

Language Teaching, Learning and Utility: A Triadic Paradigm for Revitalising Indigenous Nigerian Languages

Adeyemi Adegoju

Obafemi Awolowo University
Ile-Ife
Nigeria

Abstract

In this era of linguistic globalisation and the attempt to build monocultural societies, people's cultural and linguistic rights, especially in Africa are seriously violated. The linguistic situation in Nigeria where indigenous languages have been banished from homes, schools and other vital spheres of life is a case in point. Although there has been much call for intensive teaching and learning of the languages with a view to revitalizing them, the basic fact that prospective learners see very little or no value in learning them is indicative of their neglect. To foster indigenous language teaching and learning in Nigeria, this paper posits that equal, if not greater, attention should be paid to a third essential factor – language utility. In this respect, the article dwells on political communication, health and banking as some of the strongholds of national life to find expression for the empowerment of indigenous languages in Nigeria.

Keywords: Indigenous languages, endangerment, language education, utility, revitalisation, national development

Introduction

The African continent is in the present times beset with diverse challenges that range from revamping the ailing economies of nations, managing social conflicts, tackling the scourge of HIV/AIDS, fixing the daunting problem of leadership, developing in science and technology, to, above all, breaking the jinx of that continent with most of its countries labelled 'Third World'. It must be noted, however, that trying to capture the African condition in the 21st century without touching on the alarming hurricane which is blowing over African cultural values, especially the linguistic rights of the African people would leave us with a warped re/presentation, as foreign languages such as English, French and Portuguese have displaced the local languages in national development processes. No wonder then that 'UNESCO Release on the International Mother Language Day' ranks Africa as 'linguistically the least-known continent'¹, in that most of its local languages are not adequately mobilised and empowered for nation building.

Although linguistic diversity is a phenomenon common to most African countries, Blench (1998, p.1) sees Nigeria as 'the most complex country in Africa, linguistically, and one of the most complex in the world'. Aito (2005) also lends credence to the innate heterogeneity of the Nigerian linguistic reality, arguing that about 20% of Africa's more than two thousand languages are spoken in Nigeria. But the question of linguistic complexity in Africa generally transcends the issue of linguistic plurality. The International Development Research Centre submits:

Linguists disagree about many aspects of the language situation in Africa, but there is no controversy about the fact that, as a continent, Africa presents the most complex linguistic picture in the world. This complexity is due not only to the number of languages spoken by Africans but also to the diversity of the language families and of the functions assigned to the various languages spoken in the same country and, in many cases, by the same individual. Across the continent, the language situation varies widely: some countries have only one indigenous language, such as Burundi, where everyone speaks a dialect of Kirundi; other countries have hundreds of indige-

*nous languages, such as Nigeria, which has at least 400. This internal complexity is not just a matter of the number of languages — it is, above all, also a matter of the relative power and status of the languages.*²

Thus, experts have observed that of all the numerous languages in Nigeria (estimated about 500) a few are largely spoken; a few are taught in schools and universities while most of them are hardly documented.

Consequently, it is the apprehension of linguists, individuals and emerging cultural organisations that Nigeria's local languages are endangered. Apart from not using the languages in official domains, it is worrisome that many Nigerian families are today confronted with the problem of the use of their mother tongues. Children brought up in their immediate environment do not speak their indigenous languages let alone read or write in them. Their parents who, though understand and use the indigenous languages, discourage their children from doing so and would prefer that they go for English.

How come that Nigeria is in this sordid linguistic situation? Salawu (2004) argues that communication in indigenous languages in most developing countries has been adversely affected due to the fact of their colonisation. He concludes: 'This fact of history has actually affected the sensibility of the people of the developing countries' (Salawu, 2004, p.197). It is noted in the 'Asmara Declaration on African Languages and Literatures' that 'Colonialism created some of the most serious obstacles against African languages and literatures [...] these colonial obstacles still haunt independent Africa and continue to block the mind of the continent'³. It is in this light that Mohochi posits that:

*Current language attitudes and perceptions in Africa are, to a large extent, attributable to colonial language policies which independent African states have been unable to change considerably. With the benefit of hindsight, one can only conclude that colonial administration machine, knowing the important role of language in shaping one's identity, initiated language policies that were meant to subdue their subjects, making them more susceptible to western languages and cultures. Many began to disdain their languages and cultural practices, trying instead very hard to learn the western ways.*⁴

Besides the factor of colonialism, the current onslaught of globalization which impacts not only on the political and economic systems of nations but also on their cultural identity is noteworthy. Maduagwu (1999, p.3) observes that:

[...] some Third World scholars and their sympathizers argue that globalization is not as value-free as it is being portrayed in the West. Globalization is only the latest stage of European economic and cultural domination of the rest of the world which started with colonialism, went through imperialism and have [sic] now arrived at globalization stage.

This viewpoint is put succinctly on BBC News by Koome Kirimi, a respondent to the poser 'Are Indigenous Languages Dead?' to mark 2006 as the Year of African Languages: 'The world is ailing from an illness: globalization. The give-and-take dynamics of globalization have seen African states give away more than they've received. African states are giving away their language, their culture, and their identity'⁵.

With the clipping of the mother tongues in Nigeria in relation to their status and roles in national development, English has always served as the official language. Regrettably, Adegbiya (2004, p.34) notes that only about 20% of Nigerians are proficient in the language. Obviously, English is largely a minority language monopolised by the elite. This polarity in the Nigerian society as in some other African countries goes a long way to lend credence to the view that any group which has access to language power will have consequent political and economic power and vice versa. This situation is most unhealthy when we consider Bamgbose's (1998, p.11) viewpoint:

The fact is that if development is to be meaningful, there is no way in which it can be carried out in a language which excludes the majority of the people in the society. This, then, is one of the most important justifications for putting greater emphasis on the use and development of a country's indigenous languages.

Thus, it is in the spirit of the 'Asmara Declaration on African Languages and Literatures' that '[...] Africa must [...] affirm a new beginning by returning to its languages and heritage'⁶, that the question of acquiring initial literacy in African languages has been greatly emphasised. In consequence, Salawu (2006, p.2) challenges: 'For any African with a concern for the soul and survival of his language and culture, there must be a deliberate and sincere effort to learn and teach the language [...]'

While this paper recognises the potential of teaching and learning Nigerian local languages for empowering them, it considers that the ambivalence in Salawu's (2006, p.2) disposition is compelling. For

he turns around to lament: 'Alas, the situation with the learning, and by extension, the teaching of African languages is by no means cheerful. Not many young Africans are interested in learning the languages, either formally or informally'. This submission brings to the fore the question of language attitudes and Adebija (2004, p.54) explicates it thus:

Attitudes towards languages are motivated by several factors including their perceived socio-economic value, their status-raising potential, their perceived instrumental value, their perceived esteem, their perceived functions or roles in the nation, their numerical strength, the perceived political and economic power of its speakers, their use in the official domains, their educational value, etc. Generally, positive attitudes, covert or overt, are developed towards a language that is perceived to have value in all these different areas [...] Conversely, negative attitudes, overt or covert, develop towards a language in proportion to its lack of function or narrowing of its distribution in registers.

Adebija's view above encapsulates the linguistic situation in Nigeria where the abandonment of local languages has engendered people's negative attitude towards them. The hard truth is that Nigerians are poorly motivated to learn their indigenous languages. It is thus the argument of this paper that while education in African indigenous languages is most desirable, efforts should be geared towards making it translate to the enhancement of individual social mobility and better social economic life, and playing vital roles in national development processes.

Following this introductory background is a review of literature on the challenges of teaching and learning Nigeria's local languages. After this appraisal, we will focus on some domains of Nigeria's national life where the enhancement of the utilitarian value of Nigeria's local languages would tremendously boost their status and roles. Finally, we will give the concluding comments.

Challenges of Teaching and Learning Nigeria's Local Languages

The National Policy on Education (NPE) (1977, revised 1981, 2000) requires that every Nigerian child study at least one indigenous language which could be the child's mother tongue or an indigenous language of wider communication in their area of domicile at the pre-primary, primary, junior secondary school (JSS) and senior secondary school (SSS) levels of education. It must be noted, however, that although the teaching of English together with mother tongues has continuously featured in the country's schools since the nineteenth century, the formulation of the NPE marked a watershed in the history of language education in Nigeria. The innovation introduced in the NPE is the teaching of the three major indigenous languages (Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba) as second languages. This is in recognition of the fact that indigenous languages are a veritable tool of communication and a vehicle for promoting national identity and preserving the people's cultural heritage.

To implement the language provisions in the NPE, colleges of education have developed L2 programmes in the major Nigerian languages with the establishment of the Department of Nigerian Languages which have engaged in cross-ethnic teaching of these major languages (Makinde, 2005). In a further bid to meet the imperative of training teachers and to produce audio-visual materials for teaching Nigerian languages, the National Institute for Nigerian Languages (NINLAN) Aba was established in 1992. In spite of these landmark efforts the teaching of indigenous languages both as first and second language in Nigeria is fraught with some problems.

There are certain logistic and conceptual flaws in the NPE itself which have hampered effective teaching/learning of the indigenous languages. As such, there are many critiques about the explicit languages' aspect of the NPE (Emenanjo, 2002, pp. 7-9). We find out, among other shortcomings, that there are no constitutional provisions for sanctions where the policy requirements are not implemented. Although the NPE stipulates that the first language should be the medium of education at the pre-primary school level, children who go to pre-primary schools nowadays begin with an early immersion in English. This is as a result of the proliferation of private nursery schools. Adebija (2004, p.20) laments the sorry situation: 'Since most pre-primary schools are privately owned, the Government has only had a very marginal impact, if any, on language use at this level, nor has it been able to enforce the first-language medium policy'.

In fact, the non-use of indigenous languages in such schools marks them out as 'model' schools with the characteristic label 'international'. It is rather disheartening that in this age of globalisation, we la-

bel our schools international and yet we have no indigenous values to sell to the international community; all we do is to keep absorbing the cultures of others without having anything to offer in return. For the African child who is just growing up and will be faced with the challenge of competing later on in a globalised world, there is a grave danger, as they are put at a very big disadvantage when compared to their counterpart in the western world. In this regard, Fafunwa (1982, pp. 295-296) submits:

It is our thesis that if the Nigerian child is to be encouraged from the start to develop curiosity, initiative, industry, manipulative ability, spontaneous flexibility, manual dexterity, mechanical comprehension and the co-ordination of the hand and eye, he should acquire these skills and attitudes through his mother-tongue; after all this is the most natural learning medium. This is where the average European or English child has a decided advantage over his African counterpart. While the former is acquiring new skills during the first six years in his mother tongue, the latter is busy struggling with a foreign language during the greater part of his primary education.

Teachers' factor which is indispensable to effective teaching and learning is also a drawback to the successful implementation of the NPE. The Technical Committee on Production of Teachers for the Three Major Languages came out with its report in 1988. Bamgbose (2006, pp. 18-19) records:

This committee found that, with the existing secondary school classes as of that date, 55,237 teachers were needed in secondary schools, and, of this number, only 6,383 were available, made up of Hausa (1,678), Igbo (1,117) and Yoruba (3, 588). The shortfall of 48,858 is distributed as follows: Hausa (16,313), Igbo (18,211) and Yoruba (14, 330).

It was in realisation of the challenge of teacher production that the National Institute for Nigerian Languages (NINLAN) was established. Even when NINLAN had not become fully operational, Awobuluyi had predicted that NINLAN would not be able to produce more than a very small percentage of the teachers actually needed for teaching the languages in question as L2 throughout the country. He then suggested that conventional universities should be involved in the project for training L2 teachers for those languages. But the problem of poor funding of education in Nigeria has partly affected the scheme of training, retraining, and recruiting teachers.

To this end, we may argue that the proviso for the implementation of the policy couched in the phraseology 'subject to the availability of teachers' is, in fact, defeatist from the outset. Arohunmolase (2006, p.3), citing Junaidu and Ihebuzor (1993), laments the prevailing circumstance thus:

[...] the problem of the supply of teachers in Nigerian languages represents one of the greatest problems facing the curriculum development efforts in Nigeria. The introduction of Nigerian languages (Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba), as L2 at the JSS level and the Colleges of Education worsened the compounded problem of the supply of trained teachers. It is a matter of great regret that, adequate plans were not made for the supply of teachers before the Federal Government decided to implement the Nigerian languages policy in the Colleges of Education.

Apart from teachers' factor which is not properly addressed in the NPE, the question of language loyalty that speakers of minority languages have towards their languages has generated mixed feelings. Recall that every child is required to study their mother tongue or the wider language of communication in the immediate community. Of all the over 450 indigenous languages, few are documented and have suitable pedagogical materials required for effective teaching. While strong language loyalty could force some ethnic groups to go to any length to ensure that their languages are formally taught, speakers of minority languages could see their children's learning the language of wider communication as portending the grave danger of their own language being completely assimilated. In this regard, language loyalty sometimes occasioned by ethnic rivalry becomes counterproductive for the effective teaching/learning of the major languages.

If the issues discussed above are some of the flaws of the NPE, one would have expected that a responsive government would have risen to the challenge of revising the document and more importantly seeing to the implementation of the language policies therein. Meanwhile, in Harare Declaration of 1997, African leaders were challenged to come up with realistic language policies for their respective countries:

- (a) All African language Policies should be those that enhance the chances of attaining the vision of Africa [...]
- (b) Each country should produce a clear Language Policy Document, within which every language spoken in the country can find its place.
- (c) Guidelines for policy formulation should be sanctioned by legislative action.

(d) Every country's policy framework should be flexible enough to allow each community to use its language side-by-side with other languages while integrating with the wider society, within an empowering language policy that caters for communication at local, regional and international levels.

(e) A language policy-formulating and monitoring institution/body should be established in each country.⁷

But this challenge has not been taken up by the Nigerian government. Explaining one of the probable reasons for this seeming inaction, Adegbija (2004, p.34) says:

Political instability has been a principal impediment to the implementation of language policy in Nigeria. Previously agreed policies are often abandoned by new regimes and implementation is truncated. There is policy fluctuation, reinterpretation and misinterpretation and ad hoc and arbitrary policy initiatives.

In addition to the problem of political instability in Nigeria, Nigerian government has focused on teaching of science and technology to the neglect of language education. In this regard, Onukaogu (2001, p.12) notes that: '[...] the impression created by Nigerian educated planners immediately after independence was that everything must be done to enhance science, mathematics and technology in Nigeria.' In consequence, at the secondary school level, students are encouraged to study science based courses and such students are considered the gifted ones on whose hands the development of the nation lies. At the higher institution, admission quota for courses in science and technology is higher than that of any other course, all in a bid to achieve technological breakthrough, forgetting that a nation whose cultural values are not given a pride of place in its development efforts can hardly compete with other nations. This is because cultural values in themselves are an identity-defining tool that would project unique technological advancements that the world could celebrate.

If government had not focused on the development of science and technology to the neglect of developing language education, it would not have been the case that in 2006 which was proclaimed as the Year of African Languages by the African Union, the National Institute for Nigerian Languages was under threat of being scrapped. This move by the government of Nigeria was totally at variance with the spirit behind the promotion of the African languages. Thus, while there was plan to renew commitment to developing African languages at the continental level, it is ironic that a major institution instrumental to realising that goal was under threat of being scrapped in Nigeria.

Up to now, we have been able to discuss the problems militating against effective teaching/learning of Nigeria's local languages, as they pertain to the NPE. It is pertinent, at this juncture, to focus attention on a major issue pivotal to the survival of endangered languages, which no doubt has been a causative factor for the poor recognition given to Africa's local languages.

Language Utility: A Prerequisite for Language Revitalisation

To enhance the status of endangered Nigeria's local languages, they need to be appreciated in terms of assigning them functions in more domains of life. This is because language thrives when it serves primarily as a means of communication in a given society. As a matter of fact, Idolor's (2002, p.2) argument that "No phenomenon void of utility survives in a society [...]" holds good for urgently addressing the linguistic situation in Africa at present. To this end, we now focus on three major domains of Nigeria's national life where the indigenous languages can be harnessed for national development.

Political Communication

Nigeria is a nation with a fledgling democracy and thus requires mobilising the people for participatory democracy, using local languages. There is no doubt that the language of government in Nigeria is English but the local languages can also be employed to play complementary roles in political processes. For instance, the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria has provision for the conduct of the businesses of the National Assembly in one of the three major languages and the State Houses of Assembly in the dominant language of the state. It is, however, regrettable that since this constitutional provision has been made, it is only Ogun and Anambra that have reportedly introduced a weekly use of Yoruba and Igbo respectively in the conduct of their businesses. Even though their trail-blazing effort is commendable, the restriction to a particular day in a whole week is not encourag-

ing at all. More worrisome is the position of the legislators of the Lagos State House of Assembly who rejected the proposal of using Yoruba for their proceedings on the grounds that Lagos is metropolitan city and that Yoruba will trivialise the serious business of legislating.

It is not out of place if Nigeria's democracy is fashioned in such a way that it gives room for the propagation of indigenous values. In such a situation, we could de-emphasise the use of English by giving room for people who can read and write in their indigenous languages or one of the major Nigerian languages to be qualified to contest for elective positions. In fact, we have to note that the bane of the current democratic practice in Nigeria is the undue emphasis on paper qualification. This is jeopardising the polity in the sense that some political aspirants have had to resort to certificate forgery and when eventually they get elected into offices, they are linguistically incapacitated because of lack of competence in English. More often than not, they are cut off from lending their voice to major decisions on crucial issues and all they do is to observe, applaud others and get fat allowances and salary, all in the name of 'misrepresenting' their constituencies. It does not mean that such political office holders are bereft of ideas about what governance entails or how to tackle pressing social issues but the problem is that they cannot relate their experiences in an alien tongue.

We find out that even local government councils in linguistically homogeneous communities, which are directly responsible to the grassroots people, keep their subjects in the dark with the adoption of English as the language of administration. This has created a gulf between the government and the people. Mohochi posits:

Whereas horizontal communication is smooth (among the elite in former colonial languages and the masses in local languages), it is the missing vertical communication (between the leaders and the rest of the population) that needs to be improved in order to attain increased participation of the masses in Africa's development strives.⁸

With regard to government policies and programmes which should directly impact on people's lives, it is regrettable that they are packaged in English, circulated among the elite without involving and affecting the grassroots people. For instance, some governments have poverty alleviation scheme for rural dwellers and yet English is the dominant language of communication. How then do the rural dwellers benefit maximally from it? On the use of local languages in realising the set objectives of poverty alleviation programmes, Bamgbose (2006, p.30) posits:

Information on the programmes should not only be in the languages that people understand, the various projects offered to alleviate poverty should be capable of being pursued through the medium of our indigenous languages. Existing practices in crafts, trade, agriculture, local industries, etc. should be the basis of poverty alleviation intervention rather than super-imposed Western oriented practices, which inevitably have to be transmitted in English.

It is interesting that the poverty alleviation agencies of government and the National Orientation Agency are vital spheres of life where experts in indigenous languages can be gainfully employed to sell government programmes and activities to the people.

Health Care

Of all facets of national life, the health sector is about the most sensitive in that any communication breakdown can spell disaster for the people. Information needs to be disseminated from time to time to eradicate ignorance. To achieve this objective, indigenous languages need to be employed to disseminate health tips. Although there have been renewed efforts in using Nigerian languages in health campaigns, there could be tremendous improvement on what has been achieved so far. Thus, the present discourse calls attention to how HIV/AIDS awareness campaign and the activities of pharmaceutical companies could empower local languages.

HIV/AIDS messages are about the most trumpeted of health issues in Nigeria today. There is a national body responsible for sensitizing the people on the scourge. It is called the National Action Committee on AIDS (NACA) with its state outlet, State Action Committee on AIDS (SACA) and the local outlet, Local Action Committee on AIDS (LACA). Apart from these government-controlled agencies, there are numerous non-governmental organisations (NGOs) that are devoted to transmitting HIV/AIDS campaigns. But the major challenge has been how effective their awareness campaigns have been in view of the predominant use of English. As in other spheres of Nigeria's national life, English has displaced the indigenous languages in the awareness campaign drive of these agencies. There are so many rural dwellers waiting to be informed in their local languages about the prevention, control and management of the scourge. This is why the Program of African Studies 'Executive Sum-

many of HIV/AIDS Prevention in Nigerian Communities' challenges, 'Uneducated rural population and minority communities should not be overlooked when prevention messages are designed. Sixty-five per cent of Nigerians live in rural areas and are not reached by current prevention campaigns'⁹.

Thus, the action committees on HIV/AIDS at the national, state and local levels could find gainful employment for health workers who are knowledgeable in the local languages of certain target communities. This will, on the one hand, ensure that the members of the target communities have access to accurate information and, on the other hand, prove a point that it is not only competence in English that guarantees access to well-paid jobs; knowledge of indigenous languages can as well brighten one's job prospect, as competence only in English in this circumstance amounts to outright disadvantage. In fact, the NGOs could aim at recruiting speakers of indigenous languages as extension workers to penetrate the rural communities where people are still ignorant of the scourge.

With regard to the activities of pharmaceutical companies, the present researcher has observed that the use of local languages to reach the ordinary people is a far cry from what should be expected in a linguistically heterogeneous society like Nigeria. Apart from the information disseminated to patients by physicians at the point of prescribing drugs for them, patients encounter a lot of medical discourses that should provide them relevant information that they themselves should be able to digest. Such discourses include literature on the packs of drugs, or literature leaflets inside packs, and posters or stickers introducing new brands of drugs. But the unfortunate situation is that such material is produced mainly in the medium of English. The use of English in this situation excludes the larger percentage of the population who do not use English. Although dispensers at pharmaceutical stores give information on the administration of drugs bought over the counter, the buyers' ability to retain such information is sometimes suspected. So, it is reasonable that consumers have access to the needed information in the language they understand.

Consequently, pharmaceutical companies especially the ones based in Nigeria as part of their corporate social responsibility owe the people the obligation of communicating with them in local languages. Thus, transcribing the material in question to the languages of the country that are already committed to writing and dispensing the drugs to the target communities will go a long way to meet both the communicative and health needs of the people. To achieve this objective, experts in local languages could be employed to serve in different capacities, as the companies may require.

Banking Sector

Almost all banking institutions in Nigeria today carry out their transactions in the medium of English. Those who have language power are, therefore, those who have economic power, while those that have no language power end up being disempowered financially. For instance, during the recapitalisation of banks in Nigeria in 2005, most banks had to go to the open market to sell shares to meet the 25 billion naira capital base benchmark for each bank. Consequently, banks in Nigeria embarked on aggressive advertisements, trying to sway the people that investing in their own shares would yield the most of profits in the long run. While pages of newspapers and magazines, and billboards were awash with advertisements and the air wave both on radio and television was rent with jingles in English, the ones in the local languages could be counted at one's fingertips. Contributing to national economy in this sense seems targeted only at a minority section of the people who use English, for it is assumed that the rural dwellers do not have much to offer since they do not use the language that matters. The polarity created in this situation should not have been if majority of the citizenry could have access to financial information in their respective indigenous languages thereby creating the avenue for them to contribute to national development and to empower them too financially.

To reach the majority of the Nigerian people who do not use the English language but will have transactions to carry out in banks either for their children, wards, or even with business partners, banking institutions in Nigeria could have certain sections where transactions in local languages take place. In fact, the present writer cannot but sympathise with some customers who sometimes get frustrated in the banking hall when the information they require is not readily available in the language they understand well. To increase their efficiency and to penetrate the teeming population of the people who do not use the English language, financial institutions as part of their corporate social responsibility need to employ workers whose job requires that they be competent in the dominant indigenous language of the immediate community. In fact, the services of the Customer Care Unit of most banks could improve considerably if they are directed by employees competent in the use of indigenous languages. If these and other strategies are employed towards empowering the local languages, people will come

to appreciate the fact that teaching/learning their indigenous languages could open doors of increased participation in national development and personal advancement for them.

Conclusion

This study has so far underscored the fact that in order to address the problem of teaching and learning Nigerian languages, there is need to appraise their utilitarian value not only for individual advancement but also for the general development of the country. The linguistic situation in Africa at present is such that education in an African language does not ensure social mobility and better socio-economic life. And until we realise that our linguistic diversity is a goldmine for meaningful development, we will continue to bow under the hegemony of English. To empower local languages, it is not enough to prescribe teaching/learning them in the school curriculum. We need to come up with workable language policies that appreciate the multilingual nature of our communities and give due recognition to the potential of every language to contribute to national development. According to Bamgbose (1998, p.6), in this kind of arrangement, '[...] all languages will have an appropriate role in a comprehensive language policy, but these roles need not be identical'. This has been called 'egalitarian multilingualism', which according to Sole i Carmardons (1997) quoted by Emenanjo (2002, p.5), provides for 'balanced relationships among languages (and) must be based upon equality and reciprocity of the linguistic communities and of the speakers'. When this utilitarian dimension to teaching/learning the local languages is given a pride of place in a comprehensive language policy, then people will be favourably disposed to learning their indigenous languages.

Notes

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