (not, it should be said, the Education Department) on the question of the possible unification of Twi and Fante soon bedevilled the whole situation.

#### ATTEMPTS AT UNIFICATION

A 'unified' orthography was produced *in vacuo*, and one book actually printed in it, without serious reference to those most actively engaged in Twi writing. It struck at the essential principles of Twi orthography and had a strong Fante bias, brought dismay and confusion to the very large number of Twi teachers in the schools and much concern to prominent Twi scholars and linguists in the training colleges and elsewhere, and resulted also in misunderstanding and suspicion even of the excellent and very simple changes of orthography introduced by the Westermann Script.

Two of the changes proposed for Twi orthography, and actually effected in the one publication produced in the so-called 'unified' spelling, caused special consternation. They were, first, to cease to represent in Twi the assimilation of 'b' to a preceding 'm' and of 'd' to a preceding 'n', and, second, to cease to represent vowel harmony, whereby 'e', 'g', 'o' are modified to 'i', 'e', 'o', 'u' in the syllable immediately before a syllable containing a close vowel or beginning with a labialized palatal consonant. In Fante, unlike Twi, the assimilation of 'b' to a preceding 'm' and of 'd' to a preceding 'n' is not complete. There is still a trace of the 'b' or the 'd', and 'mb' and 'nd' are written where Twi writes 'mm' and 'nn'. The tendency of the language is to complete the assimilation, and it was unreasonable that the Twi branch of the language, in which the natural tendency has been completed, should yield to Fante, in which it has not. Twi orthography ever since the days of Christaller and the other early Basel missionaries has always been as nearly completely phonetic, in the sense that symbols



have represented the sounds which they appear to represent, as is practicable in a living language written for practical purposes. The proposal to cease to represent vowel harmony would, if applied, have destroyed the phonetic nature of Twi orthography to no useful purpose. It was strongly opposed, as was the non-assimilation of consonants, by all Twi teachers.

The Education Department, after careful but urgent study of the situation, intervened, and the artificial and ill-conceived 'unified' spelling of Twi and Fante was dropped.

Harm had been done, in that uneasiness and suspicion had been widely generated and the production of literature required in the new orthography had been considerably delayed, but after a time confidence was largely restored, the new orthography accepted, both Twi and Fante literary production was resumed each in its own way, and for some years it looked as if the development of the literature of both would proceed peacefully and satisfactorily and would keep pace with the expansion of education and the general progress of the Gold Coast. However, another factor soon entered into the situation.

#### NATIONALIST FEELING AND LOCAL RIVALRIES

With the restoration of the Ashanti Confederacy and the accession of Nana Otumfuo Agyeman Prempeh II as Asantehene, Ashanti, which after its long period of reflective self-restraint had already been feeling the stirrings of renascent nationalism, began to express itself more and more emphatically in a variety of ways.

One of these ways was a demand, originated among a number of Ashanti teachers of standing in the local community, for the use of the Asante dialect of Twi not only in Ashanti schools but in books for Ashanti schools.

Some precursor elements other than the rising nationalism in this demand are of interest. For reasons of history there was in the Gold Coast for very many years, indeed for a century or more after school education began, a much larger proportion of people of the Gold Coast littoral—Fantes and Gas—in the public services, in religious work, and in education, including teaching, than the numeral proportion of these two peoples to the other language-groups of the Gold Coast. Similarly, in the case of the Twi groups, there was a much larger proportion of Akuapem-speaking teachers than the numerical proportion of the Akuapem people to the other Twi dialect groups. In particular there were extremely few Asante teachers.

The Methodist Church had its headquarters in Fante country in the western part of the Gold Coast littoral and the predominating African element both in its religious and in its educational work was Fante. When it started operations in Ashanti it used Fante pastors and Fante teachers. It also used Fante hymns and other religious material in its church services and bible classes. This continued for very many years, and one of the first signs of rising Ashanti feeling in the matter of the use, or rather the non-use, of the Asante dialect consisted of increasing protests by Ashantis prominent in educational and religious circles against this 'Fantization' of religious work in Ashanti. Sensitivity was thus already induced, and was made greater by a growing consciousness of the predominance of Fantes and Gas in the African element of the civil service of the Gold Coast and in its political and public life generally.

Similarly the Basel Mission, and later its successors, the Scottish Mission and the Presbyterian Church of the Gold Coast, with headquarters in Akwapim, sent teachers speaking the Akuapem dialect of Twi to work in Ashanti.

In the nineteen-thirties and forties, when school education was becoming more widespread, the Gold Coast Education Department made representations several times to the Churches and missions engaged in educational work in the Gold Coast on the necessity for taking into their teacher-training colleges a higher proportion of students from areas which had previously lagged behind other parts of the country in the development of education but were now increasing the number of their schools and would certainly continue to do so—for example Ashanti.

These representations were heeded, but neither quickly nor fully enough.

In the meantime dissatisfaction in Ashanti was increasing. It is probable that this dissatisfaction need never have developed to the point of the regrettable breach which finally occurred if more Ashanti teachers had been trained in the thirties and forties, and, more especially, if a less rigid, more tactful, and educationally sounder attitude had been adopted by Akuapem-speaking teachers in Ashanti towards the matter of dialect in Ashanti primary schools. Too many of them were in the habit of telling their pupils, when the latter used Asante dialect forms in speech or writing, that they were 'wrong', that what they said or wrote was 'not good Twi', and of insisting that they substitute Akuapem forms as 'corrections'. To use reading books in the standard literary dialect was well enough—indeed there was no alternative—but to obstruct and penalize the pupils for using their own dialect, certainly in

speech, and even, at this stage in the Gold Coast, in writing, was a serious mistake.

It should be noted, however, that a fear which was expressed at one time by Ashanti that Asante forms were discriminated against at a higher level, namely in the University of Cambridge School Certificate papers in Twi for secondary schools, was unfounded. Dialectal variants were, and are always accepted in these examinations for general university matriculation.

#### THE WARD REPORT

In view of the increasing atmosphere of controversy the Education Department decided to enlist the help of a respected, impartial expert from outside the Gold Coast, and in 1945, at the invitation of the Gold Coast Government, Professor Ida Ward, of the London School of Oriental and African Studies, spent several months in the Gold Coast and made a report on the problem, with recommendations for its solution.<sup>1</sup>

The recommendations, which were aimed at bringing the Asante and Akuapem dialects of Twi closer together in writing with a view to an eventual 'unification' containing permissible variants, were in two parts. There were four 'firm recommendations' (see page 35 of the report), and a larger number of recommendations and suggestions 'with latitude allowed' (see pages 36-38 of the report).

After an interval for digestion of the report, a joint committee representing the different Twi dialectal interests was set up to consider and take steps towards implementing its recommendations. The committee's discussions were extremely protracted. It agreed without much difficulty or delay to implement the 'firm recommendations', but on certain of the recommendations and suggestions made 'with latitude allowed' it was found impossible, despite prolonged discussion, to reach agreement.

One of the most crucial of these suggestions was one of those which also gave rise to such strong feeling in the controversy over the proposed 'unification' of Twi and Fante 15 to 20 years earlier. It was the suggestion that the representation of vowel harmony should be partially discontinued. This strikes deeply at the phonetic nature of Twi orthography so far as teaching is concerned, and it is difficult to credit the allegation of teachers consulted by

<sup>1</sup> Ida C. Ward, *Report of an Investigation of Some Gold Coast Language Problems*, London, Crown Agents for the Colonies, 1945, 74 pp.

Professor Ward that they have had difficulty in teaching the relevant vowel modifications in reading and writing, if they have properly taught their pupils the sounds of the language and the symbols which represent them in writing (the Roman alphabet, with the addition of 's' and 'ɔ'). Professor Ward herself says (page 38 of the report, par. 94), 'Vowel harmony plays such an important part in the Twi language that any interference with its representation in writing should not be undertaken lightly'. Moreover, under this suggestion, non-representation of vowel harmony was not to be applied consistently, but only to prefixes to verbs. Inconsistency is surely a fault in orthography.

Meanwhile the Ashanti demand to have its own schoolbooks in its own dialect was becoming ever more impatient and even strident. The Asantehene himself intervened and associated himself with this demand in person, threatening to ban existing Twi books in Ashanti schools if the demand were not met.

There was a further complication in that the Scottish Mission Book Depot had very large stocks of existing Twi books and faced serious financial difficulties if a large part of them had to be written off as unsaleable, as they would be if proposals to go ahead with the production of new books in Akuapem Twi and Asante Twi on the basis of only the accepted 'firm recommendations' were put into effect; while Ashanti, with practically no existing literature of its own, wished to introduce more numerous and far-reaching changes.

With no sign of agreement in sight, and passions rising, the Education Department was obliged to give a ruling that it could not impose either Akuapem books on Asante speakers nor Asante books on Akuapem speakers, and books of both dialectal flavours should go into production. The Scottish Mission Book Depot could mitigate the severity of its losses by continuing to supply the old books for a time to areas where they were acceptable. This was the position at the end of 1950. No report of any subsequent improvement in the situation has been received.

#### PROSPECTS AND POSSIBILITIES

Such is the melancholy history of 'unification' in the Gold Coast. So far as the Twi dialects are concerned, there was for over a century a standard literary dialect established by the only sound means for such establishment—the production of a considerable literature. Through the recent growth of strong local feeling in another area it has now ceased to be accepted as the standard

literary dialect. To a European, accustomed to a standard literary form of his language in the midst of many local varieties of speech, it seems unnecessary that this should happen. But perhaps with a growing spirit of give-and-take between speakers and writers of different Twi dialects a true unification will ultimately emerge. Differences between the dialects of Twi are slight. They are greater, but not very great, between Twi and Fante, and even that unification, prematurely attempted some 20 years ago, may develop naturally at some period yet further in the future. Local feelings are so strong that it is unlikely that it can be brought about by any artificial synthesis.

In the meantime there is no reason why the production of books at school level should not proceed both in the Akuapem dialect and in the Asante dialect of Twi, and also, of course, in Fante. In secondary schools it is to be hoped that reading will be encouraged among pupils of any of the Akan dialectal areas of any books of general interest in any of these dialects. Similarly it is to be hoped that books of general literature for adults, whatever the dialect in which they are written, will be read by speakers of Akan dialects all over the country. Better advertisement, including a specific inter-dialectal appeal, should help to achieve this. So, by wider acquaintance with dialects other than their own, an ever-larger reading public may grow up to whom the fact that they are all Akans will be of more importance than that they speak this or that dialect, and writers by mutual dialectal borrowing, may gradually develop a yet richer Akan self-expression and a true Akan unification.

## THE ILOILO EXPERIMENT IN EDUCATION THROUGH THE VERNACULAR

(Pedro T. Orata)

One striking fact in many an underdeveloped country is the very wide difference existing between the homes of the schoolchildren and their school. Where the school is modern in every way, the homes are often as backward as ever—devoid of sanitary facilities, lacking in privacy, overcrowded, without the means of comfort, not to mention other features considered indispensable in the more progressive communities of industrialized countries. During school hours the child is in an environment that is almost the exact opposite of that which surrounds him during the rest of the day.

HOME AND SCHOOL LANGUAGES

The reasons for this are not difficult to find. In the Philippines, two stand out: first, the fact that 50 per cent of the parents of the schoolchildren have not had benefit of schooling and are illiterate; second, to make matters worse still, the fact that the language of the schools—English—is not that of the homes, which may be one of the 25 or more Filipino languages and dialects.<sup>1</sup> The result often is that the influence of the school upon the children is mostly theoretical and has very little chance of penetrating into their homes. For example, where a child is taught at school to open the windows at night to let in fresh air, the parents object on the grounds that ghosts and 'bad air' must be kept out. Where children are taught to isolate the dishes of a tuberculosis patient, the parents refuse to do so in the belief that this would be showing a lack of family affection. In every case where there is a conflict between school preaching and home practice, which happens all the time, the home wins.

There is therefore a sharp distinction between the schoolchildren who are literate in English and theoretically modern, and the adults who speak Filipino languages or dialects and are, for the most part, superstitious, backward and illiterate. This distinction, unfortunately, has hitherto tended to be accentuated, not diminished, by the schools, even in homes where the parents have had the benefit of schooling under the present system—the system which uses the English language as the medium of instruction. The reason for this curious situation is that, because of the limited education of the parents and the theoretical character of early Philippine education to which they have been exposed, reversion to the old ways of living has been the rule rather than the exception.

The earliest attempt to deal with this problem was undertaken by the Constitutional Convention which discussed this problem at length and later inserted a section in the Constitution of the Philippines providing that 'the National Assembly shall take steps towards the development and adoption of a common national language based on one of the existing native languages'. The creation of the Institute of National Language in 1937 by Commonwealth Act No. 184, the purpose of which was to develop a common

<sup>1</sup> Authorities do not agree on the number of Filipino languages and dialects. Retana claimed that there were 25 languages; Blumentrit estimated that there were 30; whereas Beyer listed as many as 43. Lopez believes that of the major ones there are only 12, namely: Batan, Iloko, Pangasinan, Pampanga, Sambal, Igorot and its branches, Tagalog, Bicol, Bisaya, Mangyan, Tagbanua, and Sulu-Magindanaw.

national language, started the implementation of this constitutional mandate. But instead of developing a truly national language based on a combination of the major languages, the institute recommended the adoption of Tagalog *in toto*. Actually, Tagalog is much less widely spoken and read in the Philippines than English, and is a foreign language to over 70 per cent of the Filipino people.

#### THE ILOILO EXPERIMENT

Realizing that this reform will not go any further than English in bridging the very wide gap between the school and the home, a number of Filipino educators have advocated the use of the vernacular as a medium of instruction in the early grades of the elementary school. One of the first to recommend this policy was Dr. Pedro Guiang, who began to practise his ideas in Ilocos Norte during the Japanese occupation, and in Cebu province after the war. As superintendent of schools in both provinces, Dr. Guiang developed courses of study and grammars in Iloko and Cebuano which the teachers in the primary grades (Grades I-IV) used side by side with English. His idea was to make the children literate in English and in their own language. I saw the work in Cebu in 1948, where the teachers taught Cebuano and English simultaneously. It was a modified translation method, to distinguish it from the direct method which is the practice in teaching English. Dr. Guiang claimed, and my observations of the work of his teachers in Cebu seemed to justify his optimism, that bilingualism was practicable, and that it was not necessary to abandon English in order to teach the children through their mother tongue.

Mr. Jose V. Aguilar, superintendent of Iloilo province for many years, is another advocate of the vernacular. Unlike Dr. Guiang, he approached the problem experimentally on the hypothesis that in the first two grades there should be taught one language at a time—in this case the vernacular. In the third grade, English was to be introduced.

The experiment began in July 1948. So far, we have the results of the study for three consecutive years—1948-49, 1949-50, and 1950-51.

#### *The Experiment during the First Year, 1948-49*

*Purpose of the Experiment.* The aim of the experiment during the first year was to determine the relative effectiveness of the local vernacular, Hiligaynon, and of English as media of instruction in

the first grade. More specifically, it was designed to answer the following questions:

1. As a medium of instruction, which of the two languages is more effective in teaching Grade I pupils to read?
2. Which of the two languages contributes more to the development of the ability to compute and solve simple arithmetic problems and exercises?
3. Which of the two languages is more effective in the field of social studies?
4. What is the extent of carry-over, if any, from Hiligaynon to English in the case of the experimental group, and from English to Hiligaynon, in the case of the control group?

*Method of Procedure.* Selection of Schools and Teachers. Seven elementary schools constituted the experimental group, and an equal number, the control group. In each group, one of the schools was in Iloilo City, three in a farming district, and three in a fishing district. In each district, care was taken that the schools were representative of the poorest, average, and richest economic levels. Twenty-nine teachers were chosen—12 for the experimental and 17 for the control group.<sup>1</sup>

Equating the Groups. Every care was exercised to equate the two groups of teachers on the basis of educational qualifications, experience, and teaching efficiency. The pupils in both groups were similarly matched in age, intelligence, economic status, and other factors.

Comparing Achievement. To measure achievement, three equivalent tests were used (one series in English and another in Hiligaynon), namely: Four tests in arithmetic (counting objects, counting by ones, twos, fours, etc., computation involving the four fundamental processes and simple fractions, and problem solving); five tests in reading (picture-word recognition, word meaning, picture-phrase recognition, sentence meaning, and paragraph meaning) and four tests in the social studies (selecting the correct behaviour depicted in pictures, selecting the correct answers to questions, Yes-No questions, and selecting answers to judgment questions). The so-called Critical Ratio technique was used to establish the

<sup>1</sup> It was believed advisable to include more classes in the control than in the experimental group, in the expectation that, because of language difficulty, there would be greater elimination in the first group—which turned out to be the case. Through this arrangement, it was possible to have a sufficient number of children left in the control group to match those in the experimental group. The precaution was well taken.



'confidence that can be placed in the resulting difference between the means (in achievement) of the two groups of pupils'.

*Results and Conclusions.* In the light of the facts presented and under the conditions in which the experiment was conducted, the results were as follows:

'1. That the use of the local vernacular, Hiligaynon, as a medium of instruction was more productive of teaching results in Grade I than the use of English. Grade I pupils who were taught reading, arithmetic and social studies through the vernacular were noticeably superior in these subjects to the Grade I pupils taught through English.

'2. That there seemed to be a transfer of training from the vernacular to English and from English to the vernacular, the amount of carry-over being approximately the same in both cases'<sup>1</sup>

Roughly, the classes taught in the vernacular covered from one-sixth to one-half more ground in reading; one-tenth to one-half more in arithmetic; one-tenth to one-half more in social studies. Basing his opinion on these results, Mr. Aguilar predicted: 'It is now clear that by the end of 1949-50 (after two years) these classes will, pretty generally, have done about four years' work in reading, nearly three years' work in arithmetic, and from three and a half to four years' work in social studies.'<sup>2</sup>

### *The Second Year of the Experiment, 1949-50*

The purpose of the experiment during its second year being to verify the findings of the study in Grade I—to determine whether and to what extent the pupils in Grade II learned faster through the medium of the vernacular, Hiligaynon, or through English—the problem and method of procedure were identical to those of the first year, and need not therefore be described again. The only difference was in the number of teachers in the control group—17 in the first year and 15 in the second year. There were 12 teachers in each experimental group in both years. The results of the second year of the experiment were about the same as those of the first year, namely:

'1. That the local vernacular, Hiligaynon, is a much more effective medium of instruction in the first two primary grades than

<sup>1</sup> Iloilo, *Results of the Experiment with the Vernacular*, p. 23, 'Division Memorandum', no. 51, S. 1950.

<sup>2</sup> Jose V. Aguilar, 'The Influence of Language on Community Life', Part II: *Education in Rural Areas for Better Living*, 1950 Yearbook of the Philippine Association of School Superintendents, pp. 172-74.

English. This fact is particularly true in the social studies, language, reading and arithmetic.

- '2. That there is transfer of training in reading from Hiligaynon to English and from English to Hiligaynon, the amount of carry-over being approximately the same in both cases.'<sup>1</sup>

*The Third Year of the Experiment, 1950-51*

At the beginning of the third year of the experiment, 1950-51, English was used as the medium of instruction in both groups. The problems raised were: 'Does the experimental group still maintain its lead over the control group in spite of the fact that the language of instruction is new to the pupils? If it does, is the difference between the two groups statistically significant?'<sup>2</sup>

The procedure being the same as that used in the first two years, it would not be necessary to describe it again. 'It will be sufficient merely to state that the same pupils and teachers were included in the present report, except that samples were taken of the schools, teachers, and pupils for the purposes of the study.' Also, this study 'covers only the period from the beginning of the . . . school year to December 8, 1950', instead of the end of the school year in April 1951, as was the case in the first two years of the study.<sup>3</sup>

The results of the third year experiment led the writer to the same conclusion which was established in the first two years of the study—this in spite of the fact that the language of instruction, English, favoured the control group most decidedly—namely: 'that the experimental group continued to surpass the control group, the difference being statistically significant in arithmetic and predominantly in favour with respect to language and reading'.<sup>4</sup> This fact seemed to prove that the superiority of the vernacular as a medium of instruction remained in spite of change in the medium of instruction to English.

What was most unexpected was the fact that the experimental group—the group instructed in the vernacular during the first two years of the study—caught up with the control group in knowledge of English after six months of being exposed to this language as the

<sup>1</sup> Jose V. Aguilar, *A Report on the Results of the Second Year of the Experiment in Iloilo with the Use of Hiligaynon and of English as Medium of Instruction. Divisional Memorandum* (Iloilo), no. 51, S. 1950. Iloilo City, 1950, 17 pp. (attached).

<sup>2</sup> Tito Clemente, *A Report on the Third Year of the Iloilo Experiment*, p. 1, Enclosure to *Divisional Memorandum* (Iloilo), no. 15, S. 1951.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. p. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. p. 6.

medium of instruction. This led Mr. Aguilar to the view that bilingualism—starting with the vernacular and continuing with English as medium of instruction after the first two years—is no longer a hope or hypothesis as expressed by McKinley, Butte and Bocobo,<sup>1</sup> but an accomplished fact. This is what Mr. Aguilar said, in summarizing the Iloilo experiment:

There is no point now in referring again to the extraordinary advantage of learning in the vernacular to that in English in the first two grades. The other result may bear repeating because to most people it was unexpected: faster educational maturation in the mother tongue together with age increase caused, in the third grade, speedier learning in English in about six months than in the same language in two years and six months. These are the results of objective pencil-and-paper tests. We now have the results, at the end of the third grade, on free expression in English as represented by oral reading, spoken language, and written language. In the first two (oral reading and spoken language), children with a two-year foundation in the vernacular were slightly better; in the last (written language), children who started with English in the beginning (first) grade were *only slightly better than those that were taught in Hiligaynon during the first two years.*<sup>2</sup>

#### *Non-Academic Results of the Experiment*

The foregoing results refer only to classroom achievement. Additional examples of the superiority of the experimental group have been gathered which tend to make the case for the vernacular stronger still. These concern ability to organize and express thought, ability and interest in telling news and stories, regularity of school attendance, social application, and others. On these, the testimony of the teachers and the parents was obtained.

*Opinion of the Teachers.* On the ability to organize and express thought: Of those using the vernacular, seven rated their classes above average, and one, excellent. All the eight teachers using English as medium of instruction rated their classes as average.

<sup>1</sup> References are to President William McKinley's early policy of 'enlightened colonialism'; to George C. Butte's (one time Governor-General of the Philippines), unorthodox advocacy of using the vernacular as medium of instruction, and to Dr. Jorge Bocobo's (former Secretary of Public Instruction) view held at the beginning of American occupation that English and the vernacular be taught simultaneously.

<sup>2</sup> Adapted from José V. Aguilar, *The Significance of Bilingualism in Philippine Education*. 1952, typescript, p. 4 (our italics).

To the question: 'Which of your classes has the greater desire to read and write?' the answer was the one that began its studies in Hiligaynon. The teachers stressed the phonetic case of the vernacular, and the fact that it is the home language. . . . On the application of instruction in personal traits, in social traits, and in health habits, five teachers consistently rated their classes conducted in Hiligaynon above average; one rated them average in social traits and above average in the rest. All the eight teachers who conducted their classes in English rated them average *in regard to these traits*.<sup>1</sup>

The parents were asked specific questions as to the causes of the stronger desire, ability, or traits of their children with respect to certain situations—whether instruction in Hiligaynon, in English, or other causes were responsible. The reactions of the parents were as follows:

1. Did children have a greater desire to attend school when taught in Hiligaynon or in English? 230 parents felt that the children preferred Hiligaynon; 21, English; 2 thought that the child's attitude was due to other causes; 36 thought that it was a matter of indifference.
2. Greater love for reading and writing? 234, Hiligaynon; 18, English; 1, other causes; 36, same or no love.
3. More ability in re-telling news and stories? 222, Hiligaynon; 20, English, 1, other causes; 47, same or no ability.
4. Greater desire to transmit to parents what had been studied in school on industry, self-confidence, respect of flag, love of things Philippine, etc.? 214, Hiligaynon; 18, English, 57, same or no desire.
5. Greater respect for parents as shown by the following: obedience to commands; saying 'goodbye'; kissing hands, etc.? 233, Hiligaynon; 11, English; 3, other causes; 42, same or no respect.
6. Better health habits such as washing the face, combing the hair, brushing teeth, changing clothes, bathing, etc.? 198, Hiligaynon 18, English; 3, other causes; 71, same or no trait.
7. More ability in such home activities as spreading or rolling sleeping mats, putting out the kitchen fire, sweeping the floor, cleaning the surroundings, fetching water and firewood, etc.? 194, Hiligaynon; 23, English; 3, other causes; 70, same or no ability.

<sup>1</sup> Adapted from José V. Aguilar, *Education in Rural Areas for Better Living*, p. 175. (our italics).

*Mother Tongue bridges School, Home, Community*

Mr. Aguilar did not stop at experimenting with the use of the vernacular as the medium of instruction. He also made a direct attack upon the problems of community life by requiring the teachers to devote a part of their time to community work. Instead of confining themselves to teaching the three Rs, teachers visited homes and taught parents to build water closets, to plant vegetables and raise poultry and pigs, construct drainage systems, prepare balanced diets, tend children and the aged, and improve the privacy of the homes. In class, teachers made these activities the bases of studies—reading, language, arithmetic, and civics. Pupils visited home gardens, the town post office, the doctor's clinic, the agricultural experiment station, and other public places. Later, discussing what they had learned through observation, they were led to show to their parents how their knowledge could be applied to the problems of the home and community. Then, children and adults, using the same language, began to work together to improve living standards. The teachers acted as guides, also using the native language, and exemplified in their own homes the practices they had preached.<sup>1</sup>

There is far to go, as Mr. Aguilar modestly admits, but results are already fulfilling the promise of uniting the older and younger generations—thanks to a common language—instead of perpetuating the existing division between them. Speaking on this—bridging the school, and home and community through the mother tongue—Mr. Aguilar said:

‘It is not at all strange that in experimental rural communities teachers have scored initial successes in social and economic betterment by exploiting the mother tongue. In such communities the local language used in the lower grades bridges the home and the school. Parents testify that the vernacular “opens the children’s minds” and add . . . “they know how to explain at home what they learn in school”—this last thought being more plainly stated by scores of parents thus: “We like it very much because they soon learn to read papers and we are not behind with the news.”’

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Pedro T. Orata, ‘Bridging the Gap between School and Community in Iloilo, Philippines’, *School and Society*, 741, 25 August 1951, pp. 116-17.

## THE FINNO-UGRIAN EXPERIMENT

(Aurélien Sauvageot)

The problems raised by the use of vernaculars in education and other fields having been discussed by a committee of experts and the conditions desirable or essential for such use defined, it will be of interest to review, in the light of the committee's conclusions, the reforms introduced in such countries as Finland, Hungary and Estonia, where the indigenous tongues have been renovated to adapt them to the expression of modern thought.

Until comparatively recently Finnish, Estonian and Hungarian were in the same position as numerous languages are today: they could express only those concepts native to local life and experience. All three countries had been out-distanced by those in which modern civilization grew up; and during the last years of the eighteenth century and even for much of the nineteenth, the acquisition of a satisfactory degree of culture or technical knowledge was only possible for a person speaking Finnish, Estonian, or Hungarian through the medium of a foreign language or languages better fitted to reflect the world of his day.

In the eighteen-thirties Finns of peasant stock could only make contact with the thought of the age through Swedish (and even, in many cases, German) while for Hungarian aristocrats such as Kazinczy or Stephen Széchenyi, the attainment of full intellectual stature was dependent on a thorough knowledge of German and French, not to mention Latin. The early Estonian intellectuals of the nineteenth century had to rely on German as a vehicle of thought, to the point of losing the power of expressing themselves spontaneously in their native tongue.

In all these countries the use of the native language was restricted to the needs of everyday life, and he who wished to enter the realm of science or some other abstract conception had to change languages or be committed to a struggle with an inadequate vehicle of expression which hampered the development of any original thought.

## REVIVAL OF HUNGARIAN, FINNISH AND ESTONIAN LANGUAGES

The restoration of Hungarian unity and of relative autonomy, the separation of Finland and Sweden in 1809, the dawn of Estonian nationalism and numerous other factors which cannot here be detailed, led intellectual circles in the countries concerned to

conceive the notion of re-invigorating and expanding their native tongues. The indications are that the idea originated with the translators of German, French or English texts whose work had made them most keenly conscious of the inadequacy of their own languages; it also took root in teaching establishments at all levels, where the lack of textbooks was serious, while foreign manuals could not be translated into the vernacular unless the latter's deficiencies were first made good.

Thus little by little an urge developed to renovate the local language by giving it the means of rendering as faithfully as possible those foreign texts whose translation was essential. It was everywhere realized that language should not be an obstacle to culture and that culture could only take the form of assimilation of the knowledge and ideas of countries in the vanguard of progress.

The main effort was directed to augmenting vocabulary and making phraseology more flexible, but attempts were also made to adjust syntax and even to recast the morphology of each nation's language with a view to supplying the missing categories it needed to reflect modern thought as expressed in German, French or English.

#### EXPANSION AND DEVELOPMENT OF VOCABULARIES

Up to a point, vocabularies had already grown spontaneously—i.e. by borrowing—and Finnish and Hungarian of the last years of the eighteenth century and Estonian in the middle of the nineteenth bristled with borrowed terms of which many had not been fully assimilated. Finns of the early nineteenth century spoke a horrid mixture of Finnish and Swedish, while a jargon was current in Hungarian intellectual circles consisting largely of words from German, French, Latin and other tongues.

The first concern of the reformers was to remedy this state of affairs by substituting, for the borrowed terms, words compounded from purely native elements. Thus the word *materia* was replaced in Hungarian by *anyag*, on the analogy of the Latin word (*anya*, *mater* plus -g, a suffix of uncertain meaning indicating derivation), and in Finnish by *aine*, probably on the analogy of the Swedish term borrowed from German (which translates *matière* by *Stoff*). As we see, both words imitated the structure of those they were to translate and are thus no more than copies in native materials, formed on identical principles and taking no account of the genius of the language.

In some instances even the actual sound of the foreign word was

imitated. The Latin *elementum* is *elem* in Hungarian, a word formed from the root of the word *elő* (forepart, front). While *elő* is admittedly used for such direct derivations as *előd* (forerunner), *előny* (advantage) and *elnök* (president—from the German *Vorsitzender*) the reasoning in this instance is that an 'element' is the basic constituent of anything and therefore what comes first. Similarly, in Finnish, Samuel Roos (1792–1878) selected *Kuasu*—a word which means 'icy fog' in certain Finnish dialects—to translate the German *Gas*.

In other cases a conceptual analysis of the word to be translated was undertaken, after which use was made of those autochthonous elements which seemed to lend themselves best to the expression of the concept examined. It was on these lines that the great Finnish linguist Elias Lönnrot, a doctor by profession, created the word *kuume* to translate the Swedish *feber* (fever). What is fever in point of fact? A state in which one is hot. *Kuume* was therefore formed from the vocable *kuuma* (hot) by the addition of the 'derivative' suffix -e, one of whose uses is for the formation of words expressive of a state. Thus, etymologically, *kuume* means 'the state of being hot'.

A further and even bolder development was the creation by the reformers of new words from nothing. In Estonia, J. Aavik, whose seventieth anniversary has recently been celebrated, gave the language such terms as *roim*, inspired by the English 'crime', but which he formed artificially on the theory that the sounds *r*, *m*, *o* and *i* best suggested the idea of crime or felony. Similarly, Hungarian has acquired such words as *élc* (quip, jest) on the grounds that *é* (written *e* in Hungarian) has a caustic sound, while the word *él* means the cutting edge of a blade.

By and large, a point was made of making new words as short as possible. The Hungarian reformers went very far in this direction, in complete opposition of the native genius of their language, which tended to more complex compound derivatives. From the verb *tanít* (to teach) they extracted *tan* (doctrine); from another, *gyárt* (to fashion), *gyár* (workshop, factory); from the word *gépely* (windlass), *gép* (machine), etc.

Every variety of method was used concurrently; archaisms were restored to current use and dialect words introduced, both often with new meanings; new words were made from existing roots; and in particular the introduction of compound words was carried to the point of exaggeration [Hungarian: *dicsvágy* (ambition) formed from *vágy* (desire), and *dics* (glory) itself a manufactured word deriving from *dicsér* (to praise); Finnish: *hajamielinen* (distracted, absent-minded) from *haja* (scattered) and *mieli* (mind), etc.].



## DEVELOPING THE SENTENCE STRUCTURE

Concurrently with what was done to enrich the vocabulary, an effort was also made to render the structure of the sentence more flexible and to make the expression of thought more sensitive or more precise.

There was a general move to standardize the written language, involving the elimination of grammatical forms judged faulty, redundant, over-complex, ambiguous, etc. In Finnish the process even went to the length of adopting forms borrowed from dialects which had not hitherto contributed to the formation of the written language, based as it was too narrowly on the spoken tongues of the west and south-west. Simultaneously the sound *d* was brought into normal use; this had not hitherto been among the phonemes of the majority of the spoken forms, but was clearly useful and clarified the paradigm of certain words. In Hungarian there was standardization of numerous forms, more particularly possessives, and various suffixes were made uniform; while a great simplification in the conjugation of verbs ultimately resulted from the abolition of the 'past narrative' and of the compound preterites of the indicative, though the process proved a lengthy one and was only finally completed at the close of the nineteenth century. More recently, in Estonian, at the instance of J. Aavik, the paradigm of the declension has been standardized and certain morphemes have been differentiated where there was a risk of confusion (e.g. between the *-ste* of some adverbs and the *-ste* of the genitive plural of words in *-s*, etc.).

The order of words in the sentence and the construction of compound sentences have become more flexible as a result of the desire of translators, many of whom are great writers, as far as possible to render the movement of an original which might be in German, French or English. They therefore sought to follow the order of the original, word for word, in their translations, even at the risk of producing sentences in which the order of the words transgressed the rules of the language of the translation.

## RESULTS OF THE INNOVATIONS

As has been pointed out, these innovations were the work of the intellectual leaders, with varying degrees of co-operation from the public. They were the fruit of conscious and systematic effort by men who had declared open war on linguistic convention and stagnation—in Finland, Elias Lönnrot and August Ahlqvist; in

Hungary, Dugonics, Bartzafalvi, Kazinczy, Kölcsey, Szemere, the great poet Vörösmarty, etc.; in Estonia, more recently, Aavik and his followers—and sought to create a new written language having all the desirable qualities and capable of expressing accurately and effectively the thought not merely of their own countries but of the world.

The innovations naturally met with opposition. In Hungary, more especially, there was a violent dispute among grammarians, which was finally won by the reformers. In Finland, the battle for the language was to some extent associated with the struggle for social and national emancipation. In Estonia, the course of events was similar.

Between 1790 and 1948, Hungary was a battlefield on which 'neologists' and 'orthologists' were continually at grips. The country became a forcing-bed of new words. Some writers, carried away by their own enthusiasm, invented vocables by the thousand, most of which never achieved general acceptance; Paul Bugat alone, seeking to provide Hungarian with a natural science terminology, propounded no less than 40,000 terms of his own creation.

What have all these efforts produced? As far as Hungarian is concerned, the result has been more than 12,000 new words and a completely transformed vocabulary. As the much lamented poet, Dézseri Kostolányi, put it, a modern Hungarian could no longer express himself in his own language if he were denied all the words thus manufactured. In any kind of connected conversation or written text, recognized neologisms account for from 30-40 per cent of the whole; and much the same would be true of modern Finnish. In the latter case, the majority of the books published today would be hopelessly emasculated if one eliminated all the artificial words created since the beginning of the nineteenth century. In Estonia the reform of the language has had less spectacular results, but only because it is relatively recent, beginning as it did about 1910. It has, however, already made its mark on the language and given it an entirely new complexion.

Thus the zeal of the reformers has not been in vain.

## CONCLUSION

What lessons are to be drawn from the three experiments briefly described above?

The first is that a relatively long time was needed for the improvements in question to gain acceptance in current use. Today, however, this could be shortened since we now have channels of

communication—the printed word, broadcasting, the press, the schools, etc.—of an effectiveness then unknown.

The next point is that the reform movement in Finland and Hungary began considerably before the establishment of linguistics as a science. In very many cases those behind the movement had not the remotest idea of what the 'mechanism of language' implied; theirs was guess-work, aided solely by their feelings and sometimes inspired by ideals that were more metaphysical or romantic than was desirable. Even more serious was the fact that the ultimate end pursued was apt to vary with the man. Some wanted to provide their countrymen with a medium of expression sharing what they claimed to be the good points of the language of some great nation whose culture had won their admiration or esteem; others were mainly concerned to fashion an original instrument which would exploit the full potentialities of their own civilization rather than provide an avenue to foreign culture; others, again, sought to devise the perfect language capable of conveying, in finest detail, the thought alike of individuals and of the mass.

Hence there was lack of consistency within the reform movement, both in the methods advocated and in the objects sought. Most of the leaders were not experts in the science of language but, all too often, amateurs, intellectuals, scholars and pedagogues and, more rarely, writers.

An interesting point is that with the emergence of linguistics as a subject, most of its practitioners, being concerned essentially with the history of language, were against the innovations and preferred the policy of a return to the past, by the restoration of the ancient tongue. In their case, too, it never occurred to them to begin by considering what a language was and what was needed to enable it to work. With very few exceptions, linguists, until recent years, concerned themselves merely with the history of language and comparative philology. Finland had to turn to a doctor, Elias Lönnrot, for a dictionary of contemporary Finnish, while Ahlqvist took more interest in etymology and comparative grammar.

In the light of the above considerations it is not surprising that the concomitants of reform in all three countries should have been much wasted effort and loss of time, and various flaws calling for gradual elimination.

For lack of clear appreciation of the goal and real nature of linguistic progress, the reformers made changes not all of which were desirable or represented genuine improvements, the most glaring examples being J. Aavik's proposed additions, to the Estonian language, of new cases in the declension of nouns and a new infinitive form for the verb. The latter (the translative case of

the infinitive in *-ma*) has no advantage over the subordinate clause it is designed to replace, and both proposals go clean against the whole tendency to simplification which appears in the evolution of modern languages; the same is true of the attempt to endow Hungarian with a passive and a future simple, with both of which it could very well dispense without loss of clarity.

Hence the conclusion which must follow from any assessment of the comparative merits and defects of the innovations is that, while on balance they converted these languages from the vernaculars they were (or to which they had sunk) into civilized tongues capable of expressing adequately the thought of the age, the same results would have been secured more quickly, surely and economically if the work had been in the charge of experts with an informed appreciation of what needed to be done.

However we now have proof that, given co-operation by a people's natural leaders, the calculated action of the linguist can effectively modernize an idiom which has sunk to being a mere vernacular: and grammar and vocabulary can be developed to fit the requirements of any desired category of thought.

To secure the maximum results in the minimum time from any similar experiment, we need do no more today than apply the procedures which modern linguistics provide.

The pilot project for the modernization of a vernacular tongue should be planned in three stages:

1. The respects in which the vernacular in question falls short of the civilized language or languages it is desired to emulate should be accurately determined.
2. In the light of the deficiencies disclosed, the requisite amendments to grammar, vocabulary, etc. should be worked out.
3. The amendments should be subjected to the test of use in both the written and the spoken language and any readjustments made which this test shows to be essential.

Unesco would undoubtedly perform a useful task by providing aid in various forms for peoples wishing to convert their vernaculars into civilized languages. It is for its administration to determine what steps should be taken.

# A P P E N D I X I

## TENTATIVE CLASSIFICATION OF THE LANGUAGES SPOKEN IN THE WORLD TODAY

The knowledge which linguistic science has of the existing relationships between the languages spoken in the world today is only partial and in many cases based on insufficient data. Only a small number of languages is well known, and there are many that will probably die out before being recorded. For the rest there are not enough trained linguists to study them with a view to establishing their kinship. To establish linguistic relationships is a task which needs a careful examination of enough data, an examination which only well-trained linguists can make. To say that a group of languages are mutually related is to say that they have diverged from a common ancestor.

The following are some tentative divisions by main stocks and families of the languages spoken in the world, according to certain authorities.

The present classification is in process of constant revision, and there is a trend towards reducing the number of stocks and families as linguists discover new links between them.

For sources see 'Classification of Languages', in Bibliography, p. 147.

### AFRICA<sup>1</sup>

#### NIGER CONGO (Bantu)

West Atlantic

Mandingo

Senufo

Mossi-Grunshi

Central Togo

Kwa

West Ivory Coast Lagoon

Central Ivory Coast Lagoon

East Ivory Coast Lagoon

Ijo

Central Branch

Adamawa

Bute

Eastern Branch

SONGHAI

CENTRAL SUDANIC

CENTRAL SAHARAN

EASTERN SUDANIC

Southern Branch

Nilotic

Great Lakes

Nubian

<sup>1</sup> After Greenberg, 1950.

Beir-Didinga  
 Barca  
 Tabi  
 Merarit  
 Dagv  
 AVROASIATIC (Hamito-Semitic)  
 Ancient Egyptian  
 Semitic  
 Berber  
 Cushite  
 Chad  
 CLICK  
 Khoisan  
 Northern Group  
 Central Group  
 Southern Group  
 Sandawe  
 Hatt  
 MABAN  
 MIMI (of Nachtigal)  
 FUR  
 TEMAINIAN  
 KORDOFANIAN  
 KOMAN  
 BERTA  
 KUNAMA  
 NYANGYA

## THE AMERICAN CONTINENTS

### NORTH AMERICA

ESQUIMO-ALEUT  
 NA-DENE  
 Athapaskan  
 Eyak  
 Tlingit  
 Haida  
 ALGONQUIAN-WAKESHAN  
 Beothukan  
 Algonquian  
 Kutenai  
 Salishan  
 Wakeshan  
 Chimakuan  
 Yurok  
 Wiyot  
 MACRO-PENUTIAN  
 Miwok  
 Costanoan  
 Yokuts

Maidu  
 Wintun  
 Takelma  
 Coos  
 Siuylaw and Yakonan  
 Kalapuya  
 Chinook  
 Tsimshian  
 Shahaptian  
 Wailatpuan  
 Lutuanian  
 Uto-Aztecan  
 Mayan  
 Mizocuavean  
 Totonacan  
 HOKAN-SIOUAN  
 Karok  
 Chimariko  
 Shasta-Achomawi  
 Yanan  
 Pomo  
 Washoan  
 Esselenian  
 Yuman  
 Salinan  
 Chumashan  
 Tonkawa  
 Coahuilteco  
 Karankawa  
 Yuki  
 Keresan  
 Tunikan  
 Atakapa  
 Chitimachan  
 Iroquian  
 Caddoan  
 Siouan  
 Yuchi  
 Natchez-Muskogean  
 Timuquan  
 Yuman  
 Seri  
 Tequistlateco  
 Subtiaba-Tlapanec  
 Pakawa  
 Tamaulipecan  
 Jananbrian  
 Waikuri  
 MACRO-OTOMANGUEAN  
 Otomi  
 Mixtecan  
 Chinantecan  
 Zapotecan  
 Mazatecan  
 Mangul

TARASCAN  
XINGAN  
LENCAN  
JICAQUEAN  
PAYAN  
MACRO-CHIBCHAN  
  Misumalpan  
  Chibcha

SOUTH AMERICA<sup>1</sup>

CHIBCHA  
ARAWAK  
CARIB  
TUCANO  
QUECHUA  
PANO  
TUPI-GUARANI  
OTUKÉ-BORORO  
CHIKUITO  
CHAPAKURA  
TAKANA  
MOSETAN  
AYMARA  
ZAMUÇO  
MASCOY  
DIAGUITA  
GUAYCURÚ  
CHARRÚA  
PUZLICHE  
TEHUELCHÉ  
ARAUCANIAN  
GE (Tapuya)  
MATACO  
MENIMEHE  
OKAINA  
KAYUVAVA

## ASIA AND THE PACIFIC

INDO-EUROPEAN  
  Greek  
  Armenian (3 main dialect  
    clusters)  
  Indo-Iranian  
    Iranian  
      Persian (or Pehlevi)  
      Caspian (about 5 dialects)  
      Kurdish (3 main dialects)  
      Pamir (a group of about 8)

main dialects spoken in India)  
African (Pusho) (2 main  
  variants)  
Baluchi (2 main dialects)  
Ossete (2 main dialects spoken  
  in U.S.S.R. Other languages  
  spoken in the Turkestan)

Indic  
  Marathi  
  Gujerati  
  Punjabi  
  Rajasthani  
  Western Hindi  
  Eastern Hindi  
  Oriya  
  Bihari  
  Bengali

DRAVIDIAN  
  Tamil  
  Malayalam  
  Canarese  
  Telugu  
  Erahui (or Baludistan)  
  Gondi  
  Bhil  
  Kui  
  Kurukh  
    and other minor dialects.

SEMITIC  
  Arabic (South Arabic and Arabic  
    —about 4 and 9 dialects  
    respect.)

  Hebrew  
FINNO-UGRIAN  
  Samoyede (5 main languages  
    with about 40 dialects)

TURCO-TATAR OR ALTAIC  
  Turkish  
  Kirgiz  
  Uzbek  
  Azerbaijani  
    and 23 more main languages  
  Yakut  
  Mongol (about 20 main dialects)

TUNGUSE-MANCHU  
  Tunguse  
  Manchu  
    about 22 main dialects  
INDO-CHINESE (or Sino-Tibetan)  
  Chinese (4 main dialects)  
  Tai-Siamese (large number of  
    dialects)

<sup>1</sup> After Ray, 1945.

Tibet-Burman  
 Tibetan (about 30 dialects)  
 Burmese (2 main clusters)  
 Bodo-Naga-Kachin (about 50 languages)  
 Lolo (about 6 languages)  
 Hyperborean  
 Chukchee  
 Koryak  
 Yukaguir  
 Kanychadal  
 Yenisei-Ostyak-Cottian  
 MUNDA (Himalayas and Chota Nagpur India) More than 30 dialects  
 MON-KHMER  
 Cambogian  
 Annamite  
 and more than 20 other languages and dialects.  
 GILYAK  
 AINU  
 JAPANESE  
 KOREAN  
 MALAYO-POLYNESIAN (Austronesian or 'Austic)  
 Malayan (or Indonesian)  
 Malay  
 Bahasa Indonesia  
 Formosan  
 Javanese  
 Sudanese  
 Maduran  
 Balinese  
 Philippine languages  
 Malagasy  
 Melanesian  
 Solomon Islands languages  
 Fijian  
 New Guinea, etc.  
 Micronesian  
 Gilbert  
 Marshall  
 Caroline  
 Marianne  
 Jap, etc.  
 Polynesian  
 Maori (New Zealand)  
 Samoan  
 Tongan  
 Tahitian  
 Hawaian  
 Easter Island, etc.  
 NON-MELANESIAN (or Papuan)  
 AUSTRALIAN

## EUROPE

### INDO-EUROPEAN STOCK

Albanian  
 Armenian  
 Germanic  
 Alsatian  
 English  
 Farøe Islands language  
 Danish  
 Dutch  
 Flemish  
 Frisian  
 German  
 Icelandic  
 Norwegian  
 Letzenburger  
 Swedish  
 Yiddish  
 Baltic (or Balto-Slavic)  
 Lithuanian (Poland, Germany)  
 Celtic  
 Breton  
 Gaelic  
 Irish  
 Manx  
 Welsh  
 Greek  
 Gypsy  
 Romance  
 Catalan  
 French  
 Galician  
 Italian  
 Judæo-Spanish  
 Portuguese  
 Provençal  
 Romansh (or Rhaeto-Romanian)  
 Rumanian  
 Spanish (or Castilian)  
 Walloon  
 Macedo-Rumanian  
 Slavic  
 Bulgarian  
 Czech and Slovak  
 Polish  
 Ruthenian (or Ukranian), (Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania)  
 Russian (Rumania, Poland, Bulgaria, Finland)  
 Serbo-Croat



Slovene  
 Wend (or Lusatian Serb)  
 White Russian (Poland)  
 URAL-ALTAIC STOCK  
 Finno-Ugrian  
 Finnish  
 Lapp  
 Magyar (or Hungarian)

Turkish (Turco-Tatar or Altaic)  
 Karaite (Poland)  
 Turkish  
 SEMITIC-HAMITIC STOCK  
 Semitic  
 Hebrew  
 Maltese  
 BASQUE

## A P P E N D I X II

### TERMS OF REFERENCE OF THE UNESCO MEETING OF SPECIALISTS ON THE USE OF VERNACULAR LANGUAGES IN EDUCATION

Paris, 15 November-5 December 1951

The terms of reference are contained in Resolution 9.311 adopted by the General Conference of Unesco at its Fifth Session, in 1950: '9.311 . . . to undertake an over-all study of the question of indigenous or national languages of native populations as vehicles of instruction in schools.'

A further definition was given in the Director-General's circular letter to Member States (CL/507):

'After having considered the various problems which this subject raises, both in sovereign States and in non-self-governing territories, I have come to the conclusion that the meeting of experts would produce better results if the study recommended by Resolution 9.311 were enlarged so as to cover the use of vernacular languages out of school, that is in adult and fundamental education, as well as in school. Furthermore, participants in this meeting will be invited to examine the 'related problem of teaching in languages other than the vernacular', from which, in most cases, the question of teaching in the vernacular cannot be isolated. Lastly, while dealing primarily with the use of vernacular languages in education, these experts will also outline a study of the psychological and social aspects of the question.'

The meeting was invited also to take note of Resolution 329 (IV) adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations at its Fourth Session:

'The General Assembly . . . invites the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization to undertake an over-all study of the question (of preserving and developing the languages of the indigenous peoples of the non-self-governing territories) more particularly the measures which might be taken with a view to the speediest use of indigenous languages as vehicles of instruction in schools, taking into consideration the desires of the inhabitants and taking account in such a study of the experience of other States in this matter.'

The meeting was attended by the following members:  
Mr. S. T. Alisjahbana (see p. 95);

- Dr. C. C. Berg (Chairman), Professor of Austronesian Languages, Netherlands University, Leyden;
- Dr. P. A. W. Cook, Union of South Africa Department of Education;
- M. M. Griaule, President of the Commission des affaires culturelles à l'assemblée de l'Union française;
- Dr. S. A. Husain, Professor, Jamia Millia Institute, Delhi, India;
- Dr. A. Isidro, Professor and Head of the Department of Education, University of the Philippines;
- Dr. Tan Gwan Leong, Professor, State Training College for Teachers, Rangoon, Burma;
- Dr. A. E. M. Meeussen, Secretary of the Commission de linguistique, Ministère des colonies, Belgium;
- Dr. Kenneth L. Pike (Rapporteur), Executive Director of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, U.S.A., Mexico and Peru;
- Dr. A. Sauvageot (Rapporteur) (see p. 32);
- Dr. M. Swadesh, Research Assistant in Linguistics, Columbia University, New York;
- Mr. W. E. F. Ward (Vice-Chairman), Colonial Office, London;
- The Hon. Miss Camilla H. Wedgwood (see p. 103).
- Temporary member: Miss M. Bryan of the International African Institute, London, taking the place of Mr. Darryl Ford, Director of the Institute, who was not able to attend.
- Observers: Dr. W. Benson, United Nations; Dr. A. Kunst, United Nations.

## B I B L I O G R A P H Y

This is a short classified bibliography for further reading. Items marked were used for the preparation of tables of Appendix I.

### LANGUAGE AND LINGUISTICS

- BLOCH Bernard, and TRAGER, George L. *Outline of Linguistic Analysis*, Special publication of the Linguistic Society of America, Baltimore, Linguistic Society of America, 1942. 82 pp.
- BLOOMFIELD, Leonard. *Language*, New York, Henry Holt & Co. [1950]. 564 pp.\*
- BODMER, Frederick. *The Loom of Language*. New York, W. W. Norton & Co. [1944]. 692 pp.
- GRAY, Louis Herbert. *Foundations of Language*. New York, Macmillan, 1939. 530 pp.
- HOMBURGER, Liliás. *Le langage et les langues; introduction aux études linguistiques*. Bibliothèque scientifique, Paris, Payot, 1951. 256 pp.
- International Congress of Linguists, Sixth, Paris, 1948. *Proceedings*. Published under the auspices of CIPL with the assistance of Unesco, Paris, Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1949. 608 pp.
- MARTINET, André. 'Interlinguistique; rapport préliminaire,' in International Congress of Linguists, Sixth, Paris, 1948. *Proceedings*. Paris, Librairie Klincksieck, 1949 pp. 93-112.
- MAROUZEAU, J. *Lexique de la terminologie linguistique, français, allemand, anglais, italien*. 3rd ed. Enlarged and revised, Paris, Librairie orientaliste, Paul Geuthner, 1951. 265 pp.
- MIGLIARINI, Bruno. *Che cos'è un vocabolario?* 2nd ed., Firenze, Felice Le Monnier, 1951. 127 pp.
- NIDA, Eugene A. *Morphology: The Descriptive Analysis of Words*. University of Michigan Publications, 'Linguistics', v. 2, 2nd and completely new ed., Ann Arbor, Mich., University of Michigan Press, 1949. 322 pp.
- PIKE, Kenneth L. *Phonemics: A Technique for Reducing Languages to Writing*. University of Michigan Publications, 'Linguistics', v. 3, Ann Arbor, Mich., University of Michigan Press, 1947. 254 pp.
- POP, Sever. *La dialectologie; aperçu historique et méthodes d'enquêtes linguistiques*. Université de Louvain, Recueil de travaux d'histoire et de philologie, 3e série, fasc. 39, Louvain, Chez l'auteur, 185 Ave. des Alliés; Gembloux, Imp. J. Duculot [1950] 2 v.
- SAPIR, Edward. *Selected Writings of Edward Sapir in Language, Culture and Personality*. Ed. by David Mandelbaum, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1949. 617 pp.
- South Pacific Commission. *Survey of Linguistic Research*. By A. Capell, Project no. 6, Sydney, 1950, 3 v. Processed [Final ed. on the press].
- WEIGHTMAN, J. G. *On Language and Writing*. London, Sylvan Press, 1947. 95 pp.

### LANGUAGE AND SOCIETY

- DAUZAT, Albert. *L'Europe linguistique*. Paris, Payot, 1940. 268 pp.
- DURRANT, E. D. *The Language Problem, its History and Solution*. Rickmans-

- worth, Herts., England, The Esperanto Publishing Co. Ltd., 1943. 168 pp.
- INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE. Committee of Experts on Indigenous Labour, First Session, La Paz, 1951. *Indigenous Workers in Independent Countries* (CEIL/I/3), Geneva, 1950. 252 pp. Processed. Published also in Spanish.
- JACOBS, Melville, and STERN, Bernhard J. *Outline of Anthropology*. 'College Outline Series,' New York, Barnes & Noble [1948]. 392 pp.
- JERPERSEN, Otto. *Marking, Nation and Individual from a Linguistic Point of View*. London, Allen & Unwin, 1947. 221 pp.
- LEWIS, M. M. *Language in Society: The Linguistic Revolution and Social Change*. New York, Social Sciences Publishers, 1948. 247 pp.
- McLUNG LEE, Alfred, ed. *New Outline of the Principles of Sociology*. With an introduction by Samuel Smith. 'College Outline Series,' New York, Barnes and Noble [1949]. 355 pp.
- RUNDLE, Stanley. *Language as a Social and Political Factor in Europe*. London, Faber & Faber Ltd. [1946]. 207 pp.
- SACK, F. L. *The Problem of an International Language*. Washington, D.C., World Organization of the Teaching Profession, 1951. 35 pp.
- UNITED NATIONS. *Non-Self-Governing Territories: Summaries and Analyses of Information transmitted to the Secretary-General during 1947-1950*. New York, 1948-51. 5 vols. Published also in French.
- WILSON, Logan, and KOLB, William L. *Sociological Analysis: An Introductory Text and Case Book*. New York, Harcourt Brace & Co. [1949]. 866 pp.
- See also: Bloomfield, Bodmer and Gray under *Language and Linguistics*.

## LANGUAGE AND EDUCATION

- ANGIOLILLO, Paul F. *Armed Forces Foreign Language Teaching: Critical Evaluation and Implications*. New York, S. F. Vanni [1947]. 440 pp.
- COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY. Teachers' College. *Language Learning: Summary of a report to the International Auxiliary Association in the U.S.* New York, 1933. 59 pp.
- JERPERSEN, Otto. *How to Teach a Foreign Language*. London, Allen & Unwin, 1947. 194 pp.
- LEWIS, M. M. *Language in School*. London, University of London, 1942. 227 pp.
- MULIRA, E. M. K. *The Vernacular in African Education*. 'Lantern Library Series,' London and New York, Longmans Green, 1951. 51 pp.
- POST, P. *Bilingualism in Nederland. Een beschouwing over de Wenselijkheid van een Fries-Nederlandse school in Friesland*. (Paedagogische Monografien) Gröningen, J. B. Wolters, 1949. 39 pp.
- UNESCO. *The Haiti Pilot Project: Phase One 1947-1949*. 'Monographs on Fundamental Education,' IV, Paris [1951]. 83 pp.

## CLASSIFICATION OF LANGUAGES

- Atlas van Tropisch Nederland*. Batavia, Service Topographique des Indes Néerlandaises, 1938.
- GREENBERG, Joseph H. 'Studies in African Linguistic Classification,' in *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*. Albuquerque, New Mexico, University of New Mexico, 1949-50, vols. 5 and 6.\*

- GRIERSON, George A. [Linguistic Survey of India.] Calcutta, 1904-28. 12 v. [This is a series of different works on Indian languages always referred to as 'Linguistic Survey of India'.]
- GROOTAERTS, W. A. 'La géographie linguistique en Chine. Nécessité d'une nouvelle méthode pour l'étude du chinois. I. La méthode de la géographie linguistique. II. Une frontière dialectale dans le nord-est Chansai,' in *Monumenta Serica, Journal of Oriental Studies of the Catholic University of Peking*, tome VIII, 1943, pp. 103-66; tome X, 1945, pp. 389-426.
- HOYER, Harry and others. *Linguistic Structures of Native America*. 'Publications in anthropology', v. 6, New York, Viking Fund, 1946. 423 pp.
- HOMBURGER, Lilius. *Les langues négro-africaines et les peuples qui les parlent*. Bibliothèque scientifique, Paris, Payot, 1941. 350 pp.
- 'The Native Languages of Middle America' by J. Alden Mason, in *The Maya and their Neighbours*, pp. 52-87, New York, D. Appleton-Century Co. 1940.\*
- MATTHEWS, W. K. *Languages of the U.S.S.R.* London, Cambridge University Press, 1951. 178 pp.
- MAILLET, Antoine, and COHEN, Marcel. *Les langues du monde*. 'Collection linguistique,' publiée par la Société de linguistique de Paris, XVI, Paris, E. Champion, 1924. 811 pp. [New ed. in the press.]
- MENENDEZ Pidal, R. *Manual de gramática histórica española*. 7th ed., Madrid, Espasa-Calpe, S. A., 1944. 369 pp.
- RAY, Verne F., comp. *Tribal and Linguistic Map of South America*. After Krickeberg, Métraux, Nimuendaju, Nordenskiöld, Cooper, Lothrop and others. No place, 1945.\*
- STEWART, Julian H., ed. 'The Languages of South American Indians,' in *Handbook of South American Indians*, v. 6, pp. 157-317 (Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 149). Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1950.
- WESTERMANN, Diedrich. 'African Linguistic Classification,' *Africa*, Journal of the International African Institute, vol. 22, no. 3, July 1952, pp. 250-56.
- Woegelin, C. F., and E. W. *Map of North American Indian Languages*. Publication no. 20, New York, American Ethnological Society, 1944.
- Note: The International African Institute is preparing a Handbook of African Languages in four volumes, the first of which, on the Berbere language, has been issued; the second volume will discuss the languages of West Africa, the third volume will deal with the languages of East Africa and the fourth will be on the linguistic situation of South Africa.
- See also: Bloomfield and South Pacific Commission under *Language and Linguistics*.

#### JOURNALS

- Africa*. Quarterly. London, International African Institute, Oxford University Press, Amen House, Warwick Square. Text in English, French and German. 22/-.
- African Abstracts*. *Bulletin analytique africaniste*. A quarterly review of ethnographic, social and linguistic studies appearing in current periodicals. London, International African Institute, Seymour House, 17 Waterloo Place. 26/-.
- Archivum linguisticum*. A review of comparative philology and general linguistics. Semi-annual, Glasgow, Messrs. Jackson, Son & Co., 73 W. George Street. 21/-.

- International Journal of American Linguistics*. Quarterly. Bloomington, Ind., Indiana University. \$4.
- Language*. Quarterly. Baltimore, Linguistic Society of America, Mt. Royal and Guilford Aves., \$5.
- Language Learning*. A quarterly journal of applied linguistics. Ann Arbor, Mich., Rackham Bldg. \$2.
- Lingua*. *International Review of General Linguistics*. 4 times a year. Harlem, Netherlands, J. H. Gottmer, Wilhelminapark 12. English and French. 25 florins.
- Linguists' Review*. 3 times a year. London, Institute of Linguists, 114 Southampton Row. 4.
- Modern Language Journal*. Monthly. St. Louis, 5. Mo., National Federation of Modern Language Teachers Associations, 7144 Washington Ave. \$3.
- Modern Languages*. 3 times a year. London, Modern Language Association, Stone Bldgs., Lincoln's Inn. 9/6d.
- Nueva revista de filología hispánica*. Quarterly. México, D.F., Colegio de México, Nápoles 5. 20.00 pesos.
- PMLA*. Quarterly. New York, Modern Language Association of America, 100 Washington Square E., \$5.
- Revue des langues vivantes*. *Tijdschrift voor levende talen*. Bi-monthly. Brussels, Fondation Universitaire, 11, rue d'Egmont. In several languages. 75 Belgian francs.
- Société de linguistique de Paris. *Bulletin*. Quarterly. Librairie C. Klincksieck, 11, rue de Lille, Paris-7<sup>e</sup>. 1,000 francs.
- Sprache*: Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft. 4 times a year. Vienna, A. Sexl, Dr. Karl Lueger-Ring 6. Text in English, French, German and Italian. 64 Schillings.
- Studia linguistica*: revue de linguistique générale et comparée. 3 times a year. Lund, Sweden, C. W. K. Gleerup. Kroner 10.

## BIBLIOGRAPHIES

- Linguistic Bibliography for the Years 1939-1948*. Published by the Permanent International Committee of Linguists with a grant from the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization. Utrecht, Brussels, Spectrum, 1949-51. 3 vols. Published in English and French.

# INDEX

- Afghanistan, 28.  
 Aguilar, José V., 125-31.  
 Ainu (language), 25.  
 Akan (language), 21, 115-23.  
   — writing, 117-19.  
 Aleut (language), 23.  
 Alisjahbana, Sutan Takdir, 76,  
   95-103, 144.  
 Alphabet *see* Writing.  
 Alsatian (dialect), 42.  
 Amharic (language), 19.  
 Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, 20, 21.  
 Arab States, 26, 87-95.  
 Arabic (language), 18, 19, 20, 28,  
   32, 87-95.  
 Armenian (language), 28, 42.  
 Australia, 38-39, 103.  
 Azandi (language), 21.  
  
 Bari (language), 20.  
 Barrera Vázquez, A., 76, 77-86.  
 Basque (language), 41, 42.  
 Belgian Congo, 18, 20, 21.  
 Belgian territories, 18-19.  
 Belgium, 42.  
 Bemba (language), 20.  
 Bengali (language), 29.  
 Benson, W., 145.  
 Berg, C. C., 145.  
*Boletín Indigenista*, 86.  
 Bolivia, 24.  
 Brazil, 23, 24.  
 Breton (language), 42.  
 British Cameroons, 20.  
 British Guiana, 25.  
   — territories, 17.  
 Bulgaria, 42.  
 Burma, 26, 32.  
 Burmese (language), 32.  
 Bryan, M., 145.  
  
 Cambodia, 33.  
 Cambodian (language), 33.  
 Canada, 23.  
 Castilian (language), 42.  
 Castillo, Ignacio M. del, 86.  
 Castro de la Fuente, Angélica, 86.  
 Catalan (language), 42, 44.  
 Cebuano (language), 125.  
 Ceylon, 26, 29.  
 Chin (language), 32.  
 China, 30, 87.  
 Chinanteco (language), 77.  
 Chinese (language), 30-32.  
 Chol (language), 77.  
 Colombia, 24.  
 Cook, P. A. W., 145.  
 Costa Rica, 24.  
 Creole, 25, 54.  
 Czech (language), 41.  
  
 Dickens, K. J., 77, 115-23.  
 Ecuador, 24.  
 Egypt, 87-95.  
 English as language of instruction,  
   British Guiana, 25.  
   —, India, 29.  
   —, Iraq, 26.  
   —, Jamaica, 25.  
   —, Jordan, 26.  
   —, Lebanon, 26.  
   —, New Zealand, 39.  
   —, Pakistan, 29.  
   —, Philippines, 36, 125-30.  
   —, Puerto Rico, 25.  
   —, Tonga, 40.  
 English as official language, Phi-  
   lippines, 36.  
 English as second language, Afgha-  
   nistan, 28.  
   —, Burma, 32.  
   —, Ceylon, 30.  
   —, Iran, 28.



- , Nauru, 41.
- , New Guinea, 114-15.
- , Syria, 27.
- , Thailand, 32.
- , Tonga, 40.
- Eakimo (language), 23.
- Estonia, 132-38.
- Estonian (language), 132-38.
- Ethiopia, 19.
- Fante (language), 115.
- Farøe Islands, 42.
- Filipino languages, 124-25.
- Finland, 42, 44, 132-38.
- Finnish (language), 132-38.
- Finn-Ugrian experiment, 132-38.
- languages, 26, 132-38.
- grammar, 135.
- vocabularies, 133-34.
- Forde, C. Darryl, 145.
- France, 42, 43.
- French as language of instruction, Africa, 17-18.
- , French Oceania, 41.
- , Lebanon, 26.
- , New Caledonia, 41.
- French as second language, Afghanistan, 28.
- , Cambodia, 33.
- , Hungary, 132.
- , Iran, 28.
- , Laos, 33.
- , Syria, 27.
- French Guiana, 25.
- French Oceania, 41.
- French Somaliland, 18.
- territories, 17-18.
- Frisian (dialect), 42.
- Gaelic, 23, 42.
- Galician (language), 42.
- Georgian (language), 42.
- German as second language, Afghanistan, 28.
- , Finland, 132.
- , Hungary, 132.
- German (language), 42.
- Germany, 42, 43.
- Gilyak (language), 25.
- Gold Coast, 21, 115-23.
- Grammar, 66-67.
- Great Russian (language), 42.
- Greece, 42.
- Greenland, 23.
- Griale, M., 145.
- Guarani (language), 24.
- Guatemala, 24.
- Guiang, Pedro, 125.
- Gypsy, 42, 43.
- Haiti, 23, 25.
- Hausa (language), 20.
- Hebrew, 27.
- Hiligaynon (language), 125.
- Hindi (language), 24, 29.
- Holland, 42.
- Huasteco (language), 77.
- Hungarian (language), 132-38.
- Hungary, 132-38.
- Husain, S. A., 145.
- Icelandic (language), 42.
- Iloilo Experiment in Education through the Vernacular, 123-31.
- India, 26, 29, 87.
- Indians of Mexico, education, 78-80.
- Indigenous language, definition of, 46.
- Indonesia, 26, 37, 85, 103.
- Indonesian (language), 37, 38, 95-103.
- grammar, 101.
- vocabulary, 102-3.
- International Labour Office, 86.
- Iran, 28, 29.
- Iraq, 26-27, 87.
- Isidro, A., 145.
- Isle of Man, 42.
- Israel, 27.
- Italian Somaliland, 19.
- Jamaica, 23.
- Japan, 35.
- Japanese as second language, Korea, 34.
- Japanese (language), 25, 34-35.
- Javanese (language), 24, 37, 38, 95.
- Jordan, 26, 91.
- Judeo-Spanish (dialect), 42.
- Kachin (language), 32.
- Karaite (language), 42, 43.
- Karen (language), 32.
- Kenya, 20.
- Kibira (language), 21.
- Kikongo (language), 20, 21.
- Kiluba (language), 20.
- Kingwana (language), 21.

- Kinyarwanda (language), 21.  
 Kirundi (language), 21.  
 Kiswahili (language), 21.  
 Korea, 33-34.  
 Korean (language), 25.  
 Kunst, A., 145.  
 Languages, classification, 139-43.  
 —, political aspects, 12, 96-98.  
 —, social aspects, 13, 67.  
 —, study and teaching, 10-11, 67-70.  
 — in adult education, 58-59.  
 — in education, 11-15, 68-70.  
 —, Arab States, 87-95.  
 —, Indonesia, 95-103.  
 — in fundamental education, Indonesia, 100.  
 — in higher education, Indonesia, 100.  
 — in primary education, Indonesia, 99.  
 —, Philippines, 123-31.  
 Languages in secondary education, Indonesia, 100.  
 Laos, 33.  
 Laotian (language), 33.  
 Lappish (language), 42, 44.  
 Lebanon, 91.  
 Leong, Tan Gwan, 145.  
 Letzenburger (dialect), 42.  
 Liberia, 20.  
 Lingala (language), 20, 21.  
 Lingua franca, 54.  
 —, Africa, 20.  
 —, Indonesia, 37, 96-98.  
 —, New Guinea, 41, 106.  
 —, definition of, 46.  
 Literacy teaching, Mexico, 83-86.  
 Literature production, 52-53, 70.  
 —, Burma, 32.  
 —, Indonesia, 102-3.  
 —, New Guinea, 41.  
 Lithuanian, 42, 43.  
 Lozi (language), 20.  
 Luba (language), 21.  
 Lusatian-Serb (language), 42.  
 Luxembourg, 42.  
 Macedo-Rumanian (dialect), 42.  
 Madagascar, 18.  
 Madurese (language), 37, 38, 95.  
 Malay (language), 32, 37, 95.  
 Malta, 42.  
 Maltese (language), 42.  
 Manchurian (language), 42.  
 Manx (language), 42.  
 Maori (language), 39.  
 Maya (language), 77.  
 Mazahua (language), 77.  
 Mazateco (language), 77.  
 Meeting of experts on the use of vernacular languages as vehicles of instruction, Paris, 1951, 45-75, 144-45.  
 Meeussen, A. E. M., 145.  
 Melanesian languages, 104.  
 Mexico, 22, 23, 24, 77-86.  
 —, Instituto Nacional Indigenista, 86.  
 Mixe (language), 77.  
 Mixteco (language), 77.  
 Mon (language), 32.  
 Mon-Khmer (languages), 26, 32.  
 Mongo (language), 21.  
 Mongol (language), 42.  
 Mother tongue, definition of, 46.  
 — and second language, 47-54, 58.  
 — — New Guinea, 109-113.  
 — — in education, 53-54.  
 Mpondo (language), 21.  
 Mpondomise (language), 21.  
 Multiplicity of languages, 51-52, 62-64.  
 Munda (languages), 26.  
 Nahuatl (language), 77.  
 National language, Indonesia, 95-103.  
 —, definition of, 46.  
 Native tongue, definition of, 46.  
 Nauru, 41.  
 Ndebele (language), 21.  
 Nepal, 30.  
 New Caledonia, 40.  
 New Guinea, 41, 103-15.  
 New Zealand, 39.  
 Nguni (language), 21.  
 Nigeria, 20, 21.  
 Non-self-governing territories of the Pacific, 40.  
 Northern Nigeria, 20.  
 Northern Rhodesia, 20.  
 Norway, 42.  
 Nyanja (language), 20.  
 Oceania, 40.  
 Official language, definition of, 46.  
 Official languages, America, 23.

- Orata, Pedro T., 77, 123-31.  
 Otomi (language), 77.
- Pahari (language), 30.  
 Pakistan, 25, 39.  
 Palestine, 91.  
 Pali (language), 32.  
 Panama, 22, 24.  
 Papua, 104, 113.  
 Papuan languages, 104-5.  
 Paraguay, 24.  
 Persian (language), 28, 29.  
 Peru, 24.  
 Philippines, 26, 36, 123-31.  
 Pidgin, definition of, 46.  
 Pidgin English, 54.  
 —, British Cameroons, 20.  
 —, Jamaica, 23.  
 —, New Guinea, 41, 103-17.  
 —, Nigeria, 20.  
 —, Sierra Leone, 20.  
 —, Surinam, 23, 24.  
 —, grammar, 107-8.  
 —, writing, 109.  
 Pike, Kenneth L., 145.  
 Poland, 42, 43.  
 Police Motu, 106, 113-14.  
 Polish (language), 42, 43.  
 Polynesian languages, 104.  
 Portuguese (language), 21, 24, 42.  
 — territories, 19.  
 Provençal (language), 42.  
 Puerto Rico, 25.  
 Pushtu (language), 28, 29.
- Recommendations for Unesco action, 70.  
 Regional language, definition of, 46.  
 Romany *see* Gypsy.  
 Ruanda Urundi, 21.  
 Rumanian (language), 42.  
 Ruthenian (language), 42.
- Sardinia, 42, 44.  
 Sauvageot, Aurélien, 32, 77, 132-38, 145.  
 Second language, definition of, 46.  
 — — in education, 55-59.  
 —, New Guinea, 114-15.  
 Serbo-Croat (language), 41.  
 Shan (language), 32.  
 Shona (language), 21.  
 Sierra Leone, 20.  
 Sindhi (language), 29.
- Sinhalese (language), 29, 30.  
 Slovak (language), 41.  
 Slovene (language), 41.  
 Solomon Islands, 103.  
 Somaliland, 20.  
 South America, 22, 23.  
 South Pacific, 40-41.  
 Southern Rhodesia, 21.  
 Spain, 42, 43.  
 Spanish as official language, Philippines, 36.  
 — (language), 21, 24, 25.  
 — territories, 19.  
 Sundanese (language), 37, 38, 95.  
 Surinam, 25, 24.  
 Swadesh, Morris, 86, 145.  
 Swahili (language), 20.  
 Swazi (language), 21.  
 Sweden, 42, 44.  
 Swedish as second language, Finland, 132.  
 Syria, 87, 91.
- Tagalog (language), 36, 125.  
 Tamil (language), 29, 30.  
 Tanganyika, 20.  
 Tarascan project, 77-86.  
 Tarasco (language), 77.  
 Tartar (language), 25.  
 Teacher training, Mexico, 82-83.  
 Teachers, 53.  
 Thailand, 32.  
 Tonga, 39-40.  
 Tongan (language), 21, 39-40.  
 Totonaco (language), 77.  
 Trade Motu, 106.  
 Tungusic-Manchu (languages), 26.  
 Turco-Tatar (language), 42.  
 Turkey, 28, 42.  
 Turkish (language), 25, 28.  
 Twi (language), 115.  
 Tzeltal (language), 77.  
 Tzotzil (language), 77.
- Uganda, 20, 21.  
 Union-Ibo (language), 21, 22.  
 Union of South Africa, 19.  
 United Kingdom, 42, 43.  
 Urdu (language), 24, 29.  
 U.S.A., 22, 23.  
 U.S.S.R., 41, 42-43.
- Venezuela, 24.  
 Vernacular language, definition of, 46.

- Vernacular languages in education,  
     8-9, 50-51, 70-75.  
 —, Africa, 16-22.  
 —, America, 22-25.  
 —, Asia, 25-35.  
 —, Europe, 41-44.  
 —, Oceania, 36-41.  
 Viet-Nam, 32.  
 Vietnamese, 32.  
 Vocabulary, 50, 64-67, 93.  
 Walloon (dialect), 42.  
 Ward, Ida, 116-17.  
 —, —, *Report of an Investigation of  
     some Gold Coast Language Prob-  
     lems*, 121-22.  
 Ward, W. E. F., 145.  
 Wedgwood, C. H., 76, 103-15, 145.  
 Welsh (language), 42.  
 Western Soto (language), 22.  
 White Russian (language), 42.  
 World language, definition of, 46.  
 Writing, 9-10, 21, 32, 33, 34, 41,  
     60-62, 93.  
 Xhosa (language), 21.  
 Yoruba (language), 21.  
 Zaki, Ahmed, 76, 87-95.  
 Zanzibar, 20.  
 Zapoteco (language), 77.  
 Zulu (language), 21.