Research Article

Keresa Kumera Chali & Andrea Parapatics

Mother tongue-based primary education in contemporary Ethiopia

Abstract

The article deals with the issues of mother tongue-based primary education and teacher training in present-day Ethiopia. The theoretical study is based on secondary data (i.e., written documents) from various sources such as legal articles, constitutions, journal articles, and dissertations. It focuses on analysing the similarities and differences between the regional policies and the guidelines of the Ministry of Education regarding mother tongue education at the primary level, as well as the consistency of the regional primary teacher education programs with the guidelines mentioned. The results show that only the Oromiya region and Afan Oromo streams in the Amhara region are fully compliant with the federal policy as Afan Oromo is used as the medium of instruction throughout the primary level and first- and second-cycle teacher training programs. The Tigray and Somali regions are almost in line with the policy as they use the mother tongue as the medium of instruction for the 8 years of primary education. However, both regions have adopted English as the medium of instruction for the second cycle, although teachers will teach in the mother tongue. According to the secondary data, other inconsistencies exist in the Amhara, Dire Dawa, and Harari regions, as well as in the Amharic Streams in the Somali region. In Addis Ababa, mother tongue instruction has been completely eliminated from the curriculum for grades 7-8. Finally, least in line with a federal policy are the Gambella and Southern Nations, Nationalities, and Peoples' Region, where there is no mother tongue instruction in the second cycle of primary education, and Afar and Benishangul-Gumuz, where there is no mother tongue as the medium of instruction.
Keywords: mother tongue, primary education, language policy, Ethiopia, region

1   Introduction

The existing multi-ethnic and multilingual situation is a challenge for the education system in Ethiopia. Education can only be successful if the social, cultural, and political background of the country is taken into account. Currently, approximately 22 of at least 75 indigenous languages spoken in Ethiopia are all ready to be used as the media of instruction in elementary school. Research in various African countries where the former colonial language is used as a medium of instruction has shown that the use of a foreign language or a language unknown to the child has a negative impact on the results and duration of learning, and on the behaviour of the student in the class (e.g., Hartshorne, 1995 and Alexander, 1997, both cited in Kamwangamalu, 2000; Desai, 2012; Kioko et al., 2014).

Language is an instrument of communication and knowledge, as well as an indicator of the cultural identity of an individual or group. The right to language is mentioned in international

treaties such as the anti-discrimination article of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR Article 2). The right to be taught in one's own language was recognized in the declaration of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO 1953). The new Ethiopian constitution of 1995 is based on the principles of democracy and decentralization. Each regional state of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (hereafter FDRE) has the constitutional right to choose, use and develop the individual languages spoken there, and to promote the cultures of its citizens. In the course of decentralization, each regional state became responsible for educational issues at the primary level, which means, for example, that regional authorities decide which languages should be used as the medium of instruction at the primary level. The UNESCO had already recommended the use of the mother tongue as the medium of instruction in 1951. The comprehensive implementation of a mother tongue education policy in countries with a heterogeneous language situation like Ethiopia may seem like a mammoth project. In this extremely multilingual country, it is virtually impossible to integrate all local languages into the educational system, as many of them are not even used as written languages. Despite the existing problems, almost two dozen of local languages have already been selected to be introduced as the media of instruction in primary education.

In this paper, we analyse the similarities and differences between the regional policy and guidelines of the Ethiopian Education and Training Policy of 1994 (hereafter ETP) regarding mother tongue teaching in primary education. In addition, we examine the congruence of the regions' teacher training with the guidelines for primary education. Therefore, this theoretical review deals with the main questions of mother tongue education and mother tongue-based multilingual education in general, with the current education policies and primary education in Ethiopia and with the languages of instruction used in primary education in each of the regions.

2   A general review of mother tongue-based multilingual education

Language is fundamental to the interaction between the teacher and the children in the classroom. It is equally important in helping children understand the concepts in written and read materials. Mother tongue teaching means using the learners' native language as the medium of instruction (hereafter MOI) (Ball, 2011: 12). There are various definitions for the term "native language" which may include the following elements: "the language(s)that one has learnt first; the language(s) one identifies with or is identified as a native speaker of by others; the language(s) one knows best and the language(s) one uses most. 'Mother tongue' may also be referred to as 'primary' or 'first language'. The term 'mother tongue' is commonly used in policy statements and in the general discourse on educational issues" (UNESCO 2003: 15). According to the organization's other famous document, *mother or native tongue* is "[t]he language acquired by a person in early years and which has normally becomes his natural instrument of thought and communication" (UNESCO 1953: 689). In the same vein, Kamwangamalu (2008: 139) cites Pattanayak (1998) who defines the mother tongue as: "language with which one is emotionally identified. It is the language through which the child recognizes and organizes his (her) experience and the environment around him (her). It is the language used to express one's basic needs, ideas thoughts, joys, sorrows, and other feelings. It is a language that if one gives up, one may remain intellectually alive but would grow emotionally sterile".

The use of appropriate language in school is one of the many factors that are fundamental to quality education. In any educational system, language in general, and the native language in particular, is the most important tool and storehouse of knowledge from which learners view the world, thereby gaining knowledge as well as valuable sociocultural experiences. According to Kamwangamalu (2008: 136–138), indigenous languages or vernaculars are the most important capital of people: they are not only a valuable resource of society but also a storehouse of local knowledge, history, and ideas. The author emphasizes that the revival and development of indigenous local languages are necessary in order not to lose most of the knowledge and cultural and social values they contain. It is obvious that native language teaching is one of the most important ways to preserve and develop the language from decay and ultimately from complete disappearance.

As mentioned earlier, the mother tongue is the primary means of understanding the external world around us and expressing our inner feelings and emotions. It is also the very means for fruitful interaction, communication, and expression of concepts and ideas (for similar thoughts cf. e.g., Alemayehu, 2012). In all these and many other explanations and definitions of mother tongue, we can see its importance in education. So, at the center of all these definitions is the issue of mother tongue education.

Mother tongue-based multilingual education (hereafter MTB MLE) is a form of education that deals with the bridging of learning in the mother tongue to using one or more other school languages. This means that if a child does not understand an idea in the language in which s/he thinks and communicates, it is difficult to learn the words for that concept in the second language (Pinnock et al., 2011: 8). The major purpose of MTB MLE is therefore to develop appropriate cognitive and reasoning skills that enable children to make use of their own language in schools alongside the languages of wider communication that are used nationally or internationally. In an appropriate application of MTB MLE, the children's environment, culture, and psychological makeup are also significant features. The fact that the process of teaching and learning involves much listening and speaking during the early years, followed by reading and writing, makes it imperative to talk with children and to let them speak in classrooms in a language they know best and can easily use for communication (Pinnock, 2009: 11).

Generally, this will be the mother tongue or first language (L1) of the children. MTB MLE is a principle or a system that enables children to begin learning in a language they already know and so to learn the lesson content from their familiar environment and cultural background. This then enables children to systematically and gradually learn the second or third languages at the same time as the lesson content in the new languages. It relates to the social constructivist theory of learning which is a theoretical notion that stipulates that knowledge living in the mind of individual depends on what they know from their experience (Savin-Baden & Major, 2013: 29).

MTB MLE is therefore an education programme that addresses and recognizes the child's mother tongue culture and context as a foundation of learning (Pinter, 2017: 17). It is a structured program of language learning and cognitive development that provides a strong educational foundation (Barac et al., 2014: 4). As it was mentioned, it also impacts the cultural and psychological makeup and environmental context of the child so as to maintain the fundamental educational principle that says education should proceed from the "known to the unknown" (Rata, 2016: 168). This program uses the child's mother tongue as a MOI for all subjects in the early years of schooling and gradually introduces a second or even a third

language as the child progresses through education (Pinnock, 2009: 11). In this regard, it means that the use of the mother tongue only as a subject cannot be considered as MTB MLE (Skutnabb-Kangas & Heugh, 2012: 2). Van der Walt (2013: 6) states that bi/multilingual education is about students' use of a multiplicity of languages in different modes calling on available languages as well as varieties of language to maintain their learning and achieve their goals.

Van der Walt (2013: 6) further suggests that the focus on one language for children's education is a violation of social justice and impedes effective learning and access to knowledge. MTB MLE is concerned with providing early instruction in a language that children will understand and then adding the second language (L2) for wider communication. This notion deals with the need for children to be proficient in the mother tongue at the foundational level of education which is essential for the learning of a second or third language.

The use of a mother tongue or L1 in the early school years does not mean removing other school languages, for example, Amharic or English, that will be used in later years as a subject or as MOI, in the case of Ethiopia (Derash, 2012: 11). It is rather to enable children to begin learning, not only in a language they already know but also with lesson content they are familiar with from their environment and cultural background. Then they can systematically and gradually move to new languages and content. As Skattum and Brock-Utne (2009: 105) note, the promotion of multilingual education should not be viewed as a rejection of international languages for wider communication. It is rather about promoting responsive language-in-education policies that enhance teaching and learning in a local language and language that supports the later learning of other languages for wider communication. In stating the importance of mother tongue-based education, Baker (2006: 293) states that L1 development throughout schooling is important for both majority and minority language children with an extra reason and benefit being in nurturing the minority language.

While emphasizing the importance of mother tongue-based education as a foundational component of children's educational achievement, Baker (2006: 293) and Dutcher (2004: 11) state two essential and historical quotes from the already mentioned UNESCO (1953) document titled *The use of vernacular languages in education*: (1) "It is axiomatic that the best medium for teaching a child is his mother tongue. Psychologically, it is the system of meaningful signs that his mind works automatically for expression and understanding. Sociologically, it is a means of identification among the members of the community to which he belongs. Educationally, he learns more quickly through it than through an unfamiliar linguistic medium" (11). (2) "It is important that every effort should be made to provide education in the mother tongue […] on educational grounds we recommend that the use of the mother tongue be extended to as late a stage in education as possible. In particular, pupils should begin their schooling through the medium of the mother tongue, because they understand it best and because beginning their school life in the mother tongue will make the break between home and school as small as possible" (47-48).

The significance of the mother tongue as a MOI is emphasized and well-justified in both quotations. Thus, both ideas favor the use of MTB MLE. Skutnabb-Kangas and Heugh (2012: 2) state that the language used to teach different subjects in schools is decisive in students' educational achievements and outcomes. Furthermore, research by Blaz (2018) and Mustafawi and Shaaban (2019) has shown the global need for languages for people to communicate locally, regionally, nationally, and internationally. According to Gopang, Parveen and Chachar (2018: 207), using the mother tongue as a MOI in schools is an appropriate approach that helps

new generations not only for pedagogical purposes and to acquire external, scientific knowledge, but also needed as a crucial means of preserving and promoting societies' indigenous language.

3   The current education policy and primary education in Ethiopia

After the downfall of the Marxist military junta, the Derg in 1991, many changes were made in the Ethiopian education arena (besides others) (for a more detailed overview of the history of language policy in the education system of Ethiopia see Chali & Parapatics: 2023). Among these changes, the opportunities offered to indigenous languages that had never had the chance to be taught in schools were significant. These languages were given the right to be taught as a subject or to be used as a MOI. To that end, the current education and training policy has created an environment for primary school children to learn in their mother tongue. Regarding this, the ETP reads as follows: "Cognisant of the pedagogical advantage of the child in learning mother tongue and the rights of nationalities to promote the use of their language, primary education will be given in nationality languages" (23).

As can be seen, the policy explicitly deals with the importance of mother tongue education and the right of the children to learn in their own language. This is one of the major achievements of the Ethiopian education and training policy. In accordance with this, currently among the more than 75 indigenous languages in the country, approximately 22 local languages are used as a subject or as a MOI in primary schools (cf. Trudell, 2016: 32).

In line with this, the current policy encourages the nationality languages to be used as a MOI from grades 1-8 level. It also states the need for readiness and preparation to implement the use of the mother tongue. Regarding this, the policy reads as follows: "Making the necessary preparation, nations, and nationalities can either learn in their own language or can choose from among those selected on the basis of national and countrywide distribution" (ETP: 23).

The current Ethiopian education policy also states that English should be offered as a subject in primary schools beginning from grade 1. This means that children in primary schools in Ethiopia have to learn two or three languages including Amharic. To that end, Ethiopian primary education has a multilingual education setup in the sense of an education program offered in more than two languages or a program in which children learn three languages in primary schools. A good education policy for languages in schools builds on school children's actual linguistic resources and provides access to both local indigenous and global languages (Weber, 2014: 1).

Benson (2005: 2-3) states that many developing countries abandon the use of their own languages in schools and allow foreign languages to dominate the education system. Regarding this, the case in Ethiopia currently is different as the language of every nationality has the right to be used in primary schools provided that the necessary preparations are made.

4   Languages of instruction used in primary schooling in Ethiopia

As has been advocated strictly by UNESCO since 1953, mother tongue education is perceived as an unprecedented system of educating children. The promotion of ethnic languages to be used in formal education for the first time has been implemented since 1993 with Tigrinya,

Afaan Oromo, and Sidama. Currently, as it was mentioned before, approximately 22 languages have been brought to school as instructional media and school subjects. Table 1 summarizes these languages regarding different grades and subjects in different regions, based on the official report of the Ethiopian Ministry of Education (Heugh et al., 2007). Below this, the situation of each region is explained in details in order to identify similarities and differences in terms of native language instruction at the primary level with reference to national policy.

The aforementioned report does not include two newly established regions, the Sidama and the South West Ethiopia Peoples' Region, that have been parts of the SNNPR recently (see e.g., Yemserach Legesse, 2021). Since an official information on their languages of instruction has been not available yet, we cannot present their situation in question reliably for the time being. Therefore, we cover only nine regional states of Ethiopia in Table 1 and below, and two so-called charter cities, Dire Dawa and the capital, Addis Ababa because they have their own administration, area, budget and education policy while they are in a direct connection with the federal government. In the literature, several terms are used to name some Ethiopian languages. In the present paper, we are following the orthography that is used in the official report of the Ethiopian Ministry of Education (Heugh et al., 2007).

Regional state / Charter city	MOI at Primary I (first cycle) Grades 1-4	MOI at Primary II (second cycle)		
		Grades 5-6	Grades 7-8	
Afar	Amharic, Afar	Amharic	English	All content subjects
Amhara	Amharic, Awingi, Hamittena	Amharic, Awingi, Hamittena	English	Sciences, Maths
			Amharic, Awingi, Hamittena	All other subjects
	Afan Oromo	Afan Oromo	Afan Oromo	All content subjects
Benishangul-Gumuz	Amharic	Amharic	English	All content subjects
Gambella	Nuer, Anguak, Meshenger	English	English	All content subjects
Harari	Harari, Afan Oromo, Amharic	Harari, Afan Oromo, Amharic	English	Sciences, Maths
			Harari, Afan Oromo, Amharic	All other subjects
Oromiya	Afan Oromo, Amharic	Afan Oromo, Amharic	Afan Oromo, Amharic	All content subjects
Somali	Somali	Somali	Somali	All content subjects
			English	Sciences, Maths
	Amharic	Amharic	Amharic	All other subjects
Southern Nations, Nationalities, and Peoples' (SNNP) Region	Amharic, Dawro, Gamo, Gedeo, Gofa, Hadiya, Kafinono, Kembata, Kontigna, Korete, Sidama, Silti, Wolaita	English	English	All content subjects
Tigray	Tigrinya	Tigrinya	Tigrinya	All content subjects

Addis Ababa	Amharic	Amharic	English	All content subjects
Dire Dawa	Amharic, Afan Oromo, Somali	Amharic, Afan Oromo, Somali	English	All other subjects except Civics
			Amharic, Afan Oromo, Somali	Civics

Table 1. The languages used as MOI in different grades and subjects in different regions and charter cities of Ethiopia (the authors' work, adopted from Heugh et al., 2007)

(1) Amharic is the only MOI used in the Afar region from grades 1-6. Afar is taught as a subject from grade 1. Beginning at grade 7, the MOI for all subjects becomes English. This regional policy is only consistent with the MOE's directives for speakers of Amharic; speakers of Afar (the seventh largest language community in Ethiopia) are not able to learn through the mother tongue. There is at least an opportunity for Afar speakers to learn their language as a subject from grades 1 to 4.

(2) Amharic, Awingi and Hamittena are used as MOI in the Amhara region from grade 1 to 6, while English is MOI only for Physics, Chemistry, Biology, and Mathematics whereas Amharic remains MOI for all other content areas. For Afan Oromo speakers, the mother tongue is MOI in grades 1-8 following the example of the Oromiya region. It should be noted that speakers of native Amharic are the only ones in the country who do not learn any other Ethiopian language; all other speakers learn Amharic as their second and national language. The regional practice of mother tongue instruction MOI in grades 1-8 for Afan Oromo speakers is in line with federal policy. However, the new policy for Amharic, Awingi, and Hamittena speakers, which includes English as the language of instruction in grades 7 and 8 in some subjects, is less consistent with this policy. Regarding teacher training, regional policy is uniform for the first cycle for speakers of Amharic and presumably for speakers of other languages. However, for second-cycle teacher training, the regional policy is inconsistent, as MOI was switched to English in 2005/2006, although the native language as MOI applies to all second-cycle subjects except Science and Maths in grades 7 and 8 for speakers of Amhara and Awingi.

(3) In the Benishangul-Gumuz region, as in the Afar region, which has the lowest student performance in the country, there is still no native language instruction in government elementary schools. The policy in this region is not in line with the ETP for speakers of all languages. Amharic speakers, who make up about 20% of the region's population, receive native language instruction for 6 years instead of 8. Speakers of other languages (e.g., Jablawi/Berta, Gumuz, Afan Oromo, Boro/Shinasha, and others) are required to learn the local language as their mother tongue (instead of learning Amharic as a second language) and then English, which in both cases is not consistent with federal policy. As in the Afar region, native language instruction is not yet available in government elementary schools. However, mother tongue is used in non-formal education and some religious schools.

(4) In the Gambella region, there are three languages used in the first cycle of elementary school as MOI: Nuer, Anguak, and Meshenger. Beginning in grade 5, English becomes MOI, and teacher training is aligned with this, i.e., first-cycle primary teachers are trained in one of the three local languages, and second-cycle primary teachers are trained in English. Those who come from outside Gambella attend schools in either the Nuer or Anguak languages. Since

Gambella's regional policy does not allow a native language as MOI in the second cycle, it deviates significantly from the guidelines of the MOE.

(5) The three native languages, Harari, Afan Oromo, and Amharic, are used in the Harari region from grades 1 to 6 as the MOI. For grades 7 and 8, MOI is English for Science and Maths and the mother tongue for the other content areas. For first-cycle elementary teacher education, there are three different streams for the three MOI, but for second-cycle teacher education, the only MOI is English. The practice of language teaching in Harari Region elementary schools is in line with the policy until the end of grade 6. Since English is adopted as MOI for Physics, Chemistry, Biology, and Mathematics in grades 7 and 8, the Harari Region policy is not fully in line with the guidelines of the ETP.

(6) In the Oromiya region, Afan Oromo is used as MOI from grades 1 to 8 and in teacher training for both primary grades. Amharic is taught as a subject from grade 5. Teacher training for first- and second-cycle teachers is in Afan Oromo. School-based language practice in the Oromiya region is fully in line with the national policy in both elementary school cycles and through teacher training. Like the teaching of Amharic to students who speak other languages, Afan Oromo is apparently taught as a subject to all students in the region. This is consistent with the policy of the MOE, as well as with international examples such as Nigeria and India, where regional or state languages, also known as "ambient languages", are mandated as second languages for residents (cf. Heugh et al., 2007).

(7) In the Somali region, two languages are used as MOI: Somali for native speakers and Amharic for those whose native language is not Somali. While Somali is the only MOI for grades 1 to 8, Amharic is used for all subjects up to grade 6, but in grades 7-8, it is replaced by English for Science and Maths. As in some other regions, teacher training for first-cycle teachers is in the native language, but for second-cycle training, MOI is English. For Somalis, regional practice is in line with the guidelines of the ETP, as the mother tongue is used as MOI until the end of primary education. However, for Amharic-speaking students, it is not consistent as English is introduced early as MOI for Physics, Chemistry, Biology, and Mathematics in grades 7 and 8.

(8) In the SNNPR (from which the aforementioned Sidama and the South West Ethiopia Peoples' Region have recently split), the native languages of many groups are used as MOI, but only in the first cycle of primary education. The languages used in lower primary are Amharic, Dawro, Gamo, Gedeo, Gofa, Hadiyya, Kafinono, Kembata, Kontigna, Korete, Sidama, Silti, and Wolaita. In the second cycle, only English is used as MOI, but students whose mother tongues are Amharic, Gedeo, Gofa, Hadiya, Kembata, Korete, and Sidama learn their languages as subjects up to grade 8. The practice in SNNPR does not allow mother tongue as MOI in the second cycle, which means that it is not in line with the ETP, although speakers of most languages have the opportunity to learn their mother tongue as a subject throughout primary school.

(9) The Tigray region uses Tigrinya as MOI for all primary education from grade 1 to grade 8. Amharic is taught as a subject from grade 3. Training of first-cycle teachers is also in Tigrinya, but the training of second-cycle teachers is now exclusively in English. The regional policy for primary education in Tigrinya is fully in line with the guidelines of the ETP.

(10) Amharic is the language of instruction in Addis Ababa in grades 1-6 for all students, regardless of their native language. In the city, until grade 6, the policy of the MOE is maintained for native speakers of Amharic, but not for native speakers of other languages unless they are bilingual (i.e., they have already learned Amharic) when they enter school. The language of teacher education for both cycles is English, which is not consistent with the guidelines of the ETP for primary grades 1-6.

(11) Dire Dawa provides primary education from grades 1 to 6 in Amharic, Afan Oromo, and Somali. English becomes MOI for all subjects except civics in grades 7 and 8, while civics is offered in Amharic or Afan Oromo. Dire Dawa's practice is consistent with the guidelines of the ETP up to grade 6 but has adopted English as MOI for most subjects in grades 7 and 8, which is inconsistent. There is no government teacher training in Dire Dawa, but the private colleges offer first-cycle (certificate) programs in Amharic and second-cycle (diploma) programs in English, meaning there is some discrepancy between the language of training and MOI in lower and upper primary.

5   Conclusions and outlook

The Education and Training Policy in 1994, which is also reiterated in the current policy of the MOE, states that the mother tongue should be used throughout primary education (grades 1-8) as MOI and that teacher training should be in the "nationality language used in the area" (ETP). However, only the Oromiya region and Afan Oromo streams in the Amhara region fully comply with the ETP, as all primary education and first- and second-cycle teacher training is conducted in Afan Oromo as MOI. The Tigray and Somali regions are nearly in line with the guidelines, using the mother tongue as MOI for the 8 years of elementary school. However, both regions have adopted English as MOI for the second cycle, although teachers will teach in the mother tongue.

Further inconsistencies occur in regions that have removed their mother tongue from the teaching of some subjects in grades 7-8 in order to introduce English. MOI in Amhara and Harari regions, as well as Amharic subjects in Somali, the mother tongue is used for all subjects except Physics, Chemistry, Biology, and Mathematics, and in Dire Dawa, the mother tongue is used only for Civics. In Addis Ababa, the mother tongue as MOI has been completely removed from the curriculum in grades 7-8. Finally, least in line with the guidelines are Gambella and the SNNPR, where there is no mother tongue MOI in the second cycle of primary education, and Afar and Benishangul-Gumuz, where there is no mother tongue MOI. In Afar, the mother tongue has been introduced in alternative basic education, and in Benishangul-Gumuz there are pilot programs.

Even ignoring the early introduction of English, some regions to this day have not offered native-language instruction to certain language communities. In Addis Ababa, Afar, and Benishangul-Gumuz, for example, Amharic is used as MOI for most primary education, although it is not the mother tongue of all students. In Addis Ababa, it is assumed that all children speak Amharic, but this is not necessarily true. Similarly, in regions such as Gambella, migrant students who do not speak Nuer or Anguak must either learn one of these local languages or pay for private lessons in Amharic or English. From an educational perspective, the policy of the MOE is equal for all learners, meaning they should all have the opportunity to learn in the language they know best.

According to the ETP, teachers trained for the first cycle will teach in their native language, unless they teach English as a subject. Teachers trained for the second cycle are expected to teach grades 5-8, although MOI varies according to regional policy and practice. In most cases, teachers are prepared through training programs at mother tongue MOI where there is a match between the mother tongue training and MOI in the classroom. In other words, teachers are prepared for the appropriate mother tongue and MOI in the region. However, there is usually a discrepancy between MOI in the classroom for the second cycle and MOI in the training site that prepares teachers for that level. Most discrepancies are observed in regions where English is used as MOI from grade 7. In these regions, all teachers' training is conducted in English, although teachers teach exclusively in their native language in grades 5 and 6 and usually in their native language in grades 7 and 8.

Finally, what requires inquiry is the language policy and practice in higher education institutions of Ethiopia towards multilingualism that is our aim in the near future.

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Keresa Kumera Chali
Multilingualism Doctoral School
University of Pannonia
8200 Veszprém, Wartha V. u. 1.
karaacaalii@gmail.com

Andrea Parapatics
Institute of Hungarian and Applied Linguistics
University of Pannonia
8200 Veszprém, Wartha V. u. 1.
parapatics.andrea@mftk.uni-pannon.hu