LANGUAGE, EDUCATION AND NATIONAL UNITY

By

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A Thesis

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts
in the Education Department of the
American University of Beirut
Beirut, Lebanon

May 1965

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I wish to acknowledge my deep gratitude to Professor Munir Bashshur, my thesis adviser, for his help and patience throughout the study. The completion of this study would have never been possible without his illuminating suggestions and sympathetic encouragements.

My deep gratitude also goes to Professor Louis P. Cajoleas, Chairman of the Department of Education and to Professor Faizeh Antippa, both Committee members on this study, for their helpful and valuable comments on my work.

I extend my thanks to Professor Richard Yorkey of the English Department and to Professor Joseph Malone of the History Department for their help in providing me with reference materials on the Asian and African newly independent countries.

I also wish to thank my friends, Mr. Malede Leggesse and Mr. Tamrat Yigzaw for helping in typing the draft of this study in their hours of rest.

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Beirut, Lebanon
May 1965

ABSTRACT

Some twenty years ago, the peoples of the new nations had one main concern in common, namely, to obtain independence from foreign domination. Their religious, social and ethnic, linguistic and cultural differences were largely subdued. Yet with independence, their struggle assumed new direction. Language and cultural differences became battlefields of their various conflicting ethnic groups. To stand on their own feet, the new states needed to have as first prerequisite harmony among themselves. This was a colossal problem, and to some of the new nation-states of Asia and Africa, language conflicts became an overriding issue as a major conflict that hinders such harmony.

It would be presumptuous even to imply that the present study could give solution to a problem which could only be clarified through multi-disciplinary fieldwork. The purpose of this study therefore is to appraise the language-culture problem from a comparative point of view and to analyze the underlying factors behind the linguistic antagonism of the people of the new states. Attention was particularly given to this problem as it manifests itself in Ethiopia.

An effort has been made to demonstrate that unity of language is essential for the new nations in their struggle toward national unity and progress. The development of educational, social, economic and political matters in these new states may be seriously hampered by language differences and antagonisms. That is, the development of all these factors is dependent on mutual understanding and harmonious living of the people.

By way of suggesting a way out of the linguistic conflicts in the new states, the methods adopted by India, Pakistan, Ceylon and Switzerland for the solution of these language problems are discussed. Also ways that may mitigate the masses' reaction to decisions of central governments about one national language are discussed. It is shown how a long psychological preparation toward the acceptance of the new language may reduce frictions among the various linguistic factions of the population when the final decision on one national language is enacted. In addition, methods and problems in the teaching of the new language for fostering national loyalty and feelings in the younger generation are dealt with in this study.

This study can be divided into three parts. The first deals with national unity through unity of language in relation to the newly independent countries of both Africa and Asia. The subject is approached through discussions of the influences of language on the development of perception and concept formation in children as well as through discussions of the importance of language-environment in creating social conformity. The subsequent effects of socialization processes on the trend of thoughts, attachment to one's own culture, traditions, values and beliefs, and the behavior of the individual are discussed with refence to the "primordial attachments" and language-culture problems of the new states.

The second part analyzes the introduction of the Amharic language (the Ethiopian language) in Eritrea as both a national language and a

medium of instruction. Social and educational implications of language change in Eritrea are analyzed to illustrate, in an indirect way, what might happen in the new states as a consequence of adopting one national language. Also the reasons and the necessity for the language policy of the Ethiopian government are discussed in this section.

The last part of the study deals with some methodological and psychological principles of the teaching of foreign language. By way of concluding this section, some principles related to language teaching for fostering national unity particularly as related to Ethiopia and Eritrea are given at the end.

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

A. Nature and Significance of the Problem

The question of unity of language as a requirement for national unity has attracted wide attention and become of deep national concern to many of the newly emancipated countries. Indeed, in some of these states, it had even reached the point of seriously threatening the stability and continuity of the central governments.

Sensitive as this problem is, most of the newly independent countries are considering or have already decided to have one national language. The reasons for this trend are : (1) that a national language would bind the various factions of the society together and produce, with time, an integrated nation, (2) an official language would facilitate the process of transmitting the policies of the central government to all localities and thus help in reform projects, (3) a national language would clarify or exalt the identity of a nation and create a sense of common pride among its members.

An implementation of one language policy would mean to many ethnic or regional groups an end to some special tradition on the basis of which they stand as a society. This is the heart of the difficulty. For some of these factional groups to give up their own language is equal to giving up their heritage if not their existence as a community.

However, the new nations cannot, quite frequently, afford to 'waste' time on convincing the various factions in their viewpoints.

They are impatient with democratic means and what they like to see is a nation of their own already solidified internally and gradually sharing with other independent nations the prestigeful platforms of world politics. They are undoubtedly correct in their purposes though perhaps not in the means they resort to. Factional languages or borrowed ones can not act as basis for nation building. Furthermore, the newly independent states suffer from a large percentage of illiteracy and those who know a foreign language which is sometimes the official one are very few.

Taking rates of literacy alone as an example we come across these proportions which represent the percentage of adult literates in the various parts of Africa and Asia in 1950.[1]

French West Africa, about	2	per cent
Sudan	8	" "
Nigeria	17	" "
India, Indonesia, Pakistan, each about	19	" "
Ghana, about	22	" "

Since these figures are in terms of pure literacy in any language form, one can assume that the number of those who know the foreign language is much lower than these. Such conditions constitute a real source of danger for the new nations; a danger represented in an actual or potential cleavage between "...those who live in the thought and action of a foreign tongue and those who live in another world", creating almost two separate 'countries' within the same country. The nature

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[1] Norton Ginsburg and Brian Berr, Atlas of Economic Development, 1961; quoted in Clifford Geertz (ed.), Old Societies and New States (London: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1963), pp. 254-55.

of this problem and its implications in the field of education deserve serious attention and study.

A nation which has plurality of tongues might be likened to a house whose foundations are laid on sand. Without means for mutual understanding, the people may not only fail to cooperate with each other but may not even tolerate each other's beliefs and ways of life. The consequences might be quite disastrous indeed.

The following story from Ethiopia is an example of how serious can language differences be even in situations where only two individuals are involved. It goes like this : An Amharic-speaking and a Tigrina-speaking travellers both ignorant of each other's language met once on their way toward their common destination. On their way, they killed an antelope. One of them started to skin the prey. At this moment a conflict arose. In the Ethiopian custom there are two ways of skinning a slaughtered animal. The Amharic-speaking traveller wanted the antelope skin to be removed in the form of 'koda' while the other wanted it in that of 'loquota'. The conflict became so serious that it reached the point where there was no other way of settling it than by the use of weapons. Just before the fight began, a third traveller who fortunately knew both languages joined the disputants and enquired about the matter. It was then discovered that both men wanted the same thing because 'koda' in Amharic means 'loquota' in Tigrina.

Linguistic disagreements could very easily provoke powerful emotions in some of the newly emerged nations:

> In South Asia, at least, religious solidarity is yielding place to language affinity as the supreme vehicle of mass emotion. In Pakistan, the two wings of the country are today perhaps more language-oriented than religious-minded. In

> Ceylon, the conflict over language has flared up with a violence unusual for that placid island.[1]

In the case of Ethiopia and Eritrea, however, language change did not bring about serious social or political disruptions in the country. Both the Ethiopians and the Eritreans recognize the country's "greater-traditions", vested in the Emperor, as their common symbols and both derive their pride from them.

Yet the problem for Eritrea lies in the means of introducing the new language and in the educational complexities it engendered. At the time Amharic was introduced in Eritrea as the national language and as medium of school instruction, many of the local teachers and almost all the first grade school children did not know the new language. This constituted a difficult problem, especially since Amharic was to be used in school starting from the first elementary grade.

B. Purpose of the Study

This study is concerned with the educational implications of the introduction of a new language as a medium of instruction. Methodological and psychological principles of teaching a foreign language as part of a plan to replace the local language with the new one are discussed. The effects of bilingualism on intelligence, the nature of transfer from local to foreign tongue, the means and methods, textbooks and materials to be devised for this purpose are discussed in this study with emphasis laid on teaching Amharic to the Eritreans.

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[1] Asoka Mehta, "The Political Mind of India", Foreign Affairs, July 1957, p. 682.

Since the overall assumption of introducing the Amharic language to Eritrea is to unify the two parts of the country (Eritrea and Ethiopia), this study considers other non-school means which a central government can make use of by way of achieving its aims. Questions of cultural and ethnic traditions and how to cope with factional and regional resistance to national policies are dealt with. An analysis is made of the underlying factors that motivate the various social groups of a country to resist, and quite often to react violently to the government decision concerning the adoption of one national language.

C. Method of the Study

'Unity of Language, Education, and National Unity' is difficult to assess without extensive fieldwork on languages, cultures and history of some of the new states. The writer being unable to do the above work had to use books, magazines, pamphlets and articles available in Beirut related to the topic. The method adopted in this study is therefore that of case-studies, comparisons, explorations, and analysis of language problems of countries having these problems.

The plan of the study is developed along the following lines: chapter one, the present one, is an introduction to the study. Chapter two gives an analysis of the relationship of language and nature of thought formation; relationship of language to cultural integration; and national unity through unity of language. Chapter three examines language and cultural problems in the newly independent countries. It also includes case studies of India and Switzerland. The fourth chapter deals with the question of language and national unity in Ethiopia and Eritrea; and also with the historical and political

backgrounds of the two parts of the country and the aims for introducing Amharic in the Eritrean schools as the medium of instruction. The fifth chapter discusses the teaching of foreign languages giving emphasis on the importance of the elementary stage and on the methodological and psychological principles of teaching it. In the last chapter some general principles related to language teaching for fostering national unity are discussed with special emphasis on the Ethiopian-Eritrean case.

D. Limitations of the Study

It is the writer's conviction that full justice can not be made to a topic of complex nature such as this in a space of few pages work. He shares the opinion of the Committee for the Comparative Study of New Nations (under the sponsorship of Carnegie Corporation) that the problem requires for its full exploration and analysis the cooperative fieldwork of anthropologists, historians, sociologists, linguists, and psychologists as well as experts in the field of politics and economics.[1]

Another cause that constituted a limiting factor to a somewhat detailed study of the topic is the scarcity or rather the absence of source materials in a published form on the language and national unity issue as now found in the newly independent countries.

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[1]See Preface: Geertz, op.cit.

Chapter II

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LANGUAGE UNITY AND NATIONAL UNITY

A. Definition of Language

The effects and functions of language in man's life are so complex that it is hardly possible to give an all inclusive definition of it. Is there any single part of man's performance — from his everyday behavioral acts to the highest intellectual feats — where in one way or the other language is not involved? It does not seem so; for it is reflected in his life's activities. It is the sum total of human societies' achievements. Consequently, language is the object of study of many sciences each of which views it through its own field-glass and therefore defines it differently. However, there is general consensus as to its necessity and functions in social life. The following is an acceptable definition of it: language is "...a vehicle for social interaction among all contemporary human beings as well as between the living and the dead; and ...a tool for the manipulation of the past, present, and future, accessible as well as inaccessible, real and imaginary phenomena of the world."[1] It may fairly be said that although man has many things in common with the lower animals, he is eminently superior to them by virtue of his endowment of the power of speech. That is, "man is man by virtue of

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[1]Joseph Bram, Language and Society (New York: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1955), p. 7.

language."[1] Not only the oral pronouncement but also writing, pictures, symbols and any graphic sign and symbol with a given meaning is included under the term, language. All man's accumulated experiences and achievements — from the rudimentary signs of progress of the caveman to the present scientific and technological progress — have been recorded and transmitted from generation to generation through these means. They are the safegards of human knowledge as well as the link between the past, present, and future, and between the "real and imaginary phenomena of the world." A man's ideas, whether he is dead or living, can be stored up, used at one's own leisure, disseminated and/or utilized for good or bad purposes. Ideas never die once they are embodied in language. In this manner, the long past generations and the long to come ones as well as the present one are kept in contact : the old affecting the present, and this influencing the generation to come. In this sense, language is "time-binding".[2]

B. Relationship of Language and Nature of Thought Formation

Developmental Sequences of Perception and Conception

The child's intellectual activities that ultimately culminate in the formation of conceptual thinking go through distinct developmental stages.

The development of perception which is the preliminary step toward concept formation takes place when the child begins to notice

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[1] Ruth Nunda Anshen, Language: An Enquiry into its Meaning and Function (New York: Harper & Bros., 1957), p. XI.

[2] Neff Emery, The Poetry of History (New York: Columbia University Press, 1947), p. 53; quoted in Bram op.cit., p. 7.

the environment as a homogeneous figure, that is as a collection of a number of objects put in an unorganized assemblage; or as Murphy, Hockberg and Werner say, perception begins as "a form of continuous adjustment to environmental requirements, involving not simply a sensorium or a seat of cognitive functions, but the whole organism."[1] At this stage, word meaning or object to the child is nothing more than an undifferentiated figure from its background, or it is as "... a vague syncretic conglomeration of individual objects that have somehow or other coalescend into an image in his mind. Because of this syncretic origin that image is highly unstable."[2]

In its attempts to meet the exigencies of the environment, the organism progressively changes its mode of perception, and builds more complex ones that help it better perceive its surrounding. The structure or process of perception is the differentiation between the "figure and ground", the figure being the shape of an object against its undefined or unshaped background.

In its earliest stages, the child's perception lacks differentiation between figure and ground; the latter two being perceived as a more or less "homogeneous matrix." With the progressive maturation of the sense modalities, however, the process of perception progresses from seeing only a homogeneous matrix to differentiating the figure from its ground and finally into integrating the environment.

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[1]Harry Hojier (ed.), Language and Culture (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1954), p. 62.

[2]L.L. Vygotsky, Thought and Language (ed. and trans.) Eugenia Hanfmann, and Gertrude Vaker (New York: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1962), pp. 59-60.

Perceptual progression is dependent on the maturation of sense modalities. These modalities consist of the organs for the enteroceptive, interoceptive, and propriocentive fields. The functions of these organs are to stimulate the mechanism of perception, the receptors, either by energies external to the organism itself (enteroceptors) or by internal stimuli within the organism (interceptors), or by affecting the receptors in the muscles and tendons (proprioceptors). These sense modalities are all involved or "enter on equal footing, but not always with equal weight, into the dynamics of perception." A systematic perceptual growth is dependent on both "... a general developmental principle of 'differention and integration' and the results of experience."[1]

The Cognitive Process

The process involved in the interaction between the organism and its environment is designated by the terms: 'cognition', 'perception', 'abstraction', and 'conceptualization'. For convenience, these phenomena are divided into two groups: (a) those which are directly related to the properties of the stimulus configuration, and (b) those which are related to properties in the organism itself. These two groups respectively include the objective or physical factors, and the needs, motives, values, and previous experiences of the organism. It is through the working together of these factors that the individual comes in contact with world reality. These two media of contact with reality are differentiated into the perceptual and the conceptual or cognitive levels. Perception is regarded as the level in which the

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[1] Werner, Heinz, Comparative Psychology of Mental Development; (Chicago, Fellett, 1948), p. 334; quoted in Vygotsky, op.cit., pp. 63-64.

contact with reality is immediate, that is, the individual is face to face with the external stimulus actually present, whereas concept or cognition's contact is based on interpretive or inferential factors. This categorization does not rule out the existence of a continuum linking the two processes. With regard to their composition, structure, and operation, these functional equivalents of concepts stand in the same relationship to true concepts as the embryo to the fully formed organism.[1] However, there is the following distinction between the two: "... the dominant and typical mode of response (perception) is older and more deeply embedded in the individual, whereas the distinctive mode (attainment of concepts) is a later arrival and less solidly established."[2] Conception does not evolve until an advanced position of the "poly-genetic scale", and the development of motor apparatus in the individual have reached a certain degree of maturity.

Development of Cognition in Children

Piaget has given us an extensive description of the cognition process in children. His experiments have led him to the conclusion that the child "conceives itself and perceives its world in ways that are basically and qualitatively different from those of the adult."[3] The child's thinking is predominated by "realism," "animism", and "artificialism". Piaget defines these terms as respectively standing for (a) the inability of the child to distinguish himself from the

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[1] Vygotsky, op.cit., p. 58.

[2] Ibid., p. 64.

[3] Ibid., p. 65.

external reality and his mistaking thought for the object of thought itself; (b) the child's tendency to consider objects as animates and "endowed with will"; and (c) the child's belief that things are the product of human action.

The development of concepts in children is distinguished between two phases of the process. The first "is the acquisition of a brand new concept never had before; the other is the extension or development in the direction of greater adequacy of a concept already grasped."[1] The term adequacy is here taken to mean a culturally determined norm which is used as a measuring device to see how far or how well a child is developing along 'Standard social concepts'. These concepts are at first grasped in an inadequate form, but with the neural and social maturation they gradually modify the behaviour of the child in the direction of greater conformity to the social standard.

The acquisition of new concepts by experience gives meaning to new concepts which are understood and categorized in terms of the previous ones. That is, "by learning to name things a child does not simply add a list of artificial signs to his previous knowledge of ready-made empirical objects. He learns rather to form the concepts of these objects, to come to terms with the objective world... without the help of the name, every new advance in the process of objectification would be lost again in the next moment."[2] In Walloch's account, the process follows these steps: "... once the concept is acquired, a hammer is perceived, not just as a patch of certain form and color distribution, but as an object with which to drive a nail... or the

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[1]P. Hamble, Language Thought & Culture (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1959), p. 31.

[2]Vygotsky, op.cit., pp. 29-30.

like. This learned function ... is experienced as an objective fact, of equal status with sense, color and form."[1]

Children's conceptual development in the direction of conformity with social norms is represented in the following experimental results. From their tests to investigate children's cognition of coins, Schuessler and Struss have come to the conclusion that the child's organization of response to money develops gradually from very simple to highly complex modes, from concrete to abstract, discrete to systematic, and gross to finely differentiated.[2] These findings are confirmed by Piaget who says that when children are asked to define a word, they merely "point to an object which it denotes" or define it in terms of its uses. For example, to a child a mother is for cooking food. Between the ages of seven and eight, his concept of a mother is that of a lady who has children. When these two definitions are compared, the first reveals that it is the concrete aspect of the situation that attracts the child's interest.

The actual development of a concept in children from concrete to abstract, has been presented by Piaget at successive ten stages each having its own characteristics or ways of generalizing responses. The whole group of ten stages is divided into two: those dealing with "sensori-motor intelligence", and those partaking of "conceptual intelligence". The function of the sensori-motor intelligence is that of coordinating successive perceptions and actions which lead

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[1]Walloch, H. "Some Considerations concerning the relation between Perception and Cognition", Journal of Personality: XVIII 1949, pp. 6-7; quoted in Vygotsky, op.cit., p. 31.

[2]Paul Henle (ed.) Language, Thought and Culture (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1959), p. 40.

to the success of practical actions and related only to concrete situations. Conceptual intelligence, on the other hand deals with states "... that expand infinitely the spatio-temporal distances between subject and object."[1]

Piaget looks at these stages as definite steps leading to a logical way of thinking. Their results are cumulative, in that each stage's experiences serve as bases for the assimilation and use of new concepts. Language is considered as the most important element in the ten stages, because conceptual intelligence can only develop when the individual begins to understand and use his language through which actual cultural conditioning takes place. Because "to learn a language involves forming the concepts expressed by or in it. ... These concepts arise; not in the course of his own personal experience with his limited environment, but out of the cumulative experiences of many individuals within a presumably wider environment."[2] It is the influence of these concepts that affects the mode of thinking and world view of the individual.

C. Relationship of Language to Cultural Integration

One who would stand at the cross section of a busy street with the intention of observing the traffic — pedestrians and drivers — would probably form a wrong impression of the components of a society. Noticing both pedestrians and motorized vehicles hurrying along jostering at times and so much engrossed in their own business, he might take

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[1]Vygotsky, op.cit., p. 37.

[2]Paul Henle, op.cit., p. 40.

them as totally unconcerned about what may happen to the other fellow as well as ready to usurp each other's rights and privileges in order to attain their individual purposes. In other words, the street picture would tell him that society is made up of single individuals each per se and independent of the other. When closely looked at, most of these observations would be found to be misleading.

Human society is not just an agglomeration of individuals unrelated to each other, rather, it is the union of individuals who are well interwoven and made mutually interdependent by a force which is so strong that keeps them well knit together. This binding factor is a force that trascends the individual member making him of a secondary importance in relation to the whole and the interests of the whole. The life of the individual, his hopes and aspirations, beliefs, and even his own thinking and the trends his thoughts follow are all under the direct influence of this factor. This unifying power is what is called language-culture factor.

Culture may be defined as the summation of society's various generations' life activities, and achievements. It is the "...total social heredity of mankind"[1], and the reflexion and distinguishing character of the people who made it and live in and by it.

It is not the purpose of this study to inquire whether it was language or culture that emerged first in the life of human society; but one thing is certain. As society's integration and links are dependent on cultural bonds, culture, in turn, is so dependent on

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[1]Blaine E. Mercer, and Edwin R. Carr, Education and the Social Order (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963), p. 9.

language that without it it would not have become what it is in the life of human societies. The relationship between language and culture may be compared with that existing between hydrogen and oxygen. That is, without the respective combination of these elements neither human society nor water would have emerged in the forms we know them. Perhaps this may seem too extreme an analogy or not proper. However, a close look at the social functions of language reveals that "Man is man by virtue of language" and that his achievements have been possible because of language. In other words, without communication and understanding, no cooperation would be possible, and of course without these factors no society would emerge or continue to exist. "Human culture without language is unthinkable".[1] But how does their interplay, i.e., of language and culture, give continued existence to themselves and thus to society?

Socialization Process

It is reasonable to assume that language has undergone evolution as man himself has. It is also true that culture develops and gets purified of its 'impurities' through the course of centuries. The process of development in both is continuous. By the term 'development' as referred to culture, is meant the efficiency and further enlightenment in the use of the machineries for ensuring continued existance of society. This is possible and is done through the process of socialization of the new member of the society. This process is slow and continuous and it is, in part, because of this that the new member becomes thouroughly imbibed of his culture.

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[1] Edgar A. Schuler and others, Readings in Sociology (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1960), p. 73.

Introduction of the Child to Language and Culture

> The human infant begins its existence as a self-centered organism, unaware of any physical or social limitations of its needs and impulses. Adults in all societies acknowledge the child's innocent egotism and supply its demands in accordance with their local views as to what is proper under the circumstances.[1]

When the child reaches the stage at which he begins to differentiate the figure from the ground, the presence and influences of his mother begin to take shape and meaning. Gradually, he learns his native language and what it holds, the cultural meanings. He is introduced to these and subjected to their influences by the adult in his immediate environment. When he further advances in the use of language, he is pressed by many factors all leading toward socialization. Some of these factors are his own needs and the desire to communicate with others. He needs food, he needs care and love to express which he must use language; and, since the mere expression of these needs may be insufficient in itself to satisfy the latter, he is pressed to communicate with others. It is here that real socialization begins, i.e., culture begins its hold on him. Culture is produced by men through their living "in communication and by communication".[2]

Through the slow but steady progress of the processes of socialization and then of acculturation, the young member of a society ends up by incorporating within himself the network of his society's culture. He becomes the emblem of his society wherever he may go, because he can be distinguished from others from different cultures and languages not

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[1] Bram, op.cit., p. 19.

[2] John Dewey, Democracy and Education (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1961), p. 4.

only through the obvious difference of his language but by his way of dressing, eating and so on and even by the way he expresses his ideas either in his own mother tongue or through the medium of a foreign language that he may use. The whole of his behaviour is his culture product and therefore is pervased by it.

At this point it seems proper to see how language and culture combined come to have molding and pervasive effects on the thought, behaviour, and actions of each member of society and thus come to build an invisible but nontheless strong binding and unifying force in the life of society.

Earlier it was pointed out that a new born baby begins its existence "as a self-centered organism". Its first reactions are biological ones to his "inner state of comfort and discomfort."[1] When he cries, he is not aware that he is doing so and therefore his crying is not purposeful. But his crying attracts his mother's attention and care. Gradually, the response of his mother to his cry comes to have some meaning to him, and thus he begins to use it purposefully. At this point, long before he uses language, he enters into a primitive type of interpersonal communication; but he has not yet formed his self-consciousness because "despite interaction and communication neither mind nor self-consciousness need be present in these primitive acts; indeed without language they cannot be. Language alone makes possible ideas and communication by means of ideas."[2] When his

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[1] Leonard Broom, and Philip Selsnick, Sociology (Evanston, Illinois: Row, Peterson and Co., 1960), p. 84.

[2] Ibid., p. 93.

biological and social growth reachs a certain level, the child begins to understand and use the words that his mother uses with him. The learned words gradually replace the primitive modes of communication with ideas. At first, words are associated with immediate and concrete objects, but gradually they enable him to learn "... the attitudes and emotions with which objects are viewd by his parents and others."[1] Gradually, he imitates the attitudes of his elders in his relation with objects of his environment. These acquired attitudes lead him to regard himself the way others regard him. Thus the socialization process, that is, his regarding himself as others regard him helps him to create an image of himself. He forms "mind and self-consciousness", and thus he becomes a social being.

This process of socialization, through language and mutual exchange of attitudes toward environmental factors, is only at its initial step. Its far-reaching effects and its control on the individual's conduct and thoughts come gradually. It was said that the child builds his "self" on the bases of the expectations on him, and towards him on the part of his family members. This kind of environment also leads him to form an image of what and how he ought to be and to do in order to meet the aspirations and attitudes of the people with whom he daily interacts. His tendency or efforts to conform with what he ought to be — as others regard him and want him to be — coupled by the desire to secure their protection, affection, and approval instills in his mind the idea of the necessity for social conformity. It is

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[1] Ibid., p. 94.

this desire for conformity that constitutes the strong factors of the social binding force referred to earlier.

The emotional attachments of the child to the members of his family also serve to strengthen further his self-concept, to identify himself with them, as well as with the ideal, values, goals, and roles that the adults upheld. Thus his identification with his family members and their values creates in him "...a self capable of controlling and directing its (the child's) own behavior".[1] This process of socialization, that is, his identification with, and appreciation of social values begun in his family circle is taken up later by various social agencies: the nursery, the grade, the church school, plays and other social activities he partakes. The influence of all these becomes so decisive in the shaping of his character that even if he later on wants to get rid of it would be as trying to get out of one's own skin. The totality of his personality, his mode of thinking and viewing life become pervased by the results of the socializing processes he went through.

Language, Thought, and Culture

The following pages will briefly discuss how language and culture envelop all the behavioral and intellectual activities of the individual wherever they are performed, in private or in public life.

The individual's conception of the world and his way of thinking are determined and limited by the structure of his own language. Whorf holds the conviction, on which he has the support of Sapir and others,

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[1] Ibid., p. 88.

that language is the shaper of our ideas rather than simply the medium for expressing them.

> Human beings do not live in the objective world alone, nor in the world of social activity as ordinarily understood, but are very much at the mercy of the particular language which has become the medium of expression of their society. It is quite an illusion to imagine that one adjusts to reality essentially without the use of language and that language is merely an incidental means of solving specific problems of communication or reflection. The fact of the matter is that the "real world" is to a large extent unconsciously built up on the language habits of the group. No two languages are ever sufficiently similar to be considered as representing the same social reality. The worlds in which different societies live are distinct worlds, not merely the same world with different labels attached.[1]

The analysis of the linguistic systems of some American Indian communities, especially of those of Hopi, Swansee, and Nootka culture, have led Sapir, Whorf and Hojier to the theory of linguistic and cultural relativity and thus to the belief in the existence of a dividing wall between different cultures as to their world views. "No individual is free to describe nature with absolute impartiality, but is constrained to certain modes of interpretation even when he thinks himself most free."[2] The principle of relativity holds that societies with different linguistic systems have different picture of the universe no matter how similar or identical the physical evidence may be. For example, according to this theory, the western concepts of time and matter are not shared by all men; but vary correspondingly to the languages through which they have been conceived. For instance,

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[1] E. Sapir, Selected Writings of; (Berkeley, Cal. 1949), p. 162; quoted in Hojier, op.cit., p. 92.

[2] Hojier, op.cit., p. 92.

the western 'time' is differently interpreted by the Hopi 'duration'.

> It is conceived as a space of strictly limited dimensions, or sometimes as a motion upon such space, and employed as an intellectual took accordingly. Hopi 'duration' seems to be inconceivable in terms of space or motion, being the mode in which life differs from form, and consciousness "in toto" from the spatial elements of consciousness. Certain ideas born of our time concept, such as that of absolute simultaneity, would be either very difficult to express or impossible and devoided of meaning under Hopi conception, and would be replaced by operational concepts.[1]

The obligatory character of linguistic systems determines the thinking process of its speakers. The built in effects of linguistic system in the mind is such that the individual is totally unconscious of their control in his thinking activities. He thinks that he is completely free to express his ideas, but "this illusory appearance results from the fact that the obligatory phenomena within the apparently free flow of talk are so completely autocratic that speaker and listener are boumd unconsciously as though in the grip of a law of nature."[2]

D. National Unity Through Unity of Language

In the previous sections we discussed how socialization transforms the infant from the status of an animal unconscious of himself to a social being. We also discussed how the obligatory character of the systems of a language determines the thinking process of its user. It is now the purpose of this section to

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[1] B.L. Whorf, Language, Thought, and Reality (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1956), p. 44; quoted in Hojier, op.cit., p. 48.

[2] Hojier, op.cit., p. 49; quoting Whorf, 1952a:11.

analyze the extent to which unity of language and culture can go in bringing about national unity. It is necessary, however, to first discuss the concept of nationalism and national unity.

Definition of Nationalism

The term nationalism is a composite derivative of the philosophical, psychological, sociological, and political aspects that influence the life, and thinking of a people. Because of its complexity "nationalism" is not capable of scientific definition".[1] Sir John A. Marriott states that "the principle of nationality has defied definition and even analysis."[2] On the other hand, 'nationalism' lends itself to varied and often conflicting interpretations and definitions. The British liberals, for example "...hailed it as a force for liberation and freedom; German Nazi welcomed it as a means for aggression and as a weapon against democracy; Russian Communists denounced it as a tool of capitalism."[3]

Notwithstanding its complexity, nationalism has been broken down into many components. John S. Mill enumerates them as follows: "...the identity of race and descent, community of language, religions and interests, geographical advantages, possession of a common history ...collective pride and humiliation, pleasures and regrets."[4] Luther

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[1] H.L. Featherstone, A Century of Nationalism (New York: 1939), p. 10; quoted in Louis L. Snyder, The Meaning of Nationalism (New Brunswick New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1954), p. 5.

[2] Sir John A. Marriott, Jr., The Easter Question: An Historical Study in European Diplomacy (Oxford, 1917), p. 174, quoted in Snyder, op.cit., p. 5.

[3] Snyder, op.cit., p. 4.

[4] M.S. Vairanapillai, Are We Two Nations? Nationalities in Indian Parties (Lahore: Agent Herbert Milton Williams, 1946), p. 8. quoting John S. Mill, Consideration on Representative Government (1861).

Lee Bernard viewed it as a combination of material and non-material human cultural factors, and defined nationality as the resultant of the elements of "...a common language, common culture, ...common traditions, conventions and religions" which when all are "united through a collective psychological group consciousness..." give rise to nationalism.[1]

According to psychologists, nationalism is of an abstract nature with a power of binding men of a given group together and of making them consider themselves as possessing common social links. Continuing his discussion on the meaning of nationality, Snyder quotes one definition which he considers to be the most inclusive one: "Nationality is ...a community formed by the will to be a nation."[2] And analyzing each word of the definition as to its implications, he says that the definition has in it combined the interests of several social sciences: the word community has in it enclosed the interest of sociology and anthropology; the will concerns the field of psychology, psychiatry, and psychoanalysis; and the term nation enters in the fields of history and political science.

One can thus conclude that no single factor nor a combination of factors can in themselves be sufficient to constitute nationality. There are, however, some factors which are more important than others in the formation of nationality. Language is viewed by many scholars as one of the factors having great weight in the life of nationality or of social groups.

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[1] Vairanapillai, op.cit., p. 68.

[2] Snyder, op.cit., p. 73.

Unity of Language and National Unity

> We have room but for one language here and that is the English language, for we intend to see that the crucible turns our people out as Americans of American nationality and not as dwellers in a polyglot boarding-house. - Theodore Roosevelt[1]

A group of people, a society, large or small, to be worthy of the name, must have strong linking connections between itself and its previous generations; because, as a tree rests on and depends for existence on its roots, likewise a society can only grow and develop on the bases laid down by its predecessors, namely, on the cultural foundations of its own past generations. And, since it is the society of men that makes nationality, it follows that the latter also must have binding relationships with its own past founders. This relationship cannot be established except through a medium of communication, language. Of course, the latter, if it is to serve its purpose, that is, if it is to connect two or more remotely related groups, must be either similar or almost the same as the language spoken by the living counterpart. This needs to be so, because, since language is the product of the culture of its speakers, and since any society has its own root in the culture of its past relations, a living society can only continue to exist as such on the same transmitted language and culture.

The contention that unity of language is one that occupies a prominent place among other social factors in bringing about national unity is further corroborated by our earlier discussions about the molding, channeling, and controling effects of language and culture on the

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[1]Quoted in Maris Pei, The Story of Language (New York: J.B. Lippincott Co., 1949), p. 255.

mode of thinking, aspirations, emotions, in other words, on the total personality of the individual. It was also shown that through the process of socialization the individual becomes the living incarnation of his language and culture. What is true of a single individual is also true of all the members of a society. All members of a society are typical representatives and bearers of the characteristics of their language and culture. These two factors are the forces that give existence to a society by keeping its members united. In time of danger, or necessity, or for planning national defense or interests can there be anything more appealing and therefore more unifying than these two factors? A threat to language is a threat to culture and a threat to the latter may lead to the disintegration of the society concerned. Can one perhaps have anything closer to his heart more than the preservation and continuation of his own life? Language and culture are the 'life', i.e., social life, to any human being and so to society. What would one appreciate more than the means with which to ensure it? Nothing; because they constitute the bases of society. No society and therefore no member of society can live outside language and its partner, culture, as "...language does not exist apart from the people who think and speak it; its roots go deep into the consciousness of each one of us".[1] This needs no proving, it suffices to refer to some "dead" languages, and hence "dead" cultures; for instance, Sumerian language and the Sumerian culture. The existence of the first is the prerequisite for the existence of the other as their

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[1] J. Vendryes, Language: A Linguistic Introduction to History (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1925), p. XV.

existence and interplay are the essential bases of social unity and therefore of national unity.

Language and culture are the connecting links between the glory and the humiliations, the achievements and the failures, in one word, the history of the past and the living generations. This leads one to say that the saving and ensuring the continued life of society, i.e., national unity comes by and is strengthened through the common link, that is, through unity of language. In fact,

> all nations [people] tend to defend their language as the central symbol for their national life....the people themselves regard language as a major expression of their independence and prestige, their personality, their characteristics and their culture = national unity . ... National vocabulary, syntax, word formation, and word rythms accurately reflect the intellectual and emotional qualities of a people. Moreover, it is through language that accumulated historical traditions and memories of a people are transmitted from generation to generation to help maintain the unity of culture and of language, and therefore of national unity that distinguishes one nation from another.[1]

Hayes in his work on language and nationality says that "...nationality receives its impress, its character, its individuality, not, unless very incidentaly, from physical geography or biological race, but rather from cultural and historical forces. First and foremost among these I would put language". To support his statement, he says that "...language is a tangible tie between the present generation of a nation and preceding generations.... Of every nationality, language bespeaks both the solidarity and the continuity of a people. And national literature, in its many forms

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[1]Snyder, op.cit., p. 21.

of prose and poetry, history, and romance, does much to emphasize what is ... peculiar to a nationality..."[1]

The phrase earlier used 'incarnation of his language and culture' need to be taken up here again. Figuratively speaking, language lives in its user, and vice-versa, the latter in the first, because the social "Man is language".[2] If, as it is, by the term 'man' here is meant society, that is, a nation, we can say that "A nation is a historically evolved, stable community of language, life, and psychological make-up manifested in a community of culture."[3] In other words, a nation, that is, a people evolved in a stable community of language and its corollaries — culture and history, common aims and ideals — is best united when all the above are expressed and understood through the people's own language. "This community of language, implying common intercourse, common culture, and, as it is usually the case, accompanying a real or fictitious common origin and common history, is vitally important to nationality" because "the common aims and ideals of mankind are best appreciated when they are understood through the same tongue."[4]

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[1]Carlton J.H. Hayes, Nationalism: A Religion (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1960), pp. 3-4.

[2]Anshen, op.cit., p. 3.

[3]Karl W. Deutsch, Nationalism and Social Communication (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1946), p. 8.

[4]R.N. Gilchrist, Principles of Political Science (Bombay: Orient Longmans Ltd., 1952), p. 39.

The role played by language in the life of societies has not always been beneficial to humanity. From the ancient history of man up to the present, atrocities have been perpetrated, wars waged among nations, and presently, nations' lives are perturbed because of language differences and language boundaries. An old instance of this is found in the Bible, in the Book of Judges, XII-4-6. "Jephthah managed to separate his Gileadites from the Ephraimites by taking advantage of differences in verbal behavior."[1] This was done by his soldiers at a passage to Jordan. A verbal test was given to all Gileadites and the Ephraimites alike. All those who mispronounced the Gileadic word "Shibboleth' as 'Sibboleth' showed to be aliens and therefore were all slaughtered. There perished 42,000 of them. Language differences have caused much fear and distrust among men and nations and have led them to disputes and wars. In this sense, language may at one time be regarded as a blessing, and at another, as a curse to man.

As a blessing, we have already seen some of its services to man. It has elevated him to what he is today. It has made possible for him the socialization process, the existence of social organizations, cultural and social changes, and intra and international relations. Also, as a time-binder it has enriched him of the wisdoms and experiences of his forefathers, and thus has enabled him "...to live in an infinitely wider and richer universe than his physical size and

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[1]George A. Miller, Language and Communication (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1951), p. 119.

biological life span would permit in the absence of language."[1] On the other hand, because of the multiplicity of tongues, language is the maker of nations and the divider or destroyer of nations. Think of the Jews who, because of language, have succeeded in keeping alive the spirit of unity and of nationalism, and finally, after two-thousand years, succeeded in establishing a Jewish state. The wars in Belgium between the French and the German speakers : the "Flemish and Walloon, two languages within a single political boundary, represent the obstacles which stood in the way of national growth",[2] the Franco-German wars on Alsace-Lorraine boundary; the Boer wars, between Great Britain and the Transvaal and Orange Free State in 1880-1881 and in 1899-1902; and between the Bohemians, the Moravians and the Slovakians; and the recent division of older India into Pakistan and India of today; and the present linguistic problems of the New India, Ceylon, Nigeria are only a few examples that show how language can be either a maker or a divider, a source of concord or discord in man's life as well as in the life history of nations.

National Literature, Folklore, and Heroes

The work of Noah Webster and especially of Dante Alighieri are considered by historians as factors that have greatly contributed to creating a sense of unity among their respective peoples.

At the time of Dante, modern Italy was not more than a geographical entity divided among a number of princes. The now one-people

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[1] Bram, op.cit., p. 7.

[2] Leon Dominian, The Frontiers of Language and Nationality in Europe (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1917), p. 19.

were then divided; they were in continuous strifes among themselves to serve the selfish interests of the various princes. The Italians of that time might have never thought that one day their sons could unite to form one nation, one people. In 1870, the union of the many small states into one Italy was made possible partly through the gradual influence of Dante, that is, the long divided people became one people, one nation, through the power of unity of language. For instance, Mazzini's and Cavour's appeals were always strengthened by reference to the oneness of the language of the Italians.

The result of the work of Dante Alighieri is not the peculiarity of the 'Dante'. National sentiments have been aroused and broken nations rebuild themselves by reviving dormant nationalistic feelings through literature in the once national language of the people concerned. Writing on the influence of literature, songs, folklores in fostering feeling of oneness among one people, Dominian says that one of the most remarkable instances of the influence of poetry on national destiny is found in Serbian nationality which has been cast altogether in the mold of the country's epic ballads or "pjesmes". Although primarily inspired by the valorous deeds of legendary heroes "...they are national in a significant sense, not merely because the very soul of the Serbian people is displayed in their lines, but because they have perpetuated Serbian history and language."[1]

It was the realization of the importance of unity in language and through language of a nation that impelled Theodore Roosevelt to

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[1]Dominian, op.cit., p. 321.

make the statement quoted earlier. Also, for the same reason Webster was actively engaged in the devulgation of the idea of Americanizing every immigrant. The Americanization process was, according to him, possible mainly through the nationalization of the schools of the country. Among many nationalistic activities "Probably his single most powerful nationalistic influence was his dictionary of the American language."[1] Guided by his foresight on the importance of one language for one people, he advised the people on the matter by saying : "Our national honor requires us to have a system of our own, in language as well as government... Besides this a national language is a band of national union."[2] Would it have been possible for the American people to build their present awesome power had they not pooled together their nation's minds through one main national language? To answer this question positively would amount to saying that the Babylonians could have completed the Biblical tower of Babel notwithstanding the curse of God upon them. Whether the tower's case is accepted or rejected, the fact remains that in order to live together harmoniously and to be able to accomplish significant achievements people need to have a common language, common ideas and mutual aspirations:

> The spirit of nationality represent the highest development of the idea of self-preservation. Its growth can be traced from the individual to the family, thence to the tribe and city, until the foundation of the political state is obtained. In the last stage of this process, nationality attains perfection through

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[1] J.S. Brubacher, A History of the Problems of Education (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1947), p. 56.

[2] Ibid., p. 56.

> homogeneity of language of its component individuals. The men who compose a single nation must think together. Their ideals and aims must be one and they must be conscious of a common destiny. Language as the currency of thought, naturally becomes the unifier.[1]

Exceptions to the Rule

The contention that unity of language is prominent among other social factors in bringing about national unity is unaccepted by some. They maintain that language is just one of the social factors that constitute nationality, i.e., it does not have any more weight than economic, religious, political and other social elements. For instance, one of the dissident views holds that "the view that people speaking the same, or almost the same language form one nationality, appears natural to fervent nationalists in all countries,... but it is not shared by others." To support the statement, the case of Switzerland is cited: "The people of Switzerland speak German, French or Italian, or various subsidiary dialects, and there is no commonly accepted Swiss language."[2] And according to another whose views do not differ from the first : "The identification of a nation with a language group is untenable.... The groups constituted by sentiment, citizenship and language very often do not coincide but overlap. In many cases the people of different tongues are citizens of the same state, and sometimes also regard one another as mem bers of the same nation."[3] We need to treat these views separately and in order of their presentation.

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[1] Dominian, op.cit., p. 312.

[2] Snyder, op.cit., pp. 58-59.

[3] F. Hertz, Nationality in History and Politics (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1951), pp. 95-96; quoted in Snyder, op.cit., pp. 58-59.

Were the case of Switzerland a true and not a seeming exception, we would accept it and say that every rule has its own exceptions and we would add that the exception does not nullify the validity of the rule itself.[1] But the plurality of languages in Switzerland does not, if analyzed, break down the importance of the deep influence of one national language on its users. If the inhabitants of the cantons or of the provinces each speaking its own language and living in harmony constitute the confederation of Switzerland, it is due to about eight centuries of old social factors which will be dealt with in the next chapter.

The first part of the view; 'the identification of a nation with a language group in untenable', to our opinion, presents some points that conflict with : (a) historical facts; (b) documentary records, and (c) universally accepted usage.

Any human individual has a personal name by which he identifies himself and by which others identify him. Likewise, any human group constituting a nation needs to have a name that distinguishes it from other nations. In the case of an individual, the name given to him is connected with some meanings meaningful to his society. In the case of nations, however, the matter was different in the past. It could not be one that did not reflect or have a collective significance to the whole inhabitants. A collectively shared and of large significance was, as it is today, the language of the people themselves or a cultural emblem, or the progenitor; as we have it from the earliest recorded

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[1] The term "rule" is not here used to mean that unity of language is the *sine qua non* for national unity.

human history, nations were named after and distinguished by the name of their language or after cultural symbols, or after the name of the first man who supposedly founded the country. For example, if we take 'Uganda', the country, we find that it is related to : (a) Bu-ganda = province (in Uganda); (b) Ba-ganda = people; (c) Lu-ganda = language of Uganda. If we take the word-root "-ganda" meaning a man or a person, we see that the prefix "Bu" stands for land; 'Ba' for many; and 'Lu' for language. During their administration, the British have named the country Uganda instead of Luganda meaning the language of the Ganda people, or instead of Buganda meaning the land of the Ganda (The Britishers have either dropped the letter "L" from Luganda or "B" from Buganda in re-naming the country.). This does not mean that the present name of country is not related to the original people of the land. Other examples could be : Latium after Latin or vice-versa, and Ethiopie after Ethiopian, or Amharic language from the Amhara people.

If these or other ancient names have in the course of time changed into other names that now do not stand for either the language spoken by the present inhabitants, or their cultural symbol, it should not be taken to mean that the new national names do not or may not in one historical way or another be related to either the original name of the people or their language. Here, again, even if with the prolification of new nations the opposing view is proved right, the fact remain that the overwhelming majority of nations are identified with a major language group. Almost all the nations of modern Europe have their names related to the language of their people. This latter point could in itself be taken as a proof that national language as "the mass mind" has from immemorable time (cf. e.g. of Gileadites)

been the unifier of the same people, and when threatened it was a cause for wars and destructions.

The elimination of the name of a nation bearing the name of the language of its people is an old political manouver. The following corroborates the statement: "The denial of a name to a national minority is a tested administrative technique aimed at the eventual oblitaration of its identity. For example, the part of divided Poland which was under Russian rule was between 1863 and 1917 officially termed the Vistula Region thus doing away with the very name of the nation",[1] and at the same ti me with the name of the language of the people. Was not this an attempt to athrophy the national unity and the sentiment of the Polish people by killing the very name of their language?

The process of emigration and immigration has been going on for centuries the world over. In modern times, the immigrant, after a certain period of residence in the new country, is granted citizenship. He learns the local language and gradually adapts himself to the local social and cultural life. As soon as he is granted citizenship, he enjoys all the right and privileges of the original local people. Notwithstanding all this, he is still tied with his old country emotionally, linguistically, culturally and even politically. During peace time, as the opposing view holds, "in many cases, ... and sometime..." may regard himself and be regarded by others as emotionally and sentimentally rooted in the new country as the original citizens

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[1] Bram, op.cit., p. 50.

themselves. The test for a true and a loyal citizen comes when the country is in danger. For example, if it happens for the country the new citizen is in to go to war against the immigrant's mother land, it is reasonable to assume that — due to still fresh or strong attachment to his original country — deep in his heart he may be in favor of the enemy of his new country. What was the attitude of the American government toward the first and second generation of its German citizens when it entered war against Germany in 1915-1918? Italy also had a similar attitude toward the Ethiopians residing in Eritrea when it started war against Ethiopia. This shows that the influence of language and culture on the first and second generations of immigrants is, rightly, considered to be still strongly affecting their minds.

Now by way of concluding we will briefly refer to some countries that at present are perturbed by language problems.

Some of the old societies that recently freed themselves from foreign domination are now facing language problems. The present case of India provides an excellent illustration. Similarly, the present situations in Sudan, Pakistan, and Nigeria, and also in Canada are motives to show one how strong is the role of language in the life of nations. For instance, when, in January 1965, India implemented the fifteen years old constitutional decision to make Hindi the national language, in places where Hindi was a foreign language, mass demonstrations were staged. According to BBC news, in some places, especially in the south, the government was contemplating the use of the army. According to the same source, nine deaths and hundreds of arrests had occured within a month. Earlier, in 1963, when the Pakistan government

attempted to create a national language for both the East and West Pakistan, mass demonstrations also took place. The still going on dispute between the southern and northern peoples of Sudan is to a very large extent influenced by differences of language and culture between the two people. All this lead us to conclude that unity of language occupies a prominent place in bringing about national unity.

In the next chapter we will deal with specific countries which face difficult language problems. Our purpose would be to demonstrate in more specific terms the ideas discussed in this chapter.

Chapter III

LANGUAGE AND CULTURAL PROBLEMS IN THE NEW STATES - SOME CASE STUDIES

A. National Cultural Policy

The newly emancipated countries of both Africa and Asia are up against many problems in their efforts to build and develop their respective nations. Each nation of them has its own particular problems, but there is one which is common to all of them. This general problem is the establishment of national cultural policy.

The establishment of national patterns of life has two aspects which are necessary to the new nations. Its first importance consists in giving the concerned nation a basis that serves to unite its population as one people so that they may together strive for the progress of their country. The second is its importance in clothing the country "...in a cultural garb symbolic of its aims and ideal being."[1] That is, to confer the country with the dignity of civilization in the eyes of the civilized world and in the hearts of its own people. Though different in their purposes, these two aims, i.e., national unity and national dignity depend for their establishment on the same basis: unity of language and culture. And these elements being products of a society's various generations and therefore impossible to be in short time supplanted by extraneous ones, they have become the major problems of the new states.

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[1] Clifford Geert's (ed.) Old Societies and New States (London: Free Press of Glencoe, Collier-MacMillan Ltd.), p. 27.

The first, that is, language differences, appears to be a major root of the whole problems;

> The major problem confronting the newly independent countries of south and southeast Asia today is national unity, and in many of them one of the great impediments to the achievement of that unity is language. Throughout this area (as well as in Africa) the demand for linguistic autonomy has challenged the authority of central governments and threatened their stability.[1]

Examples of this are the recent events in which the government of Burma was forced to concede a separate Karen state; and the Pakistani government's strong repressive actions when its Bengali-speaking population in 1954 asked for cessession; and again when in 1963 its attempts to create one national language caused mass demonstrations and arrests among the Bengali in East Pakistan. The still unsolved problem of India, and of the Sudan are other two of the many examples of the linguistic problems that still perturb the national life of a number of the new states.

The leaders of the new stated are conscious of the necessity of having one national language through which their respective peoples may come to have common aims, common ideals and common political economical aspirations. But the efforts of the leaders are too often unsuccessful. The competition of languages and of ethnic groups for national recognition is too strong and often has hindered the establishment of stable government. None of the speakers of the many local languages of a new state wants to be second to another; each claims supremacy over the other local languages and cultures. This struggle for national supremacy and recognition is bound to be hard and have deep effects in the

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[1]Marshall Windmiller, "Linguistic Regionalism in India", Pacific Affairs (Dec. 1954), p. 291.

life of the nation for various reasons. One of the major causes of this struggle seems to be the lack of strong nationalistic spirit in the people. By strong nationalistic spirit here we mean that the various ethnic groups of the nation are not willing nor prepared to give up some of what they consider their group's symbol for the sake of national unity. This unwillingliness is understandable in that "nationalism as we understand it is not older than the second half of the eighteenth century. Its great manifestation was the French Revolution, which gave dynamic force".[1] Therefore, since most of the new states came under foreign domination long before the idea of nationalism had reached them or had developed in them, they had never had the opportunity to foster it in their peoples, nor to prepare solid grounds for its smooth development. At the time of their emancipation they were, and some still are, caught unprepared to meet its multiform manifestations.

Another reason would be the fact that the colonizers frequently followed the policy of divide-and-rule. This was carried out first by clustering together in administrative units, zones or provinces of people of different languages and cultures, and then by creating situations that would not favor understanding and cooperation among the various ethnic groups. An example showing how the nonlinguistic administrative division was detrimental to the unity of the people was the counterattack of the Indian Congress Party. The late Pandit Nehru and other well known national leaders were appointed to the Linguistic Provinces Committee with the task of determining linguistic boundaries

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[1]Kohn Hans, The Idea of Nationalism (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1951), p. 3.

within India. They believed that the "... British maintenance of arbitrary — that is, nonlinguistic-administrative units — was part of a divide-and-rule policy".[1] The overall result is that the peoples of "... the new states are abnormally susceptible to serious disaffection based on primordial attachments".[2] To the multiethnic, usually multilinguistic populations it is more important the immediate contiguity, the kin connection, and "...being born into a particular religious community, speaking a particular language, or even a dialect of a language, and following particular social practices"[3] than the interests of the nation as a whole. In this connection, Coleman says that the Nigerians (or some of them) display five different sorts of nationalism at once "...'African', 'Nigerian', 'Regional', 'Group', and Cultural",[4] Primordial attachment is not a peculiarity of the Nigerians but it is a phenomenum observable in all the new states in both Asia and Africa.[5] In his article on the comparative study of the new states, Edward Shils writes:

> Almost everywhere, the societies consist of relatively discrete collectivities-ethnic, communal, caste, religious, or linguistic- that have little sense of identity with one another or with the national whole. The new states of Asia and Africa have not yet reached the point where the people they rule have become nations, more or less coterminous with the state in the territorial boundaries, and possessing

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[1] Clifford Geertz, op.cit., p. 105.

[2] E. Shils, "Primordial, Personal, and Civic Ties", British Journal of Sociology (June, 1957); quoted in Greetz, op.cit., p. 109.

[3] Greetz, op.cit., p. 109.

[4] J. Coleman, Nigeria: Background to Nationalism (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1958), pp. 425-426; quoted in Greetz, op.cit., p. 107.

[5] For details see Geertz, op.cit., pp. 105-157.

> a sense of identity in which membership in the state that rules them is an important component.[1]

The pride of each ethnic group in their own language and culture inevitably leads the populations to be divided among themselves by the spirit of regionalism and ethnocentralism. The resultant of all this is national disunity which may have serious consequences to the life of the state. First, which one of the many local languages is to be the national means of communication? and who is to decide which should be the national language? Various means and criteria have been devised for the selection, but recent linguistic conflicts in Kenya, Takganiyka, Uganda, Ghana, Nigeria, Pakistan, India, Burma, Ceylon, and Indonesia, etc. have proven that so far no 'cure-all' method has been found, Any attempt in this line has thus far failed;[2] it has simply kindled or revived the latent linguistic and cultural pride of the local ethnic groups with consequent disruption of internal harmony. Second, if the English language is chosen as a way out, how many of the local people know this language? and what about the pride of the nation? As earlier mentioned, each of the new stated strives to attain identity publicly acknowledged as having import or being somebody in the eyes of the civilized world. Therefore, the adoption of English as national lingua franca becomes alien to the desire of having a national cultural symbol. Nontheless in many of the new states English is today used as the official language; but how well is it uniting the people? How well is it serving

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[1] Geertz (ed.) op.cit., p. 3.

[2] For details see: Geertz, op.cit., and Frank A Rice, Study of the Role of Second Languages (Washington D.C.: Center for applied linguistics of the modern language association of America, 1962), p. 66.

the people as a national means of communication? Though it may be necessary to these new states in their international relations, and in their progress in scientific and technological fields, and even if it has served as a way out or rather to quiet temporarily the linguistic and cultural strifes among various populations, it does not seem to answer well the last two questions. The following quotation gives a glimpse of the many facets of the problems arising out of the adoption of English as national official language:

> Unequal language education often creates dissatisfaction between generations and sexes, regardless of their tribal identity. For example, most of the older men who would ordinarily hold positions of authority in Kenya are eliminated from direct participation in national government by the requirement that candidates for the legislative council pass English tests. Simply because they were too old for public schooling when the British made it available on any wide scale, they did not learn English, and the situation is not corrected by adult literary campaigns, which are usually conducted in vernaculars. Younger men who do speak English seek the positions in government which their fathers might have held in traditional society, and frequently they must break openly with their families, who regard such strivings as premature or disrespectful.[1]

Another problem that follows the adoption of a foreign language as the national one is the gap that consequently comes to exist between the masses and the 'intellectuals'. "The separation of the uneducated 'masses' immersed in their traditional culture and the 'intellectuals' who have had a modern education is representative of some disjunctions observable in the social structure of practically all the new states."[2] What will be the reaction of the leaders toward the cause of disunion

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[1] Frank A. Rice (ed.), Study of The Role of Second Languages, (Washington D.C.: Center for applied linguistics of the modern language association of America, 1962), p. 66.

[2] Geertz, op.cit., p. 3.

of their peoples? There are evidences that all the leaders of these states are actively engaged in the race toward progress which cannot be reached when their peoples are disunited. Will they therefore wait for the time until their peoples are politically mature to sense the importance of unity, or will they adopt non-democratic means to settle the cultural-linguistic differences? If they decide to take a decision, would the dictation be limited on these matters, or, be extended to others of political nature which might lead the leaders to adopt dictatorial systems such as one party system? The linguistic-cultural problem seems to be fraught with complications.

Thus far we have seen one side of the problem of cultural policy, namely, the linguistic side. It now remains to examine the cultural side in the following sections.

When, soon after World War II, a number of South Asian countries obtained independence, the western world thought that the national patterns of the new states was undoubtedly going to be set up along those of the West to which the new nations had been subjected for long. But the assumption was proved wrong. "The rising tide of the world of 1947 or 1952 seemed to be an Asian and Muslim 'culturalism' resembling the romantic nationalism of Europe a century earlier, rather than the secular nationalism familiar in the contemporary West."[1] These periods witnessed a "...resurgence of submerged civilization, and the ... 'inner order' or 'living law' of each national society."[2] It is the awakening of dormant civilizations that is now causing the many problems

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[1] Ibid., p. 28.

[2] F.S.C. Northrop, The Taming of Nations (New York: MacMillan, 1952, pp. 3, 68-69, 303-309); quoted in Geertz, op.cit., p. 28.

that the new nations are facing in their attempts to formulate a national pattern of life. Their problem is: Which one of the many revived old civilizations, each claiming predominance over others, would the country choose as its national emblem? Though the task is arduous, a decision must be taken.

As indicated above, the problem is hard and common to all the new states whether reputed to have had an old and glorious past such as India, or obscure civilization as that of some of them in both Asia and Africa. In the following discussions it will be attempted to show how some of the states have solved it, how others are trying to solve it, and how others are still entangled in it.

India which is the oldest and perhaps more mature than any of the new states in both continents was equally (and partially still is) caught in the web of cultural policy problems. Soon after independence its various ethnic groups revived themselves by showing up their "living law" of their long submerged civilization. This situation put India between the hammer, so to speak, and the anvil. At first she was compelled to adopt a policy of local cultural pluralism. But, since plurality of culture is not a desirable condition for any country if it is to have national solidarity, India had, later on, to find a common source or history or hero that could bind all her people. But, although older in civilization than the other new states and therefore richer in traditions; and moreover, although her long movement for independence had given her leaders opportunity and experiences on how and what steps to take, at the needed moment it was hard for her to make the right choice. She was for a time thrown between conflicting aspirations.

Many of its leaders wanted to adopt the western culture, still many others, past and present, were strongly in favor of indigeneous culture. But which one of the many cultures should be taken as offering national unity and dignity? The Indian social structure was not ideally suited for the solution of the problem. If she selected one aspect to be a suitable cultural level to unify her people this aspect would be remembered "...as triumphant by one sector of the society... yet too often remembered as humiliating by other sectors."[1] For example, when she resorted to Mogul as India's government symbol, the choice was criticised by the Muslims and the other religious sects. Therefore, she had to resort to a past long enough to be beyond any documentary history or legend. The choice fell on the Buddhist Emperor, Asoka, who reigned in about 269-232 B.C., and thus after long strife, India succeeded in sanctifying on the altar of the nation a "premier national hero" or a unifying and inspirational symbol in the person of Asoka.[2] Her language problem, however, is still perturbing her.

The Indian case is typical of the problem that now troubles the new states, Ceylon as one of the new states presents a similar situation. However, since no nation has an identical history or culture as another, no global generalization about the problem can be made. Ceylon was affected by the English education and its products much more than India was. Until 1947 power and pride of place were assigned to those who were English educated and had identified themselves with the western

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[1] Ibid., p. 34.

[2] Ibid., pp. 30-41.

culture. Though this group was a minority, "Ceylon officially disregarded all indigeneous cultures. Moreover, the rural areas were almost forgotten; for example, the nine-tenth of the rural Buddhists were totally "... left to shift for themselves in vernacular schools."[1] The consequences of clinging to imported culture was seen when Ceylon won its independence.

The various seemingly insignificant ethnic groups started blowing hard their horns to assert their existence and rights. Among these, the strongest were the least cared for during the foreign domination: The Buddhists. Because of their preponderant number, these got almost the upper hand of the situation. But their superiority in number was not a reason to reduce to nil other groups' claims and aspirations, and therefore, the country was plunged into political and social turmoil. For example when the newly aroused Sinhalese claimed privileged position for theirs as the only state language, and moved toward establishing Buddhism as the state religion, "they began a phase of communal politics characterized by violence in relations with the country's Tamils and Hindus..."[2] As a way out of the problem, therefore, a remote past embracing all was needed. Though not to the complete satisfaction of the many ethnic and linguistic divisions, various unavoidable circumstances led to the adoption of Buddhism and Sinhalese as respectively state religion and state language. The national education is now under the Buddhism's control.

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[1] Ibid., p. 4.

[2] Ibid., p. 43.

The problem of Pakistan, Burma and Indonesia also was the selection of one predominant or a "greater tradition" as a national symbol of unity. Pakistan's situation of choice of premier national hero, for example, was quite similar to that of India. She too, had to go through the arduous road before she could reach a point of agreement for her people. Briefly, here it is how it was and how she solved the problem.

Pakistan is a nation of predominantly (86 per cent) Muslim population, and yet she could not form a "standardized and popular version of culture" without long disputes. The traditionalists, the modernists and the fundamentalists strongly contended with each other for the imposition of their individual group ideals as national symbols. The traditionalists contended that it was better for Pakistan to rely upon centuries of historic experience and on legal doctrine as handed down and interpreted today by those learned in the law - Ulama. The modernists emphasized the doctrine that holds that the right ways for today are shown by the legislative concensus of the present community of Muslims. And the fundamentalists advocated strongly "the return to words of the Prophet and the ways of early Islam, variously interpreted without benefit of subsequent history or the accumulations of expert knowledge.[1]

After long debate and many compromises, Pakistan has now resolved her problem by accepting, with some modification, the fundamentalists' view. What has been said of Pakistan is true also of Burma and Indonesia. They have the similar problem and they have approached it the same way.

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[1] Ibid., p. 44.

B. Case Study: India

> The notion that India is a nationality rests upon that vulgar error which political science principally aims at eradicating. India is not a political name, but only a geographical expression like Europe or Africa. It does not mark the territory of a nation and a language, but the territory of many nations and many languages.
> (Sir John Seeley)[1]

The statement above seems an outright view especially when viewed in the light of India's pursuit after national unity. However, it seems to have some grains of truth as far as the multiplicity of languages and cultures as well as the present linguistic problems confronting the nation are concerned. India's language problem is really colossal; in fact, "one can safely say that for magnitude and complexity India's linguistic problem is the greatest in the world...".[2]

In the census of 1951 it was reported that the number of the local languages and dialects, including those spoken by small ethnic groups, was 845.[3] In a country with over 318 million population[4] with a multitude of cultures, any attempt for national unity appeared discouraging. But events are now on their way to proving otherwise, because "the political unity of all India, although never attained

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[1] The Expansion of England (1883), pp. 254-57; quoted in R. Palme Dutt, The Problem of India, (New York: International Publishers Co., Inc., 1943), pp. 89-90.

[2] Marshall Windmiller, op.cit., pp. 291-92.

[3] India, A Reference Annual, May 1957 (Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, 1957), p. 13.

[4] C.L. Barnhart (ed.), The American College Dictionary (New York: Random House, 1961).

perfectly in fact, always was the ideal of the people throughout the centuries...".[1] This does not mean however, that the language problem is easy to solve or is about to be solved; rather it is still far from being solved; witness the agitations of January and February, 1965. However, linguistic agitations in India have shown no evidence of political separatism as the Bengali movement in East Pakistan in 1954 has.

The major linguistic division in India is between the north and the south. The greater majority of languages in the whole of North India are of the Indo-Aryan linguistic family; "these languages have either evolved out of Sanskrit or been influenced by it, and their vocabularies share Sanskrit derivatives."[2] The Southern languages of India, known as the Dravidian group, also present some similarities among themselves but are completely different from those of the north. Though the Dravidian languages have no more mutual intelligibility than those in the north, the fear of northern domination has facilitated the growth of a sense of Dravidian solidarity among the people of the south. However, the solidarity among the southern peoples is significant only in relation to the northern Indians; because this solidarity is generally disrupted by linguistic rivalries among the Dravidians themselves.

A number of state boundaries in India have little relation to the distribution of language groups. The fact that the state boundaries

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[1] Dutt, op.cit., p. 89; quoting Vincent A. Smith, The Oxford History of India (1919), pp. IX-X.

[2] Dutt, op.cit., p. 292.

cut across linguistic regions is a remnant of the British administrative system. "The British annexed territory without regard to language considerations and thus created such unwieldy administrative units as the Presidency of Madras which included Tamils, Telugus, Kannadas and Malayalees, and sprawled over an area of 142,000 square miles."[1] These demarcations across state linguistic boundaries were, as indicated earlier, a result of the British system of divide-and-rule. These language boundaries, naturally, demanded the adoption of 'lingua franca', i.e. the English language. This became the language of administration as well as of instruction in the universities.

This system of grouping together in administrative units peoples of many languages and cultures was a cause for linguistic agitations during the British administration itself and still is at present. When prior to 1905, the British annexed the now separate state of Bengal with Bihar, Orissa and Chota Nagpur as an administrative province, it was found out then that the system of grouping together such tremendous areas was not only cumbersome administratively but was also a sure way of starting linguistic and cultural agitations among the various peoples. For instance, when one part of Bengal was annexed to the mentioned provinces, and its other portion put under a different administrative division the Bengalis of both areas launched a vigorous agitation demanding reunion of the two parts of Bengal. Continuous agitations which took all forms, including violence ultimately forced the British administration to grant the agitators their demand.

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[1] Ibid., p. 293.

The Bengalis' agitations for linguistic reunification and their final success constituted strong encouragement for other linguistic groups in the whole country. The countrywide linguistic movement is implicit in the following dispatch of the then Governor General of India:

> The opposition to the partition of Bengal was at first based mainly on sentimental grounds, but... the grievance of the Bengali has become much more real and tangible, and is likely to increase instead of diminish. Everyone with any true desire for the peace and prosperity of this country must wish to find some manner of appeasement, if it is in any way possible to do so...[1]

How language is a prominant social factor for uniting people of the same land was further proved by a chain of linguistic agitations in the various Indian states as well as by the following report:

> We cannot doubt that the business of government would be simplified if administrative units were both smaller and more homogeneous... It is also a strong argument in favour of linguistic or racial units of government that, by making it possible to conduct the business of legislation in vernacular, they would contribute to draw into the arena of public affairs men who were not acquainted with English.[2]

Although constitutional reforms were made in regard to the readjustment or the redistribution of linguistic boundaries, the British administration in India was never able to settle the language problem. Thus, when, in 1947, independence was given to the country,

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[1] "Dispatch of the Government of India to the Secretary of State of India", British and Foreign State Papers, Aug. 25, 1911 (London: H.M.S.O., 1915), pp. 224-226; quoted in Windmiller, op.cit., p. 296.

[2] Edwin Montagu and Chelmsford, Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms, n.d., n.p., (1918), pp. 118-119; quoted in Windmiller, op.cit., p. 296.

India inherited from the British the linguistic and cultural problems of her people.

The discussions here on linguistic agitations in the various Indian states have been limited to particular areas or states only. This was only to show isolated cases of the problem. The matter of the fact is that the language problem was and still is of a national character. In fact when in December 1946, the Indian Constituent Assembly met for the first time to draft an independent India's constitution, among the Assembly's most important items were linguistic problems and linguistic provinces. At that period, the movement for linguistic boundaries was in fact every-where revived again. Conventions and meetings were held all over India; and the Madras Legislative Assembly passed a resolution stressing upon the constitutional Assembly to regard the matter of linguistic provinces as "a necessary requisite in the framing of a constitution for India."[1] In 1948 a linguistic Provinces commission was appointed to study the state language boundaries.

After long study, seeing that the problem was too delicate to handle at that period, the commission submitted its report recognizing the importance of the solution of the problem and at the same time considering its discussion as something that could obstacle the growth of nationalism. The report read: "The first and last need of India at the present moment is that it should be made a nation".

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[1]Madras Legislative Assembly Debates: Vol. 5 (March to April, 1947), pp. 641 ff; quoted in Windmiller, p. 298.

> Everything which helps the growth of nationalism has to go forward, and everything which throws obstacles in its way has to be rejected.... We have applied this test to linguistic provinces... and judged by this test, in our opinion, they (the demands for readjustment and redistribution of linguistic provinces) fail and cannot be supported.[1]

The decision of the Commission was so widely opposed in the whole country that the Congress Party felt forced to appoint its own Linguistic Provinces Committee in the same year. The report of this Committee was submitted on April 1, 1949, only slightly less unfavorable to the linguistic idea than the previous commission's report. It read:

> Taking a broad and practical view... we feel that the present is not an opportune time for the formation of new provinces. It would unmistakably retard the process of consolidation of our gains, dislocate our administrative, economic and financial structure, let loose, while we are in a formative state, forces of disruption and disintegration, and seriously interfere with the progressive solution of our economic and political difficulties.... However, if public sentiment is insistent and overwhelming, we, as democrats, have to submit to it, but subject to certain limitations in regard to the good of India as a whole....[2]

Though it contained appeasing statements, the report served only to worsen the situation, especially in the south where emotions in Andhra began to simmer, and continued until 1953. For instance, on August 16, 1951, a well known and respected Gandhian, Swami Sitaram, and many of his followers "undertook a 'fast to death' for the creation of Andhra State. As the fast wore on, tension mounted and national leaders manifested increasing uneasiness."[3] The example of claiming

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[1]Constituent Assembly of India, "Report of the Linguistic Provinces Commission" (New Delhi: Government Press, 1948), p. 56; quoted in Windmiller, op.cit., p. 299.

[2]"Report of the Linguistic Provinces Committee" (New Delhi: A I C C, 1949), pp. 9-10, 15; quoted in Windmiller, op.cit., p. 300.

[3]Windmiller, op.cit., pp. 300-301.

through 'fast to death' for formation of Andhras as a state was followed by another Andhra patriot who died after fifty-six day fast. The reaction of Andhra was immediate. Violence broke everywhere; police had to intervene; some were killed and many wounded. After long linguistic agitations, Andhra was granted statehood on October 1, 1953.

The decision to separate Andhra from Madras increased the confusion and added fuel to the linguistic controversy; it constituted the signal for linguistic promotors all over India to increase their agitation. "In North India , linguistic groups which had not previously expressed a desire for separate status began to agitate with extraordinary vigor. New organizations and pressure groups dedicated to the linguistic idea sprang up all over India".[1] The appalling rise of language agitations became a serious threat to the order of the country. It became a cause for serious cleavage among the various national political parties, and finally it compelled the Government of India to form a commission to examine the language affair which has become a serious national concern. But once again, the government's move served only to make things worse. Congressmen themselves from various provinces went on record in aggravating the linguistic problem. An organization known as the National Unity Platform led by Patil was formed to quieten the language issue by proposing a postponment of the linguistic controversies for twenty-five years;[2] but did not achieve its goals. Among the political parties of India that capitalized most on the language issue and tried to foment more internal discord was the Communist Party of India. What follows was one of its party's moves: "... we support the demand for linguistic

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[1] Ibid., p. 309.

[2] S.K. Patil, Have we National Unity Yet? (Hindustan Times; Delhi, January 26, 1954); quoted in Windmiller op.cit., p. 311.

provinces because we know that through it the people of the various linguistic units are taking their first step against the central bourgeois leadership and its policy of suppression of national groups."[1] In the intervening years a lot of readjustment and redistribution of linguistic provinces took place, but the problem is not yet solved, and still less the controversy about one language for the whole India.

The previous discussion tried to give an idea of what is described in the case of the new states, and especially of India, as "... 'plural' or 'multiple' societies, 'mosaic' or 'composite' social structures, 'states' that are not 'nations' and 'nations' that are not 'states', 'tribalism', 'parochialism', and 'Communalism'".[2] This discussion also serves to show the tremendous task of the national leaders.

Long before independence of their country, the Indian leaders, had felt, that if India is ever to meet the complex problems of administration in the twentieth century world and promote educational, scientific and cultural advancement of its people, one unifying factor must first be established. On this point there has been general agreement among the various political movements and parties of the country. The crucial point was in deciding which of the many should be the one language. The disagreement has shown to be very violent.

"Among the hundreds of Indian languages Hindi is spoken by the greatest number of people. In the census of 1951, over 108,000,000

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[1] Peoples' Age (Vol. VII, No. 10: September 5, 1948), p. 16, quoted in Windmiller, op.cit., p. 311.

[2] Geertz, op.cit., p. 106.

people claimed Hindi as their mother tongue."[1] For this reason, even before independence, Hindi was considered by the nationalist movement as most likely to be the national language. But this view was not backed by the bulk of the population. One of the elements for conflict between the Hindus and the Muslims in the pre-independence period was in fact due to language competition between the Hindi and the Urdu. This linguistic competition was followed by communal bitterness which in course of time deeply affected the unity of India. At that period, conscious of the grave consequences of language dispute, and in order to minimize these difficulties, Gandhi persuaded the Congress to accept the term Hindustani to describe a language that combined both Hindi and Urdu. But Gandhi's move met with little success, because soon after his death, Hindi was by constitution made India's national language.

The adoptation of Hindi as national language was cause for unabated bitterness not only to Urdu but also to a number of others. For instance, in 1954, the Minister for education who was responsible for the propagation of Hindi was bitterly attacked in the House of the People for conspiring to devulgate Hindustani instead of Hindi. The leader of this attack was a former Congress President and Hindu-minded right-winger in Congress. The Minister denying the allegations replied vehemently "The chief obstacle in the development of Hindi", he said amid cheers from the House, "is this narrow mind of the so

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[1] Windmiller, op.cit., p. 313.

called lovers of Hindi."[1] This small incident showed that language problem was a cause for friction even among parliamentary members.

The negative effects on the national unity caused by the adoption of Hindi as India's language were felt throughout the country and especially in the South. The bases for the widespread dissatisfaction were many. First "... the people of South India, who speak languages having no etymological affinity with Hindi, were bitterly opposed to the use of Hindi and regarded the proposal as an attempt by the politicians of North India to dominate the South."[2] Secondly, the Easterners, the Bengalis, who claim that their language has a long and splendid tradition of literature and regard it as superior to Hindi as a literary vehicle, feel that they and their language have been wronged by the decision concerning Hindi. The third reason was that Hindi was a foreign language to the greater majority of the Indians, and that English as the only medium in which the people from the north, the south, the east and the west can communicate with one another should not be replaced by any language. Other reasons in favor of keeping English as the official language of the country were based on the assumption that English was more advantageous to India in its diplomatic relations, international trade, science and technology than the Hindi language. But finally, all the views of individual states and ethnic groups had to succumb under the weight of the national need

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[1] Ibid., p. 314.

[2] Sir Percival Griffiths, Modern India, (London: Ernest Benn Ltd., 1957), p. 130.

for unity and national dignity among nations. As Nehru said, India needs one unifying factors, i.e., one language for the whole country:

> I think it is perfectly right to say that English had done us a lot of good and we have learnt much from it and progressed much - nevertheless no nation can become great on the basis of a foreign language. Why? Because a foreign language can never be the language of the people, for you will have two strata or more - those who live in thought and action of a foreign tongue and those who live in another world. So he (Gandhi) taught us that we must do our work more and more in our own language.... However good, however important English may be, we cannot tolerate that there should be an English knowing elite and a large mass of our people not knowing English. Therefore we must have our own language.[1]

C. The Case of Switzerland

Switzerland is a small, land-locked country lying approximately in the center of Western Europe, and surrounded by Italy, France, Germany and Austria. With about five million population in 15,944 square miles, it is one of the most thickly populated countries in Europe. Its Federal Constitution provided that four languages - French, Italian, German, and Romanche - be the national languages of Switzerland; however, only the first three are official languages.[2] Despite its smallness and its three main different languages "to say nothing of Rhaito Romanic and some seventy dialects"[3] Switzerland has established a modern nation which has gained world admiration.

The old Swiss Confederation has its origin in 1291, when "...the free men of the Alpine valleys of Uri, Schwyz and Unterwalden,

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[1] Windmiller, op.cit., p. 315.

[2] George A. Codding, Jr., The Federal Government of Switzerland (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1961), p. 8 et passim.

[3] Robert Clarkson Brooks, Civic Training in Switzerland (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press 1930), p. 294.

bordering on the lake of Lucerne, concluded their first historical recorded treaty",[1] which resulted in the creation of a "perpetual League" for the common defense of Switzerland. Each of the three communities now called cantons pledged to come to the aid of any member whenever its security was threatened from external danger or aggression. "Furthermore, arbitration was to be used in settling all differences that would occur among them."[2] From the day of the first meeting of the three communities for five centuries the constitutional history of the Swiss people has been the history of frequently renewed and continuously enlarged convenants. By the close of the nineteenth century, the number of the cantons had risen to 13; and in 1851, with the admission of Geneva, the cantons reached the present number of 22 states in the Federation.

There are two sovereignities in Switzerland: The one is the Federal, exercised by the Confederation, and the other is Cantonal. As sovereign states, the cantons have a right to the protection of their territorial integrity. Any conflict on frontier matters between cantons is referred to the Federal Tribunal for settlement. Each canton has also a right to the protection of its constitution, provided, however, that the latter does not contain provisions contrary to the Federal Constitution. Furthermore, the cantons have their own legislative and judiciary powers as well as administrative.

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[1]William E. Rappord, The Government of Switzerland (New York: D. Van Nostrand Co., Inc., 1936), p. 14.

[2]Codding, op.cit., p. 21.

As members of a Federal State, the cantons have the obligation to concour toward the security and prosperity of Switzerland as a whole.[1]

As hinted earlier, the Swiss, despite the existence of language barriers, have achieved a national unity which has aroused the interest of the world. It must, however, be remembered that the present Swiss national unity was favored historically by several circumstances. In fact, language problem had never been felt in Switzerland before the eighteenth century. "Only in the nineteenth century, particularly with the accession to full membership of the cantons of Ticino and Vaud in 1803, and of Valais, Neuchatel, and Geneva in 1815, did Switzerland become a three-language country."[2] Prior to the mentioned period, i.e. between 1291 and 1798, the Confederation was almost totally monolingual; that is, German and its Teutonic dialects were the language of the country. For example, when in 1486 Louis XI discovered that inferior soldiers of fortune from Savoy, Gascony, Lorrain, and elsewhere were infiltrating into his regiments of Swiss mercenaries, a rule was passed that ability to speak German should be required, as a test of genuine Swiss origin, of any individual before joining the German Army. Likewise, it was decided that those who had "...enrolled themselves falsely under that trade-mark should be sent to the gallows."[3] With the creation of democracy and representative government local

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[1] George Sauser-Hall, The Political Institutions of Switzerland (Zurich: Swiss National Tourist Office, Publication Dept., 1946) pp. 44 ff.

[2] Brooks, op.cit., p. 295.

[3] Ibid., p. 296.

interests and language minorities claim rights and thus are able to create difficulties for the ruling majorities. For example, the French speaking populations who resided in territories acquired and conquered by the Swiss were deprived of political rights and therefore had no right to protest against the use of German as Swiss national language. This situation accounts for the existence of Swiss unity right from the political establishment of Switzerland. That is, in the early periods of the Swiss Confederation, the cantons were homogeneous in speach and therefore were untroubled by language problem. Sporadic language conflicts and measures are, however, found in the early history of Switzerland. For example, in the fourteenth century, in Freiburg, the local municipality had to intervene with municipal ordinance against youngesters crying "Alaman contre Roman". Another example is that of 1593 when the hawking of market articles in French was made subject to fine, and six years later steps were taken against the "barbarous and ear-annoying" French intonation of Latin prayers and sermons in church.[1]

There are also other factors that have considerably reduced the negative effects of multilingualism on the unity of national life of the Swiss. For one thing, up to the middle of the 19th century the central government was not strong in its influence over the cantons. Prior to that period, each canton enjoyed the widest attributes of self-government, one of which was complete language autonomy. In cantons so diminutive it was one language that predominated as a rule, a fact that this gave little power to divergent minorities to protest

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[1] Ibid., p. 296 et passim.

against the majorities' language. An inter-cantons language issue was usually brought up when the laws of a given canton were printed in one language only. It was in the language interest of each canton not to interfer with the language of another canton. This in fact seems to have contributed to the attitude of tolerance, an attitude of 'live and let others live' which is said to be dominant today in the life of the Swiss people.

What is said here should not mean, however, that language conflicts were totally absent from Swiss life. When in 1848 and 1874 a considerable degree of centralization came in, one of the many things that the federal government had to settle was to find a formula expressing the prevailing view on the matter of language. Thus, in 1848, to reduce language friction, the three major and competing languages were made equal in every respect to each other and were declared national languages of the Federation.[1] This decision, simple in itself, worked as a political magic to save the country from language antagonism. And paradoxically enough, the recognition of three languages as national languages has favored the growth of national unity, in that, each canton in order to have its own language respected had to respect that of others, and thus a language 'balance' that satisfied all concerned has come to be established. However, here it must be said that no matter how wise and beneficial to the concerned people it may be, a law cannot bring its fruit if it is not backed by the will of those for whom it

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[1] Ibid., p. 298 et passim; and Rappard, p. 8 et passim.

has been enacted. The Swiss people have been admirable in this point. In order to keep their language differences in which they identify their intellectual and cultural enrichment, and at the same time in order to maintain their nation's stability, the Swiss people made the teaching of one of the national languages a federal school law. "... the requirements themselves were fairly stiff, particularly in languages... the federal maturity certificate required... reading and speaking knowledge of a second national language with some knowledge of its modern literature."[1]

Much of the credit for the present absence of language antagonism and therefore credit for national unity must be ascribed to the effective language instruction given in the public schools of the country.

> Thanks to it (language instruction) a very large percentage of the population is bilingual, and among the more highly educated classes, trilingual. As a result... it is literally true (to say) that a German-Swiss travelling in the Romance section of the country does not think of the French spoken there as a foreign language, and vice versa. To him it is simply a second national language.[2] Since 1798, Switzerland has become a bi and even a trilingual country.[3]

The desire of the Swiss people to maintain the unity of their country by becoming a bi- or trilingual people is further strengthened by certain other factors. Any one of the Swiss cantons speaking any one of the three major languages is apt to think that it has nothing

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[1] Brooks, op.cit., p. 182.

[2] Ibid., op.cit., p. 299.

[3] Rappord, op.cit., p. 7.

to gain, rather it would lose much, by uniting itself with the greater nation speaking the canton's language. That is, any Swiss canton that would decide to unite, say with France, would only lose the cantonal privileges that enjoys within the Swiss Federation and would become a minor province in the bigger country. This consideration, therefore, seems to be one of the factors contributing to the desire of each Swiss canton to stick to its canton sisters. To this consideration must be also added the effort of public officials, patriotic societies, literary men, the press, teachers and administrators who have greatly contributed to the solidarity of the country. For example, when in 1914 the Swiss unity was seriously threatened, it was the joint efforts of such organizations that saved Switzerland from breaking into pieces.[1]

At this point it seems proper to consider how linguistic problems and the weakness of the federal government affected the national history of Switzerland. Until 1798 the cantons were only a sort of miniature league of nations. "Their individual rights were so preponderant and their federal organization so loose that historians have generally been led to declare that there was no such thing as a Swiss state."[2] The absence of any form of representative government; federal civil service, federal army, federal budget, and national citizenship was the characteristic of the Swiss Confederation. National interests were discussed at sporadic meetings of the Diet, and most decisions involving any matter of principle was binding only on those cantons which had agreed to it.

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[1]Cf. Brooks, op.cit., pp. 303-307.

[2]Rappord, op.cit., p. 16.

Continuing on the disunity of the Swiss states, Rappord says that in political institutions the Swiss national unity was conspicuous by its absence. The absence of national unity was such that Switserland was unable to defend the common interests of its cantons. On various occasions it was even incapable of keeping peace among its members. "When one considers the history of these five hundred years of internal strife and of external intriguing, one cannot but be surprised at the survival of the Swiss nation as such."[1] The factors that helped it to keep the unity of the federation were external pressures and the cohesive forces of the memories of battles fought in common, and the same spirit of independence. The weakness of the federation was shown when, in 1798, the country was invaded by the armies of French Revolution. Another example of the negative effects of language differences was shown in 1847 when civil war broke out as the result of the seven minority canton's refusal to amend the Swiss Constitution of 1815. That is, the reason why "... the Swiss Federalists, who have always been the spokesmen of the linguistic and confessional minorities, were hostile to a single house of popular representatives because in such a body they were bound to be outnumbered."[2] A recent language clash between two cantons was recorded when the French-speaking citizens of the Bernese Jura wanted to be separated from the German-speaking Bernese of the rest of the canton. The language controversy was flared up the more when in a speech before the Bernese Grand Council it was stated that

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[1] Ibid., p. 16 et passim.

[2] Ibid., p. 22.

"a department of such general importance", i.e. the administrative direction of cantonal public works should have at its head a man whose mother tongue was German.[1] Other recent examples where the intervention of the federal government was needed were in 1890 in Ticino in "... a particularly bloody uprising in which the revolutionists had actually overthrown the cantonal government"[2] and in the case of Geneva in 1864.

It can now be concluded that if Switzerland of today is beyond the detrimental effects of language plurality, it is mainly due to seven or eight centuries of hardened experiences with the problem and to a great amount of tolerance on the part of each language faction and not to abrupt decisions of the central government. Its case of plurality of languages therefore can neither be considered an exception nor be compared with that of the new states of Asia and Africa which are only twenty years old at most.

> But after all, the most interesting lesson it (Switzerland) teaches is how traditions and institutions, taken together may develop in the average man, to an extent never reached before, the qualities that make a good citizen - shrewdeness, moderation, common sense and a sense of duty to the community. It is because this has come to pass in Switzerland that democracy is there more truly democratic than in any other country"; and that diversity of languages has been devoided of its negative effects in the modern life of the nation.[3]

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[1] Codding, op.cit., p. 39; quoting Journal de Geneve, April 22, 1960, p. 2.

[2] Ibid., p. 40.

[3] Brooks, op.cit., p. IX; quoting James Bryce, Modern Democracies, II, 449.

Chapter IV

LANGUAGE AND NATIONAL UNITY IN ETHIOPIA AND ERITREA

A. The Uniqueness of the Problem

The problem of Ethiopia in regard to the Eritrean situation presents aspects that are not found in any of the countries discussed earlier. If it is compared with that of other countries, and especially with the Indian, the Ethiopian problem appears different; it divides the country into two sections: Ethiopia and Eritrea. The Indian problem is complicated not only by the great number of languages existing in the land but also by the mutual unintelligibility of these languages. Furtheremore, it is complicated by the cultural, traditional and religious differences among the Indian peoples. These two factors - language and cultural differences - make it difficult for the Indian government to establish a national cultural policy along which to set up the patterns of national life. The problem of the Ethiopian government lies in bringing together two people who - while in the past were racially, linguistically, culturally and religiously one people - are now divided only by language differences.

B. History of the Problem

Up to 1890, Eritrea not only was an integral part of Ethiopia but was itself the cultural center of the ancient Ethiopic Kingdom. In 1890, however, after many battles between the Ethiopians and the

Italians, Eritrea fell under the latter's rule. Fifty years later, in 1941, it was liberated by the British army, and remained under the British Military Administration until September 1952.

The events that led to the present political situation between Ethiopia and Eritrea started in 1945 when the Eritreans began to demand independence from the British Military Administration, or, rather, union with Ethiopia. However, while posing such demands the Eritreans were themselves divided in their political views about the future political status of the country. Some of them wanted union with Ethiopia; others wanted complete independence; still others claimed that it was better for Eritrea to remain for ten years under the British Trusteeship or the United Nations Trusteeship before coming to independence. These diversities of political aims divided the Eritreans into strongly opposing political groups. To reach their political goals, the various political parties resorted to various means: from persuasion to violence. The prolongation and the gravity of this situation led the local British Administration to refer the matter to the Four Powers which "Under the terms of the 1947 Peace Treaty" in which "Italy renounced her title to her former African colonies"[1] were to decide on the future of Eritrea. Ethiopia had to intervene, and in 1946, a year after Ethiopia had regained its independence attempts were made by the Emperor to re-unify Eritrea with its mother land. Such attempts failed then for various reasons; efforts to materialize the plans, however, never ceased until the consummation of the project - November 14th, 1962.

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[1] Edward Ullendorff, The Ethiopians: Introduction to Country and Peoples (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), p. 198.

Historical Background of Ethiopia's Claims

The strongest basis for Ethiopia's claims for annexing Eritrea to itself was that the Eritreans were racially, linguistically and culturally Ethiopians; and that the northern parts of Ethiopia along the western coast of the Red Sea and those boardening with the Sudanese Republic assumed the name of Eritrea only after Italy occupied them toward the close of the nineteenth century. Before that date, Eritrea with its main part, Tigrai, was not only the heart of the Ethiopian culture but it was the Ethiopia often mentioned in the Bible. The name 'Eritrea' was an Italian creation of 1890, and such a name was not mentioned in any historical document prior to that date. The name 'Ethiopia' refered to in history meant, up to the thirteenth century, the land of Eritrea of today and the territory south of it known presently as the Tigrai province.

To illustrate this historically, it is reported that between 1000 to 700 B.C.[1] some tribes from across the other side of the Red Sea moved westward and established themselves first, on the coastal areas, and then, gradually on the Eritrean plateau. As a result of intermingling between the local people and the newcomers, the country was named, first, 'Habash' and then Abyssinia and finally Ethiopia. By the fourth century B.C. the Abyssinians had built a Kingdom with its capital Axum, in the Tigrai - Eritrea provinces of modern Ethiopia. The mixture of cultures and languages of the two peoples gave rise to

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[1] S.H. Longrigg, A Short History of Eritrea (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1945), p. 11 ff.

the Kingdom's language which was known as "Ge'ez" or "Old Ethiopic".[1]

Emergence of New Languages in Ethiopia

Between the nineth and the twelveth centuries, the Kingdom of Akum had its worst period in its history. The political upheavals which occured at that time "... greatly disturbed the unity of the Ethiopian history".[2] Because of political instability, the subsequent lack of security in the country as a whole, and the complete disruption of communication between the various provinces of the Kingdom, the people of each province were forced to live within the boundaries of their own regions. The result of this regional isolation was the emergence of new languages. Today in Ethiopia there are three major languages that have branched out of the Old-Ethiopic or Ge'ez: Tigrina, Amharic, and Tigre.

Tigrina, which has remained the closest to Ge'ez, "... evolved in the area of the original home of the Axumites",[3] Tigrai and Eritrea, and is presently spoken in these provinces. It could not, however, evolve, in the literary sense, until about the nineteenth century. This was mainly due to the fact that Ge'ez continued to be the country's literary and ecclesiastical language long after it had ceased as a living tongue.[4] In 1952, when Eritrea was federated with Ethiopia, Tigrina became the official language of the country.

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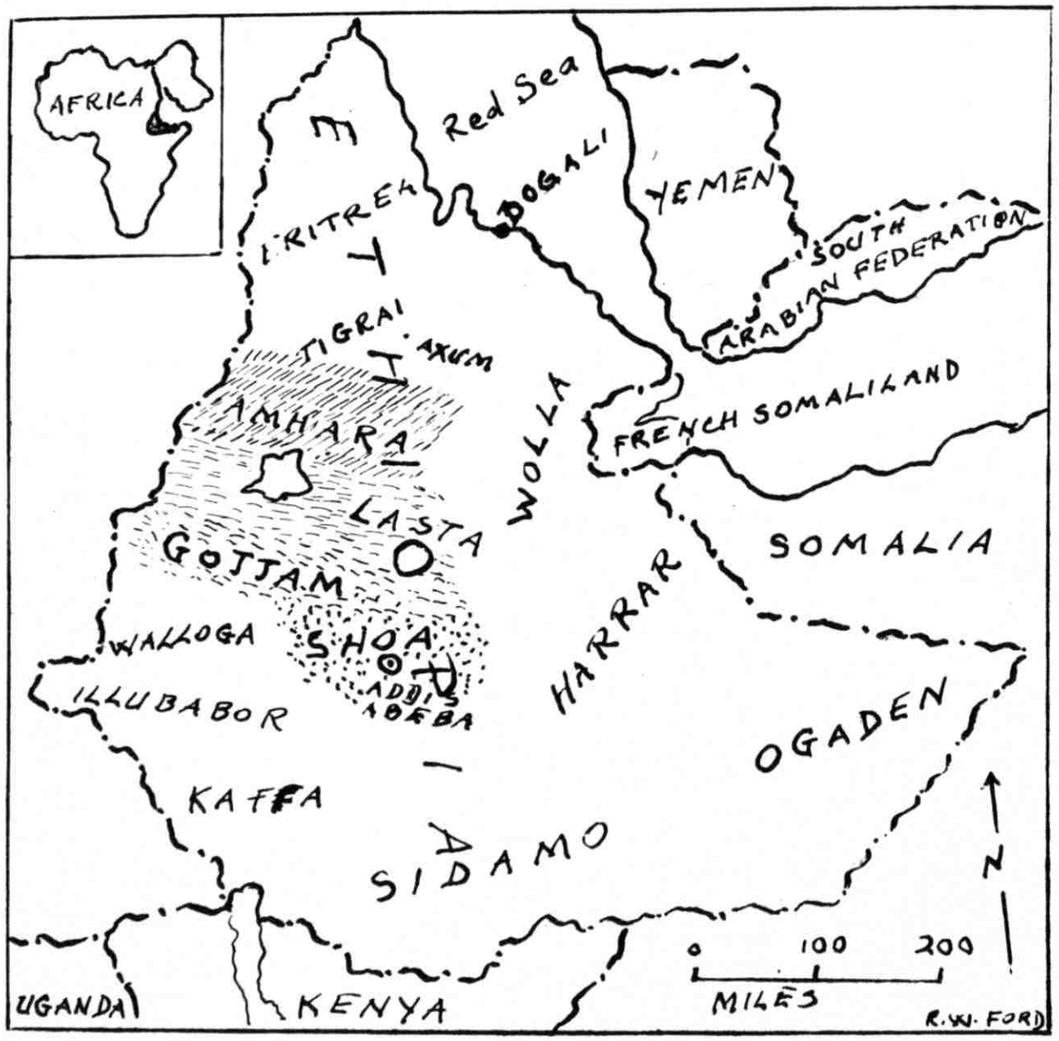
[1] For further details see Ullendorff, op.cit., Chapter IV.

[2] Ibid., pp. 121-122.

[3] Ibid., p. 124.

[4] Ibid., p. 121.

Map: Geographical origin and movements of the Amharic language.



Approximate area where Amharic first emerged (around the 9th century).

First southward movement of Amharic.

Second and last movement; (toward the end of the 13th century).
(Adopted from Ullendorff; shading is the author's).

Amharic, which is the southern branch of Ge'ez, evolved, first, in the Amhara, and then in the Lasta provinces, and finally in the south, in the Shoa province; and was the first of the three branches of Ge'ez to shake off the suppression of the Old Ethiopic. Therefore, with respect to the other two languages, Amharic is far more advanced as a literary language. "Amharic has long been called lesana negus or yanegus kwankwa, 'the language of the king', for ... it has, for centuries, been the language of the court..."[1]. At present it is the official language of Ethiopia.

The third branch of Ge'ez is Tigre which is spoken in the eastern and north western parts of Eritrea by a sizeable part of the Eritrean population.

Deviation of the Three Languages from Ge'ez.

The deviation of these languages from their root, Ge'ez, does not make them completely unintelligible to each other. As the original Ethiopic has undergone some changes in respect to the other semitic languages, the three branches of Ge'ez have lost, and in some cases have incorporated, some foreign words into them. Amharic is the one which has been greatly influenced by the languages of the people of South-East Africa to the extent that many of its words and its syntax differ considerably from those of Ge'ez. Tigre and Tigrina, especially the latter, have retained great similarity with Ge'ez both in vocabulary and syntax.

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[1] Ibid., p. 124.

The degree of mutual intelligibility of these languages is explained by Ullendorff in his work on the Ethiopian languages. He says that if Ge'ez is compared to Latin, Tigrina would be to Ge'ez as the Italian language is related to Latin, and Tigre and Amharic would respectively be as Spanish and French are related to their root, Latin.[1]

C. Political Unity and the New Measures for Enforcing the Amharic Language

It was mentioned earlier that the intensification of conflicts among the political factions in Eritrea had necessitated the presence in the country of a Four Powers' Commission of inquiry that was entrusted with exploring the best solution for the problem. When repeated commissions of the Four Powers failed to agree on a solution for the future of the country "... the matter was referred to the United Nations and after a further commission of inquiry, the General Assembly finally decided, in December 1950, that Eritrea should be self-governing in domestic affairs but that foreign affairs and trade, defense and communications were to be vested in the Federal Government of Ethiopia."[2] This decision went into effect on the eleventh of September 1952, and continued until November 1962.

Social and Educational Implications of the Unity

Once united, it was inconceivable that Tigrina should continue to be the official language of Eritrea; so, soon after the re-unification a law was passed by virtue of which Amharic became the official language

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[1] Ibid., p. 129.

[2] Ibid., p. 198.

of Eritrea. Amharic became also the official medium of instruction in all parts of the country. This policy, however, was unexpected by many Eritreans.

One may say that the measures adopted by the government with regard to language are perhaps correct and necessary. An official language or a national language greatly facilitates national unity. It is therefore in the interest of the country in its two parts, Eritrea and Ethiopia, that the policy concerning the unity of language was adopted. Its purposes are to enable the Eritreans to assimilate the views and feelings of their southern brothers, and thus cooperate with them toward the general good and progress of the country.

The measures taken by the government may be objectionable only in the manner in which they have been implemented and/or the length of time assigned for the passage from Tigrina, the local language of Eritrea to Amharic, the national language.

The immediate substitution of the Tigrina in favor of Amharic both as the official and as the medium of school instruction cannot have taken place without unfavorable reactions on some part of the local populations. The reactions may not be manifest. It must be pointed out, however, that the reactions or resentments may not be due to the fact that the Eritreans consider themselves as non-Ethiopians, but first, that they feel deeply attached to their own language, and second, that they were not psychologically prepared for the change.

The latent resentment of the people may be a serious obstacle to the achievement of the goals that the policy proposes to achieve. It may manifest itself in various ways, and motivate the people to act

to the detriment of the administration in Eritrea and in Ethiopia as a whole as far as the building of the spirit of national unity and co-operation among its people is concerned.

The unpreparedness of the minds of the Eritreans to the language change may tend to make them feel that they have been wronged and therefore rob them of the healthy and desirable feelings of nationalism. That is, the change of language instead of creating the expected nationalistic sentiments may backfire and as a result strengthen provincialism among the Eritreans. Thus, not only the concept of Ethiopia as one whole unit may fail to develop in their minds, but the name of Ethiopia itself and anyone speaking the Ethiopian language may become to them synonymous with foreign domination. If this trend is allowed to continue it may come to the point of converting provincialism into self-interest and corruption especially among those Eritreans involved in local administration. If people involved in administration are, for one reason or another, made to feel that they are some sort of mercenaries, that is, if the performance of their administrative duties is not buttressed by national spirit, and if they do not see any lofty aims to strive for, their morale may be lowered and they may gradually be pervaded by intents of total selfishness. Their interest and their efforts may, then, be concentrated on self-aggrandizement, career-making, and gaining the favors of those at the top. If things degenerate to this state, the uneducated and the mass in general, might be used as instruments for the achievement of the personal interests of those in the administration itself, and the dissatisfied masses may come to hate Ethiopia and everything connected with it.

This feeling may perpetuate a vicious circle of dissatisfaction and bad administration.

There is another factor that may aggravate the situation, i.e., people living under such conditions may be easily led to attribute the adverse conditions of life to the administration even when the latter has nothing to do with the adversities of life. For illiterates or barely educated people, even natural phenomena such as drought, poor crops, floods may be attributed to God's punishment for corrupted administration. And, if, for one reason or another, the administration is considered to be in the hands of outsiders and their agents, the mass of people might hate such an administration as its oppressor and cause of its miseries. Feelings of these kinds, once established, may make a population unresponsive and mistrustful to any government plans and projects for the amelioration of the conditions of the population itself.

Under such conditions, any social or national progress might either drag slowly, or might require its introduction by compulsion and provocative procedures. Such means could be provocative and the mass might overtly show its dissatisfaction with the general situation. The overt act of dissatisfaction may take different forms - from passive resistance to compliance with the government's programs to active protest and reactions - and might explode into demands barely related to the root of the distrubing situation.

Educational Implications of Language Change

Another negative aspect of the introduction of the language policy without a long and careful preparation of the ground for its application is what concerns the teachers and the students of the land.

The psychological unpreparedness of the people to accept the second language and its eventual consequences referred to earlier may form strong obstacles to the fulfillment of the goals of the policy even in the schools.

School children can be made to learn the second language and meet the school requirements, but the language learning activity may be associated with the negative impact of their parents' reaction to the new measures. The teachers also, as members of the larger society, may be equally dissatisfied with the general situation as to be negatively affected in the performance of their school duties. Their dissatisfaction may not be openly shown, but reflected in their attitudes toward their teaching in general and in the teaching of the second language in particular. If this takes place, its effects on the children and their school achievements may lead to grave consequences. For example, the students might develop incooperativeness, distrust, intolerance, and sarcasm out of their teachers' negative attitudes toward them. Under such conditions, the growth of nationalistic feelings might be seriously hampered.

Second, the fact that the majority of the local teachers are either ignorant of the second language or possess very limited knowledge of it makes the situation more crucial and difficult. Added to the dissatisfaction hinted to above, the situation may have a serious slowing effect on the educational and academic growth of the students. It might be argued that the teachers could learn the new language during summer courses organized for the purpose, or through normal courses of six or twelve months length. But this may not be sufficient

to enable one to use the new language as a medium of teaching. This becomes more evident if one considers the fact that even a teacher who uses his own native language in teaching and explaining school subjects finds himself confronted at times with lack of suitable words to communicate with his students; and therefore resorts to circumlocutions to get to the desired point. What would the novice in the second language do when confronted with problems as the above ones? He might be allowed to use his mother tongue to solve the problem. But, if we assume that his knowledge of the second language is such as to cause him many and frequent problems of the kind, would he still be allowed to continue using his mother tongue? He might be strongly tempted to do so, but at the same time he might feel strongly pressed to use the official medium of instruction, and for good reasons. First, if he used too often the students' language he would go against the aims of the language policy and the school rules. He might even fear of being taken for one who is anti-Ethiopian and therefore of being considered as one who is showing his reaction and adversion to the policy of the government by using Tigrina in the classroom. The second reason for which he might feel impelled to use Amharic at all time in the classroom might be the fact that he is expected to teach his students a prefixed amount of knowledge of the second language and the class-subjects which are all to be demonstrated at the quarterly class examinations. In a centralized system of education such as the Ethiopian, this motive is so strong and so pressing on teachers that the individual teacher feels compelled to do his utmost to cover the curriculum requirement within the given time and finally demonstrate to his supervisor his

student's achievement. But, to obtain results that satisfy the supervisor, a teacher must possess good knowledge and command of the language of instruction. And in the case of the Eritrean teacher who lacks this knowledge, what would be the reaction to the whole situation that one would expect? What would be his attitude toward his students, his work, and the purpose of the policy? In a situation full of frustrations, the reactions of one may not be positive but those of discouragement, and defeat, to be finally followed by loss of energy and indifference toward one's own duties.

Another suggestion might be to import from Ethiopia proper Amharic-speaking teachers; the second, that of postponing the use of the new language as medium of instruction for some four or five years. This latter view might be based on the assumption that during the interval mentioned all the Eritrean teachers might acquire a proficient knowledge of Amharic so as to teach it efficiently. The view might also assume that during a period of four or five years Amharic could be gradually introduced i.e. first as a second or school-subject and then as school-language. These steps might to some extent serve as psychological ground for a favorable acceptance of the new language.

These suggestions may have their own value but, viewed closely they may not be practical. The idea of importing Amharic-speaking teachers in sufficient number to replace the local teachers is impossible. Besides Ethiopia-proper herself is in need of teachers, therefore, cannot provide Eritrea with many of her teachers at least in the short run. The view favoring gradual introduction of the new language, too, has some obstacles. The central government is, perhaps rightly, impatient

in wanting to speed up the conversion of the Eritreans to their original nationality. Another factor that may have led the government to adopt the present policy might very well be the close affinity of Amharic and Tigrina.

Thus far we have hinted to the difficulties that a teacher may face when he has to use an ill-mastered language for communicating with his students. What about the pupil who perhaps hears Amharic for the first time and yet he has to learn through it the various prescribed school subjects?

Education is largely, if not completely, carried on by means of language, oral in particular. Because of this, it is believed that clarity and suitability of language in teaching are considered as fundamental elements for successful teaching and learning. In fact, it is rare to see a teacher with speech difficulty. From common sense and from educational researches on the field, it is also an established fact that if the child is to understand fully what is taught to him, the the subject matter must be expressed in words within the word-range at the child's command as well as within the background of his experience. This task may not be so difficult for a teacher who uses his own language or another of which he has a good knowledge. But what will it be in the case of the Eritrean teacher and his pupil when the teacher himself is a first or second or even third year student of the language which he uses for teaching? What sort of psychological and academic difficulties will the pupil face when taught in a second language right from the first grade? As it is everywhere, the whole curriculum of the elementary grades does not consist of only reading and writing. How

will the pupil understand the school subjects taught only at the beginning stage of the Amharic language study?

Therefore, it is not only the difficulties that the pupil might meet as a result of the new language that the writer considers as educational problems resulting out of the new policy, but also the fact that because of language factor the school subject levels might have to be made far below the normal grade or age level of the pupil. It seems improbable that under these conditions the program of study can be made comparable to that designed for pupils whose medium for learning is their mother tongue. Also, because of language problem common to both the teacher and the pupil the learning progress of the child might be slowed down. The elementary education that normally takes six years, under the new policy it may take eight years. If this takes place, obviously the child would waste two years of his school life, and at the same time deprive another child from getting education for an equal number of years. This is a problem that should not be overlooked because there is already in the country a vast number of school age children deprived of education. On the other hand, if the pupil is not allowed to repeat the same grade because he has to leave place for another child, it may mean that it will be necessary to lower both the minimum passing grades and the standard of education in order to make it easy for the pupil to be promoted to the next grade.

D. Influence of Bilingualism on Intelligence

In the previous sections it has been here and there alluded to the slowing effects of second language on intellectual functioning and

the achievement of the child. What follows therefore is a review of the representative researches on the effects of second language on intelligence.

Classroom activities are carried on mainly through language - spoken, reading, and writing - giving rise to questions such as: What problems does a child who learns through a second language face? Is learning more effective if carried on through the mother tongue? Has bilingualism a detrimental effects on the intellectual functioning?

In a comparative study of mental capacity of children, carried by M. Bere in the United States, three groups of a hundred children each from three nationalities were taken. The subjects were all ten years old and chosen regardless of grade levels. They were Italian, Bohemian, and Jewish boys. They were divided into five groups according to the following criteria: (a) only foreign language spoken in the home; (b) foreign language predominating in the home; (c) foreign language used with parents; English with brothers and sisters; (d) parents use foreign language with each other, but English with children; (e) only English spoken in the home. The findings of the experiment proved that "... increase of English is associated with an increase in mental age on the Stanford-Binet Scale as well as on the Pintner-Patterson Performance Scale for each of the three nationalities."[1]

Another experimenter, M.R. Ladd, wishing to see the relationship between bilingual background and reading achievement, took 315 foreign

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[1] M. Bere, A Comparative Study of the Mental Capacity of Children of Foreign Parentage. Contribution to Education, N. 154 (New York: Columbia University, 1924), p. 105; quoted in Moses N.G. Hoffmann, Measurement of Bilingual Background (New York: Columbia University, 1934), p. 4.

speaking children and divided them into three groups on the bases of answers to questionnaires: (a) those who spoke and heard English in the home; (b) those who spoke English, but heard their parents speak a foreign language; and (c) those who spoke and heard a foreign language. The subjects were school children of grade 3B, 4B, and 5A of various nationalities.

After all the groups had been equated for chronological age and Pintner non-language mental age, the results were as follows: (a) the mean reading age of the mixed-foreign group was lower than that of the English speaking group. It was also found that (b) the mean reading age of the entirely foreign group was lower than that of the part-foreign group.[1]

Other investigations on the hypothesis that a bilingual child is hampered in his performance on intelligence tests in comparison with monolingual child have led to the conclusion that "... the mean index of brightness increased steadily with the amount of English spoken in the home."[2] These investigations were carried out on 276 Italian children as compared with 170 American children of grades 6 to 10 on the Otis Advanced Intelligence Examination - Form A.

Saer's experiment, in 1923, and that of Jones and Stewart, in 1951, on the effects of bilingualism on intellectual functionning have given results that prove the fact that verbal intelligence test scores

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[1]For details cf. M.R. Ladd, The Relation of Social, Economic, and Personality Characteristics to Reading Ability; Contribution to Education, N. 582; B.P., TCCU New York, 1933, p. 100; quoted in Hoffmann, op.cit. p. 5.

[2]Elizabeth Peal, and Wallace E. Lambert, The Relation of Bilingualism to Intelligence; Psychological Monograph, N. 546; 1962 Vol. 76, N. 27 (N.Y.: American Psychological Association, Inc., 1962), p. 2.

made by children with bilingual background are subject to vitiation by the second language. As the conclusion of his experiment on 1,400 children in Wales, Saer stated that there was "... a statistically significant inferiority of rural bilingual children when compared with rural monolingual children on the Stanford - Bine Scale," and that "this inferiority became consistently greater in degree with each year from 7 to 11 years of age."[1] As an explanation to this, he said that the inferiority was due to the "mental confusion" that the bilingual children faced. As a criticism to his experimental procedure it is reported that only socioeconomic class was not controlled in his research and that the Stanford-Binet test was based on Welsh translation. However, his findings are confirmed by a number of investigators. For instance, Jones and Stewart in an experiment of a verbal test and a nonverbal test given to 10.6 and 11 years olds monolingual and bilingual groups in rural districts concluded that "... the monolinguals were found to score significantly higher on both types of tests. ... the bilingual children were significantly inferior to the monolingual children, even after full allowance has been made for the initial difference in the nonverbal intelligence tests."[2]

These abstracts of some of studies on bilingualism and intelligence are here to show that imposition of a second language as school

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[1] D.J. Saer, The Effects of Bilingualism on Intelligence, Brit. J. Psychol., 1923, 14 25-38.

[2] Jones, W.R. and Stewart, W.A., Bilingualism and Verbal Intelligence. Brit. J. Psychol., 1951 4, 3 - 8; quoted in Peal and Lambert, op.cit., p. 2.

language on children who have no good mastery of their mother tongue may lead to a "language handicap" or cause "mental confusion". Furthermore, "a large proportion of investigators have concluded from their studies that bilingualism has a detrimental effect on intellectual functioning. The bilingual child is described as being hampered in his performance on intelligence tests in comparison with the monolingual child."[1] These studies conclude that "it is axiomatic that the best medium for teaching a child is his mother tongue."[2]

The findings of these investigators are not surprising because every child first learns to formulate and express his emotions, desires and his ideas about himself and his environment through his mother tongue.

> 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. 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 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.[3]

This might be objected to on the grounds that the child, by the time he goes to school, knows his mother tongue well. It is true, he knows it enough for his age, for his childish purposes but not as much as he does or would after he has studied through it. This is proved and recognized universally. Monolingual school children study

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[1] Peal and Lambert, op.cit., p. 1.

[2] The Use of Vernacular Languages in Education, UNESCO center Paris, 1953; p. 47.

[3] Ibid., p. 47.

their mother tongue throughout their school life to master it and to acquire proficiency in self-expression through their language.[1]

E. The Aims of the Language Policy

Educational Implications of the Policy for a New Language

The reflections of the writer on the educational implications of the new measures do not stand for any adverse feeling toward, or disagreement with the measures taken. Closely viewed, they reveal a deep concern and interest in seeing re-established and strengthened the ancient link between the two people and the growth of a healthy, integrated younger generations of Ethiopian -Eritreans.

The purpose of the foregoing reflections is to point out what the language change may bring with it and thus look at the present situation under various perspectives. In conclusion, it is the writer's belief that the lofty aims of the language policy can be greatly facilitated so that all the Ethiopians work hand in hand for the progress of their country.

The Necessity for the New Measures

On the basis of the principle: one learns more quickly and better through his mother tongue than through a second or unfamiliar language, it was stated earlier, that "the best medium for teaching a child is his mother tongue".[2] However, as it is always the case with major needs minimizing the importance of minor ones, the axiom given here comes to loose some of its importance when compared with the life and interests of the nation. That is, while on the one hand the policy

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[1]For details see: Nelson Brooks, Language and Language Learning (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1960), Chapter 3, "Mother Tongue and Second Language.

[2]UNESCO, op.cit., p. 11.

is depriving the individual child of the advantages derivable from learning through his first language, on the other hand, he will in the long run be highly rewarded for his sacrifice. Through his acquisition of the new language, he will enter the membership of a much larger community which in course of time and through his cooperation and contribution will be his protector as well as his pride. This is only when the aims of the policy are looked at the child's level of interest. When it is looked, however, at a national level, the objectives assume proportional importance.

The use of mother tongue in school is not always possible for a number of reasons: political, linguistic, educational, economic, financial, and others. It is on some of these that the Ethiopian language policy is based.

> It is tacitly assumed by many that one of the features of ideal **nationhood** is the possession of a standardized national language.... a language which has a community of native speakers coterminous with the national boundaries and which has a single accepted norm of pronunciation, spelling, grammar, and vocabulary, used for all levels of speaking and writing, including both a unique national literature and work in modern science.[1]

The conclusion is, therefore, that Ethiopia, in order to maintain its unity, must provide its people with one common means of communication.

The vastness of Ethiopia makes it an impellent necessity for the establishment of a national language. Because with the modern means of transportation, a citizen may find himself, just in a matter

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[1] Rice, op.cit., p. 4.

of few hours, from one corner of the country to another corner where the regional language may be a completely different one from his own language. Governmental or private business transactions within the country would be greatly hampered without one common means of exchanging ideas. Let alone Ethiopia, Eritrea itself which is only a small fraction of the whole country would be almost incapacitated to carry on a nation life if each of its ethnic groups used its own regional language. Even looking at it from the daily life of the citizen's view, one comes to realise that unity of language in Ethiopia is really indispensable. This is because none of the provinces is self sufficient, a matter which necessitates that a member of one province travels from his to another province for either a job or business. "Lingua Francas have served tribal communities and vast empires from time immemorial when linguistic diversity prevented social and literary intercourse".[1] And this is what Amharic is doing in Ethiopia.

The fact that the people of the newly emancipated countries are still fighting to fix one language that serves to unite the people shows that one national language is indespensible to the life of one nation of one people. "In every instance they (the leaders) are concerned with welding a heterogenous multilingual political state into a unified and harmonious nation"[2] through unity of language.

At this point it can be concluded that the language policy of the Ethiopian government in regard to Eritrea is a wise and necessary decision.

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[1] Ibid., p. 63.

[2] Ibid., p. 61.

Chapter V

THE TEACHING OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE

Having concluded our previous chapter with admitting the necessity of one language for the whole country, we are going in this chapter to focus on the problem of teaching a foreign language. This is based on our belief that one of the major ways by which to facilitate the new policy is education and particularly teaching Amharic to the youngsters of Eritrea.

The question 'what is the best method of language teaching' has recently become a matter of research in both linguistics and educational psychology. In the following pages it will be attempted to review, in the light of research findings, the methods that seem to give good results in the language learning activities.

The crucial period in the language instruction seems to be the elementary stage. One of the problems that both teachers and pupils face at this stage is that the process of learning a new language needs to start from the unknown and gradually build basis for the language. This is true in teaching foreign language more than it is in teaching any other subject. Further, the mother-tongue of the learner may interferewith the learning activities of the new language more than previous learning would interfere with the subject matter of other courses. For these reasons the elementary stage is a crucial stage, and our discussion on teaching methods will mainly be concerned with this stage.

A. Importance of the Elementary Stage

What makes the elementary stage a crucial one is not the intrinsic difficulties of the foreign language but the influence of the "set" the child has built in learning his mother-tongue. In learning his native language a child has learned not only to attend to (receptively and productively) the particular contrasts that function as signals in that language; he has learned to ignore all those features that do not so function. He has developed a special set of "blind spots" that prevent him from responding to features that do not constitute the contrastive signals of his native language.[1] If this built in 'set' is let free to interfere in the learning of the second language, the child's success in the mastery of the new language may be seriously undermined. Therefore, the first lessons become very important; "it is the early lessons which are going to determine the eventual success or failure of the course. "As the bending of the twig determines the form of the tree, as on the foundations depends the stability of the building, so also will the elementary training of the student determine his subsequent success or failure."[2]

In addition, the elementary stage is important because it is the period in which the foundations of sound knowledge of foreign language are laid down. "Success in language learning requires close

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[1]Robert Lado, Linguistics Across Cultures, (Ann Arbor, The University of Michigan Press, 1957), p. 5.

[2]Harold E. Palmer, The Principles of Language-Study (London: George G. Harrap & Co., Ltd., 1928), p. 68.

adherence to and thorough understanding of certain fundamental principles."[1] These fundamental principles can only be secured at the very beginning stages through habits of accuracy in listening, producing, and in distinguishing characteristic sounds of the new language. "Difficult, almost impossible, is the task of undoing what has already been done, of removing faulty habits of perception and of replacing them by sound ones."[2] The student who has passed through an unsound elementary course finds his road to progress barred; the twig has been badly bent, the foundations have been badly laid. Writing on the importance of the initial stages of language learning, Fries says that he had had a number of students who knew a considerable number of English words and who were able to use them with some fluency. "Unfortunately, however", he says, "their pronunciation was not English either in the separate sounds or in intonation, and thus was extremely difficult to understand. Their use of structural devices was also not English. "Such students ... are almost without exception hopeless so far as ever achieving a satisfactory control of English is concerned." Continuing, he says that "they are usually unwilling or incapable of starting again at the fundamentals of the language and building up new habits with a limited vocabulary."[3] What are some of these habits? Usually, they are those

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[1]Eugene A. Nida, Learning a Foreign Language (New York: National Council of Churches of Christ in U.S.A., 1950), p. 13.

[2]Palmer, op.cit., p. 69.

[3]Charles C. Foies, Teaching and Learning English as a Foreign Language (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1962), p. 3.

acquired through lack of training in listening and thus in producing certain sounds in the new language. These sounds are usually replaced by distorted imitations based on one's mother-tongue, common examples of these are the sounds of /θ/ as in thin, think, thank, thumb; /ð/ as in this, that, then; w, p, as respectively tin, tink, tank, tumb; dis, dat, den; v, and b.

There are various language-teaching methods that lead towards the same goal. Some of these methods are discussed below.

B. Methodological Principles

The method that produces better results in language-teaching is that which progresses according to the following sequeces: listening, speaking, reading, and writing. This sequence agrees with the findings of both linguists and educational psychologists. As Nida says "the scientifically valid procedure in language learning involves listening first, to be followed by speaking. Then comes reading, and finally the writing of the language."[1]

Listening must come first in language learning not only because it makes it possible for the learner to imitate and thus learn but also because it is essential that the pupil tunes his ears to the sounds of the new language and notices its particular audio-characteristics. This should be accompanied or followed by an accurate sound imitation and production of the sound on the part of the learner. Since "Language learning is over-learning" and since "Effective language achievement

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[1] Nida, op.cit., p. 21.

calls for oral intensive repetition"[1] it is of paramount importance that the pupils repeat the given words or sentences not only until they have mastered the correct sound of each word but also until they have mastered the intonations. In addition, through this process the student learns the word order or the features of word sequence which constitute the structure of the language. Without the knowledge to fit the words in the structural arrangement of the language they would be like a heap of bricks which, while isolated or single pieces cannot constitute a house. "A person has 'learned' a foreign language when he has ... first within a limited vocabulary mastered the sound system, and has second, made the structural device matters of automatic habit."[2] The mastery of these processes can be called the key to language learning. However, this mastery can be achieved only through carefully planned procedural steps.

Listening and Speaking the Language

As indicated earlier, "language-learning is over-learning", that is, a reseasonable control of a language can only be acquired when one uses the language in a spontaneous manner, almost unconsciously. It is this repetetive habit forming performance that is needed in language learning. A language must be over-learned if one is to have a functional knowledge of it. All this of course needs to be done on well planned material for instruction. The material, however, may vary according to the view of an individual teacher; but it would be preferable if it is

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[1] Ernst Pulgram, (ed.), Applied Linguistics in Language Teaching, (Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1954), p. 2.

[2] Fries, op.cit., p. 3.

related to names of objects in the classroom, simple statements about the daily activities and occurances in the life of the learners. These materials should be taught in sentence-patterns (Subject plus Verb, or Subject plus Verb plus Object) so as to establish in the learner speech habits or correct sentence structures. It is necessary that the lesson-sentences be accompanied and thus made easier to understand by audio-visual teaching aids such as pictures, concrete objects related to the lesson, drawings on the blackboard, and if available, by film strips and other aids.

Other important parts of the planning are: ear-training exercises, articulation exercises, and exercises in immediate comprehension of what the pupil hears without either oral or mental translation into his native language. Efficiency in these activities is achieved through giving model sentences, by the teacher, and followed by collective drills, individual drills, and in course of time followed by conversations and action chains, that is, performance of simple acts.

The principle behind these practices, drills and conversations, is based on the fact that if it is to be of any practical use a language must be spontaneous. "A person who must stop to figure out the right forms or who must grope constantly for words has not learned a foreign language. Expressions must be on the tip of the tongue."[1] Of course, readiness and correctness in the use of a foreign language cannot be expected of a beginner; what can be expected of him is fluency in the use of the sentences learned, and the ability to form new sentences on the basis of the patterns learned.

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[1] Nida, op.cit., pp. 24-25.

The processes that lead toward the automatic use of a language are: "(a) memorizing; (b) drill and; (c) repetition." We need to clarify that by the term 'memorizing' it is not meant here that learning of vocabulary items from the dictionary or phrases isolated or out of context. What we mean by it is memorizing patterns of sentences which will gradually enable the pupil to construct other sentences, in line with the grammatical structure of the language he is learning. This process, memorizing, is greatly facilitated and made more effective by way of drills. These consist in constant repetition either in group or individually of a number of short pattern sentences, first slowly and then more and more rapidly until they are up to the normal speed. "In fact, our practicing should at times be a bit faster than normal speed, so that when we actually use the forms, they will sound right."[1] As to the number of repetition of the drill-sentence depends on the difficulty of the sentence itself, the new sounds it presents, and the experience of the class. The usual number of drills on the same pattern-sentence is between three or four times.

Concluding we would like to say that during the initial stage of the language learning, emphasis should be given to: a) ear training: to enable the child to hear and notice the sounds and pronunciation of each word in the sentence pattern he is to repeat and learn. b) Collective and individual drills to enable the child to learn the correct sentence structure of the new language. c) Understanding of the meanings of the given model sentences without mentally translating them into his mother tongue.

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[1] Ibid., p. 25.

Reading and Writing the Language

There is disagreement among teachers as to whether reading and writing should come after listening and speaking or be simultaneously taught with the first two. Those favoring the simultaneous teaching of speaking and reading and writing contend that it is tedious or monotonous to both the teacher and the students to spend the whole period on simply oral drills. This might be true if the teacher does not handle the class period in such a way as to make it interesting. But it would be worse if reading and writing were introduced during the initial stage of language learning especially with beginners whose language's alphabets are different from those of the new language. In the early stages of language learning, the introduction of reading and writing may require of the beginner double efforts such as recognizing letters or words in written form and associating them with the sounds learned. These might have discouraging effects and thus hinder a rapid progress on the language learning activity. An approach similar to the latter view was followed by the United States armed forces' foreign language teaching. The reason was that "it was on the psychological basis that, in the early stages of language-learning, the written word has tendency to confuse rather than clarify pronunciation, that many of the language classes in the army specialized training programme in the United States adopted the oral approach."[1] This is our reason then for putting reading and writing at the end of the teaching of the language skills.

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[1] J.D. Gauntlett, Teaching English as a Foreign Language, (London: MacMillan & Co., Ltd., 1961), pp. 27-28.

When the pupils are ready to transfer their training to written symbols, reading may be introduced. The initial step in this process should be to enable the learner to associate the words that he already knows with their correspondent written symbols. The known words should first be written on the blackboard and read repeatedly by the class both collectively and individually after the teacher. To facilitate the reading process it is necessary that each pupil be provided with printed sets of word cards, short sentence cards and wall charts placed in the classroom. To make things easier for the beginner, all the cards and charts should be printed in exactly the same script letters used for writing on the blackboard.

The reading from blackboard, cards and charts should be immediately followed by writing which should consist in copying down the words by the pupil. Reading progress can be speeded up by the use of flash cards from which the pupil may be asked to recognize a word at first sight, and short sentences.

From this stage on, the language learning process both spoken and written can be made faster by the use of substitution frames, that is, sentences or phrases which allow the substitution of some of their parts. Through this method of substitution gradually the pupils develop the ability to construct sentences of their own in conformity with the correct sentence structure of the new language.

C. Psychological Principles

The teaching as well as the learning of language is perhaps the most difficult school subject at the elementary stages. This is especially true when the language to be taught or learned is a foreign language. It is not exaggeration therefore to say that it is a challenge to the teacher and a source of problems to the learner. Textbooks, no matter how well prepared, cannot eliminate all the problems that the teaching as well as the learning of language create for both the teacher and the pupil. The teacher needs to persistently exert himself to carry on the necessary oral drills and exercises, day after day, week after week, and for months in order that his pupils understand the language, that they be able to pronounce it correctly, that they learn to read it and use it in speech and in writing. To make the language-teaching fruitful, the teacher needs vitality, enthusiasm, skills, a variety of methods ready at his command, and in addition to all these, he needs perserverance, courage, good humor and enjoyment in carrying out the task so that his pupils may be positively influenced toward the learning of the new language.

As mentioned earlier, the task of the teacher of a foreign language is heavier than ordinarily is considered. He has to overcome the obstacles of the mother tongue of the learner because:

> ...the mother tongue acts as a block in all the learner's language reactions, and impedes the learning of the new language because it is so firmly seated as the first language. Indeed, the mother tongue is so much a part of our mental life and of our unreflecting consciousness, as well as of our automatic responses to experience that usually we are not aware of language when we speak or listen or write.[1]

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[1] P. Gurrey, Teaching English as A Foreign Language (London: Longmans, Green & Co., Ltd., 1961), pp. 3-4.

It is a common experience, or rather a common unconscious performance that when one speaks his native language one does not perceive words, in the form of written symbols or in sounds, as words. It is only when one is faced with ambiguity that one notices words, sentences, grammatical structures more than meanings. It is the latter that happens with a beginner in a foreign language; and therefore his perception of words, sentences and grammatical structures constitutes one of the problems of language-learning activities.[1] This tendency should constantly be attacked by the teacher.

There are other difficulties that aggravate the language learning problems. The progress of the language learning usually takes place in an almost imperceptible way. Therefore, the pupil, especially during the earlier periods, does not feel that he is making progress. The lack of consciousness of his progress may either discourage him whenever confronted with some difficulties, or make him feel frustrated and thus lose interest in learning the language. To prevent this, the teacher should provide the class with situations where the pupils can practice what they have achieved. For instance, in order to give them the sense of achievement and therefore to motivate them more in the language learning he should introduce competitive activities, game-like exercises and variety in his teaching. It is perhaps superfluous to say that the language learning process should be based on carefully studied gradation of matters for study. Words and sentences, beside that of being related

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[1] cf. Ibid., p. 4.

to the daily activities of the pupil, should be those which are most common in the new language.

Other problems which pupils learning either their mother tongue or a foreign language face are psychological and physiological. In the less developed societies where the individual or the group method of teaching are not practised, the class teacher is often incapable of paying close attention to each individual of his 30-40 pupils in one class. It was in consideration of this and other classroom difficulties that we said earlier that language teaching is a challenge to the teacher. That is, though the new country's school system or practice, may not offer him opportunities in time and method of teaching to care for individual pupil, the teacher should consider as an important part of his work the finding of solutions to this problem; i.e., to identify the difficulties - whether psychological or physiological - that his pupil may have.

Individuals differ one from the other; and therefore the teacher may have pupils with I.Q. ranging from 80-90 to above. In a situation such as this, the generally used method of teaching may produce some maladjustment, emotional disturbances, and negative attitudes in both the low and the high I.Q. students. It seems therefore necessary and advantageous that steps to eliminate the above problems be thought of and taken.

Besides the differences and difficulties mentioned above, "slow maturing, fearfulness and aggression, ... illness, and bodily defects are samples of the many factors which may add to the problems of learning."[1] Not all of these factors are clearly apparent.

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[1]Glenn M. Blair, R.S. Jones, and Ray H. Simpson, Educational Psychology (New York: MacMillan Co., 1963), p. 346.

Some of them are so subtle that they need careful observation on the part of the teacher; they are usually problems that require psychological knowledge, patience and time. Other factors such as the following are more apparent: Speech defects, hard hearing, bad sight, and other bodily defects which either directly or indirectly affect the learning process. The teacher should not wait for the provincial school doctor to confirm their existence in order to work at them but should employ all his energies to correct them. He can bring them to the attention of the parents, and educational authorities or anyone who can help on the matter. Indeed, the early recognition of causes of difficulty should be considered as an important part of any teacher's task. Because prevention and treatment of learning difficulties are important factors not only for academic success but also for an integrated development of personality.

It is understood that the main purpose of language teaching in the new states is to provide the various ethnic groups of the country with a common means by which to communicate with each other, and at the same time, to create national unity through unity of language.

Chapter VI

SOME PRINCIPLES RELATED TO LANGUAGE TEACHING FOR FOSTERING NATIONAL UNITY PARTICULARLY AS RELATED TO ETHIOPIA AND ERITREA

A. A General Statement

Misunderstanding, prejudice, intolerance, and ignorance often are the root of discord and conflict between two peoples or ethnic groups. Once the misunderstanding is cleared up, the opposing parties may be able to get along with one another and in the course of time, develop a common identity. However, while in the case of two individuals the situation is comparatively simple, in that of ethnic groups it is complex and needs long and careful study. This is especially true among the various and different social groups of the new states in both Africa and Asia. It may take one or more generations before different ethnic groups become homogeneous or interact cooperatively. A process of bringing about understanding between different groups is achieved through teaching the less influencial one the language of the stronger or larger group. How can this be done?

Any attempt to create unity among different groups of the same country usually begins with making the learning of the national language compulsory in the country's schools. Obviously this should not mean that the proposed unity can be attained solely with the teaching or learning the new language. Though essential, language cannot do the job alone, that is, the learning of it does not in itself complete the

complex process of political socialization of the "new" citizens. It must be assisted by all the school subjects and by everything that makes up the culture of that country. This position is so generally accepted that "the report on 'the teaching of English in England' is satisfied to make only a passing allusion to 'stories, rhymes, songs and games' and 'the various informal methods of modern ... school."[1] We will now, therefore, see how language should be used with the various school subjects and in the extra-curricular activities in order to foster national unity.

The gradual language teaching of the adult members of a society is as important as that of the younger generation for two reasons: a) to predispose the adults to accept the language change with as little friction as possible; b) to make it possible for the central government to reach the population through the various means of mass media and thus carry out its program for creating the spirit of unity among the people themselves and keep them informed about national affairs; c) to make them encourage their children to learn the new language. Adult language-education is out of the scope of this study and therefore we elude it by simply saying that it should be handled carefully by competent, experienced personnel of either the local ministry of education or of the ministry of information.

The process of 'naturalization of new citizens' that takes longer and requires more efforts is that which goes on in the schools. Once such a process takes root it is of durative effects. The first step in

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[1] J.J. Findlay, History and Its Place in Education (London: University of London Press, Ltd., 1923), p. 39.

this process should concern the preparation of textbooks. When, as is the case in Ethiopia, right from the first school grade the medium of instruction is the new language (the Amharic), care should be taken that the language learning activities are made as easy as possible for various reasons. Some of the reasons could be: first, if the child has not previously learned his mother tongue in written form, or the letters of the new language are entirely foreign to him, the new language may arouse obstacles toward fostering nationalistic feeling in the learner. The student may build from his difficulty in learning the language some negative attitudes toward the language and consequently toward the majority group who speak that language itself. Second, since learning the new language is an important key to national unity, this learning must be speeded up so that all the other school subjects may be efficiently taught and as early as possible.

Therefore, the textbooks should be made as attractive and as interesting as possible by the use of pictures, easy stories, legends and so on. The teacher should have double purpose in his school work: to help the students learn the new language, and at the same time through it achieve the goal of the language policy. Of course, the burden of educating the youngesters along the desired lines should not be left to the class-teacher alone. The language textbooks for this kind of situation need to be different from those for ordinary situations. That is, the textbook must gradually and in both perceptible and imperceptible ways permeate the mind of the learner with nationalistic expressions and plant in him the seed of nationalistic spirit.

The importance of preparing reading textbooks for this kind of situations can hardly be overemphasized. Yet an expertly prepared reading textbook on nationalistic lines may make the "new citizens" more nationalistic than the "old citizens" themselves. Witness are the younger German and Italian generations (at the time of Hitler and Il Duce) who were sold both in body and soul to their leaders and to the causes and national plans of their respective countries. For example, the Italian Balilla and the youth were so taken by the teachings of Fascist doctrine that they made it their lives' guide and scope the following motto of the Squadrista: "Me ne frego" and "obbedire, combattere, Morire!" meaning "I don't care for my life", it does not belong to me but to the cause of the Duce and of the country; and "obey, fight, die!".[1] If similar method were used in Eritrea emphasizing the past glories of the land (particularly since Eritrea was the heart of Ethiopia in the past) the Eritreans might come to regard themselves as "Super-Ethiopians" or the only "true" Ethiopians. All this is of course dangerous and therefore condemnable affair. Textbooks in Eritrea should be prepared with a double purpose in view; to teach the subject matter effectively, and to impart nationalistic feelings.

B. Language, Literature and History

A preamble to the discussion of the topic is necessary. It will be remembered that in practically all the newly independent states

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[1]John Luis Beatty and Oliver A. Johnson (ed.) Heritage of Western Civilization (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1962), p. 656.

linguistic conflicts and agitations are caused more by sentiments of primordial nature rather than by fear of subsequent effects of language change, though the latter is often brought up as the true cause of the conflicts. Lack of agreement on the "greater tradition" or on an "all embaracing history", or on a national hero, etc. makes it necessary not to allude to points that might even minimally slight the history or cultural traditions of the other local languages and cultures. Also care must be taken as not to include in textbooks nor in classroom teaching points that emphasize the victory of one ethnic group over another in the same country. Care must be taken to avoid provocative grounds.

Literature, though contained in a language form should contribute by virtue of its own content to the overall policy of national unity. Literary studies should begin as soon as the pupil can read and understand the new language. Reading materials should draw their power to influence the pupils from the national fairy tales, stories, legend, folklore, folk dances and songs. Such literary subjects can be coupled with geography and natural studies to deal with the description of the natural beauties of the country-rivers, mountains, animals, and places nationally famous - as well as the people, their occupation, their agricultural and industrial products. All the readings should be geared by the teacher to make the pupils feel pride in them, to convince the pupils that the beauties belong to them, that these things are part of the pupils and of the population as a whole, and that therefore they, the pupils, should love them and cherish them. Readings on these national and natural matters should be conducted with a clear

purpose of disregarding narrow regional or provincial boundaries emphasizing the unity of the country. Emphasis should be laid on the forefathers' effort to protect the country from enemy invasion, and on the sacrifices they underwent to keep the country united. For example, in the reading texts for the Eritrean pupils emphasis should be given to what their forefathers, the Ethiopians as a whole, did to protect their country from invasion by the Turkish in 17th-18th centuries, by the Egyptians in 19th century, and finally by the Italians in the 19th and 20th centuries. Great reference also should be given to the Ethiopian emperors who against all these and other attempted invasions succeded in keeping the country united and independent for millenia. The readings on the historical events in Ethiopia should be coupled by narrations on the efforts of Emperor Haile Sellase, Emperor Teodros, Emperor Yohannes, Ras Alula and others against invasions from the west and the east. All these can be demonstrated in dramatic performances at schools, such as the famous battle of May Edaga (in the center of today's Eritrea) against the invading Turks; and the battles of Dogali (in Eritrea), in 1887, and Adna in 1906 (in Tigrai) against the Italian army, and the more recent battle in Maay-Cheow in 1935.

From the language history lessons the pupils cannot escape being imbibed of deep national feelings. "Both in childhood and youth, the inner life is moved, as we say, by the drama of events. Listening to story or reading it he is, subconsciously but quite effectively, weighing up the situation in personal images: he knows himself to be

in the game, to be one with the pageant as it unrolls before his eyes."[1] If the whole process of building national-social loyalties is carried out through the language and history teaching and with calculated methods, it cannot fail to produce its harvest in due time.

The teaching of language-history for nationalistic purpose was effectively exploited by Fascism: "In more recent times under the Fascisti (Sic) a determined effort has been made to utilize the school system, from the lowest grades on up, for the purposes of inculcating the Fascist creed and ideals."[2] The procedure by which Mussolini succeeded to captivate the heart of the younger Italian generation up to the point of creating a compact unit of the previously not so much united people was based, among other things, on the exploitation of the language and historical glories of the Romans. He succeeded in leading his people to identifying themselves in spirit with the conquerors of the old world, and, once united as the term 'fascio' means, to turn them into strong instrument for the accomplishment of his ambitions and designs.
A caveat: the aim of the new states should be not chauvinism but patriotism.

C. Mutual Understanding

Concerned authorities of the new states need to do all what could be done to eradicate prejudice, fear and suspicion among their various social and ethnic groups. This could be done by providing all such groups with possibilities of knowing well about each other's culture and traditions, and by bringing other ways leading to mutual understanding and tolerance.

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[1] Findlay, op.cit., p. 32.

[2] Charles Edward Merriam, The Making of Citizens (Chicago-Illinois: The University of Chicago Press, 1931), p. 95.

In this connection reference is made with some adaptations, to some statement - principles of UNESCO's Executive Board for world understanding.[1] The leaders of the new states should make it clear to education authorities and its personnel:

1. That unless steps are taken to educate the communities for national unity, it will be impossible to create a national society capable of meeting the needs and aspirations of the population as a whole.

2. That provinces or regions, whatever their difference of creeds and ways of life, have both a duty to cooperate in national organizations and an interest in so doing.

3. That progress of a nation results from the contributions of each member of the population and that all individual members depend very much on each other.

4. That it is necessary to make clear to the people the underlying reasons which account for the varying ways of life of different ethnic groups or tribes both past and present, their traditions, their characteristics, their problems and the ways in which they can be resolved.

5. That it is necessary to arouse in the minds, particularly of young people, a sense of responsibility to their country and to its unity.

6. That it is necessary to encourage the development of healthy social attitudes in children so as to lay the foundations of improved national understanding and cooperation.

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[1] UNESCO Center, Paris, Education for International Understanding (Paris: UNESCO Publication Center, 1964), p. 10.

The achievement of some of the points above might be difficult at adult level but at that of school children's does not seem to be so though it may take some years before fruition.

The schools of the new states could very well lessen feelings of dislike or mistrust, and prejudices existing among social local groups by using as source for their grammar, composition, and elocution lessons the everyday life, family, homes, food, customs and traditions, sports and games, animals and so on of the ethnic groups and of the various regions of the country. Information on these matters could be obtained by establishing inter-regional letter-correspondence between local school children of same age and grades. These letters could then be used for oral exercises and writing compositions. Inter-regional school visits, and trips to historical places in other provinces followed later by class discussions and writing on them would also be helpful in creating understanding among the various social groups of the country.

Exhibition of inter-regional school children works : drawings, paintings, embroidery, wood and clay works, should also be organized. Students from various provincial schools should be given facilities to see the exhibitions. Writing essays on these kind of exhibitions and on matters of inter-regional importance should be encouraged by language teachers. A mutual exchange of these school writings among the various regional schools also may further the cause of the language policy.

The process of teaching the national language and teaching about the country and its people should not be entirely left to the

school. The local ministry of education in cooperation with the local ministry of information should organize and broadcast radio-programs that would enable all the local people to know about each other's customs and traditions. The broadcast should, of course, emphasize the existing similarities among the various customs and traditions. In addition, "know your language" programs can be organized. These should be of two kinds : one for adults and another for school children of various grade levels. To make them interesting to children the "radio-lessons" should be given in the form of short attractive stories with simple language and followed by questions subsequently answered by the speaker himself. It is perhaps needless to say that the nature of the stories or fables should be in line with the objectives of the language policy. Other radio-programs and press publications on the nationally recognized symbol also should be given to the public in general. Mutual understanding, that is, national unity can thus be gradually built up.

There are also other areas where language teaching can profitably be used for improving national cohesion. For example, the teaching of the national anthem, national hymns, and songs about the meaning of each color of the national flag; pledge of allegiance to the flag may have lasting impressions on the minds of the students. Participation, if possible, in national holiday activities such as parades and pageants and then writing compositions on the same can also be helpful in influencing the students to love their country, and to be good citizens. Because "a parade can stimulate an interest and enthusiasm that makes the audience emotionally responsive to the obligations of citizenship. An

inspiring, band-studded, patriotic parade touches the hearts of those who watch it."[1] Essay competitions on these ceremonies may serve to further arouse in the students nationalistic sentiments. To these could be added school clubs, language societies, drama societies, and other extra-curricular activities where language practice - spoken and written - would be encouraged.

By way of conclusion, a few words about teachers and the language policy seem appropriate at this point.

The key to the success of the whole process of the political socialization of the younger generation of the new states is the class-teacher. If he is with the language policy, the aims of the latter will be reached in short time, whereas if he is against it, even if he does not manifest his opposition to it openly, the language policy may turn to be a powerful instrument to undermine the goal to national unity. With a negative attitude or with an indifferent attitude toward the language teaching purpose, or with subtle negative hints the teacher would be a primary cause for the program to fail. Therefore, the first target of the leaders of the new states in their attempts to create unity among their peoples should be the "education" of their teachers. This is necessary because "the teacher is, by all odds, the most influencial factor in ... school education, Curriculum, organization, equipment, plans for national unity , important as they are, count little or nothing except as they are vitalized by the personality of the teacher."[2]

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[1] Edwina Austin Avery (ed.), Gateway to Citizenship (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1948), p. 70.

[2] Nelson L. Bossing, Teaching in Secondary Schools (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1952), p. 515.

As members of the general public, teachers may have their own political views, may accept or reject the linguistic or cultural policy or changes adopted by the central government. But, once steps leading to the unity of the country have been nationally agreed upon, they, as individuals chosen for and entrusted with the responsibility of educating the people, should be helped to realize that their efforts can contribute significantly to the national good. They should realize that their individual views and feelings toward the decision taken cannot undo things done, but may simply disseminate among the younger generations seeds of discord that will grow in the future. Also they should realize that decisions concerning national interests, at times and especially in matters of national language, cannot be to the complete satisfaction of every ethnic group of the country, but may be requiring sacrifice. A nation is comparable to a large family the members of which may not have things their way; but, if they are to have a happy, and harmonious and prosperous family life, each one of them must willingly carry his share in the hardships necessary for the unity and prosperity of the family itself. To arrive at this, the family members must be educated, must be trained for family life and likewise the members of a nation, because:

> Only that state will live and have a future which knows how to train its growing youth to become citizens of the state in the best sense of the word, that is, to become citizens who, full of genuine love and loyalty to country and with true devotion to the fatherland, are determined to live not for themselves alone but to serve with heart and understanding the welfare of the people as a whole.[1]

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[1] Brooks, op.cit., p. 274.

In conclusion it appears to us that the steps which seem applicable in the case of Ethiopia and Eritrea for a more solid national unity on the basis of national language can be summarized as follows:

I. With Students:

1. Exchange of school visits between Tigrai's and Eritrean school children can serve to eliminate some feelings of prejudices and estrangement between the people of the two provinces. Also, some Eritrean secondary school students could be invited to Tigrai to spend one or two weeks in Tigrai schools, and vice versa. Such students may later be asked to write compositions on their experiences in each others' province. Their writings may be circulated, among the school population of both Eritrea and Tigrai.

2. Visits to the fortifications and cemetery of Dogali, and to the historical port of Adulis as well as to the ruins in Kohaito and Adi-Cahieh area may help in creating an understanding among students that Ethiopia and Eritrea were once one country as now have become. To reinforce this essay contests on historical sites may be encouraged among students of the middle and secondary schools of the country. The Amharic essays can be circulated among the schools through the school-papers.

3. Participation of school children in marchings and displays during national holidays may strengthen or inspire nationalistic feelings in the students. Again students may be asked to write compositions on their experiences of the day.

4. School clubs such as drama society, language society, national society, "One Day Ethiopia", folk-songs and folk-dance clubs, and others may be organized in middle and secondary schools.

5. At the elementary levels, "Young Ethiopian" associations may be organized. Short stories, in simple Amharic, about national heroes could be distributed in pamphlets or told in associations' meetings in the form of "entertainment."

II. With Teachers:

1. In the Asmara Teacher Training Institution discussions on the importance of and the necessity for national language may be given place in the school time-table.

2. More in-service programs for teachers of Amharic in Eritrea may be encouraged and summer vacations may be utilized more profitably by opening summer language training institutes for Eritrean teachers of Amharic.

3. Treatise on the political, social and economic advantages of the re-union of Ethiopia-Eritrea may be distributed to school teachers at appropriate times.

4. History booklets on ancient and modern Ethiopia with reference to the present situation may be given to teachers at a nominal cost-price.

5. During summer vacations or during suitable times, some representatives of the Eritrean Teacher Associations can be offered one or two week visits to schools and some historical sites in the southern parts of Ethiopia. Such representatives may either be selected by their own colleagues or voted for during the Association's general meetings.

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