The Problem of Medium Transition In Language Planning for Primary Education in Nigeria and Suggestions for its Solution

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Abstract

The search for a workable language medium policy for Nigerian primary education (PE) has for a long time confined itself to a choice of one or other of 3 policy types. These are: the late English medium policy (LEM) by which the medium of instruction is a Nigerian Language (NL) in the first half of PE, and English in the second half; the early English medium policy (EEM) by which the medium language is English for the entire primary course; and the postponed English medium policy (PEM) by which the medium of instruction is NL for the entire primary course, and English medium is delayed till the beginning of secondary education.

But none of these policies has been effective in the hands of teachers. There has thus developed a mismatch between policy decisions at the Political/Formulation Level and those at the Classroom Implementation Level. As a contribution to the on-going search, the present study proposes a 4th language medium policy in which LEM, EEM, and PEM do not stand as alternative policies but merely as features of an integrated policy. The main differences between the existing policy types and the one proposed relate to their different approaches to medium transition (MT), The existing policies seek to effect MT abruptly at fixed points in the PE continuum and simultaneously on the entire primary curriculum. The proposed policy, on the other hand, is planned such that MT is effected gradually over a period of time and selectively on individual subject components of the PE curriculum at different times during the PE course. In this respect the proposed policy breaks the barriers between the existing policies and renders redundant the distinctions implied by the terms LEM, EEM, and PEM when used to characterize policies since it has the capacity/flexibility by which MT is effected relatively early with some subjects, like EEM; relatively late with some subjects, as urged by PEM; and at different points between the beginning and end of PE, including half-way through, much like LEM,

The advantage of the proposed integrated policy approach to MT is that the burden of language medium functions is well distributed among the languages involved in the PE process, and for English the medium burden is spread over the entire primary span such that it is easy for both teacher and learners to bear.

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Declaration

This thesis is my own work and composition.



R.A. Omojuwa

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List of abbreviations used in this study

BIP	Bilingual instructional programme
EEM	Early English Medium policy
ELP	Education language policy
IM	Instructional material
ILP	Integrated language policy
IP	Instructional programme
LEM	Late English Medium policy
LF	Foreign Language
LP	Language policy
L2	Second language (used in this study to refer to English)
L1	Mother tongue
MP	Medium policy
MT	Medium transition
NL	Nigerian Language
NL/L2 Mix	A 'mixed' medium, essentially oral, featuring alternations between NL and English
P	Primary class (e.g. P1 = Primary Class 1)
PE	Primary education
PEIP	Primary education improvement project
PEM	Postponed English Medium policy
TL	Target language
UPE	Universal primary education

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 THE MEDIUM TRANSITION PROBLEM

This Study investigates the medium transition problem that is often a confounding feature of bilingual instructional programmes, especially of the transitional type. By medium transition is meant the process of making a home - school language switch for instructional purposes. In Nigeria this process officially begins and ends at the primary education stage. The medium transition (MT) problem is that the process is not in reality completed by the end of primary education. There is thus a mismatch between the formulation of a medium policy and its implementation.

Although its root is within primary education (PE), the problem has spread beyond the PE Level. Its effect can be clearly felt even at the tertiary education level. The problem has variously been attributed to factors such as poor quality of teachers, of teaching, of instructional materials; the reduction of the duration of PE from eight to six years[1], switching too early to English[2], and switching too late to English[3]. There have also been persistent calls for a thorough study of the problem with a view to tracing its causes and suggesting solutions to it.[4]

The present Study is a contribution to the search for a solution of the MT problem. It investigates the effect of the present medium policies on the choice and use by primary school teachers of language for content-subject instruction. It also suggests a new approach to MT

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1 See Tiffen, B.W. (1970:1-6); The Ford Foundation (1966)

2 Afolayan (1969, 1976)

3 Gwarzo (1968), Jones (1969)

4 cf The Ford Foundation (1966) and Rogers (1968).

which is judged capable of reducing the problem.

1.2 Profiles by which to investigate the MT problem

As the Study aim implies an evaluation of the existing policies in terms of their implementation at the Classroom Level, it was found necessary to establish norms against which to measure each medium policy and the instructional features that characterize it. It was also found necessary to define the hierarchy of relationships that should obtain and be traceable within each policy. Two sets of profiles characterizing the required aspects of medium policies were drawn up for these purposes. The first profile (Table 1.1 below) enabled us to

(a) arrive at a typology of medium policies in Nigeria, and

(b) identify the various levels at which medium policy decisions are taken.

The second set of profiles enabled us to assess the appropriateness of a medium policy and its instructional programme (IP). It sets out the conditions under which a policy and its IP are likely to respond to effective classroom implementation. We shall now look at each of these profiles in more detail.

1.2.1 A Typology of medium policies

The following three types of medium policies are currently adopted in different parts of Nigeria:

(a) The Late English Medium policy (LEM), by which the medium of instruction is the mother tongue of the pupils or a language of immediate community (henceforth Nigerian Language, or NL for short) in the first half of PE, and English in the second half;

(b) the Early English Medium (EEM) policy, by which the medium of instruction is English all through PE; and

(c) the Postponed English Medium (PEM) policy, by which the medium of instruction is Nigerian Language from the beginning to the end of PE, and the use of English as a medium language is delayed until the beginning of post-primary education.

In each case the language (that is, between NL and English) that is not the medium of instruction is taught as a subject.

1.2.2 Medium Policy Decision Levels

The following five levels were identified.

Level 1, Policy Formulation, where policy decisions of a very broad nature are taken. At this level decisions relate in general to a selection of a policy (policy options among which decisions alternate are those described in 1.2.1 above) and a specification of terminal objectives of instructional programmes in very broad terms.

Level 2, Policy Elaboration, where the content of the IP implied by the policy chosen at Level 1 is specified in relation to both transitional and terminal language objectives, and in terms of what kind of language is required, and for what; how much of it at each stage of the PE process; also what skills are required and the means by which the ends are to be achieved in terms of, for instance, time available, equipment, facilities, advice on the type of instructional materials (IMs) appropriate to what has been specified at this Level. Decisions reached at Level 2 are generally available in documents such as syllabuses, teachers' handbooks and instruction pamphlets. Hence this Level is quite often referred to as the Syllabus Design Level.

Level 3, Instructional Materials Preparation, where what has been elaborated at the Syllabus Level (Level 2) is further spelt out and translated into instructional (teachable/learnable) units for direct use by both teacher and pupils as appropriate. The outputs of Level 2 and those of Level 3 are distinguished by the skeletal nature of IMs produced at Level 2 in contrast to those produced at Level 3. Level 2 materials are therefore not susceptible of direct presentation to learners, and are not so intended. Level 3 materials, on the other hand, are generally designed for direct or modified presentation as classroom lessons.

Level 4, Classroom Implementation, where there is direct execution of a policy as formulated at Level 1, as elaborated in syllabuses and other documents at Level 2, and as translated into teachable instructional units at Level 3. There are two sets of exponents operating at this Level. These are teachers and pupils. Teachers are exponents or instruments of policy implementation, and pupils of policy evaluation.

Level 5, Policy Evaluation, where the success of a policy and its IP is evaluated in terms of the relationship between predicted outcomes and their realization.

The typology of medium policies as well as the decision levels described above are represented in Table 1.1 .

1.2.3 Approaches to Medium Transition

Medium transition can be approached in a number of ways. Each approach is characterised by features which show how MT is to be effected with regard to subject selection, the duration within which MT is begun and completed with regard to each subject and the stages MT

DECISION LEVELS		TYPE OF POLICY		
LEVEL	NATURE/TYPE of DECISION	LEM	EEM	PEM
1	policy formulation			
2	policy elaboration (syllabus)			
3	policy translation (methodology/IM design)			
4	classroom implementation (teacher/pupils)			
5	policy evaluation			

Table 1.1 Profile of medium policy types and policy decision levels.

undergoes in this duration.[5] In general, approaches to MT vary along two main dimensions. These are curriculum coverage and transition duration. Along the curriculum coverage dimension, MT can be effected in all content-subjects on the time table simultaneously. It can also be effected in content-subjects individually at different times and stages of primary education.

Along the duration dimension, MT can be effected abruptly. It can also be effected gradually. If the latter, three stages in the gradual transition continuum are identifiable. These are preparatory, minimum transition and full transition stages. If effected abruptly, MT is not realized at the first two stages but at the full transition stage.

In all, four different approaches can be derived from the two dimensions described above. These are labelled as i) selective and abrupt, ii) selective and gradual, iii) simultaneous and abrupt, and iv) simultaneous and gradual. The approaches and the MT features they select are set out below.

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5 It is therefore an oversimplification to say no more than to recommend as Adetugbo (1969:64) does:

> "That the definite time of changeover from L1 to L2 be fixed and that a distinction be made between when English is a school subject and when it becomes a medium of instruction."

To fix a time as recommended by Adetugbo, one would need to know whether the changeover is to affect all subjects at once or different subjects at different times; for, if the latter, there are bound to be different times, not one, to be fixed. Furthermore, one would also need to find out, before fixing or revising the fixing of the changeover time, the duration of the transition, when the process is begun and completed. In other words, whether the process of transition is going to be an abrupt one or a gradual one. For, if the latter, any time fixed has to relate to a period, rather than a point, of time; or if to a point of time, then this should be with reference to the different stages in the transition continuum.

Type of approach	by which MT is effected:
(i) Selective and abrupt	a) subject by subject, b) at different times during PE, c) abruptly (i.e. with regard to transition stages).
(ii) Selective and gradual	a) subject by subject, b) at different times during PE, c) gradually; the following stages are involved in the "gradual" process: 1. preparatory, 2. minimum transition, and 3. full transition.
(iii) Simultaneous and abrupt	a) in all content-subjects simultaneously, b) at one and the same time during PE, c) abruptly (realized at the full transition stage).
(iv) Simultaneous and gradual	a) in all content-subjects simultaneously, b) at *one* and the *same* time during PE, c) gradually, and covering the three transition stages of preparation, minimum transition, and full transition.

The four approaches and the features they select as described above are represented in Table 1.2 (below).

M T Approaches	Medium Transition Features						
	Curriculum Coverage		Transition duration		Transition Stages		
	subject by subject	all subject together	gradual	abrupt	preparatory	minimum	full
1. Selective and abrupt	+	-	-	+	-	-	+
2. Selective and gradual	+	-	+	-	+	+	+
3. Simultaneous and abrupt	-	+	-	+	-	-	+
4. Simultaneous and gradual	-	+	+	-	+	+	+

Notations used: + presence of feature
- absence of feature

Table 1.2 Showing four types of approach to MT with a specification of the features selectable by each approach.

1.2.4 Oral and Written Modes

Each of the four MT approaches can be further distinguished along the dimension of mode, of which oral and written are the only features of importance to medium transition. An early transition, by whatever approach, can begin with the oral mode and can later be extended to the written mode. It can also be the other way round. When simultaneous and abrupt approach is selected for a situation in which it is inappropriate, for example in the Nigerian rural areas, the only evidence of MT having been officially effected is reading materials and pupils' writing books in which work done productively or receptively is in English. Most of what is read or written in English may not be understood by pupils. But since writing is a visible and verifiable record

of work, teachers have to insist on all writing being in English in order to escape the wrath of school inspectors. However, in oral work teachers exercise their judgment and communicate with pupils in a language and at a level commensurate with their levels of attainment. Thus, the dominant use of language alternation in teacher-talk reported in Part Two of the present study could not be traced in the written mode.[6] On the other hand, the selective and gradual approach will tend to begin with the oral mode and later employ a combination of both modes.

1.2.5 Constraints on a choice of approach to medium transition

The choice of an approach to MT should be determined by the target language use situation that obtains from the point of view of the learners involved in the transition. For this purpose, the target language (that is, English in Nigeria) situations are classifiable in terms of prior or concurrent exposure of learners to the TL in two main domains: at home and in the class in peer group interaction. These two domains are the most relevant and crucial to a decision on the choice of an MT approach. The class use domain[7] can be defined as the use of English, in one variety or another, by about a third of the pupils in the MT class. For the purpose being considered, the use of English by the teacher is by itself alone not effective as a basis for a choice of approach and is therefore non-criterial.

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[6] Ure (1974) reports no trace of mixed speech in Ghana teachers' written language use. This induced her to generalise that "Mixed language in West Africa exists almost exclusively in spoken form ..." The present study tends to support this generalisation.

[7] Masemann (1978:305-6) refers to this as "the climate of language use in a school" - and says this "is reflected in the patterns of informal language use observed in the playgrounds, in the hallways, and in the conversational groups in classrooms."

There are four English use situation features derivable from the two domains of home and classroom. The four situation features indicate that English is used

A: at home but not in the class;

B: in the class but not at home;

C: both at home and in the class, and

D: neither at home nor in the class in peer group interaction.

The four English use situation features are represented in Table 1.3 below.

Use situation feature	Use of English	
	at home	in the class
A	+	-
B	-	+
C	+	+
D	-	-

Table 1.3: English use situation types based on the functions of English in the domains of home and class in peer group interaction.

1.2.6 English Use Situations and Medium Transition

The use situation feature D is the type that obtains in the Nigerian non-urban areas which account for over 85% of the country's adult as well as school age population. Use situations A and B are features of large urban centres like Lagos and some of the state capitals,

although it should be said that even in these places the dominant features are *not* A and B, but D.[8] Situation C exists in the exclusive elite enclaves or reservation areas of the country's administrative capitals and university settlement villages.

In all, English use situations A, B, and C affect only about 15% of the primary school population of the country. As can be inferred from Table 1.4, simultaneous and abrupt approach to MT in the context of the use situation D, that is, when English is used neither at home nor in the class among the pupils themselves, is inappropriate and seems likely to be ineffective. The most effective MT approach, given the use situation D, is the selective and gradual one.[9] On the other hand, as can also be seen in Table 1.4, adopting the selective and gradual approach in the use situation C, that is, one in which English is used both at home and in the class, is equally a waste of pupils'

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8 This is due to the pattern of urban settlement and non-indigenous population expansion. The new settlement areas within an urban district tend to be inhabited largely by settlers from other language speaking parts of the country, a situation which encourages the use of English in one variety or another for social interaction and business transaction. This use situation also extends to schools located in such urban settlement areas, but not to those in the areas inhabited by the indigenous population. Thus, if English use situations A and B are urban features, they are to be associated with the non-indigenous population settlement areas of such urban areas.

9 Boadi (1976) observes, with the Ghana primary system, that medium transition has been approached in the wrong dimension. He suggests that in the rural areas a delayed or even postponed transition should be adopted. But Boadi sees MT as capable of being approached simultaneously and abruptly, an approach as inappropriate, given the use situation described by Boadi, as a wholesale early transition, which he advises against.

time and is as ineffective for MT as the simultaneous and abrupt one is to the use situation D. Since situation D is the most relevant to the present study, given its overwhelming importance and crucial position in the Nigerian educational context, suggestions on how to reduce MT problems are in relation to the English use situation D.

M T Approach	English Use Situation			
	A	B	C	D
	at home but not in the class	in the class but not home	at home and in the class	neither at home nor in the class
1. Selective and abrupt	+	?	?	-
2. Selective and gradual	-	-	-	+
3. Simultaneous and abrupt	?	?	+	-
4. Simultaneous and gradual	?	+	?	-

Key: M T approach in this English use situation is

+ appropriate
- inappropriate
? minimally appropriate

Table 1.4: showing the relationships between English use situations and medium transition approaches.

1.2.7 Summary of the Information obtainable from the Profiles

When used to evaluate medium policies, the above profiles draw attention to relevant issues, such as

(a) the features that characterize each policy and the ways policies differ from one another,

(b) how the various policy decision levels are related to one another, and

(c) the criteria by which a policy and the IP realizing it are judged appropriate and potentially effective.

This information is necessary (but by no means all that is required) for an investigation of medium transition problems. Keith Morrow (1977) takes a similar approach when he uses the parameters of aim, syllabus and method to assess approaches to language teaching/learning. Morrow's parameters correspond to our first three decision levels of policy formulation, syllabus and instructional materials.

1.3. General Procedure

The investigation of the MT problem was approached in three parts as follows.

1.3.1 Part One

In Part One, each of the three existing medium policies (LEM, EEM, and PEM) was studied in order to assess its appropriateness for the Nigerian situation. A medium policy was to be judged as appropriate if its selection was informed by the principles summarised in Tables 1.2, 1.3 and 1.4 above. In practice, appropriateness was to be determined by the degree of correspondence between the formulation of a policy and its implementation. A high degree of mismatch was to be taken as evidence of the inappropriateness of a policy and/or its instructional

programme. Such a mismatch would also indicate the existence of an MT problem. It would then be necessary to find out the nature and extent of the contribution of decisions at each of the medium policy decision levels (Table 1.1) to the existence of the problem. For the present study Level 5 evaluation decisions were found not crucial and were not probed. For the Level 1 decisions, the data examined were mainly government releases, white papers, and educational agency reports and broadsheets. Three state education commissioners and ten states' chief inspectors of education granted interviews, all of which were very useful in explaining the relationships between Level 1 decisions and those at other levels. Level 1 decisions regarding LEM and EEM policies were found to be terse, broad and sometimes rather vague, but on the whole clear enough for the distinctions between the two policies to be perceived (Chapter 3).

For the Level 2 decisions, the data used were syllabuses at both state and federal government levels. Similar syllabuses and handbooks were obtained from University of Ife Institute of Education on the PEM bilingual instructional programme. On the whole, decisions at Level 2 were found to have blurred the distinctions between all of the existing policies (Chapter 3). For example, none of the syllabuses examined distinguished the medium functions of English from its "subject" function. As a choice among the present policies rests mainly on the medium versus "subject" role of English and of Nigerian Language, a none-distinction of these two roles at the Syllabus Level was taken as evidence of vagueness in policy elaboration and a source of the MT problem.

The data used to assess the contribution of the Level 3 decisions to the MT problem were, in the main, published English course-books and

support materials (workbooks, story books, readers) as well as unpublished project materials designed by the two Institutes of Education of Ife and Ahmadu Bello Universities for their respective primary education projects (Chapter 4). Few of the instructional materials at Level 3 seemed to have derived their contents from the levels above them. Similarly, the materials examined at Level 3 did not show any real distinctions between the three policies. As the content and methodology of the English language lessons at the Classroom Level are derived almost wholly from these materials, a mismatch observed at Level 3 was predicted to have an effect on the use of English and other languages for content-subject instruction.

1.3.2 Part Two

In Part Two the effect on the teachers' use of language of the existing medium policies as well as of the mismatch between decisions at Levels 1, 2 and 3 was probed. While the data needed to establish the nature of the control of Level 1, and the extent of the influence of Levels 2 and 3, on instructional programmes are drawn mainly from written sources, those required for the same purposes with regard to the Level 4 exponents (i.e. teachers) cannot be so obtained. They have to be field-research based. This is what was done for the present study. Three sets of field surveys were conducted in which questionnaires were completed by over 900 primary school teachers in eight states in Nigeria. Some of the teacher respondents were observed during teaching sessions and some of their lessons were recorded. Where necessary, some of those whose lessons were observed were further personally interviewed by the researcher. The field surveys were conducted in a period spreading over 24 months between 1976 and 1978. The procedures and the results of these surveys are reported in Part Two (Chapters 5 and 6). The main conclusions and proposal of the

entire Study are, in the main, based upon the results of these field surveys.

Teachers were found to derive their methodology and the content of what they taught directly from IMs at Level 3 when the English they taught had only subject (not medium) functions. With regard to the medium functions of English, teachers were found to be unguided and to have in consequence evolved an approach which did not derive from any of the higher decision levels and which therefore did not expound any of the three medium policies and their IPs in their (teachers') choice and use of English and other languages (NL, Mix, Arabic) for content-subject instruction. In other words, the teachers in our survey samples approached MT in a way for which support by any of the medium policies of which they are exponents could not be found. Specifically, it was found that teachers, on the whole, effected medium transition gradually and selectively (see 1.2.3-1.2.7 above), used NL/L1 and a mixture of NL and English when officially they should use English as the medium of instruction. They were also observed to sometimes use the mixture of NL and English when they should use NL (6.8 below). The use of Language alternation was found to be fairly systematic and patterned. Three main alternation types were traced. The first type, which patterned as language mixing, was in the direction NL - English and was observed mostly in the speech of teachers using the NL medium in pre-MT classes. The second type, code switching, and the third type, block translation, were in the direction English - NL and were observed mainly in the speech of teachers using English as the medium in post-MT classes.

Finally, teachers were found to effect medium transition relatively early with some subjects, like Mathematics and Physical

Education, and relatively late with some, like Religious Knowledge and Cultural Activities. Other subjects occupied points in the MT continuum the two extremes of which were marked as said by Mathematics/Physical Education and Cultural Activities/Religious Knowledge respectively (Chapters 6 and 7).

1.3.3 Part Three

Part Three consists of the restatement of the main research findings and conclusions (Chapter 7). One of these is that a simultaneous and abrupt medium transition is inappropriate in the Nigerian situation and cannot be effectively implemented not only by teachers but by course-book writers as well. This was found to be a major cause of the medium transition problem. Finally, in Part Three the Study suggests a new approach to educational language planning in which the choice of a medium policy and an IP realising it is informed by the conditions under which the target language (English) is taught/learnt as specified in Tables 1.2-1.4 above. Specifically proposed is an integrated medium policy which cuts across the present LEM, EEM and PEM policies and the main feature of which is its selective and gradual approach to MT. The implications of the adoption of a selective and gradual MT for syllabus and course-book design, for practical classroom teaching/learning and for the primary school curriculum organization in general are examined in some detail (Chapter 8).

1.4 The Scope of the Study

The success or failure of a bilingual IP to meet its immediate and/or terminal objectives is generally, sometimes wrongly, blamed on the language policy of which it is a realisation. Research into the success of a PE system therefore tends to centre on the way the language medium has been handled. There are, within this seemingly narrow con-

fine, wide areas for full scale, systematic research. For instance, one question that has for long been debated without a conclusion on the language medium issue is which of the three medium policies is best for the country's PE. Most of Nigerian state governments have alternated between LEM and EEM policies at different times depending, in some cases, on public opinion.

Effectiveness may be seen in terms of the ability of pupils to use the target language for communication. The conventional way of measuring effectiveness as defined is in terms of pupils' performances at an examination which tests the use of the TL. Statistical analyses will separate and show the scores of pupils taught under the different medium policies, while inferential statistics will draw conclusions on the relative effectiveness of each policy. An investigator interested in this approach is likely to find interesting the results of the Common Entrance Examination conducted by some state governments or by the West African Examinations Council on behalf of certain state governments. However, because these public examinations are not controlled for experimental purposes, an investigator interested in using pupils' performances as a measure of the effectiveness of an IP will generally prefer to set up his own instrument which permits him to observe and measure these performances as required. Nicholas Hawkes (1973) did precisely this to measure the effects of LEM and EEM on the attainments of Ghanaian primary school leavers (see 5.3.5 below). What is being measured using such an instrument is the extent to which predicted outcomes have been matched by the observed outcomes (Rubin, 1971). Such a study as Hawkes' aims at finding out whether learners have been able to use the TL for the purposes and within the range specified by the IP. However, for such an investigation to achieve its aims, the medium policies whose relative effectiveness is being measured

and compared must not only be distinguishable at the policy Formulation Level, the distinctions between them should also in practice be seen to hold and be maintained at the Teacher/Classroom Level. To the extent that this is not the case, to that extent will any results obtained from such evaluations be distorted and non-discriminating.

For this reason, it is important to establish, first and foremost, that the relevant policies are in fact distinguished at both Formulation (Levels 1 and 2) and Implementation (Levels 3 and 4) Levels. Research conducted to ascertain the extent to which distinctions that theoretically obtain between medium policies at the Formulation Level are maintained in practice at the Implementation Level should normally come before that which seeks to assess the relative success of such policies. The present Study limits itself to the former.

It can be seen from what has been said above that of the five Decision Levels identified in 1.2.2 above, we are concerned in this work with what happens at the first four levels (marked at the lower end by the teacher exponent). It is not our aim to compare the relative effectiveness of each or all of the existing IPs from the point of view of learner attainments. As has been argued earlier, this is not likely to yield any useful results because the very distinctions being compared have not been confirmed to be there. Confirming this is one of the aims of the present study. Logically, a follow-up to the study should carry the investigation to Decision Level Five with the research interest centring on learners and their performances (both cognitive and affective) as a means of assessing the effectiveness of the medium policy and its IP to which they have been exposed. This would contrast with the present work which used teachers (rather than learners) to evaluate the current policies/IPs.

1.5 Previous Research

Apart from the language projects reviewed in Chapter 5 below, all of which were longitudinal, heavily-financed, group projects, research into the area of language medium use in Nigerian primary schools has not been reported.[10] There have been heated debates about choosing a policy best suited to the Nigerian learning situation. But none of these have been backed by research and empirical data. Furthermore, the debate is quite often conducted from the premiss which renders it unproductive: that of assuming that there are no more options to consider besides LEM, EEM, and PEM. The conclusion of the present study in this regard is that it is possible to approach language planning in a way in which LEM, EEM, and PEM do not stand as alternative policies but merely as features of an integrated policy.

The issue of previous research and debate on medium policies is taken up again in Chapter 2 below when the literature on bilingual IPs as it relates to the MT problem particularly in a second language situation is reviewed. In Chapters 3 and 4 the study concentrates on an examination of policies and IPs in Nigeria, and evaluates these for their respective approaches to MT. Chapter 3 examines each of the three existing ELPs at the *Policy Formulation Level* and also at the *Syllabus Design* Level (Levels 1 and 2). Chapter 4 examines them at the Instructional Material Preparation Level (Level 3). Chapters 5 and 6 contain the report on the Medium Language Survey conducted at the Teacher/Classroom Level (Level 4). Chapter 7 discusses the findings of the entire study, and Chapter 8 suggests sets of guidelines on how to reduce the MT problem.

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10 An exception is Awoniyi (1973) who assessed the role and status of Yoruba in the formal school system from 1846 to 1971.

PART I

CHAPTER TWO

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CHAPTER 2

2.0 Bilingual Education Literature Review.

2.1 Aspects of bilingual education of relevance to the present study.

We are concerned in this chapter with a broad review of literature on aspects of bilingual education considered of relevance to the present study. Such aspects include

(a) what type of bilingual programme should be adopted at the primary education (PE) level and with what social, educational and other implications;

(b) if a switch of language medium is involved in (a), how the switch should be effected, and

(c) approaches to the evaluation of bilingual instructional programmes.

Literature review in this chapter is broad since with each specific area of the study appears the literature review in that area in the section in which it is treated.[1]

2.2 Definition of terms

Since the following terms are used with different meanings in language planning literature, they are defined here in the sense in which they are used in this study.

2.2.1 Bilingualism

"Bilingual" or "bilingualism" can be defined linguistically or educationally when used to characterize an instructional programme (IP). Linguistically, the terms have been used to denote varying

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[1] For instance, the areas treated in Chapters 3, 5 and 8.

levels of competence in the languages concerned. To Bloomfield (1933) a bilingual is one who has 'native-like' ability in both languages, or, according to Oestreicher (1974), whose performances in the two languages are not marred by interference between the two linguistic systems. Other users of the term accept lower standards of competence than those set by Bloomfield and Oeistreicher. Haugen (1956), for instance, suggests that bilingualism should relate to minimal rather than maximal competence. In an earlier definition (Haugen 1953), he had emphasized only the oral skills (speaking and listening) which a bilingual needed to possess. The lowest standard is set by Macnamara (1967), who characterizes a bilingual as one who is minimally proficient in at least one of the oral skills (speaking and listening) or of the literate ones (reading and writing) in his/her second language. Swain and Cummins (1979) quote Osgood and Sebeok (1965), Stern (1973), and Fishman (1968) as defining bilingualism respectively as

(a) "the age at which the second language is learned (simultaneous vs sequential); (early vs late); the contexts in which the two languages have been learned (compound vs co-ordinate",

(b) "artificial vs natural", and

(c) "the domains in which each language is used" (P4).

Apart from those specifying standards of competence, domains of use, the age when acquired, the context and the means of acquisition of the languages involved, some definitions are non-committal. Weinreich (1953:1), for instance, defines bilingualism merely as the ability to alternatively use two languages.

Our own definition of 'bilingualism' in this study agrees with the position taken by Paulston (1978: 311), which is that

> "the best way to deal with this variation would seem to be to recognize that bilingualism is not an all-or-none property, but is an individual characteristic that may exist to degrees varying from minimal competence to complete mastery of more than one language".[2]

'Bilingualism' as a term characterizing instructional programmes.

Here, as with definitions in linguistic terms (above), 'bilingualism' is used to convey different meanings, aims and purposes underlying instructional programmes of which it is a descriptive term. However, in general, bilingual IPs are defined as involving the use of more than one medium of instruction. Anything less, according to Titone (1978: 286), is not 'true bilingualism'. He says:

> "Authentic bilingual education implies a certain equation or balance in the use of both languages. This means that where L1 is used as a medium of instruction and not only studied as subject-matter while L2 is studied as subject-matter only, there is really no bilingual education. True bilingual education requires the full use of both languages as vehicles of culture and instruction".

What really vary in these definitions relate to

(a) the amount and extent of use of each of the languages involved for medium purposes:

(b) the arrangements or means by which the languages involved are made to perform these medium functions; and

(c) the degree of competence aimed at.

Thus the definition of 'bilingual' when used to characterize IPs should be broad enough to accommodate varying amounts of use of the languages involved in the bilingual IP, different types of IPs and different strategies by which the aims of such programmes are achieved as well as varying degrees of competence aimed at. This

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[2] Paulston acknowledges her indebtness to Hornby (1977: 3) for this position.

is the definition adopted by the present study, and seems also the one adopted by Spolsky (1978: 353) when he declares:

> "The goals of a bilingual program may be transitional bilingualism, partial bilingualism (one form of which is monoliterate bilingualism), or full bilingualism."

The above definition allows contradictory results associated with bilingualism (see, for instance, Sections 2.3 - 2.3.3. below) to be reconciled. It also draws attention to what Swain and Cummins (1979: 4) refer to as "levels of bilingualism --- and the social and psychological factors which lie behind the particular 'bilingualism attained'. One such social factor in the Nigerian educational context is the status of and attitude to English as an official language in society at large and educationally as a second language. In what sense do we use the term "L2" in this study? For an answer we turn to the section that follows.

2.2.2 Language situations

There are three language situations that are generally distinguished in educational language planning literature. These are the mother-tongue (L1), second language (L2), and foreign language (LF). While L1 is quite often assumed to be clearly distinct and unambiguous as a term, both L2 and LF have been variously defined. Attempts to distinguish between both have been a pre-occupation of writers and language planners.

The literature on this subject shows a lot of confusion and sometimes conflicting senses in which L2 and LF are used. While some writers, such as Stern (1967) and Rivers and Temperley (1978), do not distinguish between the two language situations characterized by the terms L2 and LF in their uses of the terms, and some still

have argued that such distinctions are 'superficial' (Kaplan, 1972) and 'subjective' and that therefore "L2" should be used to characterize the two language situations (Stern, Forthcoming), others maintain that these two language situations need to be distinguished.[3]

Seshadri and Allen (1979) in their survey identify 5 'criteria' by which L2 Vs LF have been distinguished by various writers. The criteria listed are

> "(i) the political status of a language in a country and its functional role in the community,
>
> (ii) the purpose for which a particular language is learned,
>
> (iii) the way a language is learned and the environment in which it is learned,
>
> (iv) the use to which a language is put, and
>
> (v) the level of achievement in a language" (P. 67).

However, most of the existing definitions do not seem to fall neatly into the criteria slots listed above. There are extensive areas of overlap. It is probably more useful to see each of the listed criteria as a major emphasis of each definition. Thus Marckwardt's (1963) definition of an L2 as "a language of instruction or lingua franca between speakers of widely diverse languages" and an LF as a language "taught as a school subject or on an adult level solely for the purpose of giving the student a foreign language competence which he may use in several ways ---" (P. 27) emphasizes criteria i, ii, iv and v listed by Seshadri and Allen (above). The definition by Quirk et al (1972: 3) of an L2 as a language "necessary

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[3] The ample literature here includes Quirk et al (1972); Prater and Tucker (1975), Strevens (1977), Marckwardt (1963), Christophersen (1973), Paulston (1974), and Lewis and Massad (1975).

for certain official, social, commercial or educational activities" and an LF as a language "used by someone for communication across frontiers, or with people who are not his countrymen: listening to broadcasts, reading books or newspapers, commerce or travel ---" emphasizes criteria ii and iv; that is, purpose and use to which a language is put. To them an L2 is used for communication within a country with functions shared between it and an L1. An LF, on the other hand, has no such functions. Lewis and Massad (1975: 25) emphasize criterion (iii); that is, the way a language is learned and the physical environment in which the learning takes place in distinguishing between L2 and LF. An L2, they say, "is ordinarily acquired under the stress of immediate environmental requirements". On the other hand, an LF is learned generally in the absence of such an environmental stimulus. To Walker (1976: 23-24) and Christophersen (1973: 30) the social roles performed by a language distinguishes it as either an L2 or LF.

The L2 Vs LF distinctions are taken as crucial by some writers (Harrison et al, 1975; and Strevens, 1977) as these determine the content of teaching materials and instructional approaches. The effect of the L2 Vs LF distinction upon teaching and learning, according to Strevens (1977: 21),

> "is very considerable, in the attitudes of the learners and teachers towards their task, in the kinds of teaching techniques that are commonly successful, and in the average levels of achievement that are expected".

Dissatisfied with the subjectiveness, ambiguity and confusion in the distinctions between L2 and LF as expressed by various writers, some of whom have been considered above, Seshadri and Allen (1979) conducted an empirical study to test the validity of

the criteria on which these distinctions rest. But the criterion of "the level of achievement in a language" was the only variable measured and by which L2 Vs LF distinction was to be established (P. 70). The study found that

> "achievement in language by itself did not appear to be a dependable criterion for deciding whether English was a foreign or a second language",

Seshadri and Allen therefore conclude that

> "other criteria such as the status of the language and its functional role in the community, its economic usefulness, the context in which it is learned, and the purpose for which it is learned need to be examined to see whether they help to discriminate between a 'foreign' and a 'second' language " (P. 78).

Seshadri and Allen go on to suggest that at least four different language situations are at present lumped under the L2 and LF labels, and that these four situations need to be clearly distinguished from one another. The situations are

" (i) learning English in an English-speaking country, e.g. English-speaking provinces of Canada . . .

(ii) learning English in an English-using country where English is the primary official language, e.g. Nigeria, Singapore;

(iii) learning English in an English-using country where English is a 'secondary language, e.g. Bangladesh, India;

(iv) learning English in a non-English-using country where little English is used, e.g. France, Iran." (P. 79).

Seshadri and Allen's suggested distinctions are likely to at least partially resolve the ambiguities and confusion in the use of the L2-LF labels. However, at the primary education level in Nigeria, the crucial language situation distinction is not between L2 and LF functions of the languages in contact but between L1 and L2 roles of these languages. These roles are not easy to categorize and in

none of the definitions briefly surveyed above are the confusion and ambiguities of the L1-L2 labels in the Nigerian situation captured and resolved. An example of the sometimes rather confusing language situation will suffice. In Southern Zaria (Kaduna State, Nigeria)

(a) Kaje is a language of the home, but not of the school;

(b) Hausa is not much spoken at home, although it is a language 'acquired' by the child along with Kaje at the pre-school age. Hausa is used at school as the language in which initial literacy is developed. It is also used for oral medium functions;

(c) English is the medium language from about the middle to the end of primary education.

In characterizing these three languages in terms of their respective educational and use functions, which will carry the L1 label and which the L2 label? In particular, how should Hausa be labelled, L1 or L2? What about English in this situation, is it L2 or LF?

In the present study, the term "L2" is used to characterize the role of English.[4] All Nigerian languages functioning in the same way as Hausa in the example given above are categorized as languages of wider communication, in which capacity they perform L1 functions. Kaje (in the above example) and all languages that perform similar functions as Kaje retain the L1 label. However, since medium transition opposition is in almost all cases in Nigeria between either L1 of the Kaje type, or a wider community language of the Hausa type ([a] and [b] of our example above) and English, but not between the first two mentioned, both of these language categories (L1 and Wider Community Language) are in the present study subsumed under one

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[4] L2 is defined here in terms of Seshadri and Allen's criteria i-iv (above).

heading: Nigerian Language (NL). Thus, NL in this study can be pupils' mother tongues. It can also mean their wider community languages of which they are in most cases native or near-native speakers.

The Kaje example highlights the distinction made in Chapter 3 (3.1.5) below between polyglot and linguistically heterogeneous states. Kaduna State, in which Kaje and other minority languages are spoken in addition to Hausa, is a polyglot state.

Language planning in Nigeria has therefore to account for the medium of instruction situations in which

(a) Pupils' immediate L1 is also the school's medium language,

(b) pupils' wider community language of which they (pupils) are speakers (in addition to their immediate L1) is the school's medium language,

(c) pupils' wider community language of which they are not speakers is the school medium language, and

(d) English, to most of the pupils a new language, is the medium of instruction right from the beginning of primary education.[5]

The burden of bilingual programmes in Nigeria is how to cater for all of these instructional situations. In the sections that follow we undertake a brief review of literature in relevant areas of bilingual education with a view to relating the Nigerian bilingual instructional problems and strategies aimed at their solution to some of those undertaken elsewhere in the world.

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[5] See Brann (1976, 1977B) for a categorization of Nigerian Languages for educational purposes.

2.3 Types of bilingual programmes

The following types of instructional programmes (IPs) can be identified in the bilingual education literature. Studies conducted to measure the effectiveness of most of them have also been reported. These are programmes in which

(a) instruction is given in L2, which is new to pupils; that is, one in which there is home-school language mismatch;

(b) instruction is given first in pupils' L1, and later in L2; that is, transitional instructional programmes;

(c) instruction is given in both L1 and L2; that is, an equal maintenance type.[6]

2.3.1 The L2 Type

There are variations within the L2 instruction category among which the following are well-known.

A.i. Immersion Programmes

French immersion programmes for English-speaking Canadian pupils and the Irish immersion programmes for English speaking Irish children seem to be those often contrasted. Lambert and Tucker (1972) describe and evaluate the French Immersion programme at the St. Lambert School near Montreal, Canada. Their report shows that, on the whole, the programme has been effective. The experimental subjects achieved levels of competence in French, which compared favourably with those achieved by the different "controls" and which were close to that of native French-speakers (P. 204). The immersion pupils, they claim, "are doing just as well as the controls, showing no symptoms of retardation or negative transfer".

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[6] cf Downing's classification (Downing, 1978: 329-346).

Barik and Swain in a more recent study (1976) of another French immersion programme at Allenby Public School in Toronto expressed "an overall impression" that the school's immersion programme seemed viable and that the pupils seemed capable of attaining "the academic and linguistic skills" for which the school was designed.

The two immersion programmes mentioned above typify most immersion programmes in Canada and America. However, critics of the studies have drawn attention to certain factors or results not revealed or emphasized by these studies. Kjolseth (1977: 250) says that the St. Lambert School was organized by and for socially advantaged groups, that is, for middle class homes. The pupils therefore have an SES[7] advantage over ordinary pupils attending ordinary schools. Downing (1978: 336) adds that "the children taking part have not been representative of the population. They have been well above average in socioeconomic class." Another point to which attention is drawn is that the affective disposition of parents whose children attend the Canadian French immersion programmes has been positive (Kjolseth (1977: 250; Cummins 1978: 277; Downing 1978: 334). According to Downing,

> "The French immersion programme is for children whose parents volunteer them for it ..... Thus the affective variable should be highly positive in this bilingual setting, and may increase motivation sufficiently to overcome the cognitive confusion produced by the mismatch between the L1 of past experience and the L2 of instruction".

A.ii. Immersion Programmes in Ireland

The Irish Immersion programmes reported by Macnamara (1966) and

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[7] SES = Social-economic status.

and Cummins [1977 (a); 1977(b), 1978] contrast with the Canadian ones with respect to SES and affective variables both of which were positive with the Canadian immersion programmes but at best neutral with the Irish ones. Macnamara found that the Irish immersion programme had resulted in the immersion groups having been retarded in arithmetic. On the whole, Macnamara concludes that there had been a "balance effect" in language learning and that "instruction through a weaker language leads to retardation in subject matter taught". Cummins (1977(b); 1978) has challenged Macnamara's interpretations and conclusions saying that the dependent measures in Macnamara's test "may not have been sufficiently sensitive to the objectives of the Irish immersion schools" (1978: 277). However, Cummins admits that the 'climate' in which Irish Immersion programmes operated when Macnamara conducted his study in the early 60's has now changed for the better. He says (1978: 277):

> "In fact, when one considers the unfavourable context (in comparison to North American immersion programmes) in which Irish immersion programs operated (e.g. low-prestige, low-utility language, non-supportive parental attitudes), what is surprising is that there is so little evidence of negative academic effects!"

Cummins goes on to express optimism:

> "... present-day Irish immersion schools, unlike many of their predecessors, are quite similar to North American immersion programs and recent studies carried out in these schools show similar positive results".

The Irish Immersion programmes were imposed by the Irish government on resentful parents. It was therefore not by choice, unlike the Canadian cases considered above, that parents sent their children to these immersion schools. In the Irish case, therefore, the affect-

ive disposition, especially soon after independence from Britain in the early 20's, was negative.

Immersion programmes in the strict sense are not a feature of primary education language planning in Nigeria. The nearest to them can be found in special elite schools, like University staff schools, admission to which is by parents' choice. It is, however, doubtful whether the instructional strategy employed by these elite schools can be labelled as "Immersion" since English, the medium language used, is a home language (additional to the various L1s) of the parents and their children who attend such schools. If "immersion" characterizes the use of a new language for instruction (also as a means of teaching the language), then the element of immersion is not there in the case of the special elite schools because English is not totally new to the children at the primary entry stage. Perhaps 'submersion' (Swain and Cummins, 1979: 5) is a more appropriate term to describe this instructional situation. Since special schools are not the concern of the present study, immersion programmes are of no direct relevance to us at this stage, although the insights underlying their organization and operation are valuable.

A.iii. Second-Language IPs - Subtractive

These are bilingual IPs that develop in a language contact involving a "superior" language (invariably the L2) and "inferior" ones, such as between the language of colonisers and those of the colonized people. It is 'subtractive' (Lambert, 1977) because the adoption of the L2 generally results in the gradual loss, or at least dimunition of the status of the L1, since the L1 is not likely to be in any position to compete with the L2 (in terms of prestige, status, opportunities its mastery offers, etc.). This contrasts

with the language contact situation in Canada, where the adoption of English or French L2 is 'additive' (Lambert: 1977) in the sense that the L1 remains as strong as ever and competence in the L2 is additional to, not replacive of, that in L1.

Garcia de Lorenzo (1975) studied one such programme in Northern Uruguay where Spanish, the official language, was L2 and the medium of instruction while Fronterizo, the L1, had no function in the primary education process. She found a serious problem of cognitive retardation, especially in reading, and attributed this to there being no L1 link to the L2 symbols introduced to the pupils. She also observed that the Fronterizo-speaking pupils had guilty feelings regarding the use of their L1. These feelings, she found, were also shared by adults and had prevented the introduction of a bilingual programme in which both L1 and L2 share instructional functions. She concluded that the problem would remain until bilingual education was introduced.

A study conducted by Hawkes (1973, 1975, 1976) to assess the effectiveness of an English L2 (subtractive) IP at the primary education level in Ghana found that

> "Children from home backgrounds least favourable to the learning of English obtained the greatest advantage from attending EME[8] type schools compared to their counterparts in EML schools" (1976: 63).

Hawkes' findings seem to conflict with Garcia de Lorenzo's, although it should be admitted that the two settings are totally different

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8 EME = English Medium Early, the term by which are characterized IPs in which English L2 is the medium language throughout primary education. EML = English Medium Late; that is, IPs involving a late MT from L1 to L2. See 5.3.5 for a more detailed review of Hawkes.

from each other. This type of IP (i.e. L2 instruction throughout primary education) is available in Nigeria and is a major feature of educational language planning. But there has not been reported any full-scale study conducted into any aspect of the programme. However, there has been an unending debate on whether the English L2 type of IP is the best for the Nigerian primary schools, or the other types (LEM and PEM). The state of the debate is summarized in 2.4 below.

2.3.2 Transitional Instructional Programmes

One of the few reported studies which investigated aspects of transitional IPs has been mentioned above (A.iii). It is the study conducted by Hawkes, which compared the reading performances of pupils undergoing transitional programmes (EML) with those of pupils undergoing English L2 programmes (EME) in Ghana. The results show that pupils undergoing the English L2 (EME) programme performed slightly better than those undergoing the L1-L2 transitional (EML) programme, scores being 50.96% and 47.38% respectively (Hawkes, 1976: 62).

In Nigeria, the Ife University Institute of Education conducted a longitudinal primary educational project using pupils' L1 as the school medium language for the entire primary schooling. One of the aims was to demonstrate "that primary education, when given in the child's mother tongue rather than in a second or foreign education, is more effective and meaningful" (Afolayan, 1976: 117).[9] The final results of its evaluation are still being awaited.

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9 This project is reviewed in detail in 5.3.4 below.

2.3.3 Equal Maintenance Programmes

As the name implies, equal maintenance programmes aim at developing both L1 and L2 evenly. For it to be successful, the bilingual learning situation needs to be additive (Lambert, 1977; Cummins 1978). Most of the studies conducted into the operations of such programmes show that they tend to be adopted in a language setting in which the two languages in contact are both prestigious and the class/school is a mixture of speakers of either language. The instructional strategy may be "free alternation", meaning that instruction in virtually all subjects is available in both languages. The teacher is free to use either language in teaching, in classroom organisation, in conversation etc, and he can be answered in either language. As Mackey (1972: 9) puts it, free alternation means "use either language and understand both". The instructional strategy may also involve a division of the school day into two parts; in one part instruction is given in one of the languages involved in the bilingual programme, and the other language is used in the second part. It may also involve allocation of particular subjects to each language.[10]

Mackey's study (Mackey, 1972[B]) of the John Kennedy school in West Berlin describes how the aims of the free alternation strategy was being achieved at that school. The two languages involved in the equal maintenance programme were German and English. Mackey reports that results, on the whole, were positive, meaning that the aims of the programme were being achieved. But as Kjolseth (1977: 262) points out, the J.F. Kennedy school was "organized by and for socially advantaged groups", and the school did not present "any threat to

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[10] cf Mackey's typology (Mackey, 1972A: 422-3)

the pupils' home languages primarily because of extra-school geo-political and socio-economic forces ----". An equal maintenance programme of this type is not likely to be effective in the Nigerian situation where the bilingual effect is subtractive because of the low prestige enjoyed by Nigerian Language in relation to English.

Masemann, on the other hand, reports his observation of the Milwaukee (in U.S.A.) equal maintenance programme in operation at the classroom level (Masemann, 1978) . Strategies used by the schools, he observed, included both time and subject allocations to each of the languages involved: Spanish and English. That is, some schools allocated functions to the two languages by time (one language in the morning, the other in the afternoon), while other schools did so by subject (some subjects were taught in one language and others in the other). Masemann found that, on the whole, the aims of the programme were being achieved. An equal maintenance programme of this type is also not a feature of language planning at the primary education level in Nigeria. Some of Masemann's conclusions are, however, relevant to the present study. He says (P. 305):

> "... the school neighbourhood appears to be a strong influence on the climate of language use in a school where a bilingual programme is established .... The "language climate" of the schools is reflected in the patterns of informal language use observed in .... the conversational groups in classrooms."

As was mentioned in Chapter One (and will be mentioned again in Chapter 8), the present study uses, among others, the criterion of the use of L2 by pupils in peer groups within the classroom to determine the appropriateness of approaches to medium transition.

2.4 Bilingual Programmes in Nigeria.

2.4.1 Relevance of the Studies reviewed

The Nigerian bilingual instructional situation can now be seen in the context of the various categories of IPs mentioned above. The three IPs described in Chapter One (LEM, EEM and PEM) are features of these major categories. LEM and PEM are sub-types of transitional programmes. EEM typifies the subtractive L2 IP. Results of the various studies and conclusions on them tend to show that, on the whole, the transitional type of bilingual programme is the most suitable for the Nigerian (primary) situation. Downing (1978: 344) makes this clear when he says

> "... young school beginners make better progress if their instruction is delivered in their own mother tongue. However, there may be a variety of reasons why instruction should nevertheless be in the medium of an L2. These reasons have to be weighed against the superior effectiveness of delivery in L1."

Downing goes on to stress that the affective variable is crucial in deciding between L1 and L2 instruction:

> "... the outcome may be influenced to a very important degree by the affective variable. As in the Black English experiment, the effectiveness of L1 delivery may be wiped out by negative emotions, or, as in the case of the French immersion programmes, the positive motivation of parents and children may go a long way to overcoming the cognitive deficits of delivery of instruction in an L2."

Similarly, Lambert's notions of "additive and subtractive forms of bilingualism" (Lambert, 1977) suggest that a transitional programme is the most appropriate for the Nigerian situation. As the L1 cannot compete in prestige and status with the L2, the school programme must have an additive form of bilingualism as its goal if "optimal development of minority-language children's academic and cognitive potential is a goal" (Swain and Cummins, 1979: 14). Swain and

Cummins argue in support of the suggestion[11] "that there may be threshold levels of linguistic competence which a bilingual child must attain both in order (P. 13) to avoid cognitive disadvantages and allow the potentially beneficial aspects of becoming bilingual to influence his cognitive functioning" (P. 14). They see the attainment of the goal referred to above as necessarily involving "a home-school language switch at some stage in the educational process" (P. 14). This, again, is a support for transitional programmes. Most of those who have contributed to the debate on which type of bilingual programme is the best for Nigeria also support transitional programmes. Indeed, as observed by Hawkes (1976: 64), adherence to *L2 IPs* (that is, the use of the English medium from the beginning to the end of PE) seems to have been a lost issue in countries such as Ghana and Nigeria.

The issue of interest to language planning in Nigeria, and one to which no satisfactory answer has been found, is <u>when</u> and <u>how</u> to make the home-school language switch. Few of the works reviewed in this chapter have been helpful in this regard. Swain and Cummins (1979: 14) suggest that the issue about "when and how" to effect MT "must be determined in relation to the linguistic and socio-economic characteristics of the learner and of the learning environment". The big issue, then, is <u>when</u> to effect a home-school language switch, but a bigger issue still is <u>how</u> to do it. The debate has concentrated on <u>when</u>; and <u>how</u> has been overlooked or taken for granted.

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[11] See Cummins (1976) and Toukonaa and Skutnabb-Kangas (1977).

2.4.2 When to effect MT

On when to effect MT, three points during the PE process are those almost always compared: at the beginning of PE (EEM) (Tiffen, 1968A); half-way through primary schooling (LEM), which is the official policy of most of the states in Nigeria and one that is suggested by the Federal Government White Paper on education[12]; and at the end of PE (PEM) (Afolayan: 1969, 1973, 1976; Fafunwa, 1973). Bilingual IPs of each type (LEM, EEM and PEM) are actually available in Nigeria. One of the hypotheses formulated and tested by the present study is that it is possible for language planning for PE in Nigeria to remove the LEM-EEM-PEM distinction and achieve more positive results than practicable under the present differentiated policies.

2.4.3 How to effect MT

On how to effect a home-school language switch, only one approach - abrupt and simultaneous MT - is currently used by IPs of whatever policy (i.e. LEM, EEM or PEM). This approach tends largely to be accepted or taken for granted by contributors to the search for an effective medium policy for Nigerian PE (Taiwo, 1972; Bamgbose, 1969, 1976; Oke, 1969, Okonkwo, 1979, Brann, 1977A, Afolyayan 1969, 1973, 1976; Adetugbo, 1969).

There are, however, a few contributors who seem to be aware of the possibility of approaching MT other than in an abrupt and simultaneous manner. Jones (1969: 29) and Gwarzo (1968: 10), for instance, suggest that early MT to English can be effected for a start with Mathematics and English -"two subjects thought to be easy to teach in English in the first year" (Gwarzo, P. 10). They

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12 Federal Republic of Nigeria (1977: 8)

do not, however, produce any evidence to back up this claim. Foster and Watkiss (1973) argue in favour of effecting MT in Primary Class 5 with respect to only Civics (P. 21). Why Civics of all subjects should be the one and the only one to be taught in English seems unclear. The argument "that the course should be seen as part of a socialisation process" (P. 21) sounds unconvincing since in that case mother tongue instruction would achieve better results. Ure (1976: 84) proposes a transitional model involving the early introduction of L2 on the curriculum not as a medium of instruction but as a subject, and suggests that the first implication of this model involves "timing and sequence, certain uses of the language preceding others." She goes on:

> "In the classroom this would mean that the transition from one medium to another would characterize not a point, but a period in the student's school life, and would be accompanied by a transition in method."

Ure mentions science as a subject that should be taught in pupils' L1 (P. 83).

It can be seen from the review presented above that the issue of how MT should be effected has attracted little sustained debate and empirical research. Of interest are

(a) what other approaches to MT, apart from the existing one (abrupt and simultaneous), can be adopted for the transitional IP in Nigeria?

(b) What are the features of such approaches and,

(c) What are the implications of their adoption for the curriculum organisation of PE?

One of the hypotheses formulated and tested by the present study is that a gradual and selective approach to MT can be adopted

with more positive results than the one currently used in Nigerian primary schools.

2.5 Summary

To summarize this chapter, a survey of major bilingual IPs in different parts of the world and a review of the studies which investigated the factors associated with their successes or failures show that transitional programmes are the most suitable for countries such as Nigeria. However, as in transitional programmes a home-school language switch is involved, the issues of research interest are when and how such a switch should be effected. Literature on these two issues, in particular the latter one, is scant. All the available studies examine one or another of three points at which MT can be effected: at the beginning, at the middle, and at the end of PE. Studies that explore other possibilities have not been reported. Yet it seems necessary to make such an exploration since there is evidence that the existing policies underlying the three points of MT have not altogether been effective.

As regards how MT should be effected, available studies tend to accept the existing abrupt and simultaneous approach. Yet, as with the "when" issue, evidence points to the abrupt approach not being altogether effective, particularly at the Teacher-Classroom Level. Although there has appeared in literature an awareness of the need for a new approach like the gradual and selective type, such awareness has not been backed by either systematic elaboration or empirical research.

The two issues of when and how MT should be effected as well as the instructional problems associated with them are the subject of the present study. Current IPs are studied at all the important

levels at which programme decisions (including their formulation, realization and implementation) are taken. In the chapter that follows, we take a look at two levels concerned with medium policy decisions. These are Policy Formulation Level and Policy Elaboration (syllabus) Level.

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CHAPTER 3: Levels of Medium Policy Decisions: The Nigerian Situation.

In Chapter 2 we took a global look at the problem of language in primary education in some parts of the world, particularly in situations in which the medium of instruction is other than pupils' home language. Attempts were also made to classify varieties of this problem as well as of efforts to find a solution to it.

We start now to identify the medium transition (MT) problem as it affects the primary education (PE) system in Nigeria. Following the profile by which to examine the adequacy or otherwise of medium policies provided in Chapter One above, we look at each policy decision level in order to locate the origin and growth of the MT problem.

In this chapter, we confine our examination to the two highest decision levels: Political Formulation Level and Policy Elaboration or Syllabus Level. First, we look at decisions at the Political Level.

3.1 Language Policy Decisions at the Political Level

3.1.1 The Historical perspective of language medium decisions at the Political Level in Nigeria is well documented (Bamgbose, A, 1976; Awoniyi, T.A., 1976; Foster and Watkiss, 1973). The pre-independence features of such decisions present a similar pattern to those elsewhere in the Anglophone African countries (Tiffen, B, 1968 C, 1975; Spencer, John, 1963: 1974; Welmers, W, 1974; Boadi, L, 1976; Hawkes, N, 1973). That is, English was on the whole a medium of instruction only at the upper primary classes. It was in the lower primary classes only a subject. In the 1st two years of primary schooling it

was, in most countries, not studied at all.

The situation was slightly altered with the coming of independence. English became a medium of instruction earlier during the PE course than had been the case. Furthermore, there was no primary class at which English was not learnt as a subject. The language planning aim seemed to be to introduce English as soon as possible during the primary schooling. It is often forgotten that introducing English early was an implication of the PE duration which was reduced from about 9 years to 6 years in most parts of the country at the approach of independence. [1]

It seems strange, as was also the case in Ghana (Boadi, L, 1976; Hawkes, 1973), that the post-independence language policy decisions at the Political Level have been, on the whole, favourable to the increased use of English as a medium instead of its medium function being phased out in consonance with the nationalist fervour with which independence was won. The policy of English medium from the beginning of P1 (EEM) was adopted and put to effect in 1958 in Northern Nigeria. Hitherto, English had been available as a subject only from the beginning of the 4th year in primary schools. English was also the medium of instruction in Southern Nigeria from P1 - P6, except in Western Nigeria where it was a subject in P1 - P3 and thereafter as a medium of instruction.

Throughout the early post-independence period, that is, in the whole of the sixties, educational language policy typology in Nigeria

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1 In Western Nigeria, free PE was introduced in 1955 and with this came a reduction of PE duration from 8 to 6 years. In Eastern Nigeria this occurred in 1957; in Lagos in 1959, in the North in the early seventies.

was as shown in Table 3.1 below.

Type	Language	Language Role		States of Adoption
		Medium	Subject only	
A	NL	P1 - P3	P4 - P6	Western States
	English	P4 - P6	P1 - P3	(Oyo, Ondo and Ogun).
B	English	P1 - P6	-	The ten Northern States
	NL	-	P1 - P6	The Eastern and Bendel States.

Table 3.1 Typology of Language Medium Policies at the early post-independence Period (1960-69) in Nigeria.

3.1.2 Up till the late 60s all matters pertaining to financing and control of PE were decisions taken at the State Level. The Federal Government of Nigeria had no responsibility of any kind for education at this Level. It is not clear what the states considered as their criteria of choice of either A or B type of policy (Table 3.1). The patterning of language homogeneity within a state with the Type A policy can be used to explain the Western Nigerian choice of policy. That is, since all indigenous inhabitants of the Western State speak the same NL, the use of Yoruba (the NL spoken in the state) as the medium of instruction in the early years of PE was practicable, appropriate and politically acceptable to all. The same would not have been possible in the Midwest, Rivers, Kwara, and Benue Plateau States because of the linguistic heterogeneity of each of them. Hence also the choice by these states of the Type B policy is consistent with the criterion of language hetereogeneity. How-

ever, this criterion cannot be used to explain the choice of policy Type B by East Central State, Kano, Kaduna, and North Western states, each of which was linguistically homogeneous, and for which therefore the Type A policy would have been the appropriate choice.

How then could the choice of the Type B policy by linguistic homogeneous States soon after political independence had been achieved be explained? The eastern states' choice of Policy Type B was not a new political decision. The Early English Medium policy had been adopted long before independence and was continued after it. This was not the case with the Northern States whose language medium pre-independence policy had been of the A type. It seems that professional advice had linked rapid primary educational expansion, needed by the north to catch up with the rest of the country, with an early transition to English. So in 1965 the Ministry of Education for the Northern Region issued a circular to all primary schools, to give effect to the Early English Medium policy, to implement which the English course with the title Straight for English (see Chapter 4) was required. The circular reads:

> "... I realize of course that many primary schools have a substantial commitment to other English courses. Nevertheless I hope that when a change is possible, the introduction of 'Straight for English' can be brought about. In my opinion, it offers great advantages in Northern Nigerian schools and will produce better results than the alternative courses".[2]

3.1.3 Language Policy Decisions at the Political Level in the 1970s.

In September 1969, the Federal Ministry of Education called a National Curriculum Conference with the aim of identifying "new national goals for education in Nigeria at all levels (primary, secondary and tertiary) and provide guidelines on what the system

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[2] Letter No SIP.60/II/A95 of 17th June 1965 quoted by Tiffen, Brian (1968).

should be accomplishing with respect to ... the curriculum substance, the subject content of the system which is the means to the goals" (Akintola, J.M. 1973). This marked the beginning of Federal Government's involvement in PE. The 1969 Conference led to the 1971 full scale National Workshop on PE in which guidelines on primary school curriculum were for the first time produced at the national level (NERC, 1973). This was followed in 1973 by the Seminar on a National Policy on Education held at the instance of the Federal Government. A major aspect of the business of the 1973 seminar related to PE - its control, financing, expansion and the medium language policies underlying PE instructional programmes (Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1973: 11-13). In 1976 the Federal Government took over the financing of PE, which was expanded and made "universally free" (UPE). Published a year later was National Policy on Education (Federal Republic of Nigeria 1977), which converts into official government policy the decisions of the 1973 Seminar on a national policy on education earlier mentioned (for the structure of education in Nigeria, *see Figures 3.1 and 3.2 below*).

3.1.4. The Current Federal Government PE Policy

As has been said, the Federal Government has since 1976 taken over the financing of PE. The current arrangements are that the Federal Government pays the salaries of primary school teachers and gives grants for capital developments. The state governments supply equipment and supervise academic and professional standards. The Local Government Councils are responsible for direct staff recruitment and maintenance of buildings and properties. Parents are responsible for books for their children (Okoli, E.J., 1979: 873).

By virtue of its heavy investment in PE, the Federal

Government exercises certain authority on policy issues affecting PE, such as the curriculum content of PE and the language medium question. But this authority is of a very general nature. It is true to say that political decisions on PE at the Federal Level are more of guidelines than formulations; the latter being left to each state government to make. For instance, on the language medium question, the current Federal Government position is stated in the National Policy on Education (1977) as follows:

> "(4) Government will see to it that the medium of instruction in the Primary School is initially the mother-tongue or the language of the immediate community and, at a later stage, English" (P.8).

Each state government decides on

(a) Whether the Late English Medium Policy is practicable within the state; if not, then the state is not bound to adopt it, in spite of the federal government guidelines; and if it is practicable,

(b) at what point MT is to be effected.

3.1.5 Political Decisions on Medium Language use at the State Level.

Since the publication of the National Policy on Education in 1977, state governments have tried several variations within LEM and EEM policies. Some, like Niger, Sokoto and Kano States, decided that (1) NL would be the early PE medium of instruction, (2) English would not be introduced as a subject in the first 2 years, (3) English would be introduced for the first time in P3 as a subject, and (4) in P4 English would replace NL as a medium. But these decisions were trial decisions and were rescinded as soon as it became obvious that they were not practicable (Omojuwa, 1977).

In Table 3.2 can be seen the current typology of language medium policies at the State Level. The 3 policies of LEM, EEM and PEM are shown juxtaposed with the states or agency adopting them. A knowledge of the language background of each state makes it clear (see the Medium Policy Atlas on page 54) that the criterion of choice of medium policies, especially in the northern states, is strictly linguistic homogeneity vs heterogeneity. All the states with a homogeneous language background adopt LEM, and those with a heterogeneous language background EEM. PEM as an extension of LEM is practicable only in the linguistically homogeneous states. The polyglot states also adopt LEM,as shown in Table 3.2A below.

Type	Language	Language Role		State of Adoption
		Medium	Subject Only	
1	a) NL	P1 - P3	P4 - P6	Sokoto, Kano, Borno Kaduna, Gongola,
(LEM)	b) English	P4 - P6	P1 - P3	Bauchi, Niger, Western States, Imo & Anambra
2	a) English	P1 - P6	-	Plateau, Benue Kwara, Bendel, Cross River,
(EEM)	b) NL	-	P1 - P6	Rivers
3	a) NL	P1 - P6		Selected Schools
(PEM)	b) English	-	P1 - P6	in Oyo state[3] for the Ife Project.

Table 3.2 Typology of Language Medium Policies in Nigeria to date.

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3 See 5.3.4 below.



Key

	monolingual states
	heterogeneous states
	polyglot states

Map 3.1 Nigerian States and the linguistic situation of each State.

STATE	language situation			medium policy		
	monolingual	heterogeneous	polyglot	LEM	EEM	PEM
1. Anambra	+			+		
2. Bauchi	+			+		
3. Bendel		+			+	
4. Benue		+			+	
5. Borno			+	+		
6. Cross River		+			+	
7. Gongola			+	+		
8. Imo	+			+		
9. Kaduna			+	+		
10. Kano	+			+		
11. Kwara		+			+	
12. Lagos	+			+		
13. Niger			+	+		
14. Ogun	+			+		
15. Ondo	+			+		
16. Oyo	+			+		⊖
17. Plateau		+			+	
18. Rivers		+			+	
19. Sokoto	+			+		
20. Federal Capital Territory		+			+	

Table 3.2A: Relationships between linguistic situations and medium policies of the Nigerian States.

Key: ⊖ - policy under experimentation.

\+ - presence of feature, or policy adopted.

The following distinction between heterogeneous states and polyglot states as used in this Chapter (as indeed in the entire Study) should be noted. In a linguistically heterogeneous state, different languages are spoken in different parts of the state, but none is prestigious enough to dominate others and to be spoken by everybody in the state. In a polyglot state, on the other hand, although there are different languages spoken by the inhabitants, there is at least one which dominates others and which is spoken by everybody in the state. So, while the majority of the inhabitants of a linguistically heterogeneous state are monolingual, those of a polyglot state are bilingual or even trilingual in Nigerian languages.

Sources of Information on Political Decisions on Medium Policies: It seems not surprising that language syllabuses are the documents from which information on policy decisions at the Political Level is most easily obtained. Medium policy decisions, particularly in the northern states, change so rapidly that authorities seem unwilling to have such decisions gazetted. The present researcher found it difficult to trace crucial medium decisions to official written records. Most of the ministries of education visited made it clear that they resented official documents being quoted. Oral interviews, on the other hand, were found very fruitful. Most of the information in the present Chapter was collected in this way. Even here confidentiality was generally demanded, and had to be guaranteed before interviews were granted. As was stated in section 1.3.1 (page 14), three state commissioners and ten chief inspectors of education in the ten northern states were interviewed with very productive results.

Political decisions taken by state governments generally specify the precise points of MT. But the means by which the policy is carried out and MT effected is often not stated. These are details to be worked out at the administrative/professional level, referred to in this study as the Syllabus Level. Saying that the precise point of MT is generally specified at the Political Level in each state is not to be interpreted as suggesting that such decisions are available in white papers such as are issued by the federal government. In many cases political decisions are conveyed to inspectors of education, teachers and the general public in circular letters. Sometimes they are announced over the radio or reported only in newspapers. In a few cases, official policies are implicitly, rather than explicitly, specified; the nature of the specification and type of policy only being clarified in introductions to syllabuses.[4] That is, explicit statements about language policy decisions taken at the Political Level are sometimes available only at the Syllabus Level. For instance, the Western Nigerian medium policy in the 60s is explicitly defined in the 1962 English Syllabus for that state and hardly anywhere else. Under "Guiding Principles for English Language Teaching in the Western State", the 'Introduction' to the Syllabus says:

> "It is the present policy and practice for Yoruba to be used as the medium of instruction in the first 3 years of primary school in the Western State. During those years English is taught as a subject. After the 3rd year English becomes the medium of instruction". (Western State of Nigeria Ministry of Education, 1972: 1).

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[4] See NERC (1973: 45-46); A.B.U. (1977: 39); Gwarzo (1968: 10-11); Western Nigeria Primary English Syllabus (1972; 1-2); Ministry of Education, Northern Nigeria (1962: 2).

The policy of Early English Medium adopted in most of the northern states in the 1960s is explicitly defined by Gwarzo, Saidu[5] (1968) in an article in which he introduces features of the revised English syllabus just drawn up. He says the syllabus is designed to enable teachers "to teach English as a tool in the pursuit of learning and as an alternative medium of communication". The main feature of the Primary One English Syllabus, he goes on, is that

> "it attempts to supply the primary child with the language he requires for communication and learning ...." (P.10).

The introduction to the NERC 1971 English Syllabus (NERC, 1973) similarly acknowledges the fact that there were being adopted in different parts of the country three types of medium policies: EEM, LEM and PEM. It says:

> "This syllabus is based upon the fact that English is both a part of the primary curriculum and either (a) <u>immediately</u> at the beginning of the primary school, or (b) <u>midway</u> through the primary school after literacy in a Nigerian language has been substantially achieved, or (c) <u>during all the stages of post primary education</u> is and will continue to be for sometime a medium of instruction, a service subject, and that therefore it constitutes ... part of the means of the education process itself" (P.45).[6]

The English syllabus, the NERC says, caters for all of the three language policies (a strange claim, but see the next Section for how the Syllabus does it and with what success).

The A.B.U. English Syllabus (1977) written for the ten Northern States especially to cater for the PEIP[7] in these states

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[5] Saidu Gwarzo was at the time the Civil Servant in charge of the teaching of English in primary schools.

[6] The underlying is mine.

[7] For a description of PEIP see 5.3.3 below.

distinguishes between LEM and EEM, acknowledges that these two policies are adopted by different northern states and admits that it caters for only one of the two policies, that is, EEM. It says:

> "The PEIP English Syllabus has its own limitations. The most serious is that it is a one-sided Syllabus designed for the language policy and planning situation in which English is a medium language for the entire primary education. It thus does not cater for the other equally common language policy and planning situation in which English is a subject in the first half of primary education and thereafter as a medium language" (P.39).

In contrast to the paucity of explicit statements defining the LEM and EEM Policies at the Political Level, the PEM policy has been explicitly defined at all decision levels. This has been attributed to the experimental nature and requirements of the instructional programme which the PEM policy underlies. In both Report No. 1 (1972) and Report No. 2 (1974) on the Six-Year Primary Project, otherwise known as the Ife Project[8], the PEM policy is clearly defined. The policy is the

> "... use of the Yoruba Language as the medium of instruction throughout, in order to demonstrate that primary education, when given in the child's mother tongue, rather than in a second or foreign language is more effective and meaningful" (P.12).

English is taught as a subject throughout. The PEM Policy as adopted in 11 experimental schools in Oyo State[9] has also been fully described by Fafunwa, A.B. (1973), Macaulay, J.I. (1973), Afolayan, A. (1973, 1976), and Ologunde, A. (1973).

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[8] Reviewed in Chapter 5 below.

[9] Oyo state is the only state in Nigeria where the PEM Policy is adopted at all, although even here the adoption is on an experimental basis at a non-governmental level.

3.1.6

To summarize this section, we have attempted so far to examine the pattern of medium policy decisions taken at the Political Level and to identify the types of language policies that are specified for adoption at this level. Three such policies - LEM, EEM and PEM - have been traced. They are distinguished, one from the other, at the political level. The Federal Government is observed to be interested in giving broad policy statements in form of guidelines to state governments and educational agencies involved in PE. The reason for the apparent imprecision of policy statements issued by the Federal Government seems to be connected with the fact that state governments are directly in charge of PE, although most of its financing is done by the Federal Government. It is also an acknowledgement of the immense language and cultural diversity of the country. Political decisions by state governments, in contrast to those by the Federal Government, are found to be specific in terms of

(a) the type of policy to be adopted for the state, and also

(b) the point of MT.

However, with state governments political decisions are not available as formal statements in White/policy papers, unlike the practice with the Federal Government. It is at the Syllabus Level that the policy adopted by each state government is explicitly defined invariably as "Introduction" to the English/NL Components of Syllabus documents. An exception is the PEM Policy, the adoption of which is observed to have been fully defined and described at both the Political and Syllabus Levels.

It is thus the case that three types of medium policies are distinguished at the Political Decision Level, although specific

details of MT approaches or the means by which to achieve the policy targets specified are not available at this level. These seem to be decisions left to the lower level (i.e. the Syllabus Level) to make.

In the Section below, we examine specifications at the next decision level below that of Political Decision, that is, the Syllabus Level, with a view to ascertaining the extent to which the policy distinctions made at the Political Level and re-stated in Introductions to Syllabuses are maintained and taken into account by these syllabuses themselves.

3.2 Medium Policy Decisions at the Syllabus Level

3.2.1 To be examined under this heading are documents in the form of syllabuses and guidelines on what and how to teach in primary schools. Samples of such documents prepared for national, state and project use were studied. Between them they contain (or claim they do) specifications for all the 3 educational language policies identified at the Political Decision Level. The following documents were studied.

i. Nigeria Educational Research Council (NERC) 1973: Guidelines on Primary School Curriculum: Report of the National Workshop on Primary Education (April 26 to May 8, 1971).

ii. Ahmadu Bello University Institute of Education, Zaria, (1977), Primary School Syllabuses.

iii. Western State of Nigeria Ministry of Education (1972): Primary English Syllabus.

iv. Northern Nigeria Ministry of Education (1962): The Teaching of English in Primary Schools.

v. Ife University Institute of Education (1971) The Six-Year Primary Project English Language Syllabuses.

vi. Tiffen, B.W. (ed.) 1968: English in the Primary School, Paper No. 5.

3.2.2. Assessment Criteria

As was stated at the end of the preceding section, (3.1.6), documents at the Syllabus or Policy Elaboration Level were examined for their compliance with the policies formulated at the Political Level and the means by which the features specific to each policy have been elaborated or translated into instructional units. For instance, where a syllabus has been designed for two distinct language situations in which English performs the roles of 'subject' in one and of 'medium' in the other, like under LEM and EEM policies, it will be expected that separate selections of the language to be taught/learnt are required to reflect the distinctions between the 'subject' and the 'medium' functions of English. More periods are generally allocated to English on the Time Table in an English medium class than in an English as-a-subject one. This alone implies more content in the former than in the latter situation, which is a sufficient ground for separate content specifications.

Separate syllabus specifications are also to be expected for the two different instructional situations because they select different MT points. EEM switches over to English in P1, while LEM does so in P4. A language syllabus for the latter situation will be expected to reflect this switch from NL to English in its content and method specifications for the transition classes (P3 and P4). For one thing, the spread of content and the weighting of different language skills (oracy, reading and writing) will need to be redistributed.

With EEM this will not be necessary any more at this point for it must have been done in P1.

Thus, separate English language specifications are expected for LEM versus EEM classes not only in P1 - P3 where the roles of English are different, but also in P4 and possibly P5, where, although the role of English under both policies are synchronically the same, the varying rates of exposure to English up to this point (P4) between LEM and EEM have also to be catered for. To do this effectively requires separate syllabus specifications for these classes. What has been said so far relates to specifications within the English language syllabus. But medium policy distinctions also have implications for content-subject syllabuses. The language in which their components are specified should be the medium language for the primary stage being specified for. It will, for instance, be expected that where content-subject syllabuses are prepared jointly for LEM and EEM (and PEM), like the NERC 1971 Syllabus or the A.B.U. Institute of Education 1977 Syllabus, the specifications for each content-subject will be expressed in both English and NL in P1 - P3. In the case of the NERC syllabus, which was designed for national application, simultaneous specifications in both NL and English might not be practicable because of the large number of NLs that would be involved. However, when such a syllabus is adopted for use in a state which adopts the LEM policy, like Western Nigeria, it should be possible to specify all content-subjects in the very NL in which they are going to be taught in P1 - P3.

These are some of the ways in which the distinctions between the medium policies can be maintained at the Syllabus or Policy Elaboration Level. They constitute evidence of compliance with

these policies in appropriate cases and are used as criteria for evaluating the documents listed above for the purpose earlier stated.

These criteria are summarized as

i. Separate English content specifications for LEM P1 - P3 and for EEM P1 - P3 when both policies are catered for under the same syllabus cover:

ii. Separate content-specifications for LEM P4 - P5 and for EEM P4 - P5 in similar circumstances as in i. above. That is, syllabus awareness of, and preparation for, MT:

iii. Content-subject specifications for any primary stage/class are to be expressed in the very language in which they are to be taught. This applies largely to syllabuses with state, rather than national, application.

3.2.3 *Evidence from Syllabuses*

Three of the syllabuses listed in 3.2.1 that is, NERC (1973), A.B.U. (1977), and Northern Nigeria Ministry of Education (1962), were written for the joint LEM and EEM policies; the first one claims it caters also for the PEM policy. They all fail, by the 3 criteria used, to maintain any distinctions between the separate language medium policies which they claim it is their aim to cater for. The Western Nigeria Syllabus (1972) was written for only the LEM Policy situation, so it cannot be evaluated by Criterion One. But it, too, fails when measured by the remaining two criteria. In spite of the restatement by each of the syllabuses examined of the particular policy or policies under which they are specified, there is hardly any evidence in what they go on to specify and what they fail to specify that they are aware of

(a) the implications of teaching English when English is a subject only and has no real communicative functions within the class in which it is taught; and those of teaching English when the language has a communicative role within the class in which it is taught as a subject; that is, when it is a medium language;

(b) the need for preparations for MT; and

(c) the necessity of specifying content-subject components in the very language in which they are to be taught.

However, all of the syllabuses examined, including the Ife University (1971) English Syllabus, explicitly define the approaches to MT of the medium policies which they are exponents of. In all cases, the approach is the simultaneous and abrupt one.

It should be stated that the Ife University (1971) syllabus is an exception to the generalisations (a), (b) and (c) above. The PEM English as well as content-subject syllabuses comply fully with the PEM policy decisions taken at the Political Level. Experimental effects can be cited as the factors working in favour of compliance.

3.2.4 The Language Element of Content-Subject Syllabuses

The need to specify the syllabuses of content-subjects in the language in which they are to be taught is an issue the significance of which is quite often overlooked. Some of the effects of ignoring this need are now briefly examined. Evidence of content-subject specification not properly related to medium functions is taken from the A.B.U. (1977) Syllabus and the NERC 1971 Syllabus. These two are used because syllabus specifications for the entire primary curriculum are available in each of them. The following content-subjects are specified as indicated in the two syllabuses.

	ABU (1977)	NERC (1971)
Creative Activities	+	+
Creative Arts and Crafts	+	+
Mathematics	+	+
Science	+	+
Physical and Health Education	+	+
Social Studies	+	+
Home Economics	+	-
Christian R.K.	+	-
Islamic R.K.	+	-
Languages		
English	+	+
Arabic	+	-
Hausa	+	-

Only in Arabic and Hausa Syllabus specifications are there used languages other than English. Even here the language used for the main headings and discourse thread in both cases is English. Specific examples of what is specified are then expressed in Arabic using the Arabic script (ABU pp 91-93) and in Hausa (pp 94-96).

There seems to be a justification for leaving the medium language issue out of content subject specification. This is because what is specified in almost all cases are concepts, attitudes, beliefs, traditions, skills,which it is believed are not language bound. That is, they can be expressed in any language available in any instruction situation.

However, expressing a syllabus in English when it is going to be taught in a different language creates an instructional problem for the teacher. For he is saddled with a responsibility that is not his;

that is, translating what is going to be taught from English to NL. The problem seems to be perpetuated beyond the syllabus decision level. There is evidence that textbooks for content-subjects to be taught at a certain stage in NL are also written mostly in English.

The survey in Part 2 of this study found that teachers in pre-MT classes regress to English or to NL/L2 mix in some cases of content-subject instruction, which officially should be given in NL. It was observed that teachers involved in such use situations wrote their lesson notes and kept records relating to such content-subjects in English. In other words, although instruction on a subject is officially to be given in NL, all preparations leading up to the actual lesson delivery - syllabus reference and guidance, textbook consultations, lesson note writing, and perhaps teaching aid preparation - are conducted or expressed in a language different from that in which instruction is to be given. It is thus hardly surprising that part of such a lesson is given in English and only a part of it in NL.

Indeed, the issue of which language is used for syllabus specifications goes beyond the mere question of translation from English to NL and whose responsibility it is to do this. It touches on the overwhelming influence of language on human experience and the way this experience is symbolized and categorized. This varies from culture to culture. Since language is a vehicle for the expression of culture, a translation of cultural experience expressed in one language into another language may fail to capture the realities and the distinctions expressed in the latter. Language, as Sapir (1949: 10) observes,

"is heuristic ... in the much more far-reaching sense that its

> forms predetermine for us certain modes of observation and interpretation."

In other words, language does not merely report our experience, it is part of this experience. For, as further observed by Sapir (op.cit),

> "while it (= language) may be looked upon as a symbolic system which reports or refers to or otherwise substitutes for direct experience, it does not as a matter of actual behaviour stand apart from or run parallel to direct experience but completely interpenetrates with it." (P.11).

It is thus not enough that the content of the subjects taught in NL is borrowed from that expressed in English and then later translated for NL instruction (which is not even done at present). The content of subjects to be taught in NL should be planned and structured from scratch in NL (see the next paragraph).

One of the effects of the syllabuses in content subjects being expressed in English when they are to be taught in NL may be seen as the selection and use by teachers of the wrong medium language for instruction. A solution of this problem lies in specifying not only the content of a subject but also the graded language requirements of such a subject. In a LEM situation this means

(a) specifying the contents of the syllabuses of content subjects in P1 - P3 in NL and the rest (P4 - P6) in English;

(b) attaching to specified topics for each subject a section in which graded language requirements of that subject are specified.

Furthermore, ways need to be explored whereby the popular practice of writing syllabuses in subject compartments, i.e. each subject in isolation from others, is replaced by a more co-operative one in which both NL and English (language) teachers/specialists collaborate with their content-subject counterparts to produce specifications of the content and the language requirements of the entire primary

school curriculum.

3.2.5 English Language Syllabus Users

For whom are primary school syllabuses? Is it for instructional material writers, teachers, inspectors of schools, or the general public? No satisfactory answer seems to have been thought of by state ministries of education each of which has since the introduction of the universal primary education in 1976 placed a priority on the writing of syllabuses for its own primary schools.

If these syllabuses were written for IM writers, their specifications would be expected to underlie the course-books used for direct English instruction in the classroom. In terms of the scope of their contents, existing syllabuses may be able to provide adequate basis for IM preparation. However, none of the syllabuses examined, as has been stated in 3.2.3 above, contain any guidelines on such things as preparation for MT and organisation of English lessons depending on whether English is a medium language or only a subject. These are some of the features that distinguish the 3 medium policies of LEM, EEM and PEM,one from the other. With such guidelines, IM preparation will be helped to be specific with regard to the requirements of the English situation for which they are designed. We shall examine in Chapter 4 the effects on English course-books of the syllabus omission of guidelines on English lesson organisation in consonance with the role of English in the instructional process, preparations for (and consolidation of) MT and the amount of content required differentially for each policy situation in both pre- and post-MT classes. What is being said at this point is that in their present form PE English syllabuses provide only a fraction of the information required for an adequate preparation of English

course-books and other IMs.

Are classroom teachers target users of PE English syllabuses? The answer is likely to be Yes, theoretically. However, in practice primary school teachers hardly ever read an English syllabus with a view to be being guided on how and what to teach in an English lesson. This is because English course series have over the years conditioned teachers to lesson-by-lesson guidance on what and how to teach. Any document that offers less is an automatic loser. Syllabuses are generally not designed as alternative documents to English course-books but as the source of the content and, where necessary, approach of course books which seek to translate them into teachable lesson-by-lesson units.

Theoretically and in their present form, it is doubtful whether existing English Syllabuses will be found useful by teachers even without facing an IM competition. This is because they contain lists of content items only, which is just a fraction of the information a primary school English teacher in the Nigerian situation requires to be able to teach English effectively. He needs, for instance, to know how to teach certain areas of the language, how to relate what is taught to real use situations within the class, and how to apply the English taught/learnt to content-subject instruction. In addition, he needs information in concrete terms on the teaching of English as a subject versus the teaching of it as a medium language and on how to prepare his class for MT to English in appropriate cases. None of this information can be traced in all the syllabuses examined. It can be objected that a syllabus is not designed with such aims in view. This may be conceded; but it is exactly the source of the problem. If English syllabuses are not designed to provide a large amount of the information required of it by its users - IM writers,

teachers and inspectors of education - to what extent can they influence a compliance with the medium policies which they elaborate upon and translate into units underlying instructional activities? Chapter 4 (below) will attempt to trace such influence on IM preparation, and Chapters 5 and 6 will examine this and any other influence on teachers at the Classroom Decision Level.

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CHAPTER FOUR: Medium Policy Decisions at the Instructional Materials Preparation Level

We saw in Chapter 3 the broad nature of language policy decisions at the Political Level in Nigeria. The decisions are broad in the sense that details of the means by which they are to be carried out are generally not stated. But they are specific enough for the 3 policies of LEM, EEM and PEM to be distinguished and for the point of MT by each to be stated. It was expected that details of each policy, including the means by which policy objectives are to be carried out, would be elaborated in language syllabuses and in the language components of content-subject syllabuses. But an examination of sample syllabuses representative of the 3 policies showed that although language syllabuses provide details of the content to be taught/learnt, they do not specify any thing else. Vital features by which one policy is distinguished from the other, such as English lesson organization, differences between the 'subject' and the 'medium' roles of English, the proper weighting of the amount of content between English subject and English medium situations, preparation for MT, were found to be omitted in all the syllabuses examined (3.2). As such information is crucial in language planning decisions at the IM Level, we shall now examine IMs for the effects of these syllabus omissions on English course books and other IMs. Specifically we shall evaluate a representative sample of English IMs for the way in which it has further translated policy objectives as formulated at the Political Level and perhaps as elaborated at the Syllabus Level (Chapter 3) into instructional units for direct implementation at the Classroom Level. It should be possible, from both the content, structures and approaches of language instructional materials, to identify those

features that distinguish each policy.

4.1 Criteria for Evaluation

The following are major features that characterize each of the 3 medium policies of LEM, EEM and PEM which to us seem capable of being accounted for in the preparation of English IMs for primary education. It is these that will constitute our criteria for evaluating IMs in this Chapter.

4.1.1 Medium Policy Features that need to be Reflected in English Language Course-Books.

(a) LEM Features:

i. English as a subject in P1 - P3.

ii. MT is effected abruptly and simultaneously in P4; that is, in P4 - P6 English has medium functions within the class in which it is also taught as a subject.

(b) EEM Features:

i. English is the medium of content-subject instruction in P1 through P6. In addition,

ii. English is still a subject to be formally studied, like content-subjects.

iii. The point of MT in this case is P1.

(c) PEM Features:

i. English is a subject in P1 through P6.

ii. The point of MT is the beginning of post-primary education.

The major distinctions between these policies which are of interest to IM preparation and their use are, therefore, in the two roles - subject and medium - which English is called to perform either simultaneously throughout PE, as with EEM, or consecutively, as with

LEM, or selectively in favour of 'Subject' throughout PE, as with PEM. Some of the implications of the "subject" versus "medium" role distinctions for English course-books are now briefly examined.

4.1.2 Implications for Content Selection:

(i) English as a subject

An implication of English having only a subject function is that, at the stage being considered, English has no practical communicative use for the learners outside the English lesson. All classroom activities and all content subject instruction are conducted in other languages. So, to pupils/learners English has no immediate relevance and its learning cannot be instrumentally motivated. Content-wise the programme's language item selection may be structural or notional, but invariably the former. Selection on the basis of immediate communicative need would seem to have been weakened by the fact that the language at the particular stage being considered does not have a medium function.

(ii) When English has medium of instruction functions

It means that it is used by the learners and their teachers for most activities within the class outside the formal English lesson periods. Such a use situation should be reflected in the content of IMs designed for the class. The selection of content is based on practical communication needs rather than on teachability or simplicity. This implies a wider range of language to reflect the range of functions being performed by the medium language.

(iii) Methodology

(a) When English has only a subject function, the English lesson becomes a separate independent activity distinct from, but similar to, content-subjects such as mathematics and social studies. It is

taught with reference to itself alone as a subject and does not need to liaise with other subjects. It still needs to be taught in concrete situations, but such situations are necessarily contrived, not genuine. Extending what is learnt in such contrived situations for genuine communicative functions is quite often difficult since these functions are already being performed by another language.

(b) When English has medium functions in addition to its being a subject, the English programme becomes a service programme to content subjects, to which it is directly related, if not totally integrated. In this situation, language acts/items practised during the English lesson are applied in real communicative use in an instruction setting. Language teaching/learning is reinforced by its use both within and outside of the language lesson, and its use can be demonstrated and practised in authentic situations. There is, in other words, a total exposure to English during the school hours.

(iv) Skills Coverage

Oracy and literacy both complement/reinforce each other and are both required in an English medium situation. This is because, English being the medium language, both the oral and the written modes are required for instruction in content subjects. When English is not a medium language, literacy in it can afford to be delayed until literacy in NL has been established.

4.1.3 The Instructional Features in the Checklist

To be used as IM evaluation criteria, the medium policy features listed and further described above are converted into the checklist in Table 4.1 (below). The checklist consists of 14 instructional features, which are now briefly explained.

Feature 1: Language function is 'subject' in P1-P3

This is a LEM Policy feature. An English course written for an instruction situation in which LEM is the adopted policy may realize this feature in the following ways.

(a) The development of the literacy skills in English is delayed until these skills have been developed first in Nigerian Language (NL). If a book in the course series is designed for the first year (P1), one would expect the book to concentrate wholly on the oral use of English. Reading and writing will start to feature, at the earliest, in that book in the course series which is designed for the second year (P2).

(b) Oral English is not likely to be introduced until towards the end of the first year (P1).

(c) The main books in the course series are not likely to be more than five for the whole primary course, i.e. those with literacy units.

(d) Selection of the content of those books in the series which are designed for P1 and P2 need not reflect the language needs of content-subjects in these classes since instruction in them is delivered in NL.

(e) However, the book designed for P3 should prepare for medium transition to be effected at the beginning of P4 by

(i) specifying for teaching some of the language items required in content-subject instruction in English,

(ii) drawing from content-subject fields the topics round which language work is built,

(iii) increased literacy skill development in English (see also Feature 5 below).

Feature 2: Language function is 'subject' in P1-P6

This is a PEM Policy feature which an English course designed for PEM may realize in the following ways.

(a) Literacy skills in English are not developed until these skills have first been developed in NL. The whole of the first and part of the second year (P1 and P2) are likely to be needed for the initial literacy training in NL. This means that the training of these skills in English may not begin until towards the end of the second year, at the earliest. Oral English teaching may, however, begin much earlier. Thus only the booksin the English course meant for use from the 2nd or 3rd year of PEM instructional programme should contain literacy training component.

(b) The English course need not relate its content to the needs of content-subjects any time during primary schooling since these needs are catered for by the language performing medium functions, NL in this case.

Feature 3: Language function is medium in P4-P6

This is another LEM feature. Under the LEM Policy English has 'subject' functions in P1-P3 (Feature 1) and 'medium' functions in P4-P6. An English course can realize Feature 3 by increasing and broadening its content to be able to cope with the increased demand made of English as a medium. The course approach and methodology should encourage the communicative use of English by suggesting to the teacher how this can be done. For instance, suppose the language items "take away .... from", "how many .... are left" etc have been included in the course as a service to Mathematics/Arithmetic (see Feature 10 below). The Teacher's Notes should suggest that these items are either taught during an Arithmetic period when 'subtraction' is the operation being practised, or are taught first in an English period and later applied for real communicative use in an Arithmetic lesson in which subtraction is taught. These suggestions are crucial,

for in them lies one of the major features characterizing the teaching of language (English in this case) as a subject in an instruction situation in which the language being taught has a real communicative function for the class in which it is taught (Omojuwa, R.A., 1979). Their omission will thus amount to a failure by a course-book to link language teaching with content-subject instruction in practice. "In practice" is emphasized to draw attention to the two stages involved in IM relating language teaching/learning to content-subjects. The first stage is for the language used in specific content subjects to be reflected in a course-book (content). The second stage is for the course-book to indicate to the teacher how this specification is to be realized in practice(method) and to specify the type of classroom organization conducive to the realization of this specification. The first stage is required for MT preparation. Both stages are necessary for medium "servicing" (i.e. the use of a language for medium functions and the preparation of pupils for this language role).

Feature 4: Language function is medium in P1-P6

This is an EEM feature, which can be realized by a course-book in the following ways.

(a) Language work is done in authentic situations especially in the lower primary classes. This implies that language work is woven round genuine activities and class routine (e.g. creative activities, outdoor activities, home corners).

(b) Literacy skills are developed first in English. This can start as soon as some 'oracy' has been imparted, may-be in the second half of the first year at school.

Feature 5: Preparation for MT is at peak in P3

This is the third LEM feature (cf Features 1 and 3). Since under the

LEM policy MT is effected at the beginning of P4, the language switch needs to be prepared for in the preceding year(s). The book (in the course series) designed for P3 will carry most of the MT preparation burden. For evidence of this preparation, see Feature 1(e) above.

Feature 6: Preparation for MT is at peak in P6

This is the second instructional feature typifying the PEM policy (cf Feature 2 above). It is similar in all respects to Feature 5 except for the location within the primary course of the MT "preparation peak" which in Feature 6 is P6 (P3 in Feature 5), since MT is effected at the end of P6. For evidence of this preparation in a course-book see Feature 1(e) above.

Feature 7: Consolidation of medium change is in P1

This is the second instructional feature characterizing the EEM policy (cf Feature 4). The feature acknowledges the necessity to prepare for the home-school language switch even though, by being abrupt and simultaneous, EEM implies that this is unnecessary. We take the view that it is unrealistic, in the average Nigerian language learning situation, to expect that MT can be fully effected in EEM P1. So we settle for something less: consolidation of medium change in P1, meaning that full MT is to occur later. Evidence, in a course-book designed for the EEM situation, of this reduced medium function of English in EEM P1 includes that specified for MT preparation (Features 5 and 6 above). This will not be repeated here. In addition, in EEM P1 the first literacy experience is in English and this has to be provided for in the course-book.

Feature 8: Literacy Skills developed first in English

This is the third instructional feature associated with the EEM policy (cf Features 4 and 7). We take the view in this study that the language of instruction in the early primary years should be that in which literacy skills is first developed. This is necessary for an integrated skills approach to learning, which is needed even at this stage. Evidence, in a course-book designed for the EEM policy, that literacy skills (reading and writing) are developed first in English includes

(a) an explicit statement that this is the case (e.g. in the 'introduction' to the appropriate course-book), and more importantly,

(b) the incorporation of components in which reading and writing skills are systematically trained.

Feature 9: Literacy skills developed first in NL

This is an instructional feature shared by both LEM and PEM. It is thus the 4th feature by which course-books written for the LEM policy situation are to be evaluated (cf Features 1, 3, and 5) and the third by which a course written for PEM is to be judged (cf Features 2 and 6). Evidence in English course-books that literacy skills are first developed in NL include

(a) an explicit statement to this effect (e.g. in "introduction" to such course-books), and, more importantly,

(b) an omission of reading and writing components from the book (in the course series) meant for use in P1 (LEM) and in the first two years (PEM). This is to allow literacy in NL to be introduced and fairly well developed first.

Feature 10: English lessons linked with content-subjects in P4-P6

Feature 11: English lessons linked with content-subjects in P1-P6

These two features characterize LEM and EEM policies respectively. Feature 10 is the fifth instructional feature (cf Features 1, 3, 5 and 9) associated with LEM and by which course-books written for the LEM instructional situation are to be evaluated. Feature 11 is the 4th one (cf Nos. 4, 7, and 8) characterizing EEM and by which course-books designed for the EEM policy situation are to be evaluated. Features 10 and 11 relate to a specific aspect of 'medium servicing', that is, one of the functions performed by a language as part of its medium role.

Evidence in course-books of English being linked with content-subjects include

(a) specifying the language items required for instruction in specific content-subjects,

(b) "weaving" the language work in some lessons of the book round topics treated in content-subjects, and

(c) suggesting in the Teachers' Notes that (a) and (b) should be introduced when the specific content-subject to which they are related is being taught, that is, not during the language lesson itself. Alternatively, the items can be introduced in an English lesson and later (in the day or in the week) used when teaching the content subject (see Feature 3).

Features 12 and 13: Language content is selected on the basis of communicative need in P1-P6 (Feature 12) and in P4-P6 (Feature 13)

Like Nos 10 and 11, these two features are associated with LEM and EEM policies. Number 12 is the fifth instructional feature of EEM and No 13 is the sixth associated with LEM. Immediate communicative needs in the primary instructional context include

(a) instruction in content-subjects,

(b) classroom organization and routine,

(c) activities (outdoor or indoor) in which children engage in peer groups within or outside the classroom, (e.g. games).

The inclusion of the language and topics relating to these domains in a course-book is evidence that immediate communicative needs of the learners are a selection criterion adopted by such a course-book at the appropriate primary stage (P4-P6 for LEM and P1-P6 for EEM).

Feature 14: Approach to MT is abrupt:

Course-books should demonstrate in their content, structure and approach that, on the whole, they

(a) are aware that the policy, the instructional features of which they seek to realize, expects a full medium change at one point during the PE course (in P1 for EEM, P4 for LEM and end of P6 for PEM), and

(b) assist in bringing this about.

Feature 14 is thus a summary of the instructional features earlier described, particularly those relating to MT and the medium functions of English. A course-book is not likely to be positively scored for this feature unless it has already been positively scored for

(i) Features 1, 3, 5, 10 and 13 in the case of those written, or purport to have been written, for the LEM instructional situation;

(ii) Features 4, 7, 8, 11 and 12 in the case of the courses written for EEM, and

(iii) Features 2, 6 and 9 when a course-book is being evaluated for the PEM policy.

In all, a total of 14 instructional features are identified with the three policies. Seven of these are associated with LEM; six with EEM, and four with PEM. Table 4.1 summarizes these features and matches them with the policies they characterize. English course series were evaluated only in terms of these features. The section that follows briefly describes how this was done.

4.1.4 Using the Checklist to Evaluate IMs

Each numbered item on the checklist is sub-divided into (a) and (b). Items under (a) identify features associated with particular medium policies and classroom language situations for which specific IMs have been written or claim to have been written. Items under (b) evaluate such IMs for compliance with the corresponding items under (a). For instance, if there is evidence (internal by way of introductory claim by the author, or external in the form of statements to this effect by educational authorities, or simply by virtue of particular IMs being adopted for use) that an English course is designed for either LEM, EEM or PEM instructional situation, then the instructional features associated with the particular policy situation are automatically marked for the IM being evaluated. These come under (a). Item (b) relates to the realization by the IM being evaluated of the item under (a). It is marked only after a close study of the IM. The question to be answered is "Is the feature identified in (a) as characterizing an instructional situation such as that for which this IM is said to have been written realized in the IM?" If it is, a 'plus' is marked under (b) for the IM.

	Features	Implied by		
		LEM	EEM	PEM
1 a	Language function is 'subject' in P1-P3	+		
b	Textual evidence that this is the case			
2 a	Language function is 'subject' in P1-P6			+
b	Textual evidence			
3 a	Language function is 'medium' in P4-P6	+		
b	Textual evidence			
4 a	Language function is 'medium' in P1-P6		+	
b	Textual evidence			
5 a	Preparation for MT is at peak in P3	+		
b	Textual evidence			
6 a	Preparation for MT is at peak in P6			+
b	Textual evidence			
7 a	Consolidation of medium change is in P1		+	
b	Textual evidence			
8 a	Literacy skills developed 1st in English		+	
b	Textual evidence			
9 a	Literacy skills developed 1st in NL	+		+
b	Textual evidence			
10 a	English lessons linked with content-subjects in P4-P6	+		
b	Textual evidence			
11 a	English lessons linked with content-subjects in P1-P6		+	
b	Textual evidence			
12 a	Language content selected on immediate communicative needs in P1-P6		+	
b	Textual evidence			
13 a	Ditto in P4-P6	+		
b	Textual evidence			
14 a	Approach to MT is abrupt	+	+	+
b	Textual evidence			

Table 4.1: Checklist to assess the extent of the compliance of language IMs with the medium policy which it is their aim to translate for classroom implementation.

4.1.5 The Instructional Materials Examined

We shall here concern ourselves with IMs which purport to teach English at the PE level. By IM is therefore meant, in this chapter, as indeed in the entire study, English course-books and their supports that are useable for direct instruction in teacher-pupil classroom interaction. This definition eliminates documents such as syllabuses and teachers' handbooks intended to guide the teacher on what and how to teach. It, however, includes course-book companions variously titled "Teacher's Book", "Teacher's Notes", "Teacher's Guides" since these are components of course books used for direct instruction. Syllabuses and guides for teachers other than those which are components of course series are treated as documents elaborating on policy formulations, and these have been examined in the previous chapter.

The Course-books examined here for their medium policy approaches are those currently in use in schools in different parts of the Northern States of Nigeria. The criteria for their selection are that they were listed by (i) educational authorities as prescribed course-books and by (ii) teachers in the language use survey conducted (Chapter 5) as the main course-books they used for teaching English. A course-book with its supports is still included for evaluation in this Chapter even when it is able to satisfy one part of the selection criterion. That is, a course might appear on an educational authority's prescribed list but might not be used by teachers, or vice versa. Such cases are quite often observed in certain parts of the country.

Course-books Surveyed

The following courses satisfied the above criteria and are therefore evaluated in this Chapter.

1. Straight for English (Longman) Books 1-6;
2. New Oxford English Course (OUP), Books 1-6;
3. Evans Primary English Course (Evans Brothers), Books 1-6;
4. Macmillans Primary English Course (Macmillan), Books 1-6;
5. Day-by-Day English Course (Longman), Books 1-6.

4.2 Evaluation of Sample IMs

4.2.1 Straight for English (SE) is associated with the Early English Medium Policy and is used in the States which adopt this policy, such as Benue, Plateau, Kwara. It used to be the prescribed course for all the Northern States in the 60s when EEM was the adopted State policy. Most of the evidence linking SE with EEM is external, the chief one being the fact of its use in the EEM policy-adopting States. Tiffen (1968: 3) links SE with teaching English as a medium language when he remarks:

> "Changing from teaching English as a subject to using English as a medium as soon as possible in the primary school is not simply a question of switching from, say, the New Oxford English to the Straight for English course".

The Northern Nigeria Ministry of Education syllabus, The Teaching of English in Primary Schools (1962) lists SE in a section headed as follows:

> "The following courses are suitable for schools where reading and writing, and other subjects as well, are taught in English right from the beginning ..." (P. 5)

Other courses listed are The New Nation English (Nelson) and The Peak Course (OUP).

The statement then goes on:

> "No course of type A would be suitable for use in schools of type B, and vice versa" (P. 5).

This gives a strong impression that SE is suitable and specifically designed for only the EEM policy situation. Is there internal evidence, in the form of introductory declaration or statement of aim and about target use situation, in support of this external claim? There are no direct and specific statements in SE linking the series with any particular language policy. But there is circumstantial evidence, such as

(i) literacy skills in English are begun in P1, making English the language in which literacy is first developed in the primary child (SE, Teacher's Notes, P. 2);

(ii) the number of English lessons assumed (that is, ten a week) makes it seem unlikely that the book is intended for an English as a subject situation which in Nigeria attracts a smaller number of English lessons a week.

It will thus be concluded that SE is written for the EEM policy schools and its evaluation will be based on this conclusion. The criteria used for evaluation are those described in 4.1.3 and summarized in Table 4.1. The result of our evaluation of SE is summarized in Table 4.2. It shows that SE rates very poorly in terms of its compliance with the requirements of the language policy which it purports to implement and translate into direct classroom instructional units; it specifies only one of the six features identified as characterizing the EEM instructional situation. The cause/origin of this mismatch as well as its likely consequence on the choice and use of English by teachers at the classroom level will be examined in 4.3 below.

Table 4.2 further shows that although SE is commonly associated with the EEM policy by use, it only is able to reflect one (Feature 8) of the 6 features that relate to EEM. SE begins the literacy skill development in English early in P1 (Feature 8). Doing so suggests that literacy skill development in NL is delayed till later on in the PE Course. It is, however, possible that the literacy programme in English is begun simultaneously with that in NL. This is a remote possibility since educational planners at the PE level in Nigeria seem to be aware that a literacy programme should not be so planned. It is also possible that SE can be used in a LEM policy situation by delaying its English reading and writing programmes till later in order for the NL literacy programme to be introduced first. This again is unlikely since it requires an extra guide to teachers on how to use the SE series. There is no evidence from the researcher's personal knowledge of primary schools and also from interviews he had with Chief Education officers in charge of PE in the Northern States that such a guide exists. It can therefore be accepted that in making provision for an early literacy programme in English SE is realizing a feature that characterizes the EEM policy.

One of the 6 features associated with EEM, as indeed with the other medium policies, that is, abrupt MT, cannot be scored positively or negatively for SE compliance, for although there is no evidence in the course series of MT being effected gradually, there is also none to suggest the contrary view that MT is approached abruptly. Indeed, the impression gained from a study of SE is that English is a subject throughout the primary school course. This is because there is no attempt to link the series with content-subjects and to provide the

latter with the language required for their instruction[1].

With regard to the remaining four features instructionally characterizing the EEM policy, that is, Nos 4, 7, 11 and 12 in Table 4.2, there is no textual evidence that these features are realized by the SE course.

Table 4.2 also shows that SE reflects two features (Features 1 and 2) that instructionally characterize LEM and PEM policies respectively. This is the corollary of its failure to realize the EEM Features 4, 11 and 12.

To summarize this sub-section on the relationships between instructional features of the educational language policies of LEM, EEM and PEM and those that underlie the content and methodology of SE which seeks to translate these policy features for direct classroom implementation; of the 3 features positively marked for and identified with SE (Table 4.2, Features 1, 2 and 8), only one (No. 8) characterizes the EEM policy which SE is by use and by popular claim associated with. The other two features characterize LEM (Feature 1) and PEM (Feature 2) policies. There would, on the basis of the foregoing findings, appear to be no textual justification for identifying SE exclusively with the EEM policy[2]. Furthermore the findings point to crucial areas of mismatch between language policy formulation and

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1 Northern Nigeria Ministry of Education (1962) regrets that SE fails "to give help in the teaching of other subjects (such as Physical Education or Number) by means of English, and fails to introduce all the words and patterns needed for class control in the early stages". (P. 8).

2 This finding corroborates Tiffen's observation on SE to the effect that ".. the Straight for English course is not strictly an English-medium course. It does not attempt to integrate all the school 'subjects'" (Tiffen, B.W. 1968: 3).

	Features	Implied by LEM	EEM	PEM	S E*
1 a	Language function is 'subject' in P1-P3	+			) +
b	Textual evidence that this is the case				)
2 a	Language function is 'subject' in P1-P6			+	) +
b	Textual evidence				)
3 a	Language function is 'medium' in P4-P6	+			
b	Textual evidence				
4 a	Language function is 'medium' in P1-P6		+		
b	Textual evidence				
5 a	Preparation for MT is at peak in P3	+			
b	Textual evidence				
6 a	Preparation for MT is at peak in P6			+	
b	Textual evidence				
7 a	Consolidation of medium change is in P1		+		
b	Textual evidence				
8 a	Literacy skills developed 1st in English		+		) +
b	Textual evidence				)
9 a	Literacy skills developed 1st in NL	+		+	
b	Textual evidence				
10 a	English lessons linked with content-subjects in P4-P6	+			
b	Textual evidence				
11 a	English lessons linked with content-subjects in P1-P6		+		
b	Textual evidence				
12 a	Language content selected on immediate communicative needs in P1-P6		+		
b	Textual evidence				
13 a	Ditto in P4-P6	+			
b	Textual evidence				
14 a	Approach to MT is abrupt	+	+	+	)
b	Textual evidence				) ?

Table 4.2: Checklist to assess the extent of the compliance of language IMs with the medium policy which it is their aim to translate for classroom implementation. The extent of the compliance of Straight For English with the EEM policy is shown in this Table.

* SE - Straight for English

elaboration on the one hand, and SE as an exponent of these policies at the IM Implementation Level, on the other.

4.2.2 New Oxford English Course (NOEC)

The New Oxford English Course consists of 6 Pupils' Books and the same number of Teacher's Notes. There are no companion Workbooks. Nor are there story books directly written as supports for the pupils' books.

NOEC is associated with the LEM policy mainly by use and also by claim defending its use with LEM. It is used only in those states in which LEM is the adopted policy. It is also the main course used by the Ahmadu Bello University Zaria-based "Primary Education Improvement Project" in those of its primary classes in which the medium of instruction in the first 3 years is NL. The Northern Nigeria Ministry of Education (1962) lists NOEC among those courses approved for use "in schools where reading and writing are first taught in the vernacular" (P. 5). Margaret Rogers (1968: 34) observes with dismay that that New Oxford English Course and Oxford Arithmetic are not linked at the language level in spite of the fact that both books are produced by the same publisher for the same learning situation. She goes on to explain why:

> "The reason for this is, of course, that the two courses were never intended to correlate. Oxford Arithmetic is intended to be taught in the vernacular, and the New Oxford English Course was not written for English-medium teaching."

The external claims and association by use (in LEM schools only) do not have supportive evidence from the introduction to the course. Neither is there anything in the content and approach of NOEC that makes it distinctly more suitable for LEM than for any other policy.

On the contrary, there are major reading and writing components in Book One (Teacher's Notes, PP xi-xiv; 4-15), which suggest clearly that literacy is intended to be developed in English first. This, as can be seen in Table 4.3, is an instructional feature associated with the EEM policy. Early literacy in English, as opposed to that in NL, was the main criterion used by the Northern Nigeria Ministry of Education (1962), as has been stated earlier, in prescribing SE for *EEM Schools (Initial Literacy in English) and NOEC for LEM schools* (Initial Literacy in NL). It would appear that NOEC has been credited with an instructional feature which it has not realized.

Table 4.3 shows that NOEC realizes only one out of the seven instructional features that characterize the LEM policy; that is, that English has a 'subject' function in P1-P3 (Feature No. 1). With regard to one other feature associated with each of the 3 policies, that is that their approach to MT is abrupt, there is hardly any clear way by which its representation in NOEC can be verified. This is because the course does not at any stage show any evidence of medium change. Hence a question mark is recorded for NOEC with regard to this feature (Feature No. 14, Table 4.3). The remaining five instructional features of LEM which cannot be traced in NOEC are:

language function is medium in P4-P6 (3);
preparation for MT is at Peak in P3 (5);
literacy skills developed first in NL (9);
English lessons linked with content-subjects in P4-P6 (10); and
language-content selected on communicative needs in P4-P6 (13).

However, in NOEC we can trace two instructional features which are characteristic, not of LEM with which NOEC is popularly associated by use and claim, but of PEM (Feature 2) and EEM (Feature 8). Thus, like SE (4.2.1), of the three features positively marked for NOEC in Table

	Features	Implied by LEM	EEM	PEM	* NOEC
1 a	Language function is 'subject' in P1-P3	+			) +)
b	Textual evidence that this is the case				
2 a	Language function is 'subject' in P1-P6			+	) +)
b	Textual evidence				
3 a	Language function is 'medium' in P4-P6	+			
b	Textual evidence				
4 a	Language function is 'medium' in P1-P6		+		
b	Textual evidence				
5 a	Preparation for MT is at peak in P3	+			
b	Textual evidence				
6 a	Preparation for MT is at peak in P6			+	
b	Textual evidence				
7 a	Consolidation of medium change is in P1		+		
b	Textual evidence				
8 a	Literacy skills developed 1st in English		+		) +)
b	Textual evidence				
9 a	Literacy skills developed 1st in NL	+		+	
b	Textual evidence				
10 a	English lessons linked with content-subjects in P1-P6	+			
b	Textual evidence				
11 a	English lessons linked with content-subjects in P1-P6		+		
b	Textual evidence				
12 a	Language content selected on immediate communicative needs in P1-P6		+		
b	Textual evidence				
13 a	Ditto in P4-P6	+			
b	Textual evidence				
14 a	Approach to MT is abrupt	+	+	+	)
b	Textual evidence				) ?

Table 4.3: Checklist to assess the extent of the compliance of language IMs with the medium policy which it is their aim to translate for classroom implementation. The extent of the compliance of New Oxford English Course (NOEC) with the LEM policy is shown in this Table.

* NOEC - New Oxford English Course

4.3, only one (Feature 1) characterizes the LEM policy of which NOEC is reputed to be an exponent. It would therefore be more correct to say that NOEC is a limited exponent of each of the three policies with respect to only one instructional feature than to link it exclusively with LEM. Can NOEC in the light of the above disclosure be used with any of the 3 policies? To be able to do this, the course would be expected to reflect quite a few of the features characterizing the 3 policies, of which there are at least 14. But NOEC in its present form reflects only 3 of these features, too few for it to be linked with any one policy.

Our conclusion on the relationships between NOEC and the medium policies is that the course does not appear to have been written for any one of the 3 existing policies. The claim that it was written for use exclusively in LEM schools is found to have no supportive textual evidence and is therefore dismissed.

4.2.3. Evans Primary English Course (Evans, for short)

Like SE and NOEC, Evans consists of six pupils' Books and six companion Teacher's Books. There are workbooks and story-book sets to go with the pupils' books.

Evans is not very widely used in any of the Northern States. The few instances of its use recorded in the language use survey reported in Chapters 5 and 6 of the present study came from two states - Kaduna and Niger. In all the cases, Evans was used in LEM policy schools, although NOEC was the more popular in these schools. In the Southern Nigerian states Evans is, similarly, not very widely used, having been pushed to the 2nd or 3rd position by the popular NOEC. But all the Southern States in which it is so used are those in which LEM is the adopted PE language policy. So, by use Evans is very closely associated with the LEM policy.

By textual claim, Evans is written, for the instructional situation when pupils

> "begin to read and write English soon after they start to read and write their own language" (Evans, Teachers' Book One, New Edition: P. 3).

The plan of Evans is such that reading and writing in English does not begin until pupils' second year during which time they must have been introduced to literacy in NL. The plan accords, in this respect, with that expected under the LEM policy in which English has only a subject role in P1-P3. Textually, the fact that English is a subject in P1 (and not a medium) is attested by the course not linking the language content taught in this class to content-subject instruction. From P4, however, the Evans course writer seems aware of the need for English-as-a-subject lessons to be linked with instruction in content-subjects, thus

> "drawing the children's attention to the broader learning which now begins in other subjects in the primary school" (Evans, Teachers' Book 4, P. 6).

That this is indeed the case is confirmed by the Table of Contents of Book 4 which shows most of the topics round which English lessons are built as relating to content-subjects (Evans, Teachers' Book 4, Page 21). This reflects an instructional feature typifying the LEM policy.

As Table 4.4 shows, Evans has three positively marked instructional features (Features 1, 9 and 10), all of which characterize the LEM policy. There are two points that should be noted with regard to the relationships between the Evans Primary English Course and the existing educational language policies. First, all the 3 features marked positively for Evans are LEM features, which suggest

that Evans may have been written exclusively for the LEM situation. This contrasts with the other Course-books examined so far (that is, SE and NOEC), each of which reflects a feature of each of the three existing policies. Secondly, as an exponent of the LEM policy, Evans is marked for only three of the seven instructional features associated with LEM. Although this makes Evans a more faithful exponent of the LEM policy than NOEC, which is often popularly regarded as written exclusively for the LEM situation, there remain areas of mismatch between LEM and Evans.

4.2.4. Macmillan Primary English Course (Macmillan)

Macmillan Primary English Course (Macmillan, for short) consists of six main books for pupils and 6 companion Teacher's Books. In addition, there are Workbooks, one for each of the six primary grades, and story books graded for each of P3 through P6.

Macmillan is not much used in the ten northern states from which our language survey samples reported in Chapters 5 and 6 below were drawn. The few instances of its use came from Kwara and Plateau States, in both of which EEM is the adopted policy. Macmillan is widely used in Bendel and Rivers States. Both of these are 'minority language' states in which EEM is also the adopted education language policy.

Textual evidence points to Macmillan being identified with the Early English Medium policy. Literacy in English in the first year at school is an objective of the course. Book One of the course, teachers are told,

> "will help your pupils with oral work, reading and writing in their first year of English" (Macmillan, Pupils' Book One, Inside Front Cover).

	Features	Implied by LEM	EEM	PEM	Evans PEC
1 a	Language function is 'subject' in P1-P3	+			) +
b	Textual evidence that this is the case				)
2 a	Language function is 'subject' in P1-P6			+	
b	Textual evidence				
3 a	Language function is 'medium' in P4-P6	+			
b	Textual evidence				
4 a	Language function is 'medium' in P1-P6		+		
b	Textual evidence				
5 a	Preparation for MT is at peak in P3	+			
b	Textual evidence				
6 a	Preparation for MT is at peak in P6			+	
b	Textual evidence				
7 a	Consolidation of medium change is in P1		+		
b	Textual evidence				
8 a	Literacy skills developed 1st in English		+		
b	Textual evidence				
9 a	Literacy skills developed 1st in NL	+		+	) +
b	Textual evidence				)
10 a	English lessons linked with content-subjects in P_4-P6	+			) +))
b	Textual evidence				
11 a	English lessons linked with content-subjects in P1-P6		+		
b	Textual evidence				
12 a	Language content selected on immediate communicative needs in P1-P6		+		
b	Textual evidence				
13 a	Ditto in P4-P6	+			
b	Textual evidence				
14 a	Approach to MT is abrupt	+	+	+	) ?
b	Textual evidence				)

Table 4.4: Checklist to assess the extent of the compliance of language IMs with the medium policy which it is their aim to translate for classroom implementation. The extent of the compliance of Evans Primary English Course with the LEM policy is shown in this Table.

"The exercises in the Workbook", teachers are also told, "are intended to develop and practise the skills needed in the first year of the Primary English Course". (Macmillan, Workbook One, Inside back cover). These skills are then listed as 'Reading, 'Writing', 'Reading and Writing' and 'Thinking'. The fact that Book One of the course is intended for the first year of primary schooling is explicitly stated in Teacher's Book One:

> "Book One of this Primary English Course is intended for children in Elementary One who have little or no knowledge of English". (P. 1).

Macmillan is, thus, by use and textual claim associated with the EEM policy. To what extent is this association suggested by the content, methodology and structure of Macmillan? As has been stated earlier, literacy in English is pursued right from P1 in the manner of EEM. But the English language function is essentially 'subject', not only in P1-P3 as specified by LEM, but also in P1-P6 in the manner of PEM. The course does not make attempts to consolidate MT in P1 as a strict adherence to EEM will imply. Nor does it attempt to select its language content on immediate communicative needs, especially in the lower classes. Finally, English lessons are not linked with content-subjects particularly in the early years. The rigidity with which English is controlled makes it difficult for the language to perform a medium function in the classroom or during the English lesson. The teacher is told, for instance, to

> "try, wherever possible, to use the exact phrase which has been taught. A slight alteration in structure during the first few years may make the whole sentence unintelligible. If the children have learnt to answer the question "Where are you from?'

	Features	Implied by LEM	EEM	PEM	Macmillan
1 a	Language function is 'subject' in P1-P3	+			) +
b	Textual evidence that this is the case				)
2 a	Language function is 'subject' in P1-P6			+	) +
b	Textual evidence				)
3 a	Language function is 'medium' in P4-P6	+			
b	Textual evidence				
4 a	Language function is 'medium' in P1-P6		+		
b	Textual evidence				
5 a	Preparation for MT is at peak in P3	+			
b	Textual evidence				
6 a	Preparation for MT is at peak in P6			+	
b	Textual evidence				
7 a	Consolidation of medium change is in P1		+		
b	Textual evidence				
8 a	Literacy skills developed 1st in English		+		) +
b	Textual evidence				)
9 a	Literacy skills developed 1st in NL	+		+	
b	Textual evidence				
10 a	English lessons linked with content-subjects in P1-P6	+			
b	Textual evidence				
11 a	English lessons linked with content-subjects in P1-P6		+		
b	Textual evidence				
12 a	Language content selected on immediate communicative needs in P1-P6		+		
b	Textual evidence				
13 a	Ditto in P4-P6	+			
b	Textual evidence				
14 a	Approach to MT is abrupt	+	+	+	) ?
b	Textual evidence				)

Table 4.5: Checklist to assess the extent of the compliance of language IMs with the medium policy which it is their aim to translate for classroom implementation. The extent of the compliance of Macmillan Primary English Course with the EEM policy is shown in this Table.

they will be confused if you say 'Where do you come from?'" (Macmillan, Teachers' Book 1, P. 1) [3]

Table 4.5 contains a summary of the extent to which Macmillan reflects the instructional features of the EEM policy. The Table shows that the course is positively marked for 3 features and that these features represent, between them, the 3 policies of EEM, EEM and PEM. One is therefore forced to conclude that Macmillan is not a faithful exponent of the EEM policy or of any other policy. It is perhaps best to see the course as not having been written with the instructional features of any particular policies in view.

4.2.5 Day by Day Primary English Course

Day-by-Day (for short) has 6 Pupils' Books and 6 accompanying Teachers' Books. By adoption for use, the Course is associated with both PEM and LEM policies. It is the main course used by the Ife University Six-year Primary Education Project, which adopts the PEM policy. But it is also used in some parts of the Western Nigeria States, where LEM is the adopted language policy. There is, however, no textual claim in support of an exclusive association of Day-by-Day with either PEM or LEM. Indeed, the provision for initial literacy in English at the beginning of PE considerably weakens this association.

As the Southern Nigeria version of Longman's Straight for English, Day-by-Day has all the features that have been observed in the former. It is unnecessary, therefore, for me to repeat my comments on these features, which are summarized in Table 4.6 (below).

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[3] This contrasts with the non-structural (i.e. notional/communicative) approach which advocates the use of various ways of expressing the same notions as language learning/teaching strategy. (See, for instance, Wilkins, D. (1972: 90f; 1976, 1978: 1-13), Munby, J. (1978: 116f) Omojuwa, R. (1975), Leech, G. and Svartvik (1975).

	Features	Implied by LEM	EEM	PEM	Day by Day
1 a	Language function is 'subject' in P1-P3	+			) +
b	Textual evidence that this is the case				)
2 a	Language function is 'subject' in P1-P6			+	) +
b	Textual evidence				)
3 a	Language function is 'medium' in P4-P6	+			
b	Textual evidence				
4 a	Language function is 'medium' in P1-P6		+		
b	Textual evidence				
5 a	Preparation for MT is at peak in P3	+			
b	Textual evidence				
6 a	Preparation for MT is at peak in P6			+	
b	Textual evidence				
7 a	Consolidation of medium change is in P1		+		
b	Textual evidence				
8 a	Literacy skills developed 1st in English		+		+
b	Textual evidence				
9 a	Literacy skills developed 1st in NL	+		+	
b	Textual evidence				
10 a	English lessons linked with content-subjects in P4-P6	+			
b	Textual evidence				
11 a	English lessons linked with content-subjects in P1-P6		+		
b	Textual evidence				
12 a	Language content selected on immediate communicative needs in P1-P6		+		
b	Textual evidence				
13 a	Ditto in P4-P6	+			
b	Textual evidence				
14 a	Approach to MT is abrupt	+	+	+	) ?
b	Textual evidence				)

Table 4.6: Checklist to assess the extent of the compliance of language IMs with the medium policy which it is their aim to translate for classroom implementation. The extent of the compliance of Longman Day by Day Primary English Course with the LEM/PEM policies is shown in this Table.

The conclusion on Day-by-Day is that there is hardly any textual evidence to support a link between it and any one of the existing policies. Its adoption by the Ife experimental project (PEM) does not on its own reduce the mismatch between the instructional features of each of the existing policies and those translated for classroom implementation by the Day-by-Day course.

4.3 Mismatch between medium Policies as formulated and Elaborated at the Political and Syllabus Levels and as translated by IMs for Classroom Use

4.3.1 Conclusions

Table 4.7 displays the features traceable in all the five Course-books evaluated for their relationships with the three existing educational language policies. All of the five courses are shown to reflect only three instructional features each. Four of the five courses - SE, NOEC, Macmillan and Day-by-Day - share common features, each of which typifies one or the other of the 3 policies. The fifth course - Evans - shares one feature in common with the other four courses, and the remaining two with none.

The conclusions that can be drawn from the above relationships include the following.

(i) It seems difficult for an English course-book to truly reflect the features characterizing the Early English Medium Policy (EEM) in the Nigerian context. This is because the English use situation (both at home and in peer group interaction within the class/school) is negative and cannot therefore support an effective realization of the instructional features of the EEM policy in lower primary classes. For instance, of the five instructional features traced in all the five

	Features	policy	English Course-Books				
			SE	NOEC	Evans	Mac.	D-by-D
1 a	Language function is 'subject' in P1-P3	L					
b	Textual evidence that this is the case		+	+	+	+	+
2 a	Language function is 'subject' in P1-P6	P					
b	Textual evidence		+	+	+	+	+
3 a	Language function is 'medium' in P4-P6	L					
b	Textual evidence						
4 a	Language function is 'medium' in P1-P6	E					
b	Textual evidence						
5 a	Preparation for MT is at peak in P3	L					
b	Textual evidence						
6 a	Preparation for MT is at peak in P6	P					
b	Textual evidence						
7 a	Consolidation of medium change is in P1	E					
b	Textual evidence						
8 a	Literacy skills developed 1st in English	E					
b	Textual evidence		+	+		+	+
9 a	Literacy skills developed 1st in NL	L/P					
b	Textual evidence				+		
.0 a	English lessons linked with content-subjects in P4-P6	L			+		
b	Textual evidence						
.1 a	English lessons linked with content-subjects in P1-P6	E					
b	Textual evidence						
.2 a	Language content selected on immediate communicative needs in P1-P6	E					
b	Textual evidence						
.3 a	Ditto in P4-P6	L					
b	Textual evidence						
.4 a	Approach to MT is abrupt	ALL	?	?	?	?	?
b	Textual evidence						

Table 4.7: Checklist to assess the extent of the compliance of language IMs with the medium policy which it is their aim to translate for classroom implementation. The extent of the compliance of SE/NOEC/Evans/Macmillan/Day-by-Day with the three policies is shown in this Table.

KEY: L = LEM: E = EEM: P = PEM: L/P = LEM/PEM ALL = All the 3 policies.

Courses evaluated, only one (Feature 8) characterizes the EEM Policy. Not even SE, which by popular adoption and extra-textual claim is regarded as the leading exponent of the EEM policy, has been capable of reflecting more than one of the six instructional features characterizing EEM. The EEM Policy with its abrupt and simultaneous approach to MT has been shown to be totally inappropriate in the Nigerian primary school language situation (Chapter One, above). The mismatch between this policy and IMs which attempt to translate it for classroom implementation is a testimony to this fact.

(ii) The fact that only 3 features developed in some of the courses evaluated typify LEM (Features 1, 9 and 10) out of a total of 7 identified with the LEM policy (Table 4.1) and that there are only 2 PEM features (Features 2 and 9) out of 4 that instructionally characterize the PEM policy would tend to suggest that neither LEM nor PEM is any easier for instructional materials to effectively realize for implementation at the IM Level.

(iii) As can be seen in Table 4.7, virtually all of the course-books evaluated select instructional features characterizing all 3 policies. This is sometimes in spite of claims by publishers/writers that such courses are designed specifically for a particular one among the policies. The sharing by course-books of common features drawn from the different policies would tend to point in the direction of an integrated language policy as potentially easier to implement at the IM Level and, by implication, at the Classroom Level.[4]

(iv) In assessing the relationships and the extent of the mismatch between IMs and existing medium policies, it is important to bear in mind the fact that until quite recently English Course-books had

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[4] This is examined in some detail in Chapter 8 below.

developed independently of local medium policy formulations. State primary syllabuses are known to have pandered to the tastes of some of the existing courses, drawing heavily on the latter's specifications, rather than the other way round.[5] Furthermore, all the features omitted by IMs were also found to have been omitted by English syllabuses (3.2.3 and 3.2.5), whose specifications should ideally underlie IM contents and approaches (e.g. to MT).

4.3.2 Consequence for classroom instruction of the Mismatch Between Policy Formulation and its Implementation at the IM Level

This will be examined in Part 2 of the present study. Suffice it to say at this point that our study has uncovered two standards of English language use by teachers at the Classroom Level. One of these bears the strict influence of course-books, while the other cannot be traced to the influence of either IMs or of Policy formulation above the IM Level[6]. It can be predicted that primary teachers will implement language policy features only if these features are found in the English courses which dictate to them what English to teach and how.

In the Chapters to follow, the investigation of medium policy implementation is conducted at the Teacher Classroom Level in order to assess the extent of the mismatch between policy formulation and policy implementation. It is expected that this will lend further support to the main thesis of this study, namely that the existing policies approach MT inappropriately and that therefore they have not been effectively implemented.

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5 See Omojuwa, R.A. (1978), reproduced as Appendix A2 below.

6 See Omojuwa, R.A. (1979), reproduced as Appendix A3 below.

PART II

Chapter Five: Aims, Design, Procedures and Administration of the Language Use Surveys

5.0 Introduction to Part Two: The investigation so far

5.1 Aim of the language use surveys

5.2 The PEM policy and the language use surveys

5.2.1 The scope of the surveys: Restriction to the Northern States

5.3 Previous research: a review

5.3.1 The Rivers Readers Project

5.3.2 The Itsekiri Language Project

5.3.3 The Primary Education Improvement Project (PEIP)

5.3.4 The Six-Year Primary Project (the Ife Project)

5.3.5 Hawkes, N. (1973)

5.4 Design

5.4.1 Data

5.4.2 The statistical test to be used

5.4.3 Variables and allocation of subjects to conditions

5.4.4 Sample: Number and spread

5.4.5 Sampling procedure

5.4.6 Validation techniques used

5.4.7 Survey questionnaire design

5.4.8 Probing NL/L2 mixed use

5.4.9 Observation (and recording) of lessons

5.0

Introduction to Part Two

The Investigation so far:

In Part One, we stated that the concern of the present study is to assess the relationship between educational language policies at the primary educational level both as they are formulated and as they are implemented. Our concern, we stated further, is also to account for a mismatch, if this is found to be the case, between policy formulation and the implementation of what has been formulated. Our final concern is to suggest an approach to educational language planning, which seems capable of effective implementation.

We started the investigation by examining policy formulation at the Political Level (Chapter 3). It was found that at the Political Level policies distinguish between Late English Medium (LEM) and Early English Medium (EEM) but do not specify approaches to medium transition. Neither is there specified at this Level the means by which policies formulated are to be carried out. Such things as course content and methodology, the system of supervision and control of standards are generally not detailed, probably rightly too, since these are considered as details to be worked out at the lower Levels.

The investigation was then carried one stage down the decision line to the Syllabus or Policy Elaboration Level (Chapter 3). It was found that the distinction between LEM and EEM are emphasised only in terms of the points of Medium Transition (MT) for both policies. In terms of syllabus content and methodology, LEM and EEM are not distinguished at any primary stage. Furthermore, the language used

in specifying syllabus contents for both LEM and EEM programmes is invariably English, even when the content subjects being specified are to be taught in the Nigerian Language.

Policy implementation at the Instructional Material Preparation Level was next probed (Chapter 4). Some IMs claim to be written specifically for either LEM or EEM programmes, but not for both at the same time. Others make it known that they are designed to meet the needs of both LEM and EEM instructional situations. In almost all cases claims and declarations were found not to be supported by the actual contents, structures and approaches specified in these IMs. It was found, for instance, that no matter for which of LEM and EEM course-books are proclaimed to have been designed, their contents, structures and approaches are similar and not easily distinguished, one from another. In other words, differences in official medium policies do not seem to have any distinguishing effects on IM preparation for the instructional programmes associated with each of the distinct LEM, EEM and, to some extent, PEM policies. Postponed English Medium (PEM) is treated separately because it is a policy still under experimentation. Although certain public schools are allowed by their LG Council proprietors to be used for the experiment, none of the 19 Nigeria's State Governments under whose authority primary education comes have shown any interest in the experiment or in its possible universal adoption.[1] However, unlike LEM and EEM, all the three Decision Levels of Formulation, Syllabus/Elaboration,

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[1] The PEM IP experiment being conducted by Ife University Institute of Education contrasts in this respect with the Primary Education Improvement Project being conducted by Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, and with the Rivers Readers Project in the Rivers State (see 5.3 below).

and Instructional Material Preparation tend, on the whole, under PEM to be closely linked. This harmony is attributed to experimental effects.

We have now come to the stage of our study at which what happens at the Teacher-Classroom Implementation Level is to be empirically examined. Unlike the investigation at the higher Decision Levels (Political, Syllabus, and IM Preparation) reported in Part One above, which involved mainly a collection and study of documents, the investigation conducted at the Teacher-Classroom Level involved fairly extensive field surveys as well as participant observed activities.

In the rest of this Chapter the field surveys and participant observed activities are described in terms of aims, design and execution procedures. This is followed in Chapter 6 by the analysis and interpretation of the survey results. In Part Three the results of the investigation at each of the four Decision Levels with which this study is concerned are summarised and further discussed in terms of their overall educational significance (Chapter 7). Chapter 7 then ends with the Study's main conclusions on the nature, extent and causes of MT problems at the primary education level in Nigeria, and hints on suggestions for getting rid of some of the problems. The final Chapter (Chapter 8) takes up the issue of suggestions, proposes a substitute IP, and describes in some detail the features of the proposed IP as well as its implications for the curriculum organisation of primary education in Nigeria.

Survey on Medium Language use by Primary School Teachers

5.1 Aim: The aim of the series of surveys conducted was to find out the effects of each of LEM and EEM policies on the choice and use of language by primary school teachers for content subject instruction.

The theory which the entire study was set out to test and which has been stated in different sections in this study (e.g. Chapter 1) is that a simultaneous and abrupt approach to medium transition cannot be effective where the target language use-situation is one in which the target language into which transition is to be effected is used neither at home nor in the classroom among the pupils themselves in peer group interactions. Both LEM and EEM policies, by their aims and what they attempt in practice, have demonstrated that theirs is a simultaneous and abrupt approach to MT. Since the TL use-situation mentioned earlier, that is, one in which English is used neither at home nor among the pupils in the class, accounts for more than 85% of all TL use-situations in the country, it is claimed that LEM and EEM will not be effective in this use situation. A manifestation of the ineffectiveness of these policies, if the theory holds, is that teachers' use of English for instruction at the points of transition specified by each of these policies will be negligible or even nil. The points of medium transition specified by the EEM and LEM policies in Nigeria are Primary Classes 1 and 4 respectively. This means that in a LEM policy school, we would expect content subjects, such as mathematics, elementary science, physical and health education, social studies, cultural and creative activities, R.K., to be taught in English in Primary Classes 4, 5, and 6; and in Nigerian Language[2] (NL) in Primary Classes 1, 2, and 3. Similarly, in an EEM policy school, we would expect content subjects to be taught in

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[2] "Nigerian Language" (NL) is used in this Study as a proper term (of Yoruba, Hausa, English) to represent all Nigerian languages functioning as pupils' Lls as opposed to English, which functions as L2 (see 2.2.2 above).

English right from Primary Class 1 and then to the end of primary schooling.

The Null Hypothesis was therefore that LEM and EEM policies would induce the use of English for medium functions at the appropriate primary stages specified by each policy as stated above.

1. Research Hypotheses

The following specific hypotheses were tested.

i. That teachers use much less English for medium functions than is specified by both LEM and EEM policies.

ii. That teachers' choice and use of a medium language is determined by the nature of a content subject rather than by the specific official medium policies obtaining in the schools where they work.
(This suggests that the distinctions between LEM and EEM are blurred at the teacher level).

iii. That MT both with EEM and LEM is in practice effected gradually and selectively by teachers. (The official MT approach is simultaneous and abrupt).

5.2 PEM Policy and the Language Use Survey

From the description above of the aim of the survey and statement of the problem, it can be observed that the effects of the PEM Policy on language medium use were not tested. This was deliberate for the following reasons. The surveys, as has been stated, sought to find out the effects of medium policies on actual use of English for medium functions at the appropriate stages and points of MT at the primary education level. The point of transition specified by LEM is Primary 4, and that specified by EEM is Primary 1. PEM, on the

other hand, specifies the end of primary education, or the beginning of post-primary education. A survey with a scope restricted to the PE level, such as the present one, could therefore only cover LEM and EEM, excluding PEM the effects of which on medium use of English by teachers can appropriately be probed at the post-primary level. Extending the language use surveys to the post-primary school level would have stretched the investigation instruments beyond our control. This is not to say that PEM and its effects on medium language use is not of interest to the present study. On the contrary, its organisation at the three highest Decision levels (formulation, elaboration, IM Preparation) has been studied and compared with LEM and EEM (Chapters 3-4). However, what is being measured at the teacher level in the case of LEM and EEM cannot be so measured in the case of PEM except at the post-primary level. Even at this level, the problem of effective measurement is intractable for two main reasons. First, admission for post-primary education is not automatic but selective - by merit. This means not every one at the end of primary education will gain admission for post-PE. So far, not more than a handful of the PEM primary products seem likely, because of lack of facilities, to be offered admission to secondary schools. Those that are accepted are centrally selected, like non-PEM candidates, and sent to different schools where they form minorities in their new classes. In this case, the English language use-situation becomes totally different from that that obtains at the primary level, where English is used neither at home nor in the class in peer group interactions, a situation for which simultaneous and abrupt MT is considered inappropriate. At the secondary school, there is generally an English use-situation favourable to an effective use of English for full medium functions, hence teachers exploit English for this purpose as specified by government

policy. This fact makes unnecessary the need to extend a medium use survey to the secondary school.

Secondly, at the time of the surveys, the experimental PEM primary school had turned out only one set of 40 pupils, out of which number only 15 gained admissions to secondary schools. One set is clearly not enough upon which to base a generalization that might be necessary in a survey of this kind.

Because of the above reasons it was decided that the survey should be designed to measure the effects of only the LEM and EEM policies on primary teachers' language choice and use.

5.2.1 The Scope of the Survey: Restriction to the Northern States

We had to draw our sample from only the Northern States because Primary Education Improvement Project (PEIP), one of the variables the effects of which on teachers' language choice and use were to be assessed, existed only in the northern states. PEIP teachers were to be compared with their non-PEIP (or UPE) counterparts for these effects.

Information derived from such comparison would have been lost if the PEIP variable had been sacrificed for a more global coverage. Hence, in the words of Steve Miller (1975: 117), "We purchase practical convenience and increased precision at the expense of random sampling from the broad population of interest:"[3] It could be hazarded, as a general statement, that in terms of the subject of our investigation, while what is valid for the instructional situation of the Northern States can be generalised for the Southern State, the reverse is often

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[3] Clark, Ruth (1977: 133) makes a similar statement.

not the case .

5.3 Previous Research: a Review

A few Projects connected with the use of media of Instruction at the PE level in West Africa have been reported. Some of these are considered of interest to the present study, and will now be reviewed. They include projects undertaken in Nigeria and one academic research programme on the Ghana PE media of instruction.

Of the four Nigerian projects reported, two - the Rivers Readers Project (Williamson, K. . 1976, 1977) and the Itsekiri Language Project (Amamar, A.B. 1977) - are not research-based and do not embody any systematic and objective evaluation. The other two - The Primary Education Improvement Project and the Six-year Primary Project conducted by Ahmadu Bello and Ife Universities respectively - are major applied research Projects involving longitudinal operations. The essential differences in design and treatment between longitudinal applied projects and academic research are high-lighted by these two projects, on the one hand, and Hawkes' PhD research on primary education media of Instruction in Ghanaian Schools (see below), on the other.

5.3.1 The Rivers Readers' Project (Williamson, K. 1976: 135-153; 1977).

This was a government-sponsored project run by Ibadan University Department of Linguistics under the direction of Kay Williamson. Begun in 1970, the aim was to encourage and develop mass literacy in NL at the lower stages of PE. Before the project began, initial literacy was developed in only English in the fashion of EEM policy,

the policy officially adopted in the Rivers State of Nigeria, where the Readers Project was run. The means by which the project intended to achieve its ends was to

(a) create new, or standardize existing, orthographies in all the various Ijaw dialects and languages;

(b) produce primers and instructional materials in all such dialects and languages, and

(c) effect the use of the materials so developed in primary schools in the Rivers state.

Stage C involved the training of teachers in short courses on the use of the materials and generally on mother tongue instruction methodology. It also involved mass production and distribution to schools of materials produced.

The theory which led to, or was associated with, the project is that children's later reading in English is facilitated if their initial literacy experience is acquired through the mother-tongue.

However, there is no evidence that the Readers Project was to be used to test this theory. If the project tested anything, it was the theory that initial literacy in the mother tongue is impracticable with minority language and dialect communities such as are found in the Rivers, Bendel and Plateau states of Nigeria. The Project rejected this theory. As to the effects of the Project on teachers' use of English and NL for content-subject instruction, there is hardly any information about this in the report (Williamson, 1976; 1977). The Rivers Readers Project by its design is what can be described as a natural experiment (Clark, R. 1977: 112-3; Robson, C. 1973: 16-17; Oppenheim, 1966: 7) because of the freedom of virtually all the variables to vary. Questions relevant to the present study were neither asked nor answered. For instance, what were the effects of

the introduction of mother-tongue initial literacy project on the medium use of English and NL by

(a) primary teachers and

(b) pupils

in both oral and literacy modes?

This would seem to be a subject for full scale inquiry when the project is ripe for it. It seems too early now to obtain satisfactory answers to the above questions. If anything, the project has yet to achieve its aim, as admitted by Williamson (1977: 6), which is "to have every child learning to read first in his or her own language". What, however, is important from the point of view of our present study is that the Rivers Readers Project has not been systematically evaluated for its effects on medium language use by both teachers and pupils.

5.3.2 The Itsekiri Language Project (Omamar, A.P., 1977) aimed at "a comprehensive study of the language that will make it possible for the language to be taught and eventually used as the medium of Instruction" (P3). It was commissioned by the Itsekiri Communual Trust in 1974 and took off later that year (P.5) under the professional leadership of the University of Ibadan Department of Linguistics and Nigerian Languages. But up till 1977 when the project was reported, the literacy materials produced did not seem to have found their way to schools as intended, let alone having been tested for their effects on teaching and learning. Unlike the Rivers Readers Project which received the state government's financial and other support, the Itsekiri Language Project received no support of any kind from the Bendel state government. Omamar attributes the project's seeming ineffectiveness to lack of government support (P. 18). There is thus very little in

the Itsekiri Language Project, both by its design and in terms of its effects on the medium use of language, of interest to the present study. For one thing, it has not been evaluated for these effects.

5.3.3 The Primary Education Improvement Project (PEIP)

The PEIP, as it is widely known, was launched in 1971 in 66 primary schools spread throughout the ten (then six) Northern States of Nigeria. It was a joint venture between Ahmadu Bello University Institute of Education, the ten Northern State governments, UNICEF and UNESCO. Its aim was to improve PE by developing new curricula suited to the Nigerian environment, by producing and distributing to schools IMs based on the new curricula, and by training teachers on how to use the IMs.

Since each of the schools selected for the experiment had at least two classes of Year 1 that year, the non-experimental classes were designated control classes. However, it was found difficult to maintain an experimental distance between the two classes. The control classes were thoroughly contaminated by the experimental treatment. It was later agreed by the co-sponsors that since the aim was ultimately to spread the 'gospel' to all schools in the Northern States, the experiment should not be unduly restrictive and over-controlled, and that the methods and the materials should be made available to both practising teachers and teachers' colleges. In 1974, without any objective evaluation having been conducted, the PEIP was proliferated from the original 66 schools to 500 schools. All the co-sponsors (the state governments in particular) judged the experiment subjectively to have been successful and that therefore its methods, IMs, logistics and strategies could be replicated. By September 1976, PEIP schools had increased to 800 (Kolawole, et al, 1978: 42).

Instructional Strategy: The PEIP adopted both LEM and EEM policies and developed new curricula and IMs along these lines (Omojuwa, 1977; 1978). Its strategy was to continue with the medium policy in force in each of the States in which it operated.

Evaluation: The PEIP has been widely reported (Hawes and Aarons: 1976; Omojuwa, R.A. 1976, 1977, 1978; Macaulay J. 1976; Lassa, 1977; Kolawole, et al, 1978). However, in terms of its systematic evaluation, Lassa's work provides a more useful source than the rest. Even here evaluation was carried out in two stages, and the first one on which a report is available and which is now being reviewed, is an attitude evaluation using descriptive statistics only. Lassa evaluated various aspects of the Language programme from the point of view of three categories of participants in the project: Mobile Teacher Trainers (MTTs), classroom teachers and state or local education administrators. The language aspects evaluated include

(a) MTT training in English (P. 9);

(b) Feedback from Pilot MTTs in English (P. 23);

(c) Inservice training by MTTs on English (P. 35);

(d) Course materials in English (Pp. 47-8);

(e) Teachers' feedback on English (P. 77);

(f) Inservice training for PEIP Teachers on English (P. 87);

(g) Teachers' opinions on the Course materials in English (P. 98);

(h) Acceptance by teachers of PEIP materials in English (P. 126-127);

(i) Officers' rating of MTT Training in English (P. 147);

(j) Officers' opinions on Training received by PEIP teachers in English (P. 158);

(k) Their rating of course materials in English (Pp 168-8); and

(l) Their acceptance of the English materials (P. 187).

On acceptance of PEIP IMs, Lassa reports that "94 (91.26%) teachers found the *PEIP* materials to be effective while 6 (5.82%) teachers found them to be ineffective" (P. 125). This is the descriptive tone of the entire report. Typical of most descriptive surveys, though not necessarily of descriptive statistics of a controlled experiment[4], lassa's survey report presents only raw scores on attitude measurement. There are no attempts to interpret these raw scores. Even in its descriptive form, Lassa's evaluation of PEIP is of little relevance to the present study. His survey did not make any attempt, since it was not its aim to do so, to assess the effects of PEIP on teachers' use of language medium and on pupils' attainment. We have to await the result of the promised Stage Two of the evaluation for these. At its present proliferation stage, PEIP seems to have defied experimental control. In fairness, it can hardly be expected that a project of the size of PEIP should be able to subject all crucial variables to experimental control and scientific evaluation. In this connection, one would agree with Miller (1975: 118) when he says:

> "an experimental effect should be robust enough to emerge over and above the random effects that operate in real life. If an experiment is very rigorously controlled, we simply cannot know how robust the findings are. This is a matter of some importance when the research is meant to inform practical decision-making."

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[4] For distinctions between descriptive and analytical survey design, see Oppenheim (1966: 7-8), and between descriptive and inferential statistics, see Miller, S. (1975: 30) and Robson, C. (1973: 40).

In a sense, the present survey is an evaluation of an aspect of PEIP relating to language medium choice and use by its teachers. PEIP and UPE are to be compared in this aspect (see 6.2.6 and 6.3 below).

5.3.4 The Six-Year Primary Project (otherwise known as the Ife Project)

Like the PEIP, the Ife project has been widely reported (Fafunwa, A.B., 1973; Macaulay, J.I. 1973; 1976; Ologunde A. 1973; Afolayan, A. 1973, 1976; Ife University Report No. 1, 1972, and Report No. 2, 1974). But unlike the PEIP, it has been systematically evaluated by independent professional evaluators[5] (Report No. 2, 1974).

Initially, the project was interested in just one variable, that is, the medium of instruction. It aimed at "comparing the attainment of children who were instructed in Yoruba throughout their primary school with that of children who were instructed in Yoruba in the first three years with a switch to English in the last three years of primary school" (Evaluators' Report, 1974).

The Evaluators' second Report (1974) states that two new variables were later introduced into the Project. These were

(a) the curriculum, and

(b) curriculum Vs medium of instruction interaction (P. 98).

Two experiments seemed then necessary, as follows

> "Experiment 1. Based on the new curriculum, compare children instructed in the mother-tongue throughout with those instructed in a combination of mother-tongue and English as traditionally done (a test of effectiveness of medium of instruction)."

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5 The Evaluators' Report forms a section in the 1974 Report No. 2.

> "Experiment 2. Compare the achievement of children on the new curriculum with those on the old curriculum using the same medium of instruction (a test of effectiveness of curriculum)" (P. 99).

The report says the second experiment was "planned for a later date when the experimental children have finished primary school" (P. 99). It was therefore the first experiment that was conducted between 1970 and 1976 and into which an additional new variable - the use of specialist teachers for the experimental class - was introduced. The first experiment thus contained two sub-experiments, namely,

> Experiment 1(a) - which related to the subjects other than English and Yoruba and had the medium of instruction as the variable.
>
> Experiment 1(b) - which related to the teaching of English and had as its variable " a combination of curriculum materials and teacher allocation" (P. 100).

When in 1973 the experiment was to be extended to ten other schools, the use of specialist English teachers was criticized as impracticable. Accordingly the project organisers decided to make ordinary class teachers teach English, as in the traditional schools. This introduced a new variable that needed to be controlled, and therefore a third sub-experiment, namely

> Experiment 1(c) - which related to the teaching of English but which had "the English curriculum as its only variable; teacher allocation being the same for experimental and control classes and conforming to the existing practice of non-specialist teacher of English" (P. 101).

The following three hypotheses, according to the Evaluation Report, were tested.

1. Children in experimental classes will be no worse in academic achievement than those in control classes.

2. Knowledge and performance in English language of experimental children will be no worse than those of control children.

3. Children in experimental classes will be better adjusted, more relaxed, more enterprising and more resourceful than children in control classes" (P. 102).

To test hypothesis 1 achievement tests in each of mathematics, science, social and cultural studies and Yoruba were administered in Primary classes 3, 4, 5 and 6. The tests for experimental and control classes were the same in content but were given in Yoruba for experimental classes and in English for control classes. Testing was started at the end of class 3 because MT to English in control classes began in Year 4 (P. 104).

To test hypothesis 2, the report goes on, achievement tests in English Language were administered in primary classes 3, 4, 5 and 6. And to test hypothesis 3 "indices of attitude change in children, changes in intellectual development and self concept" were "planned for collection " (P. 105).

The results of the series of evaluation tests administered on the pupils reveal the following. Performances in English of both the experimental class taught by a specialist English teacher and the control group using non-specialist teachers were non-significant statistically at the end of the third year in school, that is, just before the control class had MT to English (P. 111).

The test of the medium of instruction hypothesis rates the performances of the experimental classes in content subjects "consistently better" than those of the control group, that is, in Primary class four after MT has been simultaneously and abruptly effected on the latter group.

With regard to the results of the test, especially those testing the medium of instruction hypothesis, the following observations can be made.

It seems obvious that the experimental group using NL medium for content subject instruction could do better than the control group using English in the first year of MT. However, the latter's inferior performance may be attributed to the wrong approach to MT, rather than to the use of English as opposed to NL. This fact continues to elude experimenters (who design studies to test clearly obvious hypotheses). To test the effects of MT approaches on pupils' attainment one would need two groups, one treated to the simultaneous and abrupt approach as it is at present, and the other to a selective and gradual approach. It would be interesting to compare the experimental class after they have experienced simultaneous and abrupt MT at the end of PE with another group taken through an integrated programme such as the one proposed in this study.

On the whole, the Ife project and its systematic evaluation design distinguish, isolate and control certain variables that our present study also distinguishes, isolates, and controls, such as language medium policies and subject functions of English. But there are two major differences between them. The first relates to the educational policy decision level of interest. While the Ife project investigates policy effectiveness from the point of view of pupils' attainment, our study probes attainment from the point of view of the teachers' actual use of Language for oral instruction. Secondly, the Ife project compares the two policies - PEM and LEM, while the present study, at the teacher level, compares LEM and EEM and includes PEM only at the Higher Decision Levels. Apart from these the longitudinal nature of the Ife Project exposes it to such modifications

and extensions of aims and design that an academic research such as the present one may not experience because of its shorter duration. But of all the educational projects conducted in Nigeria, the one under review seems to be the only one that can come near passing the test of scientific planning and evaluation.

5.3.5 Hawkes, N. (1973); The Written English of Ghanaian Primary School Pupils in relation to their exposure to English as medium of instruction, D. Phil, thesis University of York, 1973. The author also summarised aspects of this work in two articles (Hawkes 1975 and 1976). The principal research hypothesis tested by Nicholas Hawkes was whether "young children exposed to English-medium school from their first, or second school year in fact reach a higher level of attainment in English by the end of the primary course than those who have learnt it only as a subject, in the circumstances obtaining, textbooks and the English-as-a-subject course being the same for both groups". (Hawkes 1976: 58, also 1973, P. 110). In the experimental design matched sub-groups of pupils were "defined by general ability and by their rating on an index of the favourability of home background to the learning of English" (1976: 60). These factors were held constant and findings on the medium-language were broken down according to them. Hawkes used the occupational categories specified by Foster (1965) to "classify the father (and 4 widowed earning mothers) of the sample" (Hawkes 1975).

Hawkes needed two types of schools for his experiment. The first type included those schools in which the medium policy adopted was English from the beginning to the end of PE. He characterized this type as English medium Early (EME) schools. The second type was

"seems all but non-significant". Hawkes in his study (1973; 1976: 60) draws a distinction between results being statistically significant and being educationally significant.

In relation to home background, Hawkes' study showed that "English-medium schooling has a compensatory effect on English attainment" (1976: 63). "The children with home backgrounds least favourable to the learning of English benefit most from attending EME-type schools when compared to their counterparts in EML-type schools" (1975: 140). To Hawkes the "figures seem to mean that the major social argument for English-medium teaching in primary schools is not the elitist one but, on the contrary, compensatory. Children who have fewer home advantages have more to make up in school" (1975: 14).

Although Hawkes' experimental design was to assess "the effects of greater aural/oral practice in English on attainment as measured through the skill of reading" (1973: 1976; 63), his study is of great relevance to the present one in terms of its medium policy distinctions, i.e. EME and EML, which were his independent variables. These are the same as those held by the present study as the independent variables. However, like between the present study and the Ife experiment (5.3.4 above), the major difference between Hawkes' study and the present study relates to the dependent variables. Both the Ife project and Hawkes' study tested the effects of medium policies (LEM and PEM in Ife project; EME or EEM and EML or LEM in Hawkes' study) on pupils' attainments. The present study, on the other hand, was designed to test the effects of LEM and EEM policies on teachers' use of English and NL for content-subject instruction.

The thinking underlying the present study is that if, as revealed by Hawkes' experiment, the LEM/EML and EEM/EME policies have little

or no discriminating effects on pupils' attainments (although terminally non-discriminating effects are educationally desirable), it is important to be able to identify at what point in the primary educational process the distinctions between these two language policies become blurred and to what factors this is attributable. As has been said (5.1), the present study tested the prediction that the effects of the EEM and LEM policies (given the Nigerian English use situation) on primary teachers' use of medium language for content subject instruction would reveal none of the distinctions characterizing the two policies. If this was proved, teachers would seem to have been shown as one of the factors responsible for the non-significance of the differences between LEM/EML and EEM/EME from the point of view of pupils' attainment. The fact that Hawkes had some difficulties at first finding a school which in practice was purely EML or EME (1976: 61) suggests that the extent of the mismatch between ELP formulation and its implementation was due for assessment.

5.4 Design

5.4.1 Data

To be able to test the research hypotheses in 5.1.1 the following sets of data were to be collected.

(a) Hypothesis No. 1; Since the EEM policy specifies that English is the medium language from Primary class one, a sample of teachers in EEM primary classes 1-3 was to be selected. This represented the first 3 years of the use of English after MT has been effected under the EEM policy. The sample's responses relating specifically to teachers' use of English for medium functions were to be analysed. Similarly, since LEM specifies Primary class four as the stage at which

English medium instruction should begin, a sample of teachers in LEM primary classes 4 and 5 was also to be selected as survey respondents. The sample represented the first 2 years of the use of English after MT has been effected by the LEM policy.

(b) Hypothesis No. 2; Two sets of samples of LEM and EEM teachers respectively in each of Primary Classes 1 to 6 were to be selected as survey respondents and their responses were to be compared as follows:

	EEM	VS	LEM
(i)	P. Class 1	VS	P. class 1
	2	VS	2
	3	VS	3
	4	VS	4
	5-6	VS	5-6
(ii)	classes 1-3	VS	1-3
	4-6	VS	4-6

(c) Hypothesis No. 3; The data required were as for hypothesis No. 2. But responses by each of LEM and EEM groups of samples were to be analysed

(a) by content subject,

(b) by medium language, and

(c) by class from P1 to P6

in order to find out the pattern of MT for each content subject. The figures for LEM and EEM were then to be compared and the results plotted on polygons, the type that is shown in Table 5.1 (below).

100%

90						
80						
70						
60						
50						
40						
30						
20						
10						
0						
Class	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	P6

		Scores	%
P1	LEM EEM		
P2	LEM EEM		
P3	LEM EEM		
P4	LEM EEM		
P5	LEM EEM		
P6	LEM EEM		

Key: LEM
EEM
LEM/EEM Mean

Table 5.1 Frame for expressing rising or falling language use rates by class and by policy.

5.4.2 The Statistical Test to be used

As described in 5.1.2 above, all the data required to test the research hypotheses were nominal and obtained from independent subjects. As such, an appropriate statistical test was the chi squared. All responses obtained were to be converted into, and analysed as, independent response frequencies in (contingency) tables.

5.4.3 Variables and subject allocation to conditions

To avoid the survey results being obscured and biased the following steps were taken.

Controlled Variables

(i) Primary Education Improvement Project (PEIP)

This project was reviewed in 5.3.3 above.

As an experimental project the PEIP was regarded as a model in terms of method of classroom teaching, instructional materials production, distribution and use, teacher training programmes in short refresher courses, and adherence to language medium policies and efficient use by the project teachers of medium languages. PEIP teachers were thus considered to be superior to their non-PEIP[6] counterparts in terms of quality and amount of exposure to modern instructional technology associated with the PEIP. Since the effects of our experimental (independent) variable on the use of medium languages would be distorted by the PEIP if left uncontrolled, it was decided to treat the PEIP as a controlled variable. Two gains were to be made in this way. First, the language survey results would be free from the distortion which would have set in had PEIP not been controlled. Secondly, this afforded the PEIP a chance of being evaluated. Since the PEIP adopted both LEM and EEM policies depending on which was the official policy of the state, the sampling pattern was adjusted to reflect the expanded scope which now looked like the spread in Table 5.2 (below).

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[6] Non-PEIP classes are referred to in this Study as UPE classes. 'UPE' is short for universal primary education, a programme which began in 1976 and under which primary education is made free and available to all children of primary school age.

Primary Classes	LEM		EEM	
	PEIP	UPE	PEIP	UPE
One				
Two				
Three				
Four				
Five				
Six				
Total				

Table 5.2: Cells to be represented by the survey sampling.

(ii) Urban-Versus rural conditions

There are two factors that distinguish urban from rural primary schools, both of which serve to make an urban school a-typical of ordinary schools in Nigeria. The first is the language factor. The pupils may have different Lls, none of which is the community language spoken in common by the majority of them and shared by the teacher. Under such a condition, EEM becomes nature's own choice. A school or class having this language feature is sometimes found in cities such as Sabon-Gari, Kano, and in urban towns such as Jos, Kaduna, and Sabon-Gari-Zaria. However, in parts of such cities and towns inhabited by the indigenous people, there is homogeneity, which rules out the feature earlier described. Local Authorities try the best they can to rule out a spontaneous EEM practice by ensuring that

teachers in the lower primary classes speak the same language as the majority of the pupils in the class.

Schools experiencing the spontaneous EEM practice were excluded from our samples since their inclusion would have distorted the survey results. Also excluded were schools officially labelled as "special schools" (see p.35 on this category of schools).

Schools so classified are those which have received government approval to adopt a language policy (e.g. EEM) different from the official one for the state or for that locality. Thoseexcluded on this ground included special fee-paying schools, such as capital schools, Army children schools, University staff schools.

The second factor associated with Urban schools is the socio-economic index. As there are more elitist concentrations in urban towns than in rural areas, the socio-economic background of pupils in urban schools tends to show in the choice and use of a medium language in these urban schools. A large percentage of pupils in the urban non-indigenous sections use English in the home. In such schools, MT can easily be effected simultaneously and abruptly (see section 8.2.4 of this study on the conditions constraining the choice of an MT approach). Since how to approach medium transition is one of the three hypotheses of the present survey (5.1.1 above), the socio-economic index variable was controlled largely by exclusion. Schools in the non-indigenous sections of urban towns (Zaria, Kaduna, Sokoto, Ilorin) were not sampled. In all, over 80% of our samples were drawn from rural areas, and the rest from the indigenous population settlement areas of urban towns.

(iii) Teachers' Educational Background, Professional Training and Experience

To what extent would the above variables bias the effects of policies

(independent variables) on language use (dependent variable)?. The expansion of PE by the introduction of Universal free primary education (UPE) throughout the country in September 1976 without adequate planning for teacher supply has led to greatly increased demand for teachers. Since no provision had earlier been made for the training of teachers to cope with the UPE demands, large numbers of secondary school products and drop-outs and in some cases primary school leavers had to be recruited as primary school teachers after brief induction courses (see Appendix C below for educ. qualifications).

Do differences in teachers' educational backgrounds, levels (or absence) of professional training and their job experience affect their choice and use of media of instruction? As what we posited in section 1.6 and in Tables 1.3 and 1.4 above tend to shift the onus of choice of MT approaches on English use situation which is determined largely by the circumstances of learners, a non-empirical answer to the question would suggest that these variables are non-criterial. However, an answer backed and validated by empirical data was required. Information on these variables was therefore to be elicited from the survey subjects, cross tabulated and coded for any patterned relationships between these variables and the dependent variable.

The other variables of age and sex in teachers' personal data were to be elicited and similarly treated for their effects on the dependent variable.

5.4.4. Sample: Number and Spread

The main survey was conducted in 1977 and repeated in 1978 with different sets of respondents. Tables 5.3, 5.4 and 5.5 give the spread and the population from which both 1977 and 1978 samples were drawn. Table 5.6 indicates allocation of subjects to conditions and variables.

The 1977 Sample

ATES		PRIMARY CLASSES												TOTAL		
		1		2		3		4		5		6				
		PEIP	UPE	PEIP	UPE	PEIP	UPE	PEIP	UPE	PEIP	UPE	PEIP	UPE	PEIP	UPE	
CHI	EEM															
	LEM															
UE	EEM	7	9	7	9	6	7	4	-	6	-	7		37	25	62
	LEM															
NO	EEM															
	LEM	29	-	22	-	20	-	1	-	1	-	1	-	74	-	74
UNA	EEM	8	10	3	7	3	8	4	6	-	-	-	-	18	31	49
	LEM	28	5	19	3	25	5	11	11	5	9	-	1	88	34	122
RA	EEM	9	14	9	11	5	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	23	32	55
	LEM															

S		PRIMARY CLASSES												TOTAL		
		1		2		3		4		5		6				
		PEIP	UPE	PEIP	UPE	PEIP	UPE	PEIP	UPE	PEIP	UPE	PEIP	UPE	PEIP	UPE	
R	EEM															
	LEM	2	6	2	7	3	7	3	7	3	5	3	6	16	38	54
EAU	EEM	15	8	9	5	7	3	6	1	-	-	-	6	37	17	54
	LEM															
TO	EEM															
	LEM	45	1	34	-	26	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	105	1	106
LS		143	53	105	42	95	37	29	25	15	14	11	7	398	178	576
		196		147		132		54		29		18				
	EEM	39	41	28	32	21	25	14	7	6	0	7	0	576		
	LEM	104	12	77	10	74	12	15	18	9	14	4	7			
	EEM	80		60		46		21		6		7		220		
	LEM	116		87		86		33		23		11		356		

Table 5.3 The 1977 Sample: Spread

The 1978 Sample

STATES		PRIMARY CLASSES 1 PEIP	1 UPE	2 PEIP	2 UPE	3 PEIP	3 UPE	4 PEIP	4 UPE	5 PEIP	5 UPE	6 PEIP	6 UPE	TOTAL PEIP	TOTAL UPE	
1. BAUCHI	EEM	-	-	-	-	3		7	1	3	-	-	-	13	1	14
	LEM	-	-	-	-	4	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	1	5
2. BENUE	EEM	3	2	3	2	2	6	4	6	4	2	4	3	20	21	41
	LEM	0	4	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	8
3. BORNO	EEM	2	1	0	0	4	0	2	1	2	0	2	0	12	2	14
	LEM	2	7	4	5	7	7	3	6	1	2	0	1	17	28	45
4. KADUNA	EEM	11	6	10	6	5	4	5	1	-	-	-	-	31	17	48
	LEM	27	8	19	8	6	4	7	5	-	-	-	-	59	25	84
5. KWARA	EEM	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	1	-	-	-	-	6	6	12
	LEM	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	3

STATES		PRIMARY CLASSES 1 PEIP	1 UPE	2 PEIP	2 UPE	3 PEIP	3 UPE	4 PEIP	4 UPE	5 PEIP	5 UPE	6 PEIP	6 UPE	TOTAL PEIP	TOTAL UPE	
1. NIGER	EEM	-	1	-	-	1	2	3	-	2	-	-	-	6	3	9
	LEM	1	-	1	4	2	2	5	3	1	1	-	-	10	10	20
7. PLATEAU	EEM	3	4	3	2	16	5	9	4	1	4	2	2	34	21	55
	LEM	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
1. SOKOTO	EEM	0	0	0	0	1	2	2	0	1	0	0	0	4	2	6
	LEM	3	3	5	1	5	5	4	8	2	1	0	0	19	18	37
TOTALS		55	38	47	34	58	40	53	36	17	10	8	6	238	164	402
		93		81		98		89		27		14		402		402
	EEM	20	15	17	12	34	21	34	14	13	6	8	5	199		
	LEM	35	23	30	22	24	19	19	22	4	4	0	1	203		
	EEM	35		29		55		48		19		13		199		
	LEM	58		52		43		41		8		1		203		

Table 5.4 The 1978 Sample: Spread

The 1977 and 1978 Combined Samples

STATES		PRIMARY CLASSES												TOTAL		
		1		2		3		4		5		6				
		PEIP	UPE	PEIP	UPE	PEIP	UPE	PEIP	UPE	PEIP	UPE	PEIP	UPE	PEIP	UPE	
1. BAUCHI	EEM	0	0	0	0	3	0	7	1	3	0	0	0	13	1	14
	LEM	0	0	0	0	4	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	1	5
2. BENUE	EEM	10	11	10	11	8	13	8	6	10	2	11	3	57	46	103
	LEM	0	4	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	8
3. BORNO	EEM	2	1	0	0	4	0	2	1	2	0	2	0	12	2	14
	LEM	31	7	26	5	27	7	4	6	2	2	1	1	91	28	119
4. KADUNA	EEM	19	16	13	13	8	12	9	7	0	0	0	0	49	48	97
	LEM	55	13	38	11	31	9	18	16	5	9	0	1	147	59	206
5. KWARA	EEM	10	15	10	13	7	9	2	1	0	0	0	0	29	38	67
	LEM	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	3

STATES		PRIMARY CLASSES												TOTAL		
		1		2		3		4		5		6				
		PEIP	UPE	PEIP	UPE	PEIP	UPE	PEIP	UPE	PEIP	UPE	PEIP	UPE	PEIP	UPE	
6. NIGER	EEM	0	1	0	0	1	2	3	0	2	0	0	0	6	3	9
	LEM	3	6	3	11	5	9	8	10	4	6	3	6	26	48	74
7. PLATEAU	EEM	18	12	12	7	23	8	15	5	1	4	2	2	71	38	109
	LEM	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
8. SOKOTO	EEM	0	0	0	0	1	2	2	0	1	0	0	0	4	2	6
	LEM	48	4	39	1	31	5	4	8	2	1	0	0	124	19	143
TOTALS		59	55	45	44	55	46	49	21	19	6	15	5	242	177	419
		139	35	107	32	98	31	34	40	13	18	4	8	395	164	559
	Total	198	90	152	76	153	77	83	61	32	24	19	13	638	341	978
	EEM	114		89		101		70		25		20		419		978
	LEM	174		139		129		74		31		12		559		
GRAND TOTAL	EEM	288		228		230		144		56		32		978		
	LEM															

Table 5.5: The 1977 and 1978 combined sample.

Primary - Classes	Educational Language Policy						Total
	E E M			L E M			
	PEIP	UPE	Total	PEIP	UPE	Total	
1	59	55	(114)	139	35	(174)	288
2	45	44	(89)	107	32	(139)	228
3	55	46	(101)	98	31	(129)	230
4	49	21	(70)	34	40	(74)	144
5	19	6	(25)	13	18	(31)	56
6	15	5	(20)	4	8	(12)	32
TOTAL	242	177	(419)	395	164	(559)	978

Table 5.6 showing Number of Subjects (1977-78 samples)

and their allocation to conditions/variables.

The numbers shown in the tables were net figures. The rate of retrievals was rather low with the 1977 sample. Out of 850 questionnaires distributed only 576, or 67.76% were retrieved. None were retrieved from three states, Gongola, Bauchi, and Kano; Gongola and Bauchi because of communication problems, and Kano as a result of the looting of the office of the researcher's Kano agent, where retrieved questionnaires were temporarily stored. However, with the 1978 sample, retrieval rate was slightly higher, 402 questionnaires or 73.09% were retrieved out of 550 distributed. Returns came from eight out of the ten states sampled. By coincidence no returns came from Kano and Gongola states, these accounting for 20% out of the 26.01% recorded loss of response.

As the conditions to which subjects were allocated were found in most of the ten Northern States, the average of 30% loss of response in 1977 and 1978 surveys did not introduce a serious bias as feared by Oppenheim (1966: 34). The responses that came in were still fairly representative of the overall population from which they were drawn.

Having said this, it must be admitted that conducting a field survey in some parts of the country remains a task that is difficult to accomplish. Mail questionnaire retrieval rate is less than 10% (Institute of Education ABU Zaria survey, 1974). Both the 1977 and 1978 surveys were conducted through agents known as MTTs (see below).

5.4.5 Sampling Procedure: Sampling and administration of survey questionnaires was done through educational agents known as mobile teacher trainers (MTT). This body was created specifically for the operation of the Primary Education Improvement Project (5.4.3 above). They provide a valuable link between instructional material writers (Institute of Education, ABU, Zaria) and users of these materials

(classroom teachers). Each of the ten Northern States is divided into MTT centres for PEIP operations and each centre contains a number of MTTs who liaise very closely with the PEIP teachers in their centres, assisting teachers with teaching, demonstrating the use of new materials and methods, collecting feedback on IMs and other relevant issues to both the Institute of Education and appropriate local education authorities, among other things. In addition to PEIP schools, MTT also liaise with non-PEIP schools (referred to in this study as UPE schools) in their centres. They are thus very familiar with all schools and most of the teachers in their centres. MTTs, unlike school Inspectors, are very free with teachers who see them as professional colleagues. Teachers discuss educational matters with them and freely comment on or criticise anything pertaining to classroom teaching/learning to a level they cannot attain with school inspectors, who are seen as government agents and bullies. Administered by school Inspectors, a questionnaire eliciting information about government policies may not be reliable, since teachers are likely to say things that support such policies in order to please Inspectors. With MTTs things are different. Past surveys conducted on PEIP operations show that teachers comment freely, frankly and critically on matters touching on classroom instruction and a wide variety of professional matters when the interviewers are MTTs.

It was with the above background that the decision was taken to use MTTs to administer the survey questionnaires. They were to administer the questionnaires at random to teachers in each of the following categories, whichever existed in their centres:

(a) PEIP classes,

(b) UPE classes in non-PEIP schools.

Where both EEM and LEM policy schools existed in a centre, (a) and (b) teachers were to be sampled from each. MTTs were instructed that sampling was to be heaviest at each point of MT. This means that the largest number should be drawn from

(a) P4, in the case of the LEM sample, and

(b) P1, in the case of the EEM sample.

The numbers were to be reduced progressively the farther away from these two points of MT. The lowest number in both LEM and EEM samples were to be drawn from P6, between 5 and 10% of the total for LEM, and between 3 and 5% of the total for EEM. On the whole, sampling distribution was to be roughly in the following proportion.

Primary Class	LEM (% of total)	EEM (% of total)
1	11-15	26-30
2	16-20	21-25
3	26-30	16-20
4	26-30	11-15
5	16-20	6-10
6	6-10	3-5

It should be stressed that the proportions stated above were a rough guide only. MTTs were merely to ensure that there were two sets of sample cluster; one in P2-P4 (LEM) and the other in P1-P3 (EEM). A comparison of the projected sample distribution (Fig. 5.1 below) with the net figures, that is, the responses actually retrieved (Table 5.6A, also represented in Fig 5.2 below) shows that the projected distribution was achieved with regard to the EEM sample, but was not in the case of the LEM sample. This is attributed largely to the non-retrieval of the completed questionnaires from Kano and Gongola

states (see 5.4.4 above) in both of which LEM is the adopted policy. The non-retrieved responses were drawn mainly from LEM P3, P4 and P5.

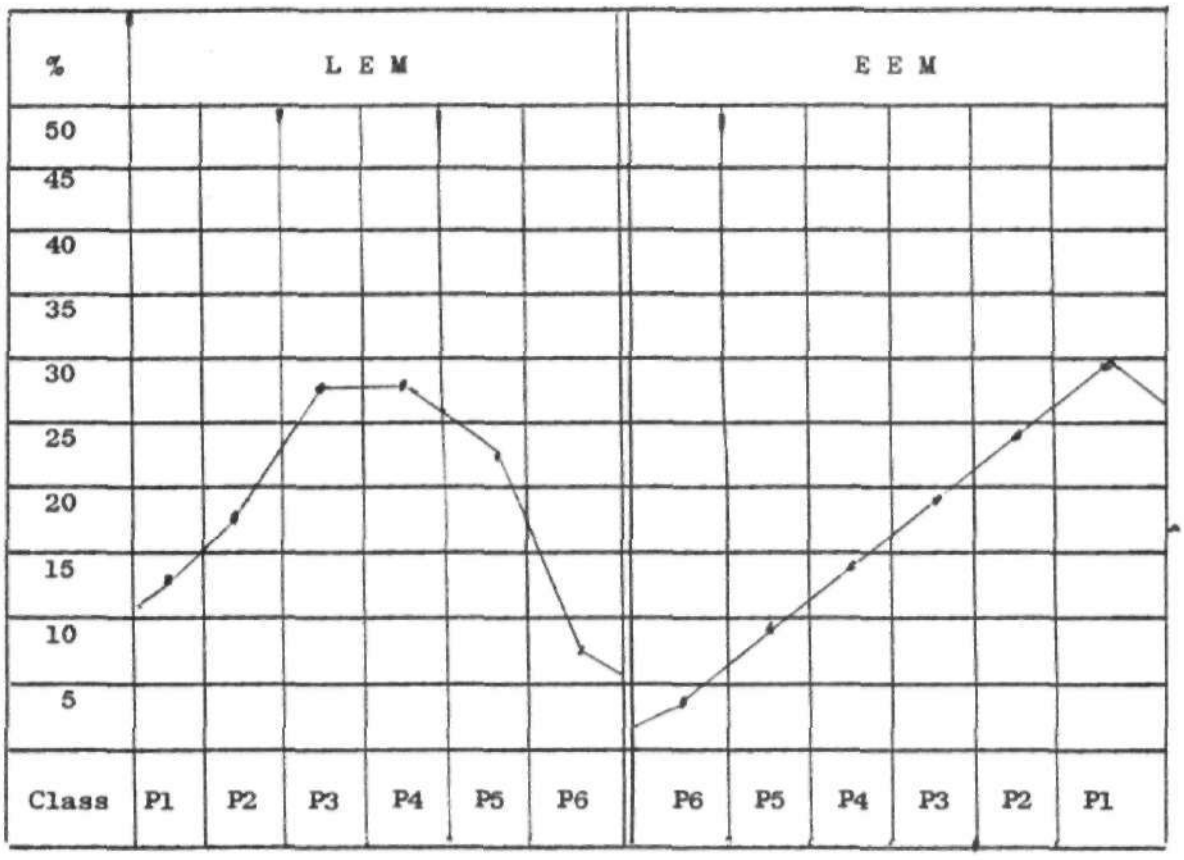


Fig. 5.1: Projected LEM- EEM sample distribution by primary class.

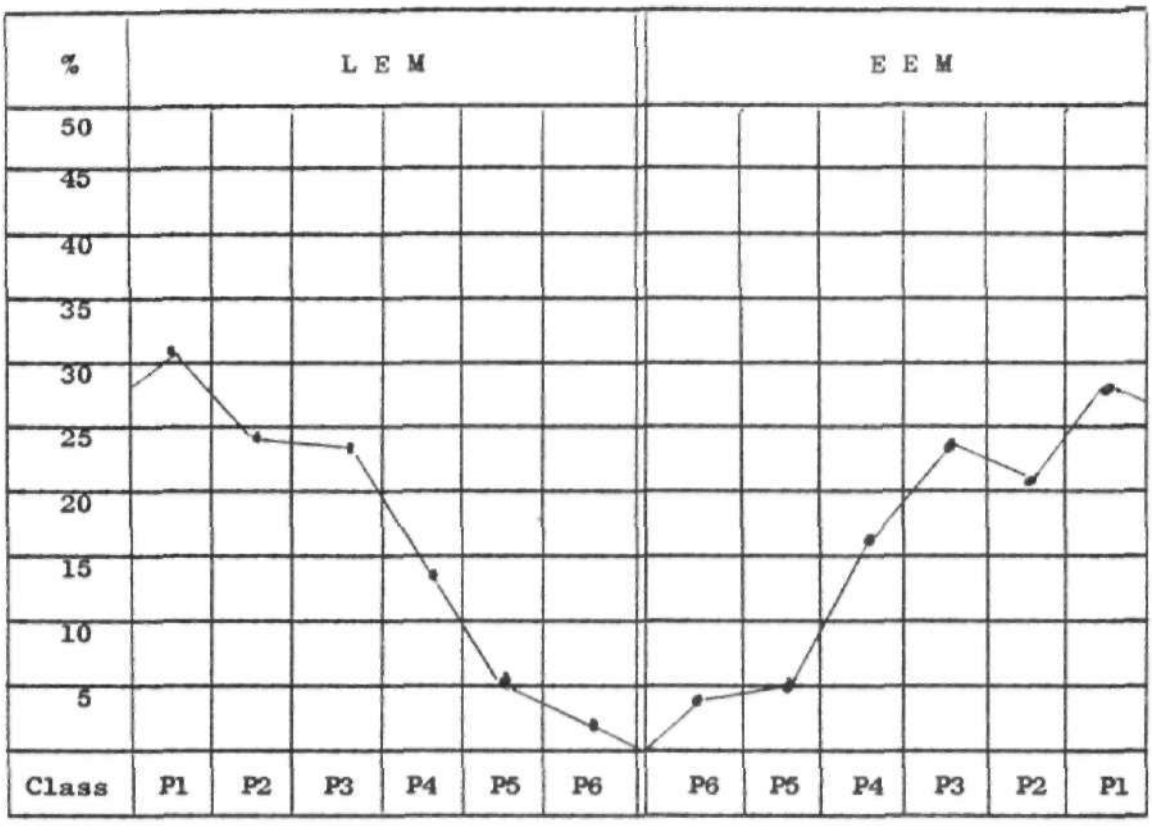


Fig. 5.2: Net LEM-EEM sample distribution by primary class (i.e. as realised).

The differences between projected and realised sample distribution by primary class are as stated below.

Class	L E M		E E M	
	% Projected	Realised	% Projected	Realised
P1	11-15	31.13	26-30	27.21
P2	16-20	24.87	21-25	21.24
P3	26-30	23.08	16-20	24.11
P4	26-30	13.24	11-15	16.71
P5	16-20	5.55	6-10	5.97
P6	6-10	2.15	3-5	4.77

Table 5.6A: Projected and achieved sample distribution by class compared.

The distribution pattern was designed to reflect the primary stages in which the information sought was thought to be located and could best be elicited. It was then assumed that P6 under both EEM and LEM policies would have achieved full MT and that in that case evidence of the existence of the transitional problem being investigated was not likely to be significantly traceable in this class. The survey results tend to have proved this assumption wrong. In retrospect, a much larger P5 and P6 sample would have made it possible for some of our generalizations to be extended to these classes (see 7.4.3 below). New settlement (as distinct from indigenous, homogeneous) areas of urban centres such as Kaduna, Jos, Zaria (see 5.4.3 (ii) above) were totally avoided to reduce bias and distortion in the results.

5.4.6 Validation Techniques used

Both the MTTs by whom the questionnaires were administered and the teachers on whom the questionnaires were served were told that the survey was being conducted in order that teachers' responses might be considered in a series of new revisions Institute of Education was planning on primary school syllabuses and IMs. The existing ones had failed, they were told, because the opinions of teachers had not been consulted on issues such as the medium of instruction. Government formulated policies without finding out whether such policies were capable of being implemented or not. The only persons who could tell the truth were teachers because they had the responsibility for translating policies into classroom proposition. So, in order not to continue to make the same type of mistake, they were told, it was decided that teachers should first be consulted for their opinions before IMs meant to be used by them were written. This was an opportunity for the teachers to say what they felt about the questions

asked. The questions wanted teachers to say what they did in fact, and NOT necessarily what policies or Ministry instructions directed them to do. All of the above was contained in the information given to teachers (see Appendix B below).

Finally, anonymity was guaranteed. However, since it might be necessary to interview some of the respondents, as had been planned, MTTs were instructed to use codes to identify the school and the class of each respondent. This code identification was later to prove useful when some lessons were observed (see 5.4.9 below).

Administration Procedure

MTTs, sometimes with the researcher in attendance, conducted group administration of the questionnaires (Oppenheim P. 36) in most cases. This ensured a retrieval of the completed questionnaires on the spot. Respondents also had points and questions clarified before making their own responses. It was, however, not always practicable to have questionnaires group-administered. In such cases, questionnaires were left for respondents to complete and forward to the MTTs for onward transmission to the researcher. In the group-administered questionnaire, 'contamination' was checked by each respondent being told to answer the questions as they applied to her/him and not to consult the colleague sitting next to her. At any rate, the researcher and/or his assistants kept a vigilant watch, constantly and promptly intervening to check responses being influenced by exchanges among the group.

5.4.7 Survey Questionnaire Design

The survey instruments consisted of

(a) Questionnaires

(b) Observation and recording of lessons taught by some of the

teacher-respondents, and

(c) In some cases, oral non-structured interviews.

Questionnaires: These were the main instruments for the collection of the data required to test the three major research hypotheses (5.4.1 above). The 1977 questionnaire, which had itself being piloted, was modified for the 1978 sample in order to accommodate four[7] important areas which the 1977 responses showed needed eliciting.

The 1977 questionnaire consisted of factual questions while that for the 1978 sample contained a section on attitude to English, in addition to the main factual questions central to the testing of the three main hypotheses. Both 1977 and 1978 questionnaires consisted of close-ended questions.

Piloting: Two piloting exercises were conducted in 1976. In the first one (April 1976) an open-ended questionnaire was served on 100 primary school teachers in five states (Kano, Gongola, Kaduna, Plateau and Bauchi). Content subjects commonly found on primary school Time Tables were listed and teachers were simply asked to put against each subject the language in which they taught the subject. The subjects were

(i) Mathematics,

(ii) Creative Activities

(iii) Cultural Activities,

(iv) Physical and health education,

(v) Religious Instruction,

(vi) Social Studies,

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[7] The four areas were (1) the use of Arabic for R.K. (2) Proportion of NL/L2 used in a language mix and the pattern of the mixing. (3) Attitudinal questions on the use of English generally, and (4) personal data (sex, age group, and teaching experience).

(vii) Primary science,

(viii) Art and Craft and,

(ix) Music.

Respondents were also asked to state

(a) the classes they taught,

(b) whether they taught PEIP or UPE classes,

(c) the English course-books they used, and

(d) their educational/teaching qualifications.

Only teachers in classes 1-4 in both LEM and EEM schools were sampled.

The languages listed in response to the main question (i.e. content subject medium languages) numbered twenty, but fell into two groups as follows:

Group 1: Nigerian Languages (simply called Nigerian Language as a Proper Noun - or NL for short), which can be either

(a) pupils' mother-tongue or

(b) immediate Community Language:

19 such languages were listed;

Group 2: English.

In addition to the twenty languages, a large number of the respondents, in particular, those teaching classes 3-4, said they taught some subjects in both NL and English. A separate language medium category, i.e. as Group 3, was therefore created with "NL/L2 mix" as the only member.

Educational and teaching qualifications listed ranged from primary school leaving certificate, through Secondary Modern School Certificate, Teachers Grade III/Grade II certificate, West African School Certificate (i.e. secondary school leaving) Certificate and

Teachers' Grade one/associateship Certificate. These were constituted into 6 qualification categories.

English course books listed were four, namely

(a) New Oxford English Course (NOEC),

(b) Straight for English (SE),

(c) Macmillans Primary English Course (Macmillans), and

(d) Evans Primary English Course (Evans).

These titles agreed with those earlier obtained from local education offices and education ministries in the ten Northern States.

On the basis of the information contained in the first pilot responses, a close-ended questionnaire was designed and was again piloted in October 1976. The questionnaire consisted of inventories or checklists to be ticked as appropriate in the following information areas.

A. Medium Language Use

Subjects	Language of Instruction		
	NL (or L1)	English (L2)	NL/L2 Mix
Mathematics			
Creative Activities			
Cultural Activities			
Physical and Health Education			
Religious Instruction			
Social Studies			
Primary Science			
Art and Craft			
Music			

Table 5.7A: Inventory on medium language use contained in the 1976/77 Survey questionnaire.

B. English Course-books

Respondents were asked to tick which of the four listed books they used in teaching English. They were also asked to add to the list in case the ones they used were not on the list. The following were listed in the questionnaire piloted:

Book	Tick here
1. N.O.E.C.	
2. S.E.	
3. Macmillan's	
4. Evans	
5. (Any other)	

Table 5.7B: English Courses

C. Educational/Teaching Qualifications

Respondents were asked to tick in which of the listed educational level examinations they had passed English. They were asked also to list any not included here.

Educational Qualifications	Tick here
1. Primary School Leaving Certificate or Common Entrance Examination	
2. West African School Certificate	
3. Teachers' Grade III Certificate	
4. Teachers' Grade II Certificate	
5. G.C.E. O.L. A.L.	
6. Teachers' Grade I Certificate Associateship Diploma/Infant Method	
7. (Any other)	

Table 5.7c: Possible Educational qualifications of primary school teachers.

Fifty teachers in two states, Kwara and Niger, were used as the second questionnaire piloting subjects. The design and the information elicited seemed right, there being no additional items suggested by the pilot respondents. This questionnaire edition was then adopted for the 1977 survey.

The 1978 survey questionnaire

Three months after the 1977 survey had been conducted and the results in the process of classification and analysis, the Federal Government of Nigeria launched its national policy on education (Federal Ministry of Education, Lagos 1977), aspects of which relate to medium policies and the medium use of languages in primary schools. Of particular interest to the teacher language use survey being conducted is the section dealing with the integration of Koranic and Islamiyya schools into the formal primary school system[8]. The National Policy statement emphasises that this integration had begun in some states in the Northern parts of the country. Moslem parents were assured that religious education would continue to be offered in primary schools as it had been in the Koranic and Islamiyya schools (PP 7, 8, 9).

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[8] Koranic schools are non-formal small groups in which children between ages 4 and 8 are taught how to read or chant the Koran. They are also non-structured in the sense that there are no organised syllabuses and systematised progression stages. They last for as long as parents can afford to release their children and pay the small instruction cost, low because verandahs and open space under trees serve as classrooms, pavements and sands serve as seats, and village "Mallams" as teachers. In contrast, an Islamiyya school is an organized, formal system in the sense that there are available syllabuses, progression stages or promotion systems. Although the main subjects taught are the reading/memorisation of the Koran, and Islamic religious knowledge, which makes it very narrow compared to a full primary education system, an Islamiyya school operates within school buildings and runs a routine similar to what obtains in a primary school. It carries government recognition, a fact that both entitles it to government grants-in-aid and subjects it to government regulation. The duration of an Islamiyya primary course varies from one to 3 years.

The main subject taught in Koranic schools is the reading or chanting of the Koran. In addition to this, the organised Islamiyya schools teach some element of mathematics concepts expressed in writing using Arabic Numerals. Now that these two systems had been merged with the main stream with full guarantee that religious education would continue as it had been,

(a) would Islamic religious education be conducted in Arabic as it had been under the Koranic and Islamiyya systems),

(b) would initial and functional literacy at the PE level be extended to Arabic both as an additional language and additional script ,

(c) would Arabic be taught as a subject on the Time Table?

Some (or all) of these questions would need to be considered as implications of the national policy statement earlier mentioned. Questions (b) and (c) fall outside our research hypotheses being tested, and so were not treated as variables. Question (a), on the other hand, was considered relevant to our investigation and was therefore included as a dependent variable (a possible medium of instruction used by teachers) in the 1978 survey questionnaire.

The inclusion of Arabic in the 1978 questionnaire as a possible medium language is an area in which the 1977 questionnaire was modified for the 1978 survey in order to make it take account of social growth and policy changes. The 1978 questionnaire thus had four language groups instead of the three in the 1977 version.

Apart from the inclusion of Arabic as an additional dependent variable, there were two other modifications to Section A of the 1977 questionnaire. The first was a deletion of Art and Craft and Music from the inventory of content subjects on which language use informa-

tion was being elicited. The deletion decision was taken when preliminary analysis of the 1977 data showed that these two subjects were not taught by practically all the respondents. The other modification was an attempt to 'probe' responses on the use of NL/L2 mixed use.

5.4.8 Probing NL/L2 mixed use

Saying that one uses a mixture of two or more languages for instruction or any other purpose is so imprecise that further questions may need to be answered to give such a statement a pedagogical meaning. For instance, mixed language used as a medium of instruction is analysable along two dimensions:

(i) mode/language use skill, and

(ii) speech alternation.

If the component languages in a mixed usage are differentiated along the mode or language skill dimension, this implies, in the case of NL/L2 mix, that in a content-subject lesson, one language, say NL, is the oral medium and used during the oral part of the lesson. The other language, say English, is then used as the written medium to complete the reading and writing parts of the lesson. In this case the two languages are not alternated within the same speech event: their functions are clearly marked and kept apart. That is, alternation occurs at the classroom discourse level of 'transaction'.[9]

If differentiated along the alternation dimension, the component languages of a mixed usage do not have neatly separated functions. They alternate within the same speech events sometimes neatly in sentence or discourse blocks and sometimes in disorganised, intra-sentence units. In this latter case, mixed language is to be found more in oral speech than in writing.

It is clear from what has been said above that a response

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9. of section 8.7.7. below.

indicating the use of NL/L2 mixture is capable of two interpretations, and since both interpretations are possible within the classroom instructional domain, survey result analyses need to be able to specify along which dimension such a response should be interpreted. The 1977 survey results were incapable of specifying a dimension because the questionnaire used lacked an instrument with which to probe elicited responses. The 1978 questionnaire was therefore designed with an eye on more detailed information than the 1977 version had been capable of gathering.

However, the 1978 questionnaire was only able to probe along one dimension, that of mode or language use skill. Respondents were asked a filter question: "if you have indicated in the last number that you teach any subject or subjects in NL/L2 mix, it is possible that when teaching such subjects, you use one language for oral presentation and another for reading or/and writing. If this is so, go through this number. Each subject consists of 3 parts - oral, reading, and writing. Tick the appropriate column to indicate at what part of the lesson you use English as the medium of instruction." The other dimension, that is, language alternation, could not be probed without the questionnaire being frighteningly over-sized. The language dimension was then left to be elicited not by questionnaire but by means of participant observation (see 5.4.9 below). It was possible to carry out two types of internal checks on reliability of responses on NL/L2 mixed usage. The first device was to indirectly repeat the question earlier asked and then correlate responses to them. In an earlier question respondents had been asked to indicate which of the 4 listed language groups (NL, L2, Arabic and NL/L2 mix) they used in teaching each of the listed content-subjects. And in a succeeding question probing NL/L2 mix responses, respondents were asked to state

at what stage during the lesson (in which the medium of instruction used was NL/L2) they used the English component of NL/L2 mix. It was expected that the same content-subjects marked for NL/L2 mix medium would be the one to be marked for the three lesson stages (oral, reading, writing) later probed. Where content-subjects not earlier (in the preceding question) marked for NL/L2 mix were later marked for probing, this was treated as a case of inconsistency and the entire response to the NL/L2 mix probing was disregarded, having failed a reliability test.

The second type of internal check on reliability of responses to NL/L2 mixed usage probing was the use of 'phony' items (Oppenheim, P. 71). Under each content-subject were listed the three lesson stages or language skills(or modes)- oral, reading and writing. However, in the lower primary classes and to some extent at the upper stage, there are content-subjects that are known to be practical and are taught entirely orally. These include Physical Education, Religious Knowledge, Primary Science, and Cultural Activities. It was not expected that any respondents would mark the reading or writing stage of a physical education lesson in any primary class as the stage at which the English component of NL/L2 mixture was used. This would clearly be false since physical education lessons in all primary classes, and also at the secondary school level, are conducted practically outdoors with both pupils and their teacher involved in body movement and keep-fit exercises. Where such was marked by a respondent, it was evidence of unreliability, and the response was disregarded.

Tables 5.8A and 5.8B show the modifications of the 1977 questionnaire for the 1978 survey.

Content-subjects	Language in which instruction is conducted			
	NL	L2	** Arabic	N1/L2 mix here
Mathematics				
Creative Activities				
Cultural Activities				
Physical and Health Education				
Religious Knowledge				
Social Studies				
Primary Science				
* Art and Craft				
* Music				

Key: * deleted from the 1978 version.

** included as a variable only in the 1978 version.

Table 5.8A: modification of the main 1977 questionnaire item for the 1978 survey.

Content-subjects	lesson stages or language skills		
	Oral	Reading	Writing
Mathematics			
Cultural activities			
Creative activities			
Physical and Health Education			
Social Studies			
Primary Science			
Religious Knowledge			

Table 5.8B: Questionnaire item included in the 1978 survey (not an item in the 1977 questionnaire. The item was included to probe responses on NL/L2 mixed medium).

Table 5.8A and 5.8B represent the main instrument used in both 1977 and 1978 surveys to elicit the responses/data with which to test the three main research hypotheses (5.4.1 above). All the information required and elicited for these purposes was factual, as distinct from that relating to impressions or attitudes. But the 1978 questionnaire also contained a section which sought to elicit information on teachers' attitudes to English, and another on teachers' personal data, including their educational qualifications and teaching experiences. Information elicited was expected to be invaluable as explanations but not the data for arriving at the main research findings. The section included in both the 1977 and 1978 questionnaire versions on the choice and use of English course-books is of no relevance to the main survey hypotheses. The information elicited by this section was intended for the investigation of the contribution of published instructional materials to the implementation of medium policies.

5.4.9 Observation (and recording) of lessons

The second survey instrument listed in the opening paragraph of this section (5.4.7) was observation of lessons taught by some of the teacher-respondents. This instrument was used only with the 1978 sample. In all, 40 lessons by 40 different teachers were observed fully or in part by the researcher himself. The lessons watched, and in some cases recorded, were those taught by the teachers who had indicated in their questionnaire responses that they taught some content subjects in NL/L2 mix. The lessons observed were on such content subjects, but only those on mathematics and Physical Education were recorded. Table 5.9 below shows the spread of the lessons observed.

The size of the participant observation carried out was to increase response validity by verifying through direct observation aspects of the responses given by survey subjects. It was necessary to do this because of what Oppenheim (1976: 152) describes as "the lack of correspondence that is found at times between verbal attitudes and behaviour". The difference between what is said and what is done is sometimes deliberate: an attempt to hide what is suspected to be socially or culturally unacceptable but something which the respondent may have done or may continue to do nonetheless. Sometimes, too, the lack of correspondence is unconscious; that is, not being aware that one does what one professes not to be doing, or vice versa. Additional measures, such as "probing", post-questionnaire interviews, participant observation, that aim at verifying and thus validating responses have been found very useful in social research, particularly one that relies on questionnaire as the data-collecting instrument[10]. For what was looked for in the observed lessons, see section 6.8.4 below.

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10. Roger Anderson (1976) reports a lack of correspondence between what respondents said they did and what they were found doing. His subjects tended to answer questions "according to what is perceived to be the correct official attitude" (P. 11).

Primary Class	Medium Policy	Subjects and Numbers of lessons watched					Total
		Mathematics	Physical Education	Social Studies	Elementary Science	Total EEM LEM	
1	EEM	1	1	1	1	4	4
	LEM	-	-	-	-	0	
2	EEM	2	2	2	2	8	12
	LEM	1	1	1	1	4	
3	EEM	1	1	1	1	4	10
	LEM	2	2	1	1	6	
4	EEM	1	1	1	1	4	10
	LEM	2	2	1	1	6	
5	EEM	-	1	1	-	2	4
	LEM	1	1	-	-	2	
6	EEM	-	-	-	-	0	0
	LEM	-	-	-	-	0	
Total	EEM	5	6	6	5	22	40
	LEM	6	6	3	3	18	

Table 5.9: Number and spread of the lessons observed: The 1978 sample.

Interview: Each of the teachers whose lessons were observed was interviewed at the end of the lesson that was watched or recorded. The purpose was to further probe why medium language had been used in a particular way. The face-to-face interviews were found useful as a measure to increase data validation. For instance, a number of those teachers who used language mixing did not consciously plan to use it; it came as often as the need for it arose (for detailed treatment see sections 6.8 on the use of language alternation).

CHAPTER 6

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CHAPTER 6: Language Survey Results

6.1 Coding and organisation of data

Both the language use frequencies and other responses obtained from all the 978 cases[1] were coded and analysed by

i. content-subject (7 in all),

ii. language media (4 language groups),

iii. medium policy (only LEM and EEM were surveyed at this Decision Level),

iv. educational project (PEIP and UPE), and

v. primary educational stage (classes 1-6).

The data required to test each of the research hypotheses (see 5.1.1 above) were, in the main, cross-tabulations between variables within each of the listed groups (i-v above), and between two or more such groups.

The three hypotheses tested were:

1. That primary school teachers use much less English for medium functions than both LEM and EEM policies specify;
2. that the teachers' choice of a medium of instruction is determined by content-subjects rather than by the official LEM and EEM policies; and
3. that there is a predictable pattern to medium transition (MT) in teachers' use of language medium and that this pattern is consistent with the gradual and selective MT.

In analysing the survey results, the three hypotheses are

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[1] made up of 576 respondents in 1977 and 402 in 1978.

examined one at a time. After this, issues involving all three hypotheses are treated (6.7 and 6.8). Finally, a summary of the overall findings is provided in section 6.9. In addition, a summary of results on each hypothesis and other issues for which there are statistical analyses is available at the end of the sections in which such issues are treated.

6.2 Data for Testing Hypothesis 1

Since there are two medium policies with which the Language Use Survey was concerned and since they specify the use of English at different primary education stages, the data for each are analysed separately. LEM data are first analysed (6.2.1-6.2.12). This is followed by EEM (6.3.1-6.3.6), and then by a comparison and summary of both LEM and EEM results (6.4.1-6.4.3).

6.2.1 LEM and Hypothesis No 1

Primary Class 4 is the educational stage at which by LEM policy MT is to be effected and full transition achieved[2], in the manner of all cases of abrupt transition (see 1.5-1.6, and 5.1 of this study). The data to test Hypothesis No 1 with regard to LEM are, therefore, expected to relate to language use in primary classes 4, 5 and 6.

How much English is in reality used in LEM P4 as the medium of instruction? As Table 6.1 below shows, of the 449 LEM P4 cumulative language use frequencies, only 150, or 33.41% of total, were coded

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[2] Officially MT is effected in P3 under LEM in some of the Nigerian States surveyed. For the present research purposes, however, MT under LEM is generalised as officially occurring at the beginning of P4.

for English as the sole medium for teaching content-subject lessons. A further 219, or 48.78% were for partial English medium; that is, a language medium cluster in which English alternates with Nigerian Language in content-subject instruction. The remaining 80 frequencies were coded for NL (65 or 14.48%) and Arabic (15 or 3.34%). In other words, only 33.41% of all lessons that ought to be conducted in English as specified by the LEM policy were in fact so conducted.

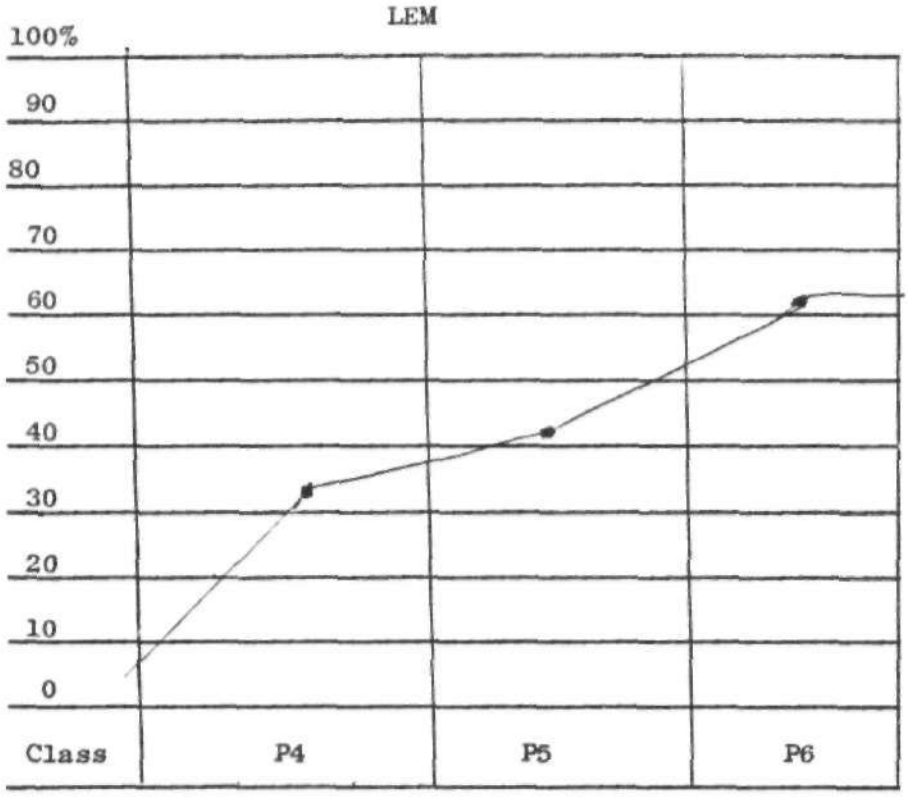
Before any opinion is expressed on the given LEM P4 English use frequencies, the rest of the LEM post-MT classes, that is, P5 and P6, need to be examined. The frequencies for each of these two classes are set out in Table 6.2 below. A slow rise in the English use rate from 33.41% in P4 to 41.58% in P5 can be observed, a rise of only 8.17%. There is, thus, a slight contrast in the rise of the use of English between P4 and P5 on the one hand, and between P5 and P6, on the other; the latter being 19.53%. The English use growth rate is plotted on the polygon in Figure 6.1 on page 166.

Language Used	LEM P4	
	Frequencies	% of Total
English (L2)	150	33.41
Nigerian Language (NL)	65	14.48
NL/L2 Mix	219	48.78
Arabic	15	3.34
Total	449	

Table 6.1: Language Use frequencies in LEM Primary Class Four.

Language Used	LEM P5		LEM P6	
	Frequencies	% of Total	Frequencies	% of Total
English (L2)	84	41.58	55	61.11
Nigerian Language (NL)	27	13.37	11	12.22
NL/L2 Mix	85	42.08	23	25.56
Arabic	6	2.97	1	1.11
Total	202		90	

Table 6.2: Language Use frequencies in LEM Primary Classes 5 and 6.



		Freq.	%
P4	LEM	150	33.41
P5	LEM	84	41.58
P6	LEM	55	61.11

Fig. 6.1: Polygon showing the English use rates in LEM Primary Classes 4, 5 and 6.

Both Table 6.2 and Fig. 6.1 show that in none of the three post-MT LEM classes (P4-6) does the use of English by teachers for content-subject instruction come near the 100% target implicitly set by the LEM policy. At the end of PE, only 61.11% of this target has been achieved.

6.2.2 Interpreting the frequency scores

As they stand, the LEM frequency scores confirm the hypothesis that teachers use much less English for content-subject instruction than as specified by the LEM policy since the use rate in each of the 3 post-MT classes falls far short of the expected rate. However, before any statistical inference can be drawn on the figures, there is need for certain relationships also to be drawn and accounted for.

(i) For instance, we would like to know whether the LEM post-MT English use scores, so far-removed from the set target as they are when seen in isolation, achieve some significance statistically when compared with the use of English, if it is used at all, at the pre-MT stage (that is, P1-3). We would also like to compare the rate of increase in the use of English between P3, the highest LEM pre-MT class, and P4, the first post-MT class, on the one hand, and between P4 and P5 through P6, on the other. These comparisons may be used to explain why the LEM English use rate takes off at 33.41% in the first post-MT year (P4) but is unable to grow beyond 61.11% at the end of primary education three years later.

(ii) The LEM post-MT frequency scores are also to be compared with those for EEM in equivalent stages so that the relative effects of both policies on the use of English for medium functions can be assessed. There is, however, a comparison problem here. What are post-MT equivalent classes for LEM and EEM? Is P4 LEM an equivalent class to P4 EEM for the medium use of English purposes? Ideally in terms of MT, LEM P4 as the beginning of LEM post-MT stage is related to EEM P1, the first class of EEM post-MT stage. In practice, however, it is doubtful if the relationship of equivalence can hold. Whether it can or not depends on the significance of the contribution to the use of English as a medium in LEM P4-6 of the introduction and teaching of English as a subject in the three years (P1-3) preceding the LEM post-MT stage. Knowing the contribution of the 3-year pre-MT stage to the LEM post-MT English use also is useful to the debate on whether or not the subject role of English is of any value when taught in a classroom situation in which English has no real communication role to perform (see Chapters 4 above and

8. below; also Omojuwa, 1979-Appendix A3 of this Study).

(iii) The LEM English use frequency figures being considered so far are the cumulative frequencies, at the class level, for all individual content-subjects. Since language use rates vary, sometimes widely, from subject to subject, the frequency rate contributed by each content-subject to the overall class figure also needs to be assessed.

Although English use growth rates at the content-subject level are the main data to be used to test our third research hypothesis (Section 6.6 below), they are also required at this stage to highlight the internal distribution pattern of LEM/EEM language use frequencies at the post-MT stage.

(iv) The effects on LEM/EEM language use of educational projects - in particular PEIP (See 5.4.3 above) - need also to be assessed. So are those of educational qualifications of teachers.

(v) Finally, there is the question of what constitutes NL/L2 Mixed Use to be answered.

The LEM frequency scores will now be further interpreted as data for testing Hypothesis One in the light of the relationships obtaining between these scores and the sets of variables listed above. These variables are summarized below:

(i) 1. LEM post-MT class English scores vs LEM pre-MT class scores (6.2.3);

2. LEM English use growth rate between P3 (i.e. the last pre-MT LEM class) and P4 (the first post-MT LEM class) as compared with between (a) P4 and P5, and (b) P5 and P6 (6.2.4);

(ii) LEM first post-MT class (P4) English scores vs EEM

post-MT class (P1) scores. Also LEM P4 Vs EEM P4 for comparative purposes (6.2.7);

(iii) LEM individual content-subject frequency scores at the post-MT classes 4-6 (6.2.5)

(iv) PEIP Vs UPE frequency scores at the class level in LEM P4-6 (6.2.6); (Also at the discussion stage the effects of educational qualifications of teachers on their use of medium language); and

(v) the value to be placed on the language components of the NL/L2 Mixed Usage (6.2.11).

6.2.3 LEM pre-MT and post-MT English frequency scores compared

The LEM pre-MT stage consists of primary classes 1, 2 and 3. Officially, English is not the medium language in these classes, and is therefore not expected to be used as such. The hypothesis being tested is not directly interested in the LEM pre-MT state of English use. However, the fact that the first post-MT LEM class (P4) takes off with 33.41% English use rate but improves upon this rate by only 8.17% in P5 (41.58%) arouses interest in the state of English use in LEM pre-MT classes.

(a) Is the 33.41% use rate in P4 achieved within one year after MT has been officially effected, or is it in fact an accumulation of what has been acquired in this and in the pre-MT classes, where English may have been used for medium functions, albeit unofficially?

(b) Is the 33.41% English use rate in P4 therefore statistically significant (as a marker of the first post-MT year) compared to the English use rate at the pre-MT stage? Tables 6.3 and 6.4 below present the data with which to answer questions (a) and (b).

LEM

Language Used	P1		P2		P3	
	Frequencies	% of total	Frequencies	% of total	Frequencies	% of total
English (L2)	17	1.50	53	6.17	71	9.92
Nigerian Language (NL)	633	55.67	386	44.94	312	43.58
NL/L2 Mix	460	40.46	416	48.43	320	44.69
Arabic	27	2.37	4	0.47	13	1.82
Total	1137		859		716	

Table 6.3: LEM Language use frequency scores in P1-3

Class	Score	% of Total	Use Growth Rate
P1	17	1.50	
P2	53	6.17	4.67
P3	71	9.92	3.75
P4	150	33.41	23.49
P5	84	41.58	8.17
P6	55	61.11	19.53

Table 6.4: LEM English Use frequency scores and rates of growth from P1 to P6.

Although statistically non-significant in itself, the 9.92% cumulative English Use rate in the 3 pre-MT LEM classes shows that

i. the post-MT use of English in LEM P4 does not start from a zero use level, and that therefore

ii. the 33.41% use rate in P4 does not represent an only one-year use performance level but a performance rate that accumulates in part from the pre-MT 3-year period in which English is, officially, a subject only. [3]

6.2.4 The Significance of LEM Pre-MT Vs LEM Post-MT English Use Scores

The leap from 9.92% in P3 to 33.41% in P4 LEM (Table 6.4 above) tends to suggest that there is some degree of medium transition to English in LEM P4. Only between P3 and P4 are language use differences and shifts highly significant statistically ($P \leq .001$). Neither between LEM P4 and P5 nor between LEM P5 and P6 are such use differences highly significant.[4]

The following tendencies can thus be observed from the frequency figures in Table 6.4 above.

(a) There is a significant shift in the pattern of language use between LEM P3 and P4. This suggests that a change-over of medium languages, at a minimal stage, may have been attempted at the beginning of P4.

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[3] This point is of interest to Hypothesis 2 and will be taken up again in 6.5 below.

[4] The LEM P4 and P5 language frequency differences are significant at the low level of $P \leq .20$ (Table 6.2 above).

(b) There is a gradual and steady growth in the use of English from LEM P1 to the end of primary schooling in P6. This contradicts the concept of abrupt MT implicit in the LEM policy and accords with the alternative theory of gradual transition.

(c) The rise in the rate of use of English for medium functions to only 61.11% in P6 shows that full MT is not achieved at the end of PE, let alone in P4, contrary to the LEM policy expectations.

6.2.5 English Use Frequency Scores at the content-subject Level

The data analysed so far were the sums of the frequencies scored by all content-subjects taught in each primary class. Hypothesis 1 has thus been tested and confirmed only at the class level. To be fully confirmed, the research hypothesis will also need to be tested at the individual content-subject level. What, for instance, is the pattern of distribution at the subject level of the English use frequencies the sum of which was used at the class level to test Hypothesis 1? Tables 6.5A-6.5D contain the language use frequencies for each content-subject in LEM (post-MT) P4.

LEM P4

Language Used	Mathematics		Creative Activities	
	Frequencies	% of Total	Frequencies	% of Total
English (L2)	31	43.66	10	20.41
Nigerian Language (NL)	2	2.82	16	32.65
NL/L2 Mix	38	53.52	23	46.94
Arabic	0	0.00	0	00.00
Total	71		49	

Table 6.5A: Language Use frequency scores for Mathematics and Creative Activities in LEM P4.

LEM P4

Language Used	Cultural Activities		Physical Education	
	Frequencies	% of Total	Frequencies	% of Total
English (L2)	7	12.96	31	43.06
Nigerian Language (NL)	25	46.30	3	4.17
NL/L2 Mix	22	40.74	38	52.78
Arabic	0	0.00	0	0.00
Total	54		72	

Table 6.5B: Language Use frequency scores for Cultural Activities and Physical Education in LEM P4.

LEM P4

	Religious Knowledge		Social Studies	
	Frequencies	% of Total	Frequencies	% of Total
English (L2)	12	19.05	20	29.41
Nigerian Language (NL)	25	39.68	4	5.88
NL/L2 Mix	11	17.46	44	64.71
Arabic	15	23.81	0	0.00
Total	63		68	

Table 6.5C: Language Use frequency scores for Religious Knowledge and Social Studies in LEM P4.

Language Used	Primary Science	
	Frequencies	% of Total
English (L2)	24	33.80
Nigerian Language (NL)	6	8.45
NL/L2 Mix	41	57.75
Arabic	0	0.00
Total	71	

Table 6.5D: Language use frequency scores for Primary Science in LEM P4.

Tables 6.5A-6.5D show that the use of English frequency rates, subject by subject,at LEM P4 range from 43.66% for mathematics to 12.96% for Cultural Activities. In only three content-subjects - Mathematics, Physical Education, and Primary Science - are the English Use scores above the class average of 33.41%. Table 6.6 lists the 7 content-subjects and their frequency score rates at a glance.

Content-subject	L2 Use Rate
1. Mathematics	43.66
2. Physical Education	43.06
3. Primary Science	33.80
4. Social Studies	29.41
5. Creative Activities	20.41
6. Religious Knowledge	19.05
7. Cultural Activities	12.96

Table 6.6: English frequency scores by individual content-subjects in LEM P4 - in rank order.

The frequency score distribution on individual content-subjects thus tends to show that

(i) full MT to English is not reached in any subject in the first post-MT year (P4), and

(ii) English tends to be used more with certain content-subjects than with others.

The effects of the LEM policy on the use of English by teachers in LEM P4 at the level of individual content-subjects are further represented in Fig. 6.2 (below).

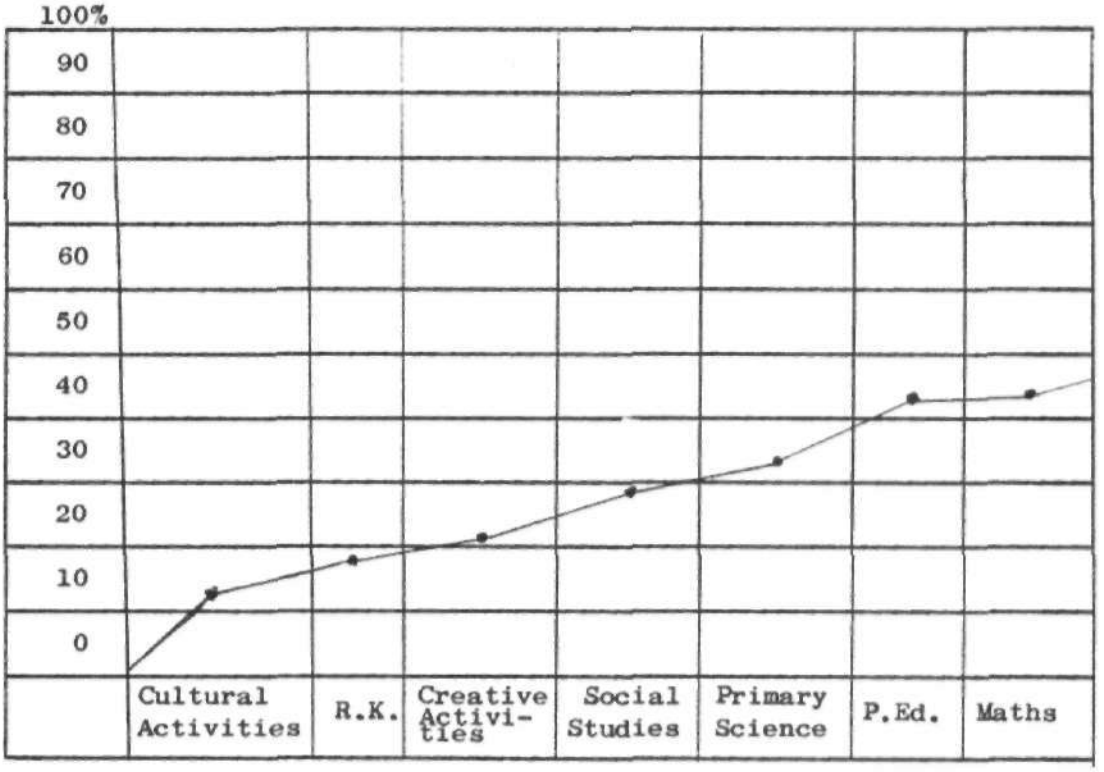


Fig. 6.2: Polygon showing the subject-by-subject English Use frequency score rates in LEM P4.

6.2.6 The Effects of PEIP on English medium use in LEM P4

As an experimental variable, the Primary Education Improvement Project (PEIP) is to be evaluated in terms of its effects on primary teachers' use of language for instructional functions (see 5.3.3 and 5.4.3(i) for more about PEIP). PEIP is conducted in both LEM and EEM classes, some of which were included in the present survey. What were the effects of PEIP on the English use frequencies in LEM P4, that is the first year after MT has been effected under the LEM

Language Used	PEIP		UPE	
	Frequencies	% of Total	Frequencies	% of Total
English (L2)	80	33.33	70	33.49
Nigerian Language (NL)	35	14.58	30	14.35
NL/L2 Mix	116	48.33	103	49.28
Arabic	9	3.75	6	2.87
Total	240		209	

Table 6.7: PEIP and UPE Language frequency scores in LEM P4 compared.

policy? Table 6.7 compares the English use rates between PEIP (33.33%) and UPE (33.49%). The figures show that:

(i) the PEIP returned a slightly lower English use rate than the average for both UPE and PEIP combined;

(ii) the difference in the rates of English use by both UPE and PEIP groups is statistically insignificant.

It would appear from the above figures (Table 6.7) that the PEIP did not influence teachers' use of English one way or another in LEM P4. We will return to the influence of PEIP on teachers' medium language use when we examine the overall effects of PEIP on language use (by teachers) for primary education (Section 6.4.3).

6.2.7 English Medium Use in the first year after MT has been effected under the LEM and EEM policies compared

Two sets of comparison will be made here. The first is a comparison of the English use in LEM P4 and in EEM P4. The second matches LEM P4 with EEM P1, each representing the first post-MT year respectively under LEM and EEM policies. The problem of deciding what the EEM equivalent of LEM P4 is was mentioned in 6.2.2 (ii) above. Comparing the two sets as suggested here seems the most practical solution.

First, LEM P4 and EEM P4 are compared (Table 6.8A)

Language Used	LEM P4		EEM P4	
	Frequencies	% of Total	Frequencies	% of Total
English	150	33.41	263	45.90
Nigerian Language (NL)	65	14.48	52	9.08
NL/L2 Mix	219	48.78	242	42.23
Arabic	15	3.34	16	2.79
Total	449		573	

Table 6.8A: LEM P4 and EEM P4 Language Use frequencies compared.

Table 6.8A above reveals a frequency scores difference of 12.49% between EEM P4 and LEM P4 English in favour of EEM, under which English is in its 4th year of use for medium functions. This contrasts with LEM P4 in which English is in its first year of use as a medium.

The LEM Vs EEM difference is statistically significant at the high level of $P \leq .001$. A greater use of English in EEM P4 is thus confirmed.

LEM P4 and EEM P1 are next compared. For the analysis and interpretation of the result, see 6.2.10 and Table 6.12 below.

6.2.8 The Effects of PEIP on EEM P4 Frequency scores

LEM P4 language use frequencies were compared between PEIP and UPE groups in 6.2.6 above. The results showed that PEIP had very little effect on teachers' medium choice in P4. A similar comparison of EEM P4 frequency scores by PEIP Vs UPE groups will now be made. Table 6.9 shows that the PEIP-UPE language use differences are non-significant ($P \leq .80$). Thus, under neither LEM nor EEM policy did PEIP have any significant effect on the choice and use of media of instruction by the teachers in our sample.

EEM: P4: Class PEIP vs UPE

Language Used	PEIP P4		UPE P4	
	Frequencies	% of Total	Frequencies	% of Total
English (L2)	166	44.99	97	47.55
Nigerian Language (NL)	36	9.76	16	7.84
NL/L2 Mix	157	42.55	85	41.67
Arabic	10	2.71	6	2.94
Total	369		204	

Table 6.9: EEM Primary Four PEIP-UPE frequency scores compared. The differences are statistically non-significant ($P \leq .80$).

6.2.9 P4: EEM and LEM compared at the content-subject Level

At the class level the P4 LEM Vs EEM frequency scores tend to be significantly different from each other (6.2.7). At the content-subject level, therefore, we look for those subjects in which this difference is reflected. Tables 6.10A through 6.12G provide the data for LEM-EEM P4 comparison at the subject level.

P4 Mathematics

Language Used	EEM		LEM	
	Frequencies	% of Total	Frequencies	% of Total
English (L2)	65	61.90	31	43.66
Nigerian Language (NL)	0	0.00	2	2.82
NL/L2 Mix	40	38.10	38	53.52
Arabic	0	0.00	0	0.00
Total	105		71	

Table 6.10A: Comparative English (and other medium) frequency scores in EEM-LEM P4 Mathematics. The EEM-LEM difference is significant at $P \leq .02$.

P4 Creative Activities

Language Used	EEM		LEM	
	Frequencies	% of Total	Frequencies	% of Total
English (L2)	34	41.98	10	20.41
Nigerian Language (NL)	10	12.35	16	32.65
NL/L2 Mix	37	45.68	23	46.94
Arabic	0	0.00	0	0.00
Total	81		49	

Table 6.10B: P4 EEM vs LEM English frequency scores in Creative Activities. The difference is significant at $P \leq .10$.

P4 Cultural Activities

Language Used	EEM		LEM	
	Frequencies	% of Total	Frequencies	% of Total
English (L2)	20	25.97	7	12.96
Nigerian Language (NL)	19	24.68	25	46.30
NL/L2 Mix	38	49.35	22	40.74
Arabic	0	0.00	0	0.00
Total	77		54	

Table 6.10C: P4 EEM-LEM Language use in Cultural Activities compared. The EEM-LEM difference is statistically significant at $P \leq .02$.

P4 Physical Education

Language Used	EEM		LEM	
	Frequencies	% of Total	Frequencies	% of Total
English (L2)	57	53.27	31	43.06
Nigerian Language (NL)	1	0.93	3	4.17
NL/L2 Mix	49	45.79	38	52.78
Arabic	0	0.00	0	0.00
Total	107		72	

Table 6.10D: Language Use in P4 Physical Education is compared for EEM and LEM. The difference is statistically significant at a low level of $P \leq .30$.

P4 Religious Knowledge

Language Used	EEM		LEM	
	Frequencies	% of Total	Frequencies	% of Total
English (L2)	28	28.87	12	19.05
Nigerian Language (NL)	28	28.87	25	39.68
NL/L2 Mix	25	25.77	11	17.46
Arabic	16	16.49	15	23.81
Total	97		63	

Table 6.10E: Language use frequency scores in P4 R.K. are compared for EEM and LEM. The differences are significant at a rather low $P \leq .30$.

P4 Social Studies

Language Used	EEM		LEM	
	Frequencies	% of Total	Frequencies	% of Total
English (L2)	53	49.07	20	29.41
Nigerian Language (NL)	2	1.85	4	5.88
NL/L2 Mix	53	49.07	44	64.71
Arabic	0	0.00	0	0.00
Total	108		68	

Table 6.10F: Language use frequency scores in P4 social studies compared for EEM and LEM. The differences are statistically significant at $P \leq .02$.

P4 Primary Science

Language Used	EEM		LEM	
	Frequencies	% of Total	Frequencies	% of Total
English (L2)	52	52.00	24	33.80
Nigerian Language (NL)	3	3.00	6	8.45
NL/L2 Mix	45	45.00	41	57.75
Arabic	0	0.00	0	0.00
Total	100		71	

Table 6.10G: Language use frequency scores in P4 science compared for EEM and LEM. Differences in the scores are significant at $P \leq .05$.

As can be seen in Tables 6.10A-6.10G, in only Mathematics, Cultural Activities, Social Studies and Primary Science are LEM-EEM score differences fairly highly significant in P4. Consequently, it is the language use scores in these subjects which have made the LEM Vs EEM score differences at the P4 Class Level highly significant statistically (Table 6.8A: P .001). The LEM-EEM P4 English score differences at the subject level are summarized in Table 6.11 and plotted on a polygon in Fig. 6.3.

P4 English: EEM Vs LEM

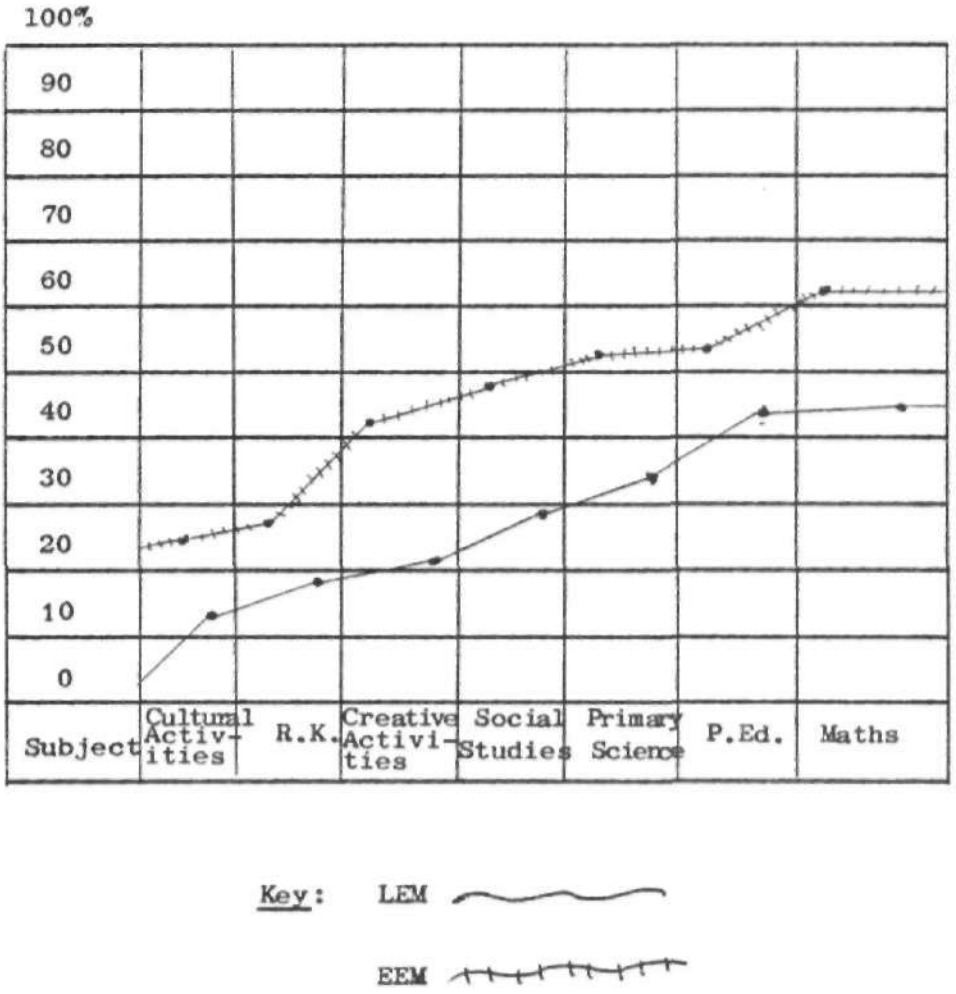


Fig. 6.3: Polygon comparing English use frequency scores in individual content-subjects in P4 for both EEM and LEM.

P4 English Use Scores

Content-Subjects	% of total in each case	
	EEM	LEM
Mathematics	61.90	43.66
Creative Activities	41.98	20.41
Cultural Activities	25.97	12.96
P. Education	53.27	43.06
R.K.	28.87	19.05
Social Studies	49.07	29.41
P. Science	52.00	33.80

Table 6.11: English use frequency scores in individual content-subjects in P4 for both EEM and LEM.

6.2.10 LEM FIRST POST-MT YEAR (P4) AND EEM FIRST POST-MT YEAR (P1) COMPARED

In 6.2.7 above it was stated that a comparison of LEM (post-MT) P4 with a comparable stage under EEM involves two sets of classes: LEM P4 versus EEM P4, and LEM P4 versus EEM P1, P1 being the first post-MT year for EEM. LEM P4 and EEM P4 English frequency figures have been compared (6.2.7 - 6.2.9). LEM P4 and EEM P1 will now be compared. Table 6.12 sets out the frequency figures for both classes.

LEM P4 vs EEM P1

Language Used	LEM P4		EEM P1	
	Frequencies	% of Total	Frequencies	% of Total
English (L2)	150	33.41	108	14.81
Nigerian Language (NL)	65	14.48	193	26.47
NL/L2 Mix	219	48.78	422	57.89
Arabic	15	3.34	6	0.82
Total	449		729	

Table 6.12: LEM P4 and EEM P1 language use frequency figures/rates compared. The LEM-EEM differences are significant at $P \leq .001$.

The two sets of comparison of the first year of English as the medium of instruction under the two policies show that much more English is used in the first year of its introduction as a medium under LEM in P4 (33.41%) than under EEM in P1 (14.81%). However, under neither policy can English be maintained as an effective medium on its own in the first post-MT year. The higher LEM rate in P4 seems certain to be due to the effect of teaching English as a subject in LEM pre-MT P1, P2 and P3. On the other hand, a synchronic comparison of P4 English in both LEM and EEM will find EEM P4 English use far superior to that in LEM P4.

6.2.11 The value to be placed on the Nigerian Language - English mix and on its Constituents

In Section 6.2.2, the above heading was listed among those variables that must be known before the LEM P4 English use frequency score of 33.41% could be used to test Hypothesis No. 1. The effects of the other variables listed have been identified (6.2.3-6.2.10). These are summarised in 6.2.12 below. Statistical inferences on the frequency scores in LEM P4 are further drawn and summarised in section 6.4 below.

The constituents of NL/L2 mixture, the pattern and origin of its use, its educational and other values as well as its relationships with the two languages - NL and English - which are its constituents, are discussed in sections 6.7.4; 6.8.7 and 8.7 below. It should be pointed out at this point that:

(a) language mix is described functionally (not linguistically) in this study;

(b) by language mix or language alternation we refer to one or a combination of the following alternation types contained in our data:

(i) mixed speech, in which NL and English occur in a single utterance,

(ii) code switching, in which there are switches from NL to English and vice versa in separate utterances by the teacher (and occasionally pupils) during the same lesson, and

(iii) translation, in which the teacher repeats in NL everything that he has said in English, or vice versa;

(c) the use of language mix as a medium remains a complex phenomenon which this study cannot claim to have unravelled nor was it designed to unravel. But its use tends to point to one conclusion, which will be pursued in section 6.7.4 and 6.8 below; that is, it is an indication that full transition to English has not been achieved. Since the hypothesis of interest to this section relates to the use of English at the full transition stage, which is what LEM P4 officially claims to have reached, NL/L2 mixture identified with a lower and incomplete MT stage is justifiably treated as a separate medium from English and NL.[5] In other words, "English" for this section is to be interpreted as that variety which is not mixed with NL (or any other language) when used as the medium of oral instruction. This is what the P4 LEM English frequency scores amounting to 33.41% of the scores for all languages in P4 mean.

6.2.12: Summary of the section on LEM and Hypothesis One

(i) The English language use frequency scores for LEM P4 amount to 33.41% of total scores for all medium languages used in this LEM class. At full transition which is the officially declared medium target for this class, 100% is ideally the English use rate

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5 Functionally, though not necessarily linguistically. cf Oke, D. (1975)

to be expected.

(ii) The effects of PEIP on LEM P4 and EEM P4 English scores are non-significant statistically. PEIP LEM scores of 33.33% are in fact lower than UPE scores of 33.49% (Table 6.7). Thus the 33.41% LEM P4 English score has not been influenced one way or another by PEIP.

(iii) When language use scores in each content-subject were analysed, only three subjects - Mathematics (43.66%), Physical Education (43.06% and Elementary Science (33.80%) - were found to have exceeded the class average (of 33.41%). English use scores are lowest (12.96%) in Cultural Activities in LEM P4 (Fig. 6.2).

(iv) English scores in LEM P4 are compared with English scores in LEM P3 just before MT, and LEM P5 a year after MT to English (Section 6.2.3). In LEM P3 English use rate stands at 9.92% of all the medium language scores in that class. This seems to be consistent with the non-medium function of English in LEM P3. However, at 41.58%, the English use rate in LEM P5 tends to have grown rather slowly from P4's rate of 33.41%. While the jump from LEM P3 (9.92%) to LEM P4 (33.41%) is statistically significant and enough to indicate a limited medium transition process the LEM P5 English use score of 41.58% tends to suggest that the MT process is far from being completed at this primary stage.

(v) English scores in LEM P4 are also compared with its scores in EEM P4 (6.2.7-6.2.9). At 45.90% EEM P4 English scores are higher than LEM's at 33.41% just as the latter is much higher than EEM's in P1 (14.81%). Both LEM P4 and EEM P1 are equivalent as the first post-MT class under their respective policies.

(vi) In both LEM and EEM, English tends to be used more with some content-subjects in P4 than with others. The order is the same, under the two policies, for all the subjects, with mathematics topping the list:

(a) Mathematics, 61,90% EEM , 43.66% LEM

(b) Physical Education, 53.27% EEM ,43.06% LEM

(c) Primary Science, 52.00% EEM,33.80% LEM

(d) Social Studies 49.07% EEM,29.41% LEM

(e) Creative Activities 41.98% EEM,20.41% LEM

(f) R.K. 28.87% EEM,19.05% LEM

(g) Cultural Activities 25.97% EEM,12.96% LEM.

(see Table 6.11 and Fig. 6.3).

6.3 EEM and Hypothesis One

6.3.1 Organisation of data

Investigating teachers' use of English in primary schools adopting the EEM policy should normally start with that primary stage or class officially declared as EEM point of full medium transition. This is Primary Class One. To test Hypothesis 1 ("that teachers use much less English for medium functions than as specified by both LEM and EEM policies"),

(i) the English use frequencies in EEM P1 will be examined.

(ii) To see the rate of growth in the use of English, the English scores in EEM P1, P2, and P3 will next be compared.

(iii) In each of these EEM classes, the effects of PEIP on English scores are assessed.

(iv) This is followed by a look at the distribution of the English scores on content-subjects in EEM P1-P3.

(v) EEM versus LEM English frequency scores are compared in P1, P2 and P3 at the class level.

In section 6.4 the data on LEM and EEM English as tabulated in this and the previous section (6.2) will be used to draw inferences and conclusions with regard to the hypothesis being tested.

6.3.2 English use in EEM P1, P2 and P3

The use of English in EEM Primary Class One will first be examined. The use frequency scores are represented in Table 6.13 below. They show that English scores only 14.81% of the total frequency scores for all the four medium languages on the list.

Language Used	EEM P1	
	Frequencies	% of Total
English (L2)	108	14.81
Nigerian Language (NL)	193	26.47
NL/L2 Mix	422	57.89
Arabic	6	0.82
Total	729	

Table 6.13: EEM English frequency scores at the class level in Primary One.

As the English scores appear too low to support an instructional programme in the English medium, the ideal of "straight for English" implicit in the EEM policy seems far from being realized in P1.

EEM P1, P2, P3

Language Used	P1		P2		P3	
	Frequencies	% of total	Frequencies	% of total	Frequencies	% of total
English (L2)	108	14.81	112	20.82	242	40.60
Nigerian Language (NL)	193	26.47	121	22.49	69	11.58
NL/L2 Mix	422	57.89	298	55.39	271	45.47
Arabic	6	0.82	7	1.30	14	2.35
Total	729		538		596	

Table 6.14: Language Use frequency scores in EEM P1, P2, and P3.

English use frequency scores in EEM P2 and P3 are next examined for the rates of growth in the medium use of English. Table 6.14 contains the English frequency scores for EEM P1, P2 and P3. The figures are in all cases still much less than what is expected in EEM policy classes.

6.3.3 EEM and LEM P1, P2 and P3 Compared

How do the EEM P1, P2 and P3 English scores compared with those in LEM P1, P2 and P3? Tables 6.15A-C present the comparative

figures. The simple explanation for the wide EEM-LEM gap in each of the three classes is that English is not the medium of instruction in LEM P1-P3. The effect of the two medium policies seem therefore to have been reflected somehow in the English frequency scores at these lower primary classes. This issue will be taken up when Hypothesis 2 is discussed in section 6.5 below.

Language Used	EEM P1		LEM P1	
	Frequencies	% of Total	Frequencies	% of Total
English (L2)	108	14.81	17	1.50
Nigerian Language (NL)	193	26.47	633	55.67
NL/L2 Mix	422	57.89	460	40.46
Arabic	6	0.82	27	2.37
Total	729		1137	

Table 6.15A: EEM Vs LEM language frequency scores in P1 compared. The differences are significant at $P \leq .001$.

P2: EEM vs LEM

Language Used	EEM P2		LEM P2	
	Frequencies	% of Total	Frequencies	% of Total
English (L2)	112	20.82	53	6.17
Nigerian Language (NL)	121	22.49	386	44.94
NL/L2 Mix	298	55.39	416	48.43
Arabic	7	1.30	4	0.47
Total	538		859	

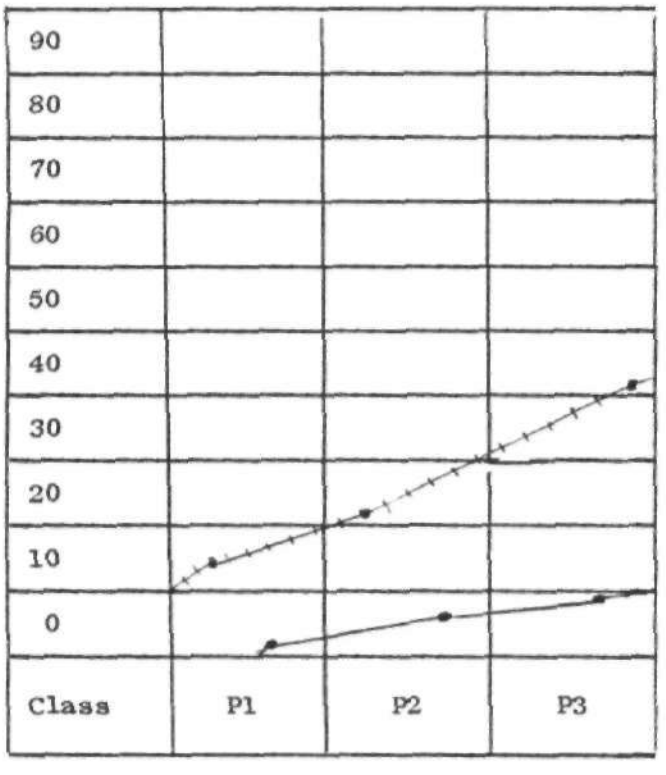
Table 6.15B: P2 EEM and LEM language frequency scores compared. The differences are significant at P≤.001.

P3: EEM vs LEM

Language Used	EEM P3		LEM P3	
	Frequencies	% of Total	Frequencies	% of Total
English (L2)	242	40.60	71	9.92
Nigerian Language (NL)	69	11.58	312	43.58
NL/L2 Mix	271	45.47	320	44.69
Arabic	14	2.35	13	1.82
Total	596		716	

Table 6.15C: P3 EEM and LEM language frequency scores compared. The differences are significant at P ≤.001.

The comparative scores along the two dimensions discussed in this and the previous section - that is, between EEM P1, P2 and P3, on the one hand, and between EEM P1, P2 and P3 and LEM P1, P2 and P3, on the other - are now represented in Fig. 6.4 below.



		Scores	%
P1	LEM	17	1.50
	EEM	108	14.81
P2	LEM	53	6.17
	EEM	112	20.82
P3	LEM	71	9.92
	EEM	242	40.60

Key: LEM ——————
EEM +-+-+-+-+-+-+-

Fig. 6.4: Polygon comparing the English frequency scores between EEM P1, P2 and P3; and between EEM P1-P3 and LEM P1-P3.

6.3.4 The Effects of PEIP on EEM English Scores

We saw in 6.2.8 that the English scores in EEM P4 have not been influenced by PEIP. That is, the differences between PEIP English and non-PEIP English scores are not statistically significant in EEM P4 (Table 6.9). How significant are the PEIP-UPE differences in EEM P1-P3? Tables 6.16A-C contain comparative

scores for both PEIP and UPE in each of EEM P1-P3. In none of the three EEM classes are the differences in the PEIP vs UPE language scores significant. Again, this tends to suggest that teachers' use of medium languages in EEM classes 1-3 is not influenced one way or another by PEIP.

EEM P1

Language Used	PEIP		UPE	
	Frequencies	% of Total	Frequencies	% of Total
English (L2)	59	14.94	49	14.67
Nigerian Language (NL)	109		84	
NL/L2 Mix	223		199	
Arabic	4		2	
Total	395		334	

Table 6.16A: PEIP-UPE language use scores compared in EEM P1. The difference is not statistically significant ($P \leq .70$).

EEM P2

Language Used	PEIP		UPE	
	Frequencies	% of Total	Frequencies	% of Total
English (L2)	63	22.58	49	18.92
Nigerian Language (NL)	68		53	
NL/L2 Mix	144		154	
Arabic	4		3	
Total	279		259	

Table 6.16B: Comparative language use frequency scores in EEM P2 for PEIP and UPE. Differences in the two sets of scores are significant only at $P \leq .20$.

EEM P3

Language Used	PEIP		UPE	
	Frequencies	% of Total	Frequencies	% of Total
English (L2)	132	41.38	110	39.71
Nigerian Language (NL)	36		33	
NL/L2 Mix	143		128	
Arabic	8		6	
Total	319		277	

Table 6.16C: PEIP-UPE language use frequency scores in EEM P3. Differences in scores are non-significant ($P \leq .95$).

6.3.5 Language Use Scores by content-subject in EEM Classes 1, 2, and 3

The pattern and rate of growth in the medium use of English in EEM classes 1, 2, and 3 has been shown (Fig. 6.4) and has also been compared with the pattern in LEM classes 1, 2, and 3. In both cases

EEM P1-3: Mathematics

Language Used						
	Frequencies	% of total	Frequencies	% of total	Frequencies	% of total
English (L2)	37	32.74	35	41.18	60	60.00
Nigerian Language (NL)	5		1		2	
NL/L2 Mix	71		49		38	
Arabic	0		0		0	
Total	113		85		100	

Table 6.17A: Language use frequency scores in Mathematics in each of EEM P1-3.

language use scores have been shown at the class level. We shall now look at the distribution of the scores at the content-subject level. Tables 6.17A-6.17G show these content-subject scores.

EEM P1-3: Creative Activities

Language Used	P1		P2		P3	
	Frequencies	% of total	Frequencies	% of total	Frequencies	% of total
English (L2)	26	23.85	21	29.58	26	39.39
Nigerian Language (NL)	11		13		10	
NL/L2 Mix	72		37		30	
Arabic	0		0		0	
Total	109		71		66	

Table 6.17B: Language Use frequency scores in Creative Activities in each of EEM P1, P2 and P3.

EEM P1-3: Cultural Activities

Language Used	P1		P2		P3	
	Frequencies	% of total	Frequencies	% of total	Frequencies	% of total
English (L2)	8	7.69	8	11.59	14	19.72
Nigerian Language (NL)	49		28		26	
NL/L2 Mix	47		33		31	
Arabic	0		0		0	
Total	104		69		71	

Table 6.17C: Language Use frequency scores in Cultural Activities in each of EEM P1, P2, and P3.

EEM P1-3: Physical Education

Language Used	P1		P2		P3	
	Frequencies	% of total	Frequencies	% of total	Frequencies	% of total
English (L2)	28	24.78	30	34.48	46	44.23
Nigerian Language (NL)	13		7		5	
NL/L2 Mix	72		50		53	
Arabic	0		0		0	
Total	113		87		104	

Table 6.17D: Language Use scores in Physical Education in EEM P1, P2 and P3.

EEM P1-3: R.K.

Language Used	P1		P2		P3	
	Frequencies	% of total	Frequencies	% of total	Frequencies	% of total
English (L2)	4	3.81	4	5.06	17	18.48
Nigerian Language (NL)	63		47		30	
NL/L2 Mix	32		21		31	
Arabic	6		7		14	
Total	105		79		92	

Table 6.17E: Language Use frequency scores in Religious Knowledge in EEM P1, P2 and P3.

EEM P1-3: Social Studies

Language Used	P1		P2		P3	
	Frequencies	% of total	Frequencies	% of total	Frequencies	% of total
English (L2)	13	12.62	13	15.48	45	44.12
Nigerian Language (NL)	20		21		5	
NL/L2 Mix	70		50		52	
Arabic	0		0		0	
Total	103		84		102	

Table 6.17F: Language use frequency scores in Social Studies in each of EEM primary classes 1, 2 and 3.

EEM P1-3: Science

Language Used	P1		P2		P3	
	Frequencies	% of total	Frequencies	% of total	Frequencies	% of total
English (L2)	13	12.62	13	15.48	47	48.45
Nigerian Language (NL)	20		11		6	
NL/L2 Mix	70		56		44	
Arabic	0		0		0	
Total	103		84		97	

Table 6.17G: Language use frequency scores in Elementary Science in each of EEM primary classes 1-3.

functions than what the EEM policy specifies. The English use situation in the upper primary classes (Fig. 6.5 below) presents a similar picture. Hypothesis One is thus confirmed in all primary classes.

(ii) PEIP-UPE (EEM) English use scores are not significantly different from each other at both class and content-subject levels in all EEM classes (Tables 6.16A-6.16C).

(iii) English frequency scores in individual content-subjects in EEM P1 through P3 are highest in Mathematics (32.74, 41.18, 60.00 in P, P2 and P3 respectively) and lowest in Religious Knowledge (3.81, 5.06, 18.48 in P1, P2 and P3 respectively. Table 6.18).

In terms of English frequency scores most content-subjects in the early years of EEM, that is in P1, P2 and P3, come in the same rank order as in the early year of LEM, that is, in LEM P4, as in Table 6.19 below. The exceptions are Creative Activities, which come 3rd in EEM but 5th in LEM P4, and R.K. which is last in EEM P1-3 but replacing Cultural Activities, which comes last in LEM P4. This point is of interest to the gradual and selective pattern of teachers' English use and will be taken up again in section 6.6 when Hypothesis Three is examined.

Subjects in Rank Order	EEM			LEM
	P1 %	P2 %	P3 %	P4 %
Mathematics	32.74	41.18	60.00	43.66
Physical Education	24.78	34.48	44.23	43.06
Creative Activities	23.85	29.58	39.39	20.41
Elementary Science	12.62	15.48	48.45	33.80
Social Studies	12.62	15.48	44.12	29.41
Cultural Activities	7.69	11.59	19.72	12.96
R.K.	3.81	5.06	18.48	19.05

Table 6.19: Content-subject Rank Order in terms of their English scores in EEM P1-3 and in LEM P4.

6.4 English Use Frequencies and Hypothesis One: Summary

6.4.1 LEM and EEM Scores at the Class Level

The hypothesis that teachers use much less English in teaching content-subjects than the amount specified by, or implicit in, both LEM and EEM policies is confirmed by the data examined. Both LEM and EEM have simultaneous and abrupt approach to MT. This means that at the points of MT specified by them, all content-subject instruction is fully conducted in English. As predicted, there is a very clear mismatch between these specifications at the Formulation and Syllabus Levels and teachers' actual practice.

In the case of LEM, although the point of MT is the beginning of P4, at which point instruction in all content-subjects begins to be conducted in English, only in 33.41% of all instruction cases in LEM P4 was this policy adhered to by teachers (Sections 6.2.1-6.2.2). The rest of the instruction frequencies went to Nigerian Language (14.48%), NL/English mixture (48.78%) and Arabic (3.34%). In LEM P5, that is, the second post-MT year, only 41.58% of all content-subject instruction was conducted in English. This figure rose to 61.11% in LEM P6, that is, in the third and final post-MT year under the LEM instructional programme. Thus, at the end of PE, the LEM policy of full and simultaneous MT effected in P4 was found not fully implemented. In other words, the mismatch between LEM policy formulation as regards the use of English for content-subject instruction and the actual use of the language for the same purpose by teachers runs consistently through all the 3 post-MT years (Section 6.2.3 and Table 6.4).

In the case of EEM, the mismatch between policy and classroom practice regarding MT and the medium use of English is much greater than with LEM. In P1, the declared point of MT by the EEM policy, only 14.81% of all content-subject instruction was in fact conducted in English. For the subsequent post-MT years the rates of English use were found to be consistently much lower than the EEM policy expectations (see Fig. 6.5 below). However, at the end of PE, the mismatch between policy formulation and its implementation was considerably narrowed with the English use rate closing at 82.42%. This is a much better performance than the terminal 61.11% for LEM. It should, however, be noted that EEM's 82.42% English use rate in P6 is achieved over a 6-year post-MT span, while the 61.11%

for LEM is over a 3-year post-MT period.

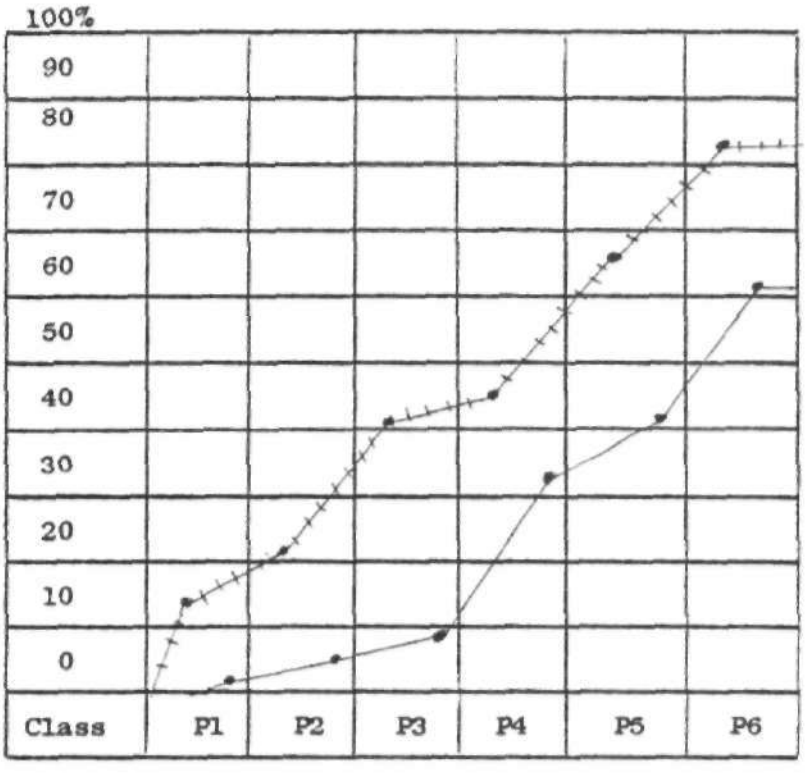
The LEM-EEM comparative English medium use rates as stated above are represented in Fig. 6.5 below. It should also be noted that although the LEM English medium use span is officially only 3 years, as has earlier been stated, in practice (see Section 6.3.3 and Fig. 6.5 below) some use of English for medium functions is found in LEM P1-3, when English has only a subject function. This explains, at least partially, why LEM takes off with a higher English use rate (33.41%) at the declared point of MT (i.e. in P4) than that for EEM (14.81%) at a corresponding point of MT in P1. A partial explanation, too, for this trend is likely to be found in the influence of the antecedent subject function of English over its subsequent use as a medium language.[6]

6.4.2 LEM and EEM English scores at the individual content-subject level

The hypothesis that teachers use much less English in teaching content-subjects than what each LEM-EEM policy specifies or expects is also confirmed at the individual content-subject level. In none of the 7 content-subjects surveyed was English used as the oral medium of instruction in the first year after MT by up to 50% of all the teachers surveyed in the LEM and EEM transition classes. Similarly, no subject scored up to 90% of all use frequencies in P6, that is, at the end of primary schooling. But the range of scores among the content-subjects in each policy class is, in some cases, significantly wide. In the first year after MT, that is, in P4 under the LEM policy, English use frequency scores ranged from 43.66% for Mathematics to 12.96% for Cultural Activities (Section 6.2.5 and Fig. 6.2). In EEM P1, that is, EEM's first post-MT year,

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6 There is thus a possible language planning value to be derived from a data-based comparison of the merits of introducing the subject functions of an L2 i) prior to, or (ii) concurrent with, its medium functions. In our data, LEM is associated with (i), and EEM with (ii).



ENGLISH

		Scores	%
P1	LEM	(1.50)	
	EEM		14.81
P2	LEM	(6.17)	
	EEM		20.81
P3	LEM	(9.92)	
	EEM		40.60
P4	LEM	33.41	
	EEM		45.90
P5	LEM	41.58	
	EEM		67.33
P6	LEM	61.11	
	EEM		82.42

KEY: LEM

EEM

Fig. 6.5: English medium use rates in the primary school compared for LEM (P4-6) and EEM (P1-6). LEM frequency rates for P1-3 are each bracketed to indicate that English is not a medium language in these classes.

the range was from 32.74% for Mathematics to 3.81% for Religious Knowledge (Section 6.3.5 and Table 6.18 above).

The inter-subject range tended to be steady to the end of PE. For instance, in the EEM policy classes the P6 English use scores ranged from 87.5% for Mathematics, Social Studies and Primary Science to 52% for Religious Knowledge, a gap of 35.5% between the highest and the lowest. The gap was wider in the LEM policy classes where the P6 range was from 85.71% for Mathematics to 28.57% for Religious Knowledge, a gap of 47.14% between the highest and the lowest scores (Table 6.29). Thus, in both policy cases, the inter-subject range in the use of English for medium functions widened, rather than narrowed, from year to year with respect to certain content-subjects (e.g. Physical Education/Mathematics vs R.K./Cultural Activities).

On the whole, the following trends were observed at the subject level.

(i) In each subject the English use scores increase steadily (fast in some subjects, slow in others) from year to year, although the mismatch between policy expectation and actual use remains at the end of PE. There was no case of regression, that is, an alternation between a rise and a fall below the previous level, in the use of English in succeeding classes (more of this under Hypothesis 3 in Section 6.6).

(ii) Some subjects started in the first post-MT year with relatively high English use frequency scores, while some started with relatively low scores. These positions were maintained till the end of PE; that is, consistently relatively high throughout the post-MT years, or consistently relatively low. This tends to imply that certain subjects are associated more

with English instruction than with instruction in other medium languages; and conversely, that there are others associated more with Nigerian language instruction than with English (to be taken up in Section 6.6 below).

(iii) The ranking of content-subjects in terms of their English frequency scores is maintained, not only from class to class throughout the post-MT primary span, as has been suggested in (ii) above, but in the same order in both LEM and EEM classes. Mathematics, for instance, maintained its lead over all the other subjects from class to class in both LEM and EEM policy schools. Similarly, R.K. has the lowest English use scores in all post-MT classes under both policies[7] (Table 6.29 below). A similar inference to that drawn in (ii) above can also be drawn here.

(iv) The English use terminal scores (that is, in P6) by LEM and EEM are significantly different at the class level with a gap of 21.31% (EEM 82.42%-LEM 61.11%) between them. In contrast at the subject level, finishing points at P6 between matched content-subjects in both policies were very close with some subjects (e.g. Mathematics - EEM 87.5% vs LEM 85.71%; Creative Activities - EEM 66.67% vs LEM 62.5%) and far apart with other subjects (e.g. Cultural Activities - EEM 60% vs LEM 33.33%; R.K. EEM 52% vs LEM 28.57%).

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7 Except in LEM P4 where R.K's 19.05% English score exceeded the 12.96% scored by Cultural Activities. This was, however, an isolated case that can be treated as a chance occurrence.

To conclude this section, the trends identified above tend to suggest that the use of English for content-subject instruction is influenced more by the nature of each content-subject than by policy formulation differentials. Secondly, English as a medium language increases its strength with each succeeding year from gradual with some subjects to slightly fast with others. In no case is English a full medium from beginning to the end of the post-MT primary stage. Thus, both at the class level and at the subject level, the hypothesis is proved that teachers use much less English than the amount suggested and expected by both LEM and EEM policies.

6.4.3 The Influence of Primary Education Improvement Project (PEIP) on the English Frequency Scores

Contrary to expectations, the PEIP has had no traceable effect on primary teachers' choice and use of medium language, in particular English, regardless of the educational language policy and instructional programme being implemented. Both at the class and content-subject level, at the early or later post-MT stage, under either LEM or EEM policy, the pattern of choice and use of English for content-subject instruction by PEIP teachers was in almost all cases similar to that by non-PEIP (or UPE) teachers (Sections 6.2.6; 6.2.8; 6.3.4 above). Only in P6 was the PEIP-UPE language choice/use difference statistically significant at $P \leq .05$. Table 6.20 shows the significance level of the PEIP-UPE difference in each post-MT class.

Considering the fact that PEIP has access to, and does use, the best qualified of available teachers in each of the northern states, it seems surprising that this staffing advantage, inter alia, was not reflected in the way the PEIP teachers were found to implement the language policies (LEM and EEM) adopted by PEIP and in the

PEIP-UPE (P1-6) Differences

Primary Class	Medium Policy	Statistical Significance
P1	EEM	$P \leq .70$
P2	EEM	$P \leq .20$
P3	EEM	$P \leq .95$
P4	LEM	$P \leq .98$
P4	EEM	$P \leq .90$
P4	LEM-EEM	$P \leq .99$
P5	LEM-EEM	$P \leq .50$
P6	LEM-EEM	$P \leq .05$

Table 6.20: The significance levels of the PEIP-UPE differences at the class level in each post-MT class under each medium policy.

efficient use of which they receive constant on-the-job training and on-the-spot assistance of mobile teacher trainers appointed for this purpose.

PEIP's lack of influence on its teachers' choice and use of English for instruction purposes, in spite of its better teacher supply than the UPE, tends to reduce the importance of educational qualifications of primary school teachers as a variable by which to account for the low English use frequency scores in our data. Strong as the suspicion might be that low educational attainments by teachers and their reluctance to teach in English were related (not proved in this study), the opposite seems unlikely, that is, that high educa-

tional qualifications by teachers and a faithful implementation of the existing medium policies are necessarily related.

The most plausible explanation for the failure of PEIP to influence its teachers' use of English for medium functions relates to the adoption by PEIP of the existing language organisation implicit in both LEM and EEM policies. As Omojuwa (1978: 368) puts it:

> "In terms of its language policy and planning, the PEIP has broken no new ground. It has merely followed the existing order, with some modifications."

By adopting the existing language policies and therefore their abrupt and simultaneous approach to MT, PEIP has found itself working on the wrong dimension of the MT profile, given the Nigerian English use situation (1.5-1.6 above, 8. below). It has thus made it difficult, if not impossible, for its teachers to effectively exploit both English and NL for medium and other practical communicative functions. Finally, in the PEIP failure can be seen a practical illustration of the futility of attempts, even by projects equipped with fairly up to date gadgets, at operating an instructional programme based on the wrong approach to MT, particularly in a language learning and use situation far removed in space from the communities for whom the target language is a native tongue.

6.5 Hypothesis Two: Analysis of Data

6.5.1 The Hypothesis

The second research hypothesis is that teachers' use of a medium is determined by the nature of a content-subject rather than by the official medium policies obtaining in the schools in which they teach.

For the hypothesis to be confirmed, it was expected that teachers' medium choice/use would be:

(a) undifferentiated along the LEM-EEM dimension. That is, both LEM and EEM teachers would choose media of instruction in the same way, or if differently, choice differences would not reflect compliance with the LEM and EEM policies;

(b) similar with regard to specific content-subjects irrespective of the medium policies underlying their instructional programmes. That is, teachers' medium choice/use would discriminate among content-subjects within each class or primary grade rather than between classes and grades as is consistent with LEM and EEM policies.

In operational terms, the following were expected.

(i) The differences in the language use frequencies scored by LEM and EEM groups would be statistically non-significant

  (a) at the class level for the medium languages surveyed and in each of P1 to P6;

  (b) at the content-subject level for all medium languages in each of P1 to P6.

(ii) The differences in the language use frequencies scored by various content-subjects (e.g. between the highest and the lowest scoring subjects) in each primary class would be statistically significant. This pattern would be

similar in both LEM and EEM policy groups.

6.5.2 LEM vs EEM Language Choice/Use Scores at the Class Level

The frequency scores for all languages in each of Primary classes one to six were compared between LEM and EEM policy groups. The differences were statistically significant in each case, as can be seen in Tables 6.21A-6.21F. The results for P1-P6 are summarised in Table 6.22.

The frequency scores for each of the four "languages" surveyed in all the primary classes (P1-6) were then separately compared between LEM and EEM policy groups at the class level. The differences were also found to be statistically significant in each case, as shown in Tables 6.23A-6.23D and also in the summary in Table 6.24.

Thus, with regard to this particular aspect (in 6.5.1 above) of the prediction being considered, the research hypothesis was not confirmed. In other words, the choice of a language of instruction by the primary school teachers in our sample was found to be differentiated along the LEM-EEM policy dimension at the class level. But the class level is only one of two levels to be considered. The other is the content-subject level, to which we now turn.

6.5.3 Teachers' Medium Choice at the Subject Level

The pattern of teachers' choice of media at the content-subject level is slightly different from that revealed at the class level. Although, on the whole, LEM-EEM policy differences are reflected at the subject level, it is not with all the content-subjects that this is the case. Whereas LEM-EEM difference at the class level was highly significant at $P \leq .001$ in P1, in only two subjects (Creative Activities and Physical Education) were similar differences

significant at that level in P1 (Table 6.25). Medium policy differences were least significant in Mathematics and Primary Science in P1 ($P \leq .50$ and $P \leq .30$ respectively). A similar pattern of contrast between class and content-subject differences between EEM and LEM can be observed in P2. Only in P3 were medium policy differences highly significant ($P \leq .001$) in the majority of the subjects (Mathematics, Creative Activities, Physical Education, Social Studies and Science). In P4 and P5 (chi squared test could not be conducted on P6 figures because they were too small to be sensitive to it), in no subject was the LEM-EEM difference significant at $P \leq .001$. This, again, contrasts with the medium policy differences at the class level where differences were significant at $P \leq .001$ in each of P1-P5 and $P \leq .01$ in P6.

Two patterns of medium choice seem to have emerged at the content-subject level. The first, observed in P1-P3, shows between small and big differences along LEM-EEM policy lines in the choice by teachers of media of instruction. The second pattern, observed in P4-P5, shows only very small differences along the same policy lines. The two patterns that have emerged seem to be consistent with the two stages of PE. The first stage is that at which by the LEM policy Nigerian Language is the medium of instruction and by the EEM policy English is the medium. The second stage (P4-P6) is that at which the medium (English) is the same for both policies.

On the whole, the differences in the LEM and EEM policies tend to show in teachers' choice of media largely at the class level and also to some extent at the subject level in P1-P3.

P1

Language Used	LEM P1		EEM P1	
	Frequencies	% of Total	Frequencies	% of Total
English (L2)	17	1.50	108	14.81
Nigerian Language (NL)	633	55.67	193	26.47
NL/L2 Mix	460	40.46	422	57.89
Arabic	27	2.37	6	0.82
Total	1137		729	

Table 6.21A: LEM vs EEM Class language use/choice frequency scores in P1.
LEM-EEM differences are statistically significant at $P \leq .001$

P2

	LEM P2		EEM P2	
	Frequencies	% of Total	Frequencies	% of Total
English (L2)	53	6.17	112	20.82
Nigerian Language (NL)	386	44.94	121	22.49
NL/L2 Mix	416	48.43	298	55.39
Arabic	4	0.47	7	1.38
Total	859		538	

Table 6.21B: LEM vs EEM class language choice frequency scores in P2: LEM-EEM differences are significant at $P \leq .001$

P3

Language Used	LEM P3		EEM P3	
	Frequencies	% of Total	Frequencies	% of Total
English (L2)	71	9.92	242	40.60
Nigerian Language (NL)	312	43.58	69	11.58
NL/L2 Mix	320	44.69	271	45.47
Arabic	13	1.82	14	2.35
Total	716		596	

Table 6.21C: LEM vs EEM language choice/use frequency scores at the class level in P3. LEM-EEM differences are significant at $P \leq .001$.

P4

	LEM P4		EEM P4	
	Frequencies	% of Total	Frequencies	% of Total
English (L2)	150	33.41	263	45.90
Nigerian Language (NL)	65	14.48	52	9.08
NL/L2 Mix	219	48.78	242	42.23
Arabic	15	3.34	16	2.79
Total	449		573	

Table 6.21D: LEM vs EEM language choice/use frequency scores at the class level in P4. LEM-EEM differences are significant at $P \leq .001$.

P5

Language Used	LEM P5		EEM P5	
	Frequencies	% of Total	Frequencies	% of Total
English (L2)	84	41.58	68	67.33
Nigerian Language (NL)	27	13.37	6	5.94
NL/L2 Mix	85	42.08	27	26.73
Arabic	6	2.97	0	0.00
Total	202		101	

Table 6.21E: LEM vs EEM language choice and use frequency scores at the class level in P5. LEM-EEM differences are significant at $P \leq .001$.

P6

	LEM P6		EEM P6	
	Frequencies	% of Total	Frequencies	% of Total
English (L2)	55	61.11	75	82.42
Nigerian Language (NL)	11	12.22	1	1.10
NL/L2 Mix	23	25.56	15	16.48
Arabic	1	1.11	0	0.00
Total	90		91	

Table 6.21F: LEM vs EEM language choice and use frequency scores at the class level in P6. LEM-EEM differences are significant at $P \leq .01$.

Primary Class	Statistical Significance
P1	$P \leq .001$
P2	$P \leq .001$
P3	$P \leq .001$
P4	$P \leq .001$
P5	$P \leq .001$
P6	$P \leq .01$

Table 6.22: The statistical significance of the differences in the LEM vs EEM language use frequencies at the class level in each of P1-P6.

LEM vs EEM ENGLISH Scores

Class	LEM	EEM	Total
P1	17	108	125
P2	53	112	165
P3	71	242	313
P4	150	263	413
P5	84	68	152
P6	55	75	130
Total	430	868	1298

Table 6.23A: English scores in P1-P6 compared for LEM and EEM. The differences are significant at $P \leq .001$.

LEM vs EEM NIGERIAN LANGUAGE Scores

Class	LEM	EEM	Total
P1	633	193	826
P2	386	121	507
P3	312	69	381
P4	65	52	117
P5	27	6	33
P6	11	1	12
Total	1434	442	1876

Table 6.23B: Nigerian Language scores in P1-P6 compared for LEM and EEM. The differences are significant at $P \leq .001$.

LEM vs EEM L2/NL MIX Scores

Class	LEM	EEM	Total
P1	460	422	882
P2	416	298	714
P3	320	271	591
P4	219	242	461
P5	85	27	112
P6	23	15	38
Total	1523	1275	2798

Table 6.23C: LN/L2 Scores in P1-P6 compared for LEM and EEM. The differences are significant at P≤.001.

LEM vs EEM ARABIC Scores

Class	LEM	EEM	Total
P1	27	6	33
P2	4	7	11
P3	13	14	27
P4	15	16	31
P5	6	0	6
P6	1	0	1
Total	66	43	109

Table 6.23D: Arabic scores in P1-P6 compared for LEM and EEM. The differences are significant at P≤.01.

The 4 language media: LEM vs EEM P1-6.

Medium of Instruction	Statistical Significance
English (L2)	$P \leq .001$
Nigerian Language (NL)	$P \leq .001$
NL/L2 Mix	$P \leq .001$
Arabic	$P \leq .01$

Table 6.24 The statistical significance of the differences between LEM and EEM frequencies in each language medium in P1-P6.

Primary Class	Content-subject						
	Maths	Creative Activities	Cultural Activities	Physical Education	Religious Knowledge	Social Studies	Primary Science
1	$P \leq .50$	$P \leq .001$	$P \leq .01$	$P \leq .001$	$P \leq .05$	$P \leq .01$	$P \leq .30$
2	$P \leq .30$	$P \leq .001$	$P \leq .01$	$P \leq .001$	$P \leq .20$	$P \leq .02$	$P \leq .20$
3	$P \leq .001$	$P \leq .001$	$P \leq .02$	$P \leq .001$	$P \leq .05$	$P \leq .001$	$P \leq .001$
4	**	$P \leq .01$	$P \leq .05$	$P \leq .30$	$P \leq .20$	$P \leq .10$	$P \leq .20$
5	$P \leq .30$	$P \leq .70$	$P \leq .30$	$P \leq .30$	$P \leq .99$	$P \leq .10$	$P \leq .50$
6	**	*	"	*	$P \leq .70$	*	*

Table 6.25: Summary of X^2 tests, and their statistical significance, on the comparative frequency scores for content-subjects in LEM vs EEM P1-P6.

* X^2 test cannot be applied on account of cell figures being too small, i.e. less than 5.

** X^2 test is not necessary because the figures in all the cells in each row of the contingency table have the same value: a case of total non-significance of differences.

6.5.4 Frequency Score differences among content-subjects in each Primary Class

Our second research prediction, it should be recalled (see 6.5.1 (ii) above), was that, in spite of what the official policy underlying their IPs says, teachers choose different media for different content-subjects within the same class, and that the choice variation between pairs of subjects within the same class would therefore be statistically significant. If this is the case, it was predicted, the pattern of language choice by both LEM and EEM teachers would be similar. That is, language choice variations between content-subjects in a class would be statistically significant alike in both LEM and EEM groups.

The assessment of the statistical significance of inter-subject variations in medium choice was made at the two levels of class and entire primary course (P1-P6 cumulatively). At the latter level, a wide gap clearly showed between the scores of pairs of subjects in each class in both policy groups. The score differences were significant statistically in each case (Table 6.27).

At the class-by-class level, inter-subject frequency score differences were also found to exist, as can be seen in Tables 6.28A-6.28D. But observed differences were widest in the early years and tend to narrow progressively toward the end of primary schooling. In no case did differences completely disappear between pairs of subjects anywhere during the primary course. In some cases like LEM Mathematics vs LEM R.K. in the English medium (Table 6.28A), the gap remained wide from P1 through P6.

The Null Hypothesis must therefore be rejected on this prediction.

Class: P1-P6

Subjects Compared	Policy Group	Statistical Significance
Mathematics Vs Cultural Activities	LEM	$P \leq .001$
Mathematics Vs Cultural Activities	EEM	$P \leq .001$
Physical and Health Education Vs Creative Activities	LEM	$P \leq .001$
Physical and Health Education Vs Creative Activities	EEM	$P \leq .001$
Primary Science Vs Religious Knowledge	LEM	$P \leq .001$
Primary Science Vs Religious Knowledge	EEM	$P \leq .001$

Table 6.27: Summary of the X^2 tests on the cumulative P1-P6 scores of individual content-subjects compared in pairs both within and across language policy groups.

Content-Subjects		PRIMARY CLASSES											
		P 1		P 2		P 3		P 4		P 5		P 6	
		LEM	EEM	LEM	EEM	LEM	EEM	LEM	EEM	LEM	EEM	LEM	EEM
Mathematics	LEM	2.30		11.45		13.45		43.66		57.58		85.71	
	EEM		32.74		41.18		60		61.90		78.95		87.5
Creative Activities	LEM	1.49		9.48		13.21		20.41		38.10		62.5	
	EEM		23.85		29.58		39.39		41.98		53.33		66.67
Cultural Activities	LEM	0.97		4.07		7.44		12.96		28.57		33.33	
	EEM		7.69		11.59		19.72		25.97		53.85		60
Physical Education	LEM	2.94		8.21		13.46		43.06		50.00		71.43	
	EEM		24.78		34.48		44.23		53.27		70.00		81.25
Religious Knowledge	LEM	0.62		3.2		9.17		19.05		19.35		28.57	
	EEM		3.81		5.06		18.48		28.87		38.46		52
Social Studies	LEM	1.22		7.19		8.77		29.41		44.44		69.23	
	EEM		12.62		15.48		44.12		49.07		76.47		87.5
Primary Science	LEM	1.92		3.08		8.40		33.80		54.05		75.00	
	EEM		12.62		15.48		48.45		52.00		72.22		87.5

Table 6.28A ..... *English (L2)* ..... frequency Scores Compared for

(i) LEM and EEM, (ii) all content-subjects, and (iii) all the primary classes (P1-6).

The figure in each cell is a percentage of the total frequencies for all (medium) languages in each subject in each class under each medium policy (LEM or EEM).

		PRIMARY CLASSES											
		P 1		P 2		P 3		P 4		P 5		P 6	
		LEM	EEM	LEM	EEM	LEM	EEM	LEM	EEM	LEM	EEM	LEM	EEM
Mathematics	LEM	39.66		21.37		24.37		2.82		0		0	
	EEM		4.42		1.18		2.00		2.82		0.00		0.00
Creative Activities	LEM	67.16		57.76		48.11		32.65		28.57		12.5	
	EEM		10.09		18.31		15.15		12.35		13.33		11.11
Cultural Activities	LEM	69.42		63.41		54.55		46.30		33.33		44.44	
	EEM		47.12		40.58		36.62		24.68		7.69		10.00
Physical Education	LEM	54.12		33.58		24.04		4.17		17.65		0	
	EEM		11.50		8.05		4.81		0.93		0.00		0.00
Religious Knowledge	LEM	64.81		63.2		61.47		39.68		38.71		35.71	
	EEM		60		59.49		32.61		28.87		23.08		32.00
Social Studies	LEM	50.61		43.17		30.70		5.88		3.70		0	
	EEM		19.42		25		4.90		1.85		5.88		0.00
Primary Science	LEM	38.46		37.69		30.25		8.45		5.41		0	
	EEM		19.42		13.10		6.19		3.00		5.56		0.00

Table ..6:288..... .Nigerian.Language.... frequency Scores Compared for

(i) LEM and EEM, (ii) all content-subjects, and (iii) all the primary classes (P1-6).

The figure in each cell is a percentage of the total frequencies for all (medium) languages in each subject in each class under each medium policy (LEM or EEM).

Content-subjects		PRIMARY CLASSES											
		P 1		P 2		P 3		P 4		P 5		P 6	
		LEM	EEM	LEM	EEM	LEM	EEM	LEM	EEM	LEM	EEM	LEM	EEM
Mathematics	LEM	58.05		67.18		62.18		53.52		42.42		14.29	
	EEM		62.83		57.65		38		53.52		21.05		12.5
Creative Activities	LEM	31.34		32.76		38.68		46.94		33.33		25.00	
	EEM		66.06		52.11		45.45		45.68		33.33		22.22
Cultural Activities	LEM	29.61		32.52		38.02		40.74		38.10		22.22	
	EEM		45.19		47.83		43.66		49.35		38.46		30
Physical Education	LEM	42.94		58.21		62.5		52.78		32.35		28.57	
	EEM		63.72		57.47		50.96		45.79		30		18.75
Religious Knowledge	LEM	17.90		30.4		17.43		17.46		22.58		28.57	
	EEM		30.48		26.92		33.70		25.77		38.46		16
Social Studies	LEM	48.17		49.64		60.53		64.71		51.85		30.77	
	EEM		67.96		59.52		50.98		49.07		17.65		12.5
Primary Science	LEM	59.62		59.23		61.34		57.75		40.54		25.00	
	EEM		67.96		66.67		45.36		45		22.22		12.5

Table 6.28C ..... NL/L2 MIX ..... frequency Scores Compared for

(i) LEM and EEM, (ii) all content-subjects, and (iii) all the primary classes (P1-6).

The figure in each cell is a percentage of the total frequencies for all (medium) languages in each subject in each class under each medium policy (LEM or EEM).

		PRIMARY CLASSES											
		P 1		P 2		P 3		P 4		P 5		P 6	
		LEM	EEM	LEM	EEM	LEM	EEM	LEM	EEM	LEM	EEM	LEM	EEM
Mathematics	LEM												
	EEM												
Creative Activities	LEM												
	EEM												
Cultural Activities	LEM												
	EEM												
Physical Education	LEM												
	EEM												
Religious Knowledge	LEM	16.67		3.2		11.93		23.81		19.35		7.14	
	EEM		5.71		8.86		15.22		16.49		0.00		0.00
Social Studies	LEM												
	EEM												
Primary Science	LEM												
	EEM												

Table 6.28D ..... ARABIC ..... frequency Scores Compared for

(i) LEM and EEM, (ii) all content-subjects, and (iii) all the primary classes (P1-6).

The figure in each cell is a percentage of the total frequencies for all (medium) languages in each subject in each class under each medium policy (LEM or EEM).

6.5.5 Language Choice and Hypothesis Two: Conclusions

The data presented in 6.5.2-6.5.4 above suggest that both the official language policies underlying primary instructional programmes and the nature of each content-subject in the primary school curriculum have had effects on the choice of media of instruction by the teachers in our sample.

On the one hand, language choice tended to vary along the LEM Vs EEM policy lines, particularly in the first 3 years of PE when LEM and EEM officially select different media of instruction - English by EEM and Nigerian Language by LEM. In these 3 years LEM teachers tended to choose and use different media from those selected by EEM teachers. For instance, the frequency of the choice of English for content-subject instruction by EEM teachers was significantly higher than that by the LEM group (Table 6.23A). The difference is explained by the fact that LEM is not supposed to select English for content-subject instruction at all at this stage. In spite of the gap between LEM and EEM in their choice of English as a medium, the full MT target officially set for EEM P1-P3 was far from being reached.

In P4-P6 the difference in the pattern of language choice and medium use between the two policy groups narrowed, becoming progressively less significant. This is perhaps explained by the fact that both policies officially select the same language (English) as the medium of instruction at this primary stage. In spite of this fact, the language choice difference between the two groups only narrowed but did not disappear completely even at the end of PE. This suggests that English, the common medium at the P4-P6 stage, was not being fully used by, at least, one of the two policy groups. Indeed full MT to English was not reached at the end of PE by either group.

On the other hand, teachers' choice of media of instruction has also been found to vary, in some cases significantly, from subject to subject within the same class. This cannot be attributed to LEM Vs EEM policy effects, for both policies are concerned with simultaneous language choice at the class level. This means that all content-subjects in the same class are taught in the same language.

The inter-subject language choice variation was particularly significant between subjects like Mathematics, Physical Education and Primary Science, on the one hand, and Cultural and Creative Activities and Religious Knowledge, on the other (Tables 6.27 and 6.28A-C). The variation pattern was the same with both policy groups, a fact which suggests that the trend cuts across language policy lines.

As Table 6.28A shows with regard to the inter-subject variation in the use of English, the differences between certain pairs of subjects run through the entire primary course. For instance, Mathematics in LEM P1 at 2.30% and in EEM P1 at 32.74% contrasts with R.K. P1 at 0.62% and 3.81% for LEM and EEM respectively. This difference is maintained in P4 LEM at 43.66% and EEM at 61.90% as against R.K. at 19.05% and 28.87% for LEM and EEM respectively in the same class (P4). In P6 the Mathematics Vs R.K. choice variation remains substantial at 85.71 and 87.5 (LEM and EEM Mathematics respectively) as against 28.57 and 52.00 (LEM and EEM R.K. respectively). The rates quoted above (Table 6.28A) refer in each case to the percentage of the English scores out of the total for all languages in each class in each policy group.

The educational and pedagogic significance of the observed patterns of both inter-subject and inter-policy language choice variation will be discussed in Chapter 7 below. Suffice it to say at this point,

by way of summing up this section, that language choice by the primary school teachers in our sample was found to be influenced partly by *official language policies* (LEM and EEM) and partly by (*the nature of*) content-subjects. However, the fact that inter-subject choice differences within each primary class persist beyond the 3rd year of PE when the LEM and EEM policies become synchronically undifferentiated in their selection and use of English as the medium of instruction (in P4-P6) tends clearly to suggest that the greater influence on language choice is exerted by the nature and type of the content-subjects in the primary curriculum.

6.6 HYPOTHESIS THREE

6.6.1 Defining the hypothesis

The research hypothesis No. 3 is that there is a predictable pattern to MT and that this pattern is consistent with the gradual and selective MT. The Null Hypothesis is that there is no such pattern. Theoretically, LEM teachers use NL for content-subject instruction until the end of the 3rd year. At the beginning of P4 they all switch over to the English medium in all subjects. Thus, theoretically, English was the language of instruction chosen by all the LEM teachers sampled in P4, P5 and P6. Similarly, EEM teachers theoretically choose English as the language of content-subject instruction from the beginning of Primary One and this choice is maintained to the end of PE.

By the research hypothesis, both LEM and EEM teachers would choose English in small measures in the lower classes and the rates of use of English would rise steadily - fast with some subjects, slow with others - till the end of PE. Furthermore, their choice of English would be subject selective: that is, in any particular class, especially in the early years, teachers in both policy groups would choose the English medium for some subjects and NL for others.

To reject the Null Hypothesis, the English language frequency scores from the points of MT specified by both LEM (P4) and EEM (P1) should

(a) be much less than 100%, and should thereafter rise (gradually) from class to class:

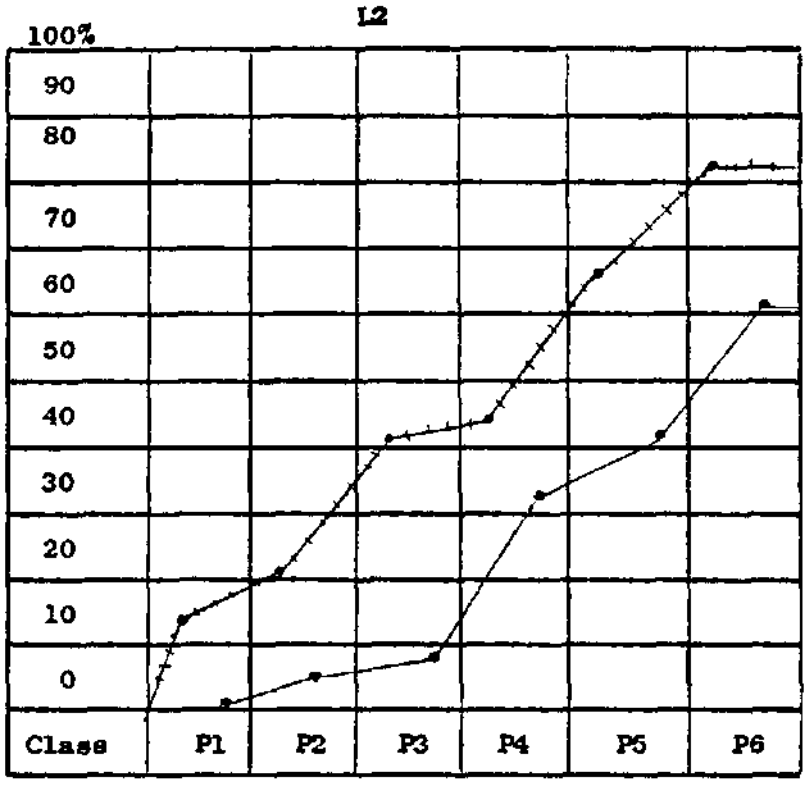
(b) vary from subject to subject, and the points at which 100% is obtained should also vary with different subjects.

6.6.2 Gradual Vs Abrupt MT

Points (a) and (b) have already been established - in both Hypothesis One (6.4.1 - 6.4.2) and Hypothesis Two - (6.5.4). Figure 6.6 (below) shows clearly that at neither LEM nor EEM point of MT (P4 and P1 respectively) are the class frequency scores for English near 100%. Far from this, they are 33.41% in LEM P4 and 14.81% in EEM P1. Figure 6.6 also shows a steady rise in the English scores to 82.42% in EEM P6 and to 61.11% in LEM P6. In neither the LEM nor EEM group does English score up to 90% of the total scores for all medium languages. An additional fact revealed in Fig. 6.6 is that although officially English starts being introduced as the medium of instruction in LEM P4, a medium use of English can be found in LEM P1 (1.50%, LEM P2 (6.17%) and LEM P3 (9.92%) where English has only a subject function officially. This fact is of importance at the subject level to which attention will be drawn in the section that follows.

6.6.3 Selective Vs Simultaneous MT

Table 6.28A reveals the selective nature of MT to English as effected by the teachers in our sample. In both LEM and EEM policy groups the approach is the same. In the LEM group, where MT to English is delayed until the beginning of the 4th year, Table 6.28A shows that the use of English for medium functions is in practice not totally delayed till the 4th year and that English is used, although restrictively, in content-subject instruction in LEM P1-3. Its use frequencies vary markedly from one content-subject to another. For example, the range in P1 is from Physical Education (2.94%) and Mathematics (2.30%) to Cultural Activities



English (L2)

		Scores	%
	LEM	17	1.50
	EEM	108	14.81
	LEM	53	6.17
	EEM	112	20.82
	LEM	71	9.92
	EEM	242	40.60
	LEM	150	33.41
	EEM	263	45.90
	LEM	84	41.58
	EEM	68	67.33
	LEM	55	61.11
	EEM	75	82.42

KEY: LEM

EEM

Fig. 6.6: English frequency scores at the Class Level in P1 - P6 in both LEM and EEM.

(0.97%) and R.K. (0.62%); in P2 from Mathematics (11.45%) to R.K. (3.2%); and in P3 from Maths (13.45) and Physical Education (13.46%) to Cultural Activities 7.44%. In the EEM group where MT is officially effected in P1, the range in the use of English in P1 is from Mathematics (32.74%) to R.K. (3.81%). Through P1 to P6 the range in both policy groups is between Maths (and/or Physical Education on the one hand) and R.K. (and Cultural Activities on the other). The pattern of the rising English use is, as can be seen in figures 6.7A-6.7G, from 0.62% (R.K.) in LEM P1 to 87.5% (Mathematics) in EEM P6. This makes R.K. the least sensitive to an early MT, and Mathematics the most sensitive to it.

6.6.4 Summary and Conclusions

6.6.4.1 Selective and Gradual Vs Simultaneous and Abrupt MT

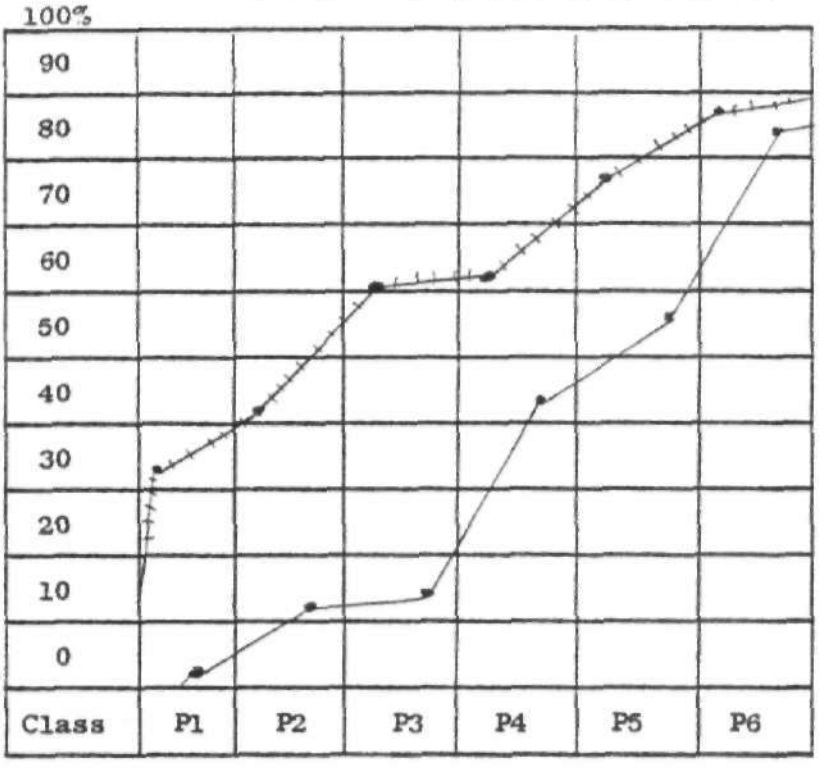
Figures 6.6 and 6.7A-G (above) illustrate pictorially the gradualness of MT as effected in practice by the teachers in our sample. In no subject is MT begun and completed at the same point/class, contrary to what LEM and EEM policies suggest. Similarly, in no subject is full MT achieved during the PE course.

The selective nature of "teacher-effected" MT is revealed by a class-by-class comparison of the English frequency scores in various content-subjects as in Table 6.29 (below).[8] This can be made more easily understood by imagining, hypothetically, that MT to English can be effected only at a fixed, minimal rate of observed English use. Suppose, for example, 40% English use rate (frequency scores)

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8 cf. Table 6.28A (above). Both show the same figures. Table 6.29 is presented here for ease of reference.

P1 - 6 Mathematics in English



English

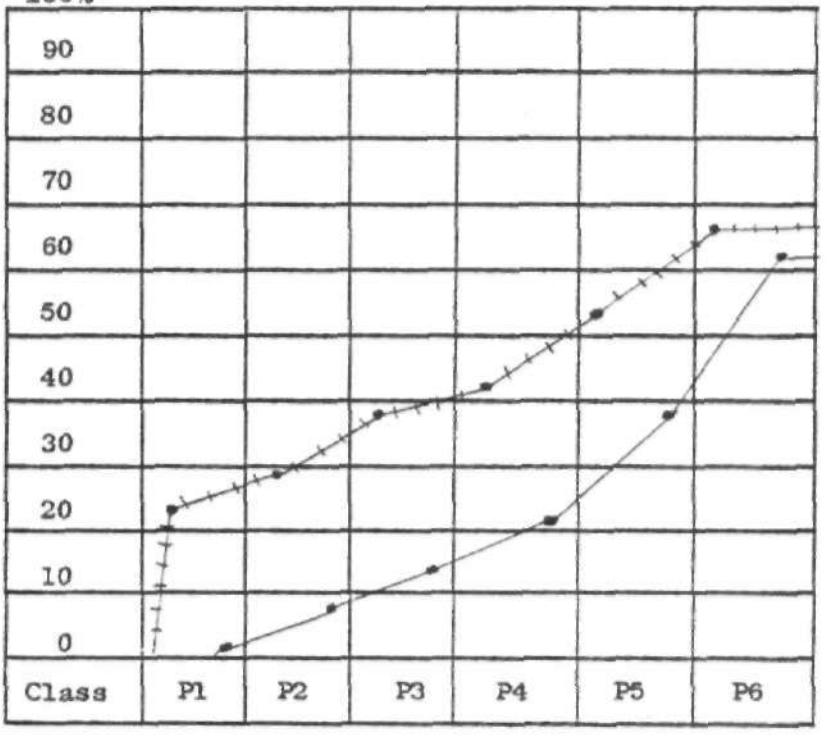
		Scores	%
P1	LEM	4	2.30
	EEM	37	32.74
P2	LEM	15	11.45
	EEM	35	41.18
P3	LEM	16	13.45
	EEM	60	60.00
P4	LEM	31	43.66
	EEM	31	61.90
P5	LEM	19	57.58
	EEM	15	78.95
P6	LEM	12	85.71
	EEM	14	87.5

KEY: LEM

EEM

Fig. 6.7A: Polygon showing English Use Rates in Mathematics in P1 - P6.

P1 - 6 Creative Activities in English



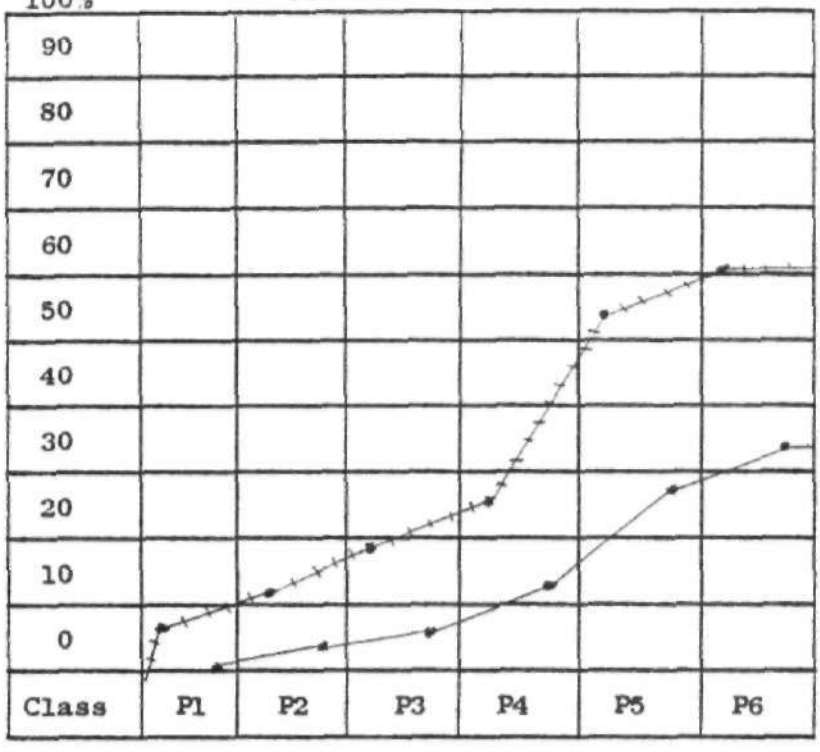
English

		Scores	%
P1	LEM	3	1.49
	EEM	26	23.85
P2	LEM	11	9.48
	EEM	21	29.58
P3	LEM	14	13.21
	EEM	26	39.39
P4	LEM	10	20.41
	EEM	34	41.98
P5	LEM	8	38.10
	EEM	8	53.33
P6	LEM	5	62.5
	EEM	6	66.67

KEY: LEM

EEM

Fig. 6.7B: Polygon showing English Use Rates in Creative Activities in P1 - P6.

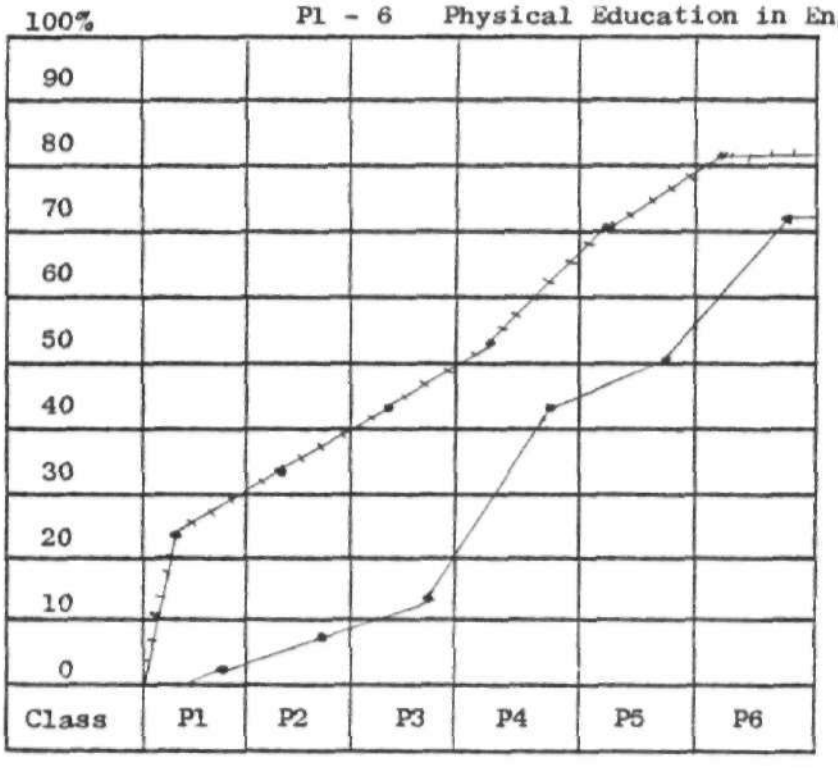


English

		Scores	%
P1	LEM	2	0.97
	EEM	8	7.69
P2	LEM	5	4.07
	EEM	8	11.59
P3	LEM	9	7.44
	EEM	14	19.72
P4	LEM	7	12.96
	EEM	20	25.97
P5	LEM	6	28.57
	EEM	7	53.85
P6	LEM	3	33.33
	EEM	6	60.00

KEY: LEM
EEM

Fig. 6.7C: Polygon showing English Use Rates in Cultural Activities in P1 - P6.

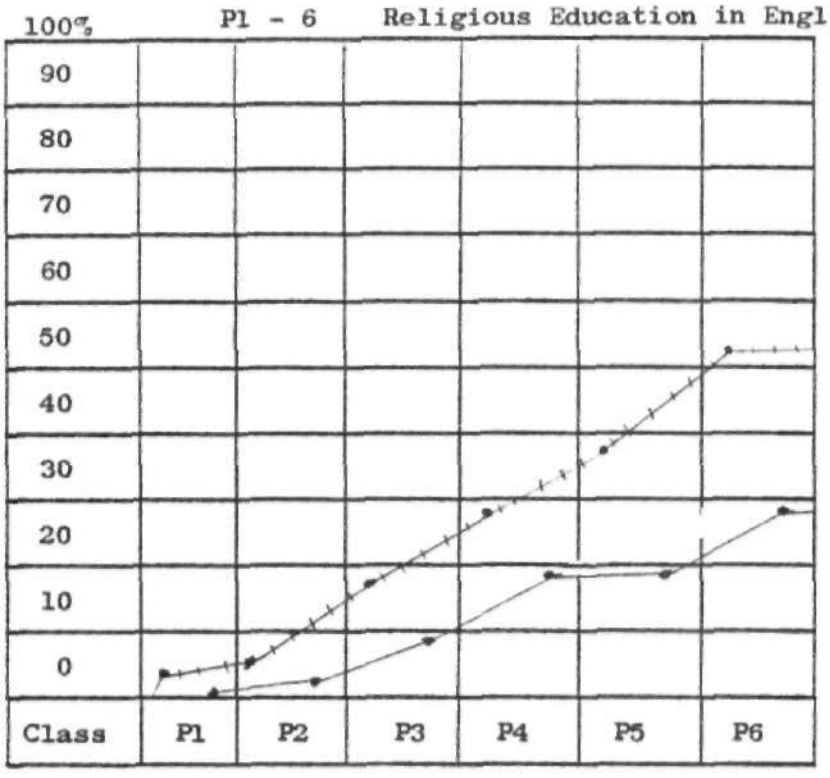


English

		Scores	%
P1	LEM	5	2.94
	EEM	28	24.78
P2	LEM	11	8.21
	EEM	30	34.48
P3	LEM	14	13.46
	EEM	46	44.23
P4	LEM	31	43.06
	EEM	57	53.27
P5	LEM	17	50.00
	EEM	14	70.00
P6	LEM	10	71.43
	EEM	13	81.25

KEY: LEM
EEM

Fig. 6.7D: Polygon showing English Use Rates in Physical Education in P1 - P6.



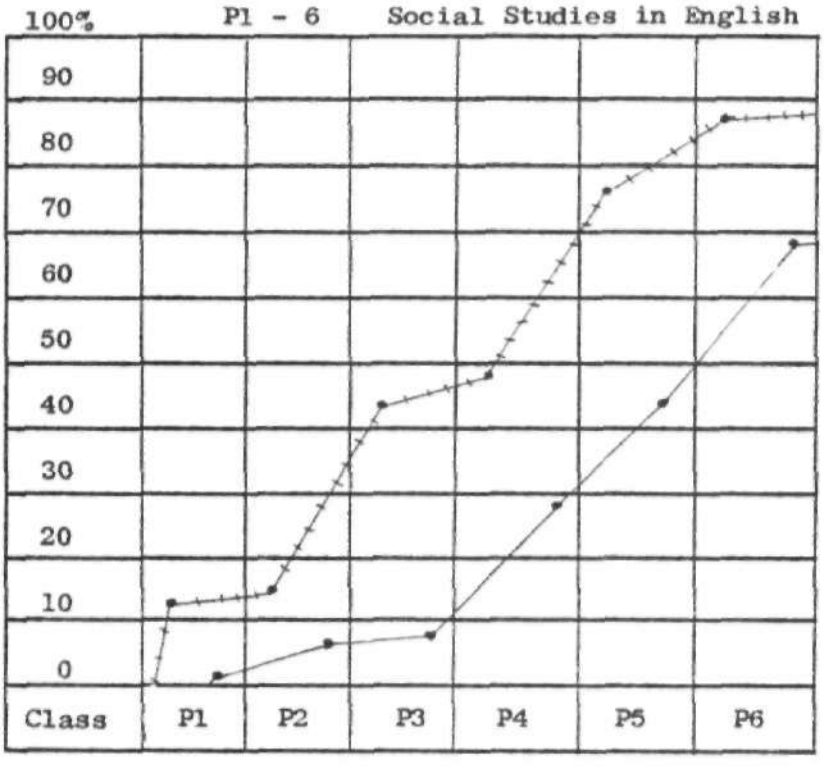
English

		Scores	%
P1	LEM	1	0.62
	EEM	4	3.81
P2	LEM	4	3.2
	EEM	4	5.06
P3	LEM	10	9.17
	EEM	17	18.48
P4	LEM	12	19.05
	EEM	28	28.87
P5	LEM	6	19.35
	EEM	5	38.46
P6	LEM	4	28.57
	EEM	13	52.00

KEY: LEM

EEM

Fig. 6.7E: Polygon showing English Use Rates in Religious Knowledge in P1 - P6.



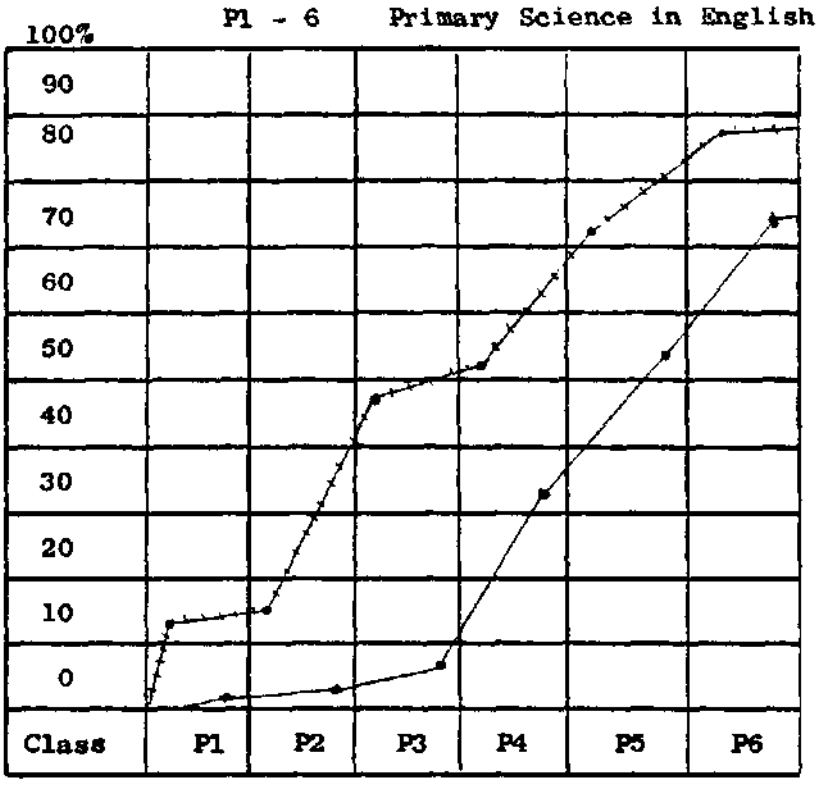
English

		Scores	%
P1	LEM	2	1.22
	EEM	13	12.62
P2	LEM	10	7.19
	EEM	13	15.48
P3	LEM	10	8.77
	EEM	45	44.12
P4	LEM	20	29.41
	EEM	53	49.07
P5	LEM	12	44.44
	EEM	13	76.47
P6	LEM	9	69.23
	EEM	14	87.5

KEY: LEM

EEM

Fig. 6.7F: Polygon showing English Use Rates in Social Studies in P1 - P6.



English

		Scores	%
P1	LEM	3	1.92
	EEM	13	12.62
P2	LEM	4	3.08
	EEM	13	15.48
P3	LEM	10	8.40
	EEM	47	48.45
P4	LEM	24	33.80
	EEM	52	52.00
P5	LEM	20	54.05
	EEM	13	72.22
P6	LEM	15	75.00
	EEM	14	87.5

KEY: LEM

EEM

Fig. 6.7G: Polygon showing English Use Rates in Primary Science in P1 - P6.

Content-Subjects		PRIMARY CLASSES											
		P 1		P 2		P 3		P 4		P 5		P 6	
		LEM	EEM	LEM	EEM	LEM	EEM	LEM	EEM	LEM	EEM	LEM	EEM
Mathematics	LEM	2.30		11.45		13.45		43.66		57.58		85.71	
	EEM		32.74		41.18		60		61.90		78.95		87.5
Creative Activities	LEM	1.49		9.48		13.21		20.41		38.10		62.5	
	EEM		23.85		29.58		39.39		41.98		53.33		66.67
Cultural Activities	LEM	0.97		4.07		7.44		12.96		28.57		33.33	
	EEM		7.69		11.59		19.72		25.97		53.85		60
Physical Education	LEM	2.94		8.21		13.46		43.06		50.00		71.43	
	EEM		24.78		34.48		44.23		53.27		70.00		81.25
Religious Knowledge	LEM	0.62		3.2		9.17		19.05		19.35		28.57	
	EEM		3.81		5.06		18.48		28.87		38.46		52
Social Studies	LEM	1.22		7.19		8.77		29.41		44.44		69.23	
	EEM		12.62		15.48		44.12		49.07		76.47		87.5
Primary Science	LEM	1.92		3.08		8.40		33.80		54.05		75.00	
	EEM		12.62		15.48		48.45		52.00		72.22		87.5

Table 6.29 ..... English (L2) ..... frequency Scores Compared for

(i) LEM and EEM, (ii) all content-subjects, and (iii) all the primary classes (P1-6).

The figure in each cell is a percentage of the total frequencies for all (medium) languages in each subject in each class under each medium policy (LEM or EEM).

is fixed as that required before MT to English can be minimally effected (as anything lower than that is not likely to be an effective transition), in what primary class will each subject be selected for inclusion in such a transition? Figure 6.8 (below) shows that at 40% use rate, no subject is selected in P1, not even by EEM. Only one subject, Mathematics, is selected in EEM P2, and that toward the end of the year. Three more subjects (PE, Science, and Social Studies) are selected in EEM P3, one subject (Creative Activities) in P4, Cultural Activities in P5, and R.K. in P6. Thus MT, as effected by the EEM teachers in our sample, is selective, with Mathematics as the first and only subject selected in P2 at 40% English use rate. Cultural Activities and R.K. continue to be taught in languages other than unmixed English until the 5th and 6th year respectively. This is in spite of the official EEM policy specifying simultaneous MT in P1.

In the LEM policy group only with respect to 2 subjects - Maths and Physical education - is MT to English effected at 40% use rate in P4, the officially recognized simultaneous and abrupt point of MT. Two more subjects - Science and Social Studies - are further selected for MT in P5. Creative activities follows in P6. Fig. 6.8 shows further that MT at 40% rate of use cannot be effected under LEM at any stage of the PE course in respect of two subjects - Cultural Activities and R.K. That is, these 2 subjects continue to be taught in a language other than English for over 60% of the instruction time available up till the end of primary schooling. So, at 40% English use rate only with respect to 5 subjects is MT to English effected under the LEM policy. The selection covers a span of 3 years, with 2 subjects being selected in P4, 2 in P5 and the last in P6.

6.6.4.ii Selective MT at 50% English Use Rate

Suppose in order to make MT more effective, 50% and not 40%, English use rate is hypothetically specified as the marker for minimum MT, in what class will each subject be selected for transition? A higher English use rate implies a higher class in which each subject gets selected. It also implies, as a result, the likelihood of some subjects not meeting the selection criterion even at the end of PE. In Fig. 6.9 a polygon is plotted to show the selective position of each subject when MT is effected at the point where each subject scores 50% English Use rate. At this rate, in no subject can MT to English be said to have been effected in EEM P1 and P2. Only in Mathematics is MT effected in EEM P3; in PE and Science in EEM P4; in social studies, creative as well as cultural activities in P5 and in R.K. towards the end of P6. Similarly, at this rate, P5 is the lowest stage at which MT is effected in any subject under LEM. Mathematics, followed by Science and PE are those subjects in which LEM effects MT in P5; and Social Studies and Creative Activities in LEM P6. The position of two subjects - Cultural Activities and R.K. - remains as it is when MT is effected at 40% English use rate; they do not meet the selection criterion. In other words, they are subjects which more than 50% of the teachers in our sample said they taught throughout the PE course in a language other than English.

6.6.4.iii The pattern of teachers' approach to MT

In sum, then, the Null Hypothesis with regard to this topic is rejected. There is evidence, as shown above, that

(a) There is a predictable pattern to MT as effected by both LEM and EEM teachers;

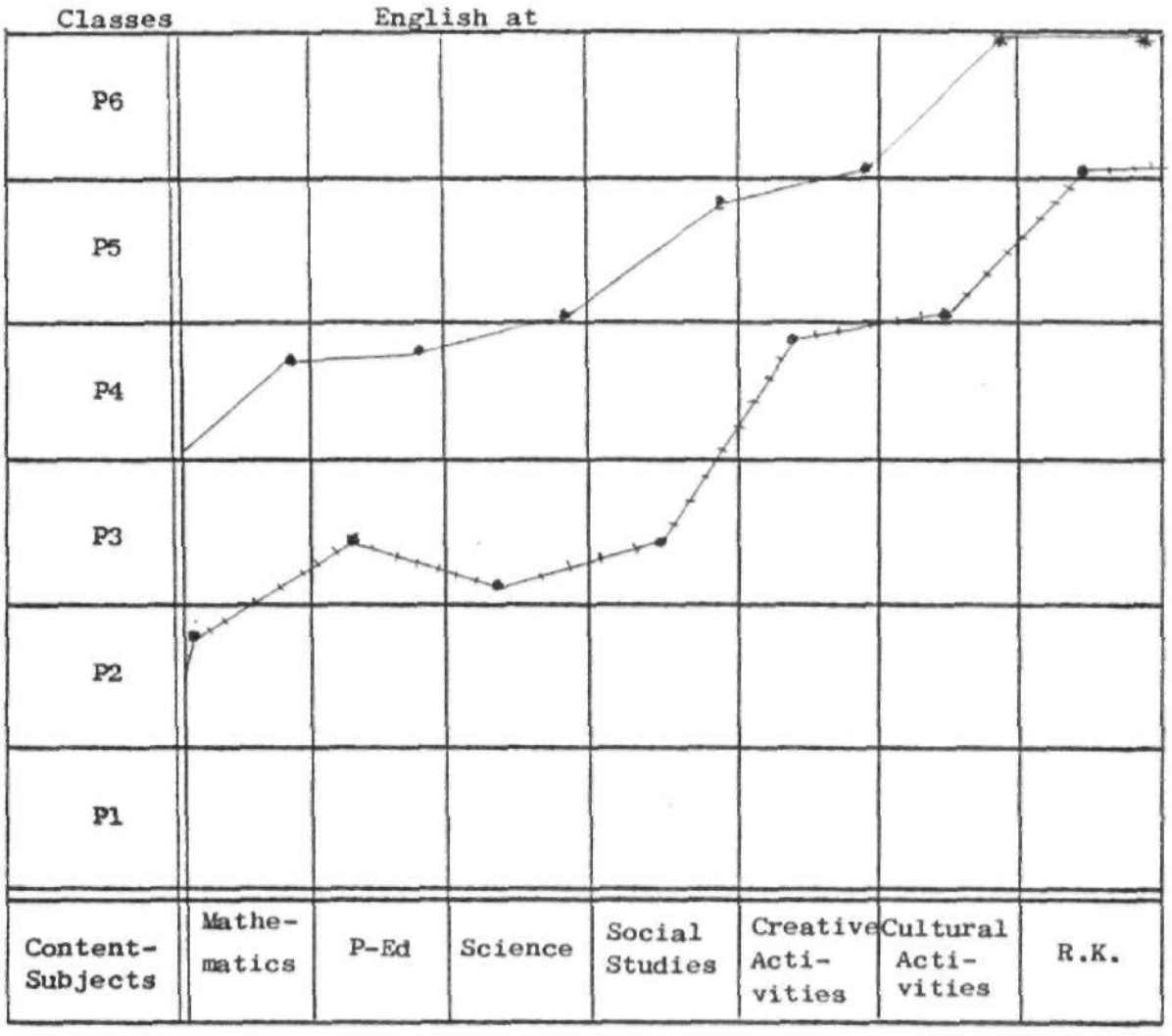


Fig. 6.8 ..... Polygon showing the primary class at which English use frequency scores achieve 40%. of the total for all languages in each content-subject for each of LEM and EEM medium policies.

(See Table 6.29 for details)

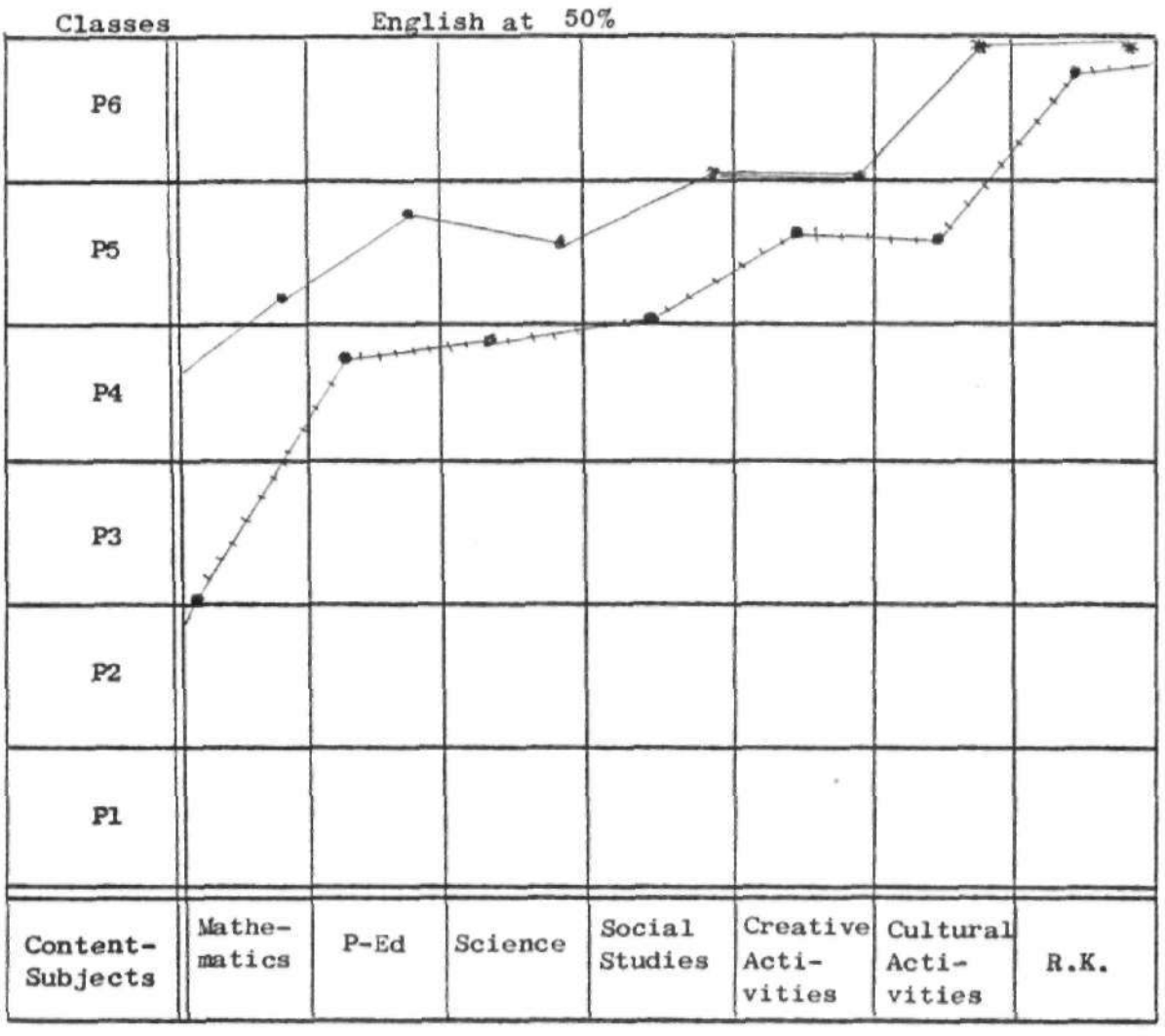


Fig. 6.9 Polygon showing the primary class at which English use frequency scores achieve 50% of the total for all languages in each content-subject for each of LEM and EEM medium policies.

(See Table 6.29 for details)

(b) This pattern is consistent with, or more or less the same as, gradual and selective MT;

(c) Transition to English is judged gradual because in no subject is MT effected and full MT achieved at one and the same point (Fig. 6-7A-6.7G). English use rates increase gradually, not abruptly, from 1.50% in P1 to 61.11% in P6 in the LEM group, and from 14.81% in P1 to 82.42% in P6 in the EEM group. This growth spans the entire PE course (Fig. 6.6);

(d) Transition to English is confirmed as selective because the primary stages/classes at which MT can be effected in the various subjects, given certain English use rates, vary widely (Fig. 6.8 and 6.9). Only in P1 does MT seem not practicable (in our data) with LEM or EEM, given a 40% English use rate;

(e) The mode under the selective approach based on 40% English use rate is P5 for LEM (2 subjects) and P3 for EEM (3 subjects). Based on 50% English Use rate, the mode is still P5 for LEM (3 subjects) and P5 for EEM (3 subjects). The selective span for LEM based on 40% English Use rate is 3 years: from P4 to P6, and 5 years for EEM: from P2 to P6. At 50% English use rate, the selective span for LEM is 2 years from P5 to P6, and 4 years for EEM from P3 to P6. In each case (40% or 50% use rate as a criterion), MT is not achieved with respect to 2 subjects - Cultural Activities and R.K. - under LEM.

6.7 Medium Transition to English as it affects other Language Media

6.7.1 Language Medium Groups

Four languages were listed as possible languages of instruction in the surveys the results of which are being analysed. The languages are English (L2), Nigerian Language (NL), Mixed Language (NL/L2), and Arabic. Under existing educational language policies English is the common language to which medium transition is sought - either at the beginning, somewhere before the end, or at the end of PE.

At the official policy level, the alternative to L2 at the pre-transition stages is Nigerian Language. As used in this Survey, NL denotes the category into which come all Nigerian Languages used at the state or local level (Brann 1977A) to start formal primary education. More than 20 out of 300 possible Nigerian languages are at present being used as full medium languages in early primary education.[9] Mixed language was listed and surveyed as a medium language because it had been listed at the pilot stage by over a third of the respondents (Section 5.4.7). It is the use of a mixture of NL and English in teaching content-subjects (see Section 6.7.3 below).

Arabic was included as a possible medium language in the 1978 Survey because the National Policy on Education released by the Federal Government in 1977 had urged the use of Arabic as a medium for Islamic R.K. in areas where it was the wish of the parents that the Koranic school curriculum, which their children had been used to in their pre-primary school experience, should continue. This was

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9 Not counting Kay William's over 20 Ijaw dialects in which primers were being developed (Williamson, 1976: see also Section 5.3.1 above.)

an assurance given to parents as a result of the integration of the Koranic Schools with the formal full primary education system (see 5.4.7 above).

To be attempted in this section is the question. How significant in the primary IPs is the role played by each of

(a) Nigerian Language (NL),

(b) Arabic ,

(c) NL/L2 mix

as medium languages, and in particular in the MT process? In answering the question, we limit ourselves to evidence from our data, at least at this stage. Thus "significance" will be used largely in its technical sense to mean "statistical significance" in this section.

6.7.2 Nigerian Language (NL)

Of the 6081 content-subject instruction lessons for which language use information was coded in our survey, Nigerian Language (NL) was recorded as the language in which 1876, or 30.85%, were taught. This, however, was for all classes and the two medium policy groups. Since by the LEM and EEM policy, NL is a medium of instruction only in (a) LEM, but not in EEM, and (b) P1-P3 (LEM) but not in P4-P6 (LEM), computing the NL use frequencies as a percentage of the overall language use frequencies covering both policies and all primary classes may distort the significance of NL as a language of LEM lower primary education. For a better picture to emerge therefore, the strength of NL will be examined in the contexts

(a) Overall LEM (i.e. P1-P6) vs Overall EEM.

(b) Class-by-class; LEM vs EEM.

(c) Subject-by-subject; LEM vs EEM:

A. Overall LEM/EEM NL Scores: NL scored 41.53% in LEM as against 16.82% in EEM P1-P6 language use frequencies (Table 6.30). The only surprise at this point is the fact that NL scored as high as 16.82% in EEM, where officially it is not recognized as a language of instruction at any primary stage. The 41.53% scored by NL in LEM, in the face of it, seems low, but judgement has to be reserved until the class-by-class scores are known. Perhaps the 41.53% scores were all recorded for P1-P3, the stage at which officially NL is the only permitted medium language under the LEM policy.

B. NL class-by-class frequency scores: Figure 6.10 shows the class-by-class LEM vs EEM NL scores. The following trends can be observed from the pattern of the NL class-by-class scores.

First, at no stage during the pre-MT stage does NL achieve full medium use. In LEM P1-P3, where it should be the only approved medium language, English being only a subject in those classes, the scores obtained by NL were 55.67% in P1, 44.94% in P2 and 43.58% in P3.

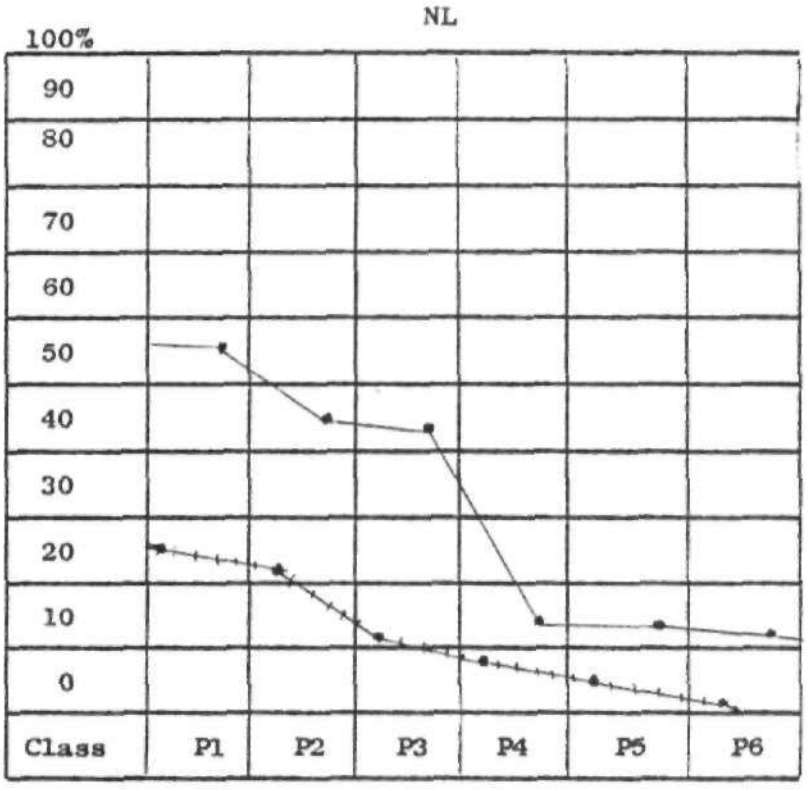
Secondly, NL continues to feature as a medium beyond the stage (LEM P1-P3) where it is officially permitted. In LEM P4-P6 the NL scores were 14.48%, 13.37% and 12.22% respectively. This observation holds for the occurrence of NL use in EEM classes where NL is not officially a medium at any stage.

Thirdly, the rate of NL use progressively decreases from P1 to P3. There is a big dip between LEM P3 and P4, after which this trend (i.e. a progressive decrease in NL use) continues from P4 to P6. The pattern of use of NL is similar in both LEM and EEM groups except as pointed out in the next paragraph.

Cumulative P1-P6 frequency scores

Language Used	LEM		REM		TOTAL	
	Frequencies	% of Total	Frequencies	% of Total		
English (L2)	430	12.45	868	33.03	1298	21.35
Nigerian Language (NL)	1434	41.53	442	16.82	1876	30.85
NL/L2 Mix	1523	44.11	1275	48.52	2798	46.01
Arabic	66	1.91	43	1.63	109	1.79
Total	3453	56.78	2628	43.22	6081	

Table 6.30: Cumulative language use frequency scores in P1-P6 for each of the 4 (medium) languages.



Nigerian Language

		Scores	%
P1	LEM	633	55.67
	EEM	193	26.47
P2	LEM	386	44.94
	EEM	121	22.49
P3	LEM	312	43.58
	EEM	69	11.58
P4	LEM	65	14.48
	EEM	52	9.08
P5	LEM	27	13.37
	EEM	6	5.94
P6	LEM	11	12.22
	EEM	1	1.10

KEY: LEM

EEM

Fig. 6.10: Polygon showing NL Use Rates in P1-P6.

Fourthly, the dip between LEM P3 and P4 (43.58 - 14.48) is not paralleled in EEM. The dip marks a shift in the pattern of language use and can be taken as evidence of MT being effected at this point. However, the fact that NL continues to be used beyond that point clearly suggests that the MT effected here is a partial transition, not a full one.

Finally, although NL is found used in all the EEM classes (P1-P6) when officially it should not be used at all, the differences in NL scores in P1 to P6 between LEM and EEM are statistically significant (see Tables 6.23B and 6.24 above; $p \leq .001$).

Trends 1-4 strongly reinforce one of our research hypotheses that MT to English as effected by teachers, in contrast to the official policy specifications, is gradual, and not abrupt as implied by the LEM and EEM policies. The fifth trend, however, accords with a conclusion reached on Hypothesis Two in 6.5.5 that "both the official language policies underlying primary IPs and the nature of each content-subject in the primary school curriculum seem to have had effects on the choice of medium languages by the teachers in our sample".

C. NL Subject-by-Subject Scores

The NL subject-by-subject scores in each of the six primary classes and for each of the two policy groups are set out in Table 6.31. The Table shows the following trends.

(i) NL LEM scores in each subject and in each class are higher than those of EEM. In all the subjects, except perhaps R.K., the differences in the LEM-EEM scores are statistically significant, particularly in the first 3 years.

(ii) In no subject does NL achieve full use (that is, 100%) in both LEM and EEM, in spite of the fact that it is the official medium in LEM P1-P3. The highest rates of use are 69.42%, 67.16% and 64.81% in Cultural Activities, Creative Activities and R.K. in LEM P1 respectively.

(iii) NL Scores in both LEM and EEM subjects are highest in the early years and progressively diminish toward the end of PE; NL use phases out completely in some subjects like Mathematics in P5 and P6 in both LEM and EEM; Physical Education in P6 (LEM and EEM).

(iv) There is a wide inter-subject variation in the use of NL in both policy groups and within each class. For instance in P1, the range is between 69.42/64.81% LEM Cultural Activities/R.K. respectively and 39.66/38.46% LEM Mathematics and Primary Science respectively. This is paralleled by EEM R.K./Cultural Activities at 60% and 47.12% respectively, on the one hand, and Mathematics and Physical Education at 4.42% and 11.50% respectively on the other. The inter-subject use difference is widest in the early years and tends to narrow, but does not disappear, till towards the end of PE. Most of the content-subjects tend to stand in the same "distance" relation to one another from P1 to P6. For instance, Cultural Activities and R.K. in both policy groups maintain their NL Use lead from the beginning to the end of PE. On the other hand, Mathematics and Primary Science seem to be the least sensitive to NL use right from P1 in both groups until NL is completely phased out in P5 and P6 in Mathematics and in P5 in Primary Science both in LEM and EEM.

		PRIMARY CLASSES											
		P 1		P 2		P 3		P 4		P 5		P 6	
		LEM	EEM	LEM	EEM	LEM	EEM	LEM	EEM	LEM	EEM	LEM	EEM
Mathematics	LEM	39.66		21.37		24.37		2.82		0		0	
	EEM		4.42		1.18		2.00		2.82		0.00		0.00
Creative Activities	LEM	67.16		57.76		48.11		32.65		28.57		12.5	
	EEM		10.09		18.31		15.15		12.35		13.33		11.11
Cultural Activities	LEM	69.42		63.41		54.55		46.30		33.33		44.44	
	EEM		47.12		40.58		36.62		24.68		7.69		10.00
Physical Education	LEM	54.12		33.58		24.04		4.17		17.65		0	
	EEM		11.50		8.05		4.81		0.93		0.00		0.00
Religious Knowledge	LEM	64.81		63.2		61.47		39.68		38.71		35.71	
	EEM		60		59.49		32.61		28.87		23.08		32.00
Social Studies	LEM	50.61		43.17		30.70		5.88		3.70		0	
	EEM		19.42		25		4.90		1.85		5.88		0.00
Primary Science	LEM	38.46		37.69		30.25		8.45		5.41		0	
	EEM		19.42		13.10		6.19		3.00		5.56		0.00

Table ...6.31..... .Nigerian Language.... frequency Scores Compared for

(i) LEM and EEM, (ii) all content-subjects, and (iii) all the primary classes (P1-6).

The figure in each cell is a percentage of the total frequencies for all (medium) languages in each subject in each class under each medium policy (LEM or EEM).

The above trends, on the whole, reinforce earlier observations; in most cases they confirm our research hypotheses; in one instance, they contradict them (see the paragraph that follows).

1. The fact that Nigerian Language LEM Scores in each subject are consistently higher than the EEM ones and that this is significantly so statistically makes it difficult for the Null Hypothesis (6.5.2 and 6.5.3) to be rejected that teachers' language choice differentiation is strongly influenced by the official language policies regulating their IPs. But the fact that there are very wide inter-subject variations which cut across the LEM-EEM policy bounds, as noted in (iv) above, reinforce our conclusion on Hypothesis Two (6.5.5 above) that both official language policies and the nature of content-subjects determine this choice differentiation.

2. The fact that in no subject, not even in LEM P1-P3 when NL is the Official Medium, did NL achieve full use (the highest being 69.42% in LEM Cultural Activities) suggests that regression in medium language use is not likely always, contrary to widely held opinions, to be from English to NL. The present data show that regression can also be from NL to English, or to a mixture of NL and English (NL/L2 mix).

3. The progressive reduction in the rate of NL use from P1 to P6 in both LEM and EEM reinforces our hypothesis that MT to English is gradually effected in practice by teachers.

4. Similarly, the wide inter-subject use variation observed in C (iv) above supports the research hypothesis that teachers in practice effect MT selectively, rather than simultaneously as specified by the official policies of LEM and EEM.

To conclude this section on NL medium use, the answer to the

question how significant the role of NL is in primary instructional programmes, and in particular in the MT process, may be summarised as follows.

In LEM P1-P3 where it is officially the sole language medium, NL is found to be used as the dominant medium but not the sole one. The overall scores recorded for it in P1-P3 averaged 48.06% of the scores for all (medium) languages at this educational stage. Thus, while proving to be both statistically and educationally significant in LEM P1-P3, NL has not been used as much as it ought to. In LEM P1, where NL is expected to be maximally used, its observed frequency scores managed to reach 55.67%, conceding the rest of the content-subject instruction lessons to other (medium) languages, in particular NL/L2 Mix (40.46%), but also Arabic (2.37%) and English (1.50%). In P2 and P3, where the NL use scores fell to 44.94% and 43.58% respectively, English rose to 6.17% (P2) and 9.92% (P3). NL/L2 Mix similarly rose to 48.43% (P2) and 44.69% (P3). This tends to suggest that in certain cases teachers had chosen languages other than the pupils' LIs in an instruction situation clearly and officially marked for pupils' LIs.

This fact is of interest to language planning and pedagogy since it demonstrates, as has been noted in '2' above, that non-compliance with rigid official medium policies such as LEM and EEM, need not always be in favour of the mother-tongue; sometimes it can be against L1 and in favour of L2, or other non-L1 (medium) languages.

Furthermore, the pattern of choice and use of NL supports our rejection of the Null Hypothesis that MT as effected by teachers is unpatterned and inconsistent with the gradual and selective approach. Rather, the pattern of choice of NL - by which

(a) NL is found used in EEM/LEM classes where it is not

supposed to be used,

(b) in both LEM and EEM schools the use of NL is highest in the lower classes and diminishes progressively toward the upper end of PE,

(c) there is wide variation in the frequency of use of NL between various subjects within the same classes and this variation being systematic and consistent from class to class in both LEM and EEM —

confirms one of our research hypotheses that MT is in practice effected selectively and gradually.

6.7.3 Arabic

Arabic is not officially listed by any State Government in Nigeria as a language with medium functions in primary schools. Neither LEM nor EEM has any clearly defined provision for it as such, although the Federal Government national policy on education (1977) has stated that the use of Arabic as the language of Islamic religious instruction would be encouraged in those areas where it is the wish of the parents that this should be the case.

As our data reveal (Table 6.32 and Figure 6.11), Arabic is used by some teachers as a language of R.K. instruction. Its use for this purpose is highest after the LEM point of MT (P4). On the whole, its use tends to be more closely linked with LEM than with EEM. This is related to another observation that LEM tends to be permissive in the use of languages other than English, particularly before the point of MT is reached. The use of Arabic for R.K. instruction occurs throughout the primary course under LEM, the range of use being between 3.2% in LEM P2 to 23.81% in LEM P4. Within EEM, it is used in P1 through P4 after which it completely dies out. The EEM range

is between 5.71% in P1 and 16.49% in P4.

At the class level, the use of Arabic, relative to other (medium) languages, is statistically insignificant. The range of use is from 0.47% in LEM P2 to 3.34% in LEM P4, with no scores at all in EEM P5 and P6.

To conclude this section on Arabic, it seems correct to say that Arabic has very restricted, if any, role to perform in primary education in Nigeria judging from the low rates of occurrence in R.K. What seriously restricts the significance of its medium role is the fact that it is fighting a losing battle to NL as a medium of Islamic R.K. Unless pupils have learnt it in their pre-primary Koranic Schools, Arabic will be an entirely new language to them, just as English is. Since R.K. instruction is best given in a language already understood by learners, Arabic is not a likely choice by teachers for this purpose. As for those teachers in our sample who have chosen Arabic as the medium of instruction in Islamic R.K., there is a strong suspicion that they must have equated Islamic religious instruction with chanting and memorizing lines from the Koran, the meaning of which may not be understood by pupils. An often used strategy is for the meaning to be rendered fully in NL. This calls into question inclusion of Arabic, rather than NL or Arabic/NL Mix, as the language in which such instruction has been conducted.

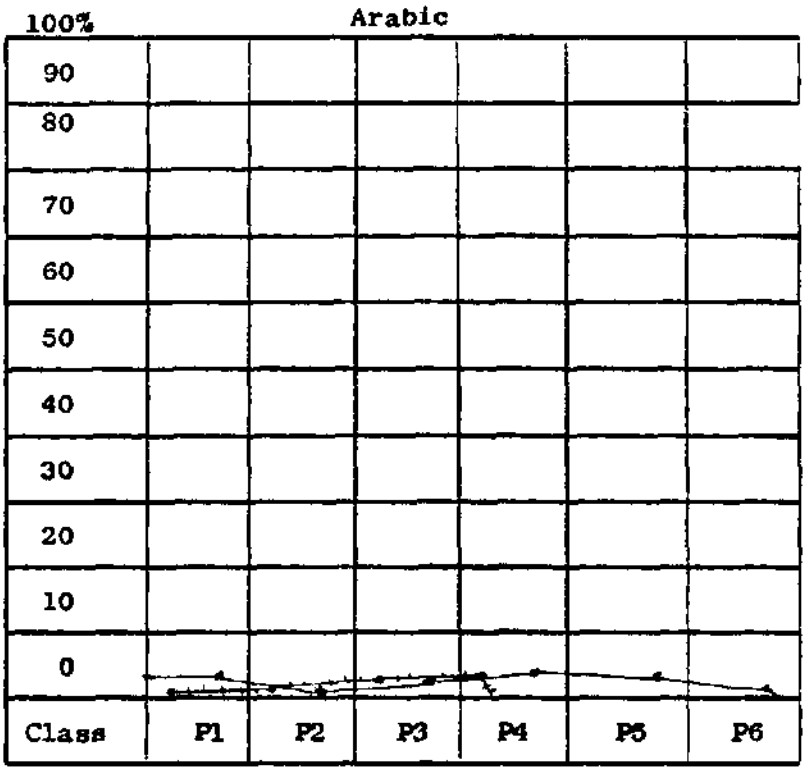
Has Arabic any significant role to perform in the MT process? The answer is both Yes and No. There is little or no significant role statistically. Yes, in the sense that its continued use at the post-MT stage (beyond LEM P3, and in EEM P1-P4) amounts to a fair sharing of MT functions with other (medium) languages and an indication that full MT to English has not been achieved in R K. R K is one of thos content-subjects that emerge from our data as being the least

		PRIMARY CLASSES											
		P 1		P 2		P 3		P 4		P 5		P 6	
		LEM	EEM	LEM	EEM	LEM	EEM	LEM	EEM	LEM	EEM	LEM	EEM
Mathematics	LEM												
	EEM												
Creative Activities	LEM												
	EEM												
Cultural Activities	LEM												
	EEM												
Physical Education	LEM												
	EEM												
Religious Knowledge	LEM	16.67		3.2		11.93		23.81		19.35		7.14	
	EEM		5.71		8.86		15.22		16.49		0.00		0.00
Social Studies	LEM												
	EEM												
Primary Science	LEM												
	EEM												

Table ..6.32..... .....Arabic..... frequency Scores Compared for

(i) LEM and EEM, (ii) all content-subjects, and (iii) all the primary classes (P1-6).

The figure in each cell is a percentage of the total frequencies for all (medium) languages in each subject in each class under each medium policy (LEM or EEM).



Arabic

		Scores	%
P1	LEM	27	2.37
	EEM	6	0.82
	LEM	4	0.47
	EEM	7	1.38
	LEM	13	1.82
	EEM	14	2.35
	LEM	15	3.34
	EEM	16	2.79
	LEM	6	2.97
	EEM	0	0.00
	LEM	1	1.11
	EEM	0	0.00

KEY: LEM

EEM

Fig. 6.11: Polygon showing Arabic Use Rates in P1-P6.

sensitive to MT to English [10] (See Figures 6.8 and 6.9 above). By the nature of its content (i.e. moral instruction appeals to the soul or intellect, and thus needs a homely language, a language fully understood by learners, one that closely links the instruction situation with the moral life of the home), R.K. seems more appropriate to NL or Arabic instruction than to English. Hence MT (at 40% rate) in R.K. could not be effected till the end of PE with the LEM group and till P6 with the EEM group (Fig. 6.8).

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10 The others are Cultural Activities and Creative Activities.

6.7.4 NL/English Mix

Unlike the other medium language categories (L2, NL, Arabic) covered by the present study, NL/L2 Mix is a term used by us to describe a pattern of language choice and use fairly distinct from the others treated earlier. This pattern was observed at the pilot survey stage. Although the components of the language mix (see 6.8.1) are NL and English, it seems appropriate, for the purpose of this study on language policies and MT problems, to treat NL/L2 Mix as a category distinct from these two languages because in planning for MT, for instance, full transition to English implies the use of English as a distinct language for instruction. Similarly, NL medium implies content-subject instruction in the mother-tongue as a language distinct from English. If therefore certain instruction lessons are found conducted in a mixed medium,perhaps partly in English and partly in NL, or in some other form, a problem of classification arises. Should mixed medium be classified as NL or English? The problem relates to the criteria for assigning mix to either language. Is mixed medium, for instance, NL when more NL than English is used during the lesson, and vice versa? Or is mixed medium to be categorized as NL when the lesson being conducted is officially supposed to be conducted in NL, and as English when it is officially marked for English? The latter criterion would have falsified the true medium situation in the classroom and obscured the distinctions that later turned out to be pedagogically and educationally significant. It was therefore not adopted. The former criterion would have required different field research techniques and sets of equipment (e.g. massive sound recording of lessons, followed by a statistical count of all utterances used in each lesson) from those appropriate to the aims and design of the present study. It was therefore thought best to

treat lessons in which language alternation has been used as having been conducted in mixed medium . Our description of mixed medium here is functional, not linguistic.

We shall return to this point in Section 6.8 when we examine the structure and the pattern of use of language mix. However, for the avoidance of doubt, it should be stated here that by mixed medium or mixed usage is meant the use of one or a combination of the following types of language alternation: mixed speech occurring intra-sententially, code switching, and translation (6.8 below).

Now to the role of NL/L2 Mix in the MT process. It was stated in 6.2.11 that the use of NL/L2 Mix "is an indication that full MT to English has not been achieved". This statement sums up what can be observed from the pattern of choice of NL/L2 mix in our data. An examination of the pattern of use at both class and subject levels seems invariably to lead to such a conclusion. Before we take a brief look at each level, the following points should be noted.

Mixed Usage recorded the largest number of choice frequencies among the four language media surveyed: 2, 7 9 8, or 46.01% of all recorded frequencies of 6081 (Table 6.30). Within the LEM Group, mixed usage had the largest number of frequencies at 1523 or 44.11% of 3453 for all languages. It is also the language with the highest number of frequencies within the EEM Group at 1275, or 48.52% of all the 2628 frequencies for the group. It thus seems from this that mixed usage comes handy as an instruction medium to a sizeable number of teachers in the two policy groups. The distribution and spread of these frequencies at both class and subject levels point to the significance of the contribution of NL/L2 Mix to primary IPs in general and the MT process in particular.

The Class-by-Class NL/L2 Mix Scores

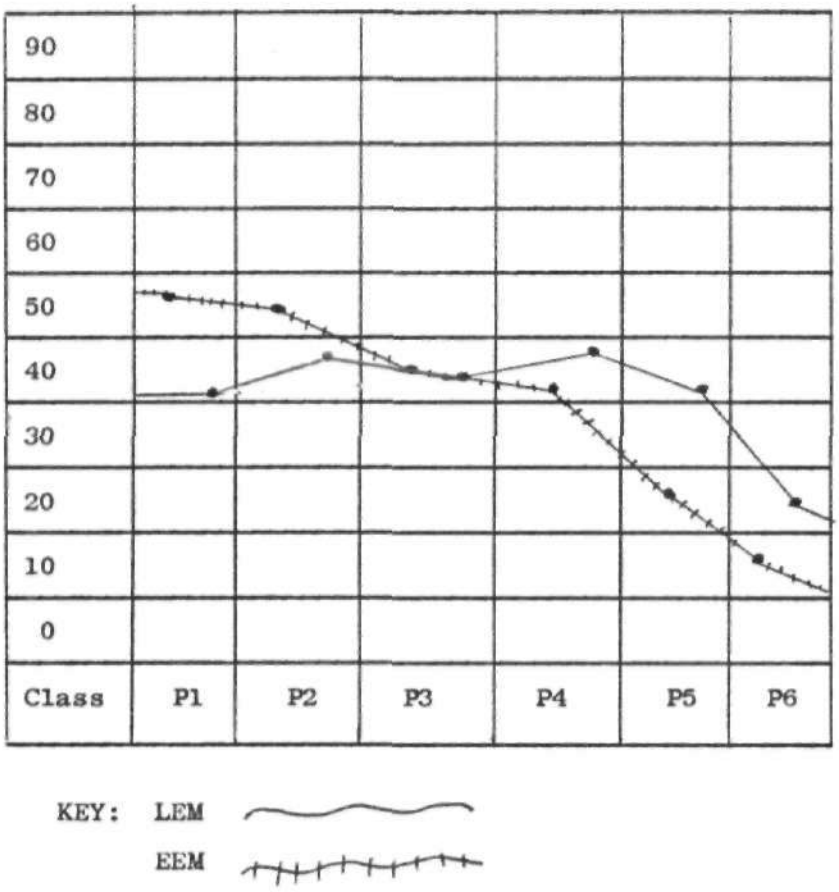
It is to be noted from Figure 6.12 and Table 6.33 that

(a) Under EEM, NL/L2 mix choice rate is highest in P1 (57.89%) which is EEM point of MT, and falls slightly but consistently from class to class until P6 when the use rate stands at 16.48%.

(b) Under LEM, NL/L2 mix choice/use rate is highest in P4 (48.78%), which is LEM point of MT, and falls on both sides. In other words, the use of NL/L2 mix rises in LEM P1 (40.46%) to its Peak in LEM P4, the first post-MT year, and falls to 42.08% in P5 and to 25.56% in P6.*

It can be inferred from observations (a) and (b) that mixed usage and LEM-EEM points of MT seem very closely associated. NL/L2 mixed usage appears highest in the first year after MT has been effected. The conclusion can be reached, then, that simultaneous and abrupt MT gives rise to the use of NL/L2 mix. But this does not at first look like an adequate explanation, for it does not seem able to account for the high occurrence of the language mix phenomenon in LEM P1-P3 (40.46, 42.43, 44.69), i.e., at the pre-MT stage, when the medium language is officially NL. Further investigation will be required here. However, the occurrence of mixed usage at the pre-MT stage may be a retro-active effect of an inappropriate approach to MT. By this is meant that teachers are stampeded into an unusually early preparation for MT in anticipation of the official transition which comes up in P4 in a rather abrupt manner. This can be described as an MT preparation strategy, a concept further elaborated in 6.8.7 below. By this concept speech mixing is the main type of language alternation that features at the pre-MT stage (6.8.5 below). An inappropriate

* The isolated distortion in P2 (48.43) does not, in my opinion, invalidate this observation.



NL/L2 MIX		Scores	%
P1	LEM	460	40.46
	EEM	422	57.89
P2	LEM	416	48.43
	EEM	298	55.39
P3	LEM	320	44.69
	EEM	271	45.47
P4	LEM	219	48.78
	EEM	242	42.23
P5	LEM	85	42.08
	EEM	27	26.73
P6	LEM	23	25.56
	EEM	15	16.48

Fig. 6.12: Polygon showing NL/L2 Mix Use Rates in P1-P6.

approach to MT also accounts for the notion of regression mentioned in 6.7.2 in connection with the non-compliance of teachers to inappropriate medium policy even when the language officially specified is the pupils' L1. We now take a look at the occurrence of the mixed usage at the subject level before saying more on the contribution of NL/L2 mix to the MT process.

Subject-by-Subject NL/L2 Mix Scores

The subject scores reflect trends (a) and (b) observed under the class-by-class frequencies above (Table 6.33). That is, the EEM scores progressively decrease from P1 to P6, while the LEM scores, on

Content-Subjects		PRIMARY CLASSES											
		P 1		P 2		P 3		P 4		P 5		P 6	
		LEM	EEM	LEM	EEM	LEM	EEM	LEM	EEM	LEM	EEM	LEM	EEM
Mathematics	LEM	58.05		67.18		62.18		53.52		42.42		14.29	
	EEM		62.83		57.65		38		53.52		21.05		12.5
Creative Activities	LEM	31.34		32.76		38.68		46.94		33.33		25.00	
	EEM		66.06		52.11		45.45		45.68		33.33		22.22
Cultural Activities	LEM	29.61		32.52		38.02		40.74		38.10		22.22	
	EEM		45.19		47.83		43.66		49.35		38.46		30
Physical Education	LEM	42.94		58.21		62.5		52.78		32.35		28.57	
	EEM		63.72		57.47		50.96		45.79		30		18.75
Religious Knowledge	LEM	17.90		30.4		17.43		17.46		22.58		28.57	
	EEM		30.48		26.92		33.70		25.77		38.46		16
Social Studies	LEM	48.17		49.64		60.53		64.71		51.85		30.77	
	EEM		67.96		59.52		50.98		49.07		17.65		12.5
Primary Science	LEM	59.62		59.23		61.34		57.75		40.54		25.00	
	EEM		67.96		66.67		45.36		45		22.22		12.5

Table ...6.33..... .....NL/L2 MIX..... frequency Scores Compared for (i) LEM and EEM, (ii) all content-subjects, and (iii) all the primary classes (P1-6).

The figure in each cell is a percentage of the total frequencies for all (medium) languages in each subject in each class under each medium policy (LEM or EEM).

the whole, bunch at between P3 and P4. Therefore, the inference made earlier with regard to the NL/L2 class frequencies that mix scores tend to be highest at the points of LEM and EEM MT also holds for most of the content-subjects. One exception is R.K., whose mix scores do not fit into this pattern just described. This is explained by the presence of Arabic as a possible medium of R.K. instruction. The effect of Arabic seems a plausible explanation for the distortion of the NL/L2 Mix frequency pattern only with regard to the LEM scores. For as can be seen in Table 6.32 the LEM Arabic socres in R.K. bunch at P3-P4. This is the region at which the NL/L2 Mix (LEM) scores in R.K. fall. In other subjects Mix scores bunch in this same region. It might therefore be concluded that regression occasioned by MT failure or incompleteness, in the case of LEM R.K., is in the direction of Arabic, and not of NL/L2 Mix as is the case with other subjects. As with the NL/L2 Mix scores in RK under EEM, these seem to be maintained at roughly the same rate from P1 to P5. The EEM policy-adopting states also happen to be the states in which christianity is the dominant religion and the one taught at school. Arabic is not likely therefore to be of great instructional value in EEM R.K., in which case regression is in the direction of NL/L2 Mix.

Summary on Mixed Usage

The NL/L2 Mix Scores pattern at both the subject and class levels highlight the importance of this medium in primary IPs and in particular in the MT process. Statistically the scores are the most significant of all the languages surveyed. Its high rate of choice/use in spite of its not being a recognized or known medium option at the official policy formulation level testifies to its practical value to primary school teachers.

As regards its role in the MT process, this role can be described as crucial. As has earlier been observed when examining both class and subject mix use scores, the use of NL/L2 mixture is highest around the point of MT in both policy groups (Fig. 6.12 and Table 6.33), higher than the use of English into which medium transfer is sought. A plausible inference from this pattern of choice is that, unable to achieve full MT in the abrupt manner specified by the LEM and EEM policies, teachers settle for something less and use NL/L2 mix to fill the gap between expected and achievable MT. NL/L2 mix is thus an "approximate system", an "interlanguage" in this special sense.[11]

It can be concluded, on the basis of the foregoing inference, that MT approached abruptly breeds the use of mixed speech and that this is the case with the LEM and EEM policies as revealed by our data. The fact that this pattern of choice of NL/L2 mix is common to the two policy groups supports our hypothesis that MT is in practice effected in the same way by teachers irrespective of whether LEM or EEM underlies the IPs being implemented by them.

Finally, as Table 6.33 and Figure 6.12 show, mixed usage continues to feature in primary instruction right up to P6, although its use is greatly reduced (the inter-subject range in P6 is 30.77 - 14.29 Social Studies Vs Mathematics respectively under LEM, and 30 - 12.5 Cultural Activities Vs Maths/Social Studies/Science under EEM). This implies that transition to English is short of being fully attained by the extent to which mix usage still occurs in different subjects.

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11 cf. Corder's term "teacher talk" (1976, 1979) used to describe the output of the teachers' classroom strategy for achieving communication with the class.

This is also true of the prolonged use of NL (and Arabic) beyond the officially specified primary stage. In all such cases, their degrees of use in continuation mark the extent to which MT to English falls short of being fully achieved.

NL/English Mix as a transitional medium

If Mix is seen as a transitional medium, it follows that what it does is mediate between the home language (NL) and the language to which transition is sought (English). Whether this intervention is educationally and pedagogically desirable is at this point not a relevant question. However, one implication of this medium function is that "the route of acquisition" (Hyltenstam, 1977:383) of the second language becomes essentially NL → Mix → English. Another implication is that transition along the NL → Mix → English 'route' can only be gradual, not abrupt: a movement, rather than a switch. It follows from this last statement that a patterned movement of transition is also at work in Mixed Medium. The pattern, we suggest, can be described as follows:

(a) more NL than English in the early years;

(b) more English than NL in the later years.

(c) more NL than English at the beginning of each class;

(d) more English than NL towards the end of each class.

This implies that mixed usage in the early years is not the same as mixed usage in the later years of PE in terms of the proportion of NL Vs English constituents used. For example, Mix in P6 (Table 6.34) is to be interpreted as containing, say, over 80% English and under 20% NL, while in P1 the proportion will be over 80% NL and under 20% English. The implicational pattern in the movement of transition within NL/English Mix as suggested above is represented in Fig. 6.13.

Class and Policy		Language Media			
		English	Mix	NL	Arabic
P1	LEM	1.50	40.46	55.67	2.37
	EEM	14.81	57.89	26.47	0.82
P2	LEM	6.17	48.43	44.94	0.47
	EEM	20.82	55.39	22.49	1.38
P3	LEM	9.92	44.69	43.58	1.82
	EEM	40.60	45.47	11.58	2.35
P4	LEM	33.41	48.78	14.48	3.34
	EEM	45.90	42.23	9.08	2.79
P5	LEM	41.58	42.08	13.37	2.97
	EEM	67.33	26.73	5.94	0.00
P6	LEM	61.11	25.56	12.22	1.11
	EEM	82.42	16.48	1.10	0.00

Table 6.34: The state of use of the four language media by class and medium policy.

It also means that within each primary class, mixed usage early in the year is different from mixed usage later in the year. The proportion of the NL constituent will be much higher early in the year than at the end of the year. By the same token, the proportion of the English constituent of Mix will be higher at the end of the year than at the beginning of it as more pupils move from one end of the transitional medium continuum to the other and then out of it.

While the texts of the lessons observed support suggestions (a) and (b) above, (c) and (d) could not be verified from our data. Our research instrument was not designed to handle information of the (c) and (d) type. Indeed, the whole concept of "movement of transition"

and the "route of acquisition" of L2 under classroom conditions in Nigeria deserve separate and full scale research. What we have suggested above is tentative and needs further investigation using techniques and instruments appropriate for longitudinal studies.

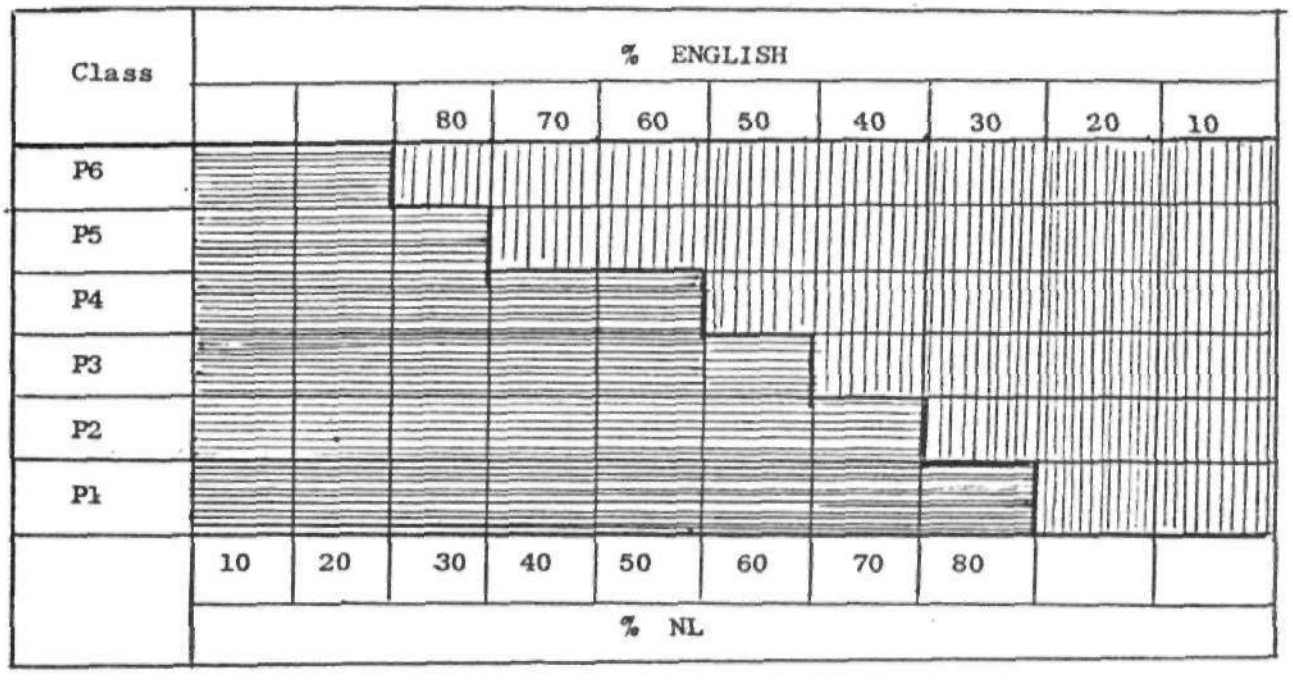
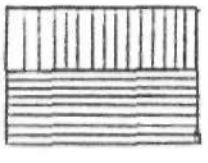


Fig. 6.13: Implicational Pattern of the Movement of Transition within mixed medium.



English Constituent
NL Constituent

6.8 NL/English Mixed medium

6.8.1 The need for participant observation.

In the preceding section, questionnaire responses on NL/L2 mix computed as frequencies were analysed and interpreted. The frequency scores were used to answer the question: "How significant is the role of NL/L2 mix in primary education IPs and, in particular, in the MT process?" The answer was that, judging by the very high incidence of use which cut across the LEM Vs EEM policy lines, NL/L2 mix has been performing a crucial role in the MT process, though this role is not officially recognised. The data used was choice frequency scores, the same as were used in analysing and interpreting the patterns of choice and use of the other languages of instruction surveyed.

However, NL/L2 Mix is a different type of medium from the other three (NL, English and Arabic). In terms of language planning, mixed medium is "unknown" and unrecognised at the official formulation level, unlike the other three media. Pedagogically, the value of mixed usage as a medium of instruction has not been assessed in the Nigerian situation. This is made difficult partly by a lack of awareness at the official Formulation and Syllabus Decision Levels of the extent of teachers' dependence on mixed usage as an MT strategy, and partly by generally unfavourable attitudes of educationists to mixed usage. The argument advanced by those defending the 'purity' or international nature of English is that such usage will reduce or make impossible international intelligibility. Nigerian language and culture defenders, on the other hand, argue that to encourage the use of mixed usage for classroom instruction is to hasten the decline of the slowly growing Nigerian languages. In the rest of this Section we attempt a brief description in functional terms of the mixed medium found used

by the teachers in our sample. The functional description will include

(a) types of language alternation constituting mixed medium,

(b) pedagogic and other functions,

(c) patterns of use, and

(d) strategies underlying teachers' use of mix.

Finally, we examine some of the issues involved in the debate on the use of language alternation for instruction. Because the present study is not centrally on language alternation, the linguistic properties of mixed usage could not be investigated, useful though this would have been. We are therefore unable to attempt a linguistic description of mix. Questions such as "to what grammatical system does a mixed utterance belong, NL or English, or other?" (Oke, 1975) will not be posed, for they cannot be satisfactorily answered using the resources available to the present study. This is a subject for separate research. The participant observed lessons and the light they throw on NL/L2 mixed medium are analysed and discussed in the sections that follow. Further discussions of the roles of all the four medium languages surveyed as well as other issues about MT problems will be found in Chapters 7 and 8 below.

6.8.2: Mixed medium: Elicitation Techniques

When the questionnaires for the language use survey were piloted (1976) and responses that were obtained listed mixed usage as a medium of instruction, it was thought that mixing did occur and could be captured for analysis at two broad classroom discourse levels: viz those instances occurring

(a) at the Level of Transaction (following Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975), and

(b) at Levels below Transaction (Exchange, Move, Act) (Sinclair

and Coulthard, op.cit).

At the Level of Transaction the relevant distinctions, for our purpose, are the lesson stages of opening, middle or end-part; and/or the stages marked by oral work, reading, and writing as separate activities. By this is meant that mixing would occur with the languages in the contact situation kept distinctly apart. Different languages or constituents of the mixed medium would be used at different stages of a lesson either the opening part of the lesson or the middle or end part of the lesson. Alternatively each language constituent might be tied to a broad language learning skill, either oral speech or reading and writing (literacy skills). For example where this pattern of mixed usage obtains, English may be found more sensitive to the oral speech part of a lesson in a particular content-subject than NL and is therefore often used for this purpose. Within this same lesson, reading and/or writing part of the lesson may then be conducted in NL, and not in English. The entire lesson situation may be reversed with other content-subjects, in which case English is used for the reading and writing parts of the lesson, and NL for the oral speech part. In as much as more than one language is used in conducting the same lesson, although the languages used are kept discrete, the medium used remains mixed.

By language alternation occurring below the Level of Transaction is meant that all the languages or language constituents involved in the contact situation are used inter-changeably or mixed within each stage of the lesson or within each language skill, oral or literacy skill. In this case mixing could occur intra-sententially or in larger discourse units, such as Move and Exchange. For example, in a fully <u>oral</u> Cultural Activity lesson, both English and NL might be

used; the teacher switching from NL to English or injecting English into NL, and the pupils using NL where necessary.

In order to find out at which of these discourse levels the mixed medium used by the teachers in our sample could be analysed, two types of elicitation techniques were used. The first was response 'probing' and the second was participant observation, as was earlier mentioned. Probing was thought possible with the mixing that occurs at the Transaction Level, participant observation was thought suitable and was therefore to be used for the mixing occurring at any Discourse Levels.

6.8.3 Response Probing

Respondents who had indicated that they used NL/L2 mix in a section of the questionnaire (1978) for the survey were asked in a later section of the same questionnaire to state, by putting a 'tick' or 'ticks' in the appropriate column or columns, at what stage during the lesson (in which mixed medium was used) they used English. Listed as lesson stages under each content-subject were Oral Speech, Reading and Writing. But the responses obtained were highly suspect, most of them having failed our reliability tests (see 5.4.8 above). For instance, in the lower primary classes, content-subjects are, apart from mathematics, almost all invariably taught orally. But some of the responses listed reading and writing as the stages of the lessons on Physical Education, Cultural Acticities and Religious Knowledge taught in English, the oral speech stage of such lessons having been taught in NL. Some response cases were the exact opposite of this.

Another 'internal' check which revealed low response reliability on this same issue was putting the same question twice but at some distance from each other and then correlating responses to both (see

5.4.8 above). In this particular case, respondents had been earlier on asked to indicate in which of the four listed media (English, NL, NL/L2 Mix, Arabic) they taught each of the also listed content-subjects. A little later on they were asked a filter question:

> "If you have indicated in section .... above that you teach any of the following listed subjects in NL/L2 mix, at what stage during the lesson (in which you use NL/L2 Mix) do you use English, and not NL ...?"

When responses to both questions from each respondent were compared, discrepancies were observed. For instance, in a number of cases subjects not earlier marked for NL/L2 Mix were found marked later for oral speech, reading or writing.

In view of the doubtful reliability of the "probed" responses, the decision was to treat them as distorted and therefore to set them aside in favour of the participant observed lessons described and analysed in the sections that follow.

6.8.4 Participant observation.

What was done here was to observe or record some lessons taught by a few of the teacher-respondents who had indicated that they used NL/L2 Mix in content-subject instruction. The logistics and reorganisation of these participant observed activities have been described in 6.4.9 (above) and will not be repeated here. As Table 5.8 (Section 5.4.9) shows, a total of 40 lessons were observed; some of these were tape-recorded, that is, those not directly watched by the researcher himself but by his research assistants.

Features that were looked for

The questions we hoped the particpant observed lessons would help us answer include those listed below.

i. Officially what language is the teacher supposed to be using in the class he was teaching?

ii. What is the inter-language direction of mixing as used by each teacher being observed?

iii. What is the nature (and type) of the mixing? Is it, for instance, language "mixing", "code switching" or other?

iv. What is the mixing pattern like? That is, is mixing systematic with regard to its occurrence? For instance, do all content-subjects, both LEM and EEM policy groups, and all primary classes tend to select the same features or differentiated ones? In short, can alternation features, types, and circumstances of their use be analysed along the dimensions of, for example, (a) LEM Vs EEM classes, (b) pre-MT stage Vs post-MT stage, (c) content-subject A Vs content-subject B?

v. Does the use of mixed medium tend to be 'mode' bound? That is, is the use of it a feature of only oral speech or of reading and writing as well?

vi. Can the communication and/or pedagogic strategies underlying the teachers' use of mixed language be inferred from the observed pattern of the use of NL/L2 Mix?

vii. How do pupils respond to their teachers' use of mixed language? Do they also use it?

viii. Is the strategy underlying NL/L2 mixed use of positive pedagogic value? If it is, should the use of NL/L2 medium be encouraged?

Some of the questions above, e.g. (i), have been answered in the analysis and interpretation of the NL/L2 mixed medium features that

were revealed between the 4 subjects observed, that is, Mathematics, Physical Education, Social Studies and Primary Science[12] (Table 5.8) and in corresponding classes and medium policies (LEM and EEM). Similarly, mixed speech features revealed in each subject were compared for primary classes 1-5 in LEM and P2-5 in EEM and in corresponding LEM Vs EEM classes.

6.8.5 Results

When the observed lessons were analysed for the features listed in 6.8.4 above, the following were found.

I. Types of Speech Alternation

Mixed medium as used by the teachers whose lessons were observed is of three types. Type A is speech mixing, as defined in 8.7.3 and 8.7.5 below, in which alternation between NL and English occurs both within and between sentences, largely at the Levels of Move and Act. Type B is code switching in which alternation between NL and English occurs essentially at the Levels of Transaction and Exchange. Type C is direct block translation from English to NL and also occurs at Transaction and Exchange Levels.

II. Pattern of Use of Speech Alternation

Speech mixing (Type A) was the main feature of the mixed medium used by teachers in the LEM Group in pre-MT classes. Code switching was found to have been used mostly by teachers in EEM P3-P5 and in LEM P4 and P5; that is, by teachers in the late post-MT classes in both policy groups (LEM and EEM). Direct block translation was used by teachers mostly in EEM P1 and P2 and in LEM P4; that is,by teachers in the early post-MT classes.

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12 The four subjects were those with the highest NL/L2 Mix frequency scores in our data (Table 6.28C).

III. Inter-language Direction of Alternation

A: Mixed Speech: The inter-language direction of mixed speech in all cases of its use was NL-English. That is, the base language of communication when mixing occurred was NL, into which English expressions were injected at irregular intervals.

B: Code Switching: In contrast to mixed speech, code switching was found to be in the direction English-NL. That is, the base language of communication in which code switching was used tended to be English, with constant 'regressions' to NL.

C: Block Translation: Like code switching, translation was found to be in the direction English-NL. Initial communication was almost always in English; then a regression to NL occurred in which everything said in English was repeated in NL.

The observation described in A. B. and C above is consistent with that in sub-section II above that

(a) mixed speech was used mostly by LEM teachers, specifically those teaching pre-MT classes (LEM P1-P3); and

(b) both code switching and translation were used largely by teachers in post-MT classes. The pattern was the same in both policy groups (LEM and EEM).

IV. Alternation and Oral/Written Modes: All three alternation types were observed to have been used in oral instruction by teachers. There was hardly any instance of their use in the written mode. In all the classes observed at both pre-MT and post-MT stages, teachers' lesson notes and other records were prepared in English. Pupils' content-subject reading materials in post-MT classes were all in English, and pupils were helped to write or copy notes in unmixed English when it was necessary for any notes to be copied. In the

pre-MT classes, reading and writing, where these activities were found going on, were done in NL. No materials were found written in mixed medium. However, language alternation occurred in reading or writing whenever the teacher intervened to explain anything pertaining to the reading or writing activity going on. This again would be an oral transaction.

On the whole, then, mixed medium as used by the teachers observed occurred at the Oral Transaction Level. The patterning of language alternation with oral and literacy modes can be summarised as follows.

Primary Stage	Mode	
	Oral	Written
Pre-MT	Mix	NL
Post-MT	Mix	English

Table 6.34: The patterning of mixed medium along the dimension of mode.

V. Underlying Strategies

Two main strategies seemed to be at work. One was to maximize communication between the teacher and his class and consolidate MT. The other was to prepare for, or anticipate, MT. The first strategy underlies the use of code switching and translation and was found used chiefly by teachers in the post-MT classes in both policy groups. The second strategy underlies the use of mixed speech found mainly in the pre-MT classes, that is, in LEM P1-P3.

6.8.6. Language Alternation as a Communication Strategy

As all the analyses in the present Chapter have shown, abrupt and simultaneous MT specified by LEM and EEM policies does not in practice achieve the full medium target they aim at. Neither in the early nor in the later post-MT stage is this target achieved (see Fig. 6.6 above). Yet all IPs are designed on the assumption that an MT sufficient to sustain English medium instruction has been achieved in each post-MT class. Since this is not the case and teachers have a mission to ensure that communication takes place between them and their classes and that pupils understand their content-subject lessons, a means of bridging the communication gap seems to be to use code switching or translation from English to NL. Code switching was used in the lessons we observed in the following way. The teacher started the lesson in English. Having made what to him was an important point, he quickly surveyed the class to gauge pupils' understanding of what he had said. If he thought further explanation was required, he, more often than not, gave this not in English but in NL without actually repeating what he had said in English. The explanation could be an illustration starting with "For example" followed by the illustration itself in NL. As to use a medium in this way requires some knowledge and comprehension of English, on the part of learners, it is not surprising that code switching was found used largely at the later post-MT stage.

Translation in the lessons observed was used as follows. The teacher presented the lesson in English. When he had come to the end of what looked like each lesson step or group of steps, he stopped and then repeated everything he had said but this time in NL. The teacher used translation as many times during the lesson as he judged necessary.

Since the use of translation in this way implies very little knowledge of English on the part of the learners, the very low English scores recorded for the early post-MT classes in our data (Table 6.28A and Fig. 6.6 above) and the use of translation in the same classes appear to be closely related.

6.8.7 Alternation as an MT Preparation Strategy

The use of Mixed Speech in an NL-based medium could not have been motivated by the teacher's desire to maximize communication between himself and his class, as it is the case with code switching and translation. This is because regression in Mixed Speech is to English, which is still new to the pupils at the pre-MT stage and which is therefore likely to complexify, rather than simplify, the instruction medium.

However, a close look at the text of all the recorded lessons (see below) containing Mixed Speech reveals that a large number of the English expressions injected into the NL-based medium are those commonly associated with specific content-subjects in which they had been used had the subjects been taught in unmixed English. On the whole, the underlying strategy seems to be to anticpate, or prepare for, MT to English by introducing to pupils some of the expressions that they would sooner or later have to learn or listen to after transition would have been effected.

Whether these two strategies are pedagogically and educationally sound and whether the mixed usage they underlie needs therefore to be encouraged for use for instructional purposes are points that are discussed in 8.7 below.

As an illustration of some of the features of mixed speech discussed so far in this section, here below is text of an observed

lesson conducted in mixed medium. The features are essentially of the speech mixing type.

Edited text of a recorded 30-minute lesson conducted basically in Yoruba, a Nigerian language, but with a large amount of language alternation of the mixed speech type.

Class: Primary Year Two. Age of learners: 7 years (average)

Medium Ll, Yoruba.

Educational role of English for the learners in this class: as a subject in its second year of study.

Subject being taught: Arithmetic.

Teacher's personal data: female, 30 years of age, holds Teachers' Grade II Certificate, with 6 years of teaching experience, three of these in this class, one with the present learners.

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1. Teacher: E gbe iwe yin s'ita fun mental work. Se e ti gbe e? (Take out your books for mental work. Have you taken them out?)

   Class: Be e ni, Ma (Yes, Ma'am)
   Yes, Ma

2. Teacher: E ko number one to ten. (Pause) O.K.? O ya o. (Write Nos one to ten.) (Let's begin)

   Number one: e pin twenty-four s'ona meta. E lo ni? E ko o.

   (Divide 24 by 3. What did you get? Write it.)

Number two; sorry, kini answer number one, Abiodun?
(What is the answer for No. 1?)

Pupil: Seven.

Class: No, no.

3. Teacher: Tani mo o o? E ma pa 'riwo. Yes, Adeleke?
(Who knows it? Don't make a noise. Yes Adeleke?)

Pupil: Eight.

4. Teacher: Good. E paro iwe yin ki e mark. Eight ni answer o.
(Exchange your books and mark. Eight is the answer.)

One Pupil: Ma, Ajai ko mark iwe mi dada. Mo gba answer re, o si mark e wrong.
(Ma'am, Ajai did not mark my book correctly. I got the correct answer, but he marked it wrong.)

5. Teacher: On da? O.K. (She marks it right.)
(Where is it?)

Number two; E f'eti sile dada; mo fe pe gbogbo re lati number two lo de number ten.

(Listen carefully; I'm going to dictate everything from No. 2 to No. 10)

Number two; mew lona meta.
(ten times three.)

Number three; e yo mewa kuro ninu twenty-nine.
(Take away ten from twenty-nine.)

Number four; E ro mejo mo nineteen.
(Add eight to nineteen.)

Number five; E pin forty oranges fun omo meji; elo l'enikankan gba?
(Divide 40 oranges between two children; how may will each get?)

(... and so on to number ten.)

6. Teacher: O.K., stop writing. E paro iwe yin k'e, mark ni kiakia. Nibo la pe e de?

(Exchange your books and mark quickly. Where did we stop?)

Pupils: A ti mark number One.

(we have marked number One.)

7. Teacher: All right, number two; kini answer re, tani mo o o?

(what is the answer, who knows it?)

Some pupils together: thirty.

8. Teacher: en ....yes, thirty. E mark re.

(well .. Mark it.)

Number Three, Bola?

Pupil: Nineteen.

Pupils: No. eighteen.

Some other pupils: No, nineteen. (Some mild argument.)

9. Teacher: No noise. Answer is nineteen. E mark.

Number Four; answer is twenty-seven. E mark re.

(Mark it.)

(.... and so on till the end of the exercise.)

E da iwe pada fun eni t'o ni. (.....Pause)

(Return books to the owners.)

E dide. Ten-ten sit down. Very good. Class, e pa 'tewo fun won.

(Stand up. Tens, sit down .... Class, clap for them.)

Nine? Yes, good. Eight? Seven? ..... Zero? (the last 4 pupils sit.)

10. Teacher: E need lati ko times table yin sori dada.

(You need to memorise the multiplication table thoroughly.)

E ko gbodo tun gb'odo lola o. S'e gbo? (addressed to the zero scorers.)

(You mustn't score zero again tomorrow. Do you hear that?)

Some notes on the Text

i) The teacher's notes underlying the lesson recorded above were prepared in English in spite of the fact that the medium of instruction was a Nigerian language. This practice was observed to be general among primary school teachers irrespective of the language used.

ii) It has been suggested above that the English lexical elements injected into the L1-based teacher-talk are essentially those that are required for instruction in appropriate content-subjects later in English. Some of the instances of the use of mixed speech in the lesson recorded above can be justified on this ground, others cannot. Those that cannot include, for instance, 'need' in

"E need lati ko times table yin s'ori dada" (paragraph 10).

In general the English expressions used in the text seem to fall into 3 categories, as follows.

i. Expressions closely related to mathematics and mathematics instruction, e.g. (a) number bonds (plus, minus, divided by, times etc). numbers and numerals;
(b) mark, wrong, right, correct

ii. Expressions related to classroom organisation, e.g. 'stand up', 'sit down', Class, good, clap for them, O.K., 'Yes?'

iii. Miscellaneous expressions, such as 'need' (cited above).

For a fuller examination of categories of English expressions in the mixed usage in our data and which categories should be tolerated, see Section 8.7 of the present study.

iii) Although most of the talking in this lesson is done by the teacher, pupils also participate verbally, to some extent. They are seen following the teacher's model by using mixed speech in paragrph 4:

"Ajai ko mark iwe mi dada; mo gba answer re, o si mark e wrong"

and in paragraph 6:

"A ti mark number one".

This answers one of the questions listed in 6.8.5 about whether pupils also use alternation features. However, it was only in mixed speech that active use of speech alternation of the types earlier described by pupils was observed.

iv) What looks like a random use of number expressions in both NL and English sometimes within the same sentence can be observed, as in

"E pin twenty-four s'ona meta ..." (meta = three).

It may thus be asked whether there is a consistent selectional pattern underlying the use of English expressions in the text. It seems, on the whole, that two-digit numbers are mostly said in English, while unit digits are said sometimes in English and sometimes in NL. When to say it in English and when in NL seems also to be a decision prompted by rhythm. With regard to two-digit numbers and more, Yoruba (the NL used in the text) is notorious for its lack of economy in the way number words are expressed in it. The larger the number, the

longer the amount of time and energy needed to say it. This may explain why the text being examined avoids Yoruba (NL) number words above one digit even when the medium language is basically Yoruba (see Section 8.7 of this study for Nigerian educationists' views on this subject, in particular that of Oredugba, 1977).

6.9 Summary of the Findings on the Language Choice and Use Surveys

6.9.1 The Three Hypotheses

The 3 hypotheses tested sought to find out

1. the extent of the teachers' compliance with the official policies of LEM and EEM with regard to the use of English as the medium of instruction at the post-MT stages specified by each policy;
2. whether in practice medium language choice by teachers reflects any particular official policy and whether it is not in fact determined by the nature of each of the content-subjects in the curriculum of PE; and
3. whether, in case of non-compliance by teachers with official policy decisions on MT, a systematic patterning of the teachers' approach to MT could be traced.

With regard to Hypothesis One, the majority of teachers (in our data) were found not to comply with the official LEM and EEM policies that English should be used as the medium of instruction at the beginning of P4 (LEM) and at the start of primary education in P1 (EEM). The use of English at P4 LEM classes stood at 33.41% of all (medium) languages used in this LEM class, and at 14.81% in EEM P1. Even at the end of primary education, English never managed to achieve the target full medium use. It stood at 61.11% in LEM P6 and at 82.42% in EEM P6 (see Fig. 6.6). Hypothesis One was therefore confirmed.

With regard to Hypothesis Two, the teachers' language choice was found to be influenced by official policies as well as by the nature of each content-subject. However, teachers were found to have been influenced in this choice more by content-subjects than by official policies. This conclusion was based on the fact that inter-subject choice variations continued beyond P4 when the medium choice specified by the two policies is synchronically the same (6.5.5).

With regard to Hypothesis Three, MT was found to be effected by teachers gradually in time and selectively on content-subjects (6.6.4). This reinforces the claim already established that teachers' language choice is determined more by the nature of the content-subject than by official policy directives. The use of NL, Arabic and NL/L2 Mix was found to be such as lends support to the hypothesis that in practice teachers approach MT gradually and selectively (6.7).

6.9.2 The use of Mixed Medium

The mixed medium (NL/L2 Mix) used by teachers was found to be essentially oral speech-based and to be of three types: mixed speech, code switching and block translation (6.8). It was also found that the patterning of these language alternation features is such that mixed speech is associated largely with pre-MT use, while code switching and translation are identified mainly with post-MT use.

Two main strategies were found to underlie the use of the mixed medium. These were communication strategy underlying the use of code switching and block translation, and MT anticipation strategy underlying the use of mixed speech. A close textual study of recorded lessons containing mixed speech (6.8.7) tends to suggest that there are aspects of the use of this alternation type that are pedagogically sound, and others that may be counter-productive. It should be made

clear at this point that the present study did not set out to investigate language alternation as a main concern. It was not therefore designed specially to handle a thorough and systematic investigation of this subject at anything but a none-specialized level. There are important questions on language alternation and its significance as a medium of instruction that cannot be answered on the scant evidence drawn from the data analysed above. Language alternation as a mixed medium is a subject for full scale research. Some areas in which further investigation is considered vital are suggested in Chapter 7 below.

6.9.3 PEIP and other Variables

PEIP was found to have had practically no effect on teachers' language choice and use (6.2.6, 6.2.8, 6.3.4, 6.4.3). This is thought to be due to PEIP basing its IPs on the existing policies of LEM and EEM (5.3.3 above) and therefore inheriting the latter's wrong approach to MT.

Similarly, the level of teachers' education and professional training was found not to have greatly influenced their choice and use of medium language. Teachers' educational variable, in the medium choice circumstance, appears to have been overridden by language learning/use situational factors (1.6-1.7 above). In other words, if the use/learning situation is inappropriate for the medium selected, a high educational qualification by the teacher alone cannot make it less so. The case of the PEIP using highly trained primary education staff and yet unable to influence the compliance of its teachers with the policies adopted by it shows that the language learning/use situation has to be right first before high qualifications can be used to advantage.

PART III

Chapter Seven:

7 Findings and discussion

7.1 Restatement of the Study aims

7.2 Mismatch between policy formulation and policy implementation

7.2.1 Policy Formulation/Elaboration Vs IM exponents

7.2.2 Policy formulation/elaboration Vs Implementation at the Teacher/Classroom Level

7.3 Explaining the policy formulation Vs implementation mismatch

7.3.1 Mismatch observed at the IM Level

7.3.2 Mismatch observed at the Teacher/Classroom Level

7.4 The significance of the formulation Vs implementation mismatch

7.4.1 Educational significance

7.4.2 Mixed Medium as Inappropriate MT Policy

7.4.3 Issues involved in adopting a new approach to MT

7.4.4 Implications of the adoption the selective and gradual approach for syllabus and IM preparation

7.5 Conclusions

7 Findings and Discussion

7.1 Restatement of the Study Aims

Since it is not the aim of this study to examine the effects of the existing medium policies on pupils' educational attainments[1], we have, at the end of the Language Use Survey reported in Part Two, come to the end of our investigation of the various levels of decisions relating to the choice and use of a medium. The aim of the Survey was to find out the extent to which primary school teachers comply with the official medium policies of EEM and LEM. It had been hypothesized that they did not, to a large extent. The overall aims of the study are

(a) to establish that there is a mismatch between the formulation of medium policy at the Political and Administrative Levels and its implementation at the IM and Classroom Levels, and that the MT problem can be explained largely in terms of this mismatch.

(b) to argue that this mismatch is the consequence of a misunderstanding of the processes involved in MT and their implications for educational practice, and

(c) to suggest a new way in which MT might be approached.

7.2 Mismatch between Policy Formulation and Policy Implementation

7.2.1 Policy Formulation/Elaboration Versus IM Exponents:

By extracting instructional features implicit in each of the existing medium policies and evaluating English course-books in terms of which of these features they develop, it was possible to assess the extent of the mismatch between policy as formulated and elaborated, on the one hand, and as realized by IMs for implementation by teachers

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[1] For this see Hawkes, N. (1973). See also 1.4 above for the reason for not doing so.

and learners, on the other. The instructional features profile in Table 4.7 shows that all the course-books examined tend to exhibit the same pattern of features in spite of the fact that these course-books are associated with three different MT policies. This suggests that the distinctions which hold between the policies at the Formulation Level no longer exist at the IM Level. In all, of the 14 instructional features identified in Chapter 4 as characterizing the 3 existing MT policies, only three could be traced in four out of the five courses studied; the fifth course adds two more features (Table 4.7). There is therefore a serious discrepancy between the stated aims of educational policies on the one hand and their realisation in practical classroom materials and procedures on the other.

It can be argued that language courses cannot capture everything that is implied by educational policy, and that the effects of a medium policy had not always been transmitted via a course-book but through the total learning situation, which includes teacher-talk, interaction among the learners within and outside the class and the types of activities engaged in within the school and the language in which these activities are carried on. In such cases, it can also be argued, the effects of a medium policy on learners should not be measured merely in cognitive terms but in affective terms as well, and that, while a language course-book may play an important role in the child's cognitive development, it may be unable to play a comparable role in the development of affective behaviour.

The above argument is conceded. Course-books should not be held responsible for the mismatch referred to in 7.1 above. Indeed, it has been stated in defence of English courses[2] that their production

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[2] See Section 4 ; also Omojuwa, R.A. (1978A) Appendix A2 of this Study.

ante-dated explicit policy formulations. Furthermore, as will again be mentioned in 7.3.1 below, almost all the instructional features omitted in English courses are also omitted in the English syllabuses on which course-books are based. However, these arguments in defence of course-books do not invalidate the point to which attention is drawn: that there is a noticeable mismatch at the IM Level between medium policy formulation and medium policy implementation. Establishing that a mismatch exists, as has been done in Chapter 4, is one of the stated aims of the present study.

The most important aspect of the conflict between policy formulation and policy implementation is the failure of course-books to distinguish instructional features characterizing the particular medium policies they seek to implement and the effect of this failure on the classroom. As was mentioned in 4.3.2, the course-book provides the model for the English taught and learnt during the English lesson.[3] The consequences of what it specifies and what it fails to specify can be seen as profound on both teacher and pupils. If the course-book fails to translate a policy feature in a practical way, the primary teacher, whose classroom English-lesson language is derived from it, cannot be expected to correct its inadequacies. He in fact perpetuates them.

7.2.2 Policy Formulation and Elaboration Versus Implementation at the Teacher/Classroom Level

The results obtained from the survey on Teachers' choice and use of medium languages (Chapters 5 and 6) confirm that a mismatch does

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[3] There seems to be a separate model for the use of English as the medium of content-subject instruction (4.3.2 ; and 6.8).

exist between medium policy decisions at the Political and Administrative (Syllabus) Levels and medium use decisions at the Classroom Level (6.9). The nature of the mismatch at this Level is similar to that observed at the Instructional Material Preparation Level (7.2.1). In both, the instructional features that characterize the distinctions between policies tend not to be reflected in practical teaching, procedures and materials. They also tend to be selected on a basis that is not derived from the language needs of these policies. In the case of medium policy implementation by teachers, three hypotheses were formulated and tested. Two of these clearly confirmed the predictions that

(a) the post-MT target of full English medium function was attained neither in LEM nor in EEM, and

(b) teachers effect MT to English gradually over time and selectively in different content-subjects at different times during primary education.

Both of these contradict the instructional features of the LEM and EEM policies.[4] The third hypothesis tested was partially confirmed. The prediction was that teachers' choice and use of a language for medium of instruction functions was determined by the nature of each content-subject taught, rather than the requirements of educational policy. This was partially confirmed because although the nature of each content-subject was found to be the dominant influence, regard for policy provisions was also found to carry some influence, though a minor one (6.9).

7.3 Explaining the Policy Formulation Versus Implementation Mismatch

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[4] PEM was not probed at the Teacher/Classroom Level. See 5.2 above for reasons.

7.3.1 Mismatch observed at the IM Preparation Level

Two major explanations for the mismatch at this decision level were given in 4.3.1 and briefly mentioned in 7.2.1 above. The first is that English course-books ante-dated most of the primary syllabuses. This can be easily verified from available state primary English Syllabuses. The second is that the instructional features implicit in the existing medium policies and which were ignored in course-books were also ignored in all of the Syllabuses examined. Since course-books monitor medium policy features via syllabus specifications, the omission in course-books of instructional features characterizing each medium policy is to be blamed on the failure of syllabuses to specify them. What explanation can be given for the omission of these instructional features from the syllabus? The explanation seems to be that most of the features unaccounted for by English Syllabuses relate to approaches to MT. By selecting the wrong approach, that is, abrupt and simultaneous MT, the existing policies make it difficult for syllabuses to fully specify the features implicit in the policies. Their demands are unrealistic. For instance under the LEM policy, when full English medium instruction has to begin in P4, pupils have their first contact with English in a learning situation in which English is not used except by their class teacher.

In other words, the mismatch observed at the IM Preparation Level seems traceable, partially, to existing policies selecting the wrong approach to MT. The claim of this study is that if it selects the wrong dimension of the MT profile, a medium policy will be difficult to implement at all Decision Levels.

7.3.2 Explaining the Mismatch at the Teacher/Classroom Level

It is our argument that the teachers' departure from the official policy guidelines in their choice and use of a medium is attributable to the approach to MT adopted by these policies. This is evident from the observed pattern of choice of languages for medium functions made by the teachers in our survey sample (Chapter 6). They rejected in almost all cases the simultaneous and abrupt approach to MT and adopted the gradual and selective approach. This implies that they found this approach impracticable in the language situation in which it is adopted (6.6.4), that is, in Nigeria.

7.4 The Significance of the Formulation Versus Implementation Mismatch

7.4.1 Educational Significance

Non-compliance with policy formulations has been observed at all the Levels below the Political Level at which broad policy decisions are made. Syllabuses which should spell out the instructional features of a medium policy have consistently left out those that characterize each individual policy, specifying only the ones that are common to all policies. English course-books have similarly omitted those features that are not specified in English syllabuses. They treat only the instructional features common to all the three existing medium policies. Any English course can at present be used in any school - and this indeed happens, irrespective of the medium policy adopted for the school. Teachers have been found to implement largely those features common to all the existing policies, omitting those that characterize and distinguish the policies one from another. However, in one major instance teachers have rejected a common feature of all existing policies. This is the simultaneous and abrupt approach to MT, which is believed to be a major cause of non-compliance with medium policies at all the decision levels

mentioned earlier. Thus, non-compliance, which was found to be statistically significant in teachers' language choice, assumes an educational significance at all decision levels below that of policy formulation. Since it seems to point persistently to the impracticable nature of major aspects of existing policies, it is our argument that the single most significant aspect of policy that accounts for, and, in effect, causes non-compliance is the adoption of an abrupt and simultaneous approach to MT by all three policies. The effect of this error (along with pragmatic features of the educational and learning situation) characterizes the medium transition problem in language planning at the primary education level in Nigeria. Tackling this problem, therefore, involves looking for a new approach to transition which is appropriate to the English use/learning situation as categorised in the MT profiles in Tables 1.2 and 1.4 (pages 8 & 12) above.

7.4.2 Mixed Medium as Inappropriate MT Policy

Mixed medium (NL/English mix) was found to be widely used by the teachers in our Language Survey Sample (6.7.4). The pattern of use is such that it could have been

(a) the result of the wrong approach to MT (i.e. abrupt and simultaneous) taken by the existing policies;

(b) a necessary feature of MT effected in stages (selective and gradual transition); or

(c) an indicator of language deficiency among teachers (both in English and NL).

These possible causes of the use of language alternation as a medium of instruction are fully examined in 8.7 below. However, two sets of strategies - communication strategies and MT preparation strategies - were found to underlie the teachers' use of mixed medium (6.8.6 -

6.8.7). The description of how these strategies are applied makes it fairly clear that the use of mixed medium is largely a consequence of wrongly effected MT. It would therefore be possible to reduce its use if MT were appropriately effected. The use of language alternation as an instructional strategy is, nevertheless, considered by the present study as pedagogically sound. It will be suggested that, pending further research, its use should be officially controlled, (8.7.7.; also Omojuwa, R.A., 1979). At present in Nigeria the existence of alternation is officially denied at governmental level. This is dangerous, because it does not allow for the effects of mixed medium on pupils to be assessed and its use to be accordingly regulated or checked.

Because of the high incidence of its use, language alternation as a medium of instruction is an area for full scale research. So little is known about it - for instance, (a) how general it is throughout the country, (b) its impact and effects on pupils' attainments, (c) its causes, and (d) its pedagogic value - that the comments and suggestions offered in the present study have to be regarded as tentative.

7.4.3 Issues involved in adopting a new approach to MT

The first issue seems to be a decision on what constitutes an appropriate approach to MT in the Nigerian situation. Using the English learning situation profile in Tables 1.2 – 1.4 above, it seems fairly clear that the gradual and selective approach is potentially the most appropriate choice. This is confirmed by the systematic, gradual and selective way the teachers in our Survey Sample were observed to effect MT in contrast to the official policy approach of abrupt and simultaneous transition.

However, in adopting a selective and gradual approach, the major

decisions will relate to i) how "gradual"[5] is to be defined and determined, and ii) the criterion for determining in which content-subject(s) MT should be effected at a particular stage in the primary education process. Further research will be required to make such decisions theoretically sound and empirically validated.

"Gradual" is defined in terms of the three stages identified in the MT process in 1.2.3. With regard to content-subject MT selection criteria, this study has not drawn up any theoretical formulations. This is a topic for separate research. However, what is proposed in this study is based on the results of the medium use survey described in Chapter 6. The particular aspect of interest here is the approach to MT effected by the teachers in the sample. These results indicate (as a possible guide on content-subject selection for MT) a consistency and systematicity in the rising rate of English use for each subject (i.e. gradual transition) and in the inter-subject score variations (selective transition). In applying these results, the crucial decision to make is "At what rate of English use should MT be effected?" There is no reason why the same rate (40%, 50%, 60%, for instance) should be fixed throughout the country, even though this means effecting MT at different primary stages in different parts of the country. The principle of selective approach still holds irrespective of the English use rate fixed. Suppose a very low rate of 40% English use was fixed, MT would be effected with respect to each content-subject in the classes specified below (Table 7.1; see also Fig. 6.8). The relevant figures can be seen in Table 6.29.

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5 It needs to be pointed out that 'gradual' has been used in two senses in this Study: demographically, to characterize frequencies in the choice of language media (i.e. the number which used NL, for instance, and that which used L2 in the same or successive classes), and pedagogically, in terms of how teachers talk to pupils. In the latter sense, 'gradual' realizes the demographic sense as an instructional feature characterizing a medium policy and its approach to medium transition.

Primary Classes	Using LEM Results	Using EEM Results
P1	NIL	NIL
P2	NIL	1. Mathematics
P3	NIL	2. Physical Education 3. Science 4. Social Studies
P4	1. Mathematics 2. Physical Education	5. Creative Activities
P5	3. Science 4. Social Studies	6. Cultural Activities
P6	5. Creative Activities	7. Religious Knowledge
MT cannot be effected at the primary level	6. Cultural Activities 7. Religious Knowledge	-

Table 7.1: Classes at which MT is effected in each content-subject at 40% English use rate (based on the results of the Survey conducted for this study (Chapter 6). See Figure 6.8 above.

The mean LEM-EEM results may be used since the integrated policy[6] does not make the LEM-EEM-PEM policy distinctions at the class level. The mean results yield the following classes (Table 7.2) in which MT is

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6 The name by which the policy underlying the selective and gradual approach is called in Chapter 8.1 is Integrated Policy

effected in each subject.

Primary Classes	Based on LEM-EEM Mean Results
P1	NIL
P2	NIL
P3	1. Mathematics
P4	2. Physical Education 3. Science
P5	4. Creative Activities 5. Social Studies
P6	6. Cultural Activities 7. Religious Knowledge

Table 7.2: Classes at which MT is effected in content-subjects at 40% English use rate based on the LEM-EEM mean.

The higher the English use rate fixed, the higher the point at which MT is effected in each subject (see Fig. 6.9 for the points of MT based on 50% English Use Rate). Further research is required to determine what constitutes "the nature" of each content-subject which makes it respond to early, late or postponed MT. However, the following trends were observed from the pattern of the survey results.

(a) *Expressions required for content-subject instruction are* still largely in English, and NL equivalents are either not available or not popularized (e.g. in textbooks and syllabuses) for formal and graded instructional purposes.

(b) A content-subject is oriented towards the local culture or directly derived from the repertoire of local idioms of speech characterizing indigenous culture and local institutions.

(c) Instruction in a content-subject involves both physical demonstration and set expressions or formulae.

Subjects in categories (a) and (c) will, on the whole, yield easily to early MT to English, while those in category (b) tend to resist this and only yield to late or postponed transition. Content-subjects will fall into categories A, B, and C as specified in Table 7.3 (below).

Selective Category	MT feature	Subject that can be effected
(a)	Relatively early	Mathematics, Science [7]
(b)	Relatively late	Cultural Activities Social Studies Religious Knowledge
(c)	Relatively early	Physical education Creative Activities Science [7]

Table 7.3: MT Selective categories with the subjects that can be effected in each category (based on our survey results).

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[7] Science is a subject that fits into two Categories.

The above tentative categories are those that can be set up using the results of our language survey; further discrimination will be required to determine the order of precedence between categories A and C ("relatively early"). For this as for the rest of the suggestions made in thus sub-section (7.4.3), further research on a national scale involving controlled experiments as well as participant observation is required. Such research should extend beyond the northern states to which the present study is restricted.[8] Although the reason for this is sound (5.2 above) and the population sampled is fairly representative of the entire country, restriction to the northern states has meant that the effects on teachers' medium use of Southern Nigeria-based educational language projects, such as the Rivers Readers Project (Rivers State), the Itsekri Language Project (Bendel State), and above all the Ife University 6-year Primary Education Project (Oyo State), could not be assessed.[9]

Another limitation of the present study which suggests the need for further research into a gradual and selective approach to MT is the smallness of the sample representing Primary 5 and 6 variables and contingency table cells. This contrasts with the relative size of the sample in Primary 1 to 4 (Table 5).

7.4.4 Implications of the adoption of gradual and selective approach for Syllabus and Instructional Material Preparation.

These will be considered in detail in Chapter 8. The following

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[8] There are 19 states in the country, 10 of them from the former Northern Region. See map on page 54.

[9] All of these projects are reviewed in Chapter 5 of this Study.

points should, however, be noted. A selective approach should lighten the burden on English as a medium of instruction and simplify both the specification of the English syllabus and the development of course-books. As was seen in Chapter 4, neither the English syllabuses nor the English course-books examined at present reflect the instructional features characterizing each of the three MT policies. This is largely because with a simultaneous and abrupt approach, MT has to be prepared for and serviced with respect to all content-subjects at the same time. It is an impossible task for a course to provide for the language needs of all content-subjects in one year or less, depending on the length of time each book in the course is intended to last, whereas this is possible over a stretch of time such as that spanned by a selective and gradual MT. Not knowing which subjects to begin with or how to establish priorities, English courses and syllabuses "play it safe" by resorting to vague generalities. But with a selective approach (when MT affects perhaps only one or two subjects a year: see Table 7.2), course and syllabus contents can be oriented towards each content-subject in turn (e.g. Mathematics in P3). The pre-transition books in the course can provide for MT preparation in a similarly systematic order. In practice, there will hardly be any primary class, except perhaps Year One, in which English is taught as a subject unlinked with real communication within the class in the shape of content-subject instruction. This is what some sociolinguists and language planners, notably Widdowson, H.G. (1975, 1976), Wingard, P. (1963), Fathman, A. (1977) Tucker, G.R. (1977) have called for.[9]

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[9] The arguments advanced by both Widdowson and Wingard are examined in some detail in 8.8 below.

7.5 Conclusions

Although the suggested order in which selective MT should be effected is based on the observation of what teachers do in practice (Tables 7.1 and 7.2), this should not be taken as an optimum order. We are aware of the fact that what teachers do in practice is not necessarily the right thing, and that there are other factors that influence or inform medium policy decisions apart from a pattern of behaviour forced on classroom practice by transient social conditions. However, the concept of a selective and gradual MT itself does not rest merely on what teachers were observed to be doing. It has, to us, a sound theoretical justification. So, while we affirm our belief that a selective MT is more appropriate in the Nigerian situation than an abrupt and simultaneous MT, the particular order in which a selective MT should be effected is a decision appropriately for each state educational authorities to take. If the processes leading to such a decision included or took account of the trends reported in Chapter 6 of this Study, then the order we suggested in Tables 7.1 and 7.2 would be a useful guide.

As aspects of the present conditions which influence the teachers' choice and use of language medium may change with time, so should it be possible for a suggested selective order to be revised in consonance with prevailing educational and social forces.[10] But a change in the

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[10] Factors, such as higher education qualifications of, and improved training facilities for, teachers, availability and efficient use of IMs and other learning/teaching facilities, an increased exposure of pupils, their parents and teachers to modern standards of living and to the use of the mass media (radio, TV) at home, and a greater application or effect of modern instructional technology, may indeed introduce a selective MT sequence different from what is suggested in this Study.

selective MT sequence does not invalidate or weaken the principle underlying a selective MT. It is quite possible, though, for a future condition to make a selective and gradual MT inappropriate for the Nigerian primary instructional programmes and curriculum organization. That might come, for instance, when English was used as a home language in an average Nigerian home, or when social mobility were such that an average Nigerian town/village was a polyglot community, or if/when educational authorities decided to adopt a monolingual IP without English, or indeed for any other reasons. If an abrupt and simultaneous MT were found appropriate on account of any of the conditions stated above, the principle governing the choice of an MT approach would still hold. It would be argued, rightly, that the change from selective to simultaneous MT was in accordance with this principle.

In Chapter 8 below, the gradual and selective approach to MT is described in more detail and the implications of its adoption for primary school curriculum organization as well as for English and NL instructional programmes are examined in some detail.

Chapter 8: Guidelines on the Adoption of the Integrated Medium Policy

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Chapter 8 : Guidelines on the Adoption of the Integrated Medium Policy

8.1. Introduction

The BIP proposed in this study is a transitional one in the direction Nigerian language to English. By transitional is meant that the medium of instruction moves gradually from NL to English. It is neither monolingual with English as the only language, which the EEM BIP adopts, nor monolingual without English, which is the policy adopted by PEM. It is LEM restructured into what is best described as an integrated BIP in the sense that it is derived from a synthesis of EEM, LEM and PEM policies and the various instructional programmes which realise them.

8.1.1 Features of the Integrated Policy

The integrated IP is centred on a new approach to medium transition, by which transition from NL to English is effected gradually over time and selectively over content-subjects. This approach, described in the sections to follow, has certain crucial implications, also examined in the succeeding sections, for the following aspects of language planning, as well as language teaching and learning;

i. the roles of English as a subject and also as a medium language;

ii. the roles of Nigerian Language as a medium language and also in preparatory instructional programmes for medium transition;

iii. the process and stages of transition and the means by which these are facilitated;

iv. the organisation of initial literacy and literacy development programmes for all stages of primary education in general; and

v. the organisation of special instructional programmes for linguistically complex urban and minority areas.

8.1.2 Assumptions

In proposing this instructional programme, the following assumptions are made.

(a) Both Nigerian Language and English are jointly involved as languages of primary education. The joint involvement means and therefore requires a close relationship and an interchange of functions between them both.

(b) Formal education at the primary education level should, apart from the cases referred to in 8.1.1(v) above, be started in the L1, and although there is to be gradual transition to English, the mother tongue or Nigerian Language should be maintained, though with reduced functions, for the rest of primary education.

(c) It is in the interest of every primary pupil, whether he is a potential post-primary school entrant or leaves the formal educational system at the end of primary education and then takes a low-level job, that he acquires literacy and numeracy in both English and Nigerian Language. This increases his chance of success in the age of technology when the country is being progressively transformed into modern communities by the introduction of mechanised farming and integrated rural development schemes.

8.1.3 Feasibility Criteria

To gain entry to the instructional situation for which it is designed, to have a chance of being seriously tried, and to achieve its objectives, an instructional programme must satisfy certain criteria, some of which may conflict with each other to some extent. An IP is sometimes forced, in order to resolve such a conflict, to com-

promise on otherwise very powerful and sound pedagogic principles. The criteria include the following.

(i) An IP must gain official government recognition. This is crucial if it is intended that the IP be allowed into schools, for as Tucker (1977:16) puts it in one of his conclusions:

> "... despite research, experimentation or innovation, second language teaching programmes will not succeed or thrive unless they are consistent with government policy, whether explicit or implicit, or with the carefully and clearly expressed goals of local educational authorities".

To gain official recognition, in the Nigerian context, an IP must

(a) express principles and objectives consistent with, and promote, the educational objectives enunciated by the competent educational authority;

(b) be economical to implement in terms of its demands on both financial and manpower resources of the state adopting it;

(c) promote the state's cultural values explicitly or implicitly.

(ii) An IP must be acceptable to, and gain the confidence of, the majority of the teachers who will be involved in its implementation. For although an IP is recognised and prescribed for use by the educational authorities, unless it gains the acceptance of teachers, it is unlikely to be effectively implemented. This is what is happening with regard to the official language policies of EEM, LEM, and PEM. They are not being seriously implemented by teachers for reasons that have been stated at different points in this study. To gain

the acceptance and confidence of teachers, an IP

(a) must be capable of being implemented at the classroom level. The level of teaching required should be such as takes account of the qualitative as well as quantitative pattern of teacher supply;

(b) must not in its implementation involve such an amount of labour as attracts the hostility of teachers by being excessive compared to what these teachers have been used to, unless there is a compensatory form of incentive tied to the adoption of the IP, such as opportunities for further training for teachers;[1]

(c) must be realistic in terms of its aims and the means by which these are realised. For example, teachers find it difficult to implement simultaneous and abrupt medium transition because it seems unrealistic, and

(d) must be introduced to and fully discussed with the teachers to be involved in its execution. Short or medium induction courses are often necessary.

(iii) An IP should consider and make provision for issues such as the following:

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[1] The Primary Education Improvement Project (PEIP) run by the Institute of Education of Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, on behalf of the northern states' governments experienced a similar problem at the initial stages. The Project teachers complained that they were being made to work harder than their non-project counterparts for equal pay and with no other form of compensatory incentive. The resentment grew as teachers resisted being posted to Project classes. The Institute then drew up a number of highly prized non-degree courses for teachers, admissions to which give preference to project teachers. On completion of their courses, trainees come back to the Project or to the civil service at a much enhanced salary point and increased social status.

(a) the various social and educational functions performed by the language for which the IP is drawn up;

(b) the fact that only limited language attainment objectives should be aimed at;

(c) that an IP for primary education should be concerned as much with L2 as with all other languages involved in PE;

(d) an IP should be implementable from the point of view of syllabus design and instructional material preparation;

(e) it should be possible to evaluate the extent to which the expected outcomes have been realised or are realisable.

8.1.4 Conflicts and Resolutions

It was stated under Feasibility Criteria (above) that an IP may have to satisfy and reconcile conflicting criteria. Two such criteria relate to recognition by educational authority and acceptance by classroom teachers. An IP must, for instance, gain official recognition before it has a chance of being adopted for use in the school. But it must also gain the acceptance and confidence of teachers before it can be faithfully and effectively implemented at the classroom level. Yet, as has been pointed out, there are in EEM and LEM two officially recognised and imposed policies that do not gain the acceptance and confidence of teachers involved in their implementation. The result is that these policies fail to achieve their stated objectives. Tucker's conclusion quoted in (i) under 'Feasibility Criteria' therefore needs to be qualified. It is not enough for a programme to be consistent with government policy; its success at the implementation level rests largely with the teachers, whose acceptance it must therefore also gain.

The underlying principles of the proposed IP are consistent with

officially declared primary educational objectives. They differ, however, in the means by which these objectives can be attained, that is, by adopting an integrated, rather than EEM, LEM, or PEM,approach to educational language planning. Both financially and in terms of manpower need, the proposed programme does not impose additional strains on the resources of educational authorities.

Teachers are the greatest barriers in the Nigerian context to the success of IPs, however well-planned this may be. This is partly due to their inadequate educational and professional qualifications. Thus, the conflict between what is pedagogically desirable and what teachers can cope with is a constant "threat" to theoretical principles, some of which may need to be modified to make them applicable, and a challenge to language planners and programme designers.

However, with respect to the IP proposed here, no extra demand on teachers is likely to be involved. This and the fact that it accords with what the majority of them have unofficially been practising, should increase its appeal to teachers. The need for "introductory" courses for teachers has already been stressed in the section on Feasibility Study above. The IP proposed here contains certain innovations that will make such courses necessary (see 8.2-8.7 below).

With regard to instructional material preparation, the proposal adds a new dimension to planned instructional programmes, namely that each content-subject syllabus should specify its own language requirements along with the relevant body of facts and concepts. Conventionally in Nigeria a content-subject syllabus specifies only the latter and leaves the question of language open. The present study has revealed that language-as-subject programmes have proved unable to accommodate the language requirements of all content-subjects. English-as-subject

programmes should base whatever "service" they provide for content-subjects on the language requirements drawn up for and by each content-subject.

8.1.5 Limitations

Strevens (1977) and Stern (1970) have both warned that there is no single approach that can claim to have found the solution to language teaching and learning problems. It should be said, in heeding this warning, that what is proposed in this study relates to only one area of language teaching and language learning, an area enriched by insights from sociology and sociolinguistics, linguistics, education, anthropology and psycholinguistics. The present study and what it proposes can be described as a sociolinguistic and pedagogic contribution to the search for a solution to the problem of language planning and language teaching/learning at the primary education level. There are other aspects of language teaching and learning, for instance, those derived from insights in psychology and psycholinguistics, which the study need not account for since it is concerned, by and large, with primary teachers' language behaviour, rather than with language learning and achievement by pupils.

To summarise, the present study is not an attempt to design a course, nor is it an attempt to write a detailed language syllabus. Its aim is to study ways in which the process of medium transition from NL to L2 can be effected smoothly and effectively in terms of principles of policy formulation, syllabus design, IM preparation and classroom practice. It is, however, expected that these will be useful bases from which detailed syllabuses and instructional materials can be derived.

8.2 The Instructional Programmes (IPs) for the Selective and Gradual MT

The IPs realizing the selective and gradual MT consist of

(i) Principles and objectives.

(ii) Syllabuses:

(a) NL,

(b) English,

(c) Content-subjects:

(1) content,

(2) graded language requirements (both NL and English).

(iii) I Ms

(a) Language: 1. NL,

2. English.

(b) Content-subject text-books in both NL and English;

(iv) Teachers and Classroom Practice:

(1) Introducing the new approach to

(a) *teachers already in service, and*

(b) pre-service teacher trainees.

(2) The means by which this is done.

(v) Evaluation:

The effects of the new approach on

(a) teachers' use of medium and how this also affects the quality of their teaching,

(b) *pupils' cognitive achievements and affective behaviour.*

(vi) some implications of the new approach on aspects of instruction and the curriculum organization of PE.

The present "Guidelines", however, cover only the following aspects of the comprehensive programme.

1. Basic Principles (8.3)

2. Objectives (8.4),
3. The English Syllabus (8.5),
4. The English Course-book (8.6),
5. Some implications and issues:
   (a) English as-a-subject versus English as-a-medium of instruction (8.7),
   (b) The place of mixed medium under Selective MT (8.8).

8.3 Basic Principles

1. The initial medium of instruction is NL in all content-subjects[2].
2. Transition to English is gradual. By gradual is meant that the change-over from NL to L2 is not a switch started and completed at a point or in a class within the PE continuum. It is a process that stretches over a length of time.
3. The process of MT needs instructional direction. That is, MT needs to be systematically prepared for. For this purpose, three stages can be pedagogically distinguished. These are:
   (a) Preparatory (pre-MT),
   (b) minimum transition (MT), and
   (c) full transition (post-MT).
4. To make the gradual transition effective, preparation for MT should last for 2 years.
5. Transition to English is also selective. This means that MT is not effected in all content-subjects at the same time.
6. The order in which MT is effected in each content-subject

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[2] This refers to the 85% Nigerian primary school population for which the Selective Approach is relevant. See 1.2.6 above.

may be determined by one or a combination of the following factors

(a) linguistic,

(b) cultural, and/or

(c) practical.[3]

Each state government decides this order for the schools within the state.

7. It seems important that MT should not be effected in the first two years. This is to increase the chances of effectiveness of MT preparation (which in each subject should be 2 years) for the first subject in which MT is effected since there should be a clear 2-year period for its preparation. In this study Mathematics is the first subject to be taught in English in P3.

8. Decisions at all the various Formulation and Implementation Levels are to be harmonised. Each Level is to realize or implement the features of the policy (and its IP) as stated in the objectives and illustrated in Figure 8.1 below. What cannot be realized at any of the levels is to be excluded as a feature of the IP.

9. The objectives of the Integrated Medium Policy and its IP are to be spelt out at each Decision Level. This is of great importance at the Classroom Level. Teachers need to be fully and unambiguously informed of the purpose for which English is to be taught in each class.

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[3] The order suggested in Chapter 7 of this Study was based on the results of the language use survey in Chapter 6 and seems to have been influenced by all of the factors listed above.

8.4 Objectives:

8.4.1 The objectives of the Integrated Policy is to pursue the goals of a transition IP, by which

(a) literacy is initially in pupils' NL and thereafter in English;

(b) the medium of instruction (oral and written) is initially in NL and then, in the manner described in (c)-(f) below, in English;

(c) by the end of PE (1) minimum transition to English is achieved in all content-subjects, and (2) full transition is achieved in some content-subjects. Decisions on which subjects belong to either category (1) or category (2) or indeed any new category that may be created is to be reviewed from time to time at the Political or Syllabus Level);

(d) MT to English is selective and gradual (see Principles in 8.3 above);

(e) Minimum transition will not be effected in any subject earlier than in P3. That is, NL will be the medium of instruction in all content-subjects in the first 2 years of schooling. After P2 NL will transfer some of its medium functions to English at the rate of 2-3 subjects transferred to English a year (except in P3 when only one subject is transferred);

(f) NL will remain as a full medium of instruction in selected subjects until the end of P5 and as a subject throughout the primary course. By "full medium" is meant that both oral and literacy skills are available in NL in those subjects in which it is the medium of instruction.

8.4.2 Means

The means by which the stated objectives are to be achieved include the following.

(i) The instructional features of the objectives stated above are elaborated in syllabuses in a form in which they are realizable by IMs. It is therefore expected that language courses as well as content-subject text-books are derived from syllabuses. Syllabuses are also to be designed in a form in which they can be read, understood and interpreted by primary school teachers. They can then be used as a basis for direct classroom instruction either as a supplement to, or substitute for, language course-books and content-subject texts.

(ii) Syllabuses are to be written in writers' workshops by a selected number of

(a) language planners,

(b) language experts and content-subject specialists,

(c) primary school teachers,

(d) educational administrators and school inspectors,

(e) IM writers, and

(f) Mobile Teacher Trainers.

(iii) The NL syllabuses should specify separately

(a) NL as a medium,

(b) NL as a subject.

(iv) The English syllabuses should specify and clarify the functions of

(a) English at the pre-MT stage, generally and specifically with respect to each primary class;

(b) English at the minimum transition stage, generally and with respect to each content-subject and each primary class;

(c) English at the post-MT stage, generally and with respect to each content-subject and each primary class.

In each case, both content and methodology are to be specified.

(v) Each content-subject syllabus should specify

(a) content (concepts, beliefs, notions etc) and methodology;

(b) in addition, a language component consisting of graded vocubulary and syntactic items required for instruction. This is to be done for both NL and English, depending on the class for which the syllabus (or a section of it) is intended; and

(c) in the very language (NL or English or Arabic) in which instruction in the content-subject is to be delivered. Thus, each content-subject is to observe the following two MT stages:

(1) Pre-MT: when the language of content-subject instruction is NL. The syllabus for this stage is to be specified in NL. In some subjects (e.g. Mathematics) this stage is relatively of short duration (2 years), while in other subjects (e.g. R.K. and Cultural Activities), the pre-MT instruction lasts for 5 years;

(2) Minimum and post-MT: When the language of content-subject instruction is English. The syllabus for this stage is to be specified in English.

(vi) The language components of content-subject syllabuses (v(b) above) are to be written jointly by content-subject specialists and language experts, the latter in an advisory capacity. Similarly, components (a) and (b) of the English Syllabuses (iv above) and component (a) of the NL Syllabuses (iii above) are to be written jointly by language specialists, including teachers, IM writers, etc., and content-subject specialists; the latter in an advisory capacity. This is designed to make content-subjects and the language/languages in which they are taught relate closely and meaningfully to each other. It increases the effectiveness with which the languages (English in particular) potentially perform their medium and medium-preparation functions.

(vii) It will also be necessary for what is specified in the English syllabuses to be expanded and translated into lesson-by-lesson (or period by period) units; that is, in a form in which teachers can use them directly or with modifications for classroom teaching. This can be done in the short term by the same procedure as suggested in (ii) (8.4.2.) above. In the long term, commercial publishers are keen to, and will, fill this gap.

(viii) The new IP and its methodology are to be introduced to teachers and schools step by step in the following order.

(a) Mobile Teacher Trainers (MTTs)[4] are given a series of short courses on the objectives, principles and implementation of the selective and gradual approach. Some

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[4] MTTs are described in Chapter 5 (5.4) of this study.

of them have taken part in writing syllabuses and courses (ii-vii above).

(b) MTTs return to their centres and run a series of short courses for the teachers under their supervision. In addition, as part of their work, they teach at least one lesson a week in each of the classes under their command. As teachers and MTTs interact daily, it is fairly easy for an MTT to continue to assist his teachers until he is satisfied that they have confidence in the new approach and are willing to try it.

(c) After its introduction to primary schools, the selective and gradual approach is next introduced to teachers' colleges. A series of workshops and short courses are run for tutors in these colleges. Some of them have also taken part in the writing of syllabuses and IMs (ii-vii above). The new approach is then included as a feature of the primary method programme of the teachers' college curriculum.

(d) The selective and gradual approach is similary introduced to the study programmes of the various courses at present run for primary school teachers by the Institute of Education, A.B.U. Zaria.

It should be mentioned that the different ways by which the selective IP is introduced to teachers and to schools as described above are not new. They are the means adopted by the Primary Education Improvement Project (PEIP)[5] to link IM writers, MTTs, classroom teachers, teachers' colleges and school inspectors; and has proved effective.

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5 See 5.3.3 above - for a description of PEIP.

8.4.3 Evaluation

Evaluation of the effectiveness of the selective approach should be conducted at the two levels of teacher and pupils.

(i) Implementation by teacher: It should not be too difficult to assess the effectiveness of the approach from the point of view of teachers' compliance. Do teachers proceed with MT according to the principles laid down and the instructions in their manuals? If they do not, what do they do in practice and why? As the survey in Chapters 5 and 6 of this study has shown, what teachers do in practice is sometimes a reliable comment on the inadequacies or impracticabilities of an approach. Evaluation at the Teacher Level may involve the use of questionnaires, interviews and participant observation. Teachers are also to be introduced to self-evaluation by which they constantly complete checklists consisting of what they are ideally expected to do. By going through the checklists they become aware of the gap, if any exists, between expected and realized outcomes. MTTs are the most effective means by which project evaluation at the Teacher Level can be carried out.

(ii) Achievement by Pupils

Evaluation of pupils' use of language and achievement in general should be consistent with the system currently in force[6]: that is, continuous assessment.

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[6] cf Sinclair (1978: 109). "There is little available material for guidance, and often a project has to take account of an assessment system in an institution, whether or not it is appropriate."

It should, in addition, relate to the language use objective in each content-subject. For instance, the unequal levels of English use (pre-MT, minimum transition and post-MT or full MT) in content-subjects should be considered for each class, and for each subject when evaluation is being carried out.

8.4.4 Implications of the selective and gradual MT for

(a) the subject-versus medium functions of English. Should English remain on the Time Table as a separate subject at both minimum transition and post-MT stages? This is examined in 8.8 below:

(b) the use of mixed medium. Will the selective MT encourage the use of mix? Whether it does or not, is there any provision for the use of the mixed medium for content-subject instruction? This issue is discussed in some detail in 8.7 below.

8.5 The Syllabus Level

The principles and objectives specified above are realized by the English syllabuses[7] as follows (only guidelines are given).

8.5.1 English Syllabus objectives

The English Programme caters for the communicative needs listed below:

(a) general communicative needs; that is, non-subject specific language, especially that focussing on the domains of school and home;

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[7] Only English syllabuses are examined. Apart from the English Syllabuses, there are other syllabuses-content subject, NL - both of which, too, realize aspects of the principles and objectives of the selective MT.

(b) pre-MT communicative needs; subject-related language;

(c) minimum transition communicative needs: language required for content-subject instruction;

(d) post-MT communicative needs: as for (c) but with the addition of features to consolidate MT.

In each of the upper primary classes, all of objectives (a)-(d) are aimed at and realized. In the lower classes only some of the objectives can be reflected in the relevant English programme for each class. Each of the communicative needs is now briefly described.

Communicative Needs

Most of the language required for primary education is non-subject specific in a broad sense. That is, it is "common core" language. However, it is quite possible to relate the common core to different areas and domains of need and to group syllabus specifications in terms of such areas/domains. The English requirements of the primary course can be similarly grouped into two main areas: general and subject-oriented.

8.5.2 General English: This relates to the communicative needs that are not particularly content-subject oriented. In the first two years of school, when the medium of instruction is Nigerian Language, an exclusively content-subject-oriented English may be found to be of secondary interest to pupils. Of more relevance is English relating to

(a) school or classroom organization (e.g. open your books, sit down, please, open the window, go out, clap for him, what's your name),

(b) home (e.g. eating, drinking water, washing, plates, cups, kinship terms),

(c) social behaviour or social interaction (e.g. greeting/formulae,

dancing/singing, playing football. What's your name.)

In the present syllabus, this is called General English. Its need is felt in the first two years when, as has been said, the medium of instruction is NL. General English is needed essentially in oral communication. Pedagogically this simplifies the instructional process : a consideration of the suitability of items for graded reading and writing will not be a constraint on the selection of items to be taught under General English.

Another factor which simplifies the teaching/learning of General English at the pre-MT stage is that its use does not have to wait till MT is effected since it is not tied to any subject. Pupils do not have to wait until the 3rd year (P3) when MT is effected in Mathematics before being a participant in the following speech events occurring in natural (unsimulated) communication:

Teacher: Class, go out - and play.

Teacher: Ojo, what are you eating?

Ojo: Groundnuts.

Teacher: Stop eating them now.

Teacher: What's today's date?

Class: Tuesday 7th

Teacher: Good morning, class

Class: Good morning, Sir.

The above utterances are instances of General English which is to be taught as soon as pupils start school. It satisfies pupils' initial curiosity as well as part of parents' expectations.

In the English Syllabus realizing the selective and gradual MT, General English is specified in units. In P1, 3 units of General English are to be taught. There are 2 units in P2 and 1 unit in P3.

The progressive reduction of General English and its discontinuance at the end of P3 reflect the increasing orientation of PE English to content-subject needs.

A unit of General English consists of work lasting for about 3-4 weeks, or 15-20 lesson-periods of about 30 minutes each.

8.5.3 Subject-Oriented English

As the descriptive term implies, subject-oriented English relates to the communicative needs of the learners with regard to their learning of content-subjects. Under the selective MT, no content-subject is taught in English until P3 and here Mathematics is the only subject that is so taught. This implies that subject-oriented English is not required for active, communicative use by learners until P3. It also implies that subject oriented English is for use with the English medium. This contrasts with General English (8.5.2 above), which is related to the needs of the learners mainly, but not wholly, when the medium of content-subject instruction is Nigerian Language.

It should be stressed that the English taught under this heading is not 'specialized' or 'technical' in the restricted sense. Most of the language belongs to the 'common core'. It is subject-oriented largely in terms of "domains" of use or "fields of discourse".

A subject-oriented English programme is designed to cater for three stages of the communicative need sequence. These stages, which relate to the gradual MT process (see 1.2.3 above), are

i) Pre-MT (or MT preparatory) stage,

ii) Minimum transition, and

iii) Post-MT (or MT consolidation) stage.

8.5.4 Pre-MT English

The programme of subject-oriented English is available in each

content-subject and covers the three stages outlined above. The Pre-MT stage prepares learners for the MT stage when the medium of instruction is English with reference to the content-subject to which English is oriented. This makes it clear that the Pre-MT English sub-programme is for use when English has only a 'subject' function and the medium of instruction is NL in the subject being prepared for. Preparation for MT begins two years before transition is effected and consists of

(a) introduction and teaching of some of the important and most recurring lexical and syntactic features of the English associated with or required for instruction in the relevant content-subject at the minimum transition stage;

(b) exemplification of these features in utterances/sentences conveying the notions, concepts, skills, etc. specified in the syllabuses of the appropriate content-subjects.

What is stated in (a) and (b) above implies a close familiarity with the syllabuses of content-subjects, and in particular with that component of each syllabus in which the language requirements of the subject are specified (see iv and v in 8.4.2 above). The Pre-MT sub-programme is specified in two parts. Part 1 consists of work lasting between 3 and 4 weeks, or between 15 and 20 lesson periods of 30-minute duration each. This part is taught in the first year of the sub-programme. Part 2 consists of work to last between 6 and 8 weeks, or between 30 and 40 lessons of a similar duration.

8.5.5 Minimum Transition English

Minimum transition English relates to the communicative needs of learners in the first year after MT has been effected in a content-subject. This means that MT English is taught for immediate practical use. In this respect it contrasts with Pre-MT English which, after being taught,

can wait for up to 2 years before it is used for the communicative purpose for which it has been taught. The oral and written demands on English at this stage increase the value of the service provided by the MT English sub-programme. Some of its instructional features include:

(a) recycling and use of the features taught by the Pre-MT English sub-programme,

(b) additional language items (lexical/syntactic items) not taught at the Pre-MT stage but which are specified in the content-subject syllabus for the minimum transition period, and

(c) increased practice and use of reading comprehension and writing skills in addition to the oral skills, which are the dominant features of the Pre-MT sub-programme. The reading and writing objectives of the MT stage realised early in the PE course (e.g. for Mathematics and Physical Education) are limited. Very elementary skills are aimed at.

Methodology is very important at this stage. As English is the medium of both oral and written instruction, the question can be asked whether there should continue to be separate 'English' lessons on the Time Table. Should not, for instance, the teaching of English be included as a feature of its use for content-subject instruction, in which case there is no need for English lessons to be separately marked on the Time Table? The answer, from our point of view, is that both the practical use and most of the teaching aspects of the MT English are to be realised as features of content-subject instruction. The integration of the teaching of English with content-subject instruction is facilitated by the fact that both English and content-subjects are taught by the same teacher. This instructional situation contrasts markedly with that in secondary

schools where teachers are subject (not class) teachers, and where therefore such integration has always proved difficult to implement.

Furthermore, in primary schools teaching content-subjects in an L2 (English in this case) and teaching an L2 for content-subjects are largely inseparable. Integrating English with content-subject instruction in a selective and gradual MT aids the smooth development and exploitation of the relationship between the teaching/learning of English and the use of it for instruction as well as for other practical, communicative purposes.

What has been said so far relates to the methodology of the minimum transition English, most of which, as suggested, should be realized in content-subject instruction. However, this is not to say that there is no need for separate English lessons. It will still be necessary to retain English as a subject on the Time Table for the following reasons.

(i) There are a few language items that will need to be formally drilled and practised. The type of practice considered appropriate for language drills (e.g. repetition, imitation, pronunciation practice, reading recognition, print script writing, spelling and dictation, controlled writing practice, etc.) is not likely to be considered as the type that can be integrated with content-subject instruction without distracting attention from the content (concepts, notions) of such instruction.

(ii) In the context of each primary class (as contrasted with each subject), a look at Table 8.7 below shows that subject-oriented English at the 3 different communicative need stages (8.5.3 above) is taught in each class from P3 to P6. Some of this is to be realized at the Pre-MT stage, when English has only a 'subject' (not medium) function. It is only if English as

a subject is separately marked on the Time Table can this service be provided. Apart from this, General English (8.5.2) continues to be taught until the end of P3, when English has minimum medium functions in Mathematics instruction. A wider dimension of the subject versus medium functions of English is examined in Section 8.8 below.

The unit of instruction allocated to the minimum transition sub-programme should be in relation to the other functions performed by English in the same class (see 8.6 below for the structure of the English Syllabus). Since most of the use of MT English is tied to, and realized in, content-subject instruction, the rest of the sub-programme (see (i) in this section) should carry a unit weight equivalent to that carried by Part 1 of Pre-MT English.

8.5.6 Post-MT English

The Post-MT English sub-programme aims at consolidating MT and the use of English for content-subject instruction. It builds upon minimum transition English (8.5.5) and extends it to wider areas of communicative use. As its descriptive term implies, post-MT English is available in each content-subject from the second year after MT has been effected in content-subject. Its instructional features include

(a) a contination of the skills provided by the minimum transition programme;

(b) increased development of the skills of reading and writing especially on topics related to the appropriate content-subject. This is to be achieved by, among other devices,

1. graded supplementary reading materials,
2. workbooks, and
3. well-planned, guided writing courses.

Instruction unit weighting for Post-MT English is as suggested for minimum transition English. So is the organization of the teaching of English. Separate English lessons are retained on the Time Table, although the use aspects of the Post-MT sub-programme are realized in content-subject instruction.

8.5.7 The Structure of the English Syllabus

Although in 8.5.2 - 8.5.6 above, syllabus objectives and communicative needs were described in terms of programmes and sub-programmes, in practice a combination of these objectives and communicative needs are realized in each primary class. The realization sequence should be flexible. Two treatment orders can be adopted: concurrent and consecutive. By consecutive order is meant that the different communicative needs are taught one after another, until all the needs for each class are covered. By concurrent order is meant that each group of lessons consists of a little of each communicative need specified for the different sub-programmes in each class. Either order is pedagogically sound, though the latter is to be preferred, especially in the lower primary classes.

The English syllabus structure is now summarized in Table 8.1 in terms of

(a) the different communicative needs specified for each class, and

(b) the number of units to be taught in each class and in each programme.

Tables 8.2-8.7 contain a class-by-class guide on the communicative needs that are provided and the content-subjects to which English is oriented (and at what MT stage). Fig. 8.1 summarizes the structure of the entire English syllabus/programme under the selective and

and gradual MT in terms of

(i) the class at which MT is effected in each content-subject,

(ii) the class at which each stage of the subject-oriented English programme is begun,

(iii) the types of communicative needs which English sub-programmes cater for in each class and in each subject, and

(iv) the weight (or number) of the instructional units specified for each class.

Primary Class	Communicative Needs			
	General	Pre-MT	Minimum Transition	Post-MT
P1	+ (3)	+ (1)	-	-
P2	+ (2)	+ (4)	-	-
P3	+ (1)	+ (6)	+ (1)	-
P4	-	+ (6)	+ (2)	+ (1)
P5	-	+ (4)	+ (2)	+ (3)
P6	-	-	+ (2)	+ (5)

Key: + presence of feature

- absence of feature

( ) number of units is in brackets

Table 8.1 Types of communicative needs embodied in the primary English syllabus.

A Class-by-class English Syllabus Guide

ary ss	Language Function	Communicative Needs				
		Skill (oral/ literacy	General (i.e. Non-subject specific)	Pre-MT preparation for	Minimum transition in	Post-MT consolidation in
	Subject	*Oral*	1. *Domain of School*: (a) daily routine and classroom organization (e.g. stand up, go out, clean the blackboard) (b) formulae (e.g. greetings good morning) (c) naming (e.g. my name is John ....)	Mathematics (Part 1)	Nil	Nil

Table 8.2: P1 English Syllabus Guide

A Class-by-class English Syllabus Guide

ıry ıss	Language Function	Communicative Needs				
		Skill (oral/ literacy	General (i.e. Non-subject specific)	Pre-MT preparation for	Minimum transition in	Post-MT consolidation in
	Subject	Oral and literacy	1. Domain of School (contd.)	1. Mathematics (Part 2) 2. Physical Education (Part 1) 3. Primary Science (Part 1)	Nil	Nil

e 8.3: P2 English Syllabus Guide

A Class-by-class English Syllabus Guide

ary ss	Language Function	Communicative Needs				
		Skill (oral/ literacy	General (i.e. Non-subject specific)	Pre-MT preparation for	Minimum transition in	Post-MT consolidation in
	i) Subject ii) Medium	Oral and literacy	1. Domain of School (contd.) 2. Domain of Home (contd.) 3. Other	i) Physical Education (Part 2) ii) Primary Science (Part 2) iii) Creative Activities (Part 1) iv) Social Studies (Part 1)	Mathematics	Nil

le 8.4 P3 English Syllabus Guide

A Class-by-class English Syllabus Guide

ary ss	Language Function	Communicative Needs				
		Skill (oral/ literacy	General (i.e. Non-subject specific)	Pre-MT preparation for	Minimum transition in	Post-MT consolidation in
	i) Subject ii) Medium	Oral and literacy	-	1. Creative Activities (Part 2) 2. Social Studies (Part 2) 3. Religious Knowledge (Part 1) 4. Cultural Sctivities (Part 1)	i) Physical Education ii) Primary Science	Mathematics

.e 8.5: P4 English Syllabus Guide

A Class-by-class English Syllabus Guide

ary ss	Language Function	Communicative Needs				
		Skill (oral/ literacy	General (i.e. Non-subject specific)	Pre-MT preparation for	Minimum transition in	Post-MT consolidation in
	i) Subject ii) Medium	Oral and literacy	-	1. Religious Knowledge (Part 2) ii. Cultural Activities (Part 2)	1. Creative Activities 2. Social Studies	a) Mathematics b) Physical Education c) Primary Science

nble 8.6: P5 English Syllabus Guide

A Class-by-class English Syllabus Guide

imary lass	Language Function	Communicative Needs				
		Skill (oral/ literacy	General (i.e. Non-subject specific)	Pre-MT preparation for	Minimum transition in	Post-MT consolidation in
	i) Subject ii) Medium	Oral and literacy	-	-	i. Religious Knowledge ii. Cultural Activities	1. Mathematics 2. Physical Education 3. Primary Science 4. Creative Activities 5. Social Studies

ble 8.7 P6 English Syllabus Guide

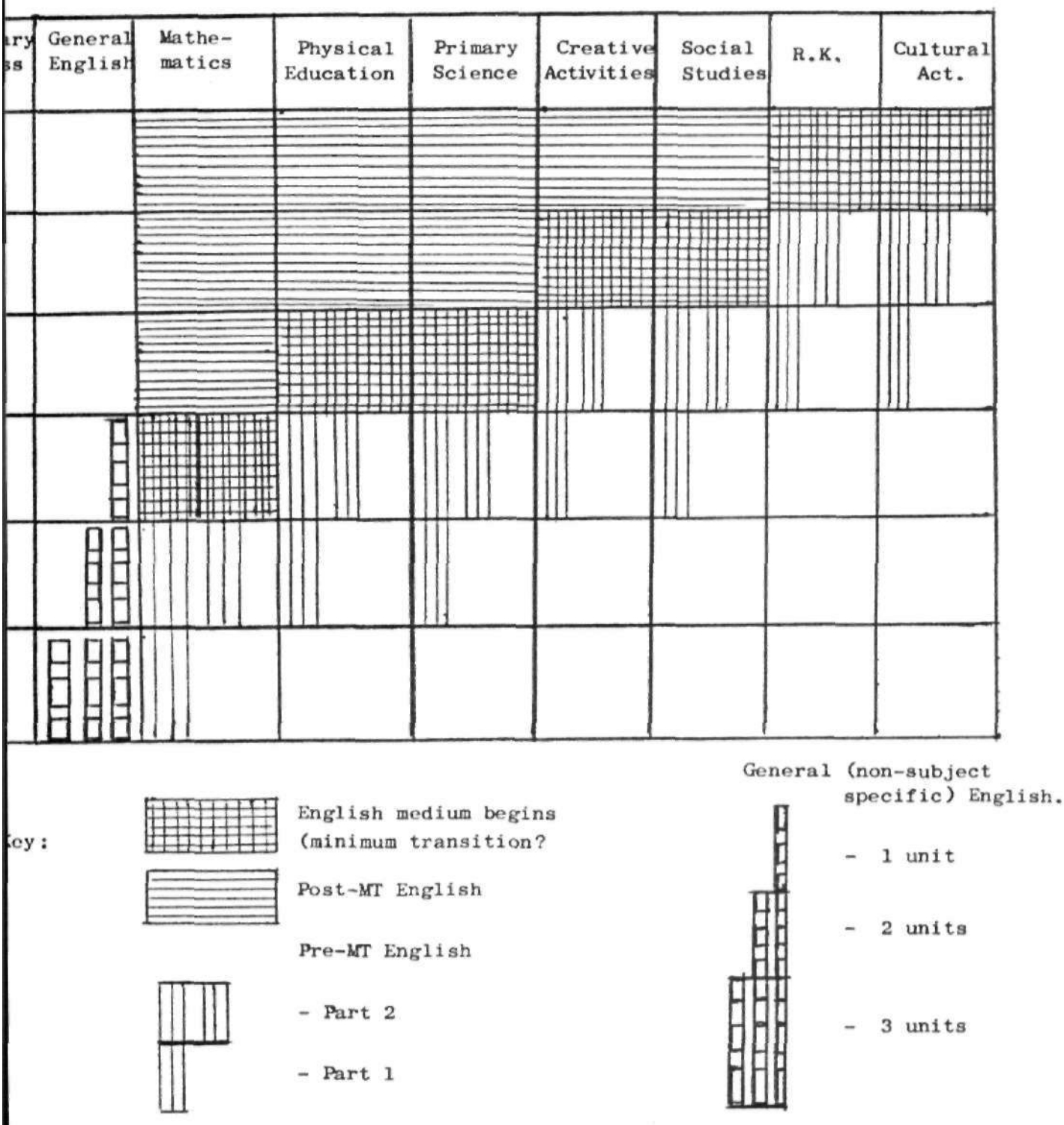


Figure 8.1: The structure of the English programme/syllabus under the selective and gradual medium transition.

8.6 Implications of the Selective and Gradual Medium Transition for Instructional Material Preparation

It was seen in Chapter 4 that there is a mismatch between existing English course-books and LEM/EEM/PEM at the Formulation and Syllabus Levels. Course-books were found to be incapable of realizing the instructional features of any of the 3 policies in depth. One explanation given for this mismatch is that the simultaneous and abrupt MT underlying LEM/EEM/PEM policies is inappropriate for the average Nigerian situation and that on account of this its instructional features are too unrealistic and too vague to be effectively realized by course-books. With the selective and gradual MT, only a few instructional features need be realized in any one class. Each book of a course-book is aimed at the specific communicative needs identified for the primary class for which the book is written. Fig. 8.1 and Tables 8.1 through 8.7 specify the needs of each class, the instructional features of the English programme to cater for such needs, the weighting of each unit of instruction in each programme and in each class, and the educational role of English (subject vs medium) in the class (e.g. in P1 and P2) and for each subject taught in the class (e.g. P3-P6) to which some of the English taught is oriented. A guide on two method aspects has also been provided at the Syllabus Level. The first is concerned with whether English should be taught as an independent activity detached from the content-subjects to which it is oriented (8.5.5 above). Our suggestion is that English should be taught, used and practised as a feature of content-subject instruction if English is the medium of instruction for the particular subject to which it is oriented. We also suggested that English lessons distinct from content-subjects should remain on the Time Table since there are aspects of English that will continue to receive concentrated attention, the type that is not appropriate when a content-

subject is being taught. A course-book should show by its methodology, content and instruction to teachers in what instructional situation (e.g. content-subject lesson or English lesson) a unit or part of a unit should be presented. This information is crucial to the effectiveness of the teaching of English under the selective and gradual MT.

The second method aspect referred to above relates to the organisation of units of communication needs for which English is designed in each class. We suggested two possible approaches (8.5.5), which will not be repeated here. Whichever approach is taken by a course writer, what is important is that

(a) there is a communicative purpose for which English is to be taught,

(b) the communicative purpose is clearly defined in the book, and

(c) the material and method used are those capable of realizing each specified purpose.

The information provided by the Syllabus is the one a course-book needs to obtain to be able to realize the instructional features of a medium policy. As was found in Chapters 3 and 4, this information is not provided by existing syllabuses and in consequence course-books are unable to realize more than 3 of the 14 instructional features of the current medium policies (LEM, EEM and PEM). The result is a mismatch between policy formulation and its realization at the IM Level and between it and its implementation at the Classroom Level.

8.7 Medium Transition and the Problem of Mixed Medium

8.7.1 The Unknown Factors

The debate whether language alternation should be officially recognised and approved for use in the formal instructional process will remain inconclusive until the following can be satisfactorily explained.

(a) The factors to which language alternation can be attributed as it is at present found to be used;

(b) an examination of what constitutes speech alternation; in particular, the relationship between alternation types on one hand and pidginized or reduced forms, on the other; also the merits and demerits of each of them as features of a language of instruction;

(c) implications for IPs of the use of mixed medium.

What is stated in the rest of this section is not an attempt to answer the above questions but to draw attention to

(a) the inconclusiveness of the debate, and to

(b) certain trends that have been observed in the Nigerian classrooms with regard to the use of the mixed medium and some tentative opinions on how these can be turned to good account.

8.7.2 The use of language alternation by teachers

If teachers at the PE level use reduced forms and language alternation, there is likely to be at least one of the following reasons behind it.

(1) The use may be an attempt by teachers to come to the communication level with their class. That is, language is reduced, mixed or alternated deliberately so that communication may take place between

them and their pupils (Corder, 1978:12: also 6.8 of this study).

It has been claimed that for the communicative referential functions of language, language in its reduced or pidginized form is all that is required (Schumann 1974; 1976; Widdowson, 1975; Corder 1975, 1977; Valdman 1977).

(2) The use of reduced forms and language alternation by classroom teachers may represent the teachers' own fossilised competences, in which case, the choice is not deliberate, not an option from a varieties repertoire. In other words, the use is imposed by the need, not of pupils, but of the teacher users themselves since the variety is the only one available to them. It is important to know which of the above reasons accounts for the use of speech alternation and pidginized forms in considering the question whether mixed medium should officially be recognised and approved for use.

Theoretically, the teacher whose use of alternation is on communication grounds is assumed to command the standard English variety. He is therefore also assumed to be able to make use of this at the right time. With this category of teachers the use of speech alternation seems able to serve its purpose of bridging a communication gap at the appropriate MT stage. Once this stage is over, the teacher ideally switches over freely to standard English.

On the other hand, with the teacher whose use of reduced forms and speech alternation represents his transitional or fossilised competence, complexification and standard forms when required may not be available because they are not part of the teacher's repertoire. The teacher therefore perpetuates the use of speech alternation which he teaches directly or indirectly to his class. With this latter class of teachers, speech alternation is a permanent feature of their class-

room language use.

It is thus clear that if language alternation is officially approved where the 2nd category of teachers is in the dominance, language alternation becomes a permanent feature and a national standard, for it becomes difficult to remove it.

Before we proceed further, the terms "language alternation" "reduced registers" and "pidginisation" have to be defined. Each will be discussed from the point of view of its use in the classroom.

8.7.3 Language Alternation as transitional medium

Language alternation types are well known, and have been described by various researchers and ethnographers (Blom and Gumperz, 1972; Sankoff, 1972; Fishman 1972; Mfonyam 1976; Ure 1974; Oksaar 1972, Funso Akere, 1977). Most of the studies done on language alternation are in relation to their use in various bilingual/multilingual communities in natural social settings, that is, settings in which the languages involved in the contact situations have been acquired in a natural, non-formal setting. The exception, among the quoted studies above, is Ure, who reports a study conducted on the use of language alternation by teachers in primary schools and teachers' colleges in Ghana.

The most frequently described language alternation type is code switching. Language 'mixing' has also been studied but it has been referred to by several names such as "lexical interference" (Fishman, Gumperz, Mfonyam, Oksaar; 'mixing', 'mixed speech' 'speech mixing', mixed language (Ure, 1974) or sometimes 'metaphorical switching' (Fishman).

Attitudes to language alternation in general are both positive and negative (Fishman, 1972) . In some specific cases, hostility has been reported (Whiteley, 1968); in others, language alternation is

regarded as part of the community's total language repertoire to be drawn upon when required (Sankoff, Gumperz). There has also been a mixed reception of its extension to schools as "teacher talk".[8] Wingard on the whole, views with disapproval the use by teachers of language mixing (Wingard, 1963). Ure (op.cit), on the other hand, declares her approval and indeed, encouragement, of both code switching and mixed speech in the classroom.

8.7.4 The Nigerian Context

Funso Akere's study (1977) reveals an extensive use of speech alternation of the code switching type in social encounters at various levels of formality and in both public and private domains outside of the formal school system. His ethnographic study was not aimed at what happens in schools. Neither is Oke's (1975).

The only glimpse of the type of language primary teachers use was in a paper presented by Oredugba to the Kaduna National Language Symposium in 1977. In it she states that in Mathematics lesson, which officially is supposed to be taught in Yoruba (NL), teachers used language alternation of the speech mixing type most of the time, the pattern being that all number bonds and numerals are expressed in English while explanations and the main thread of discourse are in Yoruba. She sees this development as natural and suggests that, because of practical utility and later learning, number bonds and numerals should officially be allowed to be expressed in English and that these English expressions should be incorporated into an integrated common list of technical/ scientific terms to be drawn up for the major Nigerian languages.

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8 The term 'teacher talk' is borrowed from Corder (1978).

The present study observed 3 types of language alternation in primary teachers' use of English (see section 6.8.5), namely,

(a) mixed speech which was used when the medium was NL,

(b) code switching/translation which were used when the medium was English.

8.7.5 Language alternation and pidginisation

Is language alternation related to pidginisation?

Pidgins, Creoles, Foreigner-talk, baby-talk, reduced registers, inter languages, have been characterized as having the following features in common (Schumann 1974; 140-147):

(a) a radically reduced lexicon,

(b) absence, in general, of tense markers,

(c) deletion of the copula and also sometimes of definite and indefinite articles,

(d) elimination or non-use of certain grammatical transformations, *such as for interrogatives and negatives.*

Corder (1975: 3) reorganises these features into three broad significant (plus/minus) features of reduction, admixture and intergroup use, and *uses these to characterize and classify* 'pidginization', 'reduced registers' and 'interlanguages.'

The relationships between language alternation types and pidginisation *and other forms of reduced language can be quickly shown by using* Corder's significant feature matrix to characterize them as follows:

	reduction	admixture	inter-group use
A 1 Pidginisation [9]	+	+	+
2 Reduced Registers	+	-	+
3 Interlanguages"	+	+	+
B Language Alternation			
4 Code switching	-	-	?
5 Mixed speech	-	+	+
6 Translation	-	-	?

Table 8. : Features of Pidgins and language mix.

It can be seen from the above table that speech alternation is different from pidginisation and reduced registers. However, in terms of the communicative functions they perform, both seem to aim at maximising "the chances of successful communication" with the learner (Corder, 1978:12).

8.7.6 Pidginisation as mixed medium and instructional model

Opposing views have been expressed on this. Widdowson (1975) suggests that learners are behaving in a purely natural way when they use reduced language and that they should indeed be encouraged to do so. Learners' errors, he say, "should be exploited rather than corrected. Correction will tend to force the learner back from use to usage and to thereby reverse the natural process" (p.17). He goes on:

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9 Corder's classification (Corder 1975: 3)

> "... errors are evidence of success and not of failure, that the failure to conform to given reference rules is the consequence of success in developing expression rules. .... the learner focusses on strategies of use rather than on norms of usage. In this way, he is in effect providing the language he is learning with a communicative significance which the actual teaching very often does not allow for ." (Pp 16-17).

Widdowson uses 'errors' in the sense of 'interlanguage' and looks at the issue from the point of view of learners' use of reduced forms, a view supported by others, such as Schumann (1974, 1976, Corder (1975, 1977, 1978) and Fathman (1977).

But there is a difference between learners using reduced forms or being allowed or even encouraged to use them and designing instructional programmes to teach these forms. The questions should be whether pidginisation, etc should be permitted or encouraged in the speech of learners within the classroom, and if it should then be used or taught or both, by the teacher in the classroom. In so far as interlanguage, pidginisation and reduced registers are seen as representing the natural process by which a new language, including L1, is learnt, question (a) is, on the whole, answered in the affirmative by Widdowson (op cit), Schumann (op cit), Corder (op cit), Valdman (1977). Valdman, however, distinguishes two language use situations; one positive, the other negative with regard to learners' use of pidginised forms. He says:

> ".... in formal second language courses where communicative competence is a highly valued intermediate or terminal objective, insistence on the part of the instructor on well-formedness becomes both unjustified and paradoxical. The paradox hinges on the nature of circumstances where stigmatisation is attached to structural deviance. In communicative situations where contact vernaculars are used, deviations from the base language norm are not stigmatised since the latter is the native language of none of the participants. On the other hand, the use of pidginized versions of a language in a natural learning situation is highly stigmatised, for it is perceived as indicative of either/or, or both, low socio-economic status and lower than average intelligence. It condemns the learner to depreciated status and has a perpetually cyclical

> negative effect on learning in that it renders integration with the host(69) community difficult"(p 70).

Considering the school domain, Valdman adds:

> "In the classroom situation no stigma is connected with the use of deviant, even highly pidginized, forms since the learner seldom has occasion to employ these forms with 'normal' speakers of the target language in authentic communicative transactions" (P 70).

Using distance from the native speaker's community as the grounds on which the use of reduced forms by learners are permitted is a departure from Valdman's earlier argument using the natural language learning process. By the natural process explanation, reduced forms will come as a stage in the learning process, irrespective of the situation. It is so with both mother tongue acquisition and L2 learning/acquisition in a natural setting. So the use of pidginised forms is not by choice, unlike what Valdman now suggests.

Valdman's argument seems to have stemmed from the fact that he lumps together two different issues: one is the use of language by learners, the other is the formal teaching of it.

His main thesis is a proposal of a pidginization model of instructional programmes. The pidginization model, he says, is designed for "syllabi compatible with early stress on communicative competence" (p 70). Valdman does not provide any samples of what this model consists of and its methodology. We are informed that

> "Practice in the use of well-formed utterances that meet the criteron of situational appropriateness within simulated situations serves to prepare the learner for ultimate participation in genuine communicative transactions."

Then an explicitly defined position:

> "In these types of courses, not only must learners be allowed to communicate with the use of deviant utterances but the syllabus design and the classroom environment must differ markedly from that of general language courses,"

and finally:

> "Only the questionable belief that the use of deviant forms will inhibit the acquisition of well formed version of the target language can be invoked for this paradoxical behaviour" (p 70).

The pidginised version of the language is to be taught and also used as the medium of instruction on the grounds that it is safe for learners, who will not come in contact with the native users of the language. An implicit reason is that starting with the pidginized forms is an approximation to the natural learning process.

This argument is untenable for two reasons. First, assuming, as Valdman has stated, that learners need the reduced forms as a model because they will not come in contact with the native speakers at the stage when the reduced forms are being learnt, how will this process be reversed later in the case of learners who may find themselves in contact with native speakers? If reduced forms and pidginisation are deliberately taught, when will the complexified forms be taught and how easy will it be to help learners get over this imposed stage?

Secondly, Valdman's proposal amounts to saying that since a baby's first attempt at using language consists of prattling and incoherences, the mother should similarly prattle and be incoherent. And in the case of the formal language learner, that since some interlanguages consist of forms such as "I did not went yesterday", "They was go yesterday", the teacher should similarly teach these forms as his transitional model? Neither of this reflects a natural situation, and neither is therefore tenable. Corder (1978) is well aware of the danger in the kind

of model being proposed by Valdman when he warns:

> "One thing we can rule out straight away, mothers and native speakers do not revert to using what I have called a simple grammatical system. They do not use 'baby-talk' or 'foreigner-talk' to infants and language learners. The grammatical system they use is the full complex adult target language." (p 12).

He goes on to speculate on the strategy of communication used by teachers, mothers, and native speakers:

> "The grammatical system they use is the full complex adult target language. It is their way of using it that is simplified. They restrict the range of their discourse, the topics selected, the vocabulary and range of speech functions ..... They probably restrict the range of structures they employ. These simplifications, let me insist, are rhetorical not grammatical" (p 12).

8.7.7 Language Alternation as Mixed Medium

What we have been considering so far is a pidginization model of instruction. Our opinion is that such a model aims at, at best, a transitional variety, with no suggestions on how to overcome the transitional stage. It is therefore to be rejected. Does the same opinion hold for speech alternation?

Speech alternation types and pidginization types have been shown above as dissimilar in two of their three main features (ie using Corder's matrix). It may be useful to draw attention to the situations in which language alternation has been found to be used by teachers and also the purposes for which alternation has been observed to be used. These *situations and purposes were analysed in Chapter 6 (see in particular* 6.8) and will therefore not be repeated here.

It is important to stress that language mixing was found to be used when the subject being taught was not language itself. When, for instance, English was taught as a subject, usage rather than use was taught. That is, the standard variety of English, in syntactic

and lexical terms, was taught, and not interlanguage. Neither did the teacher's language use during such English lessons contain alternation features. The following observations can be made.

A: Mixed Speech

Mixed speech as used in oral instruction by teachers does not seem, in view of the foregoing, to pose any threat to the teaching of the Nigerian standard variety of English. The fact that teachers seem able to use the standard variety when teaching English implies a possession of more than one code or variety in their repertoire. Their use of each would seem to be dictated by the purpose for which language is required at each occasion when a choice of code is required.

The purpose for which mixed speech is used by primary school teachers seems pedagogically and pragmatically sound. There is on this ground a case for its use, but not its teaching, in formal instructional situations. However, such use has to be instructionally guided. The instructional guide will assist the teacher to clarify and specify the situations when it may be necessary and justifiable to use mixed speech. The need for an instructional guide can be illustrated by reference to the indiscriminate use of mixed speech in some of the lessons recorded and reported in Part Two of this study. Some of these lessons show that English expressions injected into oral instruction in NL fall into the following categories:

(i) expressions associated with specific content-subjects and which therefore are judged required for instruction in such subjects when minimum MT has been effected. In Mathematics these include numbers expressed in words as well as number bonds and mathematical notations;

(ii) expressions required and used for classroom organisation, for instance, "sit down", "don't make a noise", "mark it", "what is the answer";

(iii) miscellaneous expressions, e.g. "e need lati ko ... sori dada", "e pin forty oranges ..."

While category (i) expressions can be defended as pedagogically sound, as has been argued above, the same argument cannot be extended to the third category. Teachers will also need to be advised on whether category (ii) expressions can be used in this way. An instructional guide will thus have the task of drawing up for each subject such expressions in English whose occurrence in mixed usage can be justified on pedagogic or other grounds that may be agreed by educational planners and administrators. In the specific examples given above, category (i) expressions are likely to be listed as permissible, while those in category (iii) seem to be unacceptable. Category (ii) expressions are likely to be tolerated only in whole sentences. That is, the sentences in which they occur should be unmixed English sentences in which case what is injected into the NL oral medium is whole English sentences, and not just lexical items. The following examples will clarify the distinction further. "Mark" and "answer" belong to category (ii) expressions as listed above. They are now used in two different language mixing contexts:

Context One: Eyi ti e se na ti to. So stop and start to mark.
(What you've done is enough. So .....)
E f'eti s'ile dada, e ma a ko nkankan mo. Just listen..
(Listen carefully, and don't write any thing more.
Just .....) to the answers.

Context Two: Eyi ti e se na ti to. E stop ki e bere se mark. E f'eti s'le dada, e ma a ko nkankan mo. E sa listen si answer won.

As can be seen in Context One, there are two blocks of English expressions injected into instruction in Yoruba. Each block is coterminous with a full sentence in English. The use of the lexical items mark and answer is likely to be acceptable in this context involving an injection of whole sentences. The use in Context Two above of these same expressions involves each of them being injected in isolation into a Yoruba-based speech. This seems unlikely to be tolerated. The use of mixed speech in this way smacks of indolence on the part of the user.

The above detail is an attempt to illustrate the need for guidance and the areas in which it may be required. The next important issue is the form and source of such an instruction guide. Should such a guide, for instance, be drawn up as a component of

(i) Nigerian Language as-a-subject programmes,

(ii) English as-a-subject programmes, or

(iii) content-subject programmes?

A guide has to relate to the situation with which the alternation phenomenon is linked. Since mixed speech is used when content-subjects are being taught in NL, any guide drawn up to regulate its use should appropriately be closely linked to content-subject programmes. It should be stated here again that language alternation is not observed with the teaching of English as a subject. It is therefore not reasonable to expect an instructional guide on its use to derive from or be a component of English programmes. It is also doubtful whether relating such a guide to NL as-a-subject programmes will be acceptable to

educational planners.[10] The researcher's opinion is that it is most unlikely this is acceptable to them. The main argument will be that doing so militates against the conscious attempt to develop NL to that stage where it can be used for whatever purpose without a regression to language mixing. But since content-subjects do not teach language per se, instruction in them seems to accommodate and tolerate the use of mix in the interest of communication and pupils' comprehension. It is therefore in the content-subject area that a slot can be found for an instructional guide regulating the use of language alternation in oral instruction.

B. Code Switching and Translation

With regard to the other types of language alternation, that is, code switching and translation, these are used by teachers when the language of instruction is English. These alternation features were observed in those classes in which MT had just been effected officially. The purpose for which they were used seems to be to maximise communication between the teacher and pupils. Like mixed speech, code switching and translation were also observed to be used when content-subjects, not language lessons, were being taught. When English as a subject was taught, code switching and translation were not observed. Their use decreased progressively towards the end of primary education, more true of certain subjects than others.

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10 Report on the Ife Project (Afolayan, 1976:125) shows that a sizeable number of English expressions in content-subjects like Mathematics and Science have been injected into Yoruba for retention as assimilated words, e.g. 'matimatiki' (mathematics), 'jiometiri' (geometry), 'nomba' (number), 'rekitangu' (rectangle), 'digiti' (digit), 'sukua' (square). Technically the difference between this process of borrowing and mixed usage is that in the former the injected English words become part of the language to which they are assimilated, especially phonologically; the utterances in which they occur in NL are thus not mixed ones. The borrowing into Yoruba of these English expressions goes to show that one of the factors that lead to or encourage mixing may be absence in NL of certain English expressions required in content-subject instruction.

8.7.8. Conclusions

It can be concluded from the above that the use of these features does not affect the learning of English in terms of both use and usage.[11] Since its purpose is increased understanding of facts and concepts on the part of learners, it is the researcher's feeling that their use by teachers in the instructional situations described in the foregoing paragraphs can be defended. In the context of the IP proposed in this study, it means code switching and translation can be turned to good account at the minimal transition stage when NL support for communication in instruction given in English is still needed. But mixed medium will not be specified for the reasons given in 8.7.1 above.

To summarise this section,

(i) pidginisation and reduced registers are distinguishable from language alternation in terms of both their linguistic structures and purposes for which they are used.

(ii) The former are found to be of little pedagogic value if used by the teacher for classroom instruction. Their being consciously taught as a transitional language is considered unproductive and therefore it is to be discouraged.

(iii) Conversely, language alternation is found to be useful at the early stages of MT. Its continued use by the teacher may be allowed provided there can be drawn up an instructional guide to regulate its use.

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[11] Corder (1979:3) (also Widdowson (1978)) distinguishes between use and usage in the analysis and interpretation of interlanguage. Corder argues that while teacher-talk is an instance of both use and usage since it involves "a selection by the speaker out of the total repertoire of forms generated by the grammar of their complex code" (p. 2), inter-language, foreigner-talk, mother-talk, or reduced registers are by the same definition instances of language use, not usage, in the sense that they are not generated by the grammar of the native speaker adult complex code. While the former is a simplified code, the latter are just simple (not simplified) code, for "you cannot simplify what you do not possess" (p 5).

(iv) One can see the use of language mix as occurring at different classroom discourse levels (using Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975). Its occurrence at some of the levels will be acceptable, while in others it will not. For instance, at a high discourse level of 'Transaction' (and 'Exchange' perhaps), the mix features of code switching and translation may occur without any objection from educational language planners. This is because the language boundaries are likely to mark the end of one, and the beginning of another, transaction or exchange. Furthermore, the different languages in the mixed utterances are kept apart. However at the lower classroom discourse level of 'Act' (or even 'Move'), the mix feature that is likely to occur in use is mixed speech, which involves intra-sentential mixing. Because of the "threat" this type of alternation poses to the full development of the weaker of the languages involved (i.e. NL),Nigerian educational authorities seem certain to reject any suggestion for its use in formal instructional situations.

(v) However, it is possible to avoid or at least minimise the incidence of speech alternation by the way in which medium transition is approached and effected. The approach proposed in this study, that is, selective and gradual,to match the appropriate English use situation in the country, is one that is capable of achieving the primary education language objectives without a recourse to an excessive use or support of language alternation.

8.8 English Lessons: Should they be retained?

In view of the seeming ineffectiveness of language-as-a-subject programmes even in a situation in which the language is also the medium of instruction, there have been suggestions that such programmes are indeed a waste of time and that they should be dropped (Wingard 1963; Widdowson 1975:). To Wingard "It is useless to hope that merely by giving a daily English lesson for a given number of years, we can prepare children adequately for the use of English as the medium ----- One or even two daily lessons of English do not in themselves produce a high degree of skill and command of the language. The only way to acquire such skill is by actually beginning to use the English language for some real purpose" (P. 113)[12]. Widdowson argues that

> "There is no need to work out a syllabus for the teaching of a foreign language as a separate operation --- language syllabuses should be derived from the syllabuses of other subjects, and represent alternative versions of them".

He goes on

> "such a proposal means, in effect, that language would cease to be taught as subjects in their own rights."

Widdowson maintains, in support of his proposal, that languages ought not to be considered as subjects.

> "In fact, language is only a subject in linguistics, not in language learning. Thus, if one wishes to teach usage it is possible to treat it as a separate subject, but if one wishes to teach use (as I assume as language teachers we do) I do not see how it can be considered otherwise than as an aspect of some other subjects, whose methodology must be established before hand" (p. 19).

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[12] Fathman (1977) also argues against the need for L2 teaching without a real communicative use support. So does Tucker (1977:25).

Wingard and Widdowson do not seem, however, to have the same language use situation in view in their criticism of English-as-a-subject programmes. Wingard seems to be concerned not with English being a subject of study on the time table as such, but with the situation in which no additional functions, such as medium ones, are assigned to English. The lack of such additional functions renders the English as-a-subject programme ineffective. Thus to Wingard English as-a-subject programme does not work unless English is actually being used for real communication within the school. Widdowson, on the other hand, considers English as-a-subject programme totally unnecessary, with or without additional medium functions. To him English should not appear on the Time Table as a subject. Rather, the teaching and use of English should be functions exercised within the content-subject programmes themselves.

The two suggestions have one important thing in common. This is that English is learnt/acquired when used in real genuine situations and that it is only in such situations that language should be learnt in the school (Widdowson) or that such real communicative use situations should be provided to make English language instruction effective (Wingard). Widdowson suggests that English as a subject is unnecessary and 'self-inflicted' and should therefore be discontinued. Wingard does not go so far. We shall not pursue this now. Their views about English as a subject will be evaluated in the light of the Nigerian PE language planning situation.

As has been specified earlier, English as-a-subject is taught in two sets of language planning situations: one in which English has no real use function in the classroom other than as a subject on the time table, the other in which English has medium language functions and it is used as such in the teaching of content-subjects. With the

suggestions by Wingard and Widdowson, there would be no English of any kind at the PE level with the PEM policy, English would be introduced only from the 4th year with the LEM policy. Only with EEM would the use of English be considered at all from the 1st year. One important function associated with the English-subject programmes is as a preparation of learners for MT to English. It might have to be considered whether this function can be performed by some other means if language subject programmes are abolished. It is my opinion that although this preparatory function has not been performed satisfactorily by the existing programmes, the principle underlying the inclusion of English-as-a-subject lessons in the curriculum is sound and that English subject lessons should be retained. They should, however, be planned as suggested under "Principles" and "English Syllabuses" above.

8.9 Summary and Conclusions

In spite of the seeming optimism expressed in the opening section of this Chapter (8.1), official reluctance to adopt the proposal is to be expected at the initial stages, particularly at the Syllabus Level. The task involved in specifying the instructional features of the selective and gradual MT at both Syllabus and Instructional Material Preparation Levels seems enormous and should not be under-estimated. However, a close look at the guidelines above shows that the task involved is not greater than that involved in any properly design IP, be it "selective" or "simultaneous"; "gradual" or "abrupt". Admittedly, the adoption of the selective and gradual MT is not "smooth" from the point of view of official inspection in the sense that transition to English is staggered rather than "clean cut". It is much easier to declare, for instance, that the medium of instruction should change from NL to English at P3, without any qualification, as it is with an abrupt and simultaneous MT, than to match classes and subjects and to need a note in aid of memory each time an MT declaration is to be made. This disadvantage, if indeed it is, is trivial compared to the pedagogic superiority of the selective and gradual MT over the simultaneous and abrupt approach.

From the point of view of IM preparation, the selective/gradual approach makes the functions of the medium of instruction very specific at each primary stage and therefore easy for the communicative needs for which a medium is required to be realized by course-books. This is further helped by the fact that the medium function of English (and also of NL) is not 'loaded' at one point (e.g. in P1 or P3). But course-books have also to be specific and explicit with regard to which communicative functions of English (and where necessary of NL) they set out to realize at each primary stage. This is because under the selective approach multiple communicative functions overlap and need to be catered for in

each primary class. There is little doubt that this will make the task of IM preparation more demanding than it is at present. But it will equally make the use of IM more effective.

One major implication of the selective approach for IM preparation and use is that no longer is it possible to link a course-book with a specific medium policy out of three, or to exploit medium policy differences among the Nigerian States for political, commercial or any other non-educational ends. Rather, a course series can only be linked to specific primary stages, or specific communicative needs, or specific content-subjects, or to all of these. They, and not medium policies, constitute the features that are distinguished in the instructional process.

One important instructional point emphasized by the selective MT is the need for content-subjects to specify their own language requirements. This simplifies the work of a course writer in this respect, for he becomes aware of what he should realize in a course, part of which should be oriented toward content-subjects. Another value in content-subjects specifying their language needs is that doing so induces teachers to be aware of pupils' communicative needs and of their (teachers') responsibility to cater for these needs not only during a language lesson, but also when content-subjects are taught. The traditional notion that specifying the language requirements for non-language areas is the exclusive function of language specialists may need to be replaced by one which favours a total involvement of all participants in the instructional process. These include teachers, who should be involved not only in the use of IMs but also in aspects of their production.

The selective and gradual MT also has implications for the relationships between NL and English. At present these two are seen as rivals

and in an unhealthy opposition to each other[13]? In the proposed IP both NL and English are fully exploited for instructional purposes throughout primary education. In this way the effect of the language contact is very much less 'subtractive' than it is at present.

However, the effect of the integrated medium policy and the IP that realizes it on pupils' attainments will not be known until the IP has been tried and an evaluation conducted. Since it is not designed as a longitudinal study, the present Study has no means (in particular, time) by which pupils' attainments can be measured.

8.9.2

We would like to repeat that what we proposed above consists of guidelines on how an IP realizing the selective and gradual MT can be produced. It was not the aim to design an IP either in full (consisting of syllabuses, course books, textbooks, etc) or in part (e.g. syllabuses alone). The guidelines provide information without which the realization of a medium policy at the Syllabus and Instructional Materials Levels and its implementation at the Classroom Level seem unlikely to be effective. A lack of such information also leads, as has been seen in Chapters 3 and 4, to a mismatch between policy formulation and its realization or/and implementation. It is the consequence of not providing the relevant decision levels with an underlying frame of reference. The information referred to above includes

(a) principles underlying the selective and gradual MT,

(b) set of objectives and the means by which they are to be achieved,

(c) instructional features of the selective MT to be specified by syllabuses and realized by course-books; also the sequence and combination in which they are realized, and

(d) the restructuring of the primary curriculum in tune with the selective and gradual approach.

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13 cf The age long classroom practice by which a punishment is imposed on pupils who speak NL at any stage during the school hours.

With the information provided in the guidelines, the task of designing syllabuses and IMs for specific classes, for specific subjects and communicative needs should be fairly easy to achieve.

8.9.3 The Selective and Gradual MT as a solution of the MT Problem

In Chapter 1, we described the MT problem as the incapability of IPs to achieve the main objective set by the existing medium policies. This objective is that the process of the home-school language switch should be begun and completed within PE. Although the process is in practice begun at different points along the PE continuum, it is far from being completed at the end of the PE course (a fact confirmed by the language use survey). It was also stated that the MT problem is attributable to several factors, of which the adoption of inappropriate medium policies is one.

Since the present study is mainly an investigation of the contribution of medium policies to the problem, the solution we have suggested is in relation to this contribution. That is, the adoption of the selective/gradual MT may only, at best, eliminate that part of the MT problem which is traceable to inappropriate medium policies and the IPs which attempt to realize them. A selective/gradual MT may not on its own solve that part of the MT problem caused by factors unrelated directly to inappropriate medium choice (such as teacher supply, overcrowded classes, supply and distribution of IMs, equipment and other facilities, including space, desks, seats). Separate studies will be required to investigate the contribution of these other factors to the primary education attainment problem in general and the MT problem in particular.

However, it is our belief that the adoption of inappropriate medium policies is a major cause of the MT problem. Since it is the claim of this Study that the selective and gradual MT is appropriate for the Nigerian learning situation, it follows that its adoption is potentially a major solution of the problem.

9 APPENDICES

(A = articles and conference papers in connection with the Study)

A1. "Problems in language planning for bilingual education at the primary education level in the northern states of Nigeria" (1977).

A2. "Trends in English language teaching in the northern states of Nigeria for the last ten years" (1978).

A3. "Using language mixture as a transition from the mother tongue to English in a second language situation: Implications for syllabus design and instructional material preparation" (1979).

B Survey questionnaires (1978).

C Teachers' educational qualifications.

D1. Content subject language frequency scores.

D2. PEIP Vs UPE class frequency scores.

D3. Cumulative P1-P6 language frequencies in each subject: LEM and EEM compared.

Appendix A1

Problems in Language Planning for Bilingual Education at the Primary Education Level with Particular Reference to the Nigeria's northern states' situation

by

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Bamgbose, A. (ed) Proceedings of the (1977) Kaduna Language Symposium; Lagos, National Language Centre (Forthcoming)

Problems in Language Planning for Bilingual Education at the Primary Education Level with Particular Reference to the Nigerian (northern states) situation

by

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Abstract

This paper describes attempts made to improve bilingual education at the primary level in the northern states of Nigeria. Since at this level (primary level) formal education is inseparable from the language medium by which it is transmitted, these attempts can be seen as invariably directed to identifying and solving the problems of language planning occurring at the various decision and implementation levels. By far the boldest of such attempts is that embodied in the Primary Education Improvement Project (PEIP) launched by Ahmadu Bello University Institute of Education on behalf of, and in association with, the governments of the northern states and with assistance from UNICEF (financial) and UNESCO (technical). The goals, strategies, outcomes (predicted, perceived and real) of PEIP are placed in the context of educational developments at both national and state levels and language planning situations obtaining before, during, and after its (PEIP) implementation.

1.0 A survey of language planning in Nigeria, and in the northern states in particular, shows persistent conflicts and opposition between the home and the school. The language of the wider community and the language of the home have had little chance of performing any educational functions.

In the far northern states, although Hausa is officially the medium of instruction in the first 3 years of primary schooling, in practice the language is made to perform only subsidiary educational functions, such as functional literacy, routine classroom instruction and story telling. In the entire ten northern states, neither Hausa nor indeed any other Nigerian language has been seriously involved in the process of formal education beyond the three functional areas just mentioned. The inherited assumption has been that scientific and mathematical concepts cannot be expressed in any Nigerian language. This explains, in part, the delay in introducing

subjects like science, mathematics, social studies, etc. till the secondary school stage or the last 2 years of primary schooling, if at all, since these are not likely to be clearly understood except in pupils' mother tongues, and since pupils' mother tongues have not been equipped for the task.

1.1 This is not to suggest that English has successfully assumed the functions denied the Nigerian languages. There are conflicts all along. Contrary to expectation, the approach to the teaching and learning of English at the primary, as indeed at all the education levels, has failed to reflect the proper functions of and the need for the language. English as a subject and English as a medium language are not distinguished (see 2.6.4 below).

The above situations have been the same since the sixties (and long before then). The effect of this ineffective language planning and use of language for education generally is the slowing down of the rate of learning.

2.0 The language situation was as described above when the Primary Education Improvement Project (PEIP) was planned in 1970 and launched in January 1971 by Ahmadu Bello University Institute of Education, Zaria, in 66 selected primary schools in the then six northern states of Nigeria. The aims of the project, which was jointly sponsored by all the northern states Governments, UNESCO and UNICEF, included the following:

(a) to develop a curriculum that is more modern in its approach;

(b) to create a curriculum that is for Nigerians in Nigeria, suitable for life in towns and in rural areas;

(c) to develop children as individuals, imparting self-discipline, basic skills and strengthening literacy;

(d) to encourage the utilisation of the environment;

(e) to accept that primary education for some 90% of the children is terminal: and to establish an education that will see to their development as useful citizens in town or country.

2.1 At the launching of the project, education in the northern

states was still at a very low ebb, quantitatively and qualitatively. There were only 506,393 or 12% of a school age population of over 4.2 million attending a total of 2,322 primary schools in all the northern states put together. There were 16,113 primary school teachers, out of which number 39% held a Grade II or Grade III Teachers' Certificate. The rest were mostly without professional qualifications and without any form of post-primary education.[2]

2.2 Among the factors identified as contributing to poor standards were teaching, inappropriate and inadequate instructional materials and equipment (in quality and quantity), lack of professional supervision or guidance for classroom teachers, ineffective use of (medium) languages for the educational process, and the lean, unproductive content of the primary curriculum.

The underlying assumption of the project was that educational standards at the primary level would improve

(a) if the right types of instructional materials were produced, were supplied in sufficient quantity and at the right time to schools, and were appropriately used;

(b) if primary education curriculum content was made more relevant to the children's environment and more responsive to the demands of the modern world, and if this curriculum content was imparted to the learner in a language in which he could maximise his understanding and express his experiences.

The main emphases of the project were thus

(a) the production of new instructional materials and the revising, up-dating and standardising of existing ones, where necessary, and

(b) an effective use of these materials, which implies the training of teachers.

3. Strategies

The means by which the project aims were to be carried out included the creation of subject panels in the following disciplines:

(a) Lower Primary Teaching,

(b) Primary Mathematics,

(c) Primary Science,

(d) Languages - English and Hausa,

(e) Social Studies,

(f) Physical and Health Education, and

(g) Cultural and creative Activities - Art, music, drama.

The subject panels were empowered to develop a new curriculum with such material as was already available or produce new material for subject teaching. All materials were to be based on materials tried and tested in Africa, wherever possible. The panels were mandated to strengthen education in Islamiyya schools, or selected Koranic schools which were actively working to become Islamiyya schools.[3] Subject panels were also to orientate teachers in selected schools in the use of new materials through in-service courses at various colleges throughout Nigeria's six Northern states. Similarly to be orientated were central and local inspectorate and primary teacher trainers. Other functions of subject panels included a mandate to strengthen the primary system by the introduction of teams of mobile teacher trainers who would be in the schools each day of the school terms and during some vacation periods assisting with in-service courses for classroom teachers in the project schools.

2.4 After sets of instructional materials (IM) had been written by subject panels, mobile teacher trainers (MTTs) were invited to workshops at which both the writers and the MTTs would go through the new IMs, examining them in terms of their suitability and effectiveness for classroom purposes. It was quite often found necessary to try the IMs at near-by primary schools in order to resolve areas of doubt. The opinions of MTTs carried a lot of weight in accepting or rejecting IMs because they were more familiar to the classroom situation than the writers. It was quite often the case that MTTs were themselves members of subject panels.

The MTTs, each of whom was placed in charge of between four to six project primary classes, went back to their various bases with the IMs as approved. They in turn ran short courses for their own class teachers on the use of these IMs, which continued to be revised in the light of the feedback from class teachers and MTTs.

They visited their teachers every working day to assist with the use of these materials.

At the same time IMs approved for use were also sent to Teachers' Colleges where they formed, and have since remained, the basis of instruction to pre-service teachers on primary methodology. Prior to IMs being sent to teachers' colleges, short courses in the use of such materials were generally held for tutors in these colleges.

2.5 The content and methodology of the main subjects in the existing curriculum were revised. New subjects like science, cultural activities, social studies were introduced.

In the lower primary classes all learning activities were integrated and undertaken in a relaxed informal setting. Free activities, discussion periods, home corners were introduced to make learning real and to make children form and express meaningful concepts.

Language was used as a tool for education. English as a medium was clearly distinguished from English as a subject in both function, content and method of approach. As this distinction was neither explicit or implicit in existing course books, none of these could be adopted for the project without being rewritten or revised. New materials for English as a medium were written for the first two years. For English as a subject, an existing course book was caused to be revised and adopted with additional notes and support materials written by the English language panel.

2.6 Problems

2.6.1 The language medium problem: In 1970 when the project began, English was a medium in all the northern states, as in the rest of the country, from primary 3 or 4 to the end of the primary school course. It was studied as a subject in primaries one and two in some states, noticeably those in which the language of the home was Hausa. In this case Hausa was made the medium language in the 1st 2-3 years, though with badly restricted functional scope. In other states where Hausa was not the language of the home, the medium was English from beginning to the end of P.E. In such a case generally the study of any Nigerian language as a subject tended to be optional. Examples are Plateau, Gongola,

Benue, Kwara, Niger.

In the latter case mentioned there is clearly a mismatch between curriculum (language) planning and home language background. Although the cause of this is well known and difficult to remove, the consequences on educational attainment are nonetheless negative.

Curriculum planning at the primary education level is largely a question of Language planning and its execution, and since the Primary Education Improvement Project (PEIP) was to cover the ten northern states, provision had to be made for accommodating such language medium problems as could not easily be eliminated. The project thus used the following typology as the basis of its instructional strategy:

(i) states with Hausa as the dominant or only language;

(ii) states with several languages none of which is dominant or accepted as such;

(iii) states in which Arabic is extensively used for religious worship and in which the study of Arabic for this purpose has been a long standing and highly cherished tradition.

For the first group above, the language of education is Hausa in the first 3 years with English studied as a subject in these 3 years. In the 4th to 6th year English becomes the medium and Hausa is studied as a subject. The states to which this planning arrangement applies are Kano, Sokoto, Kaduna, Bauchi.

For the second group, English is retained as the language of education through the entire primary education course. In the states to which this arrangement applies, that is, Benue, Plateau, Gongola, Borno, Kwara, Niger, it is often difficult to find any language establishing itself as the one to be studied as a subject. Where one emerges, it is often the case that there are no instructional materials in it to sustain its use for more than the first year.

The third group is not exclusive of the first two. The arrangement is for Arabic as a subject to be included as an optional subject to go along with either the first or the second group.

It can be seen from the above description that PEIP has not made any radical departure from the existing language practice. This was deliberate. Options, such as making Hausa the language of education from the beginning to the end of primary education, were considered

and rejected because of anticipated difficulties, both political, pedagogic and operational.

In the first place, PEIP ministered to the immediate need of a system and it took less than 2 years to plan and execute. It would have required a much longer time to plan and execute a similar project in which Hausa is the medium language for the entire primary education. Politically the project would have been suspect and would therefore have robbed itself of the tremendous goodwill, support and acceptance that the PEIP received and has continued to receive from the state governments on behalf of which it was being run. Besides, the physical scope would have had to be greatly reduced because Hausa as a medium language would not be effective in the non-Hausa speaking areas of the northern states. Even then we would still have been left with the problem of getting trained Hausa teachers and required instructional materials.

Where PEIP has made its impact is in the enrichment of curriculum content and methodology, the extensive exploration of language for modern education, production and efficient distribution and utilisation of instructional materials as well as devising an effective supervision system and channel of communication between all the participants involved in the educational process.

2.6.2 The material production problem

One problem encountered at the initial stage of the project was getting Hausa specialists to produce IMs in Hausa. Consequently material production in this area lagged far behind. The problem was solved by the Institute embarking on its own programme for the training of Hausa specialists.

The task involved in the production of IMs in Hausa was immense. Before the project started literature in Hausa was largely confined to that required to establish literacy. There was hardly any IM to be used with Hausa as a language of education. We had to start from scratch to write materials in all the subjects introduced into the primary curriculum in both English and Hausa.

Arabic presented a similar problem, and was tackled in much the same way.

In general, material production did not keep pace with the

timely need for these materials. There were fluctuations in the rate of production brought about by the difficulty of getting and retaining specialist staff either on permanent or part-time basis. This is typical of most longitudinal projects of such a complexity as PEIP.

2.6.3 The material utilisation problem

Another problem encountered occurred at the material utilisation level. Classroom teachers posted to the project classes were quite often unwilling to remain in these classes because work in a PEIP class was judged more rigorous than in a non-PEIP class, whereas the former carried no extra financial incentive. Part of the problem was solved by the Institute creating highly prized one-year diploma courses to which a proportion of the project classroom teachers were admitted every year. The diploma courses include those in

i. Infant Method,

ii. the teaching of Hausa at the primary level,

iii. the teaching of Arabic at the primary level, and

iv. Educational planning and administration.

A related problem was the difficulty in retaining MTTs for more than one year after all the short courses in the use of PEIP IMs they had undergone. This problem defied any solution, for cases of resignation topped the list.

2.6.4 The medium Transition Problem

As Afolayan has noted,[3] media transition can occur at the following three stages at the primary education level: at the beginning, the middle and at the end of primary education. The problems associated with transition vary in degree, not in kind, with each point of transition. The language policy and planning adopted for PEIP is such that media transition can only occur at two points: namely at the beginning and middle of primary education. When Hausa is the medium in the first 3 years, transition occurs at the end of the third year. When English is the medium of instruction from primary class 1, transition occurs at the beginning of primary education.

Our experience with the PEIP shows that the transition problem, as has been mentioned, is similar when transition occurs either in Primary one or at the end of primary three. In each case full change-over is found difficult to achieve, and the use of the medium, when this is English, is hardly effective. Both teacher and pupils whenever possible follow the natural course by communicating in a language fully understood by them, which is invariably the pupils' L1. But this is possible only when the teacher and the class share the same L1. The problem of language medium and medium transition is further worsened by existing language instructional materials, which do not distinguish in content and method between language as a subject and language as a medium. Some publishers operating in Nigeria have claimed that their English course series are designed for both situations and that a change in language policy and in the point of medi transition does not render their books inappropriate. This illustrates the extent to which the medium problem has been compounded by existing English courses.

The consequence of language course series not taking account of medium transition is that learning is slow and falsified, since selection of language content and approach is in such cases invariably inappropriate.

The PEIP has managed to minimise the problem of medium transition at the beginning of primary education by entirely changing the content and approach of the English language instructional materials in the first two years of schooling. An integrated approach to learning using English as the medium of instruction was adopted.

A more lasting solution of this problem, however, seems only to be found in the adoption of a phased or gradual transition.[4] An abrupt change-over as is now provided for and recognised by official policy hardly ever works in practice.

A survey recently conducted in the ten northern states revealed the following.

(a) States in which English is officially the medium from Primary One to Primary Six

In Primary classes 1 and 2, and to a diminishing extent in classes 3 and 4,

(i) English is used when the subject being taught is English;

(ii) a mixture of English and a Nigerian language is used to teach Mathematics, Physical & Health Education; and Elementary Science;

(iii) a Nigerian language is used to teach subjects, such as Cultural & Creative activities, and Social Studies;

(iv) a Nigerian language or Arabic is used to teach Religion, depending on whether the religion is Christian or Islamic.

(b) States in which English is officially a subject in Primary Classes One to Three and a medium from Classes Four to Six, that is, where medium transition occurs at the end of the third year.

In Primary Class Four, and to some extent in Class Five,

(i) English alone is used when the subject being taught is English;

(ii) a mixture of English and a Nigerian language is used to teach all other subjects, except Religious Knowledge, which is taught in a Nigerian language or Arabic.

The regular exception in (a) and (b) above is where the teacher does not share a common Nigerian language with his class.

The above summary shows

(a) there is a major conflict between official "policy" and practice;

(b) an abrupt medium transition as we now have it in Nigeria is unreal and ineffective;

(c) a phased transition is more in tune with this unofficial trend and may be found to be more effective than the abrupt transition.

2.7 Evaluation of PEIP

A comprehensive evaluation of the project was undertaken in June 1976, when the project matured. The results are still being awaited. But there is no doubt that the project has had an impact on primary education in the northern states and that it has achieved most of its aims. This is attested by its acceptance by

all the northern states governments, which have caused the project to be proliferated to hundreds of schools in their states and have voted large sums of money for its continuance.

In addition, the annual series of feedback from the project classes agree that the pupils, compared to those in the non-project schools,

(a) are more confident to talk about their experiences to both the teacher and one another;
(b) achieve literacy faster in both English, Hausa and Arabic as from their second year at school;
(c) are more fluent users of both English and Hausa;
(d) achieve numeracy and mathematical concepts faster;
(e) are more aware of the events and phenomena in their immediate environment;
(f) are more aware of the elementary laws of nature (scientific concepts).

Quite apart from its direct effects on learners, the project has been of value in some other respects. In the first case, it brought to the initiators at the initial stages an awareness of various types of inadequacies which had escaped attention and without which education via the medium of a national language can only be achieved. These include non-availability of specialists to write Hausa IM as well as those to teach it and also a lack of IM on which the burden of Hausa as a language of education is to be rested.

This awareness has led the Institute to mount a number of courses for the training of Hausa specialists at various levels of education.

Secondly, it has proved in concrete terms the fact that to be used as a vehicle for national education a local language has to be developed up to the point where it can effectively perform this function. Thus, against a complete vacuum of Hausa IM when the project began, there is now available a wide variety of IMs

(a) to establish literacy in Hausa,
(b) on physical and Health Education,
(c) on cultural studies,
(d) on modern mathematics, and
(e) on elementary science

- all in Hausa. These are in addition to those written in English for the English medium situation.

Finally, although the relationship between PEIP and UPE is yet to be officially defined (see section 3 below), the former serves, and is widely regarded, as an instructional model for the UPE classes in the ten northern states*. In this useful role, PEIP has no parallel in the whole of the country.

3.0 PEIP and other Events

3.1 So many things have happened to the PEIP since it started in 1970-71 that it is at this stage unrealistic to continue to view the project purely in terms of its original assumptions and objectives. As it seems, each of these events tends to have widened rather than narrowed the gap that normally exists in a project of this nature between policy, objectives, implementation and achievement in that order.

In September 1974, the states took over from the Institute full control of the project operations, a major event which was planned to coincide with a great expansion of the project and proliferation of project schools.

One effect of proliferation is the stretching of resources, tangible and intangible, human and material, beyond an operational limit. Another is the widening of the mental and physical distance between the Institute and the field workers.

3.2 The above event was followed by UPE, which took off in September, 1976. This event, like the first mentioned, coincided with another turning point in the PEIP history; it coincided with the time when the 6 year experimental phase of the project matured.

One immediate effect of the launching of UPE on primary education generally and, to some extent, on the PEIP was an exclusive concentration of state government resources and energy on the logistics aspect at the almost total neglect of the content of education and the supervision of instructional standards. This situation is still much in evidence everywhere. It was not at

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* Some of the PEIP published materials have been found useful and adopted by some of the southern states. A good example is the Rivers state, which has prescribed the PEIP primary science series (Longman) for all its primary schools.

first clear what the relationship was going to be between PEIP and UPE. The speculation was that the former would be swallowed up by the latter in a planned process of integration. It seemed generally felt that since PEIP had passed through the experimental stage and had been adopted by all the states on behalf of which it was conducted, the UPE should inherit the PEIP logistics and instructional strategy, in which case PEIP and UPE would no longer be distinguished. For a time this uncertainty badly affected IM writing and production, for it was also rumoured that the Federal Government was commissioning the writing of new IMs to be used for UPE. So, publishers, writers and producers hesitated for fear of producing materials that would be dated ever before they were released for use.

3.3 The latest in the series of events which have overtaken aspects of the PEIP is the national policy and guidelines on a language (or languages) of Primary Education. The PEIP language planning arrangement distinguishes only two planning situations: English as a medium and English as only a subject in the first three years of PE. Both of these used to reflect the situation outside the PEIP schools. With the implementation of the language - in - education aspect of the national policy on education, an exercise that is already on in some states, the PEIP dichotomy appears largely dated and inadequate as a typology of language planning situations outside of the PEIP schools.

The planning arrangements that have so far emerged in the wake of the national policy include

(i) English as a subject in the first 3 years of PE, while a Nigerian Language is the medium. English takes over in the 4th year as a medium and the Nigerian language becomes a subject only.

(ii) A Nigerian language is the medium of instruction in the first 3 (or 4) years. English is introduced only in the 3rd or 4th year. If in the 4th year, it starts straight as a medium.

Among the states using a Nigerian language as the medium of instruction, practice varies from introducing English as a subject

in the first year to introducing it in the 4th year as a medium of instruction. Happily, these are at present projections only in some of the states. So the possibilities of modification are open.

(iii) English is a medium language from P1 to P6 with a Nigerian language, where practicable, as a subject from P1 to P6. This planning arrangement is fast losing adherents and may soon, judging from the present trend, be discarded in all but special schools (e.g. Capital Schools, University Staff Schools etc).

3.4 Effects on IM Production and Use

Changes in language planning are bound to affect material production and use. When a planning arrangement is changed or modified, there is a corresponding change in the instructional emphasis. For instance, the three planning arrangements identified above have different emphases and objectives. And these different emphases should be reflected in, or taken account of, by textbooks and other IMs used to implement the planning arrangement.

Since the two language planning options (English medium and English subject) towards which the PEIP material production and utilisation efforts are geared, or used to be geared, do not now adequately reflect the current policy, the PEIP language planning will need to be modified and brought in line with each state's official language policy in order to make PEIP materials and approach appropriate for UPE classes. But this has to wait until

(a) each state has made up its mind what its language policy is going to be;

(b) the relationship between PEIP and UPE is further classified;

(c) what happens to PEIP after 1978 is known. June 1978 is the time the world agency support (UNICEF and UNESCO) completely phases out.

4.0 Unresolved Problems in Language Planning

The implementation of the national policy on education[5] as it affects language policy in the primary school will eliminate English as the medium of instruction, as much as practicable, in

the lower primary classes (Years 1-3) but will reserve this function exclusively for it at the upper primary stage. Although this is not an entirely new position since this policy has been in force in some states for some decades, its implementation at the national level draws attention to two problems. In the first case, the burden of language medium in Years 1 to 3 rests squarely on Nigerian languages most of which have not been developed to the stage where they can effectively perform this very demanding function. The problem here is producing appropriate instructional materials in the Nigerian languages undertaking the medium function. It is not an easy task, for a language of education performs much more than literacy functions.

4.2 The second, and greater, problem is that of medium transition occurring mid-way in the primary course. How smoothly and naturally can the change-over be brought about? It has been stated in section 3 above that

(a) an abrupt transition in the second half of primary education is an illusion and that a phased transition should be tried;

(b) the language course series in current use are not designed with the language transition problem in view.

Thus the lingering problem is how to design instructional materials which will

(a) distinguish between English as a subject and English as a medium both in content and approach ,

(b) reflect the movement from a subject function to a medium function within the same series.

At the moment in Nigeria, there is no such language series. But it is important that there should be one for language teaching and learning to be meaningful and effective.

4.3 This paper therefore suggests that the two areas specified above should engage applied research attention.

The Institute of Education, Ahmadu Bello University Zaria,is at the moment looking into the possibility of developing instructional materials in Nupe as both a language medium and a

subject at different stages of primary education. This will be done at the request of and in association with the appropriate state government. This step also falls in line with the recommendation adopted by the Joint Consultative Council on Education (JCC) that nine medium (as distinct from major and minor) Nigerian languages, including Nupe, should be developed for use as languages of education at the lower primary stage.

References

1. Stated in Article 3 of the Plan of Operation, an agreement on the project signed on behalf of the Federal Government of Nigeria, UNICEF and UNESCO.

2. Ibid., Article 2 .

3. Afolayan, Adebisi: "The change-over from Vernacular to English as the medium of Instruction," Journal of the Nigerian English Studies Association, Vol 3, No 1, 1969.

4. For a typology of bilingual curricula
See Mackey, W.F.; "A Typology of Bilingual Education." Foreign Language Annals, Vol 3, 1970.

5. Federal Republic of Nigeria, National Policy on Education, 1977, Federal Ministry of Information, Printing Division, Lagos, page 8.

Appendix A 2

Trends in ELT in the Northern States of Nigeria for the past ten years*

by

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English Language Teaching in this country at both primary and post-primary educational levels is characterised, inter alia, by its acceptance of the leadership of the English course book writer. As a demonstration of loyalty, it has confined itself to course book specifications. The degrees of success with which these specifications are translated into effective classroom activities vary with the adequacy or otherwise of factors crucial to the language learning process such as quality and quantity of teachers, availability of equipment, time available, number of pupils in the class, and so on. It is thus possible to see ELT as a codification embodied in the course book and measure its success in terms of the conditions (earlier mentioned) under which it is used.

It may, however, be the case that even when course book specifications have been effectively carried out, ELT may still remain unprogressive and ineffective. Then the codification itself is open to question. It is thus also possible to see ELT in this country as a series of attempts by the course book to direct ELT and to measure its success in terms of the adequacy or lack of it of the content and methodology of the course book.

The reason ELT accepts the leadership of the English course book writer is not far to seek.

For a long time at both primary and post-primary levels, the textbook writer has taken the initiative to specify the aspects of English that should be taught and how these should be taught. This, to me, is a credit to textbook writers and their publishers.

But the fact that course books have dictated for a long time what should be taught highlights a major deficiency in our educational and language planning. It shows that both education and language planning lacked clearly defined objectives. Objectives are generally

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* Working Paper for the Oxford University Press Primary English Course Writers Seminar held in Zaria, Nigeria, in April 1978.

spelt out in meaningful teachable units in syllabuses. Until fairly recently, there was not in existence any officially prescribed useful English syllabuses to guide textbook production particularly at the P E level. At the secondary level, although there has been a detailed WAEC syllabus since 1966, this is an examination, not a teaching, syllabus and it is specified for realisation at the end of the secondary education course. This means there is no teaching syllabus of immediate practical use and application in the lower and middle secondary forms.

The role of the course book in ELT is likely to grow in importance particularly at the PE level even after objectives have been officially specified, detailed syllabuses written and equipment made available. This is because of the quality of classroom teachers which remains low. This apart, learners need reading materials with which to develop their literate skills, and this need is catered for partly by course books and supplementary materials.

In the above ways, measuring the success of ELT becomes a test of the effectiveness as well as an assessment of the contributions of English course books to the use of language for education. In this regard, the basic test to apply is to measure the course book in terms of its response, or its capacity to respond to,

(a) new ideas about the nature of language and
(b) language learning,
(c) dynamic educational objectives as well as
(d) the changing functions of the English language in the educational process, at the PE level in particular.

The first two ((a) and (b) above) relate to the theoretical orientation of the course writer, while the last two are pragmatics dictated by an educational policy. Language learning has for decades now being influenced, in the main, by the behaviourist theory which emphasises "learn to do by doing", imitation of the correct model, avoidance of error, repetition, practice. Course writers have in most cases been guided by this theory.

However, English courses at the PE level tend to have applied this theory too rigidly with no room for flexibility. The flexibility is counselled by more recent views about language learning which emphasise 'exposure' as one of the ways by which language is acquired

and can be learnt. Translated into classroom activity, it means a new language item can be introduced to pupils for the first time without its being immediately followed by a formal class verbal response in the form of choral repetition. What is important is that the item is presented vividly, pictorially and concretely in the proper "context of situation". A Natural Language is acquired this way, that is, by exposure, as much as by imitation and practice.

Another area in which flexibility is desirable is in the use of pupils' mother tongue during an English lesson. The relationship between the target and the source language should be cordial, not antagonistic. There is no harm in the teacher explaining lesson procedures in the L1 either before, during or at the end of an English lesson. Indeed, modern views about language learning say not only that the 'scare' of translation is a myth but also that translation is necessary to language learning in a formal context.

There is one other area in which ELT, that is, course books, in Nigeria has been conservative and, indeed, out of date. This is in the use of language for communication, or the communicative use of English. English course books have been unrealistic about their selection of structures to be taught. Most of these structures seem to have been selected on linguistic rather than on communicative need grounds. For example, in book one of most of the existing English courses, the only structures taught for the whole year are

1. This is -
   What is - ?
2. Musa is -ing
   What is Musa doing?

In real classroom situations, the 'This is --' structure comes low in the use need rating. That is, it is hardly one of the top structures in terms of frequency of selection by pupils for immediate communicative needs.

This over-restrictiveness has made it difficult for learners to extend the use of structures learnt during the English lesson for communication outside the English lesson, especially in the early years of primary schooling.

The belief that some structures are too difficult to be introduced in spite of their high every day use frequency does not seem to

be supported by evidence. The selection of structures merely on simplicity grounds has not been helpful and needs to be reconsidered in an L2 situation such as ours.

There is still some distance between course books (in content and methodology) and educational and English language objectives. The distance exists not always because of the inability or reluctance of course books to narrow it. Educational authorities are largely to blame for not making available reliable documents (e.g. syllabuses), which instructional materials can be based on. Hence, course writers went ahead in the past to produce what they thought could be used. Where such documents exist, for instance, at the WASC level, course writers' response has been positive and quick. There is a good illustration in the JPP English syllabus produced in 1972 by the Institute of Education, A.B.U. Zaria. The JPP syllabus has positively influenced ELT in the Northern States. It has also prompted the production of new English courses or revisions of old ones. This has been possible because the syllabus received the official approval of the ten Northern State Governments on behalf of whom it was written. Some of the new areas specified by the syllabus include listening comprehension and mechanical and study skills, areas which have been reflected in the courses that have since been written. The situation at the P E level is slightly different.

In 1970 the Institute of Education in association with the Northern States governments and with financial and technical assistance from UNICEF and UNESCO launched the Primary Education Improvement Project (PEIP) in selected schools in the Northern States. Language objectives, language functions, and language policy were clear and specific, so it was possible to have proper and fairly systematic language planning. As regards language functions, a distinction was made between English as a medium language and English as a subject. Separate IMs capable of promoting these differentiated functions were produced as supplements to two existing course series (by OUP and Longman) selected as basic courses for the project. The publishers readily agreed to, and did, revise aspects of their respective books in line with Institute suggestions. Again this is evidence of some course books being responsive to changing educational needs and policies, if these needs and policies are realistically planned and

documented. Today PEIP has spread to thousands of classes in the Northern States.

However, it is not always the case that policies are realistically planned and well documented. A plunge by a course book during the period of uncertainty may prove to be a wasteful exercise.

For instance, since the National Policy on Education was published, the language policy provision has been variously interpreted or implemented by the Northern States. The resultant typology of language policies in the Northern States is as follows:

(i) English as a subject in P1 - P3
and thereafter as the medium of instruction (Kaduna, Kano, Gongola, Borno);

(ii) No English at all in P1 - P2,
English as a subject in P3,
English as the medium of instruction in P4 - P6
(Sokoto, Niger, Bauchi);

(iii) English as the medium of instruction in P1 - P6
(Plateau, Kwara, Benue?).

The difficulty facing a course series intended for the Northern States seems enormous. To be settled are the problems of

(a) language functions (at a particular stage of P.E., is English a subject only or is it a medium language? How will this be resolved for P1 - P3 in each of the state categories i-iii above);

(b) medium transition and medium servicing (at what stage of P.E. does English change its role from being a subject - if it has been - to being a medium ?);

(c) number of books in the course series (are there going to be six books for state categories i and iii above, or four for state category ii?).

At the moment the uncertain relationship between English and Nigerian languages constitutes a serious setback to effective language teaching at the primary education level. That is, the educational functions assigned to English do not seem to have been finalised in most of the Northern States; they keep changing from year to year.

Such uncertain relationships are difficult - almost impossible - for a course book to capture and cater for. The effect is that the revised or newly written material is rendered out of date before it is out. This is a bad situation and one that does not encourage a quick response by course writers to new demands and changing objectives.

In spite of this seemingly depressing picture, there is hope that ELT in the Northern States - and indeed in the entire country -will soon be realistically planned in line with national goals and educational objectives by educational planners,will soon be meaningfully translated into teachable units by course books, and will soon be effectively carried out by classroom teachers. These three are partners in progress.

R.A. Omojuwa
5 - 4 - 1978

Appendix A3

Using Language Mixture as a Transition from Mother Tongue to English in a Second Language Situation: Implications for Syllabus Design and Material Preparation *

by R.A. Omojuwa

The nature and type of the bilingual instructional programmes (BIPs) adopted for primary education in Nigeria impose on English, which is used as a second language (L2), two types of functions in three sets of classroom instruction situations. The two functions are English as a subject and as a medium of instruction. The three instruction situations are those in which A) an instructional programme (IP) is designed for English as a subject when the language has no real communicative functions for the learners at the primary stage for which the programme is designed; B) an IP is designed for English as a subject when the language has real communicative functions to perform for the learners at the stage for which the programme is designed, that is, as a medium for the teaching/learning of content-subjects; and C) communicative use programmes are designed to maximise the practical use, as distinct from the direct teaching, of English as a medium language.

Type A IPs are available for use in those primary classes in which mediumtransition (MT) to English has not been effected and the language of education remains the mother tongue (L1). In most cases this means the first three years of the six-year primary course. Type B IPs are available in the classes in which English is the medium of instruction but in which the curriculum organisation is, in Bernstein's words, the "collection" type rather than the "integrated" type (Bernstein, 1975/77: 80). Type C IPs relate to the actual use of English for the teaching/learning of content-subjects in those classes in which MT has been, or is being, effected.

In the teaching situation in which the integrated approach is adopted, IP types B and C are generally not distinguished, for their aims and methodology are the same. In the Nigerian situation, however, this is not the case. Although one of the aims of type B IPs

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* Paper delivered at the IATEFFL Conference held in Poznan, Poland; April, 1979.

is to be able to use English for the functions specified for type C programmes, both programmes are distinct entities, a state that has given rise to misleading impressions by learners and teachers as well that the English contained in the IP type B cannot, and is not meant to, be applied for the medium function purposes. Similarly in Nigeria, IP types A and B are instructionally guided, with a very rigid control imposed by English course-books, of which teachers are unquestioning exponents. In contrast, IP type C is neither controlled by course-books nor guided by syllabuses. The teacher is left in absolute freedom to select what code to use for communication with learners in real time and for real purposes. What are the features of this code and to what extent is it similar to those made use of by IP types A and B?

Primary teachers' language use in instructional situation C is characterised by, inter alia, speech alternation of which code switching, language mixing, and direct translation are distinctive types. Compared to what the same teachers teach and use in instructional situation B, their use of speech alternation is a marked departure from the target language (TL) forms imposed on them and their pupils by course-books. Although it constitutes a serious English use problem, this mismatch between what is taught and what is used for real communication even within the school environment is not totally surprising. This is because while IP type A is an abstraction or idealisation of language at its referential, formation rule level, and IP type B attempts to capture aspects of language at its expression level while maintaining a formation rule base, code selection in situation type C represents a complete swing to the communicative use level of language influenced more by pragmatic factors and a desire to make communication flow than by an observance of the rules of form.[1]

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[1] For a full discussion of this topic, readers are referred to Widdowson (1975), Corder (1974), Schumann (1974, 1976).

Effecting MT abruptly means that this is done at a specific point in time without preparations leading up to it. This is true of the Early English Medium policy (EEM) by which English is used as the medium language from the beginning to the end of primary education. Most of the pupils who attend the schools where EEM is the policy adopted come from homes where English is not used at all. This means that the first exposure to English of these pupils occurs at school. Thus, with them prior preparations for MT are ruled out. Both the Late English Medium (LEM) policy, by which English has only subject functions in the first three years of primary education (PE) and medium functions for the rest of PE, and the postponed English Medium (PEM) policy, by which the use of English as a medium is delayed until the beginning of secondary education but studied as a subject from the beginning to the end of PE, regard as preparations for MT the type A IPs described in the opening paragraphs above. But the type A programme has subject, rather than medium, function objectives for English. Furthermore, it is not designed with MT preparations in view since it is not linked to any real communicative use within the class. Type B IPs are, similarly, not designed as MT preparatory programmes since they are available for use not before, but after, MT has been effected. That is, they are being used simultaneously with type C programmes.

The consequence is an MT effected without the necessary foundation on which to rest. Teachers adapt to the situation by resorting to the speech alternation strategy. They code switch and translate from English to L1 as often as it is necessary when teaching content-subjects, particularly in the early post-MT stage. As has been pointed out, this is a result of MT effected abruptly.

There is another dimension of MT to which is attributable the occurrence of the speech alternation feature of mixed speech in primary teachers' "teacher-talk" (Corder, 1978). This is when MT is effected on all content-subjects simultaneously rather than selectively on individual subjects at different times. By the simultaneous process, subjects which by their nature can be taught in TL/L2 earlier than others and earlier than at the point of time officially specified for MT have had to wait until this official stage is reached. By the same process, those subjects which on cultural grounds need MT delay

concessions are hurried into 'medium transfer' prematurely at the official transition point. Teachers adapt to the first of these situations by resorting to the use of mixed speech[2] characterised by the injection of English lexical elements into L1 when it is used orally in the teaching of content-subjects. Mixed speech, then, is a marked feature of 'teacher-talk' at the pre-MT stage[3]. The English lexical elements injected into the L1-based teacher-talk are essentially those that will be required at the post-MT stage when the medium language is English. Content-subjects in which mixed speech has been observed to occur freely include mathematics, physical education, primary science, and to some extent social studies. Teachers adapt to the second situation above by using code switching and translation (mentioned above).

The pattern of use of language alternation by Nigerian primary school teachers in the instruction situation type C can be summarised as follows. Language mixing is used in the classes in which the medium of instruction is a Nigerian language (NL). The strategy seems to be to anticipate MT to English by injecting into the NL oral medium English

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[2] Mixed speech is often referred to in language alternation literature variously as 'lexical interference' (Fishman, 1972:111/112; Sankoff, 1972: 47, quoting Denison, 1968 and 1971; Mfonyam, 1976:74/76), 'lexical borrowing' (Blom and Gumperz, 1972:428), 'mixed speech'/'mixed language'/'language Mix' (Ure, 1972, who goes to some length to bring out the distinctions between mixed speech and code switching. She explains that 'lexical interference' is a wrong label with which to characterise mixed speech). Oksaar (1972) uses multiple terms, such as 'internal switching' (p.492), 'integrated morphosemantic transfers' (p.498), 'lexical interference' (p.500). Oksaar also distinguishes "types of code switching - the alternate use of two languages without any interferences as well as their alternation with several types of interference" (p.492).

[3] Both Peter Wingard (1963) and Jean Ure (1972, 1977) report their observations of similar features in the oral speech of Ugandan and Ghanaian primary school teachers respectively when teaching content-subjects in L1. So does Oredugba (1977) with respect to Nigerian primary school teachers when they teach mathematics in NL.

expressions required for the learning/teaching of appropriate content-subjects in English later at the post-MT stage. Both code switching and translation(in the direction English to NL)occur when the medium is English. The strategy ensures a flow of communication between the teacher and his pupils.

Is language alternation to be encouraged as a feature of primary school teacher-talk? More research would seem to be required not only on the pattern of use and features of alternation as used by teachers but also on the consequences of its use on pupils' later learning and use of TL. Speech alternation is, however, distinguishable from pidginisation or reduced registers[4]. As transitional oral media strategy, alternation can be turned to good account, communication wise, although its use need not be formalised. Pending further research, the greatest problem posed by its use is how to do away with it later when the need for it is over, especially if its use, as it is now widely feared, represents the fossilised competences of the majority of the teachers who use it. Evidence from our field research on MT problems would tend, however, to suggest concessions to pressing communication needs, rather than a helpless state of fossilised competence/performance, as an explanation for the choice of language alternation by most of the primary teachers who use it. In other words, those teachers found using alternation have also been found capable of using either NL or English without mixing both when there is a change of the social situation or of the social event[5].

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[4] Pidgins and reduced registers, according to Corder (1975:2), "exhibit strong structural similarities, ...which are: a simple or virtually non-existen morphological system, a more-or-less fixed word order, a simple personal pronoun system, a small number of grammatical function words and grammatical categories, little or no use of the copula, absence of an article system ..."

[5] "Social situation"/event as defined by Blom and Gumperz (1972:42).

There are, thus, three ways of looking at the incidence of language alternation in primary school teachers' language of instruction. The first is to see it as an unconscious step in the direction of pidginisation, in which case it needs to be discouraged since this will be working against PE language objectives. The second way is to see alternation as a feature of pupils' interlanguage (if used by them) and of teacher-talk required to maximise communication at the medium transition stage. As such, its use can hardly be stamped out under the prevailing IP circumstances and MT arrangements. However, it can be instructionally guided. This implies that aspects of alternation that may be permitted at different stages or in different content-subjects are specified and described. The third approach is neither to discourage nor to patently encourage alternation; that is, to pretend that it is not used, or that if used it is not a threat to the TL model aimed at by primary education objectives. This attitude is tolerant to alternation use but prefers the use to remain unofficial.

There are two assumptions implicit in the first approach. The first is that language alternation and pidginisation can be equated. This can be contested. Pidginisation features are distinguishable from those of code switching involving more than one distinct language, each of which keeps its grammatical structure intact, and mixed speech, "a type of language patterning that draws upon the structures as well as the lexis of two languages and switches from one language to another regularly within a text, often a number of times within a single sentence" (Ure, 1972:). This can be seen from the pidgin and reduced registers structural description in Footnote 4 above. It thus seems unlikely that the use of alternation by teachers can develop into, or is indeed evidence of, pidginisation. The second assumption is that alternation is a mark and a feature of the teacher-users' fossilised competence in English and that this fact accounts for its use by them. This dismisses the MT communicative need explanation since alternation, by this assumption, is a permanent (= fossilised) feature of the classroom language of those teachers who use it. Current research findings do not lend support to this assumption (see preceding page). The second of the three approaches mentioned above is an attempt to face reality, but a great deal of research is required before the use of alternation can be made official, as stated earlier on.

The third approach earlier mentioned seems the most practical. Knowing that language alternation is used unofficially as teacher-talk can be turned to good account; that is, to effect a redesigning of the English IP, not of the primary, but of the lower secondary education stage. Such a programme will not, unlike the existing ones, assume that there has been attained at the PE level any competence in the standard TL variety. The programme will have to start almost from scratch.

A solution of the medium transition problem that seems acceptable to educational authorities as well as language planners and one which can be implemented seems likely to be found in what is suggested below.

(1) A new approach to language planning for primary education which makes it possible for MT to be effected gradually (rather than abruptly as it is at present) over a period of time and selectively on individual content-subjects at different times (as opposed to the present simultaneous coverage). As has been said earlier on, the use of language alternation by primary school teachers is traceable to official language policies directing that MT is to be effected abruptly and simultaneously on all content-subjects. Since if they comply, communication may break down completely, teachers resort to code switching and translation in order to sustain the 'thread of discourse' in formal oral instruction in content-subjects. The advantage of an MT effected gradually over time and selectively over content-subjects is that this allows for successive stages in the transition process marked at the two ends by preparatory and full transition stages respectively. The preparatory stage features the use of specially designed materials to prepare for the changeover of medium (see 2 below). This stage is also characterised by a flexibility in the choice of code to use for instruction at any one time and for any one content-subject. The chances are that language alternation will be frequently used. Alternation of the language mixing type is useful, rather than harmful, at this stage, and therefore needs to be instructionally guided.

(2) The preparation for transition as well as for MT consolida-

tion should be multidirectional, involving not only English but also L1 instructional programmes. At the media transition preparatory stage, IPs type A in both English and L1 will need to include key expressions in English required for instruction in content-subjects later at the post-MT stage. Effecting MT selectively on individual content-subjects makes it necessary for IPs designed for the communicative and medium functions of English to be content-subject based. For language instructional materials, this implies that content-subject specialists design the language use materials required for their respective subjects. The language specialist makes himself available as a consultant. This is a change from the present universal but seemingly ineffective practice whereby language specialists dictate to the content-subject specialist what language he should use and in what order. The advantage of the new approach is that it allows each content-subject to work out relationships and joint programmes of communicative needs between English and L1, relationships capable of breaking the mythical barrier that has for long existed between the mother tongue and a target language learnt in a formal setting (not the case in informal, natural setting). Instructional materials needed as components of the IPs for MT will, thus, have three bases as follows: English as a subject, L1 as a medium, and content-subject programmes.

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Appendix A3.1 : A summary of Appendix A3*

(34) **R. A. Omojuwa** (Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, Nigeria) :
Using Language Mixture as a Transition from Mother Tongue to English in a Second-Language Situation : Implications for Syllabus Design and Materials Preparation (C/E/ESL)

Chairman : M. Gerbert

R. A. Omojuwa's talk was on the English-language instruction and use situation in Nigerian primary schools. He said that the nature and type of the bilingual instructional programme (BIP) adopted for primary education imposed on English two types of functions in three sets of classroom instruction situations. The two functions were English as a subject and as a medium of instruction. The three instruction situations were those in which (a) an instructional programme (IP) was designed for English as a subject when the language had no real communicative functions for the particular class of learners concerned; (b) an IP was designed for English as a subject when the language had real communicative functions to perform for the learners, that is, as a medium for the teaching/learning of content subjects; and (c) communicative use programmes were designed to maximise the use (not the direct teaching) of English as a language.

Type (a) IPs are available for use in the primary classes in which media transition (MT) to English has not been effected and the language of education is the mother tongue (L1). In most cases this means the first three years of the six-year primary course. Type (b) IPs are available in the classes in which English is the medium but in which the curriculum organisation is the 'collection' type rather than the 'integrated' type (to use Bernstein's terms). Type (c) IPs relate to the actual use of English in teaching/learning content subjects in the classes in which media transition has been effected.

In a teaching situation in which the integrated approach is adopted, IPs (b) and (c) are generally not distinguished, for their aims and methodology are the same. In the Nigerian situation, however, this is not the case. Similarly in Nigeria, IPs (a) and (b) are instructionally guided, with a very

* IATEFL Newsletter, No 60 October, 1979.

rigid control imposed by English course-books of which teachers are mere unquestioning exponents. In contrast, IP type (c) is neither controlled by course-books nor guided by syllabuses. The teacher is left in absolute freedom to select what code to use for communication with learners in real time for real, authentic purposes. What are the features of this code and to what extent is it similar to those made use of in IPs (a) and (b) ?

The teachers' language use in instructional situation (c) is characterised by, among other things, speech alternation of which code switching, language mixing, and direct translation are distinctive types. Compared to what the same teachers teach and use in instructional situation (b), their use of speech alternation is a marked departure from the target-language forms imposed on them and their pupils by course-books. This mismatch between what is taught and what is used for real communication even within the class/school environment constitutes a major English problem.

Teachers' classroom language as described above is attributable to the urgency of the need for communication in English, an urgency imposed by the approach to media transition adopted by the existing educational language programmes, all of which plan for media transition to be effected abruptly in time and simultaneously on all content subjects in the primary curriculum. There is also the question of the restricted competence of teachers in the target language.

Is speech alternation to be encouraged in classroom language use models? The answer would seem to depend on the functions of alternation in teacher talk, whether some other forms cannot be substituted, what gives rise to its occurrence, and above all the consequences of its use on learners' later learning and use of the target language. Speech alternation is, however, distinguishable from pidginization or reduced registers. As teachers' oral transitional media strategy, alternation in speech can be turned to good account, communicationwise, although its use need not be formalised. The problem posed by its use as a transitional device is how to do away with it later when the need for it is over.

A more lasting solution to the medium use-of-English problem seems likely to be found in (i) a new approach to language planning for primary education which makes it possible for media transition to be effected gradually (rather than abruptly as it is at present) over a period of time and selectively on individual content subjects at different times depending on when each is judged ready for it (as opposed to the present simultaneous coverage); (ii) the preparation for media transition as well as its consolidation being a multidimensional programme involving not only English but also L1 IPs both sets of which capture and cater for the needs of learners when MT has been effected. Effecting MT selectively in individual subjects also means that IPs designed for the communicative, medium functions of English should be content-subject-based. For language instructional materials, this implies that content-subject specialists design the language-use materials required for their respective subjects. The language specialist works with content-subject specialists as a consultant. The advantage of this new approach is that it makes it possible for each content subject to work out communication use relationships among all the languages in contact, relationships that may involve the use of language alternation, for instance, if it is found necessary to do so.

Appendix B

PRIMARY LANGUAGE USE SURVEY 1978
(for classroom Teachers only)

Please, read this first

You are invited as one of our primary school teachers to complete the following questionnaire on the Language or Languages you use in the classroom. The purpose is to find out what actually happens in the classroom in order that this information may be used to suggest improved language planning and preparation of Language instructional materials which reflect the Language use situation in primary classes.

Measures to improve English learning and Teaching in the primary school have been largely ineffective so far. A main reason is that classroom teachers' opinions have not been sought and the real functions of English in the classroom have not been thoroughly ascertained.

For an effective measure to improve the learning, the teaching and the use of English in the primary school, your opinions are now being sought and the occasions when you use English are being compiled. We believe that what you tell us will help us to arrive at concrete decisions on how Language teaching, Language learning and Language use in the primary school can be improved.

Please, be frank and answer our questions as truthfully as possible. All answers you give will be treated with strict confidence, and will not be used in any way against you. For more assurance, you should not write your name on the questionnaire.

Remember, what we want is what you do in practice, and not what you should do.

Thank you.

Institute of Education
A.B.U. Zaria.

PEIP/UPE PRIMARY LANGUAGE USE SURVEY, '78

1.1 STATE _____

1.2 L G A/M T T CENTRE _____

1.3 CLASS _____

1.4 TYPE OF CLASS _____

	TICK
PEIP	
UPE	

2.1 In which language do you teach the following subjects? Tick the ones that apply in the following checklist:

Subject	LANGUAGES			
	A English	B A Nigerian Language	C A Mixture of A&B	D Arabic
1 English				
2 Nigerian Languages				
3 With/Maths				
4 Cultural activities				
5 Creative activities				
6 Physical and Health Education				
7 Social Studies				
8 Primary Science				
9 Religious Knowledge				
10 Art/Craft				

2.2 Perhaps you teach one or more of the subjects listed above in a mixture of English and a Nigerian Language. If you do, which aspects of the lesson on such a subject do you teach in English and which in the Nigerian Language? Check through the following list and tick as appropriate.

	English	A Nigerian Language
i The oral part of the lesson		
ii The reading part of the lesson		
iii Written exercises, including taking down notes, if any		

2.3 Perhaps you have indicated in 2.1 and 2.2 above that you teach some subjects listed (in 2.1) in a mixture of English and a Nigerian Language. If you have, please, check through the following table again and tick in the first column on the right those subjects that you teach in a mixture of English and a Nigerian Language. And in the columns further to the right indicate for each subject you have ticked which aspect(s) of it (oral, reading, writing) you teach in English. Tick as appropriate.

Subject	Those taught in a mixture of English & a Nig. Lang.	Aspects of the lesson taught in English		
		Oral	Reading	Writing
1 English				
2 Nigerian Languages				
3 Arith/Maths				
4 Cultural Activities				
5 Creative Activities				

2.4 How much <u>English</u> do you use to do the following activities?
Tick the appropriate columns to the right of the check list.

		ENGLISH ?			
		4	3	2	1
		All the time	most of the time	occasion ally	not at all
i	addressing an assembly of pupils				
ii	Routine classroom instructions (e.g. don't make a noise .....)				
iii	writing your lesson notes				
iv	viewing/listening to your favourite TV/radio programmes, including news				
v	conversing with a colleague who also speaks your own language on a) family matters b) day-to-day events c) Science & mathematics				
vi	the language you use at home				
vii	buying things in the market				
viii	religious worship				
ix	writing private, unofficial letters				
x	writing official, business letters				

/do you 3.1 Which of these course series/use for English in this class? Indicate whether your class is now reading book 1, book 2, or any other book in the series by ticking the appropriate column of the following table.

Book in the series	Course Series			
	(Longman) Straight for Eng.	(OUP) New Oxford Eng.Course	(Evans) Primary English Course	(Macmi.) Primary English Course
Preparatory book				
Book 1				
" 2				
" 3				
" 4				
" 5				
" 6				

3.2 When did the class begin to read the book you mentioned in 3.1 above? Tick the appropriate column below

a)	At the beginning of this session	
b)	From last session	
c)	Not earlier than January this year	

3.3 At the end of this school year (in June/July), how much of the book will you have treated with your class? Tick as appropriate:

i	the whole book	
ii	3/4 of the book	
iii	½ of the book	
iv	¼ of the book	

3.4 How many of your Pupils will be able to read from the beginning to the end of the book by the end of this school year? Tick as appropriate.

none	
¼	
½	
¾	
all	

NOTE: If you did not teach last school year, do not answer questions 3.5-3.6 below.

3.5 Which of the following classes did you teach last year?

Primary 1	
" 2	
" 3	
" 4	
" 5	
" 6	

3.6 How much of the English course book you used with your class last year were you able to complete at the end of the year?

¼	
½	
¾	
the whole book	

3.7 In addition to the book you ticked in 3.1 above, list in the space below any other books you use for teaching English (if there are any).

Title	Author "if known"
1	
2	
3	
4	
5	
6	

4.2 What is your teaching experience?

Tick the one that applies to you in the list below:

Experience as a teacher

a) 0 - 1 Years	
b) 2 - 4 "	
c) 5 - 10 "	
d) 11 - 15 "	
e) 16 - 20 "	
f) 20 and above	

4.3 Which of the following age groups do you fall into? Tick as appropriate.

a) below 20 years of age	
b) 21 - 25	
c) 26 - 30	
d) 31 - 35	
e) 36 - 40	
f) 41 - 50	
g) 51 and above	

4.4

Male	
Female	

4.5 How long have you been teaching in this

	Year									
	0-1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 plus
School ?										
Class ?										

4.6 Officially: what is the medium of instruction in this class?

A Nigerian Language	
English	

Please, return completed questionnaire to:

R.A. Omojuwa,
Languages Division,
Institute of Education,
Ahmadu Bello University,
Zaria.

Appendix C : Teachers' Educational Qualifications - by State.

ate	Educational Qualification					Total	TC 3 and TC 2 as a % of total
	Primary Cert.	Modern Cert.	WASC/ OL	TC 3	TC 2		
i	10	-	1	2	6	19	42.11
e	68	2	11	5	25	111	27.03
o	73	4	3	10	43	133	39.85
a	123	3	5	46	126	303	56.77
a	20	-	1	1	48	70	70.80
r	45	-	1	3	34	83	44.58
eau	67	3	8	9	23	110	29.09
to	98	2	10	10	29	149	26.17
l	504	14	40	86	334	978	42.94
total	51.53	1.43	4.09	8.79	34.15		

Explanation of terms used:

Primary Cert = Primary School Leaving Certificate.

Modern Cert = Secondary Modern School Leaving Certificate.

WASC/OL = West African School Cetificate or GCE Ordinary Level.

TC 3 = Grade 3 Teachers' Certificate.

TC 2 = Grade 2 Teachers' Certificate.

TC 3 and TC 2 are the minimum teaching qualifications theoretically acceptable for a teaching appointment in Nigeria. The others are basic, non-teaching qualifications considered too low for any teaching appointment at any educational level.

Appendix D1: Content-Subject Frequency Scores

SUBJECT PRIMARY SCIENCE .....

Class	Project		Language Used								TOTAL
			English (L2)		NL		NL/L2		Arabic		
			LEM	EEM	LEM	EEM	LEM	EEM	LEM	EEM	
P1	LEM	frequencies	3		60		93		0		156
		% of total	1.92		38.46		59.62				
	EEM	frequencies		13		20		70		0	103
		% of total		12.62		19.42		67.96			
P2	LEM	frequencies	4		49		77		0		130
		% of total	3.08		37.69		59.23				
	EEM	frequencies		13		11		56		0	84
		% of total		15.48		13.10		66.67			
P3	LEM	frequencies	10		36		73		0		119
		% of total	8.40		30.25		61.34				
	EEM	frequencies		47		6		44		0	97
		% of total		48.45		6.19		45.36			
P4	LEM	frequencies	24		6		41		0		71
		% of total	33.80		8.45		57.75				
	EEM	frequencies		52		3		45		0	100
		% of total		52.00		3		45			
P5	LEM	frequencies	20		2		15		0		37
		% of total	54.05		5.41		40.54				
	EEM	frequencies		13		1		4		0	18
		% of total		72.22		5.56		22.22			
	LEM	frequencies	15		0		5		0		20
		% of total	75.00				25				
	EEM	frequencies		14		0		2		0	16
		% of total		87.5				12.5			

Table D.1.1 ..... Language use frequency scores in PRIMARY SCIENCE .....
compared for (i) all primary classes (P1-6);
(ii) LEM and EEM, and
(iii) English and other medium languages.

SUBJECT SOCIAL STUDIES .....

Class	Project		Language Used								TOTAL
			English (L2)		NL		NL/L2		Arabic		
			LEM	EEM	LEM	EEM	LEM	EEM	LEM	EEM	
P1	LEM	frequencies	2		83		79		0		164
		% of total	1.22		50.61		48.17				
	EEM	frequencies		13		20		70		0	103
		% of total		12.62		19.42		67.96			
P2	LEM	frequencies	10		60		69		0		139
		% of total	7.19		43.17		49.64				
	EEM	frequencies		13		21		50		0	84
		% of total		15.48		25		59.52			
P3	LEM	frequencies	10		35		69		0		114
		% of total	8.77		30.70		60.53				
	EEM	frequencies		45		5		52		0	102
		% of total		44.13		4.90		50.98			
P4	LEM	frequencies	20		4		44		0		68
		% of total	29.41		5.88		64.71				
	EEM	frequencies		53		2		53		0	108
		% of total		49.07		1.85		49.07			
P5	LEM	frequencies	12		1		14				27
		% of total	44.44		3.70		51.85				
	EEM	frequencies		13		1		3		0	17
		% of total		76.47		5.88		17.65			
	LEM	frequencies	9		0		4		0		13
		% of total	69.23				30.77				
	EEM	frequencies		14	0	0		2		0	16
		% of total		87.5				12.5			

Table ~~D.1.2~~. Language use frequency scores in SOCIAL STUDIES .....
compared for (i) all primary classes (P1-6);
(ii) LEM and EEM, and
(iii) English and other medium languages.

SUBJECT RELIGIOUS KNOWLEDGE .....

Class	Project		Language Used								TOTAL
			English (L2)		NL		NL/L2		Arabic		
			LEM	EEM	LEM	EEM	LEM	EEM	LEM	EEM	
P1	LEM	frequencies	1		105		29		27		162
		% of total	0.62		64.81		17.90		16.67		
	EEM	frequencies		4		63		32		6	105
		% of total		3.81		60		30.48		5.71	
P2	LEM	frequencies	4		79		38		4		125
		% of total	3.2		63.2		30.4		3.2		
	EEM	frequencies		4		47		21		7	79
		% of total		5.06		59.49		26.92		8.86	
P3	LEM	frequencies	10		67		19		13		109
		% of total	9.17		61.47		17.43		11.93		
	EEM	frequencies		17		30		31		14	92
		% of total		18.48		32.61		33.70		15.22	
P4	LEM	frequencies	12		25		11		15		63
		% of total	19.05		39.68		17.46		23.81		
	EEM	frequencies		28		28		25		16	97
		% of total		28.87		28.87		25.77		16.49	
P5	LEM	frequencies	6		12		7		6		31
		% of total	19.35		38.71		22.58		19.35		
	EEM	frequencies		5		3		5		0	13
		% of total		38.46		23.08		38.46			
	LEM	frequencies	4		5		4		1		14
		% of total	28.57		35.71		28.57		7.14		
	EEM	frequencies		13		8		4		0	25
		% of total		52.00		32		16.0			

Table D.1.3. Language use frequency scores in R.K. .....
compared for (i) all primary classes (P1-6);
(ii) LEM and EEM, and
(iii) English and other medium languages.

SUBJECT PHYSICAL EDUCATION .....

lass	Pro-ject		Language Used								TOTAL
			English (L2)		NL		NL/L2		Arabic		
			LEM	EEM	LEM	EEM	LEM	EEM	LEM	EEM	
P1	LEM	frequencies	5		92		73		0		170
		% of total	2.94		54.12		42.94				
	EEM	frequencies		28		13		72		0	113
		% of total		24.78		11.50		63.72			
P2	LEM	frequencies	11		45		78		0		134
		% of total	8.21		33.58		58.21				
	EEM	frequencies		30		7		50		0	87
		% of total		34.48		8.05		57.47			
P3	LEM	frequencies	14		25		65		0		104
		% of total	13.46		24.04		62.5				
	EEM	frequencies		46		5		53		0	104
		% of total		44.23		4.81		50.96			
P4	LEM	frequencies	31		3		38		0		72
		% of total	43.06		4.17		52.78				
	EEM	frequencies		57		1		49		0	107
		% of total		53.27		0.93		45.79			
P5	LEM	frequencies	17		6		11		0		34
		% of total	50.00		17.65		32.35				
	EEM	frequencies		14		0		6		0	20
		% of total		70.00		0.0		30			
	LEM	frequencies	10		0		4		0		14
		% of total	71.43		0.0		28.57				
	EEM	frequencies		13		0		3		0	16
		% of total		81.25		0.0		18.75			

Table D.1.4. Language use frequency scores in PHYSICAL EDUCATION .....
compared for (i) all primary classes (P1-6);
(ii) LEM and EEM, and
(iii) English and other medium languages.

SUBJECT CULTURAL ACTIVITIES .....

lass	Pro-ject		Language Used								TOTAL
			English (L2)		NL		NL/L2		Arabic		
			LEM	EEM	LEM	EEM	LEM	EEM	LEM	EEM	
P1	LEM	frequencies	2		143		61		0		206
		% of total	0.97		69.42		29.61				
	EEM	frequencies		8		49		47		0	104
		% of total		7.69		47.12		45.19			
P2	LEM	frequencies	5		78		40		0		123
		% of total	4.07		63.41		32.52				
	EEM	frequencies		8		28		33		0	69
		% of total		11.59		40.58		47.83			
P3	LEM	frequencies	9		66		46		0		121
		% of total	7.44		54.55		38.02				
	EEM	frequencies		14		26		31		0	71
		% of total		19.72		36.62		43.66			
P4	LEM	frequencies	7		25		22		0		54
		% of total	12.96		46.30		40.74				
	EEM	frequencies		20		19		38		0	77
		%of total		25.97		24.68		49.35			
P5	LEM	frequencies	6		7		8		0		21
		% of total	28.57		33.33		38.10				
	EEM	frequencies		7		1		5		0	13
		%of total		53.85		7.69		38.46			
	LEM	frequencies	3		4		2		0		9
		% of total	33.33		44.44		22.22				
	EEM	frequencies		6		1		3		0	10
		% of total		60.00		10.00		30.00			

Table D.1.5. Language use frequency scores in CULTURAL ACTIVITIES .....
compared for (i) all primary classes (P1-6);
(ii) LEM and EEM, and
(iii) English and other medium languages.

SUBJECT CREATIVE ACTIVITIES .....

lass	Pro-ject		Language Used								TOTAL
			English (L2)		NL		NL/L2		Arabic		
			LEM	EEM	LEM	EEM	LEM	EEM	LEM	EEM	
P1	LEM	frequencies	3		135		63		0		201
		% of total	1.49		67.16		31.34				
	EEM	frequencies		26		11		72		0	109
		% of total		23.85		10.09		66.06			
P2	LEM	frequencies	11		67		38		0		116
		% of total	9.48		57.76		32.76				
	EEM	frequencies		21		13		37		0	71
		% of total		29.58		18.31		52.11			
P3	LEM	frequencies	14		51		41		0		106
		% of total	13.21		48.11		38.68				
	EEM	frequencies		26		10		30		0	66
		% of total		39.39		15.15		45.45			
P4	LEM	frequencies	10		16		23		0		49
		% of total	20.41		32.65		46.94				
	EEM	frequencies		34		10		37		0	81
		% of total		41.98		12.35		45.68			
P5	LEM	frequencies	8		6		7		0		21
		% of total	38.10		28.57		33.33				
	EEM	frequencies		8		2		5		0	15
		% of total		53.33		13.33		33.33			
	LEM	frequencies	5		1		2		0		8
		% of total	62.5		12.5		25.00				
	EEM	frequencies		6		1		2		0	9
		% of total		66.67		11.11		22.22			

Table D.1.6. Language use frequency scores in CREATIVE ACTIVITIES .....
compared for (i) all primary classes (P1-6);
(ii) LEM and EEM, and
(iii) English and other medium languages.

SUBJECT MATHEMATICS .....

Class	Project		Language Used								TOTAL
			English (L2)		NL		NL/L2		Arabic		
			LEM	EEM	LEM	EEM	LEM	EEM	LEM	EEM	
P1	LEM	frequencies	4		69		101		0		174
		% of total	2.30		39.66		58.05				
	EEM	frequencies		37		5		71		0	113
		% of total		32.74		4.42		62.83			
P2	LEM	frequencies	15		28		88		0		131
		% of total	11.45		21.37		67.18				
	EEM	frequencies		35		1		49		0	85
		% of total		41.18		1.18		57.65			
P3	LEM	frequencies	16		29		74		0		119
		% of total	13.45		24.37		62.18				
	EEM	frequencies		60		2		38		0	100
		% of total		60.00		2.00		38.00			
P4	LEM	frequencies	31		2		38		0		71
		% of total	43.66		2.82		53.52				
	EEM	frequencies		31		2		38		0	71
		% of total		43.66		2.82		53.52			
P5	LEM	frequencies	19		0		14		0		33
		% of total	57.58		0.0		42.42				
	EEM	frequencies		15		0		4		0	19
		% of total		78.95		0.0		21.05			
	LEM	frequencies	12		0		2		0		14
		% of total	85.71		0.0		14.29				
	EEM	frequencies		14		0		2		0	16
		% of total		87.5		0.0		12.5			

Table D.1.7. Language use frequency scores in MATHEMATICS .....

compared for (i) all primary classes (P1-6);

(ii) LEM and EEM, and

(iii) English and other medium languages.

Appendix D2: PEIP vs UPE

P1 EEM

Language Used	PEIP		UPE	
	Frequencies	% of Total	Frequencies	% of Total
English (L2)	59	14.94	49	14.67
Nigerian Language (NL)	109	27.59	84	25.15
NL/L2 Mix	223	56.46	199	59.58
Arabic	4	1.01	2	0.60
Total	395		334	

X^2=0.85 with df=2: P≤.70

Table D2.1: P1 (EEM) PEIP vs UPE

P2 EEM

Language Used	PEIP		UPE	
	Frequencies	% of Total	Frequencies	% of Total
English (L2)	63	22.58	49	18.92
Nigerian Language (NL)	68	24.37	53	20.46
NL/L2 Mix	144	51.61	154	59.46
Arabic	4	1.43	3	1.16
Total	279		259	

X^2=3.33 with df=2: P≤.20

Table D2.2: P2 (EEM) PEIP vs UPE

PEIP vs UPE

P3 EEM

Language Used	PEIP		UPE	
	Frequencies	% of Total	Frequencies	% of Total
English (L2)	132	41.38	110	39.71
Nigerian Language (NL)	36	11.29	33	11.91
NL/L2 Mix	143	44.83	128	46.21
Arabic	8	2.51	6	2.17
Total	319		277	

X^2=0.17 with df = 2: P≤.95

Table D2.3: P3(EEM) PEIP vs UPE

PEIP vs UPE

P4 EEM/LEM (combined)

Language Used	PEIP		UPE	
	Frequencies	% of Total	Frequencies	% of Total
English (L2)	246	40.39	167	40.44
Nigerian Language (NL)	71	11.66	46	11.14
NL/L2 Mix	273	44.83	188	45.52
Arabic	19	3.12	12	2.91
Total	609		413	

X^2=0.12 with df=3: P≤.99

Table D2.4: P4 (EEM/LEM) PEIP vs UPE

P4 PEIP vs UPE

P4 LEM

Language Used	PEIP		UPE	
	Frequencies	% of Total	Frequencies	% of Total
English (L2)	80	33.33	70	33.49
Nigerian Language (NL)	35	14.58	30	14.35
NL/L2 Mix	116	48.33	103	49.28
Arabic	9	3.75	6	2.87
Total	240		209	

X^2=0.28 with df=3: P≤.98

Table D2.5: P4(LEM) PEIP vs UPE

P4 EEM

Language Used	PEIP		UPE	
	Frequencies	% of Total	Frequencies	% of Total
English (L2)	166	44.99	97	47.55
Nigerian Language (NL)	36	9.76	16	7.84
NL/L2 Mix	157	42.55	85	41.67
Arabic	10	2.71	6	2.94
Total	369		204	

X^2=0.78 with df=3: P≤.90

Table D2.6: P4(EEM) PEIP vs UPE

P5 PEIP vs UPE

P5 (LEM-EEM combined)

Language Used	PEIP		UPE	
	Frequencies	% of Total	Frequencies	% of Total
English (L2)	92	48.42	71	55.47
Nigerian Language (NL)	24	12.63	11	8.59
NL/L2 Mix	70	36.84	44	34.38
Arabic	4	2.11	2	1.56
Total	190		128	

$X^2 = 2.11$ with df=2: $P \leq 5.99$

Table D2.7: P5 (LEM-EEM) PEIP vs UPE

P6 PEIP vs UPE

P6 (LEM-EEM combined)

Language Used	PEIP		UPE	
	Frequencies	% of Total	Frequencies	% of Total
English (L2)	90	78.95	47	61.04
Nigerian Language (NL)	5	4.39	8	10.39
NL/L2 Mix	18	15.79	22	28.57
Arabic	1	0.88	0	0.00
Total	114		77	

$X^2 = 7.30$ with df=2: $P \leq .05$

Table D2.8: P6 (LEM-EEM) PEIP vs UPE

Appendix D3: Cumulative P1-P6 language frequencies in each content-subject: LEM-EEM compared.

Primary Science P1-P6: LEM vs EEM

Language Used	LEM		EEM		
	Frequencies	% of Total	Frequencies	% of Total	
English (L2)	76		152		228
Nigerian Language (NL)	153		41		194
NL/L2 Mix	304		221		525
Arabic					
Total	533		414		947

Table D3.1: Language choice/use scores for Primary Science in Primary classes 1-6 compared between LEM and EEM policy groups. The difference is significant at $P \leq .001$ ($X^2 = 89.59$ with df = 2).

Mathematics vs Cultural Activities P1-P6: LEM

Language Used	Mathematics		Cultural Activities		
	Frequencies	% of Total	Frequencies	% of Total	
English (L2)	97		32		129
Nigerian Language (NL)	128		323		451
NL/L2 Mix	317		179		496
Arabic					
Total	542		534		1076

Table D4.1: Content-subject language use scores compared between Mathematics and Cultural Activities in the LEM policy group. Score differences are significant at $P \leq .001$ ($X^2 = 155.41$ with df = 2).

Mathematics vs Cultural Activities P1-P6: EEM

Language Used	Mathematics		Cultural Activities		
	Frequencies	% of Total	Frequencies	% of Total	
English (L2)	192		63		255
Nigerian Language (NL)	10		124		134
NL/L2 Mix	202		157		359
Arabic					
Total	404		344		748

Table D4.2: Language use scores at the content-subject level compared between Mathematics and Cultural Activities in P1-P6 for the EEM policy group. Score differences are significant at $P \leq .001$ ($X^2 = 164.1$ with df = 2).

Appendix D3.2

Mathematics P1-6: LEM vs EEM

Language Used	LEM		EEM		
	Frequencies	% of Total	Frequencies	% of Total	
English (L2)	97		192		289
Nigerian Language (NL)	128		10		138
NL/L2 Mix	317		202		519
Arabic					
Total	542		404		946

Table D3.2: Language choice/use scores for Mathematics in all primary classes compared between LEM and EEM. The difference is significant at $P \leq .001$ ($X^2 = 140.46$ with df = 2)

Appendix D3.3

Creative Activities P1-P6: LEM vs EEM

Language Used	LEM		EEM		
	Frequencies	% of Total	Frequencies	% of Total	
English (L2)	49		121		170
Nigerian Language (NL)	176		47		223
NL/L2 Mix	174		183		357
Arabic					
Total	399		351		750

Table D3.3: Language choice/use scores for Creative Activities in all primary classes compared between LEM and EEM policy groups. The difference is significant at $P \leq .001$ ($X^2 = 102.68$ with df = 2).

Physical Education vs Creative Activities P1-P6: LEM

Language Used	PE		Creative Activities		
	Frequencies	% of Total	Frequencies	% of Total	
English (L2)	88		49		137
Nigerian Language (NL)	171		176		347
NL/L2 Mix	269		174		443
Arabic					
Total	528		399		927

Table D4.3: Language use scores at the content-subject level compared between Physical Education and Creative Activities in P1-P6 for the LEM policy group. Score differences are significant at $P \leq .001$ ($X^2 = 13.86$ with df = 2).

Physical Education vs Creative Activities P1-P6: EEM

Language Used	PE		Creative Activities		
	Frequencies	% of Total	Frequencies	% of Total	
English (L2)	188		121		309
Nigerian Language (NL)	26		47		73
NL/L2 Mix	233		183		416
Arabic					
Total	447		351		798

Table D4.4: Language use scores compared between two content-subjects: PE and Creative Activities in the EEM policy group P1-P6. Score differences between the two subjects are significant at $P \leq .001$ ($X^2 = 15.24$ with df = 2).

Appendix D3.4

Cultural Activities P1-P6: LEM vs EEM

Language Used	LEM		EEM		
	Frequencies	% of Total	Frequencies	% of Total	
English (L2)	32		63		95
Nigerian Language (NL)	323		124		447
NL/L2 Mix	179		157		336
Arabic					
Total	534		344		878

Table D3.4: Language choice/use scores for Cultural Activities in all primary classes compared between LEM and EEM groups. The difference is significant at $P \leq .001$ ($X^2=61.95$ with df = 2)

Physical Education P1-P6: LEM vs EEM

Appendix D3.5

Language Used	LEM		EEM		
	Frequencies	% of Total	Frequencies	% of Total	
English (L2)	88		188		276
Nigerian Language (NL)	171		26		197
NL/L2 Mix	269		233		502
Arabic					
Total	528		447		975

Table D3.5: Language choice/use scores for Physical Education in primary classes 1-6 compared between LEM and EEM policy groups. The difference is significant at $P \leq .001$ ($X^2=139.77$ with df = 2).

Primary Science vs R.K. P1-P6: LEM

Language Used	Primary Science		R.K.		
	Frequencies	% of Total	Frequencies	% of Total	
English (L2)	76		37		113
Nigerian Language (NL)	153		293		446
NL/L2 Mix	304		174		478
Arabic					
Total	533		504		1037

Table D4.5: Primary Science and R.K. frequencies compared in LEM P1-P6. Differences are significant at $P \leq .001$ ($X^2=92.04$ with df = 2)

Primary Science vs R.K.: EEM

Language Used	Primary Science		R.K.		
	Frequencies	% of Total	Frequencies	% of Total	
English (L2)	152		71		223
Nigerian Language (NL)	41		179		220
NL/L2 Mix	221		161		382
Arabic					
Total	414		411		825

Table D4.6: Primary Science and R.K. frequencies compared in EEM P1-P6. Differences are significant at $P \leq .001$ ($X^2=125.39$ with df = 2).

Appendix D3.6

R.K. P1-P6: LEM vs EEM

Language Used	LEM		EEM		
	Frequencies	% of Total	Frequencies	% of Total	
English (L2)	37		71		108
Nigerian Language (NL)	293		179		472
NL/L2 Mix	108		118		226
Arabic	66		43		109
Total	504		411		915

Table D3.6: Language choice/use scores for R.K. in primary classes 1-6 compared between LEM and EEM policy groups. The difference is significant at $P \leq .001$ ($X^2=34.44$ with df = 3).

Appendix D3.7

Social Studies P1-P6: LEM vs EEM

Language Used	LEM		EEM		
	Frequencies	% of Total	Frequencies	% of Total	
English (L2)	63		151		214
Nigerian Language (NL)	183		49		232
NL/L2 Mix	279		230		509
Arabic					
Total	525		430		955

Table D3.7: Language choice/use scores for social studies in primary classes 1-6 compared between LEM and EEM policy groups. The difference is significant at $P \leq .001$ ($X^2=109.92$ with df = 2).

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