END REVIEW OF THE CENTRE FOR ADVANCED STUDIES OF AFRICAN SOCIETY (CASAS)

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<th>Full Form</th>
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<tr>
<td>ACALAN</td>
<td>Academy of African Languages</td>
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<td>ADEA</td>
<td>Association for the Development of Education in Africa</td>
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<td>ALLEX</td>
<td>The African Languages Lexical Project</td>
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<td>ALRI</td>
<td>African Languages Research Institutes</td>
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<tr>
<td>ANACLAC (NACALCO)</td>
<td>Association Nationale des Comités de Langues Camerounaises</td>
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<td>ANLoc</td>
<td>African Network for Localisation</td>
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<td>AU</td>
<td>African Union</td>
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<tr>
<td>CASAS</td>
<td>Centre for the Advanced Study of African Society</td>
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<tr>
<td>CROBOL</td>
<td>Cross Border Languages (Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Botswana)</td>
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<td>CSO</td>
<td>Civil Society Organisation</td>
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<td>EthioLing</td>
<td>Vernacular languages in Ethiopian schools</td>
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<td>IDRC</td>
<td>International Development Research Centre</td>
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<td>LBT</td>
<td>Lutheran Bible Translators</td>
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<td>LOI/MOI</td>
<td>Language/Medium of Instruction</td>
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<td>LOITASA</td>
<td>Language of Instruction in Tanzania and South Africa</td>
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<td>LoL</td>
<td>Language of Learning</td>
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<td>Acronym</td>
<td>Full Form</td>
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<tr>
<td>MoU</td>
<td>Memorandum of Understanding</td>
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<td>NACALCO (ANACLAC)</td>
<td>National Association of Cameroonian Language Committees</td>
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<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-governmental organisation</td>
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<td>NLPF</td>
<td>National Language Policy Framework, RSA</td>
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<td>NLS</td>
<td>National Language Service, RSA</td>
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<td>NORAD</td>
<td>Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation</td>
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<tr>
<td>NUFU</td>
<td>Norwegian Programme for Development, Research and Education</td>
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<tr>
<td>OAU</td>
<td>Organisation of African Unity (Disbanded 2002, replaced by AU)</td>
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<td>OSISA</td>
<td>Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa</td>
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<tr>
<td>PanAfriL10N</td>
<td>Pan African Localisation Resource Wiki</td>
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<tr>
<td>PanSALB</td>
<td>Pan South Africa Language Board</td>
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<tr>
<td>PRAESA</td>
<td>Project for the Study of Alternative Education in South Africa</td>
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<td>RSA</td>
<td>Republique of South Africa</td>
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<tr>
<td>SADC</td>
<td>Southern African Development Community</td>
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<td>SANTED</td>
<td>South Africa-Norway Tertiary Education Development Programme</td>
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<tr>
<td>SIK</td>
<td>Centre for Intercultural Communication</td>
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<tr>
<td>SIL</td>
<td>Sumer Institute of Linguistics/Société International de</td>
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<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Full Name</td>
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<tr>
<td>SIU</td>
<td>Norwegian Centre for International Cooperation in Higher Education</td>
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<tr>
<td>UCT</td>
<td>University of Cape Town</td>
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<tr>
<td>UIO</td>
<td>University of Oslo</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNESCO</td>
<td>United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation</td>
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<tr>
<td>UWC</td>
<td>University of the Western Cape</td>
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<tr>
<td>UZ</td>
<td>University of Zimbabwe</td>
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Summary

Being a donor-funded NGO in the South, the Centre for Advanced Studies of African Society (CASAS) is unusually assertive. It operates according to a clear-cut agenda and a narrowly defined field of work. Its niche is linking language and development. CASAS’s aim is to make the spoken languages of Africans the languages of education, administration and culture. CASAS has singled out one main obstacle for this to happen, which is the large number of orthographies that are used to write African languages.

CASAS’ great idea is that the languages spoken by 90% of the total population of Sub-Saharan Africa could be grouped in 23 cluster languages. If the languages within each cluster were written with the same orthography, the mutual intelligibility among people speaking with each other would be reflected also in writing. This has practical implications that may be conducive to education, empowerment, and participation. Therefore, CASAS has received substantial funding from donors who see the link between mother tongue use and development.

In case harmonised orthographies are approved and implemented by the authorities, and made use of by ordinary readers, they are likely to result in larger markets for written publications in African languages, among others educational materials. Teaching primary school pupils in African languages known to them enhances cognition and learning. On the basis of this line of thought, Norway has supported CASAS since 2004. The support amounts to a total 9.1 million NOK (1.15 million Euros), of which 8 million NOK since 2007.
The Norwegian support constitutes between 50 and 75 pct of CASAS annual budgets in the period.

During the agreement period (between CASAS and NORAD) 2007-2010, CASAS has produced a large amount of outputs, mainly in the form of workshops, linguistic studies and educational and informational material. CASAS has been able to retain its position as a communication node and publishing centre for African linguists.

NORAD funding has been implied in a large number of publications, 95 of a total publications list of at least 250 titles. So far, 23 standardised orthographies have been published and an additional five are in the pipeline. This means that three of four African countries are covered with standardised orthographies. Most of Southern and Eastern Africa is covered, with the exception of some languages in Kenya and Somalia. CASAS’ director estimates half of Western Africa to be covered.

The problem is that so far CASAS’ outputs have failed to be picked up by users (which would have been an outcome, to use evaluation vocabulary). The new orthographies are hardly used outside the project sphere organised by CASAS itself. Uganda and Zambia are exceptions. Here, materials using the harmonised orthographies are being used in schools. In Zimbabwe, books have been printed, but await a formal approval. The Zimbabwean case illustrates the problems encountered in most of the countries in question. It has proven much easier to prepare books explaining how orthographies might be
harmonised, to print mono-lingual text-books and primers, and arrange workshops for writers and teachers than bringing about the changes of policies and legislation needed to introduce the new orthographies beyond the project sphere. So far, the new orthographies have not been put to use. The obstacles are mainly political, while CASAS approach is primarily scientific.

By insisting on harmonised orthographies, CASAS is secluded from what could have been a wider pro-mother tongue advocacy coalition. Although CASAS argues well in favour of strengthening African language use through orthographical harmonisation, there is very little demand for it.

CASAS as such is a very small organisation, and the advocacy work in each country and language cluster is supposed to be made by the network associates. The CASAS director appoints “point men” to be CASAS contact point and lead the local network. As soon as the harmonisation process has gone beyond the first stage and a unified standard orthography has been produced, there are no clear structures for taking the work further, beyond producing a few texts and making books and booklets. This gives rise to concern. At the present stage CASAS should feel an acute need to find ways to bring its orthographies out of the workshops and into everyday language use. Background documentation shows that NORAD all the time has been worried about certain aspects of CASAS. These concerns have been followed up through regular questions to CASAS’ reports. When NORAD chose to work with CASAS, it knew that immediate outcomes could not be expected to the same degree as when NORAD supports education in already existing African written languages.
Applying a long-term strategy, taking what critics might call a detour via harmonised orthographies, CASAS needs time. This, combined with the fact that CASAS has been able to engage a wide network of African linguists and produce outputs, makes the review team recommend continued funding. This funding, however, must be made contingent upon CASAS’ ability to draw the line for its production of outputs and concentrate on creating outcomes. Likewise, CASAS must concentrate on certain language clusters, and link up with ACALAN.
1 Introduction

1.1 Briefly on CASAS, the Norwegian support and the Review

The Centre for Advanced Studies of African Society (CASAS) is a Cape Town-based NGO that promotes African languages all over the continent apart from the Arab-speaking regions. It was established in 1997. CASAS’ scope and political profile is Pan-African, and its scientific focus is linguistics. CASAS’ great idea is that the languages spoken by 90% of the total population of Sub-Saharan Africa could be clustered into 23 cluster languages, in fact 12-15 such languages would suffice for 75-85 percent of the population. Cluster languages are languages whose linguistic commonalities and mutual intelligibility can be established through linguistic analysis.

CASAS’ activities can be grouped in four:

- Harmonisation and standardisation of cluster language orthographies
- Promotion of local languages in basic education
- Production and dissemination of literacy textbooks, textbooks for citizenship education, vocational and out-of-school training
- Publication of research on African linguistics and language policies

Given CASAS’ bold objectives and broad range of activities, the size of the NGO’s staff is modest. With a director and two full-time administrative personnel, the NGO is small in terms of personnel. For two years, until August 2010, CASAS had an assisting director.
CASAS works through its network of researchers. In twenty countries CASAS has a “point person” who is at the head of a group of network associates. It has spacious premises, modern facilities and offers excellent working conditions for visiting scholars.

The founder and director of CASAS, Professor Kwesi Kwaa Prah, is careful not to dilute the core mission of the centre to fit “donor whims”. CASAS is running projects that are primarily language projects. The development of African languages and their use in all social fields is regarded as a crucial factor for development, as expressed in numerous research findings and in policy documents and political statements on the national, regional and Pan-African level. Norway has been a keen supporter of mother tongue education in Africa.

CASAS has received substantial funding from donors who see the link between mother tongue use and education and empowerment. Norway, however, is by far the biggest contributor (NOK 9.100.000 since it started supporting CASAS in 2004). Most of the support (NOK 7 + 1 million) was given in the three year project period 2007-2010, which constitute between 50 and 75 pct of CASAS annual budgets in the period. The Norwegian support is given as a basic grant to support CASAS activities.
1.2 Baseline 2006

The present technical review covers the period from 2007 to 2010. The NORAD agreement to support CASAS was based on a review carried out by SIK (Stavanger-based Centre for Intercultural Communication) in 2006.

By 2006, CASAS had functioned in its present form for 8 years and was well established in its centre in Cape Town, much as it appears today. The staff consisted of 2 full time employees and several persons working part-time.

Dr. Kwesi Kwaa Prah was head of the organisation, doing personnel management and coordinating the research activities of the centre and the network of scientists engaged in CASAS work. He wrote proposals for funding and took care of relations with funders, and he was responsible for developing and maintaining contacts with stakeholders such as researchers at universities, policymakers at various levels and civil society stakeholders and NGOs.

Grace Naidoo was the secretary of Professor Prah and the administrator of the centre, doing daily book keeping and archiving of documents. She coordinated the practical side of workshops, contacting members of the network and doing travel arrangements. She also typed manuscripts for publication and did some layout work.

Michelle Boysen worked as receptionist, doing phone calls and taking care of mail, in addition to book sales. In addition a book keeper and a taxation
advisor were engaged on a part time basis. A caretaker lived on the premises, for security reasons.

The activities of the centre lay along two main lines, though these were, and are, closely interacting with each other. One line was the work of harmonisation of language clusters all over Africa which was already well under way. Nine unified standard orthographies had been produced and more were in the pipeline. The work was done by the extensive network of CASAS, rather than by Professor Prah himself. In a letter of Oct 26, 2005 from CASAS to NORAD, a list of network associates and their institutions are given. There are at this point 95 persons. Among the institutions nearly 50 universities and some national language institutes all over Africa are listed, together with the curriculum development centre in Zambia, 2 community telecentres (ICT services) and 3 NGOs.

The other line was the extensive publishing on a number of issues, notably the use of African languages in education on all levels. In 2006, the number of publications had reached 43 in the book series, 60 in the monograph series and 21 in the occasional papers series, and a further 20 titles in the series of Notes and Records. Many of these books are edited volumes where linguists express their views on vernacular languages in schooling in their particular country, setting forth arguments, citing research results and advocating for the use of African languages as opposed to the old colonial languages. Other books are concerned with the issue of cross border languages, debating the necessity of bringing languages varieties together when they have been needlessly
separated. Others again are clarion calls to Africans to be proud of their heritage and make active use of their languages.

Funders at this time (2004-6) besides NORAD, was the Ford foundation, UNESCO, Evangelische Kirche Deutschland (scholarship programme). The Ford foundation (Institute of international Education or Special initiative for Africa) had been the most stable funder since the start in 1998, though divided into several shorter or longer periods; other funders had shorter projects. Funding was thus not stable, which was a problem for long-term planning.

1.3 The programme theory, its critical junctures and NORAD’s concerns

CASAS’s aim is to make the spoken languages of Africans the languages of education, administration and culture. “No society historically has developed on the basis of another society’s language”, CASAS’ director says claiming that “the success of Africa is based on language”.

The masses in Africa are disempowered for many reasons, one of them being the fact that their own spoken languages are not languages of status. This status is accorded to languages inherited from colonial powers. It should, however, be borne in mind that social barriers may exist between closely related African languages as well.
Teaching primary school pupils in a European language they may have only been occasionally exposed to before is not conducive to cognition and learning. Basing itself on solid, although not uncontested, research literature that substantiates this assumption, the Norwegian government, through NORAD, has supported CASAS in its endeavours to strengthen African languages. The specific activities supported by Norway are the following: Technical workshops on orthographical harmonisation, teachers and writers workshops, educational manuscripts, educational books and productions, and some administrative costs.

1.3.1 The programme theory

We have used the concept of programme theory, or intervention logic, as a practical tool throughout the study. The programme theory is based on the following sequence:

\[( \text{input} \rightarrow \text{activities} \rightarrow \text{output} \rightarrow \text{outcome} \rightarrow \text{impacts} \)\]

In line with the Terms-of-Reference, this review will be looking at outputs (like number of orthographies harmonised), but focus the attention on whether the purpose of the activities has been achieved. This means we will look mainly for outcomes. In other words, we will discuss in what ways the outputs have been used and to what extent they are in line with the project objectives.

We have sought out the causal links between what the activities do (how they do it) and what they achieve. Doing this we have distinguished between the
causal links, or results chains, that have been assumed and those that actually have been in operation.

The broader goal of the Norwegian support has been scientific, technological and economic development in Africa. The intermediate goal has been improved results in schools. The means to improve education has been to strengthen the position of African languages as teaching languages. So far, the line of thought is uncontroversial. When it comes to how these languages may be strengthened, the issue becomes more complicated. NORAD could have chosen to work with an organisation that is hands-on with the educational system and that take the existing African literary languages as their point of departure, and therefore could start to work with schools from Day 1. CASAS is neither of this. In stead it aims at reforming African orthographies first, and its main interface is with the community of African linguists.

Practical orthographies, CASAS argues, is one of the basic preconditions for African written languages to gain ground. Today’s orthographies are impractical because they divide Africa into an unnecessarily high number of written language communities. Therefore, CASAS has set out to harmonise all the major clusters of mutually intelligible languages in Africa in order to remove differences in their spelling systems. This way, CASAS claims, information will get more accessible and government costs will be reduced. Within education one could expect publishing costs to be reduced and African language textbooks become more competitive vis-à-vis the books marketed by large English- and French-language publishing houses.
In fact, orthographical harmonisation weakens two of the main arguments against the use of African languages in schools, which are the lack of written teaching material and the costs of using a large number of languages (“economy of scale”). The validity of CASAS’ economic argument, however, hinges on the ability and willingness not only to harmonise orthographies, but the literary languages as such. Network associates in Zimbabwe for instance, argued that the standardised orthography for Shona would allow for more varieties of that cluster language to be used in writing.

CASAS’ intervention logic is clearly divided into phases, or sequences:

**Step 1:** Orthographies of mutually intelligible languages are harmonised by the most competent mother tongue linguists in a given language cluster. Basing itself on mother tongue linguists, questions of mutual intelligibility are solved easily. The work takes place in 3 to 5 workshops, the number of workshops depending on the level of expertise “on the ground” within each language cluster. In most of the cases the knowledge base in already published material is sufficient and no additional field work is needed. The result of the work is published in booklets that follow the same template for all language clusters. Also other linguistic material, like mono-lingual word lists and glossaries are produced.

The orthography is now an inventory of graphemes that accommodates all the varieties. Instead of one narrow way of writing a cluster language, e.g. Shona, based on very few dialects, the new inventory of letters can accommodate all the varieties. This means that there will actually be more differences in writing, but the different variety users can still read a text written in another variety,
because there are systematic correspondences of sounds from one dialect to the other.

**Step 2:** Publications written with the rules of the new orthographies are prepared and printed by handpicked and capable authors. Writers and teachers are “workshopped” in order to prepare for writing the new way. Primers, undergraduate textbooks and informational material on subjects like domestic violence, gender equality and HIV are written.

**Step 3:** The advocacy work with language boards and national curriculum centres to have the new orthographies authorised is being carried out by CASAS’ network associates in each country, i.e. by the linguists themselves.

**Point men**

One of the core functions within the harmonisation programme is fulfilled by the so-called “point men” (on their gender profile, see chapter 3.3). They are CASAS’ contact point and lead the local network of linguists. The point men are selected by the CASAS director. The CASAS Board is not involved in the selection. The selection criteria are: a) scientific qualifications, b) dedication and commitment to the CASAS work and c) acceptability within the local CASAS network. There is no formal procedure or a call.

Point men do not receive salaries although they receive honoraria for specified job. They may cover more than one country. The point men and the other network associates engage authorities in discussions and invite them for
workshops. Well aware of the potential for controversy, CASAS headquarters as such do not work with the authorities of the countries in question.

The fact that the orthography exists and that it has been used in some publications, is expected to help convince authorities. For the general readers to adopt the new orthographies there is probably a longer way to go. In many countries people are not accustomed to the idea of reading – not to mention write – in an African language instead of French, English or Portuguese. Having to do it in a new orthography is not necessarily going to make the first steps easier.

The actors involved in CASAS programme theory could be classified as providers, executors, target groups and decision-makers external to the programme.

The providers, then, would be the African linguists, whose work is being refined and made publishable through workshops offered through CASAS. The main outputs of this work are the harmonised orthographies although other publications on African linguistics also result.

The writers and teachers in the network constitute the group of executors. They are the ones who actually put the new orthographies into life by writing and teaching in them, i.e. transforming the outputs into outcomes. The impact of their endeavours, as we have seen above, depends on factors external to CASAS.
Before having reached out to the *target groups*, i.e. readers, pupils and students, CASAS has not accomplished its goals as they have been outlined for the donor. In order to prepare the ground for reaching out, CASAS has had to work with *decision-makers external to the programme*, more precisely educational authorities and publishers.

*CASAS’ intervention logic is clear, but risky.* In case the national authorities do not approve the new orthographies, schools will remain unaffected. To use the evaluation vocabulary introduced above, outputs (harmonised orthographies, mono-lingual text-books, primers) will not yield outcomes (someone actually using the new orthographies). The project objective is intensively political since it hinges upon the willingness of the authorities in the countries of Sub-Saharan Africa to change orthographies. They may be convinced by linguistic arguments, but are likely also to take political considerations. There may be groups that are committed to the existing orthographies. And the idea of creating stronger cross-border links may not always be approved despite the fact that the African Union endorses the idea. The new orthographies are in need of a strong *advocacy coalition* to become established. This coalition has to include, or at least be linked up with, publishers.
1.3.2 Donor concerns

Ever since Norway started funding CASAS, NORAD has been concerned about certain aspects of CASAS’ profile and activities (see also chapter 2.3). The concerns have been voiced clearly since the outset of Norwegian support in 2004. Proposals and reports from CASAS have been followed up by remarks and questions from NORAD. For instance, NORAD’s comments (letter of 22 February as well as Meeting 14 June 2007) to CASAS’ November 2006 proposal for a five-year project contains a request that CASAS strengthen its advocacy work, focus on harmonised primers as well as better results reporting, including monitoring and evaluation mechanisms. CASAS was requested to provide a more detailed budget showing the costs of each type of activity, and that the contributions from other donors be indicated.

NORAD saw a great risk in CASAS dependency on other institutions and personnel to do the linguistic work. Likewise, on the background of its experiences from supporting CASAS on an annual basis since 2004, NORAD asked CASAS to present a selection of results (outputs, outcomes as well as impact) since the establishment of CASAS in 1997. NORAD apparently also was worried about a possible geographical overstretch. Referring to SIK’s 2006 review NORAD encouraged CASAS to combine its pan-African approach with a geographical concentration on Southern and Eastern Africa.

NORAD has been eager to see results of CASAS’ work in actual use. In the Joint NORAD-CASAS meeting in July 2008, NORAD encouraged CASAS to target language stakeholders, like churches, publishers and other print media, curriculum development units and language associations. Also, CASAS was
invited to popularise the development of monographs and primers to create awareness of CASAS’ orthographies. This, in fact, must be seen as a concern on the part of NORAD that the project lacked interaction with the institutions that are indispensable if linguistic outputs are going to be converted into real-life outcomes and impact. (The 2009-2010 Report refers to a shift in CASAS’ publication profile from books about African languages into books in them.)

Linguists who were called upon to review CASAS’ 2006 application questioned the realism of CASAS’ grand project, that of clustering languages orthographically, within a three year period. The reviewing linguists did not find much in terms of real understanding of what it takes to establish dictionaries as a linguistic tool, neither of what technological resources are available and indeed needed for professional dictionary making.

The possibility that speakers of smaller languages may object to being swallowed into larger languages and that larger languages may be unwilling to accommodate smaller languages has not been addressed by CASAS. Moreover, the reviewers would have liked CASAS to be more explicit about its actual role and that of its cooperating partners. One of them wrote: “It is a little unfortunate that the verb “produce” is used indiscriminately both from CASAS and from former reviewers in relation both to existing and planned products, because the role of CASAS in relation to each publication remains obscured.” In fact the reviewer missed a clear overview of what was done on CASAS’ own budget and what was contributed from its partners in terms of time, efforts and funding. This goes to the core of the question of what “value is added” by CASAS operating as a hub (communication node) and publishing centre.
To sum up, donor concerns have been quite constant throughout the period of Norwegian support. NORAD has been worried about CASAS’ role as a catalyst. The recurring themes have been the realism of the project and whether CASAS is ready to operate as a political player to secure the use of harmonised orthographies in education. The vagueness on outcomes – e.g. on the uptake of project materials by African government authorities – in CASAS’ annual reports to NORAD does not reduce the worries.

1.4 Outline of the Review and its methodology

The structure of the Review fits to the logic outlined in the Terms-of-Reference. The discussions of relevance, effectiveness and sustainability have got a chapter each. An overview of the field of African linguistics, research on languages and language developments is given in the chapter on relevance and a list of relevant centres constitutes Appendix 2. The Review’s last chapter consists of conclusions and recommendations.

The Review has been carried out within a framework of 40 man days. The Review team consisted of three members. Political scientist Dr. Jørn Holm-Hansen (Norwegian Institute for Urban and Regional Research – NIBR was team leader. Linguist Dr. Bjørghild Kjelsvik (University of Oslo) was team member with a main responsibility for linguistic issues. Cand. polit. Øystein Lund-Johannessen (Centre for Intercultural Communication) was quality assurer. Holm-Hansen and Kjelsvik spent nine days each on field work, visiting Cape Town, Grahamstown, Pretoria and Harare.
The team has gone through a relatively large number of publications on African language issues as a background for the study of CASAS. This has been necessary to meet the demands of the T-o-R asking particularly for an assessment of the relevance of CASAS’ activities and CASAS’ role in a wider context.

NORAD provided the team with all the necessary project documents at the outset of the Review work. Together with the team’s background insight in African language problems, the project documents formed the basis for the elaboration of Interview Guides. In all, 16 interviews were carried out with 32 persons. For a list of interviews, see Appendix 1.

Interviews were of three types: Semi-structured interviews, group interviews and group interviews/observation. A validation session was made including Professor Prah and the review team at the end of the field work.

Field work in South Africa and Zimbabwe allowed the team to get acquainted with one African country where the idea of orthographical harmonisation and literary use of African languages has weak political support and one country where the political climate is more benevolent to the idea.
2 Relevance

2.1 Multilingualism, language development and harmonisation in Africa

Africa is a large continent with a large number of languages spoken by different groups and often not at all following state boundaries. Societies and individuals are highly multilingual; in fact monolingualism is rather the exception than the rule. In this landscape of strong multilingualism CASAS is operating to reduce the diversity and diminish the number of written language forms in a bid for stronger African unity.

2.1.1 The many languages of Africa – but how many?

The actual number of languages in Africa is a contested question. Ethnologue.org, a website owned by SIL International (Summer Institute of Linguistics/Société Internationale de Linguistique), now cites 2110 languages, up from 2035 in the year 2000. Other linguists caution that any precise number of languages, in Africa or elsewhere, is hard to calculate. Some confusion arises simply from the fact that one particular variety may have several names: the name used in administration, the group’s own name for their language, and some names haphazardly glued onto the group in linguistic surveys. Sometimes all of these are counted. Then again, many African languages straddle borders, as the European powers dividing up Africa between them were not particularly concerned with keeping language communities together. Later on, some of these languages have acquired different written varieties in different countries. Smaller linguistic divisions within a country have on the other hand sometimes been used by authorities to divide and rule. This
appears to be one of the reasons why the Nguni and SeSotho languages of Southern Africa are counted as several languages instead of two.

The number of languages is contested not only because of real problems of counting as cited above, but also because numbers play such an important role in language policy and planning. Numbers of languages and speakers are often tied to ongoing power struggles: a large number of languages in a country can be used as an argument for sticking to the old colonial language as an official language, a policy usually favouring the existing elites. On the other hand, the ‘linguistic rights’ discourse of preserving intangible cultural heritage can be used as a lever for getting funding and rallying support for certain ethnolinguistic groups. The numbers problem also concerns the number of speakers of each language. In Africa it is often problematic to count speakers in the usual way as first language or second language speakers of some defined language. In stead many people, especially in urban areas, are multilinguals from they learn to speak, with an extended repertoire of linguistic codes to draw on in everyday life.

Professor Prah has consistently criticised the high number of languages cited for Africa, claiming that missionaries in general and SIL especially, are wrongly augmenting the number of African languages for their own ends (see below).
2.1.2 Language – intangible cultural heritage vs. means of communication

Language is often considered to be the main identification feature of any human social group. This idea leads to a policy of saving ‘ethnolinguistic groups’ through documenting and developing their languages. Missionary societies are among the most active agents in this field. For many years, SIL, the Lutheran Bible Translators (LBT), and other missionary organisations, Norwegian among them, have had a clear agenda of reducing hitherto unwritten languages to writing, be the group speaking the language ever so small and insignificant. Use of a regional lingua franca has not been considered sufficient for such groups neither for purposes of evangelisation nor for general societal development.

The idea is also present in organisations with no religious goals, such as UNESCO. In fact, Norway has recently funded a UNESCO project called “Capacity-building for safeguarding languages and oral traditions and expressions in Sub-Saharan Africa,” which seeks to address the perceived threat to linguistic diversity in Africa through documentation, research, teaching and development of practical materials for education and communication in the public space. The project is part of the effort to preserve intangible cultural heritage. Participants in the project include a number of universities, linguistics institutes and some NGOs in Sub-Saharan Africa, and it was co-organised with ACALAN (African Academy of Languages). Such developments show the growing concern within African societies themselves on the issue of endangerment of African languages, in this case safeguarding the cultural heritage present in and through smaller languages now under pressure by other languages.
Somewhat in contrast, there is also another movement going on, towards gathering together languages in clusters in order to get larger linguistic communities with a common written language. This is possible to do through harmonising alphabets and spelling conventions for languages that orally are mutually intelligible. The strategy is supported by the African Union through the work of ACALAN, (http://www.acalan.org/). CASAS’ harmonisation project belongs of course in this movement.

The movement of clustering languages acknowledges the multilingualism of African society more clearly than those exclusively campaigning for linguistic rights of ethnolinguistic groups. Their point is that when individuals readily speak several languages, one or more of which are major languages, it is useful for individuals to read and write these major languages rather than only a more local language somewhat arbitrarily defined as their first language. Targeting major languages for educational use also make them truly useful as means of communication in society, as larger groups can use it as a means of written communication.

In major linguistic groups, cross border or not, large scale publishing can better pay off and larger numbers of people can get access to knowledge in a written or digital form, thus hopefully enhancing their lives. According to CASAS, (Prah 2011), up to 90 % of the African population could be reached through merely 20+ language clusters, although for many people the language they understand within that group would be a 2nd or a 3rd language. Other agents make longer lists of major languages, such as the list of 159 community languages published by UNESCO in 1985 (Southern and Northern Africa not included), or the linguist Ben Elugbe of the University of Ibadan’s list of 50
cross-border languages. In any case, these lists are a far cry from the over 2000 languages cited on Ethnologue.com.

From the point of view of societal development there are clearly good reasons to focus on widely spoken languages. This does not necessarily mean that people belonging to smaller ethnolinguistic groups will feel bereft of their identity, as they most likely will continue using that language alongside others. Neither does it mean that certain language death will strike languages with a small number of first language speakers, whether the language is written or not. However, this must be considered for each case, as other factors pertaining to language viability may come into play.

2.1.3 Language policies of Africa – short historical overview

Within the highly multilingual societies of Africa, we find that historically the educational system, the administration and the public services have followed a monolingual model, rather than a multilingual one. In most cases the former colonial language was, and is, the only language used in these domains.

As would be expected in such multilingual societies, there are numerous organisations and institutions involved in the field of language and language development. In earlier times different missionary societies were the most active in the field of African languages, while colonial authorities mostly dispensed education for Africans using the colonial language. This was very much the case in Francophone and Lusophone countries, and somewhat less so in countries governed by the United Kingdom. In the Anglophone countries local languages were used to some extent in primary schooling, while English was obligatory in secondary schools. Italian was used to some extent on the horn of Africa, but the Italian presence was not long enough to leave lasting linguistic marks. Mass education was in any case not important goals for the
colonial powers, so educational facilities were often kept to a minimum, catering only to the needs of the administration.

A fact often forgotten in the African discourse on colonial languages is the hegemonic role played by some indigenous languages such as Fulfulde in Western Africa. After the wide-ranging Fulbe conquests of the Islamic jihad in the early 1800s, this language became the administrative, trade and military language for large areas, while more local languages lost prestige and were relegated to less important domains. Also Ethiopia was never a colony, but here the Amharic language of the ruling elites was imposed on other groups. These African languages functioned for all intents and purposes as ‘colonial’ languages in their day, and still retain some of their former status (Omoniyi 2009). As for use in education today, they are more attainable than e.g. English or French for those raised with it as second or third language, but they may still constitute a barrier for optimal learning conditions. Their use may also be resented by the groups formerly oppressed by elites speaking these languages.

After WW2 the European colonial powers embarked on a process of social development, schooling included. Most African countries attained independence around 1960, with the notable exception of the Portuguese colonies (mid-70s). After independence the tradition of using the colonial language as medium of instruction in education was carried on by most countries. Reasons given for this are both the easier access to educational materials in these languages as compared to the much less developed national languages, and the more ‘neutral’ position of the foreign language as compared to choosing a national language. The effects of about 80 years of heavy indoctrination on the advantages of the European languages and the deficiencies of local African languages must also be taken into account: the
European languages in Africa very clearly had a hegemonic position and were used in all important domains, while African languages were denigrated as primitive and uncivilised “dialects” or “patois”, not fit for any serious use. The continued use of the colonial languages was also tied to the many connections and dependencies of the young African states to the former colonial powers. There were thus few nation states in Africa which sincerely took up a programme of using African national languages in education after independence. However, Guinea-Conacry and Tanzania both had programmes of using African languages in education based on a socialistic emancipation ideology, but these programmes were abandoned after 10 to 15 years, in both cases going overboard as a result of a shift in the political ideology and power.

Today the elites already educated in a foreign language will have an interest in carrying on using it in schooling as it gives their own class an advantage. The “languages of wider communication” or “international languages” are seen as important tools for getting ahead by all layers in society, thus creating a strong demand for learning them. In most cases, learning these languages well is seen as equivalent to using them as media of instruction in schooling, the earlier, and the better.

2.1.4 Dependence on outside funding
A somewhat striking feature of the field of African languages in education is thus the longstanding dependence on outside funding and engagement with these issues. One would think that governments and regional institutions would jump to take on the responsibilities and reap the benefits so often listed in discourse on these themes, but as late as 1997, the Harare Declaration of the intergovernmental conference on language policies in Africa still mostly
looked to UNESCO and other external sources of funding when it came to the action plans for implementing the goals of the declaration.

However, during the 90s there was a growing awareness of the role of language in general development issues, and more adequate language policies were coming into existence in several countries. Some of these processes were results of political upheavals, such as the Ethiopian decision of 1991 to recognise the right of nations, nationalities, and peoples to develop their languages for primary education and other functions, as part of the new political structure of ethnic federalism in the country. Another example is South-Africa where the end of the apartheid regime and the new constitution of 1996 placed 9 new national languages in the group of official languages together with Afrikaans and English.

Other countries have had more peaceful processes leading to a new formulation of the role of African languages within the state, such as Cameroon. In the new constitution of 1996, national languages are for the first time talked of as a positive inheritance which should be protected and promoted. In 1998 the new law of education takes up the same theme of promotion of national languages and later on various decrees on education has brought up of the position of national languages in the school system. Grass roots organisations such as the National Association of Cameroonian Language Committees now use these openings to promote using the mother tongue as the language of instruction in the first three years of primary school at least.

Universities and other research institutions have also become steadily more prominent actors in the last 30 years, as policy makers and educators alike have come to realise that a thorough linguistic description and a scientifically developed alphabet and orthography are prerequisites to a successful
introduction of new languages in education. Dictionaries are another aspect of language development which needs some expertise to make. Across Africa there are now a number of scholars taking an interest in such research. Some of them have entered into partnerships with universities of the North, benefitting from both external expertise and knowledge transmission and from funding.

The African Union has become a more active agent in these processes. Its forerunner Organisation of African Unity (OAU) took active part in the Harare meeting, and since 2002 AU has taken other initiatives, such as the creation of the Academy of African Languages (ACALAN).

However poor the African nation states, there are clearly huge sums of money at stake in the production of educational materials. The push for English (and French and Portuguese) as languages of instruction in schools is partly caused by heavy lobbying on the part of European publishers who want to hold on to these markets.

### 2.1.5 Linguistics and language developers in Africa

Historically, many of the organisations working with African languages have been missionary societies wanting to use African languages in order to reach Africans with a Christian message.

CASAS claims that missionaries have substantially added to the number of African languages by their practice of setting up a new orthography for every dialect they came across. Some of this is clearly true, as missionaries from different countries in Europe often did not cooperate, each fashioning orthographies based on the spellings they were used to in their own language. In other cases dialects across borders were not known to the missionaries.
However, there are also examples of reverse processes, the present standard orthography of Shona in Zimbabwe being a case in point. Historically, the standard orthography of Shona is a result of the work by the linguist C. M. Doke, commissioned by the Bible Society who did not wish to have the Bible printed in a number of fairly similar editions, if one single would suffice; in other words, if there was a missionary initiative to enlarge the number of languages in the area, it was stopped by a similar structure. For at least the last 30 or 40 years there has been an awareness of the wisdom of checking out dialects before making orthography decisions in those missionary organisations actively involved in language development, such as SIL International (Summer Institute of Linguistics / Société Internationale de Linguistique) or LBT (Lutheran Bible Translators). As in the Shona case, missionary societies are very cost-conscious, thinking twice before multiplying the number of languages they work with.

A great number of organisations both Protestant and Catholic were involved in missionary work. In many cases the different organisations agreed on some division of the field so that each society would have its own defined area instead of several societies working in parallel in the same area. In other cases, conflicts arose, and societies had competing activities in the same area; this kind of setup notably involved Protestants and Catholics before the softening of the Catholic positions after the 2nd Vatican council in the early 60s.

The missionaries must in any case adhere to decisions made by the colonial administration. These sometimes favoured a certain society, or restrained missionary activity to a minimum for fear of creating religious unrest, especially in strongly Moslem areas. In any case it was difficult for missions to organise their work across borders; they had to remain within the state where
they had been accepted by the colonial authorities. However, there are examples of such border crossing activities: the American Lutheran Church was e.g. able to work among the Gbay on both sides of the border between Cameroon and the Central African Republic, possibly facilitated by the fact that both of these countries were administered by France. The colonial administrations themselves had little interest in establishing close connections across borders when the other side was administered by another colonial power.

Missionary societies of all denominations generally involved themselves in education, primary and secondary, both in order to evangelise students and to cover their own need for indigenous workers, but also often with a view to contribute to the general development of the communities they worked in. They used and taught both local languages and the colonial language in their schools, the local language to better reach the students and the colonial language in order to give the students access to further education. The chance to learn the colonial language was also a main motivation for going to school for many of the students, as they saw this language as a key competence for getting ahead. In Francophone and Lusophone countries, the colonial authorities strictly demanded the use of French or Portuguese only in school, while in Anglophone countries a practice of using an African language of learning for the first years prevailed.

Language policies under these circumstances were not marked by coordinated efforts to establish workable orthographies for a maximum number of speakers of several dialects, or indeed to develop any literature at all in any African language. The status of the African languages was generally low, while the colonial language had a position of total hegemony, especially in the
French and Lusophone colonies. The study of African languages thus often had little support in the countries concerned. Instead, linguists from Europe and the USA contributed extensively to this field, describing languages and developing Africanist linguistics. But their work was based on an outsider’s point of view: the goal was to write studies for other linguists, or to write materials enabling foreigners to learn the language in question. The speakers of the language were not targeted. Grammars and linguistic descriptions were thus written in an international language rather than in the language studied, and dictionaries and glossaries were bilingual rather than monolingual.

Missionaries were part of this trend, in their constant effort to communicate with people around them. One important reason to make dictionaries and grammatical descriptions was the need to teach the local language to new missionaries. As time passed, missionaries’ efforts to describe African languages and put them into writing were more guided by professional linguists. Organisations such as SIL and LBT have put much effort into giving their missionaries a linguistics training which could enable them to carry out the linguistic analysis necessary for creating alphabets and literacy materials for unwritten languages, alongside producing Bible translations.

After the independence period of the early 60s, institutions of higher education were created in most countries. Some had existed before, often as external colleges of universities in the colonial power in Europe. The University of Ibadan (1948) in Nigeria and the universities of Nairobi, Dar es Salaam and Makerere (1963) all started as independent colleges of the University of London. Portugal had a similar development in Angola and Mozambique (1962) resulting in the University of Luanda and the Eduardo Mondlane University, respectively. France had no comparable institutions. Tertiary education was
however seen as very much the province of international languages, and little effort was made to develop African languages for such uses. To the extent that linguistics department existed, many seem to have been carrying on the traditional Western study of African languages as exotic and abstract linguistic systems, and not as everyday media of communication. This picture may also be due to the problem of exchange of results of the actual work on African languages going on in many places, as scholarly exchange and access to the wider scholarly community have not been easy obtainable for African linguists.

2.1.6 On harmonisation and standardisation

Reviewing some of the documentation on harmonisation and language development efforts all over Africa (available at http://www.bisharat.net/Documents/index.html), it is possible to see the appearance of CASAS in 1998 as answering to an already growing awareness of the importance of the use African languages in all domains, and the need for going beyond the divisions made by colonial borders and administrative divisions of language groups. This trend of harmonisation has been persistent, but never strong enough to push the objectives of harmonisation through to more definite results.

Harmonisation of African orthographies is not a new idea, it is in fact quite succinctly expressed already in the *Practical orthography of African languages*, published in 1930 by the International Institute of African Language and Culture, see http://www.bisharat.net/Documents/poal30.htm. Many of the recommendations in this memorandum were followed, so that there is a certain likeness across the continent in the writing of African languages. The problem of differing was not solved however, and in the 60s and 70s several meetings organised by UNESCO were held for the region of West-Africa, each
contributing to the effort of harmonising and standardising African orthographies. The idea was to find “an agreed system for the transcription of African languages and also to bring into line the various transcription systems of one and the same language or of languages belonging to the same family.” (Meeting in Niamey 1978)

Cameroon is one country with national guidelines of orthographies for all its languages (Tadadjeu and Sadembouo 1979), and this must be consulted when hitherto unwritten languages are reduced to writing. A Pan-Nigerian orthography was developed in Nigeria in the 1980s.

In West-Africa generally the orthographies use the Latin alphabet with extensions of special letters and diacritics, often taken from the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). In South Africa the trend has been to use only the Latin alphabet as is, with no extra letters; here digraphs and trigraphs are extensively used to cover the necessary sounds. The languages of South Africa are already more or less harmonised as far as the alphabet is concerned, but spellings and word choices are still different from one language variety to the next within the two large groups of Nguni and Sotho languages. The languages within each group are mutually intelligible, and ability to read in one language is said to give access to reading in the others as well, much like the situation in Scandinavia where Danish, Swedish and Norwegian are mutually intelligible though differently spelled.

On the efforts of harmonisation of cross border language, we should also mention that work on the Oshikwanyama (Angola and Namibia), Silozi (Namibia and Zambia) and Setswana (Namibia, Botswana, South Africa) language groups was underway in 1996 as witnessed by the report from the regional workshop held in September 1996 at the National Institute for
Educational Development in Okahandja, Namibia. Some of the persons present there are now found in the CASAS network.

In contrast to CASAS Pan-African profile, most of the movements towards harmonisation of orthographies mentioned above are confined within national borders. In order to truly take on harmonisation of cross border languages, a continental or at least regional commitment to the goal must be reached.

The African Union through the ACALAN is a new actor in this field, with a quite different leverage towards member states at its disposal. ACALAN has among other things focused on empowerment of Vehicular Cross Border (VCB) languages and sees harmonisation as one of its objectives towards the goal of making “African languages true working languages in a multilingual context”. ¹

2.2 CASAS’ project activities - relevance and demand

In spite of the perceived need all over the continent both for more use of African languages in society, and the occasional expression of a need for harmonising orthographies, CASAS receives no funding from African sources. The lack of African funding reflects the comparably weak demand for harmonised orthographies from the continent itself. It is not easy to catch sight of anyone pushing for orthographic harmonisation and standardisation outside CASAS’ own network, with ACALAN as a notable, but quite recent exception.

As mentioned above, ACALAN is moving in this direction now. They have not opted for direct use of the materials made by CASAS during the years, though. Instead they go about it in their own way, setting up new language committees for the VCB languages (ACALAN Synthesis Conference: Draft Report 6th Feb 2009). The committees shall have 10 members, of which 5 are linguists, language educationists and other professional language users, and 3 are writers. Importantly, 2 members shall be drawn from the relevant regional economic, linguistic/cultural organisation. ACALAN's list of VCB languages is substantially longer than CASAS' list but they are focusing on 12 languages for a start. Significantly, they are able to draw political authorities into this work on a much larger scale than CASAS. On the other hand, the harmonisation work of CASAS seems to provide many of the why's and how's of ACALAN's activities in this field. However, no formal agreement of cooperation or partnership exists as yet between ACALAN and CASAS.

Instead the demand for CASAS' work has come from developmental and democracy-building agencies and organisations, notably NORAD, and even they do not support CASAS primarily for its harmonisation programme, but for its expected results in promoting the use of African mother tongues.

If we return to the four categories of actors involved with CASAS outline above – linguists, teachers/writers, pupils/students, authorities – the demand is gradually diminishing from the former to the latter. However, in some cases decision-makers have developed a certain interest. Although African governments have been reluctant to co-finance CASAS, some of them have entered into cooperation with the organisation on the basis of its activities.
CASAS has a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) with two countries, Zambia and Uganda. CASAS reports that the fact that NORAD’s support has been consistent, has made it possible to engage with authorities. At the same time NORAD’s insistence on CASAS linking up with authorities has been crucial. The MoUs are direct results of NORAD’s conditions for supporting CASAS.

2.2.1 Partners under MoUs

In Zambia, the Curriculum Development Agency is a direct partner. Namibian educational authorities have asked for CASAS assistance in developing materials in the Khoisan language. Also Swaziland, Angola, and Nigeria are cooperating with the local CASAS networks. NGO’s in Botswana are good partners. Three countries (Uganda, Zimbabwe, and Zambia) have let CASAS develop school books in harmonised orthographies.

In Zimbabwe the Ministry of Education, Sport and Culture and the Ministry of Higher and Tertiary Education have been involved from the outset. Although there is a draft MoU between Zimbabwe’s Ministry of Education and CASAS, the authorisation for using the harmonised version of Shona in Zimbabwe has been long in coming and is still not in place. One of the reasons is that introducing new educational material to accommodate a new orthography would be costly, at least in the short term. Moreover, the new orthography subsumes the Kalanga speakers under Shona, which is controversial and, among others, touches upon the rivalry between Shona and Ndebele in the country.
In fact, the Ministry of Education in Harare now wants CASAS to re-draft the MoU. The text was discussed in the Cabinet Committee on Legislation early 2011. The Committee raised objections against harmonisation. The draft MoU’s reference to “provision of harmonised Shona texts” was taken as an attempt to standardise Shona, which, according to the Cabinet Committee has bad connotations. The Ministry recommends that the MoU refer to accommodation, inclusion, varieties etc.

In South Africa, where CASAS has its headquarters by reason of the country’s good infrastructure, orthographical harmonisation certainly is not on the agenda. One reason is that the authorities pursue a policy of “English first”; another reason is that the big languages, like isiZulu and isiXhosa are well established and their speakers consider themselves to be culturally distinct. This is despite the fact that they understand each others’ spoken and written languages. The review team’s interlocutors in Pretoria tended to reject the harmonisation idea point-blank, and even education in African languages was no obvious idea.

Despite the fact that CASAS has been met with little enthusiasm in the ministries of education for its harmonisation strategy, the organisation has not changed its strategy. It has not been looking for new ways to make itself relevant as a promoter of written African languages. Orientation, activities and goals are unchanged although there are several alternatives to orthographic harmonisation.
As reported from e.g. Rhodes University, there is a huge need for glossaries and terminology guides in African languages to help students catch the concepts presented in the English-language curriculum. Likewise, PRAESA (the Project for the Study of Alternative Education in South Africa) has published multi-language books for children. These are books in which stories are rendered in several mutually understandable South African languages, with one story in one language and the next in the other. It turned out that children would read both without difficulties. CASAS could have applied a similar model for scholarly prose.

Similarly, the spoken language – through the radio – could be used as a vehicle for making people aware of cluster languages. Through radio different groups get used to hearing each other’s way of speaking and increases mutual intelligibility through exposure. Radios are widespread also in rural areas where TV’s and printed material may yet be scarce. And airwaves cross borders.

2.2.2 The case of the Kalanga-speaking group

As argued elsewhere in this report, clustering languages and harmonising orthographies will hardly be possible without being confronted with some objections from “stakeholders”, i.e. users of the languages in question. Their view may not coincide with the supposedly purely scientific and linguistic approach applied by CASAS. Power bases and power balances are more often than not – at least partly – linked to ethnic or linguistic definitions.

In fact, if CASAS grand project were to be brought beyond the circle of linguists directly involved, or if it were to be implemented on a large scale, there is
reason to believe several disputes would follow. The vehement protests voiced by spokespersons of the Kalanga-speakers serve as an illustrating case.

Kalanga is a Bantu language spoken in Southern Zimbabwe and in Botswana. It is counted among the 9 “co-official” languages of Zimbabwe. This does not mean too much, however, as in the Zimbabwean context there is a quite clear linguistic hierarchy. English is on the top as co-official and administrative main language. Then Shona and Ndebele as co-official national languages follow, both enjoying large numbers of speakers. In third place the rest of the co-official languages come, among them Kalanga. A further 10-12 languages are recognised as minority languages in Zimbabwe, but without any official use.²

The harmonised orthography for Shona was published by CASAS in 2006 (Unified Standard Orthography for Shona Language Varieties, CASAS Monographs 37). The work was led by CASAS’s own Andy Chebanne, himself a native Kalanga-speaker, and co-author of “Kalanga – Summary Grammar” (CASAS Book Series no. 75 2010). In line with mainstream opinions, Kalanga was subsumed under Shona by the CASAS network operating in Zimbabwe. This was done by including graphemes for specific Kalanga sounds, and the harmonised Shona alphabet now includes ‘l’ and ‘x’ to accommodate the needs of Kalanga speakers.

This inclusive gesture was not received well by all Kalanga-speakers.

Although the idea that Kalanga should be subsumed under Shona is supported by Kalanga-speakers in Botswana, where this affiliation gives them some weight against the dominating Tswana, this is not the case in Zimbabwe. Zimbabwe’s Kalanga-speakers have their stronghold in the South together with

² See http://www.tlfq.ulaval.ca/axl/afrique/zimbabwe.htm
the Ndebele against the Shona. As Zimbabwe in practice has pursued a ‘regional monolingualism’ in schooling, the Kalanga have learned Ndebele rather than Shona at school, and thus feel this language as closer to their identity. The monograph subsumes the Kalanga speakers under Shona, which is controversial and, among others, touches upon the rivalry between Shona and Ndebele in the country. Many Kalanga feel they would come in the shadow of Shona by being lumped together with other Shona dialects.

Although many Kalanga see their language as a Shona variety, there is a strong current that rejects this thesis. They can draw on the seminal work of professor Clement M. Doke, a Bantu Studies professor at the University of the Witwatersrand. In 1927 he was asked by the Rhodesia Missionary Society to develop Shona orthography. He concluded that Kalanga was too different phonologically from Shona dialects to be classified as Shona.

The fact that some representatives of the Kalanga-speakers in Zimbabwe protest vehemently against being subsumed under Shona, whereas Kalanga-speakers in Botswana are positively inclined to CASAS’ efforts, illustrates the inherent potential for the creation of new divergences within language communities as the unintended effects of orthographical harmonisation.

In August 2010 NORAD received a letter from the Kalanga language and Culture Development Association (KLCDA) that warned against funding CASAS. KLCDA promotes the teaching of Kalanga at all levels of education, and supports the development of Kalanga language literature for use in education.

While working on harmonising Shona to accommodate Kalanga, CASAS never contacted KLCDA, and even rejected to meet them, according to the latter.
KLCDA accuses CASAS of preparing for the extinction of Kalanga as a separate language.

It is not the task of this Report to verify the statements of neither of the sides, but to point at the vulnerability of CASAS’ harmonisation project caused by the organisation’s tendency to ignore political issues. A part of this a-political approach is reflected in CASAS belief that orthography is standardised if a groups of distinguished scholars say so.

In the Zimbabwean case, the authorities who have been supportive of CASAS project, now apparently see some potentially adverse implications.

In fact, the Ministry of Education in Harare now wants CASAS to re-draft the MoU. The text was discussed in the Cabinet Committee on Legislation early 2011. The Committee raised objections against harmonisation. The draft MoU’s reference to “provision of harmonised Shona texts” was taken as an attempt to standardise Shona, which, according to the Cabinet Committee has bad connotations. The Ministry recommends that the MoU refer to accommodation, inclusion, varieties etc.

2.2.3 Potential allies – SIL and ACALAN

CASAS has some potential allies in the broader promotion of African languages, like SIL, and more importantly ACALAN. SIL is faith-based and non-profit. It is a major organisation in the field of identification and documentation of languages not only in Africa, but all over the world. Although SIL and CASAS agree that mother tongues ought to be supported, the two organisations operate according to a very different notion of how languages should be standardised, and even on how to define “language”. SIL wants to help people from having to sacrifice what it calls “their God-given ethnolinguistic identity”
of which it claims there are more than 6,900 in the world. As noted in 2.1., CASAS believes this number is heavily inflated by SIL’s own efforts to “raise regional language varieties into languages with a Bible”. In fact, the director of CASAS holds SIL to work in the opposite direction of the one chosen by CASAS.

ACALAN (African Academy of Languages) was established in 2006 and is affiliated to the Department for Social Affairs of the African Union Commission. Being an AU body, ACALAN has potentially a strong political leverage. ACALAN’s objective is to foster Africa’s integration and development through the development and promotion of the use of African languages in all domains of life. One of ACALAN’s main objectives, reflecting AU policies, is to strengthen Vehicular Cross-Border Languages. In other words, ACALAN and CASAS have overlapping objectives. CASAS’ director was a member of ACALAN’s first Board, and gave the keynote address at the first meeting of ACALAN.

The fact that ACALAN has been established (nine years after CASAS), and that the African Union emphasises the importance of cross-border languages, make CASAS’ work more politically relevant than before.

CASAS has invited ACALAN to make use of its scientific results for the purposes of strengthening the use of African languages, but has not taken any initiative for a closer cooperation although CASAS considers its cooperation with ACALAN in e.g. Nigeria to be good. The lack of cooperation is unfortunate because AU and ACALAN, despite all their possible deficiencies, are the
organisations that may help bringing CASAS’ linguistic works into policies on a larger, inter-state scale. In fact, the AU policies of strengthening border straddling languages (in fact, very few languages in Africa are not cross-cutting borders) were referred to as being of great relevance by representatives of educational and language authorities in both South Africa and Zimbabwe. In Pretoria, one of the review team’s interlocutors was surprised SADC had not been brought in, e.g. in the case of Shona. If the three countries with Shona-speakers, all three members of the Southern African Development Community (SADC), have bought into the initiative, they could make use of the SADC framework to set up an agreement, and then start working on Shona as a border straddling language.

However, neither in Harare nor in Pretoria the review team’s interlocutors were convinced CASAS fits into the picture. In Harare, representatives of the authorities told the review team that ministerial efforts might well be concentrated along the ACALAN track to the detriment of the bilateral relations to CASAS. Likewise, in Pretoria CASAS was not widely known.

As seen from the point of view of African linguists, CASAS could have made itself more relevant. Although CASAS indisputably has contributed to the sustainability of the African linguist communities, its mode of operation has not been optimal. Things move at different paces and have different phases in different places. Network associates in countries that are ahead of the mainstream complain that CASAS holds back groups who want to push on, because it wants to concentrate on orthography. Also the fact that the CASAS headquarters have a very small staff has made it less relevant than it could
have been. One or two trained linguists in the permanent staff would probably have been helpful.

2.3 The role and relevance of the Norwegian support to CASAS

The reports from CASAS during the agreement period show the importance of NORAD’s support in the years from 2007 to 2010: activities were substantially increased, the network of linguists was widened, more staff was engaged and a certain change towards stronger dissemination and advocacy efforts can be observed. NORAD was not the only funder in this period, but its support was large and with its 3-year horizon provided more stability to the work.

The contract between NORAD and CASAS furthermore established some guidelines for CASAS’ work. These were further detailed in the annual joint donor meetings. In addition to the jointly agreed harmonisation work, NORAD requested a much stronger focus on the evaluation and monitoring of progress, and on advocacy in order for the new orthographies to make an impact through actual use. NORAD also asked for a stronger geographical concentration with a view to avoid strain to the capacities of CASAS. CASAS agreed to these guidelines.

In carrying out its activities, CASAS did make changes in their work. At the first joint donor meeting in Cape Town July 28-29 2008, different persons gave evaluation and monitoring reports on the work in 9 countries of Eastern and Southern Africa. However, all the reporters were associates of the CASAS network, and maybe more along the general lines of reporting on work done
than actually evaluating the progress from an outcomes perspective. The remarks from the audience were incorporated into the minutes and a more formal list of recommendations was drawn up.

The remarks consistently asked for more involvement on CASAS’s part with language stakeholders such as language associations, churches, book publishers, NGOs, government curriculum development units and print media. It was not specified if this involvement was expected to go through the CASAS Centre, or through associates in the various countries. Furthermore, NORAD asked for more activity ‘on the ground’: encouraging writers in language communities to write on their own social issues, facilitating para-commercial activities in language promotion, popularising books, and on the whole develop clear plans to facilitate the engagement of grass roots communities in the activities of CASAS.

CASAS clearly tried to meet these requirements, and the narrative report of 2010 has no less than 25 attachments with minutes and reports from workshops and various bodies engaged in harmonising and language development efforts in 11 countries. These reports show the wide variation in the work ‘on the ground’ but also to some extent the true importance of the associate network: they are the ones doing most of this work, and the centre in Cape Town does not seem to be as strongly involved in all these activities. As long as everybody agrees to call this CASAS’ work, there is no problem. The money funnelled through the CASAS network has clearly had an impact on the activities and meeting cited. The role of NORAD as funder to this kind of
activities through the channel of CASAS alone is one factor which keeps the associates going along with the ownership claimed by CASAS.

NORAD funding has been implied in a large number of publications, 95 of a total publications list of at least 250 titles. These publications are variously in the unified standard orthography series, books containing linguistic studies relevant to harmonisation, grammars of particular languages, some written in the languages concerned, and books on language policy and the general debate on the use of African languages. To the extent that this literature is read and used, NORAD’s role has been beneficial to the general field of research on African languages with a view to users and usability of these languages.

The relevance of the Norwegian support hinges on the relevance of the work done by CASAS and its network. Due to the somewhat informal nature of the network, it is quite possible that many positive factors in the work of dissemination going on in the field never reach the CASAS reports. One example is the ordinary teaching done at universities and teacher colleges in Zimbabwe by network associates, where the harmonised orthography of Shona is discussed and promoted: this has reached at least 3-400 students over the years. It is still a long shot to claim that the project’s general goal has come much closer: the goal is the effective use of African languages to enhance education and development, ultimately leading to the scientific, technological, economic and social development of Africa. But then again there is hardly any quick fix to the problems of Africa, and the work of CASAS
supported by NORAD has had a number of beneficial consequences. It is hard to see any directly negative sides of the work.

2.4 Summing up

In the field of language development in Africa, and especially for education, there is a growing awareness of the necessity to use more African languages instead of the former colonial languages traditionally used. This is often seen as impossible due to the large numbers of languages involved. However, the question of the number of languages in Africa is often tied to ongoing power struggles: a large number of languages in a country can be used as an argument for sticking to the old colonial language as an official language, a policy usually favouring the existing elites. On the other hand, the ‘linguistic rights’ discourse of preserving intangible cultural heritage can be used as a lever for getting funding and rallying support for certain ethnolinguistic groups.

CASAS’ project is to contribute to a positive development of African societies through the harmonising and standardisation of African languages, making them more suitable tools for reaching the African masses in a language they can understand. The rationale for this lies in the idea that though not everybody can use their first language for all purposes, most have access to more widely used languages as second or third language users. These widely used languages are often cross border languages and are often written in several different ways, making written communication more difficult than it need be.

The insistence on harmonised orthographies is CASAS’ genuine contribution to the promotion of African mother tongues, but at the same time what secludes it from the broader field of pro-mother tongue actors on the continent. From a
logical point of view CASAS’ strategy is valid. Harmonised orthographies would be conducive to larger language communities. On the other side, there are several political obstacles to the implementation of harmonised strategies. For those eager to promote the use of African languages in all walks of life before it is too late, this makes CASAS’s way a risky detour. For them, making use of already existing orthographies and standards appears as a more realistic strategy. Therefore, convincing authorities and the population that African languages should be used is more urgent than convincing them about the need for an orthographical reshuffle.
3 Effectiveness

3.1 CASAS’ outputs and their outcomes

In chapter 1.3 above, we discussed CASAS’ programme theory and touched upon outputs and outcomes. Below, we will discuss the extent to which the purpose of the activities has been achieved. In other words, have CASAS’s activities strengthened the role of African languages in education, administration and culture? We will assess the quality and quantity of outcomes and the strategies to disseminate them. Also the issue of unforeseen consequences of the activities will be addressed.

On output – in terms of numbers of seminars, workshops, and not least publications – CASAS has accomplished a lot. This is well documented in CASAS’ own reports to NORAD.

Three of four African countries are covered with standardised orthographies. Most of Southern and Eastern Africa is covered, with the exception of some languages in Kenya and Somalia. CASAS’ director estimates half of Western Africa to be covered. So far, 23 standardised orthographies have been published and an additional five are in the pipeline.

Standardised orthographies is perceived as the first step while the second step is to produce material making use of new orthographies, e.g. school books and monographs on issues like bird flu etc. School books have been produced in Zimbabwe (Shona), Zambia (all official languages) and Uganda. Newspapers in
Malawi use harmonised orthographies in between ("we workshopped them") and so does Zulu papers, and a NGO Magazine in Mozambique.

Although CASAS has been able to print several publications in the new orthography, the organisation reports it has had problems getting writers and teachers engaged beyond workshop activities. Only about 50 per cent of the teachers and writers having attended workshops “have tended to produce literature for use”, according to CASAS’ Final narrative report for August 2007-2008. The review team does not find this figure alarming. On the contrary, if one of two workshop participants actually produces literature not only for use, but literature that actually is made accessible to readers, it is a good score. The question is whether this is actually happening. Is the literature really being read by a wider audience? In Malawi, CASAS has taken this question seriously by running a Pilot Adult Literacy Initiative for newly alphabetised citizens. One of the measures taken was to let them read the informational material produced by CASAS. This, however, took place in the customary workshop setting, not in a real-life setting. The project report (dated November 2009) notes it as a great achievement: “The adult learners argued that they wanted to read the materials even at their own free time at home”. In other words, the use of harmonised orthographies only exceptionally happens outside the “workshop sphere”.

The exposure of potential readers to written African languages in the new orthographies is very weak. CASAS limits its publishing activities to scientific and informational literature, and has not considered translating or supporting
the writing of fiction in new orthographies. The informational booklets are not distributed through NGO’s working in the fields covered by the booklets.

**Conclusion**

CASAS states in its Narrative Report 2009-2010 that its understanding with NORAD is that the central purpose of the project is harmonisation of all the major clusters of mutually intelligible languages in Africa. Having harmonised 23 orthographies and five more to come, by and large CASAS has been able to reach its main goal. In the process of achieving this, CASAS has stimulated research, cooperation and publication among linguists who are native speakers of African languages. The existence of a strong network of linguists is important as a factor to strengthen the sustainability of African languages in general and the harmonised orthographies in particular.

So far, however, the harmonised orthographies have not led to an increase in the use of African languages in education and administration. Among others, this is due to the fact that the uptake of project materials by African government authorities is negligible, and CASAS’ strategies to find other channels for disseminating materials in harmonised orthographies could have been more innovative. In other words, outcomes have failed to materialise. In this perspective, the project has not served its purpose so far. There is a lot of political as well as commercial/publishing work still to be done by the networks of linguists within each or the language clusters. CASAS with its small staff cannot play the key role in the “outcome leg” of the programme.
3.2 Facilitating and impeding factors

Throughout the report we have touched upon factors that impede CASAS in its goal attainment as well as pointing at the institutions that may be sceptical to CASAS strategies. Here, we will analyse the impeding as well as the facilitating factors.

Historical, structural, political as well as organisational factors structure the field on which CASAS manoeuvres. At an operational level, it is mainly the two latter factors that can be handled by CASAS.

The historical paths leading to Africa of today have relegated African languages to a status as oral language only, with poorly developed written version. This may be an obstacle to CASAS’ strategies, but when it comes to CASAS aim of orthographical harmonisation it might well be a facilitating factor. CASAS has an enormous advantage operating almost on virgin ground. With a few exceptions African languages are not being used in written on a large scale. Reading habits do not create resistance like it would in say, Scandinavia, if someone suggested a harmonisation of the Swedish and Norwegian orthographies although the rational arguments to reduce the orthographical obstacles to reading each others’ languages are no less valid in Scandinavia than in Africa.

Structural factors, e.g. class issues, influence strongly on the prospects of African languages. As long as “middle classes “are politically dominant and in practice, if not always rhetorically, are “distinguishing” themselves through
proficiency in the “colonial language” CASAS and other mother tongue proponents are going to struggle. Introducing new frameworks for language use is inherently a political issue. ANC’s pro-English policies in South Africa can hardly accommodate CASAS strategies. CASAS activities may easily be accused of supporting Shona expansionism within Zimbabwe and neighbouring Shona-speaking regions. These are just two among several possible examples to illustrate the political contents of CASAS activities. Also economic issues may be of importance, like for instance the question of whether there is money to be saved as a result of having harmonised orthographies. Also organisational factors, related to CASAS’ own capacities, are of importance.

The table below presents the main factors that structure CASAS field of manoeuvring:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Facilitating</th>
<th>Impeding</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Historical</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The weak traditions of African written languages, which make people more ready to accept new orthographies</td>
<td>The habit of seeing African languages as a mainly oral medium of communication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Structural</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The fact that, when classified</td>
<td>The strong status of “the colonial</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
according to mutual intelligibility among native speakers, most African languages can be grouped into a small number of cluster languages, and the “middle classes’” use of these languages to distinguish themselves from the “masses”

<p>| Political |
|------------------|---------------------------------|
| The need to improve African basic education, and the strong evidence that for younger children, being taught in the mother tongue is conducive to learning | Fear among parents that being taught in African languages makes their children less capable of learning “colonial languages” |
| The possibility to link African language use to political strategies of democratisation and national pride, but also populism | Promoting the use of African languages may have disintegrating effects |
| Economy of scale resulting from one orthography per language cluster | Costs of: a) printing educational material in African languages instead of using already existing material in English, French or Portuguese; b) retraining teachers and writers in using the new orthography exchanging |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The objective of supporting the use of African languages can easily be linked up with broader developmental strategies to strengthen education, promoting democratic participation etc.</th>
<th>The use of African languages is not necessarily what influential groups want to happen; reference to language clusters and thereby strengthening cross-border links and thereby changing power balances between ethnic groups as well as between neighbouring states may discourage governments from embracing CASAS’ strategies.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>It is possible to save money with less orthographies because the market potential per produced book will increase.</td>
<td>It is far easier and cheaper just to rely on the already existing materials in colonial languages (professional publishing houses exist).</td>
</tr>
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**Organisational**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CASAS is non-governmental and therefore able to act</th>
<th>Although communicating well with relevant authorities in</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>independently and flexibly</strong></td>
<td><strong>several countries, CASAS is totally dependent on the goodwill of these authorities to implement its policies</strong></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CASAS has a high scientific legitimacy through its Africa-wide network</strong></td>
<td><strong>CASAS’s agenda positions the project in the midst of several political tugs of war. Nonetheless CASAS relies primarily on the strength of purely scientific arguments</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CASAS is acknowledged among linguists as a useful centre arranging meetings and publications</strong></td>
<td><strong>CASAS is understaffed (three staff, including one with a scientific background)</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.3 CASAS’ own capacities and gender profile

With its chosen model of a small-staffed centre acting through a large network of associate researchers, CASAS has been able to carry out much of its agenda. The core of this work is to harmonise language varieties which are close to each other, often called language clusters.

3.3.1 Scientific capacity

The Director has for many years consistently and with great force spoken out on issues not only of language in primary schooling as such, but the whole issue of taking pride in a great linguistic and cultural heritage and using it for the good of all Africans. He is a well respected man, a nestor in African research and strongly Pan-Africanist in outlook, and he has been able to use this position to build up the CASAS network of researchers from all over Africa. However, his field of research is anthropology rather than linguistics, though his research interests and knowledge are broad.

The network, on the other hand, consists of the people who do the actual linguistic work of harmonisation and standardisation. As for the competence of these linguists, Professor Prah states that the majority have a PhD, and that many are longstanding professors, at least those with which CASAS work on a more continuous basis. Some are younger people; about 50% have obtained their PhD less than 5 years ago. There are at present 211 network associates (April 2011); this is more than double the number given in 2006, when a list of 95 persons was submitted to NORAD (see 1.2). The majority at that time was affiliated to various universities all over Africa, and there is no reason to think that the situation is much different now.
3.3.2 Doing harmonisation and publishing research

The closeness of language clusters has often been assessed through the use of linguistic surveys counting the percentage of cognate words and other similarities. This method can miss out on the actual lack of mutual intelligibility between closely related languages, and must be balanced with further research targeting this. Another method for ascertaining the closeness of language varieties is to audio record texts in one area and play them for speakers of another area to see if they understand it and recognise it as the same variety. This Recorded Text method is quite time-consuming if done properly through controlling for all factors other than language coming to bear on understanding.

In CASAS’ method for harmonising closely related languages, Professor Prah has rather come to rely on mother tongue linguists speaking the varieties in question. Sometimes there may be fairly large differences in the phonological systems, but if the differences are systematic they do not necessarily hinder communication, much like the many varieties of /r/ or the different pronunciations of /a/ in Norwegian dialects do not bother Norwegians talking to each other. Differences in vocabulary are often less disturbing to the native speaker than to someone who comes from outside. In short, those who speak the language varieties will know for themselves if they can communicate easily with each other. As linguists they will be able to discuss which phonemes (distinctive sounds) are common to all the varieties, which are particular to only some of the varieties, and how these differences should be handled in writing. CASAS’ present director is also negative to the recorded text method – this is hardly necessary when linguists with a more intimate knowledge of the language are brought into the work, according to him.
The network groups coordinated by CASAS thus seem to be capable of handling the work involved in unifying and standardising orthographies in a scientifically sound manner. The many orthographies produced bear witness to this capacity, and so does a number of volumes published along the road, where linguists discuss orthographical questions of particular languages, such as *Language across borders* edited by Felix Banda, where 7 authors discuss several aspects of a unified orthography for Bantu languages in Malawi and Zambia. These books are valuable not only in the specific process going on, but also as input for other similar processes, and for Africanist linguistics generally. The capacity of the CASAS Centre to act as a publication outlet for African linguists and other scholar is important and real, and they use the normal scientific procedures of peer reviewing for their publications.

Professor Prah specifies CASAS’ procedures of peer reviewing in a mail of June 24 2011. There are 3 reviewers per publication, some of whom come from the CASAS network, but not necessarily. CASAS use, however, mainly mother-tongue linguists who are professors and lecturers in African universities, as competence in the languages in question often is an important feature for reviewing CASAS publications. But there is no hesitation to find reviewers worldwide if the publication treats other subjects not requiring mother-tongue competence. The author is given no indication of the identity of the reviewers. Some indication what to look for in each case is given to the reviewers.
3.3.3 Language technology competence and dictionaries

One competence somewhat lacking in the centre is up-to-date knowledge on language technology and desktop publishing. Some staff competence in the use of digitised linguistic corpora and suitable database software for dictionary making would have been very useful in the further development of the associates’ groups, enabling them to go much further in their efforts to create useful learning materials. Examples of large-scale projects of this kind are the ALLEX and CROBOL projects in Zimbabwe and Mozambique (see Appendix II). Another example is the bi-directional Zulu-English school dictionary produced by a team lead by G.-M. Schryver, which for the first time takes into consideration that school children need a simpler dictionary set-up than the traditional roots- and-derivations usually used for Bantu languages.

This kind of work is today way beyond the capacity of CASAS, and does indeed maybe require the large resources found in a university-publishing house joint project. However, even the much simpler software for linguistic databases and dictionary making Toolbox³, provided by SIL, seems to be unknown to the staff and the associates of the network, though it would help considerably in a small-scale desktop production of dictionaries. Also the steadily more common Unicode fonts for writing African languages seem to be unknown. Even not needing to use them themselves, the CASAS staff should know of existing possibilities in order to direct associates to such resources.

Still, during the years of its existence, CASAS has published no less than 7 monolingual dictionaries. Five were general dictionaries and two more specialised (a rhyming dictionary in Setswana, and an etymological dictionary for loanwords in Fon). They were all initiated and compiled by different linguists and language specialists working in various African universities, or in one case, in the National Curriculum Development Centre (Zambia, the SiLozi dictionary). The work has been done over long periods of time ranging from 4 to 10 years, and with the use of extensive text collections (books on various topics, school books, earlier dictionaries, newspapers and magazines), internet searches, and also transcripts of oral language in radio and TV emissions and the collection of modern speech forms in urban and rural areas and from different generations. In other words, while these dictionaries have not been made with modern corpora methods, there is no reason to think that they were not properly compiled by competent scientists. CASAS’s role has been to publish these books, after helping with the last phase of editing, corrections and finishing touches. The dictionary compilers have themselves approached CASAS in order to get needed support and resources for publishing.

When it comes to wordlists and glossaries, frequently mentioned as a goal in the various project proposals and reports to NORAD during the years, Professor Prah states in a mail of June 24 2011, that no such glossaries have hitherto been produced. It appears that such work must be initiated by network associates who both see a need for them in their language, and have the capacity to carry out the work. There is no question of rushing into producing wordlists with too little time and effort.
3.3.4 Language policy effectiveness

Each associates’ group is built around the concern for a certain language cluster, but usually with associates from several countries. They thus discuss implementation and dissemination of their work more widely than would have been the case for one-country groups only. This feature may, on the other hand, make their initiatives for implementation less efficient by being less tailored to the particular conditions of the countries involved. At the end of the day, the associates from each country must approach their own authorities in order for the new orthography to have the desired impact, such as use in education. In four cases, CASAS has been able to broker agreements with authorities in specific countries: they have a memorandum of understanding with the National Curriculum Development Centres of Uganda, Namibia and Zambia, and one not yet signed with Zimbabwe. The CASAS centre must however always toe the line of promoting a new orthography which may change self-perceptions of several groups within the country, while not appearing to come from outside and meddle in internal affairs. This certainly makes for caution and sometimes outright unwillingness to enter into policy discussions between the CASAS Centre and national authorities. The expected role for CASAS would here be to develop the competence of national associates through workshops targeting language policy and advocacy issues beyond the proceedings of the workshops of harmonisation. This does not seem to have happened.

3.3.5 Dissemination of the work

Another question is the large-scale publishing efforts needed to truly disseminate books for the general public using the new orthography. As for school textbooks, they must in any case await decisions of school authorities
on the orthography. CASAS to some extent do encourage writing of textbooks, through their teachers-and-writers workshops, and it is certainly wise to have something ready if the new orthography should be authorised for general use in schooling. When approved, however, textbooks can well be handled by ordinary publishing houses working with textbook productions. This would also allow normal remuneration of authors. In any handover of publishing rights from CASAS to a commercial publisher, CASAS should see to getting royalties for authors into the contract, as this would encourage further work.

However, other books for the general public could well be published by CASAS directly. Today there are comparatively few such titles. The practice of doing small print runs and the limited storage capacities for their books also makes for fewer dissemination possibilities of these titles, although CASAS does claim to have printing-on-demand options ready.

A series of booklets on different societal issues published in Shona may serve as an example. In these books questions such as marriage contracts and customs, child abuse, HIV/AIDS and domestic violence are treated. A set of books was given to police stations in the Midlands province of Zimbabwe, and their assessment was that these books could well be used to inform the public of rights and obligations. Unfortunately, the books are not generally available except on the CASAS internet bookshop and by directly visiting their office (but see below on book sales). There has been no further effort on the part of the CASAS Centre to furnish the Zimbabwean branch with a stock of these books, enabling them to sell them to a larger audience in Zimbabwe. The booklets do not seem to have had a large print run, and they thus stay somewhat
expensive for the general buyer. This kind of clogging up of the dissemination chain is a disconcerting example of the constraints arising from the limited capacity of CASAS.

Another possibility for dissemination of the work in South Africa lies in the decentralised educational system of that country. In effect, all schools have for years been left to decide for themselves which language to use, and to a large extent what textbooks to choose. This situation has lead to a steadily spreading use of English as language of learning. With a set of textbooks in e.g. the harmonised version of the Nguni languages, it would have been possible to contact primary and secondary schools directly to sell the books. CASAS Centre staff certainly has not done so, and would also be too small. Neither does it seem that CASAS has looked into the possibility of using South African associates of CASAS for this, or enter into more established cooperation with e.g. PRAESA, who are directly active in schools.

On request from the review team an overview of book sales in the 3 first months of 2011 was produced. Revenues from book sales range from about 10 000 R to 14 000 R per month. Some of the customers are other book stores buying single copies of 20 to 30 titles of the CASAS stock for resale (Van Schaik Bookstore, Clarke’s Bookshop). There are also an example of an African university ordering 40 copies of one book, the *Comparative Bantu Phonology and Morphology* by Lazarus Miti, and a Texan institute of applied linguistics ordering single copies of the unified standard orthographies and some other linguistic studies for their library, an order of 28 books. The sales are both through the internet and directly from the CASAS office.
3.3.6 Capacity of providing research facilities

CASAS does provide facilities such as desk-space and the use of their library for visiting scholars who need a place for a period to work on some specific project. The scholars must have means of their own. The names of 8 different scholars are cited on the CASAS website as visiting scholars for longer or shorter periods from 2007 to 2009.

CASAS also provides fellowship grants of up to two years in special cases where specific project funding can be found; no names are mentioned as receivers of such a grant. On the other hand, CASAS was involved in the Khoisan Language Studentship Scholarship Scheme (KLSSS) in 2004, which received funding from the University of Tromsø (SIU/NUFU grant). This is not mentioned on the relevant University of Botswana web page today (latest posting of May 28, 2010).
3.3.7 **Administrative capacity**

The administrative leader of the centre is Grace Naidoo. Together with the rest of the administrative staff, she is fully capable of taking care of all normal administrative tasks, and adds considerably to the “all books in order” image given by CASAS. Likewise Michelle Boysen is quite capable of doing her receptionist and other work. An Editorial officer was engaged in 2007 or 2008, but resigned again in August 2008, and a new person filling this spot is not mentioned in the next narrative report (2009-2010).

3.3.8 **Gender profile**

As for the small staff of the CASAS centre in Cape Town, the gender profile is one male director, one female administrative leader and one female office worker. The part-time employees doing accounting and taxation advice are one female, one male.

In the larger network, the gender profile is approximately of one third female and two third male. The numbers given for April 2011 were 144 males and 67 females of a total of 211. Among the 20 “point men” coordinating activities of specific groups, 5 are women. The picture presenting itself is of an organisation that puts scientific qualifications on top of its list, and that is not at all bothered if some particular scholar is a woman, but that neither targets women especially for becoming associates.
3.4 Summing up

CASAS has been able to provide a large number of outputs during the agreement period. The capacities of the centre in Cape Town are geared to work with a fairly narrow segment of the total range of activities proposed to NORAD, namely that of doing harmonisation work through coordinating the efforts of a large network of associated linguists.

They also handle publication of some of the material well, while other parts requiring a wider dissemination effort have not been optimally treated. The factors influencing the successful outcome of the work are both societal and organisational. There is still a need for CASAS to have a larger staff (which it did have for a limited time during the agreement period), and to broaden their capacities.
4 Sustainability

4.1 Staff, structure and ambitions of the CASAS organisation

The structure of the CASAS organisation consists of two quite distinct entities: The centre in Cape Town with its staff of 3+ persons, and the network of researchers, called Associates of the Centre, placed all over Africa. The centre and its staff is a non-profit making trust under South African law, while the network is a much less clear entity with its more informal set-up. These two entities tend to merge in many contexts, such as in reporting to donors and writing of proposals, but a clearer view of the work results from keeping them apart.

The CASAS Centre staff has not changed much since 2006. Dr. Kwesi Kwaa Prah is still the Director, Grace Naidoo takes care of daily administration tasks and Michelle Boysen is receptionist. As before, other people are brought in to do book keeping and taxation advice on a part-time basis, they are the same as well. However, some new staff was introduced in the NORAD support period from 2007 -2010, and then resigned again.

One important concern of the 2006 review report was the understaffing of the centre. This was remedied by the engagement of a Deputy Director, Dr. Andrew Chebanne, in August 2008, but when his 2-year leave of absence ended in 2010, he chose to go back to his university job. Unfortunately, the centre is thus still understaffed at present.
4.1.1 Organisation structure

The centre has the important role of hub or central node within the network. The network is organised without formal agreements. Only two of the 20 point persons receive regular fees. The other point persons and network associates receive fees for specified jobs made on request from the CASAS director.

The many workshops carried out by network associates through the years would not have been possible without the funding and coordination done by the centre. The centre through its director has been able to secure funding for all these activities through extensive proposal writing to a number of funders, one of which is NORAD.

The network is organised as many groups all related to the centre, and not so much to each other. Within a particular country a “point man” is appointed by Professor Prah, this person acts as liaison between CASAS and the rest of the group. Some point men cover more than one country as their group concern cross border languages. The groups seem to work with CASAS related activities on an ad hoc-basis, responding to workshop invitations; still, many associates are clearly independently working on these issues, developing work started in workshops or proposing manuscripts for publication by CASAS. In the case of Zimbabwe, several associates of the network group there teach at universities, and use this position to train students, in the harmonised orthography of Shona. Some of these students are training to become school teachers. The associates in Zimbabwe see this as a dissemination activity, not necessarily for CASAS, but simply for the new orthography they have been able to construct.
and which they very sincerely think would be a good idea to get into common use.

Where the harmonisation process has gone beyond the first stage and a unified standard orthography has been produced, new workshops targeting teachers and writers are held. In these workshops, the participants generally do not hold PhD degrees.

These people do not seem to be considered associates of the research network, unless perhaps they actually publish books using the new orthography. Here the outline of the network gets less clear, and there are no clear structures for taking the work further, beyond producing a few texts and making books and booklets. Are the new writers the responsibility of CASAS centrally, or the CASAS-affiliated group in each language cluster, or maybe only of the CASAS associates within a single country?

4.1.2 Ambitions of the organisation

The main ambition expressed by the director is simply to complete the work of harmonising orthographies in the major language clusters of Africa. According to him, this work is 75% done, and could well be completed fairly quickly with the necessary funding in place.

The director also expressed the need for a deputy director who would be able to take over some of the work load, and to carry on the work when he himself resigns. That person must however be capable of handling both network maintenance and proposal writing.
Network associates might express their ambitions for CASAS differently. The network members in Zimbabwe with whom the review team met, would like for CASAS to push on in the dissemination efforts in that country. Clearly the centre must be able to balance between the goal of working on a Pan-African scale and getting things moving on the ground in each country. These diverging goals may be irreconcilable, at least with the present personnel situation.

4.2 Financial management

The control mechanisms seem to be robust for the project as a whole, although the fact that much of the activities take place through the networks makes expenditures less transparent. However, as reported by CASAS in its annual reports, the expenditures are in line with the budgets, and outputs are in line with plans.

There are several individuals and companies involved in the control. One day every week an accountant, who has worked for CASAS several years, stays at CASAS. Every account has to pass through her. The auditors Schwemmer Mac Innes & Associates make an annual report that goes to the SA authorities. CASAS has used the same tax consultant for 12 years. He visits CASAS once a month and makes sure all accounts are sent to the tax authorities. CASAS gets VAT back from the tax office. Schwemmer Mac Innes & Associates reports that incomes and expenditures are fairly presented in CASAS Report.
4.3 Cooperation with Zambia, Uganda, Namibia, and Zimbabwe

Here, we will take a closer look at CASAS’ cooperation with four countries, more precisely Zambia and Uganda where MoUs have been signed, and Namibia and Zimbabwe with whom CASAS cooperates closely. CASAS perceives MoUs to have the merit of committing authorities to the responsibilities that they have obligated themselves to. In Angola, the Ministry of Culture (the Minister and Deputy Minister) has expressed an interest in signing the Memorandum of Understanding as soon as possible.

CASAS hands over copyrights for all the work it has done and tells the governments to go further.

Zambia

Zambia is one of the countries in which the Curriculum Development Agency is a direct partner of CASAS. This, of course, gives an advantage when introducing or strengthening African languages in schools. CASAS has printed books for use in schools, and has transferred printing and publishing rights to the Curriculum Development Agency of the Ministry of Education. These books are being used. Progress has been slowed down due to political changes and changes in the composition of civil services.

Uganda
Uganda is fertile soil for CASAS, where it has been working since 2001. Books on issues relating to health, education and development have been translated into languages spoken in Uganda. Dictionaries and orthographies have been developed. The country has a pro-mother tongue policy. Mother tongue has been introduced as medium of instruction from first to fourth, and from fifth to seventh level it will be taught as an examinable subject. Also in secondary schools mother tongues have been introduced recently, more precisely Runyankore-Rukiga, Lugbarati, Acoli and Lang’o, an addition to Luganda which has been taught for a longer period. The schools suffer from lack of adequate teaching and learning materials. Therefore, CASAS’ provision of local language primers in Ateso, Dhopadhola, Lang’o, Luganda, Lusoga, and Runyankore-Rukiga has been very relevant. A thorough evaluation of the books was made in a 2010 workshop. Some of the books proved to be marked by spelling errors, inconsistencies and generally poor proofreading. These were corrected before printing. Subsequently, writers and teachers workshops in the different regions of the country have been held.

Namibia

CASAS hold Namibia to be one of the most welcoming countries for its activities. CASAS has been able to convince the government of Namibia about the idea of granting PhD scholarships on Khoisan language. This is the more interesting as the Angolan government also has a very positive attitude to the promotion of the Khoisan language.
Zimbabwe

The conditions under which CASAS is working vary quite a lot between countries and language clusters. Zimbabwe is one of the countries where the ground has been well prepared, and the Shona language cluster has been one of the most receptive regarding orthographical harmonisation. In the case of Shona in Zimbabwe, a standard orthography already existed and had a long tradition and quite a lot of text written in it, which is not always the case in other African countries. Therefore, the troubles encountered by CASAS trying to bring about outcomes are the more significant.

The African Languages Lexical Project (ALLEX) lasting from 1992-2004 was a joint cooperative project between the Universities of Oslo and Zimbabwe, organised and financed under the NUFU agreement. ALLEX based itself on the standard variety of Shona, more or less based on the Central varieties as established in Doke (1925) and revised in 1967. Then from 2006 and onwards, CASAS brought in the perspective of harmonisation as a way of going further. CASAS has been working with the ALLEX people and with the Shona Language and Culture Association to develop an inventory of graphemes that accommodates ten varieties of the Shona cluster language. It was decided to use Shona-Nyai as an appropriate and neutral label for the whole cluster. This is the result of the work made by 16 participants at two workshops in 2006 with altogether 16 participants. A booklet of the unified standard orthography was then printed (CASAS MS.37), and a further 3 workshops for teachers and writers were held in Zimbabwe, Botswana and Mozambique in 2007.
The next step was the writing of several books using the new orthography. The themes covered in the first titles were inheritance laws, women’s rights, rape and other sexual offences, domestic violence, child abuse, sexual offences, divorce and child maintenance, malaria, marriage and the law. Furthermore proceedings from some of the workshops and a revised version of the orthography in English and Shona.

Primers to be used in primary school from Grade 1 to 7 have also been produced, in two subjects. These primers can be easily adapted to all the varieties of Shona covered by the new orthography. A number of titles for tertiary education in Shona-Nyai have been published by CASAS, so far 4 titles, together with 4 titles in English treating questions of language planning in Zimbabwe.

At present there are 3 universities ready to use some of the monographs in their courses. The SLCA have applied to the Ministries of Education for permission to use the new harmonised orthography in schools, but as shown in chapter 2.2 the approval has been delayed.

At present a MoU with the Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture and the Ministry of Higher Education has been drawn up but not signed. Therefore, the school books remain in the storerooms.
4.4 Potentials in the Republic of South Africa

In many ways the RSA would seem the ideal locality for the general goal of using African languages in education: it has the necessary economic resources for developing textbooks in several languages, it has universities that would be able to develop the languages for use in new domains, the languages in question have a longstanding tradition of writing and the Constitution even provides for the equitable use of 9 of these languages as national languages, alongside English and Afrikaans. In addition the Constitution recognises other languages such as the Khoi and San languages for promotion and development. The body of the Pan South African Language Board (PanSALB) is also provided for in the Constitution.

For the idea of harmonisation, one would also think that RSA is ideally situated: of the 9 African languages, 7 languages can be grouped into two groups only, that of the Nguni languages (isiNdebele, isiXhosa, isiZulu and siSwati) and that of the Sotho languages (Sepedi, Sesotho and Setswana). The languages within each group could just as well be called dialects of each other: they are mutually intelligible, though e.g. vocabularies differ somewhat. This is readily acknowledged by most, from the official National language policy framework (NLS 2003) to the man on the street.

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4 Afrikaans is based on Dutch and thus in the group of “foreign languages”. However, it is today the first language for many South Africans both black and white, and is therefore considered an African language by many. English is of course also first language for many, but it is to a much larger degree an international language, and thus differently anchored in society.
However, the harmonisation process in the two language groups seems to have stalled completely. There is little awareness of the possibility, even of getting the different languages closer in writing. It is claimed that most speakers of one of these languages will be able to read the others with little difficulty anyways, since the language varieties are so close. Others point to the cultural differences between the groups and think that the link between language and identity will make a harmonised spelling system difficult to sell.

Some of the reasons for the wish to keep language varieties apart in writing are historical: there were established kingdoms and political groups with different dialects before the colonial takeover in Southern Africa. The languages of these distinct groups came to be written differently, and the apartheid system encouraged these differences by setting up home lands for the ethnolinguistic groups, cementing the dialects as languages. Within these home lands, the educational system used the relevant language variety as medium of instruction and in textbooks. However, the whole system of Bantu education came eventually to be seen as low quality and disastrous for those it was inflicted on; the languages used probably still carry some of this stigma.

On the other hand, the 1976 Soweto uprising was a reaction towards the *Afrikaans Medium Decree* of 1974 which forced all black schools to use Afrikaans and English in a 50-50 mix as languages of instruction. In this struggle, English, not the indigenous languages, became the rallying point against apartheid.
In the 15 years since the Constitution was ratified in 1996, legislation for a multilingual society has been slowly coming in place, but there is much less implementation than one would expect, given the strong words of equitable treatment of the “historically marginalised indigenous languages”. Quite a few of the review team’s interlocutors expressed opinions along these line: “There are a lot of lip-service paid to the principles of multilingualism that fails to be followed up due to lack of political pressure from the elites. The upper and middle classes have a very pro-English mindset, and are relatively proficient in English. Therefore, when it comes to multilingualism, South Africa follows the general African pattern of having to rely on foreign funds for language development despite the fact that the country has the resources for doing it themselves.”

As for education, most middle- and upper-class blacks choose English medium schools, not schools providing education through an African language, or bilingual education. There is thus a classical language shift situation in the elite segment: the children do not learn, or learn to any depth, the language their parents grew up with. In the lower classes, the children still learn those languages, but here as well is a marked trend to shift to English, only with considerably less resources to do so.

This trend of parents seeing English as the all important language to acquire for their children teams up with the decentralisation of language policy in schools: they are more or less free to choose their language of learning. Bilingual education is not seen as much of an option, and, importantly, there is little pedagogical expertise on how to do bilingual education in actual teaching
practices, a problem highlighted by the research both by the PRAESA and the LOITASA projects. In any case, the educational system of South Africa is in a severe crisis, with low pass rates in core subjects such as literacy and mathematics. The Western Cape started a pilot project of using bilingual education in 16 schools, but before all research results are presented (among them from PRAESA), the Education department is already presenting English only from Grade 1 as the solution. Researchers on the other hand, sees language only as part of the problem of low pass rates, the problem is very much also caused by teaching practices, which were authoritarian in the first place and made even worse by the outcome-based education policy adopted by South Africa since 1998. These problems cannot be solved simply by changing the language; a thoroughgoing change of teaching practice is needed. As for harmonisation of languages, it seems completely irrelevant to most educators and researchers of education.

Against these trends stands the official language policy of RSA, which in fact do embrace multilingualism and linguistic diversity. There is a continuous movement here, and at present the universities are required to set up language boards and make language policies, this can clearly swing opinions in new directions. The minister of education, Blade Nzimande, voiced April 5, 2011, the idea that all university students may be required to pass an exam in an indigenous language for their degree, something which would revolutionise the position of the African language teaching at the universities, going from backward-looking and moribund small departments to providers of much needed teaching.
This then is in broad lines the climate for harmonisation processes in RSA. To get going a movement for using harmonised orthographies of the two large language clusters, a much more active line towards the SA society would have to be taken. Books in harmonised versions could possibly get a readership, but only production of education textbooks could become a viable publishing line. That would require extensive lobbying of government bodies, and much more active cooperation with other stakeholders.

4.5 Future funding

NORAD is the only long-term funder of CASAS and by far the largest. Without the Norwegian funds, CASAS hardly can survive in its present shape. Despite this fact, CASAS does not have a very active strategy to attract donors. It tries to identify donors who have interest in the CASAS’ area of work, but complain that they are not many. Sometimes, they come in for a period and then change their mandate. When this happens, the support ends. In some instances, CASAS is able to engage with them again. At different points in the CASAS history this has happened with the Ford Foundation and the International Development Research Centre. Finding local sources in South Africa has proven difficult. For instance, the Mandela Foundation is not a funder yet, and in fact approaches the same funders as CASAS for their own funding.

CASAS has been able to receive funding from several sources, like OSI Southern Africa, Trust Africa, Kellogg’s Foundation, and Ford Foundation. Moreover, CASAS has incomes at 10-12,000 Rands (1000-1200 Euros) a month. Incomes are increasing slowly, and are recirculated into production of more publications.
CASAS’ low attractiveness to long-term donors is caused by the organisation’s narrow focus on orthographies. Unlike many other NGO’s that are designed to cater for the needs of donors, CASAS under the leadership of Professor Prah, sticks to its own agenda and is not happy to widen its scope to fit into “donor whims”. CASAS is running language projects, not gender projects, democracy projects or the like.

CASAS is a genuine NGO, in the sense that it has its own agenda and sticks to it. It is a thought-provoking fact that this is what may make CASAS less attractive to donors.

If CASAS sticks to its current profile, it should probably link up with donors in the field of research and science.

4.6 Summing up

The cooperation between CASAS and its closest partners among the African countries, technical and financial support consisting in enabling seminars, studies, scientific publications and the production of educational materials, however, is not enough to make the efforts sustainable. The political preconditions must also be in place. The South African case illustrates this fully.

CASAS’s strategies consists in providing the technical preconditions first, and then make use of the fact that orthographies, primers etc already exist as
political arguments in favour of introducing them in schools. This has proved to be risky. At the present stage, what CASAS’ cooperation actually entails is a capacity to establish firm political commitment on the part of the national authorities involved.

CASAS’ small staff and reliance on its networks to bring project results from mere outputs to outcomes may be efficient, but at the same time it makes the whole project vulnerable not least since CASAS covers all of Africa south of Sahara.

CASAS is totally dependent on non-African donors, and has not been able to attract funds from sources in the countries of operation. This is highly problematic.
5 Conclusion and recommendations

Norway has supported CASAS’ development of harmonised orthographies for cluster languages as well as the organisation’s initiatives to publish text-books and informational material using the new orthographies. New orthographies have been perceived as an important step enabling more cost-efficient teaching material in mother tongues.

CASAS strong sides all have to do with the organisation’s capabilities to produce one of the basic preconditions for harmonised orthographies to be adopted. More precisely, CASAS is designed to enable scholars to develop and present fully-fledged suggestions for harmonised orthographies. The work done in this regard is a true tour de force. CASAS’ second main achievement is that it has stimulated linguistics in Africa. The organisation has an impressive interface with the community of linguists all over Sub-Saharan Africa although the depth of it may vary.

By insisting on new orthographies, CASAS is somewhat aside of the mainstream in what might be described as an advocacy coalition for mother tongue use in Africa. Moreover, CASAS has not been able to promote the idea of African language education successfully. With the exception of Uganda, school books using harmonised orthographies are not in regular use in the
schools. Using evaluation vocabulary one could say that CASAS has produced a large amount of outputs. In fact, 23 harmonised orthographies have been made, and five more are to be completed. In terms of outcomes, however, most of the plans remain to be fulfilled. The orthographies are not being used.

When taking the bold decision to work with CASAS to promote the use of African languages in education, NORAD must have been aware that harmonising the orthographies and gaining acceptance of them, would take time. Therefore, immediate outcomes could not be expected to the same degree as when NORAD supports education in already existing African written languages.

CASAS’ approach is Pan-African and the organisation aims at covering the entire continent at the same time, which is very ambitious given the economic resource base at disposal. NORAD recommended a concentration of Southern and Eastern Africa. A third alternative, retaining the Pan-African ambition, could have been to concentrate on the most promising countries, alternatively language clusters, where linguistics were strong and CASAS had a strong partner network irrespective of region. Only after having gathered substantial experiences, and having accomplished real change, CASAS would have proceeded to replicate its activities for another cluster language. As of today,

5 With support from CASAS, in all seven languages are now offered as Principal subjects at both Ordinary and Advanced levels in Uganda’s secondary schools. These are Runyankore-Rukiga, Dhopadhola, Ateso, Lugbarati, Lusoga, Acholi and Lango.
as soon as the orthography is harmonised the role of the networks get less clear although it is up to them to do the follow-up advocacy work.

CASAS as such is very small organisation, and the advocacy work in each country and language cluster is supposed to be made by the network associates. The CASAS director appoints “point men” to be CASAS contact point and lead the local network. As soon as the harmonisation process has gone beyond the first stage and a unified standard orthography has been produced, new workshops targeting teachers and writers are held. Here, the outline of the network grows fussy, and there are no clear structures for taking the work further, beyond producing a few texts and making books and booklets.

Firm political commitment on the part of the authorities should have been made a precondition for starting up in a country. CASAS’ strategy has been the other way round. Instead of developing orthographies and print school books on demand from the authorities, CASAS has believed in creating the demand and “showing by doing”. After having developed harmonised orthographies and printed publications in it, CASAS expected to be in a much better position to convince authorities that new orthographies for mutually intelligible vernaculars is feasible. In practice, this has not proven to be the case. The authorities may be welcoming workshops and meetings, but stop short of introducing new orthographies and new languages of instruction. Issues of language use and orthographies have to do with power relations within countries and between them. CASAS has addressed intensively political issues using strictly scientific tools.
Recommendations

1) CASAS is soon going to have harmonised the orthographies of most of Africa’s languages. Therefore, the organisation is recommended to develop a strategy for the dissemination of the new orthographies. This strategy ought to prioritise between language clusters. One cluster in Western, Eastern and Southern Africa should be selected for intense follow up. These clusters should be picked on the basis of their prospects to succeed.

2) ACALAN should be CASAS’ main partner in the follow-up.

3) Working with the dissemination of the new orthographies for the three language clusters, CASAS should define its own role as mainly scientific and linguistic, and leave it to local cooperating organisations to take the lead in dealing with the political aspects in cooperation with ACALAN. There is experience from the existing networks of linguists to build on.

4) CASAS and local partners should seek cooperation with international or regional NGO’s that might see the expediency in printing materials in new orthographies, thus potentially reaching more people. Also, the possibility of using harmonised orthography for fiction and pleasurable reading should be tried out.

5) CASAS must build up its competence in language technology and desktop publishing.

6) Given the evidently long-term character of CASAS’ undertaking, NORAD should not cut off funding at this stage.
7) On the condition that CASAS accepts a restart in which all focus is on creating outcome on the basis of the outputs produced up till now, NORAD should extend funding for a certain period of time.

A possible way of taking care of both the work done so far and NORAD’s need to support development outcomes rather than outputs, would be to give CASAS a quite limited grant for the remainder of harmonisation work (6 -12 months, or funding for a defined number of technical workshops and printing of the booklets). Further support from NORAD should then be made contingent on a tangible shift in CASAS’ organisation structure and capacities, with more staff ready to do advocacy and dissemination work, clear plans for transforming today’s loosely organised associates into more defined ‘chapters’, and a cooperation agreement with ACALAN. The focus should shift from a pan-African perspective to a region-by-region plan.
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Appendix I: List of interviewees

Kwesi Kwaa Prah, professor, director of CASAS

Oslo:

Tove Kvil, NORAD

Ingunn Samdal Vikene, NORAD

Cape Town:

Nadeema Musthan, PRAESA

Mandisa Bongo, rector at Sakumlandela primary school, Khayelitsha township

Neville Aleksander, director PRAESA

Carole Bloch, PRAESA

Xolisa Guzula, PRAESA

Zubeida Desai, professor, Dean of the Faculty of Education in University of the Western Cape

Grahamstown:

Russell Kaschula, Head of the Schools of Languages, professor of African Language Studies, Rhodes University
Bulelwa Nosilela, section head IsiXhosa Studies, Rhodes University

Pamela Maseko, co-ordinator, SANTED multilingualism project, Rhodes University

Dr Mpo Monareng, head of Language Unit, University of Johannesburg

Harare:

Kutsirayi Timothy Gondo, Shona language and Cultural Association, network associate Zimbabwe

Willy Chigidi, Dr., network associate Zimbabwe

Edgar N. Mberi., Dr., network associate Zimbabwe

Herbert Chimhundu, Prof., point man Zimbabwe

L.D.K. Dokora, deputy minister of education, Sport, Art and Culture, Zimbabwe

Roger Mutembo, director Educational Development Services, Zimbabwe

Tony Mabvakure, director Curriculum Department Unit, Zimbabwe

Rebeccah Chinyenze, Curriculum Department Unit, Zimbabwe

Agnes Dube, acting vice-principal, Morgan Zintec Teachers’ Training College

George Mujajati, participant at CASAS writers’ workshop

Simplisio Mupondi, participant at CASAS writers’ workshop
Ellen Musesengwe, participant at CASAS writers’ workshop

Pretoria:
Chief Mabizela, acting chief director for university policy and development,
Department of Education South Africa

Joyce B G Sukumane, dr., director Language Planning and Development Unit,
National Language Service, South Africa
Sipho Mangani, deputy director
Zanele Mtsweni, deputy director
Peter Zola, chief language practitioner – isiXhosa
Swinkie Malebo, chief language practitioner – Venda

Gunnar Holm, Counsellor, Norwegian Embassy
Appendix II: African organisations involved in the field of language development

The review team was asked to carry out an analysis of the field of linguistic research and language of instruction on the African continent. The following is not a complete overview of all such organisations and institutions, because that field is vast. The organisations are listed in the following order:

- Organisations with a continental extension
- Regional and national organisations
- Projects in the university sector with support from Norway

A. Organisations with a continental extension

The following pages will describe some of the institutions and organisations now active in the field of using African languages.

ACALAN: The Academy of African Languages, African Union Commission

Website: [http://www.acalan.org/](http://www.acalan.org/) (Please see 2.2.2. for a discussion of the relation between ACALAN and CASAS)

The Academy of African Languages was founded in 2006, under the auspices of the African Union (Khartoum summit). Within the AU, it is affiliated as an AU Scientific and Technical bureau through the AU Commission. Its headquarters are in Bamako, Mali; the Executive Secretary is Prof. Sozinho Francisco Matsinhe, PhD. He took over from the first Executive Secretary, Adama Samassekou in 2009. The Vision/Mission statement given on its web site
http://www.acalan.org/ says: “Fostering Africa’s integration and development through the development and promotion of the use of African languages in all domains of life in Africa.”

The site lists several core values, such as respect for African cultural values and African languages, seeing linguistic and cultural diversity as a factor of Africa’s integration.

**Objectives:**

- To empower African languages in general and Vehicular Cross-Border Languages in particular, in partnership with the languages inherited from colonisation;
- To promote convivial and functional multilingualism at every level, especially in the education sector;
- To ensure the development and promotion of African languages as factors of African integration and development, of respect for values and mutual understanding and peace.

The work plan for the first 5 years includes items such as establishing a website, and establishing working structures such as the Assembly of Academicians and Language Commissions for all African languages. Furthermore they aim to document language numbers, map languages and language resources, compile a register of language experts and researchers, and bring new technology, including computer programmes, to bear on the use of African languages. They also plan to compile information on language policies of member states of the African Union, with reference to domains of use, and device and inform about strategies for extended use in a wider range of domains. Their plans are in short much more ambitious and have a rather larger scope than CASAS’ plans.
The issue of Vehicular Cross-Border languages occupies an important place in the activities so far, including an effort to identify and compare existing instructional curricula in order to harmonise and adapt the language policies across borders. Their engagement with this issue should probably be seen as directly influenced by CASAS’ work, as it takes up one of CASAS’ major concerns.

ACALAN organised five regional conferences between 2006 and 2009, which identified 41 Vehicular Cross-border Languages. Out of these languages, twelve were chosen for the first phase of ACALAN’s operation. Regional Operational Workshops were consequently held in West and Southern Africa with the collaboration of the Regional Economic Communities and the Ministries of Culture, to establish Vehicular Cross-Border Language Commissions, as one of its working structures at grass-root level. Several such commissions are already set up, e.g. for Setswana languages in Southern Africa, but this commission does not seem to have produced any tangible work as yet. These language commissions have a broader membership than CASAS’ network groups, including active writers and members of state language boards and institutions, in addition to linguists. While this wider membership is an advantage for creating a broader alliance working for orthographic reform, it may also be more complicated to reach unanimous decisions when the participants come from diverse fields.

As part of the AU, ACALAN clearly can count on considerable prestige and leverage to obtain its objectives, but clearly it also runs the risk of developing a bloated bureaucracy while not getting ahead with its plans. Its staff now consists of 13 persons, of whom 6 are programme officers and/or engaged in research and documentation (executive secretary included), 4 are administrative personnel, and 3 have menial tasks.

It has not been possible to obtain budget and finance information on the ACALAN. No evaluations seem to have been carried out as yet.

ADEA, Association for the Development of Education in Africa

Website: http://www.adeanet.org/adeaportal/

ADEA is a Pan-African network concerned with the development of education in Africa. It works with the issue of language in education only as a corollary of that wider vision, as seen in its vision/mission statements: “ADEA becomes a leader in the processes of dialogue, sharing and learning for the qualitative transformation of education in support of Africa’s development.” and “To act as a catalyst for innovative policies and practices conducive to change in education through the pooling of thinking, experiences, lessons learned and knowledge.” In its web site self presentation, ADEA’s nature of catalyst, forum and networking agent is foregrounded.

Created in 1988, it was initially set up as a framework for better coordination among development funding agencies, but has later developed to include African ministries of education, and a number of NGOs and CSOs. In 2008, the ADEA Secretariat was transferred to Tunis, within The African Development Bank (AfDB), its new host institution. A Memorandum of
Understanding was signed between ADEA and the African Union in 2008, officially binding relations between the two organisations within the framework of implementation of the Second Decade for Education in Africa.

The website of ADEA shows an impressive array of working groups on a number of education issues, such as books and learning material, education management and policy support, higher education etc. The publications of each group is listed, and in many cases made directly available as pdfs. The issue of language policy is addressed in a number of publications, some of them made as reports to workshops and conferences held by the ADEA network. The book series of ‘Perspectives on African Book development’ has titles such as *Cost Effectiveness of Publishing Educational Materials in African Languages* (Woodhall 1997), and *The Economics of Publishing Educational Materials in Africa*, both of which are relevant for the field of language in education. In ADEA’s 2003 Biennial Meeting in Grand Baie, Mauritius, the need to adapt curricula to the use of African languages was one of the major themes discussed. In response, ADEA and UIE commissioned a study of the state of the art of mother-tongue education and bilingual education.

ADEA clearly is a fairly important actor in the field of education in Africa generally, and by extension also concerned with the language of learning questions. As for the more specific ideas of harmonisation of languages, they do not seem to be focused at all by this network. CASAS is not among the member NGOs.
PanAfriL10N, the African Network for Localisation

Website: http://www.panafril10n.org/index.php/PanAfrLoc/ANLoc

This network should also be mentioned among the continental structures. It is a three-year project (2008-11) financed by the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) of Canada and run by Translate.org.za of South Africa. It succeeds the former Pan African Localisation Project. Its vision is to adapt ICT technology for use in Africa through developing fonts, keyboards and other computer software which can handle African orthographies. It maintains a large wiki on African languages, writing systems and various ICT localisation projects. The kind of knowledge sharing found within this project is crucial for actually developing African languages for larger societal use.

The implementing organisation of the Pan African Localisation Project is Bisharat, Ltd., A language, technology and development initiative, see http://www.bisharat.net/. Bisharat is dedicated to enhancing the use of African languages in computing and on the internet in the service of development, and its vision is "ICT in African languages for sustainable development in Africa." It is “based on the importance of maternal languages in sustainable development and the enormous potential of new information and communication technologies (ICTs) to benefit efforts in the area of language and development. Anticipating the gradual introduction of computers and the internet to rural communities in Africa, the current focus of Bisharat is on research, advocacy, and networking relating to use of African languages in software and web content.”

On the Bisharat website is found a very useful collection of basic documents on language planning and policy in Africa, such as the first
memorandum of a practical orthography for African languages in 1930, and a number of resolutions and reports from various important conferences and meeting on these issues from the 60s onwards.

**SIL International, Summer Institute of Linguistics/Société International de Linguistique**

Website: [http://www.sil.org/](http://www.sil.org/)

“SIL International serves language communities worldwide, building their capacity for sustainable language development, by means of research, translation, training and materials development.”

SIL is a faith-based non-profit organisation founded in 1934 as a summer course in linguistics. It now has a staff of over 5 500 coming from more than 60 countries. Through its extensive language survey efforts, SIL is an important actor in the identification and documentation of the world's languages. Results of that research are published in Ethnologue: Languages of the World, a comprehensive catalog of the world's more than 6,900 living languages.

From their self presentation on [http://www.sil.org/sil/](http://www.sil.org/sil/): “SIL’s service with ethnolinguistic minority communities is motivated by the belief that all people are created in the image of God, and that languages and cultures are part of the richness of God’s creation. Thus, SIL’s service is founded on the principle that communities should be able to pursue their social, cultural, political, economic and spiritual goals without sacrificing their God-given ethnolinguistic identity. Though faith-based, SIL limits its focus of service to
language development work. SIL does not engage in proselytism, establish churches or publish Scriptures."

From this point of departure, SIL members do linguistic analysis; develop orthographies and literature in newly written languages, and work for multilingual education and literacy. They define translation work as one of their priorities, endeavouring to translate both accurately and with sensitivity towards the cultural context where they work. Bible translation is not always part of their engagement; this depends on the needs expressed by the language community itself.

The SIL organisation has for many years been at the forefront of ICT in language work, developing software suitable for use in languages with sounds not easily written with the standard set of graphemes in the Latin alphabet, and also providing tools for linguistics analysis and dictionary making. The software, fonts and keyboard systems are commercially available, though fairly inexpensive, or they are shareware/freeware. Important items are the CharisSil fonts and the database system “Toolbox” (formerly called “The linguist’s shoebox”) with a semi-professional dictionary making module.

Within Africa, SIL works in at least 17 countries, 10 in West Africa, 3 in Eastern and 3 in Central Africa. Several hundred members are engaged in this work. The Africa Area Office is in Nairobi, Kenya. Cameroon, Togo, Benin and Burkina Faso have established branches within SIL Africa.

In some ways SIL is advocating a rather contrary view to CASAS’ grand idea of harmonisation of African languages. Where Professor Prah wants to have as few languages as possible, they take it upon themselves to develop writing systems for the smallest of ethnolinguistic communities, whether or not they are able to communicate in a larger second language. The Ethnologue website
catalogues now 6900 living languages in the world, listing 2100 languages in Africa. This is a far cry from the 23 major languages reaching 90% of the population in Africa, cited by Professor Prah (2011).

**B. Regional and national initiatives**

There are a number of regional organisations in Africa, some of which do engage with language in different ways. We will however in the first subsection below cite some organisations that ACALAN defines as present and future partners. We also present subsections on two organisations with a regional agenda in addition to their primary national goals.

**Regional centres and organisations**

On its website, ACALAN cites a self-presentation made at the occasion of a workshop with regional language and culture centres in Zanzibar in Dec 2010. It is stated here that:

“ACALAN is [from its AU connection] the highest authority to initiate ideas, make decisions about language policies, and translate them into workable action plans, in collaboration with the reservoir of expertises at the disposal of the Member States of the African Union........ Knowing the place language occupies and the role it plays in development and integration of Africa, the Regional Economic Communities (SADC, EAC, ECOWAS etc.)
should actively collaborate and support ACALAN in language and cultural development activities.”  

The regional economic communities are here presented as possible partners for language development work, but there is little evidence of them actually doing this as yet. Clearly, a strong commitment on the part of these regional organisations could make a big difference in promoting the use of African languages in education and other domains of society, and also be beneficial to orthography reforms seeking to harmonise different national ways of writing cross border languages.

It has proved difficult for the review team to obtain enough information on these economic organisations to write extensively on this theme.

Likewise ACALAN cites the “various regional centres and organisations dealing with Language and Culture in Africa such as CELHTO, CERDOTOLA, CICIBA, EACROTonal, LASU and OCPA” as future partners for their work both on regional and more grass-root levels. A short mention of each of these centres follows below. Their future importance in most cases seems to hinge on the vitality that the AU and ACALAN are able to give them, as some have become derelict over the years since their foundation.

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CELHTO: Centre d’Études Linguistiques et Historiques par Tradition Orale  
(Centre for linguistic and historical studies of oral traditions)  
Intergovernmental organisation at present based in Niamey, Niger,  
and recently restructured as a subpart of the AU Commission.  
Collecting and translating oral traditions bringing it into close contact  
with African languages.

CERDOTOLA: Centre Régional de Recherche et de Documentation sur les  
Traditions Orales et pour le développement des Langues Africaines  
(Regional center for research and documentation of oral traditions and  
for the development of African languages). The centre is based in  
Yaoundé, Cameroon, and in ACALAN papers (report from a colloquium  
in Yaounde 2007) it is cited as their main regional focus for the central  
African region. It was involved in publishing the linguistic atlas of  

CICIBA: Centre International des Civilisations Bantu (CICIBA) is a cultural  
organisation based in Libreville, Gabon, established in 1983, in order to  
study Bantu peoples, both their languages and culture. It has  
connection to 11 member states in Africa. It was moribund in 2005, but  
member states gave it a new start. In 2008 they announced a  
computerised CICICBA data bank to popularise Bantu cultural heritage.

EACROTONAL: East African Center for Research on Oral Traditions and African  
National Languages (Zanzibar-Tanzania). The Center was set up in
1977 with the objective of promoting research, study and dissemination of oral traditions and African national languages at a sub-regional level, and then closed down in 1994. It had a collection of ancient Arabic-script manuscripts for Eastern Africa. There are efforts to revive this 9-member intergovernmental organisation.

LASU: **Linguistics Association of SADC Universities** A forum for sharing and exchanging knowledge and research in linguistics, amongst the staff and students in the ten universities of Africa, south of the Sahara. Organises biennial conferences since 1991.


“OCPA is an independent pan-African non-governmental organisation aiming to enhance the development of national cultural policies in the region and their integration in human development strategies through advocacy and promoting information exchange, research, capacity building and cooperation at the regional and international level.” The organisation is based in Maputo, Mozambique, and was established in 2002 with the support of AU, UNESCO and the Ford foundation. No specific mention of linguistic work.
**PRAESA, the Project for the Study of Alternative Education in South Africa**

Website: [http://www.praesa.org.za/](http://www.praesa.org.za/)

The project is an independent research and development unit attached to the Faculty of Humanities at the University of Cape Town. It was established in 1992, emerging from the struggle against apartheid. At present the staff is a staff of 14 persons (information from web site), most of which are directly engaged with the various research and development activities of the project. The Director is Neville Alexander, of the University of Cape Town.

Democratisation of the South African society has been a continuous concern of PRAESA, but primarily from the perspective of the key area of language-in-education policy implementation. PRAESA's work focuses on South Africa and the official African languages there, but as some of these languages are cross border languages themselves, their work has a regional potential.

PRAESA describes the current situation in South Africa in terms of what most South Africans want and need: "to be proficient in English because of the immediate and obvious economic and social benefits of English. However, most South Africans are unable to acquire a sufficient degree of proficiency in English under the present educational and social conditions so as to empower themselves. .... The most critical issue currently is South Africa's capacity to implement the new language-in-education policy of additive multilingualism. This task is exacerbated by a shortage of suitably trained teachers and
adequate materials for multilingual classrooms and a lack of empirical research into existing language practices and attitudes.” This description is not at all concerned with the lack of books in harmonised orthographies, but rather asks for African language books, and for a total remake of materials and teaching practice in multilingual classrooms.

PRAESA thus strives to:

- To further an additive approach to bilingualism and illiteracy in education
- To raise the status of the (official) African languages, particularly isiXhosa in the Western Cape
- To assist teachers in coping with the challenges of working in multilingual classrooms
- To contribute towards a database of research relating to language policy, planning and practice.
- To initiate the development of materials for use with children in multilingual situations

Focal areas of work include language planning and policy formulation at national and provincial government levels, in-service teacher education, developmental research into multilingual classrooms, early literacy, dual-medium primary schooling, language surveys, as well as generating publications and learning support materials. Some branches of their education efforts have broadened to include the continent as a whole, such as the participation in the ‘Stories across Africa’ project. Neville Alexander is a member of the ACALAN Assembly.
Examples of their work:

Taking an action research attitude to their fields of interest, PRAESA engages with actual classroom and literacy practices in order to establish good practice and learn from the experience. They have nearly concluded a 4-year bilingual classroom project in 4 township schools, seeking to change not only the language of teaching but the total teaching practice, in effect training teachers how to teach bilingually. Many township teachers are themselves products of the former Bantu education system, and their pedagogical training is often shallow and outdated. One aspect of the project is establishing school libraries with both African and English books, and teaches staff how to use them.

PRAESA also runs a number of reading clubs for children. These clubs are voluntary gatherings at local schools on Saturday mornings and the aim is to practice literacy in both English and African languages, both reading and writing.

PRAESA publish a series of Occasional papers, short reports on case studies of multilingualism and school research carried out by staff members. The series has reached more than 30 titles since the first in 2000.

Funders over the years have been Independent Development Trust, Royal Netherlands Embassy (Pretoria), Flemish Government and the University of Antwerp (Belgium), Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa, the Volkswagen Foundation, the Pan South African Language Board (PANSALB).
**NACALCO, National Association of Cameroonian Language Committees/ANACLAC, Association Nationale de Comités de Langues Camerounaises**

It seems that ANACLAC/NACALCO does not have its own website, those below are, however, good sites that refer to them.

[http://www.unesco.org/UIL/litbase/?menu=4&programme=14](http://www.unesco.org/UIL/litbase/?menu=4&programme=14)

ANACLAC is a national NGO of Cameroon, that was established in 1989 (some sources say 1998). It is an association of language committees, in 2005 cited as having 77 members. Dr. Maurice Tadadjeu is the chairman; he is also the founder of the PROPELCA Project which has since 1978 successfully developed a programme for mother tongue education in Cameroon, using a model of functional trilingual education. The Cameroon experience in mother tongue education now serves as a reference for many African countries. Professor Maurice Tadadjeu initiated in 1998 an ambitious project; BASAL (Basic Standardisation of All unwritten African Languages) intended to provide every unwritten African language with a minimal standard written form within the next 15 years, with the participation of some 3000 linguists.

NACALCO regards the use of national languages as an effective tool for education and literacy, and promotes the publication of various types of literature in these languages. Its aim is to contribute towards the creation of a literate environment. In a broader context, ANACLAC assists local communities in harmonising, coordinating and supervising literacy programmes.
In the period from 2000 to 2005, NACALCO ran 2-week courses for primary school teachers on how to use their mother tongues in teaching children to speak that language. The courses were meant to help establish teaching in the first language in grade 1 -3 in school, before gradually shifting to French or English (both are official languages in Cameroon) along the lines of the PROPELCA project.

NACALCO now runs a programme called The Study Groups and Literacy Programme (Programme de Cercle d’Etudes et de l’Alphabétisation). It was launched in 2005 and works to boost the role of national languages in literacy training in Cameroon. The project involves the establishment of study groups which combine reading and writing sessions with discussions about topics relevant to the groups such as agriculture, HIV/AIDS, and gender equality. The groups may also develop or adapt their own materials to suit their local language and content requirements. As part of its literacy programme, the project also focuses on promoting democratic principles, with a particular emphasis on equality and good governance, including transparency in the management of local resources and self-financing. The first phase of the project ran from 2005 to 2007, while the second phase will run from 2009 to 2011.

Noé Ngueffo is the Director of NACALCO, Dr. Etienne Sadembouo is deputy director, and Dr. Blasius A. Chiatoh is national Project director. The staff probably includes a few more, but no direct contact has been established at this point.
C. Relevant projects involving universities in Africa, with Norwegian support from SIU (NUFU)

SIU has supported several projects within the area of language in education. The following texts are short résumés mainly taken from the projects’ websites.

**ALLEX – The African Languages Lexical Project**

Website: [http://www.edd.uio.no/alex/](http://www.edd.uio.no/alex/), accessed March 7, 2011.

The project started in 1992 and is designed to “describe, promote, and develop the African languages of Zimbabwe as general means of communications within all sectors of society.” The main activity has been the production and publication of a number of monolingual dictionaries, using modern methods of language corpus compiling and digitalised language databases. The project is a joint cooperative project between the Universities of Oslo (UiO) and Zimbabwe (UZ), organised and financed under NUFU. The University of Gothenburg has also participated from the start in 1992. The project has had three phases with NUFU support, but work still continues. So far the output has been, in chronological order, a General Shona Dictionary, together with a Corpus of spoken Shona (ca 1.2 mill words), a General Ndebele Dictionary and a corpus of spoken and written Ndebele (1.3 million words), an Advanced Shona Dictionary with an expansion of the Shona corpus to 2 million words, both spoken and written, a Scholar’s Shona Dictionary (junior level) and an Advanced Ndebele Dictionary. Furthermore a Dictionary of Musical terms (two volumes, one for Shona and on for Ndebele), a Dictionary of Linguistic and Literary terms (Shona) and a Scholar’s Ndebele Dictionary (junior level) have...
been published. Due to the corpora and the computer software developed by the project, it will be comparatively easy to develop further dictionaries for various purposes later on.

The African Language Research Institute (ALRI) at the University of Zimbabwe is one of the more permanent outcomes of the project, but there is less activity there now than in the heyday of the NUFU support period, which ended in 2006.

The stated aims of the project are local, national and regional. The regional aim concerns language development for all the native languages of Southern Africa, through a centre for lexicography and language planning, and a development of lexicographical and linguistics research capacities at participating universities. The national aim is to provide Zimbabwe with dictionaries and other language tools for the African languages used in the country, and train Zimbabwean linguists at the University of Zimbabwe as lexicographers and practical language planners. Finally, there is the local aim of enabling the University of Zimbabwe to produce modern and functional language tools for all African languages of Zimbabwe.

**CROBOL**

Websites:

At present it is the ongoing CROBOL (Cross Border Languages) project which carries on the legacy of ALLEX. Having NUFU support for 5 years from 2007, the aim of the project is to develop, harmonise and standardise cross border languages found in Mozambique and Zimbabwe. The joint coordinators are Christian Emil Ore at the University of Oslo and Armindo Ngunga at the Eduardo Mondlane University (EMU) in Mozambique. The African Languages Research institute (ALRI) of the UZ is also a partner. The project uses the same procedures of collection as developed for the ALLEX project, and aims to have the same kind of output: dictionaries of Changana and Shena, further terminological dictionaries of Shona, and descriptive grammars of the languages involved. An education component seeks to develop lexicographic and linguistic expertise at the university in Mozambique (permanent staff, MA- and PhD-candidates), and to create collaborative networks between EMU and UZ on standardisation of cross border languages. The EMU has now a well-functioning doctoral programme, and researchers from Zimbabwe have had guest research stays in Maputo.

**EthioLing – Vernacular languages in Ethiopian schools**

Website: [http://www.hf.uio.no/iln/english/research/projects/ethioling/](http://www.hf.uio.no/iln/english/research/projects/ethioling/)

ETHIOLING was a SIU-funded (formerly NUFU) project between the University of Oslo and the University of Addis Ababa aimed at studying the use of four local languages (mother tongues) in primary schools in three Ethiopian regions with specific reference to the linguistic difficulties that learners face, and at developing a general framework in light of which the linguistic situation in
other regions within and beyond the country could be studied for a more global understanding of challenges in language learning.

Since 1991 the new political structure of ethnic federalism in Ethiopia has recognised the right of nations, nationalities, and peoples to develop their languages for primary education and other functions. Consequently, 20 out of the 80 languages are now used in schools as a medium of instruction. However, except for Amharic, the rest have mainly been spoken languages, not written. Therefore, there are problems of implementation related to attitudes, standardisation, curriculum, teaching material, and manpower.

The project had research and training components, the former focusing on ethnographic and linguistic descriptions of the languages of instructions, and the latter developing the competence of the personnel in the Department of Linguistics and in the regions under study. The research was based on empirical data collected through questionnaires, interviews, and classroom observations in addition to surveying available documents. The project as such is now completed, but some research by the Ethiopian partners is still going on. Two Ethiopian doctoral students are still working on their theses at the University of Oslo, while two have completed their PhDs.

**LOITASA, Language of instruction in Tanzania and South Africa**

Website: [http://www.loitasa.org/](http://www.loitasa.org/)

Self presentation: “The LOITASA project started in January 2002 and finished the first phase at the end of 2006. The project is now into its second phase 2007 - 2011. The project is located at three campuses and involves cooperation
between three universities, the University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, the University of Oslo, Norway and the University of Western Cape, South Africa.

Like all NUFU projects the LOITASA project has both a research and a training component. The research focuses on learning in classrooms being taught through a familiar language (Kiswahili in Tanzania and isiXhosa in South Africa) versus learning taking place in English. They look at teaching styles, teacher-learner interaction, and amount of understanding.

The training component is aimed at competence building within the Tanzania and South Africa school systems.

The project has produced 7 books in English on research done and the question of language of instruction in Africa. Another 3 booklets are in Kiswahili. Other volumes, notably books edited by Dr. Birgit Brock-Utne, are related to the project’s work and findings.

The project is lead in South Africa by Dr. Zubeida Desai at the University of the Western Cape. There are 5 scientific personnel in each of the three institutions cooperating in the project. Dr. Desai was interviewed by the review team. She is personally positive to the harmonisation idea as proposed in South Africa; in fact she sat in the commission that elaborated the national language policy framework referred to in 4.4. However, work for harmonised versions has not been prioritised by this project: again a case of being more concerned with using what language materials there is and the reformation of teaching practices almost as important as changing the language, or put otherwise, a
change of language would help, but it is not enough to get ahead and raise pass rates substantially in South Africa.

**SANTED, South Africa – Norway Tertiary Education Development Programme**

Website: [http://www.nmmu.ac.za/default.asp?id=7011&bhcp=1](http://www.nmmu.ac.za/default.asp?id=7011&bhcp=1)

“The programme is a partnership between the Norwegian Agency for Development Co-operation (NORAD), the Department of Education and higher education institutions. ...The purpose of the programme is to assist the Department of Education in the transformation of the higher education sector. The current programme, the SANTED project, is a joint venture between NMMU and UJ and is focused on three elements:

- **Access, retention and success of students**, through interventions in teaching and learning and through the promotion of multilingualism on campuses;
- **Capacity building**, through building administrative, academic and management capacity, including the development of systems, procedures and policies in institutions that have been historically disadvantaged, and, building curriculum and programme design capacity and establishing more flexible learning pathways for students, in the new comprehensive universities; and
- **SADC collaboration**, through enhancing co-operation and building partnerships between higher education institutions in South Africa and other SADC countries.
The SANTED Programme will be supporting projects in these areas in at least nine South African universities and five universities in neighbouring SADC countries.”

In its first phase from 2000, the SANTED programme supported the School of African Languages at the Rhodes University. This led to a successful development of this department, not only developing their capacities in isiXhosa and other SA languages, but getting these languages to be used in hitherto unknown ways at the University. They developed terminology for isiXhosa in several subjects, and a system of showing slides in isiXhosa parallel with the lecture in English, they gave courses in African languages for students especially needing such competence in their work, such as doctors and nurses, etc. After the end of the support period, the staff at the School has managed to enter into the processes of language policy at the university in very interesting ways, so that different faculties now actively ask for African language support as something they wish to have. This is very impressive in a situation where many universities drag their feet on these issues, waiting for them to be imposed from above.

Again, harmonisation is not a priority. The general development of African languages for use in tertiary education is on the other hand strongly focused, and the work is carried out in a tight collaboration with other scientific personnel within the fields themselves, an important feature of any kind of terminology and intellectualisation of language process.
Other institutions of tertiary education

Africa does have a growing number of universities, and quite a few of them have departments and scholars actively engaged in language research; language in education is a subject naturally included in many of these research activities. It has not been possible to obtain detailed information on all these aspects of the field of linguistic research in Africa, but the very existence of the CASAS network shows some of the extent of these interests and capacities all over the continent.
Appendix III: NORAD funded publications
## Book series 1-86

Earlier NORAD support periods

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**NORAD SUPPORT PERIOD 2007-2010**

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Other: USO
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| 2008 | NORAD | Portuguese |

| MS.229 | A unified standard orthography for South-Central African languages |
| USO | V. Chanda, G. Kamwendo, M. Liphola, C. Manuel |
| 2008 | NORAD |

| MS.230 | A unified standard orthography of Ma’di-Moru |
| USO | Mairi Blackings, Samuel Andema, Sibrino Forojalla, Eluzai Mogga Ladu, |
| 2009 | NORAD |
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<td>Grammaire Yoruba de base abregée</td>
<td>2009</td>
<td>Linguistics</td>
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<td>94.</td>
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<td>A unified standard orthography for Luo languages</td>
<td>2009</td>
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<td>P-Adwok Nyaba, D.T. Nyibong, B.D.Chol, G. Okonye, P. Oketcho</td>
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