A SOCIOPSYCHOLOGICAL SURVEY OF LANGUAGE ATTITUDES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA: A CASE STUDY OF MOZAMBIQUE

PROPOSALS FOR LANGUAGE USE AND LANGUAGE IN EDUCATION IN MOZAMBIQUE

This Thesis is submitted in accordance with the requirements of the University of Surrey for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Applied Linguistics

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whose support was instrumental in carrying out the data collection for this study in my country. These are: Dr Nhavoto, Minister of Education and his staff in Maputo, Beira and Nampula; Dr Kathupa, Minister of Culture, Youth and Sports and his staff in Maputo, Beira and Nampula; Dr Matos, Chancellor of Eduardo Mondlane University (UEM), the Dean, Lecturers and Students of the Faculty of Arts (Linguistics); Deans of Faculties, Heads of Departments, Lecturers and Students of the Mozambican Pedagogical University in Maputo and its branches in Beira and Nampula; participant Headmasters, teachers and students of secondary and high schools in Maputo, Beira and Nampula; Mr Machado da Graça, Administrator of Mozambique Radio (RM) and his participant staff (journalists) all over the country; Mr Cossa, Editor of Noticias (National Newspaper) and his participant staff in Maputo and Beira; the Editor of Mozambique Television (TVM) and his participant staff in Maputo, Beira and Nampula; and, finally, all the Farmers who participated in the survey and interviews in Maputo, Beira and Nampula. Their efforts, patience, tolerance and support during the research data collection helped complete this research-study.

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On the other hand, I would like to reiterate that opinions or attitudes reflected in this study do not, necessarily, represent those of supporting institutions and individuals because I have taken the liberty of interpreting their ideas in my own way and, for this, I bear sole responsibility.

Finally, because this study, especially its data collection, was carried out thanks to funds provided by CfBT - Education Services, Africa Educational Trust, and support from World University Services (UK), St. Mary's University College and the University of Surrey, the results of this research-study or parts of it, may be reproduced for purposes related to their activities in education. Other users must seek and receive written permission of the author or the publisher.
A recent study of the language question in Mozambique criticises the fact that not enough practical attention is being given by the ruling party to the promotion of the indigenous languages in spite of the rhetorical commitment to this. It was stated at the First National Seminar on Portuguese Language Education held in Maputo in 1979 that:

"If the party and the government confirm the option of declaring Portuguese to be the official language, they do not intend to relegate Mozambique's Bantu (Indigenous) Languages into the background by so doing. They are simply wanting to utilise a linguistic resource which has fewer risks and more certain guarantees of success as far as facilitating communication among all the people in the country" (Quoted in Schrire, [Ed.] (1990, p. 137).

Similarly, the First Conference of the Department of Information and Propaganda of Frelimo Party, held in Macomia in 1975, stated clearly that:

"The promotion of the Portuguese language should, under no circumstances, be interpreted to mean that it is our aim to do away with the languages of Mozambique" (Quoted in Fuchs, 1988, p. 30).

In the same line of thought, the then Secretary of State of Culture, Luis Bernardo Honwana, in a document entitled 'Contribution to the definition of a language policy for the Republic of Mozambique' demanded research on and development of the local Mozambican languages without challenging the official status of Portuguese. He argued that:

"The promotion of local languages would make possible wider social, cultural and political participation by the people of Mozambique and would begin to put in question the privileged position of Portuguese. If this was not done, through bureaucratic or political inertia, there would be no real difference between colonial and post-colonial language policy" (Quoted in Fuchs, Ibid., pp. 30-31).
This illustrates the tendency which has emerged in all post-colonial states that after an initial period of promoting the colonisers' language for pragmatic, rather than sentimental, reasons, indigenous languages come into their own, once again. I believe post-colonial Mozambique is moving along similar lines. Those Mozambicans who are not of Portuguese background are compelled, by the spur of economic necessity, to broaden their language skills, whereas those who try to learn one or other indigenous language are hampered by lack of incentives. Clearly, a major campaign to encourage the learning of the different languages, at all levels, has to be undertaken.

It ought to be clear that one of the main spin-offs of this proposal is that its realization will facilitate communication among the different language groups in our country. The ideal solution is a trifocal one in which each person will know a mother tongue, Portuguese, and another (regionally important) language. Another important aspect of this proposal is that Makua-speakers should be encouraged to learn a Tsonga language and vice versa. Theoretically, in this constellation, every individual in Mozambique would be able to find a language in which to converse with any other Mozambican.

With the above background situation in mind, this research-study intends to argue for the need to empower Mozambican (and other Southern African) indigenous languages for more extended functions in national life. It is hoped that it will make a contribution to the understanding of the sociopsychological, sociolinguistic, and sociopolitical dimensions of language attitudes in the Mozambican language context.

Therefore, the first Chapter will analyse the socio-historical foundations necessary for an understanding of current language attitudes in Mozambique. It is important to emphasise, at this point, that a more general sociological approach or an approach considering language attitudes will be adopted in preference to an approach with political analysis (such as Phillipson, R.). Considering that the Chapter presents a brief definition of the subject, a review of the literature and suggestions of areas for future research, I propose to divide it in two: Part I and Part II. The second will attempt to provide a concise
account of the present language situation in Mozambique. In the third
Chapter, an investigation of language attitudes research in Mozambique will
be carried out, together with pointers as to how such research may contribute
to language policy-making, language-planning and action. Then, the study will
outline the methodologies to be used in language attitudes research and
suggest how future research should proceed. It will show the major findings of
the research and discuss important areas for future studies. Finally, the
Chapter will explore the attitudinal dimensions of language speaker numbers
and power variables.

Chapter four will discuss different aspects of the difficult issue of language use
in education in Mozambique, in particular, and Southern Africa, in general.
Chapter five will stress the need to promote the indigenous languages of
Mozambique, in particular, and Southern Africa in general. Chapter six will
consider the context of language planning in Mozambique and Southern
Africa. The Chapter then will explore some traits of a forward-looking
language planning policy for multilingual contexts. The concluding Chapter,
will highlight the implications of the entire study for multilingual situations,
discuss the implications of the findings for the question of language planning
and language teaching in Mozambique, and make recommendations that
those in this field may find useful.

In sum, by means of a survey into Language Attitudes in Mozambique, in
particular, and Southern Africa, in general, this study will attempt to achieve
the following:

- to pinpoint the attitudinal patterns towards European and
  indigenous languages in Mozambique (and Southern Africa);
- to place such attitudes in a proper historical perspective;
- to identify attitudes towards language use in education;
- to encourage research on language attitudes in Mozambique
  (and Southern Africa) by scholars within and outside it;
- to highlight some of the implications of the study for language
  planning and action in contemporary Mozambique (and Southern
  Africa), in particular, and in multilingual contexts, in general.
Because Mozambique is situated in Southern Africa, surrounded by English-speaking countries, a member of the SADC (Southern African Development Community) - an organisation of Southern African countries trying to develop their economies and increase regional co-operation - and recently admitted as a member of the Commonwealth nations and, consequently, probable future English-speaking country, I will situate this study in a Southern African context, in general terms, and emphasise the need to empower Southern African indigenous languages for more extended functions in national life in this strategic region, in particular.

Overall, this study will be of interest to all psycholinguists, psychologists, sociolinguists, sociologists, anthropologists, general linguists, language in education researchers and scholars, language-planners and language-policy-makers in multilingual situations, language teachers, and even politicians. Also, I believe, anyone interested in the complex Southern African language context and other academics concerned with language will find this study informative, even sometimes stirring, while those involved in language issues in multilingual situations all over the world will find *Sociopsychological Survey of Language Attitudes In Southern Africa: A Case Study of Mozambique* interesting, stimulating, and valuable.
- A Sociopsychological Survey of Language Attitudes in Southern Africa: A Case Study of Mozambique -

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PREFACE

The study of language use is not confined to one or even a few academic disciplines. It involves several. As an example, Osgood’s (1953, pp. 726 - 727) comment on language behaviour, made almost 44 years ago, seems to be still relevant today and applicable to the study of language use:

"In terms of content, study of language behaviour runs the gamut from neurophysiology of speech mechanisms and aphasia, through comparative, experimental, developmental, and social psychology, into cultural anthropology and the philosophy of science."

In so far as major developments in the study of language in use are concerned, it is common knowledge that they have occurred in pragmatics (Leech, 1983; Levinson, 1983) and sociolinguistics (Fasold, 1984, 1990; Labov, 1966; Trudgill, 1974), two disciplines that are centrally concerned with the subject. Concurrently, developments have also been made in neighbouring fields. These include: linguistic philosophy (Austin, 1962; Grice, 1975), conversation analysis (Atkinson & Heritage, 1984; Bulton & Lee, 1987; Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974), ethnography of speaking (Gumperz & Hymes, 1972), discourse analysis (Potter & Wetherell, 1987; van Dijk, 1985), social psychology (Giles & Robinson, 1990), and communication science (Berger & Chaffee, 1987; Knapp & Miller, 1985). In general terms, the developments are centred mainly on linguistic variables, although non linguistic or nonverbal variables, such as kinesic (gaze, posture, and gesture) and proxemic (interpersonal distance, touch, and orientation) features are still very much evident in current research.

On the other hand, the notion of attitudes is known to have a place in psychology, sociology, anthropology, education, history, human geography and creative arts. Similarly, bilingualism and minority languages are not topics confined to linguistics or language studies, but enter debates in education, psychology, geography, politics, sociology, law and anthropology. The bringing together of attitudes and bilingualism was first considered by Baker (1988) when writing 'Issues in Bilingualism and Bilingual Education'. It became clear that there was a strong research tradition connecting
bilingualism with intelligence and cognitive functioning. Research on bilingual education was similarly not scarce. These areas still demand further research, especially with regard to contemporary research interests in information processing and school effectiveness. In contrast, the tradition connecting attitudes and motivation with bilingualism and minority languages seemed less strong. The importance of attitudes in bilingualism as an individual or societal phenomenon seems latently assumed in many psychological, sociological, geolinguistic and educational writings. However, the amount of explicit theory and research on the topic appears surprisingly small.

In the same line of thought, as far as language planning and language in education are concerned, the publication of Weinreich's "Languages in Contact" in 1953 and Lado's "Linguistics Across Cultures" in 1957 provided linguists and language teachers with a method of approach in tackling the problems of languages in contact. Since then, more publications, either wholly or partially devoted to the subject, have seen the light of day, and the importance of language planning has been vindicated by works of such writers as Haugen (1966); Jernudd & Das Gupta (1971); Rubin & Jernudd (1971a); Rubin & Shuy (1973); Fishman 1973/4a); Rubin, Jernudd, Das Gupta, Fishman & Ferguson (1977); Cobarrubias & Fishman (1983), among others. Generally speaking, the comparison of languages has not been related to the wider issues of language-planning and approaches to education. Language teachers have focused their attention on classroom methodology, error analysis and 'mother tongue' interference', with the emphasis on the teaching of a dominant language, such as Portuguese, while the language of the learner is removed from the scene as it is considered a hindrance to the successful learning of the more important language of education and technological development.

This study takes a fairly broad view, being of the opinion that in a developing country like Mozambique, Portuguese (or any other imported language of wider communication) and the local or indigenous languages should complement each other in the development of the nation. I believe that the student of languages in contact should approach the subject from a
sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic standpoint, taking the two or more languages involved and examining their impact on each other in the hope that knowledge of the way in which they interact will help language-planners to have a clearer understanding of how the languages can best be taught, and how each of them can best serve the nation.

This research study will seek, by a piece of research in Mozambique, to attempt to predict language attitudes by investigating their possible origins in individual variables, (e.g. age, gender, ability) and in contextual/environmental attributes (e.g. type of school attended, language background, etc.). The relative effects of these attributes will be examined in an overall model. Whereas much previous research asked "what effects do attitudes have?" This study will focus on "What factors create different attitudes?" and on "What factors make attitude become more and less favourable over crucial teenage years?". The study will look at the problems from a linguistic point of view, but, also, it will try to show how the question of language attitudes can be related to education and socio-cultural development.

When the rest of Africa became independent in 1960s, colonial Mozambique, as well as most of Southern Africa, continued to be ruled by Europeans. Mozambique gained independence in 1975, and then only after a long armed struggle and a political coup in Portugal. Zimbabwe and Namibia did not become independent until 1980 and 1990 respectively and, once again, only after a long war of liberation.

The slow emergence of majority rule in Southern Africa can be explained, in part, by European domination of the area, both politically and economically. The Portuguese were early European explorers of the area and early colonisers as well (about 15th century). Both of their colonies - Angola and Mozambique - had a well entrenched white minority who governed with a heavy hand (see 4.2.2 for details). White-dominated Rhodesia was similar. British immigration to Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe), began after World War I and continued well into the 1950s; by which time, much of the most arable land had become the property of the coloniser. Until the mid-1970s the triple alliance of Portugal, Rhodesia and South Africa dominated the area politically,
militarily and economically. Western collusion with this minority and privileged group of Europeans helped to create suspicion and alienation between the new leaders and Western countries.

However, one hopes that two decades after independence the new situation will give rise to a general cultural awareness and will, consequently, lead to a change of policy in language and education. In other words, it is hoped that Mozambique will follow the example of other African countries (e.g. Tanzania, Zimbabwe, Botswana, among others) in putting more emphasis on African indigenous languages than was the case under colonialism. This research study is, therefore, designed to influence the thinking of the people of Mozambique and their Government positively, in this regard, and to guide them in adopting a comprehensive language policy which is in line with the goals of independence and nationhood. But the issues to be discussed in this study, one hopes, will have wider implications than the question of language attitudes, language planning and language in education in Mozambique, for the study intends to touch on matters of practical relevance to Africa, generally, and of interest to all students of multilingualism, language contact and language planning in the Third World. It is the author's hope that the study will not only be useful in clarifying the issues to which the people of Mozambique will address themselves when they come to make decisions on language in education and language policy, but also, help to advance a general theoretical and methodological framework within which to study the problem of language attitudes and language contact in multilingual communities.

During the colonial period African Mozambicans had very little access to education. In the 1960s, with a population of over seven million people, most government funds went toward the education of the 40,000 European population and the few "assimilados" living in urban areas. They attended schools based on those in Portugal with the language of instruction Portuguese. Some mission education was available for the Africans in rural areas, but colonial financial support was almost non-existent. When independence came in 1975 there was a massive exodus of the European population, including Portuguese teachers, and the educational system
virtually ceased to exist. At the time of independence it was estimated that the illiteracy rate was at least 93% (Ministry of Education, 1986).

After independence, the numbers attending formal education increased dramatically.

Portuguese remains the language of instruction at all levels because, apparently, there is not a single African language understood by the majority of the people. The country is composed of more than ten major ethnic groups each with a language that is unrelated.

Economic problems, produced by civil war and consequently, food shortages, are slowing the pace of educational development.

Therefore, the limitations of this study will be partly my own and partly the result of the recent political situation in the country (civil war). On the other hand, if the research had been carried out by a researcher residing in Mozambique, it is believed that it would have been more thorough and the researcher would have been able to conduct a language attitude survey on a larger scale and to use a large number of informants; but he found himself having to work outside the country (UK), and so the analysis was done not only with limited data, but also away from the primary sources of information. But the weakness of the study in this regard will be, it is hoped, sufficiently counter-balanced by the fact that writing away from home, the researcher will be able to draw on the experience of other countries, and thus, make proposals which can be supported by evidence of what has taken place elsewhere.

Language and culture cannot be divorced from politics, but in making his proposals, the researcher will try, to the best of his ability, to be as neutral as possible in matters relating to party politics and ethnic groupings in Mozambique, without sacrificing the basic principle of supporting the cause of freedom, democracy and independence in the country. In other words, this study will adopt a more general sociological approach or an approach considering language attitudes, in preference to an approach with political
analysis (e.g. Phillipson). This is because a very general framework has been presented by Giles and others with a taxonomy of factors which result in different patterns of attitudes to languages.

Although that framework was developed with situations where there was contact between two or three languages, the researcher believes it can be adapted to multilingual situations such as Southern Africa. Therefore, given that the research in Mozambique and Southern Africa will apply to education directly, and in the end, involve the "hearts and minds" of speakers of different languages, a focus on attitudes seems justified to the researcher.

Furthermore, as stated in the abstract, this research-study attests to the importance that the government of the Republic of Mozambique attaches to research and study in language-related issues and the commitment of the Ministries of Education and Culture to enhance the ability of individuals and institutions within Mozambique and Southern Africa to conceptualise, design, implement and disseminate research studies in the country, region and world.
In most multilingual and multicultural societies, such as Southern Africa, the differential power of particular social groups is reflected in language variation and in attitudes towards these variations (cf. Ryan, Giles & Sebastian, 1982). Thus, to have any real understanding of specific language problems we need to study how people react to the language varieties spoken in their locale. As Cooper & Fishman (1974) have pointed out, language attitude is a central concept in social science.

These attitudes can, as this study will show, reflect, for example, inter-ethnic attitudes (Lambert, Anisfield & Yeni-Komshian, 1965), determine teachers' perceptions of pupils (Seligman, Tucker & Lambert, 1972; Mordaunt, 1991) and reduce chances for educational and occupational success. These pervasive effects alone justify the topic as a research area and within it we must study what linguistic markers trigger such decisions, the structure and content of the attitudes evoked and how they exercise their influence.

Notwithstanding the importance of the attitude concept in social psychology, there is a lack of consensus among researchers as to its definition, measurement and nature (Eiser, 1982). One of the key questions is whether an attitude held is simply unidimensional, expressing the informant's favourability/unfavourability towards the act or object in question. In Rubagumya's (1986, p. 286) words, attitudes are a very difficult factor to assess because it is only the people who hold these attitudes who can really tell us what they are; and there may be reasons to prevent a person from revealing what his real attitudes are. Some researchers have taken the former point of view (Osgood, Suci & Tannenbaum, 1957; Oskamp, 1977) whereby many perceived consequences of an act are combined into a single number corresponding to an overall attitude. However, other scholars have seen attitudes in multi-dimensional terms (McGuire, 1969; Triandis, 1964). Bagozzi (1981) argues that this latter, multi-dimensional approach should be envisaged especially when the meaning and consequences of an act increase in salience; under these conditions, he maintains, the complexity of an attitude towards an act increases.
Given the importance of language in intercultural relations, it appears prudent to allow for complexity of language attitudes. There are, in addition, many aspects which should be addressed by this area of research. For example, Taylor, Meynard & Rheault (1977) in their study on second language learning included measures relating to attitudes toward the group which speaks the language, the learning of the language, the language course students had pursued, and the instructor; while Cooper & Fishman (1974) argue that the study of language attitudes should include analysis of attitudes towards a language, features of a language and the use of a language. This study, therefore, adopts a broad definition of the concept with a particular focus of interest on the meaning of an individual’s expressive behaviour with reference to speakers of different language varieties (Eiser, 1980).

Important Areas for Future Research on Language Attitudes

The language attitudes domain has come a long way in the last two decades in terms of its empirical, methodological and theoretical sophistication. The present study, with its sociohistorical flavour and multidisciplinary perspective, is a testament to this. Notwithstanding such advances, however, Giles & Ryan (1982) recently presented a detailed critique of speaker evaluation studies in particular. Their catalogue of so-called ‘deficiencies’ featured the social sterility of speech samples evaluated, the evaluative scales administered, and the situations used for testing. Although research reported in the study can be invoked as more meticulously conducted and analysed than that of which Giles & Ryan complain, we should not rest on our laurels. Indeed, Edward’s (1983) cautionary remarks concerning any undue exaggeration of the all-pervading salience of language attitudes in social life thus are preferred in this spirit of realism. Obviously, there is still much to be done on many levels and as a case in point we hope that multidisciplinary co-operation of the type represented in the present study will soon blossom into joint interdisciplinary research of a longitudinal nature. In addition, I wish to select and discuss from among the array of problematic issues raised by Giles & Ryan, three areas that I believe to be worth not only of further elaboration in this context, but those I anticipate may bring about the biggest theoretical, cross-national payoffs in
a) Listener Variables and Social Group Membership

It is apparent from a number of studies already carried out in Western World that there is, or can be, quite dramatic variation in attitudes towards standard and nonstandard language varieties. Not only do differences exist between ethnolinguistic groups, but there is also heterogeneity between different factions and members of the same group, especially within minority groups. We should be extremely cautious about assuming the existence of any 'typical' group member and it is important to pursue further which within-group characteristics are critical and to investigate their interaction with postulated attitudinal dimensions. Giles, Hewstone & Ball (1983) see such elaboration of listener variables to be particularly important because, according to them, the vast majority of informants are drawn from a narrow segment of student and/or middle-class sub-samples of the population. Obviously, an extension of the type of informants sampled is a priority for future research.

Before discussing within-group variation, it is appropriate to deal with between-group differences in attitudes. Although often over-looked, it should be recalled that while not ruling out the possibility of idiosyncratic evaluations, attitudes can be shared (Eiser, 1982). Indeed, Eiser argues that, in social applied social psychological research, the relevant attitudes are shared by group members. Furthermore, these attitudes may differentiate one's own group from other groups and may function to provide a positive image of the ingroup.

Looked at this way, the attitude concept has some similarities with that of the social representation (Moscovici, 1981; Moscovici & Hewstone, in press). This concept owes its origin to Durkheim (1898) but has been re-introduced and inserted into contemporary social psychology (rather than sociology) by Moscovici (1975). It refers to the knowledge about various aspects of social reality that is shared by many members of a society, but is apprehended at the
individual level. While sharing similarities with the notion of social stereotypes (Tajfel, 1981), it is also similar to the conceptuation of attitude held by some researchers. Thus, Thomas & Znaniecki (1918) viewed an attitude primarily as a reflection of the social world in the individual, a rather different view from that taken traditionally by social psychologists. Indeed, the Thomas & Znaniecki view of social attitudes would lead us not to expect a strong relationship between attitudes and within-group differences in behaviour, because social attitudes differentiate primarily between groups and not between members of the same group. In a similar vein, Moscovici (1982) reiterates that the collective character of social representations makes them incapable of accounting for individual differences: they may only account for differences between groups.

Listener variables which would appear to fit into this category are those relating to ideological and political consciousness. Thus, Flores & Hopper (1975) found that Mexican-Americans, for whom the term 'Chicano' was the preferred self-referent, rated 'Tex-Mex' speech more highly than Standard English. The findings of Segalowitz & Gatbonton (1977) may also be relevant in this context; they identified speech differences as a function of identification with Québecois nationalism, which would almost certainly be associated with differences in the evaluation of English Canadian speech and may indeed reflect such underlying attitudes.

These discussions of social attitudes and social representations refer to the differences between groups of listeners. The next stage of this analysis should deal with heterogeneity between different factions and individuals of the same group. Although there has been little work on the former issue (Bourhis, Giles & Tajfel, 1973), it is proposed that a useful framework may be supplied by social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979); this theory (which also has relevance for the aforementioned between-group differences) proposes that individuals may attempt to provide themselves with a positive social identity by positively defining the group(s) of which they are members along valued dimensions. The theory is particularly useful in providing a catalogue of possible majority and minority responses, which have been considered in
relation to language use in a number of publications (e.g. Giles & Johnson, 1981). It is, therefore, unnecessary to spell out this approach in detail. However, it may only be emphasized that attitudes held towards language varieties will depend on the extent to which group members have a positive or negative image of their own group (i.e. their social identity) and whether they perceive the intergroup system of which they are a part as stable-unstable and legitimate-illegitimate (cf. Ryan, Hewstone & Giles, in press).

Recent additions to the theory (Turner, 1981) would suggest that this approach also allows us to move towards an analysis of inter-individual differences, in considering the strength and commitment of social, or group, identification shown by individual members. Thus, it is important to check that listener-judges themselves subscribe to the ethnic group into which they have been intuitively placed by the investigators (Smith, Giles & Hewstone, 1980). Furthermore, given that these authors espouse a cognitive definition of social group membership (Turner, 1989), it is important to ascertain not only the passing social identifications of listeners, but also the salience and value with which such categorisations are imbued.

The strength of the social identity approach is that it does lend some theoretical framework to the classification of listener variables. This development is much needed in a domain where inter-judge differences of both personal and more social kinds have tended to proliferate. Thus, researchers have identified attitudinal differences as a function of race (Williams, 1976), age (Politzer & Ramirez, 1973a), place of birth (Ryan, Carranza & Moffie, 1975) and listener’s language (Anisfield & Lambert, 1964). This last variable appears to be problematic especially in the case of two distinct language varieties, as it is not clear whether attitudinal factors may have prevented the learning of the second language (Giles & Byrne, 1982). Many of these variables would seem to be related directly or indirectly to questions of group membership, strength of group identification, intergroup relations and intergroup social comparisons; they could therefore usefully be brought together under the umbrella of social identity theory.

It should now be evident that there is a vast potential for studies on listener
variables. As I have tried to show, these would illuminate the whole gamut of inter-judge differences, from between-group to within-group between-faction, and to between individuals. These differences, in forcing us to consider attitudes in more detail, tend to merge with a discussion of the cognitive processes involved in attitudinal judgement.

b) Cognitive Processes in Speaker Evaluation

Discussing cognitive processes in speaker evaluation, (Giles, Hewstone & Ball, 1983) point out that despite the early (e.g. Asch, 1951) and growing interest in cognitive social psychology (e.g. Nesbitt & Rose, 1980; Wyer & Carlston, 1980), there has been little attention focussed on the cognitive processes which mediate between a judge's perception of messages and the inferences arising from them (Della, 1972; Sebastian, Ryan, Keogh & Schmidt, 1980; Anderson et al., 1983; Seggie, 1983). Thus, Ryan & Cacioppo (1981) have argued that current impression-formation and inference models should be brought into the field of language attitudes.

To bridge this lacuna, Giles & Ryan (1982) have provided a detailed proposal for the integration of a variety of such processes (e.g. expectancies, attributions, social judgements, consistency and situational construal) in the field of speech style evaluation. The present section will therefore be more selective and will focus on two or three processes.

Cognitive processes are important for two primary, but somewhat paradoxical, reasons. First, according to Giles, Hewstone & Ball (1983), where as investigators they leave 'gaps' in the information presented to respondents, it is unlikely that their listeners will respond passively. As the tradition of perceiving humans as active information-processors (e.g. Kelly, 1955; Heider, 1958) should have taught us, assumptions of judges are likely to intervene and change the nature of the perceived stimulus to which they respond. In Bruner's (1957) oft-quoted phrase, they will "go beyond the information given". For example, Hestone & Jaspars (1982) have proposed that attributions in a social context may be concerned less with explanations of behaviour per se and more with the outcomes of behaviour or the social
conditions which led to its inception. Thus, we may err in assuming that judges simply react to linguistic stimuli provided; they may go beyond them. Similarly, Ryan & Sebastian (1980) have shown the importance of assumptions about the social class of nonstandard speakers. Lower class accented speakers were perceived much less favourably than corresponding lower class standard speakers, while the differences associated with speech style for middle class speakers were smaller. Another linguistic example of listener creating the stimuli to which they respond has been given by Giles (1978); apparently, if groups cannot perceive 'enough' ethnic markers in the speech of a subordinate ethnic group which they wish to denigrate, they may actually invent perceptual markers.

The second reason why it is important to consider cognitive processes in our language attitude models, according to Giles, Hewstone & Ball (1983), is that where we provide information, or too much information, to our subjects, they may systematically ignore or select certain aspects of it in accordance with simplificatory schemata and 'heuristics'. Take, for example, the listener who makes a judgement of an individual from a group which is normally negatively stereotyped. Because of the operation of an 'anchoring' heuristic (Tversky & Kahneman, 1974), the judge may refuse to revise an initially negative estimate of the person's character, despite the presentation of adequate new information. Relatedly, it has been proposed that perceivers invariably seek to confirm the hypotheses that they hold about others (Snyder & Swann, 1978). This simplifying strategem too could serve to place nonstandard speakers in an invidious position, when listeners' initial hypothesis is negative or derogatory.

Much can be gained from past and present research on the processes associated with social categorisation (Mervis & Rosch, 1981), by which is meant the segmentation and organisation of the social world in terms of social categories or social groupings. Such categorisation is adaptive, functioning to guide behaviour (Bruner, 1975; Triandis, 1971), although important information regarding individual differences within a category may be lost, the complex social environment must be reduced to manageable units. This was
shown in an early study by Tajfel & Wilkes (1963), which revealed a tendency to accentuate similarities between members of the same category and differences between members of different categories. Furthermore, when it is social objects that are categorised the categorisations are related to value differentials and the subjective differences between categories tend to be even further enhanced (Tajfel, 1978). It is also necessary to consider the intergroup social comparisons which might be made by listener judges; this may lead to further differentiation when the membership group of the speaker is perceived to be similar illegitimately superior or relevant (Turner, Brown & Tajfel, 1979).

Turner (1981) has argued that we need to assume that social categorisation and social comparison processes are complementary. Motivational processes towards a positive ingroup image operate as a consequence of the fact of social categorisation.

A second major class of cognitive processes are those relating to casual attribution (Kelly & Michela, 1980; Hewstone, in press). These are relevant in the cases where information is presented but is selectively perceived. Attribution theory has dealt with the formulation of causal explanations under conditions of relatively complete (McArthur, 1972) or incomplete information (Kelly, 1973). It has, moreover, been shown that even when information is presented, it may not have much impact on attributions offered (Kassin, 1979). One of the most powerful aspects of causal attribution, especially when considered in the context of inter-cultural relations (Jaspers & Hewstone, 1982) is that it may allow for any intergroup differences (Hewstone, Bond & Wan, in press); this has now been shown in a number of studies (e.g. Hewstone, Jaspers & Lalljee, 1982). The importance of such processes for language attitude studies lies in the explanatory framework that they provide for listeners, even when explanations are not explicitly called for. Thus, an evaluation of nonstandard speaker, presented as a middle class professional, might still evoke negative attitudes in the listener if the speaker's achievement can be 'explained away' (Pettigrew, 1979). Kelly (in press) has advocated further study of the perceived causal structures underlying attributional
judgements, such as the intuitive beliefs that certain events cause other events, and/or are caused by a third class of events. Such structures obviously become relevant when, for example, listeners believe that nonstandard speech is 'caused by' laziness or perhaps is seen as the cause of poor communication with others. Such beliefs, although not yet the focus of current research would have important implications for practical decisions about the education, occupation and social position of nonstandard speakers.

This recent work of Kelly is also consistent with Eiser's (1982) emphasis on the 'intuitive causal theories' and cognitive strategies implicit in people's attitudes and Ajzen's (1977) notion of a 'causality heuristic'. This latter notion proposes that individuals take account of information only insofar as it appears relevant in terms of their intuitive causal theories. At this point, attribution principles are brought together with the kind of simplifying heuristics discussed above. This is appropriate as attribution theory has been taken to imply an excessively elaborate processing of social information. Some proponents of this view have referred to 'cruedeness' of simplifying cognitive heuristics (e.g. Fischoff, 1976; Nisbett & Ross, 1980), while others (such as Langer, 1978) have questioned whether people analyse social cues at all in their day-to-day social interactions. Langer suggests that, especially when performing familiar activities, people rely on well-learned and general 'scripts' as a kind of 'automatic pilot', which is placed and left in control until or unless specific cues are noticed indicating the need for careful, attributional attention (Schank & Abelson, 1977; Lalljee & Abelson, in press). For example, if we hear someone in a 'home' or (a 'school') context, of any other recurrent combination of setting and participants, we may 'plug in' that script, evoking widely-shared expectations about the sequence and type of activity likely to unfold therein. In addition, as Eiser (1982) has conjectured, people with different attitudes may view aspects of an issue as differentially salient and organise their attitudes in terms of different scripts. For example, an individual who felt threatened by linguistic 'swamping' from an ethnolinguistic outhgroup would hold different attitudes from someone who viewed matters in terms of 'cultural diversity'.

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It seems reasonable, given these critical positions, to propose that individuals may sometimes react to stimuli on the basis of well-known and rehearsed scripts, while on the other occasions more complex cognitive activity will ensue (Thorngate, 1976). It must be taken as a future task of this area to provide a more systematic account of when and how such a dual-system might function. Notwithstanding this issue, the immediate aim has been to add some cognitive 'flesh' to the mere 'skin and bones' that have previously been allocated to the listener in speech evaluation studies. Emphasis has been placed on principles relating to social categorisation and causal attribution, but this should not be taken to imply our disregard for other processes. Similarly, we have drawn attention to some of the motivations relating to these processes all of which will be necessary components of a complete model.

c) Functions of Language Attitudes

In stark contrast to the mass of work on the assessment of language attitudes, little attention has been paid to their functions. St. Clair (1982) sees this as a symptom of positivism's quest for structure over function (Ravetz, 1973) and identifies its roots in both linguistics and psychology. He maintains that our interest should centre on what knowledge is organised, as well as how cognitions are structured.

Standard social psychology texts tend to deal only with the theory developed by Katz and colleagues (e.g. Katz & Kahn, 1966) which identifies four different functions of attitudes - 'instrumental', 'value-expressive', 'knowledge' and 'ego-defensive'. Respectively, these functions propose, essentially, that individuals will develop attitudes which help them achieve desired goals, are consistent with their broader value-system, impose structure on their social environment and protect them from recognition of their own inadequacies. Although these functions certainly cover quite a broad perspective, they are rather individualistic. When social attitudes are considered, additional factors become relevant. Thus, Eiser (1982) conceives attitudes differentiating features of particular social groups which may be valued aspects of particular group memberships. In his terms a particular attitude (or set of attitudes) is functional for intra-group relations and may contribute towards a positive
ingroup social identity. Interestingly, Mead (1934) views the self as arising through taking the attitude of the group to which one belongs.

Tajfel (1981) has also presented an enlightening analysis of the functions of social stereotypes. He outlines two 'individual' functions (referred to as 'cognitive' and 'value preservation' functions; cf. Katz's knowledge and value-expressive functions), but also two 'social' functions. These latter functions, 'ideologizing' and 'differentiation' concern the ways in which individuals, as group members, come to understand, justify and explain their social world and how attitudes allow for the positive differentiation of the ingroup from the outgroup. Tajfel maintains that the clues of these functions lie in the contexts of attitudes or stereotypes.

Giles, Scherer & Taylor (1979) introduced the notion of speech markers having two main functions. They emphasise their role in relation to language attitudes. The authors refer to the first function as one of 'cognitive organisation', underlining how organised cognitive structures allow for more efficient interaction and guide behaviour. It is argued that markers found in spoken language, the most important human communication system, should facilitate accurate location of the speaker's social position. Language attitudes should, therefore, function to categorise and filter social information, generating behavioural predictions. The second function concerns 'identity maintenance' and refers to the evaluative biases laid down in cognitive structures which maintain the self-esteem or the group identity of perceivers (Aronson, 1972; Tajfel, 1978). In relation to this function, language attitudes may serve to differentiate ingroup from outgroup on positive dimensions (cf. Gibbons, 1983), maintain social distance (cf. Fitch & Hopper, 1983) and justify intergroup differences (cf. Seggie, 1983).

These approaches to the functions fulfilled by attitudes have implications for social programmes to bring about change in their contents. Individuals are likely to be most reluctant to change attitudes which serve important psychological and social functions and these are likely to influence their behaviour in a variety of settings. This has most general implications for public
policy in that proper and full appreciation of existing circumstances, which is always vital for successful policy, must include examination of the functions fulfilled by community attitudes towards languages, not merely so-called 'objective' statistics. "Objectively", a language may be declining, but its speakers may not see it that way if it forms an important dimension of social identity for them. Any government policy predicated on the assumption that the language is doomed and beyond resuscitation is likely to be interpreted by the speakers as active suppression and to generate intercommunity strife. Conversely, a language which is 'objectively' not very low in vitality (if seen as low by its speakers, and if offering them little by way of social identity - particularly if the speakers see no obstacle to their assimilation into a larger or more successful outgroup) may be expected to decline and die out, regardless of any official preservation policy which fails to induce attitude change among the speakers.

In sum, from future perspectives beyond this research study, let us return to the concrete present of succeeding chapters. It is not possible to cover all aspects that encompass adequately the different themes and approaches falling under the wide rubric, language attitude. Nevertheless, the brief of this study is (1) reflect work on attitude towards a) speakers of different language varieties, b) language use, and c) language policies; (2) to achieve this by means of different methodologies (e.g. interviews, questionnaires, personal observations) and across a rich variety of cultures undergoing social change and often times underexplored empirically (e.g. Southern Africa); (3) to accomplish all this focussing attention on, again underexplored, social contexts (e.g. legal, media, educational) variables. I hope that what will emerge will be a fascinating picture, whether viewed by the research language attitude researcher or by a reader fresh to the field. In virtually every case, informants appear to possess very complex, often conflicting language attitudes, of which they are frequently unaware; they may value a speech variety for policy reasons or use owing to one set of reasons yet deplore or avoid it for others. Wherever multicultural settings exist, language attitudes can be found to play an integral social role not only in reflecting intergroup relations, but also in mediating and determining them. In view of the foregoing,
it should be no surprise that the field has changed so much in the last twenty
years, a development which is itself a response to the continual process of
change in social phenomena. 'To live is to change, to be perfect is to change
often', according to John Henry Newman. This study is being carried out in
order to reflect recent changes in research on language attitudes, to promote
an understanding of this growing area, and to engender change in future
theoretical and empirical orientations to these issues. From this study, I predict
that the future will be quite as interesting as the past.

The Mozambican and Southern African Context

Some brief historical background is helpful in understanding the linguistic
complexity of present-day Mozambique and Southern Africa. Such a
background might also be useful in providing a clue, even if only a partial one,
to the existing patterns of human settlement which bear directly on the
present-day language situation. The present language situation is the product
of an interplay between a series of migrations within the Southern African
subcontinent and the processes of, first, colonisation and, second, colonialism
as Davenport (1977, p. 10) rightly observes:

"Before the white man’s arrival in Southern Africa . . . large areas of
the sub-continent were . . . unevenly populated by Khoisan and
Bantu-speaking communities whose cultural traits pointed to striking
diversities of origin, but whose economic activities brought them
into continuous relationships with each other"

The first European colonists arrived in Southern Africa in 1485, when the
Portuguese navigator, Diego Cão, set foot on Namibia’s Atlantic coast,
followed, during the intervening centuries, by various other uninvited visitors
from Europe in the context of attempts to establish a sea route to India.

According to Fieldhouse (1981, p. 6), the general aim of settlements during the
phase of colonisation was: "the creation of permanent and distinctively
European communities in other parts of the world"; hence, Portuguese, Dutch
and English were introduced as the languages of governments and
measures were implemented which ensured their unquestioned official
dominance over indigenous languages.
A Sociopsychological Survey of Language Attitudes in Southern Africa: A Case Study of Mozambique

For the purpose of this study, Mozambique is geographically located on the Eastern coast of Southern Africa, between 10°.27 and 26°.52 S and 30°.12 and 40°.51 E. Its borders are:

North - Tanzania
West - Malawi, Zambia, Zimbabwe, and the South African Province of Transvaal;
South - Swaziland and the South African Province of Natal;
East - Indian Ocean

Alphabetically, the countries relevant to this study (Southern Africa) are shown in Table 0.1.

Table 0.1 - An Alphabetical list of countries of Southern Africa:

- Angola
- Botswana
- Lesotho
- Malawi
- Mozambique
- Namibia
- South Africa
- Swaziland
- Tanzania
- Zambia
- Zimbabwe

MAP - Location of the country relevant to this study and other countries of Southern Africa
Mozambique is linguistically characterised as multilingual, a phenomenon which can be seen throughout the country as well as at an individual level. This multilingualism can be seen within the group of Bantu languages, between one or more Bantu languages and Portuguese and English, and between Portuguese and English. At different levels, these linguistic groups influence the economic and socio-political life of the country making it necessary to evaluate and develop an appropriate strategy.

First, let us characterise the Bantu languages spoken in Mozambique. According to studies (Guthrie, 1948), there are no African languages in Mozambique which do not belong to the Bantu super family. According to Guthrie (1967), the Bantu languages of Mozambique make up four different zones and eight groups namely:

(i) Zone G:
   G.40 : Kieuahili

(ii) Zone P:
     P. 20 : Yao and Makonde
     P. 30 : Makuwa-Lomwé-Chwabo

(iii) Zone N:
     N. 30 : Nyanja
     N.40 : Sena

(iv) Zone S:
     S. 10 : Shona
     S. 50 : Tsonga (Shangana, Ronga, Tswa)
     S. 60 : Chopi

The level of comprehension and communication between groups led linguists to consider the existence of various dialects of the same language whose grouping has resulted in eight languages, four of which are major and influence the remaining four. Their distribution in numerical terms and according to the general census of 1980 is as follows:

- Makuwa-Lomwé - 41%
- Tsonga - 19%
- Nyanja - 10%
- Shona - 8%

Since many speakers are familiar not only with their mother tongue but with two or three other languages, they are able to communicate in a particular
region as well as among different ethnic groups. Therefore, the Portuguese language may be far removed from the communicative devices used in their daily lives. The Portuguese language, the official language of the country, is spoken by 24.4% of the total population, is the mother tongue for 1.2% and 23.2% speak Portuguese and one or more Bantu language. The majority of Portuguese speakers live in the cities and heavily populated areas (cf. Machungo & Matusse, 1989, pp. 133 - 134).

On the other hand, when discussing the language situation in Southern Africa, Katzner (1977) observes that the few indigenous non-Bantu languages of Southern Africa are of the Khoisan family. The two most important are Bushman and Hottentot, each with about 50,000 speakers. The former is spoken in Botswana, Namibia, and South Africa; the latter entirely in Namibia. Two other Khoisan languages are Sandawe and Hatsa (Hadzapi), of Tanzania, the former with about 25,000 speakers, the latter with fewer than 1,000.

He goes on to explain that the name Khoisan is composed of the word "Koi", the Hottentot word for 'Hottentot', and "San", the Hottentot word for 'Bushman'. According to Katzner (1977), the most distinctive feature of the Khoisan languages is the presence of the so-called click consonants, made by drawing air into the mouth and clicking the tongue. While a few such sounds are found in other languages such as Xhosa, Sotho, and Tsonga, they are known to have been borrowed from the Khoisan people who, presumably, created them. The relationship between the two branches of Khoisan is remote, yet fairly certain. But the question of how and when they drifted so far apart is as yet unanswered.

A quick examination of the functions of languages/multilingualism in modern Mozambique and its neighbouring countries would help to clarify the views to be expressed in subsequent chapters in this study, with regard to indigenous and colonial languages. I will begin this by indicating that many local languages will, most likely, continue to be used in informal, interpersonal day-to-day interactions. While not much legislation could affect language functions in such domains, encouragement of the use of languages in them could,
nevertheless, be consciously done by, for example, legal and constitutional provisions. However, a few aspects of public life and domains of language functionality should be considered as deserving special planning and management attention in modern Mozambique. In order to be positive, attitudes to indigenous languages in the domains need to be specially planned and managed. These, according to Adegbija (1994, pp. 2 - 4), include:

1 - Nationism or official functions: this concerns nation-building, or the languages used in official day-to-day administration, for ensuring the smooth functioning of the social and economic systems of a nation.

   Kellman (1971), for instance, observes that such a language must guarantee to different groups access to the system and equal opportunities to participate in it. In Mozambique and its neighbouring countries, at the moment, European languages, alone, are used for such official functions. Consequently, many of the indigenous peoples are ignorant of the day-to-day happenings in government circles and are, therefore, unable to participate, effectively, in national life.

2 - National language functions: national languages are needed in modern Mozambique to foster unity and to express national pride and independence. As Cooper (1988, p. 99) claims:

   "Given the colonial background of most Southern African countries, such languages constitute a symbol around which national pride could be mobilised".

Shona in Zimbabwe, Zulu and Xhosa in South Africa, Setswana in Botswana, Sesotho in Lesotho and siSwati in Swaziland, in particular, at present, function in such a capacity. In Mozambique, owing to inadequate language policies, Portuguese has usurped such a role. For example, in Mozambique, one cannot point at a national language. Makua-Lomwé, Tsonga, and Sena appear to be in the process of being groomed for such a role but have not as yet been given commensurate institutional support to make them function effectively in performing the role of national languages. Consequently,
Portuguese, the colonial language, is very much in evidence in this function. But it is not effectively performing such a role because of its colonial origins and because it is spoken only by a minority élite group as Mondlane (1983, p. 60) rightly concluded:

"In implementing the policy objectives of educating the Africans to speak only Portuguese, embrace Christianity, and feel as intensely as Portuguese as the metropolitan citizens themselves, the Portuguese government has decreed that only one language, Portuguese, is to be taught in schools under its jurisdiction in Africa. African languages are to be used as a means of facilitating the teaching of Portuguese. The long-range prospects for this approach, the intermediate result is the creation of a small class that looks down upon its own traditional languages and culture, but is not sufficiently educated to use Portuguese efficiently."

3 - Inter-cultural or inter-ethnic communication: In multilingual contexts, inter-cultural communication in markets, social gatherings and places of worship, tends to be enhanced when the different cultural groups have languages that serve in day-to-day social interactions. Such languages, sometimes referred to as 'link languages', vehicular languages, lingua franca, or languages of wider communication (cf. Adegbija, 1994), often overlap in functions with official languages. According to him, in most Southern African contexts, regional and local level lingua franca, different from the national, are often desirable in order to promote effective socio-communication. Indigenous languages function effectively in such roles, especially, at the regional and local levels, but their functions are often not officially credited or recognised. Because an effective language policy has not been formulated in many Southern African contexts for the fulfilling of the function of inter-ethnic communication, European languages tend to strongly compete with indigenous languages in filling the vacuum. However, because they are spoken only by a minority élite, they cannot perform this role well.

In the case of Mozambique, it appears that Makua-Lomwé, and Tsonga would be candidates to become national languages since they are spoken by the majority of the population, 41% and 19% respectively (Machungo & Matusse, 1989, p. 134).
4 - International communication: Adegbija (1994), stresses that languages of international co-operation and communication are imperative because of contemporary international interdependency in several domains of life. In the areas of science and technology, tourism, world politics and diplomacy, economic interaction, the mass media and transportation, no single nation can claim independence from other nations. On a world-wide scale, English, by virtue of the history surrounding its development in Britain, America and globally, has developed into the international language par excellence, and it appears to be fulfilling this role rather well, even in African contexts. He goes on to explain that this fact has contributed, immensely, to the enhancement of its status in Southern Africa and in the world, in general. But Southern African indigenous languages, such as Shona, Zulu, Xhosa and Afrikaans, siSwati, Tsonga, Makua-Lomwé and Nyanja, also need to be groomed for performing regional functions in Southern Africa (e.g. in organisations such as the SADC, OAU, etc.). Indeed, these eight languages already have regional functions in Southern Africa.

5 - Languages of education: According to Adegbija (1992a, p. 232), the domain of education is:

"... the most crucial area in which language-policy is needed, the most problematic, the most multi-faceted, the most economically involving; sometimes the most politically charged and explosive, and the most pregnant with life-long consequences and implications."

He goes on to add that decisions on languages of education are, therefore, very consequential in that they affect every other area of language functionality (see 4.2.3 for details). It is with regard to this function that most language-policies in Mozambique have failed by largely assigning this function to the ex-colonial language at all levels. Attitudes towards languages are crucially influenced by the education functions they perform. This is because education affects the individual's upward mobility, future progress and ability to participate in many aspects of national life. Adegbija (1992a) emphasises that the quality of education also affects a society's awareness, progress, general well-being and productivity. In other Southern African
countries, as mentioned earlier, indigenous languages are designated to function only at the informal levels or during the first few years of primary education. As a result, indigenous African languages have been stigmatised in the educational domain as being incapable of functioning beyond this low level (Additional details about mother tongue education, see Chapter 1 below). Lack of use over the years has also meant lack of growth, lack of development and lack of challenges. Attitudes towards indigenous languages in education, consequently, tend to be generally negative. European languages in Southern Africa have, naturally, tended to fill the vacuum created by the inadequate use of indigenous languages. Attitudes towards them in this domain, therefore, tend to be highly positive. But this has been at the expense of leaving a majority of Southern Africans educationally impoverished, functionally illiterate and participatorily demobilised.

On the other hand, it is useful to stress, as noted in the abstract and preface above, that the notion of attitudes has a place in psychology, sociology, anthropology, education, history, human geography and creative arts. Similarly, bilingualism, multilingualism and minority languages are not topics confined to linguistics or language studies, but enter debates in education, psychology, geography, politics, sociology, law and anthropology. The bringing together of attitudes and bilingualism was previously considered by Baker in 1988, *(Key Issues in Bilingualism and Bilingual Education)*. It became clear that there was a strong research tradition connecting bilingualism with intelligence and cognitive functioning. Research on bilingual education was similarly not scarce. These areas still demand further research, especially with regard to contemporary research interests in information processing and school effectiveness. In contrast, the tradition connecting attitudes and motivation with bilingualism and minority languages seemed less strong. The importance of attitudes in bilingualism as an individual or societal phenomenon seems latently assumed in many psychological, sociological, geolinguistic and educational writings.

The prediction of language by using attitudes to language is obviously important. The deficiency seems to be in the origins of language attitudes and
attitude to bilingualism. Previous research has provided clues in bivariate relationships. For example, the type of school attended, language background and age may affect language attitudes. This study seeks, by a piece of research in Mozambique, to attempt to predict language attitudes by investigating their possible origins in individual variables, (e.g. age, gender, ability) and contextual/environmental attributes (e.g. type of school attended, language background, etc.). The relative effects of these attributes are examined in an overall model. Whereas much previous research as 'What effect do attitudes have?' this study focuses on 'What factors create different attitudes?' and on 'What factors make attitude become more and less favourable over the crucial teenage years?'

Therefore, this study emerges from the ideological point of view that all languages in a multilingual context, (as it is the case of Mozambique and Southern Africa), whether major or minor, exoglossic or endoglossic, should be seen as resources that need to be effectively harnessed for the total national good, and that language-policies need to respect, support and encourage the mutual harmonious co-existence of all languages, no matter their origins and the political or economic power or numerical strength of their speakers. Generally, the view is that European languages in Mozambique and Southern Africa, mainly spoken and used by the political and economic élite, have, in comparison with the indigenous languages, been given far more power and institutional functions and attention than they deserve. Accordingly, this has positively affected attitudes towards them, particularly in official domains. Conversely, indigenous Southern African languages, with the exception of, sometimes, the major ones, generally lack power, particularly in official settings. In my opinion, this has created problems in many areas including administration, national mass mobilisation, education and the democratisation of knowledge. Consequently, they have been denied the kind of growth and development that comes from more formal uses and their capabilities are generally lowly-rated, both by policy-planners and the indigenous masses. This way, attitudes towards them, especially in official domains, tend to be generally negative, when compared to attitudes towards European or ex-colonial languages. On the other hand, this study recognises
that this state of affairs seems to be caused by the problem people in those
countries face, regarding choice of language to be used, due to inter ethnic
rivalries.

However, this study adopts the perspective that indigenous languages in that
part of Africa demand more developmental attention, more prestige and
honour and are capable of carrying more domain-functional load than they are
currently entrusted to carry.

Table 0.2 gives an approximate idea of the language situation in the countries
relevant to this study, which, for reasons such as lack of language questions in
the post-independence censuses and the difficulty in distinguishing related
172); (cf. Whiteley, 1971a, p. 148), underestimates the number of languages in
some of the countries.

Table 0.2 - Languages of Southern Africa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>No. of languages</th>
<th>Principal languages</th>
<th>Languages spoken as mother tongue</th>
<th>Language used as official language franca</th>
<th>Medium of instruction in:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total Principal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lower primary medium of instruction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angola</td>
<td>20 4</td>
<td>Congo 15, Kimbundo 23, Umbundo 30, Portuguese low 35</td>
<td>x, x, x</td>
<td>x, x, x</td>
<td>x, x, x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Botswana</td>
<td>11 2</td>
<td>Setswana 80, English low</td>
<td>x, x, x</td>
<td>x, x, x</td>
<td>x, x, x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lesotho</td>
<td>2 2</td>
<td>Sesotho 95, English low</td>
<td>x, x, x</td>
<td>x, x, x</td>
<td>x, x, x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malawi</td>
<td>15a 4</td>
<td>Nyanja 50, Lomwe 15, Yao 14, English low</td>
<td>x, x, x</td>
<td>x, x, x</td>
<td>x, x, x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mozambique</td>
<td>20 8</td>
<td>Makua-Lomwe 41, Shangana 14, Chuwabo 12, Nyanja 10, Sena 10, Ronga 8, Ndaup 5, Portuguese low 40</td>
<td>x, x, x</td>
<td>x, x, x</td>
<td>x, x, x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Namibia</td>
<td>11 8</td>
<td>Oshiwambo 45, Oshiwheke 25, Nama 25, Kwano 8, Tswana 5, Losi 5</td>
<td>x, x, x</td>
<td>x, x, x</td>
<td>x, x, x</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A Sociopsychological Survey of Language Attitudes in Southern Africa: A Case Study of Mozambique

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Essential Language</th>
<th>Other Languages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>South Africa 24</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Afrikaans 15</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>English</td>
<td>low</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Zulu</td>
<td>38.5</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Xhosa</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Venda</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Tswana</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Tsonga</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sindabele</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Setswana</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sesotho</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Siswati</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Afrikaans</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>English</td>
<td>low</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swaziland 2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>isiSwati</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>English</td>
<td>low</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanzania 120</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Kiwahili</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sukuma</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>English</td>
<td>low</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zambia 73</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Bemba</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Nyanja</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Tonga</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kaonda</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lunda</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Luvale</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>English</td>
<td>low</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Shona</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ndebele</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>English</td>
<td>low</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Adapted from World Bank 1988 (Quoted in Adogbija, 1994, pp.6-12).

Given the geographical vastness and complex linguistic diversity and density of the area under investigation, an overview of the type intended in this study needs to be based on a selection. The criteria to be used here will be similar to those in Ansre's (1971) study, namely: availability of source material, the special characteristics of particular countries used in illustration and the desire to be as representative as possible.

In sum, many aspects of human behaviour are determined and coloured by the attitudes that underpin them. Behaviour, particular action or inaction, in turn, have the potential to create new attitudes and modify or eliminate old ones. Precisely because of the pervasiveness of language in most forms of human interaction, language attitudes have the potential to influence virtually all aspects of such interaction.

By virtue of a colonial past, Mozambique, the principal focus of this study, (like other countries of Southern Africa or other parts of the world such as Asia and
Latin America), is notable for the numerical density and variety in types of languages involved in normal and ordinary day-to-day interaction. This uniqueness, implies a multiplicity and complexity of attitudinal patterns which, in turn, has deep ramifications for language policies in public life and mass communication, in general, and in education, in particular. Important though such attitudinal patterns are for language planning and policy in Mozambique, they have hardly received the amount of attention they deserve.

This study intends, therefore, to attempt to stress the need to devise multi-pronged strategies more acutely sensitive to their underlying causes as a way of trying to solve language-related problems.

On the other hand, besides being informative, especially to scholars from other multilingual contexts, I hope the study will contribute to the raising of awareness of psycholinguists, sociolinguists, linguists, educationists and administrators, in particular, with respect to the delicate and far-reaching nature of language-related problems in multilingual contexts in the Third World and the world over.
CHAPTER 1 - THE SOCIOHISTORICAL FOUNDATIONS OF LANGUAGE ATTITUDES IN MOZAMBIQUE (AND SOUTHERN AFRICA)

Part I

1.1 - Introduction

The main goal of this Chapter is to highlight some principal common strands in the social history of Mozambique and its Southern African neighbours that can provide a necessary foundation for a clear and more perspicacious insight into how the language attitudes that are predominant today evolved. St. Clair (1982, p. 164) has noted that

"To understand fully how language attitudes develop, it may be necessary to reach back into the past and investigate the social and political forces operating within the history of a nation. These patterns of development may have once surfaced in the form of social movements and, even when these events are now a part of the written record, their forces still remain... One area of sociolinguistic research not fully covered in the literature, however, is the role that such historical forces play in the creation of language attitudes".

This last observation seems applicable to Mozambique, in which, works relating to language attitudes are almost non-existent. This study aims, therefore, at shedding some light on the role of sociohistorical forces, actions and policies in the creation of language attitudes. It does not aim at a review of historical facts; rather, it will try to pinpoint and briefly discuss the specific sociohistorical events that are considered to be decisive in the understanding and explanation of language attitudes prevalent in Mozambique.

On the other hand, the concept of attitude, a cornerstone of traditional social psychology, is not one about which there has been universal agreement. In a way, this is hardly surprising because the word 'attitude' has more than one meaning in the English language. Derived from the word aptitudo in late Latin, and influenced in its meaning, through Italian, by another Latin word actus (Italian = atto) the term attitude has acquired the significance of an aptitude, a fitness or tendency for action.

As a unified concept, belonging exclusively to the domain of social psychology,
the concept of attitude was granted an important position in the social sciences by G.W. Allport in his classic review in the first handbook of social psychology (Murchison, 1935). Allport (1935, p. 810), defined attitude as:

"A mental or neutral state of readiness, organised through experience, exerting a directive or dynamic influence upon the individual's response to all objects and situations with which it is related."

On the other hand, one might also agree with Sarnoff (1970, p. 279) who views attitude as

"... a disposition to react favourably or unfavourably to a class of objects."

According to him, this disposition is often taken to comprise three components: thoughts (the cognitive element), feelings (affective element), and following upon these, predispositions to act in a certain way (behavioural element), i.e. one knows or believes something, has some emotional reaction to it, and, therefore, may be assumed to act on this basis (cf. Secord & Backman, 1964). Two points should be made here. First, there seems to be often inconsistency between assessed attitudes and actions presumably-related to them. I see this as being one of the main problems with attitude surveys. Second, there seems to be often confusion between belief and attitude strictly speaking, attitude is seen to include belief as one of its elements.

On the other hand, Fasold (1984) suggests that the study of attitudes, in general, should begin with a decision between two competing theories about the nature of attitudes. According to him, most language attitude work is based on a mentalist view of attitude as a state of readiness (cf. Allport, 1935, p. 810); an intervening variable between a stimulus affecting a person and that person's response (cf.s. Agheyisi & Fishman, 1970, p. 138; Cooper & Fishman, 1974, p. 7). A person's attitude, in this view, prepares her to react to a given stimulus in one way, rather than the other. Fasold considers a typical mentalist definition of attitude as being the one given by William (1974, p. 24) who said:

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

However, Fasold sees this view as posing problems for experimental method, because if an attitude is an internal state of readiness, rather than an observable response, that would imply that we must depend on the person’s reports of what their attitude are, or infer attitudes indirectly from behaviour patterns. As we know, self-reported data are often of questionable validity, and inferences from behaviour take the researcher one step away from what he actually observed. I think this is, in general, one of the problems one faces when trying to interpret research.

The other view of attitudes is the behaviourist view: ‘consistency in response to social objects’ (Campbell, 1950), ‘acquired behavioural disposition’ (Campbell, 1963). On this view, attitudes are to be found simply in the responses people make to social situations (e.g. belief, cognitive, structure, conditioned reflex, conviction, determining tendency, expectancy, habit, intuition, motive, opinion, personality trait, set, value, etc.). This point of view seems to make research a bit easier to undertake, since it requires no self-reports or indirect inferences. It is only necessary to observe, tabulate, and analyse overt behaviour. Attitudes of this sort, however, would not be quite as interesting as they would be if they were defined mentalistically, because they could not be used to predict other behaviour (Agheyisi & Fishman, 1970, p. 138).

Generally speaking, social psychologists who accept the behaviourist definition, view attitudes as single units; while mentalists usually consider attitudes to have subparts, such as cognitive (knowledge), affective (feeling) and conative (action) components (cfs. Agheyisi & Fishman, 1970, p. 139; Cooper & Fishman, 1974, p. 7). More or less complex componental models of attitude have been constructed by various scholars (cf. Agheyisi & Fishman, 1970, p. 140).

As noted above, it can be concluded that definitions of attitude are surrounded by semantic disagreements and differences about the generality and specificity of the term. For example, Ajze (1988, p. 4) defines it as:

... a disposition to respond favourably or unfavourably to an object, person, institution, or event".
While for McGuire (1985), attitudes locate objects of thought on dimensions of judgement. An example, according to him, would be a language as an object being seen as favourable or unfavourable. As it will be seen later, this definition links with attitude measurement (e.g. favourable or unfavourable attitudes to Portuguese in Mozambique). Also, the specification of objects, persons, institutions or events, is important and valuable in constructing measurement scales.

On the other hand, for Bem (1968), attitudes are self descriptions or self perceptions. In this perspective, individuals come to recognise their attitudes by observations of their own behaviour. People observe themselves speaking French, for example. Consequently, they infer that they must possess a favourable attitude to French. Thus, language attitudes may be constructed through inspection of one's own actions. This is regarded by Bem (1972), as parallel to inferring the attitude of other people by observing their behaviour.

A recent view is one from Baker (1992), who identifies three components of attitude: the cognitive, affective, and readiness for action components. The cognitive component, according to him, relates to thoughts and beliefs. The affective component concerns feelings toward the attitude object, i.e. toward the language (e.g. a favourable attitude to Makua or Tsonga language might entail a stated belief in the importance of continuity of the indigenous languages, its value in the transmission of Mozambican culture and use in bilingual education). The readiness for action (conative) component of attitude is described as

"... a behavioural intention or plan of action under defined contexts and circumstances " (Baker, 1992, p. 13).

Furthermore, Rosenberg & Hovland (1960) suggest that the three component model of attitude is best viewed in a hierarchical form with cognition, affect and action as the foundation. These three components merge into a single construct of attitude at a higher level of abstraction (cfs. Ajzen, 1988; Rosenberg & Hovland,1960; Ajzen & Fisbein, 1980), as illustrated in Table 1.1
In sum, Ajzen (1988, pp. 22-23), summarises the pattern of the three component model of attitude as follows:

"The hierarchical model of attitude, then, offers the following account of the way in which attitudes affect behaviour. The actual or symbolic presence of an object elicits a generally favourable or unfavourable evaluative reaction, the attitude towards the object. This attitude, in turn, predisposes cognitive, affective, and emotive responses to the object, responses whose evaluative tone is consistent with the overall attitude".

1.2 - Language Attitudes

More than thirty years ago, Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner & Fillenbaum (1960) introduced the 'matched-guise' technique as a means of assessing language attitudes. In that study, judges evaluated - on a number of dimensions - a tape-
recorded speaker's personality after hearing him or her read the same passage in each of two or more language varieties. That the speaker was, for all 'guises', the same person was not revealed to the evaluators and typically, they did not guess that. Their judgements were then considered to represent stereotyped reactions to the given language varieties, since potentially confounding elements were constant across guises. While the matched-guise technique has been criticized, mainly for its alleged artificiality (Agheyisi & Fishman, 1970; Lee, 1971; Robinson, 1972; and in response, Giles & Bourhis, 1973, 1976b; Giles & Powesland, 1975), it does seem to provide useful information which can be confirmed by other means (e.g. by questionnaire, or by ratings of actual speakers not adopting guises). In general, the matched-guise technique provides to the listener samples of speech which are thought to act as identifiers, allowing the expression of social stereotypes. That is, often it is not the speech *per se* which is evaluated, but rather, the speaker. Most studies of language attitudes, in fact, would be more accurately termed studies of attitudes towards speakers of language varieties.

The study of Lambert et al. (1960) considered reactions towards French and English guises in Montreal. The English-speaking judges in the study generally reacted more favourably to English than to French guises. More interestingly, French-speaking judges also rated English guises more positively. Lambert and his colleagues concluded that the findings demonstrated not only favourable reactions from members of the high-status group towards their own speech, but also that these reactions had been adopted by members of the lower-status group. This 'minority group reaction' is a revealing comment on the power of social stereotypes in general, and on the way in which these may be assumed by those who are themselves the objects of unfavourable stereotypes. Further work on language studies in Montreal and Quebec may be consulted in Bourhis (1982), Lambert (1967), Gardner & Lambert (1972) and Lambert & Tucker (1972).

Lambert's techniques, however, were soon seen to be applicable in other contexts. Thus, Strongman & Woosley (1967) presented English psychology undergraduates with two speakers, each of whom read the same passage with Yorkshire and London accent. Half of the student judges were southerners, half
northerners (from counties north of Staffordshire). The results indicated that, with northerners and southerners evaluating northern and southern accents, no large differences were found. Thus, 'both groups of Ss tended to hold the same stereotyped attitude towards each accent group but did not regard either of them particularly more favourably that the other'. Strongman & Woosley attributed the outcome to the fact that, unlike earlier studies (e.g. Lambert et al., 1960), neither group could easily be classed as minority or majority, and hence no 'minority group reaction' would have been expected.

In another study, Cheyene (1970) employed the matched-guise technique to investigate reactions to Scottish and English regional accents, finding, generally, that both Scottish and English raters tended to view Scottish speakers as somewhat lower in status than the English ones. There were, however, some anomalies; for example, some (Scottish) subjects rated male Scottish speakers more favourably than English ones on personality dimensions suggesting 'warmth', and both groups of judges evaluated them as being more 'friendly'.

A study by Giles (1970) investigated reactions of British secondary school children to a variety of accents, including the non-regional RP (Received Pronunciation - sometimes characterised as 'BBC English' or 'The Queen's English'), Irish, German and West Indian. In terms of status, aesthetic quality and communicative content (a measure of the perceived ease of interaction with the speaker), RP was rated most favourably, regional accents (e.g. South Welsh and Somerset) were in the middle ranks, and urban accents (e.g. Cockney, Birmingham) were at or near the bottom of the scale. These results largely agree with an earlier suggestion by Wilkinson (1965) that there exists, in Britain, a tripartite accent prestige hierarchy. At the top is RP (and some foreign accents), then come various regional accents and, at the lower end of the continuum, accents associated with heavy urbanized areas (cf. Trudgill, 1975a). As with Cheyene's study, however, Giles's work revealed that various anomalies exist in accent rating. For example, his Irish accent was generally perceived as higher in aesthetic quality than German, but lower in status. North American was higher in status than Northern England but lower in aesthetic terms, and so on.
Slightly earlier than these studies, Lambert (1967) had introduced a refinement which seems able to account for some of these anomalies. He categorised the many personality dimensions on which judges typically rate speech and speakers into three groups. Thus, some are seen to reflect a speaker's competence (e.g. intelligence and industriousness), some personal integrity (e.g. helpfulness and trustworthiness), and some social attractiveness (e.g. friendliness and sense of humor).

A further study by Giles (1971b) considered reactions to RP, South Welsh and Somerset accents along these lines. Although RP received the highest ratings in terms of competence, the other two were perceived more favourably on integrity and attractiveness. These evaluations were made by judges who were themselves from either South Wales or Somerset. In a later study, Giles (1973b) presented the same three accents, plus a Birmingham variety, to groups of South Welsh and Somerset school children whose views on capital punishment had earlier been ascertained. The guises in that study all presented arguments against capital punishment. Giles was interested to assess both the children's views of the quality of the arguments thus presented, and any changes in their stance on capital punishment. It was found that the higher the status of an accent, the more favourable were the ratings of the quality of the argument presented via that accent. However, in terms of attitude change (i.e. in the children's views on capital punishment), only the regional accents proved effective. The study thus, suggested that messages might be seen as high in quality without necessarily being more persuasive; or, to use Lambert's terminology, accents judged as reflecting high speaker competence need not always have greater influence upon listeners than regional varieties seen to reflect more speaker integrity and attractiveness (cf. Giles & Powesland, 1975), and the notion of solidarity.

A study by Edwards (1977a) provided further evidence that accent evaluations are not uni-dimensional. Irish secondary school children judged five regional guises - representing Galway, Cork, Cavan, Dublin and Donegal - on a number of personality traits. The Donegal speaker was perceived most positively on dimensions reflecting competence, but not on those underlying social attractiveness or personal integrity. The Dublin guise, lowest in terms of
competence, was highest in attractiveness. These results were discussed in relation to stereotypes currently existing in segments of Irish society. In general, the Donegal accent appears to operate in this context as the received variety, with the others constituting non-standard regional variants. While this takes into account some longstanding historical views, it clearly does not relate to the status of the so-called "Ascendancy" accent - which, because of its non-regional nature, is perhaps the best Irish analogy to the British RP (cf. Bliss, 1979).

Another Irish study is that of Milroy & McClenaghan (1977). Fifteen Belfast undergraduates listened to four stimulus speakers possessing Scottish, Southern Irish, RP and Ulster accents. Overall, the RP speaker was evaluated most favourably, especially so on dimensions reflecting competence; on personal integrity and attractiveness, however, the RP speaker was viewed somewhat less positively than the Scot and the Ulsterman. Evaluations of the Southern Irish speaker were generally favourable in terms of competence, but were the lowest on the other two broad scales (unfortunately, the authors did not specify more closely their 'Southern Irish' variety). Milroy & McClenaghan relate their findings to the Ulster-Republic interaction in general, and more particularly, to the fact that 13 of their 15 judges were Protestant. It is interesting that the high competence ratings accorded to northerners (Donegal speakers - still "Southern" Irish, however) in the Edwards (1977a) study noted above were not found here, where Northern Irish judges were evaluating northerners (Ulstermen) - but where an RP speaker was included among the stimuli.

Milroy & McClenaghan remark on the consistency of their results, even across judges who misidentified accents. They note:

"It has been widely assumed that an accent acts as a cue identifying a speaker's group membership. Perhaps this identification takes place below the level of conscious awareness . . . Presumably by hearing similar accents very frequently [one learns] to associate them with their reference groups. In other words, accents with which people are familiar, may directly evoke stereotyped responses without the listener first consciously assigning the speaker to a particular reference group" (...pp.8 - 9).

1 - In this particular study, judges were asked to say where each speaker came from; this is not done in all such studies.
An analogous possibility has been suggested by Robinson (1979), with regard to the identification of socioeconomic status through speech cues. In any event, these remarks throw interesting light upon the suggestion made earlier by Robinson (1972) that, since attitude studies typically conceive of the speech sample as a cue evoking a stereotype of the speaker's group, other identifiers might do just as well - including, perhaps, simple written descriptions of the speaker. If this is the case that, sometimes at least, evaluations are made on the basis suggested by Milroy & McClenaghan (above), then provision of, say, written descriptions might not elicit quite the same sorts of reactions (cfs. Giles, 1970; Ball, 1980; Shuy & Williams, 1973).

Overall, these British and Irish studies of accent evaluation show that speech samples may evoke stereotyped reactions reflecting differential views of social groups. Standard accents usually connote high status and competence; regional accents may be seen to reflect greater integrity and attractiveness. These findings seem fairly consistent when judges are themselves regionally accented speakers; there is also evidence that similar results occur when evaluators possess standard accents (cf. Edward, 1977a; Giles, Powesland, 1975). The trust and liking apparently associated with regional varieties may be related to conceptions of ingroup solidarity. However, the common downgrading of non-standard varieties in terms of prestige and competence - dimensions which may outweigh those of integrity and attractiveness in many contexts - remains an important consideration.

One might also refer to information from another English-speaking setting - Australia. There is some agreement, in this context, over three general points on an Australian accent continuum; these are: Broad, General and Cultivated Australian (Baker, 1966; Mitchell & Delbridge, 1965). Berechree & Ball (1979) investigated the reactions of student judges to these speech styles, and found that competence and attractiveness (but not confidence-integrity) were associated with more cultivated speech. If we were to consider non-cultivated Australian speech as roughly equivalent to non-standard British accent dialects, then the social attractiveness associated with cultivated speech would seem
anomalous. However, as the authors themselves acknowledge, the Australian continuum may not be analogous to the standard-nonstandard spectrum found elsewhere. If it is roughly analogous then the attractiveness associated with a high prestige variety invites further investigation. Eltis (1980) has suggested that the cultivated Australian accent conforms generally to the British RP and, in a study of teachers' reactions to pupils, demonstrated that cultivated accents were perceived most favourably (and the broad Australian least so). This finding is strongly reminiscent of those found elsewhere. Finally, we may note that the results of some research recently conducted in New Zealand (Huygens & Vaughan, 1983) appear to support the association between prestige and RP in that context as well.

American studies are also important here. Carranza & Ryan (1975) investigated the reactions of Mexican-American and Anglo-American students to speakers of Spanish and English. Although the topic discussed by speakers had some influence upon the ratings, English was generally rated more favourably than Spanish on both status-related and solidarity (i.e. integrity and attractiveness) traits (cf. Carranza, 1982). This association of attractiveness with high-status varieties is interesting, in that it tends to support Berechree & Ball's (1979) Australian findings noted above; and it rather goes against those from British studies. In the Carranza & Ryan study mentioned above, Spanish was seen more positively on the solidarity than on the status dimensions. Again, therefore, one observes a tendency for a variety possessing lower prestige to have somewhat more favourable connotations along other lines. Again, as well, the results were obtained from both lower-status and more middle-class judges.

Similar results were found in a study by Ryan & Carranza (1975) in which evaluations of Standard English and Spanish-accented English were made by Mexican-Americans, Blacks and Anglos (i.e. White English speakers). Author, Farrar & Bradford (1974) found that White Californian college students downgraded the so-called 'Chicano' English on several personality dimensions. Ryan, Carranza & Moffie (1977) also have shown that the degree of accent may affect evaluations. As Spanish-American accentedness increased across speakers, the reactions of English-speaking students became less favourable (cf.
Studies involving Black speakers in the United States have also shown that language attitude investigations reveal social perceptions. Tucker & Lambert (1968) presented a number of American English dialect varieties to northern white, southern white and southern black college students. All groups rated 'Network' speakers most favourably, black speakers and others were downgraded (cf. Fraser, 1973). Irwin (1977) found that white judges perceived black college students less favourably than their white counterparts on the dimensions of voice quality, fluency and confidence. Edwards' (1979) studies of evaluations of black speakers in Britain show a similar pattern - both teachers and West Indian adolescents perceived West Indian speakers less favourably than working-class and middle-class English speakers.

These studies, then, can be seen to support the European findings. Speech patterns of regional speakers, ethnic group member and lower-class populations evoke unfavourable reactions, at least in terms of status and prestige, from judges who may or may not be standard speakers themselves. It is important, however, to remember in all this that the social context in which speaker evaluations occur is not itself a static entity. As it changes, one should expect to see changes in evaluation patterns too; in fact, these may be employed as useful indicators of larger adjustments in social perceptions. The resurgence of interest in ethnicity and 'roots' in the United States, the new-found political clout of nationalistic French Canadians in Quebec, the contemporary interest in regional devolution in Scotland and Wales, and the increasing group militancy and pride among American Blacks and Spanish speakers - all these phenomena will, no doubt, cause changes in patterns of reaction to language varieties. Already, for example, Lambert, Giles & Picard (1975) have reported less downgrading of local speech patterns among French speakers in Maine; Bourhis, Giles & Tajfel (1973) provided some evidence that bilingual speakers in Wales may be seen more favourably than RP-accented ones.

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2 - Network English is roughly equivalent to British RP
Nevertheless, the process by which speakers of non-standard varieties adopt the stereotyped views of the majority continues (cf. Edwards, 1979). Still, we do not observe the large-scale defection from these varieties to which this might be considered to lead. In this connection, we should recall the bonding or solidarity function often associated with non-standard speech and reflected in evaluations along integrity and social attractiveness dimensions. There are also penalties involved in attempts to leave one language group and join another (cf. Carranza & Ryan, 1975; Edwards, 1979b; Ryan, 1979). Furthermore, one related point should be made. Labov (1966, 1972) and Trudgill (1974a, 1974b, 1975b) have commented on the association, in both America and Britain, between lower-class speech patterns and masculinity. This, it is proposed, may constitute a 'covert prestige' in which non-standard speech forms possess more status than standard variants. The phenomenon seems to cross class lines; middle-class speakers often report using more non-standard forms than they actually do (cf. Trudgill, 1975b). This would clearly seem to be something of greater relevance for males than for females; however, there is some suggestion that covert prestige may influence females as well (cf. Trudgill, 1975b; Kramarae, 1982; O'Kane, 1977). Eyian, Smith, Giles & Bourhis (1978); Giles, Smith, Ford, Condor & Thakerar (1980) carried out sociolinguistic works investigating the relationship between sex and class. The implication from studies of covert prestige is that attitudes towards language varieties may be more subtle than had hitherto been thought; in particular, overt downgrading of non-standard varieties may coexist with more latent, positive connotations.

1.2.1 - The Importance of Attitudes

Whether it be a student of languages in contact or a novitiate into sociology, education or psychology, the jargon within a discipline may appear both frightening and immense. Terminology within each of these disciplines teems like torrential rain. There is, therefore, a need to defend the term 'attitude' as a valuable concept within the study of languages in contact.

There are a number of reasons why attitude is a central explanatory variable. First, the term appears to be part of the terminology system of many individuals.
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That is, it is not a jargon word invented by specialised psychologist that has narrow utility within a small group of people. Attitude, is a term in common use. While social psychologists may wish to give a more highly defined meaning to attitude, there appears to be sufficient overlap in the use of the term, between social psychologists and the public to allow chains of inter-communication. Common terminology allows bridges to be made between research and practice, theory and policy. Common terminology, also, reduces the tendency to scientism (cf. Harre et al., 1985) - the replacement of common terms by scientific jargon.

For example, in ordinary conversation, we speak of the importance of attitudes in the restoration of health. A positive attitude to healthy eating and exercise may increase life expectancy. In the life of a language, attitudes to that language appear to be important in language restoration, preservation, decay or death. If a community is grossly unfavourable to bilingual education, or the imposition of a 'common' national language, for example, is attempted, language policy implementation is unlikely to be successful.

This illustration seems to provide a second reason why attitude is an important concept. A survey of attitudes provides an indicator of current community thoughts and beliefs, preferences and desires. Attitude surveys provide social indicators of changing beliefs and the chances of success in policy implementation. In terms of minority languages, attitudes, like censuses, provide a measure of the health of the language. For example, a survey of attitude to French in Canada, attitude to Spanish in the USA, attitude to English in Brazil, Japan and Mozambique might reveal the possibilities and problems of second and foreign languages within each country. As E.G. Lewis (1981, p. 262), observed:

"Any policy for language, especially in the system of education, has to take account of the attitude of those likely to be affected. In the long run, no policy will succeed which does not do one of three things: conform to the expressed attitudes of those involved; persuade those who express negative attitudes about the rightness of the policy; or seek to remove the causes of the disagreement. In any case, knowledge about attitudes is fundamental to the formulation of a policy as well as to success in its implementation".
The status, value and importance of language is, most often, and mostly easily (though imperfectly), measured by attitudes to that language. Such attitudes may be measured at an individual level, or the common attitudes of a group or community may be elicited. At either level, the information may be important in attempting to represent, democratically, the 'views of the people'. However, attitudes do not just provide opinion polls. As Marsh (1982, p. 72) argues:

"The key to the correct use of survey data to provide corroborative evidence of a casual process is in the adoption of a model. That is, a survey may aid understanding of social processes. Consideration of how attitudes relate to their causes and effects may provide insights into human functioning".

The third reason why attitude is an important concept, lies in its continued and proven utility. That is, within education and psychology, it has stood the tests of time, theory and taste. From the early days of Charles Darwin (1872), Thomas & Znaniecki (1918) and Thurstone & Chave (1929), the modern psychological conception of attitude has been described by Jaspers (1978, p. 256) as:

"...one of the key concepts of social psychology or even the most distinctive and indispensable concept in (American) social psychology".

In sum, over sixty years, attitude has repeatedly proven a valuable construct in theory and research, policy and practice. Topics from religion to race, sport to sex, languages to LSD have used attitudes as an important explanatory variable.

I have highlighted three reasons for the importance of attitude. Its close connection to individual construct system, its value as an indicator of points of view in the community and its centrality in psychological theory and research for over sixty years attest to attitude as a central topic. Such a justification, however, demands a more detailed explanation of 'attitude'.

Initially, therefore, I think it will be useful to examine the historical underpinnings of the language attitude area. The earliest studies established themes and procedures which are still with us today.
1.2.2 Early Research on Language Attitudes

As with many other types of research, one can find precursors who go back hundreds of years. For example, Aristotle (trans. Cooper, 1932) believed that the type of language which speakers used had an effect upon their credibility or ethos, and a similar idea seems to be apparent in the Renaissance rhetoricians' preoccupation with the details of verbal expression, for example, schemes and tropes (Sherry, 1961). More pertinently, although essentially and primarily descriptive, the research of dialect geographers in the early twentieth century called attention to language varieties which were stigmatised or, on the other hand, accorded prestige (Bloomfield, 1933). Equally pertinently, a number of studies conducted in the 1930s and 1940s in Britain (cfs. Jones, 1949, 1950; Allport, 1935; Pear, 1931) and the United States of America (cfs. Taylor, 1934; Cantril & Allport, 1935) attempted to demonstrate that persons can make reliable and accurate judgements of speaker physical characteristics and personality attributes on the basis of speech.

But if one construes the concept of 'Language Attitudes Research' rather narrowly to refer to the explicit, scientific study of attitudinal consequences of dissimilar language varieties, one can, usefully, cite as the first contemporary study, the investigation of Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner, & Fillenbaum in 1960. The purpose of that study, was to examine listeners' evaluative reactions to English and French speakers. To achieve this purpose, the researchers used a French prose passage and an English translation of it; four bilingual speakers audio-recorded both passages, and these recordings served as experimental stimuli. French-and English-speaking respondents listened to the English and French versions of the passage and, after each exposure to a reading, rated the speaker on 14 six-point scales pertaining to intelligence, likeability, and sociability, for example. The ratings of the eight speaker-text combinations were subsequently, compared statically. Lambert et al. (1960) found that both English and French-speaking respondents rated the speakers of the English versions more favourably on several traits, including perceived kindness and intelligence. Thus, even the French-speaking respondents found the English speakers relatively attractive.
Several features of this initial study are worth noting here:

First, this was the earliest attempt to exert experimental control over potentially confounding speaker idiosyncrasies through the use of the 'matched-guise' technique (Lambert, 1967).

Second, Lambert et al. invented a rigorous and elegant method for eliciting apparently private attitudes, which at least, arguably controlled for extraneous variables.

Third, the findings underscored the important role of language (code and dialect choice) in impression formation.

Fourth, the study laid the foundations for an interface between sociolinguistic and sociopsychological analyses of language and was an important factor in establishing the cross-disciplinary field of language attitudes.

Fifth, the original study spawned an enormous number of studies worldwide, particularly in Wales (cfs. Jones, 1949, 1950, 1966; Sharp et al., 1973), Austria, Ireland (cfs. CILAR, 1975) and the United States of America, and, more recently, in the Netherlands (cfs. Saris & Stronkhorst, 1984).

Sixth, the dependent variables used in the study gave rise to the now pervasively recognised judgement clusters of status versus solidarity, as well as highlighting the notion of 'group denigration'.

In sum, the basic idea here is that each speaker used in a given study of language attitudes should cross all conditions; thus, for example, a speaker with a very high-pitched voice, should not appear in a French-speaking condition only but in conditions of both French and English. Obtained differences between French and English guises would not be attributable, in this case, to a confounding of high-pitch with French. Another point worth noting is that respondents reacted to the various guises via standard rating scales. On the other hand, for instance, when Lambert (1967) investigated whether judges reacted similarly to male and female speakers in the French Canadian (FC) and English Canadian (EC) guises, he found out that the EC listeners viewed the female speakers more favourably in their French guises, but the male speakers more favourably in their English guises. Lambert (1967, p. 97) observed:

"This prejudice [towards FCs] is selectively directed towards FC males, possibly because they are better known than females as power figures who control local and regional
Conversely, according to their judgements of the guises, the females appeared to view FC men as more competent and socially attractive than EC men. Commenting on this finding, Lambert (1967, pp. 97-98) wrote:

"The FC women, in contrast, appear to be guardians of FC culture in the sense that they favoured male representatives of their own cultural group... FC women may be particularly anxious to preserve FC values and to pass these on in their own families through language, religion, and tradition".

Finally, the researchers' use of a formal passage of French prose as a 'kernel' message represented an attempt to minimise the effect of message content upon respondent reactions. This now seems misguided, and indeed, more recent studies have used more naturalistic messages as vehicles for comparing the effects of language or dialect differences (cfs. Giles, Wilson & Conway, 1981; Ryan & Bulik, 1982). But throughout the 1960s, the purposeful use of standard message content with little real-world import was a methodological mainstay; perhaps the ultimate example of this is the use by Buck (1968) of passages from Alice in Wonderland to compare the attitudinal effects of White versus Black English.

Another important early study, more complex in design, was conducted by Lambert, Anisfeld & Yeni-Kemshiam (1965). In this case, a standard philosophical passage was recorded in Hebrew and Arabic by bilingual speakers, and in the case of Hebrew, two dialectal variants were used (Ashkenazic and Yemenite). Jewish and Arab high-school students were the respondents, and they listened to the various versions and, following each, reacted to the speaker on six-point rating scales. Additionally, the Jewish respondents completed standard measures designed to assess, directly, general attitudes toward Ashkenazic Jews, Arabs, and Yemenite Jews.

Among other things, the results indicated that the Jewish respondents were relatively negative toward the Arabic guises on the traits of humour, friendliness, and honesty. For their part, the Arab respondents downgraded the Hebrew guises
on intelligence, self-confidence, good heartiness, friendliness and honesty. In current parlance, these data provide evidence of devaluation of outgroup speakers among both the Arab and the Jewish respondents (cf. Giles & Ryan, 1982).

This study, by Lambert et al. (1965), like that of Lambert et al. (1960), is a prototypical example of traditional Language Attitudes Research, in its use of the matched-guise procedure and its comparison of the effects to between-group language differences. Early language attitudes research, conducted between 1960 and 1970, to give rough chronological markers, was primarily concerned with evaluative consequences of linguistic differences produced by speakers representing groups which were culturally dissimilar, typically as a function of geographical differences. It can be said that such geographical differences were, and still are, in many cases, highly correlated with ethnic, political, and socio-economic differences. More recent work in the language attitudes area continues to explore between-group differences, but in some cases, interest has shifted away from geographically-based differences toward differences rooted in social roles, as in the case of research on attitudinal consequences of male/female language (cfs. Hogg, 1985; Mulac & Lundell, 1986).

Many other studies of historical interest such as the ones carried out by Giles & Powesland (1975, p. 66) (characterised as "The early research in British culture"); Strongman & Woolsey (1967); Cheyne (1970); Giles (1970); Tucker & Lambert, (1969); Houck & Bowers (1969); Buck (1968); and Williams, Whitehead, & Miller (1972), could be discussed in this Chapter, were there space enough, but I believe this small sample is sufficient to reveal some important tendencies, for example, the development and heavy use of the matched-guise technique, and the strong reliance upon reactive paper-and-pencil forms of measurement.

In sum, it can be concluded that the majority of early language attitude studies were, essentially, concerned with describing attitudinal differences attached to different forms of accent and dialect and languages, e.g. French/English. For example, in discussing the results of some of their research, Giles & Powesland (1975, p. 45) suggested that:
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"Whereas in Britain, the mere possession of a regional accent tends to be regarded as a mark of low status [compared to RP], there appears no such discrimination against regional accents per se in the United States of America. . . . it seems that the user of any regional variety of speech is capable of exhibiting 'standard' or 'non-standard' features of that particular regional speech form".

There was relatively little concern with explaining results, with postulating mechanisms, and with developing theories. This kind of descriptive work can be very useful but it seems to be limited in a particular way: as the culture within which an attitudinal pattern is isolated changes, the pattern may change also—some results may even become outdated rather quickly. On the other hand, some patterns—for example, the prestige structure for accents uncovered by Giles (1970) may endure for many years. Therefore, it may be important, both theoretically and practically, to discriminate between patterns which are very fragile and others which are quite robust.

1.2.3 Recent Research on Language Attitudes

Since 1970, researchers have continued to study attitudinal consequences of ethnically—and regionally—determined language variation. Indeed, research in this area has proliferated greatly; therefore, in this section, I will discuss a selective sample of studies, in order to illustrate some recent trends.

Whereas early studies of accent and dialect compared attitudinal consequences of accent with those of another (see 1.2.2 above), several more recent studies have recognised that there was variation within a given accent type and that this variation may have consequences for speakers. For example, Giles (1972), compared the effects of mild and broad regional accents on the evaluations of adults and preadolescents. He found that both groups could discriminate along the mildness-broadness dimension, and that the broader accent versions produced relatively negative evaluations. Brennan, Ryan, & Dawson (1975) demonstrated that linguistically non-sophisticated listeners can, reliably, distinguish among several degrees of Spanish-accented English, and the results of a later study by Ryan, Carranza, & Moffie (1977), indicated that the degree of Spanish-accentedness affects listeners' evaluations—the more highly accented
Researchers have also recognised that accent, dialect, and the particular language spoken potentially interact with a variety of other linguistic features in producing evaluative consequences. For example, Giles et al. (1981), examined the evaluative effects of RP and Welsh accents when these were encoded in lexically-diverse or lexically-redundant language. Giles & Sasson (1983) investigated the combined effects of accent and lexical diversity, also, in this case, comparing RP and Cockney guises. A social measure indicated that RP speakers were rated especially favourably when they exhibited high lexical diversity and especially unfavourably, when their diversity level was low; ratings for the Cockney speakers were between these extremes for both the high- and the low-diversity message versions, which did not differ from each other on the social distance measure.

Bradac & Wisegarver (1984), compared the effects of standard American versus Mexican-American accents, when these were encoded in high- or low-diversity language. For measures of perceived intellectual competence and perceived control of communication behaviour, the high-diversity/standard American combination was rated most favourably; the high-diversity/Mexican-American combination was rated somewhat less favourably; and least favourably rated were the low-diversity/standard American and the low-diversity/Mexican-American combinations which did not differ from each other. For ratings of solidarity, a Mexican-American accent produced higher ratings than did standard American, an outcome which parallels the finding of Giles et al. (1981). Similarly, in France, Paltridge & Giles (1984) found that a Parisian guise was rated more favourably along competence traits than a Provençal guise, which was accorded more prestige than Breton guise, which, in turn, was more highly evaluated than an Alsatian guise.

However, a vivid example of language attitudes seems to come from Woolard & Gahng (1990) who collected MGT data in Barcelona (Spain) in (1980), and then again, with a matched-sample, in 1987. They found, at the first time of testing, that Catalan speakers were accorded more status than Castilian speakers, regardless
of whether the listener judges were Catalan or Castilian speakers, themselves. The ethnolinguistic background of the judges was, however, very potent when the solidarity dimension was examined. As Woodlard & Gahng (quoted in Giles & Coupland, 1991, p. 42) observed:

"According to the test, Castilian speakers were likely to lose the approval of their fellow Castilians if they ventured to speak Catalan, but not benefit from a compensating increase of solidarity feeling from Catalan speakers. Immediate considerations of social solidarity worked strongly against the status motivation for acquiring Catalan."

One sees this as being a cogent example of how language attitudes, interpersonal accommodation, ethnic identity, and second language learning are intimately interrelated as sociolinguistic processes in particular communities.

Other studies in the field include Giles (1973); de la Zerda & Hopper (1979); Kalin & Rayko (1980); Fielding & Evered (1980); Williams et al. (1976); Edwards (1982); Pendleton Bochner (1980); Seggie (1983); Seggie et al. (1986); Street, Brady, & Lee (1983); and Hopper & Williams (1973).

A desire to explain attitudinal consequences of language variation is now evident in the literature; such a desire was not at all apparent, prior to 1970. Without a doubt, the most influential of the explanatory structures has been Speech Accommodation Theory (SAT), originally articulated and primarily developed by Giles (1973), and discussed, at length, by Giles & Powesland (1975). According to this theory (SAT), when two people meet, there is a tendency for them to become more alike in their language (cf. Giles, Taylor & Bourhis, 1973), pronunciation (cf. Giles, 1973b), speech rates (cf. Webb, 1970), pause and utterance lengths (cfs. Faffee & Feldstein, 1970; Matarazzo, 1973), vocal intensities (cf. Natale, 1975), and in the intimacy of their self-disclosures (cf. McAllister & Keisler, 1975).

Recent revisions of SAT incorporate the notion of valued norms in an attempt to achieve a richer sense of explanation which accords with available data (cfs. Giles, Mulac, Bradac, & Johnson, 1987; Street & Giles, 1982).
Other theories are also apparent in recent literature. For example, Heider's (1958) attribution theory has been invoked to explain results of research (e.g. Bradac, Courtright, Schmidt, & Davies, 1976a); indeed, this theory was an important influence upon the early statements of SAT. Uncertainty-reduction theory has had a considerable impact in this area (cf. Berger & Calabrese, 1975). The key idea here is that a speaker's speech style is used by message recipients for the primary purpose of reducing their uncertainty about him or her; uncertainty-reduction occurs through a process of social categorisation (cf. Berger & Bradac, 1982).

In recent literature, the concept of ethnolinguistic vitality was also brought in based on the Taxonomy of Factors Affecting Language Attitudes (Bourhis & Sachdev, 1984; Giles & Johnson, 1981) proposed by Giles, Bourhis & Taylor (1977), as summarised in Table 1.1 below. Ryan, Giles, & Sebastian (1982, p. 4) suggested that:

"The more numerous and more important the functions served by the language variety for the greater number of individuals the greater is its vitality".

1.3 Factors Affecting Language Attitudes

There are certain political, historical, economic and linguistic realities which must be considered independent of social psychological theorizing if we are to understand the similarities and differences among, for example, Africans and Europeans in Mozambique, in particular, and Southern Africa, in general.

My structural analysis is based on the Taxonomy of Factors Affecting Language Attitudes proposed by Giles, Bourhis, & Taylor (1977) and summarised in Table 1.2 and focuses on the three variables which may combine to, at least, permit an ethnolinguistic community to survive as a viable group. Giles, Bourhis,& Taylor (1977), see the vitality of an ethnolinguistic group as being the one which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in intergroup situations. From this point of view, it is argued that ethnolinguistic groups that
have little or no group vitality would eventually cease to exist as distinctive groups. Conversely, the more vitality a linguistic group has, the more likely it will survive and thrive as a collective entity in an intergroup context. It follows, too, that ingroup members would turn more to one another in intergroup situations rather than functioning as isolated individuals. The structural variables most likely to influence the vitality of ethnolinguistic groups can be organized under three main headings: The Status Factors; Demographic Factors; and Institutional Support Factors.

The Status Factors are those which pertain to a configuration of prestige factors of the linguistic group in the intergroup context. The more status a linguistic group is recognized to have, the more vitality it can be said to possess as a collective entity.

The Demographic Factors are those related to the sheer numbers of group members and their distribution throughout the territory. Ethnolinguistic groups whose demographic trends are favourable are more likely to have vitality as distinctive groups than those whose demographic trends are unfavourable and not conducive to group survival.

Institutional Support Factors refer to the extent to which a language group receives formal and informal representation in the various institutions of a nation, region or community. The vitality of a linguistic group seems to be related to the degree its language is used in various institutions of the government, church, business and so forth. It is my contention that these three type of structural variables (see Table 1.2) interact to provide the context for understanding the vitality of ethnolinguistic groups (cfs. Deutsch, 1966; Kloss, 1969; Verdoordt, 1973). On the other hand, linguistic communities can also be meaningfully grouped according to this three-factored view of vitality. At the same time, however, it is important to stress that I do not consider my analysis of the factors involved in vitality to be in any sense exhaustive or that the individual variables themselves are necessarily mutually exclusive. Despite its limitations, the present Taxonomy seems useful when applied to the context of language attitudes in Mozambique and Southern Africa.
Table 1.2 - The Taxonomy of Factors Affecting Language Attitudes
Proposed by Giles, Bourhis, & Taylor (1977)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STATUS</th>
<th>INSTITUTIONAL SUPPORT</th>
<th>LANGUAGE ATTITUDES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Economic Status</td>
<td>Government Services</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceived Value</td>
<td>Social Status</td>
<td>Migration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beyond the Group</td>
<td>Media</td>
<td>Change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sociohistorical Status</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Formal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Informal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Symbolic Value</td>
<td>Cultural</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within the Group</td>
<td>Media</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Education</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Formal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Informal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- 68 -
1.3.1 - Status Factors

Five factors can be listed under this heading and will be discussed in turn: economic status; symbolic value within the community; social status; sociohistorical status; and language status.

Economic Status - this refers to the degree of control a language group has gained over the economic life of its nation, region or community. In determining the vitality of a linguistic group, it is important to gauge the group's degree of control over its own economic destiny (Hocever, 1975). For example, according to Giles, Bourhis, and Taylor (in Giles, [Ed.] 1977, p. 310), Jewish communities in Diaspora have succeeded, and do succeed, in maintaining themselves as distinct collective entities by, amongst other things, sound economic control of their immediate environment. In contrast, however, communities such as French Canadians (Meynard, Rheault, & Taylor, in Giles [Ed.], 1977, pp. 99-117; 283-305); Mexican/Americans (Ryan, & Carranza, in Giles [Ed.], 1977, pp. 59-80); Albanian Greeks (Trudgill & Tzavaras, in Giles [Ed.], 1977. pp. 171-183), and Mozambican ethnolinguistic groups have little economic control over their respective situations. In relation to ethnolinguistic groups in Mozambique and Southern Africa, what happens is what I would term as 'the unsevered colonial umbilical cord between Southern African countries and their colonial masters'. This is due to the fact that virtually every Southern African country has a colonial umbilical cord that has not been totally severed. The impact of this is evident in language policy-making which, essentially consists of the perpetuation of colonial language policies and, naturally, results in the dominance of European languages. Although there are internal and political reasons for keeping the European languages' status quo, such as keeping pace with scientific and technological development, to make possible economic and academic exchange, etc., we also see elements of the unsevered umbilical cord in the economy, the educational system and the political systems of these countries. As Bamgbose (1991) rightly observes, language policy-makers in contemporary Africa seem to be slaves of the policies inherited from the colonial masters.

Owing to inherited policies, former French and Portuguese colonies, in particular,
are still linguistically and culturally dependent on their former colonial masters. This attitude of dependency has largely hindered the development of indigenous languages and cultures. Although less so in British colonies, (e.g. South Africa, Tanzania, and Zimbabwe, among others), a great degree of dependency still exists. A vivid example of this, is the fact that the colonisers, somewhat, discouraged the use of transethnic languages, such as Kiswahili, in order to reduce the indigenous peoples' sense of group cohesiveness and solidarity. As an example of this analysis, I cite a Ugandan scholar, Tarsis B. Kabwegyere (Quoted in Giles [Ed.], 1977, p. 341) who observes:

"In the light of . . . the African Awakening in the post-war period, it is not unreasonable to assert that the stopping of Kiswahili (by European research funding agencies) was a strategy to minimise intra-African contact. In addition, intensive Anglicisation followed and East African peoples remained separated from each other by a language barrier . . . What this shows is that whatever interaction was officially encouraged remained at the top official level and not at the level of the African populations. That the existence of one common language at the level of the masses would have hastened the overthrowal of colonial domination is obvious. The withdrawal of official support for a common African language was meant to keep the post-war 'epidemic' from spreading".

Consequently, according to Ngugi (1981), in all colonies, the minds of the élites seem to have been colonised and many of them now seem to regard everything European, including the languages and cultures, as inherently superior to African languages and cultures. Thus, in Southern Africa, an idea formulated or a product made in England or Europe tends to attract greater worth and attention than an indigenous equivalent. An example of this situation is the fact that African writers like Chinua Achebe, Wole Soyinka and Ngugi wa Thiong'o, all of them literate and fluent in their mother tongues, seem to prefer to write in European language, in this case, English. According to Phillipson (1992, p. 131) they are merely trying to demonstrate that they are "Capable of mastering the imperial culture". In other words, they are apparently victims of both English linguistic and cultural imperialism. In this context, Ngugi who commenting on the situation writes:

"Why, we may ask, should an African writer, or any writer, become so obsessed by taking from his mother tongue to enrich other cultures? Why should he see it as his particular mission? . . . How did we arrive at this acceptance of the
As shown above, Ngugi's position is that instead of enriching the Imperial tongue with the African experience, African writers should be totally absorbed with enriching their indigenous languages by using them in their creative work. They should cease to be 'Afro-Europeans'. He himself has stopped writing in English and begun to write novels and plays in Gikuyu, his mother tongue. Although such colonisation of the mind is gradually waning, (as shown by Ngugi's position), its shackles upon the minds will still take sometime to totally remove (if ever), especially, given the contemporary roles of English in the world and the functions still conferred on the language in official circles in contemporary Africa.

On the other hand, past colonial attachments, as observed above, have also occasionally served, in contemporary times, as an excuse for the former colonial masters to feel concerned about anything going on in their former colonies. Thus, Portugal, for instance, has been very concerned about Angola and Mozambique. Such concern, which sometimes, wears the garment of very welcome and easily accepted 'Foreign Aid', has often resulted in the funding of language-related projects, which, intentionally or unintentionally, further deepen the dominance of the former colonial languages. Thus, the recommendations of Criper & Dodd (1984) and Rubagumya (1990), followed by the British - Government sponsored English Language Improvement Project in Tanzania are, partly, responsible, for the sabotaging of attempts to introduce Kiswahili as a medium of education at the secondary school level. The British Council used to fund similar projects in many of Britain's former colonies (the same is true of most other imperial powers). Such 'aid' continues to perpetuate the dominance of the colonial languages and, entrench them even deeper in contemporary times in the educational system. They also, indirectly, reinvigorate the types of language policies left behind at independence in which European languages had supremacy, especially, in the educational domain. The inevitable consequence of this, (partly a result of what I have referred to as the unsevered colonial umbilical cord and the dependency on colonial languages which it encourages, and also partly due to lack of foresight in post-independence language planning), is that, in spite of independence, most
indigenous languages in Southern Africa (such as those in Mozambique), still have not been studied, have no orthographies and are not considered worthy of use in the educational domain. This is due to a number of factors such as lack of African scholars (well trained linguists), lack of funds to carry out such research studies, among others. This low developmental status affects attitudes towards them, accordingly.

**Social Status**

Very closely aligned to economic status, and perhaps an equally potent factor, is social status. This refers to the degree of esteem a linguistic group affords itself; often, this amount of group self-esteem closely resembles that attributed to it by the outgroup (cf. Milner, 1975). Low self-esteem of the part of the ingroup can sap its morale whereas high self-esteem is more likely to bolster it.

In this respect, the situation in Southern Africa is characterised by what I would call 'the official neglect of indigenous languages'.

Generally, and until very recently, most indigenous languages in Mozambique, were considered unworthy of use in official circles. They were regarded as lacking the capability to express ideas in official domains. Consequently, they were largely denied use in these areas, with their perceived unworthiness increasing year after year as frontiers of knowledge expanded. This observation is particularly apt for all Portuguese and French ex-colonies, though somewhat less so for the British ones. Definitely, this was due to the fact that the Portuguese and French saw their presence in Africa as, according to Spencer (1971b, p. 542):

"... 'civilising mission'. Consequently, indigenous African languages and cultures were deliberately trampled on as if they did not exist. They were considered unfit for use in a civilised community, especially as far as the official domain was concerned".

Angola and Mozambique, for instance, underwent five centuries of Portuguese colonisation in which Angolan and Mozambican languages were seen as 'dog languages' as Diarra (1992, Quoted in Adegbija, 1994, p. 21) observes:

"When Angola and Mozambique gained independence, the privileged language that was accepted and used at all levels was the language of the colonial power, the Portuguese language. National languages were oppressed up to the point..."
A Sociopsychological Survey of Language Attitudes in Southern Africa: A Case Study of Mozambique

of being dubbed: 'inferior languages'.

On the other hand, as noted above, Spencer (1971b, p. 542), in fact, indicates that the Portuguese authorities discouraged the vernacular languages to the extent of a legal requirement that nothing could appear in print in an African language without a concurrent translation in Portuguese.

Similarly, languages in former French and Spanish colonies suffered a similar fate of neglect, principally, because of a similar attitude both towards the languages as well as the cultures of the colonised peoples. Spencer (1971b, p. 543) remarks concerning the French and their colonies:

"Civilisation, for the French, was naturally seen as the product of an extension of French language and culture and this, combined with the strong centralising tendencies of the French polity, placed upon French educational institutions in overseas territories the responsibility for rendering 'our subjects and native wards more capable of playing their part in French civilisation and human progress'."

Portuguese and French were thus taught in the very early years of education and used as a medium throughout. In Mozambique, in particular, this situation caused a sense of, what Giles, Bourhis, and Taylor (1977) call, a lack of 'social identity' among its people. As they put it, a person's social identity involves self-evaluation which derives from being a member of a specific group. According to Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (in Giles, 1977, p. 325), it is often the case that a group's evaluative attachment to its membership is reflected in its feelings about its home language. The above-described situation, therefore, made many Mozambicans feel and see themselves as having a negative social identity, which was reflected in the evaluations they made of their own distinctive home languages. This evaluation of one's own speech is especially important for language spoken as it is among the most salient dimensions of ethnic identity (cf. Taylor et al., 1973).

Fishman, in Giles ([Ed.], 1977, p. 326), commenting on why language is such a salient dimension of a group's identity, observes:

"... it becomes clearer why language is more likely than most symbols of ethnicity to become the symbol of ethnicity. Language is the recorder of paternity, the expresser of patrimony and the carrier of phenomenology. Any vehicle carrying such precious freight must come to be viewed as
equally precious, as part of the freight, indeed, as precious in and of itself".

Similarly, Davies (1945, in Giles [Ed.], 1977) claims that:

"... a people without a language of its own is only half a nation. A nation should guard its language more than its territories; it is a surer barrier, a more important frontier than fortress or river".

For instance, examining the salience of language as a dimension of ethnic identity in comparison with cultural background and geographic residence, Taylor et al. (1973); Giles et al. (1976) found that ethnic group members identify more closely with someone who shares their language than with someone who shares their cultural background.

Conversely, Foster (1971, p. 604), comments that the language of the European metro-people was everywhere accorded official status and, generally, became the medium of instruction in primary schools and even adult education and literacy campaigns.

The neglect suffered by indigenous languages and the fact that they were not used in domains that mattered and counted on the national plane, naturally, built and institutionalised negative attitudes around them. Such attitudes have been difficult to remove even after independence.

According to Spencer (1971b, p. 539), as noted earlier, in British colonies, indigenous languages, especially the major ones, were used at the lower levels of primary education. Orthographic standardisation of languages was carried out. By 1955, well over 60 African languages had adapted the 'African Alphabet' recommended by the International African Institute in 1927. It is, probably, no coincidence, that the few languages that were allowed to develop and given attention both by the missionaries and the British colonial powers, such as Kiswahili in Tanzania, Shona and Ndebele in Zimbabwe, and Zulu and Xhosa in South Africa have witnessed a high rate of development in their resources, especially as far as use in the educational, administrative and modern technological domains are concerned. This, obviously, is a contributory factor to the attitudes towards them and the roles they now play in the nations in which
they are used, today.

1.3.2 - Sociohistorical Status

This is an important third factor as linguistic groups can be distinguished from each other on the basis of their respective histories (cf. Husband, in Giles, [Ed.], 1977, pp. 211-235).

As far as Southern Africa is concerned, Adegbija (1994, p. 30), has identified seven main headings under which the contributions of sociohistorical forces to whatever attitudes observed in Southern Africa, today, may be conveniently discussed. These are:

1 - The imposition of European languages;
2 - colonial and post-colonial language and educational policies;
3 - colonial and post-colonial language-related constitutional and legal provisions;
4 - the introduction of Western-type media and its concomitant strategies for mass dissemination of information;
5 - the irresistible pressures of upward social mobility;
6 - the idiosyncratic sociohistorical ecology of particular languages;
7 - the attempts at language standardisation.

Each of these issues, which may, sometimes, overlap in some of their details, with particular reference to their relevance in the development of language attitudes will be discussed later in the Chapter.

As indicated in the discussion of the issues above, the histories of many ethnolinguistic groups contain periods in which members of such groups struggled to defend, maintain or assert their existence as collective entities. Regardless of the outcome of these struggles, historical instances can be used as mobilizing symbols (cfs. Coser, 1964; Fishman, in Giles [Ed.], 1977) to inspire individuals to bind together as group members in the present. For some linguistic groups, the past offers few mobilizing symbols, while for others, the past may offer only demobilizing symbols leading individuals to forget or hide their linguistic identity, thereby diluting the vitality of the group as a collective entity.

In Mozambique, in particular, and Southern Africa, in general, for example, many
symbols of glory and struggle from the days of liberation guerrilla wars were used to mobilize individuals as group members during the wars for independence. On the other hand, in South Africa, during Apartheid, symbols of linguistic oppression did carry mobilizing power. Therefore, it can be suggested, that the number and type of historical symbols salient to ethnolinguistic group members can be conducive to feelings of group solidarity, and as such, can contribute to the vitality of the group.

1.3.3 - Language Status

The final factor is the status of the language spoken by the linguistic group both within and without the boundaries of the linguistic community network. As it happens in this century, languages such as English (cf. Cooper, Fishman, Lown, Schaier & Seckbach, Parkinn in Giles, [Ed.],1977) French, Portuguese, Russian and Spanish have international importance as media of technology, business, science, culture and communication. Linguistic groups such as Africans in Southern Africa and, to some extent, the Africans in general, who speak an international language of high status are no doubt advantaged in terms of their group vitality. Yet, groups which speak a language of lesser international status such as the indigenous African languages of Southern Africa are well-represented in this study.

In relation to the statuses of European and the indigenous languages in Mozambique, I feel it worth to remind the reader that since 1475, the indigenous languages of Mozambique have been ruled out of official use, not with their consent, but by right of conquest. There was no signing of treaties as was the case in some parts of Africa, such as Lesotho and the former Kingdom of Barotseland (Zambia). It is clear, therefore, that Portuguese was imposed as the language of the conquering people, while the indigenous languages were subordinate languages. As the language of the ruling class, and as a codified and developed language, Portuguese was given a status far above that of the other languages and has enjoyed this status for about 520 years. This relationship between Portuguese and indigenous languages has to be clearly stated in our effort to examine the impact which indigenous languages and Portuguese have
had on each other. It is, therefore, necessary to outline the function of each language in Portuguese-dominated colonial Mozambique and to review its status in respect of whether it was given official status or regarded as a vernacular language. In terms of definition, in this study, one will call a language 'official' if it is the primary medium of communication in one or more of the following fields: administration, education, Parliament and the law courts. Interpretations or translations of official documents for non-speakers of the official language will not be classified as official use. For a summary of the relative language functions in colonial Mozambique, see Table 2.2, Chapter 2.

Generally speaking, Portuguese in Mozambique is associated with the formal situations and is used in forms of communication which are linked with education such as letter writing and talking to teachers and missionaries, while indigenous languages are used in informal situations and in gatherings where uneducated people are involved (see Chapter 3, survey results, for details). In so far as any official publication uses a foreign language, it is likely to be Portuguese, and it appears on currency and postage stamps. Portuguese meets Ferguson's criteria for classification as a major language in terms of criterion (c) (secondary school graduates).

However, in view of the small proportion of the population exposed to secondary education, it would be grossly misleading to list Portuguese alongside the major indigenous languages.

On the other hand, in French-speaking countries, the philosophy of Négritude, whose aim was to enhance African culture and art was a reaction to the earlier tendency to reject one's own language and culture in search of French values. In agreement with Négritude's principles, Diedrich Westermann (1949, p. 127) is believed to have been one of the first to see the dangers of using a European language as a medium of instruction in African schools when he observed that:

"Even primary school children, . . . do not attach any importance to the vernacular and are glad to get rid of it as soon as possible".

However, it is inspiring to note that, two decades after independence, the old
tendency to despise African languages is gradually disappearing in Mozambique, especially among young people; it appears that the young Mozambican has been politicised and has learnt to appreciate his own culture and language, he has learnt to see something good in African things, while at the same time, his loyalty to his own language does not make him blind to the usefulness of a European language.

In other words, there seems to be a growing awareness of the value of African culture, but this awareness is not accompanied by the problems of misguided nationalism and the great value attached to Portuguese, while there is an indication that young Mozambican men and women no longer regard their languages as uncivilised and unimportant.

On the whole, however, the final picture one gets is that, while attitudes are changing, the roles of indigenous languages and Portuguese, from the point of view of function, have not changed much over the last 20 years. Portuguese seems to continue as the language associated with official communication, education and formal situations such as letter writing, speeches and conferences (as the results of a survey conducted for this study, Chapter 3 show). Educated Mozambicans tend to prefer Portuguese to their own languages, even for purposes where the latter can function perfectly. A meeting where only indigenous language-speaking teachers are involved will be conducted in Portuguese, for instance, and one finds that educated interlocutors often converse in Portuguese even if they share the same mother tongue. This is why many Mozambicans claim to have Portuguese as their mother tongue.

In sum, a language's history, prestige value and the degree to which it has undergone standardisation can be sources of pride or shame for members of a linguistic community, and as such may again facilitate or inhibit the vitality of a given ethnolinguistic group. On the other hand, within the boundaries of a certain territory, the respective statuses of the languages used by the ethnolinguistic groups in contact may influence the nature of the intergroup situation. We have seen that Kiswahili and Afrikaans have high national status in Tanzania, South Africa and Namibia, but within South Africa and Namibia, Afrikaans has low status compared to English. Thus, language status within, and language status
without, are important factors and the advantages of one may be cancelled out by
disadvantages of the other.

The five factors described above, represent some of the factors, although,
obviously, not all, which can determine the extent to which a group will have the
vitality to survive and behave as a distinctive group entity in an intergroup con
text.

1.3.4 - Demographic Factors

Five demographic variables are described in this section as contributing to the
vitality of ethnolinguistic groups, and these will, also be discussed under two
headings, namely: group distribution and group numbers factors.

Group Distribution Factors - Three factors will be discussed under this
heading: national territory; migration and proportion.

National Territory is related to the notion of ancestral homeland (Suttles, 1970;
Oliveira, 1976).

Distribution of Population and Languages in Mozambique

Mozambique's indigenous population is widely known to be ethnically diverse.
This pluralism is believed to stem from numerous immigrations and invasions of
Bantu-speaking peoples over centuries. The last significant invasion is thought to
have taken place in the wake of a Zulu uprising in Natal, South Africa, during the
early nineteenth century. Estimates from the 1970 census placed the indigenous
population density is heaviest in the northern coastal regions, where about 40% of
the country's population lives; and the coastal belt of the southern regions,
where another 30% of the population lives. Table 1.3 illustrates the population
are densest in Maputo City (the capital) with 111.6 persons per square mile in
1960. In 1980 there were 785,512 (1,304.8 people per sq. km) people in Maputo
City, triple that of 1960 and double that of 1970. Other important urban centres are
Beira, in Sofala Province, with a population of 350,000 (16.3 people per sq. km)
in 1980, Nampula with a population of 180,000 inhabitants (30.6 people per sq.
km) in 1980, and Quelimane, in Zambézia Province, with 184,000 inhabitants (24.8 people per sq. km) in 1980. Both cities have had a major influx of persons since then as a result of the civil war.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>1970 Total</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>1980 Total</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>1987 Total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maputo</td>
<td>796,858</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>1,267,100</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>1,569,700</td>
<td>10.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaza</td>
<td>753,347</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>990,800</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>1,158,800</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inhambane</td>
<td>746,711</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>977,600</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>1,190,700</td>
<td>8.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sofala</td>
<td>717,792</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>1,065,200</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>1,269,800</td>
<td>8.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manica</td>
<td>397,417</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>641,200</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>760,000</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tete</td>
<td>492,233</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>531,000</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>998,700</td>
<td>7.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zambézia</td>
<td>1,756,864</td>
<td>21.3</td>
<td>2,500,200</td>
<td>20.6</td>
<td>2,997,900</td>
<td>20.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nampula</td>
<td>1,735,206</td>
<td>21.0</td>
<td>2,402,700</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>2,874,100</td>
<td>19.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cabo Delgado</td>
<td>567,478</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>940,000</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>1,129,500</td>
<td>7.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niassa</td>
<td>297,428</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>514,100</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>618,200</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>8,233,834</strong></td>
<td><strong>99.8</strong></td>
<td><strong>12,130,000</strong></td>
<td><strong>99.7</strong></td>
<td><strong>14,548,400</strong></td>
<td><strong>99.7</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Intermarriage among sub-groups, and even, some main groups, as well as inter-relatedness, common cultures and values, lessen some of the ideas of rigid separation to which strict classification, perhaps, might give rise. The various ethnic groups, in fact, share important customs. For instance, peoples north of the Zambezi, generally, trace descent by a matrilinear system and those in the south use a patrilinear method. Around the river, some groups incorporate both practices. Most of the main groups extend into neighbouring countries, and over some borders, there is considerable crossing back and forth, an important factor during the liberation guerrilla war of the 1960s and 1970s. The most recent census, completed in 1980, makes no reference to ethnic groupings, or religion. It gives, however, the following figures shown in Table1.3 above. Estimates derived
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from the 1970 census\(^3\), as shown in Table 1.4 below, which is not considered very reliable.

Table 1.4 - Mozambican Population 1980 - 1981 as calculated from 1980 census

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>August 1, 1980</th>
<th>December 31, 1981</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(sq. km)</td>
<td>(sq. km)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niassa</td>
<td>129,056</td>
<td>121,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cabo Delgado</td>
<td>82,622</td>
<td>120,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nampula</td>
<td>51,408</td>
<td>122,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zambézia</td>
<td>105,008</td>
<td>125,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tete</td>
<td>100,724</td>
<td>120,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manica</td>
<td>61,061</td>
<td>124,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sofala</td>
<td>46,200</td>
<td>120,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inhamban</td>
<td>69,515</td>
<td>120,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaza</td>
<td>75,709</td>
<td>120,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maputo Province</td>
<td>25,756</td>
<td>120,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maputo City</td>
<td>602</td>
<td>120,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>799,380</td>
<td>1,037,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Up in the northeast of the country, the Makonde inhabit a plateau of the same name in Cabo Delgado Province. They are believed to have been part of the migration from lands south of Lake Malawi, centuries ago. Traditionally, they have cultivated the soil, as the tse-tse fly prohibited cattle raising, and lived in small family groupings, recognising only the authority of the village headman. Despite this absence of central authority, the Makonde have not only ably defended themselves in their high ground sanctuary, but also proved, in the past, after 1961, the Portuguese officially considered all inhabitants of Mozambique as Portuguese citizens and made no distinction in census figures between ethnic groups. The published censuses, since then, listed only the numbers of people living in the country. The estimates in the text come from a manuscript prepared by António Rita-Ferreira, then Head of the Department of Information and Tourism in Lourenço Marques (now Maputo). It was published as "The Ethno-History and Ethnic Grouping of the Peoples of Mozambique", in South African Journal of African Affairs, Vol. 3, No. 1 (1973, pp. 56 - 76), but with several errors in translation. For example, Rita-Ferreira listed only 250,000 Makonde but that, apparently, excluded those living in exile. The 1950 census showed 136,225 Makonde in Mozambique. The returning refugees are also thought to have enlarged the numbers of other groups in the north, south and west.
aggressive toward their neighbours, the Makua, who they captured, selling some to Arab slavers on the coast. A constant defence posture against slavers has been given as the chief explanation for the Makonde bellicosity, deep cultural homogeneity and resistance to Islam. The fact they kept free of Islam encouraged Christian missionaries to seek converts until the nationalist war in 1964 required their evacuation.

To the west of the Makonde are the Yao (or Ajaua) who live in the Niassa Province, primarily between the Lugenda and Rovuma rivers. For hundreds of years they are thought to have inhabited this location, however, it appears that after 1850 some groups moved to Tanzania and Malawi, possibly to escape internal squabbles, attacks by the Ngoni or locust plagues. In the past, the Yao acted as middlemen for Arab traders, exchanging ivory, iron and, finally, slaves at the coast for cloth, ornaments and, eventually, firearms to acquire more slaves. Their long contact with Muslim traders influenced them to profess Islam and adopt Arab dress and social customs in forms compatible with Bantu culture. Long Arab robes and rectangular houses (traditional African huts are round) seem to attest to the long Arab relationship, but traditional religious practices continue to exist alongside Islam. The Yao are thought to be intermixed with the Nyanja and Ngoni as well as Arab stock, and this heterogeneous composition seems to contribute to friendly relations with these neighbouring groups, despite earlier Yao slave raids. Today, the Yao till the soil (cf. Smith, 1973).

Encircled on three sides by the Yao are a group of Nyanjas who live along Lake Malawi. Since the late nineteenth century, they have come under the influence of two Anglican missions - one at Massumba, in Niassa Province, and the other on Malawi’s Licoma Island, near the Mozambique shoreline. These Nyanja appear to be fluent and some literate in English, rather than Portuguese, which seems to point up the weakness of Portuguese influence in the extreme north.

Below the Yao and Makonde, and stretching from the coast across the country, are the Makua-Lomwé peoples, the largest and, possibly, least known of the indigenous inhabitants. The Makua are thought to outnumber the culturally similar Lomwé by more than three to one. The linguistic and cultural differences between the two have been sharpened by stronger pulls of Arab customs and Islam on the
Makua than on the Lomwé. The coastal Makua speak a Kiswahili dialect and live a decidedly Arab-influenced life typical of the east African littoral to the north. Their language, life-style and beliefs have led them to be categorised as a distinct group (Anuário do Estado de Moçambique, 1972 - 1973, Lourenço Marques - Oficinas Gráficas da Minerva Central, 1973, p. 14). In 1962, an estimated 900,000 Muslims lived in the coastal zones of Cabo Delgado, Nampula, and Zambézia provinces. It is thought that after 1900, many Lomwé, who occupied the lands immediately to the south of Makua, moved to Malawi where they now constitute the second largest ethnic group. On the other hand, they are also thought to be related to the Nyanja in Tete province and to the Chuwabo on the coast. Map 3, illustrates the ethnic distribution of Mozambican people.
A Sociopsychological Survey of Language Attitudes in Southern Africa: A Case Study of Mozambique

Ethnic groups

South
- Tonga
- Chopi
- Lower Zambezi people
- Ngoni
- Tsonga
- Shona-Karanga

North
- Makonde
- Makua-Lomue
- Yao
- Malawi
- North Coastal Muslims

Ethnic groups in Mozambique
Source: Rita-Ferreira, 1976
The Makua, one of the few groups not to spill greatly into bordering states, are believed to have been the first Bantu immigrants to reach the Indian Ocean. Organised into small groups, they are without a central authority. Like other northern peoples, they are agriculturists, and like the Makonde, they cicatrize intricate designs on their faces and bodies. A religious affinity with the Yao help make for friendly relations with them, but Islamic ties have added to the enmity between them and the Makonde.

Another principal group in the north are the Marave who inhabit Tete province, north of the Zambezi. The name Marave is thought to be a blanket term for there are no people calling themselves by it. As most other Mozambican people, the Marave are found across the frontiers in Zambia and Malawi. The borders are scenes of much to-ing and fro-ing in search of jobs and educational opportunities in neighbouring countries. The Marave appear to have been studied extensively by a comparatively large number of English-speaking scholars. On the basis of these studies and Portuguese investigations, the Marave have been classified into three principal sub-groups: the Nyanja, the Chewa, and the Nsenga. Branches of the Chewa in Mozambique are thought to be the Chipeta and Zimba. While the Nyassa are believed to be a mini-group of the Nyanja. Most of them, except the Nsenga, seem to speak the Bantu language of Nyanja. During the mid-nineteenth century, it appears that invading Ngoni displaced the Nyanja from the Angonia plateau. Ngoni tradition and altitude of the plateau made the new inhabitants the only cattle-raising people in the region. Isolated pockets of Ngoni - a small ethnic group in Mozambique but important historically - are also found in Cabo Delgado province and the extreme south.

The diverse peoples of the lower Zambezi cannot be easily included within the large ethnic groups above and below the river. It is thought that for thousands of years the Zambezi valley route furthered a rich cultural diffusion by African and non-African immigrants, traders and conquerors, and consequently, an intense acculturation was fostered among the inhabitants. But although they have intermarried and been connected for scores of generations, the lower Zambezi peoples are believed to speak distinct dialects and hold to separate identities.

Back from the mouth of the Zambezi, and along the left bank, live the Chuabo
people (known also as the Maganja). They are thought to have been a branch of the Marave expansion. The Podzo, inhabit the opposite side of the river. Also, on the south bank, but up the river from the Podzo, dwell the Sena, whose origins, probably, derive from the Shona, but they show many heterogeneous traits. Further westward and on both sides of the river are located the Tawara and the Tonga. They manifest characteristics of the Shona to the south, which prompts some scholars to exclude them from classification with the peoples of the lower Zambezi and to place them with the Shona. Finally, the Chikunda, who are scattered today in Malawi and on the lower Zambezi valley have evolved from the private armies and wars of the Portuguese estate owners along the river. Culturally similar are the Nyungwe (Nhungues), who, it is more likely, came to Mozambique from the north. Their language is widely spoken on the Zambezi.

South of the Zambezi, the peoples appear to have been better studied than many of the north because of greater Portuguese interest and the observations by South Africans and South Rhodesians (now Zimbabweans) of those groups extending into their respective territories. The Shona people occupy the country to the south of Zambezi in much of Zimbabwe today, and below the Save river in Mozambique. Their ancestors were thought to have been responsible for establishing great Kingdoms, stone structures and a complex religion. Among the most important Shona sub-groups are the Karanga, Manyanka, Teve, Bârue and Ndau. The name of the sub-group Karanga (Caranga), who inhabit the Mashonaland plateau region, is believed to have once been applied by the early Portuguese observers to all Shona. Showing common cultural and linguistic origins, the Tawara, and especially, the Tonga, have been recently classified as members of the Shona.

Southern Mozambique is inhabited by three distinct groups: the Tonga, Chopi and Thonga (or Tsonga). The Tsonga occupy most of the lands from just north of the Save to the Maputo river on the South African frontier. They get on well with the Shona to the north. These patrilineal people are thought to be members of sub-groups and clans whose hereditary chiefs have had wide political, religious and military powers. The Second largest group in Mozambique, the Tsonga are in turn, divided into the following sub-groups: Rhonga, Shangana, Bitonga.
(Helengwe), and Tswana (or Xitswa). The Rhonga, who live in the area encircling the city of Maputo (the capital), have been best situated to take advantage of education and urban employment in the capital. Along the axis of the Limpopo dwell the Shangana. Named after a nineteenth-century Ngoni chief, they formed from nearby Tsonga peoples incorporated into military organisation, and stubbornly resisted the Portuguese advances under their last ruler, Gungunyane, to the end of the nineteenth century. Inhabiting the region along the Save are the Bitonga who have experienced little outside influence and have retained many traditional practices. They live mainly from hunting and foraging. The Xitswa (Tswana), who live south of the Save and behind the coastal area, have absorbed many of the Ngoni customs. The Ngoni, whose northern counterparts have been noted above, also exist in small numbers on the Swaziland and South African borders and retain their separate identity.

Since the beginning of the eighteenth century, about 40% of Tsonga males legally and illegally journeyed to South Africa, even some to Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe), to work in mines and farms. Table 1.5 illustrates the situation between 1902 and 1961. The governments in the concerned countries and Tsonga society, itself, encouraged this for the financial rewards each received. For example, as early as 1912, more than 91,000 Mozambicans legally worked in the South African Gold Mines, whereas only 5,300 Africans chose employment in Lourenço Marques (Ferreira, 1963; Ruth First et al., 1977; Webster, 1977; Bonner, 1979; Harries, 1977, pp. 61 - 76) (see Table 1.6). This labour exodus drew sharp criticisms due to the agricultural underdevelopment of the southern sector of the country, as well as the hardships imposed on the workers and their fatherless families. As a consequence of their stay in foreign lands, some migrants have acquired literacy in English, and brought back independent African religions such as the Ethiopian movements found in South Africa.
Table 1.5 - Mozambican Mineworkers in South African Gold Mines, Selected Years 1902 - 1961

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Mozambican Mineworkers</th>
<th>Total Number of Mineworkers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>38,635a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903</td>
<td>43,595</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>50,997</td>
<td>77,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1905</td>
<td>59,264</td>
<td>81,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>81,920</td>
<td>149,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>85,282</td>
<td>157,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>91,546</td>
<td>191,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>80,832</td>
<td>155,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>83,338</td>
<td>198,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>81,306</td>
<td>158,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>86,188</td>
<td>173,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>80,959</td>
<td>183,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td>107,672</td>
<td>215,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>96,667</td>
<td>205,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>73,924</td>
<td>226,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>58,483</td>
<td>233,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>88,499</td>
<td>318,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>84,335</td>
<td>323,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942</td>
<td>74,507</td>
<td>310,406</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>78,806</td>
<td>320,147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>96,300</td>
<td>305,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>108,500</td>
<td>306,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>102,900</td>
<td>304,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>95,500</td>
<td>396,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>100,200</td>
<td>413,900</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Compiled from Information from the Centre for African Studies, (1977, p. 24); Ferreira (1963, p. 68)

There are two other main ethnic groups of Southern Mozambique: the Chopi and the Tonga (see Table 1.6 below). Both groups also sent male workers outside the country and both sexes moved to urban life in Mozambique. Located on the coast of Inhambane and Gaza provinces they have had close exposure to Methodist and Catholic teachings and education in their home territory.

The Tonga are not the same as those in Tete province. Of Shona origin, the Chopi are also accomplished musicians of the mbira, a type of xylophone, and users of the bow. Neither instrument is used by their neighbours.
### Table 1.6 - Classification of Mozambican Bantu Languages and Dialects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Zone</th>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Dialect</th>
<th>Where they are spoken</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>Swahili</td>
<td>Kiswahili</td>
<td>Mrima</td>
<td>Cabo Delgado</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kimwani</td>
<td></td>
<td>Niassa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yao</td>
<td>Ajawa</td>
<td>Mavilha</td>
<td>Niassa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Makonde</td>
<td>Nkondia</td>
<td>Cabo Delgado</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Makuwa</td>
<td>Makuwa</td>
<td>Ngulu</td>
<td>Nampula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Koti</td>
<td>Meto</td>
<td>Nampula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Xirma</td>
<td></td>
<td>Niassa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Chuwabo</td>
<td>Sangaal</td>
<td>Zambézia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>Nyanja</td>
<td>Nyasa</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tete, Niassa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Cawa</td>
<td>Rue</td>
<td>Tete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sena</td>
<td>Maganga</td>
<td>Zumbo</td>
<td>Tete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Nsenga</td>
<td>Maravi</td>
<td>Tete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kunda</td>
<td>Barwé</td>
<td>Tete, Zambézia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Nyungwe</td>
<td>Tonga</td>
<td>Tete, Sofala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Gorongosa</td>
<td>Sofala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Podzo</td>
<td>Mayindu</td>
<td>Sofala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shona</td>
<td>Korekore</td>
<td>Tavara</td>
<td>Tete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Manyilka</td>
<td>Teve</td>
<td>Manica</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ndu</td>
<td>Ndenda</td>
<td>Manica</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Dzibil</td>
<td>Manica, Sofala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>Tsonga</td>
<td>Shangana</td>
<td>Gwamba</td>
<td>Inhambane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mboonda</td>
<td>Gaza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Xicombane</td>
<td>Gaza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Shangana</td>
<td>Jonga</td>
<td>Gaza, Maputo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Chope, Cope</td>
<td>Rhonga</td>
<td>Maputo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Tonga</td>
<td>Shoanga</td>
<td>Inhambane</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Adapted from Guthrie (1948)

Map 4 - Linguistic Map of Mozambique
A Sociopsychological Survey of Language Attitudes in Southern Africa: A Case Study of Mozambique

Mapa Linguístico de Moçambique

Source: Rita Ferreira (1976)
The multiplicity of indigenous ethnic groups, however, does not seem to obscure their many shared customs and historical experiences. Co-operation, mixing and intermarriage have been more the rule than the exception among most groups even before their colonial rulers disarmed them. Before the full tide of the overseas slave trade, the defeat of an African people usually involved a loose suzerainty as long tribute and symbolic allegiance were paid to the conqueror. War and conquest were often due more to the ambitions of individual leaders, the slave trade and the Portuguese exploiting divisions than to the animosity between whole groups. The plurality of the groups helped to check the domination of one group over others. Whether the pressure of jobs, education and privileges of modern society exacerbate ethnic distinctions, as elsewhere in Africa, remains to be seen.

The Indians, Chinese and Europeans make up the non-African population of Mozambique. The Indians originated from Pakistan, India and the former Portuguese enclaves of Goa, Diu and Damao, in India, and have immigrated to Mozambique for generations. Census statistics of 1960 reported 17,243 persons of Indian appearance, but their influence in government and small businesses, particularly commerce, far outweigh their small numbers. The Goans have appeared to be proud of their adopted Catholic faith and diluted Portuguese parentage, and were often believed to have loyally served the faraway Lisbon government. Other Indian groups adhered either to Hinduism or Islam and, when clustered together together, in communities, strengthen their ethnicity by conducting classes in Urdu and Gujarati. Their economic competition and profits sent back to India are often resented by the majority indigenous population and Europeans.

The Chinese, of whom there were only 2,098 listed in 1960, have continued a sense of community through schools and associations. Most are self-employed in agriculture, fishing or commerce.

The Portuguese used to be the largest non-African group in Mozambique. Only 3,000 British and Germans lived in the country before independence. They were
involved in business and large-scale sugar and sisal production.

Estimates of the Portuguese in 1974 placed their numbers at some 230,000 compared with about 17,800 in 1928; 27,500 in 1940; 31,200 in 1945; 48,000 in 1950; 100,000 in 1960, and 160,000 in 1970; of whom more than two-thirds were born in Portugal (cf. Smith, 1973). This rapid growth of European population is thought to have been due, mainly, to the encouragement the Portuguese Government gave to white Portuguese settlers, such as choice of tracts of land, cash bonuses, livestock, low-interest credit, and substantial technical assistance. However, after independence, it is believed that about 200,000 fled the country. Most lived in the south or urban centres on the coast where they predominated in commerce, industry, the civil service and the army.

As described above, through wars, allegiances, pacts and promises, the traditional homelands of linguistic groups have often been divided or enlarged to suit the immediate needs and ambitions of distant rulers (Olorunsola, 1972). The divisions and amalgamations of territories have also been politically engineered to eliminate or recreate linguistic minorities or majorities within more convenient and governable administrative units or regions. It may be that ethnolinguistic groups split apart by such imposed frontiers or dispossessed of their traditional homeland have had, through the ages, less success in maintaining their vitality as distinctive collective entities than groups that still have their traditional homeland.

The concentration of ethnolinguistic group members across a given territory, country, or region also contributes to group vitality.

On the other hand, the proportion of speakers belonging to the ethnolinguistic ingroup compared with that belonging to the relevant outgroup is a factor likely to affect the nature of the intergroup relationship.

group number factors - Five factors will be discussed under this heading: absolute numbers, birth and death rates, mixed-marriages, immigration and emigration.
Absolute Numbers - simply refers to the numbers of speakers belonging to an ethnolinguistic group. The more numerous the speakers of a group are, the more vitality they will exhibit and the better will be the chances for that group to survive as a collective entity. On the other hand, however, if the numbers of a linguistic group are allowed to fall below a certain minimum threshold, the potential for survival of that group will drop significantly until it reaches a point of no return (Driedger & Church, 1974).
1.3.4.1 - Demographic and Political Power Variables in Southern Africa

Most people who live in a multilingual context know, fully well, that the power and number of speakers of a particular language carry weight in the national scheme of things. Indigenous languages with a small number of speakers (referred to here for convenience as 'small languages', even though languages, in the real sense, have no sizes), struggle to have a voice while languages with a very large number of speakers (called 'big languages' here) tend to dominate national affairs. On the other hand, in Southern Africa, although European languages are spoken by a small élite minority, the fact that their speakers wield much power makes a lot of difference in the status of the languages and in the national scheme of things.

An interesting fact about language speaker numbers is that it is relative. No absolute number can be given for defining a big language or a small language. For instance, Adegbija (1994, p. 82, cites Dr John Giovanni, University of New Guinea, 1994), who pointed out that in Papua New Guinea, with about 869 languages, Enga, Kuman, Yabam, Kote, Motu, Kuanua, Orokaika, Wedau, Dobu and Toaripi, with an approximate population of speakers ranging from 50,000 to 200,000 are counted among the big languages. The reason why this is so, according to Dr Giovanni, is that the country has a population of only 3.5 million people. On the other hand, in Nigeria, with a population of 88.5 million people, the names of some languages like Ekoi, Jare, Eggon, and Kobchi, all with a likely population of, at least, 200,000 (cf. Jibril, 1990), are not even known to many people in the country. Also, in the Netherlands, Friesland is a minority language, yet it has a population of 550,000, which is about 4% of the population of the Netherlands (cf. Fasold, 1992). The point, therefore, is that a language most often is considered small or big mainly in relation to other languages with which it has to keep company. Speaker number, when considered large, in a particular context, tends to confer power of a language, all other sociolinguistic and language ecology factors being equal. Conversely, smallness of speaker numbers, without favourable ecological factors as in the case of European languages, places a language and its speakers in a disadvantageous position.
Some of such ecological factors have been identified in Mühlhäusler (1992; citing Haugen, 1974, p. 336) as follows:

(a) "classification in relation to other languages
(b) who are its users? (linguistic demography)
(c) what are its domains of use (sociolinguistics)
(d) what other languages are concurrently employed by its users? (dialinguistics - identifying the degree of bilingualism)
(e) what internal varieties are shown by the language? (dialectology)
(f) to what extent have its written forms been standardised, that is, unified or codified (a concern of prescriptive linguistics for grammarians and lexicographers)
(g) what kind of institutional support has it gained in government, education or private organisation, either for regulating its form or for propagating it (glottopolitics)
(h) what are the attitudes of speakers towards the language, with regard to intimacy and status, resulting in their personal identification with it (ethnolinguistics)
(i) what can be regarded as its status in a typology of ecological classifications that will indicate where the language stands, where it is going, when compared with other languages?"

Mühlhäusler (1992, pp. 173 - 178), summarises the above, as well as additional language ecology factors that can influence the status, power and maintenance of a language thus:

"...number of speakers, relationship with other languages, patterns of transmission, speakers' attitudes, domains of use and institutional support. European languages in Southern Africa are spoken by a powerful élite minority. In addition to their international weight, the European languages are sustained in the African context partly by virtue of the political and social calibre of their speakers and the high degree of institutional support they enjoy when compared with indigenous languages."

When we talk about a language being small or big, minor or major, powerful or powerless, etc., we often do so in relation to, or in comparison with other languages within the same country. Whatever the absolute number of speakers of a particular language, however, it seems clear that in most multilingual nations, speaker numbers speaks. Usually, the voices of those who speak small languages tend to be drowned by those of speakers of bigger languages.

This section is particularly concerned with the difference that speaker number makes when indigenous languages are considered. It explores the attitudinal
dimensions of language speaker number in Southern Africa. First, I examine why speaker number counts, then I investigate why smallness of number kills voice, and finally, I investigate why largeness of speaker number speaks.

1.3.4.2 Why Speaker Number Counts

Speaker number counts, not because one language is, necessarily, inherently capable and another inherently incapable, but, principally, because a large number of speakers connotes political and economic weight. In most Southern African countries, it often means the occupational of high-powered positions in a nation. It means social and educational advantages. It means taking decisions that affect the destiny of an entire nation. Largeness of speaker numbers is, generally, equated with the abilities of languages to perform or deliver. Large languages tend to be associated with functional buoyancy, small languages with impotence. This evaluation relates to decisions regarding another language ecology factor identified above, namely the domains in which a language functions. In most Southern African countries, large languages tend to be allocated functions in major domains that affect a nation such as the educational, the official, mass communication, etc. The evaluation that small languages are functionally impotent almost always results in most functions being assigned to the big languages.

Number of speakers affects economic decisions relating to languages. This is particularly true in this part of Africa, where a debt burden of about $80 billion is said to present 112% of GDP. As Chamie (1992, quoted in Alexander, 1992, p.18), puts it:

"... servicing the mounting debt has become the main burden confronting the continent. Each year, Southern African countries pay almost $6 billion. This is only one third of the interest due and about 30% of export earnings. Debt is costing Africa more than the continent is spending on the welfare of its people, including health and education".

One of the many issues raised by Fasold (1992, p. 293) in his discussion of the use of vernacular languages in education, for instance, is this:
"Is the target population sufficiently numerous?"

He even goes as far as making the dangerous, blanket suggestion that:

"... languages spoken by fewer than 100,000 speakers should, perhaps, not even be considered, except, possibly, in wealthier nations."

I find such a decision dangerous because, first, as pointed out earlier, one country's big language is another's small language. In Papua New Guinea, any language spoken by 100,000 is automatically one of the major languages. Using Fasold's suggestion, such a language would not be considered. Second, to base educational decisions and benefits in one's mother tongue on number of speakers is, indirectly, to encourage speakers of smaller languages to be fruitful and multiply so that they also can qualify for national benefits. At the same time, though, there are campaigns all over the world, especially by the World Health Organisation (WHO) and its representatives or sympathisers to reduce populations through family planning. If minority groups begin to be denied attention because they are small, we may, inadvertently, be creating the dangerous situation in which speakers of small languages see their small number as a disservice. The most obvious way out of such a problem would be to attempt to do some catching up in the longer term with those with large numbers.

From this perspective, therefore, the frequent unnecessary emphasis on number of speakers in language planning in multilingual contexts is a dangerous one. Numerical inferiority should not be sufficient ground for denying a people national privileges. In spite of the poor economies of Southern African countries, the resources available should be distributed in such a manner as to respect the presence of all.

Also, given the findings in many educational quarters that initial learning, at least, succeeds better if carried out in the mother tongue, the moral and pedagogical ethics of the denial of education to small language groups in their own mother tongues needs to be questioned.

Besides economic decisions relating to educational language planning, number
of speakers also counts, because it often has political weight. In Mozambique, for example, there are frequent complaints by northern linguistic groups that a disproportional number of high government positions are often occupied by those who are from the south and Tsonga-speaking (speakers of Tsonga are reputed to be the second numerous linguistic group in Mozambique). The Makua-Lomwé, and other main language groups officially recognised by the constitution as 'major' always want and demand an equitable representation in national positions. But other smaller language groups also complain and grumble against non-representation. To occupy high political positions implies taking high-powered decisions that shape the destiny of the nation.

From the perspective of political, economic, social and educational policies and decisions, therefore, language speaker number, in multilingual contexts, has always been a crucial and decisive factor. It is no wonder, therefore, that speaker number has a great potential to affect language attitudes in multilingual contexts. Both big and small groups want to protect their interests and want to ensure their survival. From the perspective of decisions based on speaker numbers, too, it is not surprising that smaller groups easily feel threatened by bigger groups. Consequently, mutual suspicion seems to be the logical outcome of such an atmosphere. Obviously, such an atmosphere in a multilingual environment does not augur well for political stability and effective language planning. Most often, it results in smaller language groups fearing domination, oppression, or, in extreme cases, being cunningly exterminated by language policies (almost always taken by speakers of bigger languages). Such policies are almost always ultimately intended to 'mainstream' smaller ethnolinguistic groups. This mainstreaming tendency is often considered by most speakers of smaller languages as dangerous for their ethnolinguistic health, hence, their frequent struggles, in many multilingual contexts, for the maintenance and preservation of their language, culture and identity on order to ensure their ultimate survival and secure their autonomy.
1.3.4.3 Smallness of Speaker Numbers : Kills National Voice and Attention

Writing on the subject "When Minor is Minor and Major is Major : Language Expansion, Contraction and Death", Markey (1987, p. 8) argues that:

"To contend that a language willingly selects for minority status from the outset, or willingly places itself on the endangered species list, or knowingly commits linguistic harakiri is totally absurd".

In other words, belonging or not to a small language group is not by choice or design. If one cannot do anything about it, then one could ask: Is it justifiable to use such a factor as a basis of discrimination with regard to the enjoyment of educational, political and social advantages and privileges? But the plain truth is that the largeness or smallness of the ethnolinguistic groups which one belongs is, indeed, often used for discrimination in many parts of Southern Africa.

At times, some people with merit are considered very qualified for particular national positions but are not appointed simply because they come from the 'wrong' language group. Wrong, that is, because of its smallness.

Because of the linking of speaker numbers with crucial national decisions in many multilingual contexts, it is not surprising that many people, who belong to smaller groups, tend to feel that many national policies are designed to make them feel ethnolinguistically insignificant. Naturally, many of them fight against the creation of such an impression - that they do not matter in national life. They want to matter. They also want it known that they also matter and can both bark and bite if need be. Consequently, they resist and reject, sometimes in an exaggerated manner, the attempt, by major language groups, to crown them with a sense of nothingness. Such an attitude of resistance is very well echoed in the following words by Chief Anthony Enahoro, an outstanding Edo-speaking minority in Nigeria, in one of the 1961-2 Parliamentary debates:

"...as one who comes from a minority tribe, I deplore the continuing evidence, in this country, that people wish to impose their customs, their languages and even their way of life upon smaller tribes... My people have a language, and
that language was handed down through a thousand years of tradition and custom" (quoted in Iwara, 1988, p. 13).

Obviously, this expresses the sentiments of many small language and minority groups in most multilingual contexts all over the world, in general, and in Southern Africa, in particular. Resistance to attempts to drown one's national voice, or kill one's ethnolinguistic identity is, however, not restricted to major groups versus smaller groups alone. Sometimes even among minority languages, themselves, perceptions of attempts to be trampled upon by the bigger minor groups are, sometimes, felt.

Attempts, in various multilingual contexts, to make speakers of small languages feel ethnolinguistically insignificant will, most likely, continue to provoke an attitude of resistance in one form or another. Even if it was true that an ethnolinguistic group does not matter, and one would, seriously, contest this in a nation, no group wants to be sold. As a Makua proverb puts it, : 'one does not count fingers of a nine-fingered person in his presence'. Actions that lead to the inference that a group does not matter will, most likely, continue to provoke and promote a self-defence mechanism attitude often manifested in concrete attempts at self-protection and the guaranteeing of linguistic, cultural, educational and political independence and security by minority groups. Such a take-your-own-destiny- in-your-own-hands stance has, indeed, been exhibited by small language groups all over the multilingual world (cfs. Williams [Ed.], 1991; Williamson, 1990; Adegbija, 1992d).

In most parts of Southern Africa, an indirect bi-product of resistance to domination by big language groups is the clamour by speakers of small languages for the continued maintenance of, and institutional support for European languages in the body politic. Many small language groups, often prefer a so-called culturally neutral European language to a major indigenous language for the conducting of prominent national affairs. From such exoglossic European languages, at least, no direct threat to ethnolinguistic and cultural autonomy is perceived since languages cannot be claimed as the mother tongue of any particular indigenous group. Moreover, it is often argued, such languages are functional in the cementing of unity and integration in a cultural and
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linguistically plural society. It is perceived that many indigenous languages cannot, successfully and impartially, play such a role. As I have argued earlier on, such an attitude continues to ensure the glorification of exoglossic languages in many countries of Southern Africa.

It is not always, however, that ethnolinguistic groups fight to ensure their distinct identity in a multilingual environment. Speaking with regard to the medium of education, for instance, Fasold (1992, p. 289) observes:

"It can not be safely assumed that all linguistic minorities want their language to be used as the medium of instruction... there are plenty of instances in which linguistic minorities, given a choice, have chosen a language other than their community's language as medium of instruction".

As examples of such groups, he cites the Old Order Amish parochial schools in North America. He also mentions the Tiwa Indians of the south western USA who demonstrated little support for native language instruction in schools. Asked, in a survey, if they would like to be taught or have their children taught by teachers speaking Tiwa only, or by teachers speaking both Tiwa and English, 91.7% chose Tiwa and English and only 8.3% chose Tiwa only. Such small language groups opt for assimilation with major groups often because such course of action is perceived as the only road to political, economic, social and educational survival and upward mobility.

On the other hand, in the view that several other small language groups, all over the world, such as the Maasai in Kenya and Tanzania, have succeeded in maintaining and promoting their own linguistic and cultural hegemony, it is instructive for future research to investigate why some small language groups grow up to love someone else's language better than their own. But I think that I can speculate, on the basis of my knowledge of the functions and valuations of languages in multilingual contexts, that if smaller languages had been functioning in a similar manner as the bigger languages to which speakers of smaller languages, sometimes, wish to be assimilated, it is unlikely that many ethnic minorities would still opt, forcibly or naturally, for total assimilation. But owing to language, education and political policies that focus most of the
attention that counts in most multilingual communities on major languages, as far as individual and societal progress are concerned, assimilation for survival and future security seems the lesser of all evils and becomes a matter of course.

Another reason for assimilation of small language groups to bigger language groups, closely related to the issue just discussed, is a nagging perception of non-viability. Some speakers of small languages consider their languages unviable because of the irresistible pressures from neighbouring bigger language. Such pressures may be exerted by way of the educational functions, as well as the political, social and economic advantages perceived as accruing to those competent in the major languages. Since, as noted earlier, policies are largely determined, in most multilingual contexts, by those belonging to major language groups, such policies are, usually, tailored to perpetuate and legitimise the dominance of major languages and aimed at forcing speakers of smaller languages to conform.

The point being made here, therefore, is that in many multilingual societies, mainstream systems are mainly used to perpetuate and entrench mainstream languages. Consequently, small languages are undermined and belittled. The inevitable outcome, which is also, by the way, often intended outcome on the part of mainstream policy makers, is a desire for assimilation into bigger language groups.

The argument is often made that social isolation of minority would result if their languages were developed seems to be, on the surface, a strong and benign one. However, beneath it appears to lie a desire for dominance and the effacing of the identities of ethnolinguistic minorities. When I come to think of it, the fact that a minority language is used in education, should not, necessarily, preclude the learning of mainstream languages as subjects in schools. And if the threat of isolation actually exists, such a step, i.e. learning a major language as a subject, could be one step towards warding it off. But the strategy of directly or indirectly designating some languages with power, employment, achievement and prestige privileges, and others with
powerlessness, no prestige and non-achievement, is usually perpetuated through the entrenchment of major languages in all significant functions and the denial of functions and attention to smaller languages.

Overall, then, it seems that the power invested in particular languages by language policies will continue to count as far as the creation, shaping, moulding and entrenching of language attitudes in multilingual contexts, are concerned.

1.3.4.4 Big Languages : The Voice of Large Numbers

Unless other language ecology, sociohistorical and political forces intervene, largeness of language speaker number, in multilingual environments, normally, has its own distinct voice. Speakers of bigger languages pay the national, political, economic, social and educational pipers and so, call the tune. Therefore, the voice of largeness of language speaker numbers is one of power, control and dominance. Speaker numbers speaks volumes in multilingual contexts.

Largeness of language speaker numbers confers security. According to Kristiansen, Harwood & Giles (1991, p. 422), studies on ethnolinguistic vitality have clearly demonstrated that:

"... strength of numbers can, sometimes, be used as a legitimating tool to empower groups with the institutional control they need to shape their own collective density within the intergroup structure."

Kristiansen, Harwood & Giles (1991, p. 442), in fact, argue that demographic factors may constitute the most fundamental asset of ethnolinguistic groups and that their institutional control is used:

"... to safeguard and enhance their vitality as a distinctive collective entity."

The gaining of ascendancy on institutional support factors often results in enjoyment of high status, which, in turn, results in a more positive group social identity (cf. Kristiansen, Harwood & Giles, 1991, p. 424). The history of nations
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in Southern Africa is replete with examples with big ethnolinguistic groups that have used their strength of numbers to install themselves in key political, economic, educational and social positions to perpetuate their linguistic and cultural hegemony, and to guarantee, for their group, a unique future security. The Umbundu-speaking people in Angola, the Bemba-speaking people in Zambia, the Shona and Ndebele-speaking people in Zimbabwe, the Chewa in Malawi, the Tsonga in Mozambique, the Sotho in Lesotho, the Tswana in Botswana, the Swati in Swaziland and now, the Xhosa and Zulu in South Africa are a few examples of big ethnolinguistic groups in Southern Africa whose largeness of numbers could be said to have been used to some in-group advantages.

Largeness of number also, often, implies priority attention and preferential treatment in issues germane to language development. When decisions have to be taken concerning the development of particular languages, in many multilingual contexts, it is usually the languages that have large numbers of speakers that first receive attention. This has, generally, been the practice in many countries of Southern Africa in colonial and post-colonial times, as well. Languages like Ndebele and Shona in Zimbabwe owe some of their development, today, to the relatively large numbers of their speakers in comparison with other languages within the country. This gave them priority attention as far as development was concerned. Consequently, standardisation attempts tend to be first directed at these languages with a large number of speakers. Thus, although only a small population of Tanzanians speak Kiswahili as a first language, the rapid spread of the language resulted in its acquiring demographic superiority over most other languages in Tanzania and this, along with other contributory language ecology factors, eventually, led to the attention which Kiswahili, in Tanzania, has received ever since. Ansre (1971) reports on how some languages like Kiswahili and Ewee received early standardisation attention. Part of this attention, obviously, is attributable to the large number of their speakers. Furthermore, functional allocation to languages is almost always predicated on, or at least, influenced by, the number of speakers. In most official domains, big languages are used. This is largely true of languages assigned
mass media, education and judiciary roles. Perhaps, naturally, too, it is also the languages that are spoken by large numbers of people that are, most often, used as vehicular languages in most parts of Southern Africa. While some small languages widen their range of use and scope of influence and gain many second language speakers and, subsequently, become lingua franca or vehicular languages (e.g. Kiswahili in Tanzania), it is, most commonly, languages already with large numbers of speakers that tend to perform such a function. Areas of the influence of vehicular languages vary from country to country, but could cover day-to-day interpersonal communication, commerce, regional administration, etc. Such functions contribute, remarkably, to the deeper entrenchment, widening influence, esteem, worth and high evaluation of big languages.

In effect, largeness of number tends to, almost always, give sociopolitical and economical voice, functional privileges and entitlements, as well as developmental attention to big languages and their speakers. Such factors generate pride in one's language which often results in an attitude of security, promote ethnolinguistic vitality, and directly and indirectly, encourages attempts at the domination of smaller groups. Often, there is a tendency to look down on those who do not belong, that is, speakers of the 'outsider groups', those who cannot be counted among speakers of the big languages. Such an attitude, naturally, provokes resentment and antipathy towards the major languages as in the case, for instance, of the Maasai in Tanzania and Kenya and many other smaller ethnic groups, who often, feel that they are being dominated by the Kikuyus, sometimes accused of taking some of their land, and who are seen to be predominant in major positions of power in Nairobi.

Furthermore, a group's birth rate in relation to that of the outgroup's can also be an important factor in assessing its vitality.

Increases in the proportion of ethnolinguistically-mixed marriages between ingroup and outgroup can also affect a group's vitality. In such situations, it appears as though the high status variety has a better chance of surviving the
language of the home, and hence of child-rearing, than the low status variety. For instance, Mougeon & Savard (in press) have found that an increase in marriages between the French and English in Ontario has had an accelerated effect on the displacement of French by English as the native language of the children in certain communities there. The consequent effect on language behaviour of mixed-marriages and other factors can be gauged objectively from "language retention ratios" (Fishman et al. 1966); this ratio is the extent to which a language is used from one generation to the next.4 Subordinate groups then are likely to have more vitality when their language retention ratio is high, and when the incidence of ethnolinguistically-mixed marriages is low or favourable to the subordinate group.

Another factor capable of enhancing or decreasing the vitality of a linguistic group is immigration. For instance, the influx of large numbers of one linguistic group may swamp another numerically through planned or unplanned immigration.

According to Giles, Bourhis, & Taylor (in Giles [Ed.], 1977), immigration laws can be designed to keep certain linguistic groups in a minority or majority (cf. Husband, 1977). Migrant and indigenous populations can be manipulated and moved about so that no single linguistic group can become sufficiently large in one area or region to challenge the supremacy of the dominant linguistic group.

In the same line of thought, Emigration can also affect the vitality of ethnolinguistic groups. Adverse social and economic conditions can force vast numbers of young and active members of linguistic groups to leave their traditional communities in search of better occupational and economic opportunities elsewhere. In addition to reducing the numbers of ingroup speakers in the traditional linguistic community, such emigrants will often need to learn another language and eventually lose their own mother tongue. Giles, Bourhis, & Taylor (in Giles [Ed.], 1977), report that this has been the case at

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4 - Khleif (1975) has shown how the progressive decline of the Welsh language in Wales prompted many non-Welsh speakers to learn their ancestral tongue in order to counteract these trends.
the turn of the century for many Welsh speakers who had to emigrate to England or to the more Anglicised and industrially developed areas of South Wales in order to find jobs.

In Southern Africa, as described above, the same happened with young Mozambicans in the south and centre who went to South Africa or Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) to find jobs in mines or farms. This is illustrated in Table 1.6 above. This type of depopulation and its linguistic consequences have been observed in Scotland, Brittany and Corsica. Economic pressures have not been the only cause of group emigration. In the eighteenth century, it has been argued that British authorities in Lower Canada deported many French-speaking Acadians so as in part, to clear the land for incoming English colonisers. In 1970, Britain deported more than 1,000 Diego Garcia islanders to Mauritius to make way for an American base in the Indian Ocean. In East Africa, Uganda, a former British colony, expelled many of the Asians who traditionally had served as the middle men between the former White British colonialists and the Black African population. More recently, in Southern Africa White South African and Zimbabweans have become concerned about the decreasing immigration, but increasing emigration patterns in their countries. Extreme measures such as genocide have also been used in this century against minority linguistic groups such as the Armenians, Biafrans, Jews and the Utu people in Rwanda. Induced or enforced emigration then can seriously affect the vitality of linguistic groups long after the main wave of depopulation or extermination has receded.

1.3.5 - Institutional Support

Institutional Support refers to the degree of formal and informal support a language receives in the various institutions of a nation, region, or community (cf. Breton, 1971). Informal support refers to the extent to which a linguistic group has organised itself in terms of pressure groups. In other words, linguistic groups which have organised themselves to safeguard their own interests, as exemplified by the Swahili Community in Tanzania, have more vitality than linguistic groups who have not organised themselves in this way.
fashion, such as those groups in Mozambique. Indeed, it is through such organisation that linguistic groups can, in the first instance, exert pressure on the outgroup to safeguard their interests in the outgroup situation (cf. Edwards, 1977). At a more formal level, groups which have little representation at the decision-making levels of State, Business and Cultural Affairs are less able to survive as distinctive linguistic entities, as it is the case with linguistic groups in Mozambique and Angola, than those who have organised themselves as political entities seeking permanent representation at the State's Legislative and Executive Levels as is the case in the rest of Southern African countries.

A linguistic group is vital to the extent that its language and group members are well-represented formally and informally in a variety of institutional settings. These domains of usage include the mass media, parliament, government departments and services, the armed forces and the State Supported Arts. Of crucial importance for the vitality of ethnolinguistic groups is the use of the community language in the State Educational System at primary, secondary, and higher levels. (Unfortunately this does not happen in Mozambique). Also, of importance to the vitality of an ethnolinguistic group is the degree to which the language is used as the language of religion (Ryan & Carranza, 1977; Cooper, Fishman, Lown, Schafer, & Seckbach, 1977; Trudgill & Tzavaras, 1977; Smith, Tucker, & Taylor, 1977), work and advancement in both the public and private sectors of the economy.

I have described how various types of structural variables can affect the vitality of ethnolinguistic groups. Three factors were singled out as especially relevant, and it must be noted that their relative weights require further research. In addition, other factors at a more macro-level may assume salience from time to time. For instance, Inglehart & Woodward (1972) have described how a rapid rate of modernisation in an underdeveloped country can dramatically change the lot of linguistic community, such that some may suddenly gain complete control of the economy, while others find themselves without their traditional rights or privileges. Traditional linguistic élites through industrialisation and modernisation may suddenly find that they must share power with new modernising élites (cf. Fishman, 1972; 1977). Uneven rates of
industrial development in different regions of a country may cause massive population movements which may upset the traditional balance of power between ethnolinguistic groups. Sudden depressions in world or regional economies may occur such that linguistic community services are eliminated or seriously reduced in government affairs. It is however, only by carefully evaluating the combined effects of these three main, and possibly other factors that one can determine the relative vitality of an ethnolinguistic group. For instance, an ethnolinguistic group may be low on Status and Institutional Support factors, but very strong in terms of the Demographic variables. In such a case, one could say that overall, the group has medium vitality. Another ethnolinguistic group might be very weak in terms of all three factors, and in this category we might find a number of groups depicted in this study, such as the linguistic groups in Mozambique.

It has already been suggested that individuals in ethnolinguistic groups which have little collective vitality cannot be expected to behave in the same way in an intergroup situation as individuals whose groups have much vitality. The types of sociopsychological processes operating between ethnolinguistic groups in contact may well differ according to whether the groups in question have high, medium or low vitality.

Therefore, a general model has been offered which indicates that the two underlying socio-structural factors which affect language attitudes are standardness versus non-standardness and decreasing versus increasing vitality (cf. Ryan et al. 1982). Thus, maximally favourable evaluations will be made when a speaker uses standard forms which are also high in perceived vitality; maximally unfavourable evaluations will be made when both standardness and vitality are low. When standardness is high but vitality is low, one might expect status ratings to be high, but ratings of dynamism and sociability to be low; when standardness is low but vitality is high, ratings of status should be low but ratings of dynamism and sociability should be high.

In sum, recent studies of language attitudes incorporate theories in various domains. In this section, I suggested that recent studies have attended to subtle
gradations in between-group linguistic phenomena; that joint influences of two language variables have been investigated; and that language samples presented to respondents now typically are relatively high in realism, two other characteristics of the post-1970 language-attitudes research remain to be explored: the investigation of an increasing number and variety of language variables, and the inclusion of 'communication context' in studies of language effects.

However, as extensively illustrated below, the importance of language attitudes studies in Southern Africa, in general, and Mozambique, in particular, does not appear to have been recognised. In spite of the densely multilingual nature of the region, (discussed in this Chapter) and the frequency of language-related problems, studies on language attitudes relevant to it, are very few, at the moment. For instance, in one of the most recent volumes on language attitudes in multilingual settings (Coulmas, [Ed.], 1992), there is no reference to Southern Africa, let alone Mozambique.
Part II

1.4 - Language Attitude Studies in Southern Africa

Over the past thirty years Southern African linguistics, like linguistics elsewhere in the world, has experienced some noticeable shifts. Some of these shifts, according to Webb (1992, p. 429), are:

1 - A movement away from an almost exclusively theoretical orientation towards an approach which also leaves room for the application of linguistic knowledge and insight.

2 - A shift away from a concern with grammar as an invariable, abstract entity underlying language behaviour to an interest in grammar as a socially and culturally contextualised entity; and, more recently

3 - A change from a linguistics which is almost wholly directed towards (and by) the USA, Britain and Europe, to a linguistics which also recognises its African connection and wants to be part of that context.

These shifts have been manifested in various forms. One is the creation of a number of more specialised professional bodies. Whereas the Linguistics Society of Southern Africa (LSSA) was the only linguistics association in the sixties, since then the African Languages Association of Southern Africa (ALASA), The Southern African Applied Linguistics Association (SAALA), The Southern African Association for Language Teaching (SAALT) and The Association of University Teachers of Literature and Language (ATOLL) were created, with more concerted attention to the Bantu Languages and The Teaching of especially English as a Second or Foreign Language.

A second manifestation of the shifts in Southern African linguistics is the LICCA Research and Development Programme, LICCA being an acronym for: Languages in Contact and Conflict in Africa. The programme was not the first project in the region in the field of the sociology of language. Prinsloo (1991), Alexander (1989) and other writers also represent important contributions in this area.

Although LICCA is an African venture and not, strictly speaking, Southern African,
it originated in Southern Africa and was first established as a research programme in South Africa.

The idea of LiCCA came from René Dirven. During a stay in South Africa as a visiting scholar in 1989, he and a number of colleagues discussed their concern about a series of language-related problems in that country, and indeed, in almost all African countries. Some of these problems are: the fact that knowledge and skills have remained in the hands of the privileged few, the potential for ethnic conflict in the Southern African countries, the existence of language-based manipulation and discrimination, and the threat to the maintenance and development of the countries’ linguistic and cultural diversity.

In the few years of its existence (about 6 years) LiCCA has produced two near final research reports, three international conferences (one in 1992 in South Africa, one in 1993 in Maseru, Lesotho, and the last in 1995 in Ibadan, Nigeria) and a series of smaller seminars and presentations. It has also grown into a full-scale African enterprise, with projects in Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland and Nigeria.

The LiCCA Research and Development Programme has developed into a comprehensive pan-Africanist project, bringing together a variety of concerns: research and development; theoretical linguistics, cognitive linguistics, variation linguistics and language planning linguistics, educationists and political scientists; academics and people who operate on the so-called grass roots level; language specialists from Central Africa, East Africa, West Africa, Southern Africa, Europe, Britain and the USA; etc. As such, LiCCA is a clear demonstration of many of the shifts which have occurred in linguistic thinking in Southern Africa and worldwide.

1.4.1 - The Problem of Research on Language Attitudes in Southern Africa

Southern Africa is a region with large potential for conflict. First of all, it is linguistically and culturally diverse, secondly, its populations are deeply divided and complexly segmented (Rhoodie, 1983), thirdly, all facets of life have become politicized, and fourthly, it has lately been the scene of some major processes of
social change, such as urbanisation and modernisation. Now, over the past eight years, the region has also begun a process of radical political change.

Language, as a major social divider in Southern Africa, has naturally been a focal point in situations of social and political conflict in the region. To quote two examples from the immediate past in South Africa:

a) On 16th June 1976 school children protested in Soweto against the enforced use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in specific subjects in secondary schools, an action which spread nationwide and resulted in several deaths during the ensuing clashes with security forces.

b) The possibility that Afrikaans may lose its present status as a national official language in South Africa, has resulted in a heated public debate, with statements by some leading figures to the effect that the loss by Afrikaans of its official status would lead to resistance by White Afrikaners which would make the activities of the IRA and the Basques look like games of cowboys and cooks in a creche! (Quoted in Webb, 1992, p. 431)

The language question is, indeed, a serious problem in Southern Africa, being related to various issues of regional concern, such as the 'lack of national unity', restricted economic development and the threat to the region's rich cultural and linguistic diversity.

In the case of national unity the statutory discrimination is paralleled by linguistic inequality. European languages, the present national official languages, are the only really empowered languages, with all the other indigenous languages marginalised politically, economically, socially and even culturally. At the same time, languages have been used for manipulative purposes and as a basis for discrimination. An example of this is the use of standard Afrikaans (in South Africa) by the Nationalist Party to gain political support, and its use in government schools to promote the norms and values of Afrikaner-Nationalism (Esterhuyse, 1986).

The restrictive role of language in the economic domain relates to the dominance of European languages. As the dominant languages Afrikaans, Portuguese and (especially) English are also the major languages of educational
development. Yet, due to various features of the Southern African educational systems, the politicisation of the principle of mother tongue instruction, the low status of the Bantu languages, the relative scarcity of written and spoken English and Portuguese in many rural areas, and serious shortcomings relating to language teaching as such, the vast majority of indigenous primary school children have a totally ineffective knowledge of English and Portuguese. This state of affairs leads, initially, to poor scholastic results and, ultimately, to a population which is generally underdeveloped in terms of the needs of a technologically modernised society.

The effects of this situation on economic productivity and on individuals’ access to economic (but also social and political) opportunities is self-evident.

The threat to the region’s rich heritage of cultural and linguistic diversity is also related to the dominance of European languages in the region. One aspect of this problem is linked to the fact that the majority of Southern African’s indigenous languages have not been sufficiently developed as effective instruments in the technical world. The situation is so unsatisfactory that a professor of Zulu in South Africa recently stated that Africans have come to hate their languages and consider them irrelevant to the education process (Msimang, 1991).

This technically under-developedness of African languages can have serious consequences. This is pointed out in Dirven &Webb (1992, p. 5):

"The devaluation of the indigenous languages may also lead to a break in the development of the conceptual system of the cultural community. This conceptual system reflects the culture’s categorisation systems, and the paths of its metaphorisation processes (which work from spatial experiences into more abstract or more general conceptualisations). Since these languages are not used for secondary domain cluster such as government and administration or education, there is no need to develop the expressive power of the indigenous languages beyond the colloquial level of the primary domain cluster. This affects the vocabulary of the language, the terminology for all specialised fields, the morphology (compounding, derivation, composite terms), the stylistic varieties, the written code as such, and last but not least, the metaphorisation processes allowing the exploration of new mental experiences in art, science, religion, etc."
It is clear, then, that serious attention has to be paid to the language situation in the region.

A closer look at these problems shows that they have, at least, one feature in common, viz. people's attitudes to the languages involved, for example, in the sense that some languages are over-valued in some circles, and others under-valued. If one, therefore, wishes to address the linguistic aspects of these problems it is clear that careful note of the language attitudes in the region should be taken.

This, then, is the purpose of this study: to discuss language attitudes in Southern Africa and their relevance to the democratisation of the sociopolitical situation in Southern Africa.

When discussing the importance of language attitudes within the context of social change in Southern Africa, Bugarski (1990, p. 46) points out that:

Language attitudes are "essentially social attitudes, or more precisely, linguistic reflections of deep seated and often only semiconscious sociopsychological perceptions of a territorial, ethnic or social group by speakers representing other groups" and are the "forces shaping the intricate dynamics of life in complex human societies". As such, language attitudes are obviously indicators of intergroup relations in a society, as well as indices of potential conflicts in a community.

Language attitudes have an important role in the life of a community or region. They can affect the economic, educational and social life of a language group. If a language has a low status its speakers will have little access to the higher occupational opportunities, may have little hope of upward mobility and their school children will have to study in a second or foreign language (which may affect their educational development). Language attitudes can also affect the success of learning, could co-determine linguistic modernisation, result in cultural alienation and, therefore, even affect nation building.

Language attitudes can clearly also cause conflict. If there are strongly negative attitudes towards a particular language it may, for example, result in
policy decisions which may eventually lead to conflict. An example of this in Southern Africa, is the Namibian decision, after its recent independence, not to recognise Afrikaans as a national official language but rather to select English in this capacity, despite the fact that practically 90% of the people knew Afrikaans as against the 1% who knew English. The new language policy of the Namibian Government is already leading to conflict particularly with respect to the medium of instruction at the secondary school level (Webb, 1992, p. 435).

Finally, language attitudes can also be a factor in intercultural communication, since it can determine language choice. A person's refusal to use a particular language in a specific setting, or his insistence on a particular language being used could indicate that that person has an excessive loyalty or has a feeling of threatenedness, which could lead to language conflict.

There can therefore be no doubt that a knowledge of the language attitudes in a community can be relevant in planning and implementing social change.

As far as language attitude studies in Southern Africa are concerned, very few have been performed on Southern African languages, therefore, it is still not possible to speak about this topic with a certain degree of confidence since the work has a number of shortcomings (cf. Bugarski, 1990; Dirven, 1987, 1990; Jordan, Rensburg & Webb, 1992; McCormick, 1983; McRae, 1989; Nadkarni, 1990; Nelde, 1989, 1990; Smit, 1991; Wood, 1991; Young, 1991). Some of these shortcomings are:

a) That the Bantu languages have not been studied extensively, most of the work being on European languages;

b) That much of the work is rather dated, having been performed more than 15 years ago. Given the volatile situation in the region, attitudes could have changed quite clearly, especially towards European languages;

c) That much of the information comes from highly selected groups, and may therefore not represent the language attitudes of the communities in general;

d) That the research results are not really comparable either because of the methods used (for example questionnaires as against the matched-guise technique) or because of the informants who were used (nation-wide versus students);
that it is not always clear whether the research managed to elicit information on language attitudes as such (rather than language opinions), what the attitude object was in a particular case, or whether the role of the situational context was always kept in mind.

The language situation in Southern Africa, like practically everything else, is so heavily politicized that a language researcher can never be sure what his attitude object is, i.e. whether he is measuring an attitude to a particular language as an instrument, a symbol or an element in the national political debate. This applies especially to European languages in Southern Africa. A language attitude researcher clearly has to be careful about which of these aspects he has measured. It is also known that language attitudes, besides the fact that they are so deeply embedded in man's affective life, and, therefore, extremely difficult to elicit, are highly complex entities, since they are hardly ever simplistic, varying from one situation to another. This fact also means that language attitude information should be used very carefully.

These shortcomings mean that the research results in language attitude studies in Southern Africa do not appear to give a full picture of the sociolinguistic status of the Southern African languages. The information would have to be supplemented. This will be attempted in this study with information from other sources, such as the official language policies and practices, the role of language in education, the role of cultural institutions, the expressed preferences for different language policy options, the language choice in different domains (such as science and technology), etc.

However, even with this supplementation there are still gaps in our knowledge and insight, and the discussion will sometimes therefore have to be restricted to European languages, with only very general remarks about the status of the Bantu languages.

1.5 - The Sociohistorical Basis of Language Attitudes in Southern Africa

Adegbija (1994, p. 30), has identified seven main headings under which the contributions of sociohistorical forces to whatever attitudes observed in Southern
A Sociopsychological Survey of Language Attitudes in Southern Africa: A Case Study of Mozambique

Africa, today, may be conveniently discussed. These are:

1. The imposition of European languages;
2. Colonial and post-colonial language and educational policies;
3. Colonial and post-colonial language-related constitutional and legal provisions;
4. The introduction of Western-type media and its concomitant strategies for mass dissemination of information;
5. The irresistible pressures of upward social mobility;
6. The idiosyncratic sociohistorical ecology of particular languages;
7. The attempts at language standardisation.

I will now discuss, briefly, each of these issues, which may, sometimes, overlap in some of their details, with particular reference to their relevance in the development of language attitudes.

1.5.1 The Imposition of European Languages

According to Spencer (1971b, p. 537), the first European contacts with Africa were predominantly mercantile and largely restricted to the coastal areas. This remained the case for about four centuries after the Portuguese reached Cape Verde in 1445. It was in the 19th century that missionary activities, as well as political subjugation, began to penetrate the continent. The Europeans came as conquerors and, with this situation, came all the tensions of a hostile master-servant relationship, especially as the Europeans considered themselves and their culture, as well as their language, superior to those of their conquered subjects. In the main, such a frame of mind led, ultimately, to the implantation of European languages in Mozambique and other countries of Southern Africa and constituted the bedrock for the high esteem they have enjoyed in Southern Africa since then. It should, therefore, constantly be born in mind that the beginning of the introduction of languages such as English and Portuguese into the countries in Southern Africa was dominated by the demoralising conditions of master and servant, superior and inferior. Such a feeling of superiority or inferiority, was also associated with the master's language and the servants' languages. Thus, the basis for the European languages as languages of the masters, of power, of high position, of prestige, and of status were solidly created in these early days. In general, many Africans began to look up to the European languages as the 'master's language' and yearned to learn them. Sometimes, the superiority of the
master's language appeared to have been confirmed by the fact that those who learned them, and were appointed as clerks, interpreters, cooks, teachers, etc., were able to share, at least, some of the position, power and prestige that accompanied their command. Knowledge of European languages was, therefore, instrumental in gaining material rewards and in boosting the ego of the individuals involved.

Spencer goes on to add that other Africans who could not participate in this privilege of the command of the master's language envied their fellow compatriots. Essentially, then, language and educational background became the basis for the creation of an élite group, a political and social oligarchy which enjoyed the privileges of power and prestige, essentially, by courtesy of its command of the imposed language.

Spencer (1971b), sees the history of societies outside Africa, as indicating parallels to this attitude of seeing the conqueror's language as a language of power and prestige. He gives, as a vivid example, the French conquest of England in 1066 AD, where, after the conquest, the English nobility began to look to the French language as the language of power and prestige. Between 1066 and 1200, emphasises Spencer, many day-to-day French words came into the English language as many English people, in the domains of architecture, food (cuisine), arts and the judiciary, spoke the imposed language and sought to be like their French masters in all matters of detail, including language. For Spencer, the impact of this is still seen in English today in that many of the common day-to-day words in English are of French origin. One permanent mark of the French conquest on the language, according to Spencer (1971b, p. 537), is that many names of animals before slaughter are in Anglo-Saxon but when made ready for the master's table, have a French equivalent; hence: ox versus beef; sheep versus lamb or mutton; pig versus pork, etc.

In the case of Mozambique, the decisive force of the imposition of European languages has been made even stronger by colonial language policies. Post-colonial policies have also maintained the status quo and perpetuated the existence of a minority élite group. Their position, power and command of a
European language is admired and envied by the majority, who are only predominantly proficient in the indigenous African languages which, generally, lack commensurate power and prestige. The colonial and post-colonial language policies are, therefore, worth examining in this context.

1.5.2 - Colonial and Post-colonial Language and Educational Policies

1.5.2.1 - Colonial Language and Educational Policies

Colonial and post-colonial language policies provide a solid basis for the explanation of attitudes towards both European and African languages. To these may be added the cultural policies of the European conquerors, especially in Portuguese and French territories.

According to Spencer (1971b) and Whiteley (1971), the essential ingredients of the policies were that:

- In varying degrees, colonial languages were forced upon the Africans;
- the vernaculars or African indigenous languages were generally discouraged;
- when the African indigenous languages were to be used as media of education, their use was limited to the lower classes of the primary school only (in British colonies, especially, mission schools). Portugal, on the other hand, pursued a policy of using its own language exclusively in education, even in mission schools;
- a cultural gap was maintained between what was 'European' and what was 'African'.

This was particularly pronounced in Portuguese colonies with its avowed assimilationist policies. For example, according to Spencer (1971b, p. 542), in Angola and Mozambique, one of the required qualifications for obtaining the advantageous status of 'assimilado' was the ability to write and speak Portuguese. The same occurred in the French colonies, where the French Metropolitan Ordinance of Villers-Cotteret of 1539 forbade the use of languages other than French for all official purposes within the territories of France. Thus, Spencer's comments:

"Civilisation, for the French, was naturally seen as the product of an extension of French language and culture and this, combined with the strong centralising tendencies of the..."
French policy, placed upon French educational institutions in overseas territories the responsibility for rendering 'our subjects and native wards more capable of playing their part in French civilisation and human progress'" (Spencer, 1971b, p. 543).

Generally, the British, as indicated above, encouraged the use of the indigenous languages as media of instruction at the lower levels of Primary school. In 1816, the Church Missionary Society, drew the attention of its African missions to the necessity and advantages of teaching African children to read their own languages, so that they could be useful to their fellow countrymen, and parents through the reading of the Holy Scriptures and religious tracts. Later, from 1920-21, the Phelps-Stokes Commission, an independent body which had the blessing of the British Colonial Government, did the first systematic investigation of educational systems in West Africa and, in 1922/25, in Southern Africa. The body noted that colonial powers forced their languages upon the colonised and discouraged the vernaculars. France and Portugal were identified as the worst offenders, since they used their own languages, exclusively, in education. The Commission then recommended the use of vernaculars, wherever possible, in the early years of primary education, and English, in secondary education. Here is the summary of the Commission on the aspects to be considered in deciding the issue of languages in education:

"The elements to be considered in determining the language(s) of instruction are

1) - that every people have an inherent right to their Native tongue;

2) - that the multiplicity of tongues shall not be such as to develop misunderstandings and distrust among people who should be friendly and cooperative;

3) - that every group shall be able to communicate directly with those to whom the government is entrusted; and

4) - that an increasing number of Natives shall know, at least, one of the languages of the civilised nations.

In determining the weight of each of these elements it is, of course, necessary to ascertain the local conditions. It is clear that there is comparatively little, if any advantage, in the continuation of a crude dialect with practically no powers of expression. It is also evident that the need for common language is not essential to a large group of people speaking the same language and living under conditions that do not require much intercommunication. It may even be true that someone of the Native languages may be so highly developed as to make possible the translation of the great works of civilisation into that language. With due consideration for all of
these elements and the modifying circumstances, the following recommendations are offered as suggestions to guide governments and educators in determining the usual procedures in most African colonies:

1 - The tribal language should be used in the lower elementary standards or grades.
2 - A Lingua Franca of African origin should be introduced in the middle classes of the school if the area is occupied by large Native groups speaking diverse languages.
3 - The language of the European nation in control should be taught in the upper standards* (Quoted in Schmied, 1961, p. 15).

According to Spencer (1971b, pp. 538 - 539), in response to these recommendations, the British Secretary of State for the Colonies, set up, in 1924, an Advisory Committee on Native Education, which became permanent in 1929.

A report by the Advisory Committee, in 1925, recommended the use of vernacular languages and English in primary education. The second report, in 1927, further highlighted this recommendation and emphasised that the learning of English was one of the major reasons why Africans sent their children to school and that this should not be delayed. Its delay, according to the report, could be interpreted by the Africans, as 'an attempt of Government to hold back the African from legitimate advance in civilisation'(cf. Spencer, 1971b). It is believed that this public demand justified the introduction of bilingualism in some countries such as Botswana, Lesotho and Tanzania. A 1943 Memorandum on Language in African Schools further underscored the need to teach through the vernacular in early stages of education. This view received further support when it was perceived that the learning of vernacular languages could, after all, aid the learning of English. Further, this view received, once again, support when in 1953, UNESCO published a report on the Use of Vernacular Languages in Education in which it was taken as axiomatic that every child should, if possible, receive his early education in his mother tongue, and that, this should continue to be the medium of instruction for, as long as possible (UNESCO, 1968, p. 691). The report argued that a child’s mother tongue was the most suitable medium because:

"Psychologically, it is the system of meaningful signs that in his mind works automatically for expression and

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5 - Spencer (1971b, pp. 538 - 539).
---
understanding. Sociologically, it is the means of identification among the members of the community to which he belongs. Educationally, he learns more quickly through it than through an unfamiliar linguistic medium" (UNESCO, 1953, p. 11).

UNESCO (1968, pp. 689 - 690) defined 'mother tongue' as:

"The language which a person acquires in early years and which, normally, becomes his natural instrument of thought and communication".

The report went on to explain that it was true that a mother tongue was not merely a linguistic system which could, with impunity, be replaced by another language. That a child's mother tongue was the language which allowed him to impose a structure on the universe. It was associated with his thought processes, his sense of identity and his solidarity with his family and environment. As he matured, his mother tongue might become a symbol of regional or national pride, a means of gaining access to knowledge and wisdom. And it would, usually, be associated with feelings of warmth, intimacy, spontaneity.

On the other hand, Skutnab-Kangas (1981, p. 14), defines mother tongue as being the language in which one:

- thinks in;
- dreams in;
- counts in.

Furthermore, she puts forward a number of criteria that can be used to define mother tongue. Such criteria, according to Skutnab-Kangas (1981, pp. 13 - 15) are: origin, competence, function and attitudes. She goes on to summarise these criteria in a table adopted below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criterion</th>
<th>Definition of &quot;mother tongue&quot;</th>
<th>Discipline</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Origin</td>
<td>The language one learns first (the language in which one established one's first last communication relationship)</td>
<td>Sociology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Competence</td>
<td>The language one knows best</td>
<td>Linguistics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Function</td>
<td>The language one uses most</td>
<td>Sociolinguistics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attitudes</td>
<td>The language one identifies with (inter-</td>
<td>Social Psychology - Sociolog</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1.7 - Summary of Mother Tongue Definition
Most people would agree that, ideally speaking, all children have the right to speak their mother tongue and be educated through the mother tongue, and that every language deserves to be maintained. Language use in all domains (home, education, workplace, religion, etc.) ensures maintenance. Also, several studies have pointed out the benefits of learning through the mother tongue (cf. Annamalai, 1980; Pattanayak, 1981, 1986; Grosjean, 1982; Hakuta, 1986). As noted earlier, the benefits of learning through the mother tongue were recognised as early as 1953 in the UNESCO declaration, which explicitly stated the right of every child to be educated through the mother tongue. Although the importance of educating through the mother tongue and, thereby, maintaining it is accepted, in principle, many practical issues have made the task somewhat difficult in Southern Africa in general, and Mozambique, in particular.

In Mozambique, for example, a large number of mother tongues do not have a script. Many lack printed materials; still others lack literary traditions. Often the country has other pressing demands (such as food, clothing, and housing) which must take priorities over safeguarding and developing indigenous languages. Further, different language groups have different attitudes toward their native language. Some have a strong attachment to their language and view it as a symbol of their identity, whereas others view it as a language of minimum utility. It is in such contexts that the maintenance of indigenous languages as mother tongues becomes difficult.

In terms of linguistic complexity, a substantial proportion of the children in the world are growing up in countries where a large number of languages are spoken. The population of most countries includes one or several languages. For example, in Papua New Guinea, arguably the linguistically most complex country in the world, more than 750 languages are spoken by a population of just over 3
millions. Similar situations exist in other countries (e.g. Nigeria, Tanzania, etc.). To illustrate the problems linguistically complex nations face in trying to educate the masses, I will use an example from a country I am familiar with, Mozambique. According to the 1980 census, approximately 25 languages are spoken (Machungo, & Matusse, 1989). Out of these, only one is taught as a medium of instruction. The language policy in education mandates that only Portuguese should be used in schools. Most indigenous languages have no script, some have small numbers of speakers. For these reasons and others, parents and policy makers seem happy with this state of affairs because they fear that their children would suffer economically if they did not learn the official language of the country. Indigenous languages are thus sacrificed in favour of learning more "useful", "powerful", "prestigious" language.

Research in language maintenance shows repeatedly that minority languages become extinct when communities come under the economic/political influence of a more dominant language. In such cases, people choose to switch to a language that is considered more powerful and prestigious and that will help them with upward mobility. Sometimes, even languages with literary traditions meet the same fate, as in the case of Gothic and Hittite, which have extensive written materials from earlier periods but are classified as dead languages today. Similar was the fate of immigrant languages in the United States (Fishman, Nahiry, Hoffman, & Hayde, 1966; Mackay, & Wong, 1988; Veltman, 1983). Recently, young generations, in search of their roots are showing an interest in reviving these languages (Cordasco, 1975; Fishman, Gertner, Lowry, & Milan, 1985).

Myers-Scotton (1989) has argued that urban bilinguals in Africa have multiple social identities, which are revealed through their linguistic expertise in different languages. In Southern Africa, European languages are the languages which identify urban bilinguals as educated persons; are associated with such power functions as education and employment, while indigenous African languages are the languages which identify their solidarity with members of their cultures. Given such an analysis, it is not surprising that we find speakers using evidence of both their identities in the home setting, where they will be talking about a variety of topics as summarised in Table 1.8:
A Sociopsychological Survey of Language Attitudes in Southern Africa: A Case Study of Mozambique

Table 1.8 - Reported language use by 60 form three (high school junior) bilinguals in Zimbabwe

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Language used and percentage of users</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shona</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church meetings where men and women are gathered</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When travelling by bus or train</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talking to fellow students</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In the sports field at school</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language used at home</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At political meetings</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talking to educated people</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talking to your sweetheart</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In the classroom</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talking to missionaries</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At conferences of teachers</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Writing friendly letters</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Writing business letters</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


In fact, experts after consideration of all aspects of the mother tongue question have concluded that:

"Ideally, the medium of instruction for a child living in its own language environment should be its mother tongue" (Tiffen, 1968, p. 73).

As Hutchison (1993, p. 7) observes:

"Before beginning school, children are exposed to very few academic stimuli in any language. On entering school, children must make the difficult adjustment to school and begin the process of acquiring academic skills in a foreign language while, simultaneously, learning the foreign language".

Furthermore, it cannot be argued that they will get assistance from their parents as most parents do not speak Portuguese or English at home. Therefore, the home environment does not always support what the children do at school.

As a result of these developments, in another report, in 1972, UNESCO asserted that:

"Teaching, at least, initial literacy in the mother tongue may be advisable even in the situations where the scanty number of speakers does not warrant the large scale production of educational materials" (UNESCO, 1972, in Pattanayak, 1981, p. 56).
On the other hand, arguing about the need for mother tongue instruction, Pattanayak (1981, pp. 55-57) noted that it was not receiving instruction in the mother tongue, but through the mother tongue as opposed to education through a language different from the home language of the learner that should be the focus of discussion. Nevertheless, he recognised that, with the pedagogues and professionals making language a major factor in the process of certification in schooling and thus, converting it into a factor in the race for privileges, this focus was blurred.

He went on to add that instruction in the mother tongue helped in the search for self-affirmation, established group identity, satisfied the national urge for cultural rootedness and avoided fanaticism. It brought the child into a harmonious relationship with his environment and maximised the opportunities offered by early learning experience. It permitted the adult learner to see issues in the perspective of the common man. The mother tongue curriculum maker, therefore, should understand the role of the mother tongue in concept formation, critical thinking, creativity, and imparting social values.

Pattanayak (1981, p. 56) summarises his argument thus:

"The mother tongue is the true vehicle of mother-wit. Another medium of speech may bring with it a current of new ideas. But the mother tongue is the one with the air in which a man is born. It is through the vernacular (refined though not weakened by scholarship and taste) that the new conceptions of the mind should pass their way to birth in speech. This is almost universally true, except in cases so rare (like that of Joseph Conrad) as to emphasise the general rule. A man's native speech is almost like his shadow, inseparable from his personality. In our way of speech we must each, as the old saying runs, drink water out of his own cistern. For each one of us is a member of a community. We share its energy and its instincts; its memories, however dim, of old and far off things. Through its mother tongue the infant first learns to name the things it sees or feels or tastes or hears, as well as the ties of kindred and colours of good and evil. It is the mother tongue which gives the adult mind the relief and illumination of utterance as it clutches after the aid of words then new ideas or judgments spring from the wordless recesses of thought of feeling under the stimulus of physical experience or of emotions."
In a later article (Pattanayak, 1986, in Spolsky [Ed.]), he gives a clear and eloquent argument for the fundamental value of the mother tongue for all pupils. In that article, he goes beyond asserting that mother tongue education is a fundamental human right by setting out a number of pragmatic reasons for its usefulness and economic value. These reasons, according to Pattanayak (1986) are that the mother tongue is an essential sector because:

"a) it offers equal opportunity to large majority of people to participate in national reconstruction;
b) it gives greater access to education and personal development to a greater number of people;
c) it frees knowledge from the preserves of limited élites and by enabling greater number of people to interact with science lays the foundation for appropriate technology;
d) it demands decentralisation of information and ensures free as opposed to controlled media; and

e) it provides greater opportunity for the political involvement of greater number of groups and thus is a greater defence of democracy" (Pattanayak, 1986, in Spolsky [Ed.], 1986, p. 12).

Similarly, in Southern Africa, Chebane, et al. (1993) define mother tongue as a language of cultural identity, unity and national pride. He goes on to add that, as such, initial instruction in mother tongue (L1) has been seen as reinforcing these in the child.

According to Sibanda (1992, p. 45):

"Instruction in L1 helps to develop and enhance positive self concept and fosters cultural identity in the learner in that his language is used and valued and so he develops feelings of self worth".

He goes on to add that, in most cases, when a child first comes to school, the language he knows and understands better is the mother tongue. His surroundings are unfamiliar and, sometimes, objects in the classroom would be strange. The child, however, gets solace from the fact that he understands the language spoken. This helps him to adjust to the new environment.

As the child learns in L1, she does not find concepts and ideas strange since a lot of them are already familiar. Sibanda (1992, p. 46) clearly states that:

"When a child learns in a language he is familiar with, the chances of success are high and, therefore, he gets into the..."
habit of succeeding every time he is learning ... when he starts learning to read in L2 he will use that habit and will try hard to succeed".

In reiteration, Gudschinsky (1977, p. 250) points out that:

"Children who are monolingual speakers ... In general, learn a second as a medium of instruction more readily and more effectively if they are taught to read and write their own language first".

Studies such as the one done by Cummins (1979) reported by Hutchison (1993, p. 6) support the notion that the first language instruction in formative years of primary school helps the learner have a much greater facility when he or she reaches the moment of taking on the foreign or second language. Such a child will, in the long run, have a proficiency level with accompanying skills far more developed in both languages due to the longer exposure to learning in his or her first language.

This is further supported by Afolayan, et al. (1980) who state that

"The child who can learn to read first in his language has an advantage. A second language presents a lot of problems for a child, he has to recognise sounds, sound patterns, link various sounds with meaning and then make these sounds and also use them. There are, however, some points that need to be looked into to have some understanding of this topic".

Ideally, therefore, educators should build on early knowledge acquired in the mother tongue. Table 1.9, illustrates the use of indigenous languages in education in Mozambique and in its neighbouring countries. Although this seems to be the policy, it has no application in the former Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique as shown in the table below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Language Levels (Lower Primary)</th>
<th>Upper Primary and beyond</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Angola</td>
<td>Portuguese</td>
<td>all grades</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Botswana</td>
<td>Setswana</td>
<td>grades 1 &amp; 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lesotho</td>
<td>Sesotho</td>
<td>grades 1 &amp; 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malawi</td>
<td>Nyanja</td>
<td>grades 1 &amp; 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mozambique</td>
<td>Portuguese</td>
<td>all grades</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Namibia</td>
<td>indigenous</td>
<td>grades 1 &amp; 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>indigenous</td>
<td>grades 1 &amp; 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swaziland</td>
<td>siSwati</td>
<td>grades 1 &amp; 2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1.9 - The Use of Indigenous Languages on Education in Southern Africa
However, although one is sympathetic to the idea of mother tongue education, one does recognise that the results of research in this area are inconclusive, as suggested in the following statements:

a) "However, in view of the lack of satisfactory evidence, perhaps the wisest counsel to follow, at the present time, is to say that the linguistic effects of teaching in a second language are unknown" (Macnamara, 1966, p. 133, after five studies were reviewed, including Macnamara’s own).

b) "The evidence about the difficulties of a foreign medium at the school stage thus seems inconclusive. The superiority of the mother tongue has not been everywhere demonstrated..." (Dakin, Tiffen, and Widdowson, 1966, p. 27; four studies reviewed).

c) "The twenty-four studies or reports summarised varied in every conceivable way, and most provided no substantial evidence as to which approach is better" (Engle, 1975, p. 26; 24 studies reviewed).

d) "For a number of years, many educators have accepted as axiomatic the idea that the best medium of instruction for a child is his mother tongue. . . Are there empirical data which unequivocally support this position? The answer would seem to be no. Does this mean the position is untenable? Once again, the answer would seem to be no" (Tucker, 1977, pp. 37-38; three studies reviewed).

Forty-five years and numerous studies after the publication of the UNESCO Report, the unanimous opinion seems to be that nobody actually knows whether using the mother tongue as the medium of instruction is better than using a second language or not.

A vivid example of this situation was the fact UNESCO itself appears to have dropped the principle of vernacular initial education in the then Rhodesia in 1964 in the face of what they saw as the confusing sequence: mother tongue vernacular - official vernacular - English; having concluded that English should be the medium throughout (cf. Schmied, 1991, p. 106) This conclusion is certainly open to challenge, even though the potential of English in what was then

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Rhodesia was markedly greater than it is in Mozambique, but it indicates the gap between ideological principles and their implementation.

Nevertheless, from the perspective of language attitudes, the above developments seem to be very significant. In the Portuguese territories, a solid base was created in the minds of Africans to look down on their languages and cultures, as Mondiane (1983, p. 60) rightly observes:

"... in implementing the policy objectives of educating Africans to speak only Portuguese, embrace Christianity, and feel as intensely Portuguese as the metropolitan citizens themselves, the Portuguese government had, as intermediate result, the creation of a small class that looked down upon its own traditional languages and cultures, but was not sufficiently educated to use Portuguese efficiently".

Conversely, the metropolitan language and culture was seen as the ideal language and culture. This attitude of denigration towards one's own language and the exaltation of the European language has not been easy to remove in Mozambique. Its scars are still visible today, particularly in the educational system and language policies of former Portuguese colonies, such as Angola and Mozambique.

Although the British and the Germans encouraged the use of vernacular languages in their territories, the fact that they encouraged the use of such languages only at the lower levels of the primary school (as illustrated in Table 1.3 above), denied the languages any form of formal development beyond that level. This single action, coupled with the fact that frontiers of knowledge have continued to widen since, is chiefly responsible for the fact that, up to the present, indigenous languages are not, at all, used for education in Mozambique, and beyond the lower grades of the primary school in, virtually, all Southern Africa. This fact alone speaks volumes for language attitudes. Therefore, it appears that many Mozambicans, and other Southern Africans have grown firmly to believe that European languages are superior to their indigenous languages, because they are exclusively used in Africa in the expression of modern science and technology, and in higher education. Conversely, it is felt that indigenous languages are inferior because, owing to their present level of development, they have not been used as media of higher education, as illustrated in Table 1.9.
above. Table 1.10 summarises the structure of post-colonial education systems in Mozambique and its neighbouring countries.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Primary Education</th>
<th>Secondary Education</th>
<th>Tertiary Education</th>
<th>No. of Universities (main)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Angola</td>
<td>4 years</td>
<td>4 years</td>
<td>2 years</td>
<td>1 (Agostinho Neto University)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Botswana</td>
<td>7 years</td>
<td>5 years</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 (University of Botswana)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lesotho</td>
<td>7 years</td>
<td>3 years</td>
<td>2 years</td>
<td>1 (National University of Lesotho)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malawi</td>
<td>5 years</td>
<td>3 years</td>
<td>2 years</td>
<td>1 (University of Malawi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mozambique</td>
<td>5 years</td>
<td>2 years</td>
<td>2 years</td>
<td>2 (Eduardo Mondaine University)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Namibia</td>
<td>3 years</td>
<td>3 years</td>
<td>3 years</td>
<td>2 (University of Namibia)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>3 years</td>
<td>3 years</td>
<td>3 years</td>
<td>21 (University of South Africa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swaziland</td>
<td>7 years</td>
<td>3 years</td>
<td>5 years</td>
<td>1 (University of Swaziland)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanzania</td>
<td>5 years</td>
<td>2 years</td>
<td>3 years</td>
<td>3 (University of Dar Es Salaam)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zambia</td>
<td>7 years</td>
<td>2 years</td>
<td>3 years</td>
<td>2 (University of Zambia)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zimbabwe</td>
<td>3 years</td>
<td>2 years</td>
<td>4 years</td>
<td>2 (University of Zimbabwe)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Adapted from Urch (1982, pp. 135-143).

It is one's belief that such negative attitudes towards indigenous languages, in the domain of education, would have changed, drastically, had post-colonial language and educational policy-makers taken bold steps to install the use of indigenous languages in the educational domain, in general, and higher education, in particular. However, to a large extent, post-colonial policy-makers in Mozambique and other countries of Southern Africa have, largely, mixed line of language and educational-policies bequeathed to them by the colonial masters.

However, one is tempted to believe that those post-colonial policy-makers of Mozambique and other countries of Southern Africa were forced to do this, because they faced what UNESCO termed "Practical Limitations in the Use of Vernaculars in School" (Social or material and Linguistic factors) namely: lack of textbooks and other educational material; lack of general reading material; a shortage of trained teachers, and; inadequacy of vocabulary (UNESCO, 1968, pp. 693-697); hence, its observation:

"The difficulty is to find or train competent authors or translators; to obtain supplies of materials (such as paper, type and machinery) in days of general shortage; to distribute the finished product under conditions of great distances and poor communications; and above all, to find the money. These are practical problems, extremely difficult and of the highest importance" (UNESCO, 1968, p. 694).
1.5.2.2 - Post Colonial Language and Educational Policies

As Southern African political leaders prepare to meet the twenty first century, there are some persistent concerns which face formal education throughout the region. These concerns can be found in five overarching and often interrelated areas. They are: (1) The African heritage, what to retain, modify, or replace; (2) The colonial heritage; (3) The language problem in the schools; (4) The dichotomy between education for self-reliance versus education for technological and industrial advancement; and (5) Education for national unity. This section explores these five themes in light of the experiences gained in the development of education over the past two decades.

1 - The African Heritage: What to Retain, to Modify or Replace

Across the region, educators are seriously reviewing what can be retained of their cultural heritage and how the schools can help in this process. After independence, political expediency necessitated an expansion of the educational system inherited from the metropolitan power. However, the new leaders soon realised that their cultural tradition provided a needed social cohesion. During the colonial period Western oriented education often divorced students from their culture and moved them toward a different lifestyle. Often this lifestyle led to a rapid social disintegration of ethnic communities, the dysfunctionality of traditional family life, a refusal by the youth to return to the land, and a rise in delinquency and crime.

In a desire to deal with these problems and develop social stability in the face of rapid change, the leaders increasingly turned to the schools. Education was viewed as a vehicle to promote what was best in the African heritage. The challenge was to determine what should be introduced into the educational system. What was needed was that part of African tradition which would regenerate social unity and promote what was good and respected in the culture. It was hoped that such a tradition would assert the rights and interests of the people, help to reject foreign ideologies and provide a foundation for continuity. It would also promote what was unique in the Southern African personality.
However, while searching for those unique qualities, Southern African educators were aware of the danger in keeping emotionally alive a traditional system that was inadequate for the modern world. In some instances charges were made about a harkening back to the "good old days" rather than coming to terms with modernity.

One Southern African individual who offered concrete examples of how to utilise the African heritage in a modern educational system was Julius K. Nyerere, the former President of Tanzania. Nyerere saw the system inherited from the colonial power as an elitist system which divorced the youth from their society and engendered the belief that all worthwhile knowledge was acquired from books and educated people. The new role education was to foster was outlined in his "Education for Self-Reliance" Manifesto (Nyerere, 1968). Nyerere stated that education must prepare young people for the work they will be called upon to do in the society which exists... a rural society where improvement would depend upon the efforts of the people in agriculture and in village development. The schools had to foster the social goals of living and working together for the common good. This meant they must emphasise cooperative endeavours, not individual advancement. They must also stress concepts of equality and the responsibility to give service; and in particular, the schools must counteract the temptation toward intellectual arrogance.

Another writer on African scene, (although not in Southern Africa itself) who has discussed the need to retain the best in African tradition, was Babs Fafunwa (1982). Fafunwa stated that in traditional African society the purpose of education was clear. The guiding principle was functionalism. In particular, education must emphasise social responsibility, job orientation, political participation and spiritual and moral values (Fafunwa, 1982, p. 9).

The challenge to retain and incorporate the best Southern African tradition in the modern classroom still remains. Most nations have a philosophical stance which emphasises the need and some nations have curriculum material which addresses it. However, the colonial heritage remains and directly relates to what
is taught and what is learned. All nations recognise this ... some are attempting
to do something about it (e.g. Botswana, Lesotho, South Africa, Namibia,
Tanzania, etc.).

2 - The Colonial Heritage

Southern African leaders today are faced with the task of reevaluating and
reshaping those institutions imposed on them by the former colonial power. One
such institution is education, for these emerging nations have inherited a formal
educational structure not linked to the realities of present Southern African needs.

For most Southern African nations the political colonial experience began with
Berlin Conference of 1884/85 and ended in the 1960s, 1970, 1980s, or even
1990s with independence. Until the 1960s only one independent Southern
African state existed - South Africa. However, as noted earlier (Introduction),
contact with Europeans took place long before the Berlin Conference. For formal
education this primarily meant missionaries, who had begun to penetrate the
region by the start of the nineteenth century.

Education was seen by most missionaries as an essential part of evangelism and
they established schools soon after they arrived. To propagate the faith meant
that the African had to learn to read and write, for literacy was necessary to
understand the scripture and spread it to others. In carrying out their mission the
missionaries did not always recognise the traditional religions and cultural
values. Instead, they were apt to sweep aside things African and replace them
with their own Western values. Before long, the schools were dominated by a
Western-styled literary education. This is what the missionary-educators
understood and this is what they taught.

When colonial governments began to establish tighter controls over their
subjects, they saw the need to support the missions in their effort to promote
religion and European values. However, they also saw the need for schools to
prepare African youth for service to the colonial government and to the economic
interests of the European trader. In some cases this meant a form of trade or
industrial education. Divergent thought between the colonial government and
various mission denominations over the role of education led to different educational policies in different colonies. However, according to Fafunwa (1982, p. 21), whatever the policy, there was always a consistent and conscious effort to educate the Africans away from their culture.

Often the African student was the hapless victim as the colonial authorities and the missionaries clashed over the form schooling should take - literacy education for religious indoctrination or preparation for semi-skilled jobs needed in the emerging Western-styled economy. Whether the missionaries were Christian or Islamic they were the primary educators in the early days of colonialism and they taught what they knew best - religious education.

As colonialism expanded, so did the semblance of more structured system of education. For the most part, the schools became more bookish with literary education dominating. This was the kind of education the Europeans found at home; it was the kind they were prepared to teach; it was the best they had to offer. There was little doubt that the Western-styled curriculum moved African students away from their cultural heritage. In the minds of the colonial leaders this is what they intended to do. It was not long before African students saw colonial education as a means to move beyond their culture and the rural-oriented manual labour associated with it. A small minority took note of the semblance of Western society brought by the colonialists and opted to become a part of it no matter how it affected their indigenous way of life.

By the time political independence came to the region there was a small group of Western educated Africans who became the new leaders of their nations. They saw in their schools an instrument to build a more cohesive society while moving their countries forward. The challenge was to determine what to maintain, what to remove, and what to add to a formal educational system built by colonial rulers. The central question for which there is not an easy answer is - in a school system that is elitist in its orientation, bookish and examination ridden, what is Western, what is modern and what is universal?
3 - The Language Problem in the Schools

Nowhere is the dilemma of traditionalism versus modernism more evident than in the language policy found in educational systems throughout Southern Africa. The policy, and the ensuring practice, remain an explosive issue in many countries today. While demands exist for a "national language", it is apparent that the ethnic tongues used in the nineteenth century are not sufficient to prepare the youth for the twenty-first century. Policies vary throughout the region between the need to promote social and political cohesiveness through an African vernacular and the need for a European language to assist in the modernisation process.

Some educators view the problem of language diversification as the most obvious barrier to progress on the region. The multiplicity of traditional languages is viewed as an impairment to inter-African cooperation and the possibility of economic advancement through increased contact with multinational corporations throughout the world. These educators have recommended a language policy which would help establish an élite group with the ability to communicate effectively in the two main European languages found in Southern Africa - English and Portuguese.

Other educators are quick to reject the use of a foreign tongue in Southern African schools. They stress the importance of the mother tongue to help safeguard their cultural heritage. An African tongue is seen as indispensable for understanding the richness of a tradition forms. Viewed from the perspective of national unity, an African tongue helps to develop a deeper appreciation of common linkages. These educators feel that a culture cannot endure very long separated from its language. With the majority of students never experiencing more than a basic education, exposure to a foreign language at an early age could help to remove children from the reality of their local environment, cause alienation between generations, and lead to the rejection of the African way of life.

For many countries one answer to the language dilemma has been a form of multilingual education. The extent of multilingualism in the region makes it
unique. It is not unusual for students to be exposed to their mother tongue, a regional vernacular and a European language while still in primary school (mainly in ex-British colonies). How to balance these languages in an educational system which must serve both rural and urban areas is still an open question. This is especially the case when fluency in a European language helps remove individuals from the harshness of rural life toward economic opportunity in the city. Yet nations need talented people to remain in the rural areas since agriculture is still the primary form of economic development in Southern Africa.

4 - Education for Self-Reliance or Technological Advancement

The need to balance rural realities with urban opportunities extends beyond language on the Southern African region. While the 1960s, 1970s and 1980/90s brought political independence to the region, it is obvious that the economy is still closely tied to the former colonial power. Most nations of the world are dependent upon others for raw materials, markets, capital and technology. However, it is the extent of the dependence, and the narrow limits within it, which trouble the new leaders of Southern Africa.

Most nations have inherited economies that are vulnerable to the demands of the western world. Often economic development is tied to the export of a few raw materials, the import of Western finished products, and the lack of indigenous skilled people to help with the diversification of the economy. To alter this dependence is seen as an important step in decolonisation. The manner in which this could be accomplished continues to be a subject of discussion, dispute and government policies.

One school of thought believes that development and economic growth can only come from inside their country; another school maintains that foreign aid, investment, and participation are essential in order to develop an economy which can compete on the world market. The government policy which emanates from these diverse opinions directly affects the educational system. Should the youth be schooled to produce a self-reliant economy based on the raw materials available or should they be educated to compete in a technologically advancing world; or is it possible to balance both while moving forward economically?
The Southern African nation of Tanzania is often seen as a country which pursued a policy of self-reliance and an educational system designed to support it. With independence the government developed a policy to bring about full participation of the people in the nation’s economy while reducing dependency on the international marketplace. Toward this end the government called for establishment of large communities where people would live and work together for the common good. The communities were to be organised around the principles of equality and cooperation, established on the basis of local conditions, and operate for the good of the country. Tanzania was to move from being a nation of individual peasant producers to a nation of large villages where the people would directly cooperate. The villages were identified as the main source of economic growth in rural areas and they were to provide their inhabitants with an opportunity to overcome social and economic inequalities.

The schools were expected to help in the movement toward self-reliant villages. The teachers in the village school were expected to join their students in work and study, both in the classroom and in the agricultural fields. They also were asked to help their students develop proper attitudes toward cooperative work and to blur the distinction between manual labour and white collar work. The schools were to be the centre of community activity and to provide a nationwide learning system designed to develop understanding and enthusiasm for the principle of self-reliance.

While Tanzania pursued a policy of self-reliance, several nations have attempted to modernise their economies and have turned to their educational systems to help. Zimbabwe and Botswana appear to have been some examples when they found themselves with large farms and expanding modern economies. Kenya also has served as an example of a nation which attempted to balance efforts in agriculture and industrial development. Most recently, Ghana has attempted to establish policies which would encourage private incentives and the development of local and national industries.

These nations recognised the need to develop educational systems that would
produce an educated labour force equipped to handle technological and industrial development. At times this meant an expansion of technical and vocational secondary schools. It has meant the emergence of specialised post-secondary institutions to produce an educated cadre with specific managerial and technical skills. Often universities were enlisted to provide the kind of professional education which would promote a modern economy.

Whatever procedure was utilised to link education with modern economic development, nations are finding it difficult to balance educational qualifications with middle and high level personnel power. At times this is attributed to unrealistic employment objectives. However, in most cases national economies are not growing fast enough to accommodate the growing number of educated people. One result is large numbers of unemployed people in urban areas.

Whether nations pursue a policy of education for self-reliance, or for technological advancement, or a twin policy of both, difficult financial decisions must be made. Money for education is limited. What should the balance be between producing schools for everyone in order to help people meet basic needs and become self-reliant and supporting an educational system which will produce an elite corps of skilled personnel to further economic and modern development? The question is still under discussion in the Southern African region.

5 - Education for National Unity

To build a single nation out of a multiplicity of cultures is not an easy objective. The majority of political leaders on the region face the challenge of moving their citizens away from local forms of social and political organisations, usually based on ethnicity, toward identity and allegiance to a modern nation. The schools are expected to be one major instrument in this process in several ways. The most obvious way is through what is taught in the schools. New books are being written and curriculum developed which give clear and positive information about the nation and its leaders. In addition to the formal curriculum, national songs are being sung, national pledges being made, and flags are being saluted. The goal is to shape the students' attitudes and values toward a national identity.
Teachers also are expected to assist in political socialisation. Their training is often designed to help them better understand the political system and their role in promoting it. Their attitudes and interests become important in countering local influences and in inculcating a sense of obligation and loyalty to the nation. The goal of universal primary education, now found throughout the region, is also associated with nation-building. With the majority of youth in the schools, a common network of communication can be established and a relationship developed between the government and the governed. Primary education also can produce literate citizens who can read government directed newspapers and reports.

Often the process of national integration is slow and difficult. While governments can exercise a strong influence in determining the purpose of education, students must identify with the purpose. At times there is a gap between what students and their parents expect from schooling and what the government wants. There can be a substantial difference between the teaching and learning of civic education for examination purposes and the actual following of the principles outside the classroom. In spite of these constraints, nation-building still remain one of the primary reasons why governments strongly support education. How the schools can best be utilised as an instrument of this purpose is still under discussion and debate in the region.

In general, then, post-colonial policies in Mozambique and other countries of Southern Africa can be summarised in the following way:

- Ex-colonial languages have been strengthened in their roles as official languages. Thus, for example, Portuguese remains the official language of administration and government in Angola and Mozambique, and English in Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe, even though a majority of the citizenry are incompetent in these European languages;
- Educational systems, which have widened and extended beyond what they were in colonial days, have been further used to entrench and perpetuate the feeling of the inviolable worth of colonial languages. The use of indigenous languages as a media of instruction is still largely restricted to lower grades in the primary schools in South Africa, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Thus, in the universities of the above-mentioned English-speaking countries, English remains the
medium of instruction in virtually all disciplines except, sometimes, in the teaching of indigenous languages (as Portuguese also is in Angola and Mozambique).

It is significant and worthy of note that major regional indigenous languages which were, and still are used as media of education even at lower levels (or studied as subjects in schools), especially in former British territories, enjoy comparatively favourable attitudes regarding their worth and prestige (e.g. Kiswahili, Shona, Ndebele, Zulu, Xhosa, to mention but a few) than those which were and are not (e.g. former Portuguese territories).

In the few cases where post-colonial language and educational policies have favoured and recognised the need for the development of indigenous languages, the attitudes towards such languages have, accordingly, been affected, depending on the impact of other sociolinguistic variables.

For example, Whiteley (1971, p. 554), commenting on post-colonial developments, as they relate to Kiswahili in Tanzania as being particularly pertinent for underscoring how sociohistorical forces impinge on the evolution of language attitudes, says:

"What is new is the new dignity which the language has acquired since independence, plus a new recognition that many of the occasions in which English would formerly have been used, are now perfectly adequately served by Kiswahili. Kiswahili is widely used in the administration, the Party, the Trade Unions, the lower courts and on the radio. It is the language of the National Assembly and of Town Councils. It is used as medium throughout the primary school and is taken as a subject at the school certificate level (after twelve year's schooling)."

In spite of whatever limitations may be found in the exaltation of Kiswahili to great glory, its current reputation, esteem, prestige and worth in Tanzania and even outside, is an eloquent testimony that attitudes invested in languages tend to be commensurate with the functions the languages are actually seen as performing in society.

In Mozambique and other Southern African countries, attitudinal configurations towards languages are particularly coloured by the apartheid policy. Hence, in Namibia, as already noted, policies have been formulated that forcibly entrench
English and downgrade Afrikaans. This is because the former is seen as the language of liberation, the latter as the language of the oppressors. English has, thus, been declared the official language, even though spoken by only a very small number of the population (i.e. positive imposition). An official decision seems to have been taken to do away with Afrikaans. For example, SWAPO decided that English was to be an official language in independent Namibia, and that the mother tongues would be media of education at lower primary level and not neglected thereafter (SWAPO, 1982, p. 40; Commonwealth Secretariat & SWAPO, 1984). According to SWAPO (1982), the intention was to replace Afrikaans, then lingua franca in Namibia and the medium of education from upper primary level and sometimes earlier, which was seen as the language of oppression, by English, which was seen paradoxically, as a language of liberation. According to Phillipson, Skutnabb-Kangas & Africa (1986), in 1986 less than 1% of the population of 11/2 million had English as their mother tongue, while 15% had Afrikaans, and only a small proportion were fluent in English as second or foreign language (Phillipson, Skutnab-Kangas & Africa, 1986, in Spolsky [Ed.], 1986, p. 77). In Mozambique, on the other hand, although Portuguese was deeply associated with colonialism, apparently, it was found to be the only option for national integration and unity reasons. That is, it was also associated with unity, acceptability, familiarity, feasibility, science and technology, and wider communication.

The picture of the impact of the apartheid policy on language attitudes is even clearer in South Africa, where Afrikaans is, generally, viewed by the black population, as a language of the oppressors. The Afrikaner nationalist party enforced a language policy that was aimed at developing its language as the lingua franca, language of education and culture and to make it a strong competitor with English\(^6\). When the confrontation with the police occurred in 1976, African students and other groups were protesting against the white government's insistence that their educational curricula be presented in the Afrikaans language. In commenting on this situation to the press, African leaders made the following statement, reported in a London newspaper, the Times (23 June 1979): "The situation has unearthed the innermost frustrations of black people which were hidden from the outside world. Although there is a prevalent belief in some
\[\text{Abdulaziz (1992).}\]
quarters that Afrikaans as a medium of instruction was not a direct positive factor in these riots, this is not so. Afrikaans was forced down Black students just as much as the Trust Land Act, pass laws, and migratory labour...". For Africans in South Africa, Afrikaans was undoubtedly seen as a very potent symbol of white domination and oppression. It could be argued that their being forced to 'taste it in their mouths' was perceived by Africans as an intolerant, abhorrent attack on their social identity. It can be concluded, therefore, that the Soweto riot of 1976 was a sad, but eloquent, demonstration of how insensitivity to language attitudes could cause humanly-costly political reverberations.

In sum, colonial and post-colonial language and educational policies, have played, and still play, a decisive role in the evolution of attitudes towards languages. Generally, policies invest and charge languages with particular functions. The functions performed by each language are evaluated by the citizenry and languages are then ranked, accordingly. Languages perceived as 'not performing', generally, tend to rank very low on the attitudinal scale, especially, in the domains in which their perceived non-performance is considered most conspicuous.

1.5.3 - Legal and Constitutional Provisions

Legal and constitutional provisions relate to the issue of policies. They give weight to language and educational policies and, consequently, serve to further entrench particular attitudes towards languages. In general, they have been used in Mozambique to legitimise imperial languages and entrench them in a position of esteem. On the other hand, they often create conditions that, virtually, result in the stigmatisation and ostracisation of indigenous languages in particular domains. In some cases, it appears to have been inadvertently used to generate both negative and positive attitudes towards languages, depending on which perspective you see the case.

A clear example of this is that during the Portuguese rule in Mozambique, indigenous languages were discouraged to the extent that there was a legal provision that nothing could appear in print in an indigenous language without a concurrent translation in Portuguese. For example, Mondlane (1983, p. 60)
A Sociopsychological Survey of Language Attitudes in Southern Africa:
A Case Study of Mozambique

quotes Cardinal Cerejeira, former Patriarch of Lisbon as having written:

“We [the Portuguese] try to teach the native population both in breadth and depth to (teach them) reading, writing and arithmetic, not to make 'doctors' of them . . . To educate and instruct them so as to make them prisoners of the soil and to protect them from the lure of the towns, the path of which, with devotion and courage, the Catholic missionaries chose, the path of good sense and of political and social security for the province . . . Schools are necessary, yes, but schools where we teach the native the path of human dignity and the grandeur of the nation which protects him” (Mondiane, 1983, p. 60).

Mondiane goes on to conclude that in implementing the policy objectives of educating Africans to speak only Portuguese, embrace Christianity and feel as intensely Portuguese as the metropolitan citizens themselves, the Portuguese government has decreed that only one language, Portuguese, is to be taught in schools under its jurisdiction in Africa.

According to Mondiane (1983), whatever the long-range prospects for this approach, the intermediate result was the creation of a small class that looked down upon its own traditional languages and culture, but was not sufficiently educated to use Portuguese efficiently. Obviously this situation has changed since independence.

This study has already referred, also, to the Metropolitan Ordinance of Villers-Cotteret in 1539 (see 1.2.2 above), which forbade the use of languages other than French for all official purposes in former French territories.

In Mozambique, educational ordinances such as the one implied in the quotation above, made Portuguese the language of instruction in schools, and made certification in it a prerequisite for jobs in government offices and many commercial firms. Up to today, in Mozambique, pupils without a credit pass in Portuguese are disadvantaged and often have little hope of pursuing any course of study at university level. Such requirements, no doubt, affect attitudes tremendously in that, willy-nilly, they convey the message to the young heart that one language is more important than another, or at least, that knowledge of one language means progress, whereas knowledge of another, usually an indigenous
language, does not count as far as progress, vertical mobility, and 'making it', are concerned. Attitudes are, naturally, formed towards the languages, accordingly. Very often, informal 'laws' created by classroom teachers, reinforce the impact of formal laws and contribute to the building of particular attitudes about the worth of particular languages. Thus, in Mozambique and other countries of Southern Africa, upper primary and secondary school pupils, were penalised 'for speaking the vernacular'. For example, during colonial times, as one entered the premises of some schools, (e.g. in capital cities), one would see a notice "English Only" or "Portuguese Only" (e.g. it is suspected that in Botswana, children are still being punished if they use their mother tongue in the school playground). Those who take this line seem to believe that to learn a second language well, it is important that it be used as a medium of instruction right from the start.

Consequently, each pupil was normally expected to speak the European language, which was the medium of instruction in schools. Sometimes, a few strokes of the cane were the penalty. In some other contexts, some form of manual labour had to be carried out by those who 'broke the law'. In other cases still, financial levies were imposed. Such informal laws and the penalties pupils suffered tended to leave long-lasting imprints in the minds of pupils who were banned in the school environment from speaking the language in which they were most competent, their mother tongue. At the very least, such laws in the school atmosphere, tended to create the following impression: European languages were fit for use in school; indigenous languages were not. As the children grew up and actually saw the different languages in their countries, communities and societies performing particular functions, such attitudes tended to become even further subconsciously entrenched. In Mozambique, South Africa, and Zimbabwe, for instance, the European languages are, until today, in evidence in official circles. When there is a government announcement, a broadcast by the presidents to their nations, speeches on independence days, etc., the original speeches are, normally, in European languages7. The fact that translations in selected indigenous languages often follow is not enough to cancel the perception of the order of precedence: European languages first,

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7 See Appendix 3
other languages next. Undoubtedly, the psychological import of this is bound to rebound on attitudes towards the languages concerned.

The potency of legal power to affect language attitudes in Africa is particularly demonstrated by Ethiopia, a multilingual context with three major language families - 22 Semitic languages: 18 Cushitic and 18 Omotic languages.

In Ethiopia, the family with the largest number of languages is Cushitic, but the Semitic family could have a larger number of mother tongue speakers (49.7% of the total, according to the Ford Foundation Survey, as opposed to 43.5% for Cushitic and only 5.3% for Omotic. An entirely different superfamily, Nilo-Sharan, found mainly near the Sudan border in the extreme west and somewhat more extensively in the south-west, is represented by several families, each with a number of languages (such as Anyuak and Nuer) but all spoken by small populations, probably totalling only 1.5% (National Office of Population, 1993, p. 1).

According to Bloor & Tamrat (1996, p. 323), in this densely multilingual atmosphere, Amharic was declared the national/official language. The revised Constitution of Ethiopia (proclamation 149 of 1955, Article 125) declared Amharic the only national/official language of the whole empire. Other Ethiopian languages were suppressed. This, naturally, created a great deal of resentment towards Amharic and its speakers. However, when the Marxists regime of Mangistu Haile Mariam came to power, he, in turn, used decrees to drastically change the policy, and this again affected attitudes accordingly. Article 5 of the 1974 National Democratic Revolution Programme of Socialist Ethiopia states as follows:

"Within the environs of nationality, each nationality has the right to determine its political, economic and social life, and use its own language . . . " (Abdulaziz, 1992, p. 6).

Another classic case of how decrees and constitutional provisions have been used to chart language attitudes is Somalia. Here, the Somali language had been in constant contact with Italian, Arabic and English. During colonial rule, English was used as the official language and language of education in the north.
while Italian was used in the south, including Mogadishu, the capital. After the Egyptian revolution of 1952 and the pan-Arab-Islam and pan-African policies of Nasser, Arabic made a triumphant entry into the country. In fact, Arabic primary and secondary schools were opened. Tertiary education was also encouraged in the language. Somalia was subsequently accepted as an Arab country as Arabic became a strong second language. In line with the policies of most colonial governments, Somali was largely neglected in official circles by the Italians.

During the U.N. trusteeship between 1950 and 1960, the Italian Government committed itself to provide high quality education that would prepare Somalis in the southern part for independence. Meanwhile, English continued as the official and educational language in the north. However, at independence, the north and south were joined together. English and Italian still functioned as the languages for written record in the north and south respectively while Somali, which then had no official writing system, became the language of oral communication in all aspects of political, economic and cultural life of the country. Debates and wranglings concerning whether the Arabic, Roman or indigenous script was to be adopted for Somali delayed the implementation of its use as the national and official language. The impact of constitutional and legal provisions to affect language attitudes is demonstrated by the fact that in 1972, the Somali Revolutionary Council under Shad Barre declared that the Roman script would be used as the official orthography. Since then, developments in the language as official and national language, and as medium in primary and secondary schools have gone at a very fast pace. Such developments laid the foundation for favourable attitudes towards the language as a national language, as an official language, and as a language of education and are also partly responsible, too, for the fact that Somali is the only country in Africa in which secondary education is given in the indigenous language (Abdulaziz, 1992, p. 7).

On the other hand, according to Djite (1992, p. 15), a recent example of how laws are used to affect attitudes towards languages is that of Algeria. On August 26, 1990, the Popular National Assembly of Algeria voted a law of Arabisation of the country. According to this law, the administration was to be totally arabised by July 5, 1992 and tertiary education by 1997. Public meetings and debates in both
public and private sectors also have to be conducted in Arabic. Documents in any language other than Arabic were to be null and void as of July 5, 1992. Importation of technology (hardware and software) in any other language than Arabic is prohibited. Also, the media (except for the French newspapers already approved), all films and documentaries, all billboards, road signs and sign posts are expected to be exclusively in Arabic. Any offending party is to be fined between 1,000 and 5,000 Algerian dinars (approximately US$40 - 200). As Djite (1992. p. 21) puts it,

"... nowhere else in Africa has the language issue been so central to the fight against colonialism".

1.5.4 The Introduction of Western-Type Media

The introduction of western-type media did a lot to influence attitudes towards languages in most parts of Mozambique. Before the European came to Africa, information was disseminated mainly through errand men, town criers, etc. The emphasis was on the community and the spread of information was predominantly oral. Western-type media brought several other ways of disseminating information. Emphasis, in official circles, was on writing. The print media had, and still have, a very important impact on glorifying a language, making it reproduce itself, multiply its effects, and giving it the potential to reach audiences not physically present.

According to Adegbija (1994), the very fact of writing became glorified in many parts of Africa. In fact, he goes on to add that, early educational systems in most countries emphasised reading and writing. The act of writing a language glorifies it and confers on it a status which other non-written languages do not have. Many early newspapers were introduced in European languages and this further added to the glory of the languages in the eyes of Africans. When orthographies began to be created for some African languages and newspapers were eventually established in a selected few, their status and prestige was also considerably enhanced. Examples of these are the cases of 'Lesinyana' e Lesotho, a Sotho newspaper founded in 1839, 'Kiongozi' a Kirundi newspaper, founded in 1905; 'The Inkundla'; in Verulam, Natal, South Africa, founded in
When radio and television were introduced in many parts of Southern Africa, the languages used on them (European or local) spread in status and esteem, especially since messages relayed could be simultaneously heard in many parts of a country.

In essence, western-type media provided another tool for legitimating the languages of power. The imperial languages and the major African languages that were used in them gained in esteem, popularity and status. This was even more so since the mass dissemination of information in the media could spread the influence of a particular language to a wide geographical area. In this respect, it has to be acknowledged that the role of the missionaries was crucial since they contributed by providing writing systems for African Languages, translating the Bible etc.

The colonial masters, naturally, placed much emphasis on the learning of their own languages, especially, because of their supposed official utility. Africans, themselves, saw the material, status, and social mobility benefits of learning imperial languages. It is not surprising that many craved for the learning of English, French and Portuguese.

Conversely, the languages that had an early start or media exposure (e.g. Kiswahili, Zulu, Xhosa, Setswana, Sesotho, Shona, etc.) are now the main languages, apart from English, used in education and in the media in their respective countries.
On the other hand, literacy campaigns in which western-type media have always played a significant role, have been powerful instruments for boosting the prestige of a language. Principally, this is because they are targeted to touch the grassroots level of societies in which the campaigns are run. Moreover, they have practical and functional values as well. Another major reason, why the language used in literacy tends to receive a moral and status boost is that in a multilingual context, a choice often has to be made by policy-planners regarding which language is to be used. Whereas, as observed earlier, there is some considerable degree of linguistic homogeneity in countries like Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, many other countries in Southern Africa have to face the tough, often political, economic, and pedagogical decision of which languages are to be used, if all cannot be used in literacy. In such countries, where there are over 20 languages, (e.g. Mozambique, South Africa, and Zimbabwe) and many of them have several dialects, at times not entirely mutually intelligible. As Foster (1971, p. 603) notes, this "extreme linguistic fragmentation poses acute problems of language policy".

When the benefits of literacy for all are considered, the denial of literacy in a particular group's mother tongue becomes an even more acute problem. Some mother tongues ultimately get selected for use in literacy (usually following economic patterns). Many others are left behind. The chosen few grow in esteem and recognition, the rejected tend to wane in influence.

As Foster notes, literacy has easily visible practical utility in that it improves the efficiency of agricultural extension services, upon which a great deal of agricultural development depends. One reason for this, according to Foster, is that instructors are able to reach a far wider segment of the farming population through the use of the printed media. Languages used in such literacy campaigns, thus, have their utility image boosted as they begin to be associated with material benefits. Since, in many parts of Mozambique, many indigenous languages are, at the moment, not used in literacy campaigns, the chosen few, among the languages, attract, to themselves, considerable status because of their perceived pragmatic worth or value.
1.5.5 - The Idiosyncratic Sociohistorical Ecology of Languages

Some languages, like South Africa's Zulu and Xhosa, achieved greatness naturally, partly, by the sheer force of numbers of their speakers. Some others achieved greatness, through sociohistorical forces (such as number of speakers, relationship with other languages, patterns of transmission, speakers' attitudes, domains of use, institutional support and political decisions) (cf. Mühlhäusler, 1992) being in their favour, (e.g. Kiswahili in Tanzania) although this situation appears to be changing in the last times, due to a new trend, the tendency to introduce English as early as possible.

Many other languages, require a combination of the force of numbers, sociohistorical pressures, political decisions and constitutional support, to acquire esteem and remain great. Generally, while all languages are apparently equal, it does seem that, in terms of national and official functionality, at least, some are more equal than others. In Mozambique, for example, although Tsonga is the second major language with about 19% mother tongue speakers as opposed to 41% for Makua-Lomwé (Machungo & Matusse, 1989, p. 134), Tsonga appears to be politically very important in that it is the mother tongue of key elements in the current leadership of the Republic of Mozambique.

According to Adegbija (1994), however, a particular language may have achieved its greatness, the fact that it has become great in national affairs, often constitutes a foundation for the generation and shaping of future attitudes towards it. But the direction of attitudinal formation can be further affected by the idiosyncratic sociohistorical ecology in favour of the language, or which it is perceived to possess. This may relate to factors such as developmental status, attachment or association with national hero figures, number of speakers, amount of literature possessed, the political and economic stamina of the speakers, geographical spread, elasticity and ability to accommodate contact with other languages and cultures, as well as, new lexical terms, without disintegrating or looking like a malformed hybrid language, etc. Such factors, affect attitudes towards languages. Obviously, many such factors, favoured the international spread of English. Thus, from the embers of three unknown languages of the
Angels, Saxons and Jutes in the 5th century AD, an unrivalled international language of world repute has evolved although the modern forces acting on its spread are difficult and complex.

Also Kiswahili, which in its early days, was largely associated with trade and Islam has, through its ability to adapt, to accommodate new terms and cultures, as well as constitutional support, endeared itself to most of the Tanzanian population so that it is now largely the undisputed national language of the country. Russel (1990, p. 366) also attributes the rise of Kiswahili partly to the charismatic nature of President Julius Nyerere, who used it as a powerful political tool. This further extended its domains of use and enhanced its status both inside and outside Tanzania. Very early, the language had developed considerable epic and popular poetry. The Germans had a policy of encouraging it as an official language in their east African territories. In the then Tanganyika, German and African civil servants, members of the armed forces, etc. needed to know Kiswahili to get employment. This helped the rapid spread of the language. Further, German missionary scholars like Rebmann, Krapf and Buttner wrote grammars of the language and collected manuscripts in Kiswahili and Arabic scripts of pre-20th century classical literature (cf. Merrit & Abdulaziz,1988; Abdulaziz, 1992, pp. 4-5).

Other languages in different parts of Southern Africa such as Makua-Lomwé, Tsonga (Mozambique); Shona and Ndebele (Zimbabwe); Zulu and Xhosa (South Africa); Setswana (Botswana); Sesotho (Lesotho); Chichewa (Malawi); Chibemba (Zambia); and siSwati (Swaziland) have enjoyed similar individual and, historically-based fortunes and vicissitudes, that have influenced attitudes towards them, either favourably or negatively, depending on the intervening sociolinguistic variables.

1.5.6 - The Early Attempts at Language Standardisation

Language standardisation, in which a particular speech variety becomes the preferred norm, is in and of itself, an image-boosting sociolinguistic procedure. Although Ansre (1971) observes that an unwritten language can also achieve a standard form, he also concedes that graphicisation is an aid to standardisation.
Ansre sees graphicisation as a linguistic baptism with a written life, essence, or existence. Adegbija (1992e) agrees with him when he says that a graphicised language potentially receives the power to recreate, reproduce and advertise itself in a new way. Adegbija goes on to add that, a language not graphicised, by contrast, tends to maintain only a local essence and existence and runs a serious risk of disappearing.

A standard language could be deliberately created by the elevation of a particular variety. The elevation of the Zanzibar dialect of Kiswahili, Ki-Unguja, against the rival dialect of Mombassa, Kimvita, is a good example of this. A standard can also be established by creating one unified dialect from a composite of all main dialects. Shona of Zimbabwe and Tsonga of Mozambique seem to be an example of this. The former was created from several dialects, namely the Zezuru, Karanga, Korekore, Manyika and Ndau dialects (cf. Doke, 1931). The latter, from Shangana, Rhonga, and Bitonga (Guthrie, 1948). The dialects were said to have an underlying unity of vocabulary and to share particular phonetic and grammatical features. Shona was the name given to the basic dialect agreed upon from the various dialects in Zimbabwe (cf. Doke, 1931), while Tsonga was the name given to the one in Mozambique (Guthrie, 1948). When a basic standard has been decided upon, it is usually followed by development. Ansre (1971, p. 681) comments that this is

"...the increasing and augmenting of the linguistic repertoire of the basic standard at various levels to widen its scope as a medium of communication".

A standardised language increases or decreases in status depending on the sociohistorical or political forces in its favour or adverse forces working against it. Favourable forces tend to result in increased esteem and building of positive attitudes towards a language, as in the case of Kiswahili and Shona. Adverse forces, on the other hand, tend to result in reduced esteem. An example of this, though not in Southern Africa, is the Akwapim of the Twi-Fante language of

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8 The prefix Ki in Swahili means 'language' or 'talk'. It is sometimes written together with its root, as I have done here, or hyphenated (Ki-mvita), or with the root capitalised (Kimvita). The prefix Ki is commonly used with the word 'Swahili' itself (Kiswahili) especially by African writers, to specify that it is the language that is meant, not the people who speak it.
Ghana, which all Twi writers used as a standard from the middle of the 9th century until the late 1940s, when it started to give way to dialects like the Assante and Akim (Ansre, 1971, p. 681) presumably for constitutional support favouring the dialects.

In sum, according to the definition given above, the very process of standardisation often implies discrimination between competing dialects. It involves selecting one speech form, placing it on a high pedestal, and legitimising its status as the supra norm, the *primus inter pares* or first among equals. Undoubtedly, such a process has tremendous potential for shaping and moulding attitudes towards the chosen and the rejected varieties.

1.5.7 - The Irresistible Pressures for Vertical Social Mobility

When discussing the quest of pressures for vertical social mobility, Adegbija (1994, p. 45) says:

"Most human beings do not enjoy being stagnant status-wise. There is always the quest for higher grounds, higher positions and upward social mobility. A rise on the social vertical ladder has the tendency of boosting personal egos. Besides the individual desire and pressure to achieve, there is also the social esteem of those considered as achievers. These two powerful forces make individuals want to accommodate and accept society's ideal achievement norms".

In the creation and crystallisation of such norms in Mozambique, and, I believe, in most multilingual contexts, language plays a decisive role. Any language involved in roles that contribute to the fulfilment of the quest to achieve higher grounds tends to be associated with achievement (e.g. European languages). By converse, languages that are perceived not to count, as far as vertical social mobility is concerned, tend to be associated with non-achievement (e.g. African indigenous languages).

From colonial times, Portuguese has been instituted as the official language in Angola and Mozambique, and English, in the other countries of the region. Admission to higher education is virtually impossible without these languages. Examinations in schools, especially from the upper primary school upwards, are conducted in them. Officially, they constitute the languages of interaction. Those
who officially matter within a country, the power brokers, and the country's destiny shapers, most often speak these European languages on important national occasions. Job and promotion interviews are conducted in them. Consequently, European languages in Angola, Mozambique and other countries of Southern Africa have become emblems of vertical mobility. Since the western-educated élite occupy crucial positions of power in these countries, the European languages assist them in maintaining their power. Myers-Scotton (1990, p. 25, quoted in Djite, 1992) defines such a strategy as:

"élite closure; a strategy by which those persons in power maintain their powers and privileges via language choice".

Accordingly, this strategy is then passed on to their children whilst blocking others achieving power.

She goes on to add that most individuals, who want to make it in life, feel a compelling internal necessity, as well as individual and social pressure to learn, or at least, be associated with the European languages. The languages are thus, generally, positively evaluated because of what they can give, what they stand for, where they can take you to, and what they can make you become in life.

It is against such a background of the desire for upward social mobility that the current social attitudes towards ex-colonial languages, such as English and Portuguese, and, to a limited extent, indigenous languages of wider communication, such as Shona, Ndebele, Kiswahili, Zulu, Xhosa, Tsonga, Makua-Lomwé, can best be appreciated. As examples, comments relating to the attitudes of people towards such languages associated with achievement, - Myers Scotton (1972, p. 129); and Walusimbi, (1972, p. 147) - both quoted in Bamgbose, (1979, p. 20) - observe:

"In most Kampala situations requiring a lingua franca, most people are likely to speak Kiswahili. But Kiswahili is still considered by most Africans to be the language of the less educated. English is recognised as the language of learning and position. Parents even though they may speak Kiswahili regularly and English infrequently or not at all, want their children to learn English as well as Kiswahili".

A similar finding is made by Walusimbi (1972, p. 147, Quoted in Bamgbose, 1979,
"Teachers as well as parents believe that English is the only means which will enable children to pass the Primary Leaving Examination, to enter secondary schools or any other post-primary institutions and, eventually, secure good jobs. English, to many people, means life".

The experiences of other countries of Southern Africa are quite similar. In South Africa, for instance, frustrated about the excessive attraction of the English language and the unskilled domestic workers' absolute economic dependence on whites who use it:

"For working purposes, English is important. Everything essential for living comes from whites who are using English - so it is important to know the language . . . if you don't know English, you will be unsuccessful in life, fail at school, etc." (A worker's statement in de Kadt, 1993 - World Englishes, Vol. 12, No 3, 1993, p. 316)

"Socialised to speak English because it is the only route to financial progress" (ibid., p. 318).

Given the functions of European languages in Mozambique and other Southern African countries, one is not surprised that such attitudes, as observed, above have evolved. The observations made in de Kadt (with respect to South Africa), on the functions of English, are largely true of the functions of European languages in most countries in Southern Africa and further give an indication of how positive attitudes towards them are created:

"First, many written items are in English, e.g., machines. Secondly, - English is used throughout the world. In order to communicate with others you need to know English . . . On the other hand, Political terms that are used both locally and Internationally are impossible to explain in African languages - e.g. democratic, non-racial, multiracial, etc. Hence it is necessary to use English most often than, say, Zulu" (In de Kadt, 1993 - World Englishes, Vol. 12, No 3, 1993, p. 318).

The above statements are still true today about the functions of most European languages in Southern Africa. Such functions, no doubt, will continue to be a strong basis for the evolution of positive social attitudes towards them and will further entrench their high valuation. As Bamgbose (1979, p. 20) remarks, such findings about the functions of exoglossic languages:
"Are consistent with the reality of the situation in all countries where exoglossic language is the official language. Not only do parents want their children to learn this language, they, sometimes, ensure, by sending the children to special schools, that they start learning the language from an early age. In a few cases, parents even make their children speak this language at home".

Such attitudes, Bamgbose continues, tend to ensure the continued supremacy of the exoglossic languages and perpetuate current educational policies. We, thus, have a circular situation in which policies assign functions to European languages and, such functions, attract individuals to learn languages. Consequently, attitudes are generated and entrenched by virtue of the functions the languages are seen as performing. Such generated attitudes, which become part of the sociolinguistic reality, in turn, tend to have the effect of influencing the use of language policy to further entrench and perpetuate the functions that the languages are seen as performing.

1.5.8 - The Language Question and the Future of Southern African Education

There is a contest going on in Southern African education between European languages primarily as media of instruction and the indigenous languages. As noted earlier, the process of colonial education had the general effect of marginalising most African languages in favour of European languages creating an imperialist linguistic configuration that came to legitimise and reproduce (Corson, 1993, p. 5), the unequal division of power and resources between the speakers of European languages and speakers of African languages. The overwhelming majority of post-colonial Southern African governments inherited educational systems with European languages as the predominant media of instruction. To date, only one Southern African country, Tanzania, have succeeded in extending instruction in African language beyond the lower primary level, and even in this anomalous case, post-primary education has remained the exclusive preserve of a European language.

The linguistic set up in Southern African education that was bequeathed to the region by the colonial dispensation has prompted two kinds of responses over the
years. There is, first, the functionalist response which stresses the inevitability and even usefulness of European languages suggesting that, because of their global status, because of their wealth of publications, because of their 'affinity' with the inherited school system, European languages are natural choices as the media of African education. For example, as soon as Kenya became independent in 1963, the Ominde Commission (set up specifically to advise the government on issues of educational policy) recommended that English be used from the first grade of elementary education on the grounds that it would expedite learning in all subjects - partly avoiding what was presumed to be a difficult transition from the 'vernaculars', and partly because of the language's own 'intrinsic' resourcefulness (Republic of Kenya, 1964, p. 60). The Commission's report thus, gave further impetus to the growing momentum for the introduction of English as a medium of instruction at an earlier phase in education than even under the British. The Kenyan government is a prime example of a regime that has continued to be influenced by functionalist ideology concerning the place of European languages in African education.

At the other extreme is the nationalist response which advocates the re-centring of African languages in African educational instruction. This school of thought has been influenced principally by the views of the United Nation's Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) on the use of so-called vernacular languages in education. As noted earlier, since the 1950's, it has been UNESCO's position that (a) the 'vernaculars' are superior to the foreign languages in enhancing cognitive skills in a child's early education, and (b) as media of instruction, 'vernaculars' may promote linguistic skills that facilitate, rather than inhibit, the acquisition of the imperial language at a later stage in the educational process (UNESCO, 1953, pp. 47 - 49).

This controversy about which linguistic medium of educational instruction accords the child the best learning facility has led to several experimental projects, both in Africa and elsewhere (see 1.4.2.1 above). The results of some of these experiments have, seemingly, vindicated the functionalists, while others have vindicated the nationalists.
In Uganda, for example, the 1968 Iganga experiment, based on the teaching of geography, concluded in favour of English-medium instruction. The Six Year Primary (Experimental) Project at Ile-Ife, Nigeria, which was launched in 1970, on the other hand, arrived at the opposite conclusion: that instruction in a first language greatly facilitates learning (Bamgbose, 1991). These conflicting experimental results, as concluded above, do not necessarily demonstrate that one approach is as good as the other, rather, they may reflect the ideological biases of the experimenters themselves which have influenced the premises of their investigations.

As far as this section is concerned, however, it is worth making a few points about the imperial languages, English in particular, that are the focus of much of the discussion in this section. Talking about the influence of English in the world, David Crystal (1987) says:

"English is used as an official or semi-official language in over 60 countries, and has a prominent place in a further 20. It is either dominant or well established in all six continents. It is the main language of books, newspapers, airports and air-traffic control, international business and academic conferences, science, technology, medicine, diplomacy, sports, international competitions, pop music and advertising. Over two-thirds of the world's scientists write in English. Three quarters of the world's mail is written in English. Of all the information in the world's electronic retrieval systems, 80% is stored in English. English radio programmes are received by over 150 million in 120 countries. Over 50 million children study English as an additional language at primary level; over 80 million study it at secondary level."

Western Organisations and the African 'Mother Tongues'

On the surface, some Western Organisations such as the World Bank, its sister Bretton Woods institution, and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) have generally identified themselves with the more nationalist school of thought that encourages the use of African 'mother tongues' as media of instruction, at least in the lower levels of elementary education. In spite of the rhetorical commitment of several African governments to the promotion of African
languages as instructional media (see Chapter Five below), Western Organisations have compiled data demonstrating that, in the overwhelming majority of cases, the imperial languages - English and Portuguese especially - continue to predominate from the earliest levels of the educational pyramid almost throughout the region (World Bank, 1988). And, by all indications, European languages are becoming increasingly consolidated in Southern African education as in other domains of African society. The present trend in Southern Africa, then, is towards maximum convergence between European languages and secular education, and maximum divergence between Afro-ethnic languages and school. This is a picture that portends a gloomy future for the 'development' of African languages, and explains, to some extent, the persistent calls of some nationalists for policies that will assist in re-centring African languages in education and in the lives of African people more generally.

Like many functionalists who tend to argue that European languages in Southern Africa, and in the so-called third World, in general, have become useful and vital in their own right, in spite of their colonial roots, Western Organisations recognise that fluency in imperial languages 'may help promote political stability and build national unity as well as serve economic purposes'. In contradiction to the functionalists, however, Western Organisations try to project an image of being genuinely sensitive to the advantages of the more familiar tongues of the average African pupil as media of educational instruction. They note that:

"Current research suggests that (a) the acquisition both of oral fluency and of literacy in a second language is most successful when there is a strong foundation in the first language; (b) conversational skills in a second language are learned earlier than is the ability to use the language for academic learning, and (c) academic skills learned in school transfer readily from one language to the other" (World Bank, 1988, p. 44).

Accordingly, for Western Organisations, the most effective educational approach is to begin instruction in a local language and then, switch to the second language - almost invariably the European colonial tongue - at a later
In a more recent World Bank publication on Strategies and Priorities for Education, the pedagogic merits of instruction in a language that is most familiar to the child are expressed once again. "Learning is more effective", it is claimed, "if instruction in the first several grades is in the child's native language. This approach allows for mastery of the first language and promotes cognitive development needed for learning a second language" (World Bank, 1995, p. 79).

Clearly, the West's view seems to conform with the linguistic position espoused by UNESCO concerning educational instruction, a position which continues to influence some Southern African pedagogists and language nationalists.

Western Organisations, however, go further to accept an even more radical proposition. Not only does instruction in a student's first language enhance learning and the development of certain basic cognitive skills, but instruction in a less familiar, second or foreign language is actually detrimental to the educational progress of the child.

"Children who speak a language other than the language of instruction [which here refers to the European languages] confront a substantial barrier to learning. In the crucial, early grades when children are trying to acquire basic literacy as well as adjust to the demands of the school setting, not speaking the language of instruction can make the difference between succeeding and failing in school, between remaining in school and dropping out" (Lockhead & Verspoo, 1991, p. 153).

In view of such serious consequences for the educational future of African children arising from instruction in 'foreign' linguistic media, finding ways of centring African languages in education would be expected to be a high priority for any institution that claims to have the educational welfare of the region at heart.

In spite of their proclaimed conviction about the pedagogic and educational value of mother tongue instruction, however, Western Organisations claim that
they cannot impose an educational language policy on any country. Each country, they argue, has the freedom to determine a language policy that is commensurate with its own unique, political, economic, cultural and linguistic peculiarities. These same institutions that have been coercing African governments into overhauling their educational structures virtually overnight, have suddenly become mindful of the national sovereignty of these countries and of their right to linguistic self-determination. And so, the West perfectly 'understands' that there are many instances when early immersion - that is, instruction in the European languages in all-European environment, from day one of schooling - is more appropriate than instruction in local languages, and that such immersion may be the only pragmatic option available to a nation (cf. Lockhead & Verspoor, 1991, p. 167).

With this seemingly democratic albeit patronising - disposition, the West's real position begins to be unmasked. We begin to see a view that encourages the consolidation of the imperial languages in Southern Africa. Western Organisation's own pronouncements in favour of education in local languages in the earlier phases now becomes suspect - are they a ploy intended to establish a firmer foundation for a higher level of proficiency in the imperial language at a later stage? Not that the West believes that this is a workable formula for Africa, but even if it did, its interest in 'vernacular' instruction may lie only in the transitional benefits towards the acquisition of the European languages. This is, perhaps, why Western Organisations never raise the possibility for using African languages beyond the first few years of elementary education. UNESCO has campaigned for a shift to local languages in the earlier years of a child's education, and it has also recommended, on education grounds, "that the use of mother tongue be extended to as late a stage in education as possible" (UNESCO, 1968, p. 691). But the West does not seem to regard the linguistic Africanisation of the whole of primary education and beyond as an effort that is worth its consideration. Its publication on strategies for stabilising and revitalising universities, for example, makes absolutely no mention of the place of language at this tertiary level of African education (cf. Saint, 1993).
The Western structural adjustment prescriptions for African education may be a further betrayal of the institution's Euro-linguistic agenda. The shortage of instructional materials in local African languages is, in many instances, probably as true today as it was in the 1950s when UNESCO carried out its survey on 'vernacular' instruction. According to the UNESCO (1953, pp. 50-51) document:

"One of the most important difficult problems connected with the use of vernacular languages in education is that of providing reading materials. It will often happen that even a language which is quite capable of being used as a medium of instruction will be almost entirely without books or other materials. The difficulty is ... above all, to find the money".

At least in the initial stages, then, establishing the necessary conditions for sustainable instruction in the local languages - which, in the Western Organisations' opinion quoted above, is crucial to the uninterrupted educational progress of a child - requires substantial government investments in generating educational resources. Yet, the Western Organisations' prescriptions continue to place heavily emphasis on the reduction of government subsidies in education, though such subsidies are indispensable to the promotion of instruction in the local languages. In effect, the vaunted freedom of choice over education allowed to African nations by the democrats of the West is no choice at all. For, under the World Bank - IMF structural adjustment programmes, the only path open to African nations is the adoption of the imperial languages from the very outset of a child's education.

The Western Organisations' structural adjustment programmes also contribute to the consolidation of imperial languages in education in a different demographic sense. In its attempts to justify its pressure on African governments to cut down on educational expenditure and force students to assume part of the cost of higher education, Western Organisations have sometimes argued that the majority of students can actually afford to pay for themselves because they supposedly come from relatively affluent backgrounds. Subsidies to public universities, in particular, are considered not only inefficient educational spending investment, but also regressive social spending because students enrolled in universities are
disproportionately from the upper end of the scale of income distribution (cf. World Bank, 1994, p. 3).

In absolute terms, however, the Western Organisations' figures are unequivocal that the majority of students in Africa - an average of about 60% - come from the ranks of the peasantry, workers and small traders who are not likely to have the means to meet the increasing cost of university education. The natural outcome would be an increase in drop-out rates among students from poorer family backgrounds. For example, in Kenya's Moi and Egerton Universities, with a combined population of about 6,000 students, over 2,000 students were deregistered in early May 1996 over non-payment of fees and tuition (Daily Nation, Nairobi, 4th May, 1996, p. 18). These tuition 'defaulters' are more likely to have come from lower-than upper-class families. The net effect of Western Organisations' structural adjustment programmes in education, therefore, is increasingly to transform the African university into a 'white collar' institution in terms of the parental background of its student population.

This population shift in African universities has certain linguistic consequences. The imperial languages in Africa have their strongest demographic base among the children of white collar families. In some African cities, the European languages are increasingly becoming the tongues with which middle-and upper-class children feel most comfortable in virtually all conversational situations and domains. In a survey carried out in three major cities of Mozambique, for this study, 310 Mozambicans were asked what language(s) they used at home. 58.3% reported using Portuguese; only 7.4% reported using indigenous languages and 34.1% a combination of both (Chapter Three). Furthermore, as Abdulaziz (1991, p. 397) has observed with regard to Kenya, for instance, there is a growing:

"number of high cost private and international schools where many of the teachers are expatriate native speakers of English. Children who go to these expensive schools come from rich, Western educated 'elite families, normally with both wife and husband possessing high competence in the English language . . . the children live in exclusive and expensive multinational suburbs where the primary language of the playground,
shopping centres, schools, places of entertainment, churches and hospitals is English".

In essence, then, the exclusionary effect that the West's prescriptions will necessarily have on the children of the lower classes will give further impetus to the consolidation of the imperial languages in African education.

Western Organisations' linguistic Eurocentrism in educational arena is further demonstrated by their views on educational achievements in Tanzania. According to Mazrui (1997, p. 41), outside 'Arabophone' Africa, Tanzania is one of the very few African countries which, after 1967, managed to completely replace the imperial language, English, with a widely spoken indigenous lingua franca, Kiswahili, in all the seven years of elementary education - even as English continued to be maintained as a school subject. It was further envisaged that a time would come when Kiswahili would be the sole medium of instruction from the earliest to the latest stages of education in Tanzania. In a 1982 report from the presidential Commission on Education, set up by the then president of the country, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, it was recommended that the teaching of both English and Kiswahili be strengthened, while the use of Kiswahili as a medium of instruction be extended to post-primary education. In the words of the report:

"In order that the nation be able to develop its culture and ease the understanding of most of the populace at the different stages of education without the encumbrance of a foreign language, it is recommended that... plans be made to enable all schools and colleges in the country to teach all subjects in Kiswahili beginning with Form I in January 1985 and the University beginning in 1992" (Roy-Campbell, 1992, p. 178).

By all indications, however, this pressure for linguistic change in favour of Kiswahili in Tanzania's school system was brought to an abrupt end after the country capitulated to the IMF and its draconian conditionalities which forced it to reduce its subsidies in education and other social spheres. Prior to this, "donors had accepted certain conditions put forward by the Tanzanian government, especially with respect to its autonomy in the area of educational planning... [But] by the beginning of the 1980s, the Tanzanian government had embarked on intensive negotiations with international donor
agencies, in particular the International Monetary Fund. The negotiations were driven by food shortages resulting from drought, and severe problems with financial resources to purchase petroleum products and other inputs needed for the maintenance of its economic sector" (Roy-Campbell, 1992, 1992, p. 178). All this dealt a blow to Tanzania's own independence in determining its educational destiny. Nonetheless, the country has continued to use Kiswahili as its main medium of instruction in public schools and even in those colleges that train teachers of primary education.

Western Organisations, however, do not seem to be comfortable with the Tanzanian model. In their comparative analysis of high school students' performance between Kenya and Tanzania, for example, they cast doubt on the prudence of Tanzania's educational language policy. They suggest that Tanzania's high school education is qualitatively inferior to that of Kenya, and that this educational inferiority is attributable, in part, to the exclusive emphasis on Kiswahili as a medium of instruction at the primary level. In the words of the World Bank (1988, p. 56) document on education in Sub-Saharan Africa:

"The Tanzanian system also greatly emphasised the use of Kiswahili at the primary level, which may have made it more difficult for students to learn English in secondary school. Research indicates that for any given combination of inputs of individual ability and years of secondary schooling in the two countries, cognitive output (as measured by scores on academic achievement test) are substantially higher in Kenya than in Tanzania."

One finds the basis of this cross-country comparison and the conclusion drawn from it to be of questionable merit on purely methodological grounds. But that aside, one is suddenly told to believe that, empirically speaking, basic educational instruction in a more familiar indigenous language is not, after all, the academic asset that it has been claimed to be by some educational theorists, but a cognitive liability. The Kenyan model, which uses English from the first year of primary school, and sometimes as early as the kindergarten, to complete exclusion of more indigenous languages, is now upheld as the more effective and superior instructional arrangement.
From the above examples, it is clear that the West is speaking with two voices. It is engaged in an exercise of deception, giving the impression of being philosophically in sympathy with educational instruction in local languages, but pursuing pro-imperial language policies in practice. Indeed, according to Mazrui (1997, p. 42), it is no coincidence that soon after Tanzania had completely submitted to the clutches of West (World Bank and the IMF) in the 1980s, the British Overseas Development Agency (ODA) moved in, in full force, to launch the multi-million dollar English Language Teaching Support Project in 1987.

Virtually throughout Southern Africa there have been alarm bells about declining academic standards. Yet, neither the World Bank/IMF, nor the British Overseas Development Agency have attempted to question the wisdom of educational instruction in European languages. But, in the one Southern African country, Tanzania, that has dared to challenge the hegemony of the imperial language by replacing it with Kiswahili in the primary school, the educational language policy has quickly been seized upon as the culprit for supposedly poor academic standards. The double standards here are quite clear, and behind them may be the West's hidden agenda for its linguistic Eurocentrism in Southern African education.

Language, Education and Development

What, then could be the West's motives for its camouflaged advocacy of European language instruction in Africa? The World Bank and the IMF have become the principal organisations through which the capitalist West seeks to control the destiny of the rest of the world. In this respect, the establishment and reconstitution of structural inequalities (in institutional set-ups and financial allocations) and cultural inequalities (including attitudes, pedagogic principles, and so on), between the imperial European languages and other languages become indispensable strategies towards that attempted control (Phillipson, 1992, p. 47). The question, then, is how a specific language policy - overt or covert - comes to serve as an instrument of imperialist control.
Some nationalists have sought to explain linguistic imperialism in deterministic terms. In accordance with the ideas of Benjamin Lee Whorf (1967), they have sometimes argued that there is a culturally-bound 'tyranny of language' such that the semantic structure of one's language, as well as the language habits it fosters, come to determine one's perception of the social world. And, if Whorf was interested in explaining the cognitive impact of language purely on its native speakers, the nationalists have made a cross-cultural leap, claiming that the world view inherent in any particular language can actually be transposed to speakers of other unrelated languages. When Western countries and institutions seek to impose their languages on Africa, therefore, the quasi-Whorfian interpretation of the African nationalists is that the West intends to imbue the collective mental universe of the African people with a European World view. This perspective, however, is one that one does not find wholly tenable, and as Mazrui (1995, pp. 161 - 174) has tried to demonstrate, it has weaknesses and limitations which render it less than adequate in explaining the imperialist role of European languages in Africa.

The other way of viewing the place of language in imperialist control is to consider the economic imperative, which has both a labour side and a market side to it. With regard to the labour dimension, in particular, the West's language 'policy' on educational instruction in Africa can be seen as part of a wider economic agenda intended to meet the labour requirements of foreign capital. Here, the language question goes hand-in-hand with the West's recommended restructuring of African university education into regional polytechniches for the production of mental and manual labour, of graduates who supposedly have the practical skills needed by African economies (cf. World Bank, 1994). Expectedly, European languages will continue to be the media of instruction in these institutions, and the development of technical and vocational Euro-linguistic skills will be an essential part of this labour policy.

The labour needs of foreign capital in several African countries usually operate at three independent levels. These, according to Mazrui (1997, p. 44), include: (a) the level of workers qualified for unskilled or semi-technical jobs
in light manufacturing and assembly plants; (b) the level of technical maintenance and other 'support' services for foreign and other businesses, hotels and so forth; and (c) the level of middle management, mainly for corporations investing in Africa. May the language of instruction in Africa have some bearing on the creation or reproduction of this labour hierarchy?

Let us remember one of World Bank's own document quoted earlier which argues that using an instructional language that is alien to the student "can make the difference between succeeding and failing, between remaining in school and dropping out". If this claim is true, relatively poor performance and high drop out rates resulting from the convergence between Euro-languages and educational instruction is likely to affect the children of poorer families most acutely - for it is they, rather than the children of the rich, who are least familiar with the European languages of instruction. And it is ultimately these poor students who will have been conditioned to constitute the 'modernised' unskilled and semi-skilled labour pool. The children of upper-class families whose familiarity with the European languages is much greater, on the other hand, may be expected to end up in universities and eventually, in managerial positions. Thus, a system of educational instruction is put in place in which those who are expected to succeed, and those who are expected to fail and drop out, is closely class-bound; can be seen, indeed, as part of a wider capitalist design. In essence, the West's proposed educational configuration in Africa demonstrates the continued role of instruction in Euro-languages in creating and maintaining social divisions that serve an economy dominated primarily by foreign economic interests and, secondarily, by a small aspiring African bourgeoisie.

The Western Organisations' Euro-linguistic bias, on the other hand, has more to do with the role European languages as media of global capitalism. Antonio Gramsci once argued that a universal language can only emerge organically and spontaneously from the ranks of 'the people', and that such a development was possible only under conditions created by socialist internationalism. In Gramsci's (1985, p. 30) words:

"The socialists are struggling for the creation of the economic
and political conditions necessary to install collectivism and the international. When the international is formed, it is possible that the increased contacts between peoples, the methodical and regular integration of large masses of workers, will slowly bring about a reciprocal adjustment between the Afro-European languages and will probably extend them throughout the world because of the influence the new civilisation will exert".

But, Gramsci's Eurocentrism notwithstanding, it was forces of international capitalism, rather than those of international socialism which provided the unprecedented impetus for the globalisation of European languages, and especially of English.

If international capitalism helped the fortunes of English, however, the consolidation of that capitalism on a global scale has now, to a certain extent, become dependent on the language. According to Naysmith (1987, p. 3), the role of English in the production and reproduction of global inequalities has a lot to do with the central place it has assumed as the language of international capitalism. Within this international context, the capitalist centre has virtually been serving as the 'proprietor' and the periphery as its 'labourer' and 'consumer'. And it is the English language which allows the proprietor nations of the centre to have contact with each and every consumer nation in the periphery in a way that leads to increasing consolidation of the capitalist market. As leading institutional representatives of international capitalism, Western Organisations (World Bank and the IMF) naturally have a vested interested in this interplay between linguistics and economics.

Finally, imperialist control can also be approached from the point of view of language, not as a reservoir of culturally-bound world views, but as an instrument for the communication of ideas. The global hegemony of the English language, in particular, facilitates World Bank - IMF attempts to force Southern Africa, for example, into a state of of intellectual dependence on the West. Quoting a publication of the Civil Liberties Organisation, George Caffentzis (1994, p. 17) has noted that:

"SAPs often require the hiring of foreign experts as part of the conditionalities attached to IMF - WB loans. For example, a
$120 million loan to the Nigerian University System puts the control of the importation of books and journals as well as expatriate staff in the hands of the Bank and its agents—hence, foreign agents must be used to determine the very imports to be paid for the loans."

Had the medium of instruction in Nigeria been Hausa, Igbo or Yoruba, this degree of determination of the country's academic and intellectual orientation by the World Bank - IMF pair would certainly have been more difficult.

To take another example, according to Hymbound (1995, p. 46), a World Bank loan to the Central African Republic, supposedly intended to improve the quality and accessibility of elementary education, came with a package of conditions that required the nation to import its textbooks (and even French language charts) directly from France and Canada. This stringency was justified on the grounds that printing in these Western countries is cheaper than in the Central African Republic, making their publications more affordable to the average African child. It has been estimated that, due to similar World Bank projects and linkages, over 80% of schools in Francophone Africa are now produced directly in France (Nnana, 1995, p. 17). In the process, the World Bank has not only empowered the West to control further the intellectual destiny of African children, but has also continued to weaken and destroy infrastructural facilities, primarily publishing houses, for technical production of knowledge locally. In terms of sheer cost effectiveness, French and Canadian publishers would have found it far more difficult to participate in this World Bank agenda had the language of instruction in the Central African Republic been one of the local languages instead of French.

The European languages in which Africans are taught are, therefore, important sources of intellectual control. They aid the Western's efforts to enable Africans to learn only that which promotes the agenda of international capitalism. Partly because of this Euro-linguistic policy, intellectual self-determination in Southern Africa has become more difficult. And, for the time-being, the prospects of a genuine intellectual revolution in Southern Africa may depend in no small measure on a genuine educational revolution that involves, at the same time, a widespread use of African languages as media of instruction.
Mazrui (1993, pp. 351 - 363) has argued that while European languages have historically been carriers of imperialist discourses, they can, and sometimes, have been transmuted to serve as instruments of resistance against imperialist discourse. Similar sentiments have been expressed by Alaistair Pennycook (1995, p. 55), who has called for all applied linguists and English teachers around the world to "become political actors engaged in a critical pedagogical project to use English to oppose the dominant discourses of the West and to help the articulation of counter-discourses in English".

But to use English to create counter-discourses and counter-ideologies does not necessarily amount to undermining the language's role in consolidating the global capitalist market, in stratifying labour for the benefit of international capital, or in reducing dependency on the West in the educational sphere. Furthermore, counter-discourse does not seem to be the same thing as independent discourse. Counter-discourse is often a reactive process to the terms of discourse established by the 'other'. The Southern African quest for intellectual independence must be based on independent terms of reference. That can guide the region towards a more organic path. Under the present global configuration of power relations, the European languages are not likely to allow Africans the politico-economic space for this kind of intellectual independence. African languages may fare better, for the very act of re-centring them sets in motion new dynamics that may provide some room for intellectual manoeuvre, at least in the short run. But the struggle to re-centre these languages naturally demands our engagement in a wider struggle - against imperialism, and against organisations like the World Bank, IMF and what they represent - to create a new world order.

1.5.9 Self-Image About Language and Language Choice in Southern Africa

Language choice in the educational domain is a crucial and explosive issue in many countries of Southern Africa. Generally, it may be observed that the low self-image of many Southern African indigenous languages exerts a crucial influence on language choice, the kinds of materials designed, as well as
performance in schools (cf. Oladejo, 1991b), and general educational self-confidence.

Several factors may affect the image that people have about particular languages, and thus, their attitudes towards them. First, we may consider the sociocultural standing of the native speakers of a language. When they have prestige and status within a country, this will, most likely be reflected on their language as well. On the other hand, if speakers of a language have a low sociocultural standing in the society, their language is most unlikely to be accorded high regard. Another factor that could affect a people's self-image about a language is the literary background possessed by the language. Generally, languages that are rich in literary resources (literature of all kinds), especially written ones, tend to be accorded priority and prestige in the educational domain, while languages without written literacy resources tend to be neglected. Such literary resources and materials are usually taken as emblems of growth or advancement in a language and languages that are rich in them are, generally, ranked high; thus, in Tanzania, for example, Kiswahili possesses more resources of this nature than other indigenous languages. Efforts have also been made to develop more resources in Kiswahili in science and technology (cf. Rubagumaya [Ed.], 1990). By virtue of its resources and other contributory factors, Kiswahili looms larger in esteem and favourable evaluation than all other indigenous languages in the educational domain in Tanzania.

Possession of rich resources in a language is predicated by its codification and elaboration. Consequently, a language that has undergone processes of codification and elaboration generally, tends to enjoy greater prestige, especially in education, than one that has not. This constitutes the crux of the problem for many African indigenous languages (cf. Okedara & Okedara, 1992). At the very least, over more than half of the languages used in Southern Africa do not as yet possess any orthography and so the process of codification and elaboration cannot even begin in earnest. This has continued to contribute to their low evaluation at all levels. On the other hand, most
European languages are head and shoulders above African languages as far as codification and elaboration, especially for use in the expression of contemporary Western science and technology are concerned. Given the degree of western dependency described earlier, this fact affects attitudes accordingly.

The prestige and status of a language may also be affected by the extent of its use in internal communication and needs felt for it as a lingua franca. Languages restricted only to local aspects of internal communication are, generally, evaluated poorly, while those used as lingua franca are very conspicuous in internal communication and tend to be ranked highly. For example, Kiswahili has already been cited as a language with high rank in internal communication in Tanzania. Its influence has been gradually spreading to other regions in Eastern Africa as well (cf. Yahya-Othman, 1989, p. 165). By virtue of the sociocultural standing of its speakers, as well as its numerical superiority over other languages of those who speak it as Second language, its status and prestige in Tanzania have been spreading fast, and so also its influence in education, especially in other surrounding countries where it is a predominant lingua franca. The fact that the extent of individual and societal bi/multilingualism involving Kiswahili is quite widespread in Eastern Africa has had far-reaching implications for language policy, in general, and education language planning, in particular. All these factors have continued to boost and enhance the status and prestige of Kiswahili not only in Tanzania, but in the entire Eastern Africa. Not surprisingly, the confidence of its speakers has also been remarkably influenced, even at grassroots level.

Generally, as far as low self-image, especially officially is concerned, minority or small languages almost always suffer most. A low image about the languages of other people, generally, tends to discourage the desire for bilingualism in one's own language and that of other language. This may, partly, explain why speakers of major languages, in most multilingual contexts, are, generally unwilling to learn smaller languages. Thus, the use of smaller languages is largely limited to their speakers. They are also largely not used officially in schools. Perhaps the high drop-out rates in many Southern African
primary schools could be, partly, connected to attitudes towards the school languages which, in many cases, are not the mother tongues of pupils. In many societies, the mainstream language is used even at the primary school level. While high rates of bilingualism in mainstream languages could, sometimes, reduce the incidence of negative attitudes towards them as the medium of education, there are many other cases in which some learners are confronted with an entirely new language as a medium. This observation is particularly true of children in Mozambique not competent in the mainstream language and so the school language has an alienating effect on them. Furthermore, no attempt is made to cater for speakers of indigenous languages.

This way, right from the first contact with the educational system, Mozambican children get psychologically alienated because the school environment is perceived to be completely foreign and different culturally and linguistically from the home environment. Such children are, right from the outset, robbed of the emotional investment in the school system which is a prerequisite for successful performance.

Officially, in many primary schools in many Southern African countries, an exoglossic European language is usually introduced as a medium of education at about the third or fourth grade. By this time, many of the pupils are still attempting to grapple with the educational system. Thus, the introduction of another language as medium poses an additional major problem for them. This is particularly so because, according to Adegbija (1994, p. 102):

(a) "Many parents are unable to help their children in the educational process and so, cannot give the children the type of succour needed for effective education. When assignments are given, many parents are unable to understand them and so, are deprived of the opportunity of making an input in the education of their children. This, robs the educational system of a potent force of encouragement in initial education.

(b) In many situations, especially in Angola and Mozambique, or former French colonies, the educational materials have still not been adapted to the local environment. Cultural artifacts with which the child is familiar are often not reflected in the..."
materials. Instead, the textbooks reflect life, the weather and the political system in France, Portugal, etc. While such materials could perhaps broaden the scope and horizon of children able to understand them, for the majority, they largely have an alienating effect. The alien school language and material also stifle the potential of children to think originally since many are unable to relate the reality of their background with the reality of an alien school language and classroom. Naturally, in such circumstances, negative attitudes develop towards the indigenous languages and cultures and one is not surprised at the high drop-out rates. Although research on the advantages and disadvantages of the use of indigenous African languages in education is said to be inconclusive (cf. Fasold, 1992, 1.2.2 above), it is perhaps unquestionable that a child is most likely to feel more psychologically secure and emotionally involved in the school environment when the language he already knows is used than when a strange one is employed."

Examples in other parts of Africa, such as the Primary Education Improvement Programme, The Six Year Primary Project and The Rivers Readers Project in Nigeria, all of which are concerned with the use of indigenous African languages in education, have at least convincingly demonstrated the psychological and cultural advantages of so doing. The pedagogical evidence they have provided also has very much to recommend the use of African indigenous languages (cf. Afolayan, 1976; Williamson, 1976, 1990; Omojuwa, 1978). Although contrary findings are reported to have been made in other contexts such as the United States with regard to the use of the child's mother tongue as medium (cf. Fasold, 1992), it does seem that a clear distinction needs to be made between different contexts:

As we can see, children of immigrants in the United States taught in English have a richer English as a native language environment to support them. This is not true of children in Southern Africa where the majority does not speak the European languages. Additionally, and also related to the first point, the mother tongue environment of immigrant children in the United States or any other foreign environment, is not normally as rich as it would be in the native home environment. In effect, the usual practice of changing over to a European language in the higher classes of primary education in many Southern African countries needs to be seriously reexamined. At the very least, (and it should be possible), efforts should be made to use indigenous languages in education till the end of primary education. Such a language policy would, most likely, be more pedagogically rewarding. It would also affect attitudes positively towards the school system, and lead to a
In multilingual contexts, speakers of mainstream languages need to be encouraged to be as well through language policy to learn at least one of the small languages. This is seen to be one strategy for affecting their attitudes positively towards small languages and enhancing national unity and integration. It is also thought to be an index to speakers of small languages that their languages are also valued. At the very least, such a strategy would result in greater awareness of the small group languages and cultures and enhance mutual respect between speakers of small and big languages.

1.6 Important Areas for Future Southern African Language Attitudes Research

When we consider Southern Africa specifically, a few more crucial themes or areas of need with regard to research on language attitudes would seem to be worth suggesting. Some of them, I believe, could probably be accommodated in the themes to be identified later in the study but demand special emphasis. The themes, which appear to be particularly pertinent to Southern Africa, have unfortunately, not received the attention they deserve. They are: attitudes towards language types, in the sense of exoglossic (English, Portuguese), endoglossic (indigenous languages), and endoexoglossic (i.e. Pidgin languages); attitudes towards the nativisation of implanted or imposed languages (e.g. English in Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe; Portuguese in Angola and Mozambique, etc.); attitudes towards indigenous vehicular languages, and influencing or changing language attitudes.

1.6.1 Attitudes Towards Language Types

Owing to a colonial past, as indicated in the preceding sections, many countries of Southern Africa have, at least, three main categories of languages: exoglossic languages imposed by European powers (e.g. English, Portuguese); endoglossic languages which are indigenous to the different countries (e.g. Kiswahili, Makua, Tsonga, Kimbundo, Umbundo, Setswana, Sesotho, siSwati, Nyanja, Oshimambo, Zulu, Xhosa, Bemba, Shona, and Ndebele); and endoexoglossic
languages (Pidgins), which have largely developed as a result of contact between the first two language types. Unfortunately, in Southern Africa, the few exo-endoglossic languages are seen as having been the result of Apartheid, and, consequently, they are not encouraged on political grounds. Very often, the different languages seem to play different, at times complimentary and, sometimes, competitive roles. These different roles, naturally have generated a wide range of attitudes towards the language types which need investigating. Although some work has been done on attitudes towards the ex-colonial languages, (e.g. English in Kenya (cf. Sure, 1991), English in Tanzania (cf. Schmied, 1985), English in Africa (cf. Schmied, 1991)) Apart from the results of studies presented in this study, very little work, to my knowledge, has been done on attitudes towards the other language types identified. Particularly, attitudes towards Pidgin languages, which seem to be playing crucial roles as lingua franca franca elsewhere, (but are nevertheless, lowly, in Southern Africa, unlike the case of Tok Pisin in Papua New Guinea or Bahasa Indonesia) need to be urgently investigated. Knowledge of the real nature of attitudes towards them, could lead policy-planners in Southern Africa to pay more official attention to, and capitalise on the benefits of Pidgin languages than hitherto.

1.6.2 - Attitudes Towards the Nativisation of Implanted Languages

Also worthy of research interest, to my mind, are attitudes towards the nativisation or indigenisation of implanted varieties. Terms such as 'Indian English', 'South African English', 'Nigerian English', 'Ghanian English', 'Singaporean English', 'Mozambican Portuguese', 'Angolan Portuguese', and Brazilian Portuguese' (e.g. Lanham (1978); Kachru (1982); Adegbija (1989a), etc.) are now commonly used without any feeling of a need to provide some explanation of what is meant by them. To what extent, for instance, are titles such as 'Attitudes Towards English in Tanzania', 'Attitudes Towards English in South Africa' or 'English in Africa' (cf. de Kadt (1993), Schmied (1985, 1991) as compared to 'Lexico-Semantico Variation In Nigerian English' (cf. Adegbija, 1989a) reflective of attitudes towards the nativisation of varieties? More importantly, what are the attitudes of those who use the nativised varieties of implanted languages towards the varieties they use? Although much work has
been done by way of a linguistic description of the different nativised varieties all over the world, much sociolinguistic work specially relating to attitudes to nativisation, still, to my mind, has to be done. This is particularly so, when we take cognizance of the fact that these new varieties play crucial roles in the educational systems of each of the countries concerned.

### 1.6.3 Attitudes Towards Indigenous Vehicular Languages

The issue of attitudes towards vehicular languages in Southern Africa also needs attention. A related dimension of this is the attitudes of small language groups, in particular, who sometimes have to learn and use such vehicular languages, in addition to their own mother tongues. One would also be interested in knowing the attitudes of minorities to linguistic and cultural assimilation by major ethnolinguistic groups whose languages often, though not always, serve as the vehicular languages. Although some studies in Southern Africa touch peripherally on attitudes with regard to vehicular languages (e.g. Paden, 1968; Alexandre, 1971; Ansre, 1971), it does seem, to me, that more detailed investigations of attitudes towards such vehicular languages are quite desirable. This is even more so when we remember that in contemporary Africa, inter ethnic squabbles and ethnolinguistic rivalries have been responsible for much unrest (e.g. Rwanda, Burundi, Angola, Mozambique, etc.). It would, in my view, be instructive to investigate the contribution of language attitudes (towards the 'imposition' of an indigenous language, either constitutionally or through social or economic pressures), to such contemporary ethnolinguistic conflicts. Such investigations, I believe, would make considerable contributions to effective language policy-making, planning and action.

### 1.6.4 Changing Language Attitudes

Another quest worth including on the agenda of language attitudes researchers in Southern Africa is the entire area of the changing or influencing of language attitudes. For example, Katz (1960, cited in Baker, 1992), in his functional theory of attitude change, suggests four functions for an individual's attitudes which are pertinent to the discussion of language attitudes in this study. These are: the utilitarian or instrumental function; the ego defensive function; the value expressive function and the knowledge function. The utilitarian or instrumental
function is sensitive to the fact that "attitudes may change when there is some reward" (Baker, 1992, p. 99). On the other hand, Baker's (1992, p. 100) comments are particularly pertinent to European and majority languages in the Southern African multilingual context and any attempt to change language attitudes:

"Where everyday events of perceived high status are almost entirely in the majority language, there may be little hope of attitude change. Attitude change can be made more probable when rewards can be gained and punishment avoided for speaking a minority language."

According to Baker (1992, p. 100), the ego defensive function reflects the fact that:

"... basic inner security is essential for psychological health. People who hold attitudes which lead to insecurity, embarrassment and anxiety are likely to change their attitudes to achieve greater security and less anxiety."

The value expressive function attests to the fact that 'attitudes are expressed when they are congruent with personal values and the self concept'. The knowledge component of attitudes concerns the fact that 'attitudes facilitate the understanding of people and events' and are "more susceptible to change when the knowledge function is known and understood" (Baker, 1992, p. 104).

Language attitude studies will need to test such theories, and similar ones, in the Southern African multilingual context, especially since I have indicated that the fact that European languages are conducive to upward social mobility (utilitarian and ego defensive functions) shapes attitudes positively towards them. Important questions need to be asked. How, for example, can negative attitudes, especially towards indigenous languages, be changed? How can the minority elite, who presently see European languages as their instruments of power, also be made to understand the need to invest in indigenous languages, spoken by the majority of the populace, with power? How can mutual respect be created among speakers of various languages, and how can speakers of major languages be persuaded not to look down on, or belittle, speakers of minor or smaller languages?
Tajfel (1981, cited in Baker, 1992, pp. 107 - 108) suggests that the following circumstances in a community are conducive to change:

"... when community integration is sustained; when areas of similarity between monolinguals and bilinguals are used to promote contact; when the change is felt to be voluntary, rather than forced; when relationships between monolingual and bilingual individuals in the community are close, warm, friendly and intimate; and when the social, economic, political and cultural environment is supportive of minority languages and bilingualism."

In view of the high premium placed on the community in the Southern African context, as well as the fact that language attitudes are socially based, research in the Southern African context would need to probe into how the community relationships can be capitalised on for effecting language attitude change.

Finally, and allied to the point just made, I believe that it should also be the aim of language attitude research in Southern Africa, to investigate the generally lukewarm attitude towards indigenous languages in general, and in particular, in official circles. What impact has this, for instance, on the high rate of illiteracy in Southern Africa? Why are many Southern Africans not very eager to be literate in their mother tongues, while they are very eager to be so in European languages? If this is because of the instrumental motivation, or the 'strong pull' (cf. Obanya, 1992) of the European languages, what can, concretely, be done to provide such instrumental motivation for the learning of indigenous languages as well, especially in order to make it possible for them to contribute to the democratisation of knowledge? Additionally, attitudes towards minor languages both by their speakers and those outside their native environments need to be investigated. Also, I imagine that one would be interested in knowing the attitudes of speakers of small languages to their being mainstreamed, or forced, by social circumstances, to learn major languages. I believe that insight into such areas, as noted earlier, would provide a crucial input for effective language policy-making, language planning and language action, especially in the area of language maintenance and preservation and reversing of language shift (cf. Fishman,
1.7. Language Attitudes in Francophone and Lusophone Africa

By virtue of the fact that 25 Francophone and 5 Lusophone states share a common historical experience of having been part of the French and Portuguese African Empires, the language situation in these countries is somewhat similar and can be discussed under a common rubric. African states under the French or Portuguese African Empires shared a number of experiences with African states under the British African Empire (Deutsch, 1953; Schermerhorn, 1976). Through colonial wars, conquests, pacts and allegiances the traditional homelands of African-language tribal and cultural groups have often been divided or enlarged to suit the needs of European Empires. Often, the divisions and amalgamations of African territories were militarily engineered by Europeans to eliminate or neutralise troublesome groups within more convenient and governable administrative units. With the decolonisation struggles of Africa in the post WW years, newly independent African states were confronted with populations that were linguistically, culturally and tribally heterogeneous. While the élites of these new nations had been educated in the capitals of Europe where they learned either English, French or Portuguese, the African masses spoke an impressive array of diverse languages and dialects, none of which, on its own, could compete with the European colonial languages. Various linguists estimate the number of languages and dialects spoken in Africa to be between 800 and 1,140. Influenced by the European model of nation state, the élites of post-colonial Africa believed that nation building could be best achieved through the adoption of a single national language. Ironically, the adoption of the colonial language as the official language of these emerging nation-states had the double advantage of avoiding potential inter-ethnic conflict, while facilitating modernisation through technology and international communication.

In the French and Portuguese African Empires, the imposition of standard French and Portuguese as the only languages of civilisation and advancement during colonial days had the effect of placing African languages in a subordinate status position. Indeed, only standard French or Portuguese was allowed in
government, business and education. As with non-standard French or non-standard Portuguese dialects and non-French or non-Portuguese languages in France and Portugal, African languages in the colonies were dismissed as primitive patois and dialects. Also, French and Portuguese were taught in school as if they were mother tongues of African children rather than as a second languages. As in France and Portugal, primary schools in Dakar, Maputo and elsewhere in Francophone and Lusophone Africa used the infamous Token to discourage the use of non-French and non-Portuguese languages and dialects.

Since independence, most of these African states have had the difficult decision of either adopting French, Portuguese or an African language as their official national language. These decisions had the effect of perpetuating a situation in which standard French and Portuguese were viewed as the prestige languages while African indigenous languages were perceived as having lower prestige. Ironically, the prestige of French and Portuguese, were further enhanced by virtue of their association with African national independence. Indeed, Gordon (1978) noted that:

"The French language . . . had become, in several parts of Africa, the language of national identification, as it had become, before independence, the language of revolt and of the quest for African authenticity. . . . To 1975 at least, the general pattern among the states to emerge from the French African Empire, was to seek identification in French and to consider, or to pretend to consider the French language their own heritage". (Gordon, 1978, pp. 176 - 177)

Today, standard French remains the official language of former French colonies such as Chad, Congo-Brazzaville, Ivory Coast, Gabon, Mali, Senegal, Togo; as does Portuguese in former Portuguese colonies such as Mozambique, Angola, São Tomé e Príncipe and Cabo Verde. But the percentage of scholarisation in these countries varies greatly such that French and Portuguese are often known only by minority of the population while the vast majority of these populations speak their respective African indigenous languages. The choice of French and Portuguese as the national languages of most French and Portuguese colonies in Africa was also determined by the
lingering influence of France and Portugal (Weinstein, 1980). France and Portugal largely financed French and Portuguese Universities in Africa and still support numerous student exchange programmes. Standard French and Portuguese are taught in African universities and high schools by a large contingent of French and Portuguese 'coopérantes' sent as aid from France and Portugal. Despite the institutional support they receive in education, government, business and the media, standard French and Portuguese remain best known by the ruling westernised élite who stand to gain most from the maintenance of standard French or Portuguese as the prestige national languages of these countries. To this day, many élites in these African states believe the French and Portuguese languages and civilisations to be superior to African languages and cultures and support the use of French and Portuguese in world affairs such as the United Nations. Weinstein (1980) also notes that numerous African intellectuals and government officials who joined the 'francophone' movement proposed that French and Portuguese should remain the sole written languages of African societies.

The above considerations lead one to expect that attitudes towards standard French in francophone Africa and Portuguese in Lusophone Africa should be quite favourable while attitudes towards African indigenous languages should be less favourable. This may still be the case for the majority of élites leading many of today's francophone and Lusophone African states. But Weinstein (1980) has identified a number of factors which may have changed language attitudes in Africa in the late 1970s:

"A loosening of economic and military ties, disappointments with development programmes, the advent of new leaders on both sides of the Mediterranean . . . have coincided with an evolution in attitudes. More leaders and intellectuals speak about the value of African languages. In almost all countries, African languages are no longer dismissed as dialects, patois, or vernaculars. Political and cultural leaders as well as the masses refer to them as languages . . . Everywhere they are increasingly perceived as part of a cultural heritage of which Africans are justly proud. Concomitantly, French and Portuguese are being labelled foreign and second languages . . . This should affect teaching techniques - no longer teaching French or Portuguese as if they were mother tongues and the
It would seem that a movement in favour of indigenous African languages and cultures is having an impact on educational policies such that bilingual education is considered more seriously in numerous African nations. Recently, Weinstein (1980) pointed to mounting evidence that the teaching of standard French or Portuguese in African states has failed to produce literate populations, while even access to primary school instruction remains problematic. The obvious failure of unilingual French or Portuguese schooling in much of Africa has spurred the creation of experimental programmes where African languages are taught as media of instruction in primary schools. Such programmes exist in the Central African Republic, Senegal, Niger, Togo, Madagascar, Mauritania and Mali. The aim of such programmes is to use the African languages in the first years of school and then to switch gradually to French. But Weinstein (1980) documents how the use of African languages in the school system has already led to ethnic conflict. This seems to be the case especially when the language of one ethnic group is introduced more rapidly than the language of another ethnic group. Whatever trend prevails, conflict over the appropriate language of instruction in primary and secondary schools is imminent in francophone and Lusophone Africa. For the moment, the majority believe that better jobs are obtained with French and Portuguese than without them. Though increasingly proud of their African culture, many Africans still perceive French and Portuguese to be more useful than any African language. An interesting trend to emerge in the last few years is a pride in local African-accented varieties of French and Portuguese. This new trend is often coupled with the derogation of standard French and Portuguese as taught in classrooms across Africa. As Kwofie (1977) has shown, there exists a wide range of African-accented French or Portuguese varieties of French in Francophone Africa and Portuguese in Lusophone Africa. Distinctive African-accented French or Portuguese varieties have been identified in the Ivory-Coast, Senegal, the Congo and in the Central African Republic. Perhaps a greater tolerance for African nonstandard varieties of French or Portuguese on the part of educators and francophone and Lusophone élites could allow African-accented French or Portuguese to
emerge as symbols of African ethnic identity while remaining useful languages of communication across francophone and Lusophone parts of Africa.

On a prestige continuum, one could still expect standard French and Portuguese to be very favourably perceived in francophone and Lusophone Africa perhaps closely followed by African-accented French or Portuguese. African indigenous languages may receive lower prestige ratings than French or Portuguese while loyalty to African languages for use in informal settings seems to prevail in most African states.

1.8 Conclusion

Some important and conceptual points emerge from this particular study. On a methodological note, future social psychological studies of language attitudes in Southern Africa must take two important points into consideration. The first point is that social psychological research on language attitudes must distinguish empirically between formal and informal domains of language usage. In many Southern African communities, European languages remain the accepted prestige form for usage in formal settings while nonstandard renderings of European and indigenous languages have often emerged as the voice of identity and group solidarity for informal usage. Since decolonisation, language policies in new nation-states have sought to broaden the use of indigenous languages to more formal settings with mixed success. Throughout the Southern African region there is a pressing need to assess the success or failure of such language planning efforts using the best possible sociolinguistic and sociopsychological techniques.

Through sociolinguistic surveys usually monitor attitudes towards language usage in both formal and informal settings, this has not always been the case for sociopsychological studies of language attitudes. For instance, it is no longer sufficient to design matched-guise studies (Lambert, 1967) which ask listeners to rate stimulus speakers without specifying the setting for which the various speech styles are destined. At the very least, listeners should be asked to rate for which setting the speech style they heard is most appropriate. More interestingly,
perhaps, stimulus speakers can be presented for evaluations as they heard code switching (or not) in dialogues which are contextualised in terms of the social status of the interlocutors, the social role of the speakers and the setting in which their encounter takes place.

More dynamic matched-guise refinements (discussed in Giles & Bourhis, 1976b) in which listeners' attitudes towards language usage are supplemented with listeners' actual verbal behaviour have been developed by Bourhis & Giles (1976, 1977) in Wales; Bourhis et al. (1979) in Belgium and Giles, Taylor & Bourhis (1973) in Quebec. Recently, Bourhis (1981) utilised a real-life refinement of the matched-guise technique (Giles, Baker & Fielding, 1975) in conjunction with a sociolinguistic survey to assess the impact of Bill 101 on cross-cultural communication in Quebec. In that field of study, a perfectly bilingual experimenter addressed French Canadian and English Canadian pedestrians in either French or English in the streets of downtown Montreal. The language in which the pedestrians replied as well as answers they gave to the survey constituted the dependent measures used in that series of studies. Future studies must combine sociolinguistic surveys with such social psychological methods to monitor effectively the impact of language planning efforts on both language attitudes and actual language behaviour in multilingual communities (cf. Giles & Ryan, 1982).

The second methodological point that can be made in this conclusion is that language attitudes do not emerge in a sociostructural vacuum. The present study on 'language attitudes in Southern Africa' is an example 'par excellence' of how sociohistorical, demographic and institutional support factors can affect language attitudes in a wide range of speech communities across the world (cf. St. Clair, 1982; Kramarae, 1982). Sociopsychological studies of language attitudes cannot ignore the sociostructural contexts which inevitably influence such attitudes. We have seen that in the absence of actual empirical data, an overview of sociostructural factors affecting ethnolinguistic groups can be a precious source of information for assessing language attitudes in target speech communities. Using sociostructural factors as secondary data sources group vitality was recently proposed as a framework for objectively categorising speech communities in terms of their ability to balance as distinctive collective entities in
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intergroup settings (Giles et al. 1977). Objective accounts of group vitality using status, demographic and institutional support data gathered from secondary sources (see Table 1.2 above) was proposed as a useful method for comparing ethnolinguistic groups in cross-cultural research. The method used in this study to arrive at an estimate of attitudes in Southern African communities using sociostructural factors was based on the vitality method proposed by Giles, Bourhis & Taylor (1977). One assumption of this approach is that speech communities which have high vitality are in a better position to elevate their own style of speech as the prestige norm than speech communities that have low vitality. Throughout this study we have seen how more powerful speech communities have succeeded through language planning efforts to impose their own style of speech as the dominant norm within and beyond the limits of their linguistic territories.

In addition, Bourhis, Giles & Rosenthal (1981) pointed out that ethnolinguistic group members' subjective assessment of their own group position on vitality dimensions may be as important in determining language attitudes and behaviours as the group's objectively assessed vitality. For instance, members of a speech community may be made to perceive (through the mass media and education) that their distinctive speech style has little intrinsic value or prestige and that assimilation to the dominant speech community is a preferable outcome. Bourhis et al. (1981) proposed a new questionnaire designed to assess how group members subjectively perceive their own group position relative to salient outgroups on important vitality dimensions. Future language attitude studies might well include the administration of the Subjective Vitality Questionnaire to better account for the effect of objective and subjective sociostructural variables on language attitudes and language behaviours (cf. Ryan, Giles & Sebastian, 1982; Giles, Ryan, 1982).

On the other hand, language speaker number has often had consequential implications for language planning. In this study, the researcher has suggested that speaker number counts in terms of the silence or the loudness of the voices of different ethnolinguistic groups in multilingual contexts, in terms of national, regional, or even local privileges and entitlements, in terms of functional
allocation, and in terms of general development (including language development). Such factors, in most multilingual contexts, play an empowering role and tend to be in favour of languages with large number of speakers. They, generally, lead to an attitude of pride and 'ethnolinguistic vitality' (cf. Giles, Rosenthal & Young, 1985). On the contrary, because such factors, generally disfavour those belonging to small language groups, a variety of reactions could be provoked. Exaggerated loyalty as a protection mechanism for minority languages and cultures, sometimes occurs. At the other times, integrative sentiments are aroused owing to the different kinds of assimilative pressures exerted by the institutionalisation of mainstream languages. In very extreme cases, denial of belonging to one's own language and cultural background could even result. In such a case, speakers of small language feel public shame when they are identified with their small language and culture. While the attitude of resistance to assimilation, generally, tends to lead to the maintenance and preservation of small languages and cultures, surrender to assimilation tends to result in language degeneration, regression, and ultimately, death. The following remarks from Coulmas (1984, p. 16), which this researcher shares, seem to be pertinent as a way of concluding this Chapter:

"An important aspect of doing justice to linguistic minorities, however, is that it is less a question of money, and more a question of tolerance and a change of consciousness. If cultural diversity and a multiplicity of languages are taken as a positive value, and if it is recognised that the question of whether or not a given minority culture or language will disappear has its answer in a historical process resulting from specific policy decisions, rather than, 'natural' tendencies of convergence, it becomes easy to promote or maintain bi- and multilingualism in culturally diverse societies."

In essence, therefore, while language policies should aim at giving the necessary support to the languages that are numerically superior or strong, they should, simultaneously, aim at the recognition of, and the provision of institutional succour to those that are numerically inferior or weak (cf. Fishman, 1991). More specific, fine-grained and in-depth research, is needed, however, on the impact of language speaker numbers on language attitudes and language policy in Southern Africa.
On the other hand, from the data presented above, it appears that there is a considerable consensus in Mozambique and Southern Africa that indigenous languages should be encouraged and maintained, because they are bearers of "culture" which is clearly experienced as a mode of ethnic self-identification. This, somewhat, seems to contradict Dirven's assertion of lack of ". . . indigenous cultural self-respect among Africans" (Dirven, 1990, p. 25).

My belief is that cultural self-respect may well exist; but it should be asked whether, by yielding to the economic imperatives to learn European languages, and to learn them as well as possible, speakers of indigenous languages are not, unwittingly, acquiescing in structures which cannot but lead to the diminishing of their own languages. One sees Africans as seeking the advantages of a Western education in the secure belief that their mother tongue or first language is not in any way threatened. That is, there is no way 3 or 4 hours of exposure to a European language in formal school situation could possibly compete with, let alone threaten to supplant, the non-stop process of acquiring competence in the mother tongue. Therefore, one sees Southern Africans' action of learning European languages as the usual attempt to ensure their good future, to make certain that they do not lose out on anything good that is going. That action is a deliberately calculated as that of the Chief Priest Achebe's Arrow of God, who sends one of his sons to church to acquire the new religion in case it turns out to be worth something (Achebe, 1966, p. 61).

Southern Africans send their children to the English/Portuguese-medium schools precisely because they want them to grow up multilingual. They are also not unmindful of the advantages that may accrue from the acquisition of competence in European languages. Why settle for monolingualism in societies that are constantly in state of flux, when you can be multilingual and more at ease with richer linguistic repertoires and expanding consciousness?

On the other hand, however, Ndebele (1987) warns against a continuance of the previous tendency to transfer Western ideas piecemeal to Southern Africa, thus negating the "Southern African" potential of the countries. Southern Africa's
linguistic diversity is seen by Ndebele, as a potential richness; but, as does any multilingualism, it also can create problems. Part of this Chapter has sought to give some idea as to how these problems are experienced by a small selection of ordinary people. It is crucial for the future development of the countries that not the simplest solutions be taught, but rather solutions which will exploit the richness of human languages and cultures in Southern Africa.

It is also true that there seems to be a growing acceptance of European languages in many parts of Southern Africa largely because of the perception that they serve unifying roles in largely multi-ethnic societies. In other words, many Southern Africans seem to think that their countries would break up due to ethnic politics in largely multilingual and multiethnic African communities, were European languages not around to play a unifying role. The perceived unifying role supposedly being performed by European languages is, apart from their instrumental value, also partly, responsible for their high esteem and value.

In sum, I believe this Chapter tried to reveal, or at least, to imply, that any study of language attitudes in Mozambique, in particular, and Southern Africa, in general, that belittles the languages' sociocultural background and origins, risks being shallow and unrevealing. At the very best, it will merely scratch the surface of the matter.
CHAPTER 2 - THE LANGUAGE SITUATION IN MOZAMBIQUE AND SOUTHERN AFRICA

2.1 - Introduction

The main aim of this Chapter is to, briefly, contrast the methodology used in the study of language attitudes in the past, and the methodology used in the present study.

Therefore, it will start by describing the methodology used in the study of language attitudes in the past, followed by a description of the measurement of Language Attitudes. The Chapter then will present a sociolinguistic description of the language situation in Mozambique and Southern Africa.

Finally, the Chapter will describe other characteristics of the language situation in Mozambique and Southern Africa, such as dense multilingualism, the official dominance of the ex-colonial language, and so forth.

Since the pioneering work of Lambert in the early 1960s on language attitudes, we have come a long way in terms of accumulated descriptive data, applied research, methodological sophistication and theoretical ideas. It has been my aim that this study should be a comprehensive, integrated testament to these advances.

Nevertheless, virtually every author in previous studies has argued the need to examine contextual constraints on language attitudes more thoroughly in the future (Romaine, 1980; Smith & Bailey, 1980). For example, Brennan & Brennan (1983), Seggie (1983), Seggie, Fulmizi & Stewart (1982) focused importantly upon the developments which have occurred recently in their understanding of how language variables influenced the decision-making processes in educational, occupational and medical arenas. Moreover, this study points to the fact that we should be at least as concerned with subjective as objective characteristics of situation, the latter being characteristic of much traditional sociolinguistic research. Giles, Hewstone, & St. Clair (in press) illustrate the parameters of the problem as follows:
“Objectively describing a social situation as a formal interview on a serious topic with a 90-year-old black woman will have little predictive value concerning her likely speech patterns if she herself defines the interview informally, considers the subject matter irrelevant and trivial and feels ‘White’ and 50 years of age. In other words, speech is far more likely to be dependent on how speakers cognitively represent their characteristics and subjectively define the scene than any objective classification imposed from without”.

As mentioned previously with regard to perceived purpose of encounter, most of speaker evaluation studies were contextually homogeneous (Lee, 1971; Giles & Bourhis, 1976) but they were also homogeneous with respect to the manner in which listeners’ judgments of speakers were elicited. For instance, people did not only form ‘private’ language attitudes when explicitly required by pencil and paper means in laboratory situation while listening to a tape recording. Very often, people publicly discussed and socially compared (cf. Feldman & Ruble, 1981; Festinger, 1954) their views without recourse to prolonged individual meditation about them when listening to others in a whole variety of casual and formal contexts.

In conclusion, in previous studies, matched guise techniques were used throughout the time, but my view is that, sometimes, they produced results which would have been obtained by means of direct measurement, rather than the indirect technique.

As far as this study is concerned, and in view of the fact that in countries like Mozambique where logistic material is very scarce, I believe that direct measurement is preferable mainly because of the experience of respondents. Therefore, the following examples illustrate the contrast between the methodology used in the past with the direct measurement adopted in this study.

Agheyisi & Fishman (1970) compiled a catalogue of surveys, interviews, case studies, autobiographies, commitment measures and the matched-guise technique. Furthermore, despite some conceptual problems associated with operationalisation, many researchers have overcome these problems without recourse to conceptual acrobatics; and studies have proceeded apace, often
perhaps eschewing these difficulties by virtue of the wide variety of adopted perspectives and methods. However, some different approaches are considered within the framework put forward by Ryan & Giles (1982); this distinguishes between 'social presentation' of language varieties, 'direct' assessment and 'indirect' assessment of language attitudes.

The first methodological approach discussed by Ryan & Giles refers to content analysis of the societal treatment accorded to language varieties. Agheyisi & Fishman refer to this as analysis of 'community impressions', a term which seems to convey effectively the flavour of relevant research. Although rarely afforded any attention (Agheyisi & Fishman, 1970; Cooper & Fishman, 1974; Cooper, 1975), the primary source of information concerning views about language varieties lies in their public treatment (i.e. official language policies; use by various sub-groups; use in official places, etc.). This approach (Stevens, 1983) does encompass a rich variety of techniques (Fishman, 1966), but has thus far remained distinct from sociopsychological studies of language attitudes. However, given the growing interest in richer, more social and less experimental studies of social cognition, as exemplified in recent work on social representations (e.g. Herzlich, 1973; Moscovici, 1976), the way lies open for a rapprochement. It is of obvious relevance to Kramarae's (1980) assessment of the social treatment of women's speech, revealed through examination of the popular media (cf. Anderson et al. 1983).

These kinds of analysis also ensure that our focus on the social and psychological contexts of language does not lead us to overlook its other contexts. Thus, St. Clair has argued that the empirical findings of a social psychological approach should be placed within the larger context of sociopolitical (St. Clair, 1980) and socio-historical (St. Clair, 1982) factors. He argues that it is up to these broader, though less exact, disciplines to unravel the structured content of language attitudes and to provide some insight into the emergence of values over time. Indeed, as Edwards (1983) ably underlines, one of the overriding features of this multidisciplinary field is that language attitude studies herein have not been stranded in time. Rather, they focus explicitly on the dynamic nature of language attitudes.
Language attitudes have also been measured directly with questionnaires bearing explicitly on language evaluation (how favourably a variety is viewed), language preference (e.g. which of two languages or varieties is preferred for certain purposes in certain situations), desirability and reasons for learning a particular language, evaluation of social groups who use a particular variety, self-reports concerning language use, desirability of bilingualism and bilingual education, and opinions concerning shifting or maintaining language policies (Bourhis, 1983; Fitch & Hopper, 1983). Important contributions in this vein have been made by Fishman, Cooper & Ma (1968), Cohen (1974), Ornstein (1974), Thompson (1973) and Carranza (1976). Where the use of direct measures is useful (Ryan, 1979), albeit in tandem with indirect assessment and analysis of community impressions, is in suggesting additional dimensions for consideration. However, they may not fully convey the complexity of the issue. In particular, 'demand' characteristics may call forth certain 'public' socially-desirable responses and repress 'private' other (e.g. Tedeshi & Reiss, 1981).

The third method of measurement, indirect assessment of attitudes through the elicitation of listeners' subjective reactions to different speech styles on audiotape, forms the foundation of the sociopsychological perspective on language attitudes (Gibbons, 1983; Price et al., 1983; Seggie, 1983). The matched-guise procedure (Giles & Powesland, 1975) has undoubtedly been the most popular technique used to elicit people's evaluative reactions to various speech styles, accents, dialects and languages. Judges are told that they are to hear the voices of different speakers, usually reading the same passage of 'neutral' verbal material, and are asked to evaluate the speakers on a series of rating scales. The speech is, in fact, produced by one speaker using realistic guises of different languages or speech characteristics. When convincing matched-guises are unavailable, the contrasted speech styles may be represented by distinct speakers (Cooper, 1975; Huygens & Vaughan, 1983). The matched-guise technique has the advantage of eliminating the effects of the more idiosyncratic variations in speech, but in so doing, it may rule out some of the other characteristics which normally covary with different speech varieties such as, for example, pitch variety and stress. Lambert (1967) suggests that it is particularly valuable as a measure of group biases in evaluative reactions, and perhaps its major strength lies in its ability to reveal non-consciously held
attitudes.

The first study using this indirect method was that of Lambert et al. (1960). English Canadian and French Canadian subjects rated ingroup and outgroup speakers (i.e. English Canadian and French Canadian speakers, respectively). English Canadians were found to view the ingroup as superior to the outgroup, while the French Canadian subjects seemed to have adopted the inferior position assigned to them by the majority culture around them - a kind of self-denigration (Tucker, 1968). It should also be mentioned that Tajfel's (1959) explanation of these data was slightly different. He points out that the French Canadians accentuate the difference between the groups more than the English Canadian subjects do on certain dimensions relating to socioeconomic success. He, therefore, interprets these responses as a form of categorical differentiation (Doise, 1978).

This first study precipitated an outpouring of further studies on language evaluation, the findings of which have recently been reviewed in the edited volume by Ryan & Giles (1982). Empirical research in various parts of the world (Australia, New Zealand, Hong Kong and Tunisia) has yielded a generally consistent pattern of results: speakers of 'high' or 'powerful' speech styles are rated highly on competence and traits related to socioeconomic status, while speakers of 'low' or 'powerless' speech styles are evaluated less favourably along these dimensions, even by judges who themselves have 'subordinate' ethnic speech markers (Labov, 1966; Lambert, 1967). Suffice to say that there is a long, historical tradition to the imposition of a hierarchy on dialects and speech styles and that this aspect of 'prescriptivism' (Drake, 1977) has led to a wide variety of empirical and non-empirical analyses. The general result of such a hierarchy is that some forms of accented speech are rated lower on linguistic ability by 'the system' (Shuy & Fasold, 1973; St. Clair, 1982) and it is this essential fact that underlies all approaches. In other social contexts, however, the language varieties of many of the latter groups may be imbued with pride by their own speakers on the more 'human' traits of solidarity, integrity, social attractiveness and persuasive quality (Gibbons, 1983; Huygens & Vaughan, 1983).

While many of these findings emerged from studies bearing on the rather
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'unusual' task of rating speakers of different language varieties, language attitudes come to play a role in a variety of applied contexts - personnel interviews, educational settings, medical consultations and legal situations. In addition, language attitudes underpin language planning strategies and will influence the outcome of educational programmes for minority ethnolinguistic groups. These applications have yielded a large number of studies, only some of which can be discussed in this study.

In occupational field, language may be particularly important in the personnel interview, where first impressions are so telling. A number of studies have investigated whether a job applicant's ethnic accent has an effect on employers' decisions about job suitability (Kalin, 1982). Kalin & Rayko (1980) in a Canadian study reveal discrimination against foreign accented applicants for higher status jobs; however, these speakers were judged more suitable for lower-status jobs. Although apparently revealing an absence of discrimination in at least some conditions, this last result may be seen to reflect the particularly invidious position in which ethnically-accented applicants are placed - they are effectively denied access to high status employment.

In the medical field research has focussed primarily on social class variables. It has revealed effects of social class on the frequency of communication difficulties and the amount of information-provision (Pendleton & Bochner, 1980), while there may also be some relation to diagnoses offered (Fielding & Evered, 1980; Robinson, 1979); in each case working-class patients appear disadvantaged relative to middle-class patients. Some of the consequences of ethnic accents in cross-cultural medical interviews have been reviewed by Shuy (1977). Almost certainly, attitudes to non-standard usage can also affect forensic situations, such as police and court-room decision-making. Recently, socio-legal research has begun to examine the influence of speech style in such contexts (Lind & O'Barr, 1979) and Seggie's (1983) article is an important step on this empirical road.

In the educational field, the work of Williams & associates (1976) has revealed various biases shown by teachers in their assessments and evaluations of nonstandard-accented children. The work of Edward (1979 and Chapter 4, this study) also demonstrated that the perception of poor speech characteristics in
children led their teachers to make negative inferences about their social background and unfavourable evaluations of their personalities. Both these studies alert us to the possibility of self-fulfilling prophecies, whereby the speech of the child or the language attitudes of the teacher can have potentially devastating effects (Frender, Brown & Lambert, 1970; Seligman, Tucker & Lambert, 1972). Also relevant to this context is research on the importance of attitudes in second language learning. Correlational studies in Canada have shown that attitude is more consistently related to achievement in the second language than is aptitude (Gardner, 1982). Relatedly, another important area is that of language planning; this refers to the conscious, predictive approach to changes in language form and use (Rubin & Jernudd, 1971). Here, language attitudes will be very influential, as planners need to determine how speakers in the community feel about the varieties superseded and those to assume prominence (Edwards, 1977; Smith, Tucker & Taylor, 1977). These developments imply the need for governmental language policies to be sensitive to community circumstances and flexible enough for language teachers to be able to adapt their goals and methods to local attitudes, conditions and needs (Bourhis, 1983; Stevens, 1983). (For further examples or illustrations, see 1.2 above).

2.2 - The Measurement of Language Attitudes

Social psychologists have developed a number of systematic techniques for inferring and measuring attitudes. Lambert et al. (1973, pp. 73-74), suggested that if a measuring instrument was to be useful, it should, reliably, register variations in quantities so that the measured elements could be compared and placed in an order.

They went on to add that devices to measure attitudes, like other instruments, were tested and reworked until they, reliably, reflected degrees of favourable or unfavourable attitudes. But special problems, however, cropped up with such psychological measuring devices. This was due to, among other things, the fact that people and their attitudes, sometimes, changed from one time period to another, being therefore, difficult to determine a device's reliability. Furthermore, it
was not possible to make direct measurements of complex psychological processes, such as attitudes. Because most people usually give incomplete, superficial, and often, distorted descriptions of their attitudes, psychologists need to be as ingenious as possible to infer the existence and characteristics of an attitude from often camouflaged information about a person's thought, feelings, and reaction tendencies. The indirect inferences made about attitudes required careful testing for validity - that is, attitude measures should actually gauge what they were supposed to, and not some other psychological process.

On the other hand, Giles & Wiemann (1987), commenting on the measurement of language attitudes, observed that, at the heart of language attitudes research, was the idea that language could trigger an evaluative reaction tendency. They went on to add that, in fact, one view of the human social animal was that he, or she, was constantly evaluating self and other, for the purpose of social comparison.

In this point of view, language is seen to be both a cause of social evaluation and a primary vehicle for its expression - one says, for example: 'She has an unfriendly style' or 'He doesn't sound very smart'. And with few exceptions, language attitudes researchers have recognised the last-mentioned fact: reactions to language variation have been assessed with verbal measures.

There are three primary verbal measurement strategies apparent in the extant research: use of diverse evaluative items of interest to the researcher; use of general personality measures; and use of items representing empirically-derived or theoretically-motivated factors (c.f.s. Bradac et al., 1976b; Brown, 1980; Lambert et al. 1965; Bradac et al., 1978: Miller, 1970; Rotter, 1966; and Mulac, 1975, 1976)

For example, Mulac (1975, 1976) devised the Speech Dialect Attitudinal Scale (SDAS) as a general instrument for measuring reactions to speech and language variations. Three primary dimensions or factors have emerged, repeatedly, in a number of studies using the SDAS: Socio-Intellectual Status, Aesthetic Quality, and Dynamism (e.g. Mulac et al., 1985; 1986). Zahn & Hopper (1985) have proposed a variant of the SDAS, a measure they label the Speech Evaluation Instrument (SEI). Three factors comprise the SEI also: Superiority,
On the other hand, Brown (1965) has suggested that the two primary dimensions of interpersonal relations are status and solidarity, which are conceptualised as orthogonal factors having poles representing high and low values. Furthermore, Giles & Ryan (1982) have suggested that a third dimension intersects with status and solidarity, namely person-group orientation. Thus, in some circumstances, one focuses upon a speaker's individual characteristics, while in others, one focuses upon the speaker's group affiliations. In person-centred situations stressing status, message recipients will attend to speaker competence, expertise, and confidence, whereas, in group-centred situations, they will attend to hierarchical variables, such as social class and power.

Thus, a three-dimensional model can be invoked when conceptualising speech and language evaluation: **status** ++ **solidarity** ++ **individualism**. Dynamism can probably be added as a fourth independent dimension, since, in several studies it has emerged as a separate factor and, in one programme of research, it has served, consistently, to distinguish speaker types (males from females); (cf. Mulac et al., 1985). This four-dimensional structure will, undoubtedly, generate particular measures in future language-attitudes research.

Over the last 30 years, language attitudes research has matured considerably: studies of attitudinal consequences of accent and dialect variation have become increasingly theoretical and complex; researchers have gone beyond accent and dialect, in order to investigate a broad range of language variables; communication context, increasingly, has been incorporated as a feature of research; and measurement procedures have become, increasingly, sophisticated. Indeed, the field has matured to the point where there are sets of stable results capable of yielding generalisations, such as the following, summarised by Giles et al. (1990, pp. 405 - 406):

(a) "All of the levels of language (i.e. phonology, syntax, semantics, and pragmatics) affect message recipients' beliefs about and evaluations of message sources".

(b) "Message recipients distinguish between valued and non-valued linguistic forms".
"Valued linguistic forms are positively associated with message recipients' judgments of a message sender's status or competence".

"Message recipients distinguish between convergence and divergent linguistic acts".

"A message sender's convergence to message recipients' language is positively associated with message recipients' judgments of the message sender's sociability or solidarity".

"Perceptions of communication context affect reactions to valued/non-valued and convergent/non-convergent language performance".

To summarise, if one conceives of attitudes as behavioural dispositions which can be interpreted as relatively enduring properties of persons which vary in degree, then, according to Scott (1968, p. 251), an adequate measure of attitudes would:

1. reflect the intended property veridically;
2. be unaffected by irrelevant characteristics either within the subject or within the testing situation;
3. not modify the property in the course of measuring it;
4. make sufficiently fine distinctions among persons to represent gradations along the scales as conceived;
5. yield results substantially equivalent to those produced by another adequate instrument measuring the same property;
6. yield the same scores on a retest administered within a time period in which the property can be assumed to remain constant;
7. be relatively easy to construct, administer, score and interpret".

These characteristics can also be summarised under two main headings, which were briefly discussed above: Validity and Reliability.

2.3 - Major Indigenous Languages of Mozambique and Southern Africa

Alexandre (1971, p. 660), gives the following sociolinguistic profile for most African countries, based on the principle of the use of official language:

(i) "a small multilingual, modern-oriented group using a European (or ex-colonial) language;
(ii) a fairly large multilingual group using vernaculars plus an African
A Sociopsychological Survey of Language Attitudes in Southern Africa: A Case Study of Mozambique

For Alexandre (1971), and this is visible today, in most countries, members of group (i) constitute a political and economic oligarchy or social class. They are the western-oriented élite group who, partly, by virtue of the European or colonial languages they speak and their educational background, hold the key to political and economic power. They are the power brokers who have steered, and still continue to determine, the destinies of their different countries.

The proportions of group (ii) and (iii) vary widely from country to country. As Alexandre points out, in Tanzania, for instance, group (ii), which has Kiswahili as a vehicular national language, represents a majority of the population.

Alexandre goes on to conclude that overall, the following points seem to be fairly typical of the language situation in most countries of Southern Africa and, therefore, worthy of specific note:

- the existence of dense multilingualism and multiculturalism (except, perhaps, in a few countries such as Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland);
- the past imposition and consequent past and present official dominance of ex-colonial languages;
- the general official neglect of indigenous languages, except in few cases, the major or vehicular ones;
- an unsevered colonial umbilical cord, which has resulted in a continuing over-dependence on former colonial masters;
- the existence of a complex network of socio-politically intertwined language-related problems; and,
- the slow, but gradually evolving, nature of pan-African, cross-border vehicular languages.

It has been argued that the widespread perception of a multiplicity of languages as a "problem" may only be an illusion (Khubchandani, 1984, p. 102), and it is true that in terms of interaction in buying and selling, practical work, transport, medical treatment and other social activities, pluralistic societies operate with a remarkable flexibility and efficiency, determining such issues as the choice of lingua franca with pragmatic ease. People with little or no formal education manipulate two or more languages without much apparent difficulty and the work gets done.
However, it cannot be denied that pluralism present massive difficulties for policy-makers and raises many questions to which there are no easy answers. The contrasting demands of instrumental and sentimental criteria are sometimes incompatible. One certainly does not foresee any easy solution to the complex language problem in Mozambique.

On the other hand, Ferguson (1967) posits three criteria, any one of which qualifies a language as a major language in a country:

a) being spoken by over a million speakers or by 25% of the population;
b) being an official language;
c) being the medium of education of over 50% of secondary school graduates.

According to Ferguson there are two indigenous languages which qualify under criterion (a) Makua-Lomwé and Tsonga (see table 2.3).

Recent official sources speak of more than 20 different 'ethnic groups'. Oversimplifying grossly, Makua-Lomwé as a mother tongue is predominant in the north of the country where it is spoken in four provinces: Niassa, Cabo Delgado, Nampula and Zambézia (see Table 2.2 above). Tsonga is mainly concentrated in the south of the country where it is spoken in three provinces: Inhambane, Gaza and Maputo. All the Mozambican indigenous languages belong to the Bantu super family.

It can be seen that in terms of the number of speakers, Makua-Lomwé and Tsonga are well ahead of the rest.

Table 2.1 - Main Ethnic Groupings and Indigenous Languages of Mozambique (1970 estimates)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Grouping</th>
<th>Millions</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Makonde</td>
<td>175,000</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yao (or Ajaua)</td>
<td>170,000</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makua-Lomwé</td>
<td>3,000,000</td>
<td>36.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngoni</td>
<td>35,000</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marave</td>
<td>250,000</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower Zambezi Peoples</td>
<td>900,000</td>
<td>11.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shona</td>
<td>765,000</td>
<td>9.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thonga (or Tsonga)</td>
<td>1,850,000</td>
<td>22.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chopi and Tonga</td>
<td>450,000</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>7,585,000</td>
<td>95.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Cited in Thomas Henriksen, 1978, p. 247
2.4 - The Statuses and Functions of European and the Indigenous Languages in Mozambique.

Since 1475, the indigenous languages of Mozambique have been ruled out of official use, not with their consent, but by right of conquest. There was no signing of treaties as was the case in some parts of Africa, such as Lesotho and the former Kingdom of Barotseland (Zambia). It is clear, therefore, that Portuguese was imposed as the language of the conquering people, while the indigenous languages were subordinate languages. As the language of the ruling class, and as a codified and developed language, Portuguese was given a status far above that of the other languages and has enjoyed this status for about 520 years. This relationship between Portuguese and indigenous languages has to be clearly stated in our effort to examine the impact which indigenous languages and Portuguese have had on each other. It is, therefore, necessary to outline the function of each language in Portuguese-dominated colonial Mozambique and to review its status in respect of whether it was given official status or regarded as a vernacular language. In terms of definition, in this study, one will call a language 'official' if it is the primary medium of communication in one or more of the following fields: administration, education, Parliament and the law courts. Interpretations or translations of official documents for non-speakers of the official language will not be classified as official use. Table 2.6 summarises the relative language functions in colonial Mozambique.

Table 2.2 - Summary of Language Functions in Colonial Mozambique (as of 1970)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Field</th>
<th>Portuguese</th>
<th>Nyanja</th>
<th>Makua-Lómwe</th>
<th>Sena</th>
<th>Tsonga</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Public administration</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The law courts</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Official Documents</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parliament</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lingua franca</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International communication</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scientific &amp; technical communication</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radio</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious worship</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School subject</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home language</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

+ = means the language is used in that capacity
Generally speaking, Portuguese in Mozambique is associated with the formal situations and is used in forms of communication which are linked with education such as letter writing and talking to teachers and missionaries, while indigenous languages are used in informal situations and in gatherings where uneducated people are involved (see 3.3., survey results, for details). In so far as any official publication uses a foreign language, it is likely to be Portuguese, and it appears on currency and postage stamps. Portuguese meets Ferguson’s criteria for classification as a major language in terms of criterion (c) (secondary school graduates).

However, in view of the small proportion of the population exposed to secondary education, it would be grossly misleading to list Portuguese alongside the major indigenous languages.

On the other hand, in French-speaking countries, the philosophy of Négritude, whose aim was to enhance African culture and art was a reaction to the earlier tendency to reject one’s own language and culture in search of French values. In agreement with Négritude’s principles, Diedrich Westermann (1949, p. 127) is believed to have been one of the first to see the dangers of using a European language as a medium of instruction in African schools when he observed that:

"Even primary school children, . . . do not attach any importance to the vernacular and are glad to get rid of it as soon as possible".

However, it is inspiring to note that, two decades after independence, the old tendency to despise African languages is gradually disappearing in Mozambique, especially among young people; it appears that the young Mozambican has been politicised and has learnt to appreciate his own culture and language, he has learnt to see something good in African things, while at the same time, his loyalty to his own language does not make him blind to the usefulness of a European language.
In other words, there seems to be a growing awareness of the value of African culture, but this awareness is not accompanied by the problems of misguided nationalism and the great value attached to Portuguese, while there is an indication that young Mozambican men and women no longer regard their languages as uncivilised and unimportant.

On the whole, however, the final picture one gets is that, while attitudes are changing, the roles of indigenous languages and Portuguese, from the point of view of function, have not changed much over the last 20 years. Portuguese seems to continue as the language associated with official communication, education and formal situations such as letter writing, speeches and conferences (as the results of a survey conducted for this study, 3.3.5 show). Educated Mozambicans tend to prefer Portuguese to their own languages, even for purposes where the latter can function perfectly. A meeting where only indigenous language-speaking teachers are involved will be conducted in Portuguese, for instance, and one finds that educated interlocutors often converse in Portuguese even if they share the same mother tongue. This is why many Mozambicans claim to have Portuguese as their mother tongue.

2.5 - Other Characteristics of the Language Situation in Mozambique and Southern Africa

In sum, as noted by Alexandre (1971) above, it can be said that the language situation in Mozambique shares the following characteristics with the rest of Southern African states:

2.5.1 - Dense Multilingualism

The language situation in Mozambique, is generally, characterised by a type of dense multilingualism composed of indigenous languages and an exogenous language. Except perhaps, for Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, which show some degree of linguistic homogeneity, all other countries of Southern Africa could be considered as showing a high degree of dense multilingualism, with the degree being more extreme in some countries such as South Africa, than in others.
As an illustration of the previous point, according to Webb (1992a), in South Africa, for example, the politics and dynamics of apartheid have made the language situation, and, thus the likely configuration of language attitudes, even more complex. With a population of approximately 40 million (in 1994), the country has about 24 languages (see Table 2.4 above). Afrikaans and English are official languages. There are also the Nguni languages (Ndebele, Swazi, Zulu, Xhosa); the Sotho languages (North Sotho/Sipedi; South Sotho, Tswana; Tonga, Venda); the European languages (Dutch, French, German, Greek, Italian, Portuguese) and the Asian languages (Chinese, Gujarati, Hindi, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu) as illustrated in Table 2.3.

Table 2.3 - Census Data (1980) on Home Languages in the RSA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Languages</th>
<th>Whites</th>
<th>Coloured</th>
<th>Asians</th>
<th>Africans</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Official languages</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afrikaans</td>
<td>2581080</td>
<td>2251860</td>
<td>15500</td>
<td>77320</td>
<td>4925760</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>1763220</td>
<td>324360</td>
<td>608940</td>
<td>29120</td>
<td>2815640</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Other European languages</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td>11740</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11740</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>40240</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>40240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greek</td>
<td>16780</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>16780</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>16600</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>16600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portuguese</td>
<td>57080</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>57080</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>6340</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6340</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sub-total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>148780</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Asian languages</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamil</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>24720</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>24720</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindi</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>25900</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>25900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telugu</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4000</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujarati</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>25120</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>25120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13280</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2700</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sub-total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>95720</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grand-total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>16777322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>African languages</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nguni-languages</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xhosa</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8440</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2870920</td>
<td>2879360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zulu</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5580</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6058900</td>
<td>6064800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siSwati</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1060</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>649540</td>
<td>650600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South-Ndebele</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>440</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>289220</td>
<td>289640</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North-Ndebele</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>170120</td>
<td>170220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sub-total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10054322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sotho-Tswana</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Sotho</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2440</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2429180</td>
<td>2431620</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Sotho</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5320</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1872520</td>
<td>1877840</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tswana</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9300</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1346360</td>
<td>1355660</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sub-total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5685120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsonga</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1160</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>886960</td>
<td>888140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venda</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>169700</td>
<td>169740</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>35020</td>
<td>2660</td>
<td>11160</td>
<td>73900</td>
<td>122740</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td>4528100</td>
<td>261270</td>
<td>821320</td>
<td>16923760</td>
<td>24886020</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Owing to the scarcity of coordinated research and the non-inclusion of language items (always considered politically touchy) on the census questionnaires of many countries, the number of languages in that part of Southern Africa cannot be indicated with precision (see Introduction above for details). But the fact of dense multilingualism in most of them seems incontrovertible, if often complicated by dense multidialectalism in most languages, thus making the language situation even more intriguing and difficult to measure.

Strong loyalty to a particular dialect of a major language is commonplace and often has implications for language attitudes, as well. For instance, in Mozambique, Tsonga is a result of a mixture of several dialects, namely: Shangana, Rhonga, and Bitonga (koine); while in Zimbabwe, Shona was a language variety 'consciously distilled' also from several dialects, namely: the Zezuru, Karanga, Korekore, Manyika and Ndau dialects. The comment that Shona is "a language which everyone writes and nobody speaks" (Ansre, 1971, p. 691), is a testimonial to how attitudes to a language variety can affect its usage in a community, or vice-versa.

In essence, therefore, not only must language planners in Mozambique, South Africa, Zimbabwe and, indeed, other multilingual countries, pay attention to the degree and extent of multilingualism, but also to the degree of geographical distribution of the different dialects of a particular language. To do otherwise, is to imperil the chances of success of language-planning.

Dense multilingualism and multidialectalism tend to go side-by-side with dense multiculturalism and strong language and cultural loyalties. The implication of these phenomena is that a wide range, diversity and intensity of attitudinal patterns is to be expected in most countries of Southern Africa. The implications of such patterns for language choice and planning need to be reckoned with by policy-makers.
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2.5.2 - The Official Dominance of Ex-colonial Languages in Mozambique and Southern Africa

Adegbija (1994, p. 17), sees the official dominance of ex-colonial languages as being another inescapable and very conspicuous fact of the language situation in Southern Africa shared by many other ex-colonial countries. He finds it to be a peculiar situation in which a language not indigenous to a country, but imposed from outside, becomes supreme in official transactions, in the educational domain and the general running of government. On the other hand, Phillipson (1992, p. 128), speaking specifically with regard to the dominance of French and English in Africa, aptly summarises the dominance of European languages in Africa in the following way:

"The continued dominance of French and English in independent African countries indicates that these countries have inherited the same type of legacy. This is a legacy of linguicism in which the colonised people have internalised the language and many of the attitudes of their masters, in particular, their attitude to the dominant language and the dominated languages" (Phillipson (1992, p. 128).

Unfortunately, every country in this part of Southern Africa was once colonised. Britain was the most voracious of the colonising powers. According to Schmied (1991, p. 21), it alone colonised, among others, the following countries (or parts of countries in Southern Africa): Botswana (1884 - 1966); Lesotho (1868 - 1966); Malawi (1868 - 1966); South Africa (1795 - 1910); Swaziland (1881 - 1968); Tanzania (1919 - 1961); Zambia (1889 - 1964) and Zimbabwe (1888 - 1980), followed by Portugal which colonised Angola (1575) and Mozambique (1575). It is not surprising, therefore, that English and Portuguese have become dominant in the countries in question. In fact, this dominance is such that terms such as 'English-speaking Africa' and 'Portuguese-speaking Africa' are commonly heard and used even by well-informed scholars. However, as Alexandre (1971, p. 654) rightly observes, such terms are very deceptive because less than 30% of Africans speak such ex-colonial languages. In spite of this, however, and to highlight the dominance of European languages, one could point out that, in virtually all these countries, indigenous languages are not used as the medium of higher education, except, sometimes, in the teaching of the languages themselves. For instance, English is the medium of instruction in universities in...
The use of indigenous languages in education is largely limited to the first few years of primary education in Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Namibia, South Africa, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. Perhaps, one advantage of this situation is that it allows mobility across these countries.

In terms of upward social mobility and political voice, the ex-colonial languages are also dominant. Generally, those competent in them have a greater potential for acquiring national political power than those who are not. As a consequence, an élite class, demarcated from the non-élite class, principally on the basis of educational background and competence in the ex-colonial language, has emerged. For instance, according to Schmied (1991, pp. 23-24),

"In Zimbabwe, fluent English is required and tested for acceptance into the police force, and army recruits have to undertake English lessons on joining their unit. In Lesotho and Zambia, every student entering the university must have a pass in the Cambridge Overseas School Certificate in English, in Botswana even a credit. In Malawi, English is compulsory in Parliament and all MPs are required to pass a stringent test".

This often western-oriented élite class controls, shapes and, almost, creates the economic and political destinies of Mozambique and other countries of Southern Africa, since it holds the key to power. It keeps a tight rein on each country by virtue of its political power, partly acquired due to competence in the European language. Moreover, it is this group that has to fend for each country in international relations and diplomacy. In essence, the western-oriented élite is the voice of each nation, especially at the international level. Its dominance in national affairs, naturally, continues to perpetuate the dominance of ex-colonial languages in contemporary Mozambique and Southern Africa.

Information dissemination, especially in the print media, is also largely dominated by European languages, although the major indigenous languages are widely used in broadcasting. A much smaller number of indigenous languages still, is used in the press, resulting, as a consequence, in diminished equality of opportunities. A number of surveys by the United Nations in 1965 - 1966 and
Foster in 1977, indicated that out of the 76 daily newspapers published in Southern Africa, only 10 were in African languages and nine of these were published in South Africa, Tanzania and Zimbabwe. Also, in the 10 Southern African countries (excluding the Republic of South Africa) for which data were available in 1964, a total of 1,165 book titles were published, the bulk of these were in European languages. Today, the situation has not changed too drastically. Although there are now a few publications in African languages, one can safely say, without any fear of contradiction, that the bulk of newspapers and books published in Southern Africa, perhaps over 80%, are still published in European languages, in spite of their being spoken only by a minority of the population in each of the countries. This situation is seen as being due to the fact that few people are literate in African languages.

One is forced to agree, with Foster (1971, p. 608, and still visible today), who notes that:

"Over most Africa... so far, a vigorous publishing in local languages has failed to develop".

Foster sees this lack of development of 'a vigorous publishing culture' as being directly related to the dominance of European languages in the educational setting and the consequent low level of literacy in the indigenous languages (even among those competent in European languages), thus resulting in a very low level of demand for papers published in indigenous languages. A significant point to note, suggests Foster, is that unless something is done to increase the level of literacy in the indigenous languages, especially of the élite, who dictate policy and control the media, the low level of demand for indigenous newspapers may not change much for a long time to come, for as (1971: idem.) he observes: "A low level of demand... imposes both quantitative and qualitative constraints on publication".

South Africa, Tanzania and Zimbabwe are, at present, a few of the countries which seem to be putting up a strong fight against the dominance of ex-colonial languages in their national affairs. But even these countries still have the international prestige of ex-colonial languages and the 'window on the world' pressure to contend with.
An obvious fact, nevertheless worthy of note, especially because of its ramifications for language attitudes, is that European languages in Southern Africa are languages of imposition. In other words, they were implanted by conquering European powers on a physically and mentally subjugated or colonised Southern African majority. The European colonising powers relevant to our area of consideration were, first and foremost, Britain, then Portugal. The predominance of Britain and France in the colonising of other countries in the world, especially in Africa, is a contributory factor to answering the question ‘Why is English, in particular, (but also, to some extent, French), now accepted by many as a world language? Owing to the contemporary contributory influence of America, Canada, and Australia in international diplomacy, politics and economy, the English language has become an international language par excellence.

Because of this, there seems to be a tendency to see English as a (neutral) lingua franca at the international level.

2.5.3 - The Official Neglect of Indigenous Languages in Mozambique and Southern Africa.

Generally, and until very recently, most indigenous languages in Mozambique, were considered unworthy of use in official circles. They were regarded as lacking the capability to express ideas in official domains. Consequently, they were largely denied use in these areas, with their perceived unworthiness increasing year after year as frontiers of knowledge expanded. This observation is particularly apt for all Portuguese and French ex-colonies, though somewhat less so for the British ones. Definitely, this was due to the fact that the Portuguese and French saw their presence in Africa as, according to Spencer (1971b, p. 542):

"... 'civilising mission'. Consequently, Indigenous African languages and cultures were deliberately trampled on as if they did not exist. They were considered unfit for use in a civilised community, especially as far as the official domain was concerned".

Angola and Mozambique, for instance, underwent five centuries of Portuguese colonisation in which Angolan and Mozambican languages were seen as 'dog
languages' as Diarra (1992, Quoted in Adegbija, 1994, p. 21) observes:

"When Angola and Mozambique gained independence, the privileged language that was accepted and used at all levels was the language of the colonial power, the Portuguese language. National languages were oppressed up to the point of being dubbed: "inferior languages".

On the other hand, as noted above, Spencer (1971b, p. 542), in fact, indicates that the Portuguese authorities discouraged the vernacular languages to the extent of a legal requirement that nothing could appear in print in an African language without a concurrent translation in Portuguese (cf. 1.3).

Similarly, languages in former French and Spanish colonies suffered a similar fate of neglect, principally, because of a similar attitude both towards the languages as well as the cultures of the colonised peoples. Spencer (1971b, p. 543) remarks concerning the French and their colonies:

"Civilisation, for the French, was naturally seen as the product of an extension of French language and culture and this, combined with the strong centralising tendencies of the French polity, placed upon French educational institutions in overseas territories the responsibility for rendering 'our subjects and native wards more capable of playing their part in French civilisation and human progress'".

Portuguese and French were thus taught in the very early years of education and used as a medium throughout. In Mozambique, in particular, this situation caused a sense of, what Giles, Bourhis, and Taylor (1977) call, a lack of 'social identity' among its people. As they put it, a person's social identity involves self-evaluation which derives from being a member of a specific group. According to Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (in Giles, 1977, p. 325), it is often the case that a group's evaluative attachment to its membership is reflected in its feelings about its home language. The above-described situation, therefore, made many Mozambicans feel and see themselves as having a negative social identity, which was reflected in the evaluations they made of their own distinctive home languages. This evaluation of one's own speech is especially important for language spoken as it is among the most salient dimensions of ethnic identity (cf. Taylor et al., 1973).
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Fishman, in Giles (1977, p. 326), commenting on why language is such a salient dimension of a group's identity, observes:

"... it becomes clearer why language is more likely than most symbols of ethnicity to become the symbol of ethnicity. Language is the recorder of paternity, the expresser of patrimony and the carrier of phenomenology. Any vehicle carrying such precious freight must come to be viewed as equally precious, as part of the freight, indeed, as precious in and of itself."

Similarly, Davies (1945, in Giles, 1977) claims that:

"... a people without a language of its own is only half a nation. A nation should guard its language more than its territories; it is a surer barrier, a more important frontier than fortress or river"

For instance, examining the salience of language as a dimension of ethnic identity in comparison with cultural background and geographic residence, Taylor et al. (1973); Giles et al. (1976) found that ethnic group members identify more closely with someone who shares their language than with someone who shares their cultural background.

Conversely, Foster (1971, p. 604), comments that the language of the European metro-people was everywhere accorded official status and, generally, became the medium of instruction in primary schools and even adult education and literacy campaigns.

The neglect suffered by indigenous languages and the fact that they were not used in domains that mattered and counted on the national plane, naturally, built and institutionalised negative attitudes around them. Such attitudes have been difficult to remove even after independence.

According to Spencer (1971b, p. 539), as noted earlier, in British colonies, indigenous languages, especially the major ones, were used at the lower levels of primary education. Orthographic standardisation of languages was carried out. By 1955, well over 60 African languages had adapted the 'African Alphabet' recommended by the International African Institute in 1927. It is, probably, no coincidence, that the few languages that were allowed to develop and given
attention both by the missionaries and the British colonial powers, such as Kiswahili in Tanzania, Shona and Ndebele in Zimbabwe, and Zulu and Xhosa in South Africa have witnessed a high rate of development in their resources, especially as far as use in the educational, administrative and modern technological domains are concerned. This, obviously, is a contributory factor to the attitudes towards them and the roles they now play in the nations in which they are used, today.

2.5.4 - The Unsevered Colonial Umbilical Cord Between Mozambique, Southern African Countries, and their Colonial Masters.

Virtually every Southern African country has a colonial umbilical cord that has not been totally severed. The impact of this is evident in language policy-making which, essentially consists of the perpetuation of colonial language policies and, naturally, results in the dominance of European languages. Although there are internal and political reasons for keeping the European language's status quo, such as keeping pace with scientific and technological development, to make possible economic and academic exchange, etc., we also see elements of the unsevered umbilical cord in the economy, the educational system and the political systems of these countries. As Bamgbose (1991) rightly observes, language policy-makers in contemporary Africa seem to be slaves of the policies inherited from the colonial masters.

Owing to inherited policies, former French and Portuguese colonies, in particular, are still linguistically and culturally dependent on their former colonial masters. This attitude of dependency has largely hindered the development of indigenous languages and cultures. Although less so in British colonies, (e.g. South Africa, Tanzania, and Zimbabwe, among others), a great degree of dependency still exists. A vivid example of this, is the fact that the colonisers, somewhat, discouraged the use of transethnic languages, such as Kiswahili, in order to reduce the indigenous peoples' sense of group cohesiveness and solidarity. As an example of this analysis, I cite a Ugandan scholar, Tarsis B. Kabwegyere (Quoted in Giles [Ed.], 1977, p. 341) who observes:

"In the light of . . . the African Awakening in the post-war period, it is not unreasonable to assert that the stopping of
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Kiswahili (by European research funding agencies) was a strategy to minimise intra-African contact. In addition, intensive Anglicisation followed and East African peoples remained separated from each other by a language barrier. What this shows is that whatever interaction was officially encouraged remained at the top official level and not at the level of the African populations. That the existence of one common language at the level of the masses would have hastened the overthrowal of colonial domination is obvious. The withdrawal of official support for a common African language was meant to keep the post-war 'epidemic' from spreading.

Consequently, according to Ngugi (1981), in all colonies, the minds of the élites seem to have been colonised and many of them now seem to regard everything European, including the languages and cultures, as inherently superior to African languages and cultures. Thus, in Southern Africa, an idea formulated or a product made in England or Europe tends to attract greater worth and attention than an indigenous equivalent. An example of this situation is the fact that African writers like Chinua Achebe, Wole Soyinka and Ngugi wa Thiong'o, all of them literate and fluent in their mother tongues, seem to prefer to write in European language, in this case, English. According to Phillipson (1992, p. 131) they are merely trying to demonstrate that they are "Capable of mastering the Imperial culture". In other words, they are apparently victims of both English linguistic and cultural imperialism. In this context, Ngugi who commenting on the situation writes:

"Why, we may ask, should an African writer, or any writer, become so obsessed by taking from his mother tongue to enrich other cultures? Why should he see it as his particular mission? . . . How did we arrive at this acceptance of the 'fatalistic logic of the unassailable position of English in our literature', in our culture and in our politics?" (in Ngugi, 1986, pp. 8 - 9).

As shown above, Ngugi's position is that instead of enriching the Imperial tongue with the African experience, African writers should be totally absorbed with enriching their indigenous languages by using them in their creative work. They should cease to be 'Afro-Europeans'. He himself has stopped writing in English and begun to write novels and plays in Gikuyu, his mother tongue. Although such colonisation of the mind is gradually waning, (as shown by Ngugi's position), its shackles upon the minds will still take sometime to totally remove (if ever), especially, given the contemporary roles of English in the world and the functions still conferred on the language in official circles in contemporary Africa.
On the other hand, past colonial attachments, as observed above, have also occasionally served, in contemporary times, as an excuse for the former colonial masters to feel concerned about anything going on in their former colonies. Thus, Portugal, for instance, has been very concerned about Angola and Mozambique. Such concern, which sometimes, wears the garment of very welcome and easily accepted 'Foreign Aid', has often resulted in the funding of language-related projects, which, intentionally or unintentionally, further deepen the dominance of the former colonial languages. Thus, the recommendations of Crippen & Dodd (1984) and Rubagumya (1990), followed by the British Government sponsored English Language Improvement Project in Tanzania are, partly, responsible, for the sabotaging of attempts to introduce Kiswahili as a medium of education at the secondary school level. The British Council used to fund similar projects in many of Britain's former colonies (the same is true of most other imperial powers). Such 'aid' continues to perpetuate the dominance of the colonial languages and, entrench them even deeper in contemporary times in the educational system. They also, indirectly, reinvigorate the types of language policies left behind at independence in which European languages had supremacy, especially, in the educational domain. The inevitable consequence of this, (partly a result of what I have referred to as the unsevered colonial umbilical cord and the dependency on colonial languages which it encourages, and also partly due to lack of foresight in post-independence language planning), is that, in spite of independence, most indigenous languages in Southern Africa (such as those in Mozambique), still have not been studied, have no orthographies and are not considered worthy of use in the educational domain. This is due to a number of factors such as lack of African scholars (well trained linguists), lack of funds to carry out such research studies, among others. This low developmental status affects attitudes towards them, accordingly.

2.5.5 - Socio-politically Interwoven Language-Related Problems in Mozambique and Southern African Countries.

Ethnolinguistically-related language-based politics has become the bane of contemporary Southern Africa. The most recent wars in Angola and Mozambique, if probed into very deeply, will be seen to have ethnolinguistically-related political
underpinnings. The Kimbundu people in Angola are constantly at loggerheads with the Umbundu people. The Tsongas in Mozambique are constantly seen as an ethnolinguistic group bent on imposing themselves on the rest of the nation. In South Africa, the Xhosas are perceived as a political and linguistic threat by many other ethnolinguistic groups, especially, the Zulus. The morale of such observations is that ethno-linguistic loyalty, a predominant aspect of the sociolinguistic situation in Southern Africa, crisscrosses economic politics and affects, for instance, the feeling of belonging, or not, to a nation, as well as perceptions of the equitable or non-equitable distribution of the national resources. This kind of political attitude is bound to influence language as well, for one is most unlikely, unless there are other intervening sociolinguistic variables, to be in love with the language of a people towards whom one is not favourably disposed.

Negative dimensions of the politics of language have the potential to reduce the level of natural multilingualism in a country. Additionally, they contribute to, and further generate, problems in Southern Africa in the domains of administration and justice, the provision of economic opportunities and the advancement, social mobility and self-esteem, nation-building and national unity, language dominance and its threat to linguistic and cultural diversity. Other areas of life affected by language politics include language difference, itself, as a potential instrument of conflict, language and religion, dirty and corrupt party politics, ethnic nationalism and conflict in cross-cultural communication (Adegbija & Webb, 1992). Obviously, a detailed treatment of all these issues is beyond the scope of this study. Suffice it to note, however, that they impinge, in varying degrees, on languages in a country and the attitudes generated towards them.

Therefore, language-policy-making and planning should be acutely sensitive to the complex network of sociopolitically intertwined language-related problems which are very uniquely characteristic of the language situation in contemporary Mozambique and Southern Africa.
2.5.6 - Pan-African, Cross-border Vehicular Languages

Pan-African, cross-border vehicular languages have always been seen as vital for the promotion of an African cultural and linguistic identity. For example, at the Festival for Arts and Culture (FESTAC) in Lagos, Nigeria 1977, which included delegates from African countries and the Caribbean, calls were made for the installation of Kiswahili for such a role.

A pan-African language was considered a desideratum because of its potential for increasing cross-border political, economic, military and cultural co-operation. On the other hand, there is also the inherent bond in language sharing for increasing the social ties and solidarity between people. Moreover, the feeling was expressed that Africans, and black people, in general, shared a common cultural heritage. Since language and culture are often seen to go together, a pan-African language, it was reasoned, could help in bringing out real identity of such a common culture, in crystallising it and in promoting it, internationally, wherever black people are.

Obviously, there was the problem of how such a language would be selected. Two options seemed plausible: natural evolution or hand-picking.

Natural Evolution - Natural evolution, according to Adegbija (1994, p. 25),

"...is the process in which a language, in its own right, either through its wide geographical distribution, history, developmental status or all combined, becomes acceptable to a community of speakers".

In Southern Africa, many people are of the opinion that Kiswahili (Tanzania), Shona and Ndebele (Zimbabwe), Afrikaans, Zulu and Xhosa (South Africa), and Tsonga and Makua-Lomwé (Mozambique) are already gradually and naturally, evolving to become regional vehicular languages, because some of them are spoken in more than one country. The reasoning is that attitudes towards them would, at least, be positive in countries in which they are already widely used. But this does not necessarily follow. Afrikaans, for instance, is regarded as a language of oppression by many of the Blacks in South Africa.
Hand-picking - Hand-picking involves careful selection on the basis of well thought-out criteria. Such criteria could include the degree of the language's regional status and acceptability, the attitudes of people towards it, the availability of written texts and its potential for expressing the concepts of modern science and technology. Using these and similar criteria, some people, like Wole Soyinka in Nigeria (during the World Black Festival of Arts and Culture in 1977), have given the impression that among all the different competing languages, Kiswahili best qualifies for the position of a pan-African language. In fact, the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) has, occasionally, toyed with the idea of using some African languages, such as Kiswahili and Hausa, in official business, but progress in the promotion of these languages has not been as impressive as one would expect. On the other hand, there is also the hidden fear of language imposition, or the domination of the African sub-region by one major language block such as Kiswahili. When one considers the strong attitudes towards one's own language, whether at the ethnic or national level, in many parts of Southern Africa, such fears seem to be genuine enough to be taken seriously in language planning.

In essence, according to Adegbija (1994), several obstacles have stood in the way of the gradual natural evolution or hand-picking of pan-African cross-border vehicular languages. I have mentioned the within-border sentimentality attached to languages. However, I believe, this would be partially reduced if several languages, rather than one, are selected. Since Mozambique and other countries of the region are multilingual, I believe, they should be able to respect language diversity and multilingualism.

Another obstacle to the development of pan-African languages is the presence of formidable rivals in each country for the same role - the ex-colonial languages such as English and Portuguese. Since English, at present, plays such a role at the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) and the Southern African Development Community (SADC), the need for the development of pan-African languages to play the same role seems to be considered secondary by many of Southern Africa's leaders. Moreover, it is often felt that the ex-colonial languages are already well-developed to function in such a role and most of Southern Africa's
éliges, for whom a pan-African vehicular language would be most required, are already quite competent in, at least, one of them.

A more formidable obstacle to the development of pan-African vehicular languages is the limited geographical spread of existing languages. As noted earlier, Shona and Ndebele are limited to Zimbabwe, Zulu, Xhosa and Afrikaans to South Africa, Tsonga and Makua-Lomwé to Mozambique. Although Afrikaans is, to some extent, spoken in Namibia as well, it also has an additional impediment. As noted earlier, for many people in South Africa and Namibia, it has a connotation of apartheid. Language-planners in Namibia, for example, at independence, tried to throw off everything that would remind them of Afrikaans - the language of their oppressors. English was declared the sole official language even though

"Afrikaans is the most widely used medium of communication and the effective lingua franca in Namibia" (Pütz, 1992a, p. 296).

According to Pütz (1992a, pp. 293-323), English and Afrikaans were regarded as symbolic languages of 'liberation' and 'oppression', respectively. Such sentiments underline the importance of knowing and reckoning with language attitudes in decisions on language choice.

Quite another matter, but also related to language attitudes, is that hand-picking one language as a pan-African vehicular language would be bound to create an artificial language situation in which a language is officially declared as performing a particular function but, in reality, it is not spoken by the majority of the speech community. This would be because Kiswahili, Shona, Ndebele, Zulu, Xhosa, Afrikaans, Tsonga and Makua-Lomwé, Sena have cultural roots only in the regions in which they are presently spoken. According to Adegbija (1994, p. 26),

"A language without a cultural root in a community has very shaky foundations unless other sociolinguistic factors give it support and credence. Its imposition on a society could meet with resistance. Furthermore, a situation could be created in which a horse is forced to the stream but cannot be made to drink".
Adegbija goes on to explain that language learning by imposition or force, has been found to be not as successful as language acquired by choice. The imposition of a language on an unwilling populace also tends to create tension.

Therefore, in view of the foregoing, particularly the attitudinal underpinning of language, a multilingual solution seems to be the most plausible for addressing the issue of pan-African vehicular languages. This position appears to be similar to one which many leaders in developing multilingual countries favour, that is, a reasonable compromise in giving special priority to national languages over small-group vernaculars as media of instruction.

Bokamba and Tlou (1977, p. 47), for example, propose the following as a possible language policy for Africa:

"Our proposal is that each Sub-Saharan African state select a national language from the pool of its lingua francas on the basis of a statistical and attitudinal language survey, and use this language as the medium of instruction."

One sees this position as being caused by, once again, economic constraints regarding aspects, such as those reported by the UNESCO Report (1968, pp. 693-697) reported above (1.2.2).

Even with such a solution, it would be necessary for the regional languages to be introduced into educational institutions in regions to which they are not native. This appears to be one way of solving the problem of the limited geographical spread of the languages in question.

In sum, should pan-African vehicular languages eventually evolve, such a development could have important attitudinal ramifications. I believe the selected languages would be bound to receive a prestige boost within Southern Africa and internationally. As a matter of fact, I have noticed that when many scholars talk about international languages, no African language is included, even though some, such as Hausa, Kiswahili and Afrikaans are spoken in more than one country and by, the strict definition of the word 'international', qualify to be so described. The evolution of pan-African vehicular languages could, eventually,
result in greater acceptance by skeptics unwilling to grant any African language an international status. Apparently, this could reduce the attitude of dependency on ex-colonial languages in policy-making and inter-border co-operation and thus, create a stronger inter-African language bond in Southern Africa.

2.5.7 The Language Situation In Southern Africa

The language situation in Southern Africa is a particularly complicated one. It has been estimated that between 300 and 400 indigenous languages are spoken (World Bank, 1988). Some countries, such as Lesotho and Swaziland, contain a relatively small number of languages within their boundaries, about 2 each. But in Zambia at least 73 different languages are spoken, in Tanzania, over 120. In South Africa a different language is used every few miles along the road. While some languages are spoken by groups of only a few hundred people, others such as Zulu, Xhosa and Makua are spoken by millions.

The situation is complicated by other factors. Zulu and Kiswahili are spoken not only by large numbers of native speakers, but are also used as vehicular languages over large areas. Many languages cut right across national boundaries. Kiswahili, for instance, is spoken not only in Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda, but also in parts of the Congo (Kinshasa) and the northern end of Mozambique. In big towns such as Johannesburg, Maputo and Harare, groups of speakers of several different languages are found. This gives rise to bi- or multilingualism among many speakers. The average Southern African servant, for example, often speaks two or more languages besides his own.

The reason why there are so many languages must be looked for in Southern African history. Where there have been long periods of political and cultural dominance one language usually ousts, or at least predominates over, existing indigenous languages. This has been the case with Arabic in the Islamic North Africa. But, to the south of the Sahara, empires in the past did not last long enough to impose their language on subject peoples. It is possible, however, that some languages, Kiswahili for example, might have spread further but for European intervention.
Superimposed on this complex pattern of indigenous Southern African languages is the overall of European languages, the languages of formal education, government, trade and political unity. These European languages are the mother tongue of only a small minority of Africans, but they are used as a second language by millions. Because of the large number of indigenous languages, none of which is spoken by a substantial majority of the population, English or Portuguese have become the lingua franca languages of large parts of Southern Africa. This has been helped by the prestige of the languages concerned, and because they are the only means by which Southern Africans from different states can communicate with each other and with outside world. For educated Southern Africans, English or Portuguese (or indeed, both languages) are essential.

English is now firmly established in Southern Africa. It is now one of the major Southern African languages. There seems little likelihood at the moment of indigenous languages, with the exception of Kiswahili in Tanzania and Zulu/Xhosa in South Africa, being developed as national languages. A few African languages have been suggested as the national languages of some Southern African countries, but this suggestion is not likely to be acted upon. In addition to the feelings of hostility that such a move would arouse, it would be impossible to find the staff to teach them in the respective schools. English or Portuguese, therefore, remain and are likely to remain, the official languages of most Southern African countries. Apparently, they are favoured because they are neutral, non-tribal, putting everyone on the same footing. Whether this situation will last remains to be seen. Language disputes have led to serious difficulties in India, Ceylon and Belgium, and similar disputes could arise in Southern Africa.

British and Portuguese colonial policies were radically different in their approach to language teaching. Whereas in former British colonies the policy was to begin primary education in the vernacular and to switch over to English after a few years, the Portuguese taught children in and through Portuguese from the day they entered school. As a result, the Portuguese-speaking African élite are as Portuguese in language and outlook as it is possible to be. However, there is now, it seems, some reaction against this, and Portuguese-speaking Africans are
showing greater interest in the use of indigenous languages in education, at least at the primary level. It is in this context that this study intends to make a contribution.

However, recent studies in Southern Africa, especially in the former British colonies where indigenous languages were used during the first few years of primary school, show an emergence of a new trend. The tendency to introduce English as early as possible (e.g. Zambia).

Obviously, this situation raises enormous problems and confusion in education in Southern Africa. In an attempt to learn some lessons from the former British recent situation, the former Portuguese are having to try and address some the issues such as if European languages are so essential to the national life, what should the medium of instruction in primary schools be? If it is to be a European language all the way, will this mean the slow death of the vernaculars and the creation of millions of culturally displaced persons in Southern Africa? If the vernaculars are used in the first few years of primary school will this leave time enough to implant the linguistic skills in European languages so vital for successful secondary and higher education? Throughout the whole history of education in Southern Africa, from the days of the early missionaries until the present, the problem of language in education has constantly recurred. Chapter 4 will set out to review what has been said and done in the last few decades, then to discuss the opinions held on the field today, and lastly to look into the future.

2.6 - A Sociolinguistic Description of the Language Situation in Mozambique

The facts given in the previous sections of this Chapter will help to give an outline topology for describing the language situation in Mozambique. Such a description provides a very useful guide in planning for language planning, language teaching and language development. The topology I suggest here is a slight modification of W. A. Stewart's (1968) "A Sociolinguistic Topology for Describing National Multilingualism". In general agreement with Stewart, I shall classify each language in terms of type, functions and degree of use, but I shall add yet another dimension (second in my topology) which I shall call 'status'. The terms are described below:
Type: By type is meant whether a language is a standard language (symbol S), a vernacular (symbol V) or a pidgin (symbol P). A clarification of the meaning of vernacular is apposite here. Not infrequently, many people use the word to refer to any language that has no official status or any language that is spoken by a subject people and is, therefore, regarded as a 'low' language. So vernacular assumes an attitudinal dimension which disregards linguistic facts. Rhonga, for example, is regarded a vernacular language, even in official circles. This seems inappropriate to me for it appears that Rhonga has a formalised grammar and an accepted orthography. Rhonga is clearly a standard language.

Function: The function of a language is usually multiple in nature, as the facts already stated amply demonstrate. Language function may, therefore, be represented by any combination of the following symbols (Stewart gives more):

- **g**: group language (a language spoken by a group within a multilingual state).
- **i**: an international language recognised for use by the United Nations.
- **w**: wider communication (a language used as a lingua franca and for international communication).
- **e**: educational: when a language is used as a medium of instruction for all or most school subjects from primary school to the university level.
- **s**: school subject: when a language is studied as a school subject.
- **l**: literary: when a language is used for such purposes as writing books, fiction, etc.
- **t**: technical: when a language is used for scientific and technical communication.
- **r**: religious: when a language is used for worship in recognised religious institutions, e.g. the Christian Church.

Degree of use - Stewart conceives degree of use in terms of percentage of users as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>below 5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I shall note here that the percentage of users of Portuguese in Mozambique is only a very rough estimate and that the language can be classified twice, first by taking the percentage of native speakers alone, and second by including second-and foreign-language-speakers (see table 0.4 in introduction). This study makes use of the latter classification.

Status - Status, in my sense, refers to the status which the language is accorded in the country. If it is an official language or the only official language, it will be designated O. If it is not an official language, but is recognised by the state as one of the languages that may be studied, developed and used in the news media, it will be called a 'recognised language' (symbol R).

Another dimension I shall include in my topology is that of dominance. There are two types of dominance that can be observed in a contact situation, such as the one under discussion: what is here called status dominance (symbol SD) and numerical dominance (symbol ND). A language has the privilege of status dominance if it is accorded a status above other languages in the polity and is, therefore, a dominant
language in the sense in which I used the term elsewhere. This is often the case with languages of conquering peoples or ruling classes. Numerical dominance refers to a language which is spoken by more than any other in a state, irrespective of whether it is the national or official language or not. In this description, dominance will be regarded as an aspect of the status of a language. My topology will now enable me to summarise the language situation in Mozambique as follows:

Table 2.4 - Language Situation in Mozambique

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Status and Dominance</th>
<th>Functions</th>
<th>Degree of Use</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Portuguese</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>O(SD)</td>
<td>giwersitr</td>
<td>IV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makua-Lomwé</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>R(ND)</td>
<td>g r</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyanja</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>g r</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sena</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>R</td>
<td>r r</td>
<td>IV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsonga</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>R(ND)</td>
<td>g l r</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Adapted from Stewart (1968)

2.7 - Conclusion

Educational language planning in Southern Africa must aim at bi- or multilingualism, as advocated by African researchers like Afolayan (1984), Africa (1980), Bokamba & Tlou (1980), Mateene (1980a, 1980b), and Tadadjeu (1980). Therefore, one regards as axiomatic that over-use of the former colonial language and under-use of mother tongues as media of education reproduce inequality, favour the creation or perpetuation of élites, promote dependence on the CWC (Cultures of Wider Communication), and prevent the attainment of high levels of bi- or multilingualism (Chishimba, 1984; Mateene, 1980b).

In this overview, it has been tried to demonstrate that the language situation in Mozambique and Southern Africa is intriguing, complex, multifaceted and presents onerous challenges to a great variety of Southern African scientists, scholars and other planning specialists, such as linguists, sociolinguists, educationists, and administrators, in particular, and to their counterparts in the Third World and all over the world, in general. Accordingly, a greater understanding is required about the nature, types, psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic profiles of the various indigenous languages, their dialects and the interaction of these with the officially dominant ex-colonial languages. Language-policies that not only take cognizance of the colonial linguistic inheritance of Southern Africa but are also keenly sensitive to the language needs of post-
colonial times are, therefore, a desideratum. There may also be the need for a careful investigation of the roles and potentials of languages in achieving a more effective cross-border inter-African economic networking, communication, collaboration, and co-operation as well as within the rest of the world. In addressing such formidable tasks and in language-planning in the region, in general, the attitudinal underpinning of languages will, most likely, continue to have a crucial and decisive bearing on whether a policy works or crumbles.
3.1 The Aims of Language Attitudes Research in Mozambique and Southern Africa

Given the densely multilingual nature of Southern Africa and the varied origins of the languages represented, the way in which language is closely associated with ethnicity, and the fact the language factor impinges on political, economic, religious, educational, and social issues and problems, language attitudes research, I believe, should generally, aim at pinpointing the patterns and bottom line determinants of attitudes towards particular languages. For instance, Adegbija (1994), suggests a more finely-tuned research that pinpoints attitudes towards European languages and African indigenous languages. To him, it should be relevant for changing attitudes and for ensuring effective language policy-making, language-planning and action. As Baker (1992, p. 5) rightly notes:

"... changing attitudes is, often, a major part of the formal or hidden agenda of language-planning".

Indeed, according to Adegbija (1994), different researchers and authors who have written on language attitudes in Sub-Saharan Africa have indicated aims related to these. Schmied (1985) and Sure (1991), for instance, Adegbija goes on to add, set out their aims for conducting language attitudes studies on Tanzania and Kenya, respectively, and these aims are relevant to the ones stated above. Schmied (1985, p. 237), set out with the following basic aims:

- to try out fairly simple and flexible techniques which can easily be applied in developing countries despite their problems and research limitations;  
- to show the results of two different language attitude concepts and to explain their relationship in a complex sociolinguistic situation;  
- to demonstrate how a subtle interpretation of language attitudes can help to throw light on problems of language policy, language use and language learning."

Sure (1991), who focused on Kenya, also in East Africa, aimed at examining language attitudes among Kenyan pupils in relation to the declared official
functions of Kiswahili and English. (Similarity of aspects covered in that study with those concerning Mozambique, Southern Africa, SADC member countries and therefore, this study, takes me to make this reference to Kenya). Sure estimated that up to 60% of Kenyans spoke Kiswahili with varying degrees of competence, whereas not more than 5% could be considered as having competence in English. (This finding seems to parallel my earlier observation in Chapter One that in Mozambique and other Southern African countries, European languages were used only by a minority élite group). Therefore, English was the H(igh) variety in relation to Kiswahili. But, in some circumstances, Kiswahili might also function as the H(igh) variety in relation to mother tongue languages, which would serve as the L(ow) varieties. It was this kind of situation that Abdulaziz (1972) referred to as "triglossia". He wrote that:

"A typical example of triglossic situation would be found where there exist side by side (a) regional or vernacular languages whose role is in oral intra-group communication; (b) a local standardised lingua franca which is used extensively in the education system, mass media and government and (c) a world language" (Abdulaziz, 1972, p. 198).

Sure (1991, p. 246), also aimed at pinpointing sociolinguistic parameters, such as political beliefs and historical factors, that contributed to the formation of particular language attitudes identified by Baker (1992).

On the other hand, Pütz (1992a), Phillipson, Skutnab-Kangas & Africa (1986) suggest that in South Africa, for example, language attitude studies should, in addition to sharing the above aims, indicate the impact of apartheid on the creation of attitudes. In Namibia, as noted earlier, Afrikaans was outrightly rejected in favour of English because the former was considered as having a connotation of oppression, while the latter is seen, ironically, as a language of freedom. The fine-grained underpinnings of such attitudinal manifestations need to be uncovered so that proper language policy, planning and action can be made.

A study carried out in Swaziland by Mordaunt (1991), pinpointed another possible aim of language attitude studies in Southern Africa. His aim was to
Mordaunt found that although 95% of the population in Swaziland spoke siSwati as a native tongue, instruction at all levels of elementary school occurred in the English language, except for siSwati language classes. As in most other Southern African countries, as pointed out in Chapter One, European languages were introduced during colonial times and have played the most significant role in the education process, especially at the higher levels of education.

Furthermore, Mordaunt identified other finer and more specific aims in his research on attitudes towards English in Swaziland which could easily be applied and so, extended, to European languages in other Southern African countries. His investigation included; the nature of attitudes; the teaching and learning of European languages; parental encouragement to learn them; the desire and motivational intensity to learn them; integrative orientation in the learning of European languages and instrumental motivation and attitudes towards their teaching. Personally, I am of the opinion that insights into attitudinal configurations in each of these areas could provide very valuable input into language policy-making, language planning and action, especially in the educational domain.

Much interest has, in many parts of the world, been generated in instrumental and integrative orientations as important components of attitudes in second language learning.

According to Gardner & Lambert (1972, p. 14), an instrumental motivation is seen as indicating pragmatic and utilitarian motives and is characterised by the desire "to gain social recognition or economic advantages".

Such an attitude, which is also seen by McClelland (1958, 1961, Quoted in
Baker, 1992, p. 32) as "self-oriented and individualistic", overlaps the need for achievement. On the other hand, according to Baker (1976), an integrative attitude is "social and interpersonal in orientation and is conceptually linked with the need for affiliation".

In general, it can be concluded that the major attraction, pull and motivation for the learning of European languages in Southern Africa seems largely to hinge on their potent instrumental value. The pivotal research of Gardner & Lambert (1972) has remained classic reference in this regard, and it is of particular relevance to Southern Africa and the argument proposed in this study.

Warnings have been given that the dichotomy between instrumental and integrative attitudes is not necessarily straightforward, and this is illustrated by the attitudes towards European languages in Southern Africa. The kernel of Gardner & Lambert's (1972) findings is that motivation is considered to be 'instrumental' when an individual can derive personal benefit from the language learning process, and when that motivation arouses individual feelings that could, drastically, influence linguistic performance, while, on the other hand, motivation is considered 'integrative' when the learner wishes to identify culturally, or otherwise, with the target language group. This seems to be most pertinent to the Southern African multilingual context. Instrumental attitudes are reflected in the fact that European languages, as indicated in Chapter One, are seen as vehicles of upward social mobility. Also, the strong desire for acculturation, with modifications, is applicable to the language attitudes situation in Southern Africa in that many envy and want to be like the minority, power-wielding élite group that is competent in the European languages.

I believe it would be important for research into these central components of attitudes to uncover the fine-grained aspects and the true nature of motivation in the learning of the different language types (exoglossic and endoglossic) within the African context. As pointed out earlier, European languages confer on their speakers enormous societal advantages and benefits, especially as
far as rising high on the social ladder is concerned, and therefore, there is a strong desire to learn them. But there is also a strong desire, as indicated above, to be like the indigenous élite (and not necessarily like the native target language speakers of European languages as Gardner & Lambert postulate), who have a strong command of European languages. This desire for affiliation and identification with the educated élite could create an intense desire to learn European languages and could also be interpreted as integrative motivation. In the Mozambican and Southern African context, therefore, it does seem that both integrative and instrumental motivations are strongly related, and it would be interesting for more in-depth and fine-grained research to uncover the true nature of this interconnection. A study carried out by Shaw (1981) on Asian students' attitudes towards English, suggested that such interconnection was, in fact, present in other contexts of English as a second or foreign language, as well.

Another major aim of language attitude studies in Mozambique and Southern Africa should be, in my opinion, the uncovering of the effects that sociopolitical and historical forces wield on language attitudes. This seems to be particularly important from the point of view of the intense linguistic and cultural diversity of most Southern African countries. For example, Webb (1992b, p. 431) observes that Southern Africa is a community with a large potential for conflict because of its linguistic and cultural diversity, the deeply divided and complexly segmented population, its highly politicised facets of life, and the fact that it has of recent been a scene of different processes of social change, including urbanisation and modernisation (e.g. Angola, Mozambique, South Africa, and so on). A process of political change which has dismantled 'apartheid' has also recently begun. In the entire region, language constitutes "a major social divider" (cf. Webb, 1992b).

3.2 - Language Attitudes Research in Mozambique and Southern Africa

To my knowledge, very few studies that specifically deal with language attitudes have been carried out in the real hotbeds of language-related issues and problems - namely Southern Africa, Latin America and Asia. In other
words, I have not come across any study on language attitudes based on Mozambique, Southern Africa, Latin America and Asia. Perhaps, my ignorance of work in these areas could be due to my illiteracy in some of the languages used in reporting such studies. Another major impediment could be poor communication.

Some of such studies (e.g. Saah, 1986) appeared to be largely impressionistic in approach and sampling techniques; instruments, when indicated, were often weak. On the other hand, Sure (1991), though a very interesting and commendable study because it was one of the pioneering studies by Africans that directly focused on language attitudes, partly illustrated the use of simple instruments and statistical techniques. Instruments included twelve attitude statements, six favourable and six unfavourable, for both Kiswahili and English in the primary school test. He indicated that he had used a total of 405 primary pupils and 358 secondary school pupils (763 in the whole) drawn by stratified random sampling of pupils in seven secondary and seven primary schools spread over four town centres and four rural districts. For the secondary school subjects, the same statements, plus an additional eighteen, were used. Respondents had simply to tick whether they agreed or disagreed with each statement.

9. For instance, owing to poor communication between countries, Ministries of Education, Universities and Schools, and very poor inter-institution collaboration in sociolinguistic research with Mozambique and Southern African countries, many studies carried out are unknown to Southern African scholars because they are reported in foreign journals, which many Mozambicans and Southern African scholars cannot purchase because currencies used in their countries have been declared unacceptable for international exchange and transactions. When libraries manage to subscribe to journals, issues are often some years behind in some countries. This creates the embarrassing situation in which non-African scholars know more about overall research carried out in Africa than African scholars themselves.

Therefore, most of the research done on language attitudes (as extensively illustrated above) thus far has occurred in the western world (e.g. Shuy & Fasold, [Eds.] 1973; Cooper, 1975; Cooper & Fishman, 1974; Aghayisi & Fishman, 1970; Giles & Powesland, 1975; Dirven, 1990; Fitch & Hopper, 1983; Giles & Johnson, 1981; Gardner & Lambert, 1972; Gardner, 1985; Nelda[Ed.], 1990; Eoin et al. [Eds.], 1967; Willeyns, 1992; Baker, 1992; Coulmas [Ed.], 1992) to name but a few.

However, problems arise when we consider that attitudes, like many aspects of life, are understood as being far more complex than merely agreeing or disagreeing with particular statements.

Another researcher, Schmied (1985) carried out two attitude tests in Tanzania. He attempted greater scientific rigour in the presentation of his results, thus making his study more scientifically detailed. His first test investigated stereotyped attitudes towards English and Kiswahili (which Schmied referred to as 'H(igh)-variety rivals'), as well as French taught in some Tanzanian secondary schools because it is perceived, according to Schmied, as an important pan-African language, and Arabic, which has historically been influential along the East African coast and on development of Kiswahili. Unfortunately, as he points out, the various vernaculars were not taken into consideration.

The respondents' reactions were measured on a scale of approval ranging from one to six, with no neutral mean point. The subjects were six groups of informants consisting of 55 students and 36 adults. Again, that could hardly be considered a representative sample.

The second test, which sought to investigate "language beliefs concerning the importance and use of English in Tanzania" (Schmied, 1985, p. 238), used statements similar to Sure's, about the relative importance and use of English and Kiswahili in Tanzania. Subjects for the study were 'primary school teachers and other educated Tanzanians'. The statements used related to language-inherent arguments, national arguments, personal instrumental arguments, educational arguments and cognitive arguments.

However, I think one should be very skeptical about the possibilities of such statements used by both Sure and Schmied being able to, actually, point at deep-seated language attitudes, since respondents are often likely to answer in accordance with what they think the researcher wants to hear. Moreover, responses are likely to be influenced by level of education, sex differences,
Baker's (1992) research into language attitudes (although not in Southern Africa), was particularly important and revealing in that it attempted to control variables such as age, gender, type of school attended, language ability and provided some insight into how such variables could affect the measurement of language attitudes.

In sum, the methods used in most of the African studies on language attitudes available thus far, in my opinion, need improvement. This is because Sure and Schmied are hardly representative of Kenya and Tanzania, respectively (that is, they did not cover all Kenyan and Tanzanian societies). Nor are the instruments they used powerful enough to, truly, reveal fine nuances and complexities of language attitudes. Such criticisms are also applicable to much of language attitude research in Africa (e.g. Saah, 1986; and studies reported in Webb, 1992).

Therefore, future research on language attitudes in Mozambique, in particular, and Southern Africa, in general, would need to be less impressionistic, more sophisticated in research design and more thorough in sampling and analytical techniques. They would also need to use more detailed statistical procedures and methods. Baker (1992, p. 25), for instance, who emphasised the need for language attitude studies to start from a grounding in attitude theory and research, recommended that a combination of approaches should be used in attitude measurement. He also placed high premium on the need for attitude scales to meet three crucial criteria. These are:

"(1) - Internal consistency : (consistency of response and using many items to ensure internal reliability).
(2) - Validity : concern that attitude scale should actually measure attitude. This could be achieved, he indicated, through a thorough checking of items (content validity); the relation of the scale to a variety of present variables (criterion-related validity); and future variables (predictive validity); and to variables within an established theoretical formulation (construct validity).
(3) - Dimensionality : test of whether one or more entities has been measured. Unidimensionality or multidimensionality could be measured if a large initial pool of attitude items was subjected to an exploratory confirmatory factor analysis".
Baker recommended and adapted a systems style, which included:

"... an inclusive research design in terms of multiple variables, in a multilevel context, looking for interactions between variables, multiple pathways of causality and bidirectional cause-effect links" (Baker, 1992, p. 19.

Another attractive aspect of Baker's (1992) study worth emulating by future African studies is sensitivity to the interrelationships between individual variables that shape language attitudes (e.g. age, gender, type of school attended, language background) and societal variables (e.g. youth culture and popular culture). Most of the African studies referred to did not attempt to investigate the interrelationships between variables. Studies such as those reported in Giles & Edwards (1983) and Giles & Johnson (1981), also illustrated sensitivity to the interaction of variables in attitude studies. The strength of such research will be the quantitative approach, such as interviews, questionnaire and observation (as employed by many studies reported in Giles & Edwards, 1983).

In sum, in this section, some of the themes and issues comprising this research-study, such as questionnaire on language attitudes, are discussed and the major findings presented. As it shall be seen, however, some themes could be peculiar to particular countries or contexts because of their sociolinguistic profiles.

3.3 - Research Method

Gardner and Lambert (1972) have made a case for the importance of attitudes in the learning of a language. They have shown that interest in a people and culture of a people speaking a certain language is an effective addition to aptitude for learning it. Other things being equal, the French-Canadian child who admires English-speaking people and their culture will acquire their language more easily than his or her Anglophobic peer. Possibly, also, the Maputo child of Portuguese ancestry will be doing better with his or her Shangane lessons if he or she is genuinely interested in his or her African fellow countrymen and their way of life.
A related line of research has also shown that a person with clear-cut attitudes toward his/her own language will mix fewer foreign odds and ends into his/her lexicon than someone who is unconcerned about such matters. Briefly, this is what was found to be the case with Israeli chemists (cf. Hofman, 1974a) and psychologists (cf. Hofman, 1974b).

In this section, I will make an attempt to categorise language attitudes in a preliminary way in order to develop measures of these categories with respect to Portuguese and the main indigenous languages in Mozambique. As a result, some impression may be gained on how Africans and Europeans feel about their respective languages and, by implication, certain other features of their society.

The research for dimensions of attitudes follows a distinction by Kelman (1969) and later work by Hofman (1974b). A first and basic dimension varies between an intrinsic and extrinsic pole depending on whether a person views language as an object of value in and of itself or as useful for the attainment of ends beyond itself. A second dimension moves between a private and public mode according to its context of relevance.

An intrinsic view takes the form of sentimentalism when it has to do with the private enjoyment of language; it becomes a value when the language appears to represent interpersonal or public symbols. An extrinsic view becomes instrumentalism in the private mode and communication in the public one, depending on whether a language is considered in terms of private or public advantages, respectively. The two dimensions, then, roughly, define four attitude types, as shown in Table 3.1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 3.1 - Dimensions of Attitudes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mode</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Mozambique, Portuguese is the language of wider communication (LWC) and a key to upward mobility. It can, therefore, be expected to be useful to all (extrinsic view), but may, in addition, be valued and enjoyed by native speakers of Portuguese (intrinsic view). It is more difficult to anticipate attitudes toward the indigenous languages. Portuguese and other Europeans are likely to regard them of little use, while Africans may be moved to enjoyment (sentimentalism), pride (value), or both. It is the purpose of this section to try and come up with some first answers to these questions.

In this line of thought, measurement of language attitudes in Southern Africa, in general, and Mozambique, in particular, was carried out as follows: first of all, a questionnaire composed of 58 questions, divided into four parts, was carefully prepared in English and translated into Portuguese. Particular attention was paid to the inclusion of the following types of questions:

(i) Questions designed to provide background information on the informants;
(ii) questions dealing with language use;
(iii) questions dealing with attitudes of informants toward Portuguese and the indigenous languages;
(iv) questions calling for ranking of completions to a problem in the indigenous languages or in the language of wider communication.

Ideally, the aim was to discover the situations in which the different languages are used by the people in Mozambique and to test the attitudes of ministry employees, secondary and tertiary institutions' students, teachers and lecturers, journalists and farmers towards the different languages.

The research was based on oral and written material collected in the capitals of three major Mozambican provinces of Maputo, Sofala and Nampula.

During the course of my fieldwork, I visited each of the three capital cities in which the survey was carried out, and talked to a considerable number of administrators, government officials and other sources of local informed opinion. I was also assisted by 4 university students from each education department of local university. Each of these field workers travelled all over his or her native city. The field workers organised and administrated the
questionnaire and gathered opinions concerning the degree of similarity between the languages spoken all around. They were told to find informants who knew the views of the community and to ask them questions of the form "Which languages are spoken in this part of the country?" "What are the languages normally spoken on radio/television?" and so on. They avoided using questions of the form "How much can you understand...?"

The researcher did not succeed in getting a good set of questions which would elicit answers that could be standardised. Basically, he tried to operate in terms of a three-point scale that showed whether people spoke Portuguese, indigenous languages or both at home, in the community, at work, talking to girl/boyfriends, etc. The researcher asked questions about different hypothetical situations, such as "If you were asked to suggest a common language for this country, what language would you suggest?" Appropriate answers on the three-point scale were suggested.

The researcher knew that the best that this technique could do would be to give him the beliefs of a speech community concerning the degree of communication possible in other languages; and these beliefs might be biased. It has often been shown that the attitude of one group of people to another has an effect at least on their belief about the mutual intelligibility of their languages. For instance, when people think that their neighbours are inferior in some way, they do not admit to understanding/speaking their language. But when they regard them as more advanced, then they readily claim that they can understand them.

When the results of this part of the fieldwork were collated it was apparent that different field workers were behaving in different ways. Consequently, although their reports were indicative of similarities between languages and of beliefs that people held, they were not quantitatively reliable.

3.3.1 Selection of Informants

In each province, the informants were selected on the basis of how well they represented the demographic characteristics of the province; because they
could be expected to possess command of Portuguese to enable them to follow the instructions, and answer the questions required by the questionnaire.

Secondly, the age range from about 15 to about 50 was thought to be appropriate for this sort of survey. Therefore, the selection process had the following characteristics in mind:

(i) Sex

The data and experience show that men are more likely than women to be able to speak several languages. In my opinion, there are two reasons, the first of which is educational. More men in Mozambique have received full-time education than women, and those that have been to school have, on average, been able to attend for longer periods. As a result, men are considerably more likely to be able to speak Portuguese. They also appear to speak more Mozambican languages than women. This is probably because more men go to live or work in the towns than women. Historically, this was even more true than it is now, and trends in the past have a continuing influence today. Today, men are increasingly coming to town accompanied by their wives. The ratio of men over women in Mozambican's urban areas is however still quite high. The second factor in multilingualism in Mozambique appears to be the influence of the work situation. Apparently, men tend to learn languages at work much more than women learn in the different social settings of the township. On the other hand, through employment, men learn to speak Portuguese, or to improve their earlier school knowledge of it. Women on the whole, appear to have less chance of learning or using Portuguese if they do not work in paid employment, and if they live, as the majority of urban women do, in townships where different indigenous languages predominate.
(ii) Education

The more educated the person, the more languages he/she appears to speak. Education in Mozambique usually has required travel. The student not only learned Portuguese; he/she also learned the language of the area in which his/her school was situated. This language was often different from the student's mother tongue. The expansion of secondary education, after independence, however, has meant that travelling to other areas for education has decreased. But it is still the case that the more educated the person, the more likely he/she is to find a job outside his/her own language area. It appears to be a positive correlation between education and geographical mobility.

Note that those who participated in the survey with some education at secondary level spoke, on average, between 3 to 4 languages (see Table 3.10). This means, in most cases, that apart from Portuguese and another tongue, at least one other language is spoken by people in this category.

In a separate study, Monica (1988) has shown that, with reference of the languages high school students in Beira City claimed to speak fluently, "the majority gave a combination of two or three languages and a few gave four". She adds that "In only 6.5% cases did students claim to be fluent in only one language" (Monica, 1988, p. 120).

One could perhaps make the point that this has important implications for the future. If the expansion continues (as seems most probable), and a greater proportion of the country's people are educated, then we can expect a corresponding growth of multilingualism in Mozambique.
(iii) Age

The relationship between age and multilingualism is not so clear-cut. Those in the age group 20 - 35 appear to be the most multilingual, but they are not different from other age group. Younger people are more likely to speak Portuguese, while older people are more likely to speak "other" languages.

There are other features of Table 3.4 that are of interest, and possibly of some significance. The only Mozambican languages which show significant differences in the extent to which they are spoken by people in different age groups are Makua-Lomwé and Tsonga. Of those under 35 years old, more than 43% claimed to speak Makua-Lomwé and Tsonga. The proportion would probably be even higher if one excluded women here. Of those aged 45 or more, only 30% claimed to speak Makua-Lomwé and Tsonga.

(iv) Mobility

As far as Mozambican indigenous languages are concerned, the movement of people from one area to another where different languages are spoken (mainly due to civil war) is probably the most significant factor influencing both knowledge of languages and language use. The more areas a person has lived in, it seems, the more languages he/she is likely to know.

Multilingualism in Mozambique is likely to increase considerably. Since the recent civil war has dispersed the population; more people are receiving full-time education; and since geographical mobility seems to be increasing, the average Mozambican will, in future, be found to have a knowledge of and probably to use more languages even than is the case at present. Knowledge of Portuguese is of course on the increase, and will accelerate since more people receive their education through it. However, there is no
indication that Mozambican languages are being phased out of active use. Indeed, in so far as most Mozambicans claim to speak and use more than one distinct Mozambican language, one could argue that the use of Mozambican indigenous languages has increased, is increasing, and will continue to increase. Certainly, Mozambican languages are still very important in terms of national communication. By this I mean that Mozambican languages, especially Makua-Lomwé and Tsonga, and to lesser extent Shangane, Chuwabo Nyanja and Sena are serving as a means whereby people from different language backgrounds can communicate with each other.

In conclusion, I believe that we still require more precise information to enable us to know more exactly the extent and trend of multilingualism in the country. What is happening in Mozambique today is of great interest to the linguist, the educator, and the administrator, seeking to understand the patterns of language use in a rapidly changing multilingual society. Further and continuous study of this subject would be of great value, not only to the linguist but also to many others with responsibility for making decisions affecting many areas of language use in the country.

3.3.2 - Rationale

Three decades have already passed, since the Bulletin of the Survey of Language Use and Language in Education in Eastern Africa (1967, I, I, 2) made the following declaration:

"To embark upon a program of national development without careful consideration of the language used in a nation is to invite an incalculable waste of vital resources simply through the compounding of everyday inefficiencies in communication. Even more serious, in the long run, is the waste of human potential that occurs when children are subjected to ill-conceived and inadequate language instruction during their school years. No nation can afford such a waste."
The implications of this important pronouncement, in the context of an independent and democratic Mozambique, will be considered in the last Chapter of this study. In the meantime, I find it useful to point out that the problems raised in this and previous chapters of the present study, call for proper planning on the part of the state and those concerned with the teaching and development of local languages. I think that in a multilingual community, the role of each language should be seen in its proper perspective, and the complementary functions of the local languages and the language of wider communication, recognised.

The aims and objectives of the present section, are to investigate the mutual impact of Portuguese and indigenous Mozambican languages in an attempt to answer some of the questions that arise when considering the importance of the pronouncement quoted above, such as:

1) what is or should be the status of each language in relation to the others?
2) what is or should be the role of each language in national development?
3) how can or does the indigenous languages interfere with the efficient operation of the European languages?
4) how can or does the European language hamper the development and successful operation of the indigenous languages?
5) how can the different language systems be taught and developed so as to work, smoothly, together as media of communication, instruments of development, and vehicles of national consciousness?

As it is obvious, such questions need foresight and insight on the part of statesmen, and purposeful and rigorous research, on the part of language scholars. In developing countries, such as those in Southern Africa, linguistics cannot be seen to be a relevant discipline, as long as it remains rigidly theoretical. In such countries, linguistic problems are a concrete reality and can be solved only by the marriage of theoretical and applied, or normative, linguistics. In other words, descriptive linguistics should be complemented by prescriptive linguistics.

That said, it remains to be pointed out that no general answer can be given
as the solution to all the problems of multilingualism, except, in very broad terms. Each case must be studied and examined on its own, and in such a study, the following factors, should be taken into account: firstly, the sociolinguistic factors involved should be investigated: which language is used for what purpose? what is the status of each language in the country? How many languages are there? When does the multilingual/bilingual make use of his/her native tongue, and under what circumstances does he/she use his/her different languages? What is his/her attitude to both languages? In addition, a comparative study of the different languages in contact is necessary.

On the other hand, however, it is necessary to define the limits of the study at the outset by pointing out that it is not my intention to carry out a nationwide survey on language use and language attitudes in present-day Mozambique. A nationwide survey would be too expensive for my limited financial resources. Therefore, a questionnaire meant not only to discover the situations in which the different languages are used by the multilinguals in Mozambique, in general, but also, to test the attitudes of ministry employees, secondary and tertiary institutions' students, teachers and lecturers, journalists and farmers towards the different languages was administered to about 310 Mozambicans from the different social backgrounds described above (ministry employees, secondary, high and tertiary institutions' students, teachers and lecturers, journalists and farmers), according to the distributional criteria described in Table 3.2 below:

Table 3.2 - Description of Survey Informants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondents</th>
<th>Maputo</th>
<th>Beira</th>
<th>Nampula</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ministry employees</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students - secondary</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- tertiary</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lecturers</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Journalists</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmers</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>154</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This way, I hoped to, geographically, cover the whole extension of Mozambique by concentrating in the three main cities: Maputo (south); Beira (centre), and Nampula (north). Consequently, I believed to be able to cover the four main indigenous ethnic groups, namely: the Tsonga (which include the Shangane, Rhonga, Bitonga and Xitswa) in the south, Maputo; the Sena/Ndau in the centre, Beira; and the Makua-Lomwé, Nyanja, and the Makonde, including the coastal Muslims in the north, Nampula.

As noted earlier on, and according to Informação Estatística, (1987), Comissão Nacional do Plano (1988), the province of Maputo has a population of 1,569,700, while the province of Sofala (Beira) has a population of 1,269,800; and the province of Nampula has a population of 2,874,100.

As it can be seen, the sampling rationale was based on prevailing ethnic representativity all over the country. The informants were sampled per group in each city, divided among the subgroups and sexes, to give a total of 310 informants.

The Questionnaire

In employing the questionnaire technique, I was aware of the limitations of this method for verifying information relating to the number of languages actually found in the country and the attitudes of the people who speak them. The intention was to check on secondary information extracted from available written sources. I first of all compiled a comprehensive questionnaire on language attitudes inspired from historical, anthropological and linguistic publications, relevant official records such as census returns, and maps. The questionnaire was, in the main, composed of 58 questions, divided into four parts with the following structure:

Part A - Questions designed to provide background information on the informants;
Part B - Questions dealing with language use;
Part C - Questions dealing with attitudes of informants towards Portuguese and the indigenous languages;
Part D - Questions calling for ranking of completions to a problem in the indigenous languages or in the language of wider communication.
The questionnaire was then sent to schools, university departments, ministries, media departments and selected farms where informants were selected for their knowledge of the languages and peoples of the area concerned. They were issued clear instructions asking them to tick one of the squares which appealed to them. The questionnaire was adapted from instruments used in previous studies by Hofman (1974a; 1974b), Adegbija (1992f; 1994), Mann (1994), Ngara (1982), Ladefoged et al. (1971) and others.

As noted above, the questionnaire tried, in the main, to gather general information on:

1 - language background, opinions and preferences regarding Portuguese and indigenous languages and attitudes toward variations in language and knowledge and preferences concerning language in schools, as well as more detailed information on economic and social standing of the informants;
2 - linguistic educational and social backgrounds, skills, competencies;
3 - languages used in studying, teaching, working, broadcasting (radio/tv), etc., favoured or discouraged languages.

The Interview

To elicit informed opinion on the actual language attitudes prevailing in the area the researcher personally toured the three provinces where the survey took place. In these provinces the researcher was able to gather relevant general linguistic information from chiefs, councillors, boma messengers, farmers, etc., who were carefully selected for their knowledge of the area in which they worked or lived.

Each of the informants who were interviewed answered questions already drawn up in the form of a questionnaire. On the other hand, by the insignificant number of people interviewed, it may seem that the study was directed to one part of society: the educated, appearing to be, therefore, not a representative sample. This was not so. Apparently, this was due to practical reasons caused by the political situation at the time, such as:
impossibility of travelling to the rural areas due to danger caused by thousands of mines left by recent civil war;
- lack of transport to enable the researcher to reach deeper into rural areas;
- great distances involved
- poor communication;
- lack of material (equipment);
- most indigenous languages in Mozambique have no written form which would enable the researcher to produce or translate the questionnaire through them.

On the other hand, the researcher proposed to investigate the attitudes of the illiterate through interviews mainly because of the problems described above, he found this method to be more direct and personal, allowing the researcher to record personal reactions.

Hoping to encourage the interviewees to discuss their own use of languages and the language situation in the country, in general, the writer attempted to cover a set of 18 questions as follows:

1. Which languages are used in this part of the country?
2. What are the languages normally spoken on radio/television?
3. At school, what are the languages spoken as media of instruction?
4. In your opinion, what language(s) should be used and taught in schools?
5. At what level(s) should they be used?
6. To what level should . . . be used before . . . would be introduced?
7. How many languages do you speak?
8. What is your language (mother tongue) among the ones you have mentioned in 1?
9. Are there books published in your mother tongue?
10. What about newspapers?
11. Can you read in your language (mother tongue)?
12. In your opinion, what is the purpose of Portuguese in this country?
13. What about indigenous languages?
14. Now, if you were asked to suggest a common language for this country, what language would you suggest?
15. Why?
16. What about . . . ?
17. Now, apart from . . . , wouldn't you want to suggest any other language like . . . , or . . . ?
18. Why, Why not?

In sum, the survey consisted of:

Informants - About 310 randomly selected from the three main Mozambican cities - 250 -
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of Maputo, Beira and Nampula, comprising adolescents (students), teachers, lecturers, journalists, and farmers, (including the illiterate through interviews).

Instrument - The main instrument was a language attitude questionnaire which the informants were administered. Moreover, interviews and small scale observation completed the research.

Procedure - The questionnaire was administered at the capital cities of Mozambican major provinces of Maputo, Sofala (Beira) and Nampula. The researcher and a small number of university students were responsible for its distribution, controlling and ensuring the correct, smooth and quick administration in each city.

Although the results of these tests were not easy to compute statistically, the information gathered and elicited in this manner, the researcher believes, was useful in providing at least a rough index of the language situation, and the attitudes of the people. The researcher also found the information quite useful in that it complemented the data obtained through the other methods employed in the survey.

3.3.3 Field Problems - Procedure

A questionnaire containing questions dealing with language use; attitudes of informants towards Portuguese and indigenous languages; calling for ranking of completions to problems in the indigenous languages and others reflecting the types of reasons for studying Portuguese such as instrumental, integrative and developmental, was administrated to about 310 Mozambicans randomly selected from the three main provinces of Mozambique, namely: Maputo (the capital with 395 copies given away and only 154 returned; 39% return rate), Sofala (Beira with 122 copies given away and only 84 returned; 68.8% return rate), and Nampula (with 115 copies given away and 72 returned; 62.6% return rate), a general return rate of 49%, ranging from farmers, ministry employees, secondary and tertiary education personnel (pupils, students, teachers and lecturers) and the media (newsprint, radio and television). The reasons for poor return of filled questionnaire are various ranging from forgetfulness to the lack of considerable financial reward for the time spent filling it up. Another important reason, in my point of view, was the strange nature of the task; in other words, it was not part of their everyday life to filling in questionnaires. That is, it was unusual task for them to perform.
This way, I hoped to cover the centre-north of the country where about 40% of the population lives (Zambézia/Nampula), and centre-south where another 30% of the population lives (Sofala/Maputo). On the other hand, I also hoped to cover the four major ethnic groups of Mozambique, namely: Makua-Lomwé, Nyanja, Sena and Tsonga, including the north coastal Muslims.

Unfortunately, lack of financial resources meant that the researcher couldn't cover both urban and rural areas of the places he visited, neither could he cover a larger number of people. However, I am convinced that as first study in the country, the number the researcher covered is representative of Mozambican society.

3.4 - The Findings of Language Attitudes Research in Mozambique

I would like to introduce this section with two quotations from articles by Charles Ferguson (1966). The first is as follows:

"The fact remains that the availability of accurate, reliable information on the language situation of a country can be influential in making policy decisions and is of tremendous value in planning and carrying out the implementation of the policies."

And the second:

"It is assumed here that a full-scale description of the language situation in a given country constitutes a useful and important body of data for social scientists of various interests."

These constitute two kinds of justification for carrying out a sociopsychological survey at regional level; they may, of course, be regarded as - and perhaps ideally are - complementary, but they need not be, and since they may require different kinds of research workers for their implementation, more usually probably are not. It is evident that the first quotation embodies a view of sociolinguistics which underlies much recent work (Shuy & Fasold, 1972) and which is probably also influenced by political considerations. The researcher's own experience of such surveys is limited to the Sociopsychological Survey of Language Attitudes in Southern Africa that the researcher carried out in
Mozambique covering the provinces of Maputo, Sofala, and Nampula, and involving the deployment, in each province, of one full-time researcher and four field workers for a period of one month.

As noted above, an in-depth survey of language attitudes of Mozambicans was conducted by me in August 1995. A total of 28 (9%) Ministry employees; 40 (13%) Secondary school students; 46 (15%) High school students; 70 (22.5%) University students; 60 (19.3%); Secondary and High school teachers; 28 (9%) University lecturers; 24 (7.7) Journalists; and 14 ($5%) Farmers were surveyed. Those surveyed came from 22 institutions scattered throughout three provinces of the country. One questionnaire composed of 58 questions and divided into 4 parts, interview and small scale observation were developed for the survey.

3.4.1 Results of the Survey

As noted above, very few studies that specifically deal with language attitudes have been carried out in the real hotbeds of language-related issues and problems - namely, Southern and West Africa, Asia and Latin America. Most of the research done on language attitudes thus far has occurred in Western world. Very few studies on language attitudes in Southern and West Africa have been published (e.g. Mordaunt, 1991; Saah, 1986; Schmied, 1985; Sure, 1991; Webb, 1992b). In this section, some of the themes and issues arising from the research in Mozambique will be discussed and the major results of such research, presented.

Firstly, however, I will begin by presenting three sets of interview data collected from the provinces of Maputo (the capital), Sofala and Nampula and which, I think, is typical in many respects, and provides information and insight into the variety and complex nature of the issues involved.

The first, (A), is an interview of an agricultural worker from Maputo, the capital of the country; whilst the second, (B), is an excerpt from the interview of a provincial chairman of farmers' association from Beira, capital of the central
province of Sofala; and the third, (C), an excerpt from an interview with a farmer from Nampula, capital of the northern province of Nampula.

(Key to symbols used in the interviews: I = Interviewer; R = Respondent/Informant; . . . . = a pause/ellipsis).

In these interviews, interviewees were encouraged to discuss their own use of languages and the language situation in the country, in general. For this purpose, as noted above, I attempted to cover a set of 18 questions, as follows:

1 - Which languages are used in this part of the country?
2 - What are the languages normally spoken on radio/television?
3 - At school, what are the languages spoken as media of instruction?
4 - In your opinion, what language(s) should be used and taught in schools?
5 - At what level(s) should they be used?
6 - To what level should . . . be used before . . . would be introduced?
7 - How many languages do you speak?
8 - What is your language (mother tongue) among the ones you have mentioned in 1?
9 - Are there books published in your mother tongue?
10 - What about newspapers?
11 - Can you read in your language (mother tongue)?
12 - In your opinion, what is the purpose of Portuguese in this country?
13 - What about Indigenous languages?
14 - Now, if you were asked to suggest a common language for this country, what language would you suggest?
15 - Why?
16 - What about . . . ?
17 - Now, apart from . . . , wouldn't you want to suggest any other language like . . . , or . . . ?
18 - Why, Why not?

(A) An agricultural worker (from Maputo, the capital of the country)

I : Good morning. How are you*
R : Very well, thank you.
I : As I explained when I arranged this appointment, I would like to talk to you about the language situation in this country. The objective of this interview is to serve as a basis of a study I am carrying out in England. Therefore, it has nothing to do with politics or government.
R : That is very good. And, as I explained already, I do not mind talking to you. I think it is very good and important to talk to someone who cares and wants to
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Improve our language situation.

I. Thank you very much. Now, can we start?
R. Yes, please. With pleasure.
I. Which languages are spoken in this part of the country?
R. Shangane, Rhonga, Xitswa, Bitonga and Portuguese, of course.
I. What are the languages normally spoken on radio/television?
R. They use . . . Shangane, Rhonga and . . . sometimes, Bitonga. On radio and on television, so far, . . . only Portuguese.
I. At school, what are the languages spoken as media of instruction?
R. Unfortunately, . . . only Portuguese . . . so far.
I. In your opinion, what languages should be used and taught in schools?
R. I think . . . besides Portuguese, of course, they should introduce Tsonga as the language of the south, . . . since it includes three major languages of the region.
I. Very well, but at what level(s)?
R. I think . . . . right from the beginning of the school career.
I. Now, to what level should Tsonga be used before Portuguese would be introduced?
R. I would like to suggest that Portuguese be introduced in standard three or four.
I. How many languages do you speak?
R. I speak three languages.
I. What is your language (mother tongue) among the one you have mentioned?
R. My mother tongue is Rhonga.
I. Are there books published in your mother tongue?
R. Yes, there are. But they are very few, compared to Portuguese.
I. What about Newspapers?
R. None. We do not have.
I. Can you read in your language (mother tongue)?
R. No, I can't.
I. In your opinion, what is the purpose of Portuguese in this country?
R. Generally speaking, I think the purpose of Portuguese in Mozambique is to help us communicate with each other, get better paid jobs and contact with Portuguese literature and culture.
I. What about the indigenous languages?
R. I think we need them to identify ourselves with our culture, communicate with family and friends, and convey pleasure of expression.
I. Now, if you were asked to suggest a common language . . .
R. Uuum . . .
I. . . . for this country, what language would you suggest?
R. I would suggest . . . suggest, em . . . Tsonga, Tsonga language.
I. Why, ps?
R. Because it is spoken by the majority in the south and it is also easier to learn.
I. You think so?
R. Yes. . . It's more easier . . .
I. What about . . . let's say, Makua-Lomwé?
R. It is true that it is spoken by the majority of people . . . in the country, especially . . . in the north . . . but I think it is difficult for others to learn.
I. Now, apart from Makua, wouldn't you want to suggest any other language like Shangane, Rhonga or Sena?
R. No, . . . I don't think I would.
I. Why not?
R. Well, basically, . . . because they are small languages. . . . therefore, . . . not representative of the country.
I. Thank you very much for your time.
R: You are welcome.

(B) A provincial chairman of farmers' association, from Beira (capital of the central province of Sofala)

...What language would you suggest as a national language in this country?

R: Considering the multiplicity of languages in this country, I think it is not a very fruitful exercise bothering ourselves about national language. History, the fact of history...has forced the Portuguese language as a lingua franca on us. And I think it is useful for us to continue to use the Portuguese language. Also, if you look over some countries, there are countries outside Southern Africa, Europe, where history has forced lingua franca on them even though they have various small linguistic groups in various parts of eastern Europe, for example, but not many of them are widely spoken internationally. When we talk about, for instance, international languages...all right...you will not be thinking...there are some linguistic groups in various parts of Europe that you do not even know about...or in South America that you do not know...you know. So, I think in our country, particularly with such a level of development, for the need of integration...you know, Portuguese and English languages are going to help us. Because the more you emphasise the need for one or two languages, to try to develop them as national languages, you run into ethnic politics. You may even run into religious...problems. Take, for instance, it is only too easy for people to imagine that you will choose either Makua-Lomwé, or Tsonga or both, as national languages. But that is a deceit. When you take the people of this country together, the people who neither understand nor speak Makua or Tsonga languages are many. And they all have a fact, a right to want to be identified by their own languages. They will also want their own local languages to be developed. If I take my province like Sofala where I was born, Ndau is my language, all right. Sena, in fact, seems to be...you know, somewhat a language that has been a little bit developed. We are already having problems, ethnic politics...We are already talking about...in the...in the recent past, the politics was based on what we call ethnic politics and you thought that the ethnic politics was just Ndau, Sena and, to some extent, Makua and Tsonga. Now you talk about minorities and even when you come and confront the minorities, the minorities are not a homogeneous group. They are different in this group. So, I think we should spend our energy not in looking for a national language but in encouraging our children to learn the Portuguese and English languages and concentrate on them...and also learn one other language group of this country apart from their own...but I think it is a waste of effort trying to force...you know, on a national level that these languages are to be spoken...without paying attention to the development of other languages.

I: The argument of some people against the Portuguese language is that culturally, it is not...em...indigenous to this land...and people also feel that we have not been totally...em...emancipated...in a way, we have not got our total independence if we still continue to use Portuguese as our national language. We are...that is...linguistically, we are still slaves to the Portuguese people.

R: Unfortunately...I think...I...I hold a slightly different point of view. I tend to ask myself...The Portuguese language. Who are the people, we can say, the Portuguese language is indigenous to?
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I: People from Portugal...

R: From Portugal? Portuguese is spoken in South America and Africa widely... Many of the people who speak Portuguese in South America and Africa, for example, are not descendants from Portugal, but Portuguese language is the official language of Brazil. And, it is perhaps..., you know, in terms of model of technological development in our country. You know, I would like to enjoy their kind of technological development, institutions they have and the kind of industrial stability. We would like to enjoy their economic growth. But they use Portuguese language. That is not to say that they have no smaller language groups. There are German Brazilians, English Brazilians, and they all communicate in Portuguese. Over long descendants, over the years, for example, may be many of them cannot even speak... perhaps, German. As I said, there are German Brazilian. There are Russian Brazilians. There are Chinese Brazilians. There are even Arab Brazilians... all right?... Some of these retain their indigenous... they are able to communicate in their indigenous... languages from where they came, particularly immigrants. The stock of Brazilians that descended from the portion of Portugal you know... is still very small. Portugal, for example, the official language is... Portuguese. But what we call Portugal, for example, is made up of... different communities. For example, you know, Funchal is one of them... though you can see their development, in which they understand one another. So you can think that the Madeirense, when a Madeirense is speaking, you say he is speaking Portuguese,... But classically speaking, by my own understanding, I have not been to Portugal, but the bulk of what I... I am saying are from my own knowledge in terms of reading, in terms of observations, and things like that... So, I think that there is nothing wrong in keeping... using what we call a foreign language as a unifying factor. It is a fact of history, at a point in time in this country, we were dominated by a European power, we spoke their language, and that language has served to develop us.

(C) A brief excerpt from the interview with a farm worker, from Nampula (capital of northern province of the same name)

I: At school, what are the languages used as media of instruction?

R: Fortunately, only Portuguese.

I: Why do you consider the fact that only Portuguese language is used in education be fortunate?

R: Well... Because of the role Portuguese language plays in a national level. I think that Portuguese language should be developed. Besides, not only developed, but also, promoted... In my point of view, there are three fundamental reasons why the Portuguese language should be developed and promoted in this country:

First, Mozambique has so many indigenous languages, what means that each tribe has its own language; resulting in difficulty in communication between different ethnic groups. For those groups, the only vehicle of communication is Portuguese;

Second, the only way of obtaining or transmitting science and technology is through Portuguese due to lack of technical terms in indigenous languages. Therefore, there is an urgent need for its implementation;
Third, Mozambique is an underdeveloped country (one of the poorest in the world) and surrounded by English-speaking countries, what makes it look like a piece of cake about to be shared. If the country was an English-speaking one, it would be quickly absorbed by other countries in the region. This means that Portuguese language makes Mozambique stand out, in other words, it is a guarantee of its sovereignty. Apart from the factors mentioned above, I think that Portuguese language can be considered an instrument of social, economic and professional realisation. Therefore, due to its importance, there is a tendency of people learning Portuguese formally and informally. For example, when we walk in the streets, we usually see kids speaking Portuguese. Kids who had never gone to school before what means that every parent is aware of the extreme importance for his son to acquire the language.

I: Does it mean that you don't think that indigenous languages should be used in schools at all?
R: Although I do not discourage the use of indigenous languages as, for example, symbols of cultural development, national identity and pride, I think, however, that we need to guarantee our social, economic, and scientific development which can only be achieved through the use of Portuguese.

I: Thank you very much for your time and comments.
R: Thank you ...
I: Thank you, Sir. Have a nice day. Good bye.

3.4.2 The Survey

Part - A Background Information

The informants were 208 (67%) males and 102 (33%) females distributed into the ages described in Table 3.3 below:

Table 3.3 Background Description of the Survey Sample

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Informants</th>
<th>Site</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>%</th>
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<th>%</th>
<th>Sex</th>
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<tr>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
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<th>%</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>Maputo</td>
<td>43.2</td>
<td>46.6</td>
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<tr>
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<td>28.3</td>
</tr>
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<td>20</td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td>19.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>21 - 30</td>
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<td>39.2</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Belra</td>
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<td>39.2</td>
<td>39.2</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>20</td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td>19.6</td>
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<td>41.1</td>
<td>39.2</td>
<td>39.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Belra</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>39.2</td>
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<td>20</td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td>19.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Maputo</td>
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<td>36</td>
<td>33.9</td>
<td>28.3</td>
</tr>
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<td>40.0</td>
<td>20.0</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Belra</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Nampula</td>
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<td>40.0</td>
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<th>%</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>%</th>
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<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>45</td>
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<td>34.0</td>
<td>20</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Belra</td>
<td>44.0</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>34.0</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nampula</td>
<td>44.0</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>34.0</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School</td>
<td>Maputo</td>
<td>37.5</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>35.7</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Belra</td>
<td>37.5</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>35.7</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nampula</td>
<td>37.5</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>35.7</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University Education</td>
<td>Maputo</td>
<td>37.5</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>35.7</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Belra</td>
<td>37.5</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>35.7</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nampula</td>
<td>37.5</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>35.7</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of School Attended</th>
<th>Site</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Government</td>
<td>Maputo</td>
<td>26.7</td>
<td>26.7</td>
<td>26.7</td>
<td>26.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Belra</td>
<td>26.7</td>
<td>26.7</td>
<td>26.7</td>
<td>26.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nampula</td>
<td>26.7</td>
<td>26.7</td>
<td>26.7</td>
<td>26.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A Sociopsychological Survey of Language Attitudes in Southern Africa: A Case Study of Mozambique

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Knowledge of Portuguese</th>
<th>Very Good</th>
<th>30</th>
<th>42.2</th>
<th>21</th>
<th>23.5</th>
<th>20</th>
<th>28.1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Good</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>37.6</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>35.4</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>26.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Not very Good</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>39.4</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>31.5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>29.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td>Farmers</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>30.7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>30.7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>38.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Journalists</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>54.1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>20.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ministry Employees</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>57.1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>17.8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>25.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Secondary School Students</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>58.1</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>23.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>University Students</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>42.8</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>42.8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>14.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>25.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lecturers</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>39.2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>35.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In relation to the school the informants attended, 280 (90.3%) claimed to have attended government school, while 27 (8.7%) attended mission schools, and 3 (0.9%) claimed to have attended private school. Apparently, no one attended Community school.

In terms of knowledge of Portuguese language, 71 (23%) of informants claimed to have an excellent knowledge of Portuguese, while 186 (60%) claimed to have a reasonable knowledge, and 15 (5%) claimed to have poor knowledge of it.

As far as the informants qualifications were concerned, 5 (1.6%) had primary education, 78 (25.1%) had secondary education, 136 (44%) had high school education, and 91 (29.3%) had tertiary (university) education. The description of the informants occupations is given at the beginning of this section.

The most common estimate of the number of the languages spoken in Mozambique is 24. A total of 20 (83.3%) names of languages was reported as being spoken as mother tongue, by the survey subjects, but only those spoken by more than 2 per cent of the informants were used for most of the analysis and interpretation of the data in this study as illustrated in Table 3.4 below.
A Sociopsychological Survey of Language Attitudes in Southern Africa:
A Case Study of Mozambique

Table 3.4 - Languages Reported by the Survey Informants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Languages</th>
<th>NO. of Speakers</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kimwani</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makonde</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yao</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makua-Lomwé</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kolí</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chidema</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chuwabo</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyanja</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barué</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyungwé</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nsenga</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chitave</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sana</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ndau</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shona</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xitswa</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngoni</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsonga</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chopé</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portuguese</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The two languages mentioned by over 80 per cent of the informants correspond to the most important or major languages spoken by Mozambicans as reported in the 1970 population census conducted by the Portuguese colonial government, namely: Makua-Lomwé with 3,000,000 speakers and Tsonga, with 1,850,000 speakers (cited in Thomas Henriksen, 1978, p. 247). In this study, the Makua-Lomwé were represented by 58 (19%) of informants, while the Tsongas were represented by 74 (24%) of the informants. This indicates that the survey data does indeed reflect the opinions and attitudes/beliefs of the great majority of Mozambicans.

On the other hand, Table 3.5 illustrates the Ethnic Groupings of the subjects, while Table 3.6 shows their reported first language (mother tongue).

Table 3.5 - Ethnic Groupings of Survey Informants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>NO. of Speakers</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kimwani</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makonde</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yao</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makua-Lomwé</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>19.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koti</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A Sociopsychological Survey of Language Attitudes in Southern Africa

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Chuwabo 16 5.1
Nyanja 3 0.9
Barué 1 0.3
Nyungwé 12 4
Nsenga 1 0.3
Sena 32 10.3
Ndau 12 4.0
Shona 13 4.1
Xitswa 19 6.1
Ngoni 3 0.9
Tsonga 92 30.6
Chope 24 7.7
Chirima 1 0.3
Marave 1 0.3

Table 3.8 - Reported First Language (Mother Tongue) of Survey Informants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Languages</th>
<th>No. of Speakers</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kiswahili</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kimwani</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makonde</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yao</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makua-Lomwé</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>13.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koti</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siSwati</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chidema</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chuwabo</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyanja</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barué</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyungwé</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nsenga</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chiteve</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sena</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ndau</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shona</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xitswa</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngoni</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsonga</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>14.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chope</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portuguese</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>40.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Portuguese assimilationist policy explains why a considerable part of the surveyed informants, 144 (46.4%), claimed to have learned Portuguese as their mother tongue, in general, it can be said that Portuguese is a second language for the majority of Mozambicans. 166 (53.5%) of the surveyed learned a Mozambican language as their mother tongue. Furthermore, 31 (10%) reported learning more than one language simultaneously during their
Part - B - Language Use

The Function of Language in the Life of a People

What are the roles of the various languages in the life of the people? When is the ethnic or local language used? What is Portuguese used for? These and other questions are not only interesting, but call for answers that are important for language planning. Portuguese is the language of distance - of semi-formal and formal usage for the Mozambican. The vernacular, indigenous or ethnic language thus, tends to dominate the Mozambican's speaking life at home (in rural areas). It is, to him/her, the language of intimacy or nearness - the language of the home, the neighbourhood, and the market place. This survey was carried out in the three main urban areas of Mozambique where people generally tend to use Portuguese, rather than local indigenous languages which are widely used in rural areas.

Table 3.7 illustrates the responses of the surveyed subjects about their language use:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language Used</th>
<th>Portuguese</th>
<th>Indigenous</th>
<th>Both</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 at home</td>
<td>181 = 58.3</td>
<td>23 = 7.4</td>
<td>106 = 34.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 talking to girl/boyfriend</td>
<td>255 = 82.2</td>
<td>10 = 3.2</td>
<td>45 = 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 in the community</td>
<td>134 = 43.2</td>
<td>55 = 18</td>
<td>121 = 39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 at the market/buying-selling</td>
<td>177 = 57</td>
<td>15 = 5</td>
<td>118 = 38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 in the sports fields</td>
<td>255 = 82.2</td>
<td>8 = 2.5</td>
<td>47 = 15.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 in the classroom, office or field</td>
<td>268 = 86.4</td>
<td>3 = 0.9</td>
<td>39 = 12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 writing letters to friends</td>
<td>289 = 96.4</td>
<td>2 = 0.6</td>
<td>9 = 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 talking to absent members of family</td>
<td>92 = 62</td>
<td>36 = 11.6</td>
<td>82 = 26.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(living abroad or other provinces)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 talking to fellow students/employee</td>
<td>301 = 97</td>
<td>0 = 0.0</td>
<td>9 = 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 at the hospital/clinic</td>
<td>302 = 97.4</td>
<td>2 = 0.6</td>
<td>6 = 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 talking to teachers/bosses</td>
<td>301 = 90.6</td>
<td>5 = 1.6</td>
<td>24 = 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 talking to missionaries</td>
<td>281 = 90.6</td>
<td>3 = 1</td>
<td>25 = 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 talking to educated people</td>
<td>299 = 96.4</td>
<td>1 = 0.3</td>
<td>10 = 3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 writing business letters</td>
<td>299 = 96.4</td>
<td>2 = 0.6</td>
<td>9 = 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 travelling by bus, train or plane</td>
<td>222 = 71.6</td>
<td>6 = 2</td>
<td>62 = 26.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 at church meeting where men and</td>
<td>183 = 59</td>
<td>20 = 6.4</td>
<td>107 = 34.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>women are gathered</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 at political meetings</td>
<td>282 = 91</td>
<td>3 = 0.9</td>
<td>25 = 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 at conference, seminar or congress</td>
<td>296 = 96.1</td>
<td>6 = 2</td>
<td>6 = 2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Part C - Language Attitudes

Following, in Table 3.8, are the questions of the questionnaire dealing with language attitudes. Responses were elicited from the 310 informants by asking them if they "agreed", "agreed strongly", "disagreed", or "disagreed strongly" with each statement.

### Table 3.8 - Language Attitudes of Mozambican Survey Informants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Disagree Strongly</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 - Port. medium education basis</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>48.3</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>41.2</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 - All languages important</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>51.2</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>36.4</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 - Educated should know language</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>54.1</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>41.6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 - Educated should speak &amp; write</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>52.9</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>39.6</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 - To be educated in to speak &amp; write</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>39.3</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>53.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 - Complex matters express, in Port.</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>33.8</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>35.4</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>15.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 - Mother tongue teaching at</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>22.2</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>48.4</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>13.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary level</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>50.3</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>28.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary level</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>48.7</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>36.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tertiary level</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>23.8</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>43.5</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>27.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 - Indig. lang. can handle modern science</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>16.4</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>25.4</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>37.7</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>20.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 - Negative influence of foreign language on local culture</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>46.4</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>28.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 - Foreign language a threat to National Identity</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>55.4</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>38.7</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 - Portuiguese is languages</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>17.7</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>50.3</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>28.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 - Only Port. should be used in Education</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>47.7</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>31.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Government</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>29.6</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>30.6</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>19.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 - Only Indigenous languages should be used in Education</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>35.1</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>46.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Government</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>18.3</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>18.0</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>33.2</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>28.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 - Portuguese &amp; indigenous languages should be used in Education</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>38.4</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>45.4</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Government</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>42.9</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>47.4</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 - An indig. lang. should become official</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>31.2</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>40.6</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>13.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Community</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>42.9</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>47.4</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 - An indigenous language should become medium of instruction</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>46.1</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>40.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Community</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>28.0</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>64.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 - Indig. languages are no loss</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>28.0</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>64.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 - Indig. languages are expressive</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>34.5</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>41.6</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>11.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 - Literates feel superior than illiterates</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>45.1</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>30.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This part of the questionnaire was drawn up in full knowledge of the attitude of many educated people to their languages during the colonial era. During that period, the tendency among educated people was to regard Mozambican indigenous languages as crude and uncivilised, and Portuguese as refined and civilised. In doing so, they were walking in the footsteps of their European
masters because, in various ways, Europeans led the African into thinking that education was to be equated with the acquisition of a European language.

For instance, as mentioned above, in French-speaking countries the philosophy of Négritude whose aim was to enhance African culture and art was a reaction to the earlier tendency to reject one's own language and culture in search of French values. Diedrich Westerman (1949, p. 127), was one of the first to see the dangers of using a European language as a medium of instruction in African schools, when he observed that:

"Even primary school children do not attach any importance to the vernacular and are glad to get rid of it as soon as possible."

Therefore, in colonial Mozambique, the belief that Portuguese was a superior language to indigenous languages was certainly there as it is obvious from the above data.

During the data collection for the present study, a teacher who worked in education during the colonial administration noted that there was a more positive attitude towards the indigenous languages among students and teachers and he attributed the change, partly, to the arrival of nationalism and independence. This statement shows that the colonial Government Officials were happy to note the African's negative attitude towards his/her own language. The responses to items 2 to 17 above, seem to indicate that by 1975, attitudes were indeed changing. The answers to these statements appear to show, in conclusion, that:

a) the old tendency to despise Mozambican indigenous languages is gradually disappearing in Mozambique, especially among young people;
b) the young Mozambican has been politicised and has learnt to appreciate his own culture and language;
c) the Mozambican has learnt to see something good in things Mozambican while, at the same time, his loyalty to his own language does not make him blind to the usefulness of a European language.

In other words, there seems to be a growing awareness of the value of Mozambican culture, but this awareness is not accompanied by the pitfalls of
misguided nationalism as the answers to item 4 clearly indicate the great value attached to Portuguese, while responses to items 3 and 17 demonstrate, in no uncertain terms, that young Mozambicans no longer regard their languages as uncivilised and unimportant.

In spite of the obvious problems inherent in the methods used such as the desire of informants to answer a question as they think the researcher wants. It is significant that the results of most of the research referred to thus far, seem to converge, in several respects, with regard to the following general themes:

(a) The dominant force of the historical past of colonialism in attitude formation seems evident.

Interviews and observations revealed a general attitude of acceptance, as revealed in Chapter One, of Portuguese as a fact of colonial history tying the hands of Mozambican language-policy makers. An interview with a farmers association Chairman, in Beira, central province of Sofala clearly reveals such an attitude and also strongly to one's mother tongue:

I: Would you like your language to be spoken at school?
R: Normally...I will.
I: As a medium of instruction?
R: Right.
I: What about if your language is taken as national language?
R: ...as a Ndau, I am always proud. If the government takes Ndau or Sena as national languages, it will be OK. I hope everybody will support the idea although I don't think it has a chance of being possible, due to its small number of speakers.
I: OK, now that Portuguese is being used as a national language in Mozambique, what is your attitude toward that?
R: ...aaa...em... It is a heritage because it is what we met...aaa...people speaking...So I think we should have to accept it.
I: We just have to accept it? Do you love it?
R: Yes, I love it.

The same chairman went on to add, strongly expressing, in unmistakable words, the attitude that Portuguese in Mozambique has become a fact of history that Mozambicans should not be ashamed of when he said:

"...so I think there is nothing wrong in keeping...using what we call a foreign language as a unifying factor. It is a fact of history, at a point in time in this country we were dominated by a European power, we spoke their language and that language..."
Put differently, it is largely felt that Portuguese is a heritage, or as the Ndau-speaking farmers' association chairman puts it, 'a fact of history', it is loved because of the glorious functions it is perceived as performing, especially as a strong unifying thread in the Mozambican multilingual and multicultural setting. Yet, there is also a desire for the mother tongue, partly because it also, even more than Portuguese, is a heritage. Thus, in the interview with the farmers' association chairman above, we see such an attitude of ambivalence.

There is a generally positive evaluation of European languages, especially in official domains, because of their instrumental roles and the socioeconomic gains associated with their command.

The results of virtually all the studies available to date, (e.g. Sure, 1991; Schmied, 1985, and Webb, 1992), confirm that there is high esteem for European languages in official domain, especially in education. This is partly attributable to the instrumental motivation for learning languages (cfs. Gardner & Lambert, 1972; Gardner, 1985). The fact that European languages are slowly creeping into the homes and beginning to be acceptable in some non-official contexts is indicated in the following extract from an interview with a farmer in the Sofala province, Mozambique, with Sena as mother tongue:

I: When you get home, sir, what language do you speak with your wife and children?
R: Ah... I speak...em... Portuguese to them. And that is the sad reflection. My children do not even understand my own language. Occasionally, when I speak my language to them, they do not understand what it means. They start laughing...OK... What is Daddy saying?... Yes...

Schmied's (1985) results indicate that attitudes in favour of English in Tanzania were reflected both by the approval of the +English statements as well as the disapproval of the -English statements. There is also a positive evaluation of mother tongues and, sometimes, national languages (as Kiswahili in Tanzania), as symbols of ethnic, and national loyalty, or of nationhood and independence or sovereignty.
That is, in spite of the very positive evaluation of European languages in most Southern African countries, virtually all the studies available, so far, also reveal strong feelings of mother tongue loyalty. Thus, 69% of the questionnaire informants in this study believed their children would learn more effectively, at primary level, in their mother tongues and 93% considered their mother tongues not useless. This was in spite the fact that 71% of them did not consider even the major indigenous languages, (presumably more developed than the minor ones) capable of handling modern sciences.

In many parts of Southern Africa, multidialectalism is the norm and people are, sometimes, strongly attached to their own dialects of particular languages. Such strong feelings of dialect loyalty have occasionally complicated the issues of language policy-making and implementation.

Schmied's (1985) ten argument with an-English load, only two were considered convincing, "Kiswahili is as effective for communication as English", (and it is even considered more so intranationally); and "Concepts are easier to understand when they are explained in Kiswahili". Similar results, in which there is a general loyalty towards the indigenous languages as vehicles of national symbolism, identity and pride are indicated in Sure (1991).

A reflection of mother tongue loyalty was also typical of many of those observed and interviewed in the present study as, not surprisingly, many people are used to their mother tongues. Consequently, its entrenchment in national life would, at least, imply some personal advantages for them (instrumental value). Very naturally, too, most of us are often reluctant to have anything we have accustomed to, changed. This is why many cultures feel the way they see things is better than how others see them. Thus, cultural attitudes are negatively affected and conflicts occur when one man's culture becomes another's anti-culture.

(b) A general attitude of ambivalence is, sometimes, evident with regard to European and indigenous languages
Such ambivalence is summed up as follows by Sure (1991, p. 251) who comments that attitudes to English at the primary school is reflective of:

"... the conflict between loyalty to one language and the utility of another: the choice between learning a language because it is useful (instrumentalism) and learning another because it marks the individual's cultural, ethnic or national identity (integration)."

This seems to reveal another dimension of the instrumental/integrative dichotomy of motivation in the Southern African context.

(c) Ethnolinguistic minorities are sensitive to language issues and are often closely attached to their languages and cultures

As Baker (1993, p. 5) rightly observes:

"The attitudes of individuals towards a particular language may affect language maintenance, language restoration, language shift or language death in society."

This observation seems to be particularly applicable to the theme of attitudes towards ethnolinguistic minority languages. Many studies suggest that domination of smaller language groups by bigger ones is necessary and a matter of course. For instance, Jibril (1990), seems to suggest that such domination is, in fact, for the good of the small language groups. Examples have also been cited, for instance, in Kenya, of small language groups who are unwilling to see their languages and cultures maintained (cf. Jibril, 1990), because they want to participate in mainstream culture and its attendant benefits and rewards.

(d) There is a growing acceptance of European languages in many parts of Southern Africa, largely because of the perception that they serve unifying roles in largely multilingual and multiethnic societies

Many Mozambicans seem to think that their country would break up due to ethnic politics in largely multilingual and multiethnic communities, was Portuguese language not being around to play a unifying role. The perceived unifying role supposedly being performed by Portuguese language is, apart from its instrumental value, also partly, responsible for its high esteem and value.
Native varieties of European languages are developing and this may be contributing towards their increasing acceptance.

Many Southern Africans have thus cultivated an attitude in which European languages are seen not as properties per se, but as international commodities with a universal ownership and to which the entire world can, therefore, lay claim. Such an attitude, by no means peculiar, is very evident in the opinions expressed by the Ndau Farmers' Association Chairman in the interview cited above.

Part - D - Attitudes Towards Indigenous Languages and Languages of Wider Circulation

This part is, in the main, composed of eleven items, seven of which call for the ranking of completions to a problem in the indigenous languages (items 1, 3, and 7) or in languages of wider circulation (items 2, 4, 5, and 6). This part has been adapted from a ten-item instrument used in a prior study (Hofman, 1974b). The results are presented in Tables 3.9 and 3.10. Questions are grouped according to whether they deal with the indigenous (Table 3.9) languages or with languages of wider circulation (Table 3.10). The informants were asked to rank the arguments in order of preference.

(a) Attitudes Towards the Indigenous Languages

The first question called on informants to rank four arguments that might explain why "independent countries in Southern Africa have seen fit to develop national languages". All groups of subjects preferred the reply, on average, that the national tongue was needed to permit Africans self-expression. This reflects sentiments orientation.

On the question of the use of Makua-Lomwé, Tsonga as official languages in Mozambique, all groups again tended to support one and the same argument - namely, that this would promote communication between the major ethnic groups.

On the third question, too, agreement was general. This time, a value
argument obtained first choice - that it was the main task of the indigenous languages to "... provide Mozambicans with a focus for national identity".

One could not avoid observing that different attitude types dominated in different items. Informants situation-specific. They seemed to prefer a sentimental argument on the question of official languages, and a value argument on the issue of the broader scope of the indigenous.

On the other hand, in general, in Table 3.4, responses have been classified into the three categories of the two-dimensional scheme. Those that did not fit the scheme could almost always be classified as "indifference" or "negativism". Clearly, highly educated informants tended to express feelings classifiable as instrumentalist or communications-oriented more often than did the less educated or non-educated subjects. The latter, in turn, more often expressed sentimentalist or value-oriented feelings. Indifference and negativism toward the mother tongue were most frequent among educated informants.

(b) Attitudes Towards Languages of Wider Communication

On the question of why such languages as English and Portuguese achieved their present status in Southern Africa, agreement was general. The reason preferred by informants was that natives were forced to use those languages (communication argument). Apparently, Mozambicans did not quickly forget the colonial past.

Table 3.9 - Attitudes of Informants Towards Indigenous Languages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Minis. Employees</th>
<th>Studs. &amp; Teachers</th>
<th>Journalists</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Farmers</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Reasons why newly independent countries of Southern Africa develop national tongues:</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wish to forget colonialism</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>12.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Easier to make a living</td>
<td>21.2</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Try overcome lang. minorities</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>29.3</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desire for self-expression</td>
<td>45.1</td>
<td>28.3</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. Arguments for Makua-Lomwé and Tsonga as official languages in Mozambique:  

- 270 -
7. Main Task of Indige. Languages
in Mozambique:
- Help Africans communicate: 23.5
- Let Africans express feelings: 23
- Provide Africans focus identity: 38.3
- Make Portuguese choice subject: 15.1

Table 3.10 - Attitudes Towards Languages of Minis. Employees Studs. & Teachers Journalists Farmers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons Port. and English achieved special status in Southern Africa:</th>
<th>Minis. Employees</th>
<th>Studs. &amp; Teachers</th>
<th>Journalists</th>
<th>Farmers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Everyone forced to speak it</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A flourishing literature</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Easy to learn</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>32.2</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Countries enjoy prestige</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. Why Portuguese is required in Mozambican schools:
- Language of culture and science: 48
- Get better paid job: 30
- Contact with culture: 16
- Language of governing group: 6.1

5. Why Mozambicans study and learn Portuguese language:
- Read textbooks assigned in schools: 78.7
- Pass admission exams to universities: 13.5
- Make friends among Port-speaking people: 4
- Read Port-language books for pleasure: 4

6. If no unified language in the country:
- National unity will suffer: 49.3
- Misunderstandings between classes: 22.5
- Misunderstandings between individuals: 14.5
- Literature may suffer: 13.5

8. Should the teaching and using of Portuguese be improved?
   - Yes: 279 = 90%; No: 31 = 10%
   - Suggestions on how to improve the teaching of Portuguese ranged:
     - Improve education and teaching standards;
     - Increase literacy in rural areas;
     - Increase the existing bibliography in Portuguese;
     - Expand its use in mass media communication;
     - Open more schools;
     - Increase the training of Portuguese language teachers;
     - Continue regarding Portuguese as a language of national unity;
     - Create centres of Portuguese language research;
     - Increase academic contacts with Portuguese-speaking countries and peoples.

9. Should the teaching and using of Indigenous languages be encouraged?
   - Yes: 260 = 84.1%; No: 50 = 16.1
   - Suggestions on how to encourage the teaching and use of Indigenous languages ranged:
Introduce them into the educational system on a regional basis and, at early years of primary level;
- Give appropriate value to the indigenous languages;
- Keep national unity through them thus, allowing national communication;
- Avoid tribal conflicts by allowing people to use them freely;
- Stop depending on foreign language;
- Increase their use in mass media communication such as radio, television, and newspapers;
- Treat them in a way as to value Mozambican culture and explore the positive aspects they possess;
- Make it possible for all the children to start school in their mother tongue;
- Besides being introduced into the educational system, they should also be used in job interviews in order to give a chance to those who do not speak Portuguese.

10. Reasons why a Mozambican indigenous language should replace Portuguese as an official language in Mozambique:
- An indigenous language would allow Mozambicans to communicate in their own language and not in a borrowed one;
- Mozambique has languages and cultures that are not compatible with Portuguese;
- If we had a language of our own, it would be much better because that would help avoid some problems caused by the existence of several languages all seen at the same level. It would be ours, not someone else's;
- It would make it possible to develop a typical Mozambican personality and culture;
- It would unite Mozambicans and develop a sense of Mozambican culture;
- An indigenous language is needed because Portuguese is not indigenous to the land;
- It would allow the knowledge of local culture and understand cultural values;
- An indigenous language is desirable because the majority of the population does not speak neither understand Portuguese;
- It would give a chance to those whose mother tongue is not Portuguese to be educated.

11. Reasons why informants would not like a local language to replace Portuguese as an official language in Mozambique:
- Portuguese language is the only one which is more or less, understood by Mozambicans throughout the country;
- To avoid tribal conflicts;
- None of the indigenous languages possess enough vocabulary to satisfy modern science and technology;
- National unity would be in danger;
- There are not enough trained or standard speakers of any of the indigenous languages who would handle the task of teaching them. A national language would not help the country in its efforts for development and access to cultures of other countries and peoples;
- Lack of financial resources to embark on the study and implementation of indigenous languages;
- Economically disadvantageous.

The main argument for the Portuguese language requirement in Mozambican schools endorsed by all groups is an instrumental one - namely, that it was difficult to get a well paid job without knowing Portuguese.

Third preference, for most groups, was the communications argument, really a political one, that Portuguese was the language of the governing group. The exception to this is interesting. Students and lecturers from the two universities assigned second choice to the argument that Portuguese was becoming the language of culture and science. First-hand experience at the university level had its effect.
The fourth item, the one that treated the more general issue of unity, again elicited fair agreement among the groups. Most assigned first rank to the argument that national unity is tied up with language unity, the Swiss experience notwithstanding. Here, the Ministry Employees, Journalists and Farmers dissent. They gave their preference to the argument that misunderstanding might arise between social classes in the absence of a unified language. This is a social, rather than a political, argument.

Language Interview

Attitudes as assessed by the forced-choice items in part D, do not show up as very different in the rest of four groups of informants. The interviews conducted with twelve Mozambicans, mainly illiterate, did not bear on differences between ethnic groups, but strongly supported the impressions gathered from Mozambicans' feelings analysed in Tables 3.9, 3.10, and 3.11.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 3.11 - Language Interview Summary</th>
<th>Maputo</th>
<th>Beira</th>
<th>Nampula</th>
<th>All</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Languages Claimed:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three languages, including Portuguese</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two languages, including Portuguese</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One language, excluding Portuguese</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose of Portuguese:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contact with Portuguese literature and culture</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helps obtain good job and in commerce</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helps communicate</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know Portuguese</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Purpose of indigenous languages:</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Pleasure of expression</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Identity with culture</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communicate with friends and family</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>No response</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language situation in Mozambique:</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Linguistic tribalism deplored</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alienation from indigenous speech decried</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modernisation of indigenous languages encouraged</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forced standardisation resented</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anticipated changes in language situation:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More mutual learning of languages</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixtures of languages advocated</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indigenous languages must be protected and</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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Table 3.9 lists certain classifiable themes extracted from interview protocols: the number of languages claimed, and views on the purpose of Portuguese and the indigenous languages in Mozambique; on the language situation, and on anticipated changes. References to Table 3.6 will be interspersed with quotes from the interviews.

Most of the interviewees (mainly from south and centre of the country) claimed to speak at least three languages, excluding Portuguese, and quite a few claimed to speak more. Language proficiency was usually limited to the spoken variety and might not pass rigorous inspection. Yet, in a world which has a high respect for oral communication, the ability to make oneself understood in several languages - or dialects of the same language - is no mean achievement. Even farm parents, having wondered to southern regions in their early years, often laid claim to more than their mother tongue. As one interviewee in Maputo explained:

"Shangane is a beautiful language in its cultural expression and poems. Portuguese is a remote language because its literature brings me to many lands. I am Rhonga by tribe and must know that language. I speak in Shangane to my friends and neighbours in the farm, and to people at home. I use Portuguese when I attend meetings or when I go to government offices, and Chopi, when I speak with my wife".

Students at the two universities visited and nearly all Ministry employees converse almost exclusively in Portuguese. In my point of view, this is a direct result of Portuguese assimilationist policy, although no direct evidence on this was gathered in the present study.

In general, Portuguese is said to meet practical exigencies of work, commerce, politics and communication with members of different ethnic groups. The indigenous language, which tends to be used at home, is associated with pleasure and identification with ethnic culture.
However, farmer parents appear to be particularly disturbed by what appears to them to be a sort of alienation among young people. While anxious for a balanced education in Portuguese and the indigenous languages for their children at home, they do not like the "mixture of Portuguese and local languages, the result of which is a fall in each and disrespect for elders". In the words of one agricultural worker or farmer in Nampula area:

"The young people should stop using a peer group language at home because, then, they lose manners".

Another parent (also farmer) from Beira, insists that "... apart from the learning of Portuguese at school, children should be taught customs in Sena so that they would not assimilate too much Portuguese customs".

Some students, though accused of laxity in their own use of the indigenous languages and often guilty aware of this, usually advocate the use and development of the indigenous languages.

One Ndau speaker explains: "I am proud of the Ndau language, and I shall always want to speak it. It was very unfortunate that at school I had to learn in Portuguese and not in Ndau". He was, to be precise, being opposed not to learning Portuguese, but to learning everything in Portuguese. Few actually want less Portuguese, but many would like indigenous languages introduced in the educational system - Makua-Lomwé, Sena, Tsonga, and others. The Ndau speaker just quoted above went on to say: "Ndau and Portuguese should be compulsory at primary school level in Sofala; Makua-Lomwé and Portuguese in the north; and Tsonga and Portuguese in the south". He expressed a widely held feeling that full language symmetry should obtain between all population groups. Said another interviewee "Tsonga is just as important as Portuguese and should be made compulsory in schools in the south of the country".

The vice-chairman of farmers' association from Beira (Sofala province) proposed using the broadest terms of language policy saying:

"I would like one day the Ministry of Education to regard Ndau as no less important than any other foreign languages that
are taught in schools. I would like Ndau to be regarded as a Mozambican language and not as a dialect.

The mixing of dialects is often deplored, but there are a few who would like to have this achieved deliberately to create a new national language. This line of thought goes even beyond dialects to the mixture of indigenous languages: "I foresee the development of a neutral language borrowing words from Tsonga, Sena and Makua-Lomwé. This new language will achieve national unity amongst the people of this country."

On the other hand, there appear to be considerable awareness that language has an important role to play in whatever national dreams are being dreamt. It is believed that a national language would help to overcome ethnic diversity, or institutionalise it, and create greater equality with all walks of society to nationalism. A precondition to such ambitions is the development of the indigenous languages to "... express technical and scientific concepts". as a Shangane writer put:

"Makua, Sena, and Tsonga are speedily developing and expanding in vocabulary, and use. However, these developments are still inadequate to give definitions and meanings to modern technical terms."

Members of the Department of African Languages (Linguistics) at the Eduardo Mondlane University, Ministry of Culture and Mozambique Radio feel certain that, while the indigenous languages have a long way to go, there was nothing in those languages or in any others, for that matter, that precluded their eventual adaptation to any use whatsoever. Intuitively, the great majority of interview and questionnaire informants seemed to be saying the same thing.

3.5 - Discussion

The theme of attitude towards languages in the domain of education, that is, in language learning and teaching, is one on which many research results have focused. In this regard, Mordaunt (1991), for instance, is particularly pertinent. His work is also interesting because it is the only Southern African study on language, that I am aware of, that has attempted to investigate the nature of
interrelationships between different variables. His discovery that there is a favourable attitude toward English in education in Swaziland rhymes with other studies reported on. Mordaunt also discovered that anomie as a variable did not correlate with other variables except the trainees' year of study. Most of the results of language attitude research in Southern Africa reveal that, as a medium of education, European languages are virtually nonpareil in the positive evaluation they receive, especially at higher levels of education. For instance, when asked if they would like local language to replace Portuguese as a medium of instruction in schools, only about 19% of my (1995) 310 informants were in favour, whilst 81.2% of them were against the change. Some of the informants, (like the chairman of farmers' association quoted earlier), in fact, believe that even though European languages are not indigenous, they alone can effectively serve several national roles.

Attitudes relating to language policy, especially with regard to national and official languages, is another common theme of this language attitude research. Results reveal that many informants believe that European languages can effectively serve as official or national language. Over two-thirds, precisely 76.1% of my subjects, want Portuguese retained as the official language in Mozambique, and only about 24% want it replaced. The farmers' association chairman interviewed in this study, warned, "... The more you emphasise on particular language, to try to develop it as a national language, you run into ethnic politics. You may even run into religious problems". Many others interviewed expressed similar opinion, to the effect that Mozambique has more important priorities than selecting a national language - the economy, making government work, organising society, fighting inflation, overcoming inter-cultural strife, etc. Aiming at such goals is considered, by a majority of those interviewed, as the real kind of emancipation Mozambique needs. A large majority of informants who filled in the questionnaire, as well as those who were interviewed and observed in this study, are fairly comfortable with the roles and functions of Portuguese in the Mozambican multilingual and multicultural context.

Their attitudes tend towards the perception of the Portuguese language as a...
Mozambican language, a visitor language that has now become accepted as almost indigenous. Such comfort, obviously, springs from the socio-historical background and context identified in Chapter One of this study and the fact that, as pointed out earlier, a few Mozambican variety of language, largely different from native Portuguese varieties, are developing and are, in fact, being codified. Similarly, Sure (1991, p. 251), reporting on attitudes in Kenya, comments that while at primary school, the results reveal that the general attitude towards Kiswahili is favourable because of its 'symbolic importance as an indigenous African language and Kenya's national language', English, on the other hand, is loved principally because it is used as the medium of higher education and because it is perceived as a unifying force.

Response to the open-ended part of the questionnaire used in this study, as well as my observations of Mozambican society specifically, and Southern Africa, in general, give some tentative insights into why some of the attitudinal patterns observed above exist. The national institutionalisation of European languages as the sole medium of education from upper primary school onwards (in many Southern African countries, and lower in a few), part of the inherited historical legacy (see Chapter One on the Sociohistorical Foundations of Language Attitudes) in most countries, leaves a deep imprint of attitudes towards the languages in later life. The results of Sure (1991), Schmied (1985) and mine (1995), indicate that the socioeconomic benefits or superior instrumental value of European languages in the present social structure of most Southern African countries, generally, promotes favourable and positive attitudes towards them, especially in official domains. Similar observations have been made in other contexts which share identical sociohistorical backgrounds. For example, Frank (1993, pp. 49 - 51), observes that the school system past and present in St. Lucia has had a considerable influence on the formation and entrenchment of language attitudes. One informant in this study, in fact, comments specifically that "you cannot go anywhere in this country, without Portuguese". A similar comment could be made about European languages in most Southern African countries.

The following sample responses to the open-ended part of the questionnaire
in this study, also point to the same attitudinal trait:

"Portuguese helps me get occupation".

"...Portuguese has become a remarkable communication medium".

"Mozambican languages cannot help us in our national and scientific development".

"I don't think we need to eradicate it as a sacrifice to national self-identification. However, we could tame it syntactically to suit our national aspirations".

Such responses, especially the first one, volunteered by a radio broadcaster, most likely pinpoint an attitude that reflects a deep-rooted evaluation of Portuguese as an investment into chances for social mobility.

Furthermore, the following variety and range of responses to the replacement of Portuguese with an indigenous language as the official language (items 15 of part C, and 10 & 11 of part D, in questionnaire - see Appendix) demonstrate that attitudes towards Portuguese and indigenous languages seem to be, principally, conditioned by cultural, sociolinguistic and nationalistic (not in the negative European sense, but in the plain positive Southern African sense of love for one's country) factors:

**Those against the retention of Portuguese argue that:**
- Our own is our own;
- Let us stick to our languages;
- We cannot fully participate in national affairs if we don't use our own languages;
- We cannot express our culture in a borrowed language;
- Using Portuguese is a mockery of our independence;
- Learning in schools will be easier and students will understand better if we use our own mother tongues;
- We cannot think originally in someone else's language;
- Our traditions and cultures can only be expressed in our own languages.

**Those in favour of the retention of Portuguese argue that:**
- The standard of education will fall dramatically;
- International relations will be jeopardised;
- The use of one or two languages is not possible in Mozambique where we have many tribes and different languages;
- It will lead to controversy about which to be chosen and according to
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A Case Study of Mozambique

which criteria;
- The possibility of dominating if a language is used;
- It will lead to tribal disunity and ethnic chauvinism.

Obviously, such comments could have been made by subjects in any of the densely multilingual Southern African countries.

Summarising, attitudes toward the main languages of Mozambique were categorised into four types - sentimentalism, value, instrumentalism, and communication - following a scheme used elsewhere in a prior research (Hofman, 1974b) and shown in Table 3.1 above. To review, sentimentalism and value are intrinsic views of language as either personally enjoyable or interpersonally symbolic, it will be remembered. Instrumentalism and communication are extrinsic views of language, as either serving private or public ends.

Once the scheme has been, at least provisionally adopted, the general drift of differences between speakers of Portuguese and indigenous languages makes sense. Makua-Lomwé and Tsonga, the stronger Mozambican indigenous languages, are generally enjoyed by their speakers (sentimentalism) and associated with lofty hopes of nation building (value). Portuguese is far more often just taken for granted as a useful tool (instrumentalism).

On the other hand, language attitudes questionnaire results, in the whole, can be interpreted as rather general agreement among Mozambican society groups on reasonable and moderately stated alternatives. Thus, cognitively speaking, attitudes seem to be very much alike. Members of different groups, on average, judge the original need for indigenous languages development to have been one of self-expression, the current advocacy of Makua-Lomwé and Tsonga as official languages to be motivated by communication needs, and the broader task to be one of providing a focus for national identity. Similarly, the present advantages of Portuguese in the schools are viewed in terms of expediency, and the overall task of a language of wider communication is seen as the achievement of national unity. It is only on the question of how the languages of wider circulation achieved their status, in the first place, that a
strong division of opinion sets in: traditionalists (probably less educated or not assimilated) are haunted by the colonial past, while modernisers ('assimilated' or educated) prefer to consider the intrinsic merits of Portuguese.

In addition to reflecting the same sentiments and values expressed by modernisers and traditionalist Mozambicans in forced-choice questions, open-ended statements, and interviews, allowed some glimpse into the language policy advocated. Both modernising and traditionalist elements of the Mozambican society demand, at least, full equality of the indigenous languages with Portuguese, but for different reasons. Peasant farmers are concerned with tribal authenticity and would prefer the preservation of dialects. The more educated, wish to transcend tribalism in order to cope with national unification, thus favouring the standardisation and modernisation of Makua-Lomwé and Tsonga, leading indigenous languages. Speakers of Sena Ndau, Nyanja, Chuwabo and other smaller languages, caught between giants, are sulking in the wings..

There appears to be an ambivalence toward Portuguese among Mozambicans. The language of the dominant groups remains the key to better paid jobs and wider communication, thus having great extrinsic merit. Rural parents may resent its inroads into local culture, but woe to those who would have it removed from the school (primary) curriculum! Students and professionals, though enthusiastic about the indigenous languages, focus of national hopes, realise well the importance of commanding a language of an impeccable international credentials as Portuguese.

Whereas the response of most educated Mozambicans to questions of language remains well within the issue of usefulness, especially where Portuguese is concerned, the most general expression among other groups is one of pleasure, pride, and enchantment with familiar sounds. Yet, less educated Mozambicans, are also becoming aware of language as a symbol, a potential lever to raise them from tribalism into nationhood, to permit them to deal, on equal terms, with speakers of Portuguese. A people, having shaped
languages, is now being shaped by those languages - into nationhood.

I believe that the rich data of this study, have shown that language as an object of attitudes can point beyond itself towards a range of concerns a varied as individual enhancement, aesthetic enjoyment, intergroup communication, and national pride. It would appear, in conclusion, that the issue of what language serves whom and for what purpose, deserves a much more central place in public and academic planning than it has hitherto been accorded.

On the other hand, on the basis of insights resulting from this study, in particular, and my knowledge of Southern African multilingual and multicultural contexts, in general, a brief summary of the basic language attitudes determination in Southern Africa may now be attempted.

3.6 - Language Attitude Determinant in Mozambican and Southern African Multilingual and Multicultural Contexts

The following basic factors could be said to be at the heart of the formation and entrenchment of particular language attitudes:

3.6.1 - Sociohistorical Forces

Unfortunately, a colonial past has become part of the African heritage. As noted in Chapter One, the very fact of colonialism has resulted in the implantation of languages such as English and Portuguese, etc. Owing to the official functions of these languages, and their usefulness in the domain of education in particular, they have, over the years, been associated with power, prestige, success and achievement. Such association have, generally, resulted in their receiving highly positive evaluation.

On the other hand, post-colonial language policies have further served to ensure the entrenchment of European languages in Southern African countries. This is because they have largely maintained the status quo. Post-colonial policy makers, generally, fear that major changes could result in an unfavourable political backlash. Moreover, the fact that European languages have, for long, been performing mainly High functions means that they have
become entrenched in such High domains. Most Southern Africans have, therefore, become used to them in such domains, e.g. education and official communication. By contrast, however, the fact that indigenous languages have been denied such functions means that they are not associated with High functions. As the frontiers of knowledge have, over the years, been expanding, this implies that even if indigenous languages begin being used now, for instance, in higher education, they have a lot of catching up to do. But better late than never.

However, the fact that they are actually largely not being used, especially in higher education, has the consequence that many Southern Africans now firmly believe that these languages can never function, for instance, in the expression of science and technology. Such opinions, continue to result in a high evaluation of European languages and a general low evaluation of indigenous languages, especially in the domains of officialdom and higher education.

Other sociohistorical forces such as early language development attention, resulting in standardisation of selected languages and the neglect of others, colonial and post-colonial educational policies and Constitutional provisions, official institutional support for one language, rather than another, the idiosyncratic sociohistorical ecology of particular languages, etc., tint attitudes towards languages, either positively or negatively (cf. Chapter One).

For instance, Kiswahili in Tanzania has received a big boost because of 'language ecology' factors that have favoured its geographical spread, its ability to accommodate new terms, and the strong government support which it has enjoyed (cf. Mulhaüsler, 1992)

In Mozambique, Makua-Lomwé and Tsonga are being groomed to become national languages. But such governmental institutional support and efforts to elevate status of a language, at times, provokes speakers of small languages, who have a fear of being dominated by major language groups. The moral of this is that it is not always easy to, precisely, predict the direction in which
attitudes towards a language will be moulded.

3.6.2 - The Linguistic and Social Politics of Complex and Dense Multilingualism

Extreme linguistic heterogeneity and cultural plurality, the norm rather than the exception in most parts of Southern Africa, often impinge on attitude formation. This is particularly true where two or more languages have numerical strength or superiority over others. In Mozambique, for instance, Makua-Lomwé and Tsonga each has a population of above 4 million. Yet, there are languages like Nyungu in Cabo Delgado province with about 40,000 speakers. Unfortunately, it seems that it is the languages with power that receive more governmental support. Accordingly, this affects attitudes in that speakers of small languages have to struggle to be given a voice, to survive. Tension affecting attitudes negatively often results from this process of struggling. Furthermore, this is not helped by the frequent attempts by speakers of major languages to match their numerical supremacy with political and economic supremacy. Rather than have this happen, speakers of minor languages often appear to prefer a further promotion of an exoglossic language like Portuguese. The political and economic weight carried by large language speaker numbers (see Chapter One), the fear in minority groups of being dominated by large ethnolinguistic groups, as well as the immense power wielded in national life by speakers of European languages, (who are a minority), often serve to further entrench positive attitudes towards European languages. Thus, they are seen, as this study indicates, as emblematic of national unity and integration in a multilingual and multicultural society.

3.6.3 - The Irresistible Quest and Pressures for Social Mobility

Differences in individual characteristics are often the basis for the development of particular attitudes towards languages. Generally, however, as earlier indicated, most individuals do not enjoy a static existence. They want to move up the social ladder. They want to be seen as achievers. Language usage constitutes an important component of the desire to achieve because we use language to project our identity and image, to achieve
particular goals and to realise our basic potential. In a multilingual community, there is a natural conflict between the different languages for the fulfilling of these roles. Accordingly, any language that helps to achieve such goals and proves able to fulfil our crucial instrumental, integrative or other pragmatic needs, tends, naturally, to command our admiration and respect and, thus, is positively evaluated.

In the present scheme of things, the ego-satisfying instrumental potentialities of European languages in Southern Africa have been predominant reasons for their strong pulling force and attraction, especially, in the desire to rise socially. As noted earlier, in Southern Africa, there is a general feeling that 'without European languages, you cannot anywhere'. Virtually, all upper-cadre civil service jobs and higher education, are impossible to obtain without competence in European languages. Naturally, therefore, over the years, those who desire to rise know that these languages carry a lot of weight and so pay keen attention to acquiring competence in them. Often, incompetence in them translates into not being counted among the power-broking, power-wielding and fortune-shaping small élite club. Thus, the irresistible pressure for vertical social mobility has been, and seems likely to continue to be, a dynamic moulder of language attitudes in most parts of Southern Africa.

3.6.4 - Functional Dynamo Inherent in Languages

When a language is assigned significant functions, it grows and gains more respect. On the other hand, a language not officially assigned functions may gain in geographical spread, but not, necessarily, in esteem or evaluation. There is the example of SABE (South African Black English) in South Africa, which is a language used by many but respected only by a few. On the other hand, we also have the example of Tok Pisin in Papua New Guinea, with similar origins as SABE. Tok Pisin has grown in esteem partly because of the institutional support it has received and the official functions it has been assigned. It has now become a language which commands considerable respect. The same is true of Bahasa Indonesia, functioning as an admired and highly respected national language in Indonesia (cf. Lowenberg, 1988).
The fact, therefore, is this: the official recognition, support or functions accorded a language tend to affect the prestige of that language and the value judgments made concerning it. Thus, Southern African indigenous languages, like Kiswahili in Tanzania, Uganda and Kenya, Ndebele and Shona in Zimbabwe, Xhosa and Zulu in South Africa and Sesotho in Lesotho that have received institutional support or been assigned official functions nationally, regionally, or even locally, have grown considerably in stature and esteem. Languages without institutional support, that is, officially neglected, such as those in Mozambique, on the other hand, generally, tend to dwindle in influence unless their speakers do something positive to salvage their destiny. The fact that European languages in Southern Africa have continued to grow in esteem is partly attributable to the palpable functions which people see them perform in day-to-day communication. In Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe, for instance, university education is virtually impossible without credit pass in English. The same applies to Portuguese in Angola and Mozambique. Such roles for English and Portuguese, willy nilly, speak for themselves and even the most insensitive of citizens grasp the message and adjust their attitudes in line with it. A citizen who is defiant and refuses to toe the attitudinal line suggested by the policy does so at his peril and remains, eternally, damned by the system unless he can, by dint of personal effort, do something else to justify this defiance, and thus, maintain a respectable living. In such a citizen's personal history and psyche will be written: 'English or Portuguese stopped my progress in life'. Such an epitaph could leave an imprint of hostility or admiration. Hostility, because a life ambition has been prematurely cut-short and crushed by a language. Secret admiration, because the language and those able to acquire competence in it are looked up to as, apparently, worthier (cf. Adegbija, 1989c) Unfortunately, such subtle ramifications of languages tend to be passed on from one generation to another.

3.6.5 - The Pressure to Survive

Finally, and closely related to some of the points discussed above, and reinforced by them, is the fact that individual and societal desires for survival impinge on, and often, dictate attitudes towards languages. While this survival
trait could be said to apply particularly to speakers of small or minority languages, it is by no means limited to them. Generally, ethnolinguistic rivalry between groups often results in an exaggerated attitude of language and culture preservation and loyalty. Strategies devised to fight this are aimed, normally, at warding off attempts at domination, and also, at preserving or maintaining one's own language to ensure its survival and continued prominence.

According to Adegbija (1994, p. 72), for minority groups, such strategies often imply an attitude of the glorification, love for, or hallowing of the minority language. Such attitudes could emphasize the desire for discreteness. On the other hand, the desire not to continue being dominated or threatened as a member of minority group, sometimes, results in the desire for assimilation with speakers of the language that constitutes a threat and this could be interpreted as integrative motivation. This tends to be particularly true where ultimate survival is perceived to hinge on assimilation. At other times, indifference by some minority groups could result. Jantsje (1990, p. 91), observes:

"... minority language speakers usually do not want to lose something which is their own, the expression of themselves, but do not see future utility of the language either. Probably, the result of this conflicting attitude is a kind of general indifference. Attitudinal indifference which leads to passiveness as far as engagement in minority language education is concerned".

Be that as it may, as Baker (1992, p. 5), quite rightly, observes:

"... where languages are in danger of decline or extinction, or when cultures and languages are overtly being preserved by, for example, educational policies, changing attitudes is often prominently on the agenda. It is usually accepted that whatever the language policy, planning or provision, the favourability or unfavourability of attitudes in the population fundamentally affects the success or otherwise of language preservation".

On the whole, the facts discussed above are, generally, mutually interactive and reinforcing in the African context in affecting the configuration of attitudes that people develop towards the language of the colonial masters as well as
indigenous languages.

The existence of European implanted languages in almost all African countries, courtesy of a colonial past (cf. Chapter One), creates crucial dilemmas as with regard to research into, and possible applications of, the results of language attitudes in Southern Africa. These dilemmas constitute the focus of the next section of this Chapter.

3.6.6 - The Dilemmas of the Application of Language Attitudes Research in Southern Africa

As we have seen, the results of language attitudes research in Southern Africa, especially as they relate to indigenous and ex-colonial languages, tend to give a strong indication to the effect that people, particularly the élite, feel more favourably disposed towards the imperial languages, especially in official settings, than they do towards their own indigenous languages. In some cases, such a feeling relating to the prestige of imperial languages even extends to informal, non-official, interpersonal communication.

Given such an attitude regarding the prestige of imperial languages, some questions arise which, in my opinion, could help us understand better the dilemma at issue with regard to the application language attitude studies:

1 - What would have been the case had colonialism not occurred? Would the people still feel so favourably disposed towards European languages? Or, can the present attitudes be regarded as imposed by historical circumstances. In essence, how really valid are language attitudes results in Southern Africa, given the past social conditions created by colonialism?

2 - Should language planning continue to be based on the results of language attitudes in such a context? If so, would this be justified? If not, why not? Put differently, since favourable attitudes towards imperial languages have been created by historical circumstances, is it justifiable to continue to, officially, promote these languages alone or mainly, especially in the domain of higher education?

3 - From another perspective, since the history of colonialism can be seen, and is being seen, as demonstrated in some of the interviews cited earlier in this Chapter, as having become part of the historical reality in Southern Africa, how ethical is it to attempt to change such positive attitudes to colonial languages through language policy? That is, if imperial languages have become
generally acceptable as part of the historical heritage, is it ethical to attempt to change attitudes towards them? Or, looked at from another dimension, what are the ethical dimensions of a people continuing to promote imperial languages, of refusing to develop endogenous languages for maximal use in education, and national life, in general?

4 - From the perspective of pragmatic utility and modern day functions in science, technology and international diplomacy, what would be the impact of attempting to change attitudes towards imperial languages? On the other hand, current sociolinguistic knowledge tends to give an indication to the effect that people normally function best in their mother tongues (see Fasold, 1992 and Chapter One above for some of the arguments relating to this view). In essence, where is the boundary to be drawn, or the balance created in Africa between the maintenance of imperial languages because of their international utility and the promotion and maintenance of indigenous ones?

Obviously, none of the above questions relating to the dilemma confronting the validity and application of language attitudes research in a previously colonised country has any answer. But I believe that they are, at least, worth pointing out, merit thinking about, and qualify for being addressed by future research. Similar questions relating to language attitudes could be asked.

Such questions illustrate the underlying dilemmas facing the language planner in Southern Africa and, further, highlight the need for more detailed language attitudes research that could contribute to language policy making, planning and action. The nature and crux of an aspect of some of the problems involved have been clearly stated thus, by Phillipson, Skutnab-Kangas & Africa (1986, p. 78), who argue, I believe quite rightly, that the African mind has been colonised into believing that the language and culture of the imperial overlords are better than his:

"We, therefore, regard it as axiomatic that the over-use of the former colonial language and under-use of mother tongues as media of education reproduce inequality, favour the creation or perpetuation of élite, promote dependency on the Languages of Wider Communication, and prevent the attainment of high levels of bi-or multilingualism."

Similar sentiments have been expressed in very strong terms in Phillipson (1992).
Furthermore, Phillipson, Skutnab-Kangas & Africa (1986, p. 83), analyse different types of education under the headings of segregation, mother tongue maintenance, submersion and immersion and come to the following conclusions which are largely applicable to countries in Southern Africa:

"In all successful contexts the linguistic goal has been bilingualism and the societal goal has been a positive one for the group concerned. The mother tongues of the groups have been standardised and teaching materials have been available, which has also been the case for L2.

... in all contexts with low levels of success the linguistic goal has been dominance in one of the languages, either the mother tongue or the L2, not bilingualism. The other language has been neglected or taught badly, even though, in many cases, it has official status, and is standardised, with teaching materials. The societal goal in all the contexts with poor results has been to keep the group or, at least, a bulk of them in a powerless subordinate position".

In essence, then, partly owing to colonial history, Southern Africa is linguistically and culturally complex and diverse, and language attitudes research, as well as attempts by policy-makers to apply the results of such research, must, at the very least, bear this in mind. A mono-model or monoperspective danger in a multilingual context should be recognised. So also the danger of pitching camps between indigenous and ex-colonial languages. That is, policies that respect the multilingual environment and its concomital cultural diversity will have to be formulated. In the process of doing this, there is the need for policy makers and future researchers to be always keenly sensitive to the diversities, dilemmas and complexities of the network of language attitude manifestations in a highly complex setting of multilingualism.

3.7 Conclusion

As far as Mozambique is concerned, three points seem to have emerged from this study: First, in Portugal as well as beyond Portugal, very little empirical data exists on attitudes towards the Portuguese language. Empirical work is needed to monitor changing trends in language attitudes in Lusophone world. Secondly, one is struck by the importance language policies have had in
promoting or restricting the use and prestige of linguistic varieties in the Lusophone world. More than three centuries of status planning in favour of the Lusophone dialect succeeded in elevating this style of Portuguese as the prestige standard in Portugal and abroad. Thirdly, it is only recently, through decolonisation and persistent ethnic revival movements, that speech varieties other than standard Portuguese have emerged as languages of identity and group solidarity. Future language attitude research in the Lusophone world must monitor changes in the strength of movements in favour of nonstandard speech varieties relative to the forces in favour of maintaining standard Portuguese as the prestige norm. As such, the study of language attitudes belongs as much to the psychology of social change and intergroup conflict.

In sum, a variety of methodologies and a wide range of themes have been involved in language attitudes research to date. Unfortunately, most of the research has concentrated in the western world and on western languages. Southern, West Africa, Latin America and Asia, densely multilingual contexts which house the bulk of the world's 5,000 languages (cf. Ruhlen, 1991), have not, unfortunately, received the attention they deserve. In these contexts, languages and their accompanying cultures seem to have very great and enormous potential for promoting harmony as well as discord. In particular, areas demanding closer attention from language attitudes researchers - namely attitudes towards language types, towards the nativisation of implanted languages, towards indigenous vehicular languages, and the theme of the changing of language attitudes, have been highlighted. It is hoped that future studies in these and similar areas will not only shed further light on the nature and motivating forces of language attitudes but also contribute, significantly, towards the resolution of language-related conflicts in different Southern African countries.

Overall, it may be observed, and further reiterated, that language attitudes research in Southern Africa has a very crucial role to play. At the very least, it should aim at contributing to decisions on the effective allocation of functions to languages, the achievement of the democratisation of knowledge, the empowerment of the mother tongues that are now officially incapacitated, and
the judicious management of all languages, whether major or minor, in order that their speakers can, effectively, function in them to achieve their optimal potential. In essence, further and more detailed insights into the areas and issues highlighted in this Chapter would, in the long run, make it possible for language attitudes research to make useful, lasting, effective, and significant contributions to language policy making, language planning and action.

Attitudes towards one and the same language could be simultaneously, positive in one domain of usage and negative in another, depending on the values attached to the language in each domain. In effect, we cannot speak of a blanket monolithic attitudinal pattern for all contexts and situations. Like the social phenomena that they are, attitudes change their colour like chameleons, according to the social context and contributing mental, cognitive and affective variables as well as the individual characteristics of language users, the social context, and the functions and social history of a particular language.

Because language attitudes are neither nativistically endowed nor in-born, they can be changed. In this Chapter, tentative indications have been given to the effect that attitudes towards languages, especially in multilingual and multicultural contexts in Southern Africa, are created and moulded through a variety of factors including socio-historical forces, the irresistible pressures for social mobility, as well as the functions people perceive particular languages as performing. More detailed and fine-grained studies of the patterns and underground determining factors of language attitude are required. Also, language planning must be keenly sensitive to the potentials of such factors to shape language attitudes. To attempt to carry out language planning in a multilingual and multicultural context such as Southern Africa without a basic knowledge of attitudinal patterns is indirectly a provocation of ethnolinguistic chaos and unrest. Similarly, any attempt to change language attitudes that short-circuits their multifaceted basis is, no doubt, bound to be counterproductive. The moral for us, is that positive changes in language attitudes often connote fundamental and multi-pronged changes in societal structure.
CHAPTER 4 - ATTITUDINAL PERSPECTIVES OF LANGUAGE USE IN EDUCATION IN MOZAMBIQUE AND SOUTHERN AFRICA

4.1 - Introduction

"The educational system is the power-house of development in every nation. When it is sick, its sickness will most likely be contagious and affect the entire nation. On the other hand, when it is healthy, the entire nation in all probability will enjoy fairly good overall health. Language is crucial in ensuring the health of an educational system and attitudes towards language use in education can make or mar an entire educational edifice" (Adegbija, 1994, p. 96).

Furthermore, discussing about the function of language in education, Corson (1993, p. 5), points out that the process of schooling is a form of 'social and cultural reproduction' that is, it is linked openly to other structures in society, especially economic structures, which reproduce social relations. He quotes Michael Apple (1982), who lists some of the major social functions that schools have:

"They select and certify a work force; they maintain privilege by taking the form and content of the dominant culture and defining it as legitimate knowledge to be passed on; they are agents in the creation and the recreation of an effectively dominant culture. They legitimate new knowledge, new classes and strata of social personnel" (Apple, 1982, quoted in Corson, 1993, p. 5).

In short, according to Apple, as part of their raison d'être, schools allocate people and legitimate knowledge, or legitimate people and allocate knowledge. As a result, in many of its practices, formal education looks after the interests of some social groups better than the interests of other social groups.

In Mozambique, the focus of this study, language use in education has been a very topical and perhaps many-sided issue. On the one hand, it is topical first because education itself is almost always topical. Second, the multiplicity of languages poses great challenges and grave problems for policy-planners as far as the choice of the languages to be used in education is concerned. On
the other hand, it is multi-faceted because education language planning in any nation impinges, simultaneously, on the economy, the political structure, the pedagogical framework, the level of technological development, the socio-historical and cultural heritage and the sociolinguistic scenario. Stances in each of these areas can tilt attitudes towards language use in education in one direction rather than another.

This Chapter is an overview of educational perspectives of language attitudes in Mozambique. It will start by giving a brief historical context of education in Mozambique, in particular, and Southern Africa in general. Then, the effects of the war in Mozambique will be explored followed by an educational overview, educational policies and strategies. In the course of the investigation, critical issues germane to some of the multi-faceted aspects identified above will be also discussed. The perspectives to be examined will be in relation particularly to Portuguese, English and the indigenous languages.

4.2 - Language Attitudes in Education

In Chapter 3, we looked at language attitudes in general terms. However, it is in educational setting, where such attitudes have the greatest importance. Schools represent the single most important point of contact between speakers of different language varieties. In Mozambique, in particular, the school encourages and reflects Standard Portuguese practices and, consequently, the way in which it deals with those whose language is not Portuguese may be of some relevance - both during the school years and afterwards.

Since teachers are people first, we should not be surprised that they too have the sorts of language attitudes discussed generally in the previous Chapter. In particular, we should expect them to hold less than completely favourable views of varieties other than their own in many cases. For example, Gumperz & Hernandez-Chavez (1972, p. 105) note that

"... regardless of overtly expressed attitudes ... teachers are quite likely to be influenced by what they
perceive as deviant speech . . . thus potentially inhibiting the students' desire to learn".

In the same context, Trudgill (1975a) has stated that teachers have not been averse to verbalizing their views; thus, teachers have labelled children's speech as being 'wrong', 'bad', 'careless' and even 'gibberish'. Trudgill goes on to note that the influence of Bernstein's views has been particularly harmful here. That is, Bernstein's conception of 'elaborated' and 'restricted' codes (e.g. Bernstein, 1971) has commonly been taken to refer to standard and nonstandard varieties respectively, with the further implication that the latter are essentially inferior variants. Although Labov (e.g. 1973) and others have done much to demonstrate that nonstandard forms are not inferior forms, the impact of Bernstein's work remains. Not only have teachers in Southern Africa been affected, but those elsewhere as well - e.g. Britain, America, Germany and Australia (cf. Shafer & Shafer, 1975; Thomson, 1977).

Teachers, like the rest of the population, are prone to make and hold generalized expectations. The controversial work of Rosenthal & Jacobson (1968) claimed to demonstrate, that teachers' expectations could be easily manipulated by providing them with false information about pupil's capabilities. Their research prompted a considerable response (cf. Dusek, 1975). However, whatever the verdict on such induced expectations, there is little doubt that, in regular classroom settings, teachers do form judgements of pupils; this is surely not a controversial statement. Further, in many instances, one may well suppose that the judgements made by persons familiar with and concerned for children are effective and accurate shorthand devices. Given what has already been discussed, however, we might concern ourselves with cases in which expectations and evaluations may be inaccurate. The importance is obvious - such views may unfairly hinder children in their school life and beyond (cf. Rist, 1970).

A useful study to begin with is one by Seligman, Tucker & Lambert (1972). In that study, judges were provided with more than voice samples; in addition, photographs of children, drawings by them and written compositions were collected. The authors selected and combined elements from third-grade
Montreal boys such that the work of eight 'hypothetical' children could be presented to the student-teacher judges. All possible combinations of 'good' and 'poor' voices, photographs and drawings/compositions were represented in the eight composites. The Findings revealed that all types of information influenced the ratings given to these 'hypothetical' children. Boys having better voices, who were seen to look intelligent, and who had produced good work were judged as more intelligent, better students, etc. When considering the interaction among the types of information, the authors noted that speech style “was an important cue to the teachers in their evaluations of students. Even when combined with other cues, its effect did not diminish” (Eltis, 1980).

Choy & Dodd (1967) provide further evidence that teachers’ assessments of pupils may be related to the latter’s speech style. Evaluations of Standard English and Hawaiian English speakers consistently favoured the former (fifth-grade pupils). They were seen as being more confident, better in school, less disruptive in class and likely to achieve greater academic and social success. In fact, teachers were willing to make quite far-reaching judgements of children - of, for example, how happy their marriages would be likely to be (cf. Edwards, 1979a). Day (1980, 1982) has provided some supplementary information concerning the development of linguistic attitudes among Hawaiian children themselves.

Granger, Mathews, Quay & Vermer (1977) report similar results from a study of reactions to black children’s speech in the United States. Speech samples were obtained by having children describe a picture; it was hoped that this method would allow children some spontaneity while still retained some comparability across children. Teachers’ ratings of such samples displayed a social class and racial bias when compared with their ratings of white children. Granger et al. (1977, p. 795) suggest that “… teachers were attending less to what a child said than to how he said it”. This is exactly, the danger to which stereotypic perceptions may lead.

Two studies conducted in Dublin also demonstrated that teachers’ judgements may be affected by speech cues. Edwards (1979b) asked five middle-class
judges to evaluate 20 working-class and 20 middle-class primary school boys on the basis of speech samples. All children were, on the information of their teachers, average students. On all the dimensions evaluated, the working-class children were seen less favourably than their middle-class colleagues. Some of the ratings - e.g. those of fluency and communicative ability - might, in fact, reflect actually 'poorer' performance if middle-class norms were taken into account. Judgements of voice quality and intelligence, however, would seem to be much more subjective and are harder to link to intrinsic elements in the speech samples. A further investigation was that of Edwards (1979a). In that investigation, boys and girls provided speech samples, and the evaluators were student teachers. On 17 scales, working-class children were perceived less favourably than middle-class pupils. Factor analysis of the results indicated only one underlying factor (labelled, simply, 'disadvantage - nondisadvantage'); this suggests the validity of the notion that teachers' reactions derive from an overall elicited stereotype (cf. Edwards, 1979b).

Williams et al. (1976) has summarized the results of a research programme in America that began in the late 1960s. In studies of white, black and Mexican-American children, he and his associates have investigated the reactions of teachers to pupils. Factor analysis of results have consistently revealed two underlying factors. One of these, labelled by Williams 'confidence/eagerness', reflects such things as perceived confidence and social status. The other, also associated with judgements of social status, relates as well to perceptions of ethnicity and nonstandardness/standardness of speech. As noted above, with regard to Edwards (1979a) study, this two-factor structure of attitudes suggests a strong stereotyping process. Two underlying dimensions, after all, are not much more diverse than one. In fact, given that ethnicity is not a factor of significance in the Irish context studied by Edwards (1979a), the similarity between Edward's and William's findings is considerable.

We would also note that not every study shows that teachers uniformly downgrade nonstandard speakers on every dimension that researchers can think up. Crow & Nurss (1976), for example, found that among black and white teachers in the southern United States speech samples from black boys were
judged more favourably than those of their white counterparts. The authors suggest that "the relationship between speech characteristics exhibited by speakers of different ethnic groups and listener behaviour is more complex than previous work has indicated" (p. 238). Taylor (1973) surveyed black and white teachers across the United States. They were asked their views on several aspects of Black English. The results demonstrated interesting interactions among types of teachers and aspects of Black English evaluated. In general, though, Taylor reported considerable positive reaction towards Black English and language variation in general.

These cautionary notes apart, however, it appears that teachers - like other members of the population - do maintain stereotyped and often negative views of certain language varieties and their speakers. In one sense, then, the information presented in this section simply adds to that presented previously. Teacher’s perceptions are rather special, however. They, more than other individuals, are in a position directly to hinder a child’s early success if they hold and act upon overly generalized views. It also follows that teachers are well placed to help children overcome the negative evaluations made of them by others and, in some cases, by themselves (cf. Day, 1982). This is why it is particularly necessary for the topic under discussion in this section to be fully adapted into the Southern African context, exhaustively researched, and the results presented to teachers. If we wish teachers to alter their views, we should give them evidence that they are right to do so.

4.3 - Education situation in Mozambique

4.3.1 Early Developments (Pre-Colonial or Traditional Education).

Long before the arrival of Arabs, Persians and the Portuguese to the part of Africa now called Mozambique, the various African cultural and ethnic groups had their own systems of education and social organisation. They had developed systems to transmit specific types of knowledge, skills and behaviour. Pre-colonial, traditional or indigenous education was and still is responsible for early education and youth apprenticeship in specific crafts and professions. Analysts have generally tended to play down key pedagogical
elements such as logical deduction, close observation and scientific analysis in African medicine, agriculture and technology in favour of the non-rational elements in religion, myth and magic.

This is explained by the late President of Mozambique, Samora Machel (1973, p. 35) who said:

"Although the Portuguese colonists dealt a powerful blow to traditional society, traditional education was, in most areas, still the dominant form of education in Mozambique. Owing to their superficial knowledge of nature, members of traditional society conceived of it as a series of forces of supernatural origin which were, to varying degrees, hostile to man. Hence the fact that superstition took the place of science in education. Furthermore, the poor development of the traditional economy based on subsistence agriculture resulted in the isolation of the community. . . Taking advantage of the superstition among the masses and the community’s isolation, certain social groups were able to maintain their retrograde rule over society".

Machel goes on to add that in this context, education aimed at passing on tradition, which was raised to the level of a dogma. And

". . . the system of age groups and initiation rites was intended to keep the youth under the sway of old ideas, to destroy their initiative. All that was new, different and foreign was opposed in the name of tradition. Thus, all progress was prevented and society survived in a completely static way" (Ibid., p. 47).

According to Machel (1973), women were regarded as second class human beings, subjected to the humiliating practice of polygamy, acquired through a gift made to their families, inherited by the husband’s family on his death, and educated to serve man passively.

On the other hand, when Mungazi (1991, p. 23) describes the structure of education in pre-colonial or traditional Southern Africa he says:

"In traditional African society in Southern Africa the educational process began as soon as the child was able to understand the importance of relating to his environment, both physical and social. Instruction was given in the knowledge that society would have changed
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by the time the learner was ready to take his place in it. Therefore, the concept of relevance and relativity of education constituted important principles in the process of providing education to the student. This means that the educational process was adapted to changing conditions to make it more applicable and effective to the needs of the learner.

According to Mungazi (1991), contrary to Western perception that education in traditional African society was irrelevant because it lacked a structured and formal curricular content, the fact of the matter is that education in traditional African society, as designed and understood by the Africans themselves, was more effective and meaningful than Western education was meant to be for African in the Western cultural context. For instance, as soon as the child could walk, his education began to take a definite form. First, he was taught the basic components of his culture and society and how to function in them. Those in position to influence his development, such as members of his immediate family, often taught him by both example and precept. His society taught him "... that some things are right and others are wrong" (Gelfand, 1985, p. 11).

Emphasis on this form of education suggests that coming early in the life of the student as it did, the teaching of moral values held a specially important place in the educational process. The underlying consideration in stressing the importance of moral values was that as an adult person the student needed to embrace valued moral principles in order to have meaningful relationships with other people, either in business activity or in personal association. Therefore, according to Mungazi (1989):

"... any person whose conduct or social behaviour manifested a lack of these fundamental moral and social values was considered to have missed some essential aspects of his education. It therefore became very difficult for such a person to have any meaningful relationships with other people unless he demonstrated a desire to learn the importance of moral values" (Mungazi, 1989, p. 53).

That education in traditional African society stressed the importance of learning moral and social values was also undertaken in the knowledge that as an adult, the learner was expected to demonstrate understanding of the
value of the human person as an indispensable component of society itself because the character of society was made what it was by the thought process and behaviour patterns of its individual members. That understanding was often measured in terms of a concerted effort to uphold and embrace a universal definition of human dignity and worth as a central modus operandi. This means that the teaching of religious values was not separated from the teaching of moral values.

For example, according to Mungazi (1991), the Western concept of separation between church and state was not an applicable norm to social behaviour in the traditional African context because the King and his subjects were considered equal before the law as their conduct or behaviour were assessed by how they demonstrated commitment to sustain moral and social values as fundamental tenets of the success of their educational endeavours.

"In this social setting, the educational process in traditional African society was more effective than Western educational and social settings in sustaining that universally proclaimed principle: Society must be governed by law, not by man. The practice of double standard which often characterise Western society today did not exist in traditional African society until the advent of the colonial systems in the nineteenth century" (Mungazi, 1991, p. 24).

The structure of this educational system suggests that education in traditional African Society had relevance and application to human life far beyond itself because it was designed to train individuals to become capable of exercising social responsibility and to discharge duty in a much larger social order in order to uphold social institutional values.

Therefore, according to Mungazi (1991), the educational process was quite complete and relevant to the needs of the students. Indeed, the colonial governments themselves recognised this completeness and relevance. For example, in 1965, speaking to Rotary Club International in Harare, Zimbabwe, F. G. Loveridge, who was a senior education officer in colonial Zimbabwe with responsibility for African education, observed on the character of education in traditional African cultural society in comparison to Western education saying:

"In this traditional society the African was given all the
education which he needed to function in his culture. Today, he has fallen away because Western education does not prepare him to function in Western culture. At the same time, it does not prepare him to function in his own culture. Therefore, the African who goes to school in a Western setting is placed in a socioeconomic limbo" (Loveridge, 1965, quoted in Mungazi, 1991, p. 26)

Yet another misconception that Westerners had about education in traditional African society was that it lacked a defined curricular content. However, according to Mungazi (1991), an examination of what was learned would furnish clear evidence to prove that what was learned was comprehensive because it included components that were essential to human conditions. Because the educational process entailed utilitarian characteristics, it required that learners demonstrate competencies in whatever they learned. Michael Gelfand (1971, p. 45) describes the comprehensive character of education in traditional African society as he saw it in Zimbabwe:

"The son watches his father make a circular hole in the ground and places in it some charcoal. Air is forced through a tunnel into the hole. The charcoal is lit with lighted sticks and embers to a high temperature. When the iron in the fire turns red, the father uses a source-shaped implement to grip the top. His son holds it firmly while he hits it with a hammer to fashion the molten iron into a desired object".

One can see that among other things, this form of education instilled in the learner a character that was essential to the sustenance of diverse components of society and individuality that made such diversity a critical element of human existence everywhere. Therefore, to conclude that the learning process helped transform the individual from being merely a person into being a finished product because the educational process was comprehensive is to acknowledge its completeness. On the other hand, for Westerners to conclude that education in traditional African society had no definite curricular content furnishes yet more evidence to suggest that they had no clear understanding of the African culture itself.

In concluding that education in traditional African society meant nothing more than a practice of superstitious beliefs, Westerners, including the nineteenth
century missionaries to Southern Africa, missed a critically important aspect of their claimed knowledge of the Africans and their culture. B. A. Powers (1961, p. 29), concludes that:

"...the fact that education in traditional African culture, like that of any culture, was designed to place emphasis on cultural values that were considered essential to the well-being of society and its members, must be understood in the context of a universal purpose of education".

The completeness of education in traditional African society was described to Professor Mungazi, in 1974 by an elderly African who observed:

"Before the coming of Europeans to our country, no aspect of our life, no boy or girl was ever neglected by our educational system because it was constantly being innovated to make it relevant to the needs of all students. Every person had an opportunity for education. Today, we are told that only so many can go to school. Why so many only and not all? Neither the missionaries nor the colonial government succeeded in convincing us of the wisdom of accepting both Western education and Christianity. Do you fail to see the intent of the colonial government in the education of our children today?" (An elderly African during an interview with Professor Mungazi in Mutare, Zimbabwe, May 15, 1974. In Mungazi, 1977, p. 80).

Michael Gelfand (1985, p. 217) agrees with this view of the completeness of education in traditional African society and goes further to add that:

"...educational process covered all aspects of life, including law, religion, medicine, trade and commerce, agriculture, social ethics, language and music. They all formed essential components of the learning process so critical to successful life."

According to Gelfand (1985, p. 220), the absence of formal education, as it is understood in the West, did not, in any way, diminish its quality. Gelfand explains why, saying:

"There were no professional schools or teachers in the traditional African society. But the child learned from various members of the family and community as he grew. He learned from his grandparents, parents, and members of the community. Yet, his entire education was as
What I have tried to discuss relative to educational process in traditional African society seems to lead to two basic conclusions. The first is that because the Africans themselves found it complete to meet their needs, there was no reason for them to abandon it simply because the white man constantly told them to do so, just because he said it was designed to sustain a primitive culture. The second conclusion is that as long as the white man used the argument that both the education and the African culture in which it was cast were primitive, he was unable to see the need to utilise the positive attributes inherent in the African society to initiate a new relationship with Africans based on mutual trust. This is why the colonial governments introduced educational systems of their own to train the Africans to serve their own purposes.

4.3.2 - Portuguese Educational Policies and Expenditure in Mozambique

Formal education as understood today was introduced in Mozambique, as in the rest of Southern Africa, by Christian missionaries. However, in spite of the spread and influence of Islamic and Christian (western) education, the indigenous systems of education remain widespread, and are as influential as ever. These systems receive little scholarly attention and few resources, but are responsible for the majority of the education and training of Mozambicans, and of Africans in general.

The Portuguese are believed to have first arrived in Mozambique in 1598, (led by Vasco da Gama, who in 1497 was sent to find the way from the Cape of Good Hope, South Africa, to India), but it appears that their mind was set on trade, adventure and acquisition of territory, and certainly not on the education of Africans. As Newitt (1981) observes, it was only as late as 1913 that the Portuguese government decided to become involved in African education. The first coherent education program for Africans was put together in that year, and by 1921 the government had assumed full control of all educational
programmes. Even church schools were brought firmly under state regulation.

A Legislative Diploma of 1930 which regulated the schooling system in Mozambique said:

"Rudimentary primary schooling is designed to civilise and nationalise the indigenous people of the colony, spreading the Portuguese language and Portuguese customs among them" (Legislative Diploma 238, Article 7, 1930, quoted in Hedges, 1982, p. 6).

The colonial regime made the mastery of the Portuguese language one of the primary qualification for the "native" to pass from the status of "indigenous" to that of "assimilated". At the same time, the totally inadequate provision of public schooling by the Portuguese colonial state made it patently obvious that there was no real commitment to creating conditions for large numbers of Africans to attain assimilation certificates. What was signalled as the path towards certified knowledge, effectively, served, over the years, as an institution to certify ignorance.

The colonial school was a powerful ideological symbol, compelling in its promise of a path out of misery and backwardness yet, at the same time, provoking revulsion and alienation by its denial of Mozambican culture and history. Its language policies were among its harshest, and included employing monitors to catch and punish children who spoke their own languages rather than Portuguese within school boundaries! (cf. Marshall, 1985, p. 55).

Indeed, language was one of the most important instruments of colonial domination, no less so under Portuguese colonialism than the French and British colonies. The language of the coloniser abounded in discursive practices, expressions and images, all of which served to establish the "civilising mission" and moral project of the coloniser while, at the same time, inculcating complexes of racial inferiority and dependency in the colonised. Chris Searle (1984, p. xx), in his extremely rich exploration of the role of language in the process of revolution in Grenada, points to the centrality of linguistic imperialism, when he says:
"Class is as much a part of the English language as its grammar and syntax. When the language exists and is used in the context of colonialism or neo-colonialism it has the added dimensions of violent racism and imperialist hatred, from the coloniser to the colonised, and successively from the colonised to his own people and himself. Over the past three decades, as a result of the struggle for and process of decolonisation, the truth of cultural and, specifically, linguistic imperialism has been put many times in Africa, America and Asia..." (Searle, 1984, p. XX).

The colonial authorities put in place a set of discursive practices to distance the "savage" from the "civilised", constructing the "native" whose need to be put to productive pursuits legitimised practices of forced and migrant labour. The consolidation of colonial rule resulted in profound erosion and/or destruction of the existing social organisation of African producers. This included language practices, the social communication emerging from the seasonal rhythms of planting and harvesting "machambas" (farms), the daily routines and rigours of fetching water and pounding corn, the rituals and celebrations of birth, marriage and death. However, disrupted by the imposition of colonial presence, however flawed by inequalities turning on gender and age, there were language practices through which social communication flowed richly, through which experiences and feelings could be readily conveyed. These were necessarily different from the culture and language practices of the colonial governor, the district administrator and the plantation manager whose increasingly strong presence began to intrude directly on day-to-day life and language, and included a systematic effort to denigrate and destroy African culture and languages. Economic survival in the social organisation of production shaped under colonialism included buying into this new construction of self as "native", reproduced in important ways through language.

As noted in the Apple list above, the colonial school was a terrain on which much of this was played out. Some Africans accepted the colonial recasting of time and space, and became alienated from their own history, geography and culture, including their own mother tongues. They sent their children to school,
eager that they adopt Portuguese and distance themselves from "tribal backwardness". Many others brought to schooling a desire to come to terms with the coloniser's language based on some calculation of survival needs and strategies of resistance facilitated by mastery of Portuguese.

As direct colonial control grew, so also a culture of resistance began to emerge in which language was a key factor (cf. Azevedo, 1977, p. 25). Communication in African languages could go on, even directly under the district administrator's and colonial overseer's gaze, as a means of asserting some measure of control, some small space for protest.

Differing views emanated from Lisbon, over the years, about the form of schooling that should be put into place in the colonies. There were also many moments marked by strong disagreements between the views in Lisbon and those in Lourenço Marques (Mozambique). For instance, the Liberal regime in power in Lisbon in the latter part of the nineteenth century made efforts to establish a single system of public schooling accessible to European and African alike. Elaborate plans were made for colonial education with the idea of scattering elementary schools throughout the provinces offering reading, writing, math and Christian morality. Teachers were to be recruited locally. The provincial capitals were to have secondary schools with faculty to be sent from Portugal. A liberal vision of large-scale assimilation of the African population prevailed, in which Africans would be subject to the same laws and institutions of Portugal.

These policies, however, were typical of Portugal's mode of governance over the years, with pretensions far in excess of what it could, in fact, produce. These schools existed only on paper, not remotely connected with what was really happening in Mozambique. In 1865, the Minister of Marine and Overseas stated with some regret that:

"... although the legislation ... fulfilled an important service ... local difficulties, negligence, and imperfect organisation annulled or paralysed its good effects" (Quoted in Duffy, 1959, p. 257).
The local difficulties included a few voices of protest at these policies from the tiny Portuguese community in the colony at the time. The strength of this protest should not be overstated, however, since there were only about 400 students in all of the colony’s primary schools in 1870s.

Schooling as an important site of ideological contestation was evident from early times. Mouzinho de Albuquerque, a colonial official writing at the turn of the century took a view markedly at odds with the liberal currents emanating from Lisbon saying:

"... the education system was nonsense and folly. Eternally preoccupied about assimilation with the metropolis, schools were scattered along the coast; even in the interior, there were schools where improvised teachers claimed to offer primary instruction to "native" children. Attendance at these schools was minimal, even when they were turned over to secular priests; the profit derived, none. But, since the arrangement resembled what Portugal had, the Liberal spirit of symmetry was satisfied. The schools were a fiction ... As far as I am concerned, what we have to do to educate and civilise the 'indigena' is to develop his aptitude for manual labour in a practical way and take advantage of him for the exploitation of the colony" (Quoted in Ferreira, 1974, p. 58).

According to Duffy (1959, p. 258), quoting Vaz de Sampaio e Melo (n.d., pp. 119-120), by 1900, 1195 African and mulatto children attended schools, 607 of whom were in missionary schools, 146 in government schools, 412 in municipal schools, 30 in private institutions. He goes on to add that, by 1909, there were 48 primary schools for boys and 18 for girls, the great majority run by missionaries, along with some trade and agricultural schools.

With regard to mission schools, the late nineteenth century saw a predominance of "foreign", (non-Portuguese) Protestant missions carrying out activities of education and evangelization. The main missions involved were the Swiss, the American Methodist and the Anglican, many of them with links to counterparts in the neighbouring British colonies. The Protestant missions were viewed with a good deal of suspicion by the strongly Catholic colonial administration. They were suspect not just for being Protestant but also for
their encouragement of literacy in Mozambican languages, and their bent towards anthropology, both seen as undermining the broader "nationalising" project of the Portuguese in which language and assimilation were key features.

The growing presence of "foreign" Protestant missionaries in the early decades of the century reflected, in part, the general lack of money and personnel available through the Portuguese Catholic church. It was also related, however, to a particular moment of strong separation of church and state under the Republican regime which came to power in 1911 and ruled until 1926. During the 15 years of the Portuguese Republic, support for Catholic expansion was ruled out. These years were not easy ones for Catholic missionaries. Lisbon banned Catholic missions in the colonies from 1911-1919. Their promised replacement with lay mission schools, did not materialise and so in 1919, the Catholic missions were allowed to resume their work.

According to Duffy (1959, pp. 114 - 259), the Portuguese Catholic church expanded its missions considerably in the 1920s, although they were still subject to administrative harassment from republican minded officials. Brito Camacho, High Commissioner in Mozambique in the 1920s, made public accusations against the priests accusing them of selling themselves and making ridiculous teachers, vowing that he would never give the assistance of his government to a mission programme which did no more than catechise the Africans. Camacho found that no one in Mozambique took education of the African with any seriousness. The municipal schools and trade schools in the colony were empty and the teachers totally incompetent.

Writing, later on the period, Brito Camacho in his book "Blacks and Whites" included this anecdote of a visit to a mission school outside Lourenço Marques:

"The priest who says Mass is the same one who teaches school, and it seems to me that God fated him for neither of these jobs. I attended a class to see how it was taught. The first thing the teacher asked one of the little black
Duffy (1959, p. 259) goes on to explain that a report made by the African Education Commission set up under the auspices of the Phelps-Stokes Fund and the foreign mission societies of North America and Europe also had little positive to say about Portuguese educational policy. Commission members visited Mozambique in 1924. The Commission noted the hostility to Protestant missions, the practice of excluding African languages from the schools, misunderstanding and apathy in government circles, lack of funds, and the absence of plans to encourage training for African teachers. It concluded that not only was the present state of education in Mozambique very backward in comparison with that of its neighbours, but also that there was "practically no basis for hope of any essential improvement of colonial policy" (Thompson Jesse Jones, 1926, pp. 296 - 315).

The coming to power of Salazar in Portugal in 1926, and the establishment of a fascist regime in the metropolis brought changes in the colonial policies. The Salazar regime took up the anti-liberal stance of earlier colonial officials, like António Enes and Mouzinho de Albuquerque and established a set of institutions, laws and agencies to create a strong separation between the "civilised" and the "indigenous". Under Salazar, "assimilation" was to be a very slow and highly selective process.

According to Mondlane (1983, p. 41), in Mozambique, a more formalised "Regime do indigenato" or "native" status was established. This classification set out a series of state regulated racial and ethnic distinctions that bound Africans into subordinate positions as "indigenous". Those classified as "indigenous" had to carry an identity card at all times, and were subject to a series of regulations that formed part of the new regime. Accordingly, these included forced labour obligations, subjection to customary law, residential
restrictions to non-European areas, restrictions on movement to cinemas, bars and shops, and exclusion from certain areas after dark.

Mondlane goes on to explain that the regulation of labour was done through the Portuguese variant of a pass-book, the "caderneta", to be presented on demand to officials by all "natives". It contained the tax record and labour record of the African male, along with the names of his wives and children. In the event of the bearer's disappearance, wives and children were liable for payment of the annual taxes. Photographs, fingerprint and the bearer's legal place of residence were also included in the "caderneta". Appropriate authorisation and stamps from the local administrator were required for moving from one part of the country to another. All aspects of the "caderneta" were subject to the arbitrary exercise of local level authorities. For instance, if papers were lost or found not to be in order, beating, jail or correctional labour were commonplace. Through this mechanism alone, all African males were forced to keep in close contact with the colonial administration.

The strength and arbitrariness of this control of African labour necessitated an equally strong ideological project to try to hold it in place. A new "Estatuto Político Civil e Criminal dos indígenas da Colônia de Moçambique" was drawn up by colonial minister João Belo, in 1926. The statute of 1926 was followed by another very similar statute which was made law by a decree in 1929. This legislation, along with the general principles outlined in the Colonial Act and several other pieces of legislation on overseas administration passed in 1933, established basic Portuguese colonial policy until the 1950s.

On the other hand, according to Duffy (1959, p. 294), the principles running through these pieces of legislation were clear. The goal of Portuguese colonial policy was to integrate the native peoples into the Portuguese nation. Therefore, this had to be done prudently and selectively, bearing in mind that the natives had a culture, social organisation and law of their own, albeit primitive in relation to the glories of Portuguese civilisation. Apparently, part of the obligation of the state was to protect the Africans in their primitive state against abuses and control of the settlers, to protect their property and
supervise their labour contracts with the non-indigenas. The project of assimilation consisted of gradual acquisition of a "civilised" way of life through language, education, instruction and Christianity. Once "civilised", the "indigenous" became eligible for the judicial rights and privileges of Portuguese citizenship.

Elias (1939) suggests that the construction of "civilised" and "indigenous" under Salazar can be likened to the period in western Europe in which those in power signalled a division of social space between two distinct groups. There was "Society", a small social world of shared kinship, service and values, self-defined with a shared moral code of etiquette, dress, address and manners. Outside of "Society", there were "les autres", the black people.

For blacks, access to "Civilisation" was restricted. Eligibility was limited to the tiny handful of Africans and mulattos who had learned to read and write Portuguese, were prepared to give up the rights and customs of the "black race", including polygamy, and were employed within capitalist economy. A school certificate became fundamental criteria of entry.

According to Silva Cunha, colonial theorist and scholar, two dominant ideas prevailed in the new legislation:

"One of these is to guarantee the natural and unconditional rights of the 'native' whose tutelage is confided to us . . . and to assure the gradual fulfilment of his moral and legal obligations to work, to be educated, and to improve himself . . . The other is to lead the natives, by the means appropriate to their rudimentary civilisation - so that the transformation from their own customs and their own habits may be gentle and gradual - to the profitable development of their own activities and to their integration into the life of the colony, which is an extension of the mother country. The natives are not granted, because of the lack of practical application, the rights associated with our own constitutional life, if it may be called that, our political laws, our administrative, civil, commercial, and penal codes, our judicial system. We maintain for them a judicial system consistent with the state of their faculties, their primitive mentality, their feelings, their way of life, but at the same time, we continue to encourage them constantly, by all appropriate means, to raise their level of existence" (Silva Cunha, n.d.)
Under the "Regime do Indigenato", citizenship for whites was automatic, although many of them would have been disqualified if the same criteria applied to the African population had been applied to the Portuguese settlers. For instance, according to Ferreira (1974, p. 43), Mozambicans recount wryly how colonial settlers in Gaza province in the 1950s arrived with their shoes on the wrong feet. On the other hand, Vieira (1979, p. 11), concludes that clearly the transformation of illiterate barefoot peasant immigrants from rural Portugal into models of civilisation playing their designated roles as part of "Society" was not easy to accomplish.

The moment when the Salazar regime established a state-sponsored schooling system in the colony was one of much contestation about education. As with most social policies, the schooling policy did not appear in a void but in response to a specific situation of contestation that needed containment. Accordingly, in the period at the beginning of the century, schooling's power for liberation as recognised, both by coloniser and colonised. Portugal's claims to a civilising mission were not unchallenged, and those with access to education were amongst the most vociferous in questioning their legitimacy.

By 1928, concern about the expectations created by education had been raised in a study on the labour force in Homoine, district of Inhambane province in Southern Mozambique. Too much access to schooling was seen as dangerous, creating expectations that could not be met.

"In the province of Mozambique . . . we continue to make the usual mistake of the old system of assimilation. Because of this, there is already super abundance of schooled natives in all the districts - the assimilated - who, since they are not all able to get a response to their demand for the right to be considered educated and nominated for a public position, are already trying to organise into class groupings and found newspapers to attack the duly constituted powers. Not far away is the demand for the right to carry out nationalist political propaganda, attacking and injuring the European race, similarly to what has happened and is growing in our neighbouring English colonies" (Quoted in Hedges, 1982, p. 5).
The climate of contestation around education was even more pronounced in the urban areas. The work of Jeanne Penvenne (1979a), exploring African attitudes towards race and work in Lourenço Marques throughout this century indicates lively debate in the first quarter of the century among urban, educated Africans about Portugal's claims to a civilising and colonising missions, and indeed, about Portugal's education policies. According to her informants and her study of the African press during this period, educated African and mulatto families in the urban areas at the turn of the century had great disdain for the Portuguese settlers, whom they referred to as "mumadji", perhaps most aptly translated as "poor white trash". Penvenne concludes that the African population saw the Portuguese institutions and forms for carrying out its "civilising" mission, as crude and ineffective compared to those carried out through the British/South African connection. Penvenne quotes from the most articulate African voices, those of the newspapers *The African*, and later its successor, the *African Cry*, both of which were published in both Portuguese and Rhonga (the predominant language of the three southern provinces). These papers compared British and Portuguese activities in the colonies, favouring the British/South African policies over against those of the Portuguese, who were seen to live off the backs of the black population. For example, the British hired labour, the Portuguese conscripted theirs. The veterinarians organising the cattle dips and the migrant labour recruiters organising jobs in the mines, all of British origin, were seen as directly beneficial to the population. The Portuguese, on the other hand, were seen to be merely collectors of taxes. Any material benefits they organised accrued only to the settler population.

The inability of the Portuguese to speak Mozambican indigenous languages was one of the points of difference and criticism upon which there was much comment. Penvenne's (1979a) study concluded that the Portuguese missionaries and health personnel were ignorant of African languages, while personnel of the two most prominent foreign missions and the already well-established labour recruitment organisation, WENELA (Witwatersrand Native Labour Association) were fluent in local languages. In Maputo, the mission
hospitals were sought out over the state run hospitals, since in the mission
hospitals, everyone from the receptionist to the surgeon spoke Rhonga.
Penvenne's interviews with older workers reflecting back on colonial times
include references to the pain and shame of reprimands in schools and
workplaces for speaking what the Portuguese referred to as the "language
of the dogs". The Mozambicans were very aware that the powerful owners of
the mines in South Africa did not find it demeaning to converse with their
employees in fanakalo or lolo, the Lourenço Marques names for the
conglomerate lingua franca of the mining industry.

The question of whether or not it was demeaning for South African or
Rhodesian mine managers to converse in fanakalo and what the
establishment of fanakalo as a lingua franca really accomplished bears much
scrutiny. Charles van Onselen (1980, p. 152), in his study of mine labour in
what was Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) quotes the opinion of one early observer
of Rhodesia on the virtues of fanakalo:

"The jargon - it cannot be dignified with the name of
language - in general used in the mines is "Kitchen Kaffir",
a villainous mixture of bad Dutch and worse Zulu
interspersed with English oaths; the unfortunate "native"
is supposed to understand this and he is frequently
abused for "not knowing his own language!" (Quoted in

Van Onselen (1980, p. 152) goes on to make his own trenchant criticism,
much at odds with Penvenne's informant who experienced it as a farsighted
policy on the part of the British and South Africans compared to Portugal's
rigid insistence on Portuguese when he says:

"The colonised status of compound inhabitants was
continuously reinforced in a thousand insidious ways.
Daily life was even regulated by a system of
communication which denied the workers any
independence, coherence, maturity or comprehension ...
the language used was the industrial 'lingua franca,
fanakalo' which dominated the mining industries in
Southern Africa and this bastard tongue lay at the base of
much of the friction and violence in the compounds . . .

The effects on blacks of the disorientation induced by the
use of this strange and inadequate 'language', and the
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combination of demoralisation and resentment aroused by on-going colonisation in the compounds and the regime of violence there, were to do much to mould the natures of African response within the whole industrial setting of central Africa.

According to Penvenne (1979a), amongst the tiny urban population of educated black and mulatto families, the British and South African presence in Lourenço Marques served to highlight the backwardness of the Portuguese and the crudeness of their forms of governing. Assimilation was a status severely discredited, since it so evidently meant, at best, only second-class citizenship. There were regular newspaper articles denouncing assimilated status as demeaning to the African and fraudulent, since the rights and privileges it was meant to guarantee were still subject to the colonial authorities' whim.

The work of the Salazar regime to reorganise time and space in a way that established a world of the "civilised", separate in every respect from the world of the "savage", became the more imperative as voices contesting the colonial regime and its claim to rule emerged more strongly. One of the last public voices querying Portugal's colonising mission was that of the African press, before it was censored out of existence. O Brado Africano published a ringing editorial in 1932 entitled "Enough" which shows clearly how urban, educated Mozambicans perceived their situation vis-vis colonial claims of civilising missions:

"We are fed up to the teeth. Fed up with supporting you, with suffering the terrible consequences of your follies, your demands with the squandering misuse of your authority. We can no longer stand the pernicious effects of your political and administrative decisions. We are no longer willing to make greater and greater useless sacrifices... Enough... We want to manifest, not by laws and decrees, but by deeds, your elementary obligations. We want to be treated as you treat yourself. We do not want the comforts with which you have surrounded yourselves at the cost of our sweat. We do not want your refined education... since we do
not want a life of dominated by the idea of robbing our fellow men.
We prefer our savage state, which fills your mouths and your pockets.
But we do want something . . .
We want bread, we want light . . .
We do not want to pay for services which are of no use to us . . . for institutions whose benefits we never feel . . .
We no longer want to suffer the bottomless pit of your excellent colonial administration!
We want of you a more humane policy . . .
We repeat that we do not want hunger, no thirst, nor disease, nor discriminatory laws founded on the difference of colour.
We have the scalpel ready.
We shall dissect your work . . .
We are daring, the result of ignorance.
We shall learn how to use the scalpel . . .
The gangrene you spread will infect us and later we will not have the strength to act. Now we do . . . It is the instinct of self-preservation. We are beasts of burden and like them we possess it . . .
Enough, gentlemen. Change your ways. There still is time" (Quoted in Duffy, 1959, pp. 305-306)

Amidst the climate of social unrest underlying these sentiments, clearly an institution of containment was necessary, one that could regulate social identity in a way that located Africans firmly within the orbit of Portuguese time, space and culture. Therefore, state provided schooling was seen as the answer.

After 1930, then, a much more rigorous policy of education and assimilation was established by the Portuguese government, through state sponsored schooling. The colonial regime's project of establishing "assimilado" status as something to be coveted, African incapacity to attain it as the problem, and schooling as the solution, is perhaps best understood as a project of social control. As noted by Corson above (see 4.1), it was an ideological project, aimed at the reproduction of social classes of ruler and subordinated and, at the same time, a containment of the climate of contestation and unrest that the pre-Salazar period had unleashed.

A more classic colonial relationship with the Portuguese metropolis and the, by then, consolidated Portuguese bourgeoisie was part of the project. This
necessitated an education policy not only to control the African labour force but to groom the colonisers. There was a necessity to reproduce through education a settler class with the necessary skills and attitudes to govern and exploit the colony effectively, and a "people" ready to accept these claims to governance. Thus one strand of the education policy was that of a formal separation between schools for the settler’s children and schools for the “indigenous”, to establish, more clearly, distinctions between rulers and ruled. Because of this separation in education, discrepancies in education allocations for education meant that different population groups received different types (and qualities) of education. On the whole, educational expenditure in the colony corresponded fairly closely with the low government’s lack of concern for education. For example, Mondlane (1983), notes that the money allocated to education in 1950 constituted only 1.3% of the colony’s budget - far below the British and French expenditures in their colonies. Table 4.1 provides a comparison of educational expenditures in selected African countries in the early 1960s.

Lisboa (1970), quotes Father Carvalho Araújo, who attempted to draw attention to the fact that the authorities were spending $1,600 per student in the official (mainly white) schools in 1963 - 4, but only $70 in the semi-official schools for Africans. In addition to their control of educational finance, the authorities controlled curriculum content and the supply of teachers.

Complicated and cumbersome procedures, typical of Portuguese administrative practices, were introduced, in order to restrict access to all levels of education. Access was further restricted by keeping the private cost of education for the majority of the people very high, while incomes were kept low through agricultural and taxation policies. This made education unaffordable for most Africans.
Table 4.1 - Educational Expenditures in Selected African Countries, 1960/1-1/2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Territory</th>
<th>Expenditure 1960/1 (£ sterling)</th>
<th>(% of budget)</th>
<th>Expenditure 1961/2 (£ sterling)</th>
<th>(% of budget)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mozambique</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>9,000,000</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chad</td>
<td>$2,000,000</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>16,281,000</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>17,264,000</td>
<td>13.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ivory Coast</td>
<td>$8,850,000</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>$15,720,000</td>
<td>14.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>6,489,000</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>66,526,000</td>
<td>16.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malawi</td>
<td>1,194,000</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>1,153,000</td>
<td>14.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>15,550,000</td>
<td>42.0</td>
<td>14,216,000</td>
<td>38.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senegal</td>
<td>$8,000,000</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sierra Leone</td>
<td>1,668,000</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swaziland</td>
<td>497,000</td>
<td>18.0</td>
<td>401,000</td>
<td>17.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanganyika</td>
<td>5,051,000</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zambia</td>
<td>2,634,000</td>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>3,866,000</td>
<td>19.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Azevedo 1980.

The recommendations of education officials concerning public schooling were published in Lourenço Marques in Schooling Annual, 1930. These recommendations tackled both the question of separate systems for black and white and the keenly felt issue of control over the mission schools, still at this time, predominantly in Protestant hands and deemed to be offering education of the wrong type and in the wrong languages.

"The increase in the civilised population of the Colony, particularly in Lourenço Marques, demanding an increasingly marked separation between the teaching for indigenous and civilised children, for the benefit of both, and the need to regulate the teaching carried out by the religious missions, gave birth . . . to all of the indigenous schooling in the Colony" (Quoted in Hedges 1982, pp. 5 - 6).

The public schooling system operated by the state for the children of the "civilised" was patterned after the primary and secondary schooling systems operating in Portugal itself. The schools were directed by the Ministry of National Education in Lisbon, which included within it, a Department of Overseas Education.
"The official system essentially provided the colonists with government schooling up to the level and in the areas needed by the economy. The colonist was a low government functionary, a small farmer or trader, an artisan or skilled worker, often from an illiterate peasant background in Portugal, though usually destined to occupy a position above that he could expect in the metropolis. Thus the schooling available even for the colonist was of low quality. Until the 1950s there was only one official general secondary school; and the secondary road for most was into commercial or industrial schooling" (Johnston, 1989, p. 47)

Enrolment was extremely small until the 1950s, when a massive influx of settlers from Portugal arrived. There was a 30% enrolment increase between 1954 and 1956 alone (Duffy, 1959, p. 314), with enrolment more than tripling over the ten year period between 1954 and 1964. These government elementary schools were open only to assimilated Africans. Even as late as 1954, there were only 322 African enrolled in the government primary schools (Duffy, 1959, p. 314). Table 4.2 illustrates primary school enrolment 1934 - 1974.

Table 4.2 - Primary School Enrolment in Mozambique 1934 - 1974

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Public Schools</th>
<th>Private Schools</th>
<th>Mission Schools (Protestant)</th>
<th>Missions Schools (R.Catholic)</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>3,506</td>
<td>372</td>
<td>493</td>
<td>49,263</td>
<td>53,633</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1944</td>
<td>4,019</td>
<td>862</td>
<td>4,149</td>
<td>102,953</td>
<td>111,983</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>8,683</td>
<td>1,130</td>
<td>6,797</td>
<td>220,799</td>
<td>237,389</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>27,904</td>
<td>2,451</td>
<td>14,370</td>
<td>373,587</td>
<td>418,312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>623,771</td>
<td>13,053</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>636,824</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Adapted from the Ministry of Education and Culture 1980. (Quoted in Marshall, 1985, p. 162)

According to Duffy (1959, p. 314), by 1954, the public schooling system provided by the state included 71 primary schools, 12 elementary professional schools (a craft school offered as a perk to the children of the "régulos" - village headmen) 2 government technical schools and 1 government high school. There were no government teacher training institutions.

The system of schooling that emerged at that time was organised in such a way as to deny more access than it created and to fail more students than it
passed, while, at the same time, blaming the victim. For instance, each of the three levels eliminated almost the entire group of students who entered, sending them back to the families and communities that had placed them in school, as certified failures.

The first level was a three year system of rudimentary education for Africans. According to the first article of Legislature Diploma 238 of 1930, the rudimentary stage had as its objective to:

"...gradually lead the 'indigenous from savage life to civilisation ... making him conscious of himself as Portuguese citizen and preparing him for life's battles, making him more useful to society and to himself" (Quoted in Hedges, 1982, p. 6).

The 1930 legislation also laid down the precise curriculum for African education. Article 8 outlined its contents. They were to include:

a) Portuguese Language;
b) Arithmetic and Metric System;
c) History and Geography of Portugal;
d) Design and Manual Work;
e) Physical Education and Hygiene;

Specific instruction for Geography and History teachers about how to teach were contained in the syllabus laid out in the Schooling Annual of the same year.

"Both the choice of history themes and the explanations given by the teacher must bear in mind the creation in the pupils of love for Portugal and legitimate pride in having been born in Portuguese territory" (Quoted in Hedges, 1982, p. 6).

According to Hedges (1982, p. 7), the system of rudimentary schooling was compulsory for all African children between the ages of 7 and 10 living within a 3 kilometre radius of a school. The number of schools expanded fairly rapidly, according to official statistics, with 154 primary schools in place in 1940, each with one partially-trained teacher.

Hedges goes on to add that rudimentary schooling was comprised of "initiation", first class and second class. For those who successfully completed
second class, it was possible to enter the primary schooling system comprised of third class, fourth class and "admission". The "admission" programme was geared to secondary school entrance requirements. Successful completion of this six year programme allowed entry into the "liceu" or secondary school. The maximum age for entry into the "liceu" was 14.

It is obvious that for African students the administrative hurdles to attain these educational levels were enormous. In addition to being forced to learn in a foreign language, they had to meet age restrictions for entry into each level as Mondlane (1983, pp.68) describes it and I quote him at length:

"The schools for Africans consisted of rudimentary or missionary education aimed at 'leading the indigena gradually from a life of savagery to a civilised life'. It comprised the kindergarten, grade 1 & 2 which the child should finish at the age of 13. Primary education comprising grades 3 & 4 or those who had passed the Rudimentary Education at the age of 14 and admission (preparation for secondary education) . . . the rudimentary programme - equivalent to kindergarten and the first 2 grades in most African territories - was, apparently, designed, in theory, to introduce African children to Portuguese Language, thereby bringing them to the level of the Portuguese children starting primary education . . . Since the teaching was done in Portuguese from the very first day, many African children were unable to pass the adaptation examinations (normally given after three years of instruction). On the other hand, since the maximum age for entry to Primary School was set at 13, a very large number of children, accordingly, found themselves debarred from Primary School. Furthermore, content analysis of the textbooks used indicated that the focus was entirely on Portuguese culture. African history and geography were totally ignored. Emphasis was on Portuguese language, the geography of Portuguese discoveries and conquests, Christian morals, handicrafts; and agriculture. Beyond the 4th year, there was a class were students were, theoretically, prepared for either high school or industrial and commercial schools. Very few mission schools had that 5th year programme, however, so that the opportunity for African child to gain the necessary qualification to enter secondary school was almost nil, unless he moved to the city and attended a private school that could prepare him for admission exams. Another barrier was encountered at that stage. The maximum age for entry to secondary school was 14, and it was rare that an African child had started his schooling early enough to have completed the three years of rudimentary school and
Many African children began to study when they were already eight or nine. Schools were few, and, at times, too distant for younger children to reach on foot. Financial resources were scarce to buy the clothing necessary to send children to school. Very few children successfully completed the primary school programme; of those who did, many were ruled ineligible for secondary schooling because of age restrictions.

If the barriers described above, were not enough, there were, in fact, many others. For instance, for a peasant family immersed in the village level social relations so thoroughly regulated by the colonial regime, it was not just a question of having the financial means. Preferential treatment was given to the children of the "régulo" and other "traditional" leaders now functioning as local level functionaries of the colonial state. Talking with workers over 40 years later about their experiences of primary schooling in rural districts in the fifties, inevitably, included a fresh flare of resentment about this injustice. Christina Mavale, a 51 year old unskilled agricultural worker in a farm in Maputo, had this to say:

"My father died when I was a child. After, I stayed with my grandparents. Do you know how it was, eh? In those days, when it came to study, it was the son of the 'régulo' who went . . . " (Interview with Cristina Mavale, August 1995).

For many parents schooling posed an insuperable financial burden. A child in school meant a loss in family labour power, since children played important roles in tending cattle, fetching water and minding smaller children, all crucial tasks in family economies where male was absent more often than not, doing either forced or contract labour. It also meant expenses for clothing and footwear.

"It wasn't a question of not wanting to study in colonial times. It was a question of power - parents who were able to put their children in school. Everybody wanted schooling but not everybody had the means" (Interview with Leonor Benjamin, farmer and member of OMM - Mozambican Women Organization - in Beira, Sofala, August 1995).
As noted above, the decision on language of instruction created another huge administrative barrier. According to Mondlane (1983, p. 63), no account was taken of the need to learn a second language as a prerequisite for learning other subject matter. He goes on to add that the total arbitrariness of this policy was evident when he says:

"Ostensibly the rudimentary schooling programme was designed to introduce children to Portuguese. Nonetheless, in rural areas, mulatto and Asian children brought up speaking Portuguese as a first language were also placed in the rudimentary schools. In other areas, children of Asian or non-Portuguese European parents for whom Portuguese was a second language were allowed to start in the state primary schools" (Mondlane, 1983, p. 83).

Teaching in the schools for the "indigenous" was carried out entirely in Portuguese with the exception of catechism which could be taught in the children's mother tongue. The inadequately trained teachers suffered great difficulties trying to teach the various disciplines in a language not spoken by the children. Many neglected the syllabus and contented themselves with filling classroom time with rote learning of the catechism in local languages. As one woman, reflecting on it, put it:

"I went to school up to second class. There was a lot of doctrine and not much mathematics and Portuguese at the Mission. There was also a lot of work growing maize, peanuts and cassava to buy school materials" (Interview with Clementina Officio, Nampula, August 1995).

If "indigenous" children, in general, were subjected to such multiple hurdles militating against educational success, the girls had yet more hurdles placed in front of them. On the one hand, the social construction of appropriate roles for women established by African society - and in no way challenged by the Portuguese settler society - meant that families ruled out schooling for their daughters. Few girls even got as far as the classroom door. As a result, it can be concluded that in the 1950s the pattern in the families was to see boys having completed three or four years of primary schooling while the girls remained illiterate.
For those girls who did make to the classroom, the opportunity to learn was still often out of reach because of gender. Accordingly, women spent enormous amounts of time doing tasks for the teachers such as cooking and cleaning in the teacher's house, or collecting firewood and farming. Only the boys really got a chance to study.

In general, Portuguese educational aims were clearly expounded in the much-quoted pastoral letter of 1960 by Cardinal Cerejeira, the former Patriarch of Lisbon (quoted in Mondlane, 1983, p. 60):

"We [the Portuguese] try to reach the native population both in breadth and depth to (teach them) reading, writing and arithmetic, not to make 'doctors' of them... To educate and instruct them so as to make them prisoners of the soil and to protect them from the lure of the towns, the path which with devotion and courage the Catholic missionaries chose, the path of good sense and of political and social security for the province... schools are necessary, yes, but schools where we teach the native the path of human dignity and the grandeur of the nation which protects him".

Mondlane goes on to conclude that at all levels, the schools for Africans are primarily agencies for the spread of Portuguese language and culture and that, therefore, in implementing the policy objectives of educating the African to speak only Portuguese, embrace Christianity, and feel as intensely Portuguese as the metropolitan citizens themselves, the Portuguese government has decreed that only one language, Portuguese, is to be taught in schools under its jurisdiction in Africa.

According to Mondlane (1983, p. 60), whatever the long-range prospects for this approach, the intermediate result was the creation of a small class that looked down upon its own traditional languages and culture, but was not sufficiently educated to use Portuguese efficiently.

In terms of its own objectives, the policy described above was arguably very effective. For example, of 444,983 African students attending school in 1966/7, 439,974 (nearly 99%) were at the primary level; 70.2% were in vocationally-oriented schools, while only 29.8% attended academic schools (cf. Lisboa,
1970. By 1960, only about 400,000 children out of a total school-age population of approximately 3 million attended classes; more than 90% of these were enrolled in the first three grades and only 1% in high school. Table 4.3 illustrates this situation.

**Table 4.3 - State of Education in Mozambique, 1960**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of School</th>
<th>Number of Students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rudimentary (for Africans only)</td>
<td>361,966</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>25,472a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocational</td>
<td>11,324a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher Training</td>
<td>574</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>3,129a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nongovernment and not subsidized by the state</td>
<td>9,075</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>411,540</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*a - Primarily students of European descent*

Source: Ferreira (1974, p. 77)

In 1973, at the country’s only university, only 40 of the 3,000 students were black (c.f. Johnston, 1990). Thus, by the end of Portuguese rule in 1975, more than 93% of the population was illiterate as Mondlane (1983, pp. 65 - 66), pointed out:

"Although nearly 98 percent of the population of Mozambique is composed of black Africans, only a small proportion of children attending primary school are African, while the number of Africans in secondary school is almost negligible. In 1963, there were 311 primary schools catering for 25,742 pupils, but of those only one-fifth were African. In the same year, there were only three State secondary schools which could award the school-leaving certificate. These three State schools were educating 2,250 pupils, while the three main private secondary schools had 800 pupils. Of this total, only 6 percent were Africans. In 1960, at the largest academic secondary school in Mozambique (Liceu Salazar in Lourenço Marques - now Maputo), there were only 30 African students out of a total of more than 1,000. The Roman Catholic Church, which enjoys the responsibility for educating the native people, does not have a single secondary school for Africans. There is a number of private secondary schools, but with a very small number of African students attending them, due to the high fees required".

The Portuguese Boletim Geral do Ultramar of 1967 gives the following figures for 1965-1966 as illustrated in Table 4.4:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Schools</th>
<th>Teachers</th>
<th>Pupils</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary (Academic)</td>
<td>1,305</td>
<td>2,912</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary (Technical)</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>530</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary (General)</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>734</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


These include a large number of private and religious institutions not included in the 1963 figures, while the secondary school figures include also teachers' training, nursing courses, etc.

A key aspect of the education policy under Salazar was the central role played by the Roman Catholic church. Basically, education for the African population came to be provided by the Catholic missions. The churches were seen as key in the civilising mission with increasingly close collaboration between church and state established by legislation. Already in the Constitution of 1933, Overseas Catholic Missions and their training institutions were guaranteed protection and assistance from the state. According to Hedges (1982, p. 7), they (missions) were recognised as "institutions of education, of assistance, and instruments of civilisation".

The privileged status already enjoyed by the Catholic missions after the accession to power of Salazar was formalised and institutionalised in the concordat signed with the Vatican in 1940. An annexed missionary accord was incorporated in the 1941 Missionary Statute, article 66, which entrusted all education intended for natives to missionary personnel and their auxiliaries. The two-fold objectives of education were clear:

"The aim of these plans and programmes shall be to make the native population national and moral, and to inculcate such work habits and skills for each sex as suit the conditions and requirements of the regional economies; moral education shall aim at curing laziness and preparing future rural workers and craftsmen to produce what they need to satisfy their own requirements and their social obligations. The education of the indigenous population
The schools were the vehicle *par excellence* to inculcate this sense of identity with the glory of the Portuguese empire. They worked to create a social identity, a locating of the African within time and space measured against the hallowed rights of being a "citizen," within the larger "nation". Thus education was to turn the African into a "true Portuguese," ready to accept Portuguese rule. It was to train good agricultural workers and craftsmen useful to the colonial economy. There was much stress on the pomp and circumstance of nationhood and an almost mystical reiteration of Portugal's vocation with a special mission to the land of the "discoveries".

According to Stoer (1981, p. 336), the educational policies and practices established in the colonies are not to be wondered at when one considers what was happening within metropolitan Portugal itself. The "Estado Novo" (New State) established by the 1933 Constitution, shortly after Salazar's accession to power, set out guidelines for education in which there should be:

"... a reduction of programmes to allow for concentration on 'fundamentals,' an emphasis on 'applied knowledge' [this meant on design and manual work for boys and domestic activities for girls] and 'all principles are to indicate ideas of country, family and the love of birthplace'."

The missions were authorised to offer schooling in the colony but the actual funds for physical expansion of the missions - for staff housing, school classrooms, workshops and transport - were not provided by the state. Instead, the colonial state sanctioned close collaboration between the mission and local state officials who made land and labour available in abundance. A variation of the system of forced labour, "xibalo" was established in the mission schools. Hedges (1982, pp. 9 - 10), describes this kind of forced labour saying:

"Pupils came to be used as a free source of labour for..."
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agricultural production, especially rice and cotton, subsequently sold to improve mission finances. This form of exploitation, a kind of forced labour extracted by the missions in the guise of payment for education - which many rural parents wanted for their children despite the difficulties and costs - came to be known as "Xipadre" (Xibalo in the mission fields). Often, parents had to supply the hoes of their children so exploited, and in addition, contribute sacks of maize and beans - also supposedly in payment for the education received, but in reality, a tithe of agricultural production which the mission could dispose of for profit as it saw fit. The close collaboration of church and local administration was shown in the disposal of 'Xibalo' and prison labour; the Catholic missions received Xibalo for their farms, and on the other hand, allowed 'recruitment' of older pupils by the administration before their dispersal home.

During the two decades after 1940, the Roman Catholic missions expanded dramatically. Senior figures in the church hierarchy were paid the salaries and allowances of colonial officials. Schools and missions came to receive some financial support. Control of teacher training for the "indigenous" was entrusted to the Roman Catholic missions as well, with all preparation of teaching staff at all levels to be carried out in colleges and schools established by the Prelates in accordance with the Governor of the colony. All personnel of these training institutions were to be Portuguese.

This close collaboration between the state and the Roman Catholic church was tantamount to a frontal attack on the "foreign" missions, much suspected for the ideological content of their education over the years. The Protestant missions were seen to be too liberal, with a propensity to validate African languages and culture, and generally, encourage education for Africans in a way that gave them a tendency to be "uppity". According to Eduardo Mondlane (1983, p.71), first president of Mozambique Liberation Front, FRELIMO, these attitudes continued unabated, up to the end of colonial rule in Mozambique:

"Since the seventeenth century, foreign missionaries have been suspected of 'denationalising the natives', and of acting as advance agents for foreign governments. When these missionaries are Protestant, fears and resentments are multiplied. Consequently, for many years, the Protestant missions in Mozambique have been hampered and quite often thwarted by a powerful combination of the Portuguese Catholic clergy and officials of the colonial
government. From time to time, public statements are made by high officials of the colonial government attacking Protestant missions, accusing them of fomenting anti-Portuguese sentiments amongst the African population. Lately, indeed, Protestant missionaries have been attacked as responsible for the rise of nationalism in Mozambique" (Mondlane, 1983, p. 71).

Table 4.5 - Mission Expansion in Mozambique 1940 to 1960

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mission</th>
<th>1940</th>
<th>1950</th>
<th>1960</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Catholic missions</td>
<td>296</td>
<td>851</td>
<td>2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Foreign&quot; missions</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


According to Duffy (1959, p. 314), in the period from 1940 to 1960, the Catholic missions expanded dramatically while the "foreign" missions were reduced as illustrated in Table 4.5 above. The numbers of schools in the Catholic mission system by 1954 included 1,356 rudimentary schools, 55 primary schools, 51 elementary professional schools and 4 teacher training institutions. Table 4.6 shows the state of education in Mozambique in 1954.

Table 4.6 - Number of schools, teachers, and students in Mozambique in 1954

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Students</th>
<th>Teachers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Schools</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Primary</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protestant</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Rudimentary</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>1,356</td>
<td>1,543</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protestant</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Elementary Professional</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Commercial and Technical</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private*</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ecclesiastical</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>High Schools</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private*</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Normal Schools</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The majority of these private secondary schools were sponsored by religious organisations. The source gives no breakdown for these figures.


**Table 4.7 - Primary School Enrolments and Pass Rates in Mozambique 1940 to 1960.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total enrolment</th>
<th>Passes</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>50,000</td>
<td>1,844</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>232,923</td>
<td>2,985</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>379,068</td>
<td>10,448</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Adapted from Hedges, 1982, p. 10.

According to Mondlane (1983, p. 65), "indigenous" students to the system, pass rates, or entry to the next level, the results given above show a system little guaranteed to make education accessible or relevant to Africans. Even by 1959, there were only 392,796 children in the schooling programmes for African children, then called "Adaptation Schooling". In 1960, there were only 30 African students in a student body of more than 1000 at the main secondary school in Lourenço Marques' Liceu Salazar. On the eve of independence in 1975, primary school enrolment was still only slightly over 600,000 in a population of 10.5 million.

According to Hedges (1982, p. 10), the failure rates were staggeringly high. It would seem, then, that less than 3.5% of those entering rudimentary schooling actually completed it successfully. However, striking was that the pass rate for comparable levels in the surviving Protestant schools was 25-28%.

Nevertheless, dramatic changes were in the offing. The nationalist protest had strengthened, dramatised by the armed revolt in Angola in 1961.

Accordingly, the Portuguese economy was also changing greatly, opening up to foreign investment as a way to fortify against the nationalist assault, and in so doing, creating the need for a work force with new kinds of skills. Catholic policies were also subject to review. The "Estatuto indigena" was abolished, and with it, compliance with the Missionary Statute and the practice of educational institutions only for Africans. Primary school was made compulsory for all children between 6 and 12.
Secondary schools were expanded. From 1918 to 1958, there had been only one secondary school. According to Egero (1987, p. 49), by 1962, there were 6 official secondary schools and another 26 private secondary schools. This growth was still mainly in response to settler needs with settler population growing from 54,000 in 1950 to 97,000 in 1960 and 163,000 in 1970.

Azevedo (1977, p. 199), adds that by 1973, on the eve of independence, only 27% of the general secondary school enrolment was African.

According to Johnston (1989, p. 61), new technical schools were also created. Here, African enrolment was slightly higher. In 1964/5, the school age population of 11-19 was 97% African. The general secondary enrolment in the various technical schools was 20% African. The crafts and trades schools catered almost entirely to Africans, with 92% of their students being of African origin. In addition to the trade schools, run by the state, the missions set up a lot of post-primary trade schools for Africans in the rural districts offering training in welding, carpentry, auto repairs and agriculture.

A university was established in 1963 offering general studies with a stress on natural science. A faculty of economics was added in 1970. Even by 1972, 83% of the students were in science or commerce. Table 4.8 illustrates the educational qualifications in Mozambique in 1970.

Table 4.8 - Educational Qualifications in Mozambique 1970 (In %).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>University</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary School</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary School</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illiterate</td>
<td>86.0</td>
<td>93.0</td>
<td>90.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Adapted from Johnston (1989, p. 63).

According to Azevedo (1977, p. 198), a small but significant group of Mozambican students was able to exercise the right of all citizens to sit for exams that allowed access to educational institutions anywhere in the Portuguese "Nation". Those who went to Portugal to do social science met others from the Portuguese colonies in Angola and Guine-Bissau and encountered an intellectual and political milieu in which radical ideas flourished. This group, although small, made an important impact in shaping
the direction of the emerging liberation movements and linking them together. The Portuguese were not slow to see this danger. The colonial government barred all education abroad to Mozambican young men for fear they might acquire ideas of freedom and independence. Hence, more than 90% of Mozambican students abroad had no Portuguese passports and left the country in an aura of absolute secrecy" (Azevedo, 1977, p. 198).

In sum, one finds the social construction of "schooling" in Mozambique extremely interesting to analyse. Apparently, schooling was posed as the path out of the misery of the "indigenous status". The lived experience of daily brutality and crude exploitation at the hands of the colonial state was worked up ideologically as the "problem" of being "indigenous", of being, by nature, of an inferior race, brutish, totally lacking in culture. The "problem" of being "indigenous" could be resolved by something called "schooling". "Schooling", however, meant a special system for Africans, replete with bureaucratic and administrative categories that made it extremely difficult to succeed.

Certainly, reflecting back on education under colonialism, Mozambicans were very clear about its shortcomings. A great deal of time was spent on manual work at the expense of academic subjects. Although the proceeds of that work went to the mission, that was not accepted in place of fees. All these features were illustrated by the following account of Imbuho Mission School by a former pupil, Gabriel Maurício Nantimbo (Cabo Delgado Province):

"I studied at the mission, but we weren’t well taught. In the first place, they taught us only what they wanted us to learn - the catechism; they didn’t want us to learn other things. Then, every morning, we had to work on the mission land. They said our fathers didn’t pay for our food or our school things. The mission also received money from the government, and our parents paid them fees. After 1958 our parents even had to buy the hoes with which we cultivated the mission land" (A statement given by Gabriel Maurício Nantimbo, a student at Imbuho Mission School. Quoted in Mondlane, 1983, p. 72).

In short, it can be said that, in Mozambique, social discrimination in education was accentuated by racial discrimination. Education was reserved almost exclusively for the children of settlers, and, particularly, higher education,
which was for the children of rich settlers.

The diplomas for successful completion of schooling within this system communicate its aims very clearly. Designed in 1937, the diplomas were still in use in 1966. The ideological project is not hard to decipher. Schooling, as noted above, is for male, white children, resolutely holding up the flag of the Portuguese fatherland. The Bible and the faith provide a solid foundation, the soil from which an abundance of produce, more typical of Portugal than Mozambique, can flourish. The schools, replete with the pomp and circumstance of flag-raising, the national anthem, drilling for national holidays and songs for visiting dignitaries, played a key role in shaping social identity. Therefore, schools served an important institution in the creation of political subjects, within the larger project of state formation. Table 4.9 illustrates a primary school leaving diploma in Mozambique in 1966.

Table 4.9 - Primary School Diploma - Lourenço Marques, 1966.
A document presented to UNESCO, shortly after independence, by the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO) put it succinctly:

"In sum, beyond the boundaries of areas liberated by FRELIMO, all schools were based on racism, divisionism, elitism, individualism, obscurantism and contempt for all things African. Many Mozambicans who managed to surmount the many obstacles to secondary or higher education did so at the cost of turning himself into a little black Portuguese, the docile instrument of colonialism, whose ambition was to live like a settler, in whose image he was created" (Quoted in Marshall, 1985, p. 98).

I am of the opinion that an interesting assessment of the colonial education system, is one that does not look for schooling to be a mechanism for individual advancement, particularly for the popular classes. It looks neither for academic qualifications or skills training from schooling but sees schooling primarily as an ideological project, for as Mondlane (1983, p. 78), rightly concludes, and I share his conclusion, that:

"The Portuguese educational system in Mozambique, according to its professed aim of educating the African to Portuguese civilisation, has been considered a failure because the schools for Africans at all stages of education - rudimentary, primary and secondary - were organised to present a series of barriers to the African child seeking 'higher' education. As a result, very few Africans received any schooling at all, with the consequence that in Mozambique, between 95 and 98% of the population were illiterate at independence in 1975".

On the other hand, in many societies, public schooling systems have been introduced as instruments of social control. They have been key instruments in creating a social identity as "citizen" within a particular organisation of time and space defined as "nation".

According to Corrigan, Philips, Curtis and Lanning (1987), schooling has proved itself an effective mechanism for both rulers and ruled to become convinced of the appropriateness of their "station". The assessment of individual worth certified by school comes to be accepted. The school's day-to-day regulation of parameters, of the possible ways of speaking, thinking,
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doing, comes to be internalised.

In the case of Mozambique, it is clear that, at least for some of the urban dwellers, the project of establishing "assimilation" as desirable and schooling as the path to it, never gained widespread legitimacy. The contradictions were too evident. Assimilated Africans in the urban areas were known as "pocket whites" or "paper whites" since their status depended on the paper which they had to keep, on their person, at all time, to be produced on demand. There were practical reasons for choosing to become assimilated, however, that had little to do with belief in Portugal's exaggerated claim to be guardian of "civilisation"

"From the writings of the first African to receive the so-called alvará de assimilação, (assimilation certificate), in 1917 to interviews with contemporary Mozambicans who filed for assimilation certificates in the years immediately preceding their abolition as part of the paper reforms of 1961 - 1962, It is clear that the assimilation certification was sought, often grudgingly, in order to facilitate upward mobility, minimise harassment, and hopefully, open opportunities for one's children. The obvious inequality of having to verify one's equality with a document to be carried on one's person and presented upon demand to white authorities at all times was a sore point from the start, but the legal and economic privileges carried by the status were sufficient to convince some 700 Mozambicans in the years up to 1954 to take out assimilation papers in the Lourenço Marques courts" (Penvenne, 1979, p. 12).

Many rejected out of hand Portugal's claim as gate-keeper to civilisation. At the same time, they saw the assimilation certificate as a practical necessity.

"I always carried the documents of a native, because I am a native. I am a Negro after all, aren't I? But after a long time I also became an assimilado, and like the majority of natives here what convinced me was the possibility of earning a bit more money - it was for this reason alone... Those who were not assimilados were Negroes after all, and as such, they always earned a pittance" (Quoted in Penvenne, 1979a, p. 14).

The decision whether to opt for the assimilation certificate or not was open to a tiny handful of urban wage workers at best. As noted above, even by the beginning of the 1960s, less than 2% of the population was assimilated.
For the vast majority of the African population in Mozambique, the option to become a "paper white" was well beyond their reach. They were subject to another textually-mediated form of rule. This was the hated "caderneta", or pass book, a document with enormous power over their lives. For Africans, it was obligatory to have the "caderneta" on one's person, at all times, even in the most remote and dispersed rural communities. It was a text that bound African producers to the colonial state as an umbilical cord. Through it, words and texts and signatures took on a new power, with literacy linked to a word both desired and feared.

The "caderneta" created a documentary existence. It transformed rural producers, tied by complex links into their own nexus of social relationships in family and community, into administrative categories of taxpayers and labour units. The redefinition of spatial boundaries was accomplished through the "caderneta". Free movement from one area to another was restricted, except with express authorisation of the local administrator written into the "caderneta".

The reordering of time for peasant producers was also accomplished through this textually mediated form of rule. The "caderneta" included a record of labour activity. Family production was made invisible as a legitimate use of time, falling under the category of "idle time". The local administrator was responsible for defining and controlling time spent in "idleness". The only legitimate uses of time were time spent in contract South Africa and Rhodesia, time spent in "Xibalo", or forced labour, and time spent in wage employment. The rich and complex texture of rural production and society were totally transformed through the regulation of labour accomplished through the textually mediated discourse turning on "idleness".

Both oral and written forms of literacy, then, came to have an inordinate power over people's lives, one whose humiliating effects they could do little to control. The contract labourers in the mines were declared deficient and even punished for not knowing "their own language" - fanakalo. Children arriving in schools were expected to learn in a language of instruction they had no way of
knowing and which the school system did not propose to teach. Adults put thumb prints as substitutes for signatures on "cadernetas" that forced them to be fugitives in their own land, going underground or into exile to escape the labour obligations forced upon them. Through all this, the power of literacy was consolidated.

Portugal's continued readiness for heavyhanded mechanisms to coerce the governed much surpassed any repertoire of forms for winning their consent. The transparency of coercion meant that many Mozambicans simply calculated themselves how to play the system, developing well-honed survival skills over the years. Their murmurings and resentments were channelled to forms of cultural resistance, songs and dances in popular forms, often camouflaged in languages inaccessible to the coloniser. Others denied the legitimacy of Portugal's claims by opting out of colonial society altogether. Increasing numbers in the late sixties and early seventies escaped to neighbouring countries and joined up with FRELIMO to fight for independence. The liberated zones created in northern Mozambique became the crucible to begin to reconstruct the definitions of time and space and culture that Portuguese colonialism had tried so systematically to rob and destroy.

4.3.3 - 1975/1986 : Post-Independence Educational Development in Mozambique

In 1975, it was quite clear that the aims and objectives of education in Portuguese East Africa or Overseas Province of Portugal, were incompatible with the new People's Republic. At independence, it became inevitable that sweeping changes would have to be introduced. The period which witnessed the first steps being taken to transform the educational system also witnessed the dramatic exodus of members of the teaching staff and administrators, and as a result, the education system ground to a virtual standstill.

To stabilise the situation, the new government nationalised educational services\(^\text{10}\). This step can be considered the most significant prelude to the post-independence centralisation of educational planning in Mozambique.

\(^{10}\) It appears that nationalisations were also justified, partly, on ideological grounds.
The types of reform introduced during this period can best be described as macro-political. They include the introduction of new curricula at all levels; different school management patterns; the removal of discriminatory regulations; reliance on voluntary work; and the institutionalisation of adult literacy activities.

The implementation of these reforms was partial and uneven. Curriculum reform in particular, was conducted in a hasty and amateurish way, relying mainly on untrained and inexperienced personnel. As a result, the quality of education declined considerably. The gains were mainly quantitative: school enrolments increased dramatically, more teachers received training, and the illiteracy rate was reduced.

The earlier changes were further institutionalised by the introduction of the New System of Education (NSE) in 1983. As elsewhere in the developing world, the objectives of the NSE seem to have been abstract, ideological and idealistic. They include ambitious goals which are difficult to operationalise, at the practical level, such as the formation of a New Man and the introduction of compulsory and universal education. These objectives simply seem to be out of touch with the real world, and there is now an urgent need to bring educational goal into line with current realities.\(^{11}\)

From 1975 expenditure on education increased substantially and the number of students receiving primary and secondary education rose from about 650,000 in 1973 to around 1,500,000 in 1981. Table 4.10 illustrates this situation. In 1977, the two final years of secondary education (grades 10 & 11) were abolished and students were directed into employment or pre-university and teacher-training courses. In 1980, these grades were reintroduced.

\(^{11}\) Recent information indicate that the Ministry of Education is currently working on an Educational Master Plan. It is hoped that this will be a better reflection of reality than the 1983 New System of Education (NSE) Law.
Teacher-training centres for primary schools were established in 1975 and two institutes for vocational teacher-training were opened in Nampula and Umbeluzi (Maputo). Vocational training has received more attention since.

Table 4.10 - Educational System, 1981

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Matriculated Students</th>
<th>Number of Teachers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary School</td>
<td>1,376,865</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary School</td>
<td>135,956</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-university and University</td>
<td>3,886</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literacy Programs</td>
<td>309,669</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult Education</td>
<td>143,933</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: National Planning Commission (1980/81, p. 72)

The only University in Maputo, renamed the Eduardo Mondlane University (UEM) in 1976, provides degree courses for both students and workers and had some 1,800 students in 1981. In that year, there were 15 faculties, of which medicine, economics, education, agronomy and veterinary-medicine were the most important. Table 4.11 illustrates the educational distribution in Mozambique 1973-1986.

The reduction of an illiteracy rate of about 93% inherited from the Portuguese administration has been a prime educational target since independence. From 1978, the literacy campaigns have been concentrated on the army and on industrial and agricultural workers employed in state production units and cooperatives. It is estimated that, roughly, more than 1 million people have participated in literacy courses since independence.

Table 4.11 - Educational Distribution in Mozambique 1973, 1982 and 1986 ('000)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>No. of Educational Institutions</th>
<th>No. of Teachers</th>
<th>No. of Pupils</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary*</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>4.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary**</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School***</td>
<td>0.007</td>
<td>0.138</td>
<td>0.048</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tertiary</td>
<td>0.001</td>
<td>0.001</td>
<td>0.008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* - The primary school had four grades: 1 to 4
** - 5th to 6th grade
*** - Upper secondary level, 7th to 11th grade.

Sources: 1973 - Serviços de Centralização e Coordenação de Informações, Moçambique na Actualidade; 1981 - Moçambique Informação Estatística
In real terms, it is estimated that by 1986 Mozambique was devoting about 12% of its total budget to education. Accordingly, other sources of educational financing included family payments made in the form of fiscal stamps (compulsory for households with children at school), and a small amount of money which they had to contribute to the school's social fund. Some schools also received contributions from enterprises, and income school production and business. However, all these contributions were insignificant compared to government financing, generally representing well below 1% of the resources for education.

Foreign aid also made a small contribution, amounting to about 3.3% of total educational expenditure in 1983\textsuperscript{12}, mainly for capital investment (cf. Nhavoto, 1991).

The greater emphasis given by the new government was reflected in a dramatic increase in school enrolments. The number of students attending primary schools (grades 1 - 4) doubled from 672,000 to 1,363,000 between 1974/5 and 1977, and numbers at the secondary level (grades 5 - 11) increased by more than 250%, to 93,600 by 1979 (Johnston, 1990). Primary enrolment fell somewhat after 1979, stabilising at about 85% - still well above the pre-independence level - in 1983/6; and secondary enrolment, after falling slightly in 1980, rose further to 7% in 1985/6. Tables 4.12, 4.13, 4.14, 4.15, 4.16, 4.17 and 4.18 illustrate the situation between 1975/80.

\textsuperscript{12} It is not easy to quantify the actual amount of foreign aid, primarily because donors appear not to use standardised methods of classification; because not all aid is recorded by the Ministry of Education (MINED); and because of unreliability of data.
A Sociopsychological Survey of Language Attitudes in Southern Africa: A Case Study of Mozambique

Table 4.12 - Number of Students Enrolled in Mozambican Educational System 1975-1985

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Primary Education (Basic)</th>
<th>Technical Education (Elementary)</th>
<th>Technical Education (High)</th>
<th>Secondary Education (General)</th>
<th>Secondary Education (General)</th>
<th>Secondary Education (General)</th>
<th>Tertiary Education (University)</th>
<th>1st Level Standards 5/6</th>
<th>2nd Level Standards 7/9</th>
<th>3rd Level Standards 10/11</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
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<td>7137</td>
<td>975</td>
<td>779</td>
<td>20427</td>
<td>4597</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>1276500</td>
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<td>n/a</td>
<td>32934</td>
<td>4306</td>
<td>845</td>
<td>877</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>1363000</td>
<td>6447</td>
<td>3019</td>
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<td>43488</td>
<td>4409</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>777</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
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<td>7065</td>
<td>3611</td>
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<td>6260</td>
<td>4756</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>7414</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>9997</td>
<td>2907</td>
<td>1047</td>
<td>79699</td>
<td>9729</td>
<td>413</td>
<td>836</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
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<td>10327</td>
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<td>79215</td>
<td>10748</td>
<td>672</td>
<td>1104</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>1335680</td>
<td>10315</td>
<td>2018</td>
<td>1401</td>
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<td>12478</td>
<td>1187</td>
<td>1112</td>
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<td>14351</td>
<td>1580</td>
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<td>1598</td>
<td>103970</td>
<td>17461</td>
<td>1967</td>
<td>1151</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
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<td>9334</td>
<td>747</td>
<td>1562</td>
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<td>21623</td>
<td>2162</td>
<td>1351</td>
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Table 4.13 - Number of School Leavers in Mozambican Educational System 1975-1985

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Primary Education (Basic)</th>
<th>Technical Education (Elementary)</th>
<th>Technical Education (High)</th>
<th>Secondary Education (General)</th>
<th>Secondary Education (General)</th>
<th>Secondary Education (General)</th>
<th>Tertiary Education (University)</th>
<th>1st Level Standards 5/6</th>
<th>2nd Level Standards 7/9</th>
<th>3rd Level Standards 10/11</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>19860</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>3000</td>
<td>570</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>56</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>25269</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>3612</td>
<td>604</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>41</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>39636</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>10191</td>
<td>915</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>116</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>62774</td>
<td>1166</td>
<td>640</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>113</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>74029</td>
<td>755</td>
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<td>64</td>
<td>12270</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>82689</td>
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<td>1035</td>
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<td>115</td>
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<tr>
<td>1981</td>
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<td>1971</td>
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<td>306</td>
<td>16111</td>
<td>1923</td>
<td>432</td>
<td>133</td>
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<td>1982</td>
<td>58614</td>
<td>1967</td>
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<td>365</td>
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<td>14329</td>
<td>1658</td>
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<td>67</td>
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<td>1984</td>
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<td>1511</td>
<td>476</td>
<td>316</td>
<td>20176</td>
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<td>367</td>
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<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>75204</td>
<td>923</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>222</td>
<td>14949</td>
<td>1730</td>
<td>337</td>
<td>108</td>
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</tr>
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</table>

Table 4.14 - Primary and Secondary School Enrolment Ratios in Mozambique: 1975 -1990

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Gross Primary Enrolment (%)</th>
<th>Gross Secondary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>102</td>
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<td>1980</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>84</td>
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<td>n/a</td>
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<tr>
<td>1989</td>
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<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>58</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Source: World Bank (1993e) MB - The figures for primary enrolment given in this table are not necessarily consistent with those used elsewhere in the study (including those from other World Bank sources), because of differences in methodology and definitions.

Table 4.15 - Number of Existing Schools in Mozambique 1975-1985

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Primary Education (Basic)</th>
<th>Technical Education (Elementary)</th>
<th>Technical Education (High)</th>
<th>Secondary Education (General)</th>
<th>Secondary Education (General)</th>
<th>Tertiary Education (University)</th>
<th>1st Level Standards 5/6</th>
<th>2nd Level Standards 7/9</th>
<th>3rd Level Standards 10/11</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>5235</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td>1976</td>
<td>9853</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>18</td>
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<td>7104</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>5</td>
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Table 4.16 - Number of Existing Teachers in Mozambique 1975-1985

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Primary</th>
<th>Technical</th>
<th>Technical</th>
<th>Technical</th>
<th>Secondary</th>
<th>Secondary</th>
<th>Secondary</th>
<th>Tertiary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td></td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Basic)</td>
<td>(Elementary)</td>
<td>(High)</td>
<td>(General)</td>
<td>(General)</td>
<td>(General)</td>
<td>(General)</td>
<td>(University)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1st Level</td>
<td>2nd Level</td>
<td>3rd Level</td>
<td>Standards 5/6</td>
<td>Standards 7/9</td>
<td>Standards 10/11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>10281</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>15000</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>16142</td>
<td>436</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>1853</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>16208</td>
<td>447</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>1853</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>16810</td>
<td>499</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>2479</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>17030</td>
<td>528</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>18751</td>
<td>641</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>2211</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>306</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>22584</td>
<td>683</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>2361</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>306</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>20768</td>
<td>635</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>1752</td>
<td>484</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>21045</td>
<td>701</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>2280</td>
<td>577</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>351</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>20286</td>
<td>728</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>2441</td>
<td>817</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>323</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Ministry of Education (MINED) - Maputo

Table 4.17 - Number of Trainees in Teacher-Training Institutions in Mozambique 1976-1984

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Primary Education</th>
<th>Technical Education</th>
<th>Secondary Education (General)</th>
<th>Secondary Education (General)</th>
<th>Secondary Education (General)</th>
<th>Secondary Education (General)</th>
<th>Teacher Training for Physical Education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1st Level</td>
<td>2nd Level</td>
<td>3rd Level</td>
<td>Standards 5/6</td>
<td>Standards 7/9 Standards 10/11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>818</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>1239</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>1400</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>1694</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>2318</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>2959</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>251</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>2868</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>1159</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>778</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>507</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>360</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>683</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table 4.18 - Situation of Illiteracy Among Mozambicans Aged 7 and Over 1975-1985

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>93%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>70%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In sum, the situation described above leads to the conclusion that, at independence in 1975, Mozambique inherited a number of serious economic problems:

- The social infrastructure (health and education systems) for most of the country was extremely limited. As a result, educated workers were very scarce, the literacy rate being about 7%. This was compounded by the exclusion of Africans from managerial and administrative positions and formal trading activities, which prevented the acquisition of skills in these areas. The exodus of more than 90% of the Portuguese population at Independence (including most of those with higher education) thus reduced the human capital base to a critically low level.

- As in most other Southern African countries at independence, the physical infrastructure (for transport, water, electricity supply, etc.) was also under-developed in most areas. The transport system was geared primarily to the needs of neighbouring countries, providing them with outlets to the sea, rather than catering for the needs of the local economy.

- The institutional structures of the public sector and the trading system were operated by, and geared towards the needs of, the settler population. This left a virtual vacuum when the settlers left.

- While the country's industrial base was stronger than in some other Southern African countries at independence, it was directed primarily to the needs of the colonial power and the settler population, rather than to the needs of the local population and the country's economic resources. As the ties with Portugal were loosened and most of the Portuguese population left the country, these markets were lost; and the high production costs made it difficult to gain new markets.

- Both the economic infrastructure and the country's industrial base were subject to a high degree of regional concentration, being focused strongly on the southern part of Mozambique and particularly on urban areas.

- There was a substantial agricultural base, but this was strongly biased towards plantation production, while most of the population was dependent on subsistence production in a poorly developed and under-resourced peasant sub-sector. Furthermore, the plantation sector was dependent on a system of (more or less) forced labour for its economic and financial viability.

- The country was heavily dependent for its foreign exchange earnings on migrant labour (mainly to the mines in South Africa,
The combination of these factors meant that the post-independence FRELIMO government inherited an economy which had undergone a fundamental structural change which rendered most of the previously existing structures irrelevant or unviable. At the same time, the exodus of the settler population largely removed the country’s already limited capacity to adjust to such a traumatic change.

As shown above, at independence in 1975, Mozambique inherited a very fragile economy, and a very weak educational system. Both were heavily dependent on, and geared to the needs of, the expatriate Portuguese. The mass exodus of the Portuguese at independence caused an enormous shock to the economy and the education system, and simultaneously, removed the country’s capacity to adjust to that shock.

Initial success with education immediately after independence were seriously undermined by the early 1980s as a result of economic decline caused by a combination of weaknesses in economic policy, adverse external circumstances (political and economic) and extreme weather conditions.

On the other hand, as noted above, talking to some uneducated Mozambicans, mainly agricultural workers, (peasants) during the interviews for this study, they spelled out the obstacles to access to education caused by the attitude to indigenous languages by the colonial administration. They emphasised that not knowing how to write, read or speak Portuguese and count was a gendered experience. For the women whose ages ranged from 35 - 60, access to schooling for them was a new after independence experience. When the new government organised literacy classes, many women reported to have brought to the literacy classroom as adults a childhood experience in the colonial era either of the classroom as out of bonds to girls, or as a space in which boys were allowed to study while girls
were channelled to other tasks deemed more appropriate to their sex. Table 4.19 presents selected comparative literary statistics.

They recall that the regulation of sex and gender through schooling was an explicit aim of the missionary personnel and their auxiliaries to whom education of the indigenous was entrusted under the 1941 Missionary Statute described and discussed, in detail, above. According to these women, the aims of education included inculcation of work habits and skills for each sex.

In my opinion, what was interesting in the discussions with older people who grew up in that era was their matter of fact accounts of what schooling meant for their lives. All of the interviews included some form of questions about the family history of education. Certainly an experience of exclusion from education based on gender was common to many. Here are some of their accounts:

"I didn’t study as a child. My father wouldn’t let me. I don’t know why. . . In the colonial days, schooling wasn’t for women. Go to school to do what? That’s how it was seen". (Interview with Albertina Carlos Mabosse, Maputo, August 1995).

A common theme from those who got to school was the disproportionate amount of time spent on doctrine and on activities other than studying. For the girls, tasks outside the classroom were even more common.

"The girls who were sent to school were made to collect firewood and cultivate the fields. Only the boys were allowed to study. This was in the Inchope Mission" (Interview with Aurelia Chigunda, a 48 years old farmer, Beira, August 1995).

"I studied, but going to school in those days meant working in the fields. Afterwards I stayed home. Then I went to work to help out with the family" (Interview with Júlia Alberto Gabriel; 44 years, agricultural worker in a large cotton farm).

"I went to school as a child - just up to first class, then I quit. Schools in those days were just work in the field and cooking in the teacher’s house. It was only work. Eh - in cashew harvest time - it meant staying in the bush, making local brew for the teacher" (Interview with Cristina Matias..."
One woman who as a girl managed to get to a technical secondary school described the conditions of her schooling:

"My parents made a great many sacrifices to send me to school. I went to commercial school for five years. My parents had to save on food and clothes. At the primary school, there were about twenty of us Africans to about a hundred white Portuguese. At the commercial school, there were about fifty Africans to several hundred white Portuguese" (Interview with Alcinda Macuacua; 57 years, retired Bank Clerk, now Head of Maputo green belt, Maputo, August, 1995).

Table 4.19 - Selected Comparative Literary Statistics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Population at Independence</th>
<th>Percentage Illiterate</th>
<th>Number Illiterate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cuba</td>
<td>7.0 million</td>
<td>23.6%</td>
<td>1,652,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicaragua</td>
<td>2.0 million</td>
<td>53.0%</td>
<td>1,060,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanzania</td>
<td>9.0 million</td>
<td>75.0%</td>
<td>6,750,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Angola</td>
<td>8.0 million</td>
<td>85.0%</td>
<td>6,800,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mozambique</td>
<td>10.6 million</td>
<td>90.0%</td>
<td>9,540,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Bhoia, 1982; Fordham [Ed.], 1983.

4.3.4 The Impact of the War on Education

The education system was further weakened during the course of the 1980s as regional destabilisation was stepped up and the security situation deteriorated. As a result, nearly 60% of the country's schools were destroyed or closed between 1983 and 1991; some 10% of the population fled to neighbouring countries, and a further 25% were displaced within Mozambique. (Table 4.20 illustrates the impact of the war on education, 1983 - 1991). The economy continued to decline further reducing the resources available for education.
Attempts at economic reform in 1983 were not sufficient to improve economic performance. The adoption of a formal, IMF/World Bank supported structural adjustment programme in 1987 attracted a considerable increase in aid flows, stimulating a short period of economic growth which lasted only two years. Since 1990 the rate of per capita growth has fallen. It has been negative since 1990.

The combination of these factors has, seriously, affected both the quantity and quality of education in the following ways:

- the gross primary enrolment ratio fell from 75.5% to 43.9% between 1981 and 1992;
- the repetition rate (27%) is well above the average for Sub-Saharan Africa (18%) and least-developed countries (15%);
- the study estimated that over 80% of children entering primary school did not successfully complete 5 years;
- for the four most northern provinces, representing 40% of school children, this figure is 95%;
- UNDP estimated that whilst boys had obtained a mean of only 2.1 years of school, girls obtain only half of that; (see table 4.17);
- the national student/teacher ratio of 57.1 is very high and compares unfavourably with the figure for Sub-Saharan Africa (41) and least-developed countries (45);
- with the very high drop-out rate and, therefore, a falling number of pupils in successive years, the student/teacher ratio in the first years of school should probably be over 80.1 nationally, and even higher in some regions;
- most schools run a two- or three-shift system;
- including the costs of textbooks (at 90% of the total) spending...
on teaching and learning materials is about $1 per student per year. Only 50% of the textbooks produced reach school children suggesting that $1 is an overestimation of the value of materials in the classroom; as a result, most classes have only one textbook and some have none at all. In such circumstances, education can be little more than "rote memorisation of unsophisticated and poorly interpreted information" (UNICEF/Mozambique Govern., 1994).

Table 4.21 - Indicators of Gender Disparities in Education in Mozambique, 1988 - 90

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Overall</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male/Female</th>
<th>Ratio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adult literacy (over 15s)</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>0.47</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary intake rate (grade 1)</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>0.88</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary enrolment ratio (net)</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>0.82</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary enrolment ratio (gross)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.44</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tertiary enrolment ratio (gross)</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>0.33</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean years of schooling</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>0.54</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* = less than 0.5%.
 n/a = not available.


4.4 - Educational Attitudes in Southern Africa: The Present State

In earlier chapters, I have indicated that in the educational domain, there is a glorification of European languages and a general belittling of indigenous languages in Southern Africa, especially as far as functions beyond the primary school level are concerned. As far as I am aware, in no Southern African country is an indigenous language used as a medium of education at the university level, except, perhaps, in the teaching of some of the indigenous languages themselves. In most countries, for instance Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe, the use of indigenous languages as a medium of education is limited only to lower classes of the primary school; while in others, such as Angola and Mozambique, Portuguese is used all the way.

Attitudes underlying such a policy relate to arguments concerning the presumed inability of indigenous languages to function at higher levels of education, the need to prevent the isolation of Southern African countries from the world by the use of European languages to open the window on the world,
the need to progress in science and technology, which have European languages as their principal medium; reduced cost since European languages are ready-made languages as far as language development is concerned, their supposed neutrality in Southern African multilingual and multicultural contexts, and their potential to promote national unity and integration, etc. Such arguments continue to perpetuate love and entrenchment of European languages in the educational domain.

However, they undermine the disadvantages of using European languages, which also result in different sets of attitudes towards languages in the educational domain. Some of the arguments relating to these include:

- high rates of illiteracy, for which Southern Africa is infamous;
- large drop-out rates at schools;
- untapped creative potentials;
- the creation of a language-based elitist class;
- the fact that European languages constitute a hindrance to national mobilisation, since only a small minority is, for now, competent in, and most likely will continue to be competent in, them.

Moreover, the use of European languages alone as a medium, especially at higher levels, will continue to entrench an attitude of faith in the presumed inability of indigenous languages. This incapacity, unfortunately, will continue to expand, given the fact that frontiers of knowledge have continued to widen. It has, thus, been, to most language policy planners in Southern Africa, according to their faith. I believe present use of indigenous languages in education would have created challenges that would need to be met. On the other hand, present non-use creates apathy which blinds the eye, and makes their development seem unnecessary.

Another crucial dimension of attitudes in Southern Africa is that it is essentially western-oriented. Thus, the western norm has become the yardstick by which Southern Africa has and still is measured. Education is not often adapted to the local environments and the focus is on what the western world has continued to legitimise. As a consequence, indigenous educational systems have not been given an original breath of life. They have had their identities prematurely killed due to excessive dependence on western models, systems
and norms. Clearly, the European languages of education play a crucial role in perpetuating such a western-dependency attitude in the educational domain. Not surprisingly, no indigenous educational, political and technological tradition has been able to evolve. Indirectly, and, in my view, in a rather tongue-in-cheek manner, Blommaert (not dated), a European observer of the African scene, puts his finger on this perspective of the general attitudes of western dependency with regards to development in Africa when he comments thus, and I quote him at length:

“...This historical moment must have caused far-reaching conceptual and attitudinal shifts. I will speculate on four points, which I think are crucial for a clearer understanding of emerging traditions in Africa.

(1) - Independent states had to be organised on the basis of western parliamentary democratic structures. As a consequence, political parties became a new power basis, superior to more traditional ones (tribes, clans, etc.). Politics, in the newly independent African states, became a totally new domain of thinking, discourse and action.

(2) - The system adopted by the newly independent states had always been a negative system for Africans. The only experience they had with western type of political and administrative organisation was that of centuries of oppression by the colonial powers. Almost overnight, that very system had to be adopted as a positive thing - as the recipe for development, modernisation, freedom and prosperity.

(3) - Within the independent societies, identities changed drastically. In general, yesterday's oppressed became today's rulers. More concretely, social statuses hitherto precluded to Africans (bourgeoisie, intelligentsia, senior civil servants, senior military personnel . . . ) became accessible to Africans. The distribution of forms of power and hegemony among groups of population changed radically.

(4) - The struggle for Independence had boosted African nationalism and self-esteem. As a consequence, the newly acquired structures and identities, necessarily, had to be 'Africanised'. So, states which were typologically and structurally completely westernised, still maintained or even cultivated an African Decorum. “ (Blommaert (n. d.)
Well over thirty years after the independence of most Southern African countries, it is sad to observe that an African tradition in the educational, political, judicial domains, mass communication, etc. has failed to emerge. Part of the reasons for this may be that the creative writers mostly write in European languages. The governments officially function using European languages. The media is predominantly western in orientation; the judiciary and political system are also palpably western-modelled; the economies are still totally dependent on the strength of the Pound, the Escudo, the Deutch Mark, or the Dollar. In all these areas, the old western colonial powers pay the piper and call the tune. They decide which money is acceptable, and which is not; which educational system contributes to knowledge, and which does not; which articles are written in a scholarly manner, and which are not. Not surprisingly, therefore, children, generally, grow up believing that most things western are, generally, better than most things indigenous to Southern Africa. Thus, an article published in a western journal by an academic in Southern Africa, generally, receives greater acclaim than one published in a 'local' journal.

Originality has been almost totally killed and so, there is an inordinate love for something made in Britain, Germany, Portugal, or made in America, all which are generally preferred to those made internally. This kind of remote control neocolonialism in Southern Africa largely kills the indigenous input that the region should have been able to make to the world’s development, in general, and the educational systems, in particular.

Since, in a very important sense, language is the oil that makes the political, economic, and structural engine of a nation run smoothly, and so makes originality possible, I submit that attitudes towards languages in the educational and official circles, which filter into the general aspects of life in the societies, constitute a prime motivation for the western-dependent, generally outward looking stance of Southern Africa. It is no wonder, then, that in the educational system (the power-house for what a nation is, and is to be) the entrenchment of European languages has continued, generally, to build an aura of superiority around them.
There is no doubt, therefore, that the non-use of indigenous languages in education beyond the primary level, in most countries also results in the building of generally, negative attitudes. The most predominant of these is their presumed inability, which has continued to be perpetuated by the very fact of their not being much used, and so, not being given the opportunity to demonstrate their potency or develop new areas of expression that may be needed. Moreover, their active use would have proved psychologically motivating, enhanced the literacy environment, assisted children to perform at their optimal potential, and enhanced the promotion of a sense of identity and cultural affinity (cf. Afolayan, 1976; Fasold, 1992; Adegbija, 1989b).

The attitude of perceived inability of indigenous languages is predicated on a different set of arguments which, unfortunately, have continued to perpetuate and entrench faith in their presumed inability. Such arguments include the following:

(i) - many of the languages, as of now, have no orthographies, and so, cannot even be used in education;
(ii) - there is no money even if there is the will to develop them;
(iii) - their exclusive use will block the window on the World and result in exclusion from participation in the International community;
(iv) - European languages are available to function in domains now being canvassed for African languages;
(v) - some speakers of indigenous languages do not wish to see their languages used in education because they have a total lack of confidence in the languages in these domains.

Such arguments both for the maintenance of European languages in the educational domain and for the use or non-use of indigenous languages have been with us for a long time now (e.g. Unesco, 1953; Fasold, 1992). The fact, however, that most indigenous languages in Southern Africa have continued to be largely limited to the lower rungs of education, as noted earlier, has meant that they have been denied the opportunity to grow and develop in the educational domain. Consequently, as noted earlier, the gap between them and European languages has, and will continue to widen as knowledge continues to increase, thus making the possibility of 'catching up', were this desirable, more difficult. In the meantime, however, attitudes regarding their
inability to perform and deliver in educational domain continue to grow. As a result, educational habits, thoughts, concepts and preconceptions continue to be modelled after those in the West. This fact continues to endow western languages in Southern Africa with an exaggerated prestige and superiority in education, which contributes remarkably to the high status they enjoy. Because education affects many other areas, such attitudes easily filter into other areas as well, mainly because European languages are seen to feature prominently also in day-to-day official life.

4.4.1 - Self-Image About Language and Language Choice in Southern Africa

Language choice in the educational domain is a crucial and explosive issue in many countries of Southern Africa. Generally, it may be observed that the low self-image of many Southern African indigenous languages exerts a crucial influence on language choice, the kinds of materials designed, as well as performance in schools (cf. Oladejo, 1991b), and general educational self-confidence.

Several factors may affect the image that people have about particular languages, and thus, their attitudes towards them. First, we may consider the sociocultural standing of the native speakers of a language. When they have prestige and status within a country, this will, most likely be reflected on their language as well. On the other hand, if speakers of a language have a low sociocultural standing in the society, their language is most unlikely to be accorded high regard. Another factor that could affect a peoples self-image about a language is the literary background possessed by the language. Generally, languages that are rich in literary resources (literature of all kinds), especially written ones, tend to be accorded priority and prestige in the educational domain, while languages without written literacy resources tend to be neglected. Such literary resources and materials are usually taken as emblems of growth or advancement in a language and languages that are rich in them are, generally, ranked high thus, in Tanzania, for example, Kiswahili possesses more resources of this nature than other indigenous languages. Efforts have also been made to develop more resources in Kiswahili in
science and technology (cf. Rubagumaya [Ed.], 1990). By virtue of its resources and other contributory factors, Kiswahili looms larger in esteem and favourable evaluation than all other indigenous languages in the educational domain in Tanzania.

Possession of rich resources in a language is predicated by its codification and elaboration. Consequently, a language that has undergone processes of codification and elaboration generally, tends to enjoy greater prestige, especially in education, than one that has not. This constitutes the crux of the problem for many African indigenous languages (cf. Okedara & Okedara, 1992). At the very least, over more than half of the languages used in Southern Africa do not as yet possess any orthography and so the process of codification and elaboration cannot even begin in earnest. This has continued to contribute to their low evaluation at all levels. On the other hand, most European languages are head and shoulders above African languages as far as codification and elaboration, especially for use in the expression of contemporary Western science and technology are concerned. Given the degree of western dependency described earlier, this fact affects attitudes accordingly.

The prestige and status of a language may also be affected by the extent of its use in internal communication and needs felt for it as a lingua franca. Languages restricted only to local aspects of internal communication are, generally, evaluated poorly, while those used as lingua franca are very conspicuous in internal communication and tend to be ranked highly. For example, Kiswahili has already been cited as a language with high rank in internal communication in Tanzania. Its influence has been gradually spreading to other regions in Eastern Africa as well (cf. Yahya-Othman, 1989, p. 165). By virtue of the sociocultural standing of its speakers, as well as its numerical superiority over other languages of those who speak it as Second language, its status and prestige in Tanzania have been spreading fast, and so also its influence in education, especially in other surrounding countries where it is a predominant lingua franca. The fact that the extent of individual
and societal bi/multilingualism involving Kiswahili is quite widespread in Eastern Africa has had far-reaching implications for language policy, in general, and education language planning, in particular. All these factors have continued to boost and enhance the status and prestige of Kiswahili not only in Tanzania, but in the entire Eastern Africa. Not surprisingly, the confidence of its speakers has also been remarkably influenced, even at grassroots level.

Generally, as far as low self-image, especially officially is concerned, minority or small languages almost always suffer most. A low image about the languages of other people, generally, tends to discourage the desire for bilingualism in one's own language and that of other language. This may, partly, explain why speakers of major languages, in most multilingual contexts, are, generally unwilling to learn smaller languages. Thus, the use of smaller languages is largely limited to their speakers. They are also largely not used officially in schools. Perhaps the high drop-out rates in many Southern African primary schools could be, partly, connected to attitudes towards the school languages which, in many cases, are not the mother tongues of pupils. In many societies, the mainstream language is used even at the primary school level. While high rates of bilingualism in mainstream languages could, sometimes, reduce the incidence of negative attitudes towards them as the medium of education, there are many other cases in which some learners are confronted with an entirely new language as a medium. This observation is particularly true of children in Mozambique not competent in the mainstream language and so the school language has an alienating effect on them. Furthermore, no attempt is made to cater for speakers of indigenous languages.

This way, right from the first contact with the educational system, Mozambican children get psychologically alienated because the school environment is perceived to be completely foreign and different culturally and linguistically from the home environment. Such children are, right from the outset, robbed of the emotional investment in the school system which is a prerequisite for successful performance.
Officially, in many primary schools in many Southern African countries, an exoglossic European language is usually introduced as a medium of education at about the third or fourth grade. By this time, many of the pupils are still attempting to grapple with the educational system. Thus, the introduction of another language as medium poses an additional major problem for them. This is particularly so because, according to Adegbija (1994, p. 102):

(a) - “Many parents are unable to help their children in the educational process and so, cannot give the children the type of succour needed for effective education. When assignments are given, many parents are unable to understand them and so, are deprived of the opportunity of making an input in the education of their children. This, robs the educational system of a potent force of encouragement in initial education.

(b) - In many situations, especially in Angola and Mozambique, or former French colonies, the educational materials have still not been adapted to the local environment. Cultural artifacts with which the child is familiar are often not reflected in the materials. Instead, the textbooks reflect life, the weather and the political system in France, Portugal, etc. While such materials could perhaps broaden the scope and horizon of children able to understand them, for the majority, they largely have an alienating effect. The alien school language and material also stifle the potential of children to think originally since many are unable to relate the reality of their background with the reality of an alien school language and classroom. Naturally, in such circumstances, negative attitudes develop towards the indigenous languages and cultures and one is not surprised at the high drop-out rates. Although research on the advantages and disadvantages of the use of indigenous African languages in education is said to be inconclusive (cf. Fasold, 1992, 1.2.2 above), it is perhaps unquestionable that a child is most likely to feel more psychologically secure and emotionally involved in the school environment when the language he already knows is used than when a strange one is employed.”

Examples in other parts of Africa, such as the Primary Education Improvement Programme, The Six Year Primary Project and The Rivers Readers Project in Nigeria, all of which are concerned with the use of indigenous African languages in education, have at least convincingly demonstrated the psychological and cultural advantages of so doing. The pedagogical evidence
they have provided also has very much to recommend the use of African indigenous languages (cf. Afolayan, 1976; Williamson, 1976, 1990; Omojuwa, 1978). Although contrary findings are reported to have been made in other contexts such as the United States with regard to the use of the child’s mother tongue as medium (cf. Fasold, 1992), it does seem that a clear distinction needs to be made between different contexts:

As we can see, children of immigrants in the United States taught in English have a richer English as a native language environment to support them. This is not true of children in Southern Africa where the majority does not speak the European languages. Additionally, and also related to the first point, the mother tongue environment of immigrant children in the United States or any other foreign environment, is not normally as rich as it would be in the native home environment. In effect, the usual practice of changing over to a European language in the higher classes of primary education in many Southern African countries needs to be seriously reexamined. At the very least, (and it should be possible), efforts should be made to use indigenous languages in education till the end of primary education. Such a language policy would, most likely, be more pedagogically rewarding. It would also affect attitudes positively towards the school system, and lead to a further development of the indigenous Southern African languages.

In multilingual contexts, speakers of mainstream languages need to be encouraged to be as well through language policy to learn at least one of the small languages. This is seen to be one strategy for affecting their attitudes positively towards small languages and enhancing national unity and integration. It is also thought to be an index to speakers of small languages that their languages are also valued. At the very least, such a strategy would result in greater awareness of the small group languages and cultures and enhance mutual respect between speakers of small and big languages.

4.4.2 - Some Attitudinal Misconceptions About Indigenous Languages in Southern Africa

Before concluding this Chapter, I would like to briefly discuss some popular misconceptions that tend to affect language attitudes negatively in Southern Africa, especially as they relate specifically to language use in the domain of
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education. Some of these, have already been briefly touched on in the
foregoing discussion but will now be examined directly from the perspective of
their impact on language attitudes.

First, it is generally assumed that initial use of the mother
tongue results in regression in the acquisition of the
mainstream, normally European, sometimes a Southern
African language. Research has shown, however, that this is
not the case. Instead, the initial use of the mother tongue
gives a child a solid cognitive and conceptual base and
grounding and thus facilitates the acquisition of additional

Second, it is generally assumed, by many people in Southern
Africa, that implanted European languages and cultures are
inherently superior for education. Conversely, the Southern
African Indigenous languages are considered inferior and
less suitable for education. This kind of attitude is akin to a
kind of conceptual colonialism rooted in the functions in
which languages have been and still are involved. There are
many indigenous Southern African concepts which the
Portuguese/English languages are unable to express as of
now. To do this, the Portuguese/English languages will
require elaboration in some of these areas. One can think of
examples of indigenous blacksmithing technology, tie and
dye technology, religious and cultural activities, etc. The fact
that European languages cannot express some experiences
does not imply that they are inferior, it simply means there is
as yet not felt need for some of the experiences. But when
there is a need, as has been the case for many African or
European writers who have had to express distinctively
African experiences in Portuguese/English, terms have been
derived or coined.

Contemporary descriptive linguists have shown that no language is inherently
superior or inferior but each language is able to accommodate new functions
and experiences that it has a need for. Thus, in the early days of the
Portuguese language, it also could not have been used to express many
aspects of contemporary science and technology, principally because it had
no need for words reflecting such experiences as of that time. But as needs
arose, the language has, through internal derivation process and external
borrowing, enlarged its resources. It has thus been developed to express all
kinds of experiences which it could formally not cope with. In essence, the
more a language is used in a particular domain, the more it faces new
challenges in that domain, and the greater the need to develop new
terminology to cope with new experiences. To achieve this, most languages have to depend both on internal as well as external resources. Thus, prefixation, suffixation, and other processes like compounding, neologism, etc. are involved. Often too, many languages have to borrow and adapt words from other languages.

As an example, speakers of the English language have done this freely without being ashamed of doing so. In fact, part of the international acceptance of English language today could be attributable to its cosmopolitan vocabulary. Most languages of the world, including Southern African languages, have contributed to the vocabulary of English. Often, such new terms are 'Anglicised' or 'Portuguesised'. Sometimes, they are left in the original language as in the words 'boutique' and 'raison d'être', both borrowed from French. There is no reason why Southern African indigenous languages cannot increase their resources for use in the education and other domains through their internal resources as well as borrowing both from African languages and European languages. There is also no reason to apologise for such borrowing or cultivate an attitude of unease concerning them, especially in cases where indigenous terminology is not available. Most Southern African languages have, in fact, already borrowed a lot from European languages to express new experiences resulting from contact with Europeans. Some of the words have become so nativised that many speakers are unaware of their foreign origin. Thus, words like 'motoro' (motor), 'électiriki' (electricity), 'igilasi' (glass) are freely used by many native speakers of Makua, a major language in the north of Mozambique. Yet, most of the speakers have not the slightest idea that such words are of Portuguese or English origin. The attitudes towards such words is generally that of total acceptance as bona fide words with equal native rights as other words in the language. Speakers are not normally accused of defiling the language when they use such words.

In the areas of western Science and Technology, Kiswahili and Afrikaans, two Southern African languages, have already achieved some considerable advance because new terminology has been developed in them to cope with the many experiences. There is no reason why other Southern African
languages cannot be equally elaborated to cope with many new experiences they may need to express. The longer the delay in doing this, the greater the gap will be between languages that have started and those yet to start.

Attitudes towards the use of Southern African languages are sometimes negatively influenced because, as earlier indicated, policy makers are of the opinion or impression that their use would shut the proverbial window on the world, and make it impossible for children to participate in mainstream culture. But such a point stands only to the extent that language planning in a multilingual context is conceived through and through from a monomodel perspective. In a multilingual planning perspective, on the other hand, there seems to be mutual accommodation and acceptance between languages and their speakers. From such a perspective, the fact that a child's mother tongue is being used for education does not, as earlier indicated, preclude the active and well-planned learning of relevant mainstream languages. If a mainstream language is learned as a subject in the school curriculum, instead of being used as a medium, the mother tongue will, in fact, facilitate its learning. Thus, I think that the question of the window on the world being blocked should not arise at all if such a strategy is adopted.

There is, however, an apparently crucial objection frequently raised to the above proposal, which has the effect of encouraging multilingualism in the educational system, gives primacy to a child's mother tongue, and makes the mainstream language a strong school subject. This objection is that language learning load will become an unnecessary burden for the Southern African child and, consequently, retard educational development and performance. This view has often affected attitudes negatively towards the formulation of policies for the use of Southern African indigenous languages in education. It has not been empirically proven, though, that multilingualism results in the retardation of educational progress. On the contrary, most of the research findings reported in journals on multilingualism and multiculturalism such as Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development and Multilingual: Journal of Cross-cultural and Interlanguage Communication tend to point more to advantages and benefits of multilingualism and multiculturalism generally and
Multilingualism has been shown to be an enrichment experience generally
and educationally. Multilingual children have been found to have a better and
more enriched perspective on life than monolingual children. They are able to
accommodate, tolerate and respect cultures different from theirs.

Moreover, competence in a first language, in spite of the problem of
interference frequently reported, has been generally found to contribute
significantly and positively towards the facilitation and learning of a second.
When the home language is used at school, home and adult support to school
learning are also made possible. Moreover, instruction in a child’s weaker
language has been found to be potentially dangerous for a child’s educational
development (cf. Macnamara, 1966; Spolsky, 1971; O’Huallachain, 1970;
Adegbija, 1989b). It is also worthy of note that in most Southern African
contexts, multilingualism is a norm of life. Therefore, the learning of another is
not usually seen by the child as a burden. Frequent contacts with people of
other cultures also tends to reduce the apparent strangeness of their
languages and cultures.

In fact, even in many parts of Europe and America, presumably predominantly
monolingual, the advantages of multilingualism have resulted in increasing
numbers of people wanting to learn an additional language. The tempo for this
has particularly increased, and promises to remain so because of the
formation of the European Community, the creation of a Common European
Market and the establishment of a flexible border with effect from January 1,
1993. While it is noteworthy that many Europeans learn such additional
languages after their native languages have already been mastered, it is also
ture that day-to-day multilingualism and the natural interaction with people
with other languages and cultures is so common-place in most parts of
Southern Africa that school monolingualism, rather than multilingualism, is the
burden and problem. For most Southern African children, therefore, learning
other languages in addition to their mother tongue is not likely going to be
perceived as a burden. But, obviously, more research evidence is needed to
make the final pronouncement on this matter.

Often, too, it is assumed that the use of Southern African indigenous languages in official areas such as education will emphasise cultural pluralism and thus, enhance ethnic chauvinism, and thereby, cause national disunity. On the other hand, it is assumed that learning the official language automatically results in national integration and social mobility. But, as I have observed above, such issues are often impinged on by many other factors including the political and economic. This notwithstanding, however, the assumption or point of view has often affected attitudes towards the use of indigenous languages negatively. As many countries all over the world, including Southern Africa, show, however, monolingualism is not a panacea for national unity and integration. For instance, in spite of the predominant monolingualism in Somalia, in which Somali is largely used in the educational system and national life, different clans have been at each other’s throats for a long time, so much so that hunger and famine have completely ravaged and wrecked the nation owing to a concentration on internecine wars which have brought about human carnage of gargantuan proportions. In November 1992, it took a United States led invasion force to begin to ensure that people have food to eat - and all these in spite of predominant monolingualism in Somali, the national language, and the main language in the educational system even up to the Secondary school level. Further examples of frequent inter-clans disunity in other African countries such as Rwanda, Burundi, Lesotho and Swaziland could be cited all with one predominant indigenous language. In effect, national monolingualism does not necessarily guarantee national integration and unity.

Nor is national multilingualism a recipe for disunity. In fact, the recognition, acceptance and respect for linguistic and cultural diversity in a multilingual setting have potentials for promoting unity and decreasing the amount of suspicion that normally exists when one language and cultural group feels threatened by the predominance of another. For example, Switzerland has always been cited as a country in which there is official respect for multilingualism. Consequently, language attitudes are positively affected. But
this is not intended to imply that Switzerland cannot be confronted with language-related problems. But the relative peaceful coexistence of different language and cultural groups does point to the fact that the mutual respect for different languages and cultures in a multilingual setting, rather than attempts at forced national monolingualism, which denies the reality of the sociolinguistic situation, has much to recommend it. An attempt to force national monolingualism on India led to chaos. Similarly, in Ethiopia, the attempt to force Amharic on the entire nation created very serious resentment (cf. Abdulaziz, 1992).

In essence, language attitudes will most likely continue to be inflamed in most countries of Southern Africa if the multilingual reality of these countries is not recognised, accepted and reckoned with in educational language planning, in particular, and language planning, in general. Attempts at forced national monolingualism will most likely continue to be problematic. Multilingualism and multiculturalism should be acknowledged as national resources that need to be accepted and developed, not stifled. Such a stance of acceptance, obviously, holds greater promise for national unity and integration than coercion to conform with mainstream norms and forced assimilation.

A final attitudinal misconception that I will discuss relates to the view that education in Southern African mother tongues is from the practical and economic point of view, impossible. This has created in policy makers an attitude of surrender or resignation to the eternal inability of such languages. Naturally, this has continued to make the European languages loom larger and larger in the educational domain than they actually should; and this, in my opinion, is a big problem.

Undoubtedly, economic considerations constitute a principal hindrance and impediment to the development of Southern African indigenous languages. Languages need orthographies. They need to be codified and elaborated. These require the training of personnel. Materials also need to be developed. Yet, the development of such resources takes money and time. Upon a first look, this would also imply spending considerable resources over a long
period of time. Moreover, since European languages are ready-made languages which are immediately available to answer the call for which indigenous languages need to be developed (though at the huge cost of excluding the majority), these bedevilling problems result in a general attitude of resignation and nonchalance with regards to the urgency of the need to see to the development of Southern African indigenous languages. The eyes of policy makers are thus, largely blocked to the huge costs of refusal to develop the languages.

As noted earlier, Africa's debt stands at approximately $280 billion and is still raising rapidly. And the debt of about $160 billion for Southern Africa is reported to represent 112% of CDP! Servicing the debt is a predominant burden confronting the continent and each year, Southern African countries pay about $8 billion just for debt servicing and this is only one third of the interest due and about 30% of export earnings (cf. Chamie, 1992, quoted in Alexander, 1992). Given such a gloomy and bleak economic scenario, it is not surprising that many African nations have not been able to feed themselves. There is the problem of unstable governments, high inflation, of the lack of basic facilities like water, electricity, good roads, good hospitals and medicines. It is no wonder, then that not much attention is paid to the development of indigenous languages and that the attitude towards suggestions that they be developed sometimes tend to be negative.

To many African leaders, the expending of scarce resources on the development of African languages for use in education or other domains is seen as a misplacement of priorities. First things first, the argument normally goes. This kind of logic was also reflected in the interviews with 'ordinary citizens' in Mozambique referred to in Chapter Three. The fact that such reasoning exists, (and everyone who truly knows the African situation firsthand would be tempted to totally accept their validity, or at least, recognise the enormity of the problem), is a demonstration of how many variables impinge on educational language planning.

But one wonders if the issue of prioritisatation is not sometimes
overemphasised. Also, the prioritisation argument seems to overlook some crucial factors. First and foremost, language development needs to be seen from the perspective of people development, even though language per se is inanimate. When indigenous languages are developed and effectively used, the prospects of more effective national mass mobilisation, which can enhance national economic and general productivity are bound to be considerably enhanced. Most contemporary industrial and economically well-to-do societies are not predominantly illiterate societies. So, in final analysis, the language issue should not really rank as low on the priority scale as it always has done. Generally, and rather unfortunately, very high rates of illiteracy are still today the bane of most Southern African countries. This illiteracy, in which the language factor is a crucial component, itself hampers economic and industrial development. Definitely, the lack of development of indigenous languages, which makes it impossible for most of them to function in literacy programmes, is a major contributory factor to high illiteracy rates.

Moreover, the management of available resources probably deserves as much attention as prioritisation, or at least, it should be an important component of it. A lot of resources have been expended on fighting irrelevant wars which bring about no development but instead have quick, and always devastating returns (e.g. Angola and Mozambique, in Southern Africa). Investment in language in education, on the other hand, has only a slow (but worthy and rich) long-term dividend. For this reason, perhaps, many leaders cannot see it as a priority. Proper prioritisation, however, would make many of the wars in African countries unnecessary, or at least rank low on the priority scale. Leaders would have been willing to sacrifice personal and sectional interests for the good of the entire nation. Also, in spite of poor resources, many African leaders have stacked the resources of their countries in western countries. A lot of the money supposed to be used in developing Africa is also stacked in foreign banks by leaders who have stolen it from their countries. Reports of such acts of mismanagement abound. No doubt, such drains on African economies do not reflect proper prioritisation.

Also, when we consider personnel and materials, a lot of resources available
at universities and colleges of education are often not being properly managed and utilised. If they were, they would considerably reduce the cost of language development. For instance, many universities in Southern Africa have Departments of Linguistics and Indigenous Languages with experts that are respected in many countries of the world. With proper national coordination, such experts could be involved in practical aspects of language development such as the creation of orthographies and the codification and elaboration of languages instead of the present common overemphasis on theoretical aspects of linguistics. Applied linguistics has generally not attracted the weight it deserves in Southern Africa. Also, in Faculties of Education, there are specialists who could be involved in the production of materials. The involvement and proper coordination of the activities of such experts will be a bold strategy for effective resource management and development.

4.5 Conclusion

Taking Adegbija's words quoted in the introduction of this Chapter, one concludes that the prerequisites of development are peace and education. In 1948, the UN proclaimed education a basic human right, seeing it not just as a means of bringing about economic development and helping to improve the health of communities, but as a symbol of belief in the future. Wide access to education has a stabilising effect on countries and helps maintain peace. When conflict occurs, however, education is an immediate casualty and, in post-conflict areas, communities and governments struggle to establish or reestablish educational systems that are essential to maintain the peace and to allow further development to take place.

At independence in 1975, Mozambique inherited a very fragile economy, and a very weak educational system. Both were heavily dependent on, and geared to the needs of the Portuguese population and Portugal as the colonial Power. As a result, the mass exodus of the Portuguese at independence represented an enormous shock, both to the economy and to the educational system, and simultaneously, removed the country's capacity to adjust to that shock.
After Independence, the government placed great emphasis on the development of basic health and educational services, and its efforts initially met with some success. However, by the early 1980s, these efforts were seriously undermined by economic decline, caused by a combination of weaknesses in economic policy, adverse external circumstances (political and economic) and poor weather conditions.

The basic education system was further weakened during the course of the 1980s, as the security situation deteriorated. Nearly 60% of the country’s schools were destroyed or closed between 1983 and 1991; some 10% of the population fled to neighbouring countries, and a further 25% were displaced within the country; and the economy declined further, reducing the resources available for education.

The initial indigenous efforts at economic reform in 1983 proved too timid to improve economic performance. The adoption of a formal World Bank/IFM supported structural adjustment programme in January 1987 attracted a considerable increase in aid flows, stimulating a burst of economic growth; but this appears to have run out of steam in 1990, since when per capita growth has again been negative.

The combined effect of economic decline, external debt and adjustment has been to put severe downward pressure on the resources available for recurrent expenditure. Overall recurrent spending per capita (excluding interest payments) fell by around 37% between 1983 and 1993, and this decline has continued since the beginning of formal adjustment. The education sector has been particularly badly affected: recurrent spending per capita fell by 40% between 1983 and 1986, and in 1993 remained only marginally above the preadjustment reached in 1985.

The combination of these factors has seriously affected both the quantity and quality of educational provision. The gross primary enrolment ratio fell from 75.5% in 1981 to only 43.9% in 1992, before recovering slightly to 45.5% in 1993, primarily as a result of the improving security situation. The quality of basic education is poor, largely as a result of resource constraints. In addition,
there are serious imbalances within the system. Both the quantity and quality of education are highly variable regionally, between urban and rural areas, at different income levels, and according to gender.

Mozambique has an exceptionally high level of external debt relative to the size of the economy. In 1991, the total foreign debt was equivalent to over 350% of GDP (second highest in the world after Nicaragua) and in 1992 it amounted to over 1,500% of annual export earnings (third highest in the world after Nicaragua and São Tomé e Príncipe). So far, only a limited amount of debt has been negotiated.

Over the next 5 - 10 years, the pressure on the basic education system will be greatly increased by the consequences of peace, and particularly by the return of the refugees and displaced to their areas of origin. This process is happening spontaneously, and is already well underway. The result is to increase the number of children of school-going age considerably, particularly in the rural areas worst affected by the war.

One aspect of this problem - the need to reconstruct or rehabilitate the schools destroyed or damaged by the war - has been well recognised, and it appears that this is being dealt with effectively by the current reconstruction effort. However, much less attention has been devoted to the problem of financing the recurrent costs of this expansion of the education sector.

Consequently, the current financing requirement of the educational system are greatly increased by the urgent need to improve educational quality in the country.

In sum, effective management and planning of languages is the crucial bedrock of any educational system, especially in a multilingual context. We have seen that attitudes relating to languages and their management and planning, especially in Southern Africa, have political, economic, cultural and educational dimensions. The different dimensions impinge on each other, and generally, tend to result in many attitudinal misconceptions which manifest themselves in the creation of generally negative attitudes towards the
development of the indigenous languages for use in education in particular, and in national life, in general. However, it has been indicated that if a bold ideology or policy of actually developing African indigenous languages for use in the educational domain is combined with prudent and judicious resource management, a lot can still be done, (in spite of the many problems bedevilling such development) to confront problems inherent in the implementation of such a policy and to begin to influence the negative attitudinal misconceptions towards the languages in a positive direction. Greater use or institutionalisation of indigenous languages in public life at different levels of government is bound to lead to a rise in their esteem and prestige. To continue to delay such use is to continue to delay their development and this will inevitably continue the vicious circle of perpetuating attitudinal misconceptions about them and further entrenching their low esteem and prestige in the educational sphere, in particular, and national life, in general.
CHAPTER 5 - THE NEED TO PROMOTE THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES

5.1 - Introduction

Most Southern African countries are characterised by language-related problems such as the following:

- The educational under development of the majority of their citizens;
- Manipulation, discrimination and exploitation on linguistic grounds by minority destiny shaper elite European language speaker;
- Inter-ethnic tension and the absence of national unity;
- Cultural and linguistic alienation.

There appears to be a number of reasons for these problems. One of the reasons seems to be the fact that the indigenous languages are so stigmatised that they play an insignificant role in national life (e.g. in 4 Southern African countries English is the only official language while in two, Portuguese is. These are respectively: Namibia, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe; Angola and Mozambique. 4 Southern African countries have both English and one or more African languages, i.e. Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi and Tanzania. In South Africa English and Afrikaans are the national official languages, with the major Bantu languages functioning as official languages at a 'regional' level. In one Southern African country one African language is the only (or main) official language: Tanzania - (Kiswahili).

The indigenous languages of Southern African countries have become functionally marginalised to the so-called primary domains of life, such as family and friends, local market and domestic service, traditional social institutions, and religion. The ex-colonial languages of Southern Africa, i.e. English and Portuguese, on the other hand, have become the main instruments of the secondary domain cluster, i.e. government and administration, the judicial system, education, science and technology, trade and industry, and the media. As a consequence of this situation, the indigenous languages have a very low standing in their communities. The following comments by two South African scholars illustrate this point:
"To be educated and trained means having acquired knowledge and expertise mainly through the medium of English". (Prof. Abram L. Mawasha, University of the North, South Africa, 1986)

"Most (Blacks in South Africa) have come to hate their languages and consider them irrelevant to the education process." (Prof. C. T. Msimang, Professor of Zulu, University of South Africa, 1991).

In my opinion, there are two possible solutions to the problems mentioned above, i.e. the general improvement in the quality of English and Portuguese competence in the relevant countries, and the use of the indigenous languages in the secondary domains of life in Southern African communities.

5.2 - Why Indigenous Languages of Southern Africa Need to Be Promoted

I believe that the promotion of indigenous languages should not be seen as an end in itself, but that the basic objective should be to serve the interests of the people; that is, the promotion of these languages should not be encouraged for ulterior motives, such as isolating a community from contact with other communities, or as part of a "divide and rule" policy: promoting the indigenous languages should be seen as a strategy for enabling individuals and communities to develop to their maximal potential.

In my point of view, there are, at least, three reasons for promoting the indigenous languages of Southern Africa:

(i) - To improve the possibility of educational development;
(ii) - To reduce the potential for manipulation and discrimination, and
(iii) - To decrease the likelihood of linguistic and cultural alienation.

(i) The negative status of the indigenous Southern African languages has led to the use of the ex-colonial languages as media of instruction in the schools, and this has contributed to large-scale scholastic failure:

For instance, the Ivory Coast, with its vigorous policy (assimilatory and internationalistic) of promoting French, uses French as the sole medium of instruction from day one of the school programme. However, according
to Griefenow-Mewis (1992, p. 115), although 35% of its population over the age of 6 knew French in 1975, only 0.5% spoke the Standard French of France, 5.3% spoke Standard Ivory Coast French, and 29.2% spoke a type of French which could not be understood abroad. The situation in Mozambique appears to be similar with Portuguese.

Bokamba and Tlou (1977, p. 35), report that in Zaire, where French is also the sole medium of instruction, only 30% of the primary school entrants complete the first four grades, attaining basic literacy and only 5% of all elementary-school children gain admission to secondary schools. "Today," they write, "as it has been in the past 20 years or so, the national wastage rate of elementary school graduates in Zaire varies between 62 - 74%, and that of secondary schools between 90 - 94%".

In South Africa the situation is also bad. Odendaal (1986), in a survey of the success of English teaching in Kwa Zulu primary schools, found that 83.5% of the teachers said their pupils could not understand their textbooks.

In Tanzania, H. M. Batibo (1987, personal communication) observes that only 2% of the primary school children reach the secondary school.

Bokamba and Tlou's conclusion that

"The present language policies of Sub-Saharan States constitute a major obstacle to the development of generalised education in Africa",

and their argument that these policies

"will restrict access to post-primary education to a small minority of Africans, and will lead to a considerable waste of potential human resources" (Bokamba & Tlou, 1977, p. 35).

has proved to be correct.
(ii) The negative evaluation of the indigenous languages has also led to the dominant languages (generally the ex-colonial languages) becoming elitist. When this happens, manipulation and discrimination can easily occur, and then there cannot be much hope of establishing meaningful democracy.

That this has indeed happened in Southern Africa, is pointed out by Griefenow-Mewis (1992, p. 121), who mentions the role of power hungry politicians, writing that:

"Southern African politicians, who are merely interested in securing the economic and political positions of their own social group, their family or ethnic community . . . consider education for their compatriots worthwhile only within the framework which is absolutely necessary in economic terms. They are aware that the basis of their own power is the maintenance of the educational privilege . . . "

Romaine (1992, p. 245) also makes this point when she writes:

"In many . . . newly independent (Southern African) ex-colonies it has been difficult to oust the colonial language . . . because it had become the language of indigenous élites, who see it as a way of consolidating their access to the state machinery."

Meaningful democracy is clearly linked to the use of the indigenous languages. The UNESCO Report (Unesco, n. d., p. 116) states:

"To promote African languages is to safeguard national independence and to provide a sounder foundation for the exercise of genuine democracy. It is also a means of liberating creative faculties, in general, and of giving people, mentally, deep roots in genuinely African culture. This approach to the problem means looking beyond the mere development of culture and considering language policy as a factor in political independence and a requirement for democracy. The experts were unanimously agreed that the political battle was not over until the cultural and linguistic battle had been won."

L. J. Calvet, quoted by Romaine (1992) also points out that:

"Every liberation not accompanied by a defeat of the linguistic superstructure is not a liberation of the people who speak the dominated language. It is, instead, a liberation of the social class that continues to speak the dominant language."
In order to remove inequality and to establish true democracy, the citizens have to have full access to the educational and economic opportunities of their countries and their political processes. This may only be meaningfully possible if their own languages are used.

In the words of Heine (1979, p. 162), "Effective communication" (which, in Southern Africa, can only occur in the indigenous languages) "is an indispensable precondition for technological and economic development, political stability, and finding one's national and cultural identity."

(iii) The unjustifiably low status of the indigenous languages also increases the likelihood of cultural and linguistic alienation owing to the total dominance of the ex-colonial languages. The fact is that the low esteem of the indigenous languages easily gives rise to a diglossic situation where the colonial languages perform the secondary functions, and the native languages, the primary functions. If this happens, speakers of the indigenous languages may develop a contempt for their languages, resulting in language and cultural shift and, eventually, linguistic and cultural alienation.

It is generally accepted that cultural and linguistic alienation is undesirable. Besides leading to the loss of the wealth contained in a community's cultural diversity, cultural and linguistic alienation can bring about changes in the fabric of a society - changes which can hamper the development of the community.

The cultural changes brought about by the imposition of a foreign culture is pointed out by Romaine (1992, p. 250), who writes that:

"In Papua New Guinea and elsewhere in Melanesia the struggle for development is played out today, in the post-colonial era, as competition between traditional concerns and pressures of European cultural origins which aim to integrate Melanesian village societies into Western style
models of centralised government, wage economy, social, racial and linguistic stratification."

Furthermore, Heine (1979, pp. 151 - 152), is explicit on the aims of the colonial rulers, stating that the unexpressed goal of exoglossic policies is the deculturalisation and reculturalization of people.

As a result, the traditional social structure, which is kinship based, can change to a class system typical of modern industrialised nations. This has happened in Southern Africa, as Romaine (1992, p. 246) points out, quoting A. Mazrui, who speaks of "the detribalization and Westernization that resulted from learning English in Southern Africa."

If one considers the exceptionally high esteem in which ex-colonial languages are held throughout Southern Africa, one can suspect that Southern Africans have been hugely colonised intellectually, emotionally and spiritually, as Ngugi Wa Thiongo (1986) pointed out in his book Decolonising the Mind. The Politics of Language in African Literature.

Commenting in the line of Ngugi's idea of the colonization of the African mind, the brilliant Nigerian writer, Chinua Achebe (1975, pp. 55 - 62) writes: "Is it right that a man should abandon his mother tongue for someone else's?" And he goes on to add: "It looks like a dreadful betrayal and produces a guilty feeling. But for me, there is no other choice. I have been given this language and I intend to use it.

In this context, Ngugi (1986, pp. 8 - 9) attacks Achebe and other African writers who being literate and fluent in their mother tongues, chose to write in European languages (mainly English), writing:

"Why, we may ask, should an African writer, or any writer, become so obsessed by taking from his mother tongue to enrich other cultures? Why should he see it as his particular mission? . . . How did we arrive at this acceptance of the 'fatalistic logic of the unassailable position of English in our literature', in our culture and in our politics?"

Ngugi's position is that instead of enriching the imperial tongue with the
African experience, African writers should be totally absorbed with enriching their indigenous languages by using them in their creative work. They should cease to be 'Afro-Europeans'. He, himself, has stopped writing in English and begun to write novels in Gikuyu, his mother tongue.

The view is sometimes expressed that the ex-colonial languages allow for greater participation in and integration into the modern technologically developed culture. This is, however, only true as long as prestige and upward mobility are related to material possessions, and success is measured in terms of the gross national product. If progress was measured rather by the degree to which people's ability is developed to determine their own fate, to free themselves from oppression, exploitation and poverty or to establish their sociopsychological and cultural independence, then the ex-colonial languages may not be the liberating force they are thought to be. Besides: the indigenous languages can, we know, also be developed to allow participation in and integration into the modern technological culture (e.g. Kiswahili in Tanzania, Somali in Somalia and Amharic in Ethiopia).

The role of culture in development of a society appears to be becoming increasingly realised (this is not the case in South Africa, where ethnicity has become a 'dirty word' owing to the fact that it was a basic component in the implementation of the ideology of apartheid. This fact, however, cannot deny the central role of cultural identity, and the likelihood that sociocultural identity is, arguably, one of man's fundamental needs, a basic fact of being a human being). Capotorti (1979), for instance, suggests that educational failure may be related to cultural deprivation. And, according to Griefenow-Mewis (1992, p. 117), S. Ousmane (Senegal) and J. Ngugi (Kenya) have both expressed the opinion that:

"Educational development and access to culture are . . . prerequisites for gradually overcoming underdevelopment and catching up with the industrialised nations."

And O. J. Chinweizu & I. Madubuike (1983), having become unhappy about deculturalisation and reculturalization in Africa, have set themselves
the task of ending

"All foreign domination of African culture, to systematically destroy all encrustations of colonial and slave mentality, to clear the bushes and stake out new foundations for a liberated African modernity" (Quoted by Romaine, 1992, p. 244).

The conflict between the educational, economic, political and cultural interests and needs of the citizens of Southern African countries and the educationally, economically, politically, socially and culturally empowered languages of these countries may, I believe, be resolved by the promotion of the indigenous languages of Southern Africa. Meaningful democracy, effective national communication, maximal educational development, access to economic and social rights and privileges, the control over discriminatory and exploitative practices, the retention of cultural and linguistic diversity, and so forth, may be dependent on the promotion of the indigenous languages, so that they can replace the ex-colonial languages in the secondary or public domains of life.

5.3 - How Southern African Scholars and Leaders Support the Promotion of the Indigenous Languages

The planning of the indigenous languages of Africa has long received intensive attention from African linguists, as is apparent from the following conferences supported by UNESCO: The Use of the Mother Tongue for Literacy (Ibadan, 1964); The Unification of the Alphabets of National Languages (Bamako, 1966); and Alphabet Normalisation and Harmonisation (Kutona, 1975). Today, more and more African linguists are thinking along the same lines (cf. Andrzejewski, 1983; Apronti, n.d.; Batibo, 1987; Capo, 1983; Emenanjo, 1989; Khamisi, 1992; Mosha, 1983; Ouane, 1991; and Polomé, 1983).

African governments have also clearly come out in support of the promotion of the indigenous languages. In 1975, the Intergovernmental Conference on Cultural Policies in Africa, organised by UNESCO with co-operation of the Organisation of African Unity in Accra

"recognised and affirmed the irreplaceable role of African
languages in any development policy",

recommending, *inter alia*, that African countries should

"choose one or more national languages, gradually increase the use of African languages as vehicles of instruction, establishing departments of African linguistics, setting up specialised language institutions ... supporting literacy training in African languages and collecting oral literature" (UNESCO, n.d., p. 18).

A similar point of view was taken by the African Ministers of Education in 1976, who also underlined the role of African languages in education.

Thirdly, UNESCO has itself also been strongly involved in promoting the African languages with a ten-year plan adopted in 1972, the Niamey meeting in 1978 and, more recently, the Project Horizon 2000.

As a consequence of these views, several African countries (like Benin, Ghana, Guinea, Nigeria, Togo, and Tanzania) began promoting their indigenous languages strongly. Under Sekou Touré, for example, Guinea recognised eight languages as national languages, and urged their linguistic description and the development of teaching materials and literacy programmes in them. In Ghana, nine national languages were recognised, and in Tanzania - one of three African countries with a non-colonial language as the medium of official administration, etc. - Kiswahili was proclaimed a national and an official language.

However, these positive views about the issue and the resultant moves to promote African languages have not been kept up in practice. For instance, Romaine (1992, p. 246), referring to the failure of African countries to promote their indigenous languages, quotes A. Mazrui, who pointed out that:

"Post-colonial African governments, in fact, introduced English at an earlier level in the educational system than the British themselves had done."

It is not clear what the reasons for this situation are, but they are likely to be related to the reasons to be discussed in 5.5 below.
5.4 - How Southern African Languages Should be Promoted

5.4.1 - Promotion - A Definition

Language planning has been defined by Brian Weinstein (1980, p. 55), as a government-authorised, long-term sustained and conscious effort to alter a language itself or to change a language's functions in a society for the purpose of solving communication problems. However, in my opinion, this definition raises a thorny question in the Southern African context. The main objection to this definition is that "it is too much government-oriented" so that: "Instances of language decisions taken by non-governmental agencies such as private companies, media houses, societies and individual authors are excluded from the realm of language planning" (Bamgbose, n.d. Vol. 17, No1, p. 7).

It raises the question, therefore, whether what Bamgbose (Journal of West African Language, n.d. Vol. 17, No 1) calls language planning from the bottom is possible and, incidentally, whether the work of so many language projects now operating in Southern Africa can, in some sense, be said to be planned. Bamgbose (Ibid. p. 8) goes to the heart of the matter when he charges that:

"Actual experience with language development efforts shows that much significant, and sometimes, much more effective, work is done by non-governmental bodies such as language societies, teachers' associations, broadcasters, etc., yet proponents of the canonical model of language planning insist that such activities do not amount to planning, since they do not amount to the 'planning ideal'".

A similar position is taken by Kelman (1975, pp. 37-38), who maintains that he has a general bias against:

"deliberate attempts by central political authorities to create a sense of national identity, whether by a policy of establishing a national language or by any other means. . . . What I am arguing is that a sense of national identity, ideally ought to - and, in fact, is most likely to - emerge out of a well-functioning national system that meets the needs and interests of the entire population, rather than out of deliberate attempts to create it directly. Let me clarify my statement further by saying that I refer to the central political authorities, not to various agencies within the society - public or private - that have a special interest in promoting one or another type of cultural or linguistic development . . . ."
Language promotion, on the other hand, is a process whereby an undervalued and underdeveloped language is given:

a) a higher functional/instrumental value and
b) a more positive social value,

thereby bringing about its general use in the secondary domains of life. Promoting a language, therefore, means making it a desirable and effective tool for educational development, economic opportunity, political participation, social mobility, and cultural practice.

Language promotion is accomplished through status and corpus planning.

5.4.2 - Status Planning

Since the aim of status planning is the functional allocation of functions among a community’s languages, that is, altering their status, language promotion implies using these languages for higher functions (e.g. introducing them in law courts or official publications). This can be accomplished through means such as the following:

5.4.2.1 - Statutory and Governmental Measures

There are at least three ways in which the governing group can promote a language:

1. The political leaders of a country can control the functional distribution of the languages of that country through the statutory designation of the official language(s) of the courts of law, the media of education in state-controlled schools and so forth in the constitution and a Bill of Human Rights. That is, a government can formulate an explicit language policy designed to serve the interests of their people, and which is concerned, as Sekou Touré (UNESCO, n.d., p. 132) puts it:

"with the life of all the country's inhabitants, faithfully expressing their will and meeting all the requirements for harmonious and dynamic evolution of national policy".
2 A strong government can also enforce its political ideology through particular language laws, policy formulations, policy directives, and decrees.

This last point can be illustrated by examples from Southern Africa and elsewhere. In South Africa, for example, the policy of apartheid had a direct influence on the language scene. Besides being racially based, ethnicity and, therefore, also language, played a central role in apartheid ideology. The division of the black population into groups living in 'independent states' and 'self-governing regions', was largely language based (this was not the case with the Indian, the so-called coloured, and the white members of the population). This fact led to the promotion of the indigenous languages of the country along with a degree of ethnic nationalism.

Davey & Rensburg (1992) report a striking paradoxical example of "language death" which is directly due to the implementation of apartheid: A group of mother-tongue speakers of Afrikaans, who were Tsuanas, became Setswana speakers within three generations after being forced to move to a Tswana group area.

A second example of the role of governmental ideology in the promotion of language comes from Tanzania. After independence in 1961 and until 1967 English was the major language of official business, the legislature, the courts, education, the mass media, and trade and commerce. The Arusha Declaration of 1967, however, oriented the country towards 'the masses' and Kiswahili was immediately employed for mass mobilisation and for the creation of political awareness and was consciously developed as a symbol of nationalism and patriotism. At the same time, a political campaign was begun to discredit English, terming it a 'colonial hangover'. Kiswahili was made an official language at national level, civil servants were instructed to use Kiswahili, Kiswahili was used as medium of instruction in primary schools and for the teaching of Political Education and English in the secondary schools. A task force was also established to
plan for the use of Kiswahili as medium of instruction in the secondary schools by 1974. Kiswahili thus came to be used for most of the official business, lower education, most of the mass media, trade and commerce, and the primary courts.

According to Fasold (1984, p. 272), government policies such as the following contributed to the spread of Kiswahili: the transfer of civil servants, for limited periods of time, to regions whose language(s) they did know, thus being compelled to speak Kiswahili, and the establishment of Ujamaa villages, in which people from diverse language background lived.

Today, Kiswahili is the "language of national prestige, modernity, the national lingua franca, the language of social promotion and wider acceptance" (Batibo, 1992).

Batibo (1992), and, says Fasold (1984, p. 274), the language of national unity, i.e. 'being Tanzanian'.

A third example comes from Somalia. Although Somalia is presently experiencing very serious internal political strife, as a result of the complete economic disasters of these policies, the attempts to promote Somali in the early seventies remains an impressive example of language promotion (cf. Griefenow-Mewis, 1992, pp. 127 - 134).

According to Griefenow-Mewis (1992, pp. 127 - 134), before the Second World War the Somalis were mainly nomads and agriculturalists, and the country was thinly populated, with few towns. English, Italian and Arabic were used for all public functions. Somali had not been 'culturalised', and was even without an official orthography. In January 1973 the government announced that Somali would become the official language and the language of education. By May 1974 illiteracy had been largely overcome, and by 1978 Somali was the sole official language and the medium of instruction up to Grade 12.

He goes on to add that the following strategies were employed in order to
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achieve this remarkable feat: the nationalisation of printing shops and private schools, a three-month course for teaching all teachers, ministry officials, journalists and military personnel to read and write in Somali, a vast expansion of schools and pupils (an increase of 146% in pupil numbers in three years), intensive programmes for teacher training, the use of volunteers from the National Services as teachers throughout the country, programmes for adult education in factory plants and residential areas, a central coordinating committee for literacy as well as anti-literacy committees in every district, village, army camp and prison, and the use of 20,000 students, teachers, medical and veterinary personnel and agricultural officers in the literacy campaign among the nomads.

The reasons for the Somalia success lay in three factors:

- the determination of the government to succeed;
- the linguistic homogeneity of the country; and
- the presence of a strong feeling of nationalism in the country.

Finally, a government can also promote a particular language by:

- Using it extensively as medium of political debate in parliament and public meetings, for daily activities in the state administration, in government services at local, regional and national level for communication with the general public, such as for the dissemination of information on national health, and on road signs and tax forms;
- Supporting the use of these languages in publications (for example, by subsidising publications in them); and
- Training translators and interpreters in the use of these languages.

Clearly, therefore, the indigenous languages of Southern Africa can, if Southern African governments have the necessary political will, be promoted by statutory and governmental measures.

5.4.2.2 - An Increase in the Economic Value of a Language

One of the most important determinants of the fate of a language is its economic value.

The importance of the economic value of a language is nicely illustrated in
Belgium, as is pointed out by Willems (1992) as well as Deprez & Wynants (1990). Whereas French has always had a higher status than Dutch in Belgium (as is witnessed by bilingualism patterns: more Flemish were bilingual than Walloons), the industrial development in Flanders caused a shift in the economic centre of gravity towards Flanders (followed by a shift in the political, social and cultural balance of power). As a result, Dutch has clearly gained in social status in the Walloon community - evidenced by the "ever-growing numbers of non-Dutch speaking children... in the Flemish kindergartens and primary schools of Brussels" (Deprez & Wynants, 1990, p. 43).

The connection between language promotion and the economic situation in a country can also be illustrated from Kiswahili. Originally, Kiswahili was only used along the coast, but was later also used along the trade routes into the interior of the country, and so became the economically dominant language. In this way, it eventually became - as a second language, the language of national communication.

The indigenous languages of other Southern African countries must, therefore, also achieve economic value. This will happen if they become essential in the workplace at all levels - if a knowledge of these languages is demanded for access to job opportunities, especially for particular occupations (e.g. teachers and government officials, security services, hospitals, the registration of lawyers, and so on), promotional purposes and salary increases. (In Guinea, for example, no one can enter the civil service or be elected to any rank in the ruling party without passing an examination in one of their six national languages [UNESCO, n.d., p. 138]). Eventually, the indigenous languages should also become the language of private enterprise.

In the case of the indigenous languages of Southern Africa this is going to be difficult to achieve, since:

- the economies of many Southern African countries are not controlled by the public sector;
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- the ex-colonial languages have complete control of all the domains of power and modernity, and are associated with far greater rewards;
- the indigenous languages are held in low esteem - even by their own speakers; and
- Southern African leaders appear to be very concerned with elitist monopolies.

However, given that the political power in Southern African countries is in the hands of the indigenous Africans, and given that their governments develop the will to promote the interest of their people, it may be possible to promote the languages economically.

5.4.2.3 Educational Value

The indigenous languages of Southern Africa should gradually be developed into indispensable instruments of educational development. This will happen if:

- they are used as medium of instruction first in primary schools and then in secondary and tertiary education;
- they are offered as school subjects and can be studied and researched at tertiary level;
- new, meaningful language syllabuses for pre-tertiary education are designed;
- appropriate teaching material and textbooks are developed; and
- effective literacy and adult training programmes are available.

Related issues such as the investment concerned to manpower costs will be discussed below (see 5.5).

5.4.2.4 The Socio-Cultural Meaning of Language

The fourth facet of status planning relates to the social and cultural meaning of a language. According to Born (1992, p. 439), if:

- a language is spoken by the leading social groups in the country, if
- it becomes a symbol of cultural identity, and if it
- symbolises people's link with a glorious past, then

the language will be held in high esteem by its speakers, and they will experience a feeling of loyalty towards it. This is confirmed by Heine (1979), who points out that pride in cultural traditions or in past military glory has kept African languages alive even though they may have had no numerical, political or economic value whatsoever. Similarly, if a language is used as "a
means of intertribal unity and resistance" (against a common enemy) it can acquire a positive cultural meaning.

"Such a politicised common language would be able to compete with metropolitan languages" say Romaine (1992, p. 246), and Kowtow (1975, p. 18).

Language planning is, therefore, a form of identity planning, as Fasold (1984, p. 259), and Fishman (1992) point out.

Thus: If the indigenous languages of Southern Africa are to be promoted, their speakers need to develop a positive attitude towards them.

Language attitudes cannot be directly engineered. One cannot instruct people to feel positive about their languages, or have a strong feeling of language loyalty. It is, however, possible to create an environment which will be supportive of promoting language loyalty.

Since the problem, in the case of the indigenous languages, is low self-esteem, a basic objective of language promotion in their case should, therefore, be to emphasise the positive cultural meaning of these languages. This can be done by several means, for example:

- By using the school, one of the basic socialisation institutions of a state, and particularly, the language syllabuses to enhance the positive cultural meaning of the languages. Promotion presupposes the reeducation of a community's citizens, persuading them of the value of their languages and instilling national pride. The school (and other institutions which transmit the norms, values, beliefs and attitudes of a community) is therefore, important. There are, of course, dangers in such an approach, of the possibility that the state schools may be manipulated to promote the ideology of the dominant group, the ruling élite. Obviously, this possibility should somehow be combated, for instance, by statutory means.

- By frequent recognition of and expression of appreciation for the value of these languages by high profile public figures, stressing their importance in knitting people together into national life, stressing their value for maximal educational development and stressing their role in cultural expression.

- By strongly encouraging the collection of oratory and the
production of literature, for example, by the establishment of substantial prizes for excellent achievements in this domain.

Obviously, these promotional measures are all external and their value should not be over-estimated. Formal or external efforts to promote a language may not have a marked practical effect. However, such measures may contribute to the development of a desire among the speakers of a language to want to have their language promoted. If this happens an important promotional step will have been reached.

5.4.3 Corpus Planning

The aim of corpus planning is the expansion of a language to enable it to perform the (higher level) functions allocated to it. This generally involves the selection of a language variety to be cultivated as a standard, the ensuing standardisation and codification of the selected variety, lexical and grammatical expansion, as well as the creation of new (technical) registers and styles of speaking.

A vital matter, in this regard, is the establishment of language development centres, (such as those of Cameroon - Yaounde; Ghana - the Bureau of Ghana Languages and the Institute of African Studies; Niger - Niamey; Nigeria - the Centre for Language Development; Somalia - the Somali Language Committee; and Tanzania - the Institute for Kiswahili Research and BAKITA), which should deal with aspects of corpus development such as:

- Standardising the languages;
- Codifying the languages - producing grammars, dictionaries and word lists;
- Creating/providing technical terminology and technical registers;
- Promoting technical registers and styles of speaking;
- Disseminating relevant information via newspapers, radio and television, the schools and language agencies;
- Developing the indigenous languages for media usage;
- Promoting the general use of these terms in the community.

One of the central tasks of promotional corpus planning is lexical expansion. Lexical expansion, however, is not a simple matter, and several considerations relating to it should be kept in mind. A few of these are:
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a) The acceptance of lexical innovations depends *inter alia* on their social and cultural fit. They should not clash with the community's need for political and cultural independence and authenticity, as Fishman (1992) puts it. The creation or selection of lexical items, therefore, requires a thorough knowledge of and an insight into the complex social networks in a community.

An interesting attempt to observe the demands of authenticity is reported by Ouane (1991), who describes an ethnographic approach to the creation of technical terms, for example, the transformation of words from Malian dialects/languages into technical terms and vice-versa.

b) Given the importance of the point made above, care should be taken that traditionalism should not outweigh modernity. The sociopsychological needs of young people, obviously, have to be considered. As Fishman (1992) points out, there is little sense in stressing the traditional culture to people leaving home to build a life in the big city. A new, modernised language should also enable young people to play meaningful roles in the modern, urban world. Southern African languages should, therefore, also be able to give adequate expression to the modern, urban culture of Southern Africa.

An important problem of Southern Africa is the question of de- and reculturalisation, which was discussed in 5.2. Japan, as we know, has shown that it is, in fact, possible to become fully technologized and modernised without losing one's cultural authenticity.

c) Language planners should also be aware of the problems associated with using corpus planning/lexical expansion as part of a political struggle. This happened in the case of Afrikaans, with an excessive emphasis on purism and a strong stand against Anglicisms, since anglicization was seen as an undermining of the cultural autonomy and integrity of the Afrikaans speaking (white) group. An excessively negative and selective stand against linguistic borrowing could be detrimental in the long run, as
Ponelis (1992) points out.

"The importance of corpus development should be fully appreciated as it has a bearing on the development of a community as a whole. As is pointed out in Dirven & Webb (1992, p. 5) and I quote them at length:

"The development of the indigenous languages will support the development of the conceptual system(s) of the cultural community. The conceptual system of a community reflects the community's categorisation systems, and the paths of its metaphorisation processes (which work from spatial experiences into more abstract or more general conceptualisations). If these languages are then used in the secondary domains such as government, administration and education, the need arises to develop their expressive power beyond the colloquial level of the primary domains. This affects the vocabulary of the language, the terminology for all specialised fields, the morphology (compounding, derivation, composite terms), the stylistic varieties, the written code as such and the metaphorisation processes, allowing the exploration of new mental experiences in art, science and religion."

In sum, the promotion of the indigenous languages involves at least the following strategies:

- Increasing the educational, economic and political value of these languages, thus ensuring that the languages are useful tools in all domains of national public life.
- Developing their social and cultural meanings positively, i.e. developing language loyalty in their communities.
- The technicalisation of these languages, i.e. developing their technical vocabularies and technical registers.
- Avoiding the over-emphasis of both the traditional and the modernistic aspects of these languages.

Status planning and corpus planning are clearly not separable activities. They are two sides of the same coin, with activities of the one implying the other.

5.5 Problems with Language Promotion in Southern African Countries

There may be a number of considerations why Southern African countries have not promoted their indigenous languages and why it may be difficult for them to promote them. However, as I point out in the comments below:
1 It is believed that the ex-colonial languages are better equipped to serve as administrative, educational, economic, social and cultural media, and that they are, therefore, essential for developmental purposes. It is argued that the African languages are insufficiently developed and generally have a very low status, therefore, they cannot be effective instruments of higher functions nor, therefore, of development.

This argument is true only in the short term, since any language can be developed into effective instruments of communication in any domain. The case of Afrikaans in South Africa is, once more, a good example. In 1925, when Afrikaans was declared a national official language (along with Dutch and English), it was a vernacular, serving mainly low functions. Within three or four decades it was developed into a language of administration, education, economy, social advancement and cultural practice. Obviously, this was only possible because the speakers of the language gained the political power in the country (cf. Essman, 1987).

2 It is argued that the costs of developing the Southern African indigenous languages will be too high, for instance, with regard to the production of teaching materials.

On the surface this objection seems to have some validity, but whether it is really true in practice will have to be investigated, since:

- the development of modern reproduction facilities may reduce the cost factor; and
- interstate co-operation, for example between Lesotho and South Africa, Mozambique and Zimbabwe, could lessen the financial burden.

Besides these two factors, the costs involved in the development of the Southern African indigenous languages have to be weighed up against the costs of losing these languages.

3 There is a fear that the use of a Southern African indigenous language in education will lead to the isolation of Southern African countries and, particularly, their exclusion from international developments in science and
technology.

This view clearly has no validity, since the use of Southern African languages in no way implies the total neglect of the languages which allow international communication and give access to international science and technology. The case of Afrikaans is, once more, a clear counter-example to this objection, as is the many lesser used European languages like, for example, Danish, Greek, Norwegian and Welsh.

4 There seems to be an inability and an unwillingness in government circles to implement such a promotional policy. Commenting on the failure of attempts to promote the indigenous languages, a UNESCO report (Unesco, n.d., p. 121), for example, says that though African countries have the political will to promote their languages, the state and media employees are unprepared to implement language promotional policies since they have the wrong attitudes and are insufficiently trained for the task. This fact is illustrated by fears that are often expressed when one or other of the major languages in Africa. The following sentiments are not untypical:

"If there is a dire need to supplant the European languages as lingua francas because they are foreign, there must exist the corresponding imperative to dissolve Southern African countries because they too were created and midwived by the same colonial hellions . . . " (Taribo, 1989, in Omodia-Oghe, 1992, p. 26).

Behind these sentiments, one suspects, is the fear of domination of the minority languages by the majority ones. It is believed that any indigenous language chosen will elicit that fear, so it appears pointless to suggest that the remedy for European linguistic imperialism is the promotion of an

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13 One often hears the argument that English/Portuguese should be retained as media of instruction in Southern Africa because it is important that the citizens of a country should have access to the international community. The truth is, however, that very few Southern Africans (probably less than 1% of any Southern African population) ever really require access to the international community in practice. Besides: if this argument had any weight, why don't the Dutch, Germans, Swedish, etc. also use English/Portuguese as the sole media of instruction in their secondary schools? (cf. Webb, 1994).
indigenous language. However, it is my belief that this problem is only a temporary stumbling block. Given the necessary guidance the civil servants, media people, teachers, and so forth can be trained to successfully implement a promotional policy.

There appears to be a wide-spread belief that the ex-colonial languages are necessary to maintain order. This is because, according to Romaine (1992, p. 245), these are the only "neutral" languages in the linguistically diverse territories out of which the modern states were formed. This is only true in one particular sense. There is, in fact, no such a thing as a "neutral" language. On the other hand, the reasoning behind this view seems to be that the promotion of the indigenous languages and the discouragement of the use of the ex-colonial languages (e.g. as media of instruction) may lead to the indigenous languages becoming instruments of conflict by promoting anti-colonialism, giving rise to ethnic conflict, or by such an approach being seen as an attempt to divide the people in order to retain control. Tanzania being clearly a striking exception to this belief.

As pointed out earlier, the latter remark is particularly pertinent to South Africa where, owing to the legacy of apartheid, ethnicity has become a dirty word for most of the leaders in the country. However, in spite of the aberrations of the apartheid ideology, ethnicity is a reality which exists all over the world, also in Southern Africa. Even in South Africa ethnicity existed before the statutory emergence of apartheid. Besides, ethnicity may be a positive force in the life of a national community. The role of ethnicity has to be handled in such a way that its negative effects are neutralised and its positive effects stimulated. This could be done by the acceptance of statutory measures creating a climate of "diversity in unity", that is, by accepting a vigorous policy of establishing a culture in which the differences between people are not seen as threats but as sources of enrichment. Establishing a language as a symbol of national unity means developing it into a symbol of national citizenship ("being a Malawian, a Mozambican, a South African, a Tanzanian, a Zimbabwean"). It does not necessarily imply developing it into a symbol of a particular socio-cultural
identity. Nor does it mean that the people of a country may not also have a local socio-cultural identity, symbolised by a local language.

It is true, however, that ethnicity is a real problem in Southern Africa with its generally unstable political circumstances, and it has to be addressed comprehensively and in an enlightened way, as part of the general strategy for promoting the indigenous languages.

6 The ex-colonial languages generally have a very positive meaning for the people of Southern Africa.

The international educational and economic meaning of especially English and Portuguese gives the ex-colonial languages so much prestige that it may be extremely difficult to replace them with indigenous languages in the hearts and minds of the people. Furthermore, these languages have played such an important role in the genesis of a political consciousness in Southern Africa, and have become the lingua franca of national political debates so that they have come to be regarded as natural candidates for the higher functions in the political arena.

This is a central problem for a programme directed at the promotion of the indigenous languages of Southern Africa. However, I firmly believe that it can be done. Given that a Southern African government makes a firm decision to promote its indigenous languages a vigorous re-educational programme and an equally vigorous linguistic and cultural revalorization programme could succeed in placing the relative value of the indigenous languages versus the ex-colonial languages in perspective.

7 Finally, the political history of Southern Africa, particularly the state divisions imposed on the sub-continent in the previous century, which generally cut across ethnic boundaries, has resulted in the absence of state-based nationalism, or the possibility of a national 'glorious past', which could unite the people of a country and thus provide the basis for some sort of general language loyalty.
To summarise, many of these problems are the result of misguided convictions about the nature of language and its role in social and cultural life. However, they are also social realities, and have to be addressed as such, and combated - through research and teaching, and through effective communication with both the general public and the decision makers. In this way, an awareness of the role of the indigenous languages in the development of individuals and a community must be established and an environment created which an appreciation for the indigenous languages comes into being.

5.6 - Conclusion

The major language planning task in Southern Africa is the creation of a language situation in which knowledge and skills can be democratized, that is, made accessible to all the people in the region, so that all Southern Africans will be empowered.

Promoting the Bantu languages will be an extremely difficult task for various reasons, such as the fact their speakers hold their first languages in low esteem and do not regard them as suitable instruments of educational development, as well as the possibility that such a promoting task may not be in accord with the community's immediate values, goals and priorities.

The major requirement for the promotion of the Bantu languages is that they obtain economic value: that people begin to feel they need these languages if they want to qualify for high function occupations or want to buy or sell goods, and that these languages are associated with success in the world of trade, manufacturing and finance. The acquisition of economic worth, however, is out of the hands of language planners. The only effective way in which this can be

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14 - This is because their speakers have little economic power, no real political power, a low level of educational development and a low level of urbanization. Furthermore, ethnicity, which would have been a positive resource for building up their self-esteem, has become a dirty word because of its role in the recent political context in the region.

15 - There is also an ethical problem: Does anyone have the right to decide that it is in the interests of a group of people that they should be "modernized", and that their languages should be "developed" according to the demands of a modern technological society?
achieved is by the economic development of the speakers of these languages. Language planners can only contribute to this goal by technicalizing and modernizing these languages through the development of their vocabularies (when required to do so).

However, a number of language planning strategies can be suggested for promoting the Bantu languages. One, the statutory support for all these languages, has already been mentioned, and is a vital component in the bigger scheme.

A second strategy which is currently receiving serious attention in South Africa, for example, is the harmonisation of the harmonization of the Nguni and Sotho languages, i.e. the development of a common standard for the four Nguni languages and another for the three Sotho languages (Alexander, 1989). Although this proposal is mainly directed towards uniting the two communities concerned, their unification will obviously also promote the standing of the Bantu languages in general.

The third, and probably most important, language strategy in this regard, relates to the role of the Bantu languages in the field of education. First of all, the Bantu languages should become media of instruction at as many educational levels as possible. Secondly, the teaching of the Bantu languages at school level must become socially relevant and meaningful, which means radically adapting the present language syllabuses. Besides the usual content which language study generally deals with, attention should also be given in the courses to the cultural heritage of the groups, their literary traditions, links with their glorious past and the positive sociolinguistic attributes of their languages (such as their large numbers of speakers and their ethnic meaning). The place and role of these languages within their multilingual context should also be discussed, and the importance of multilingualism for nation building in Southern Africa and the necessity of respect for the region's linguistic and cultural diversity should be stressed.

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16 The necessity for teaching materials, better teacher training, and effective language teaching methods are prerequisites.
If the Bantu languages become valued school media and school subjects, they may also gradually become more highly valued in general.

Therefore, in devising a language planning programme aimed at the promotion of language, it must be kept in mind that such a programme cannot succeed on its own. Changes to languages as such, or statutory measures to change the functional allocation of languages in a country do not, on their own, have the power to effect social and cultural changes. As Fasold (1984, p. 286) points out:

"There is . . . a vast difference between the power of 'natural' social change, . . . and the relative puniness of official planning".

The interrelationship between language and society is the other way round: Language promotion is a function of political and socioeconomic transformation. Sociopsychological, socio-cultural, economic and political forces are more basic to social change than language policies, language laws or statuses relating to language.

However, I also think that it is not wise to rely solely on the power of social, cultural, economic or political forces in a community. If these forces were allowed to determine the fate of community and their languages in an uncontrolled way, one could easily have a situation in which the "laws of the jungle" reign supreme. The sensible thing to do, in my opinion, is to adopt programmes aimed at educational, political, economic, social and cultural change and then to develop a comprehensive national language policy and a language planning programme (expressed in the constitution, a bill of rights, departmental policies and language laws) which will support, facilitate and, may be, even guide these changes.

Finally, a decision to promote the indigenous languages of Southern Africa need not imply that the ex-colonial languages will have no role to play in the national life of a Southern African country. Southern Africans must be able to study English, French, or Portuguese for the purpose of international trade.
and diplomacy, and in order to gain access to the higher levels of scientific and technological activity, as well as world literature. In any case: The ex-colonial languages need to be retained in the interim for certain public functions.

Accordingly, in Mozambique, a language in education policy in which Portuguese is adopted as the lingua franca and medium of instruction, has been justified on the basis that to select a Mozambican language would be an invitation to tribalism. However, my view is that in Southern Africa factors such as urbanization, labour-oriented economies, urban-rural migration and language contact have created detribalization, and that non-linguistic arguments are being used selectively to solve linguistic problems to the detriment of Mozambican children.
CHAPTER 6 - THE CONTEXT OF LANGUAGE PLANNING IN MOZAMBIQUE AND SOUTHERN AFRICA

6.1 - Introduction

Talking about the role of language in education, Eva Engholm (1965, p. 15), observes that:

"Language is the key to the heart of a people. If we lose the key, we lose the people. If we treasure the key and keep it safe, it will unlock the door to untold riches, riches which cannot be guessed at from the other side of the door".

The above observation is pertinent for the purpose of this Chapter, which is to examine the context of language planning in Southern Africa. In many parts of Southern Africa, language planning policies have often been ignorantly formulated, haphazardly and hastily implemented, when implemented at all, incoherently coordinated, and carelessly and carelessly evaluated. Many people involved in taking crucial language planning decisions are often unaware of the full implications and importance of the general properties of the context for which language is being planned. Naturally, therefore, issues relating to language planning and policies have, frequently, metamorphosed into political time bombs that threaten the unity and well-being of many nations.

This Chapter investigates the global contextual background of language planning in Southern Africa; Mozambique, in particular, is used for illustration. The proposition being made is that a greater and keener sensitivity to the plethora of sociolinguistically related factors at work in the complex scenario and arena of language planning in Southern African multilingual countries is a desideratum for diffusing language-related tensions. As Inglehart & Woodward (1972, p. 316) noted:

"An intelligent awareness of the tensions which could result if one language were given preference may prevent language from becoming a serious basis of cleavage".
6.2 - *Defining Language Planning*

Language planning is a complex process which has been defined as involving *deliberate* language change in the systems of language code and/or speaking by organisations that are established for these purposes. In theory at least, language planning develops language problem-solving strategies that are future oriented. Language planning does not take place in *vacuo*, but considers language facts in their social, political, economic, psychological and demographic contexts (cf. Rubin & Jernudd, 1971). An analysis of this definition of language planning suggests that it consists of three underlying entities: plans, planners and planning (cf. Baldauf, 1982).

A 'plan' in Rubin and Jernudd's terms is a future oriented, problem solving language change strategy which has been developed to meet particular language needs. The basis on which plans are developed and how needs are determined - through cost benefit analysis, needs analysis, sociolinguistic surveys, political decision making, and so forth - is an ongoing theme in the field. Haugen's (1983, p. 275) revised model for language plan can be seen as an example of a generalized plan or strategy which sets out the major elements common to language planning, some or all of which may be used to develop a particular language policy.

The well developed language plan, as the definition implies, "requires the mobilization of a great variety of disciplines because it implies the channeling of problems and values to and through some administrative structure" (Rubin & Jernudd, 1971, p. xvi). That is, ideally at least, those charged with developing a language plan, the individual or agencies, must consult widely and consider all aspects of the language situation before a plan is developed. The reality is, of course, that planners come from particular backgrounds and operate under social, cultural, economic and political constraints. They also must operate within the bureaucratic structures and resources available to them. Cobarrubias (1983, p. 58ff), reviews some of these issues and cites historical examples of the sometimes conflicting forces with which language
Finally, there is the dimension of 'planning' or the implementation of the plan designed by the planners. The planning process itself is a complex one located as it is in a society which is growing and changing based on a particular set of historical, economic, cultural and social circumstances. As planning occurs over time, it is subject to a variety of bureaucratic pressures and to changes in personnel (cf. Baldauf, 1982) which can mediate and alter significantly the nature and direction of the planned language change. Furthermore, effective planning implies the continued evaluation and revision of a plan during the implementation of language planning process, although Rubin (1983, p. 338) indicates that in practice "This is only rarely done".

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<th>Table 6.1 - Haugen's revised language planning model</th>
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<td><strong>Form (policy planning)</strong></td>
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<td>Society (status planning)</td>
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<td>Language (corpus planning)</td>
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Source: Haugen (1983, p. 275)

While language planning can broadly be seen as planners working on future oriented language plans and on the implementation of those plans to create language change, the real world seldom works in such predictable ways. Language planning as Kaplan (1983) points out, is a process always *in situ*, and therefore, open to the influence of key individuals, bureaucratic structures and institutions. These subjects, groups and institutions act as intervening variables in the language planning process.
Some of the intervening variables influential in planned language change as they relate to language planning are: perceived economic demand (e.g., trade, tourism), the need for information and scientific exchange (cf. Grabe & Kaplan, 1986; Jernudd & Baldauf, 1987), nationalism (cf. Fishman, 1971), ethnic identity (cf. Edwards, 1985), religion (cf. Das Gupta, 1971), historical circumstances, the growth of urbanization (Jourdan, 1990), bureaucracies and education. In differing situations, these variables may influence, to varying degrees, the character and development of language planning policy.

6.3 - Types of Language Planning in Southern Africa

The basis for language planning is the perception of language problems requiring a solution. Such problems may include choice of language for specific purposes in a multilingual situation, expansion of vocabulary to cope with the use of a language in new domains, or orthographic reform. Because of the need to work out strategies for solving language problems, language planning has been described by Fishman (1974, p. 79) as "The organised pursuit of solutions to language problems". He later defines language planning in the following terms:

"For me, language planning remains the authoritative allocation of resources to the attainment of language status and language corpus goals, whether in connection with new functions that are aspired to, or in connection with old functions that need to be discharged more adequately" (Fishman, 1987, p. 409).

The scope of activities covered by language planning is very wide, but basically, according to Kloss (1969, p. 81), there are two types of activities: those related to language status and those related to language corpus (i.e., the body of the language itself, e.g., its sounds, spelling, words, phrases, and so forth). Fishman (1987, p. 423), on the other hand, subordinates corpus to status planning when he observes that:

"... status planning is the real engine of the language planning train. Only when status planning is seriously enforced does corpus planning really take root... The products of corpus planning have no dynamic of their own. Many languages will never get much corpus planning codification or elaboration, and even less implementation..."
Language status activities relate to decisions on the role of a language in a country at any level. They embrace:

1. Maintenance, expansion or restriction in the range of uses of a language for particular functions. For example, should a given language be used as a national, official, regional or local language? Should a given language be used as a medium of instruction in education or only as a subject? Should a language previously used as an official language or as a medium of instruction be replaced by another language? According to Gorman (1973, pp. 72-73), matters connected with such questions are referred to as "allocation of language functions" or, quite simply, "language allocation".

2. Language standardisation which involves the development of a given dialect or a group of dialects as a norm for the language in question.

3. Revival of a dead language (for example, the revival of Hebrew in Israel).

4. Introduction of an artificial language (for example, Esperanto in Europe).

Corpus activities relate to steps taken to ensure that the language itself is modified to conform with the demands made on it by its functions. Such activities include:

1. Vocabulary expansion, which also includes terminology creation and standardisation of variants of existing terms.

2. Changes in aspects of language structure (for example, the introduction of a decimal numeral system).

3. Simplification of language registers (for example, rewriting the language of regulations to make them easier to understand or introduction of simplified language varieties for special purposes).

4. Orthography work which includes creation of orthographies for languages hitherto unwritten, harmonisation of existing orthographies, orthographic reform (including change of script and spelling reform).

5. Prescribing rules on pronunciation (particularly of new words), correctness of style and usage.

6. Production of language material such as primers, dictionaries, grammars, supplementary readers, translations and special manuals.

In language planning, usually a distinction is made between 'policy' and 'implementation'. By their very nature, decisions on language status are policy decisions. This is because such decisions generally have political or socioeconomic implications, thus requiring that the government or its agents
be involved in the decision-making process. Most corpus activities, on the other hand, are not policy but implementational decisions. For example, once a policy decision has been taken to use a language as a medium of instruction, the measures required to work out the necessary terminology, compile and produce textbooks are largely those of implementation. It is the area that is usually left to experts to deal with. But not all corpus activities are implementational. For example, a decision to change the script used for a language to another script is a major decision which will require government sanction. It may arise from a recommendation by experts, but the final stamp of approval must be put on it by the appropriate authority. One way of knowing when a corpus decision is a policy or implementational one is to apply the test of ultimate approval. If such approval rests with a body other than the experts, it is a policy decision; if not, it is an implementational decision.

Notwithstanding the above, language policy is used in this Chapter to refer largely, to any planning on language status. In this sense, a language policy may be defined as a programme of action on the role or status of a language in a given community. In a multilingual situation, a language policy decision necessarily involves the role or status of one language in relation to other languages. According to Noss (1971, p. 25), there are three types of language policy: official language policy, which relates to the languages recognised by the government and for what purposes; educational language policy, which relates to the languages recognised by education authorities for use as media of instruction and subjects of study at the various levels of public and private education; and general language policy, which covers unofficial government recognition or tolerance of languages used in mass communication, business and contacts with foreigners.

To the three way paradigm official, educational and general may be added the distinction between levels of decision-making. Language policy formulation involves decisions that are taken at different levels. There are higher level decisions taken by the government, and lower level decisions taken by subsidiary government agencies and private institutions. For example, a decision as to whether a language should be a national language or an
official one or whether it should be used as a medium of instruction in the school system is a higher level decision. Lower level decisions, on the other hand, are consequential or subsidiary decisions taken by ministries, government officials or private institutions. For instance, once the government has decided that certain languages are to be used as media of instruction, it may be left to a Ministry of Education to work out details of the levels at which each language should take on this function. Similarly, if the general language policy does not forbid the use of a foreign language in business houses, it is left to a subsidiary of a foreign company operating in a country to decide whether to use the country's official language or the official language of its parent company abroad for keeping its records.

6.4 Language Planning Policies in Southern Africa

Appel & Muysken (1987, p. 46) highlight some of the language planning processes which governments in multilingual countries, especially in the third World or recently independent countries, must attend to. Such countries, according to them,

"have to choose a national language, they have to further develop or cultivate it to make it more useful for various communicative needs, they have to foster its spread, they have to make decisions with regard to the position of the minority languages, etc."

For most Southern African countries, an additional decision, closely related to the last decision identified, also has to be taken, namely, what the roles, levels of functions and domains of usage of the indigenous languages, especially the minority languages, should be.

On the other hand, according to Bamgbose (1991, p. 111), language policies in African countries, in general, and Southern African countries, in particular, are known to be characterised by one or more of the following problems: avoidance, vagueness, arbitrariness, fluctuation and declaration without implementation.

Avoidance of policy formulation is an attractive technique because it
frees the government from the unpleasant political consequences of any pronouncement which, some sections of the community may find objectionable. Besides, there is sometimes the feeling that language matters are not urgent and can be solved at any time; therefore, there is no need to hurry to make any statements of policy. Several African governments appear to employ the avoidance technique, as can be illustrated from the fact that very few African countries have definitive statements of language policy. Absence of a statement does not, however, mean absence of a policy. What tends to happen is that such absence indicates the continuation of an inherited policy, such as the policy on an official language. According to Sengova (1987, p. 528), the following statement made in respect of Sierra Leone is typical:

"No official documented statement or national language policy appears to exist, but convention and practice have formed themselves into an operative yet elusive language policy. In other words 'everyone is doing their thing', but life goes on and indeed there continues to be life after mother tongue education and literacy."

Failure to enunciate a clear policy is sometimes seen as an advantage by linguists. For instance, the fact that no language is proscribed means that the linguist can carry out his research on any language and, even, experiment with the use of such language in education. Missionaries have benefited from this state of affairs as it has enabled them to devise orthographies for many languages, and to produce primers and translations of the bible. While avoidance of policy formulation gives scope for private initiative in language planning, it is ultimately a negative approach as it falls short of clear objectives. Suppose materials are available in a language and have even been tried out, the endeavour would remain at that level, unless there was approval to use them in the formal school system. This was the situation with linguists in Senegal and their work on Wolof. When the materials were ready and they approached the government, they were denied permission to try them out in the schools; instead, they were told to make do with the large number of children who could not get into the formal school system. The linguists, obviously, felt that if they tried out materials with ill-prepared learners outside the formal school system, any failure might be blamed on the language programme rather than the unfavourable conditions under which the
materials were used. The impasse still remains unresolved, except that
lessons in Wolof are now being broadcast by Educational Television. All
things considered, therefore, a definite statement of policy is to be preferred to
avoidance of such statement. Given a known policy, its weaknesses can be
examined and suggestions made for improvements. For example, Zambia's
language zoning policy has been the subject of repeated criticism since, in
many cases, it exposes pupils to instruction in a language very different from
their first language and teachers to teaching a language they are not
competent in.

Vagueness of policy formulation may be related, in part, to the same
causes that bring about avoidance of policy formulation. If the policy is
couched in sufficiently general terms, it may go down well, since it will be a
'catch-all' formula that may be interpreted in a flexible manner. Apart from the
policy being vague, implementation is not likely to be a burden to anyone,
since it may not happen. An example of a vague policy is Kenya's decision to
adopt Kiswahili as its national language. The immediate motivation was
political. The ruling party, the Kenya African National Union (KANU), saw
Kiswahili as a symbol of nationalism. It therefore, proceeded to pass a
resolution at a meeting of its Governing Council to confer this exalted status on
the language. The vagueness of the decision can be judged by the
implementation steps recommended. These, according to Gorman (1973, p.
77), included the requirement that all Kenyans were to speak Kiswahili at all
times with fellow Kenyans (a practical impossibility, since language choice
depends on several factors, particularly topic, situation, and role relationship
between the interlocutors); that government business was to be conducted in
Kiswahili, that all civil servants were to be required to pass an examination in
the language, and that Kiswahili would be given greater prominence than
English in the schools. Not only are details of how these prescriptions are to
be achieved not given, the opposite of what is recommended has been going
on, without any notice of the contradiction involved. Far from greater
prominence having been given to Kiswahili in schools, English remains the
medium of instruction from the first year of primary education. Although
Kiswahili is spoken in parliament, the country's official language in which
A Sociopsychological Survey of Language Attitudes in Southern Africa
A Case Study of Mozambique

records are kept and administration conducted is still English.

Arbitrariness of policy formulation occurs when a policy decision is taken without previous enquiry as to its feasibility or reference to experts who are in a position to advise on the matter. The decision may be taken by a ruler in his absolute discretion, a government (particularly a military government through the promulgation of a decree) or a ruling party. For example, an all-powerful leader may decree that his own language shall be the national language or that his own dialect shall be the approved standard of a national language. The impression is sometimes given that all that it is required for it to happen is for the government or the president to say so. Language matters do not, however, lend themselves so easily, to such manipulations. It is not the same thing as the president decreeing that a road should be constructed to link the capital with his village. That can be effected immediately, once resources for it have been provided. Decreeing, for instance, that one of a country's major languages should become the nation's official or national language, without the necessary preparatory or implementation processes, is bound to end in failure. So also is the widespread, but mistaken, notion that a national language can be evolved by marrying elements of several different languages to form a composite language.

The arbitrariness of policy decisions may be measured by the interval between the time the idea is conceived and the decision itself. The shorter the interval, the more arbitrary the policy decision is likely to be.

It would be quite wrong to suggest that all arbitrary language policy decisions are bound to fail. This is because a situation may arise when such a decision may prove to be a solution to a long-standing problem. The case of Somali in Somalia is one such example. At independence on July 1960, the country inherited three competing scripts (Latin, Arabic and several indigenous scripts) and two systems of education (English in the north and Italian in the south). This situation persisted and there did not appear to be any obvious solution. No government before the 1969 Revolution was able to take a decision on a common script. Then, according to Andrzejewski (1979), on 21
October 1972, the Supreme Revolutionary Council took a series of decisions. With immediate effect, Somali was declared the sole national language and the medium of instruction in primary schools. The Latin script was adopted as the official script, and the new orthography was printed in leaflets and distributed by being dropped from helicopters. Civil servants and members of the armed forces were required to learn new script within three months and be examined in it. Although the Somali Language Commission had, since 1969, on instructions from the Government, been involved in the preparation of textbooks and literacy materials in Somali, there is no evidence that its work influenced the decision, which was a purely revolutionary step to provide a radical solution to a long-standing problem. As it turned out, the decision was a success, for, later, Somali as a medium of instruction was even extended to all but the last two years of secondary education.

Fluctuation in language policy is due to such factors as changes in government or party policies, and new ideas or practices recommended by commissions of enquiry or adopted on the advice of foreign organisations. Perhaps nowhere is this more in evidence than in educational language policy. The case of Ghana provides a good illustration of such fluctuation in policy. According to Ghanian scholars (Smock, 1975; Boadi, 1976; Agyei, n.d.), like other former English colonies, Ghana before independence had a mother tongue education policy involving the use of an indigenous language for the first three years of primary education.

In 1951, under its Accelerated Development Plan, a change was made from the three-year mother tongue medium to early mother tongue medium (basically one year) with transition to an English medium as soon as possible (interpreted to mean the second year of primary education), with the mother tongue continuing to be taught only as a subject throughout primary education. In 1956, the Bernard Committee, set up to investigate the feasibility of using English throughout the primary school, recommended a return to the pre-1951 policy of a three-year mother tongue medium. This was mainly because the Committee found that, contrary to expected practice, 76% of the schools reviewed did not use English as a medium at any level. However, a
member of the Committee, Mr J. N. T. Yankah, submitted a minority report advocating an English medium throughout the primary school. In 1957, the year that Ghana became independent, the Government accepted the minority report and put into effect an English medium policy for the entire primary education. In 1963, a committee of educators observed that there were not enough competent primary school teachers of English to carry out the English medium policy. It therefore advocated a return to some form of mother tongue medium. However, the Minister of Education rejected the suggestion and reaffirmed the 1957 policy.

In 1966, a military government took over in Ghana and the ruling National Liberation Council set up an Education Review Committee in 1967. This Committee recommended a return to the three-year mother tongue medium. It also made a distinction between rural and urban areas, recommending that, for the latter, the change to an English medium could start earlier. The Government rejected the recommendation and decided that the mother tongue medium should be used only in the first year of primary education - a return to the 1951 policy.

In 1970, a new government came into power, this time a civilian government. The new Government went back to the 1967 recommendation which the previous Government had rejected, and not only accepted it, but went further to propose that the mother tongue medium could even last more than three years if possible. In addition, the Minister of Education announced in November 1970 that, with effect from the beginning of 1971, every pupil in Ghana would be required to learn a Ghanian language in addition to his mother tongue.

In 1972, a military government took over again, and in 1974, a committee on education reform recommended a three-year mother tongue medium, a practice that was already in existence. The Ministry of Education accepted the recommendation and went on to propose that each child should learn a second Ghanian language (again, not new, since this was already proclaimed in 1970) and that French should be introduced into the primary school.
curriculum in the fourth year (the only new policy decision which, of course, proved not to be feasible).

A review of the policy statements on Ghana's educational language policy shows constant changes in respect of the mother tongue medium: 3-year medium → 1-year medium → zero medium → 1-year medium → 3-year plus medium → 3-year medium as illustrated in Table 6.1.

Table 6.2 - Fluctuation in mother tongue medium in Ghana 1951 - 1974

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Medium</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pre-1951</td>
<td>Zero 1-year 3-year 3-year +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951-1956</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957-1966</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967-1969</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970-1973</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Compiled from information from Smock (1975), Boadi (1978), Agyei (n.d.)

With each change come problems of reorientation for teachers, procurement of new materials or resuscitation of old ones and the inevitable lag between policy and practice.
Declaration of policy without implementation can take one of three forms. First, a policy may be declared which, in the circumstances, cannot be implemented, and policy-makers are aware of this. For example, when a country declares that pre-primary education shall be in the mother tongue and there are no pre-primary schools in the country, clearly the policy is only for propaganda purposes. Similarly, a proposal to teach Portuguese in primary schools when there are not enough teachers of Portuguese even in secondary schools can be said to fall into the same category. Second, a policy may be declared, and escape clauses may be built into the policy, thus effectively giving an alibi for non-implementation. Third, a policy may be declared but implementation procedures may be left unspecified with the result that the policy remains only on paper.

From the examples of policies so far provided in this Chapter, it should be clear that language policies differ according to the situation of each country. While in many countries there are official and educational language policies without adequate provision for implementation, in Tanzania, for example, language policies were originally backed by such provisions. According to Abdulaziz (1971, pp. 166 - 169), the declaration of Kiswahili as the national language was followed by the following measures: creation of the post of Promoter of Kiswahili in 1964 in the Ministry of Community Development and National Culture, with the task of co-ordinating Kiswahili development efforts being undertaken by various institutions and the establishment of Kiswahili groups in rural and urban areas; the establishment of an inter-Ministerial Kiswahili Committee to hasten the formation of technical terms in Kiswahili and to publish the Government Directory in the language; the setting up of the National Kiswahili Council in 1967 with the general function of co-ordination and promotion of Kiswahili development efforts and dissemination of publications in Kiswahili. Thus, the official language policy consciously promotes measures to facilitate implementation.

The differences in the situation in each country and in the philosophy of the government, in part, explain the differences in policy. This is why a policy that works in one country may fail hopelessly in another. Because of the
achievemnts of Somalia and Tanzania, it is sometimes thought that their policies of aggressive promotion of their national languages ought to be capable of being emulated in other Southern African countries. This is a mistaken view because there are conditions precedent for the adoption of a revolutionary language policy such as is typified by Somali and Kiswahili. At least three conditions must be satisfied: the language in question must be widely spoken either as a first or second language; there must be the political will and mobilisation of the populace to support such a policy; and there must be a strong or revolutionary government to give the necessary impetus and backing to the formulation and implementation of the policy. According to Bamgbose (1991, p. 120), this explains why another African countries have not been able to perform the Somali or Tanzanian feat. Kenya, for instance, has, like Tanzania, declared Kiswahili as its national language, but it lacks the strong population base for Kiswahili and the other two conditions. Senegal has a strong population base for Wolof, but lacks the other two conditions. The Republic of Congo has a revolutionary government but lacks a strong population base for any of its languages and perhaps the political will. Thus, each country policy must be based on what is feasible rather than what is ideal.

Perhaps the only area of comparability of language policies in Southern Africa is the growing consensus on a three-language model. Each country would seem to require one or more local or regional languages, generally the mother tongue or the language of the immediate community; a national language for national communication; and a LWG for international communication. In the case of Mozambique, for instance, this model would be interpreted to mean the various mother tongues for traditional activities; Makua/Tsonga for schools, some government and party activities, and inter-ethnic communication; and Portuguese for higher education, administration and international communication. Translated into educational policy, it would mean education in three languages: a mother tongue (or the language of the immediate community), a second African language (usually the country’s national language) and a LWG (cf. Tadacjjeu, 1980; Brann, 1981). Obviously, variations in the three-language model (functional trilingualism) are to be expected. For
instance, where there is no national language, a dominant language would have to be substituted and taught as a subject; where there is a dominant language being promoted as a national language, speakers of that language might be required to learn one of the less dominant languages as a subject; where a country is virtually monolingual, only two languages would need to feature as media of instruction. However, a three-language model does not rule out teaching of additional languages such as a language of religion or an additional LWC as subjects.

6.5 - Types of Context germane to Language Planning Policies in Southern Africa

I would like to begin this section by proposing that the following types of contexts, which, hitherto, have not received the attention they deserve, are pertinent for effective language planning decisions and implementation in multilingual Southern Africa and therefore, demand the intense individual and corporate attention of linguists, policy planners, politicians, and whoever has a say in language planning:

- The language context
- The socio-political context
- The psychological context
- The administrative/governmental context
- The educational context

Obviously, each of the above types of contexts is multifaceted in nature and I cannot exhaustively address them as they relate to language planning. My purpose will, therefore, be to, selectively, highlight aspects that I consider most worthy of attention of the language planner in Southern Africa.

6.5.1 - The Language Context

That multilingualism is the rule rather than the exception in most Southern African countries is now an open secret. For example, according to Dirven (1989, p. 23), South Africa has, among its numerous languages, the following: Zulu, Xhosa, Sotho, Afrikaans, English, Swati, Ndebele, Tswana, Venda, Tsonga, and Shangane (see Table 2.4 in 2.3.1 above). As Dirven (1989) indicates, many of these languages have their own varieties and there is,
therefore, a need for standardisation. As shown in Table 2.4 above, Zulu and Xhosa, for instance, belong to the same language family, Nguni, (just as do Swati, North and South Ndebele) and proposals have been made to standardise them into one 'consolidated Nguni'. Dirven further notes that a similar proposal was first made more than forty years ago by Jacob Nhlapo, the headmaster of Wilberforce Institute (Quoted in Alexander, 1989) for the Sotho, South, and Tswana. In addition to its economic and educational implications, its political implications for the promotion of national unity are equally important. Dalby (in Prinsloo and Malan, Quoted in Marais [Ed.], 1988) argued that Nguni and Sotho could be developed as alternative official languages:

"He maintains that, if the dialectal differences in Sotho/Tswana and Nguni (Zulu, Xhosa and siSwati) could be eradicated by the development of only two harmonised written languages, it would be a significant movement away from the emphasis on apartheid on small differences between black groups."

Prinsloo says that: "It would be interesting to discover how the large, closely-associated language groups - such as Zulu and Xhosa, North and South Sotho and Tswana - react to this suggestion. This is naturally a decision that the black groups will have to make for themselves."

Whereas the fact that many Southern African countries are multilingual is fairly obvious to most scholars, the nature, character and garb worn by multilingualism in each country are not that obvious and have not received the attention they deserve in view of their import for effective language planning.

The factors militating against successful study of the nature, character and garb worn by multilingualism include, as noted in Chapter 3, poor communication systems, insufficient funds for individuals or bodies interested in such studies, lack of governmental impetus, and large expanses of people groups needing to be investigated. For example, a question posed to 800 minority language speakers of a multilingual city in Southern Africa, about the principal reasons for multilingualism, in the sense of difficulties in adapting to
the social requirements of daily life, elicited the following responses, listed in order of frequency (Nelde, 1983, p. 10):

- The lack of courage and self-confidence;
- The belief in the superiority of the dominant standard language;
- More possibilities of social advance with the dominant language;
- The dominant language environment;
- The minority population's better gift for language learning;
- The minority's need to adjust to the prevailing circumstances;
- Pressure exerted by the dominant language speakers;
- Children sent to schools of the dominant language group.

The picture painted above is by no means peculiar to Southern Africa. In a study of Nairobi, Kenya, an urban area, Stanley Liebersen and Edward J. McCabe (1978, pp. 69-81) report the presence of different languages used in different domains and which, unfortunately, are resulting in language shift. Among the languages mentioned are English, Kikuyu, Luo, Punjabi, Luyia, Gujarati, and Kiswahili. Also, a recent linguistic survey of Ethiopia, which was a 4-year project done by many scholars, showed that there were 70 languages from 4 different language families. The number of speakers ranged from 7,800,400 for Amharic, an Ethiopian Semitic language, to 250 for Kwega, a Nilo-Saharan language (cf. Bender et al., 1976). Similar and more detailed surveys need to be done in other parts of Southern Africa in order to provide for language planners a comprehensive, more accurate, and more reliable picture of the language context. The point being made, therefore, is that we should strive at a more thorough knowledge of the language situation and seek to understand the different faces of multilingualism in the different Southern African countries, for while most Southern African countries are multilingual, some are more multilingual than others, and language planners who are unaware of, or refuse to take cognizance of this important contextual variable, do so to the peril of effective language planning.

Yet another consequential dimension of the language context is the pride of place usually bequeathed to the language of colonial dominance, when compared to the lack of esteem for the indigenous languages. In an attempt to address this problem, many countries have officially institutionalised or legitimised a few languages as "major or main languages", courtesy of their
numerical strength, political vigour, economic prowess or influence of the
speakers. As power brokers, members of such so-called major languages see
themselves as the fortunate chosen few ordained from above to dictate the
pace of national affairs and the destiny, linguistic or otherwise, of the nation.
Consequently, the chosen ones tend to look down on other language groups
by virtue of the prestigious official national status conferred on or awarded to
their languages. Unfortunately, however, the official institutionalisation of
some languages as "major" (as is the case for Makua, Nyanja, Shona and
Tsonga in Mozambique, and, I believe, Afrikaans, Zulu, Xhosa, and Sotho in
South Africa, and Shona and Ndebele in Zimbabwe), has the inadvertent
effect of pitching one major language group against another, creating
opposition camps and breeding political animosity principally on the basis of
sentiments of languages. The raw fact is that each major language group sees
itself as primus inter pares; each is lord in its manor and often, none has
taken root across the country. Consequently, any policy that assigns a specific
function to one, or appears to be doing so, is instantly interpreted by members
of other chosen language groups as an attempt to dominate the country
through a type of indigenous linguistic neo-imperialism or colonialism.

In addition to the mutual rivalry between major language groups, speakers of
minority languages, that is, of over 90% of languages represented in the
country, are not taking things lying down, for they also subtly resent and are
hostile to the official glorification of some languages as main or major
languages. Such silent antipathy or hostility, often more dangerous for
effective language planning than open hostility, manifest itself frequently in
deliberate refusal to be subdued by speakers of the major languages,
linguistically or otherwise.

The very presence of colonial languages is another aspect of the language
context which constitutes a ready excuse for planlessness and inertia and also
gives a false sense of peace and security that destroys the need to plan.
Consequently, serious and systematic language planning is not seen as a
priority. After all, many usually argue, the different Southern African countries
have survived since independence; Mozambique, for example, for over 20
years, without any serious attention to language policy and planning - and yet it has weathered the storms, rigours, and vicissitudes of nationhood without a national language. So, why bother about it now that there are more pressing matters to attend to? This devil's advocate logic, unfortunately believed in by many serious-minded people, does not, in the least, augur well for effective language planning efforts in Southern Africa.

Overall, then, the point being made is this: as far as the language context of many Southern African countries as it relates to language planning is concerned, there is still a serious battle to be fought, and serious dangers to meet on the way: only the concerted individual and corporate efforts of linguists and like-minded scholars can begin to provide the will-power and impetus for facing the issues squarely.

6.5.2 - The Socio-Political Context

The situation of subtle, often hidden, but, at times, open mutual suspicion among different ethnic and language groups: major versus major; major versus minor; and, at times, minor versus minor, is a commonplace in many Southern African countries, especially in the struggle to equitably share the 'national cake'. Such a socio-political atmosphere is hardly conducive to language planning effectiveness and often, adversely affects implementation efforts since virtually every move tends to be interpreted as an attempt by one language group to take political and linguistic advantage of another.

Another notable aspect of the sociopolitical issue is that in many Southern African countries the élites, who are the power mongers and power brokers, the national destiny shapers and economy movers or destroyers, usually a small minority, are often bilingual in their mother tongues and the language of the colonial masters. Consequently, this knowledgeable minority perpetuates a kind of apartheid in the socioeconomic sphere which is admired and secretly envied by the 'indigenous minority' but is also subtly hated. In effect, an ambivalent love-hate attitude (cf. Adegbija, 1989c) tends to develop towards the language of the colonial masters; "you need it to flourish and prosper socio-politically and economically and rise on the national vertical ladder, at
least in the present scheme of things"; on the other hand, however, "you
recognise that it is a foreign language to your land and for this reason, you
feel cheated and it deems you that you are forced to speak the language of
your former exploiters". By virtue of their functioning as vehicles of upward
mobility socially, politically, and economically, therefore, many people still
seem to have the hunch that it would be in their own interest to learn the
language of the colonial masters. This prestige of the colonial languages in
most Southern African countries is further enhanced by the fact that
indigenous languages have, in the main, been confined in their functions to
informal settings (cf. Adegbija, 1989a). In Mozambique, for instance, important
national issues such as budget broadcasts, National Day Celebration
speeches, and so forth, are always conducted in the language of colonial
domiance. All the newspapers and magazines in the country are published
in the language of the colonial masters; also, as much as 90% of radio and
television broadcasts are done in Portuguese. By converse, the state, to my
knowledge, has no single newspaper or magazine published in the
indigenous languages. This picture is characteristic of many of the Southern
African countries, but we need not go into further details here.

In essence, I am saying that as far as social prestige is concerned, the
languages of colonial dominance have everything they require to make it
whereas the indigenous languages have everything that can make them seem
unworthy. In most important contexts where things count and where important
issues are being handled, the language of colonial dominance has an upper
hand both in principle and in practice. The subtle message being transmitted
from generation to generation in most Southern African countries, therefore, is
that socio-politically the colonial language is the one that matters. In the case
the message, intended or unintended is not got, the educational machinery
which is directly relevant, ultimately, to the acquisition of bread and butter,
confirms the message loud and clear, since the language of colonial
dominance is usually the medium of instruction.

Effective social mobilisation is the casualty of the sociopolitical context so far
described. As Adegbija (1989, p. 29) puts it:
"Effective mobilisation for the national good makes mandatory a swift and effective information dissemination machinery. The language used must be able to convey all the nuances, cultural loading, feelings, and emotions required by the particular message. In effect, a nationwide language of social interaction should be such that the citizenry can identify with, be proud of, and use effectively".

Clearly, most of the languages of the colonial masters do not pass the above tests of language policy and planning in the Southern African context principally because they are usually spoken by a small minority of the populace. Dirven (1989, p. 6) notes, for instance, that the picture painted above rings true for the South African context as well:

"The indigenous languages are downgraded to the languages of the home, the street, and the occasional private encounter".

He warns:

"The harm that could be done to the folk wisdom in science and technology and the culture by not developing the indigenous languages into instruments of all the so-called higher domains of life, might turn out to be an irreparable blow to Southern African culture. We would end up with a diglossic situation in which all higher cognitive and interactional functions are covered by English, and the lower domains (home, hearth, and heart) are covered by the traditional African languages" (Dirven, 1989, pp. 6-7).

Fortunately, we have one voice in Sekou Touré of Guinea who has attempted at least to promote the status and roles of the indigenous languages (cf. Dirven, 1989, p. 21). An appropriate sociopolitical context provides the necessary emotional material for language planning to be effective; its absence jeopardises effectiveness.

6.5.3 - The Psychological Context

Mutual suspicion existing between language groups results in prejudice, stereotypes, and subtle linguistic hostility, which could have adverse implications for language planning. The Bitonga-speaking people, for
example, are looked down upon by the Xironga-speaking people. By historical expediency, I gathered, many of the Bitongas had settled the Xirongaland and worked in the capital city, to earn money before returning to their homes. Several stereotypes, now virtually tantamount to mutual animosity, have developed among the Xirongas towards the Bitongas, and vice versa, in spite that many Xironga women have been married to Bitonga men. Deep-rooted, culturally sanctioned stereotypes and prejudices of this nature are a common place in multilingual and multicultural societies both among major language groups, thus aggravating already existing mutual antipathy, and among the minority groups. They need to be fully understood before policies can be formulated and implemented, for they could militate against the most well-motivated and well-intentioned policy which, on the basis of ingrained societal, culturally transmitted prejudices, could be seen as ill-motivated and given a political colouring and interpretation. Since individuals, as well as agencies and communities have a lot to do with the success or failure of a language policy (cf. Appel & Muysken, 1987), a policy externally imposed without an understanding of the internal, hidden and open prejudices, attitudes and emotions in a particular community could turn out to be, as Pattanayak (1981, p. 56) puts it, a case of succeeding in "forcing a horse to the stream without being able to force it to drink water".

Generally, the Xironga/Shangane speaking people of Maputo and Gaza provinces have a solid reputation of deep pride in their language. As Appel & Muysken (1987, p. 57) rightly observe,

"The national hegemony of one (ethnic) language seems to imply domination by the original speakers of that language i.e. by one specific ethno-linguistic group".

Consequently, many indigenous Xironga/Shangana people would often say, "Não Português" (No Portuguese) to anyone who does not speak their language, which they seem to feel should be understood by all those they come in contact with. It is even said that a Ronga-speaking trader would rather not sell his wares than attempt to even speak the market patois which is very common in many parts of Southern Mozambique. This patent demonstration of pride or loyalty in the Xironga/Shangana language, unfortunately, has a
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corollary in hatred for the Portuguese language. Consequently, in provinces like Gaza, Inhambane and Maputo, the attitudes of the majority of the population towards Portuguese is generally indifferent, negative, or downright hostile, especially when spoken by anyone in black skin; it is, somewhat, tolerated when the speaker has a white skin.

Explanation for the negative attitude towards Portuguese lies in that it is seen by many of the indigenes as a tool or symbol of an alien culture and religion (i.e. Christianity). Unfortunately, attitudes towards other indigenous Mozambican languages in these Southern provinces is also rather generally negative because of the implicit faith in the supremacy of the Xironga/Shangana language. Thus, except for Shangane-speaking people, who have intermarried with, and settled in non-Shangane-speaking communities, most Shangane-speaking people will not go out of their way to learn a Mozambican language, no matter the legal force behind a language policy requiring them to do so. The plain truth is that they simply find no motivation for learning another Mozambican language: they consider themselves as requiring neither Portuguese nor another Mozambican language for vertical social mobility in the Mozambican society in which most of the power-brokers and destiny-shapers that matter are Shangane-speaking. People belonging to non-Shangane-speaking groups seem to perceive that Shangana speakers have the mistaken notion that they are destined to rule Mozambique forever. This attitude is resisted by non-Shangane-speakers in Mozambique and could have negative effects towards whatever function is assigned to the Shangana language, which is one of the majority languages in Mozambique. This fact came out in the open at a Party Conference in July 1988, when Northern Delegates criticised a tendency for Southerners to hold key positions in the Northern provinces and refrained from joining a critique of non-African Mozambicans holding too many key positions in the central government apparatus. Studies would need to be done on how such attitudes, very commonplace in multilingual societies, can be gradually changed towards the direction postulated by the language planning policies, for their very existence is a negative dynamo for tearing apart and frustrating language planning efforts.
6.5.4 - The Administrative/Governmental Context

The language policies in Mozambique are not clearly stated and this creates loopholes that can give excuse for idiosyncratic interpretations that suit the whims and caprices of individual teachers. The Constitution of Mozambique as it relates to language reads thus:

"In the Republic of Mozambique, Portuguese is the official language. The State recognises the value of the national languages and shall promote their development and increased role as languages which are used in the daily life and in the education of citizens" (Constitution of Mozambique, Article 5, Basic Principles, p. 8).

As far as the implementation of the above policies and other related aspects, which we need not go into details here, such as the developing of orthographies are concerned, we are still not anywhere near the promised land. Instead, we have been involved in several wilderness wanderings and lack of funds, lack of co-ordination, lack of firm implementation proposals which threaten to make us only see the promised land with our eyes without being able to get there. Other dangers on the way to the promised land abound. For example, pre-primary education is mainly conducted in Portuguese. In fact, the better the competence in Portuguese of the pupils in such schools, the more highly esteemed the school is considered to be and the more will be the number of children of the élites flocking into such schools. If children in a pre-primary school cannot speak more than their mother-tongues, the pre-primary school readily acquires a reputation of being a poor or bad school, because the pupils cannot "even speak simple Portuguese". Interestingly, the wealthy and well-to-do policy makers and implementers themselves usually prefer to send their own children to specialised pre-primary schools where the standard of Portuguese is high. Most preachings about the use of the mother tongues in pre-primary and primary schools could, therefore, be likened to a preacher telling his congregation: "Do as I say, but not as I do". It is an open secret, for instance, that many highly placed and wealthy Mozambicans including Prime Ministers, ministers, governors, commissioners, businessmen, and academics, and so on, who can afford it, usually prefer to train their children abroad where the
standard of Portuguese/English and education is considered to be very good rather than in Mozambican institutions where the standard of Portuguese is considered to be very poor and falling. Similarly, in Transkei, it is reported that all primary and pre-primary schools are English medium (cf. Dirven, 1989, p. 14). Relating to the last observation, I believe the situation there is rather different now.

Poor co-ordination is another problem-prone aspect of the administrative context of language planning in Southern Africa. In Mozambique, for instance, several government agencies are mandated to implement the language policy in education. They include the Ministry of Education, the National Institute for Educational Development (INDE), the Departments of Linguistics and Languages in Mozambican universities. Each of these has to interpret what the concept of "promote their development and increased role as languages which are used in the daily life and in the education of citizens' means. Improper and poor administrative co-ordination of the different agencies are the bane of language planning policy implementation in many parts of Southern Africa. Such weak administrative infrastructure, clearly, is not conducive for successfully following the different stages involved in language planning such as those of policy formulation, codification, elaboration, standardisation, and implementation. Every implementation agency does what is convenient and we have a chaotic situation as a result.

Finally, another sad dimension of the administrative and governmental context of language planning in many Southern African countries, is that many people that matter as far as the administrative and governmental set up are concerned, do not count as far as awareness of the process of language planning is concerned. In other words, linguists, sociolinguists, applied linguists, and so forth, who are supposed to be experts in language planning issues, are, at times, not involved in very crucial policy formulation and decision taking forums relating to language planning. Consequently, ignorant people formulate supremely ignorant policies which do not recognise or respect the 'cultural integrity' of minority groups (cf. Abraham & Troike, 1972). Such policies merely create a 'linguistic prison' for learners and turn language
issues into a linguistic warfare for members of society at large, because of their insensitivity to the sociolinguistic context of the language planning.

6.5.5 - The Educational Context

The real worrying tragedy and casualty of the language planning context in Southern Africa is that of an atmosphere of mass illiteracy, a consequence of poorly developed educational systems. Mass illiteracy as a bitter truth of the context, undercuts every genuine effort and all dimensions of language planning policies, particularly as they relate to minority language treatment.

Whereas it is a known truth that the level of literacy in most Southern African countries is very low, perhaps 25% on the average, the level of literacy in mother tongues is even dismally lower. Of the less than 20% or so literate Mozambicans, for example, still less than 5% are literate in the indigenous languages. In other words, though many Mozambican élites can read and write Portuguese, they cannot read and write their own mother tongues even in cases where orthographies have been developed for them. Most cannot even write a simple informal letter to their parents in their mother tongue. The consequence of this unfortunate educational context of language planning in most Southern African countries is that literacy has come to be equated with the ability to read and write the language of the colonial masters. Unfortunately, no amount of 'linguistic nationalism', to use the words of Inglehart & Woodward (1972, p. 375), has been able to change the situation. Mass illiteracy in indigenous languages perpetuates the dominance of the colonial languages in the national affairs of most Southern African countries. A recent survey of language use in Mozambique, which included subjects from different professions, showed the following revealing results of the mother tongues in comparison with Portuguese:
Very clearly, the above data, in spite of its various limitations, demonstrates what is already well known - the predominance of Portuguese in both written and oral mediums in homes, schools, offices and churches. In my opinion, the principal reason for this is that the mother tongues have not yet been recognised and respected as serious vehicles for education or information transmission in strictly formal settings. Most of the subjects of the research reported above, have gone through the educational system in Mozambique, which extols Portuguese and belittles the mother tongues, thereby continuing to perpetuate illiteracy in the indigenous languages; this is the bane of any effort to develop them. If the statement about illiteracy in indigenous languages is true even for the so-called major languages, which, supposedly, have received great governmental attention, then it can be imagined how appalling the rate of illiteracy would be for the minority languages which have not yet received any serious official recognition in the national scheme of things. Since they constitute neither a passport to upward social mobility nor to
the locus of political power, many of their speakers do not see anything good coming out of their being studied or being made vehicles of education. Consequently, any attempt to encourage literacy in them is virtually interpreted as a diabolical attempt by the national power brokers to completely cut off the minorities from the national power source by the use of a subtle linguistic weapon. This unfortunate contextual dimension of language planning stifles information dissemination since only a small minority is literate in Portuguese, even though over 90% of all the languages in Mozambique are neither used on radio nor on television. The long and short of this is that a sizable proportion of Mozambicans is daily short-circuited from knowledge of the goings-on within the country simply because functions have not yet been allocated to the languages they understand in such a way as to be able to enable them to participate in national affairs. This, unfortunately, has very adverse repercussions for language implementation and general mass mobilisation efforts.

All the contextual factors discussed so far, even though treated as if they were discrete variables in the language planning scenario, are, in reality, mutually compounding and complicating in their interactive potentials for demobilising and frustrating language planning efforts in Southern African multilingual countries.

6.6 - General Trends in Language Planning Options in Southern African Multilingual Nations

The language policy options adopted by most Southern African countries can be briefly summarised as belonging to the following broad trends:

1. Policies that extol one exoglossic language such as English/Portuguese and belittle all indigenous endoglossic languages. In countries such as Mozambique which adopt such a policy, indigenous languages become thinner and thinner in influence and stature as they fade away from language policy and planning circles, while the exalted exoglossic language increases in importance in the glare of publicity and maximum attention and utilisation. The situation in Transkei appears to be close to this policy.

2. Policies that extol one major endoglossic language such as Kiswahili and belittle the exoglossic language and other endoglossic languages. The situation in Tanzania, with about over 100 languages all with comparable
numbers of speakers, roughly parallels this policy. Smallness of the
different ethnolinguistic units assisted the selection of Kiswahili as the
national language (cf. Whiteley, 1971). Political tension and rivalry have
full sway among the speakers of the neglected indigenous languages
and the fortunate chosen language. The language of colonial
dominance, now deliberately jettisoned because of frantic efforts to
throw off the colonial incubus that goes along with it, is, in many
quarters, still preferred by the minority of educated élite power brokers
and destiny shapers. in Kenya, for instance, where there is a relatively
small number of languages which are able to compete fiercely with
Kiswahili for the enviable position of a national language, the policy of
introducing Kiswahili as a national language met with serious problems
and fierce competition which has resulted in the English language
further strengthening its position and emerging as the clear winner (cf.
Whiteley, 1971).

3 Policies that extol several selected, normally endoglossic majority
languages as well as one exoglossic language. Unfortunately, the
remaining endoglossic languages tend to be belittled in such a policy.
Consequently, while all the endoglossic languages engage in conflict
among each other, the single exoglossic language divides and rules, as
it flies high in fame in all spheres of the body politic of the nation. Its
very presence and its concomitant dominant influence demobilises
language policy planners and blinds their eyes to the need to plan at all.

4 Finally, there are policies that create diglossic situations: An exoglossic
language is exulted in official circles and domains while an endoglossic
language is exulted in unofficial and informal domains. This kind
of policy gives the mistaken impression that endoglossic indigenous
languages cannot be serious vehicles for modern thought. The
inevitable consequence is that the exoglossic language continues to
wax stronger and stronger and may even grow to overthrow the
endoglossic languages in their official and informal functions.

Obviously, there are overlaps in the general trends recognised above and one
country could belong to more than one of the categories. It does seem to me,
however, that perhaps with a few exceptions, most language planning policies
in Southern Africa can be made to fit into one or a combination of the
categories recognised above.

6.6.1 - Some Traits of a Forward-Looking Language Planning
Policy for a Southern African Multilingual Context

In this Chapter, I hope to have shown that Southern African countries are
bedevilled by heterogeneous contextual variables that, if not identified,
addressed, and properly managed, could seriously jeopardise any realistic
attempt to plan effectively, implement efficiently, and evaluate language
planning policies thoroughly and successfully.

I have also examined briefly, some aspects of language policy which continue to structure our present situation. The exposition in the text that follows will lead us into the heart of language policy for the future.

6.6.1.1 Portuguese as the Lingua Franca in Mozambique

It is clear that for economic reasons, knowledge of Portuguese and, to an increasing degree, English, will be integral to the expansion of the Mozambican economy regardless of the particular forms in which economic development occurs. In a modern Mozambique, English will rapidly gain its most favoured language status in Southern Africa and, for economic reasons, the promotion of English as the lingua franca will become the most rational policy option. Since considerations of national unity, cultural access and international communication now already reinforce these economic imperatives, little opposition to this component of a new national language policy will be forthcoming.

The political and cultural dimensions of the question of English as the lingua franca of a free Southern Africa are of great importance. Few, if any, people in the anti-colonial movement in Southern Africa are motivated by Eurocentric sentiment. Pragmatic, instrumental considerations are explicitly acknowledged by the few people who have written on this important subject. In this regard, if we accept the advice of the American social scientist, Kelman (1975), we appear to be on the right track. More than two decades ago, he stressed that, and I quote him at length:

"In terms of general principles, I would argue, very simply, that language policies ought to be based entirely on functional considerations. That is, in selecting languages for various purposes, in influencing the population's language behaviour, and in planning the educational system, central authorities ought to be concerned primarily with two issues: (1) How to establish and facilitate patterns of communication (both internally and internationally) that would enable its socioeconomic institutions to function most effectively and equitably in meeting the needs and interests of the population; and..."
To promote national unity in a multilingual society, a lingua franca (which becomes such usually for precisely instrumental, economic reasons) plays a pivotal role. There is no doubt that Portuguese will increasingly play such a role in a Mozambique released from the mortgage of colonial language policy. On the other hand, however, we should not underestimate the magnitude of the task ahead. It is an inconvertible fact that in 1980 under 40% of the entire population of Mozambique understood Portuguese. However, the increased access to formal education for African children together with the fact that all instruction takes place through the medium of Portuguese means that this situation is improving rapidly.

6.6.1.2 - Encouraging All Languages

The second component of a new national language policy is to encourage the growth and development of all the languages spoken. Here the cultural-political, rather than the economic, dimensions of language policy are paramount. If it is accepted that one of the explicit and implicit goals of the anti-colonialism or national liberation movement is to build a nation, then the conventional Eurocentric theory takes it as axiomatic that only one language ought to be selected as the national language, the means of verbal communication which weaves together all the disparate elements and groups of the nation. However, this Risorgimento definition of the nation where every nation has its particular language so that the language group and the nation are co-extensive, has been exploded in many recent studies (cf. Nosizwe, 1979; Anderson, 1985). Today, it is no longer in dispute that multilingual nations are not merely possible but are, in fact, the norm. In post-colonial Southern Africa, according to Smith (in Edwards, 1985, p. 11):
"National identity is rarely associated with language per se since this could lead to balkanisation... and, in general, the linguistic criterion has been of sociological importance only in Europe and the Middle East, to some extent".

Our future as a nation is indisputably a multilingual one. All proposals for a monolingual future not only go against the global trends, but contain the dangerous seeds of future ethnic conflicts. A constantly democratic approach to the language question has to be based on the sound linguistic premise that all languages are equal in their capacity to serve as means of communication, thought, and bearers of culture. Any attempt to suppress the rights of languages will inevitably give rise to the most bitter resistance, as the recent history of all language-based political movements, including Afrikaners in British-ruled South Africa, proves again and again. We have the task of transforming the languages of our country from instruments of division into instruments of national unity.

All the languages in Mozambique, including English, should be encouraged to flourish. While the implementation of this principle will undoubtedly be limited by the availability of material and human resources in the short-to-medium term, it is necessary to enunciate it and to initiate the processes and the patterns that will eventually make possible its realisation. Because the economic imperative for learning indigenous African language by Portuguese- and English-speakers does not exist, an act of political will is required to encourage them to do so. The fact that many politically conscious people from these groups are beginning to learn these languages indicates that this trend will inevitably accompany the liberatory process in Mozambique. Official encouragement from the government’s own reform programme as well as the formal relations with the independent and self-governing neighbours gives an added impetus in more status-quo-oriented circles. Employment opportunities in these countries’ bureaucracies, and even in their private sector, should be enhanced for those who are able to speak the relevant African language.
There is a general agreement that Portuguese should and will remain an official language in a Modern Mozambique. The official status of other languages, however, should be a matter of debate. One proposal is that all the other languages be given official status at the appropriate regional level. In reaction to this policy option, one research subject to this study, suggested that:

If one considers the clearly distinguishable areas of concentration in which the four dominant Mozambican languages occur, it is immediately obvious that one should ask whether language policy in Mozambique should not also make provision for the recognition of languages on a regional basis. We are concerned here specially with the four African languages which are dominant home languages. Besides Portuguese as an official language, we ought now to give recognition on a regional basis to the dominant African language in each region).

As a transitional measure which would raise the status of the African languages in a rapidly changing modern Mozambique, this is an important proposal, which we should support. Of course, we would like to guard against any tendency to interpret this kind of proposal along the lines of moulding in reinforced concrete all the ethnic divisions which colonialism and segregation policies have so assiduously promoted in the past. For this reason, among others, I am proposing the standardisation of the varieties of Makua and of Tsonga respectively. In accordance of this proposal, I would suggest that another possibility would be to accord official status to Portuguese, Makua and Tsonga and, possibly, English throughout Mozambique, but on a reasonably flexible basis so that, for example, official documents and other language-related services would be available in Portuguese and Makua, Portuguese and Tsonga, Portuguese and English, depending on the preponderance of speakers of the particular languages. In polyglot areas such as Maputo, Beira and Nampula cities, all such services would have to be available at all times.
The status of the genuine minority languages such as Nyungwe, Ndua, Makonde, Koti, Tamil, Gujarati, Urdu, as well as other Indo-Germanic languages, would be dealt with, pragmatically but on the basis of the democratic principle that people ought to be served in the language of their choice wherever possible. In this context, it is my belief that all the major languages in Mozambique are, in fact, national languages, since all of them will have to become instrumental in uniting the people of our country into one united nation. The correctness of this view can be gauged by referring to a convenient definition by Luzuka (1987) (In: Young, 1987, p. 145):

"There is a significant difference between an official medium and a national language. An official language is one that is employed for government administration. So in Nigeria, Uganda, Singapore, Hong-Kong, the Philippines, and Southern African region English is an official language, although it is used by a small proportion in each and all of these countries. A national language, on the other hand, is the common medium of daily intercourse between the majority of citizens of a given country. In most Angophone third world countries, therefore, English is not a national language."

In terms of these definitions, Portuguese is an official language but not national language in modern Mozambique. It can only be elevated to that status once it becomes part and parcel of a new national language policy, one of the goals of which would be to build a nation out of all the different language groups in Mozambique.

6.6.1.4 - Language Medium

As a means of socialisation of the individual, schools, in general terms, are to modern industrial societies what the church was to medieval Europe. For this reason, among others, the language medium in which school students are taught is of exceptional economic, political and cultural importance in any modern state. The predominant medium of instruction inevitably is or becomes the most important language of the state simply because - in the context of compulsory schooling in a multilingual society - it means that every individual in the up-and-coming generation(s) has a relatively good understanding of the language(s) concerned. It is precisely for this reason that this particular
question has always been at the centre of language-related controversies in Southern Africa.

The question of the medium of instruction in the formal educational system is complex (cf. Hartshorne, 1987; Tiffen, in Brown & Miskett [Eds.], 1975, pp. 319 - 335).

The policy which, in the light of available evidence, appears to do justice to all the interests involved - given the availability of adequate material and human resources - would seem to be one which would promote mother-tongue instruction, unless parents specifically determine otherwise in given cases. At the same time, the language which will become the medium of instruction in most, or all subjects (Portuguese in our case) should be introduced in the second or third year of schooling.

In order to meet other requirements of the political economy of a democratic, post-colonial Mozambique, this policy would have to be implemented in multi-medium schools and be accompanied by a network of non-formal language projects and courses to assist those who might exit from the formal system before they had acquired proficiency in Portuguese. Single-medium schools would entrench ethnic consciousness and ethnic identities, hamper multilingualism and undermine the promotion of national unity (for more details, see Chapter 8, below).

In sum, for a language planning policy in a Southern African multilingual context to be effective, and forward looking, it must, in my opinion, have the following minimal basic ingredients:

1 **Pragmatically, as well as in principle and practice, there must be a recognition, understanding, and respect for the multilingual context. It would be clear that both exoglossic and endoglossic languages have come to stay and are part of the situation for which planning has to be made. That means that no language should be choked out of existence by policy plans simply because there is the desire to create an existence for another. All existing languages need to be consciously and deliberately accepted and systematically rather than haphazardly planned for. Such a frame of mind or conceptualisation of language planning cannot but spur on planners to do a fact-finding survey on the**
number of existing mother tongues and second language speakers of each language, their sociolinguistic status, whether or not there are orthographies in each language, the demographic distribution of languages, and so forth. As noted earlier, such fact finding has been attempted in Ethiopia.

2 No language planning policy can prosper unless planners avoid the tendency to downgrade indigenous languages, especially those categorised as minority languages whose people, on the aggregate, are sometimes in the majority when compared with speakers of the main languages. Downgrading or belittling indigenous languages has adverse implications because of strong attachments to a particular language among ethnolinguistic groups. Strong negative attitudes towards particular languages could result in the forcing a horse to the river but not being able to make it drink water syndrome already mentioned above. Human beings learn languages that they want to, or are motivated to learn. When they, for any reason, have a negative attitude towards a particular language and its speakers, any attempt to force them to learn it will usually end in futility. In essence, planners need to be keenly sensitive to ingrained language loyalties and attitudes before formulating language policies.

According to Appel & Muysken (1987), minority language treatment, that is, the planned use of minority languages in education, administration, and public life for the sake of minority language survival and maintenance, is also a sine qua non for the prosperity of language planning in multilingual contexts. When the speakers of minority languages perceive that the nation has a stake in their own languages as well, they will feel part of the nation and will be more ready to cooperate in ensuring the success of language policies. Moreover, the natural tendency is to belittle the minority languages as not being matters of priority.

3 Another major trait of a forward-looking policy in a Southern African multilingual country is that it should see the colonial language of dominance in a proper perspective. It should neither be made a scapegoat nor an overlord. Its role should be accepted and respected, even if considered ultimately temporary, especially in education. Policies formulated overnight and executed overnight to throw off the language of colonial dominance because of its presumed colonial trappings or its connotation of linguistic imperialism do more harm than good and merely create avoidable political tension. Rather, deliberate, firm, and long-term planning is required to ensure that even though the colonial language is accepted, its acceptance should not be such as to make all indigenous languages nothing by comparison. In other words, acceptance is not glorification. In essence, whereas the unnecessary superordinate status of colonial languages in most Southern African countries should be checked, it is not healthy or helpful for an attitude of hostility to be developed by policy planners or members of the community, at large, towards them.

4 For language policy to succeed in a Southern African multilingual setting, the active participation and encouragement of committed individual and non-governmental corporate interest groups should be
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enlisted, especially in language development and maintenance efforts. This is because, in many Southern African countries, anything of gargantuan proportion with many faces and political cutting edges like language planning left for the government alone to implement seems doomed to failure because whereas everybody is part of government, none in particular is government. The general "I-don't-care-attitude" of indifference that dooms most government projects to failure could sink buoyant language policies and cause premature death before policy implementation. In view of the poor administrative and governmental machinery in many Southern African countries, the need for the involvement of individuals and non-governmental agencies in every aspect of language planning is even more imperative for ensuring continuity and practical action such as the preparation of orthographies, the commissioning of primers and the publishing of newspapers in indigenous languages, and so on. Such individuals should also be involved in other corpus and status planning activities like the allocation of functions to languages, and the modernisation, cultivation, and elaboration of particular languages. Other language development activities in which they could be involved include the expansion of the lexicon of indigenous languages through processes such as compounding, derivation, a combination of compounding and derivation, borrowing in a phonologically adapted form, expansion of the meaning of existing words, use of words from dialects, lexical change, and spontaneous formation of new words (cf. Appel & Muysken, 1987, p. 52). If the embers of effective language planning are fanned by such individuals and non-governmental agencies, they may be difficult to quench or completely extinguish by the various contextual variables bedevilling language planning highlighted in this study. According to Appel & Muysken (1987, p. 47), famous examples of individual language planners are Ben Yhuda, in Israel and Ivar Aasen, a Norwegian teacher.

Another very crucial ingredient of language planning in a multilingual Southern African country, indeed very crucial in view of the numerous contextual variables discussed earlier, is the need for existence of a built-in implementation logistics. At this juncture, one might note that some Southern African countries e.g. Tanzania, Botswana, Lesotho and Namibia, have fairly workable language policies that would have been quite sociolinguistically and pedagogically appropriate for their peculiar contexts. Unfortunately, however, such policies are often spelt and strangled by poor, improperly coordinated implementation. There is, therefore, a need for us, in the Southern African multilingual context at least, besides talking about corpus and status planning, to also seriously, talk about what Adegbija (In Pütz, 1994, p. 161), would call "Implementation Logistics Planning", especially in view of the peculiar and complex linguistic, sociopolitical, administrative, psychological, and educational contextual profiles that are enough to kill the best of policies and turn them into a complete failure. Such implementation logistic planning, should deal with the difficult and practical part of policy implementation bearing in mind the different contexts of each country.
Related to all the ingredients identified above, a forward-looking policy must include a machinery for constantly looking backwards through hindsight and forwards through foresight, in order to receive feedback on every aspect of the contextual variables described earlier and to better assess the impact, import, and effects of language planning. Any language planning process in the Southern African multilingual context that lacks the above essential ingredients risks premature death.

6.7 Conclusion

Language planning practices in Southern Africa have implications for language planning models.

Haugen's (1966b) original model consists of four stages: selection of a norm (i.e. selection of one of a number of competing languages, modification of an existing language variety or creation of a new standard); codification of form (i.e. establishing the selected norm by adopting an appropriate script, working out the orthography, describing the phonology, grammar and lexis); elaboration of function (i.e. expanding the language to cope with use in different domains particularly developing adequate vocabulary for technological and scientific concepts); and, acceptance by the community (i.e. ensuring that a stamp of authority is put on the selected norm by users and the government). Although it is correct, as some have done, to combine codification of form and elaboration of function into a single step (since both deal with language development), this model continues to be useful as a general framework for language planning activities (cf. Fishman, Das Gupta, Jernudd and Rubin, 1971).

Language planning begins with initial fact-finding (which should cover all the information required for a rational decision to be taken), then there follows policy formulation involving establishment of goals, selection of means and prediction of outcomes, and after policy formulation comes implementation. At every stage in the planning process, evaluation takes place.

Language planning in Southern Africa may be examined in the context of the process stipulated in the planning model of language planning. The
requirement that fact-finding should precede policy decisions is a reasonable one and, other things being equal, a decision arising from a full knowledge of all the facts involved is better than one that is based on partial knowledge or none at all. When dealing with corpus planning, no one will dare to suggest that decisions on orthography or certain vocabulary items should be taken without a thorough examination of known facts about the language and the implications of particular choices. In this respect, corpus planning activity in Southern Africa is not very different from such planning elsewhere in the world.

In matters of language allocation, however, the role of fact-finding before decision-making varies according to whether the decision is arbitrary or non-arbitrary and according to the traditional processes of decision-making in the country. Whereas, in developed countries, language policy decisions are expected to follow expert advice given by commissions of inquiry, such as the adoption of the Official Languages Act in Canada in 1969 which was preceded by the setting up in 1963 of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, in African countries, decisions on language status seem to be usually taken without such preliminaries. Again, in developed countries, some language status matters often have to go up to Parliament for discussion and approval, but in many African countries, one is not generally dealing with parliaments and democratic processes of decision-making, but rather with arbitrary decrees and proclamations.

What, then, is the role of fact-finding in relation to policy decisions in African countries? Fact-finding does take place, but, quite often, after policy decisions have been made. According to Prator (1972, In Ladefoged, Gilick & Criper, 1972, pp. 7 - 8), for example, the Survey of Language Use and Language Teaching was designed to provide information on the basis of which decisions could be taken on such matters as the following:

"Which language(s) shall be the official language(s) of government, used in laws, administration, police work and the armed forces? Which shall be taught as subjects and which used as the medium or media of instruction at the various levels of formal education? What language(s) must be
But at the time of the Survey, decisions had already been taken by the countries concerned: Ethiopia had Amharic as its official language for years; Kenya opted for Kiswahili as its national language in 1970 (although English continued to be the medium of instruction in schools); Tanzania declared Kiswahili as its national language after independence in 1962; Uganda continued with English as its official language and the main language of education; Zambia decided on English in 1965 as its language of education and its continued use as the country's official language. The kind of fact-finding which the Survey carried out is post-policy fact-finding. A lot of fact-finding work in Africa tends to be of this nature. A decision is taken and it is only at the point of implementation that experts are called upon to carry out the necessary fact-finding. The substitution of an English medium for a mother tongue medium in Zambia was a policy decision made abruptly in 1965. According to Duggal (1981, p. 77), it was only after the decision had been taken that consideration was given to the necessary processes of implementation. This means post-policy fact-finding.

Another type of fact-finding is the one that takes place after implementation has begun. This may be an aspect of an evaluation of how well the policy is progressing or gathering of information on whether the policy may even be considered to be feasible in the light of emerging outcomes. Studies on the effectiveness of certain media of instruction in schools and certain policies, such as the zoning of indigenous languages to be taught in schools in Zambia, are examples of this kind of fact-finding.

It seems, then, that, in the light of the African experience, the scope of fact-finding in the model of language planning ought to be extended to embrace three types of fact-finding: initial fact-finding before policy formulation; post-policy fact-finding, and fact-finding during implementation as a result of which the original policy may be modified or even abandoned.

The planning model of language planning developed by Rubin, Jernudd and
others, is based on the assumption that the process applicable to social and economic planning must be applicable to language planning. Thus, the model provides for three things. First, 'goals are established, means are selected, and outcomes are predicted in a systematic manner'. Second, the planning 'is characterised by the formulation and evaluation of alternatives for solving language problems to find the best (or optimal, most efficient) decision' and third, in all cases, planning must be 'future-oriented; that is, the outcomes of policies and strategies must be specified in advance of the action taken' (cf. Rubin, 1971, p. 218; Rubin & Jernudd, 1971, p. xvi).

Needless to say, a great many language planning activities in Africa, particularly language status planning, do not fit the rigid economic planning model. Decisions are taken without prior selection of means of attaining the objectives or a critical examination of the possible outcomes. In the model, the evaluation of alternatives is interpreted to mean not only that alternative courses of action are carefully considered, but also that a 'cost-benefit' analysis of alternative choices is worked out. I do not know of any instance in Africa where this has been done before any policy formulation. Again, a forecast of outcomes even before a decision is made, as is generally the case in economic matters, is hardly ever observed in language matters, and there may even be some doubt about whether this is possible.

The planning model of language planning assumes that language planning is carried out by a government or its agencies and usually at the instance of a central authority. The definition of language planning is said to be restricted 'to that kind of treatment which is governmental and close to the planning ideal' and language decisions taken by non-governmental agencies such as private companies, media houses, language societies and individual authors are excluded from the realm of language planning (cf. Rubin, 1973, p. 7; Jernudd, 1973, pp. 18 - 19). Applying this constraint to language planning activities in Southern Africa, perhaps well over three-quarters of language development activities will be ruled out, since they are carried out by non-governmental agencies often without express authorisation or directive. Bamgbose (n.d. Vol. 17, N0.1, p. 7) goes to the heart of the matter when he charges that:
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"Actual experience with language development efforts shows that much significant, and sometimes much more effective, work is done by non-governmental bodies such as language societies, teachers' associations, broadcasters, etc., yet proponents of the canonical model of language planning insist that such activities do not amount to planning, since they do not amount to the planning ideal".

A similar position is taken by Kelman (1975, pp. 37 - 38) who maintains that he has a general bias against:

"deliberate attempts by central political authorities to create a sense of national identity, whether by a policy of establishing a national language or by any other means . . . What I am arguing is that a sense of national identity ideally ought to - and, in fact, is most likely to emerge out of a well-functioning national system that meets the needs and interests of the entire population, rather than out of deliberate attempts to create it directly. Let me qualify my statement further by saying that I refer to the central political authorities, not to various agencies within the society - public or private - that have a special interest in promoting one or another type of cultural or linguistic development".

Although, by their very nature, certain policy decisions can only be taken by the government (for example, decision to declare a language the country's national language), it is mistaken to limit language planning to government agencies only. Even with governmental planning, different levels of government may be involved (state, local, etc.) and there may be conflicting interests and policy decisions. Besides, according to Tollefson (1981), decisions taken at one level of government may have to be implemented at another level and this, sometimes, leads to distortion or failure in implementation.

In order to make the model of language planning more comprehensive, due recognition needs to be given to levels of decision-making as well as the role of non-governmental agencies. In terms of policy formulation, non-governmental activities can serve as an input into decision-making, or they may derive from a general policy already laid down. The question will arise concerning when a non-governmental initiative qualifies as a policy. The test
would seem to be that it does whenever it is adopted by the government. As far as implementation is concerned, any activity by a non-governmental agency designed to effect an agreed policy is to be accepted as coming within the scope of language planning.

There is no doubt that the planning model of language planning is useful in clarifying some of the processes leading to policy formulation and implementation; but, by trying to attain the rigour of an economic planning model, it becomes too restrictive and excludes a lot of language development activities. By taking into consideration the peculiar problems of language status planning which many developing nations are preoccupied with, it is clear that the planning processes do not fit the model very well. On the other hand, there is considerable similarity in corpus planning all over the world, and, to that extent, there is a need at least for a model that can account for this fact.

In attempting to solve the problem of the disparity in language planning activities and the wide range of language planning practices that do not fit the planning model of language planning, Bamgbose (1991, p. 146), for example, proposes two possible options:

- to exclude practices that do not fit the model or
- modify the model to include a wider range of language planning practices.

Exclusion of language planning practices that do not fit the current model of language planning, according to Bamgbose, can be effected in one of two ways:

- to separate status planning from the scope of language planning and simply treat it as language allocation for which no prior pre-policy formulation may have been made;
- or to maintain that what is not planned is a happening, and, consequently, any practices that do not fit the model are at best, only language treatment.

On the other hand, the model may be modified to make it more flexible and more inclusive. According to Bamgbose (1989), some of the possible modifications designed to achieve this objective are:

- recognition of different
modes of decision-making at the policy formulation stage (including decisions that are not preceded by prior fact-finding): provision for fact-finding after policy formulation and during implementation; provision for hierarchical policy formulation and implementation; recognition of governmental and non-governmental language planning activities; and integration of language allocation (status planning) and corpus planning in a unified mechanism that is valid for both.

Furthermore, Haugen (1983, p. 274) has pointed out that language planning models are still at a pre-theory stage in that they merely provide a description of what planners have done. He went on to add that it would be pointless to limit their coverage to only certain types of activities by language planners or planning practices observed only in certain countries. The more of such practices the models can account for, the more valid they will be. The modifications proposed will make it possible for the planning model of language planning to account for a wider range of language improvement efforts at both governmental and non-governmental levels, and in the developed as well as the developing countries.

In sum, in view of the heterogeneous, often unique and complex profiles of the context of language planning in most Southern African countries which constantly threaten to choke and completely strangle the most dynamic and foresighted language planning efforts, there is a need to consider institutionalising implementation logistics planning, which should relate to the pragmatics of implementation and should have a built-in shock absorber for absorbing all linguistic, sociopolitical, administrative/political, psychological, and educational shocks with which the Southern African multilingual countries are peculiarly characterised. Given the complex network of contextual profiles in Southern African multilingual settings, it would seem, in most cases, and to a large extent, that evolutionary, rather than revolutionary language planning changes would have greater promise for effectiveness.
CHAPTER 7 - IMPLICATIONS OF LANGUAGE ATTITUDES
RESEARCH IN MOZAMBIQUE AND SOUTHERN AFRICA: SOME TENTATIVE RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Introduction

I believe that language attitudes have far-reaching implications, particularly for language planning. In this Chapter, a few of the implications of language attitude studies, especially for Southern Africa are summarised.

The study of attitudes has been central to social psychology for some time; in fact, according to Edwards (1983, p. 225), attitudes and related concepts account for the majority of social psychological writing. As a subdivision, language attitudes are a more recent topic, in any concentrated way at least. This area owes something to the sociolinguistic tradition as well as to the psychological one. Shuy & Fasold's collection, Language Attitudes: Current Trends and Prospects, appeared in 1973 and the editors noted the newness of the field in America. The previous year saw the publication of Gardner & Lambert's book on language attitudes - specifically, on attitudes concerning second language learning. In fact, According to Edwards (1983), the work of these authors and their colleagues began around 1960 in Ontario and Quebec and has, over the last thirty years, provided a number of insights and clarification of importance for the understanding of second language acquisition and bilingualism. The underlying generality is that favourable attitudes contribute to the ease and depth of language learning. This has become a widely-accepted point; indeed, Edwards (1983) argues that it is so obvious that it would hardly merit detailed attention, were it not for the many fine-grained studies of attitude formation, structure, and maintenance which it has promoted.

Macnamara (1973) appeared to take a contrary view, in asserting that attitudes were of little importance in language learning. I believe his argument is worthy of some attention here, for it points to useful considerations which go beyond attitudes related to language learning, to all types of language
attitudes. First, Macnamara notes that necessity may overpower attitudes: e.g. a child who moves from Harare to Maputo will learn Portuguese. This point, which applies also to adults, is clearly correct and most people can corroborate it from personal or indirect experience. According to Macnamara (1973), a recent confirmation is found in the report of a large-scale language attitudes survey in Ireland (Committee on Irish Language Attitudes Research, 1975) in which Irish usage was more associated with ability than with attitudes.

This unsurprising relationship does not mean that attitudes are unimportant but it does remind us that in certain contexts, attitudes are more likely to assume importance only after some minimal competence has been established " (Edwards, 1977, p. 57).

There is thus some reason to think that, in real-life contexts, attitudes will be secondary in importance to ability.

Macnamara's second point also has to do with language learning in the real world - he refers to the adoption of English by the Irish population, a language shift not accompanied by favourable attitudes. Indeed, as he points out, most historical changes in language use owe much more to socioeconomic and political exigencies than they do to attitudes. However, Macnamara does acknowledge that attitudes of a sort - instrumental attitudes, to use Lambert's term - may play a part in such broadly-based shifts. For example, a mid-nineteenth century Irishman might have loathed English and what it represented, yet, in the face of his perceptions of the sociopolitical climate, may have realised the necessity and long-term usefulness of the language for himself and, more importantly, for his children\(^\text{17}\). There would have been, therefore, no integrative motivation behind English-language learning, but a possibly reluctant instrumental one.

Interestingly enough, Macnamara rejects the possibility of an important instrumental motivation in such cases, because he claims that Lambert and others reserve this term to describe present learning for future purposes.

\(^{17}\) The Irish sociolinguistic situation, past and present, is an intriguing and instructive one (see Edwards, 1977a; 1977b).
However, whatever the views have been of what constitutes instrumental motivation, it is clearly incorrect to deny the term's aptness for the experience of the child transported to Maputo, or the Irishman's move to English. Just because the child cannot appreciate the future usefulness of Portuguese does not mean it is unaware at some level of its present utility - and this is obviously an instrumental aspect. Just because the Irishman hates the English occupation does not mean he will not work hard to master the language of the ascendancy.

All of this leads one to suggest a distinction between positive and favourable attitude. The two terms need not after all, be synonymous; a positive position is one of certainty or assurance, but it need not be pleasant. To say 'I positively loathe it' is not an oxymoronic statement. Thus, to return to the Irish example, we might say that the attitude of the mass of the population towards the English language was positive and instrumental, but not favourable and certainly not integrative18.

The third strand of Macnamara's argument is his contention that, traditionally, language learning at school has been an unreal and artificial business, in which communication - the real purpose of language - is subordinate to an appreciation of language as an academic subject. It is this lack of communicative purpose, and not children's attitudes, which underlies poor language competence among pupils, according to Macnamara. Although one would agree that a great failing in language classrooms has been the absence of any realistic usage, one does not think that this means that attitudes are of small importance. It is rather a matter, as noted above, of attitudes taking their proper position, which in many cases, is secondary to language ability.

Overall, Macnamara's article usefully focusses attention upon language attitudes and their place in some larger scheme of things, although one does

18 Edwards (1983) believes for a minority of the Irish population an integrative attitude towards things English existed. He also points out that the distinction between positive and favourable attitudes is not one which he has consistently observed himself.
not agree with his judgements of the minor significance of attitudes. In the cases of mass language shift, and individual necessity, the point is not that attitudes are unimportant but that they are instrumental, if unfavourable. In the school context specifically, the argument that the situation is artificial is a condemnation of traditional approaches, and does not of itself indicate that attitudes are trivial. In fact, attitudes are clearly of considerable importance (in language learning, and in other subject areas) precisely because of 'artificiality' - i.e. given that a context is not perceived as pertinent to real life, or is not based upon necessity, then attitudes may make a real difference. If we return again to the Irish situation we can see that the notion of artificiality can extend beyond the classroom. With the establishment of the Irish state in 1922, and the subsequent emphasis upon schools as agents of Irish-language restoration, there arose a disjunction between official aims regarding Irish and actual, societal linguistic behaviour. An ever-decreasing level of native competence has been accompanied by an increasing minimal competence in basic skills, produced entirely through education. It can therefore be argued that schools - and the attitudes towards Irish which they have encouraged - have been of the greatest importance in sustaining Irish weak and artificial though this may be, and however much criticised by thoroughgoing Irish revivalists (Edwards, 1977).

There is clearly, therefore, a continuing need to study language attitudes, although we may take Macnamara's argument as a salutary reminder of how important it is to place our investigations properly within their context.

Indeed, this is exactly what Edwards (1982) has argued in a recent article. Language attitudes - and Edwards formally extends the discussion to attitudes towards regional and social dialects and accents - provide a useful perspective on social relations, since evaluations of, or reactions to, given varieties reflect views of their speakers. Giles (1979, and elsewhere) has argued for a re-integration of socio-linguistics and social psychology, and it is obvious that attitudes will form much of the common ground. In all of this, however, we should be careful to link experimental findings to naturalistic settings. There are clear connections, for example, between attitudes in
educational contexts - arguably the most important points of contact between different linguistic groups - and the extra-educational setting of inter-linguistic interaction. In fact, given that so much of interest arises through social comparison (Edwards, 1979), it seems reasonable to assume that multicultural and multilingual contexts in which dominant and subordinate groups, majority and minority languages, and standard and non-standard varieties coexist, will provide much interesting and informative material. It is the study of attitudes within such contexts that is the focus of this study.

7.2 - Further Research Implications

The most obvious implication of the foregoing general sociolinguistic overview of language attitudes in Mozambique, in particular, and Southern Africa, in general, is the need for more methodologically and thematically fine-tuned research. Such studies should combine a variety of methodological approaches and explore various themes relating to language attitudes. Such themes could include attitudes towards ethnicity, speech varieties, and accent, towards particular language policies, towards ethnolinguistic minorities, and towards language use in the educational domain.

Particularly, in the Southern African context, further studies are needed on the different language types - exoglossic, endoglossic and endoexoglossic, and attitudes towards vehicular languages. Detailed research into these various themes could provide further insight into how language planning in a multilingual and multicultural setting could be made more effective. Such research is, therefore, crucial for effective language policy making and implementation. As Lewis (1981, p. 262) correctly observes:

"Knowledge about attitudes is fundamental to the formulation of a policy as well as to success in its implementation."

7.2.1 Changing Language Attitudes

Language attitudes, whether negative, neutral or positive, are, in the main, developed and cultivated in a network of commensurate sociohistorically conducive or non-conducive contexts and are, as earlier indicated, not in-born or nativistically endowed. We have seen that attitudes towards languages in
Southern Africa vary in their nature, range, intensity, and diversity. Language attitudes studies have various beneficial applications. These, for instance, include their use in the revealing of the social importance of language, in the indication of group and socio-cultural identity, in the indication of how teachers deal with pupils, in the evaluation of progress or lack of it in second language learning, and in the appreciation of the intelligibility or otherwise of a language variety (cf. Fasold, 1984, Chapter 6; Williams, 1972, 1976; Wolff, 1959).

Attempts to change language attitudes in each area of their application, therefore, need to address the bottom-line attitudinal determining factors. Additionally, the appropriate sociolinguistic atmosphere for the cultivation and nurturing of attitudes at both the individual and societal level need to be created. Language planning without a sensitivity to the different social, historical, economic, cultural and political factors that impinge on attitude formation would not only be shallow but could, in some cases, be provocative and result in unintended and divisive ethnic politics.

7.2.2 - An Asset and Resource Perspective to Diversity of Languages and Cultures in Policy Making

Our conceptualisation of issues often affects our plans and actions. Language planning needs to be seen from the context and perspective of resource management and planning. The attitudes of policy planners from the top, have a remarkable impact on the formation of attitudes from the bottom. Thus, the attitudes of those who formulate language policy in each Southern African country towards the diversity of languages and cultures as well as towards the potentials of indigenous languages are very crucial in determining and moulding overall attitudes towards languages. We have seen that negative attitudes towards the diversity of languages in a community can mar the political and socioeconomic health of a multilingual country if the languages are mismanaged and different language groups are allowed to develop a feeling of antipathy and suspicion towards each other.

This implies that an attitude of language and cultural diversity as asset and resource will be more conducive for the promotion of harmony among different
languages and cultural groups than one in which multilingualism and multiculturalism are conceptualised as problems. Rubagumya (1991, p. 78), states this very clearly thus:

"One factor influencing language policy in a diglossic situation is whether those in power see bilingualism as a resource or as a problem. If they consider it as a resource, they will encourage the development of all the languages (or as many of them as practically possible) in the given society. On the other hand, if bilingualism is considered undesirable, only one language, the H language, will be developed while the others are neglected or even actively discouraged."

7.2.3 - Communicative Functions, Values and Attitudes Formation

In general, we have seen that partly because European languages in Southern Africa have been assigned greater official communicative functions than African indigenous languages, they have witnessed an efflorescence in esteem, prestige, status and valuation. Official institutions have generally been used to support and maintain them at the individual and societal level. To some extent, this has also been true of some major indigenous languages. On the other hand, a majority of indigenous languages have no institutional support and so wane in esteem and prestige. They, therefore, rank very low in evaluation because they are perceived as not being able to 'take one anywhere'. Thus, their functions tend to be localised and their esteem tends to be poor. The growth of Kiswahili in Tanzania, often quoted as one of Africa's best examples of successful language planning, is said to be threatened by the non-implementation of the policy of its use as a medium at the secondary level. This has been reported to be a demotivating factor for the Institute of Kiswahili Research and the National Kiswahili Council (BAKITA) which are responsible for the coining of new terms (cf. Mwansoko, 1990; Rubagumya, 1991). The implication of this for the growth and development of indigenous Southern African languages is that they need to be assigned greater communicative roles and prestige-boosting functions if attitudes towards them are to be positively influenced and shaped.
7.2.4 Attitudes and the Viability of Mother Tongue Education

We have seen that attitudinal misconceptions contribute remarkably to the predominant non-use of a majority of indigenous languages in the educational sphere, in particular, and other aspects of national life, in general. Several scholars (e.g. Afolayan, 1976; Bamgbose, 1979; Mackay, 1984; Adegbija, 1989b; Pattanayak, 1981) have emphasised the crucial role that mother tongue education plays as a means of ensuring that learners perform at their maximal ability and receive the necessary psychological support which the medium of instruction can provide.

Speakers of small languages normally suffer most in not being able to use their languages in education because their languages are usually considered incapable and undeveloped. What this means is that if there is a genuine desire to provide education for speakers of small languages, there is a need to reexamine and do away with the attitudinal misconceptions relating to the viability of such languages in the educational process.

A greater priority will have to be placed on coordinated and systematic attempts first to ensure that the languages are graphicised. Sufficient attention has not been paid to this in most countries of Southern Africa. The very act of graphicisation gives a new lease of life to a language, enhances its prestige and status, and also boosts the ego of its speakers. But this would have to be followed by the creation of materials sensitive to the language and cultural background of the speakers. Graphicisation empowers a language to begin to function as an effective tool for mother tongue education. It also constitutes the beginning of status enhancement for a particular language (cf. Adegbija, 1992a). Urgent attention, therefore, needs to be focused in each Southern African country on a planned, systematic and well-coordinated graphicisation of indigenous languages that, as yet, have no writing systems.
7.3 Prioritisation, Small Languages, Resources and Management Prudence

Another major implication of this study is that, in view of the way language issues intertwine, very closely, with political, economic, social, historical and pedagogical issues, they should not rank as low on the prioritisation list in Southern African countries as they presently seem to. Pattanayak (1981a, p. 44) makes a similar observation thus:

"Language politics is intimately connected with resources planning. Unless resources are so developed that culture groups get equal opportunities for their creative fulfilment, language is bound to be used for divisive purposes. Planners, in general, and language planners, in particular, have to bear this in mind".

Echoing the same point of view, from another perspective, Djite (1992, p.26) says:

"The new democracies of the developing world need to address the language issue in more realistic terms. National cohesion and genuine endogenous development may be impossible to achieve within a 'linguistic apartheid'. Thus, language policies need to be viewed as part and parcel of the democratic and the development process; for there is nothing more contrary to the interests of the people and to equal rights than to impose a linguistic variety known only by the elite as necessary for full participation in the nation-building process".

Partly on the sometimes understandable grounds of limited and scarce economic resources, language development is placed on a lower step in the priority ladder in most Southern African countries. With greater and deeper language developmental ideological commitment and more astute management, however, it is obvious that a lot more in the development of indigenous languages can be achieved than is presently the case. Scarce resources should constrain all countries to, for instance, make maximum, more judicious and effective use in language development of resources, personnel and materials in their universities and other higher institutions than they have hitherto done. Also, it bears repeating that a national co-ordination of resources available towards the development of indigenous languages needs to be deliberately pursued.
Closely related to the issue of scarce resources is the attitude of speakers of small languages towards the development of their own languages. We have seen that some opt for assimilation and others resist it. Others merely allow themselves, their cultures, and their languages to be blown by the tide wherever it wills. In many multilingual contexts, the development of small languages is seen by many, especially policy makers, as constituting an obstacle to national unity or cohesion.

The speakers of the languages are also considered too small to be worth the investment of national resources on their languages since their development is also perceived to be of no future use. That is, the small languages are virtually seen as of no consequence. They exist to be seen but not heard. The implication of such attitudes towards their development is that a take-your-destiny-in-your-own-hands attitude is required on the part of speakers of many of the small languages in Southern Africa for reversing language shift and preventing language death where the threats of these exist. A similar approach is also required for ensuring that many of the indigenous languages are given an impetus for growth. In effect, speakers of these languages, more than ever before, need to, on their own, mobilise both internal (within their community) and external (outside their community) resources to ensure that their languages are graphicised, elaborated, literally enriched, institutionalised for use in public places (such as schools, the post-office, banks, churches, markets, sign boards and advertisements, and so forth.) at least first and foremost within their OWN communities. Such steps are bound to enhance the prestige and status of indigenous community languages and guarantee their ultimate survival (cf. Adegbija, 1992a). Williamson’s research (1990, p. 120) is particularly pertinent for the attitude of speakers of small languages towards their languages:

“When all is said and done, however, the fate of a minority language rests with the speakers. If they care enough about it to develop it as a written language, they will find the means to do so. If they do not, it will remain a spoken medium only, or even die out in favour of a larger language.”
It may seem axiomatic to state that language is an essential ingredient in the development process. The demand of modernisation are such that they must involve the dissemination of the various modernising agents both among different classes in society and within different fields of interest.

Eisenstadt (1966, p. 20), defines the modernising process as a process of conflict: 'conflict between tradition and innovation, between social mobilisation and social differentiation; between mass tendencies and individual specialisation. No wonder then, that protest and violent eruptions are, sometimes, a direct consequence of this process. This conflict may, on the one hand, be mitigated by the language used in the society - appeals made in developing countries for the use of a national language in order to foster greater unity have recently become more insistent. On the other hand, the conflict itself may be fostered by the languages spoken in the community and the differing allegiances associated with them. Examples of disharmony in society arising directly from linguistic difference are legion.

Whatever the role played by language in the development process, that role cannot be overemphasised: the recognition that education is a necessary prerequisite for development is long-established. Education is seen to be crucial to developmental change. It constitutes the start of the developmental process for the individual, and, by extension, for the society. Education both formal and informal, is carried out largely through the medium of some language, although this medium may be accompanied by other less conventionalised and more implicit modes. Ongoing debates in various countries on the choice of medium are a reflection of the significance of language in the educational process. The movement for the use of mother-tongue in primary education (cfs. Bull, 1964; Afolayan, 1976; Bamgbose, 1979; Pattanayak, 1981, 1986; Mackay, 1984), the for immersion programmes (cf. Swain & Lapkin, 1985), the concern of parents that their children should be
proficient in the relevant foreign languages, are all consequences of the overwhelming importance attached to language in education. Indeed, the proposition that children learn best only when they are highly proficient in the medium of instruction has never been disputed.

There are two aspects relating to language in its developmental role that seem relevant to this discussion. Firstly, the individual may change in the course of his/her life from being a receiver of education, a learner, to becoming a dispenser of education, a teacher. These two situations in the life of individuals may correlate with different kinds of language proficiency. In the former case, individuals need to be able to understand and interpret what is communicated to them, and here a receptive competence may be sufficient. In the latter case, individuals need to be able to disseminate the knowledge that they have acquired in such a way that others can understand them; they would then need a productive competence. Matters may be complicated by the fact that the language of acquisition of new knowledge may not necessarily be identical to the language of transmission of that knowledge.

Secondly, in most developing countries, since educational opportunities are restricted, those who manage to receive a reasonable amount of education come to constitute a class of 'élite or opinion leaders', mediators between new knowledge and the vast majority of the population (cf. Brandt, 1972). Such opinion leaders, by by virtue of their education, acquire or are assumed to have influence and a 'voice'. They can, consequently, decide on and adapt the information that is passed on, either to suit their own purposes, or to make it, in their consideration, more 'accessible' to their audience. Communication is thus a variable of overwhelming significance for those at the receiving end. The language competence possessed by the opinion leaders inevitably affect the quality of information that is passed on to the majority.

All these issues are relevant in the consideration of the position of the languages in Mozambique in relation to their status as mediums or vehicles of education, and in turn, of development.
In this final Chapter, I shall concentrate on issues related to language policy and the whole question of the medium of instruction in Mozambique and I shall try to extend my recommendations to the Southern African region. Where I feel that the evidence I provide in this study is not sufficient for definitive recommendations to be advanced, I shall make suggestions for further research to be carried out.

I believe that one important theoretical issue that ought to be dealt with is the semiotic aspects of language. In a region where underdevelopment, illiteracy, and ignorance disfigure our social reality, every practitioner in the field of language education should be sensitised to this aspect of language.

It is not enough to postulate alternative policies without, at least, some indications of how they are to be realised. In this regard, there are two decisive considerations to be taken into account. The first is not always within the control of the organisers or coordinators of language projects, that is, the desirability of linking the learning of languages with immediate or eventual enhancement of life chances, specifically the improvement of the learners’ chances of obtaining (better) employment. There is no doubt that this economic motive is important and, often, decisive in sustaining learners’ perseverance.

The other important consideration is that of democratic consultation. There are hundreds of language-and-literacy-related projects all over the country. They have been initiated for different reasons. In so far as all or most of them are susceptible to planning from below, they have to be promoted and executed in constant consultation with their immediate constituency (the learners) and with all other relevant constituencies and organisations. This is a highly political matter and one which can easily be made into a bone of contention if irresponsible and petty power games begin to motivate the participants. The fundamental principle is that all those affected directly and those interested in the matter ought to be consulted. At no stage should anyone or any group be given the right of veto. Should apparently irreconcilable contradictions arise, they should be debated in public and decided in accordance with the tried and
tested democratic procedures.

7.4.1 - The Question of Language Status in Mozambique

7.4.1.1 - The Major Languages

In discussing the question of language policy, one will inevitably have to consider the status of each language in the State. The language situation in Mozambique is discussed in the first part of Chapter One. Briefly, the situation is as follows: there are three languages - Makua, Tsonga and Portuguese with 41%, 19% and 24% of speakers respectively (Matusse & Machungo, 1989, p. 134). Portuguese is the dominant language, being the only official language, the language of education, the language of administration, the language of technological development. The other two are recognised languages, but their status is low. On the other hand, Makua is the majority language and the language of the first inhabitants of the country. In considering the status of each of these languages in Mozambique, the following questions arise:

(I) Is the status quo going to be maintained, with Portuguese commanding the dominant position and the other two maintaining the status of recognised languages which can be taught as school subjects, etc., but are not essential for any qualification that one may aspire to, and are not accepted for use in offices?

(II) Should the position be reversed in favour of Makua, the majority language, so that Makua becomes the national language of the nation while Portuguese and Tsonga are regarded as minority and recognised languages?

(III) Should both Makua and Portuguese be given the status of official languages and Tsonga left out of the picture?

(IV) Should Makua and Tsonga change position with Portuguese? In other words, should these indigenous languages be granted official status while Portuguese is removed from the scene or, at least, reduced in status, since it is a colonial language?

(V) Should the three languages be given equal status in the country?

(VI) Should all three languages be granted official status while Portuguese is given a somewhat commanding position over the other two?
The choice of any of these alternatives will depend on the politicians, but the politician will have to listen to the views of the linguist even if ultimately he/she may take a decision that is not recommended by the linguist, just as he/she has to seek the advice of an economist in matters relating to economic policy. In making a decision about the most suitable alternative to adopt, the linguist will address him/herself to the issues involved. There is no doubt that one of the greatest problems facing Southern Africa and other developing nations today is the need for technological and economic development. It is also evident that for any developing country to achieve a measure of technological and economic development it needs access to the outside world, it needs the assistance of more developed countries, and this, in turn, necessarily implies the need to use a world language, a language for international communication. The fact that Southern African languages are not fully developed also means that higher education as a whole, for sometime, have to be conducted in a foreign language.

On the other hand, the philosophy of self-determination and the whole concept of independence necessarily implies that young nationals will seek to preserve their identity in the name of national prestige. Now this cannot be done in a foreign language. A foreign language reflects a culture of an alien people and cannot be an adequate vehicle for expression of national culture. What is more, independence is followed by expansion in the field of education and anybody who knows the people of Southern Africa will be familiar with the thirst for education which is becoming more and more evident there, not only among the young, but also among mature and experienced people. If a foreign language is the only medium of education at all levels, then there is a real danger of denying opportunities to thousands of people who should have them and of creating a gap between the educated élite and the uneducated. Developing nations are therefore, faced with a dilemma, a dilemma which consists in trying to meet two conflicting demands. J. Spencer (1963, pp. 33-34), an expert on language problems in Africa, expressed it aptly; talking about the two major decisions which a country has to take at the time of independence, he says and I quote him at length:
"It is only at this point that a new nation can begin to undertake two major tasks impossible under colonialism. On the other hand, stands the essential task of planning for and speeding up economic development, extending educational opportunities and beginning the task of unifying politically a multicultural people; this seems to require the retention of the imported colonial language if the desired acceleration of development and unification is not to be impeded. On the other hand, the full expression of the personality and cultural dignity of the nation, and of groups within the nation, appears to demand the development of the vernacular languages - more particularly since the vernaculars tend to be disregarded, and sometimes, despised, under colonial rule. It is these apparently conflicting linguistic demands, arising after independence, which require careful adjustment and compromise."

With this problem in view, I believe we are now able to see the implications of adopting any of the six alternatives listed above. It is quite clear, in the light of this discussion, that the first alternative, that of maintaining the status quo, with Portuguese as commanding the dominant position, will not work. In the first place, such a policy will perpetuate the present state of affairs where bilinguals become less and less proficient in their own languages, and Portuguese continues influencing Makua adversely (and, by the same token, Tsonga too). Secondly, such a policy cannot satisfy the demand for the preservation and development of national culture. With reference to the second point made above, I would agree with Bokamba (1976, p. 29) that, "To express one's culture in borrowed terms is not only unauthentic, but also amounts to cultural bankruptcy". The second alternative will not do, at least for the immediate future, as Makua cannot as yet be the medium of education. The third alternative, of granting official status to Makua and Portuguese, has much to recommend it. Makua is spoken by nearly two quarters of the population (41%, cf. Machungo & Matusse, 1989) and is believed to be the language of the first Bantu immigrants to reach the Indian Ocean, and therefore, of the Mozambican culture of the past. On the other hand, Portuguese is required to function in areas where Makua cannot be used in its present undeveloped state. By recognising the importance of Portuguese in this way, we are automatically rejecting the fourth alternative. The fifth and sixth alternatives, of granting official status to all three, will get much support, especially from Tsonga- speakers, who may not readily agree to the
subordination of their language, as the third alternative may suggest.

The pattern which seems to merge is as follows: at least for the time being, neither Makua nor Tsonga will object to Portuguese being used as an official language. But there is likely to be disagreement on the question of national languages, the key question being whether Mozambique should adopt two national languages or one national language. The answer to this question will depend on a careful weighing and balancing of the various factors involved. These factors include cost, language attitudes and the question of national unity.

It will be remembered from Chapter 3 that the responses of the 310 Mozambicans to the statement that an indigenous language should be made an official language of the nation showed that this is a somewhat controversial issue, with 76% agreeing with the statement and 24% disagreeing.

7.4.1.2 The Minority Languages

In the first part of Chapter One it was noted that there were small pockets of people who speak Makonde, Yao, Ngoni, Marave, Chopi, Koti, Ndau or other languages. With regard to these languages, my firm recommendation is that if there is no strong case for maintaining these small languages, minority groups should be integrated into the major linguistic groups - this is likely to be the less expensive course for the country and it also has the advantage of reducing disunity. However, before such a decision is taken, a survey of these minority groups may have to be made in order to establish whether there is any justification for recognising them as languages to be used in Mozambique. This policy, which is in line with current progressive thinking in its respect for ethnic sensibilities and the use of the mother tongue in initial education. U.N. policy, for example, has long subscribed to the latter principle (though not always consistently): "Every child has the right of instruction in his/her own mother tongue" (UNESCO, 1953, quoted in Chapter One above). In political terms, moves in this direction are likely to receive acceptance by the populations concerned. As Nadkarni (1984, p. 152) notes:
"The problem of language planning for multilingual societies is basically one of bringing about national cohesiveness and of creating a national identity without, at the same time, displacing the original ethnic-cultural identities of the component groups".

Although this is ostensibly an attractive development, however, there seem to be significant drawbacks at the practical level.

First of all, there is no possibility of implementing the UNESCO principle of mother tongue teaching for 'every child'. Even assuming universal education, which appears to be a long way off for Mozambique, this ideal is virtually inconceivable in a country with such a degree of pluralism (cf. Bloor & Bloor, 1990; Goyvaerts et al., 1983). If there are 99 or 70, or whatever languages and only nine linguistic regions, it is evident that many minority languages will not be accommodated (though some regions may recognise more than one language). Many speakers, even for the one of the major languages, may be obliged to receive their primary education in some other language because many areas, especially towns, are linguistically heterogeneous. This inconvenience is not in itself an argument against increased recognition of pluralism, since a partial treatment is often better than no treatment at all, but it is a point to bear in mind.

Sociolinguists tend to prefer gradual to sudden change; politicians, especially in revolutionary situations, prefer the grand sweep in which "a decision is taken at the moment of planning that a complete reconstruction of some kind is possible and desirable" (Corson, 1990, pp. 142 - 143). Corson notes that this type of planning is fraught with risks, and suggests a slower approach. Similarly, Kennedy (1982, p. 273), argues that:

"Language change should be phased, move at a speed commensurate with social acceptance and be made in line with social trends, not by decree, otherwise, community antagonism will prevent implementation".
7.4.1.3 - Choosing an Official Language in Mozambique

In many ways, Mozambique represents the typical Southern African nation in the dilemma with which they are faced in choosing an official language and the inevitably uneasy solution to the problem.

First, there is no single group with both enough numerical and enough political dominance to make its language the natural choice as official. With a few exceptions (e.g. Botswana, Burundi, Lesotho, Rwanda, Somalia, Swaziland), this is the pattern across Africa; and not even all the exceptions have given primary official status to the dominant indigenous language.

Second, in Mozambique there are several groups of enough size and power to dispute the awarding of official status to any other indigenous language. A similar situation prevails in Nigeria, for example; there, the Yoruba, Ibo, and Hausa are major groups, each unwilling to see another group's language prevail. As noted above, Tanzania's demographic make up was a crucial factor in making Kiswahili an acceptable choice there.

Third, if there is an indigenous lingua franca which is widely known, it is unacceptable to many as the main official language, either because of its associations with situations in which socioeconomic status is not salient or because of its ties to a single ethnic group. In Zaire, for example, there are four indigenous languages, each with official recognition in a specific region (Lingala, Kiswahili, Luba, and Kongo), but French remains the sole national official language and is the sole medium of higher education and governmental business. And although Nigerian pidgin English is widely known in Nigeria, it has no official role because of its lowly associations as a market language, even though such highly placed persons as university professors report using it for their informal interactions. Also, although Wolof is widely spoken in Senegal, in the capital, Dakar, its ties to the Wolof ethnic group militate against its being granted official status.
Fourth, given such conditions, a nation often opts for its former colonial language as its main official language, making English and Portuguese languages in Southern Africa. The main virtue of the alien official language is its relative ethnic neutrality.

It is important to understand that language choice (including language shift) is predominantly based on political and economic considerations, not emotional ones. For example, in a general discussion of instances of language shift around the world, Edwards (1985) concludes that people typically shift when socioeconomic advancement lies with the replacement language. That is, people recognise that the official language becomes the vehicle of political participation and socioeconomic mobility. The competition among groups for primacy of one language over others, or at least parity with the others, is based on this, not on ‘primordial loyalties’. If one ethnic’s group becomes official, its members have a headstart. What makes an alien official language attractive is the reasoning that all groups (in theory) start at zero in acquiring it. Still, because of its colonial and elitist associations (more than twenty years after independence, under half the population know the official languages across Southern Africa), the alien official language is definitely a negative choice. Real access to this language comes through extended formal education, and such education is tied to privilege (cf. Scotton, 1982c; Myers-Scotton, 1990b).

Given the linguistic diversity outlined above, especially for Mozambique, it is clear that selecting and indigenous language as the nation’s main official language would be difficult. In Mozambique, while Makua-Lomwé is numerically dominant, Tsonga, on the other hand, is politically dominant.

Compared with other Southern African countries, language policy in Mozambique has more volatility. Makua-Lomwe and Tsonga are neglected. Only Portuguese is recognised as an official language, being, consequently, firmly established in all the roles in the government, mass communications, and business sectors. In fact, writing about Mozambican language policy, Malieque (1994, p. 34) remarks:
"One of the most telling points that describe the role of Portuguese in Mozambique is the absence of comment in the media about it. It is not an issue."

Still, while language policy is not a subject of overt debate, opinions appear to support the role played by Portuguese. For example, Malieque asked 310 randomly selected Mozambicans their opinion about language policy in the country; about 24% thought that an indigenous language should be the sole official language, while 76% disagreed (see Table 3.8 above). And Johnston (1990, p. 38) refers to the position of Portuguese in Mozambique as both "... confused and confusing". He sees the sentiment for Portuguese as elitist because he does not consider it possible to offer all Mozambicans the same level of instruction in Portuguese. He goes on to comment:

"Portuguese is widely used by ... people of all socioeconomic classes, in all domains, not as a communication medium used proficiently with precision, but rather as an 'impressive' medium. Speaking Portuguese in Mozambique often has little to do with the propositional content of words, phrases or sentences or their denotative meaning, or with the referring property of utterance, but more to do with the mere fact that it is Portuguese being spoken by the individual. It is Portuguese for 'impression' rather than for 'expression'" (Johnston, 1990, p. 38).

Observers of the Mozambican scene believe that Portuguese is really the only choice in Mozambique because granting a primary role to Makua-Lomwé, the language of the numerically dominant, would be unacceptable to the Tsongas, who are politically dominant.

Furthermore, in education, Portuguese continues to be the only medium of instruction at all levels.

Finally, as far as the adoption of a national language is concerned, the problem of the national language in an independent Mozambique thus present a dilemma which can be solved not by the linguist, but by the politicians and people of Mozambique. Politicians have the advantage of being able to appeal directly to the people by calling a referendum on the
matter or by carrying out an official survey, the results of which can be used as a basis for making a final decision. Because of the linguist's dilemma in this matter, I find it necessary to make the following recommendation:

RECOMMENDATION

With respect to the language status, I recommend that:

There be three languages in Mozambique: Makua-Lomwé, Tsonga and Portuguese. That Makua-Lomwé and Tsonga be called National Languages and that both be accorded official status. That Portuguese be the language of international communication and the prime medium of higher education.

7.4.2 - The Language of Education

In making a decision on the language which is to be the medium of instruction at the various levels of the pupil's educational career, it is necessary to consider first what our aim is in educating people, young and old. What is the aim of education, in other words? What results are expected from the country's educational system? I suggest that before answering such queries one should consider three important factors:

(i) How the young are best educated and what is involved in their education.
(ii) How mass education can be promoted - by, for example, education schemes.
(iii) Which is the best language for higher education - a national or an international one?

In attempting to answer the three questions I will start with the last one. It is quite clear that, at least for the next generation or two, it is not possible to use an indigenous African language as the medium of education in Mozambique any more than it is in the majority of Southern African countries at the moment. According to Ngara (1975b), there are four major reasons why independent Southern African nations find themselves in the ambiguous and contradictory position of rejecting colonialism and accepting a colonial language as the official and national language, namely:

- The fact that African languages are not developed enough to become languages of education and administration;
The need to catch up with modern technological and economic development;
- The influence which international languages like Portuguese are exerting throughout the world;
- The multiplicity of local languages in Southern Africa.

Earlier in Chapter 3 the research informants rejected the idea of replacing Portuguese with the indigenous languages of Mozambique on the grounds that this move would, at least for sometime, limit Mozambique's chances of economic, technological, and educational development. This shows that what is needed in this situation is a language that provides a short-cut to the cherished development, and that language can only be an international one.

But if we want to extend educational opportunities to everyone who cares to make use of them, I cannot see how Portuguese can be the sole medium of education at all levels, for to make Portuguese the only language of instruction is tantamount to equating education with the acquisition of Portuguese. This was one of the weaknesses of colonial system of education. To legislate that a foreign language be the medium of instruction at all levels is to close the gate to thousands who might profit from education. For one thing, adult education programmes cannot be expected to give their full benefit to society if they are conducted in a foreign language which many adults neither speak nor understand. For another, not all young men and women are talented in language-learning and this means that those children who cannot cope with the language at the start of their school career, are likely to be retarded by linguistic factors and may even be denied the opportunity to complete primary school satisfactorily. In other words, only the intellectually talented pupils who can overcome by sheer force of aptitude and determination the limitations imposed on the African child by linguistic, cultural, and social factors are able to complete their primary and secondary education. This brings us back to our first question of how the young are best educated and what is involved in their education.

No doubt this is a question which has received much attention from educationists all over the world. But we may start by referring to the advice given by a language specialist, R.P. Fawcett (1970), who is of the opinion that
in weighing the relative merits of various media of education we should take into consideration what a modern curriculum involves. He identifies the basic concepts in the modern primary school curriculum as activity, discovery and expression. He goes on to suggest that an integral part of this philosophy of education is the idea that children should be allowed to externalise their experiences by talking about them. In other words, throughout the activity, throughout the process of discovery, the child needs language for communicating with others in group-work and class-work; the child needs language for communicating with the teacher. This communication should be free and natural. The teacher, too, should be able to communicate freely and naturally with his/her pupils. If this freedom of expression, this natural form of communication is not to be stifled, there is no option but to use the child's mother tongue. In other words, the language to be used in pre-primary and primary education should be considered in terms of the context, namely that children will enter with inadequately developed language skills. If the language they encounter at school is different from what they experience at home, the new language becomes a barrier in the child's effort to comprehend instructions and information given by the teacher. Such a situation may greatly hinder the child's ability to learn, leading to a lack of motivation and interest. This means, therefore, that the language children encounter during the initial period of schooling should be one that they have already experienced at home. This continuity would enable them to communicate their needs and wishes to the teacher and give the teacher the opportunity to guide them to acquire the desired skills. On balance, then, it would seem appropriate that the mother tongue should, at least, be one of the languages used for communication or instruction in pre-primary and primary education. The process of acquiring a language is a long process. It is generally agreed that the average child starts learning human language soon after birth but he/she does not complete the process of mastering and internalising the grammar and sounds of his/her language until about the age of six and much later for all functions. With a second language the process is even more complicated and may take longer, and with poor teaching to add to all that, the process becomes very long and arduous indeed. Now to instruct the child in a language which he/she has not mastered is, in my opinion, to make life unnecessarily difficult and frustrating for
Expert in Experimental Anthropology have been led into drawing the conclusion that a child's insufficient control of the medium of education will lead to rote learning (cf. Cole et al., 1971, pp. 50 - 51). J. MacNamara, the Irish specialist on bilingual education, has warned that students who have to conduct their studies in a language other than their mother tongue, encounter serious difficulties because of their insufficient mastery of the language of instruction. He points out that the results of research point to the fact that not only reading but also understanding what is read takes much longer in a second language than in the mother tongue. Both these findings are of great importance to Mozambique, in particular, and Southern Africa, in general. Role learning is a familiar feature of African education. Children and even university students commit to memory concepts and terms they hardly understand, and who can blame them if the tools of education are such that they cannot do otherwise? Anyone who has gone through the African school system cannot question the validity of MacNamara's findings. And the truth becomes even clearer if one refers to the experience of Africans who were educated at the University of Lourenço Marques when a large percentage of the student body spoke Portuguese natively, and where the African struggled not only with a second language, but also with all the negative psychological pressures imposed on him/her.

But there is more to the question of teaching children than that. As already pointed out, the average child internalises the grammatical and sound systems of his/her language around the age of six. At the same time, he/she has acquired a wealth of experience with the help of his parents, sisters and brothers. If he/she goes to school at the age of six or seven, brings from his/her home a wealth of experience and skills. It is at this age that the child has learned to be fully vocal, to exploit language skills. If school is to be meaningful to the child, the teacher must expand on the experience. He/she must build on what the child already has in terms of experience and language. Now in Mozambique, the Ministry of Education has inherited a policy which makes it compulsory for the teacher to curtail this development by introducing
a second language as the medium of education from the very beginning of the child's school career. Instead of building on the child's experience and language skills, the teacher stifles the child's efforts by bringing in a completely new medium of organising experience, a completely new medium of self-expression. Talking about the situation in Botswana, M. Lesolle (1975) has emphasised the need to ensure continuity of experience. The experience which the child has accumulated before coming to school, Lesolle argues, must form part of the school programme, and this means teaching the child in the mother tongue for, at least, two years before introducing a foreign language. In addition to what Lesolle says, it is also pertinent to point out that educationists in Africa are coming round to the view that primary education is richest, most meaningful and most relevant for the African child when given in the mother tongue, and experimental evidence is being sought to prove the point (cf. Bamgbose, 1976, pp. 113 ff).

It is not only the question of educational achievement that I am concerned with here. The influence of the modern school on the African child should also be discussed. In introducing a European language, the colonial power also introduced Western-type schools. In other words, not only was the medium of education to change for the African child but the whole concept of education was also to change. In Portuguese territories, Mozambique included, the general curricula of secondary and primary schools closely resembled Portuguese models just as in British territories where the curricula of secondary and primary schools closely resembled British models (cf. Perren & Holloway, 1965, p. 17). Westerman (1949) was one of the first Europeans to express grave misgivings about the impact of Western education on African social life. In the work already referred to, Cole and his co-authors (1971, p. 51) have said of Western-style schools in Kpelleland, Liberia, that they are "... a source of culture contact and culture conflict, and the child who attends school is the focus of both contact and conflict". The same writers also leave the reader in no doubt that the school is an active agent in the devaluation of traditional culture among the Kpelle children.

This observation of anthropologists on the Liberian situation is applicable to
most parts of Southern Africa, Mozambique included. Adding to this is the all-important question of the language of instruction which makes the gap between the school and the home environment becoming too wide to be bridged. What is even more confusing for the child is that he/she is supposed to live in these two different worlds everyday for five days a week.

All the arguments presented above point to one conclusion - the necessity to teach children in their mother tongue at the beginning of their school career. But, one may ask, what about the all-important question of the language of instruction at higher levels? The child is, after all, going to be taught in Portuguese eventually. Why not make an early start so that by the time the child comes to secondary school he/she is quite at home with the language of instruction? In this section of the last Chapter, I am mainly concerned with the effects on the child of chosen medium of education and will not treat the question fully. One might simply say that it is possible to educate the child at primary school in his/her language and teach him/her the second language in such a way that he/she can still do well in it at secondary level. What one wants to emphasise here is that education should not be restricted to intellectual achievements alone. But more important than that is the idea that education should extend to the wider scope of character building, the development of personalities and the inculcation of what may be called 'humanistic attitudes', in other words, the awareness on the part of the learner of the existence of his community, and of his/her responsibility to that community, as opposed to ambitions for purely materialistic and personal gains. Education should, lastly, create in the learner an awareness of the importance of national culture. If education is to do all this for the African child, educationists cannot afford to neglect the importance of mother tongue in the educational system.

7.4.3 - The Arguments for the Mother Tongue Education in Mozambique

The demand for universal education brings with it a demand for education in the vernacular languages. To many it will merely seem common sense that every child should receive instruction in his/her mother tongue. But, in a
country with as many different languages as Mozambique, the implementation of such a policy will pose obvious and formidable problems. Accordingly, it will not be adopted without considerable debate. The arguments that are being advanced in favour of the mother tongue education were briefly discussed in Chapter One. They, therefore, form the subject of this section of last Chapter. These arguments are of several different kinds: psychological, educational, social, historical and political. Their relationship to each other is concentric. Some are most closely related to the needs and development of the individual child, some to the needs and development of the immediate community in which he/she lives, some to the wider requirements of the political order to which his/her community belongs. Some of the arguments are practical in nature, being concerned with the efficiency of instruction. Others raise more fundamental questions about the function of language in education and of education in society. Indeed, around the issue of medium of instruction have formed attitudes that have both created and constrained the whole national language policy.

As quoted in Chapter One, the arguments centring round the individual child were summarised by a UNESCO conference of experts which met in Paris in 1951. To those experts it was axiomatic that the best medium for teaching a child was his/her mother tongue.

"Psychologically, it is the system of meaningful signs that in his mind works automatically for expression and understanding. Sociologically, it is the means of identification among the members of the community to which he belongs. Educationally, he learns more quickly through it than through an unfamiliar linguistic medium" (UNESCO, 1953, p. 11).

Each strand of these arguments, psychological, educational and sociological, has been extended and amplified within the developing world context.

The arguments from a psychological point of view have laid stress on the importance of the mother tongue in the child's intellectual, emotional and social development. Accordingly, Sharma (1957, p. 148), comments that:
No foreign language can take the place of the mother tongue and no system of education can afford to disregard it without serious detriment to the mental development of the child. One is dependent on the other for its existence. They grow and decay together. The child thinks and dreams in the language through which he/she acquires the earliest firsthand experiences of life. This naturally happens to be the mother tongue. And for this reason, the mother tongue becomes the first condition of schooling for the intellectual development of the child.

In the same line of thought, Chib (1936, p. 33) believes that it is also the condition for the child's emotional development. Because it is only in the mother tongue that "... a precise communication of emotions or thoughts ... is possible".

And finally, the mother tongue is also a condition for the child's social development. As a second UNESCO conference pointed out (UNESCO, 1953, Chapter 1), the mother tongue is the means by which the child adjusts to the life and culture of his/her social group.

"Learning through the mother tongue", the Indian Secondary Education Commission declared in 1956, "is the most potent and comprehensive medium for the expression of the student's entire personality" (Report of the Indian Secondary Education Commission, 1956, Chapter 5).

Psychologically, the use of a language other than the mother tongue is felt to inhibit the development of a child. Educationally, it both wastes his/her time and distorts his/her learning. For a foreign medium has to be learned and, in a country where the school life of most children is short, it is critical that:

"What schooling is received should be as effective as possible" (Cook, in UNESCO, op. cit.).

Even those who continue education beyond the primary stage, the foreign medium may never be adequately mastered. In 1916, Ghandi wrote:

"It takes about twelve years to obtain the matriculation certificate, but the general knowledge acquired over this
The main cause, he felt, was the time wasted in learning English. His opinions were echoed by the Punjab University Enquiry Committee of 1932-3 which concluded that:

"The time spent in obtaining mastery of English as the vehicle of instruction is very great, probably amounting to almost one third of the total period of education; it is doubtful whether the object of all this labour is even properly achieved by many students" (Quoted in Chib, op. pp. 25-26)

As a result of the neglect of the vernaculars, "...a large proportion of the pupils are unable to think and write clearly in any language".

The consequence of the students' difficulties with English as Ghandi pointed out, was that they developed the habit of learning whole passages of required textbooks by heart. A foreign medium does not merely occupy tome in the curriculum. It comes to limit what can be learned and how it is learned. To Tagore (1961, p. 68), it was the influence of English on the context of education that seemed the most pernicious.

"The schools in our country, far from being integrated to society, are imposed on it from outside. The courses they teach are dull and dry, painful to learn and useless when learnt. There is nothing in common between the lessons the pupils cram up from ten to four o'clock and the country where they live; no agreement, but many disagreements, between what they learn at school and what their parents and relatives talk about at home. The schools are little better than factories".

In Mozambique, an education in Portuguese did not merely generate all the difficulties of learning through a foreign language. It imposed a wholly foreign education - foreign, that is, to the culture of the child. As a research participant to the survey for this study pointed out when he said:

"Since our education bore no relation to our life, the books we read painted no vivid pictures of our homes, extolled no ideals of our society. The daily pursuits of our lives found no place in those pages, nor did we meet there anybody we happily recognised as our friends or relatives, our sky and earth, our mornings and evenings, or our cornfields and rivers. Education and life could never become one in such circumstances and were bound to remain separated by a barrier".
That education and life should come closer together was also Tagore's (1961) deepest concern. He hoped to achieve this by creating "ties of Kinship" between his pupils and both the human and natural world in which they were growing up. They should live in the midst of nature and come to know it through study and through cultivation. Tagore emphasises that trees and rivers and blue skies are just as necessary as benches and blackboards, books and examinations. At the same time, they should live with their teachers, learning responsibility for themselves and co-operation with others, under the discipline of austerity.

The discussion in the previous paragraphs leads to the conclusion that the question of language policy in education cannot be viewed in terms of one single factor. "In the last resort," Stern tells us, "it is a matter of interpretation of many facts and trends, and demands policy decisions of a sociolinguistic kind which will affect the whole educational system and the distribution of language learning in it" (Stern, 1969, p. 26). In other words, in making a decision on language policy in education we should make a panoramic view of the whole situation and decide what are the aims and objectives of education at all levels from primary school to university. Because of the necessity to do this, many countries in Africa and Asia have had to ask the following questions:

- When should the second language be introduced?
- How should it be introduced?
- What are the results to aim at?

Table 7.1 illustrates Stern's summary of the situation:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(1) L1 before L2</th>
<th>(2) L1 and L2 together</th>
<th>(3) L2 first choice</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'Mother Tongue Approach'</td>
<td>'Bilingual Approach'</td>
<td>'Second Language Preference'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Adapted from Stern, In Ngara, 1982, p. 124.
Stern explains that the first situation represents a setting where literacy and formal education are offered in the mother tongue, the learning of the second language being introduced after an interval of one, two or more years. The second situation represents a setting where the mother tongue and the second language are introduced concurrently. This method is typical of the bilingual schools which have become a familiar feature of the system of education in the United States and Canada. The third situation is representative of a setting where literacy and formal education are offered mainly in the second language. Mozambique opted for the third alternative. What I would recommend for Mozambique is the first alternative. I think this needs a fuller explanation.

The pedagogical implications of the implementation of the Portuguese and Makua/Tsonga programme in the school curriculum will be discussed more fully in later sections, but here it is proposed to outline the principles of the overall policy recommended for Mozambique. Starting from the promise that Makua/Tsonga and Portuguese should complement one another, I propose that each be given a dominant position over the other at a suitable level in the educational system. Accordingly, it is proposed that Makua/Tsonga be made the dominant language at the primary school level and Portuguese at the secondary and post-secondary levels. In other words, Makua/Tsonga should be the official language of instruction for Makua/Tsonga pupils at the primary level and Portuguese at secondary and higher levels. At the primary school, all subjects - Mathematics, Arithmetic, History, etc. - should be taught in Makua/Tsonga. Physical Education and sports should be conducted in Makua/Tsonga. The idea is, among other things, to give the child, an opportunity to learn the basic concepts in his/her own language and to give him/her freedom to express him/herself without the inhibitions imposed by insufficient mastery of the medium of instruction. It is necessary, however, that Portuguese should be introduced gradually in the academic life of the child so that a disaster may be avoided at the time when the medium of instruction changes from Makua/Tsonga to Portuguese. Accordingly, it is proposed that Portuguese be introduced in stages as illustrated in Table 7.2.
Table 7.2 - Proposed Stages in the Introduction of Portuguese in Mozambican Educational System

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Standard 1 and 2</th>
<th>No Portuguese at all</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Standard 3</td>
<td>Portuguese introduced as a subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard 4 and 5</td>
<td>Portuguese taught in Portuguese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard 6 and 7</td>
<td>Some subjects taught occasionally in Portuguese e.g. Mathematics, Arithmetic.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard 8 upwards</td>
<td>All subjects taught in Portuguese except Makua/Tsonga and other subjects to be specified.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

What is advocated here is the development of a form of bilingualism different in method of approach, if not in aim, from the one described in the second model of Stern’s diagram quoted above. The form of bilingualism where L1 and L2 are developed simultaneously as media of education may be called Simultaneous Bilingualism. This form of bilingualism may be termed Complementary Bilingualism, the point being that the national language (or mother tongue) and the international language (or second language) are seen to complement one another in the life of the bilingual, and the resultant bilingualism is developed in such a way that the learner has a balanced and effective control of two languages.

Critics may bridle at the suggestion that Makua/Tsonga should be taught in Makua/Tsonga throughout. There are practical difficulties to be encountered here, particularly as books will not be readily available in Makua/Tsonga, but I believe that, with effort, determination and sufficient preparation, Makua/Tsonga can eventually be taught in Makua/Tsonga at every level of educational system. According to Ngara (1982, p. 127) examples of languages that are used in this way to a greater or lesser degree are not far to find in Southern Africa: Kiswahili and Sesotho are taught in the medium of those languages to university students.

As already stated, the methods of ensuring that the programme will work are to be discussed in the sections which follow, but it is appropriate to point out at this juncture that there several advantages which accrue from the proposed form of bilingualism:
a) it encourages free verbal expression and effective communication at the lowest of academic life;
b) it enables the bilingual to formulate basic intellectual concepts in his native tongue — something that cannot happen under the present system;
c) it helps the learner to develop a balanced control of two languages;
d) it will yield handsome dividends in the field of adult literacy by enabling the State to launch effective adult education programmes in the language which everybody, young and old, understands. In this regard, it may be noted that elsewhere in Africa it has been recognised that "eradication of illiteracy is best tackled through a literacy programme based on the mother tongue" (Bamgbose, 1976, p. 20).

What is said here in respect of Makua applies mutatis mutandis to Tsonga and it is important to remember that there are also a considerable number of children who have Portuguese as their native language. These children will be as much entitled to receiving basic education in their native tongue as Makua and Tsonga children so that we will, in effect, have at least, three languages of education at the primary level. As already stated, the position of Nyanja and other minority languages should be examined. If there is a strong case for teaching, say, Nyanja children in their mother tongue, then the language should also be considered as a medium of instruction at least at the elementary level. The recommendation which follows leaves room for such a course of action to be followed:

RECOMMENDATION 2

With respect to the language of education, I recommend that:

a) children in pre-primary schools should be taught in the language dominant in the area where the school is located. Portuguese and Makua or Tsonga should be introduced gradually.

b) the medium of education at the primary school level be the child's mother tongue, in so far as mother tongue is here understood to mean any of three major languages in the nation - Portuguese, Makua and Tsonga - and any other language that may be deemed suitable for the purpose. That at secondary and higher levels, Portuguese be the language of instruction except in the teaching of national languages and other subjects to be specified by the Ministry of Education.
7.4.4 - Language in Government, Administration, Law, Industry, etc.

It is obviously dangerous for someone whose profession is not politics or administration to advise on language policy in these areas. But there are several issues that emerge from a linguist's point of view. One major consideration is that the use of national language in government is in keeping with the principles of democracy and egalitarianism. A democratic state which believes in the active participation of people in national development has no choice but to use a language which the man in the street understands. The alternative would be to teach a foreign language in a very big way, but this kind of policy might, as is the case of Mozambique, lead to linguistic dependence on another nation.

The question of how far the national language can be used as the language of government, administration and the law will have to be considered in relation to the number of recognize national languages in the country. If there is one national language, there may be no major problem in introducing it gradually as the language of Parliament, the law courts, etc. The case of Kiswahili in Tanzania proves the point. But if there are two national languages, then it might be necessary to use a common language, a language which is understood by speakers of both Makua and Tsonga, and that is, in the case of Mozambique, Portuguese.

A factor which militates against the early introduction of national languages in government and administration is the complexity of translating terms and documents. The language of legal documents with all its complexity must be very difficult to translate into Makua/Tsonga, at this state of our development. What is involved here is not only a matter of technical terms, but the accuracy of translating meanings and structures from one language to another. As Portuguese is heavily influenced by Latin and concepts which reflect the social structure of a European society, careful consideration will have to be given to means and ways of adapting foreign meanings to local situation.
would seem, therefore, that if Mozambique wants to use national languages effectively in government and the law a programme for developing these languages should be launched in a near future.

Whatever the problems involved in introducing national languages into the sphere of government, the law, administration, etc., it should be possible to develop gradually, starting with areas where the introduction of an African language is least problematic. There is no reason why Government documents such as certificates, official announcements, etc., should not be printed in both Portuguese and the national languages. Bank books, cheques and the like can be printed in more than one language and ordinary day-to-day transactions in banks, industry and Government offices should allow the use of a national language though, in some cases, documents may need to be written in Portuguese alone. In South Africa documents are always printed in two languages, English and Afrikaans. In Zimbabwe documents are sometimes printed in three languages, English Shona and Ndebele. In Mozambique, whether documents are printed in two or three languages would partly depend on the number of national languages in the country. If there is only one national language it will not be necessary to print all documents in three languages.

In my plea for the use of Makua and Tsonga in all spheres of life in Mozambique, I would like to cite Lesotho as an example. Lesotho is blessed in having one national language, but the point being made is that the Basotho are striving to introduce their language into every facet of life. There are two official languages in practically every office in Lesotho, Sesotho and English, and even Parliamentary debates are conducted in English. The supreme example of a country whose national language policy is succeeding is Tanzania (cf. Abdulaziz, 1971). It is remarkable that in spite of the fact that the majority of Tanzanians speak it as a second language (not a mother tongue) Kiswahili is replacing English in many sphere of life. This should be an encouragement to Mozambique and the rest of Southern Africa.

The success or failure of the implementation of a language policy such as the
one advocated here will depend, in large measure, on the extent to which the educational system reflects the overall language policy. Without language experts it will not be possible to have good translations which are vital in the development of Makua and Tsonga. Without people properly trained in both Portuguese and the national languages it will not be easy to make use of more than one language in Government offices and other offices. For competent bilinguals or trilinguals to be available, the nation must have well trained teachers at all levels of the educational system, and both Portuguese and the national languages should occupy a central place in the curriculum. The teaching of Makua, Tsonga and Portuguese and the training of teachers is to be discussed below. In the meantime, I would like to make the following recommendation:

RECOMMENDATION 3

With respect to language in government, administration, law, industry, and so forth, I recommend that:

steps be taken to determine to what extent and in what way the national languages of Mozambique can best be used alongside with Portuguese, in government, administration, law, and industry.

7.4.5 - The role of the National Languages: The Preservation, Teaching and Development of National Languages

It has been observed that a language usually has its usage fixed by rule when the danger of its undergoing corruption is felt (cf. Haugen, 1966, p. 5). Theoretical sociolinguists will be quick to allege purism and will point to the influence of Latin on Portuguese as a perfectly natural phenomenon. To this, one might simply reply that this language exerted its influence on Portuguese (or it became Portuguese) before the spirit of nationalism had its full hold on the peoples of Europe. Since then, language usage has been legislated and dying languages have been resurrected. The Irish and Welsh have sought to resurrect their dying languages; during the nineteenth century, Norwegian nationalism led to the creation of the Norwegian Landsmal in a deliberate attempt to free the language of Norway from Danish influence (cf. Haugen,
Supporters of the doctrine of linguistic determinism may argue that just as language determines the way people view the world, so language determines its own development regardless of prescriptions to the contrary.

Again, the normative linguist will emphasise that legislation helps to arrest the quick disintegration of language and that world languages are preserved by prescribed rules of grammatical correctness, rules which the foreign speaker must obey if he/she is to communicate effectively with the native speaker. Furthermore, the normative theoretician will argue that, like anything else in life, language can be planned. Nations plan their economies; husbands and wives now plan their families; there is no reason why language should be incapable of being planned. If linguistics change cannot be avoided, it can at least be directed.

A developing language like Makua/Tsonga needs more directing than a world language with a long literary tradition. What we call standard Makua/Tsonga today, is, to a certain extent, the result of this 'interference' with the spontaneous process of language development, the result of language engineering. Modern Hebrew is an even better example of language engineering (cf. Blanc, 1968). I will agree with Guxman that "... the formation of a new type of literary language, expressive of a common national unity, is impossible without conscious normalisation, without theoretical comprehension of the norm and codification of definite rules of pronunciation, usage and inflection" (Guxman, 1968, p. 774). I will also agree with the well known student of language planning, E. Haugen, who commenting on language planning in Norway remarks: "Although linguists generally bridle at the suggestion that language can be tampered with, it is here shown that given sufficient motivation, written and, possibly, spoken language, like any other social phenomenon can be deliberately guided and changed" (Haugen, 1968, p. 684).

The cultural element also comes in, the ideological domain of language planning, that is, the need to preserve the culture of a people and to give it an identity, the need to preserve that language which is the principal vehicle for the expression of national culture. This identity can be lost or preserved.
depending on the people concerned. The Welsh, the Irish, Norwegians, Jews, Afrikaans - all have sought to preserve or recreate their identity by resurrecting and developing their own languages. A leading figure in the discipline of language planning has expressed the importance of planning in the following words:

"Language planning provides populations with a new name, with a new mission - and, as a result, with the drive and the dignity that makes new schools, new factories, new homes and new diets not only acceptable but also necessary goals to work for and fight for" (Fishman, 1974, p. 89).

7.4.5.1 The Study of Makua and Tsonga in Schools

Makua and Tsonga should be the prime medium of instruction at primary school for all Makua and Tsonga-speaking pupils respectively. They should be taught as subjects right up to university and should be taught in Makua and Tsonga throughout. This will give them prestige, and will help them to develop their own terminology in literature, language and other spheres of academic life. The first steps in this direction were given by the Eduardo Mondlane University (UEM) in Maputo where some teaching experiments were carried out in Makua and Tsonga, to native and non-native speakers, with the objective of introducing them in formal education. The same university reports that Makua and Tsonga languages are included in the curriculum of the new linguistic courses currently running at the Modern Languages Department (cf. Machungo & Matusse, 1989, p. 135).

My suggestion is that for the above mentioned courses, the syllabus lay emphasis on the relationship between language and culture, covering, among others, the following areas:

a) The sounds and grammatical structures of Makua and Tsonga;
b) composition and conversation;
c) ability to understand different kinds of speech and writing;
d) modern Makua and Tsonga terminology;
e) Makua and Tsonga poetry (with emphasis on traditional poetry);
f) Makua and Tsonga riddles and proverbs;
g) traditional games and entertainments;
h) folklore and story telling;
i) customs and traditional norms of conduct.
Traditional methods of learning things should be explored and employed in the study of school subjects. In Physical Education, traditional games should be used.

7.4.5.2 - The National Language(s) Development Bureau

A National Language(s) Development Bureau should be set up to deal with language standardisation, orthography, terminology and translations from Portuguese and other languages. The same bureau could be responsible for the writing of school texts and for the designing of syllabuses, and should authorisethe publication of books written in national languages. The present Association of Mozambican Writers should be incorporated into this larger institution.

7.4.5.3 - Other Research Projects

Other research projects relevant to the subject under discussion should be considered in conjunction with the proposals made here. I would like to emphasise that Makua and Tsonga need stable orthographies if they are to develop as national languages, and that for the sake of national unity, uniformity in orthography is desirable. One cannot overemphasise the need for a final decision on the question of Makua and Tsonga orthographies, a decision which involves the participation of all interested parties.

The recommendations made here in respect of Makua and Tsonga should apply mutatis mutandis to other major languages, but I would strongly recommend that a study of the mutual impact of Mozambican languages and Portuguese be carried out along the lines followed in this work. Such a study should examine the way the different languages influence each other.

7.4.5.4 - The Setting Up of a Commission

All the suggestions made here would seem to require the setting up of a commission and the creation of a Ministry charged with the task of promoting and developing the national languages. This approach has been found useful.
in at least one country in Southern Africa, Tanzania, the country which has done more than any other country in Sub-Sahara Africa to promote the image and use of an indigenous language (cf. Whiteley, 1969, p. 112; Abdulaziz, 1971, p. 160 ff; Omari, 1982; Rubagumya, 1986). I would, therefore, close the discussion with a recommendation to that effect:

**RECOMMENDATION 4**

With respect to the role of national languages, I recommend that:

A Commission with sub-committees under it be set up to coordinate all matters relating to the development and preservation of national languages and culture, taking into consideration the proposal put forward in this study.

7.4.6 - *The Teaching of Portuguese*

According to Machungo & Matusse (1989, p. 134), the assimilative linguistic policy of Portuguese colonialism (resembling French colonialism) labelled the native languages as 'dialects' (a pejorative term) and as minor languages, used only in folkloric terms. As such, they were suppressed. In formal education, already significantly reduced, the Mozambican languages were hardly used, giving way to the use of Portuguese language except in certain schools directed by missionaries who were among the few to investigate local languages.

The studying, teaching and consequent promotion of our native languages would represent the development of nationalist interests. This was the situation we inherited. Thus, having acquired national independence, it was necessary to define a linguistic policy appropriate to the new situation of the country.

The role of Portuguese was to serve as the official language of communication, formal education, and as a potential instrument of national unity. Thus, a task of highest priority emerged: the study and systematisation of Portuguese language spoken in our country which has already acquired its
own distinct characteristics. As a result, there are currently linguists investigating various areas of descriptive linguistics, particularly in the areas of morpho-syntax, applied linguistics (error-analysis and contrastive analysis), and areas of sociolinguistics. Priority is being given to the area of didactic pedagogy with the aim of establishing an appropriate language teaching methodology since Portuguese is a foreign language for the majority of the population even though it is the official language of formal education. In fact a great number of Mozambican children come into contact with the Portuguese language, for the first time, in primary school. For them, this raises their consciousness of a new world: school. This includes new scientific subjects in a language not familiar to them throwing into question the entire process of teaching and learning. Moreover, the community in which they live does not use Portuguese, has very little access to audio-visual media or Portuguese texts and the linguistic and pedagogical competence of our teachers need development. As a result, Mozambique suffers from a high incidence of academic failure as shown in Table 7.3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Primary enrolment ratio (1992 %)</th>
<th>Graduates/grade 1 total (%)</th>
<th>Graduates/grade 1 girls (%)</th>
<th>Enrolments girls/total (ratio)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maputo City</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>14.8</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>1.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maputo Province</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>0.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaza</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>1.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niassa</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>0.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tete</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>0.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cabo Delgado</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>0.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inhambane</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>0.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zambézia</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manica</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>0.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sofala</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>0.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nampula</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>0.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Average</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>0.86</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Adapted from Martins, 1992
From the above Martins useful data on regional onbalances in graduation rates between provinces a number of features are apparent:

- Enrolment ratios for most provinces are within a relatively narrow range, between about 40% and 60%. The only exceptions are Maputo City (88%), Nampula and Sofala (33 - 35%).

- There is a significant difference in enrolment ratios between the South (Maputo City and Province and Gaza) and the rest of the country; but there is no clear pattern outside the south, either between regions or in terms of the relative impact of the civil war.

- Completion ratios are very low, and vary enormously between provinces (between 3% and 15%). They are lowest in the North East (3 - 7%); otherwise the geographical pattern is unclear.

- There is a relatively weak relationship between primary enrolment ratios and overall completion ratios. Thus some provinces with enrolment ratios well below the national average have substantially higher completion rates (notably Manica and Sofala).

7.4.6.1 - Age of Introduction

I have already outlined the way Makua, Tsonga and Portuguese are to be introduced at primary school (see Table 7.2 above). The medium of instruction for the first two years of the child's schooling should be exclusively Makua or Tsonga. It should be possible during these two formative years to develop the child's skill in speaking, writing and reading Makua or Tsonga. By the time Portuguese is introduced in Standard 3, the average pupil should be quite fluent in reading Makua or Tsonga and skilful in writing it. By so doing, we would avoid the danger of introducing two different orthographies and two phonetic systems at the same time.

The question which always arises in the introduction of a foreign or second language is at what age should that language be introduced to the child? Is it too late to start in Standard 3? Would an earlier age not facilitate the learning of Portuguese, since the younger the child the better? Well, opinion based on research is generally in favour of initiating foreign language teaching at eight or nine years of age when the child is still receptive enough to learn a new system (cf. Stern, 1969, chs. 10 - 12). This fits in very well with suggested
policy. It is proposed that the child should start school at the age of six so that he/she can have two years in which to master the basic patterns of his/her mother tongue without the interference of the school language which will be introduced at the convenient age of eight.

7.4.6.2 - The Oral Approach

If it is generally agreed among experts on language teaching that oracy should be the rule in the early stages of the second language learning process (cf. Sharp, 1973, ch. 4). One of the things which have gone wrong with Portuguese teaching in Africa is precisely that reading and writing have been introduced too early. It is therefore, important that the child be exposed to as many Portuguese sounds as possible through the ear before he/she can read any Portuguese at all. Accordingly, pupils should be trained to listen to sounds and to produce them before they see them written. Indeed, it is not too much to suggest that, during the first half of Standard 3, when Portuguese is introduced into the curriculum, the child should not see anything printed in Portuguese. As a general policy, command of spoken Portuguese and mastery of the phonemes and basic patterns of the language should be the main objective in Standard 3, reading and writing receiving emphasis from Standard 4 onwards.

7.4.6.3 - Portuguese as the Medium of Education

The gradual introduction of Portuguese which is advocated here will go a long way towards avoiding the disaster which may result from the change-over from one medium of education to another. But there is no doubt that our form of bilingualism will make it unavoidable for Standard 8 pupils graduating from primary school to be flooded with Portuguese to a degree previously unknown to them. Most of their subjects will be taught in Portuguese, there is more to learn than at primary school and new subjects are presented in the medium of the second language. If the language programme is not carefully planned, the change-over from Makua or Tsonga-medium primary schools to Portuguese-medium secondary schools could have a disastrous effect on hundreds of pupils. Ngara (1982, p. 147) comments that a South African teacher in
Johannesburg has pointed out that the change-over from an African language to English coupled with large numbers in one class often leads to 50% of the pupils failing in Form 1. With careful planning such a disaster can be avoided. In Tanzania there was a time when the change-over from Kiswahili-medium primary schools to English-medium secondary schools led to a disaster similar to that of the South African case mentioned above though not of the same magnitude. The system was not carefully controlled, with the result that many children failed to benefit from a secondary education. The remedy for this was to have an intensive preparation course for pupils entering English-medium secondary schools (cf. Isaacs, 1970). This is what we need in a modern Mozambique. The pupil will be exposed to the voices of many teachers in Portuguese, so he/she will need a lot of practice in listening skills: he/she will need training in responding to spoken Portuguese generally, and in understanding Portuguese as it is spoken by all his/her teachers. He/she, too, will be required to speak to his/her teachers in Portuguese; therefore, a lot of practice in spoken Portuguese will be demanded of him/her. He/she will be exposed to new concepts, new structures, new words - all arising from the subjects taught at secondary schools. It is necessary, therefore, that he/she should have an intensive course in all these structures, vocabulary items, etc., at the beginning of Standard 8. The learning of all these items should be part of an intensive comprehension programme whose aim is to expose the child to a wide variety of Portuguese registers and to train him/her in understanding varieties of Portuguese that are related to the subjects in the school curriculum. Practice in writing Portuguese will also be necessary at the beginning of the child’s secondary-school career. In short, what is proposed in this study is that on entry to Standard 8, before the regular Portuguese course starts, all pupils should undergo a special intensive Portuguese course with the following objectives:

a) to help him/her to understand his/her teachers;
b) to help him/her to have a good command of written and spoken language; and

c) to enable the pupil to understand the varieties of Portuguese that he/she is going to meet during the course of his/her study.

A decision has to be made regarding the length of this 'service' course.
Zambian experience in a course of this nature suggests that six weeks is sufficient (cf. Weatherhead, 1973).

7.4.6.4 - The Teaching of English

As stated in Chapter 4, the purpose of language teaching in colonial Mozambique was to serve the interests of the Portuguese colonists. Well aware of Mozambique's geographical distance from French-speaking countries (besides the fact that their forms of colonialism followed similar patterns), the Portuguese deliberately gave priority to the teaching of French rather than English. Thus, French taught from Standard 5 onwards, whereas English was not taught until Standard 7. Today, after independence, French has disappeared from the curricula of all educational institutions in Mozambican educational system.

Although Mozambique has opted to maintain Portuguese as its official language, Mozambicans do recognise the fact that English is an international language. Therefore, Mozambique needs to communicate its situation to the world through participation in problem-solving and decision making pertaining to world issues through the United Nations (UN), The Organisation of African Unity (OAU), The Southern African Development Community (SADC) and now the Commonwealth, and other such channels of communication in the English language.

Apart from the geopolitical reasons, many tertiary institutions and workplaces need to cope with the mass of study-research materials available only in English, or to deal with computerisation, telexes, import-export documentation, or simply to read between the lines of commercial correspondence and foreign agency agreements. Mozambique also needs English to maintain its role as a trading outlet for goods of the landlocked SADC countries. English is, therefore, essential for Mozambique to best promote its interests.

Besides the above mentioned needs which make the teaching of English so imperative, there other reasons which are equally important in the teaching of English, especially at the university level but also in other institutions of higher
learning. According to Machungo & Matusse (1989), Most department in Mozambican universities have their own libraries full of books written in English and only a limited number of other books written in other languages. Although these other languages are more accessible to the students, they are aware that such books are translations and, in most cases, poor translations. Consequently, students spend a considerable amount of time reading texts, but understanding little of the content and gaining little insight.

As a result, 1985, English was made compulsory for all university students irrespective of their field of study. English courses are designed either as ESP or as EAP with emphasis on reading and listening comprehension. Besides, the internal need of students to learn English, it would also seem awkward to have graduates in Engineering or Medicine unfamiliar with English or any other major international language.

Language in education in Mozambique has its own peculiarities. Rather than teaching English as a second language, we teach it as a foreign language. This is because the majority of Mozambicans first learn their mother tongue (if not two or three additional vernaculars) before learning Portuguese. At a much later date, they learn English. One aspect of language learning in Mozambique worth noting at this point is a socioeconomic one. There are different scenarios which are involved: on the one hand, there are school children whose families communicate in Portuguese at all times and, on the other, communication always occurs in the vernacular. While the former learn Portuguese mostly by intuition, the latter go through a process of language learning techniques as they begin learning Portuguese as a second language. By the time they undertake English learning, their third language, they already have been through the language learning process and, consequently, go through this process again with already acquired language learning skills.

In sum, as the Lingua Franca of the Southern African region and as the most International Language of Commerce, Technology and Academic Exchange, English is of vital importance to the development of Mozambique. It is also
apparent that the acquisition and effective deployment of higher-level skills are increasingly dependent on competency in English. In recognition of this, all students in Mozambican universities and other higher education institutions are required to take and pass a two-year Service English Course; to fail English is to fail university. However, students in higher education institutions appear to have a serious disadvantage in so far as meeting the English language requirements is concerned; because, under the existing education provision, they will have received English for three hours per week, on in Standards 7, 8 and 9 in secondary school, and in many cases, no English at all in pre-university level (Standards 10 and 11, redesigned 11 & 12 under the New Education System - NES).

In addition, after Independence, English was not a 'matriculation' subject in secondary education and thus, a student's motivation to acquire English might have been weak. It is also the case that significant number of students in higher education institutions may have not received their full quota of English instruction because of teacher shortages in secondary schools, particularly those in some of the provinces. Accordingly, students in higher education institutions are, in the main, poorly equipped to handle prescribed texts in English and are often in need of quite basic remedial courses if they are to avoid failure. This is also because most of them undertook their academic instruction through evening-classes where English as a subject had never been introduced.

In the context of all above, I consider English to be of vital importance to the economic development of the country, and its teaching to the Mozambicans to be urgently necessary.

7.4.6.5 - The Desirability of Languages Teaching Panel

The experience of other Southern African countries has shown that for a good and comprehensive language programme to be mounted throughout the school system, it is necessary to set up a national languages panel comprising the Senior Inspector of Languages or his/her equivalent, representatives from universities and training institutes and colleges, teachers
representing the primary-school sector and the secondary sector, and other interested persons. I believe in its usefulness and, therefore, will proceed to recommend the set up of one for Mozambique.

**RECOMMENDATION 5**

With respect to the teaching of languages, I recommend that:

A Language(s) Teaching Panel be set up to co-ordinate all matters relating to the teaching of languages in the country, and to organise the designing of syllabuses and courses appropriate for Makua and Tsonga pupils at primary and junior secondary-school levels, taking into account the proposals made in this study. The panel should always keep in mind the complementary functions of Portuguese and the national languages of Mozambique, and should, therefore, work hand in hand with the proposed national language(s) bureau.

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7.4.7 - The Training of Language Teachers

7.4.7.1 - The Need for a New Approach

The changes proposed in 7.4.5 and 7.4.6 above are so drastic that without an equally drastic change in the training of teachers the policy cannot meet with success. It does matter how good and how ideal a language policy is; if teachers are not available to make sure it is properly implemented, then no amount of planning will yield anything like the results expected by the planners. The vital importance of the availability of qualified staff extends to all areas of education. Referring to Cambridge Overseas Examinations Syndicate, the then Secretary for African Education in Colonial Rhodesia was able to boast that "The figures for 1973 showed that Rhodesian results continued to compare more than favourably with those of all other Southern African countries" (Rhodesia, 1974, p. 23). Such good results were possible because the availability of trained teachers. Teachers were available in Rhodesia partly because the vast majority of educated Africans had no option but to join the teaching profession. In many independent countries where employment opportunities are open to all citizens in all fields, the tendency is to look for more attractive jobs in government and industry, with the result that the teaching field suffers, a great shortage of qualified teachers develops,
making education poor. That is what is happening in Mozambique where many excellent teachers and many would-be-teachers are being attracted by other government and better paying jobs elsewhere. This underlines the need to maintain good training programmes for teachers and to expand them giving particular emphasis on improvement of teachers pay and other conditions. Even under the present system, there are not enough teachers of Portuguese and English in the country, as previous sections above clearly indicated.

Since language is crucial to the whole intellectual and social development of the child, and in consequence, of the whole nation, it is of the greatest importance that due attention be given to training programmes for language teachers. There must be a well-planned programme for training language teachers at all levels of the educational system from primary schools right up to institutions of higher learning. Under the present system in Mozambique it does not appear to be a scheme for training language specialists at the primary level. For the successful implementation of the policy proposed here, it is suggested that language specialists be trained at the primary level as well as at the post-primary level. The earliest years of language study are crucial. Many of the so-called 'fossilised errors' occur at primary and junior secondary school levels where teachers lack sufficient control of the Portuguese language. This is where all the pronunciation errors in Portuguese are built into the child’s language system. Furthermore, if Makua and Tsonga are to become truly effective media of education for primary school children and an effective vehicle for the expression of national culture, then the training of Makua and Tsonga teachers should be taken as a matter of the greatest importance. The proposal being made here is that language specialists be trained to teach Makua or Tsonga and Portuguese to primary school children. Such teachers would be primarily responsible for the teaching of language and would, therefore, be required to be perfect bilinuals with sufficient command of both languages to teach both. The results of this line of approach are obvious: it ensures that at each school language is taught by someone who knows what he/she is doing and who has a good command of the two languages. The Makua and Tsonga programme would benefit immensely from the presence of someone who has been fully trained in the teaching of
language 'for national development', for the sake of enhancing the cultural heritage of the people. Portuguese will equally benefit from the approach. In the first place, a thoroughly trained language teacher will help pupils to get a sound grasp of the structures and sound system of Portuguese. Apart from that, the chances of pupils being exposed to poor models of Portuguese will be considerably reduced since the other teachers will be required to teach their subject in Makua or Tsonga.

7.4.7.2 - Guidelines for the Preparation of Language Teachers

There is no doubt that the training of language teachers will present problems, both financial and organisational, especially at the primary level. Initiating a programme of this nature will initially tax the financial and manpower resources of the nation. Inevitably the Ministry of Education will have to depend heavily on in-service training courses for a start. Many men and women of promise already in the field could be sent for special training with the intention of sending them back to their original schools or districts to serve as language experts. It may be necessary to train a limited number of specialists from each district every year until all schools are furnished with language specialists. Orientation and refresher courses could also be organised during school vacations.

I am currently engaged in teacher education and find the articulation of principles necessary. In a study of this nature, it is not possible to outline all the course titles for the syllabuses to be taught at various levels, but it is necessary to formulate the principles on which training programmes for language teachers may be based. The following points are sufficient to indicate the areas which the teacher-training programme for both primary and secondary schools should concentrate on, although some points may not apply to the primary level. The points are presented in summary form.

The language teacher should have the following qualifications:

1. A good command of Portuguese, including a good standard of pronunciation; facility of expression in writing; a good reading
ability; and fluency in spoken Portuguese.
2 An understanding of the nature and functions of language.
3 A sound knowledge of the student's mother tongue, with emphasis being put not only on grammar and phonology, but also on practical command of the written and spoken forms of language.
4 A sound knowledge of the phonological and grammatical structures of Portuguese.
5 An understanding of the processes of language acquisition and language learning.
6 Training in Contrastive Analysis with special reference to the two languages.
7 An understanding of the problems of education in bilingual and multilingual communities.
8 A thorough training in language teaching methodology with particular emphasis on performance objectives, such as the ability to:
   (I) prepare good lesson plans and to formulate objectives;
   (II) construct teaching materials;
   (III) inspire pupils and hold their attention;
   (IV) manage pupils, space, time and materials.
9 An understanding of the objectives and methods of teaching literature in African schools.
10 A fair knowledge of of the literature of Makua or Tsonga and Portuguese.
11 A grasp of the role of language in education.
12 An understanding of the complementary roles of Portuguese and the national languages in national development.

RECOMENDATION 6

With respect to the training of language teachers, I recommend that:

The training of language teachers, particularly for primary schools, be given priority.

7.4.8 - Final Recommendation

It is my hope that the proposals contained in this study will help to bring about a desired equilibrium between the complementary function of languages in Mozambique. It may well be that pilot projects may have to be set up in order to determine scientifically the effectiveness of some of the proposals made here. In this connection, I would like to cite the example of 'The Six Year Primary Project in Nigeria' which was concerned primarily with the question of the most appropriate language policy for efficient primary education among
A Sociopsychological Survey of Language Attitudes in Southern Africa:
A Case Study of Mozambique

Yoruba children in Western Nigeria (Bamgbose, 1976, pp. 113 - 134). Similar projects could be set up in Mozambique.

If the programmes recommended in this study are to succeed, the Government of a modern, democratic and independent Mozambique must consider them along with its political, economic and social plans for the country. I do recognise, however, that the Government of Mozambique faces immense practical problems of an economic and political nature. Now that there is peace in the country, I believe the nation is firmly set on a new path of social, economic and political development, linguistic matters may take second place to questions of rehabilitation and national reconstruction in its more general sense. However, sooner or later, the Government will have to face the issues discussed in this study squarely. Moreover, the policy recommended in this study, if adopted, will help in creating a new ethos of a people with a new sense of purpose and a new sense of identity. Coupled with a sound ideology, a sound economic policy and a sound educational policy, the proposals suggested in this study will give the people of Mozambique a new direction and a common cause to work for. Because I believe this to be an important and worthwhile cause, I have the courage to make the following final recommendation:

**RECOMMENDATION 7**

With respect to the role of Government in policy formulation, I recommend that:

The Government of Mozambique consider recommendations for language planning and language teaching for inclusion in its development plan. That a suitably constituted body be instituted to decide when and how to implement them or modify them, if need be.
7.5 - Conclusion

The study of language attitudes continues to be valuable. While it may be necessary to divorce purely pragmatic attitudes from more integrative ones - especially in situations in which necessity tends to overwhelm personal values - and while there may often exist a distinction between positive and favourable attitudes, a strong case can be made for the importance of attitudes in understanding social relationships. They often provide a unique insight into personal and group dynamics. Interestingly, attitudes may become more important in more 'artificial' contexts in which necessity does not figure strongly. Macnamara (1973) has suggested the classroom as an example, and it is easy to extend the argument to many of the experimental and quasi-experimental contexts in which attitudes to language varieties are studied. "Artificial" in this sense connotes removal from the exigencies of ordinary life, rather than a complete divorce from the real world. It might be argued that to study attitudes in this way is to study something trivial, but this would deny the links which exist, however tenuously and however difficult to ascertain, between attitudes and behaviour. We should remember that attitudes which may not lead directly to behaviour today may do so in the future; a negative reaction to B.E.V. speakers, for example, may not prove of great importance until some interaction with them occurs.

This study can be thought of as an investigation of attitudes which are of some immediate interest and, also, which may provide some basis for future policy or action. All language attitude studies are, strictly speaking, undertaken in multilingual settings.

Several points noted in previous Chapters are worth re-emphasis at this point. The first is that some attention to the sociohistorical context is valuable for establishing the setting of current investigation. Second, it is important to stress the complementary nature of different approaches in sociolinguistic study. We are not so far advanced yet that we can afford to rely upon one methodology or one level of detail in our studies. Third, the study noted the
importance of language attitude study as a barometer of broader social relations. Generally, there is a good case for repeated studies in the same context to illuminate social change. Fourth, the explanatory value of covert prestige (and related phenomena) has been discussed for some years now, and it is likely that it will more and more become a useful concept. Fifth, the whole study pointed to the usefulness of further generalisation of our sociolinguistic insights. Sixth, the research demonstrates that detailed study may cause us to review earlier and possibly inaccurate/incomplete views.

This study indicates that we should strive for greater generality of insight, but not if this is to be obtained only on the basis of ignorance of important factors which may be more context-specific. In short, the topic is, in a formal sense, a new one and application of theory should be done cautiously and modestly. The present study should go some way towards illustrating this.

On the other hand, it has been made clear that the intention of this research-study was to argue for the need to empower Mozambican and other Southern African indigenous languages for more extended functions in national life in order for us to understand the sociopsychological, sociolinguistic and sociopolitical dimensions of language attitudes in the Mozambican language context. No study will close all gaps in language attitudes literature. It can only attempt to fill some of the space and glimpse the areas yet to be covered. This study attempted to do just that; that is, to note what space was filled and then try to indicate the areas that still need to be addressed. Recent developments in attitude theory can valuably be taken on board to refine and sophisticate language attitude research.

This translates into an appeal for those who are concerned with language attitudes to root their understanding in the rich soil of general attitude theory and research. Just as the vineyard keeper needs to understand basic agricultural principles as well as having specific knowledge of grape production, so with language attitudes. A fine wine is not produced by guesswork or novice entrepreneurs. The evolution of language attitude research needs refining by old and new general attitude theory and research.
Language attitudes are just one component among many in the overall, universal study of minority and majority languages. In Giles, Leets & Coupland's (1990) overarching framework of minority language processes at an individual and societal level, one major component is termed Sociostructural Perceptions. For Giles et al. (1990, p. 42):

"Different people have different fluctuating views about the vitality of their and its language vis-à-vis relevant others. The stronger the perceived sociostructural support for the language among the group and beyond it, the more it may seem worthwhile in investing energy in supporting it".

As different from dominant approaches to minority language shift, language planning, language status and language restoration (e.g. Fishman, 1990) which start and end their analysis at a group level, the complementary approach of this work has been to look at attitude at an individual level. To illustrate this: Fishman's (1990) eight stages of Reversing Language Shift examine how minority languages may move through a graded series of priorities to revive or restabilise a minority language. This perceptive analysis is at the level of language communities, neighbourhoods, generations, populations, communities, schools, work spheres, local government services and cultural institutions.

The remaining issues addressed by this study were investigated by research. The concern for reliable measurement, exploration of multidimensionality (or unidimensionality for that matter) of measuring and the preference for inter-relating all variables in an overall model has been exemplified in Chapter 3. The same chapter also sought, by research, to advance understanding of the origins of language attitudes and to construct a holistic attitude to bilingualism.

The results of language attitudes research suggested that at the age of 15 and 16 (high school) a major structural shift in attitudes takes place. While younger children express favourable attitudes to minority language, as the teenage years commence, positive attitudes to minority language decline. What happens at the onset of the teenage years to cause change? Puberty
and psychological changes? Adolescence as a period of storm and stress? The
development of abstract thinking (e.g. Piaget's formal operations period?). The shift
away from a family based existence to one centred more on the peer group?
The influence of the mass-media? The development of the peer group as an
orientation towards adulthood? Heterosexual relationships? The need for an
unified self concept, self esteem, and self enhancement? Further research
needs to probe such questions. To pose possible causes of language attitude
change is not solely a theoretical or research issue. Causes in decline in
positive attitude to minority languages area is an issue of policy and provision.

The mere list of questions indicate that locating causes will be difficult. The
answers will not be simple. The factors that evoke change are likely to be
many and varied, complex and interacting. Simple recipes will fail to capture
the variety of chemical actions and reactions that occur. However, from the
research analyses, some pointers emerge.

In the early teenage years, there may be a change in what is pleasurably
rewarding in an operant and classical conditioning sense. What is essential
for the ego and self esteem is reexamined. Among those whose language
attitudes change, status seem increasingly to come from the culture initially
experienced in the early teens. Discos, pop music, pop stars, spending time
with a peer group, starting to form heterosexual relationships become events
of the teens rather than of childhood.

The rewards of peer group conformity and culture may affect values and
attitudes. For example, the mege star rarely belongs to the minority language;
the 'top of the charts' group or singer performs in a majority language; the
models that many teenagers emulate from the screen rarely speak or
represent a minority language. To be consistent, a teenager may have to
reject minority language values to take on the values of the peer group.

The danger is in stereotyping . Of course, all teenagers do not fit into this
pattern. Of particular interest to this research was those whose language
attitudes seemed to stay favourable into the teenage years. Not all teenagers
become less favourable in their attitude to minority language. The key factor in
maintenance appears to be not engaging in the 'popular' peer culture. Rather, such teenagers chose continuity in cultures. Having a minority language background and involvement in minority language cultural events provided the anchor to retain a favourable attitude to the minority language.

The research suggests that a crucial event is whether the early teenager stays with, or moves away from, minority language cultural activity. What appears critical is whether minority language events stay rewarding and self enhancing. For many, minority language events do not provide the rewards, status and self enhancement desired. For others, (very Few) there is reinforcement and self esteem to be gained from minority language activities.

What do such results tell us about the fate of a minority language? A minority language will find difficulty in resisting the influence of majority language, popular mass-media culture, or against peer groups operating through the majority language. A bunker attitude to a minority language stands the risk of being the death of that language. A few zealots will remain; the majority will probably want to be in the global village and not an isolation ward.

For minority language attitudes to stay favourable, the reward systems and the cultural forms available must be continually revised and modernised. The widest range of cultural options needs to be available. A menu restricted to language lessons in school is a diet for the few. The menu needs to include a constant reinterpretation of minority language cultural forms. Minority language discos and dating, minority language rock bands and records, minority language books and dance festivals become as important as traditional cultural forms. Teenagers who actively participate in a minority language in the years of rapid personal and social change are those who are likely to retain positive attitudes. Speaking a minority language while passing a basket ball, passing a kiss, use on the football pitch or in the fast food shop becomes important.

In the last analysis, language planning can provide the conditions and contexts but cannot convince or obtain conformity. There is no easy, workable
solution to offsetting or countering the effects of majority language 'popular' culture. The research has shown the age group and their activities which pose a challenge. Efforts to provide a tantalising menu of opportunities and experiences in the early teenage years for minority language speakers are as important as the efforts of bilingual education.

Whether a minority language lives or dies may be about its ability to give a life-saving injection to the culture of its teenagers. The life support machines of language acts and agencies are only valuable if minority language culture in teenage years is alive and fed with new ideas and initiatives. When the language is lost in the teens and early twenties, it may be lost forever.

If there is a theme of the research that is a beginning, it is attitude to bilingualism. Attitude to a minority language has until now been a focus in minority language research. An attempt has been made at a conceptual and measurement level to delineate attitude to bilingualism as an holistic, additive and organic variable. A unidimensional scale to measure attitude to bilingualism has been derived and tested for internal reliability and validity. This is just the initial exploration. The scale needs testing with different samples varying in age and context. The value of attitude to bilingualism in policy making and as part of a wider theory of minority and majority language needs further assessment and amplification.

While languages in conflict and contact is a popular and negative theme, the assumption of the attitude to bilingualism theme is that the positive integration and relatively harmonic co-existence of languages within an individual is also worthy of consideration. While bilingualism at an individual and societal level may be in a constant state of change, this is not to suppose there is continuous conflict and contention. Within the evolution and development of language within an individual and within society can be a view of bilingualism as a unified entity. Bilingualism as a language.

Be that as it may, much about the story of language attitudes in Southern Africa still remains to be told. Several aspects of the phenomena, especially
with regard to individual indigenous languages, both big and small, are still intriguing or unknown. More in-depth and fine-grained research is mandatory for uncovering the mystery still shrouding many aspects of language attitudes in this region. I hope that this general sociolinguistic overview, besides contributing modestly to language policy formulation, planning and action by fostering a general awareness of the present state of language attitudes in Southern Africa among sociolinguists, administrators, politicians, language policy planners and educationists, will also, and perhaps more importantly, sensitise scholars to the need for further research. It is also my expectation that the present investigation will contribute towards providing the necessary basic foundation for such in-depth and more micro endeavours.

In sum, in view of the complex and challenging language scenario in Southern Africa, it would seem that multilingual language policies which facilitate the achievement of individual and societal goals, other language awareness, as well as mutual acceptance and respect for language and cultural diversity, hold a greater promise for generating positive attitudes towards languages, language policies, and between speakers of languages, than monolingual policies which tend to reinforce inequality and prejudice and in which one of a few dominant languages are revered, promoted and institutionalised as non-pareil. It would seem, too, that the strength of unity in multilingual and multicultural contexts resides first and foremost in adopting conscious strategies in keeping diversity alive, not in killing it. In most Southern African countries, such a multilingual policy would have to reckon with, and establish mutual harmonious coexistence between, the community languages, the major indigenous Southern African languages and the European languages. It is under the canopy of such respect for diversity that appropriate attitudes that do not threaten or jeopardise national unity and cohesion can best be developed.

Essentially, however, changing or influencing language attitudes through language policy directly involves changing people. Given the complex and intertwining network of factors involved in the formation of language attitudes, and the complexity and variability of human nature, changing people's
language attitudes often requires fundamental changes in societal organisation and structure. Such changes must be such as to make languages facilitate for both individuals and the society the use of language to achieve self-fulfillment, to project the self as well as individual and corporate identity and image, and to realise basic potentials.

Naturally, languages that lend themselves readily as means to such individual and societal ends will continue to be highly evaluated. Those that do not, will remain on a lower step of the evaluation ladder. At the moment, in most countries of Southern Africa, attitudes in virtually all domains that count in social mobility, especially education, are largely in favour of European languages and a few select major languages. Most of the other indigenous languages still rank low on the evaluation, esteem and prestige scale. This underscores the need to, deliberately, formulate language policies that can assist the other indigenous languages to rise higher on the evaluation ladder than hitherto.
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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1 - Republic of Mozambique (MAP 1)

MOZAMBIQUE
- International boundary
- Province boundary
- National capital
- Province administrative centre
- Railway
- Road

Source: Rita Ferreira (1976)
APPENDIX 3 - LANGUAGE ATTITUDES QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire is divided in four parts. Please answer the questions which apply to you as clearly, accurately and precisely as you can. You are not required to indicate your name. All information you give will be treated in strict confidence. Thank you.

Identification: Province _________ City _________ Date ______/____/1995

Part - A -: In this part, for questions 1 - 5, please answer them by marking a tick in the box which applies to you; answer questions 6 - 11 as concisely as you can.

Example: Most Southern African Countries are: □ Monolingual □ Bilingual □ Multilingual

Now please answer the following questions by marking a tick in the box which applies to you:

(1) - Sex: □ Male □ Female
(2) - Age range: □ 15 - 20, □ 21 - 30, □ 31 - 40, □ 41 - 50, □ 51 - 60, □ 61 +
(3) - Type of school attended: □ Government, □ Community, □ Mission, □ Private
(4) - Knowledge of Portuguese language: □ Very good, □ Good, □ Not very good
(5) - The highest level of education you achieved: □ Primary School, □ Secondary School, □ High School, □ Bachelor's Degree, □ MA, MSc or PhD., □ Others (Please specify) ________________
(6) - Occupation: ____________________________
(7) - What is your mother tongue? ________________
(8) - What is your Ethnic Group? ________________
(9) - Which other Mozambican indigenous languages do you speak? ________________
(10) - What language did you usually speak with your family when you entered primary school? ______ How do you feel about that language now (briefly)? ______ (see Appendix 2 for details).

Part - B - Please answer the following questions by ticking in one of the squares provided on the right: Portuguese - Indigenous - Both

What language do you usually use when:
(1) - at home
(2) - talking to your girl/boyfriend
(3) - in the community
(4) - at the market/buying or selling
(5) - in the sports field
(6) - in the classroom, office or field (farm)
(7) - writing letters to friends
(8) - talking to absent members of your family (living away)
(9) - talking to fellow students or employees
(10) - at the clinic or hospital
(11) - talking to your teachers or bosses
(12) - talking to missionaries
(13) - talking to educated people in general
(14) - writing business letters
(15) - travelling by bus, ferry-boat, train or plane
(16) - at church meeting where men and women are gathered
(17) - at political meetings
(18) - at conference, seminar or congress (within the country)
### Part - C: Please answer the questions in this part by indicating your response with (SA) strongly agree; (A) agree; (D) disagree; (SD) strongly disagree:

1. Portuguese language medium education means equal chances for all children in their future, because Portuguese language is the basis for further education in Mozambique:
   - [ ] SA
   - [ ] A
   - [ ] D
   - [ ] SD

2. Indigenous languages and Portuguese are equally important for Mozambique:
   - [ ] SA
   - [ ] A
   - [ ] D
   - [ ] SD

3. All educated Mozambicans, men and women, should know something about Mozambican languages and literature:
   - [ ] SA
   - [ ] A
   - [ ] D
   - [ ] SD

4. All educated Mozambicans, men and women, should be able to speak and write Portuguese:
   - [ ] SA
   - [ ] A
   - [ ] D
   - [ ] SD

5. A person who does not speak and write Portuguese is not educated:
   - [ ] SA
   - [ ] A
   - [ ] D
   - [ ] SD

6. Complex matters can be expressed more easily in Portuguese than in indigenous languages:
   - [ ] SA
   - [ ] A
   - [ ] D
   - [ ] SD

7. I believe that students would learn more effectively if they were taught in their mother tongue at:
   - Primary level:
     - [ ] SA
     - [ ] A
     - [ ] D
     - [ ] SD
   - Secondary level:
     - [ ] SA
     - [ ] A
     - [ ] D
     - [ ] SD
   - Tertiary level:
     - [ ] SA
     - [ ] A
     - [ ] D
     - [ ] SD

8. I believe that Mozambique’s major indigenous languages are capable of handling the modern sciences:
   - [ ] SA
   - [ ] A
   - [ ] D
   - [ ] SD

9. I regard the use of Portuguese as Mozambique’s official language as having a negative influence on our cultures:
   - [ ] SA
   - [ ] A
   - [ ] D
   - [ ] SD

10. I see the use of Portuguese as a medium of instruction in Mozambican schools and institutes as a threat to our National Identity:
    - [ ] SA
    - [ ] A
    - [ ] D
    - [ ] SD

11. I see the use of Portuguese as Mozambique’s official language as a unifying factor in the country’s multilingual context:
    - [ ] SA
    - [ ] A
    - [ ] D
    - [ ] SD

12. I would like to see only Portuguese being used in Mozambique in:
    - Education:
      - [ ] SA
      - [ ] A
      - [ ] D
      - [ ] SD
    - The Government:
      - [ ] SA
      - [ ] A
      - [ ] D
      - [ ] SD
    - The Community:
      - [ ] SA
      - [ ] A
      - [ ] D
      - [ ] SD

13. I would like to see only indigenous languages being used in Mozambique in:
    - Education:
      - [ ] SA
      - [ ] A
      - [ ] D
      - [ ] SD
    - The Government:
      - [ ] SA
      - [ ] A
      - [ ] D
      - [ ] SD
    - The Community:
      - [ ] SA
      - [ ] A
      - [ ] D
      - [ ] SD

14. I would like to see Portuguese and indigenous languages being, simultaneously, used in Mozambique in:
    - Education:
      - [ ] SA
      - [ ] A
      - [ ] D
      - [ ] SD
    - The Government:
      - [ ] SA
      - [ ] A
      - [ ] D
      - [ ] SD
    - The Community:
      - [ ] SA
      - [ ] A
      - [ ] D
      - [ ] SD

15. I would like to see an indigenous language becoming the official language in place of Portuguese in Mozambique:
    - [ ] SA
    - [ ] A
    - [ ] D
    - [ ] SD

16. I would like to see an indigenous language replacing Portuguese as a medium of instruction in our schools, institutes and universities:
    - [ ] SA
    - [ ] A
    - [ ] D
    - [ ] SD

17. I think indigenous languages are useless; there is no reason why they should be taught in our schools, institutes and universities:
    - [ ] SA
    - [ ] A
    - [ ] D
    - [ ] SD

18. Compared to Portuguese, my mother tongue is more expressive:
    - [ ] SA
    - [ ] A
    - [ ] D
    - [ ] SD

19. My knowledge of Portuguese and ability to speak it fluently make me feel superior to those who do not know Portuguese:
    - [ ] SA
    - [ ] A
    - [ ] D
    - [ ] SD
Part - D - To each of the following items are four responses. Please rank the four responses to each item in the order of most to least acceptable. Write a 1 on the line in front of the response most to your liking; a 2 in front of the response you like next, and so on. Please rank all four choices of each item, even if you feel that more appropriate responses are available.

(1) - Newly independent countries of Southern Africa try to develop their national tongues (e.g. Kiswahili in Tanzania) because
____ the foreign language reminds them of colonialism and dependence;
____ it will be easier for the Africans to make a living and get ahead;
____ they often try to overcome minorities speaking local languages;
____ Africans like to express themselves in their own languages.

(2) - Languages, such as English and Portuguese, achieved their special status in Southern Africa because
____ speakers of these languages subjugated other people and forced them to use their languages;
____ a varied and flourishing literature developed in them;
____ they are relatively easy to learn;
____ countries like England, USA, and Portugal enjoy great prestige.

(3) - Advocates of Makua-Lomwe and Tsonga as official languages in Mozambique will argue that this would
____ further the teaching and enjoyment of Mozambican and African literature;
____ help speakers of Mozambican indigenous languages feel equal to speakers of Portuguese;
____ make it possible for the two major races in the country in question to communicate effectively;
____ make it easier for speakers of Mozambican Indigenous languages to conduct their business.

(4) - Portuguese language is a required subject in Mozambican schools because
____ it is becoming the language of culture and science;
____ it is difficult to find a job without it;
____ it places pupils in contact with great cultural heritage;
____ it is the language of governing group.

(5) - Mozambicans need to study and learn Portuguese because they are made to believe that
____ its knowledge is necessary in order to read textbooks assigned in schools, institutes and universities;
____ its knowledge is necessary in order to pass the admission exams to institutes and universities;
____ its knowledge makes it easier to gain friends among Portuguese-speaking people;
____ its knowledge makes it possible to read Portuguese-language books for pleasure.

(6) - In countries (such as Mozambique) that do not insist on a unified language
____ national unity can be adversely affected;
____ misunderstandings can arise between social classes;
____ misunderstandings can arise between individuals;
____ literature may suffer and decline.

(7) - The main task of mother tongues or vernacular languages in Mozambique is to
____ help Africans communicate with one another;
____ give Africans a chance to express their feelings;
____ provide Africans with a focus for national identity;
____ make the learning of Portuguese a matter of choice rather than of necessity.

(8) - Do you think that the teaching and using of Portuguese, in this country, should be improved?  □ Yes  □ No. If yes, give suggestions:

(9) - Do you think that the teaching and using of local languages, in this country, should be improved?  □ Yes  □ No. If yes, give suggestions:

Note: If you think that Portuguese should be replaced by a local language as an official language, answer question 10; if not, answer question 11.

(10) - Give reasons why you would like a Mozambican language to replace Portuguese, as an official language, in Mozambique:

(11) - Give reasons why you would not like a Mozambican language to replace Portuguese, as an official language, in Mozambique:
APPENDIX 4 - VERBATIM QUESTIONNAIRE REPLIES

The following statements are a randomly selected sample of verbatim replies made by Mozambicans to the second part of the question: "What language did you usually speak with your family when you entered primary school? How do you feel about that language now (briefly)?" (see Appendix 3, question 10, part A)

TRADITIONALISTS

Sentimental Orientation

- Too many dialects and corruption by urbaners have disappointed me.
- I like Makua, and, no matter how sophisticated my children and grandchildren become, I shall try my best to encourage them to speak Makua wherever practicable.
- I understand Tsonga perfectly and enjoy speaking it. It is full of good humor and interesting idioms.
- Makua is very polite, for example, calling somebody elder to you by name is not permissible.
- I love Tsonga very much because it is my mother tongue and I can be able to express myself in it fully.
- I love Makua and I don't want it adulterated by other languages.
- I like Makua and I am proud of it.
- Tsonga is rich, expressive (the language of my fathers, the soil).
- I like indigenous Mozambican languages, but, of course, I like Makua more, that is because it is my mother tongue and I hardly use it elsewhere outside my own family.
- There might be prejudices for Tsonga, but it certainly is very expressive, a language to be proud and not ashamed of.
- I love Makua very much because it is my mother tongue and I can express myself best in it.

Value Orientation

- I now regard Tsonga as part of myself, but I used to doubt its value, I like it now.
- I feel I am a true African who hasn't lost his identity if I speak Makua.
- Tsonga is the only media through which I can have a chance to trace our history and customs.
- I feel proud to speak and learn more of my mother language.
- Makua is the language of my fore-fathers, but it is a bit unfortunate that due to urbanisation I cannot speak it in its purity and fluently.
- Tsonga gives me a sense of identity and belonging.
- As Makua is my mother tongue, I don't entertain having a better substitute.
- Tsonga gives me a sense of identity and belonging.
- Makua is my heritage.
- To me, Tsonga is better than Portuguese in any way.
- Tsonga is just as good as any other language and I am proud of it.
- People must be encouraged to continue speaking their languages - being the basis of cultural tradition.
- Tsonga's greatest value is for learning rich moral values of African culture.
- Tsonga embroils pride and preservation of one's own identity. Indeed, a heritage.
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Instrumental Orientation

- Generally adequately comprehensive but too full of potential ambiguities unless used with exacting precision.
- It is the language of my birth - I feel very highly of it.
- Useful because it is international.
- Glad that I can speak it because, at the present, it is a universal one.
- Unadulterated it is unbeatable as a means of communication and expression.
- It is a rich and fertile, constantly growing means of communicating with my fellow man.
- A language which is spoken in many countries, and therefore, useful.
- A precise, and excellent language for communication for people who have mastered it. For those to whom it is a second language it may lose its benefits because it is so difficult to master.
- As it is used in many countries, I think it is a very useful language to speak.
- The most useful, arrogant, selfish language in use today.
- This is one of dominantly used language in the world. Thus it is necessary for people to understand this language in order to facilitate study and advancement.

Communication Orientation

- In Mozambique it is essential to have a unified language. Portuguese is my primary choice because it is a world language for diplomacy, commerce, science and technology. This, however, should not preclude the teaching of indigenous languages to all peoples in Mozambique in the interests of greater understanding and heritage.
- Efficient medium for the expression of thought both inter-racially and internationally, on a cultural and diplomatic plane.
- It is very useful, and should at least be one of Mozambique's official languages.
- Extremely useful as it is so widely spoken but does nothing to help towards establishing a national identity.

Indifference

- No strong feelings that I am aware of - just chance that it happens to be my first language.
- It is no better than any other language but it is simply the language that I have been brought up speaking.
- Accept it without thinking about it.
- I don't even think about it.
- That an effort should be made to learn other languages as well, e.g., Makua and/or Tsonga in Mozambique.
- Portuguese being second nature, I've never considered it (my feelings, that is) and find it hard to do so now.
- No particular feelings; I would as readily speak Arabic if I could.

Negativism

- It is unfortunate in Mozambique that Portuguese is politically and economically necessary for self-advancement. For greater inter-ethnic understanding Makua and Tsonga should be made official languages, and should be taught at school instead of Portuguese (European) language. This latter tongue should be left as high school option.
- Just as rotten as the Portuguese!
- Nothing.
MODERNISERS - (about Portuguese)

Sentimental Orientation

- A very subtle and expressive language, the language of international communication and diplomacy, has a large and important literature.
- It is an inexhaustible source of pleasure, pride, interest, but not to the exclusion of other languages.
- A joy to hear spoken properly. A useful but beautiful language in theatre, cinema and literature, especially poetry.
- Highly developed, expressive, and able to cope with any situation.
- A very expressive language, lending itself to communication in all fields, artistic and scientific.
- It's the greatest - flexible, subtle, capable of fine lucidity, widely spoken.
- When spoken properly it is beautiful. It is a language of increasing importance. It is a good thing to educate as many as possible to speak it.
- I enjoy using it, find it very expressive (naturally) but English is more beautiful and I'd like to know Makua better.
- Necessary for communication, must be beautiful through communication of as many thoughts and feelings as possible.
- It can be a beautiful language if well spoken. Has a vast vocabulary and is interesting - if not merely taken at the colloquial level.
- It is quite expressive, but not as beautiful as English, and not as expressive as Tsonga.
- I feel that it is an enjoyable language and I love speaking it. It is however sometimes difficult to express myself in it.

Value Orientation

- I feel that all nationalities should be able to speak one language in common (English for example) and that Portuguese, with its heritage of literature, and considering that people of at least three continents speak it, should be encouraged.
- All foreigners when in Mozambique should learn, or be encouraged to learn, Portuguese. I feel that its use should be made universal.
- A good national language, but not the only one, i.e., Makua or Tsonga or both should be major auxiliary languages spoken by all Mozambicans.
- To be able to speak and write Portuguese really fluently is an art, but once the art is mastered it is the key to almost the whole world.
- All should learn Portuguese for international cultural value and Makua/Tsonga for local Mozambican value.
- Most of the greatest things that have ever been thought, said and done, have been translated into it; it suffices, even if it is not enough.
- It is one of the greatest languages, both modern and ancient, and I was fortunate to have been born into it. It does, however, because of its spread encourage a paternalistic attitude to other ethnic groups.
- It is the modern language - most expresses progress. Probably a symbol of domination but need not be so.
- It has developed a greater wealth of heritage than others. It is irreplaceable.
- It is better than any indigenous language.
- I feel it is the greatest. I find it difficult to learn others. I realise the need to know African languages.
- I feel that it is a language which embraces a great heritage, capable of expressing prosaic thought as well as the loftiest poetic inspiration.
- Very proud of it but find it inadequate in many ways and would like to learn others.
- A beauty of this world to be perpetuated in the hearts and minds of our children.
- Mother tongue - exciting literary heritage. Wide affective and cognitive vocabulary.
Instrumental Orientation

- Makua usually has a limited scope, but by being corrupted, its scope is widening and can be widened.
- I feel Tsonga is the best language for me because it allows me to think and express myself about everything within my environment.
- Makua gives confidence when speaking.
- Tsonga has adequate vocabulary then, but now its vocabulary is not enough. I speak more freely in Tsonga.
- It is easier to communicate in Makua, though some people say its vocabulary is limited.
- I like Tsonga because it is my language and no-one resents my using it, no-one gets mad if I make grammatical mistakes, no-one gives me dirty looks if I use the language badly.
- Being Makua a mother tongue, it is convenient but has many vocabulary deficiencies, especially in technical sphere.
- I feel more at home when speaking in Tsonga.
- I feel I can express myself powerfully and meaningfully in Makua.
- I express myself more explicitly in Tsonga, in spite of the apparent shortage of vocabulary that it has, compared to the richness in Portuguese or English.
- Both languages are quite rich and it is very easy to communicate in either.

Communication Orientation

- Makua is a widely used language in this country and I like it and use it everyday.
- I feel that among my people, Tsonga is the best language to communicate with.
- I feel Makua could provide, complementary with Tsonga, a basis for national unity and easier understanding between the two major ethnical groups in Mozambique.
- Any language is an essential media of communication, so the more it satisfies this condition, the better.

Indifference

- I have no feelings attached to any language, so don't ask me.

Negativism

- I cannot longer speak Makua well, I mean, without putting in Portuguese words. I also feel that it has become inferior to Portuguese.
- I feel that Tsonga to be taught in schools wouldn't be the Tsonga we speak at home.
- I feel that Makua is being undermined by Portuguese which in Mozambique, has a status since the more of it you know the higher the chances of getting a job.
- I feel I am using Tsonga less and less often when I am not at home and that I am losing my command in it.
- I feel Makua is deteriorating. Very difficult to speak pure Makua without inserting a Portuguese word here and there to make myself understood.
- I think Tsonga is so limited that it can't have:
  1. no scientific language significance outside Mozambique;
  2. no vocabulary relevant to industrial society.

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