

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

THE LANGUAGE ISSUE AMONG THE
POLITICAL PARTIES OF ETHIOPIA

BY

MEHARI ZEMELAK WORKU

FEBRUARY, 2011

The Language Issue among the Political Parties of Ethiopia

BY

Mehari Zemelak Worku

A Thesis Presented to the

School of Graduate Studies of Addis Ababa University

To the PANMAPAL Program

In partial fulfillment for the Requirements for the Pan African Degree of
Master of Arts in African Languages and Applied Linguistics

February, 2011

Addis Ababa University
School of Graduate Studies

The Language Issue among the Political Parties of Ethiopia

By
Mehari Zemelak Worku

Approved by Board of Examiners:

.....
Chairperson of DGC

Hasan Wondimu (Prof.)
.....
Examiner

Bekale Segum
.....
Advisor

.....
Signature

[Signature]
.....
Signature

[Signature]
.....
Signature

Dedication

This paper is dedicated to my father **Zemelak Worku Engda**, who was the first to tell me what politics is; and who dedicated his entire life to the public service of his fellow countrymen without asking for any benefit.

Contents

Tables.....	i
Acronyms.....	iv
Acknowledgements.....	v
Abstract.....	vi
Chapter One	
1. Introduction.....	1
1.1. Background of the study.....	1
1.2. Statement of the Problem.....	6
1.3. Objective of the Study.....	6
1.4. Delimitation of the Study.....	6
1.5. Significance of the Study.....	7
1.6. Organization of the Research Report.....	7
Chapter Two	
2. Review of Literature.....	8
2.1. What is Language Policy?	8
2.2. Functions of Language Policy	14
2.3. Motivations and Ideologies Behind Language Policy.....	15
2.3.1. The Motivations	15
2.3.1.1. Unification.....	16

2.3.1.2. Authentication.....	16
2.3.1.2. Modernization.....	16
2.3.2. LP Ideologies.....	16
2.3.2.1. Linguistic Assimilation.....	16
2.3.2.2. Linguistic Pluralism.....	18
2.3.2.3. Internationalism.....	19
2.3.2.4. Vernacularization.....	21
2.4. Types of Language Policy	21
2.4.1. Tolerance Vs. Promotion.....	22
2.4.2. Endoglossic vs. Exoglossic.....	23
2.4.3. Egalitarian vs. Restricted	24
2.4.5. Patten's Models.....	24
2.4.5.1. Official Multilingualism Model.....	24
2.4.5.2. Language Rationalization Model.....	24
2.4.5.3. Language Maintenance Model.....	24
2.5. Language in Education.....	27

Chapter Three

3. Methodology.....	31
3.1. Document/ Content analysis.....	31
3.2. Sampling Technique.....	31

3.3. Data Gathering and Analysis.....	31
Chapter Four	
4. Sociolinguistic and Historical Background of Language Politics in Ethiopia.....	32
4.1. Sociolinguistic Situation of Ethiopia.....	32
4.2. Language Politics in Ethiopia.....	35
Chapter Five	
5. Analysis.....	53
5.1. Overall assessment of the political parties' language policies.....	53
5.2. The Federation's Working Language	55
5.3. Language in Education and Language of Education.....	61
Chapter five	
6. Conclusions and Recommendations.....	65
6.1. Conclusions.....	65
6.1.1. Overall assessment.....	65
6.1.2 About the working language of the federal government.....	65
6.1.3. Language in Education.....	66
6.2. Recommendations.....	67
Reference.....	69

Tables

Table 1. The major ethno- linguistic groups of Ethiopia.....	34
Table 2. Potentially major ethno- linguistic groups of Ethiopia.....	34
Table 3. Administrative Regions and Languages of Instruction during the Italian Occupation (1935-1941).....	38
Table 4. The Existing Language in Education Framework.....	49
Table 5. Languages currently used as media of instructions in Ethiopia for primary level education.....	50
Table 6. Zonal Towns in SNNPR and Languages of Instruction.....	51

Acronyms

AEDP	All Ethiopian Democratic Party
AEUP	All Ethiopian Unity Party
ANDO	Argoba Nation's Democratic Front
ARDUF	Afar Revolutionary Democratic Unity Front
BGDUF	Benishangul Gumuz Democratic Front
BMPDO	Bahrworq Mesmes people's Democratic Organization
DDPDP	Dubie and Degeni People Democratic Party
DDQPDO	Denta, Dubamo Qinchilchila People's Democratic Organization
EDP	Ethiopian Democratic Party
EJDFE	Ethiopian Justice and Democratic Forces Front
EPAP	Ethiopian Pan-Africanist Party
EPLF	Eritrean People Liberation Front
EPRDF	Ethiopian people's Revolutionary Democratic Front
EPRP	Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party
ERAEP	Ethiopian Vision Party
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
FORUM	Forum for Federalist Democratic Unity of Ethiopia
GPRDF	Gambella People's Revolutionary Democratic Front
GSPP	Geda System Proponents Party
HNL	Harari National League

KPC	Kembata People's Congress
LP	Language Policy
MEISON	All Ethiopian Socialist Movement
OLF	Oromo Liberation Front
OLP	Oromo Liberation Party
ONC	Oromo National Congress
OPDU	Omo People Democratic Unity
PDRE	People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
PMAC	Provisionary Military Administrative Council
SNNPR	Southern Nations Nationalities and People's Region
TPLF	Tigray People's Liberation Front
UEDF	United Ethiopian Democratic Forces
UJDP	Unity for Justice and Democracy
WAZ- LEAGUE	League of the Proletariat
WPDF	Wolaita People Democratic Front
WPE	Workers' Party of Ethiopia
WSDP	Western Somalia Democratic Party

ኢሕአዴግ	የኢትዮጵያ ሕዝቦች አብዮታዊ ዴሞክራሲያዊ ግንባር
መኢአድ	መላው ኢትዮጵያ አንድነት ድርጅት
አንድነት	አንድነት ለፍትሕና ለዴሞክራሲ ፓርቲ
ሐብሊ	የሐረሪ ብሔራዊ ሊግ
መድረክ	የኢትዮጵያ ፌደራላዊ ዴሞክራሲያዊ አንድነት መድረክ
መኢዴጋ	መላው ኢትዮጵያ ዴሞክራሲያዊ ፓርቲ
ከሕይወት	ከምባታ ሕዝቦች ዴሞክራሲያዊ ኮንግረስ
አርዱፍ	የአፋር አብዮታዊ ዴሞክራሲያዊ አንድነት ግንባር
ኢዴፓ	የኢትዮጵያ ዴሞክራቲክ ፓርቲ
ኢራፓ	የኢትዮጵያ ራሕይ ፓርቲ
ኢፍዴህግ	የኢትዮጵያ ፍትሕና ዴሞክራሲ ኃይሎች ግንባር
አብኮ	የአሮሞ ብሔራዊ ኮንግረስ
አነፓ	የአሮሞ ነጻት ፓርቲ
ዎሕዴግ	ወላይታ ሕዝቦች ዴሞክራሲያዊ ግንባር
ደዳክሕዴድ-	ደንገ ግብፅ ከንቸልችላ ሕዝቦች ዴሞክራሲያዊ ድርጅት
ዱደብዴጋ	ዱቤና ደገኔ ብሔረሰብ ዴሞክራሲያዊ ፓርቲ
ገሥኢፓ	የገዳ ሥርዓት አራማጅ ፓርቲ
ቤጉዴግ	ቤኒሻንጉል ጉሙዝ ዴሞክራሲያዊ ግንባር
ወዝሊግ	የወዛደሩ ሊግ
መኢሶን	የመላው ኢትዮጵያ ሶሻሊስት ንቅናቄ

Acknowledgements

I doubt if I could have gone this far with out the essentially critical, honest and modest comments from my relentless advisor Ato Bekale Seyum. I have received a lot from him, not only for this paper but also for my life. Thank you!

I could have given up writing this thesis because of computer malfunctions that happened several times, if my 'personal IT assistant,' Buruk Zemelak Worku, was not beside me. He shall take the biggest share of gratitude in this regard.

I would like also to thank some of my friends at home and abroad, particularly my former teacher Mulusew Asratie from Utrecht University, the poet El Shadai Gebreyes from The Catholic University of America in Washington; Idar Bergford from Oslo University as their practical supports of materials have succored me a lot. My heart felt gratitude to Elizabeth Demissie, Zewdu Ayalew and Tigist Teferi for their kind words, supportive remarks and unsurpassable patience during the psychological and physical ups and downs I went through. The paternal support, with smiling faces and kind words, I received from my colleagues Dereje Gebre and Getachew Endalamaw was immeasurable. Thank you both!

To my academic benefactress Kallie Szczepanski from Boston University, who tries her best to provide me the best books in the world, my mind has found the words in my tongue unexpressive to what is in my heart. So I picked the heart felt repetition of the simple ageless expression: Thank you! Thank you! Thank you!

And above all these, my Heavenly Dad and my most loving and celestially graceful Mom, a fountain of 'Thank you!' from the depth of my soul for your hands that never get tired of carrying your obnoxious children. As you know, no metaphysician finds language as impotent as do the grateful.

Abstract

Ethiopia is a multilingual country framed by ethnic federalism with a multiparty democratic parliamentary system of government. The grand objective of this study is surveying, analyzing, categorizing and comparing the language policy proposals provided by the political parties of Ethiopia regarding language use in administrative purposes as well as in education. Basically, this is a descriptive qualitative research and the policies of the parties were outlined from their official manifestos and political programs. Hence, the method used is document analysis after taking representative samples from the political parties that are currently functioning in the country. The language policies of the parties are categorized taking the literature review on the issue of language policy in sociolinguistics as a framework. Moreover, the motivation behind the language policies is assessed. It is only a few of the political parties that were found to have a relatively clearly explicated language policy. There are also parties that do not have any language proposal at all. It is also found that there are explicitly stated demands for the promotion of one or more language to be used as the working language of the federal government based on its numerical muscle or instrumental value for science and technology exchange. On the other hand, although mother tongue education is mostly favored among the political parties despite its restricted use only at the primary level education, there are parties that propose the adoption of one language to be used as medium of instruction all over the country. In addition, there are proposals which forward the adoption of a selected federal working language(s) up to secondary level education as subject(s) of study in the entire schools in the country. Since Ethiopia is a multilingual state, with all the conflicts between different ethno-linguistic groups as history tells us, any developmental policy should always consider language as an issue to be thought thoroughly in planning economic development as well as regional tranquility. It is also suggested that the parties and the stake holders of the language policy business should base their arguments regarding language policy based on a well researched pros and cons evaluation.

Chapter One

Introduction

1.1. Background of the study

Because language has instrumental as well as symbolic values the issue of language will always have a political aspect (Smith, 2008: 207). Often, the choice of language and its use is construed as one of the central traits to people's definition of themselves (Thiong'o, 1986: 4). Besides, any given state must decide or determine the language that it deems appropriate to carry out its development and to generate, disseminate and enrich the knowledge necessary for such development (Fekade, 2003: 14).

In many societies language is described as an emblem of identity. However, the case grows problematic when it comes to Sub-Saharan Africa where "every language carries a distinct and weighty baggage" of identity and politics of identity (Obeng and Turvis, 1999: 374). Through out the history of the world, it is not uncommon to see denial of exercise, or avoidance, or prohibition of the language of the dominated among asymmetrical intercultural relationships. The same is true in places where assimilationist ideology governs. For instance, during the colonial period all ethno-linguistic groups in the then French colonies of Africa were forced to forgo their languages and cultures and assimilate to the language and culture of the colonial masters- the French (Shilington, 2005: 354).

Recognition and admittance of the exercise of a language in different domains of the society is usually considered as recognition of the society's identity and allowing access to resources. For instance, the Canadian constitution pronounces French and English to be the official languages of the country in order not to appear exclusive before the eyes of the citizenry who speak English or French exclusively (ERICARTS, 2010: [http:// www.culturalpolicies.net/web/canada.php](http://www.culturalpolicies.net/web/canada.php)).

However, this type of policy can also be used to sow division among different ethnic groups that duel in a certain area. During the Italian occupation period in Ethiopia, for example, some languages of different ethnic and religious groups were declared to be media of

instruction in schools. Despite the fact that the Governor general of every province was entitled to full discretion in establishing languages as media of instruction in schools, this was done to undermine the nationalist sentiment by showing Mussolini's sympathy and respect for the different ethno- linguistic groups of the country (Pankhurst, 1976: 322; cited in Bowen and Horn, 1976, 610). It was an attempt to persuade the people that the enmity of Mussolini was not with them but with some 'tyrant' king and his regime.

Needless to say, neither Mussolini nor his Fascist government were concerned about whether or not those languages were adequately developed to be used as media of instruction, or about the identities of the several ethno-linguistic groups in the country which were praised or despised. After all, the ultimate output of colonization had been deprivation, oppression and exploitation; in other words, exploit any available animate or inanimate resource in the colony to bolster the colonizer's comfort and development. What left a fertile ground for Mussolini's divide and rule stylized language policy was though, the preference of Amharic over the country's political as well as educational arena in the pre-occupation period. This asymmetry between the languages of the Ethiopian state has indeed continued in the post- occupation period (Cooper, 1976: 187).

The question of language and identity was one of the issues which made the students of the then HaileSELLASIE I University come to the streets to demonstrate. One of the students' strongest demands was the equality of ethnic and religious groups (Balsvik, 2007: 34 and 114). Correspondingly, since their conception in Ethiopian politics within the rebellious student movement, which only seemed to abate for a couple of years after dismantling the imperial regime in 1974, to rise later as several factions of Marxist groups, the question of linguistic rights as part and parcel of the question of nationalities has never been off the table (Merera, 2006: 123).

Soon after the imperial regime was ousted, the military regime- often called the Derg- held a nationwide literacy campaign using 15 indigenous languages. Later when the Derg, officially called the Provisionary Military Administrative Council (PMAC), started transforming itself into the government of the PDRE (People's Democratic Republic of

Ethiopia), for the first time in the history of the country the several ethnic languages were given a constitutional right in the 1987 constitution to be protected, practiced and improved. The preamble of the constitution stated that “the Ethiopian state has, from the beginning, been a multination state.” It vested the responsibility in the PDRE to ensure “the equality, development and respectability of the languages of nationalities.” Moreover, as stated by Article 88 of the constitution, the president was supposed to vow before the National *Shengo* (the Amharic equivalent of Assembly) to “indefatigably strive...for the realization of the equality of nationalities.” Yet, the constitution of the PDRE preserved the dominance of Amharic under the phrase “the working language of the state” in Article 116 (PDRE, 1987: 2: 19: 24).

Even before the pronouncement of the 1987 Constitution, although the PMAC sponsored a basic literacy campaign in 15 languages in three stages within the years 1979- 1982, the supremacy of Amharic as a medium of instruction in the formal primary level education was yet not shared by any other indigenous language. None of the languages were developed rigorously enough to be used beyond the basic literacy. This was one of the numerous weak sides of the PDRE government to be scrutinized by the then armed rebel groups, which were basically founded by disillusioned students who fled from the cities to escape persecutions by the regime (Mekuria, 1998: 115; Cohen, 2006: 169; Balsvik, 2007: 114; Smith, 2008: 220; Ivan- Lukas, 2010: 105; <<http://www.igitur-archive.library.uu.nl/dissertations/2005-0106-105411/c4.pdf>>).

They criticized the regime for being the worst extension of the monarchical system which was disparaged for its assimilationist policy of oppression against the different ethno-linguistic identities of the country, although this was not the only issue they raise against the regime (Mekuria, 1998: 115; Cohen, 2006: 169). Cohen (Ibid: 168) cites the following two points as factors for the underdevelopment of the other indigenous languages and the dominance of Amharic in the education sector:

First, the practical realities of providing education for rural Ethiopians were beyond the financial and manpower capacities of the government. Secondly, the time

needed to develop the great diversity of Ethiopian languages that had been previously restricted to oral use was a luxury the Derg could not afford.

Since the promulgation of the 1995 Constitution, which happened two years after the armed forces led by Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Front (EPRDF), a coalition of ethnic political groups, seized the throne from Mengistu Hailemariam's administration in May 1991, Ethiopia has gone through reframing as the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (FDRE). Taking ethnic federalism as a basis, the country was restructured based on the presence of ethnic groups speaking particular languages, where "Every nation, nationality and people in Ethiopia" is given "an unconditional right to self-determination." It declares also that "all Ethiopian languages shall enjoy equal state recognition" (FDRE, Article 39 and 5).

Despite the fact that the phrase "national language" is not to be used in these new circumstances, the Constitution declares Amharic to be the working language of the federal government. It also gives autonomy to the regional states to decide on their own behalf which language to use for official as well as educational purposes. The influence of the ideologies and opinions of student movement and the factions of Marxist groups were still playing behind the curtain of the political parties (Merera 2006: 123). Particularly the language issue, the thrust of this paper, was still on the table, as it was in the 1970s (Bahru, 2008: 76).

This was divulged in the constellations of all political parties which were summoned to the promulgation of transitional government and its charter right after the EPRDF's seizure of central power in 1991. It was with this kind of sentiment and pre-text regarding linguistic identity that all of the political players and by default sketchers of the coming constitution went in to the task. Hence, it held no surprise to anyone when the task reframed the country under ethnic federalism as it attained its denouement (Kassahun, 2003: 119; Bahru, *Ibid*).

As declared by the Constitution, based on linguistically defined geopolitical units, the country got clustered in to nine regional states: Afar, Amhara, Benishangul- Gumuz, Gambella, Harari, Oromia, Southern Nations Nationalities and Peoples Region (SNNPR), Somali and Tigray (FDRE, 1995: Article 47). These regional states were soon left to accomplish the tasks of language planning as the constitution bestows upon them the selection of the respective languages for their regional administration and education, with the corroboration of the central government (Cohen, 2006: 169). Hence, first of all, they had to decide on the statuses of the languages in their respective regions. Because of the highly scanty literary tradition they had also to grapple with the task of corpus development of the selected language(s). The decision on which language to be used as a medium of instruction and which language to learn as a second language starting from what grade were also to be addressed through the language planning activity.

As the country is one of the immensely multilingual countries of sub-Saharan Africa neither the task of marking regional boundaries nor the language planning activities were easily accomplished (see Cohen, Ibid: 171 ; Vaughan, 2006: 182). Cohen (Ibid) exposes the situation in Ethiopia since:

...it [language] gained greater significance as the marker of identity. Language issues have become increasingly politicized. Again this is an inevitable consequence of promoting language rights and sponsoring language reform within the overall paradigm of ethnic representation and federalism.

Nevertheless, the linguistic-based ethnic federalism has not been welcomed by all sectors of the society (Cohen, Ibid: 169). Some opposition political parties incessantly allege the current language policy to be insufficient for the development as well as cultural emancipation of the peoples of Ethiopia while the incumbent argues otherwise. The squabbling goes on. (መኪኒ: 2002: 1; አንድነት, 2002: 2; የፕሬሲዳንት የኢትዮጵያ ፌዴራላዊ ዲሞክራሲያዊ ሪፐብሊክ ፕሬዥዳንት ማህተም: 1994: 149; ኢትዮጵያ: 2003: 1)

The above mentioned disputes over the language issue in the political arena and the role of language in the issue of national as well as ethnic identity led to the conception of this study to investigate the country's options through the policy alternatives that are supposed to be given by the political parties.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

Despite a handful of research efforts and publications on the language policies of the consecutive governments of Ethiopia, there has been no research done on the alternative policies and options available among the political parties. Therefore, this study aspires to fill that gap. In this study the language policies of the political parties will be surveyed and analyzed taking a sociolinguistic perspective. Hence this study will be looking for the preferred language(s) by the political parties to take the status of the Working Language of the Federal government and the medium of instruction at schools. In addition, it also focuses on the language(s) proposed by the parties to be learned as the second and/ or foreign language(s).

1.3. Objective of the Study

The grand objective of this study is surveying, analyzing, categorizing and comparing the proposals provided by the political parties of Ethiopia regarding language use in government administration as well as in education. Hence, the specific objectives of the study are answering the following questions based on the language policies of the political parties:

1. Which language(s) should take working language status within the federal government? And what should be the privileges and obligations of members of the federal state and individual ethno-linguistic groups about their language use?
2. Which language(s) should be the medium of instruction in the academic sphere?
3. Which language(s) should be learned as second and/or foreign language(s)?

1.4. Delimitation of the Study

Scarcity of time, money and manpower would not allow this study to include all the NEBE (National Electoral Board of Ethiopia) recognized 79 political parties, since most of them are regional parties located in states scattered all over the country (NEBE, 2009). Particularly the number of regional parties—63-- and their scattered location all over the country is unmanageable to be taken as a whole. Hence, this study is done by taking representative samples.

1.5. Significance of the Study

Because of the unavailability of scholarly research regarding the language policy options proposed by the political parties of Ethiopia, this study will inevitably be a sizeable input to the scholarly efforts on sketching the sociolinguistic situation of the country particularly in the area of language politics. Furthermore, the outcome of this study will also apprise the public of the language policy options it has among the political parties who claim to work for the interests of the people. This in turn will pave the way for the outcomes of this study to contribute a considerable ingredient, knowledge, to the democratization process of this multilingual country- as a basis for better choices for the citizenry.

1.6. Organization of the Research Report

The study is organized into six chapters and a reference section. In the first chapter background of the study, statement of the problem, objectives of the study and scope of the study are presented. The second chapter presents the literature review. The third chapter describes the research methodology in detail. Chapter four gives a brief summary about the sociolinguistic situation of the country and a bird's eye view historical narrative of language politics in Ethiopia. Chapter five contains the analysis while chapter six presents conclusion and recommendations. The reference section provides publication information for every document used in writing the research report.

Chapter Two

Review of Literature

The thrust of this chapter is to give theoretical as well as factual points which will be used in analyzing the data. First, the theoretical framework for the analysis which deals with the essence of language policy (LP) is presented. Here, after discussing the very quintessence of LP based on definitions given by several scholars as bouncing sounding board, the issue of Language in Education is entertained. Next, typology of language policies and their ideological bases are entertained based on the relevant literature.

2.1. What is Language Policy?

Before getting into a discussion of what language policy is and its features, the essence of the term policy per se would be worth discussing. The Online Etymology Dictionary traces the etymological roots of the word "policy" to classical Greek where it meant "administration," via Old French, where it meant "management." In addition, the online Princeton Dictionary defines the word as "a plan of action adopted by an individual or groups." However, on the account of societal problems being interrelated and inextricably linked to each other, social scientists like Sherri Trojman (2005: 3) strongly contend whether there is such a thing as a perfect policy to solve a societal problem in a perfect way. Consequently, they suggest that policy is not and should not be monolithic and rigid; and the foremost will be the one that encompasses the dynamics of its problem in a holistic approach (Herriman and Burnaby, 1996: 7). This suggests that exposing the policy to any kind of criticism and evaluation will be the best way to make it inclusive and conforming with contemporary situation.

As Ouedraogo (2000: 17) forwards, social policies can be divided into five:

Distributive: are decisions concerning allocation of goods and services such as health, welfare, educational benefits, subsidies, etc.

Extractive: these policies provide legislation to collection of taxes and tributes.

Symbolic: policies typified under this umbrella term are concerned with allocation of status and acknowledgement.

Regulatory: such policies and decisions aim to control some aspects of human behavior.

Administrative: administrative policies that deal with management.

Being mindful of this, it is relevant to ask whether LP belongs to one of the categories in such a typology.

To begin with, LP can be **distributive** because it is supposed to deal with the allocation of resources to the corpus development of a language(s), which is determinant to broaden its domains of use in the political as well as the educational arena of a society. Proposing the privileges of language(s) will apparently be connected with distributing available resources to the implementation of societal needs. Particularly in developing multilingual countries like Ethiopia, the decision to be taken in allocating resources to the development of a language is one of the critical parts of the language planning activity because of scarcity of financial resources. This will, definitely, demand a wise **administrative** decision which will be able to manage balancing between the demands at stake vs. the available resources.

Among the rank and file cogent causes for the scantiness of budgetary resources in developing countries, one could be the inefficiency of the administrative organs in the implementations of **extractive** policies, policies that deal with the collection of taxes. Ouedraogo (2000, p17) confirms this by saying: "As payment and collection of taxes constitute the basis (sic) of the wealth of the state, **extractive** policies are most likely to influence distributive policies, and thus language policies".

On the other hand, LP can serve as a typical example of **symbolic** public policies because there commonly prevails identity politics at the heart of every LP proposal (Obeng and Turvis, 1999: 374; Schmidt, 2006: 97). Besides, as **regulatory** policies refer to policies and decisions which aim to control some aspects of human behavior, using language can not be

dissociated from healthy human behavior. Because LPs are the outcomes of intentions to conform the linguistic behavior of a society to the administrative imperatives of the administrative bodies, who strive to get everything in harmony in regions where their **administrative** policies govern, we can tell in certitude that LP “is essentially **regulatory**.” (Ouedraogo, Ibid)

In a nutshell, LP can be said to have features of **administrative, regulatory, distributive** and **symbolic** policy features. In addition, it is highly affected by the **extractive** policies of a state.

In the search for a guiding exposition to the term LP it is inevitable to come across a myriad of definitions given by scholars of the field. For instance, the renowned scholar in language policy Bernard Spolsky (2004: 5) forwards the following:

Language policy is composed of a speech community’s language practices-the habitual pattern of selecting among the varieties that make up its linguistic repertoire; its language beliefs or ideology about language use; and any specific efforts to modify or influence that practice by any kind of language intervention, planning or management.

He also presents the idea that language and language policy both exist in a highly complex and interacting context, the modification of any part of which may have co- related effects on any other part. Hence, he asserts, in studying the language policy of a society we are trying to understand just what non language variables co- vary with language variables. Scholars like Paulston also get in line with this definition. For her LP “consists of a set of statements and mandates about language, based on its philosophy and ideology of its language community ...It doesn’t need to be a formal document” (1997: 74).

In addition, it would be worth mentioning that the field of LP is also named as language politics, where the roles played by influential bodies in a society are considered in an emphasized manner. Basically, in such literature, the role of the governing bodies or political players in directing the language arena is depicted as vital. The literature in language politics emphasizes the political aspects of decisions on language use. For

example, Kymlicka argues that “Since the state can not operate at all outside of a linguistic and cultural context it can not operate “neutrally” in respect of language and culture. (Kymlicka, cited in Schmidt, 2006: 105). Jonathan Pool (1991: 496) also says that “Efficient neutrality, exemplified in church- state separation and racial non-discrimination, is held inapplicable to language groups, because governments can simply ignore races and religions, but must use, and thus choose, languages.”

Of course, according to the literature in language politics, influential bodies and policy making organs in any given society can play a considerable role on the widening or narrowing of the domains of a language. For instance, an affirmative stand like allowing the language to be used in education and encouraging their scholars in studying and describing researches by German colonial masters, who used to rule over the then Tanganyika, share the reputation for the valorization of Ki Swahili in East Africa (Abdulaziz, 2001, 105). So long as these influential political bodies are convinced that something important is at stake regarding the status and/or use of languages in the society language policy steps in to the political agenda (Schmidt, 2006: 97). Moreover, Schmidt (Ibid: 98) adds that “at the core of language politics lies a form of identity politics in which language policy partisans compete to shape public perceptions about “we” that constitutes the relevant political community, and to embody their aims in language policy of the state.”

Thus, some scholars like the ones coming next, sway towards these influential bodies of the society, particularly to the government, in defining language policy. For example, according to Markee (1986: cited in Ouedraogo, 2000: 15) (Emphasis mine), [It is] “a process of decision making concerning the teaching and use of language, and their careful formulation by those **empowered to do so.**” To Schmidt (2006: 97) also LP involves the development of public policies that aim to use **the authority of the state** to affect various aspects of the status and use of languages by people under the status of **jurisdiction**. Crawford (2000, cited in Derib and Getachew, 2006: 39) (Emphasis mine)

government regulation of its own language use, including Steps to facilitate clear communication strain and recruit personnel, guarantee due process, foster **political**

participation, and provide access to public services, proceedings and documents. (All the emphases are mine.)

Tollefson (2002: 8), in turn, perceives LP as the roles of government and other powerful institutions in shaping language use and language acquisition. Such explanations of LP have value in showing the influential bodies like political parties involved in policy making and implementing in any given speech community as a political party is: “a body of men united for promoting by their joint endeavors the national interest upon some particular principle which they are all agreed;” (Burke, 1729; cited in Kwame, 2003: 209) or taking a broader, more explicit and more contemporary definition,

...it is an institution that (a) seeks **influence** in a state, often by attempting to occupy positions in the government, and (b) usually consists of more than a single **interest** in the society and to some degree attempts to “aggregate interests”. (Ware, 1995, p5; cited in Kwame, Ibid) (Emphasis mine)

In addition to this, definitions like Tollefson’s show the concatenation of LP in the arena of language planning, which is defined as: “a political and administrative activity for solving language problems in society; (Jernudd and Das Gupta, 1971: 221) or, “an organized pursuit of solutions to language problems, typically at the national level (Fishman 1974, 79). According to scholars of the field, the entire activity of planning can be classified in to three types: (Haugen, 1968; Cooper, 1989; Paulston and Heidemann, 2006, 293)

Status planning

Corpus planning

Acquisition planning

It is not uncommon to see scholars using the terms language planning and language policy interchangeably. However, for the sake of consistency in this paper taking operational demarcation will be wise. Thus, since Status Planning deals with the deliberate activities in making decisions about the functions a language should/should not take in a society’s administrative activities, as Acquisition Planning is the entire set of activities in making decisions about which language to select to the school arena to serve as a medium of

instruction and/or which language to learn as a second language, LP usually comes as an output of the whole planning activity. This is particularly the case in Overt LP- that will be discussed later within the LP Typology section. Corpus planning is concerned with managing or changing the internal properties of language, where the creation of new forms, modification and expansion of vocabulary, spelling reform, etc. are focused (Haugen, 1983: 270). Fishman (2006, 315) refers to Status Planning and Corpus Planning as “two sides of the same coin” because without dealing with the corpus of the language it would be very difficult to have a cogent and successful Status Planning activity.

Due to instrumental or symbolic reasons a society can also resent acquiring a language as its second language, Orman (2008: 43) proposes such kind of language maintenance endeavors to be taken as *anti-deacquisition* planning belying acquisition planning. The example for this is the resistance to embrace Bantu languages as media of instruction in the schools of the black community as it was considered as oblique way by the apartheid regime to exclude the indigenous people from access to the languages of economic and political success- English and Afrikaans. His classification gives insight into the capaciousness of linguistic communities to resent a language as a consequence of their negative attitude against a language or positive attitude for the sake of its instrumental or symbolic values attached. Nevertheless, as Paulston (1997: 74) indicates, having an explicitly documented language planning activity is not always necessary to have LP.

Taking the definition given by Spolsky, (2004: 5) which presents LP as a totality of “language practices” of a society and its entire pattern of ideologies and beliefs about language. If we try to extrapolate what LP is, it will profoundly appear to be an outcome of the historical, economic and cultural ups and downs of the linguistic community within as well as with the outer world, often without any deliberate or intentional efforts to manipulate its appearance.

The discussion up to now has elicited at least two determinant players in the dynamics of LP, the influential **political partisans** and the ones that are going to be affected by the policies- **the masses**.

According to Lewis (1981; cited in Baker, 2006: 211), any policy for language has to take into account the attitude of those who are going to be affected. Any language policy which can not **conform** to the expressed attitudes of those who are involved or are going to be affected either positively or negatively, or which is unable to **persuade** and exhort those who express negative attitudes about the rightness policy, or which is too feeble to remove the causes of disagreement, will never be successful in achieving its aspirations. Ruth Wodak (2006: 170), in trying to encompass both leanings and players of the dynamics forwards the following definition, which will be used as a coda for this discussion:

[LP is] public influence on the communication radius of languages, the sum of those “top- down” and “bottom- up” political initiatives through which a particular language or languages is/are supported in their public validity, their functionality, and their dissemination. Like all policies it is subject to conflict and must regularly be reordered through constant discussion and debate.

Thus, as an operational compendium of what has been said above, LP is an explicitly stated or implicitly held intentional decision or proposal, or unintentionally established language practice of a group of people, where the influence of the political partisans is significant.

2.2. Functions of Language Policy

Language policy may serve the following major functions:

- A. To **correct** linguistic imbalance and ensure the respect and full development of all languages and establishing the principles for a just linguistic peace through out the world. It is also said that advocates of different approaches to LP justify their proposals on the grounds that these will result in greater equality among ethno- linguistic groups (Schmidt, 2006: 104).
- B. For mapping out functions of a language(s) in a given state (Ouedraogo, 2000: 115)
- C. For flourishing of cultural identities as fundamental human rights (May, 2006: 255)
- D. To manage the linguistic resources of a speech community or a nation to achieve the desired educational, economic and political goals (Ouedraogo, Ibid: 1)

Despite all the positive imperatives an LP can enclave as described above, it is also possible to have LP undermine and constrain the domains of language(s) -- like the LP that French colonial masters implemented to ban all the indigenous languages of Africa in their colonies. For instance, they used to have the following written jurisdiction in a decree issued on 10 May 1924 in the then French Sudan (now Mali) (Cited in Alidou and Jung, 2001: 281) (All emphases are mine.):

The essential goal of elementary education is to bring the greatest number of indigenous people closer to us ("French People"), to familiarize them with our language, our institutions and our methods, to lead them gradually toward economic and social progress. (Article 2) (Governer- General Brevie of French west Africa, in Moumoni, 1998, 42)

It was also stated in Article 64 explicitly that "French will be the sole language in schools. Teachers are forbidden to use local languages with their students." These articles are self explanatory as to how an LP can be set to the detriment of languages on the basis of transforming the indigenous identity by denying access to the active world and shoveling it to the speedy train of time to be taken away from the "French- moulded" producers and consumers of tomorrow.

2.3. Motivations and Ideologies behind Language Policy

2.3.1. The Motivations

According to Fishman (1972: 224), the possible motivations behind LP are the following:

2.3.1.1. Unification

This is an integrative movement seeking to go beyond the primordial ties to family and locality and to create wider bonds which can draw the rural, the urban and the regional in to a broader unity- the nationality.

2.3.1.2. Authentication:

This is claiming the uniqueness which is considered as responsible to glorious attainments. Through this claim it is predicted that, if the claim is attained glorious past will be happening again- may be in an aggrandized manner.

2.3.1.2. Modernization

This is accepting the changes of the environment including and excluding elements of the dynamics of the linguistic repertoire of a speech community hitherto.

On the other hand, Kelman (1971: 21) points that the LP of a speech community can have two types of motivation: **sentimental** and **instrumental**. While the **sentimental** motivation gives rise to the LP of a speech community to have symbolic attachment and loyalty, decisions on language use based on the **instrumental** motivation will be about using a language for some kind of economical, political or academic access of the users of the language.

2.3.2. Language Policy Ideologies

Because policies are decisions proposed towards action (Spolsky, 2004: 5), language policies are decisions on the language behavior of a speech community by the speech community based on fundamental ideologies and beliefs of the speech community about language. According to Cobarrubias (1983; cited in Wolff, 2000: 341), the driving ideologies in the development of LP in a linguistic community can be classified into four:

2.3.2.1. Linguistic Assimilation

Policies built over this ideology expect every person under their sphere of influence to assimilate to monolingual and mono-cultural behavioral patterns. The French and Portuguese masters of colonial Africa can set a very good illustration to such an LP.

As the articles which are referred under the discussion on functions of LP formerly depict, the French educational policies over its colonies were highly based on a fundamental belief

of the preeminence of the French education system, language and culture. Every road in the education system was supposed to lead to make any available environ and its inhabitants in to France via the French way of doing things. It is worth mentioning that, even after getting baptized and acculturated in the French language and culture the credo doesn't guarantee that these "indigenous people" will be French. Rather it confirms they will be "near French" or "almost French". That was the highest culmination allowed- to be assimilated and to look like- French.

As a result of this oppressive situation none of the indigenous languages of French colonies had a writing system when the French political direct colonization was over. In addition, education in those colonies was limited to developing basic literacy and mathematics. Mass education and intellectual emancipation of the indigenous people was not at all the concern of the French education system. For instance, at the end of colonization, in the 1960s, in Mali the school gross enrollment had only a 5% progress from 0% where it was in 1900 (Kouraogo and Dianda, 2008, 23). In other words, it was only 5% of the people of an entire country who were able to read and write. Out of this 5%, mostly who benefited were men and sons of noble men, those who cooperated with the colonial rule (Alidou and Jung, Ibid; Abdulaziz, Ibid).

As a result of asymmetrical economic, political and social relationships history in Nigeria, in the interethnic relations between Hausa and Gurdung, a Gurdung boy who wants to marry a Hausa girl used to be forced to assimilate to Hausa language and culture beginning with his name. The woman is not supposed to learn the *patrius sermo*, the language of the male head of the household. This superficial feminine sway would not happen when a Hausa boy wants to marry a girl from Gurdung. Here, the husband is immunized from assimilating to the wife's Gurdung language and culture. Instead she is required to do so. Worse, she is not even allowed to pass her language to her own children. In other words the children will pick their *patrius sermo* rather than mother tongue. That was the LP of the Hausa to be implemented to whosoever comes from Gurdung (Batibo, 2005: 60).

All scholars of the field accede that the LP of imperial Ethiopia had also been framed under this assimilationist ideology, where the languages of nations and nationalities were denied any use in education or public politics.

Walleign Mekonen's famous article would be worth mentioning here, where he forwarded his caustic castigation against this hegemonic policy as follows:

Ask anybody what Ethiopian culture is. Ask anybody what the Ethiopian language is. Ask anybody what the Ethiopian religion is. Ask anybody what the national dress is. It is either Amhara or Amhara-Tigray!! To be a genuine Ethiopian one has to speak Amharic, to listen to Amharic music, to accept the Amhara-Tigre religion, Orthodox Christianity, and to wear the Amhara- Tigre shamma in international conferences. In some cases, to be an 'Ethiopian' you may even have to change your name. In short, to be Ethiopian, you will have to wear an Amhara mask (to use Fanon's expression) (Quoted in Balsvik, 2007: 34).

One of the prominent personalities in the opposition, Merera Gudina (2006: 123) calls this article "a bombshell" thrown against the imperial regime. In a nutshell, LP which takes an assimilationist ideology as its basis will be light years from countenancing multiple cultures. It contends that harmony will be only realized if all diversified things come to dissolve into one.

2.3.2.2. Linguistic Pluralism

Linguistic pluralism is the antithesis of the hegemonic assimilationist ideology. This ideology accepts non-monolingualism in its multifold manifestations as individual and/ or institutional multilingualism. As the term indicates, pluralism is all about moderating hegemony by accommodating all the possible diversities within a nation. It is the currently governing ideology in many multilingual federal states, as the fundamental human rights and minority rights have been emphasized since the 1948 Human Rights Declaration by the UN, particularly at the termination of the Cold War where liberal political ideology came out triumphant. Cohen (2006: 169) describes this time as "the wake of the international

politicization of ethnicity.” He also marks the period where the “associated connotations of marginalization, discrimination, conflict and genocide” came to be the crux in political discourse.

Consequently, it is not uncommon to see LP which takes this ideology as a basis, giving *de jure* recognition to all languages that are found in the boundaries of the state. For instance, Cameroon’s constitution gives recognition to all languages (about 250) in the country as national languages. The basic imperative behind such a policy is to avoid the threat of clashes between ethno-linguistic groups as a result of hegemonic discourse. The post-apartheid South African constitution, which puts in its preamble that “South Africa belongs to all those who live in it. United in our diversity,” and its recognition to 11 indigenous languages as official languages of the nation, is also the result of such an ideology. This constitution is one of the most progressive constitutions in the world regarding language. The constitution has now addressed inclusively more than 98% of the indigenous languages spoken by above 50 million people (Chimhundu, 1998: <[portal.unesco.org /.../10657972723_Language_Policies_in_Africa](http://portal.unesco.org/.../10657972723_Language_Policies_in_Africa)>).

The same can be said about the current constitution of Ethiopia which begins its preamble with: “We the nations, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia” (FDRE, 1995). It is the outcome of this pluralist ideology which made the constitution include articles about the egalitarian linguistic rights of nations, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia. Article 5 states:

- a. All Ethiopian Languages shall enjoy equal state recognition.
- b. Members of the federation may by law determine their respective working languages.

2.3.2.3. Internationalism

Internationalism is an ideology that usually results in the favoring of a foreign language (in African contexts, often ex-colonial languages) for communicative, official as well as educational purposes. Usually this is done in order to avoid conflict between competitive ethnic groups for political influence in a state. Unlike Modibo Keita of Mali and Sekou Toure

of Guinea, who replaced French immediately by indigenous languages in rigorous educational reforms (what year?), leaders like Leopold Sedar Senghor of Senegal and Houphouet Boigny of Ivory Coast favored pronouncement of an ex- colonial language as a means of modernizing the then newly independent states which suffered from flimsy and crawling economic and education sectors. (Alidou and Jung, 2001: 62). Moreover, they belligerently argued that deliverance of the African governments from the stridently politically influential ethnic elites via detribalization could only be achieved through this kind of internationalism.

In other words, internationalism was a way to dissolve the ethnic based politics enigma- which they saw forestalling peaceful countenance and compromise- by diluting the government's ethnic identity. This identity is easily and often conjectured from the ethnic groups of the officials; in the "universal". There are two ways to free oneself- by fragmentation in the particular or by dilution in the "universal". Hence, to submerge ethnic diversity, which was perceived to perpetuate ethnic conflicts, they construed that it would be wise to dissolve the ethnic self in the "international"- to rescue the government from a flimsy conjuncture of "ethnic identity".

In the earlier days of modern education in Ethiopia, modern schooling was the setting in which students became conversant in foreign languages like French, English and Italian, to be tomorrow's negotiators of the state's interest with the neighboring colonial powers (Heugh et al., 2007: 45).

Away from the government circle, it is not uncommon to see people of third world countries like Ethiopia favoring a language that they perceive to be the wider world's communication medium (In cities it is a European language like English or French, while Amharic is also favored in rural areas like SNNPR) which they see as beneficial to learn in order to broaden their economic benefits in this era of globalization. Parents censoriously

chastise LPs favoring indigenous languages as media of instruction to be highly confining the mobility of next generation and undermining the economic opportunities the globalized world (Cohen, 2006: 173; Vaughan, 2006: 187).

In sum, this ideology favors an alien language to be embraced and used in the several domains of the society, as a result of symbolic or instrumental use.

2.3.2.4. Vernacularization

An LP framed with a vernacularization ideology will opt for an indigenous language to serve official purposes. It also indefatigably encourages the use of the indigenous language in all possible linguistic domains of communication. This might be as a result of valorization of linguistic identity. For example, the premiers of Japan, Germany, China and Iran never speak in any other language like English or French, whether it is an interview with journalists from international media or an international meeting like annual UN meetings. They may receive the questions, suggestions or comments without interpreters in English but they will swiftly reply in their indigenous national languages. This might be to show the equivalence of their economic, military and political might with that of the English speaking US and its allies.

The decisions made by the federal states of FDRE and their respective regional zones after the pronouncement of the 1995 Constitution to “determine their respective working languages” as per the need of their respective states is again based on the same axiom of vernacularization. The same can also be said about the axiom of the article 35.1 (cited below) of the Education and Training Policy of the Federal Ministry of Education: “Cognizant of the pedagogical advantage of the child learning in mother tongue and the rights of nationalities to promote the use of their languages, primary education will be given in nationality languages” (MOE, 1994: 23).

2.4. Types of Language Policy

Different writers give typology for LP in different ways according to their respective context of research. Notwithstanding the variations in interpretation, however, LPs can be grouped based on their common ideological features and manifestations as follows (Wolff, 2000: 341; Schiffman, <<http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/~haroldfs/public/>>)

2.4.1. Tolerance vs. Promotion

Tolerance Policies allow, but do not officially promote, any of the languages to function in any or all domains of life (Schiffman, <<http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/~haroldfs/540/theory/lgpolthr.html>>). Depending on their explicitness of declaring the tolerance policies are divided in to two. The ones mentioning the rights of any or all linguistic groups to the use of their language in what ever domains they choose are categorized under **Overt Policies**. These policies are said to guarantee the freest norm to languages since they generally express explicitly the general rights of the languages. Nonetheless, they do not guarantee any special privilege to any of the languages. They neither give any financial or professional support to any of the languages.

In areas where such policies govern, the most vitalized or maintained language is the one which is used by the society by default. The government or the influential political body will do almost nothing special except accepting the fittest language to survive after the competition for domains and proclaiming egalitarian policy towards all languages. The LP of Cameroon, for instance, recognizes all the languages of the country as national languages of the country in order not to create an oppression sentiment in the minds of any of the ethno- linguistic groups by favoring “the other’s language”. This, however, undermines any of the possibilities to be developed by taking the positions of official language or medium of instruction beyond the primary level education since it would be highly impracticable economically to develop all of the hundreds of the indigenous languages (Echu, 2004 <http://www.linguistik-online.com/18_04/echu.html>).

On the other hand, there are **Covert** tolerance policies which do not explicitly mention any language in any legal document or administrative code. In their sphere of influence, linguistic rights are to be inferred from other policies, constitutional provisions and the ethos of the speech community's linguistic mythologies, ideologies, beliefs and practices by investigating preferably through an ethnographic perspective (Spolsky, 2004: 5).

Promotion Policies give constitutional and legal life of the polity to be conducted in the language(s) and most, if not all, resources are devoted to the promotion of this language(s). Promoting LPs may also be classified under the **covert** vs. **overt** dichotomy. It is referred as **Covert** promotion policy when there is *de facto* promotion of the language(s) without explicitly mentioning them; while it takes the title **Overt** when it names the language(s) extrovertly in legal code, constitution, etc. about what its rights and privileges shall be (Schiffman, <<http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/~haroldfs/540/theory/lgpoltthr.html>>).

2.4.2. Endoglossic vs. Exoglossic

Taking another perspective, some scholars like Ekkehard Wolff (2000) prefer to base their classification on the favoring of whether indigenous or foreign language(s) under the terms Endoglossic and Exoglossic following Kloss' typology (1968, cited Lodhi, 1993: 82).

Endoglossic are those policies that enforce indigenous language(s) as a national or official language. Although endoglossic policies prioritize both the status and the resource to the indigenous language(s), they may also endanger minority languages by indulging the hegemony of one dominant or "prestigious" language and acculturation. The imperial Ethiopian LP can be a typical illustration for this, where Amharic rules out all the other indigenous languages. The LP of Tanzania under Julius Nereere also can be grouped here since KiSwahili enjoyed all the possible privileges as one means of revalorizing the Socialist- Tanzanian identity. The current LP of Ethiopia, South Africa, and Guinea, on the other hand, can be grouped as non hegemonic endoglossic LPs, where indigenous

languages are not prohibited to serve all possible domains so long as they are willed by the people (Getachew and Derib, 2006: 11; Magwa, 2006:116).

Exoglossic are decisions which favor a foreign language as a result of several socio-economic and political reasons. Such policies are highly chastised by pluralists and proponents of vernacularization for belittling and undermining the indigenous languages with a colonizing sentiment. For example: English is given priority and greater prestige in countries such as Kenya where KiSwahili is a national language and English is the official language. Likewise in Zimbabwe Shona, Ndebele and other indigenous languages with lesser demographic power have recognition as national languages. Yet, English is used as the language of the major domains including education. Niger, Burkina Faso, Senegal, etc are in this class. Usually, in those speech communities where internationalist ideology rules over the sways to the indigenous languages will definitely end up having an exoglossic LP (Magwa, 2006:116).

2.4.3. Egalitarian vs. Restricted

The other typology falls between two terms: egalitarian and restricted. LPs that treat 'even if a very small minority language as always totally equals to any major language are called egalitarian LPs. Such policies are usually advocated by proponents of minority linguistic rights. They contend that the dichotomy majority vs. minority is neither natural process nor linguistic, rather it is historically, socially and politically constructed process, and one that is imbued in wider power asymmetry. For Restricted LPs, on the contrary, all languages are not equal. There prevails the idea of minority and majority languages as per their numerical as well as instrumental values. Hence, the privileges and priorities to be given are dependent on to which group the language belongs (Schiffman, 2005, cited in Getachew and Derib, 2006: 5; May, 2006: 260).

2.4.5. Patten's Models

Patten (2001: 691- 715) forwards three models of language policy based on their aspirations towards linguistic recognition.

2.4.5.1. Official Multilingualism Model

According to this model, there should be the same recognition for the various languages spoken in the community. The ethical considerations underlying have two parts.

First, an LP framed in this model aspires to serve the interests that speakers of the particular language have with regard to communication, symbolic affirmation and identity promotion. The second ethical consideration lying beneath this model is that this approach is an appropriate way to attain equality among ethno-linguistic groups. As a denouement to the implementation of such an LP there are two possibilities for the languages of the vicinity. One, several languages could be maintained and saved from any kind of deliberate and explicit hegemony. Two, this LP is by no means able to prevent a shift away from some languages and a convergence to some dominant language, if the respective society aspires to do so. The latter is considered as the weak side of the model.

2.4.5.2. Language Rationalization Model

Here the important responsibility of LP is the maintenance of vulnerable languages. An LP framed using this model involves programs promoting convergence towards a particular language, considered as vulnerable and worth maintaining by the majority or the influential bodies of a society as a result of some symbolic or instrumental attachment. This is usually done by either denying recognition or limiting the domains of use of other language (s). As Patten states, the rationales for this model are:

1. Enhancing social mobility
2. Facilitating democratic deliberation
3. Encouraging formation of a common political identity
4. Increasing efficiency in public institutions

Yet, this model is criticized for it is essentially against countenancing the reality of linguistic diversity. As it rationalizes the alienation of speakers of other languages from sufficient political participation in the region, it stands to contradict the basic roots of democracy and its own rationale. In addition, it also takes as an axiom that linguistic homogeneity creates a more integrated and stabilized political society. This again can be invalidated by copious empirical examples like Somalia and Rwanda from real world experience. Besides, assimilating the non-favored- language speaker children into schools in the name of social mobility has been proved in several research to be counter-productive.

Nonetheless, what can appear apparently agreeable from this model is its immediate cost-minimization effect since the focus of the entire budgetary system regarding languages will be on one language. Yet it still can be contended that this will have a negative effect in maintaining sustainable economic progress, for it undermines the amelioration of the non-favored- language speakers to be engaged as productive citizens by denying them access to education.

2.4.5.3. Language Maintenance Model

The basis for this model is Official Multilingualism Model's impotence to guarantee vitality to all languages in a certain region, even though they may still survive. But neither of the LPs framed under this model guarantee this. Rather this model uses a policy of selective language recognition as the primary instrument to promote language maintenance. The more vulnerable languages are given fuller recognition than the more secure ones, as a way of signaling to the people that widening the domains of the vulnerable language is worthy. Policies that promote "Territorial Multilingualism", where different territories within the state are allowed to give privileges to their own favored language, are categorized under this model.

The current sociolinguistic situation of the FDRE provides a very good example, since the regional states are given the right to decide on linguistic matters of their respective regions (FDRE, 1995, Article 5). Consequently, Amhara, Oromia, Tigray, Somali and Harari regional states have stepped up the functions of their predominant languages- Amharic, Oromo, Tigrinya, Somali, Harari and Oromo respectively- in their regional states to official and educational communication domains so as to symbolize autonomy and recognition of the national identity in the vicinity as well as among the other members of the federal state.

To summarize the discussion on the typological issues of LP, although these are not the only typologies given to LP by scholars of the field, each emphasizing a different angle to look at the same sociolinguistic situation or taking a slightly different perspective and ideological frame, it is worth mentioning that all accede in the non-desultory manner of LPs. Whether intentional or unintentional, explicitly stated or implicitly exercised, penitently pursued or carelessly looked after, there always lies some sort of ideology, principle and language attitude beneath the appearance of an LP in a society building its basic essence.

2.5. Language in Education

According to Bill Beatie, a renowned educationalist for his remarkable quote on education, “the aim of education should be to teach us rather how to think, than what to think—rather to improve our minds, so as to enable us to think for ourselves, than to load the memory with the thoughts of other men.” (thinkexist.com/.../the_aim_of_education../200220.html)

A document from World Bank avers that “like trees countries can not be made to grow by being pulled upward from outside; they must grow from within, from their own roots.” (1989: 194 cited in Okoth-Okombo, 2001: 7). To make a tree grow the environment should not only supply a place to grow it also has but to provide all the necessary nutrients to allow each cell and tissue of the tree to develop. So long as the nutrients keep the cells and the tissues of the tree growing, there will be no possible blockade which can withhold its

development. Even if the blockade tries sooner or later it will be working only to its own detriment, for nothing will be unsurpassable for the growing power of the tree. Hence, what really matters is the growth within which is entirely dependent on the nutrients the environment provides.

In fact, the cells “within” any nation obviously are its people. No nation in the world has been made to grow by outsiders’ pull. It is the determination of the people as well as the ways they take which matter. So, if Africa has to develop it should start by working for the development of its people (Okoth-Okombo, 2001: 3). It is this human development crisis which has been holding Africa back from getting to the heyday of development. Africa should solve this human development crisis if it wishes to claim the 21st century as its century of renaissance (Okoth-Okombo, Ibid). Here educational communication as a fundamental aspect of the human development activity comes in.

Kurt Komarek (2003: <http://www.gtz.de/de/dokumente/en-upe-multilingual-2004.pdf>) asserts that as education is communication the best communication channel should be chosen for the sake of avoiding communication barriers. Consequently, in the school arena, the indigenous languages are the best ones to be used in this regard, as they are the effective communicative tools over which both the teachers as well as the students have mastery. Contrarily, the use of a foreign language will definitely compromise this smooth and effective communication between the teachers and the students. As a consequence of too much time spent in trying to understand what was presented in the foreign tongue, students will not have enough time to think critically and generate knowledge. This reduces “education” to be the state of storing information and will absolutely dismantle the four pillars of education: to know, to do, to live together and to be; for they entirely depend on the contextualization and cognitive mapping of experience, which basically stand on the learner’s creativity and critical thinking (UNESCO, 2004:1).

The problem goes as far as changing a medium of instruction into a medium of obstruction as the following description by Stoddart who studied the use of English language as a medium of instruction in Ethiopia in the 1980s.

Students do not possess sufficient English even to understand what they hear from their teachers or read in their textbooks, let alone to participate actively through their own speaking and writing... As a result of the inability of students to function through English, the quality of teaching and learning in schools has been very adversely affected. At best, it means that mere rote learning often prevails, with no critical and creative participation of students, and little enough of even simple comprehension by them of what they are being told. And at worst it means that some – possibly many – students whose English is not sufficient even for rote-learning spend most of their class hours copying down notes that the teacher has written on the blackboard, and transforming them in the process into complete nonsense. In such a situation it is no longer appropriate to call English a medium of instruction; rather it has become a medium of obstruction (Stoddart 1986: 6-7 cited Berhanu et al., 2009: 1089).

Moreover, this education system which leans towards foreign languages aggravates the societal inequality between the elite and the masses. Furthermore, it will perpetuate the continuance of women's inequality. Research findings also indicate that the foreign language dominated education system as one of the major causes of high drop out rates, low school intakes, low motivation of teachers and students, poor results at final examinations, low transfer from primary to secondary and from secondary to tertiary education, with primary school leavers remaining practically illiterate and with no or rather low competence in the official language (Wolff, 2006: 26; Prah, 2008: 1- 17; Ouane and Glanz, 2010: 31) .

In a nutshell, "language is not everything in education; but with out language, everything is nothing in education." (Wolff, 2006: 50) Therefore it is not something that anyone who desires to bring economical and political development to a multilingual country should forget.

Chapter Three

Methodology

This study will be geared toward garnering the language policy alternatives provided by the Political Parties of Ethiopia. Hence, it is mainly a qualitative study. Yet to compare the sway between the dichotomies of types of language policy among the political parties, quantitative measures are also employed.

3.1. Document/ Content analysis

The primary research design will be document analysis, firstly surveying the LPs of political parties to extrapolate as well as categorize the ideology and motivations beneath the respective LPs through their publications via interpretation.

To put it in Robson's (2002: 352) words, the major work to be done will be looking at "what is in the document". The documents where the political parties imparted their respective policies were found from Political Parties Record Office of the National Electoral Board of Ethiopia and from the official headquarters and official websites of the political parties. Nevertheless, as most of the parties do not have any webpages the latter way of collating data was used rarely.

3.2. Sampling Technique

According to the National Electoral Board of Ethiopia, there are 79 National and Regional Political Parties. Out of these 19 are categorized by the NEBE as National Political Parties while the remaining 60 are labeled as regional (NEBE, 2010).

Out of the 19 parties labeled as national 10 were selected randomly¹. The same was done to the parties categorized as regional. 14 regional parties were selected randomly². This enabled the sample to include about 30.4 % of the entire party population. The size of the sample was intentionally expanded to include parties from different regional and ideological bases. Moreover, it is worth mentioning that the distribution of regional parties is extremely uneven throughout the regional states of the country.

Among the regional parties EPDM (Endegegn People Democratic Movement), KPDU (Konso People's Democratic Unity), ZPDO (Zai People Democratic Organization) also have reported to the National Electoral Board of Ethiopia that they are not functioning. Hence, they were not included in the sampling process.

3.3. Data gathering and analysis

All the possible documents which hold the respective parties' language policies were collected through personal contact with the National Electoral Board of Ethiopia and accessing the official websites of the parties. The method for analysis will basically be descriptive. After garnering the data from the above mentioned angles, the motivation and ideology beneath each language proposal will be analyzed, taking a sociolinguistic perspective. The data will be categorized under the frameworks and typologies from the literature on LP. Thus, the motivations will definitely be falling in to the categories of Authentication, Unification and Modernization taking Fishman's (1972: 224) model. Kelman's (1971: 21) Instrumental vs. Sentimental categories of motivation are also used in the discussion. Based on the nature of the LPs proposed by the political parties, the LPs will be categorized taking the Promotion vs. Tolerance, Covert vs. Overt, Endoglossic vs. Exoglossic, and Patten's models that try to frame LP under three models: Language rationalization, Official multilingualism and Language Maintenance.

¹ GSPP, EDP, EPRDF, Forum, EJDFF, AEUP, EPAP, ERaeiP, UEDF, AEDP

² ONC, OPDU, DDQPDU, DDDP, OLP, WPDF, HNL, GPRDF, KPC, ANDO, ARDUF, BMPDO, BGDUF, WSDP

Chapter Four

Sociolinguistic and Historical Background of Language Politics in Ethiopia

4.1. Sociolinguistic Situation of Ethiopia

In the next section, an overview of the sociolinguistic situation of the country is entertained. In this section of the chapter the question “How many languages are there?” is discussed based on the 2007 census by the Central Statistics Agency of the FDRE and sociolinguistic bird’s eye view surveys from scholars of linguistics and sociolinguistics. The sociolinguistic status of the languages including the position of the languages in the education sector will also deserve attention. This will serve as a foreword for the coming chapter as it aspires to provide a glimpse of the entire historical background of the country’s sociolinguistic arena regarding language politics.

In this section of the study, an overview of the sociolinguistic situation of the country is presented in a curtailed manner. Because the main aim is to give a glimpse of the sociolinguistic situation of the country to serve the analysis with situational and historical background, it is far from a detailed discussion. Moreover, as opposed to broad historical survey, the emphasis in the historical part of this overview is on the place of language in the political arena as part and parcel of identity politics and development.

The eminent scholar on Ethiopian languages, Lionel Marvin Bender, and his colleagues (1976a: 1) on compiling a survey on the linguistic and sociolinguistic situation of the country started their introduction by saying that Ethiopia is “unique among the countries of the world” for plenty of tangible and intangible heritages; in addition to its peculiar history of statehood disparate from the statehood history of any other African nation.

Besides, Bender (Ibid) admits that the country is highly variegated, in ethnic and linguistic composition and also “least thoroughly studied”. Of course, all the literature accedes with the fact that Ethiopia is one of the most linguistically variegated countries of Africa. Consequently, in spite of the fact that all but only handfuls are native speakers of languages from Afro-asiatic genetic super family (Bender et. al, 1976b: 14) there is no precise agreement in the literature on the number of the languages in the country. After their first and thorough sociolinguistic survey, Bender (Ibid) yet marked the question “How many languages are there?”

Despite the 34 years that have passed since this question was asked, the question seems to prevail in the surveys of the country unanswered. According to the 2007 census by the Population Census Commission, the most recent and inclusive survey, there are recognized 86 different ethnic groups in the country. Moreover, on the report of the census there are two rows termed as “Other Ethiopian National groups” and “From Different Parents”. The definition taken by the commission for the term “ethnic group” by default can not be in discordance with the definition given in the 1994 constitution article 39: 5 which takes “mutual intelligibility of language” to define a disparate “Nation, Nationality or People” along side “psychological make-up” and cultural commonality (FDRE, 1994). As anthropologists forward that linguistic commonality is not the sole criterion for a group of people to be considered as an ethnic group, no one can answer Bender’s question precisely based on the current state of the available data. That reverts Bender’s question to its unanswered state (Kottak, 2005: 58).

Among these more than eighty ethnic groups it is only ten of them (Listed below) which are found with a numerical following greater than one million (CSA, 2008: 16):

Table 1. The major ethno- linguistic groups of Ethiopia

Oromo	25,488,344
Amhara,	19,867,817
Somali,	4, 581, 793
Tigre,	4, 483, 776
Sidama,	2, 966, 377
Guragie,	1, 867, 350
Welayta,	1, 707, 074
Hadiya,	1, 284, 366
Afar	1, 276, 372
Gamo,	1, 107, 163

In the census taken by 1994 it was only the first seven that were hitting above one million; the latter three are newcomers to the major group just in 2007. Reckoning from the census, about three quarters of the denizens of Ethiopia speak one of the following four languages: Afan Oromo, Amharic, Somali, or Tigrinya as a mother- tongue. Yet, we should not be naïve about the potentially major groups that are currently just “some inches” below one million. Like the ones listed below. I prefer to call them Potentially Major Ethno-linguistic Groups:

Table 2. Potentially major ethno- linguistic groups of Ethiopia

Gedeo	986, 977
Silte	940, 766
Kefficho	870, 213

These ethno- linguistic groups will inevitably soon appear in the major group taking the current population growth rate *citrus paribus*.

Among the plethora of languages in the region, the entry of other languages except Geez and Amharic into the official, literary, educational and political domains can be said to be a very recent phenomenon in relative terms (Bender et. al, 1976b: 14). The language policy

of the country restricted other languages from coming to the above mentioned domains, despite their literary (considering oral literature) and traditional values they hold as any other language in the face of the world.

4.2. Language Politics in Ethiopia

This subsection of the study aspires to elucidate the language policy of Ethiopia, dividing very compactly into three sections. In this regard the works of Cooper (1976: 187- 190), McNab (1990: 65- 82), Mekuria (1997: 91- 124), Getachew and Derib (2006: 37- 60), Heugh (2007: 44- 51), and Smith (2008: 207- 243) are worth looking for a more detailed discussion. Even though it is not going to be confined to their outlooks, the coming discussion is highly buttressed and framed by those works.

“In the historical, political and literary fields, two languages have dominated Ethiopian Studies: Amharic and Geez.” (Bender et. al, 1976b: 1). Alongside with their dominant status in the scholarly field of Ethiopian Studies, Bender’s words can be extended to show how overriding the two languages were in the entire societal livelihood of Ethiopia. As the antiquities from the Axumite dynasty divulge, it would not be a mere conjecture to say Geez was the official language of the Axumite dynasty. This official domain had been kept to Geez until Amharic took over as Lisane Nigus, “language of the king,” somewhere during the reign of the Zagwe dynasty that started in the 11th century (Girma, 2009: 233). Correspondingly, these languages now claim an immense amount of literature and historical context as well as a better developmental stage, relatively, than any other indigenous language of eastern Africa.

As a matter of fact, we do not have any document to vividly show why and how Geez took over the higher domains as the official language during the ancient times. Nevertheless, we can say it can be one of the two cogent reasons given by Cooper (1976: 189): as a result of government implemented official language policy or as a denouement of societal dynamics or “historical accidents”, to use Ullendorff’s term, (1973: 119 cited in Bowen and Horn,

1976: 635) whose thorough discussion will be too vast to discuss at length here; or maybe both.

Irrespective of efforts by evangelists to reduce other Ethiopian languages in to writing like Onesimos Nesib, an Oromo missionary who translated the Holy Bible in to Affan Oromo using the Ethiopic script (ጳጳላዮሱስ፣ 2000: 44), Amharic and Geez continued to confluence dominantly in the educational, religious and political domains of the region until the 20th century, where western education stepped in to the country under the complete support of the dedicated emperor, Menilik II. The country's policy regarding other languages was only to be found in the indigenous traditional collection of religious and secular laws, that has been used in the country for several centuries called "Fitha Negest" where speakers of other languages have the right to have a judge speaking their own language (Paulos, 1968 cited in Cooper, 1976: 188).

One provision states that a judge must be able to speak clearly, and must know the different languages which are spoken by the people of his jurisdiction when they argue before him. The other states that a judge may be appointed to a jurisdiction limited to certain group of people to the exclusion of the others because he knows the language and character of the one group and not those of the others. This can be looked at in juxtaposition or concatenation with the current explicitly stated features of LP in the country's constitution that guarantees "persons arrested have the right to be informed promptly, in a language they understand, of the reasons of their arrest and any charge against them;" and "that any statement they make may be used as evidence against them in court" (FDRE, Article 19).

The proliferation of modern education and its legacy during the reign of emperor Haileselesie I, as of his culmination as regent of the crown under Empress Zewditu as Nigus Teferi, created a new arena for Amharic and Geez. Meanwhile the other indigenous languages, whatsoever their powers in numerical terms were, had been kept only to oral use in non official domains.

The major goal of the modern education at its early days in Ethiopia was to provide the country's political system with negotiators who can settle the empire's interests fluently to the circumscribing colonial powers of the day, i.e., British, France and Italy. The education arena was basically foreign language learning field. This arena nevertheless was remarkably a stage of fierce competition between French and English as the envoys of both neighboring colonial powers vie for swift influence over the Ethiopian crown. This was another misfortune to the indigenous languages, which further delayed their day to bloom in the education sector either as media of instruction or as subjects of study, as the educational arena looked already saturated with languages.

At the beginning the French were more successful in maintaining the attitude of the learners and the oligarchy positive towards French as the "best international language" to learn to be in touch with the world's knowledge to modernization. But after the Italian invasion in 1935 to avenge the Adowa defeat four decades back, the story changed. Bowen and Horn (1976: 610) mark this period as where the burgeoning educational efforts were interrupted and most schools were closed for the *raison de et ere* of the imperial Ethiopia schooling system was in complete opposite to the essence of colonialism.

Although the schools were open later, their mission was altered from training indigenous children to be citizens of defending the country's interest in all possible domains in to educating the invader masters' Italian children to keep them in touch with their "mother-civilization," which offered them this corner of the earth where they could engage in sun bathing, to use Mussolini's terms. It was only a limited primary level education for the natives. Besides, they were not encouraged to pass the threshold of colonialism to become more than subject peoples. At this time, without any deliberate effort to capacitate the languages in corpus planning, the Fascist invaders ordered each of the indigenous languages to be used in schools in the respective regions, as shown in the list below. "Furthermore the Governor- General of each province was empowered to establish as additional media in the schools any other language he saw fit." (Pankhurst, 1976: 322 cited in Bowen and Horn, 1976: 610)

Table 3. Administrative Regions and Languages of Instruction During the Italian Occupation (1935-1941)

No.	Region	Languages proclaimed to be media of instruction
1	Eritrea and Tigray	Tigrinya and Arabic
2	Amhara	Amharic
3	Addis Ababa	Amharic and Oromifa
4	Harar	Harari and Oromifa
5	Sidama	Oromifa and Kafficho
6	Somali	Somali

This language policy was not put into full effect except in Eritrea, which had been a colony of Italy for about fifty years. In Tigray it was tried for very few years, only until the emperor regained power in 1941. This was so because firstly, such a policy was understood by the natives as a separatist movement whose *raison d'etre* was to dissuade the country's noble men and gentry in to division so as to enervate the patriotic movements. Secondly, this short period represented a disruption of the education system, where even government schools had stopped functioning. Third, this period was not conducive to the occupiers running education systems, because they were busy fighting a multitude of patriotic movements in almost all corners of the country.

Nonetheless, this time is remarkable for there was a deliberate abandonment of any effort by the Fascist invaders to dilate the use of a common language of communication among the variegated linguistic groups so as to attenuate any possible national unity which can entangle their rule. However, this LP was denounced when the Italians were ousted by the coalition of Ethiopian patriotic forces and the British troops in eastern Africa in 1941.

Since then the British way of doing things began to be accepted as the better way to what his imperial majesty aspires the country to be- a strong, modernized. This was particularly

reflected when gradually English snatched the throne French used to have in education system of the country. The erosion, nevertheless, began some years before the Italians stepped in to the Ethiopian soil- in the 1930s. Aleme Eshete (cited in Bowen and Horn, 1976: 119) points at Dr. Workneh Eshete's, who was taken to India- a British colony by then- and studied medicine, efforts in culminating English in Ethiopia. As he remarks, because of this man's beliefs of the British system and efforts to make the country as strong as Great Britain, a group of 18 Indians were brought to Ethiopia in the 1930 to serve as technicians, doctors, teachers and other badly needed specialists. Since Indians were not well versed in French, if not oblivious at all, it was necessary for the students to become literate in English to exploit the available expatriate resource.

When the fascist invasion was ended in 1941 the British influence that was mostly felt in political, economic and social terms had just ripen from where it was sown before; thus producing the present status of English in Ethiopia, the mostly favored language in the entire education showground from kindergartens up to universities. Edward Jandy, an American education expert who served Ethiopia in the 1940s explained the dominance of the English way in the country's education system as follows: "...the pupils had to learn a foreign language (English) from textbooks with illustration materials alien to their own cultures" (cited in Heugh et. al, 2007: 45).

However, a few exceptions can be mentioned in relation to the use of local languages in the Ethiopian primary education. For example, in Swedish and American missionary schools, mother tongues were used before European languages at the primary level (McNab 1988; Cited in Heugh et. al, 2007: 45).

Amharic had also reclaimed its former dominance over all indigenous languages as Haileselassie I incorrigibly aspires to build a unified modern empire under one crown and one language. In the revised constitution of Ethiopia it was stated in black and white that "the official language of the empire is Amharic." (Revised Constitution of Ethiopia, 1955, article 125) (Cited in Cooper, 1976: 188). It was a must that "New laws be published in Amharic and English in the official gazette of Ethiopia". The statutes of domestic companies

were required to be filled in Amharic or English. Foreigners also had to know Amharic “perfectly, speaking and writing it fluently” in order to become Ethiopian nationals. Such proclamations, charters and codes vividly show the domineering status Amharic used to have in the state (Cooper, *ibid*).

Hailesselassie’s aspirations for one strong nation under a unifying crown can be vividly traced from the above and other declarations and proclamations. It was this the imperial regime’s skepticism and cynicism for anything that emanates from liberalization and decentralization and the incorrigible attitude of the Unionist Party which was controlling the Eritrean government by then, that resulted in the disenfranchisement of Eritreans from using Tigrinya or Arabic as their official languages as they used to do before. Despite the applause this Unionist party claimed from the Eritreans for all the accomplished cumbersome task of unifying Eritrea with the “motherland” via the 1950 federation, it was highly scorched with disparagement for submitting to the demands of Hailesselassie I’s regime. Later, this scrutiny developed into an armed struggle vehemently spearheaded by the Muslim League, which waved the demotion of Arabic and Tigrinya from their official status as well as the removal of the Eritrean flag and its substitution the Ethiopian flag as assimilationist colonialist ideology.

The charter of the then University of Asmara sets a very good example to see how far imperial Ethiopia pursued the Amharic-only LP. In spite of the fact that there was nothing stated about how language use in Hailesselassie I University, located in the capital Addis Ababa should be, (possibly because of the unproved conjecture that the dominant language spoken in Addis Ababa is Amharic), the imperial regime had an explicit LP towards the language use of Asmara University that stated Amharic to be the official language of the university while it was to be abetted only by English to be used as a medium of instruction (Cited in Cooper, 1976: 189).

Even among the educated elite there were expressions about uniting the country under one language. The following was taken from the then minister of Education, Sahle Tsedalu's memo in 1933:

The strength of a country lies in its unity, and its unity is born of [common] language, customs and religion. Thus, to safeguard the ancient sovereignty of Ethiopia and to reinforce its unity, our language and our religion should be proclaimed over the whole of Ethiopia. Otherwise, unity will never be attained. ...Amharic and Geez should be decreed official languages for secular as well as religious affairs and all pagan languages should be banned. (cited in Bahru, 2002b: 140) (Translation Bahru Zewde).

According to the regulation decreed in 1944 concerning missionary activities in Ethiopia, (Cited in Cooper, *ibid*) missionaries also were obliged to learn Amharic to pursue their mission in Amharic for it was outlawed to use the local languages except at the early stages of the missionary activity. After that the credo insists both the missionary and the pupil to have a working knowledge of the "official language of the empire".

In the 1960s the broadcast media was showed some opening to embrace indigenous languages other than Amharic as a result of the political pressure exacerbating through time from both within and outside. The languages that were introduced to the government-owned broadcasting radio stations were Afar, Somali, Tigrinya and Tigre (Smith, 2008: 219). However, the time allotment for them was extremely scanty when compared with the time allotment to Amharic. Yet, the administration was resilient to cede the counter productive effort of unifying the country under one language and one administration.

The heydays of Amharic, nonetheless, seem to come to be challenged while the modern education went spreading and strengthening its legacy and influence in the country's social, economical as well as political domains. Belligerent criticisms started to spring as of the student movement gets more and more contumacious embroiling the imperial regime which had neither the physical ability and the social-psychological integration nor the administrative readiness among its agents to undertake any successful emendation to

satiate the demanding and urgent questions of the society, as the literature on that particular time of the history of the country reveals (Bahru, 2002a: 224).

One of the questions was the immediate recognition of nations and nationalities under whose umbrella the persistent question of languages and linguistic identity started to burgeon. Particularly this question got its culmination when the Marx-Fanon inspired Walleign Mekonen published his article "On the Question of Nationalities" on 17th November, 1969.

Since then, the language issue has clung on Ethiopian politics as a symbol of identity for the plethora of ethno-linguistic groups in the country. When the imperial regime was toppled in 1974 by a revolution that took its roots in the student movement, abetted by the distraught military personnel of the regime, there prevailed euphoria about creating a modernized, prosperous and civilized Ethiopia where all people will be treated equally irrespective of their linguistic identity. This attitude also took its trajectory to every language in the country to be recognized no less than any other language (Bahru, 2002a: 228; Merera, 2006: 126; Balsvik, 2007: 52).

Consequently, at the beginning the military council (Often called "Derg," a word derived from Geez to mean 'committee' or 'council') waged a literacy campaign where some 15 indigenous languages were taken to be used as media of instruction for basic literacy in contrast to the former ostracizing and repulsive Amharic-only policy. An interesting point which scholars such as Mekuria (1997), Smith (2008) and Ivan-Lukas (2010) would like to point as a symptom to the unabated prevalence of Amharic is the fact that the script used for all languages used in the literacy campaign was the Ethiopic script without any significant reform. However, the 1976 political program of the National Democratic Revolution of Ethiopia overtly proclaimed the right of nationalities as the following:

The right of self-determination of all nationalities will be recognized and fully respected. No nationality will dominate another one since the history, culture, language, and religion of each nationality will have equal recognition in accordance

with the spirit of socialism....Given Ethiopia's existing situation, the problem of nationalities can be resolved if each nationality is accorded full rights of self-government. This means that each nationality will have regional autonomy to decide on matters concerning its internal affairs. Within its environs, it has the right to determine the contents of its political, economic, and social life use its own languages and elect its own leaders and administrators to head its own internal organs (Ethiopian Government Programme, 1976 cited in McNab 1990: 66).

Later, when the military council transformed itself into the legitimate government of Peoples' Democratic Republic of Ethiopia in 1987, all indigenous languages were given equal recognition by the constitution to be practiced and improved without any legislative barricade, for the first time in the country's history. This was just the elongation of the above quoted decree. Nevertheless, despite the overflowing rhetoric the centralist ideology of the military regime and its ambition to create a unified Ethiopia was uncompromising, repulsive and resenting to any alternative ideas posed by other political groups, basically formed by students. As a result, it did not take much longer for the question of nationalities and of course the questions of recognition and autonomy under the frame work of linguistic identity to the political game dome once again unanswered.

The "Derg" was unable to satisfy and reconcile four factions created by the political players of the time. According to Merera (2006: 123), in the aftermath of 1974 there were four factions among the members of the student movement regarding the issue of "Question of Nationalities" and "National Oppression". First there were those, who advocated the softer option of regional autonomy like the Waz- League (League of the Proletariat). Second there were those who recognized, in principle, the right of nations and nationalities to self determination, including and up to secession, but who sought a solution to the nationalities problem within the larger Ethiopian frame work. MEISON (All Ethiopian Socialist Movement) is the epitome, here. Third, there were those who recognized the rights of nations and nationalities to self determination, including and up to secession, both in principle and in practice, such as EPRP (Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Party). Fourth, there were the various ethno nationalist movements, such as Eritrean people's Liberation

Front (EPLF) and the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF), which adopted the colonial thesis and sought separation as the only option for the emancipation of their linguistic identity as well as economic progress of the ethnic groups which they claimed to represent.

Markakis (2005: <www.sidamaconcern.com/news2005/whats_in_name.htm>), on the other hand, divides the factions created on answering the question of nationalities by recalling the stormy debate on the question of “Who is Ethiopian?” in the 1960s in to two. First, there were multiethnic groups who were extroverted about their hatred of the “cultural chauvinism” and “narrow nationalism” and sought to solve the problem under the frame work of class struggle by concluding that it is only the peasantry who represents the country. The second faction, basically ethnic centered political groups and who labeled the first as advocates of “greater nation chauvinism”, took “nationality” as the most suitable way to mobilization.

Merera (Ibid) bemoans the uncompromising nature of these multiethnic and ethnic political parties to converge and search for a common political vision around which the majority of Ethiopia’s citizens can get some sort of conglomeration as a result of their love-hate relation ship between the “ethno national elites and the resulting contradictory mobilization strategies.” An artist and professor of art school at Addis Ababa University by the name Eshetu Tiruneh portrayed the then political situation among the gentry in his painting showing two cocks fighting over their color disparities. He avers that all were saying the same thing using different words (እሸቱ ጥሩነህ፣ 2003: አውራግባ ታይምስ ጋዜጣ).

It was also this uncompromising nature of the political elites which left a fertile ground for the military elite to decimate each intellectual-led political association from the environs of the castle. The military victory against Somalia also was exploited as an accomplice by the military elite to portray it self as the vanguard of the country’s unity before the eyes of the public (Bahru, 2002a: 245; Merera, 2006: 123).

Soon after the literacy campaign the military elites- of course abetted by some factions of the intelligentsia who had gained some control over the country's politics- got busy at the ablutions of the political playground from any mist of query within the river of blood from Red Terror. The military elite went on decimating all political associations posing any kind of question till it clears out the castle and its environ absolutely cleared. The students who hoped, decried and struggled hoping to unchain the country from oligarchy and autocratic dictatorship were frantically disillusioned by the boorish way both they as well as their political alternative ideas had been treated by the military regime. Thus, they fled to the jungle looking for armed solutions. Even there the political factions were not in a complete harmony. They usually went into bloody discordance at ideological differences. The armed conflicts between EPRP and EDUP (Ethiopian Democratic Unity Party), TPLF and EPRP, TPLF and EDUP, TPLF and EPLF, EPRP and MEISON can serve epitomes as manifestations of the incorrigibly uncompromising nature of the factions (Kassahun, 2003: 117).

The jungles too were not too far for the military regime, though never attaining its aspired success. It continued to demagogue these groups via state owned media as demoniacs vying for cutting the ancient and "blooming socialist" country unity in to pieces with an ethnocentric political knife. The regime tried its all best to portray itself before the public as the forerunner of economic development and equality between all peoples of the country through scientific socialism. The irony yet lies in the fact that it was the students themselves who taught the soldiers the very definitions of socialist ideology (Bahru, 2002a: 243).

It took fully twelve years for the military regime to endorse the core idea of the student movement- establishing a civilian government, even with its mostly debauched form as it did at last. It was almost at the dusk of its reign, in 1987, the military regime tried to transform itself to be a constitutionally elected civilian government under the shield of a highly authoritarian and commandeering socialist party called WPE (Workers' Party of Ethiopia) (Kassahun, 2003: 117; Balsvik, 2007: 45).

Under the 1987 Constitution the country was pronounced to be reframed under 14 autonomous provinces as an answer to the diligently fighting ethnic rebel groups for the liberation of their respective ethnic groups from the dictatorial regime's iron fist. It did not work! This transformation attempt, which was headed by Colonel Mengistu Hailemariam, who had been notoriously outwitting, and decimating every possible opponent since the early days of the revolution until his culmination as "the head of everything" in the country, was disparaged by the rebel groups as a theatre to cover all the cantankerous and assimilationist natures of the dictator to pen in the devoted fighters. So they did not give in⁴⁵. They continued holding their guns until one Tuesday morning in 1991.

One Tuesday morning a person appeared on the national radio with noticeably Tigrinya influenced Amharic saying:

የዘመናት ብሶት የወለደው ጀግናው የኢሕአዴግ ሠራዊት ደርግ ሲጠቀምበት የነበረውን የሬድዮ ጣቢያ ለሕዝቡ ጥቅም ሲል ተቆጣጥሮታል!

ግንቦት ሃያ ሺህ ዘጠኝ መቶ ሰማኒያ ሦስት ዓመተ ምሕረት።

The Triumphant army of EPRDF, the outcome of centuries of grievances, now controls Derg's radio station for the people.

May 28th, 1991.

On that day the coalition of ethnic centered armed groups under the umbrella of EPRDF took control of the capital, ousting the military regime. There the military regime's LP, which despite of the de jure claim of equal status to all the languages of the country while the de facto shows preservations of all possible educational and official domains for Amharic at the expense of other indigenous languages, came to an end. According to research done by the Ministry of Education in 1986, just one year ahead of the promulgation of the 1987 constitution, this policy was proved to be jeopardizing the enrolment and efficacy of students who were not native speakers of Amharic (cited in Heugh et al., 2007: 48).

Hence, as the forerunner of the regime change was the coalition of ethnic based political groups, the questions of autonomy and recognition of linguistic identity were reincarnated. Soon a regime was installed as Transitional Government of Ethiopia. In July, 1991 a conference was held for the plethora of newly formed as well as old, but highly enervated political parties by the oppressive measures of the military regime, which proved itself to be a nemesis democratic political life. They were there at the turning point of the country's political history where a charter which served as a background to the coming constitution. That was the stance where the political arena, which used to be entirely occupied by one party started to embrace several parties to give enough space for all the voices of cultural and political groups (Bahru, 2008: 77; Kassahun, 2003: 118).

The question of language appeared to be still clinging onto the political agenda held by most of the political groups. As the historian Bahiru Zewdie recalls an event from the conference as follows:

The first order of business in the course of the eventful deliberations of that conference was the determination of the working language. In view of the difficulty getting interpreters for the multiplicity of languages represented by the ethno-nationalist organizations attending the conference, it was decided to adopt Amharic and English. However, organizations that brought their own interpreters could use their language. The EPLF leader, Issayas Afeworki, took the latter option and addressed the conference in his native Tegrēñña. But what is of particular interest to this investigation is the ire that he visibly demonstrated at what he felt was a less than adequate Amharic rendering of his delivery, showing that his Amharic was as good as, if no better than, his designated interpreter. The spokesman of OLF, also understandably, addressed the conference in his native Oromo language. But it was translated not in to Amharic but into English, there by leaving the overwhelming majority of the national audience in the dark (Bahru, 2008: 77)

This was a highly self explanatory situation to portray the linguistic sensitivity of the then political system. So in 1992 the new Transitional Government of Ethiopia (TGE) first

proclaimed the rights of every nation and nationality of Ethiopia to use and develop its languages and culture. This was further strengthened and confirmed in the 1995 Ethiopian Constitution.

The preamble of the constitution starts with “We the Nations, Nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia” to answer the question of nationalities which had been waved since the student movement, as most of the political players who had a greater role in developing the constitution were members of the student movement. In spite of its recognition of Amharic as a working language of the federal government (because government can not act without picking one language for its vertical as well as horizontal communication between its functionaries) it follows in the footsteps of the 1987 Constitution, but more audaciously, in recognizing an egalitarian approach to all languages and the linguistic rights of ethnic group in the country (Article 5: 2). Furthermore member states of the federation were given unsurpassable right to determine their working languages by law (Article 5: 3). Indigenous languages started to be used widely in education, mass media, administrative and judiciary systems. In 1994 the Ministry of Education of Ethiopia proclaimed a new Education and Training Policy, which declares:

Cognizant of the pedagogical advantage of the child learning in mother tongue and the rights of nationalities to promote the use of their languages, primary education will be given in nationality languages (FRDE, 1994: 23).

This was a turning point for the education system, where a dominantly monolingual and mono-cultural Ethiopia had vanished and was replaced with a multilingual and multicultural type of system.

Now the existing language in education policy frames the entire system as indicated by the following table.

Table4. The Existing Language in Education Framework (Cited in Heugh et. al, 2007: 51)

No.	Languages	Level of Education	Function
1	Mother tongues/ Nationality languages	Primary (grade 1- 8)	Medium of instruction
2	Amharic	Primary up to secondary level education	As a subject and language of country wide communication
3	English	From grade 1	As a subject
4	English	Secondary and higher education (from grade 9)	As a medium of instruction
5	One more nationality and Foreign language	All levels	As subjects for intercultural and international communication

It is as to this policy that now there are about 22 languages (listed in table 5) used in the country as media of instruction in schools. Most regions selected indigenous languages spoken by the majority of the denizens of that particular area. Tigray went for Tigrinya, Oromia opted for Afan Oromo, Somali Regional State chose Somali, and Amhara retained Amharic to be media of instructions in primary school level as well as media of communication in the administrative business. The SNNPR and Afar took Amharic to be medium of regional administrative communication and as medium of instruction in primary schools respectively. The smallest regional state Harari opted for adopting Oromo and Harari for official purposes. There were also decisions at zonal levels. The Agaw- Awi zone in Amhara Regional State uses Awngi; the Oromia zone uses Afan Oromo. Gurage Zone in SNNPR uses Amharic for both administrative and educational sectors. Burji, Alaba,

Dirashe and Yem Special Woredas in SNNPR use Amharic in schooling as well as administrative business.

Table 5. Languages currently used as media of instructions in Ethiopia for primary level education (adapted from Heugh et. al, 2007: 56- 57)

Language	Used in
Afar	Afar
Agnuwak	Gambella
Amharic	Addis Ababa, Dire Dawa, Amhara, Somali, Harari, Afar, Benishangul Gumuz, SNNPR,
Awngi	Amhara
Dawro	SNNPR
Gamo	SNNPR
Gedeo	SNNPR
Gofa	SNNPR
Hadiya	SNNPR
Hamtanga	Amhara
Harari	Harari
Kafinono	SNNPR
Kambata	SNNPR
Konta	SNNPR
Korete	SNNPR
Meshenger	Gambella
Nuer	Gambella

Oromo	Oromia, Amhara, DireDawa, Harari,
Sidama	SNNPR
Silti	SNNPR
Somali	Somali, Dire Dawa
Tigrinya	Tigray

In major urban areas in Oromia Regional State like Bishoftu (Debrezeit), Adama (Nazareth), Neqemte, Shashemene, Zway primary schools offer education in both languages: Amharic and Afan Oromo. Almost all regional capitals including Mekele (Tigray), Asosa (Benishangul-Gumuz), Gambella (Gambella) and Jijiga (Somali) have primary schools where Amharic is used for primary education. But none of the states showed as eccentric as Regional and zonal capitals in SNNPR in favor of Amharic (Cohen, 2006: 166). Most urban areas in SNNPR use Amharic with other indigenous language as optional media of instruction in primary level education as shown in the following table:

Table 6. Zonal Towns in SNNPR and Languages of Instruction (adapted from Cohen, 2006: 166)

Hawassa	Amharic and Sidama
Arbamnch	Amharic and Gamo
Sodo	Amharic and Wolayta
Hossaena	Amharic and Hadiyissa
Dilla	Amharic and Gedeofa

Cohen (ibid) marks schools of Diredawa and Harar for employing a range of languages as media of instruction for primary education including Harari, Somali, Afan Oromo, Amharic, Arabic and English.

In addition to all this, English looks to be the most favored language in the private schools of all town areas in the country, although recently the administration in the capital has started to secure mother tongue primary level education, cognizant of the benefits the children will incur.

It is about twenty years now since this LP favoring indigenous languages has been implemented. And there is a sizeable amount of research reckoning the effects of this policy while it is still considered by the EPRDF government as one of its achievements from both the linguistic rights as well as the pedagogical point of view. For example, a newsletter by the ministry of education remarks on the rapidly increasing rate of the country's literacy rate as a result of mother tongue based education (MoE, online resource). On the other hand, there are still factions of the Ethiopian society who point at the social mobility problems and the bloody ethnic conflicts like the one that happened in SNNPR as a result of the implementation of the forged language WAGAGODA to harmonize four dialects of the same language (Wolayta, Gamo, Gofa, and Dawro).

Chapter Five

Analysis

This chapter presents the analysis part of the study. An overall assessment of the language policies of the political parties is presented first. Then, we will be dealing with the proposals of the political parties about the language that should take the status of the working language of the federal government. The next focus of the analysis is the proposals about the medium of instruction and language to be taught as subject in the schooling arena. In the analysis the motivations and ideologies beneath the proposals are conjectured. Based on the features they display, the LPs proposed by the political parties are categorized taking the Promotion vs. Tolerance, Covert vs. Overt, Endoglossic vs. Exoglossic, and Patten's models: official multilingualism, language rationalization and language maintenance.

5.1. Overall assessment of the political parties' language policies

Although the need for a thoroughly thought-out and well planned language policy for a multilingual country such as Ethiopia is unquestionable, out of the 24 political parties included in this study only seven³ (only 29.1 % the entire samples) have put forward relatively clear and implementation orientated LPs. It is only these seven parties which presented language proposals relatively directed towards implementation since they suggest explicitly what the federal working language should be or how it should be selected, and what the language use in education shall be. Moreover, they also suggest establishment and expansion of language research centers and the deployment of resources by the federal government to the corpus development of the languages.

³ EDP, AEDP, EPRDF, OLP, Forum, GPRDF and ONC

Out of the remaining 17 parties 16 (around 66.7 % of the entire sample) do not give detailed and implementation oriented LPs. Depending on the broadness or narrowness of their policies, they can also be divided into two sub-categories.

First⁴ there are ten parties which present an overly broad and highly generalized claim to ensure the recognition of the languages and cultures, history and identities of all nations, nationalities and peoples of the country. Even though these parties have not offered any detailed implementation frame work, they have displayed support to mother tongue education at primary level.

The second group holds five⁵ parties that give too narrow language proposals in their political programs such as “Afar language shall be included in schools as a subject.” (አርዳቶ፣ 1990: ማኅበራዊ ፕሮግራም). The proposals in this group neither tell what the medium of instruction at the schools shall be nor what is to be done in the development of the languages.

The remaining one party⁶ (constituting about 4.2 % of the entire samples) proposes nothing about language or seems to be confounded with the perplexity of multilingualism in the country.

⁴ HNL, AEUP, GSPP, WPDF, DDQPDO, UEDF, EJDFF, OPDU, EPAP, ERaeiP

⁵ ARDUF, WSDP, ANDO, BMPDO, KPC

⁶ DDPDO

5.2. The Federation's Working Language

Out of the seven parties that give relatively detailed and implementation orientated LPs, two⁷ of them propose an overt promotion of a particular language to claim the Working Language status. Three⁸ parties from this group propose the adoption of a second working language beside Amharic without mentioning a particular language. One⁹ of these three parties forwarded that the second language should be given the status of a working language based on its numerical value; while the other two¹⁰ preferred the selection to be taken on the basis of facilitating science, technology and market exchange. On the other hand, two¹¹ of these seven parties stand in peculiarity by not mentioning the promotion of any specific language overtly; rather they propose egalitarian preservation, usage and development to all languages in the country. Except one¹² party that has not presented any language policy, all¹³ the proposals from the parties grouped under the non- detailed LP have the same stand. All propose the preservation of the languages in the country.

According to the two parties, OLP and ONC, that overtly propose promotion of a particular language, because Afan Oromo is numerically the largest language in the country it shall be the additional working language of the country. The following is taken from the political program of one of the members of this group: "The Congress shall strive to make Afan Oromo the Working Language of the country." (ኡብኮ፣ 1988: ማኅበራዊ ፕሮግራም) (Translation mine). The other party also proposes in its political program under a section titled "About

⁷ OLP and ONC

⁸ EDP, AEDP, and FORUM

⁹ FORUM

¹⁰ EDP and AEDP

¹¹ EPRDF and GPRDF

¹² DDPDO

¹³ DDQPDO, WSDP, ANDO, HNL, WPDF, BGDUF, BMPDO, OPDU, ARDUF, EPAP, ERaeiP, AELIP, UEDF, EJDFF, GSPP, KPC

Afan Oromo” that “Afan Oromo shall be taken as an additional Working Language of the country.” (አካፓ፣ 2006: ማኅበራዊ ፕሮግራም)

As described above, the language proposals from these two parties are overt and dedicated to the promotion of Afan Oromo to be the federal state’s working language. As the language they propose is an indigenous one, they are likely to be categorized under the Endoglossic category. If Patten’s (2001: 691) models of LP are taken, these overt and promotive proposals of the parties will fall under the Language Maintenance model for the following reasons.

First of all, the aspiration is to preserve and promote the language and the identity represented by the language through making the language the Working Language of the FDRE. This provides a better opportunity to the language and speakers of the language to preserve their language and their identity as something worth preserving as it opens access to higher domains of state business and economic benefit. In other words, the policies aspire to win symbolic affirmation and identity preservation. For instance one of the parties in the group states “to struggle for the recognition of the Oromo people’s national identity and develop its culture and language” (አብኮ፣ 1988: ፻፲፱) (Translation mine) as its objective by which all the other policies are likely to be framed. This will lead us to the discussion of the ideology and motivation beneath the policies.

Because none of the policies proposed by the political parties have included anything about the economical, social, cultural and/or political benefits to be gained by making the language they propose the working language of the federal government, the motivation sway of the above mentioned group LP can be argued to be sentiment and authentication. The only points they raise to justify the need for Afan Oromo to be the national language is the numerical muscle the language has and as part of the emancipation of Oromo identity from cultural oppression. This can partly be as a result of the basic goal, described by the

parties in their objectives and introductions of their political programs, “liberating the nationality from oppression.” (አገፓ፣ 2006፣ መግቢያ) (Translation mine)

Besides, as their proposals show commitment to the promotion of an indigenous language the ideology beneath the LPs of the political parties in this sub-group can be grouped under vernacularization.

The second group is constituted from three parties, EDP, AEDP and FORUM, which propose the adoption of a second working language besides Amharic. They overtly state in their proposals that there should be another language to be used as the working language of the federal government.

One of the parties in this group, FORUM, proposes the following: “In addition to Amharic there shall be another language spoken by the majority of the people of the country as a working language of the federal government.” (መድረክ፣ 2001፣ የብሔር ብሔረሰቦች እኩልነትን ቦተመለከተ).

On the other side, the rest two parties, AEDP and EDP, forward that the selection should be “based on the people’s will” and suitability “for science, technology and market exchange.” (መኢዴፓ፣ 1996፣ ቋንቋ) (ኢዴፓ፣ 2001፣ ቋንቋ) (Translation mine).

As all the parties in this group favor the selection and promotion to be “from the languages of the nationalities of the country” (ኢዴፓ፣ 2001፣ ቋንቋ) (Translation mine) their LPs can be labeled as endoglossic and promotive. However, on the latter typology we can not say certainly that the policies promote a particular language as they do not mention any language specifically to be promoted, as opposed to the OLP and ONC that promote Afan Oromo.

On the other hand, from the point of view of Paten's model, the policies of these political parties always confirm that "all the languages of nationalities shall be respected and so shall be their identities and equality. Every nation and nationality shall have the right to utilize preserve and promote its language, culture and history." (መድረክ፣ 2001፡ የብሔር ብሔረሰቦች እኩልነትን በተመለከተ) (Translation mine). With this their proposals show a major feature of the official multilingualism. Nonetheless, as they do not propose to make all the languages in the country the working languages of the federal government rather than rationalizing selection based on numerical strength or usefulness for technological and market exchange (economical benefit) they also show characteristic of the language rationalization model. They rationalize the selection to be based on either its numerical strength or suitability for technological advancement and facilitating market exchange.

The third group holds two of the detailed, EPRDF and GPRDF, and all of the non- detailed parties. All the parties in this group propose nothing as a precise answer to our question "What shall be the working language of the federal government?" Instead, they propose the equal preservation and cultivation of languages and linguistic identities. The following is taken from one of the political programs of the parties in this group:

EJDF's social program is to guard, defend and cultivate the identities, culture, belief and languages and preserving antiquities that reveal the traditions and histories of nations, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia.

A. All cultures, languages, histories and traditions of all Ethiopian nations, nationalities and people of Ethiopia shall be recognized and respected equally.

B. The Government shall provide equal support to all the nations, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia to develop their respective culture, history and language. It shall also create suitable conditions to the nationalities to foster their cultures, languages, customs and traditions. It shall also establish research centers that serve equally for all the nationalities to enable them in researches and studies of their own languages and cultures (ኢ.ፍ.ዴ.ጋግ፣2000፡ ማኅበራዊ ፕሮግራም) (Translation mine).

Because the parties in this group have no explicitly stated language proposal about the working language of the federal government, it will be ambiguous to point their sway exactly whether they have agreed with the current Amharic being the working language of the federal government or not. This makes their LPs regarding the working language of the federal government to be categorized under the covert family. However, it is also worth mentioning that they have an overtly stated proposal for an egalitarian preservation to all languages in the country. Besides, as their policies affirm the preservation and cultivation of the languages of the nations, nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia it can be said that as a trajectory they lean towards the indigenous languages.

On the other side, although all the parties in this group do not explicitly promote any particular language, they propose dedication of full support to the development and preservation of the indigenous languages. Thus, they can be categorized under the promotion category.

On the other hand, the LPs of this group show some characteristics of the Official Multilingualism model. They explicitly state that the country should preserve all the languages of the nations, nationalities and people's in Ethiopia. The core justification that all the parties in this group share for the preservation and recognition of the languages is symbolic affinity. Let's take the aim presented in the political program of AEUP as an example: - "Preserving and developing the cultures, antiquities and languages of Ethiopia as they depict Ethiopia's beauty and identity."

Yet, there are two parties in this group, EPRDF and WPDF, that presented the value of recognition of the indigenous languages from an angle of political participation and democratic rights as follows:-

Unless the people are using their own language they would not be able to sufficiently participate in the political system through interpreters. Unless citizens use their language to express about their culture and history it is impossible to them

to exercise their freedom of expression (የፕሬስና ኦፊሴሎች ስነ-ምግባር 1994: 27)
(Translation mine).

The benefits described above to be gained through recognizing and using languages of nationalities can be subsumed under the umbrella of communication, because they are all about enhancing the political participation of different language speakers. In other words, the languages shall be recognized not only to recognize the ethno-linguistic identities but also to serve the individual interest in political communication, since using one's own language facilitates understanding and communication in the public domain particularly to those who do not or scarcely speak the dominant language(s) in the political arena.

As the justification presented by the proposals suggest the motivations behind the proposals of this group can be said to be both sentimental and instrumental. Those who propose the preservation and recognition of the languages for the sake of identity are the ones with a sentimental motivation and those that propose the recognition and admittance of the languages to be used by their people emphasize the political benefits to be reaped from using one's own language for communication. In other words, it is all about giving the people easy "access to courts, schools, and other likely organizations using their own language" (ዎስቲካን 1996: ማኅበራዊ ፕሮግራም) (Translation mine).

The fourth group is constituted from one regional party with no language proposal at all: DDPDO. This party has no suggested proposal regarding the working language of the federal government. Yet, it is still possible to argue that the party hasn't mentioned the language issue in their political programs for the following two reasons. First, may be because, it has a covert LP that is comfortable with the current LP of the country. Second, may be the party does not see the language issue as a case to be concerned about in the country's political arena.

5.3. Language in Education and Language of Education

From the parties that presented relatively expatiated language proposals¹⁴, two parties¹⁵ explicitly propose one particular language to be used as medium of instruction.

These parties overtly aver that “Afan Oromo shall be used as medium of instruction in schools.” (ኡብኮ፣ 1988: ማኅበራዊ ጉዳዮች) (Translation mine). However, no instrumental benefit that is to be gained from using the language as medium of instruction in this multilingual country is given. Instead, the policies emphasize the numerical muscle the language has. Besides, a sentimental attachment is also shown as they remark in their political program that they “shall strive for the development of the Oromo culture and language.” (ኡብኮ፣ 1988: ዓላማ) (Translation mine).

It can be argued that such proposals covertly marginalize other languages from being used as instructional media. In the proposals from these parties there is no mentioned space in education to other languages of the country. The motivation behind can, thus, be inferred as authentication of the Oromo linguistic identity. As it proposes to promote the language and the linguistic identity the ideology beneath can be supposed to be vernacularization.

However, one can contend that there is an assimilationist sentiment in this policy because it tries to impose a particular language over all school domains in the whole of the country. As it is explicated in the literature review, imposing one’s language over the other would certainly contradict with the economical development and political participation of the dominated and is therefore characteristically oppressive. It denies easy access to education against speakers of other languages. This in turn will result in resentment from other ethno-linguistic groups. At the worst case scenario, it could invite a total discordance in a region.

¹⁴ FORUM, GPRDF, EPRDF, EDP, AEDP, ONC and OLP

¹⁵ ONC and OLP

From the non- detailed group, two parties¹⁶ in the too- narrow sub-group share common feature that they mention a language to be used in education. For instance, the social program of the ARDUF suggests that “Afar language shall be included in the school curriculum as a subject.” (አርዲፍ፣ 1990፣ ማኅበራዊ ፕሮግራም) (Translation mine). The social program from the KPC also suggests that “Kambata language shall be introduced and taught.” (ክሕኮ፣ 1986፣ የቋንቋ ፖሊሲ) (Translation mine). In the proposals from these parties, there is nothing stated about the other languages in the country. In addition, the proposals do not seem to push beyond making the languages they mention to be included in the school curriculum as a subject. They also do not also justify their suggestions based on the benefits that the policies will bring to the people. They neither give any additional policy about developing the languages to sustain their use in education.

The remaining five¹⁷ parties in the detailed group, one¹⁸ of the parties from the too- narrow and all the parties in the too- broad sub- groups accede with one axiom: mother tongue education at the primary level. All of them do agree with the importance of mother tongue education. Particularly at the primary level education all of them consent that “the medium of instruction shall be the mother tongues of the students.” (መኢአድ፣ 2001፣ ትምህርት). None of the policies of these parties restrict any indigenous language from being used as medium of instruction.

However, it is worth mentioning that two parties, EDP and AEDP, in this group who prefer to take metropolitan cities in special consideration where different ethnic groups duel. For instance, EDP suggests the following: “in cities, cognizant of the nationality mixture and the interest of the denizens, medium of instruction in primary level education shall be the mother tongue.” (ኢዲፓ፣ 2001፣ ቋንቋ) (Translation mine).

¹⁶ KPC and ARDUF

¹⁷ EDP, EPRDF, AEDP, FORUM and GPRDF

¹⁸ ANDO

With such policies the two parties have shown special consideration and a peculiar treatment of the metropolitan cities of the country that are practically variegated in ethnic composition. This gives space to the interest of people from different ethnic groups as their children probably pick the ethnic language of their parents as mother tongue. Besides, in addition to promoting the indigenous languages to be used as media of instruction, such policies also show caution in order not to impose the language of an ethnic group over the others without the interest the latter. The special concern addressed for places where different ethnic groups live vividly shows this precaution. According to this policy, although a certain group of people speaking a certain language live in a certain place with speakers of other language (s) none of them will be denied the opportunity to maintain their languages as media of instruction in schools, particularly in primary level education.

On the other hand, from the parties that offered relatively detailed LP, three of them (EDP, AEDP and FORUM) which are among parties that proposed the selection of additional language(s) to the serve the status of the federal working language, affirm that, after selection of the additional working language of the federal government “the selected working language(s) of the federal government shall be taught as a subject in the entire regular schools of the country; and shall also serve as media of instruction depending on the need.” (ኢ.ዲ.ፓ፣ 2001፣ ቋንቋ) (Translation mine). The LPs oblige the federal government to implement the teaching of Amharic and the other selected language in all public schools in the country regardless of the region (መድረክ፣ 2001፣ የብሔር ብሔረሰቦች እኩልነትን በተመለከተ). They also have conferred the responsibility onto the shoulders of the government to implement the teaching of the selected language(s) in the regular education system (መኢ.ዲ.ፓ፣ 1996፣ ትምህርት)(Translation mine).

Here one can argue that the motivation behind this is unification, because teaching the federal working language in all schools of the regional states is basically to facilitate communication between different language speakers of the federation. Since these LPs

confer the authority to the regional states to “select their respective working languages and use them as media of instruction in schools located in the region,” (ኢ.ዲ.ፓ: 2001: ቋንቋ) (Translation mine) they give no space to the oppressive assimilationist ideology.

Except for one party, the OLP, none of the parties have proposed a policy regarding the language to be used as a medium of instruction beyond the primary level education. On the other hand, except for the OLP and the parties that propose the maintenance of the selected additional working language of the federal government, none of the political programs from the parties included in this study have articulated anything about the medium of instruction after the primary level education or on second or foreign language choice. It might be conjectured that they are either comfortable with the status quo, i.e. using English as medium of instruction, or that they have no alternative policy to offer the public in this regard.

The policy proposed by OLP offers the following:

From grade 1-6 students shall learn using the mother tongue and one international language as a subject.

From grade 6 up to the completion of high school, students shall learn Afan Oromo and another working language as subjects while all other subjects are to be conducted using English as medium of instruction. (ኢነፓ: 2006: ትምህርት)

Lastly, there is one party, the DDPDO, which has not proposed any LP. About this party it can be argued that it has covertly comfortable with the status quo or have no alternatives in this regard. On the other hand, there also is space to argue that they don't conceive language as an issue in the political and economical arenas of the country.

Chapter five

Conclusions and Recommendations

In this chapter basic conclusions are presented and some recommendations offered based on the findings indicated in chapter four. First, the crux conclusions from the overall assessment and the analysis are presented. Then, the recommendations follow.

6.1. Conclusions

6.1.2. Overall assessment

It is only 29.1% of the political parties that have a relatively expatiated language policy. 66.7% of the parties were found not to have thoroughly detailed and implementation directed language policies. 4.2% were found to have no language policy at all.

6.1.2. About the working language of the federal government

There are political parties which propose the promotion of an additional language to the status of the working language of the federal government. Two of the parties (8.3% of the entire sample) propose that this other language shall be Afan Oromo because of its numerical prevalence and as a promotion of the Oromo identity.

Others propose that the language that is to be picked to be the other working language of the federal government shall be selected based on its instrumental efficiency for political communication as well as technological and scientific knowledge exchange.

On the other hand, there was found a political party that proposed no language to be added or subtracted to or from the status of “working language of the federal government”. About these, it can be said that they are covertly comfortable with the current language policy of the country or have no alternatives to offer in this regard.

6.1.3. Language in Education

There are parties that forwarded no language policy to dictate the language use in the educational arena. These parties can be supposed to have covertly acceded with the status quo or have no alternatives to offer in this regard.

There are parties which forward the adoption of a particular language to be used as medium of instruction in all schools in the country. Such proposal however will be assimilationist and a source to disharmony during its implementation in a particular region since it undermines other language speakers' identities and educational participation, something inextricably linked with political and economic participation of the society.

It is also proposed by one of the two parties from this group which proposed the promotion of Afan Oromo that English shall be kept as medium of instruction at secondary and tertiary level education to enable the students with competent scholarly personality in the international scholastic arena.

The majority of the parties completely agree with using the mother tongue at primary level education. Among these are parties proposing that member states of the federation shall be obliged to teach the federal working language(s) of the country throughout their schooling system. From this group those parties which propose the promotion of additional language to the status of the working language of the federal government forward that students shall learn one or both of the federal working languages based on their choice.

These parties also propose in their policies that the implementation of the mother tongue education policy should take place where people from different linguistic backgrounds reside in to special consideration and shall be executed based on the interest of the people.

As scholars of the field agree, the best communicative medium in education is the best known language by both the learners and the teacher; in most of the cases the mother tongue. However, in Ethiopia English, takes the secondary and tertiary level education dominantly as a medium of instruction, despite its highly questionable effectiveness. This implies that in order to secure effective in education, the classroom communication should be facilitated through the languages that both the teachers and the learners know well. Yet, the majority of the parties do not have any policy addressing the issue of language in education farther from the primary level.

6.2. Recommendations

Since Ethiopia is a multilingual state, with all the conflicts between different ethno-linguistic groups as history tells us, any developmental policy should always consider language as an issue to be thought thoroughly in planning economic development as well as regional tranquility. Hence, all the political parties who duel to rule the country by forming a government should not undermine this. Instead, they should try to work in cooperation with academia for a well detailed discussion of the pros and cons of their policies.

Secondly, besides the promotion of ethnic identities, parties should look for policies that will have a positive effect on regional stability, since imposing one's language over the other will, inevitably, ostracize the latter from easily accessing schooling, economic development and political participation.

On the other hand, as there is a sizeable number of parties that are calling for an additional working language of the federal government, all of the people in the political business and all people who can be considered as stake holders of such an issue, such as researchers and consultants of policy makers, should begin to research the pros and cons of the promotion

and implementation of such a policy. Before making or promoting any decision, it would be better if there is positivist and pluralist cost/ benefit analysis.

In a nutshell, solutions to the language issue in Ethiopia should be based on deeper thought, research and critical thinking. Since there is no universally applicable perfect language policy model or framework, further research on the sociolinguistic situation of the country needs to be done as a basis to set up the best language policy which can positively serve easy communication- in both academic and administrative businesses- to cohort and buttress the economic development and political stability aspired by other policies.

References

- መኢአድ፡፡ 2001፡፡ “የፖለቲካ ፕሮግራም”፡፡ አዲስ አበባ፣ ያልታተመ፡፡
-፡፡ 2002፡፡ “ከመላው ኢትዮጵያ አንድነት ድርጅት ለሕዝብ የቀረበ ጥሪ፡፡” አዲስ አበባ፣ ፓምፍሌት፡፡
- መድረክ፡፡ 2001፡፡ “መለስተኛ ፕሮግራም”፡፡ አዲስ አበባ፣ ያልታተመ፡፡
- መኢዴ፡፡ 1996፡፡ “የፖለቲካ ፕሮግራም”፡፡ አዲስ አበባ፣ ያልታተመ፡፡
- ከሕዴኮ፡፡ 1986፡፡ “የፖለቲካ ፕሮግራም”፡፡ አዲስ አበባ፣ ያልታተመ፡፡
- ከበደ ፍሬሰንበት፡፡ 2001፡፡ “ዘመናዊ ትምህርት በቅድመ አብዮት ኢትዮጵያ፡፡” ከድህነት ወደ ልማት፡- ዕውቀትን ለትውልድ ማስተላለፍ፡፡ አዲስ አበባ፣ ማኅበራዊ ጥናት መድረክ፡፡
- ኃይለየሱስ እንግዳሽ፡፡ 2000፡፡ “የመጽሐፍ ቅዱስ ትርጉም በኢትዮጵያ አጭር ቅኝት” በ መድበለ ጉባኤ (ደረጃ ጉበሬ አ.) ውስጥ፡፡ አዲስ አበባ፣ የኢትዮጵያ ደራሲያን ማኅበር፡፡
- አርዱፍ፡፡ 1990፡፡ “የፖለቲካ ፕሮግራም”፡፡ አዲስ አበባ፣ ያልታተመ፡፡
- አንድነት ፡፡ 2002፡፡ “የፖለቲካ ፕሮግራም፡፡” አዲስ አበባ፣ ያልታተመ፡፡
- ኢዴፓ፡፡ 2001፡፡ “የፖለቲካ ፕሮግራም”፡፡ አዲስ አበባ፣ ያልታተመ፡፡
- ኢፍዴኃግ፡፡ 2000፡፡ “የፖለቲካ ፕሮግራም”፡፡ አዲስ አበባ፣ ያልታተመ፡፡
- እሸቴ ጥሩነህ፡፡ 2003፡፡ “ማየት ማመን ነው ብንልም የምናየው የምንሰማውን ነው፡፡” በአውራጃ ስታዲየም ስታዲየም ውስጥ የሰፈረ ቃለጥያቄ፡፡ 3ኛ ዓመት ቁጥር 138 ጥቅምት 13/ 2003፡፡
- አብኮ፡፡ 1988፡፡ “የፖለቲካ ፕሮግራም”፡፡ አዲስ አበባ፣ ያልታተመ፡፡
- አነፓ፡፡ 2006፡፡ “የመመሥረቻ ጽሑፍ”፡፡ ፊን ፊኔ፣ ያልታተመ፡፡
- ዱቤና ደግኔ ዴሞክራሲያዊ ፓርቲ፡፡ 1996፡፡ “የፖለቲካ ፕሮግራም”፡፡ አዲስ አበባ፣ ያልታተመ፡፡
- የቤኒሻንጉልና ጉሙዝ ሕዝቦች ዴሞክራሲያዊ አንድነት ግንባር፡፡ 1989፡፡ “የፖለቲካ ፕሮግራም”፡፡ አዲስ አበባ፣ ያልታተመ፡፡
- የአርጎባ ብሔረሰብ ዴሞክራሲያዊ ድርጅት፡፡ 1994፡፡ “የፖለቲካ ፕሮግራም”፡፡ አዲስ አበባ፣ ያልታተመ፡፡
- የአሞ ሕዝቦች ዴሞክራሲያዊ ኅብረት፡፡ 1992፡፡ “የፖለቲካ ፕሮግራም”፡፡ አዲስ አበባ፣ ያልታተመ፡፡
- የዎላይታ ሕዝብ ዴሞክራሲያዊ ግንባር፡፡ 1996፡፡ “የፖለቲካ ፕሮግራም”፡፡ አዲስ አበባ፣ ያልታተመ፡፡

የፕሬስና ኦዲዮ ቪዥዋል መምሪያ። 1994። በኢትዮጵያ የዴሞክራሲያዊ ሥርዓት ግንባታ ጉዳዮች። ማስታወቂያ ሚኒስቴር፣
አዲስ አበባ።

ጋምቤላ ሕዝቦች አብዮታዊ ዴሞክራሲያዊ ንቅናቄ። 2000። “የፖለቲካ ፕሮግራም”። አዲስ አበባ፣ ያልታተመ።

Abdulaziz, Mohammed. 2001. ‘Towards a Multilingual Culture of Education.’ In The History of Language Policy in Africa with Reference to Language Choice in Education. [Ed.] Ouane, A. Hamburg, UNESCO.

Alidou, H. 2003. ‘Medium of Instruction in Post- Colonial Africa.’ In Medium of Instruction Policies: Which Agenda? Whose Agenda? [Ed.] Tollefson, J. W. and Tsui A. B. Mahwah and London, [pp 194- 213].

Alidou, Hassana and Jung, Ingrid. 2001. ‘Education Language Policies in Francophone Africa.’ In Language Policy Lessons from Global Models. [Ed.] Baker, s. Montreal, Institute of international studies. Available at:
<http://ajol.info/index.php/jolte/article/viewFile/41787/37146>

Assefa Fiseha. 2006. ‘Theory Versus Practice in Ethiopia’s Ethnic Federalism.’ In Ethnic Federalism in Ethiopia: The Ethiopian Experience in Comparative Perspective. [Ed.] Turton, David. Eastern Africa Studies, Addis Ababa, Addis Ababa University Press, [pp131- 164].

Awgchew, Girma. 2009. The Origin of Amharic. Addis Ababa, Addis Ababa University Press.

Bahru Zewdie. 2002a. A History of Modern Ethiopia 1855- 1991[2nd ed.]. Addis Ababa, Addis Ababa University Press.

..... 2002b. Pioneers of Change in Ethiopia: The Reformist Intellectuals of the Early Twentieth Century. Addis Ababa, Addis Ababa University Press.

.....2008. ‘The Changing Fortunes of the Amharic Language: *Lingua Franca* or Instrument of Domination?’ In Society, State and History: Selected Essays. Addis Ababa, Addis Ababa University Press [pp77- 95].

- Baker, Colin. 2006. 'Psycho-Sociological Analysis in Language Policy.' [Ed.] Ricento, Thomas. in Language Policy: Theory and Practice- An Introduction. Blackwell Publishers.
- Balsvik, Randi Ronning. 2007. The Quest for Expression: State and University in Ethiopia Under Three Regimes. 1952- 2005. Addis Ababa, Addis Ababa University Press.
- Bafo- Arthur, Kwame. 2003. 'Political Parties and Democratic Sustainability in Ghana, 1992- 2000.' [Ed.] Salih Mohammed, M. A. In African Political Parties: Evolution, Institutionalization and Governance. London, Pluto Press, [pp207- 238].
- Batibo, Herman. 2005. Language Decline and Death in Africa. Frankfurt Lodge, Multilingual Matters.
- Beatie, Bill. 'Quotes for Education.' Available at <thinkexist. com/.../ the_aim_of_education ... /200220.html.> retrieved on 22/12/2010.
- Bender, Lionel et al. [ed.]. 1976a. Language in Ethiopia. London, Oxford University Press.
- Bender, Lionel et. al [ed.]. 1976b. The None-Semitic Languages of Ethiopia. African Studies Center, Michigan State University in Cooperation with Southern Illinois University, East Lansing.
- Berhanu et al. 2009. 'Language Determination in Ethiopia: What Medium of Instruction?' In: Proceedings of the 16th International Conference of Ethiopian Studies, [ed.] Svein Ege, Harald Aspen, Birhanu Teferra and Shiferaw Bekele, Trondheim. [pp1089-1101]. Available at <<http://portal.svt.ntnu.no/sites/polices16/Proceedings/Volume%204/Berhanu%20Bogale%20-%20Language%20Determination%20in%20Ethiopia.pdf>>
- Bowen, Donald and Horn, Nancy. 1976. 'Language Education.' [Ed.] Bender. The Non-Semitic Languages of Ethiopia. African Studies Center Michigan state University, East Lansing, [pp 608- 634].

- Central Statistics Agency. 2008. Summary and Statistical Report of the 2007 population and Housing Census. Addis Ababa, UNFPA.
- Chimhundu, H. 1998. Language Policies in Africa: Report Of Intergovernmental Conference On Language Policies In Africa. Harare, UNESCO, 2002. Available at <portal.unesco.org/10657972723Language_Policies_in_Africa/Language+Policies+in+Afrca.doc>
- Cohen, Gideon. 2006. 'The Development of Regional and Local languages in Ethiopia's Federal System.' [Ed.] Turton, David. In Ethnic Federalism in Ethiopia: The Ethiopian Experience in Comparative Perspective. Eastern Africa Studies, Addis Ababa University Press, [pp165- 181].
- Cooper, Robert L. 1976. "Government Language Policy." In Language in Ethiopia. Bender [ed.]. London, Oxford University Press, [pp187- 190].
- 1989. Language planning and social change. Cambridge: Cambridge University.
- Eastman, C. 1983. Language planning: An introduction. San Francisco, Chandler and Sharp.
- Echu, George. 2004. "The Language Question in Cameroon." Available at <[http:// www. Linguistik-online.com/18_04/echu.html](http://www.Linguistik-online.com/18_04/echu.html)>
- ERICARTS/Council of Europe. 2010. "Compendium of Cultural Policies and Trends in Europe." 11th edition, <http://www.culturalpolicies.net/web/canada.php>.
- FDRE. 1994. Eduaction and Training Policy. Addis Ababa, St. George Printing Press.
-1995. Constitution of the Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. Addis Ababa, Berhanena Selam Printing Press.
- Fekade Azeze. 2003. 'Some Reflections on Culture and Development in Ethiopia.' Vision 2020. Addis Ababa, Ethiopian Economic Association.
- Fishman, Joshua. 1972. Language in Sociocultural Change. Stanford, Stanford University Press.
- 1974. Advances in Language Planning. The Hague, Mouton.

- 2006. 'Language policy and language shift.' In Introduction to language policy: Theory and method. [Ed.] Ricento, Thomas. Malden, MA: Blackwell, [pp311-328].
- Getachew Anteneh and Derib Ado. 2006. 'Language Policy in Ethiopia: History and Current Trends.' Ethiopian Journal of Education and Sciences. Vol. 2. Addis Ababa, AAU Press, [pp37- 60].
- Gibson, Kari. 2004. 'English Only Court Cases Involving the U.S. Workplace: The Myths Of Language Use And The Homogenization Of Bilingual Workers' Identities.' In Second Language Studies. [Ed.] Brown, J.D. Volume 22, Number 2, Spring 2004, Hawaii, University of Hawaii, (pp1-60). Available at<[http://www.hawaii.edu/sls /uhwpesl/22\(2\)/Gibson.pdf](http://www.hawaii.edu/sls /uhwpesl/22(2)/Gibson.pdf)>
- Haugen, E. 1968. "Language planning in modern Norway." In Readings in the sociology of language. [Ed.] J. Fishman. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Herriman, M. and Burnaby, B. 1996. Language Policies in English Dominant Countries. Frankfurt Lodge, Multilingual Matters.
- Heugh, Kathleen et al. 2007. "Final Report Study on Medium of Instruction in Primary Schools in Ethiopia." Addis Ababa, MOE.
- Hornberger, Nancy. 2006. "Frameworks and Models in Language Policy and Planning." In Language Policy: Theory and Practice- An Introduction. [Ed.] Ricento, Thomas.. Blackwell Publishers (pp 24-42).
- Ishiyama, John. 2009. 'Explaining 'Minor' Party Nominations in Sub- Saharan Africa: The Cases of Ethiopia, Zambia and Malawi.' Journal of Asian and African Studies. Vol.44. Sage Publications, Los Angeles, [pp 319- 339].
- Ivan- Lukas, M. 2010. 'Language Policy and Process of Nation-Building in Ethiopia.' Available at: <alppi.eu/wp-content/.../Ivan-Lukáš-Language-policy.pdf>
- Jernudd, Bjorn and Das Gupta, Jyotirindra. 1971. 'Towards a theory of Language Planning.' In Can Language be Planned? Sociolinguistic Theory and Practice for Developing Nations. [Eds.]Joan Rubin and Bjorn Jernudd. Hawaii: The University Press of Hawaii, [pp195-215].

- Kassahun Berhanu. 2003. Political Culture and Party Politics in Ethiopia. In African Political Parties: Evolution Institutionalization and Governance. [Ed.] Salih, Mohammed. London, Pluto Press.
- Kelman, Herbert. 1971. 'Language as an Aid and Barrier to Involvement in the national system.' Can Language Be Planned? [Ed.] Rubin, J. and Jernudd. University Press of Hawaii, (pp21-51).
- Kottak, Conrad. 2006. Mirror for Humanity: A concise introduction to Cultural Anthropology. McGraw Hill.
- Kurt Komarek, 2003. Universal Primary Education in Multilingual Societies. GTZ, Mauritius. <<http://www.gtz.de/de/dokumente/en-upe-multilingual-2004.pdf>>
- Lodhi, Abdulaziz Y. 1993. 'The Language Situation in Africa Today.' Nordic Journal of African Studies. University of Uppsala, (pp 79- 86).
- Magwa, W. 2006. 'Towards an African Renaissance in language planning.' In African languages in the 21st century. [Ed] Mutasa Davie E. Pretoria, Simba Guru publishers.
- Markakis, John. 2005. Amhara: What is in a Name?. Presented to the symposium organized by the Organizing Committee of the 25th Silver Jubilee of the Amhara National Democratic Movement-ANDM. Available at:<www.Sidamaconcern.com/news_2005/whats_in_name.htm>
- May, Stephen. 2006. 'Language Policy and Minority Rights.' In Language Policy: Theory and Practice- An Introduction. [Ed.] Ricento, Thomas. Blackwell Publishers.
- McNab, Christine. 1990. 'Language Policy and Language Practice: Implementing Multilingual Literacy Education in Ethiopia.' African Studies Review: Special Issue for the International Year of Literacy. Vol. 33, No. 3, (pp. 65-82).
- Mekuria Bulcha. 1998. 'The Politics of Linguistic Homogenization in Ethiopia: Trends in the Development of the Oromo Language.' Between Distinction and Extinction: The Harmonization and Standardization of African Languages. [Ed.] Kwesi Kwaa Prah Witwatersrand University Press, [pp91- 124].

- Merera Gudina. 2006. 'Contradictory Interpretations of the Ethiopian History.' In Ethnic Federalism in Ethiopia: The Ethiopian Experience in Comparative Perspective. [Ed.] Turton, David. Eastern Africa Studies, Addis Ababa, Addis Ababa University Press, [pp119- 131].
- Ministry of Education. 'Ethiopia: Progress Towards the Achievement of the Primary Education MDGs.' Newsletter available at: <www.mfa.gov.et/Press_Section/Newsletter25/BestPractices25.pdf>
- National Electoral Board. 2009. Political Parties for Election 2010. Available at <www.NEBE.net.et>
- Obeng, G. Samuel and Purvis, M. Tristan. 1999. 'Sub- Saharan Africa.' The Hand Book of Language and Ethnic Identity. [Ed.] Fishman, Joshua et.al. Oxford, Oxford University Press, (pp.374).
- Okoth-Okombo, D. 2001. Language policy: The forgotten parameter in African Development and Governance Strategies. Inaugural lecture, Nairobi: University of Nairobi Press.
- Orman, Jon. 2008. Language Policy and Nation- Building in Post Apartheid South Africa. Austria Viena, Springer science + Business Media B. V.
- Ouane, Adama and Glanz, Christine. 2010. Why and how should Africa invest in African languages and multilingual education: An- evidence and Practice- based policy advocacy brief. Hamburg, UNESCO.
- Ouedraogo, M. 2000. Language Planning and Language Policies in Some Selected West African Countries. Burkinafaso, UNESCO.
- Patten, Allan. 2001. 'Political Theory and Language Policy.' In Political Theory. Vol. 29, Sage Publications, [pp691- 715]. Available at: <<http://www.princeton.edu/~apatten/languagepolicypoliticaltheory.pdf>>
- Paulston, Bratt C. 1997. Annual Review of Anthropology. Volume 26. Annual Reviews. (pp73- 85).

- Paulston, Bratt C. and K. Heidemann. 2006. 'Language policies and the education of linguistic minorities.' In *An introduction to language policy: Theory and method*. Ricento, Thomas [ed.], Malden, MA: Blackwell.292–310.
- PDRE. 1987. 'Proclamation of the Constitution of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia.' Negarit Gazeta of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. 47th Year, Proclamation No. 1/1987.
- Pennycook, Alastair. 2006. 'Postmodernism in Language Policy.' Language Policy: Theory and Practice- An Introduction. Ricento, Thomas ed. Blackwell Publish. (pp60-77)
- Policy. Online Dictionary of Etymology. Available at:
<http://www.etymonline.com/index.php>
- Policy. Online WordWeb Dictionary. Available at:
<http://www.wordwebonline.com/search.pl?w=Policy>
- Pool, Jonathan. 1991. 'The Official Language Problem.' In The American Political Science Review. Vol. 85 No 2, [pp495- 514].
- Prah Kwaa Kwesi. 2008. 'The Language of Instruction Conundrum in Africa.' Lecture for the Meeting on The Implications of Language for Peace and Development. Cape Town, University of Oslo.
- Ricento, Thomas. 2006. Language Policy: Theory and Practice- An Introduction. Blackwell Publishers.
-1983. 'The implementation of corpus planning: Theory and practice.' In Progress in language planning: International perspectives. [Eds.] Cobarrubias, J. and Fishman, J. Berlin, Mouton de Gruyter, [pp269–290].
- Ricento, Thomas and Horn Berger, Nancy. 1996. 'Unpeeling the Onion: Language Planning and Policy and the ELT Professional.' In *TESOL Quarterly*, Vol. 30, No. 3, Language Planning and Policy, [pp.401-427]. Availableat: <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/3587691>>

- Schiffman, Harold. 2009. 'Language Policy Theory: Types of Linguistic Minority Rights.' University of Pennsylvania, Papers and Articles, Available at Web. South Asia Studies <<http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/~haroldfs/public/>> on 2009-12-18.
- Schmit, R. 2006. 'Political Theory.' In Language Policy: Theory and Practice- An Introduction. [Ed.] Ricento, Thomas. Blackwell Publishers.
- Shillington, Kevin. 2005. History of Africa. Oxford, McMillan Publishers Ltd.
- Smith, Lahra. 2008. 'The Politics of Contemporary Language Politics in Ethiopia.' Journal of Developing Societies. Vol. 24, Los Angeles, Sage Publications (pp207- 243).
- Spolsky, Bernard. 2004. Language policy. Cambridge university press. Cambridge.
- The National Literacy Campaign in Ethiopia <[igitur-archive.library.uu.nl /dissertations/2005-0106-105411/c4.pdf](http://igitur-archive.library.uu.nl/dissertations/2005-0106-105411/c4.pdf)>
- Thiong'o, N. 1986. Decolonising the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature. Portsmouth, Heinemann.
- Tollefson, James W. 2002. 'Introduction: Critical Issues in Educational Language Policy.' In Language Policies in Education: Critical Issues. [Ed.]Tollefson, James W. Routledge, [pp1-17].
- Trodjman, Sheri. 2005. What is policy? Ottawa, Caledon Institute of Social policy.
- Turton, David. 2006. 'Introduction.' Ethnic Federalism: The Ethiopian Experience in Comparative Perspective. Eastern African Studies, Addis Ababa, AAU Press, [pp1-32].
- Vaughan, Sarah. 2006. 'Responses to Ethnic Federalism in Ethiopia's Southern Region.' In Ethnic Federalism: The Ethiopian Experience in Comparative Perspective. [Ed.] Turton, David, Eastern African Studies, Addis Ababa, AAU Press, [pp182- 207].
- Wodak, Ruth. 2006. 'Linguistic Analyses in Language Policies.' In Language Policy: Theory and Practice- An Introduction. Ricento, Thomas [ed.] Blackwell Publishers.

Wolff, Ekkehard. 2000. 'Language and Society.' African Languages: An Introduction. [Ed.]
Heine, B. Nurse. D. Cambridge University Press, (pp 298- 351).

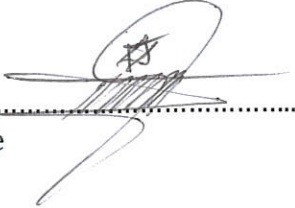
..... 2006. Optimizing Learning and Education in Africa – the Language Factor:
A Stock-taking Research on Mother Tongue and Bilingual Education in Sub-Saharan
Africa. [Ed.] Alidou, Hassana et. al. Gabon, ADEA. Available at:
<http://www.hsrb.ac.za/Research_Publication-19325>

Wolff, Ekkehard. 2000. 'Language and Society.' African Languages: An Introduction. [Ed.]
Heine, B. Nurse. D. Cambridge University Press, (pp 298- 351).

..... 2006. Optimizing Learning and Education in Africa – the Language Factor:
A Stock-taking Research on Mother Tongue and Bilingual Education in Sub-Saharan
Africa. [Ed.] Alidou, Hassana et. al. Gabon, ADEA. Available at:
<http://www.hsrc.ac.za/Research_Publication-19325>

Declaration

I, Mehari Zemelak Worku, declare that "The Language Issue among the Political Parties of Ethiopia" is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been acknowledged by means of complete references.

A handwritten signature in black ink, consisting of a large, stylized 'M' and 'W' with a star-like symbol in the center of the 'M'. The signature is written over a horizontal dotted line.

Signature