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**Language Education Policy in Multilingual Mali:
Keeping French or Promoting Local Languages as Media of Instruction?**

**Dissertation submitted to the department of English as a partial fulfilment of the
requirements for Master's degree in Languages Sciences**

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Statement of Originality

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, it contains no material previously published or written by another person nor material which has been accepted for the qualification of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution. I also certify that the present work contains no plagiarism and is the result of my own investigation, except where otherwise stated.

Signed: Oumar BALLO

Date: 20/06/2023

Dedication

I dedicate this dissertation to:

My dear nation, MALI;

My dear parents Yacouba, Maman DJIRÉ and the whole family

for their unconditional support;

My dear uncle Bréhima BALLO who constantly helped me throughout my studies.

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Abstract

The present research intends to measure Malian learners and teachers' attitudes towards the French language and their native languages, regarding their statuses and uses particularly in education. Education based on mother tongue has been advocated in sub-Saharan countries for its learning efficiency, whereas the French is still the language of instruction for Malian learners regardless the learning difficulties it implies, often resulting in the underperformance of Malian schools. This research was therefore conducted on the basis of a mixed methods approach using multiple-choice questions and semi-structured interviews to collect data. The quantitative analysis of the results with a follow-up qualitative argumentation divulged that learners and teachers are impetuously expecting language policy-makers and planners to enterprise roughly serious and real measures to realise the mother tongue-based education for Malians and the use of their languages in formal sphere. Accordingly, this research emphasised that knowing and taking into account attitudes are crucial for a successful implementation of a linguistic policy.

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List of Acronyms

ANR:	Assises Nationales de la Refondation
AOF :	Afrique Occidentale Française
AU :	African Union
CBA:	Competency-Based Approach
CM:	Code Mixing
CNAF	Centre National de l'Alphabétisation Fonctionnelle
CS:	Code Switching
CT:	Convergent Teaching
DEF:	Diplôme d'Etudes Fondamentales
DEF:	Direction de l'Enseignement Formel
DNAFLA:	Direction Nationale de l'Alphabétisation Fonctionnelle et de la Linguistique Appliquée
DNEF:	Direction Nationale de l'Enseignement Fondamental
DNIPN-EN :	Direction Nationale de l'Institut Pédagogique National et de l'Enseignement Normal
DPLM:	Document de la Politique Linguistique du Mali
GALE:	Groupe d'Action pour les Langues et Ecritures du Mali
INSTAT :	Institut de la Statistique
IPN :	Institut de la Pédagogie Nationale
ISHM :	Institut des Sciences Humaines du Mali
LiEP:	Language in Education Policy
LOI :	Language Of Instruction
LP :	Language Planning

LPLP :	Language Policy and Language Planning
LPP :	Language Policy and Planning
MEB :	Ministère de l'Éducation de Base
MEN :	Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale
MI :	Medium of Instruction
MT :	Mother Tongue
NL :	National Languages
PEMA :	Programme Expérimental Mondial de l'Alphabétisation
PP:	Prestige Planning
PRODEC:	Programme Décennal de l'Éducation
RGPH:	Recensement General de la Population et de l' Habitat
UNESCO:	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
WWII :	World War II

General Introduction

Since its independence, Mali has been immersed in a language situation which can only be described as critical and challenging in terms of decision-making, policy formation and planning implementation. This is no surprise due to the diversified ethnic belongings of different groups living within the same polity. Besides the existence of many indigenous languages, French, a colonial legacy, is strongly present in the sociolinguistic profile of the country. The language of the old masters has a constitutional stand, being declared official. Mali, just like many other sub-Saharan countries, perfectly echoes the so-called A-modal nations which promoted after their independence the colonial language at the cost of local languages.

Generally, the official language is a standard language elaborated legally into domains, including administration, government, education, etc. Indeed, cultural, and hence linguistic, pluralism in Mali is regarded as a symbolic mark of national identity. The existence of a myriad of languages, mingled between minor local and colonial officials, introduces a situation which calls for serious political and linguistic measures, rendering the role of language planners of paramount importance.

Language planners alongside different Malian authorities went through many attempts in promoting local linguistic heritage. This took a drive to officialise them or to introduce them in the education sphere. Those reforms towards protecting the local heritage enrolled in the framework of establishing Malian linguistic sovereignty. This targeted in one way or another teaching Malians in their own mother tongues. These initiatives are seen as key factors to national development. However, this enterprise is faced with the verity that French remains until now the medium of instruction dominating the education system of the country.

Hence, a preliminary draft of a new Malian constitution was documented in October 2022 estimated to be insufficient, therefore was later revised, and then submitted in February 2023 for evaluation to Malians awaiting a referendum¹ for its adoption. Of the main changes in the new draft relates to title II, article 31, which reads the following “the national languages are the official languages. French is the

¹ Which will take place on June 18th, 2023

In fact, this work started from February 2023 following the revisited documentation of the preliminary draft of the new Malian constitution.

language of work [...]”. Officialisation makes it a must to use the language countrywide. One of the main domains that ensure the diffusion of a newly officialised variety is the school. However, good language education policy cannot solely build on political decisions. In fact, successful implementation requires consideration of different parameters, including attitudes of those who are directly concerned, not least learners and teachers.

Thus, the aim of this research is to measure people’s attitudes towards the French language and their native languages. The significance of the research lies in providing a preliminary survey on attitudes before the implementation stage of political decisions. Knowing attitudes is crucial to avoid failure or malfunction of the linguistic policy. If language planners, with the support of decision-makers, take attitudes into account they ensure a bottom-up policy in which teachers and learners are important agents.

Bearing this in mind, the present research is guided by the following questions:

- What attitudes do Malian learners and teachers hold towards their native languages as media of instruction compared to French?
- What are the main challenges facing language planners to promote Malian languages in the education system of Mali?
- What attitudes do learners and teachers hold towards the officialisation of national languages in the draft of the new constitution?

The related hypotheses put forward are:

- Malian learners and teachers hold positive attitudes towards their native languages compared to French in terms of learning efficiency and academic achievement.
- The different challenges that stand in front of promoting local languages in the education system relate to lack of financial resources, teachers' training.
- Malians including learners and teachers seem to foster massively the decision to officialise their languages in the draft of the new constitution.

As for the organisation, this research work consists of three chapters. The first chapter is theoretical in essence. It describes the sociolinguistic profile of Mali, and

presents some language contact phenomena originating from cultural and linguistic pluralism. The second chapter focuses mainly on language policy and planning in Mali with particular focus on education. This also includes a historical overview of the initial attempts to promote local tongues. Finally, the third chapter is a space for data analysis and discussion. This is intended to provide adequate answers to the research questions and verify the validity of their associated hypotheses.

Chapter 1

The Sociolinguistic Profile of Mali

1.1 Introduction

The present chapter traditionally describes the linguistic reality in Mali, passing by the different historical points that assembled different cultural and linguistic groups under one single political rule. In addition, it highlights the languages spoken in Mali and provides a linguistic distribution for those languages. It also projects the sociolinguistic profile that characterises the country.

1.2 Geographical and Historical Background

Mali appears as a landlocked country in the heart of West Africa, bordering Algeria to the north, Ivory Coast and Guinea to the south, Senegal and Mauritania to the west, and Burkina Faso and Niger in the east. Around 21 million Malians live over a territory covering a total area of 1.241.238 km², positioning it as the eighth largest country in Africa. Newly administered into nineteenth regions plus the district of Bamako, the capital the country is divided by three climatic zones: the Sahara Desert in the north, the semi-desert Sahel in the centre and the Sudanese savanna in the south.



Figure 1-1: Map of Mali

Source: <https://www.google.com/url?sa=i&url=https%3A%2F%2Fmali-bamako.fr%2Fcarte-du-mali->

The history of Mali is mostly dominated by its heroic past, which includes the great powerful and trading empires of Ghana, Mali, and Songhay from the 8th to 16th centuries. This age constitutes the main historical reference for the multiculturalism and multilingualism that identifies the country today. Such empires were strategically positioned in the middle of trade routes between the western Africa and the Arabs in the north. This generated an exchange in culture, language and at large in religion. Therefore, the Ghana Empire founded by the Soninke clans in the 8th century, centred in the frontier of today Mauritania and Mali, was a powerful trading state especially in gold, salt and slaves. Accordingly, in the 11th, the Empire declined due to the endeavour to convert the locals, originally animists, in Islam by the Berbers, the Almoravids. Then, emerged the first largest Western African Empire in the 13th century, named Mali Empire. In 1235, when Sunjata Keïta, the 'lion king', defeated the Sosso clan that took over the remaining pieces of the Ghana Empire, he united diverse ethnic groups and established a social organisation defining the rights and duties for the different ethnic groups, as well as the roles for the different clans known today as the 'castes', Skattum (2005: 100). Such as the Bambara, Sénoufo, Dogon, Minianka as mainly farmers, the Bozo as fishers etc....

The potency and richness of the empire crossed borders during the reign of *Mansa Kanku Musa* in the 14th century. In fact, he was represented kingly, regarding his health, on the famous *Catalan Atlas* offered to the French king at that time. Moreover, *Mansa Musa* made the Mali Empire a large religious empire, especially the town of Timbuktu that became an important religious learning centre, inspired from the Arab Muslims after his pilgrimage at Mecca from 1324 to 1326, Ki Zerbo (1978). In the 15th century, the Empire declined, not only for internal succession disaccords, but also for its conquests by Songhay clans that afterwards emerged as the Songhay Empire.

It was under the reign of Sonny Ali Ber in the 15th century that the Songhay Empire emerged and interestingly became the richest empire in the region. Progressively, at its peak under Askia Muhammed, it conquered the Hausa states (actual Niger and Nigeria) and the territory of Mali Empire. Strategically well positioned for commercial relations with the Arab world, it became the most administratively organised and richest Empire in Sudan. Lusted for its resources by its

rivals at that time, it had nevertheless been invaded by the Moroccan Empire, which lasted considerably the expansion of Songhay Empire.

Thereafter, many kingdoms, often constituting only one ethnic group, appeared. Among them, the kingdom of Bambara of Segou, the kingdom of Macina, the kingdom of Kaarta, the Toucouleur kingdom, the Ouassoulou kingdom founded by Samory Touré in 1865, known for his major resistance to French invasion.

In the late 19th century, the colonial penetrations by France in the region busted these kingdoms and established the French West Africa (*l'Afrique Occidentale Française, AOF*) in 1895. After almost 80 years of colonisation, the French Sudan (actual Mali), federated with Senegal in no more than 2 years, was declared independent in 1960, taking the name of its ancient empire, Mali. Roughly, the newly independent state immediately started tackling economic, military and as well as linguistic decolonization.

1.3 Malian Ethnic Distribution

The African continent is reputed for its multilingualism, as of the 6.700 languages existing in the world; over 2.000 are present in the continent, Bamgbose (2011). A great number of languages shared by just 54 countries, which ensures the multiplicity of languages in those states. In the Malian context, estimate the number of local tongues vary for diverse reasons including uncertain boundaries between ethnic groups due to the mixing and assimilation of population, unclear terminologies between language and dialect, lack of linguistic research, widespread multilingualism, and migrations, Skattum (2008:100).

1.3.1 Ethnicity in Mali

The succession of empires and kingdoms throughout ancient Mali constructed one of the most multi-ethnic societies in Africa. Narrowly, ethnicity is often associated with (clans, or tribes) which are characterised by its differences and consolidated by its specificities. This notion denotes any group of people reflecting their identity through language, culture, and history specific to it. The different ethnic groups existing in Mali are categorised objectively according to their languages into four main groups: the Mande group (Bambara, Soninke, Malinké, Khassonké, and Bozo etc.), the Voltaic

group (Senufo, Minianka, and Bobo), the Sahelians (dogon) and the Nomads (Peulh, Maures, Touaregs etc....).

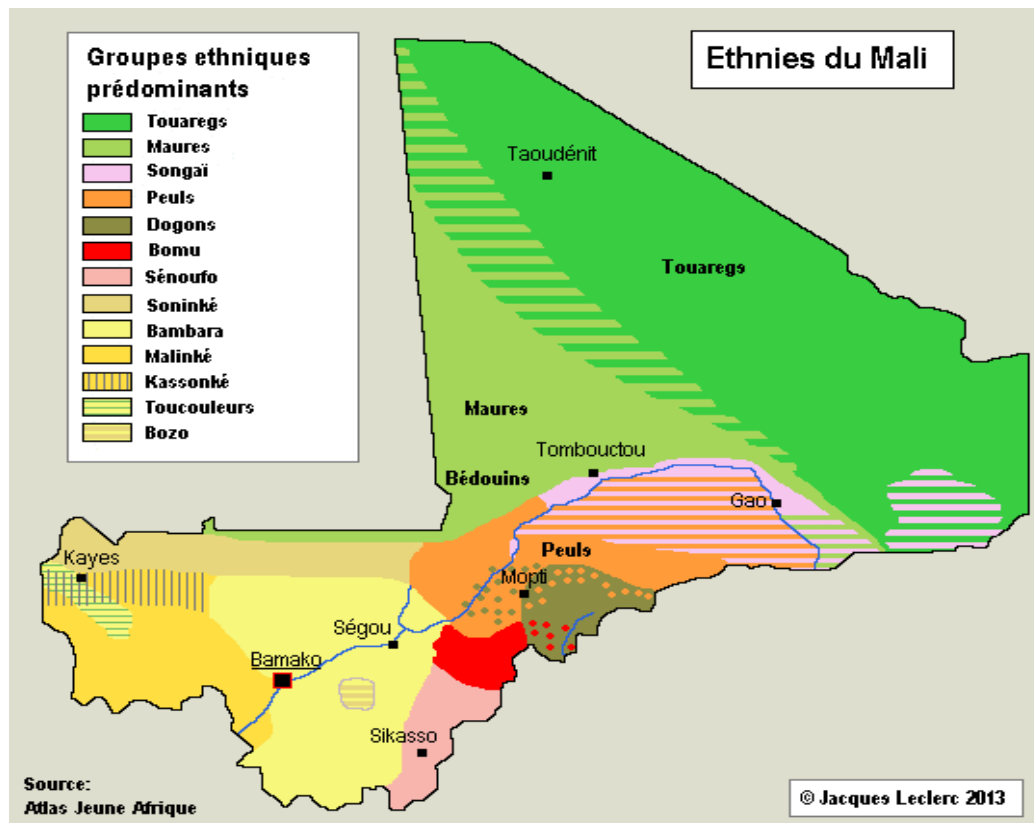


Figure 1-2 : Ethnic Group Distribution in Mali

Source: <https://www.google.com/url?sa=i&url=https%3A%2F%2Ffr.wikipedia.org>

As the map shows, the Malian ethnic groups are coherently allocated. We can remark that each ethnic group is aggregated in a specific zone, not spread throughout the country, and this geographical distribution is related to its historical settlements. For instance, the Mande group, the founder of the Ghana and Mali empires were historically present in the west part. The same is true for the Songhay ethnic group that occupies the capital (Gao) of ancient Songhay empire. In fact, this does not exclude the presence of people of any ethnic background randomly in any area. Therefore, each ethnic group is identified by its differences and specificities that involve possessing its own culture and language distinct from other ethnic groups. The classification of Malian ethnic groups often interferes while identifying Malian languages.

1.3.2 Languages of Mali

At least, thirteen ethnic groups are recognised according to their languages, but it is clear that in the Malian context, there is not always a one-to-one correspondence between ethnicity and language, as Vydrine (1994:200) clarifies,

“It is well known in West Sudan that a person's ethnic belonging depends all on his origin and not on his language or culture. In other words, his ethnic and linguistic profiles do not necessarily coincide, especially in urban settings, where very often the first language is different from the father or mother tongue”.

This translates that the language and culture do not substantially reveal the origin of a Malian speaker. This is because of internal migrations, and urbanisation. For instance, when a speaker with ‘Sénoufo’ origin moves to a place where only *Bamanankan* exists, his descendants will probably adopt *Bamanankan* as their first language. Consequently, this situation will create a Sénoufo origin background with a Bambara linguistic and cultural identity.

Meanwhile, the number of Malian languages is uncertain due to the unclear distinction between language and dialect. However, the Summer Institute of Linguistics SIL in its report enumerates at least 70² languages spoken in Mali (ethnologue, 2013, *languages of the world*). Scholars such as Calvet (1992:215), and Canut and Dumestre (1993:200) distinguish at least 20 languages that reflect a moderate number in the African context, Skattum (2008: 104). Of these languages, thirteen are given the status of National Languages (hereafter NL).

1.3.3 National Languages (NL)

The Malian authorities in 1967 first recognised 10 languages as National Languages (Bamanankan, Soninké, Bozo, Dogon, Sénoufo, Minianka, Bobo, Peulh (fulfulde), Songhay, Tamasheq), and three others (Maures, Malinké, Khassonké) extended the list to 13 in 1996. These languages are departed into three language families including:

² This estimation encompasses the languages given NL status and their varieties that are sometimes not mutually intelligible.

1.3.3.1 Niger-Congo Language Family

It is considered as the most important language family in Mali and in Africa in general. It consists of three main groups including the Mande group, the Atlantic group, and the Gur (voltaic) group.

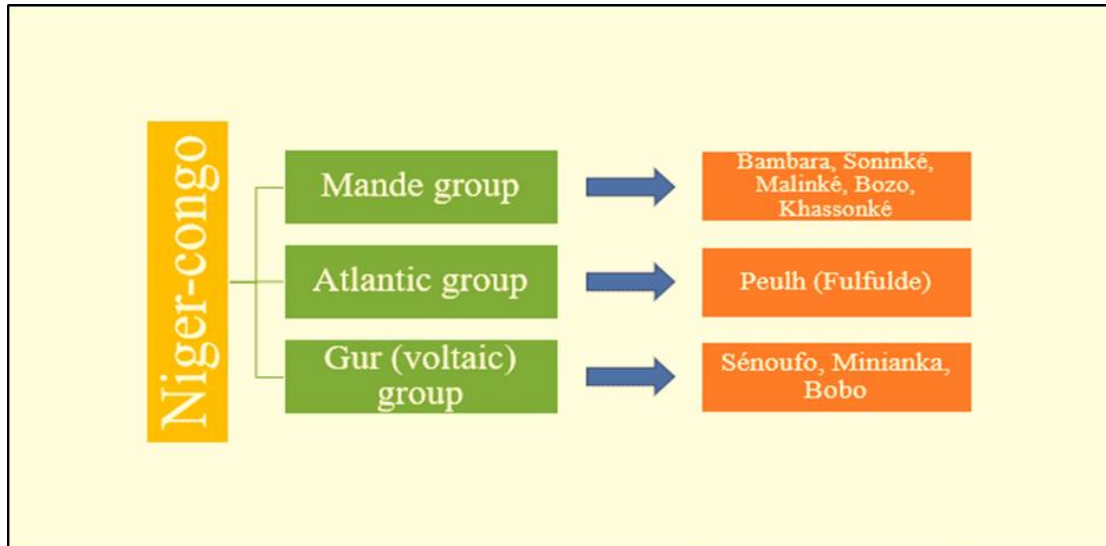


Figure 1-3 : Niger-Congo language family

1.3.3.2 Nilo-Saharan Language Family

Only the Songhay language represents this language family. However, its classification is still under discussion.

1.3.3.3 Afro-Asiatic Language Family

It constitutes two national languages, the Tamasheq and the Hassaniyya respectively of the Touareg and Moore ethnic groups. In fact, the Tamasheq is said to belong to the *Amazigh language sub-family*, and the Hassaniyya to the *Semitic* one.

One national language is, however, still unclassified, which is the dogon. It was formerly classified within the Gur group, Skattum (2005:105). In fact, this classification was not enough; it is therefore still isolated for its extraordinary diversification, largely exceptional for the Malian context.

Characteristically, Malian languages are tone languages lexically as well as syntactically like most African languages. This implies that the level of intonation usually makes different meanings for a single word or a phrase. For instance, the

Bamanankan word [kɔ̀nɔ̀n] with ‘tone rise’ meaning (*stomach*) and the same word with ‘tone fall’ means (*bird*). Furthermore, each of these 13 national languages NL derive varieties that are sometimes not mutually intelligible, very largely for the dogon language. Frankly, *Bamanankan* is the most dominant language being spoken by 46% of the population residing mainly in Bamako and Segou (the ancient capital of Bambara kingdom) as first language, and more than 40% of the population as their second or third language (RGPH 2009)³. Therefore, *Bamanankan* imposed itself as the vehicular language (*lingua franca*) mainly in the southern area of the country. On the other part, the *Songhay* language fills in communication gaps between the northern residents constituting different ethnic groups, and is claimed to be the second most dominant language in Mali. Generally, Malian languages crossed borders being spoken in neighbouring countries including *Bamanankan* and *Sénoufo* spoken in Ivory Coast, Burkina Faso as such *Bamanankan* and *Malinké* are spoken in Guinea. Furthermore, the *Songhay* language is spoken in Niger and *Soninké* is present in Mauritania. Widely, *Peulh* (*Fulfulde*) is spoken across the continent.

Therefore, despite being the most used language by Malians, *Bamanankan* neither is granted as official language nor is promoted above the other NL. It is equally recognised along with the 12 national languages. Instead, French, an imported language following the French occupation, is enjoying the official language status in the Malian constitution.

1.3.4 Status of the French Language in Mali

The French colonialists introduced the French language in Mali like in many sub-Saharan countries. After independence, these countries including Mali kept French as their official language. As notified by the 25th article of the latest Malian constitution of 1992, which is still in effect before the promulgation of the new constitution, that “*French is the official language of Mali*”. This constitutional stand constitutes a conventional task for Malians to use French in their administration, political, commercial affairs, and to obtain instruction at school in this colonial legacy.

³ RGPH (Recensement Général de la Population et de l’Habitat) conducted by l’Institut National de la Statistique (INSTAT) in 2009.

French has enjoyed prestigious and privileged language status, because the existing local languages in the country did not develop a literacy tradition⁴. Although it remains substantially the medium of instruction in school, statistics have shown that Mali has a 17% of ‘francophone’ in 2015. It may nowadays be estimated to account for around 30% French speakers. Mali is, in fact, the least francophone state of French colonies according to Rossillon (1995). This is due to the less French presence in the hinterland during the colonial times. According to Lyche and Skattum (2016:75), one important reason for the modest use of French in Mali is the existence of an indigenous *lingua franca* (Bamanankan), confining French to the formal sphere. Guindo (2021) in his work cited Maurer (2008) who confirms that "French plays an important role, but in daily verbal interactions, it cedes space to national vernaculars". Presently, the long highest linguistic status of French is truly targeted with a demotion in favour of National Languages (NL). There is a very emerging engagement from the civil population calling for the officialisation of NL.

1.3.5 Arabic in Mali

The presence of Arabic in Mali goes back to the ancient empires from the 11th century, and is thenceforth important, historically and for religious reasons. The important commercial relations between the Arab world and ancient Mali added Arabic to its multilingual list only as a foreign language. It must however be granted that most written sources of Malian history are in Arabic which was the only written language in the region at that time. Consequently, it is thanks to the Arab traders and explorers especially the explorer *Ibn Battuta* that we know today the history of the area precisely from the 14th century. Besides, the spread of Islam contributed to a wider use of Arabic as it was merely seen as the language of Islam. Many people adopted Islam as religion and Qur’anic schools were opened to teach Arabic and Qur’an. Today, these traditional schools are modernised into Islamic schools (medersas, as Malians called them) as they are recognised formally in the education system. Then, they became secularised, teaching similar subjects as the French schools, but through Arabic as means of instruction. According to Bouwman (2005:1), Malian Islamic

⁴ In 1982, the authorities provided an alphabet for the transcription of NLs by the decree N°159 PG-RM (1982).

schools constitute some 30 percent of schoolchildren. However, while Arabic neither is a mother tongue nor has officially a linguistic status, it has gained ground in Malian education since ancient times. Consequently, the existence of a melting pot of indigenous languages and such foreign languages, not previously spoken by local populations, especially in education have arisen an intense language contact situation in Mali.

1.4 Language Contact Outcomes in Mali

As far as language contact outcomes are concerned, Sankoff (2001:2) argues, “the linguistic outcomes of language contact are determined in large part by the historical social relations among populations, including economic, political, and demographic factors”. In fact, language contact is generally conditioned by socio-cultural, political, and power factors. Also, P. Auer (1998) put forward that “language contact is usually seen as a result of social factors enabling, encouraging, and forcing speakers of different languages to communicate with each other”. Relatively, the multiplicity of languages and the mixing and assimilation of speakers of different codes existed and identified in Mali entails today an intense language contact. Thus, Mali is, in fact, a multilingual community that plainly constitutes a predictable junction of languages resulting in linguistic phenomena that are still under searched. Largely, political decisions embracing French as the language of institutions and formal education resulted in, not only bilingualism, borrowing, but also extreme diglossia or, sometimes, polyglossia. Yet, language contact is concerned when two or more languages come into closest use within the same speech community or in individual speech.

1.4.1 Bilingualism in Mali

Bilingualism, also referred to as multilingualism, is a term used to overlap the coexistence of at least two languages within the same speech community. It does not, however, come down only to societal bilingualism, but also implies the psychological state of a speaker capable of using two or more codes side by side. On one hand, this capability was conceded, in the primary studies of bilingualism, unless the speaker is competent in more than one language, as Bloomfield (1933:56) strictly claims that a

bilingual should possess “a native-like control of two or more languages”. Bloomfield, one of the first scholars to study bilingualism, simply conceptualises 'bilingualism' in terms of proficiency level. On the other hand, some scholars like Weinrich (1953), Grosjean (1997) and Macnamara (1967a) came along with a more flexible, dynamic understanding of bilingualism that is more focused on language use rather than language competence. This refers to the fact that any speaker with a minimum knowledge in one of the four language skills (speaking, listening, writing, and reading) plus his/her mother tongue should not be denied the bi/multilingual privilege.

Correspondingly, on one hand, based on Mackey (1967) classification of societal bilingualism, Mali is classified objectively as a *de jure* monolingual state given the fact that the Malian constitution recognises one official language namely French, which is similar to all western African countries. However, the country truly reflects a *de facto* multilingual community. There exist various languages, besides French, standing for specific purposes, such as Bamanankan used as lingua franca and sometimes used in education and media mostly in urban places.

On the other hand, Malians are substantially conceded as *bilinguals/multilinguals*, if mirrored to the dynamic definitions of individual bilingualism or bilinguality. Accordingly, considering the various types of individual bilingualism, Malians are mostly said to be late bilinguals. Thus, Malians generally acquire their mother tongue (L1), and lately, after the age of six, acquire another language, mostly French, through schooling. Moreover, it can also be an indigenous language, but in this case, mainly realised through moving to urban settings or trading. More interestingly, there eventually exist early bilinguals among Malian speakers. In fact, it is mostly present in urban concentrations where a child, not from Bambara ethnicity, acquires his/her mother tongue through parents and is simultaneously acquiring Bamanankan in the streets or with friends before the age of six. These sorts of situations consequently result in tri-lingualism, when those children start schooling where the learning of French takes place. In this vein, it is remarked that individual bilingualism in Mali constitutes mostly a sequential or consecutive type, and sometimes a simultaneous type, as the acquisition of two languages takes place at the

same time. Therefore, this construction of individual bilingualism naturally results in the switching or mixing of codes, they have access to.

1.4.2 Code Switching and Code Mixing in Mali

Code switching and code mixing, the alternative use of two or more languages in the same conversation, are two concepts regarded as one important manifestation of bilinguals' speech. Malians, who are broadly described as bilinguals, or even trilinguals, in fact manifest naturally and inevitably, their bilingualism in switching or mixing languages depending on the situation they are in. Generally, scholars tend to distinguish code switching (CS) and code mixing (CM). In this regard, P. Muysken (2000:1) refers to code switching as "the rapid succession of several languages in a single speech event". At the same time, he refers to code mixing as "all cases where lexical items and grammatical features from two languages appear in one sentence". As for J. Gumperz (1982:59) who perceives CS as "the juxtaposition of within the same speech exchange passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems", while A. R. Haugen (1980:53) conceptualises CM as "a case when a fluent bilingual talking to another fluent bilingual changes language without any change at all in the situation". Hereafter, the two labels are used interchangeably in this study.

As far as code switching/mixing is concerned in Malian context, it occurs in Malians daily conversations. Alternation mostly occurs between Bamanankan, language of wider communication in the country and French, language of school especially in the southern part. Contrariwise, in the northern area, switching occurs mainly between Songhay, identified as lingua franca, and French, again language of education. These situations occur mainly in educated bilingual speech. Accordingly, underneath this high swapping of Bamanankan/French and Songhay/French in the same interactions mainly by educated speakers, the other local languages (mostly the Mande and Gur languages) are eventually alternated with Bamanankan, and French based on education, urbanisation, and trading implications. Hence, code-switching/mixing become a routine mostly for young educated bilinguals, and whether it occurs conventionally, trendy or perhaps subconsciously, the usage of hybrid of languages is incorporated into the language practices in Mali (Bocoum 2022: 404).

Furthermore, switching from one language to another is likewise strategic or systematic. This means that code switching is also studied from a structural perspective according to which three types of grammatical switching are identified including intra-sentential, inter-sentential and extra-sentential code switching, Hoffman (1991) and Poplack (2000). In fact, the intra-sentential code switching refers to the switch of different languages within any part in a sentence. The inter-sentential code switching is the switch from one language or variety to another within the same sentence. And the extra-sentential code switching or tag switching that refers to inserting a word or tag phrase from one language into another.

However, intra-sentential code switching is revealed to occur the most in Malians daily conversations, (Bocoum 2022). These structural types of alternating codes involve respectively with the shift from one language to another in a single utterance, and the insertion of words or phrases from one linguistic system into the leading one in a sentence.

In this regard, Bocoum (2022) analysed a conversation between two young Malian educated bilinguals discussing about football in the capital city of Bamako, sketched below:

A - Tchè an ka ballon tan'natchaman bé ka jouer championnat français la sissandè, n'est-ce pas ?

(Buddy, many of our football players are now playing in the French championship, aren't they?)

B - Ouais tchè! Mais n'an seera ka entraîneur nianaman sôrô sissan pour que joueurs ninou ka évoluer niôgônfè, ce serait très bien.

(Yeah buddy! But if we could get a very good coach who can help the players to move forward as a team, that would be great).

A - Mais entraîneur ni'nkagni oh, ou bien ?

(But we already have a good coach, don't we?)

B - I badôn quoi han? Entraîneur ka problème yémi'n yéwa? Môgô tchaman ta kalama mais tension dôw bé équipe kônô. Mais môgôw nièna ou bakè comme si tout va bien.

(Do you know what kind of problems the current coach has? Not many people are aware but there are tensions in the team. But in public, they make out that everything is alright).

A - Voilà ! Entraîneur ni 'ntékasé ka môgôw rassembler, tu sais...

(Exactly! The coach finds it hard to unite his players, you Know...).

B - Et puis, i ba don wa? Attaquant de t'an bolo.

(And also, you know what? We have no (good) striker).

The frequent occurrence of intra-sentential alternation is more observed in this dialogue. In addition, the important presence of French is noted in these switching/mixing situations in Malians' speech. This is no surprise due to their high exposure to French language at school, through television programs, and social media. However, because of religious, technological and today's digital implications, some linguistic elements of French or Arabic are not just alternated, but are rather permanently integrated as part of Malian language systems.

1.4.3 Borrowing in Malian Languages

Linguistic borrowing is one important language contact outcome sometimes confused with code switching. Clearly, code switching implies temporary use of two or more different codes within the same interaction, whereas borrowing is the permanent adoption of lexical elements from one language into another. Thus, according to scholars such as Hudson (1996: 55), borrowing involves mixing the systems themselves, because one item is borrowed from one language to become part of another. Moreover, borrowings are usually taken from one donor language, integrated then assimilated into a new linguistic system known as the recipient language.

Malian languages are characterised by heavy borrowing from French, following its function in formal space, from English, and mostly from Arabic through religious practices since the ancient Malian Empires. Bamanankan is typically, highly influenced by Arabic words morpho-syntactic integration that few Bambara speakers are aware of. Accordingly, Bamanankan fits an intermediary role in borrowing lexical items from mainly imported languages and spreading them into the Mande and Gur languages. Sometimes, it loans its own items to these neighbouring languages.

Borrowings in Malian languages are incorporated as whether cultural or core borrowings. The cultural borrowing, term used by Myers-Scotton, involves borrowing elements that fill lexical gaps in the recipient language introduced for items or concepts new to that language culture. Analyses have established that instances of cultural borrowings in Malian tongues relate to aspects of culture that are not native to Malians such items like internet, macaroni (pasta), chocolate, etc. However, core borrowing which implies the use of items or concepts that actually have their equivalent in the recipient language is frequent in Malians' speech, mostly in young urban educated bilinguals. See in the table below some core loanwords that have an equivalent in Malian languages.

Table 1-1: Some core borrowings with their equivalent in some Malian languages.

Words	The equivalent in some Malian languages	Translation into English
seau /so/ (French)	Palan /palà/ (Bambara)	bucket
واحات /wakt/ (Arabic)	waati /waati/(Bambara) waatiŋi /waatiŋi/ (Sénoufo)	time, moment
ballon /balô/ (French)	ntolan /ntolà/ (Bambara)	ball
ceinture /sitûR/ (French)	Jala /jala/ (bambara)	belt
سك /suk/ (Arabic)	lokofiè /lɔkɔfiɛ/ (Bambara)	market

In addition, thanks to religious practices, many Arabic words are phonologically integrated in Malian languages like *douniya* (*world*), *aljine* (*paradise*), *meleke* (*angel*), *seli* (*prayer*). The same can be noted for the days of the week including *tenai* (*Monday*), *tarata* (*Tuesday*), *araba* (*Wednesday*), *alamoussa* (*Thursday*), *juma* (*Friday*), *sibiri* (*Saturday*), only exception for *Sunday*.

1.4.4 Diglossia in Mali

The term 'Diglossia' was first introduced by the American linguist Charles A. Ferguson in his article "Diglossia" in the journal "Word" in 1959. Ferguson (1959) defines diglossia as:

"a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation" (p.336).

In other words, Ferguson understands a diglossic situation in terms of elements (function, prestige, literary heritage, acquisition, standardisation, stability, grammar, and lexicon) which are distributed in a binary fashion between a standard High and prestigious language attached to formality and its variety with Low status merely attached to informality, Zabus (2007). In fact, this situation was used by Ferguson to refer to the Arabic speaking countries, the German speaking part of Switzerland, the Greek speaking community and the Haitian country. In contrast, J. Fishman (1967) extended the concept of diglossia to situations in which two genetically unrelated 'high and low' varieties serve respectively in formal and informal contexts in the same speech community. This extended diglossia of Fishman perfectly and explicitly describes the sociolinguistic profile of Mali. Practically, French, language of colonialists which is historically and genetically distinct from local languages, is referred to High (H) variety in the sense that it is used in formal contexts following its prestigious status in the country, while the native languages politically devoid of prestige and attached to daily conversations in families, in streets, cover the Low (L) functions set in both studies classical and extended diglossia. Thus, French and Malian languages regarding their ethnic zone of use constitute a complementary distribution in terms of linguistic functions for each linguistic ethnic community. Furthermore, it can be advanced the notion of tri-polyglossia in the Malian context especially for non-Bamanankan speakers in urban settings. In this case, French, usually used in

administration, education, government space, is the H variety, Bamanankan, historically unrelated to French and used with friends or in streets, is one L variety, whereas another local tongue (mother tongue), the second L variety, is used uniquely with the family members. Noticeably, in the multilingual Mali with a colonial history, diglossia assumes inequalities and hierarchy of power and prestige between the colonial language French, and the native languages. The imported language and hence, the official language is associated with the highest prestige due to multiple factors, but most importantly due to language policies implications.

1.5 Conclusion

Mali nowadays truly owes its cultural and linguistic pluralism to its ancient empires being tolerant in cultural, religious, and linguistic differences that were crucial in unifying different ethnic backgrounds under a homogeneous political structure. Otherwise, the great economic and commercial markets established in the mediaeval period that attracted ethnic communities were also an integrational factor. Multiculturalism and multilingualism therefore become part of the nation's identity. Mali, gifted with a manifold of native languages, has a non-local language, French following the colonisation and associated with the highest prestige and upward social mobility and economic development, standing as the official language. However, after the independence in 1960, successive efforts were invested to promote native languages especially in the education sphere, yet being judged insufficient and inefficient, whereas the completion of such policy activities is rather social, economic, psycholinguistic and pedagogical demanding.

Chapter 2

The Related Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

The low linguistic and political status reserved to Malian languages is generally established on the requirement that they need to be codified to cope with domains they are not fundamentally used for, such as education. This initial lack of codification permitted the French language, regarding the Malian historical linguistic dynamics, for being officially used countrywide and elaborated into the components of social structure, and hence representing the country identity on international standards. However, the recognition and acceptance that language and education are the major vehicles for cultural identity, social mobility and economic development have lately renewed the interest of Malian stakeholders to develop indigenous tongues regarding their stance, form and at large, their learning implementation in order to serve adequately in wider domains. In fact, such activity influencing those aspects of a language is known as language policy and planning (LPP).

Therefore, the theme of language policy and planning continues in the present chapter. It attempts to situate the research problem for the current study within a review of literature related mainly to education language policy and its implications. Moreover, it tries to overview the attempts managed to develop and implement Malian linguistic heritage mainly into education and to highlight the obstacles faced by language planners and policy-makers in such implementation stages.

2.2 Language Policy and Language Planning

The notion of language policy and language planning (LPLP) appeared in the late 1950s within sociolinguistics. In fact, it has its basis in solving the perceived language problems determined by histories of contact mainly through colonialism. After the Second World War (WWII), a range of accession to independence reached many colonised countries that thereafter in their nation-state formation, faced making decisions on the roles between the existing local varieties lacking literacy development and the highly standardised language of their master. For instance, Norway, following their independence from Denmark, embarked in a process of developing a new national standard language, where Haugen first introduced the term language planning in 1959. In fact, he was claimed to be the pioneer in the field of LPP. To Haugen,

“language planning is the activity of preparing normative orthography, grammar and dictionary for the guidance of writers and speakers in a non-homogeneous speech community”. Therefore, the field of LPP has grown out of practical demand to figure out linguistic resource issues in heterogeneous speech communities. Joseph (1987:14) believes that LPP as a field is the result of sociolinguistic observation to language standardisation since the late 1950s. The concepts of LPP were perceived as ways of regulating social and economic issues of the multilingual newly emergent nations from the 1950s. In fact, the practices of language policy and planning are observable in education where it is substantial in choosing the language medium through which knowledge is transmitted, conceiving education as a major vehicle for social and economic development.

2.2.1 Definitions of Language Policy and Planning

Since the development of Language planning (hence LP)⁵ as a field of research in the 1960s, there has been no generally standard definition of LP, Lo Bianco (2010). Although it has developed, based on solving language problems in society, it should be noted that such problems might arise from different countries under different forms and at different levels. Therefore, each country attempts to adopt a language policy in accordance with their socio-cultural and economic realities, which makes it always difficult to come up with a unified theory of LP. In addition, conceding also the fact that the field of LP is constructed upon various disciplines interrelated including linguistics, anthropology, sociology, and politics, illustrates the variousness in defining LP. Accordingly, Fishman (1974:79) provides a broad definition of LP saying, “it is the organised pursuit of solutions to language problems”. Such definition reveals the basic foundation of the field of LP. In the same line, Rubin and Jernudd (1971) also define broadly LP as a language solving activity in a speech community as they put that:

“Language planning is deliberate language change, that is; changes in the systems of language code or speaking or both that are planned by organisations that are established for such purposes or given a mandate to fulfill such purposes. As such language planning is focused on problem solving and is characterised by the

⁵Hence, the term ‘language planning LP’ is used to cover the field of language policy and planning.

formulation focused and evaluation of alternatives for solving language problems to find the best (or optimal, most efficient) decision”.

Furthermore, they call language planning a deliberate change in a language by an organisation set up to bring about the change. According to them, language planning in all cases is future-oriented in the sense that the policies and strategies must be specified in advance of action taken, Rubin and Jernudd (1971). Other scholars such as Cooper (1989:45), whose definition of LP is frequently cited, yet controversial, tends to define LP around the question of “What *actors* attempt to influence *behaviour* of which people for what *ends* under what *conditions* by what *means* through what *decision-making process* with what *effect*. From this framework, he refers to language planning as “deliberate efforts to influence the behaviour of others with respect to the acquisition, structure, or functional allocation of their language codes”. In fact, it (Cooper’s framework) is believed to sum up the state of LP as a descriptive endeavour and simultaneously propose the need for a theory of language planning of social change. According to Fasold (1987), “language planning is usually seen as an explicit choice among alternatives. This, in turn, implies that there has been an evaluation of alternatives with the one that is chosen having been evaluated as the best”.

All the above-mentioned definitions of LP show diversity in classifying language planning. Another controversial point related to the field of LP is the use of different terms in the literature on language planning. Some scholars, on one hand, use the terms ‘language policy’ and ‘language planning’ simultaneously to refer to the whole process of solving linguistic issues for a speech community. For instance, scholars such as Spolsky and Shohamy (2002) do not hold importance in separating language policy and language planning; they use both terms interchangeably. This is based on the assumption that language planning is an inclusive and the most used term in the field that covers language policy and its activities. As Rubin (1971) argues that language policy is part of language planning. Fishman, Das Gupta, Jernudd, and Rubin (1971) support her idea and argue that the process of language planning comprises four main phases that are policy formation, codification, elaboration, and implementation, Fishman et al (1971:293). Therefore, many linguists prefer the term language planning because of its inclusivity of language policy. However, on the other

hand, other scholars such as Cooper (1989), Schiffman (1996), and Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) use the two terms distinctively to describe distinct aspects of the language change process. They discuss that the two labels are two different concepts and state that language policy is decision-making, laws formation by political authorities, and that language planning concerns the strategies, processes to implement those policies. In this vein, Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) perceive language policy as “a body of ideas, laws, regulations, rules and practices intended to achieve the planned language change in the society, group or system” and language planning as the activities, strategies undertaken to realise or implement the mentioned policy in the intention of promoting systematic language change in a given speech community. Accordingly, the term language planning is mostly preferable in the field of LPP. For example, Wardhaugh (1986), Ashworth (1985), Fasold (1987), and Ferguson (2006) prefer the term language planning to language policy. According to Carroll (2001), the term language planning is widely accepted as “an umbrella term for the broad range of activities seeking to change language and its use”. (Carroll 2001:13). Moreover, other terms like ‘language engineering or treatment’, ‘language management’ among others are also used to refer to the terms language planning and language policy in its literature.

2.2.2 Language Planning Activities

Language planning activities also referred to as LP foci by Kloss (1969) are often seen to comprise four dimensions. These activities are assumed to be interrelated and are as follows: status planning, corpus planning, acquisition planning, and prestige planning. Yet, one can add that Haugen enunciated the first types of language planning in the earliest appearance of LP where he proposed a fourfold model accounting for the standardisation process of a language or variety of language. Haugen’s fourfold model (1966), later revisited (1983) comprises: *norm selection* referring to choosing a language or a variety to be developed for serving official or national role; *codification* consisting of developing the form, the linguistic structure of the selected language, which includes grammar, phonology, orthography and lexicon. Then, *acceptance or implementation* concerns with the adoption and the use of this norm by a body of users. *Elaboration* refers to the attribution of functions to the selected and codified

norm. This model attracted linguists' interests and laid down a theoretical framework in the literature on LP. It is in the view that various typologies have been developed to describe language planning processes. Following the Haugen LP model, Kloss (1969) distinguished between language *status planning* and *corpus planning* that are considered as two traditional dimensions of LP. Other dimensions of LP have recently been identified including language acquisition planning and prestige planning.

2.2.2.1 Status Planning

Status planning refers to the allocation or reallocation of a language or language variety in terms of function, role, or use (such as using the language as medium of instruction) within a speech community. In fact, it is one aspect of language planning originally used by Kloss in 1969 to describe any activity attempting to raise the status or standing of a language vis-à-vis other languages present in a given speech community. Therefore, this activity does not deal with the linguistic structure of language itself, but rather with the function or social role of a language or language varieties that involves authoritative decisions, according to Gorman (1973:73) to maintain, extend, or restrict the range of uses of a defined language in particular contexts. Since such activity implies at large the intervention of governments or authorities, it is essentially related to politics in determining the functional areas in which a language is to be used, although linguists may be consulted. Cooper (1989:99) states that "status language planning is deliberate efforts to influence the allocation of functions among a community's languages by official recognition and authoritative attempts to extend or restrict language use in various contexts". There are four major goals under status planning according to Hornberger (1994). These goals are *status standardisation* (referring to language planning activities that accept or impose a language as standard), *officialisation* (the allocation of a language by government's decision to function in official areas). Also, *nationalisation* (concerning often with the designation of a language as national symbol), and *proscription* (referring to banning the use of a specific language in a speech community), Hornberger (1994:81).

2.2.2.2 Corpus Planning

Allocating the function or use of a language often requires prescriptive activities to engineer changes in the form of that given language in order to serve adequately in defined functions. Thus, corpus planning was initially introduced by Kloss (1969) separately from status planning, however claimed to be interrelated and complementary according to linguists; as it, in fact, begins once the status of a language is determined. Therefore, language corpus planning is concerned with deliberate and systematic development of a given language structure to fit in areas its status was raised or influenced for. In contrast to status planning, corpus activity deals with the linguistic features of language itself that involves the production of grammar, dictionary, introducing new forms in spelling, and pronunciation. It aims at establishing a linguistic terminology for the use of a specific language. As put forward by Baldauf and Kaplan (1997:38) that “corpus activities are those aspects of language planning which are primarily linguistic and hence internal to language”. In fact, what is actually regarded as corpus planning was subsumed to language planning as noticed when Haugen (1959) first introduced the term ‘language planning’ referring to it as “the activity of repairing a normative orthography, grammar, and dictionary for the guidance of writers and speakers in a heterogeneous speech community”. In addition, corpus planning is a linguistic-driven practice which intends to provide a language with scientific and technical terminology. It also deals with innovating the language orthography, structure for correctness and stylistic purposes.

2.2.2.3 Acquisition Planning

Acquisition planning is one additional aspect of language planning to Kloss's (1969) dichotomy: *status planning* and *corpus planning*. It was introduced by Robert Cooper (1989) as a separate type of LP, yet related to Kloss's traditional types, as it aims at distributing the implemented language or language variety in terms of acquisition, literacy mainly through schooling. He argues that “acquisition planning refers to organised efforts to promote the learning of a language”. If status planning relates to increasing or restricting the use or function of a language and corpus planning, to modifying the structure or form of a language, acquisition planning refers

to increasing the numbers of users of a language. It is related to language spread in the sense that it tends to promote the acquisition of the elevated and codified language or language variety, often achieved by means of using it in the media, and importantly teaching or learning. Bearing this in mind, scholars such as Baldauf and Kaplan (1997) opted for the term ‘language in education policy’ (hence LiEP) instead of acquisition planning. Language acquisition planning is then said to typically occur within educational contexts undertaken by government bodies, specifically by the ministries of education attempting to reach defined goals. Among them, Cooper (1989) lists three cultivation-oriented goals including acquisition of a language as a second language or foreign language, reacquisition of a language and language maintenance, concerned with the retention of a minority language.

Given the fact that acquisition planning is more associated with language learning, literacy development or even language use in media confers power and prestige on the language concerned regarding its use in the social structure of a speech community.

2.2.2.4 Prestige Planning

Haarman (1990) came up with *prestige planning* as a fourth separate dimension of LP activities in the view to examine the above-discussed LP implementation procedures from a recipient’s psychological perspective. Therefore, this dimension as formulated by Haarman (1990) is associated with the prestige of a specific language implementation activities rather than the prestige of the language itself. The concept of prestige language planning is related to the level of esteem of a planned language beside its users. Accordingly, prestige planning (PP), also referred to as ‘image planning’, aims at enhancing a positive image and psychological background to support a specific language implementation. Ager (2003:6) refers to PP as a “fourth area of application, alongside the tripartite subcategories of language planning, concerned with what might be called symbolic or prestige policy, manipulating the image of a language its users, or others, have towards it”. Although it is mostly conceived to be related, yet distinct, to status planning, they are concerned with different activities. In fact, status planning, alongside corpus planning, refers to productive LP activities articulated by dissimilar agencies, whereas prestige planning

constitutes a perceptive LP activity evaluated by people. Thus, prestige planning influences the way those productive LP activities are acted upon by policy makers and received by the people. In fact, it is essential in solidifying status language planning and guaranteeing a long-term stability of language planning.

In fact, the four mentioned dimensions of LP do not operate in isolation; they practically work jointly. Hence, they are interrelated although they occur at different stages and are undertaken by distinct planning institutions. One requires the other in order to succeed, in the view that, “the status of a language (variety) is assessed and its social image is enhanced; the corpus is then developed and adjusted and these modifications are finally injected in society via schools to ensure acquisition” (Djennane, 2016).

Accordingly, prestige planning for Malian languages has relatively consisted of giving official recognition to symbolically bring them to equality with former colonial language. This is also viewed generally for African languages. Therefore, it comes down to such languages to be viewed as a commodity of formal learning so that its users develop positive attitudes towards them. Such attitude development requires a linguistic policy formation and implementation.

In fact, understanding the basic notions and implications of LP helps to identify specific linguistic measures employed by a specific speech community in managing its linguistic resources. Thus, the next section discusses the LP practices in Mali with particular focus on language education planning that clearly influenced Malians’ attitudes towards their tongues.

2.3 Language Policy and Planning in Mali

Similar to most African countries, Mali is a multilingual country, which has faced serious problems with its linguistic resource management that, in turn, implied difficulties in adopting an adequate language policy. The present section therefore discusses the steps that led to the development of Mali’s first language policy document. Following independence, French, language of the old master, was unarguably used as medium of communication for the country’s official business, education, commerce at the cost of local languages that lacked an initial written tradition and therefore were reduced to domestic domains of use such as markets,

streets and family. As declared in the first constitution of the newly independent state by the law N°60-23 A.L.-R.S. of 26th of July 1960 in its first article that “*the French is the official language of expression*”. However, the idea was at minimum to continue with an adapted system inherited from colonisation ‘a francophone system’ while implementing the local tongues to cope with mainly the education domain. As precised by the first educational reform in 1962 in its decree (N°235/PG-RM of 4th October 1962) that “*teaching is done in French meantime the possibility of use of instruments of the country languages*”. In order to generate this possibility of use of local languages, *L’Institut de Sciences Humaines du Mali (ISHM)* was created focusing on research in the domain of linguistic, Guindo (2021). Since 1962, successive efforts have been invested to promote the use of indigenous languages in the country. Following the world conference on education in Tehran in 1965 in which the Republic of Mali partook, where the learning efficacy of indigenous languages were discussed, the government decreed in 1967⁶ and 1982⁷ fixing an official alphabet for the transcriptions of National Languages (NL). Education administrators regarding the learning of those national alphabets held an extension of the Tehran conference at national level in 1968. *Centre National d’Alphabétisation Fonctionnelle (CNAF)* was then created to consider the activities of the Experimental World Literacy Programme in order to respect the decisions taken during the world conference of 1965 in Tehran, Guindo (2021).

In 1974, a second constitution was adopted following the overthrow of 1968 by the militaries, and still, the NL did not see their statuses upgraded, as French was kept as the official language of the country. Yet, several laws and legislations were adopted to promote and develop their learnings.

Furthermore, a third constitution was adopted in 1992, this time by a referendum following the democratisation of the country, which preceded a second overthrow in 1991. Nevertheless, even though the actors of democracy kept French as the official language, they made efforts to specify in the 25th article of the constitution of 25th February 1992, which reads the following “*the law fixes the modalities of promotion*

⁶ Decree N°85-PG of 26th of May 1967 fixing the alphabet for the transcription of 4 NL: Bamanankan, Fulfulde (Peulh), Songhay and Tamasheq according to Diarra (1977).

⁷ Decree N°159/PG-Rm of 19July 1982 fixing official alphabet for other NL.

and officialisation of national languages". In this regard, the list of National Languages NL was later on extended from 10 to 13 by the decree N°96-049 of 23rd of August 1996. In addition, it fixed again their alphabets, the modalities of their transcriptions, their introduction in school programs, and even the diffusion of official texts in these languages. It should be noted that by that time, only one magazine publishing in one NL (*Bamanankan*), existed namely *Kibaru* that appeared in 1972. Based on these different official measures regarding the status, use or learning of languages in Mali, it can be noted that Mali followed a monolingual language policy in the sense French was recognised as the sole official language. Indeed, a linguistic policy implementation was also oriented towards local languages, but only with national language status, missing out the administrative and educative life.

All these language policy practices contributed in leading up decision-makers and language planners to elaborate, in 2014 the first language policy document of Mali (*Document de la Politique Linguistique du Mali*, DPLM). Likewise, it is a first in its kind in francophone African countries. Such document constitutes a measure following an appeal from the African Union⁸ (AU) towards the relevant states to reinforce the status of African languages by developing an adapted language policy. The elaboration of this document is based on the inquiry to correct insufficiencies of the previous language policies and plannings for the use of indigenous languages. In fact, the government of Mali adopted this measure 2 years later during a council of ministers in September 2016.

Today, the revisited draft of the new constitution in 2023 goes in favour of NL. In fact, it recognises the *national languages as officials*, and *French as just a language of work*. Given that, Mali follows a multilingual language policy instead of a monolingual assimilation language policy, which would assimilate the community with the French as it was or impose a dominant local language (eg *Bamanankan*) on other local minorities. This first constitutional stand for such languages is largely due to the demands of Malians to officialise their mother tongues. In addition, the statement (*French as language of work*) is susceptible to be considered an assimilation

⁸During its sixth ordinary session held on January 24, 2006 in Khartoum, Sudan.

policy that would give official status to indigenous languages just to please the population and use French in formal contexts like it was.

At least, all these measures can be said to have repeatedly shown the intention for national languages to be revalued sometimes in terms of status, developed (corpus) and most importantly introduced into schools, not directly as the first choice of media of instruction but rather alongside French, opting for a bilingual education. In fact, this took a drive to design several legislations and experimental procedures for the implementation of such bilingual (French/NL) education.

2.4 Education Language Policy in Mali

Education plays a great role in the acquisition of languages and in linguistic policy. The language in which teaching is done is always a political choice. The use of national languages NL in schools was first preconised by the educational reform of 1962. This decision of education organisation opened up the ways for the use of indigenous languages in education according to Haidara (1998). Therefore, many educational facilities have been created to promote their literacy. In fact, these facilities were also involved in the creation of a language policy.

However, it was until 1979 that the first experimental schools to use national languages as medium of instruction were opened. Earlier, from 1968 to 1972, as part of the Experimental World Literacy Program (*Programme Experimental Mondial d'Alphabétisation, PEMA*), the promotion of a quality mass literacy campaign in 4 NL (Bamanankan, Fulfulde, Songhay and Tamasheq) was in operation, assisted by UNESCO. This pilot program of literacy was also supported by CNAF. From this campaign, the government opted for the *functional literacy method* in order to use the national languages in education. It consisted of teaching early grades pupils in their mother tongues to progressively transition to French (*formal education*), and teaching adults (*informal education*) how to read and write enabling them to acquire certain knowledge for better social life. The *functional literacy method* aimed at eradicating illiteracy in Mali. Later in 1975, *la Direction Nationale de l'Alphabétisation Fonctionnelle et de la Linguistique Appliquée (D.N.A.F.L.A)* was created and became the principal service in charge of promoting Malian cultures and national languages. During the campaign of 1968-1972, the government decree N°57-PG-RM of the 20th

of April 1970 strongly recommended the use of national languages in education. Moreover, in 1979, only 4 schools using primarily *Bamanankan* as language of instruction were opened precisely in two regions (Koulikoro and Segou) and only primary schools were concerned with this experiment. It was therefore the first generation to use a local language in formal education, Guindo (2021). Then, in 1982 and 1983, three other national languages (*Fulfulde, Songhay and Tamasheq*) were introduced in addition to *Bamanankan* in schools. From 1983 to 1989, a total of 78 schools were experimented with the use of these 4 national languages as means of teaching which departed between the regions of Koulikoro, Sikasso, Segou, Mopti and Tombouctou, Guindo (2021). This programme was deemed successful with fewer dropouts and retakes, (*Mali, Ministère de l'Éducation de Base, 1999*). However, it was unsatisfiable regarding the methodology as it mirrored the methodology of French school. Moreover, it failed after showing mixed results due to the lack of common engagement, which can be expressed through the absence of pedagogical materials and appropriate teacher trainings, Skattum (1997).

In 1987, after reinforcing the position of D.N.A.F.L.A one year earlier by the decree N°86-56/AN-RM of 24th of July 1986, that henceforward oriented the service to “*elaborate elements of national politics in the domain of literacy and linguistics*”, a second NL education methodology called Convergent Teaching (CT) appeared in schools. In fact, it refers to a bilingual education system, which parallels Bambara and French. It was firstly experienced in 2 schools in the region of Segou from 1987 to 1993. Following positive results being remarked, an education organisation was successfully voted in 1994 for the use of this teaching methodology on other national languages except *Malinké* and *Hassaniyya*. This bilingual CT program was to ensure multilingual education where 11⁹ of the 13 NL were progressively used as co-medium of instruction in around 2050 schools between 1987 and 2002. Therefore, it gained legal status in 1999 by the law N°99-046 AN-RM of 16th of December 1999 in its 10th article stating that “*education is provided in official and the national languages [...]*” (Ministry of National Education, 1999).

⁹ These are: bamanankan, fulfulde, songhay, tamasheq, dogon, soninké, senoufo, minianka, bozo, bobo and khassongué.

Furthermore, an extension reform of the CT method was introduced in 1998, namely PRODEC (*Programme Décennal de Développement de l'Éducation*). The slogan behind such program was 'one village one school'. It intended to create a decentralised school and guarantee a universal schooling for every Malian. Once again, PRODEC also bore insufficiencies regarding its application and resources.

However, another bilingual curriculum was introduced in 2002 based on competency known as the Competency-Based Approach (CBA). According to Skattum (2008), this curriculum was intended to improve the weak points of PRODEC. In fact, this third generation of NL education first started with 80 experimental schools and was later generalised by 2005-2006, reaching 2550 primary schools which corresponded to a total of 31,62 per cent of the total number of schools at that period in Mali, Traoré (2006). This was an encouraging step forward the promotion of national languages in schools. But, it was later reinforced in 2011-2012 following its lack of application in many regions. At present, the CBA has constituted a major innovation of education language policy in Mali.

2.4.1 Education System in Mali

2.4.1.1 Historical Overview

The first formal school system started with Quranic schools during the Islamic colonisation mainly in the northern regions. In fact, these schools called (medersas) were merely concerned with religious studies, but are today linked with the State school system, covering the teaching of other domains. By 19th century, in the midst of French colonisation, the French education system was introduced in Mali (like in most francophone countries), and was concerned with producing a "nucleus of native aristocracy which would propagate French ideas and uphold French ways of life", Fafunwa (1982). The curriculum and the examination structure were plainly similar to that of France, and the courses were related to French literature, geography, and history. It was a total assimilation of few Malians into French culture because access to such schools was restricted only to the children of the elites who would replace their fathers at the head of states, spreading French values and interests in the region.

2.4.1.2 Malian Education System since the Reform of 1962

After independence, although educational reforms were made with the desire to establish a decentralised national education system that would reflect Malians thought and culture, Mali still follows the French education system. This may, sometimes, imply the non-effective achievement of the goals established by the use of different methods of teaching experienced since 1962.

The national government through the ministry of national education (*Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale or MEN*) coordinates Malian education, which is divided into two administrative bodies: the ministries of basic education, and higher education and scientific research. The education system in Mali is characterised as follows: a non-mandatory pre-primary or elementary education that lasts 3 years, a mandatory basic education of 9¹⁰ years in order to have access to a 3 years secondary education, and a tertiary education lasting 4 or more years. However, the language of instruction or LOI of these levels of education is often determined by the three different types of school. These are: *classical schools* (écoles classiques), the first French schools, which use exclusively French as language of teaching; *bilingual curriculum schools* (écoles à curriculum), which are approximately 50 percent of Malian schools, use national languages relevant to the region for initial literacy from grade 1 to grade 3, then by grade 4, French (first introduced as a subject by grade 2) gradually transitions to become the main language of instruction. In addition, English is introduced by grade 7 as a foreign language but mandatory and in secondary education, other foreign languages (German, Arabic, Spanish, Russian, Portuguese and Chinese) are added as optional subjects. The third type of school is medersas that basically use Arabic as the LOI, with French as technically an additional subject. Meysonnat & Torrano (2020).

- The basic education is divided into two cycles: the first cycle (*l'enseignement fondamental premier cycle*) consists of 6 years education, and the second (*l'enseignement fondamental deuxième cycle*) is an extension of the first cycle which lasts for 3 years completed with the obtaining of DEF (*Diplôme d'Etudes Fondamentales*). Ouane (1995).

¹⁰ It is divided into two cycles which are characterised as: first cycle or fundamental education 1 (6 years), and second cycle or fundamental education 2 (3 years).

- Secondary education can be achieved through two kinds of streams whether an academic stream leading to Baccalaureate certification or a technical stream leading to BT (*Brevet Technicien*) certification.
- Tertiary education is related to university studies, institutes etc...

If indigenous languages were chosen as a solution to achieve mass and quality education for Malians through several measures or governmental legislations, they seemed to be concretely and fully practised only in the experimental schools. This experimentation was conducted by three administrations created under the MEN, including *la Direction Nationale de l'Enseignement Formel* (DNEF) aiming at assuring administrative and pedagogical follow-up of the project, *la D.N.A.F.L.A* was charged of pedagogical support and documents production, and *la Direction Nationale de l'Institut Pédagogique National et de l'Enseignement Normal* (DNIPN-EN) focused on the organisation of vocational training and recycling, and the printing of manuals. But their insufficient collaboration led to the creation of *la Direction de l'Enseignement Fondamental* (DEF) based on the inspection of the use of NL in school.

Substituting the language of teaching often requires prerequisite training of teachers in the replacing language. Therefore, the innovation of experimental pedagogical methods to achieve high quality mass schooling has presupposed creating institutions for training teachers according to the levels of education. This training was run by l'Institut Pédagogique National (IPN), D.N.A.F.L.A and consists of three levels:

- First level: teachers are introduced to CT and transcription and writing in indigenous languages. Those who are not able to read and write in the relevant indigenous language are taught to do so.
- Second level: teachers are introduced to the teaching of oral French and their skills in the writing in the relevant indigenous languages are strengthened through creative writing.
- Third level: teachers are trained to teach to year 6 in the programme.

Therefore, it was felt insufficient in terms of mastery of the contents, and the number of teachers trained to cover all the schools in the country. The use of indigenous

languages in education was a major ambitious and innovative experience with positive results at its start, but it must be said that the advancements were really slow to effectively generalise the use of such languages as means of transmitting knowledge in Malian schools. Consequently, although few schools still use national languages as co-media of education along with French, the latter remains the main language of instruction for Malians. Which is believed to lead to low literacy, dropouts and retakes in schools and become comparable to a tool of social, economic and political privilege. In fact, diverse attitudes have time and again been developed towards the French language as well as the implementation of indigenous languages in all their dimensions.

2.4.1.3 Attitudes towards French and Indigenous Languages as Media of Instruction in Mali

Although importance has been given to national languages schooling through texts and experimentations, Malians have been teaching practically in French. Despite it being confined only specific areas, it has been associated with social and economic mobility, and political privilege. In fact, having knowledge in French has become unavoidable for all individuals aspiring to gain such privilege; and French is essentially and simply acquired in school since it has always been the medium of instruction in Mali. Therefore, French instruction has been encouraged by students' parents, as noticed from the investigations conducted in the first times of the experimentations of indigenous languages schooling. According to such surveys, parents clearly showed positive attitudes towards French because of socio-economic advantages it gives their children as stated by a parent in Segou, where the first experiments of the use of national languages in schools were carried out, that:

“Your language is the language of money and regular salary. If a person has success, it is not a question of money. If you know French you can travel the world, and nobody can fool you. With our language, you don't know anything” (N.M, *ibid*: 155).

Furthermore, similar attitudes were present among teachers as well as French-educated people. In fact, they believed that NL instruction would limit the socio-economic advantages for their children. Haidara in 2005 conducted a survey from which, an educated parent said, “I'm not enrolling my child in a Bambara school”. To an extent,

some schools refused the NL instruction in order to attract parents to register their children. Another reason for the French instruction preference was based on an objection, commonly present in Africa, that learning a language one already knows was irrelevant as explained by a teacher in Segou, that:

“At first, when we were told that it was going to be Bambara (during a public awareness campaign), the peasants did not like the idea, because to them, going to school means learning something, trying to have something that you don’t know. But we already know Bambara! Are you telling us tales?” Opheim (1999: 155).

However, positive attitudes were also developed towards NL instruction after obtaining mixed results from its first experimentations. Thus, although the survey conducted by Haidara in 2005 established that 39.3% of parents investigated in Segou were satisfied with their teaching and were in favour of indigenous languages instruction, they insisted on the implementation of adequate materials and methods in order to improve and apply it at national level. It must be admitted that decision-makers and education planners less heard this comment concretely. Today, consequences of French language instruction along with diverse factors can be said to have contributed in changing the stereotype of superiority accorded to French language in the society. This can be illustrated through the demands of a major portion of Malians calling for the officialisation of their languages in the draft of the new constitution attempted by the new authorities in the framework of the institutional reformation of the country, itself required by the population. Among the factors that motivated Malians to return to their languages as means of official communication and media of instruction, one can list at least:

- Cultural and identity preservation and promotion through giving official status to NL, which therefore would establish and reinforce the real independence of the country.
- The low literacy rates, massive dropouts and retakes, as effects of French as LOI reflecting the inefficient productivity and hence the deterioration of Malian schools.

- The deterioration of political relations between Mali and France, which existed since independence, cultivating a rejection of French among Malians as the official language of the country.

2.4.2 Implementation of National Languages (NL) in Malian Education

2.4.2.1 Objectives

Implementation policies and strategies related to the adoption of mother tongue as language of instruction imply setting certain objectives to be achieved. Mali, in its practices to introduce local languages in education, encouraged and accompanied by agencies, organisations like UNESCO, fixed defined goals. Such goals were flexibly determined according to the reforms or methods. In this regard, the educational reform in 1962, which firstly opened up ways for the use of NL in education, was mainly concerned with five objectives:

1. A psychological, cultural and linguistic decolonisation in the sense that the colonial education system was felt by the fathers of independence, as an alienation of Malian culture and assimilation of Malians into French culture.
2. The promotion of high-quality mass education, which would hence produce active agents in developing the country.
3. The provision of high-quality education equivalent to others
4. The Provision of manpower needs in a short time
5. The promotion of African, Malian and universal values

In fact, the reform met difficulties for its non-adaptability to the teaching contents and financial constraints. Therefore, conferences and seminars were held and further educational reforms were carried through in order to revise and adapt the objectives of the reform of 1962. The new oriented goals, based on the recommendations of UNESCO affirming that *the best language of instruction is the language of the learner*, consisted principally of the *concrete use of NL in education* and *the promotion of basic and high-quality mass education* through which the hope was:

- To value the national languages and culture
- To provide basic education for the majority of the population
- To develop the functional bilingual education (CT, CBA)

- To facilitate the learning of basic subjects
- To reduce dropout and retakes rates, considered as direct effects of French as sole language of instruction
- To produce active agents in participating in social and economic development.

Overall, such reforms that took several forms practically came short of obtaining the objectives set by education planners and decision-makers regarding the legacy of *Education for All* of UNESCO. Although mother tongue-based education is recognised to be utmost advantageous and comfortable in terms of learning efficacy and performance, Malian languages with many attempts and experimentations have faced obstacles and are only used in some places as co-media of instruction.

2.4.2.2 Advantages of mother tongue education

Countries have been leading the way and advocating for bilingual education based on mother tongue mainly for initial literacy, UNESCO (2022). Accordingly, mismatching between the language of instruction and one's mother tongue constitutes a key factor for inclusion and quality learning, and can also help to hamper effective teaching and learning. In fact, the mother tongue refers to the language a speaker first acquires in his/her early childhood. It is the medium of communication that a person is familiar and comfortable with. Based on this familiarity, it is crucial, objectively in first grades, in increasing literacy quickly, providing effective learning and comprehension. Research indicates that mother tongue instruction leads to a much better command of the curriculum that contributes in portraying positive attitudes towards school. Therefore, it must be mentioned that mother tongue education is vital for fostering a whole range of essential skills such as literacy, critical thinking, learning skills etc.... Besides, it helps to equip learners with necessary skills to learn additional languages efficiently. However, UNESCO reveals that progress is being made to develop mother tongue-based education, particularly in early schooling, regarding its importance and advantages. In the same line, the understanding and recognition of the importance of mother tongue instruction have considerably been increasing nowadays among Malians, especially learners and teachers who are importantly concerned with language education policy. But, it should be noted that

there have been implications of factors that encouraged Malians to turn towards the use of mother tongue in education. Such as the deterioration of education, and political relations, which led to a popular rejection of the foreign language (French) instruction, also encouraged by social movements and activists via social media. From the current investigations, learners always show and recognise the importance of their own language-based education and the effects of a foreign language as the sole medium of education. As one interviewee explains his experience having mistaken the French word ‘*salubrité*’ (salubrity in English) for referring to a kind of ‘*celebration*’ while writing an essay during an examination. In fact, it was his first time to hear such word. Therefore, this misunderstanding of this single word in the question resulted in failing to obtain good grades not only in the subject, but also in the average.

Nevertheless, although learners and teachers display positive images about their native tongues or even require their implementation into education, ensuring such implementation remains a task for decision-makers, and language education planners. The study of attitudes should not be neglected as well as certain aspects such as financial support in the implementation stage of a linguistic policy. Such aspects have been identified as obstacles faced during the previous attempts to teach Malians in their own languages.

2.4.2.3 Challenges in implementing mother tongues in education

It is true that Mali has made stronger efforts than any other West African francophone country to support mother tongue education, but concrete actions have carried out only partly and slowly in realisation. They have appeared to be insufficient in their total application. However, this builds on the truth that mother tongue instruction implementations in Mali, whether for initial literacy then transition to a foreign language (French) or for exclusive indigenous language instruction have faced a range of obstacles, which have accordingly occurred under various forms. The findings of the current research have shown that such barriers can be political, social, financial or scientific.

Political obstacles :

- the unique choice of French as the official language of the country which denies the use of NL as first choice of medium of instruction and official

communication (otherwise, the linguistic policy would contradict simply the educative and administrative practices),

- absence of a real, sincere political engagement in favour of essential NL instruction rather than them being used alongside French.

Social obstacles :

- lack of privilege accorded to NL while French was being associated to social, economic and political privilege favouring population attitudes towards French for its socio-economic advantages
- demotivation of population for not perceiving interest in NL education given, not only their non-administrative stance in the society, but also the ideology that one does not need to learn something he/she already knows.

Financial obstacles :

- absence of financial support on NL education activities, knowing that such practices were at large financed by organisations such UNESCO,
- insufficiency in financing teachers' training in NL and institutions created to promote linguistic researches concerning NL.

Scientific obstacles :

- absence of initial teacher training in national languages
- absence of adapted materials (textbooks, dictionaries, grammar) in NL
- non-adaptability of bilingual teaching to the content of teaching (maladjusted pedagogy)
- oversupply of learners in classes (overcrowding in classes)
- insufficiency of institutions related to linguistic researches and education reforms in providing scientific terminologies to promote NL teaching and learning.

In fact, it shows up from the analysis that the failure of mother tongue education initiatives in Mali relate principally to the process adopted politically and scientifically regardless of the inability of social, attitudinal and financial standards. Furthermore, it is also claimed that the option of early literacy in NL in order to facilitate the progressive French learning was not advantageous for Malians, but would only reinforce French language imperialism and increase the disregard of the stigmatised

national languages, already judged to be insufficiently codified to cope with scientific exigencies. Therefore, the future of Malian languages in education and administration is narrowly related to a real political engagement, which has so far been judged ambiguous and non-serious towards the use of NL in the formal sphere.

2.5 Current linguistic context related to the new constitution of Mali

In general, Malians being aware of the consequences French, as official and hence medium of education, have imported, they tend to understand and give importance to their own languages. This is a situation that coincides with political and military breakdown between Malians and the French leaders following the forced regime change in 2020 by militaries who are proceeding with a transitional phase as the leaders of the country. They estimated to have noticed malicious interferences in internal affairs of the country by the French leaders. Thus, the displeasure for such interference alongside the learning difficulties in French have all contributed in decreasing the prestigious attitudes French language enjoyed in the country since independence. Instead, it increases the ideologies of *'French imperialism'* and that of *'any country cannot develop using a foreign language for its official communication and importantly education purposes'*. In reality, such ideologies have been spreading via mainly social media largely by activists. However, acknowledging the very critical and exceptional situation that the country is going through at institutional as well as security level, the new authorities engaged in a constitutional reform clearly recommended by the population during the campaign of Assises Nationales de la Refondation (ANR) [*National Meetings for the Refoundation*] from 27th – 30th of December 2021. After taking over the country, the transitional authorities launched this campaign and declared that *"the National Meetings for the Refoundation of the country would constitute a privileged moment of collective examination of conscience and prospective, a precursor event of the process of the rebirth of our beloved country"*. It was in fact a national direct dialogue between all Malians and intended to formulate a consensual approach and direction for the refoundation of the country. Following this ambitious campaign, Malians raised the option of officialisation of local languages. After, an editing committee was composed to document a preliminary draft of a new constitution that is prior in refunding a state. But, this committee,

hesitated about the readiness of NL to serve immediately and adequately in formal spaces, opted for the previous language policy, i.e. keeping French as the official language. Therefore, it was rejected for not considering many recommendations of the population including the non-officialisation of local tongues. In this regard, another committee was composed to reformulate finally the document taking into account all the recommendations of ANR. It came out this time, officialising the NL, but conserving French as language of work¹¹. A draft that made the bet to officialise the local languages for the first time though it is not adopted yet. In addition, in order to support the claims of the population, le Groupe d'Action pour les Langues et Ecritures du Mali (GALE), installed since the elaboration of the Linguistic Policy Document of Mali in 2014, comprising experts from various areas of social development, held a constitutive meeting on the 28th of November 2022. Which constituted deep reflection and analysis in order to propose solutions in the subject of indigenous languages. In fact, GALE has put in many efforts in order to get the NL out of their disabling marginality. It aims to provide its expertise by developing an advocacy note for the authorities of transition on the formulation of the language option in the draft of the constitution (ORTM1, 29th of November 2022, journal of 8pm).

Generally, the officialisation makes it a must to use a language or language variety in all the formal services. It can then be noted that the use of NL in Media has advanced the adoption of the constitution that formalises their use. Starting with transitional authorities who made it a habit to translate their discourses in NL especially in Bamanankan. In addition, with the recent boom of social media, the national and private televisions, broadcasters and many activists have entered into action, translating political discourses, national and international newspapers, relevant information in Bamanankan because it is the most spoken language among the others. Therefore, it has even been added to google translation service in 2022 alongside other African languages for their number of users.

Comprehending the importance of mother tongue-based education, it is judged necessary to run education system in NL. Presently, many learners realise that French

¹¹ Malians are still worried about this decision but till now they have staid and are awaiting to see what contents the law that will determine the use of the new official languages and this language of work.

instruction was a delay and inefficient in acquiring knowledge, they realise that they spend much time learning the language itself rather than acquiring knowledge in their education trail.

If this new constitution comes to be adopted, Mali would have said to break a barrier, prior in determining the use of languages across the country with a view on Malians' long attempts to introduce their native languages in education.

2.6 Conclusion

Many language policies have been developed to situate Malian linguistic heritage. In fact, they have largely dealt with the promotion of indigenous languages to cope with formal domains such as education. Such policies have tended to raise, through different constitutions, the status of Malian native tongues from non-status to national status and just recently to official status. Raising their statuses, which therefore influenced their use, have beckoned for a prescriptive provision of an official writing system in order to drive teaching and learning in schools in these languages. This led to different education reforms that bestowed space to Malian languages in education alongside French, which since colonial times operates as the official language of the country.

The socio-economic realities have constrained decision-makers and language education planners to experiment various methods (CT, PRODEC, and CBA) for the use of NL languages in few schools, before generalising their instruction at countrywide. However, these methods have successively tackled only bilingual education. Which means the use of indigenous languages as co-media of initial literacy instruction alongside French. Each of these initial attempts and measures failed to reach the objectives due to obstacles including the inadequate methodologies regarding the education system, which in fact mirrored the French one and political, social, scientific and economic constraints. In addition, the attitudes developed towards French instruction because of its association with social, economic and political privilege played a role in slowing the advancements of mother tongue-based education in Mali.

The inefficiencies of the previous measures have given rise to an underperformance of Malian school. Hence, the inefficient productivity of Malian

school is related to the fact that the LOI is a foreign language that implies many difficulties for the learners. However, Malians nowadays have adopted positive attitudes towards the use of NL for administrative, commercial and education purposes. This is illustrated by the recent officialisation of such languages, clearly recommended by the population though French is still considered as language of work. This can be explained by the non-readiness of Malian tongues to serve in all the components of institutional structure. In addition, only very few Malians can effectively write and read in their languages. Meantime, the intention is clearly to get rid of the colonial language as official language.

Chapter 3

The Methodology and Data Analysis

3.1 Introduction

This chapter is divided into two parts. The first part outlines the methodological approach adopted to conduct this study and the second deals with the analysis and interpretation of the collected data. In the first part, the methodological setting is discussed. Therefore, it details the research design, the type of data collected, the sampling and the research tools used to collect data. Setting the methodology is important to conduct a research. This research tends to examine the perceptions and attitudes of Malians particularly learners and teachers towards using French or the National Languages NL in education.

3.2 Part 1: the Methodological Design

3.2.1 The Research Design

To provide reliable researched data for the present study, the mixed methods approach was adopted based on fieldwork research method. In fact, it is a descriptive case study targeting a specific group from a large population. Moreover, this approach involves in providing quantitative and qualitative data accounting for the research. Therefore, it also requires the use of different research instruments. By limitations to use observation and test research tools, only questionnaires and interviews were used as part of research instruments that are significant in providing quantitative and qualitative data. In addition, the data obtained were collected from different sources (learners and teachers) which determine thenceforth the target sample addressed in the study.

3.2.2 Data Collection

In order to collect data for this research, the mixed methods approach which refers to the use of the quantitative and the qualitative approaches in the same research was used to collect quantitative and qualitative data. Both are significant for this study in the sense that the quantitative will help to provide numerical measurements, which will be assessed through a follow-up explanation of the qualitative results.

3.2.3 Sampling

A group of participants was selected from a large population, thus making up the sample for the study in hand. For research credibility, the current research targets learners and teachers from high school to university regardless of their domain of study and teaching.

3.2.3.1 Learners and Teachers

Learners as well as teachers were selected from different educational levels and domains from high school (secondary education) to university for investigations in this study. Although language education issues concern all levels of study, the primary education pupils and teachers were not included in the present research simply because of their rare use of social media in the sense that it was, in whole, conducted online. Since the case study is related to the language education context in Mali, they both must be Malians. Learners must have attained their basic literacy in Malian school and teachers must be teaching in Mali. For research accuracy and for generalisation, a number of 120 participants responded to the questionnaire. However, such number is departed into two categories including learners with 103 respondents and teachers with 17 participants. However, 07 participants (learners and teachers) passed the interviews.

3.2.4 Data Collection Instruments

By limitations to use observation and test as part of the data collection tools, the data were collected using only questionnaires and interviews. They were in fact conducted online in order to reach participants not close to the researcher. Moreover, these research tools aim at providing both quantitative and qualitative data. In addition, the questions were addressed to learners and teachers separately.

3.2.4.1 Learner's Questionnaire

The present questionnaire was designed with the intention to provide adequate answers to the three research questions mentioned earlier in the general introduction from learners' perspective. Therefore, it was constructed upon three sections and each section is related to one research question. The questionnaire comprised multiple-choice questions listed as a scale of *strongly agree* opposed to *strongly disagree*, where the participants only have to show their position on the scale. Only few closed-ended questions were included in the questionnaire. However, the questionnaire was composed in French as learners are most familiar with it in academic contexts. Since it was an online questionnaire, it was sent to learners via WhatsApp and Messenger.

3.2.4.2 Teachers' Questionnaire

This questionnaire almost constituted the same characteristics as of learners' one, intended also to tackle the three research questions. Therefore, it grouped the results into three sections and each section relate to the relevant research question. In details, the first section will evaluate teachers' attitudes towards the use their native languages in education compared to French. Then, the second section will see whether they agree or disagree with the hypothesis mentioned earlier related to the second research question. Lastly, the third section will tend to reveal whether teachers are for or against turning the NL into officials in the draft of the new constitution. The same structure is also considered in the analysis of learners' questionnaire. In addition, it was also an online questionnaire, composed in French and sent to teachers by means of social media such as WhatsApp and Messenger.

3.2.4.3 Learners and Teachers' Interviews

It was designed with the aim to provide an in-depth understanding through a follow-up explanation of the statistical findings that need argumentation. In fact, it was the second and last research instrument used in this study. Social media (WhatsApp and Messenger) were used as communication channels in conducting the interviews. Only 05 learners and 02 teachers were interviewed and they were switching between two languages (French and Bamanankan). Moreover, the interviews were mid-structured, in order to overlap questions regarding the answers of the respondents.

3.3 Part 2: Data Analysis and Interpretation

As the previous part set up the methodology used in conducting this research, the present part exposes detail analysis and interpretation of the data that were collected by means of questionnaires and interviews.

3.3.1 Analysis of Questionnaires and Interviews

3.3.1.1 Learner's Questionnaires and Interviews

These online questionnaires and interviews are made up around the three research questions, which therefore group the analysis of data into three main sections. Each section tends to provide answers to the related research question. The results obtained through questionnaire and interview for each section are exposed in numerical value based on tables and graphs. Before this, some background information are provided about the respondents.

- **Participants' Background Information**

- a. *Level of Study*

Table 3-1 : Learners' level of study

Level of study	Number	Percentage
High school	5	5%
Bachelor	41	40%

Master	43	41%
others	14	14%
Total	103	100%

Given that language education policy concerns all levels of learning, their appearance is important for this study. Therefore, the participants have different educational levels and domains ranging from high school to university. In fact, it is clear that the number of bachelor and master students in this research is very significant among the others. In addition, the sample consists of learners from the three types of schools (classical, bilingual and medersas schools).

b. Place of Residence

Table 3-2 : Learners' place of residence

Place of residence	Number
In Mali	64
Outside Mali	49
Total	103

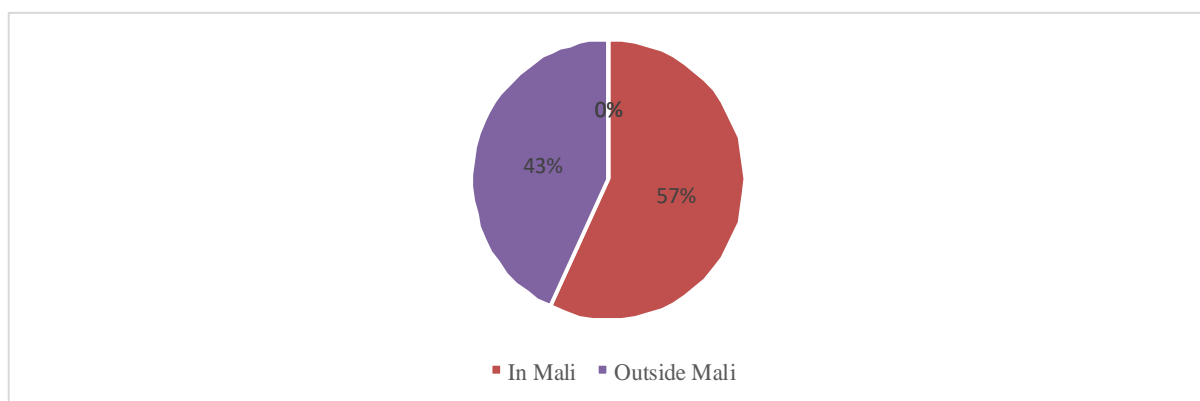


Figure 3-1: Learners' place of residence

Although the study targeted Malian learners, the respondents appear to reside in Mali and across Africa, specifically in Algeria for educational purposes. Nevertheless, 57% (64) of the respondents are and study in Mali and 43% (49) reside and study

outside Mali. This implies the collection of flexible data about attitudes mainly among the outsiders who are exposed to the linguistic policy of the resident country.

c. Ethnic Group and Mother Tongue

Table 3-3: Learners' ethnic group

Ethnic group	Number
Bambara	27
Sénoufo	20
Peulh (fulfulde)	12
Bobo	6
Minianka	6
Soninké	5
Touareq	5
Dogon	4
Malinké	4
Songhay	4
Khassonké	3
Bozo	2
Maure	1
Mossi	1
Sarakole	1
Somonon	1
Total	103

This table clearly shows that the respondents are from different ethnic groups. This illustrates the multicultural background existing in the country. The most represented ethnic group in this study is Bambara with 27 (26.2%) participants.

d. Learners' Mother Tongue

Table 3-4 : Learners' mother tongue

Participants' mother tongue	Number
Bamanankan	56
Sénoufo	13
Peulh (Fulfulde)	5
Dogon	4
Songhay	3
Tamasheq	5
Bobo	6
Minianka	3
Soninké	4
Malinké	2
Khassonké	1
Bozo	1
Total	103

Table 3-4 clearly confirms what has been stated earlier in the first chapter that the language does not substantially reveal one's ethnic origin in Mali. As argued by Vydrine (1994:200)¹²,

“It is well known in West Sudan that a person's ethnic belonging depends all on his origin and not on his language or culture. In other words, his ethnic and linguistic profiles do not necessarily coincide, especially in urban settings, where very often the first language is different from the father or mother tongue”.

Therefore, when it comes to the first language (mother tongue) and even culture a Malian speaker acquires, it does not always correspond to his/her ethnic origin. It is witnessed in the table above, where for instance more than the 27 (26.2%) of Bambara origin among the 103 informants acquired Bamanankan as their first language and less

¹² “Il est bien connu que dans le soudan occidental, l'ethnie d'une personne est déterminé tout d'abord par son origine, et non pas par sa langue ou sa culture. Autrement dit, les situations ethniques et linguistiques, surtout en milieu urbain, peuvent être très différentes, la langue « première » étant assez différente de la langue « paternelle » et de la langue « maternelle ».

than the 20 (20.4) of Sénoufo origin speak the Sénoufo as first language. Also, the 12 (11.7%) of Peulh are reduced to 05 (4.9%) who use the Peulh as their first language. Furthermore, it also confirms Skattum (2010) statement that more than 80% of Malians speak Bamanankan as first or second language.

e. Languages the Participants speak (Participants' Bilingual State)

Table 3-5: Learners' bilingual state

Bilingual state	Languages spoken	Number
Monolingual	1	7
Bilingual	2	25
Tri/multilingual	3 or more	71

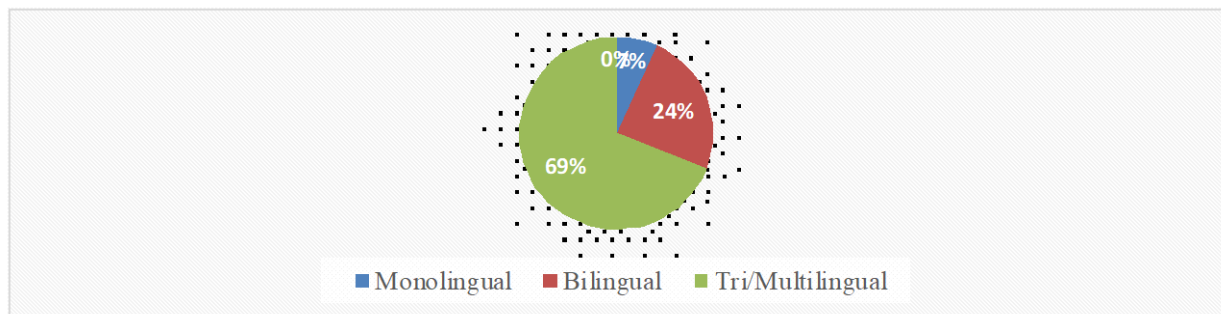


Figure 3-2 : Learners' bilingual state

The results related to this question concede the large multilingualism Malians are characterised with. It also exposes that in addition to the respondents' first language, 71 (69%) of them speak two or three other languages among them are surely Bamanankan or French. Another 25 (24%) respondents speak only one additional language mainly a medium of instruction (French/Arabic), and just 07 respondents are monolinguals.

f. Language of Instruction at School

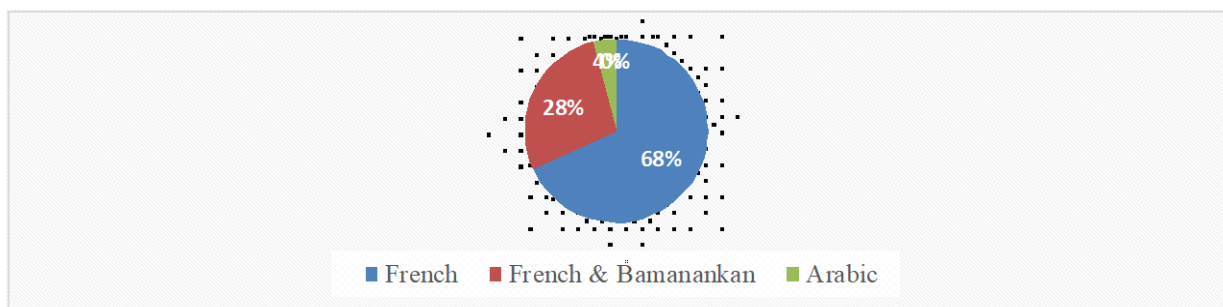


Figure 3-3 : Learners' language of instruction

These results indicate that the vast majority 70 (68%) of the respondents received their basic literacy in French since it is the official medium of instruction in their country. However, it can be noticed that the bilingual (NL/French) education is practiced in some places, illustrated by the fact that 29 (28%) of our respondents used Bamanankan as medium of instruction in their initial grades and then shifted to French by grade 4, exactly as proposed by the bilingual education approaches (CT, CBA). Given the existence of Islamic schools where the LOI is exclusively Arabic, it is not surprising that some of the respondents 4 (4%) had Arabic as language of instruction.

3.3.1.1.1 Section 1: The attitudes of learners towards their native languages and French

This section tended to answer the first research question related to the attitudes learners develop towards their native tongues as means of transmitting educational contents compared to French. The data collected using both research tools (questionnaire and interview) is analysed and presented jointly. This will help to discuss simultaneously the results from different angles.

a. French Language Instruction resulting to Low Literacy rate

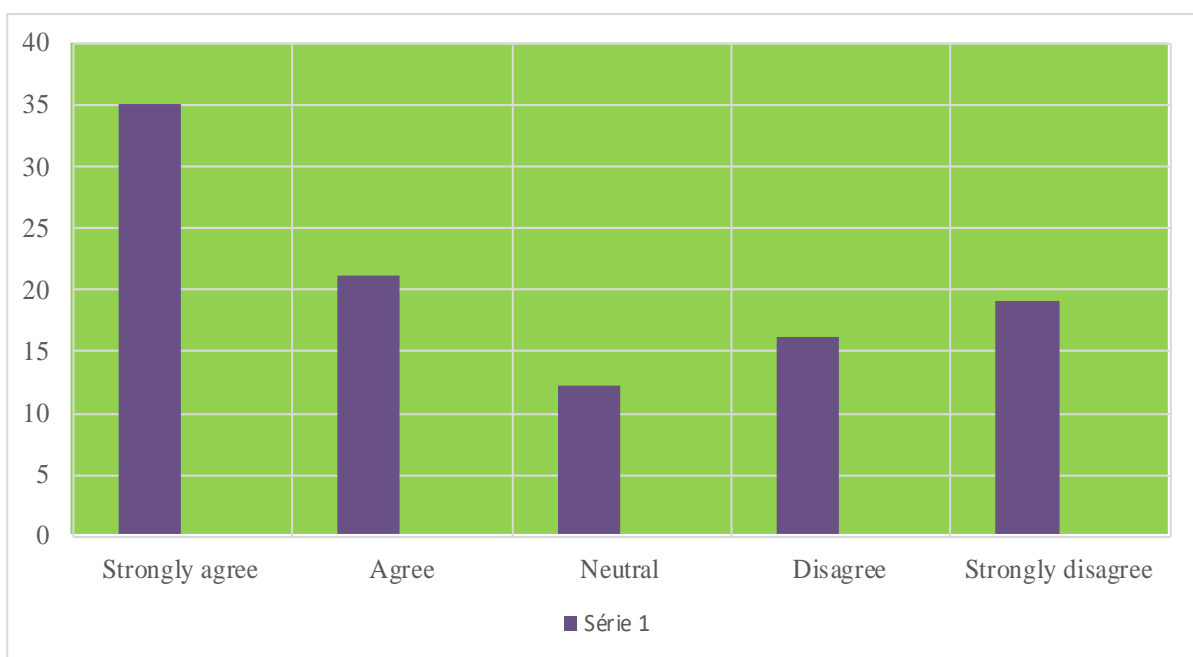


Figure3-4 : The relation of low literacy and French instruction in Mali

In order to verify if learners agree with the allegations that French instruction results in low literacy, massive dropouts and retakes, a scale of *strongly agree* to *strongly disagree* was designed as an answer option. As the results detail, a major number 35 (34%) of the respondents *strongly agree* that the low literacy of Malians is related to French which is foreign to them. An additional number of 21 (20.4%) respondents, regardless of the degree simply *agree* with the allegation. In fact, more than the half of respondents assert that French as MI introduces difficulties for learners in terms of academic attainment and performance. However, the option *strongly disagree* was chosen by 19 (18.4%) respondents to show strictly their disagreement and a percentage of 15.5% (or 16 respondents) somehow *disagree* with such observation. Moreover, a percentage of 11.7% (12 respondents of 103) show their neutrality vis-à-vis this observation attributed to French instruction.

Interviewing learners helped to provide some qualitative evidences concerning the relevant question. Out of these interviews, the learners appeared to fall in the same view. The 05 interviewees discussed French instruction for being resulting in low, non-quality literacy. They also affirm that such situation increases the dropouts and retakes in schools because learners do not master French. Therefore, it is difficult for them to understand effectively the contents of the courses taught. One interview went beyond educational context and reported that “*keeping French as MI and official language constitutes a cultural, political and economic suicide*”. He argues that this is so because the official affairs are linked to French regardless of the fact that no more than 30% Malians understand French, and learners struggle to achieve higher education because of its role of MI.

b. The Learning Efficiency of Malians Languages compared to French

This question particularly attempted to evaluate the efficiency of mother tongue education beside learners. Answering options were exposed on a scale of *strongly agree* to *strongly disagree*. Thus, it can be noticed that half of the respondents 49.5% *strongly agree* with mother education being more efficient than of a foreign language as well as 21 (20.4%) respondents who only opted for the option ‘*agree*’. This allows one to argue that a large number (72) of the respondents of the 103 think that teaching in one’s mother tongue is significantly useful and essential in achieving higher and quality education. However, only 9.7% (10) of our informants *strongly disagree* and an additional 8.7% simply *disagree*, and claimed to prefer French instruction. A percentage of 11.7% (12) of the respondents appeared to hold equal importance in learning through Malian tongues as such in French displaying their neutrality, as exposed in the following figure.

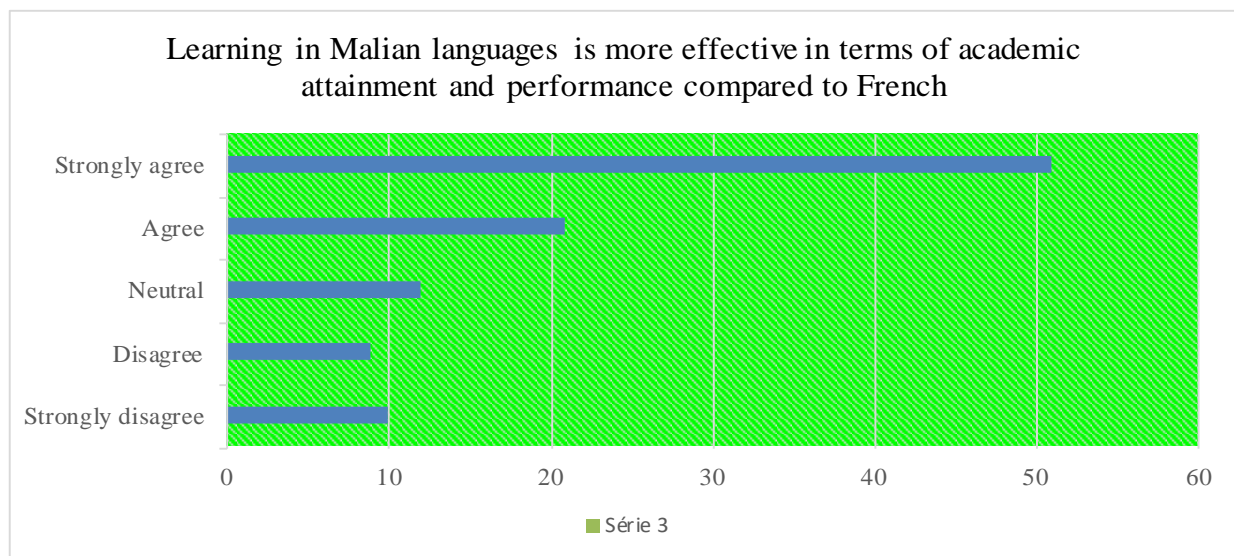


Figure 3-5 : The relation of learning efficacy and mother tongue instruction

The interviews related to this question display a common agreement among the interviewees. They all conceded that if Malian languages come to replace French in education, learners would be more comfortable in their learning. As reported by one of the interviewees that “*the learner controls his/her language at all levels without any contour*”. In addition, they argue that the learner will likely tend to understand the

contents taught in class rather to only memorise them by heart in order to score good average in examinations. Another interviewee illustrated this point from his experience where he said,

“The word ‘salubrité’ (salubrity) I didn’t hear before, was given as a topic during an examination to discuss in an essay and I confidently tackled it as a celebration. By default to refer to it as a celebration instead of cleaning, I scored low average.”

He also mentioned that if it were his mother tongue instead, that would never happen. Yet, understanding the contents introduced in schools helps to score good grade and beyond reinforces the critical thinking and innovative ability of the learner.

c. Experience in Mother Tongue Instruction

This question simply attempted to see if Malian languages instruction is rather actually efficient than is the French one for learners.

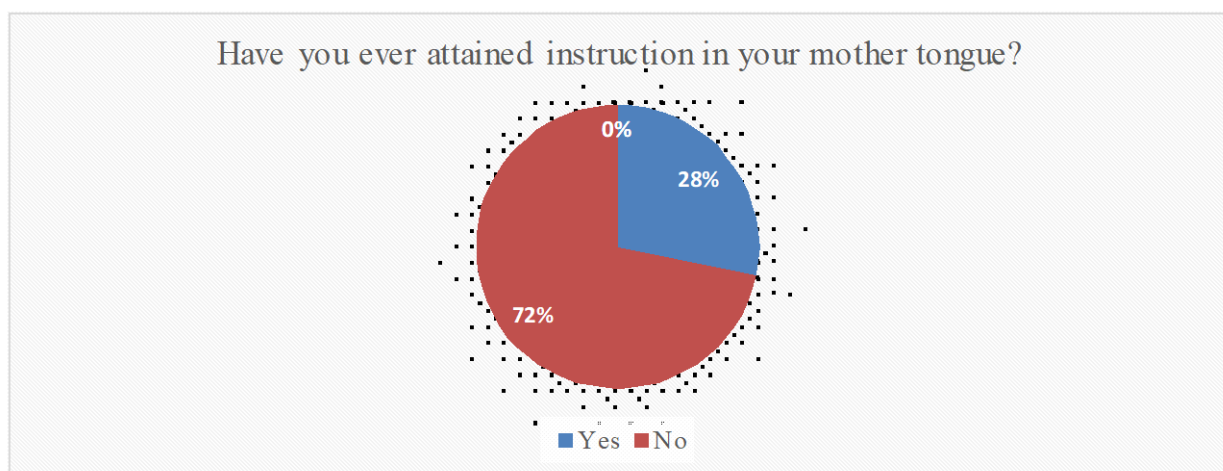


Figure 3-6 : Learners' attainment of mother tongue instruction

As the figure shows, only 29 (28%) of the respondents have attained at least a small part of their education exclusively in their mother tongue. Therefore, the vast majority of the respondents (72%) did not experience exclusive mother tongue instruction. This blends the verity upon the non-application of bilingual measures undertaken in all Malian schools. However, the small number of the participants having experienced mother tongue education clearly expressed their attachment to mother education. In a common view as in the questionnaire as in the interviews (just

02 interviewees), they all reported that they had practically enjoyed developing their initial literacy in their mother tongue. They argued that it helped them integrating in the educational environment even though they shifted to French instruction progressively. Since they were asked to compare MT and French instruction, consent arguments could be met in their results in the sense that the respondents tend to raise their MT instruction above the French one. Some informants argued that not only the language but also the education system implies learning difficulties and is therefore a delay in the view that,

“When a child starts schooling, the language he/she acquired at home will be abandoned for French learning, so he/she then needs time to adapt to the new educational environment. Hence, it is not only a waste of time; but also importantly a cultural and identity alienation”.

He furthermore argued that concrete and effective actions should be carried on to make a mother tongue-based education for Malian cultural and identity preservation, and for national development.

3.3.1.1.2 Section 2: Obstacles met in implementing the Use of National Languages (NL) in Education

This section is articulated around the second research question, which tended to discover the obstacles (barriers) that stood in front of the implementation of Malian national languages into education. It comprised only one question, which was answered by using both the research instruments (questionnaires and interviews). Therefore, the data collected from learners using these instruments will be analysed and interpreted jointly.

a. Obstacles faced in implementing National Languages in Education

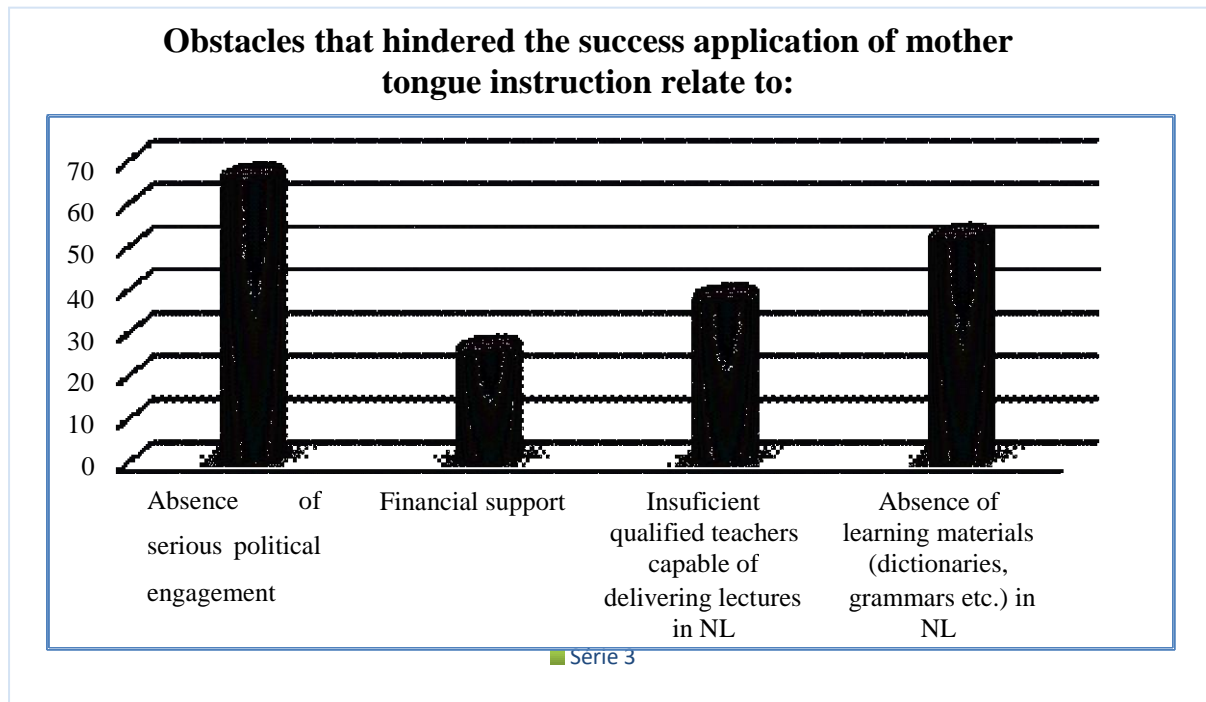


Figure 3-7 : The obstacles behind the failure of mother tongue instruction in Mali

As far as this question is concerned, learners were provided with several possible answers in a multiple-choice form and were asked to select any factor they think was relevant in preventing Malian national languages to serve as MI. As presented by the graph 3-7, the aspect of the absence of political engagement appeared 66 (64.1%) times in learners' answers. This builds on the verity that although the measures previously taken to introduce the NL in education were initiated by governmental decisions, the political actors did not seem to afford much effort in translating such decisions into concrete actions. They in fact argued that this factor concerns only the different authorities since the democratisation of the country, i.e. from 1991 to nowadays. Moreover, the authorities during the post-colonial period at least put efforts to experiment the use of some NL in school. In addition, all the 05 interviewees insisted on the same aspect. One learner mentioned that *“even if there exist other factors, I only insist on the absence of serious political engagement of the democrats that succeeded each other”*. Then, the second factor mostly mentioned relate to the absence of learning materials in the NL as it is mentioned 52 (50.5%) times. On this point, one interviewee thinks that there exist learning materials (dictionaries,

textbooks), but their practices in schools are not encouraged. He furthermore mentioned the N'KO¹³ writing system. In fact, the N'KO is a writing system created in 1949 for the Manding languages¹⁴. But, it is said to be able to write all Malian and other African languages. However, the government does not recognise such writing system; neither use it to transcribe Malian languages. Yet, associations have been created among the population to develop and promote its use. Moreover, the absence of qualified teachers capable of delivering lectures in NL was another big obstacle for the NL to serve as MI. It comes 38 (36.4%) times in the respondents' answers. Of the aspects proposed, the absence of financial support was the least evoked by the learners. It appeared only 26 (25.2%) times. However, the interviewees cited this aspect frequently.

3.3.1.1.3 Section 3: Learners' Attitudes towards the Officialisation of National Languages

The present section intended to provide adequate answers to the third research question that is related to the officialisation of NL in the preliminary draft of the new constitution. Indeed, it tended to see whether the learners are for or against such officialisation, what aspects or factors have truly favoured it and evaluate the readiness of NL to serve in formal contexts. The results obtained using questionnaire and interviews are once again analysed and interpreted jointly.

a. *The Attitudes of Learners towards Officialisation of NL in the Draft*

Table 3-6 : Learners' Attitudes towards the Officialisation of NL

	Agree	Neutral	Disagree
The NL become the official languages.	73.5%	9.7%	6.8%

The above table clearly shows that 73.5% (86) of the respondents *are for turning* Malian national languages into officials. This is not a surprise after looking at the

¹³It was created by Solomana Kanté in 1949

¹⁴These are : Bamanankan, Malinké, Soninké, Bozo and Khassonké

positive attitudes they portray towards their native tongues. Only 9.7% (10) of them stay *neutral* and do not hold position towards this decision and 6.8% (07) of the 103 participants *disagree* and do not support the decision to officialise these languages. Moreover, considering the results obtained through interviewing, the 05 learners fell in the same agreement. Some of them justified this by overtly reporting that “*it is a great step forward a real independence, a real prosperity*”. However, two interviewees proposed that officialising only one language (e.g. Bamanankan) should be prioritised and experienced first. They claimed that this would help to cope with financial constraints. For them, officialising the 13 NL will require strong financial support, which the country will hardly be able to afford regarding its economic background, whereas one-language policy implementations would be of a moderate demand. Some interviewees also show their disagreement with French again being remained in the constitution as the *language of work*.

In fact, it is suspicious to believe a rough shift to local language official communication and medium of instruction (MI) once the constitution is adopted. After analysing the following question, one will clearly understand what factors led decision-makers to give status to NL even if concrete and effective actions will not follow up.

b. Aspects/Factors that have favoured the Officialisation of NL by the New Authorities

This question tended to know what factors have led the decision-makers to suddenly officialise the National Languages NL. In fact, it was a multiple-choice question, which means that the respondents can select more than one answer.

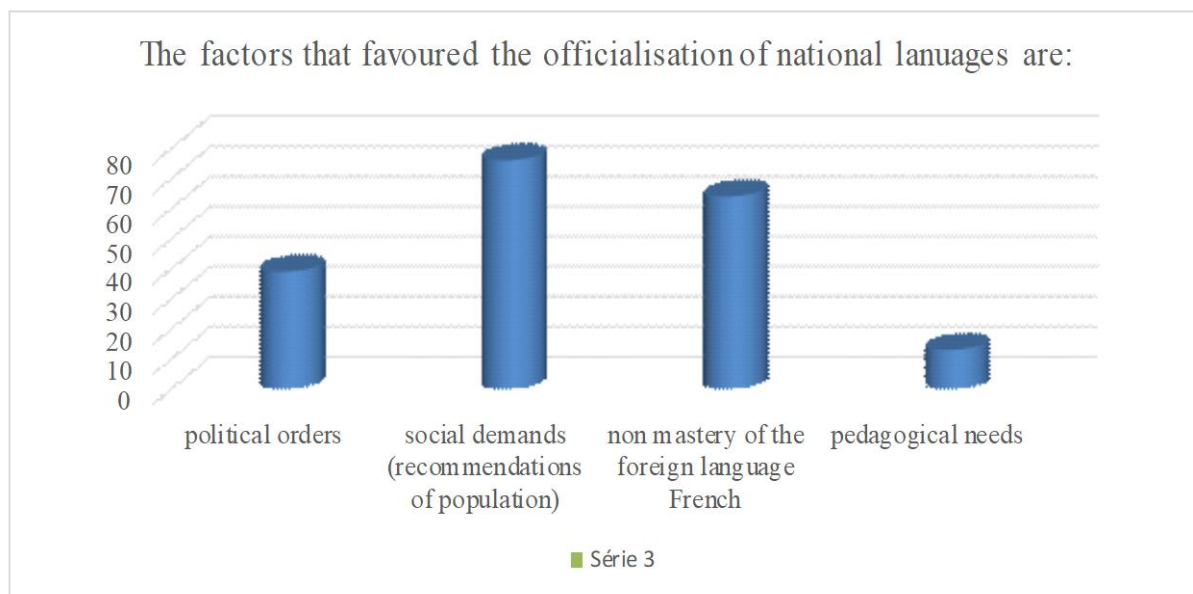


Figure 3-8: The factor behind NL Officialisation

From the above result representation, the upmost important factor that has driven decision-makers to give official status to NL constituted the social demands, hence the recommendations Malians formulated following the national meetings for the Refoundation of Mali (Assises Nationales pour la Refondation (ANR) du Mali. This aspect is cited 76 (73.8%) times in learners' responses. It is followed by the non-mastery of French among Malians being mentioned 64 (62.1%) times by the respondents. This factor is important since the French instruction is often subsumed to result in low literacy, dropouts and retakes in schools. Per consequent, Malians believed that in order to avoid such issues, a language the learners are familiar with should replace French in all its dimensions in the society. However, pedagogical needs slightly favoured the allocation of the status and use of NL, although such aspect is only appeared 13 (12.6%) times in the results. Moreover, the factor of political decisions scored a 37.9% in the result.

From these standpoints, it can be summed up that because of mostly the recommendations of Malian population that decision-makers in a second round officialise their native tongues in the draft of the new constitution. They claimed that French being a colonial mark is an imported language they do not master. However, it is clearly seen that political engagements, although they are the decision-makers, did not play a great deal in making the indigenous languages officials. The role of

decision-makers was strongly influenced by the population. It can therefore be subsumed and argued that the NL are only officialised just to please Malians but not based on serious political engagements. This is what is referred to as a language assimilation policy.

c. The Readiness of NL to serve in Formal Sphere

Table 3-7 : The readiness of NL to serve in formal sphere

	Agree	Neutral	Disagree
The NL are ready enough to be promoted into officials.	53%	14%	33%

Table 3-7 presents that 53% of the respondents think that the NL are ready enough in terms of codification to cope with the current stance they are given. This is opposed by a 33% of the respondents. And, a percentage of 14% (14) of the 103 learners investigated do not hold position in whether or not, the NL are necessarily equipped to shift to official standing. However, although a considerable percentage 33% (34) of the respondents) think that the NL are not sufficiently equipped for the formal activities, it should be explained that a particular language structure is developed only if its status is influenced. To put it in other words, the status allocation determines the codification of a defined language or language variety.

If we unburden to the interviews for an in-depth understanding, it often comes out that although the NL were provided with codification practices mainly in 1982, their learning practices have not been very much supported. It is discussed that only very few Malians can write and read in an indigenous language. Above all, some (03) interviewees appeal to the authorities to engage immediately in developing a linguistic corpus adapted to today scientific and technological exigencies for the NL or just one dominant NL, namely *Bamanankan*.

3.3.1.2 Teachers' Questionnaire and Interviews

- **Participants' Background Information**

Not only learners are concerned with language education planning, teachers are also important agents while doing such practices. In this regard, teachers were investigated around the three research questions that helps in constructing three sections for its analysis. Therefore, the results obtained from teachers using questionnaire and interviews for each section will once again be discussed and presented jointly.

Almost based on the similar sample selection of learners, teachers are also selected from different educational levels and domains, but they all teach and reside in Mali. Varying in ethnic belonging and mother tongue acquisition, they also use different languages in teaching. In fact, they were 17 teachers to response to the questionnaire and only 02 to achieve interviews.

a. Language of Teaching

Table 3-8: Language of Teaching

Language of teaching	French	English	French & Bamanankan	Arabic & French	Bambara
Number	8	5	2	1	1

The teachers investigated in this research use different languages to deliver lectures in their classes. This is because the respondents who use other languages than French teach only these languages as subjects. This means that the 05 respondents who use English are certainly teachers of English as a foreign language. But, the 08 French users can be teachers in scientific fields or simply teachers of French literature. The 01 respondent using only Bambara teaches it as a subject too since it is taught as a subject in high school for art and language learners. The 02 respondents who use French and Bamanankan teach French literature and Bamanankan as a subject. The last respondent using Arabic and French is certainly a merdersa teacher whose medium of instruction is Arabic, but teaches in parallel French as an optional subject.

3.3.1.2.1 Section 1: Teachers' Attitudes towards NL Education compared to French

a. *The Relation between Low Literacy and the French Instruction in Mali*

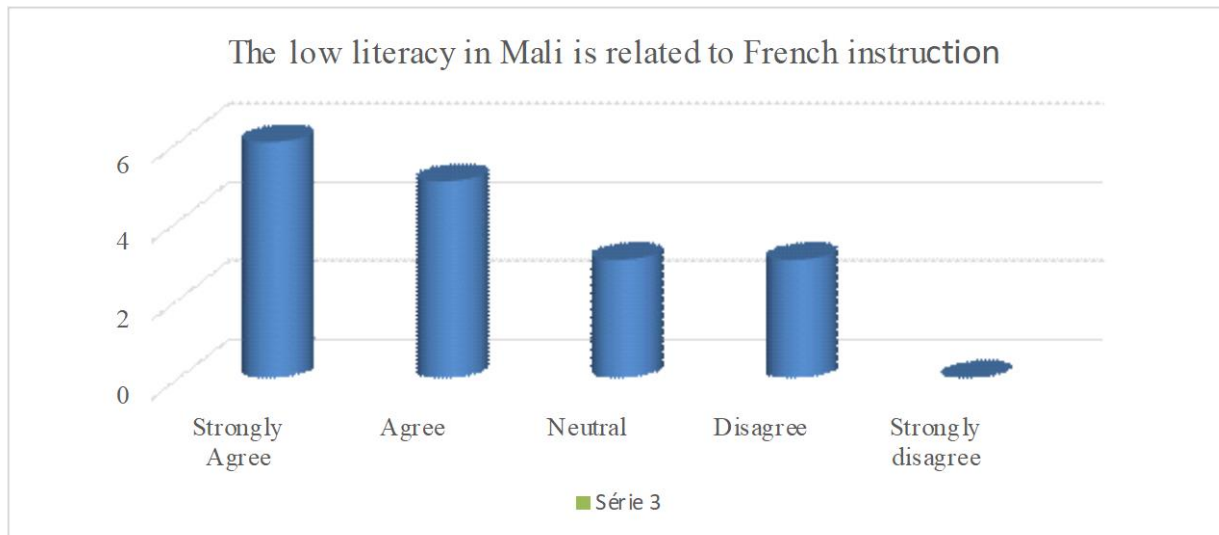


Figure 3-9 : Relation between low literacy and French instruction

This graph geographically reveals that from the scale of *strongly agree* and *strongly disagree*, 06 (35.3%) of the teachers included in this study *strongly agree* that French as the main medium of instruction for Malian learners leads to low literacy rate. An additional 29.4% (05) of the respondents *agree*, regardless of the degree, with the fact that if a multilingual speech community at the cost of their own languages use a foreign language, not previously spoken by locals, as the MI like the case of Mali, learners likely face difficulties in achieving higher and quality education. Therefore, such situation leads to increase the number of children failing and leaving schools. However, 03 (17.6%) of the respondents believe that mother tongue and foreign language instructions are equal in terms of academic attainment and performance. Furthermore, a percentage of 17.6% (03) simply disagree and think that

Interestingly, from the interviews, the 02 interviewees both do not hold supporting point related to the low literacy in Mali being a consequence of French instruction. As one put in the same line of the other that:

“If French instruction provokes learning difficulties? No, not necessarily, I believe that it is due to the lack of motivation because the learners are informed about the risk of unemployment after achieving school, some leave school and try to do other things”

However, one added other factors such as the absence of efforts of learners, lack of follow-up, evaluations by education planners and great investment in education, and lastly the foreign language (French). He explained that the non-mastery of French is involved but not solely, as other factors also contribute.

b. The Learning Efficacy of Mother Tongue Education

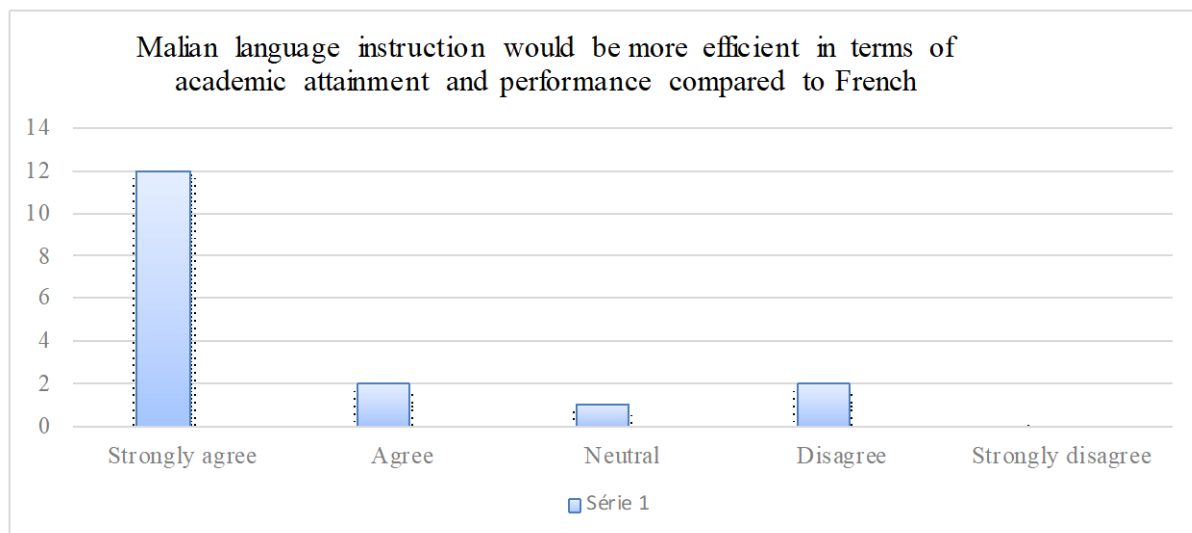
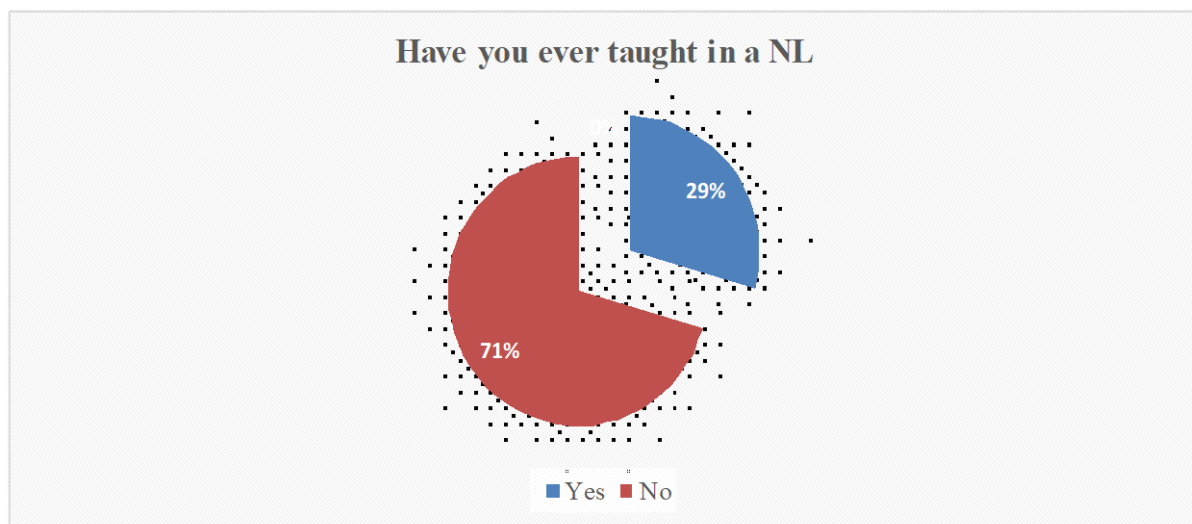


Figure 3-10 : Learning efficacy of mother tongue education

It can be said that the teachers are aligned with learners in perceiving mother tongue-based instruction being importantly and largely more effective than French (foreign language) instruction. As exposed in figure 3-10, a large number of participants (14 or 82.4%) globally *agree* that MT education is decidedly essential for learners to massively perform considerably and that Malian tongues instruction would therefore be effective and productive in terms of academic achievement if they one day replace French as MI. However, 02 respondents of the 17 appeared to *disagree*, questioning the learning efficacy of Malian languages and warning about their possible

usage in the future as main media of instruction. Only 01 respondents did not develop argument about this question and stayed neutral.

In order to provide qualitative examinations about the above the statistical measurements, interviews were carried out. Out of them, the 02 interviewees firmly expressed their agreement with the fact that when Malians concretely start teaching educational contents in their local languages, they would much prefer to have started very earlier. Not only because of its effective academic performance, but also because of the impact it would have on other sectors like administration, economic as well as jurisdiction.



c. Mother Tongue Teaching

Figure 3-11 : Experience in mother teaching

Given the educational context of Mali, it is fair enough to find 12 (71%) of the 17 participants in this research who have never taught their classes in a local language. However, it should come with clarification that the 05 (29%) respondents who have taught in a NL refers to teaching this language as a subject mainly in high school and at university. When this 29% of respondents tend to compare this teaching to that of French, they argue that they feel comfortable in using NL and the learners participate more. The 02 interviewees backed this argument up, although they use French as MI, as one stated that *“sometimes I tend to explain some things in Bamanankan in order to make sure that the learners understand what is written”*. The other one follows in

saying “I once asked a question in French and the learners seemed to not know the answer. But, when I asked the same question in Bamanankan, everyone raised their fingers willing to answer it”.

3.3.1.2.2 Section 2: The Obstacles met in implementing NL Education

a. Obstacles behind the Failure of NL Education

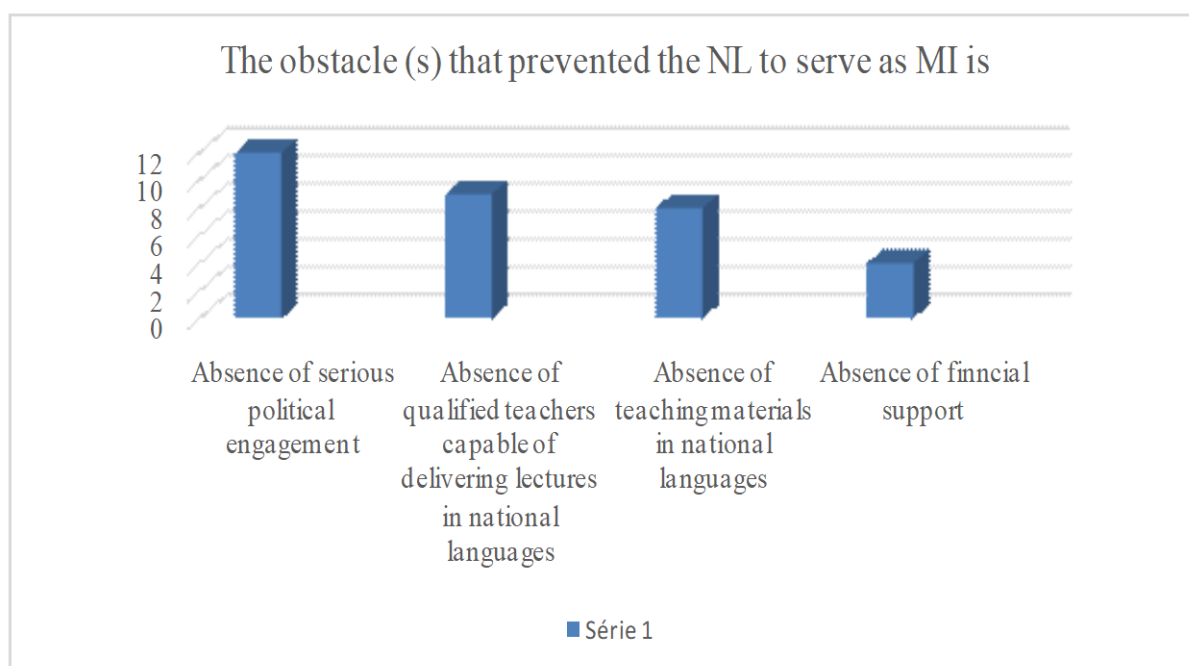


Figure 3-12 : The obstacles behind the failure of NL education

Teachers are tended to bear similar factors as learners that have made it difficult for education planners to successfully implement indigenous languages as means of teaching in class. As yields by *figure 3-12*, teachers agree with learners that the main obstacle relates to the absence of serious political engagement, being cited 12 (64.7%) times in the result, above the absence of qualified teachers capable of delivering lectures in NL. The latter scored a percentage of 54.9% making it the second main obstacle behind the failure of the application of NL instruction. The absence of adequate teaching materials available in NL was also a significant obstacle, being mentioned 08 (47.1%) times, that stumbled the teaching of Malians in their native tongues. This is referred to the non-translation of the contents of courses, existing in French, into the NL. The financial constraint was only mentioned 04 times (a score of

23.5%). In addition, some obstacles were added including the official status given to French in the constitution, which constitutes the mother of any law application in the society. Therefore, using NL as media of instruction would contradict the constitution. Also, the association of French with the social and economic mobility, and political privilege was raised as an obstacle related the failure to use NL as MI.

Furthermore, the 02 interviewees came out in reinforcing qualitatively the results obtained from the questionnaire. They commonly blamed the political actors especially the democrats to have missed out starting with the officialisation of indigenous language. They believed that official status appropriation would have supported at all levels and encouraged explicitly their use, corpus development and learning. In this vein, one respondent subsumed any other obstacles as results from the ambiguous political position over NL policy practices. He put it into words like “*sincerely, there has not been a true authoritative desire to change things, otherwise authorities are there to eliminate possible obstacles but they didn’t do so*”.

3.3.1.2.3 Section 3: Teachers’ Attitudes towards the Officialisation of NL in the Preliminary Draft of the New Constitution

a. *As a teacher, I am for turning national languages NL into officials*

Table 3-9 : Attitudes towards NL officialisation

	Agree	Neutral	Disagree
The national languages NL become officials	82.4%	11.8%	5.9%

It is clear that teachers, and previously learners, are strongly in favour to raise the status of their tongues, so far being marginalised. The above table reveals that 82.4% of teachers questioned *agree* with NL officialisation. Only 01 (5.9%) of the 17 respondents *disagree* with such decision. However, 02 (11.8%) informants express their *neutrality* towards the decision to promote NL.

Unlike learners, teachers’ explanations through interviews have evoked the need to officialise one language specifically Bamanankan as it is the most spoken language. They think that in order to avoid malfunction of such linguistic policy, policy-makers

should give prior to Bamanankan and then mention the other NL as second official languages. As spoken by one interviewee that “*I think not all of them at the same time. The most dominant one can be chosen as official and the others as second official languages*”. In addition, they argued that implementing local languages into formal domains could enhance national development. They also believed that a linguistic resource management reflects a crucial activity in planning the society. As just affirmed by Cooper (1989:182), “Language is the fundamental institution of society. To plan language is to plan society”.

b- The factors that accelerated the officialisation of NL

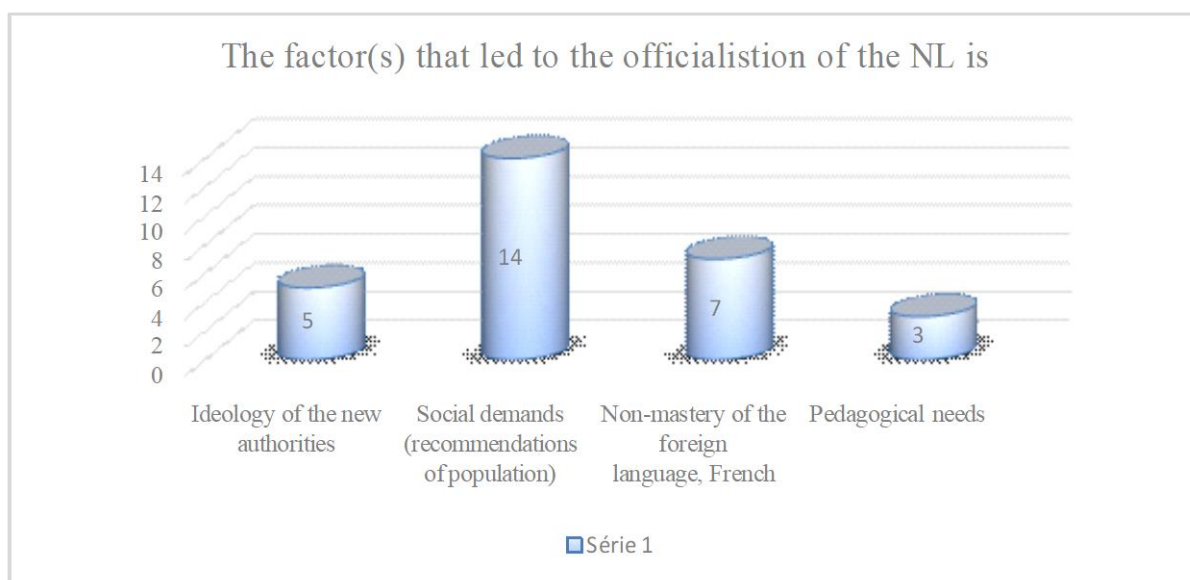


Figure 3-13 : The factors behind officialisation of the NL

The responses of teachers related to this question do not contradict the findings obtained from learners. This means that at large it is because of the demands of population that their own languages are given official stance in the draft of the new constitution. Nevertheless, this is what 14 (82.4%) of the 17 respondents think has played a major role. Following interviews, teachers explained that there are definitely factors behind those recommendations. Among them, they mentioned the fact that French is foreign to Malians and therefore implies learning difficulties. In fact, this argument constitutes often a major factor that favoured NL officialisation if looked at the statistical findings from the questionnaire analysis where it scored a percentage of 41.2%. This factor is therefore important as it contributed in pushing Malians to call

for NL officialisation. Although the language status coordination is reserved to authoritative aspect, it is clearly established in this study that such aspect has been extremely influenced and oriented by a popular socio-psychological perspective to value and introduce local tongues in the standard of intellectuality. However, they recognised that it would take time to shift to a local official language in its totality, but it should be started earlier.

c- The readiness of NL to serve in formal contexts

The results are mixed concerning the capacity of Malian national languages to serve in formal contexts. As it is noted that 41.2% (07 respondents) think that the NL are not codified enough to be promoted into formal contexts, opposed to a 35.3% (06 respondents) believe that such languages have the capacity to cope with formal domain exigencies. However, the other 23.5% (04) respondents remains neutral about the corpus planning practices to NL, as presented in the table below.

Table 3-10 : The readiness of NL o serve in formal contexts

	Agree	Neutral	Disagree
The national languages NL are ready enough to serve in formal contexts	35.3%	23.5%	41.2%

Although, the teachers investigated in this research agree with the officialisation of NL, evidences from interviews revealed their recognition that these languages need to be developed in terms of structural terminology and teaching/learning materials availability in order to tackle effectively scientific and technical demands. However, they claimed that officialisation is globally the initial step into the implementation phase of a language. Accordingly, Malians, although the officialisation of their languages, would not expect immediately their native tongues to operate autonomously into the formal contexts.

3.4 Conclusion

Globally, the above discussions express that both learners and teachers develop positive attitudes towards the officialisation of their native languages, which would, if well planned and implemented into domains, ensure mother tongue-based education and hamper learning efficiency. Therefore, they overtly express their commitment to their culture and identity to the extent that they extremely influenced decision-makers to officialise their native tongues in the draft of the new constitution. Although they were divided regarding the codification of such languages capable to operate in official role, they claimed that officialisation would introduce a must drive-orientation towards the development of their languages. However, given the failure of the initial attempts to promote NL particularly into education, the respondents think that it is largely due to the lack of political engagement that also introduced or derived certain barriers such as inadequate teacher training programs, lack of teaching and learning materials, and financial support. Nowadays, policy-makers and language planners are questioned or (even obliged) to implement and bring local tongues to equality, not least with developed languages across the world. It is well understood today that driving official institutions in a local language is fundamental in the development of the country in terms of culture, education, economic, jurisdiction and political, which in any case are the levers of navigating a society. Moreover, given the fact that Mali is on the verge to experience a different linguistic policy through a process of refunding institutionally the state, attitudes of the entire agents concerned with such policy should not be neglected, and should be taken into account for the success of its implementations. By far, the attitudes and ideologies that the ones concerned with language planning hold, are appealing decision-makers and language planners to design a serious language policy that would ensure a mother tongue-based education for Malians.

General Conclusion

Linguistic policy and language education policy in Mali constitute a critical and undeveloped context. More than 60 years after independence, the country is still faced with the verity that French, the language of the old master, has a constitutional stand and remains the medium of instruction dominating the education system, although the country possesses a manifold of existing local tongues. It must therefore be admitted that the different measures attempted vis-à-vis the promotion of the use and learning of these languages have repeatedly expressed insufficiencies in implementation stages. However, the socio-psychological motivation to value local languages has recently called policy-makers, and language education planners for careful and serious enterprises to substitute French in official roles by native tongues.

The research was divided into three chapters. The first chapter was concerned with the description of the sociolinguistic situation of Mali and the presentation of certain language contact outcomes originating from cultural and linguistic pluralism. Then, the second chapter was concentrated on the actual language policy and language planning in Mali with a particular focus on education. It also reviewed the literature on the field of language planning. The last chapter consisted of setting the methodology designed to conduct the research, analysing and interpreting the collected data.

Therefore, the corporate quantitative and qualitative analyses of the data revealed interesting results as the associated hypotheses were confirmed. The findings related to the first research question are extremely insistent in confirming that learners and teachers hold positive attitudes towards their native languages compared to French. They strongly expressed their full desire to have a local language driving the formal institution communication and hence, teaching and learning in school. However, their attitudes towards French regarding its status tend to associate it with psychological and cultural domination because they think that it is assimilated into being a gate to social mobility, economic development and political privilege. If not now, one's intelligence was measured through how much the person speaks French or any other international language. Therefore, French as well as international languages were associated with intellectuality at the cost of local languages. Nowadays, such blind ideology has been unmasked and Malians, in majority are requiring the attribution of functional and

social roles to local languages and hence, the reduction of the stance and role of French to a simple foreign language. However, if French has long enjoyed prestigious status without competition, it is because of the failure of the initial measures enterprised to introduce indigenous tongues alongside it in the formal sphere. Therefore, the second hypothesis was also confirmed which relate to the obstacles that prevented these indigenous languages to serve in formal spaces. In this vein, learners as certainly as teachers think that, not only the absence of financial resources and teacher training programs that constituted barriers to introduce Malian national languages in the education system, but most significantly the absence of serious political engagement that engendered the mentioned aspects. They believe that the decision-makers were ambiguous about the advancement of bilingual education experimented, in Malian schools. Regarding the third research question, the results repeatedly show that Malians themselves imposed on the decision-makers to officialise NL. It expresses their desires and claims to replace French in its entire role by Malian national languages. It can be also mentioned that the recent revolts against the French presence played a major role, but the aspects of cultural and identity preservation, teaching/learning efficiency and real independence influenced and increased the psychological motivation of Malians to value their own tongues.

Linguistic policies have been often discussed in Mali and in many countries in sub-Saharan Africa in order to find solutions for the promotion of African languages and hence, the introduction of a mother tongue-based education. The use of local languages to conduct official business, administration, politic as well as education is useful and essential for these countries' development. In fact, they are classified among those who score lower rates of school performance and academic achievements. It would be important they implement the language citizens are most familiar with in order to provide extreme high and attractive quality education for ensuring their autonomy in terms creativity and innovation on the world scale.

The present research met some limitations. The main limitation was the incapacity to conduct a classroom observation and test as part of research instruments in providing findings that are more flexible. This limitation was due to the geographical distance between the researcher and his target sample. Another limitation

was also the non-inclusion of pupils, and learners' parents who are also concerned with language education planning. The fact that the researcher was not close to his sample led to conduct this entire research online. Moreover, the pupils not having access to internet and learners' parents whose usage of it is not frequent, brought the researcher to limit the sample to high school and university students and teachers in order to cope with the necessary use of social media in achieving this research.

Through this research, we have come across undeveloped areas for further investigation. As learners and teachers proved their attachment to a local official working language and hence, mother tongue instruction, it should be noted that this could not be realised if their languages are not developed and adjusted in order to be injected into society via schools for acquisition. They in fact argued that their tongues could not be able to serve immediately, without a corpus recycling, in formal context and provide education. However, one can bear in mind that the majority of Malians do not register a representative script of their own languages when it comes to writing and reading. This can be explained through a lack of learning practices of the alphabets provided since 1982 for the transcriptions of these languages. Alternatively, it may be that the French has fulfilled their need in that area. Therefore, it would be important to expose such scripts, decreed for local languages, to Malians through some linguistic aspects such as phonology and phonetics, morphology, and syntax. Or, also to describe if there may be a need to develop a new adequate corpus for these languages regarding the scientific and technological terminologies in today globalised world.

To sum up, one can put here and elsewhere that linguistic and language education policies are likely to be successful if attitudes of the entities concerned, are taken into strong consideration along with full support of decision-makers to the language planners in implementation stages. It therefore constitutes a top-down and bottom-up collaboration among the members of a speech community. Furthermore, a successful language education implementation secure at minimum a performant and high-quality mass education and hence, produce active citizens in developing a country.

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APPENDIX

Appendix I

Learners' Questionnaires (Original version)

Vous êtes priés de remplir ce questionnaire qui s'inscrit dans le cadre de l'élaboration d'un mémoire de master intitulé « Language Education Policy in Multilingual Mali : Keeping French or Promoting National Languages as Media of Instruction ? » (Une étude sociolinguistique de la politique linguistique éducative du Mali multilingue). Votre participation sera très appréciée.

Information personnelle

a. Niveau d'étude

.....

b. Lieu de résidence

Au Mali à l'extérieur du Mali

c. Mon ethnie est:

Bambara Peulh Sénoufo Dogon Songhay Autre:

d. Ma langue maternelle est:

Bamanankan Peulh Sénoufo Dogon Songhay Autre:

e. Les langues que je parle sont?

.....

f. Mon éducation initiale a été conduite en:

Français langue maternelle Français/langue maternelle Autre:

Section 1

a. Le Français entraîne du faible taux d'alphabétisation, des renvois et reprises de l'école

Fortement d'accord d'accord neutre en désaccord fortement en désaccord

b. L'enseignement via les langues maliennes serait plus efficace que celui du français en terme de performance académique et d'efficacité d'apprentissage

Fortement d'accord d'accord neutre en désaccord fortement en désaccord

c. Avez-vous déjà suivi l'enseignement dans votre langue maternelle?

Oui Non

Si oui, comparez l'enseignement en votre langue maternelle à celui du français en termes de réussite académique et d'efficacité d'apprentissage

.....

Section 2

a. Plusieurs mesures ont été prises pour mettre en œuvre les langues maliennes dans l'enseignement. Selon vous, quels ont été les obstacles qui ont empêchés telles langues de remplacer le français dans l'éducation?

Vous pouvez sélectionner plusieurs options ou donner votre propre avis.

Absence de volonté politique

Absence de support financier

Absence d'enseignants qualifiés capable de dispenser les cours dans les langues nationales

Absence de matériels d'apprentissages tels que les manuels, dictionnaires, grammaires etc.

Autre:

Section 3

a. En tant qu'apprenant, je suis pour l'officialisation des langues maliennes dans l'avant-projet de la nouvelle constitution

D'accord neutre en désaccord

b. Quels facteurs ont favorisés l'officialisation de ces langues?

Facteurs d'ordre politique

Les demandes sociales tel que les revendications des Maliens lors des Assises Nationales de la Refondation ANR

La non maitrise de la langue française

Exigences Pédagogiques

Autre:

c. Les langues nationales sont suffisamment codifiées pour servir dans les domaines officiels

D'accord neutre en désaccord

Learners' Questionnaire (translated version)

You are kindly asked to respond to the questionnaire that is part of the elaboration of a master thesis entitled « Language Education Policy in Multilingual Mali: Keeping French or Promoting National Languages as Media of Instruction ? ». Your participation is greatly appreciated.

Personal information

- Level of study

.....

- Place of residence

In Mali Outside Mali

- My ethnic group is

Bambara Peulh Sénoufo Dogon Songhay Other:

- My mother tongue is

Bamanankan Peulh Sénoufo Dogon Songhay Other:

- How many languages do you speak?

.....

- language of instruction for my initial literacy was

French Mother tongue French & Mother Tongue
Other:

Section 1

- a. Relation of low literacy rate, massive dropouts and retakes to French instruction

Strongly agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly disagree

- b. Instruction via mother tongue would help to increase literacy rates and reduce dropouts and retakes

Strongly agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly disagree

- c. Have you ever attained mother tongue instruction?

Yes No

If yes, compare instruction in mother tongue to that in French in terms of academic attainment and learning efficiency.

.....
.....

Section 2

- a. Several measures were undertaken to promote and implement Malian languages in education, but failed. According to you, what obstacles prevented such languages to serve in education?

- Absence of serious political engagement
- Absence of financial support
- Absence of qualified teachers capable of delivering lectures in these languages
- Absence of learning materials such as textbooks, dictionaries, grammars

Other:

Section 3

- a. The national languages are given official status in the draft of the new constitution. Are you for turning these languages into officials?

Agree

Neutral

Disagree

- b. What factors favoured the officialisation of such languages?

- Political orders from the new regime
- Social demands (recommendations of Malians during the ANR)
- The non-mastery of the foreign language, French
- Pedagogical needs

Other:

- c. The national languages are ready enough to serve in official roles

Agree

Neutral

Disagree

Teachers' Questionnaires (Original version)

Cher professeur, vous êtes priés de remplir ce questionnaire qui s'inscrit dans le cadre de l'élaboration d'un mémoire de master intitulé « Language Education Policy in Multilingual Mali: Keeping French or Promoting National Languages as Media of Instruction ? » Une étude sociolinguistique de la politique linguistique éducative du Mali multilingue). Votre participation sera très appréciée.

Information personnelle

- Niveau d'étude

.....

- Lieu de résidence

Au Mali à l'extérieur du Mali

- Mon ethnie est:

Bambara Peulh Sénoufo Dogon Songhay Autre:

- Ma langue maternelle est:

Bamanankan Peulh Sénoufo Dogon Songhay Autre:

- Les langues que je parle sont?

.....

- La langue d'enseignement que j'utilise est:

Français langue maternelle Français/langue maternelle

Autre:

Section 1

a. Le Français entraîne du faible taux d’alphabétisation, des renvois et reprises de l’école

Fortement d’accord d’accord neutre en désaccord
fortement en désaccord

b. L’enseignement via les langues maliennes serait plus efficace que celui du français en termes de performance académique et d’efficacité d’apprentissage

Fortement d’accord d’accord neutre en désaccord
fortement en désaccord

c. Avez-vous déjà suivi l’enseignement dans votre langue maternelle?

Oui Non

Si oui, comparez l’enseignement en votre langue maternelle à celui du français en termes de réussite académique et d’efficacité d’apprentissage

.....

Section 2

a. Plusieurs mesures ont été prises pour mettre en œuvre les langues maliennes dans l’enseignement. Selon vous, quels ont été les obstacles qui ont empêchés telles langues de remplacer le français dans l’éducation?

Vous pouvez sélectionner plusieurs options ou donner votre propre avis.

Absence de volonté politique

Absence de support financier

Absence d’enseignants qualifiés capable de dispenser les cours dans les langues nationales

Absence de matériels d’apprentissages tels que les manuels, dictionnaires, grammaires etc.

- Level of teaching

.....

- My ethnic group is:

Bambara Peulh Sénoufo Dogon Songhay Other:

- My mother tongue is:

Bamanankan Peulh Sénoufo Dogon Songhay Other:

- How many languages do you speak?

.....

- The medium of instruction that I use is

French Mother tongue French & Mother Tongue
Other:

Section 1

- French as language of instruction results in low literacy rates, drop outs and retakes

Strongly agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly disagree

- Teaching Malians via their native languages would increase literacy rates and hamper academic attainment

Strongly agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly disagree

- Have you ever taught mother tongue instruction?

Yes No

If yes, compare instruction in mother tongue to that in French in terms of academic attainment and learning efficiency.

.....

Section 2

- a. Several measures were undertaken to promote and implement Malian languages in education, but failed. According to you, what obstacles prevented such languages to serve in education?

- Absence of serious political engagement
- Absence of financial support
- Absence of qualified teachers capable of delivering lectures in these languages
- Absence of learning materials such as textbooks, dictionaries, grammars

Other:

Section 3

- a. The national languages are given official status in the draft of the new constitution. As a teacher, I am for turning these languages into officials.

Agree Neutral Disagree

- b. What factors favoured the officialisation of such languages?

- Political orders from the new regime
- Social demands (recommendations of Malians during the ANR)
- The non-mastery of the foreign language, French
- Pedagogical needs

Other:

- c. The national languages are ready enough to serve in official roles

Agree Neutral Disagree

Appendix II

Languages of Mali

	Language (<i>Ethnologue</i>)	<u>Cluster</u>	<u>Language family</u>	Legal status
1	Bambara , Bamanankan	Manding	Mande	National
2	Bangerime	Dogon		None
3	Bankagooma		Mande	None
4	Bobo Madaré, Northern		Mande	None
4	Bomu		Niger–Congo / Gur	National
5	Bozo, Hainyaxo	Bozo	Mande	None
6	Bozo, Jenaama	Bozo	Mande	None
7	Bozo, Tièma Cièwè	Bozo	Mande	None
8	Bozo, Tiéyaxo	Bozo	Mande	National
9	Dogon, Ampari	Dogon		None
10	Dogon, Ana Tinga	Dogon		None
11	Dogon, Bankan Tey	Dogon		None
12	Dogon, Ben Tey	Dogon		None
13	Dogon, Bondum Dom	Dogon		None
14	Dogon, Bunoge	Dogon		None

	Language (<i>Ethnologue</i>)	<u>Cluster</u>	<u>Language family</u>	Legal status
15	Dogon, Dogul Dom	Dogon		None
16	Dogon, Donno So	Dogon		None
17	Dogon, Jamsay	Dogon		None
18	Dogon, Kolum So	Dogon		None
19	Dogon, Nanga Dama	Dogon		None
20	Dogon, Tebul Ure	Dogon		None
21	Dogon, Tene Kan	Dogon		None
22	Dogon, Tiranige Diga	Dogon		None
23	Dogon, Tommo So	Dogon		None
24	Dogon, Tomo Kan	Dogon		None
25	Dogon, Toro So	Dogon		National
26	Dogon, Toro Tegu	Dogon		None
27	Dogon, Yanda Dom	Dogon		None
28	Duungooma		Mande	None
29	French		Indo-European	official
30	Fulfulde, Maasina	Fula	Niger– Congo / Senegambian	National

	Language (<i>Ethnologue</i>)	<u>Cluster</u>	<u>Language family</u>	Legal status
31	Hassaniya Arabic	Arabic	Afro-Asiatic: Semitic	National
32	Jahanka		Mande	None
33	Jalunga, Dyalonke		Mande	None
34	Jowulu		Mande	None
35	Jula, Dioula	Manding	Mande	None
36	Kagoro	Manding	Mande	None
37	Konabéré		Mande	None
38	Koromfé		Niger–Congo / Gur	None?
39	Maninkakan, Eastern	Manding	Mande	None?
40	Maninkakan, Kita	Manding	Mande	National
41	Maninkakan, Western	Manding	Mande	None
42	Marka		Mande	None
43	Mòoré		Niger–Congo / Gur	None
44	Pana		Niger–Congo / Gur	None
45	Pulaar	Fula	Niger–Congo / Senegambian	None
46	Pular	Fula	Niger–Congo / Senegambian	None

	Language (Ethnologue)	<u>Cluster</u>	<u>Language family</u>	Legal status
47	Sàmómá		Niger–Congo / Gur	None
48	Senoufo, Mamara (Miniyanka)	Senoufo	Niger–Congo	National
49	Senoufo, Shempire	Senoufo	Niger–Congo	None
50	Senoufo, Sicité	Senoufo	Niger–Congo	None
51	Senoufo, Supyire	Senoufo	Niger–Congo	None
52	Senoufo, Syenara	Senoufo	Niger–Congo	National
53	Songhay, Humburi Senni	Songhay (Southern)		None
54	Songhay, Koyra Chiini	Songhay (Southern)		None
55	Songhay, Koyraboro Senni	Songhay (Southern)		National
56	Soninke (& Marka/Maraka)		Mande	National
57	Tadaksahak	Songhay (Northern)		None
58	Tamajaq	Tamashek	Afro-Asiatic / Berber	None
59	Tamasheq	Tamashek	Afro-Asiatic / Berber	National
60	Tondi Songway Kiini	Songhay (Southern)		None

	Language (<i>Ethnologue</i>)	<u>Cluster</u>	<u>Language family</u>	Legal status
<u>61</u>	<u>Xaasongaxango,</u> <u>Khassonke</u>	<u>Manding</u>	Mande	<u>National</u>
62	Zarmaci	<u>Songhay</u> (Southern)		None

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Languages_of_Mali

Appendix III

Some laws concerning the promotion of national languages NL

First Republic 1960-1968

1. Decree N°235/PG-RM of October 4th, 1962

The first educational reform after independence in 1960, opening up the way for the use of Malian languages in the formal school system as the medium of instruction.

2. Decree N°85 PG-RM of May 26th, 1967

It first recognised 10 local languages as National Languages NL, which are *Bamanankan, Soninké, Bozo, Dogon, Sénoufo, Minianka, Bobo, Peulh (Fulfulde), Songhay, Tamasheq*.

Then, fixed the alphabets for the transcription of 4 National Languages NL including *Bamanankan, Peulh (Fulfulde), Songhay and Tamasheq*.

Second Republic 1974-1990

3. Ordinance N°60CMLN of October 20th, 1975

The creation of D.N.A.F.L.A (Direction Nationale de l'Alphabétisation Fonctionnelle et de la Linguistique Appliquée). The principal service in charge of the promotion of the National Languages NL.

4. Decree N°159 PG-RM of July 19th, 1982

The provision of the alphabets for the transcription of the other National Languages NL.

5. Decree N°86-56/AN-RM of July 24th, 1986

The reinforcement of D.N.A.F.L.A Direction Nationale de l'Alphabétisation Fonctionnelle et de la Linguistique Appliquée. It is thenceforth concentrated on the elaboration of elements of national politics in the domain of literacy and linguistics.

Third Republic 1992-2021

6. Decree N°93-107/P-RM of April 16th, 1993

The introduction of two NL in the education system namely, Soninke and Dogon, in addition to the four NL (*Bamanankan, Peulh, Songhay and Tamasheq*).

7. Law N°96-049 of August 23rd, 1996

Fixing modalities of the promotion of National Languages NL, add 3 other languages to the national language list.

8. Legislative law N°99-046/ of December 16th, 1999 on the education orientation for the promotion of bi-multilingual education

The use of National Languages as co-medium of instruction alongside French as main medium of teaching.

9. Ordinance N°07-3204/MESSRS-SG of December 10th, 2007

The creation of a teaching and linguistic research department with the aim to intensify the linguistic research in African languages.

10. Decree N° 2011-322 /P-RM of June 3rd, 2011

The creation of Centre d'Animation Pédagogique (CAP) responsible over the regional fundamental education (primary and secondary education).

11. Decree N°2012-687/PM-RM of December 6th, 2012

The creation of CADD-PLNIC (Cellule d'Appui à la Décentralisation/Déconcentration de la Promotion des Langues Nationales et de l'Instruction Civique) for the application of laws related to languages and for leaning national politics of promoting NL.

12. The adoption of the language policy document of Mali on September 2016 by the Council of Ministers.

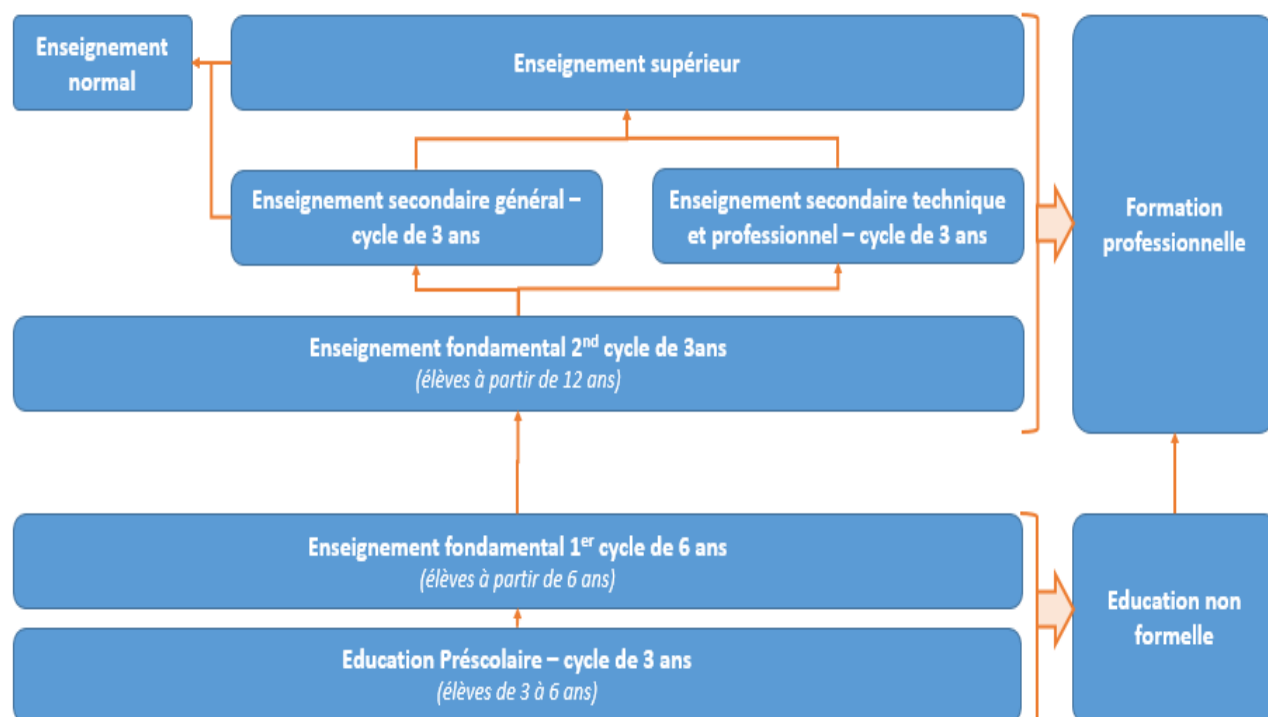
Appendix IV

The Education System of Mali before Independence

<p>Elementary Schools</p>	<p>In Major towns and populous villages</p> <p>4 years duration: 2 years preparatory classes</p> <p style="text-align: center;">2 years elementary classes</p>
<p>Regional Schools</p>	<p>Each major town had a regional school</p> <p>6 years duration: 2 years preparatory classes</p> <p style="text-align: center;">2 years elementary classes</p> <p style="text-align: center;">2 years intermediate classes</p> <p>Leading to Primary and Elementary Studies Certificate after year 6.</p>
<p>Upper Primary Schools</p>	<p>One school for each territory in French West Africa</p> <p>Best students accepted from Regional Schools</p> <p>After 1947 open to all who passed elementary school certificate taken year 4.</p>
<p>High Schools</p>	<p>Very few in number and specific in training. These trained teachers, veterinarians and doctors.</p> <p>The Public Works School in Soudan (modern Mali) for example took students from all parts of French West Africa.</p>

Source: Tabulated from Touré (1982:189-190)

The Education Structure of Mali since 1962



https://www.google.com/url?sa=i&url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.linkedin.com%2Fpulse%2Flenseignement-fondamental-au-mali-zouber-sotbar%3Ftrk%3Dpublic_profile_article_view&psig=AOvVaw0AIR4v1ViWRJE9z_UONMG&ust=1687146907319000&source=images&cd=vfe&ved=0CAQQjB1qFwoTCLCVIJb2y_8CFQAAAAAdAAAAABAD

Abstract

يهدف البحث الحالي إلى قياس مواقف المتعلمين والمعلمين الماليين تجاه اللغة الفرنسية ولغاتهم الأم، فيما يتعلق بأوضاعهم واستخداماتهم بشكل خاص في التعليم. تمت الدعوة للتعليم القائم على اللغة الأم في بلدان جنوب الصحراء الكبرى من أجل كفاءة التعلم، في حين أن الفرنسية لا تزال لغة التدريس للمتعلمين الماليين بغض النظر عن صعوبات التعلم التي تنطوي عليها، مما يؤدي غالبًا إلى تدني أداء المدارس المالية. لذلك تم إجراء هذا البحث على أساس نهج الأساليب المختلطة باستخدام أسئلة الاختيار من متعدد والمقابلات شبه المنظمة لجمع البيانات. كشف التحليل الكمي للنتائج مع متابعة الحجج النوعية أن المتعلمين والمعلمين يتوقعون بقوة من صانعي السياسات والمخططين اللغويين اتخاذ تدابير جادة وحقيقية تقريبًا لتحقيق التعليم القائم على اللغة الأم للماليين واستخدام لغاتهم في المجال الرسمي. وفقًا لذلك، أكد هذا البحث على أن معرفة المواقف ومراعاتها أمران حاسمان للتنفيذ الناجح للسياسة اللغوية.

La présente recherche se propose de mesurer les attitudes des apprenants et enseignants maliens vis-à-vis de la langue française et de leurs langues maternelles, au regard de leurs statuts et usages notamment dans l'enseignement. L'éducation basée sur la langue maternelle a été prônée dans les pays subsahariens pour son efficacité d'apprentissage, alors que le français reste la langue d'enseignement des maliens quelles que soient les difficultés d'apprentissage qu'il implique, entraînant souvent la sous-performance des écoles maliennes. Cette recherche a donc été menée sur la base d'une approche de méthodes mixtes utilisant des questions à choix multiples et des entretiens semi-directifs pour collecter les données. L'analyse quantitative des résultats avec une argumentation qualitative de suivi a révélé que les apprenants et les enseignants attendent impatiemment que les décideurs et les planificateurs linguistiques entreprennent des mesures sérieuses et réelles pour réaliser l'éducation basée sur la langue maternelle pour les Maliens et l'utilisation de leurs langues dans la sphère formelle. Ainsi, cette recherche a souligné que la connaissance et la prise en compte des attitudes sont cruciales pour une mise en œuvre réussie d'une politique linguistique.

The present research intends to measure Malian learners and teachers' attitudes towards the French language and their native languages, regarding their statuses and uses particularly in education. Education based on mother tongue has been advocated in sub-Saharan countries for its learning efficiency, whereas the French is still the language of instruction for Malian learners regardless of the learning difficulties it implies, often resulting in the underperformance of Malian schools. This research was therefore conducted on the basis of a mixed methods approach using multiple-choice questions and semi-structured interviews to collect data. The quantitative analysis of the results with a follow-up qualitative argumentation divulged that learners and teachers are impetuously expecting language policy-makers and planners to enterprise roughly serious and real measures to realise the mother tongue-based education for Malians and the use of their languages in formal sphere. Accordingly, this research emphasised that knowing and taking into account attitudes are crucial for a successful implementation of a linguistic policy.