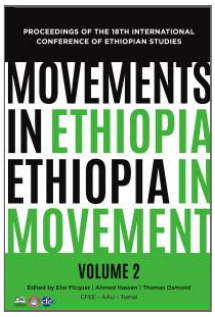

Under the direction of Éloi Ficquet, Ahmed Hassen Omer and Thomas Osmond

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English Language in Ethiopia: A Disruption Point in the Chains of Education for Development

Moges Gebremariam [*]

The tragic flaw of Ethiopia's underdevelopment resides in its attempt to modernize itself through the introduction of modern education which, as MESSAY (2008) points out, was/is Eurocentric in orientation and effective in producing alienated, culturally dislocated and radical intellectuals. Messay also argues as this was the deep cause of our wrong fight for the revolution than a reformation, and recommends as modern education in Ethiopia needs to be decolonized to bring about environmentally sound development. Such kind of development is, however, ensured only when we are capable of regaining our harmony with our voices and perspectives in our socio-linguistic realities—which are reduced to the status of backwardness as a relegated tradition to the extent of standing in a hierarchical opposition with those voices and perspectives imported from the west as a shadow of modernity. Hence, the birth of an Ethiopian dilemma of the traditional-modern connection that needs to be deconstructed. Examining the issue broadly, Ngugi wa Thiong'o (2009) shows the need to decolonize modernity in the African context, as it is a budding on the decay of a colonial trace. The scheme of decolonization should also target the education sector in Africa as it is still cherishing the colonial instructional media and content. Brock-utne (2006) also capitalizes on this issue when she says that education seems to congratulate students on their success in identifying with the cultural perspectives that the foreign languages they are taught with carry at the expense of their socio-linguistic reality in the post-colonial Africa.

Ethiopia, without colonial history, exhibits such an aftermath of colonialism. This paradox of Ethiopia counts on the introduction of western education through the English language. This confusion about the English language has been, over decades, nurtured to the extent of causing the foundation of some private schools, which are determined to humiliate their own students for speaking native tongues instead of English. Such a retributive manifestation of the use of English as a medium of instruction in Ethiopia reminds us of the context of colonial education in Kenya as

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Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1987) recounts. Of course, it is a rehash of an old speech to say: Ethiopia is known to have been the bastion of African independence; but it has fallen easy prey to what it fought at Adowa to be independent of. Through public education it has borrowed from the West the intention of modernizing itself.[1] And education has empowered us to live up to what we were fighting against.

Hence, modernization in Ethiopia is the result of colonization through education, which needs to be decolonized like other African nations. This shows that the true voices and perspectives of the Ethiopian polity have been decentred and re-schematized in such a way that they are not meaningful any longer; or if they are meaningful, it is only in terms of connoting a state of "backwardness". The development of such a perspective has been, however, facilitated by the miscalculated intention of modernizing Ethiopia's traditions, which embrace its voices and perspectives, in line with that of the West. This has happened to create an outlandish system of mannerism that attracts the impressionable children of Ethiopia from their traditional way of doing things. And at the expense of the true sense of Ethiopia's modernization, alienated and culturally dislocated citizens have been produced with a launching pad borrowed from the West for modernization. This has also brought about the conception, on the part of the majority of Ethiopians, of development as any act of getting out of one's tradition for that of the West. This xenocentric mentality is a self-defeating perspective that has been fostered with a parallel relegation and suffocation of the Ethiopian voices and perspectives.

Thus, here come the questions: how can we become cognizant of the articulations of our tradition and modernity at the same time unless we are suffering from living in between, with the grammar of western modernity being determinant of how our traditional values and practices are selected and combined to make up for the structure of our modernity? How can we become aware of the features of our modernity ahead of time unless we have undergone through a dismembering process that has a bearing and a trickle-down effect on how we perceive ourselves in relation to our society?

And the relationship we have to our past and present consists in our languages which mark different voices and perspectives with an in-built articulation of cultures. Hence, we have the socio-linguistic diversity, which in Ethiopia as elsewhere particularizes human existence differently in a non-gradable manner. This is what one understands only when he/she is content with his/her own socio-linguistic reality there by living in deference to its premises. And the people of each socio-linguistic entity in Ethiopia can evolve into a status of an inclusive and interpretive community that should be declared from below by the economic integration of the productive forces of the different entities there by fostering a language of integration and production as a super structure. But, being dislocated and dismembered by western education, we feel strange to our socio-linguistic realities and hesitate to recognize what it is in its own terms. Rather, we tend

[1] MESSAY 1999, 2004 and 2008, TEKESTE 1990, 2006, PAULOSE and MESSAY 2010 among others.

to feel out-wardness to the extent of referring to it with *that* which shows distance and detachment. Hence, the separation of *what* and *that* in Ethiopia has come into existence. And the educated class, as a self-anointed modernizer, has introduced a system of perceiving oneself in a hierarchical connection with the patrimony of western cultures—which causes the dethronement of ours to go haywire and decentred. This ushers in a disruption of the continuity of childhood socialization at home, and it fails to determine adulthood intellectual and moral order, as it is fettered to a contradicting secondary socialization at school. The socialization at school was/is not in communication and complementarity with what was/is at home. Thus, the students have been conditioned by double socializations by virtue of which they have remained part of neither of the socializations, but in between. They have, hence, begun to feel the suffocation of their own culture, witnessing as they stand outside of it, and to prescribe western culture for Ethiopians in different socio-linguistic entities as an act of modernization.

Furthermore, the motivation to achieve such kind of modernization does not depend on inspiration from within oneself, but on externally induced and appealing value system for imitation. Subsequently, the values and practices in the different socio-linguistic entities have been left to their fate of decadence and a stagnation-led-discontinuity of integration thereby emerging powerless to resist the arbitrary interpretation of the radicalized educated class that has come to hold the missionary position of modernizing and developing the entities from above in line with Euro-centric prescriptions. This reminds us of what the European missionaries did in terms of inculcating the myth of the "white man" in the souls of their colonies in Africa (MESSAY 2004: 4). And the question "what is this?" is no more answered from within itself, but in a manner of responding to "what is that" from the educationally induced metaphysical reason of existence in the west.

And I contend that the educated class, exercising "power as tutorship" (MESSAY 2004: 170) in Ethiopia, has formed a cyst among the social body promoting the newfangled conception of achievement as something that comes out of the hierarchical opposition of tradition and modernity. This is, however, perilous to an Ethiopian mind as it evolves into a self-conflicting entity as a result of hosting perspectives in contradiction—the dominant one being from the West and declared from above, and the other being from the socio-linguistic base of which the mind itself is a construct and resisting from below. This flawed process of modernization has brought about a mentality that is neither Ethiopian nor any other kind, but that which can, in a centre-less mood, imitate some social role in vogue beyond the horizon. This global mentality objectifies one's subjectivity to conjure up fragmented and self-oppressing collectivity. This, in turn, leads us to accept the terms of globalization without critical examination-which empowers our movement from the frying pan into the fire. Thus, I argue that one of the main causes for the development of underdevelopment in Ethiopia is western education in English language.

This paper, then, wants to show that English language disrupts the chains of education for development in the Ethiopian context as many educated Ethiopians fall trapped culturally between the search for effective knowledge building in English language and applying their knowledge to develop different and well-established cultural structures embodied in their native tongues. It also demonstrates how English language can be an antidote to our essence of creativity for development by serving us more as a tool of imitation than inspiration, in a way that reflects on how we ought to use English as a foreign language.

The paper would also be significant for strengthening the pre-existing arguments on education for self-reliance and development by restoring the cultural base of modernity through education in native tongues (repositories of native contents), but in a context of changed norms and methods of reviving the continuity of the integration of the stagnated socio-linguistic entities which are now tied to the repression of western socio-linguistic perspectives.

As for the methodology, the paper appropriates scholarly discussions on the relations of language of education and development by analyzing the retributive manifestations of the use of English for knowledge transference in Ethiopia. Hence, the following discussion on the missing link between education and development in Ethiopia.

Context, choice and chains of education: a narration of social change in Ethiopia

It is known that Menilik II's Ethiopia emerged victorious over the would-be destructive colonial culture at Adowa. This marks the modernity of Ethiopia's traditions for insuring survival[2] and a revival of a pre-existing supra-socio-linguistic consciousness as the patriots defending Ethiopia were from the different socio-linguistic entities. Then, it was the task of the then traditional ruling elites to lay the foundation for the continuity of such a promising social base to launch development and modernization of its own. In doing so, what they went for as a choice was education. The choice was also made on the basis of the political decision of the ruling elites to produce Ethiopians who would be on the guard of the hard-won independence, which was prone to the engulfing colonial powers. And Menilik II School was almost a language academy with the mission of teaching Ethiopians to converse in foreign languages, which they thought was the means to insure the continuity of independence.[3] But the strength and survival of a government emanates from a system of empowering the peoples with knowledge to deal with their environment and to be economically self-reliant. This would be a cause for the people's self-empowerment in their own terms and perspectives from within themselves, and development along a continuum which they have reason to value, justify

[2] See MESSAY'S (1999) philosophical discourse on the relation of survival and modernization with respect to Ethiopia's enigmatic present

[3] See TEKESTE (1990), the first chapter

and understand.[4] This couldn't, I think, cross the feudalistic mentality of the traditional ruling elites who dared to manipulate the peoples to their own interests and it was uncharacteristic of them to work for their peoples' wellbeing and empowerment. Hence, they prescribed out-wardness to the first form of Ethiopia's public education to preserve Ethiopia's existence. This posed an outlandish element which was prescribed by a preceding context of existence for choice to determine the choice of what would come next by way of making a chain of choices as in a linguistic structure. For example, beginning to construct a sentence with the pronoun "he" is not selective of "am" as an element to come next along the chain of combination. This holds to be true to the case of the chains of education in Ethiopia: the primary inclination to the education of foreign languages ushers in the inception of the relevance of western education for the modernization of Ethiopia in the reins of Haile Selassie I. This shows that the original mistake caused a decaying spot that has been appealing and eating into the Ethiopian social body. The 1974 revolution in Ethiopia was also in disguise foretold and *written* in the early twentieth century intellectuals' claiming of a revolution from above the liquidation of feudalism and the development of capitalism through the agency of the modern state (MESSAY 1999: 269). Hence, they have unconsciously locked the Ethiopian social body in a western box of capitalist modernity to suffocate, decay, stagnate and burst out. Comparing the mistake with what the Italian colonial spirit would have done us indicates as Ethiopia has unconsciously succumbed into what it was in fear of lack of respect and subjugation to an alien power.

Then, we can say that colonialism would have done nothing less than what Ethiopia has been doing for itself by educating her children about western contents and languages. It is also known that western powers attempted to colonize Ethiopia not to be part of the causes for her development in its own perspective thereby helping the Ethiopian personality transform across generation, but to reduce the Ethiopian personality to something that can be recreated as modern in terms of fitting to the prescriptions of western personality thereby making the Ethiopian personality exist in a hierarchical bondage to that of the west. This task has also been carried out by the so called "modern education" in Ethiopia. And one of the basic elements of the relationship between oppressor and oppressed is prescription as every prescription represents the imposition of one man's choice upon another-thus, the behavior of the oppressed is a prescribed one, following as it does the guidelines of the oppressor (FREIRE 1972: 23). Hence, the Ethiopian personality has suffered from living in between itself and otherselves, as western education enforces the enactment of "living in the duality where *to be is to be like, and to be like is to be like the oppressor*" (FREIRE 1972: 25). The domesticating effect of living in the duality has also deprived us of our own choices for development since a western choice of social development was prescribed to function over ours as an upper limit of achievement. Thus, education in Ethiopia seems to have been in the service of

[4] See GEBREHIWOT's (2010) classical discourse on a political-economic theory of development pertinent to Ethiopia "Government and public administration"

empowering the students' imitation capacity that has tarnished the originality and creativity of the traditional base. Here, quoting Messay would make the point clear:

> "All that is not unique, original is deficient because it owes its existence to a reduced ability. When creativity takes the lead, the model loses its normative stand and becomes an inspiration. The great difference between inspiration and imitation is that imitation makes a person passive, subordinate; it is lowering and debilitating. Not so with inspiration, which is an appeal to rise to the same standard, if not to go higher. Inspiration is stimulating and emboldening while imitation inculcates self-lowering and dependency." (MESSAY 2004: 210).

But, we have gone out for the gross imitation of the western techniques, values and knowledge at the expense of ours, so that we are no more with our truly Ethiopian sensibilities and means of survival which, in turn, leads us to depend on imitating western models in every walk of life. And our relation to modernization is external and imitative to the extent that we lack inwardness (MAIMIRE 2010: 95). This was what Japan had managed to avert by borrowing techniques from the west to empower its values and creativity with Japanese sensibilities and language (MESSAY 2010). What was wrong with our case was the trend of getting educated about western values, knowledge and cultural practices in English language which can't be expressive of ours and a vehicle for transforming in our terms. This was, however, meant for modernization that didn't actually bring about the instalment of an emancipatory process of social transformation as it contradicts with the socio-political context of feudalism in Ethiopia. Feudalism and modernization are also by their very nature incongruous and can't live side by side without creating fissures in the body-politic as the former presupposes hierarchical class connection and loyalty to the monarch by traditional conventions, and the later the creation of institutions for facilitating participatory decision making process and loyalty to the nation-state (PAULOSE 2010: 51). The deconstructive interference between these social forces came to be visible on the Ethiopian social body in the 1960's, which

> "was a time that saw the collapse of conventions and conscious wisdom among the rising Ethiopian elites. Consequently, the elite were questing for new galvanizing ethos to remap their lives and organize their experience along new lines. The period represented that phase of in-betweens, in the ebbing of traditional values and the surfacing of new sensibilities." (TIBEBE 2010: 99)

This marked that "the modest steps toward modernity that Ethiopia has taken have already kindled a smouldering conflict between generations, perhaps for the first time in Ethiopian history," (LEVINE 1972: 118) which ended up with the 1974 revolution and has made its way to the present as a post-revolution disillusionment. And the students who caused the revolution soon began to take the missionary position of civilizing the Ethiopian societies against their civilization. As Germa recounts their act in the campaign of development through cooperation (which seems to have ignored the time

taking dynamism of social development from below and gone for prescribing social development from above):

> "Many went to the countryside believing that they had all the answers to the people's problems. Over-enthusiastic to see rapid change and confident of their actions, some campaigners aggressively attacked deeply rooted values and beliefs of the local population. They denounced practices like polygamy, idol worship and witchcraft; they destroyed sacred shrines in some animist communities and aggressively challenged all forms of religion as reactionary forces standing in the way of progress. Angered by the students' arrogance and radical posture ... in some areas offended residents set students' camps on fire as a result of which many lost their lives." (GERMA 2006: 103)

Here, the subtle transcendence of the original sin of choosing out-wardness for modernization reached a stage where it can induce a self-conflicting situation as it was illustrated above. The students' perception of those values and beliefs of the local population seemed to have been influenced by their conception of the western social theories. Hence, they failed to respond to what the local ethos promises to be perceived. This was so as those subjects dealing with the human and social sciences were not responsive to the history and culture of Ethiopia (TEKESTE 2010: 12).This was also the possible aftermath of the absence of a quest for the aspects of education relevant for Ethiopia's progress, in the beginning. Hence, education in Ethiopia has been moving without ideological foundation thereby lacking a philosophy of its own (MESSAY 2008: 53). Thus, education has missed its social purpose and has been reduced to be something important for the economic gain of the individual. This has virtually become real as the students have got culturally dislocated from their social body by education for alienation. Thus, they were no more on the same ideological position of responding to the local ethos as the residents were; this was due to the difference in the nature of relation to the ethos- to which the students were related outwardly and the residents inwardly. The residents had also reason to value the ethos unlike the students who were detached from them through education and tempted to objectify and organize them with the prescriptions of western social realities. This has dramatized cultural discontinuity and social instability with a palpable communication gap between generations.

Thus, the Ethiopian socio-linguistic entities can be said to have been divided against themselves, because educated individuals considered as "modern personalities" became the de facto representatives of their respective entity. But, what the illiterate parents felt about themselves couldn't be felt by the literate sons and daughters; the illiterate and the literate exhibited different roles and behaviours in relation to their ethos. This shows that they couldn't make up for a unified community which Dan-Cohen defines as a collectivity whose roles don't allow their holders to maintain a distance from those roles, or as *a social union of non-detached roles* (DAN-COHEN 2002: 2). And as" modern education" deprived the literate of the opportunity to make the crucial transition from the unhistorical consciousness of childhood to the historical consciousness of adulthood, they maintained an inappropriate distance from their childhood socialization of their social ethos which their illiterate parents' existence was co-extensive to and non-

detached from. Thus, the parents (the residents) had the unconscious motive of self-defence against alien culture and the literate children the unconscious motive of self-denial. Alien education had repressed the root of their motive of self-defence to give way to the consciousness which they were domesticated to identify with in their adulthood behaviour. As repression doesn't mean deletion, it seemed to have caused a sense of self-betrayal to wax and wane in their consciousness which is a painful stimulus to the senses. Recognizing the stimulus to recreate one's wholeness in the parents' terms for the revival of cultural continuity wasn't as easy as the denial of self-betrayal as a defence mechanism was-which seemed to have been taken for the sake of the individual's psychological equilibrium at the expense of the true path of social development. Thus, the students have unconsciously worked for the implementation of such a self-deceiving mechanism by prescribing the ready-made western values and practices to rule over their social body.

Hence, attempting to change the social ethos from above entails domination and oppression which call resistance from below, the social base. This is what the post-revolution crises reveal in Ethiopia. And the educated class represents the visible end point of a society divided as "traditional" and "modern" as the child is dislocated from the traditional base to imitate a western adulthood personality traits at school. This breaks the bad news of the impossibility of an educated Ethiopian with a truly Ethiopian adulthood personality traits. Hence, Freud's stipulation of "the child is the father of the man", with the assumption that childhood experience is creative of adulthood personality, is correct only when the aim is to colonize Ethiopia by producing self-denying citizens. And it is, to use MAZRUI'S expression, "a socio-linguistic impossibility"[5] to find an educated and/or urbanized Ethiopian who is not also westernized; because, education and urbanization in Ethiopia are stylized after the west. Then, we can say that our education produces doctors with wounded souls and that we have been making patterns of life after other's choice against our context of existence. Thus, we need to look for an education system that can enable our childhood experience to transform into being a base for our adulthood traits thereby breaking the good news of individual wholeness that can understand modernity as something to be achieved from within one's tradition. Hence, a socio-linguistically sound education system ought to be looked for. To this end, I want to reflect upon the trend of language of education and language education in Ethiopia with emphasis given to English, by way of forwarding a prospective commitment for discussion.

[5] MAZRUI (2003:143) argues that "an African who has a good command of a European language has probably assimilated other aspects of western culture as well. This is because the process of acquiring a European language in Africa has tended to be overwhelmingly through a formal system of western-style education. It is because of this that the concept of an African physicist who is not also westernized is for the time being a *sociolinguistic impossibility*". (Emphasis mine).

The English language and the educated class: The case of communication for production

Memory resides in language and is classified by language (NGUGI 2009: 113). Thus, words of a language are concepts that determine how we perceive ourselves in relation to others and the environment. They are also the abstract forms of the process of conceptualizing the feelings and perceptions that man encounters in his relation to nature and others- (production relation) - to insure existence; and this creates language of real life as culture that presents the abstractions of the fathers' means of survival to the children as a spring board for advanced production and creativity. Hence, "production is co-operation, is communication, is language, is expression of a relation between human beings" (NGUGI 1987: 13), and the association of the child's sensibility is with this language of real life (ibid.).

Here, education is one of the variables needed in a society for the advancement of production with a correspondent renewal of the expressions of human relations and forms of communication. To this end, the contents and language of education should be in complementarity with the child's sensibility so that the child will creatively protect his society's means of survival and self-definition in relation to others. In such a society, there is broad harmony of a child with the three aspects of language as communication-life experience, spoken and written signs. This helps the education system to organically link to the society concerned and to change in tandem with the changes taking place at the level of economy and society.

To illustrate the issue, we can look into the context that in absence conditions the automatic reception of advertisements that show a portrait of a girl bearing a figure of poverty with the sympathy-seeking caption of "To educate a girl is to educate a society". Here, what is present in absence is the tendency and normalization that education is important for the progression of individual life in a context of impoverished society. But, education should be meant for producing individuals who, instead of increasing the burden on the labour force by being salaried citizens for self-fulfilment, can also contribute to the wellbeing and development of the society that sponsored their cost of education. Hence, there should be some sort of proportional relationship between the number of individuals to be sponsored for education and the economic growth of the society concerned. And anybody who appears poor in a society shouldn't be referred for education; the case should be seen in relation to the self-made economic capacity of the society to sponsor the cost of education. This would enable the society to have an education system for self-reliance. Unless, if a society veers in to sponsoring everybody at all costs at the same time, it will go for accepting alien education system-a system for dependency- which the donors present as a recipe for loan. This exasperates the already flawed education system in Ethiopia; we are not able to decide on the contents and languages of education to be in line with our social realities; we have taken it normal to pass through school system for self-fulfilment having the impoverished society as a context. This, I think, needs to be rethought.

Thus, education, ever since its introduction, has gone through changes with a parallel stagnation of the poverty landscape in Ethiopia (TEKESTE 2006), which shows the missing link between the chains of the education system and the choices and contexts of the Ethiopian societies. This is mainly due to the use of English as a medium of instruction which disrupts and dissociates the child's sensibility from his natural and social environment to associate with the values and sensibilities of otherness which English has for him. And we are feeling colonized while we were victorious over colonialism, because:

> "The program of learning developed for students in the erstwhile British colonies was adopted in the Ethiopian primary and secondary schools. For example, the flora and fauna of the British Isles and the history of western civilization formed the core of the social sciences, while the story of the Knights of the Round Table and the works of Shakespeare constituted the subject matter of literature" (BEKELE 2010: 60).

This was the conspiracy of colonial education which was destined to create an African middle class for future partnership by dividing Africans against themselves (NGUGI 2009). This was what we adopted as education and consequently to deny our Knights for deferring to those of others, to speak in native tongues at home and to write in English at school, to appreciate otherness which is alien to our real life situation. This has brought about post-revolution disillusionment in Ethiopia which has replaced the feudalist hierarchical class relations with a west-centred traditional-modern hierarchy. And the educated class seems to be caught young to take the middle ground which Achebe shows as what the education of a British-protected child reveals when he says: "the middle ground is neither the origin of things nor the last things; it is aware of a future to head in to and a past to fall back on; it is the home of doubt and indecision, of suspension of disbelief, of make-believe, of playfulness, of the unpredictable, of irony." (ACHEBE 2009: 6) That is why we have come to understand ourselves as traditional and modern simultaneously. This conception of ours has also caused the reduction of the different socio-linguistic entities to a stagnated aggregate of peoples who are caught to be ready for modernization after the west through imitation. As the peoples' memory of integration is no more recognized by their literate children, the unity of the dead, the living and the unborn is broken and there is no wholeness; only a dislocation of the national psyche, for in not remembering the past, there are no inherited ideals by which to measure the excesses of the present (NGUGI 2009: 61). Hence, we have lost our tools of self-definition, which reside in native tongues, as we have preferred English as a language of conceptualization, knowledge accumulation and transference. How can we try to solve the problems of the natives which have their own language of conceptualization and socialization while we are trying to conceptualize and socialize against our socio-linguistic environment? Unless we declare without justification that our knowledge in English should have been what the natives are practicing in their real life thereby attempting to salvage them from the life they know to join the middle ground in between their own tradition and western modernity. The middle ground, as was indicated above, contextualizes a sense of denial of loss, which, however, creates a

collective trauma of repression that can be passed on trans-generationally as the unfinished business of a previous generation to haunt the future (NGUGI 2009: 58). That is why we are regretting and talking back as we feel lost and devoid of the centre of defining our future in our terms. What should be done? And as to me, I would like to forward the following points for discussion.

The child should attend the first few classes of primary education in his mother tongue; because, literacy becomes a particular problem when children do not know the language used to teach reading and writing. Hence, young children know but the language of conceptualization at home-their mother tongue. Applying this to the Ethiopian sociolinguistic diversity is important to get a child in harmony with his natural and social environment. But, these children of different harmony need to integrate by way of reviving the lost integration. Hence, after learning the corresponding concepts in their first language, they should be taught the de facto national language Amharic as a second language at a subject level with the intention of replacing English as a medium of instruction at secondary and tertiary level. This can be illustrated with contemporary experiences in Ethiopia as follows.

Ethiopia is known to have been a nation of socio-linguistic diversity. Thus, Ethiopia has been conceptualized and realized in different life styles and linguistic expressions. And the idea that the same language can be realized in the form of dialects with a spacio-temporal limit shows the possibility that a certain socio-linguistic group can gradually fall apart with no sense of intelligibility among its parts which it would be reduced into. For example, the Gojjam, Wollo, Gonder and Shewa dialects of the Amharic language show the absence of economic intercourse among the people to evolve into an efficient and interpretive community. And if they continue to exist in such a quasi-self-bounded and self-sufficient mood, they will evolve into diversities with no sense of intelligibility among them. The same holds to be true among the different socio-linguistic entities to which Ethiopia seems to have been reduced into. And diversity in Ethiopia seems to have conjured up an absence of economic intercourse and communication among the labour forces of each socio-linguistic group. Every socio-linguistic group seems to live on the natural blessings of its respective habitat with the subsequent outcome of satiety at one corner and utter starvation at the other corner of the country. Hence, the possible remedy to be taken to avert such a problem is facilitating the coming into being of labour specialization among the different labour forces to create communication as a necessary condition among them for exchanging their products. This gives way to the integration of the different socio-linguistic entities in their own terms from below, and they become part of the creative process of the language of integration that appears as a superstructure. This language of integration will also be a medium witnessing the projection and exorcism of unity from the diversity as an Ethiopian and supra-socio-linguistic consciousness. As it shall also be declared from below, the nature and features of this language can't be known ahead of time. But, let's see the case in relation to Amharic.

I am not simply prescribing Amharic to be the medium of instruction for the socio-linguistic diversities in Ethiopia; but I want to reflect up on the unfolding reality in relation to the language in Ethiopia: it is a socio-linguistic impossibility to find an

educated Ethiopian who can't speak Amharic. This is mainly due to the location of most of the learning institutions in urban centres which embody a social context for learning the language at least as a second language. Universities also contribute a lot to this end, as they contextualize a setting in which socialization is highly possible through Amharic. And if such a reality is untenable and self-propelling in the contemporary context of Ethiopia's existence, we should meet it half way by teaching the child Amharic after it acquires the corresponding concepts in its mother tongue. So that when it learns Amharic, it will simply transfer the content from the linguistic form in its mother tongue to the one in the Amharic. Hence, Amharic can't disrupt the child's socialization at home and schematization in its mother tongue; it only gives the child a system of double signification thereby facilitating for the child a language to learn in as of higher level of elementary education. This can also ensure the continuity of the child's education as it is made to learn in a language which it was taught at the lower level as a subject for mastering. And the children of the different socio-linguistic groups will form an interpretative community having its own language of conceptualization, knowledge production and dissemination as a means of doing for the common good. And this is what we are seriously lacking in Ethiopia as the child is made to pursue its education in English language as of the higher level of elementary school, which amounts to deny the child's previous conceptualization.

Here, the fate of the child is but to restart learning new concepts and foreign linguistic forms which fail to compliment with the child's socio-linguistic environment. Hence, the child misses its social context and fall into the lure of western modernity which has been brought to school for imitation by English language. And it is impossible to think and create in a foreign language like English in the Ethiopian context as there is no social context outside of the school system to practice socialization in the language. But we seem to act against such a reality, and the child tends to gratify the aspiration of being a speaker of English language with a native-language-cum-English speech. We can also see the tragic experience of the child in relation to English language at some private elementary schools as the child is prohibited to freely and creatively socialize in the language it can find at home and/or its social environment- the child is forced to consciously repeat those English words which it acquires in the school compound with the attitude of practicing communication in English. Here, the child is forced to speak a language against man's will for communication; that is, a person speaks to fulfil some sort of desire emanating from his socio-linguistic reality. By the same token, the child's desire for communication emanates from its socio-linguistic reality. Thus, the child dares to express its desire by the language used in its social context. But, the child's desire remains suffocated in its mother tongue as it is forced to speak in English which hardly describes its desire and social reality. Consequently, the child gets in the habit of consciously looking for contexts in which it can attempt to describe its own social reality in English with the attendant attitude that anything which can't be described in English is backward and traditional.

This shows how the child is gradually dissociated from its true desires and sensibilities which are relegated as backward and traditional social-realities. The different linguistic expressions that embrace the voices and perspectives of such realities also exist

in deference to the voices and perspectives of the English language. Then, how can we expect such a child to solve the problems of its society which it is dissociated from through the flawed process of acquiring the English language? So we need to rethink our attachment to the English language. And English shall be taught as a foreign language as of elementary school after the child conceptualizes its social context in its mother tongue. To this end, we badly need school of English that can produce teachers with a very good command of the language at all levels of education. And this should be done with the intention of getting experts who can systematically adapt technical know-hows from the west as it is found accumulated mainly in English. But, Amharic shall replace English as of higher level of elementary education to make the way towards what was discussed before. So that, the different socio-linguistic entities live in deference to a language of integration with a dialectical relationship to evolve into a unified and syncretic community declared from below. But, existing in deference to a foreign socio-linguistic reality will gradually entail the irrelevance of existing in diversity with an aftermath of getting things fall apart.

Conclusion

The attachment and relation of the primary form of Ethiopian schooling system to the completely other and westerly signified one has brought in to play the crossing-out of Ethiopian mode of survival—which has remained with traces of its origin under the erasure of the differently deferring consciousness of the tragic flaw of public education for modernization in Ethiopia. The traces are, thus, signs of the missing presence, of the culture whose relation to the people concerned with a linguistic schema was disconnected by the power of the meaning-forming-through-erasing centre of this flawed and modern education-born structure of consciousness. The meaning-forming-centre has also such an educationally familiarized and taken-for-granted machinery of traditional-modern hierarchized opposition, which issues an anachronistic and arbitrary interpretation of our traditional means of survival-a base for our modernity. To this end, English language has been a major accomplice in terms of disrupting the child's chain of education for self-centred development. Hence, the educated child runs the machinery of the traditional-modern hierarchized opposition with the effect being the existence of the different socio-linguistic entities stagnated and in deference to the English language world view.

To avoid such a problem, Amharic shall be used as a medium of instruction as of the higher level of elementary education in Ethiopia to facilitate the possible integration of the socio-linguistic diversity. The nature and feature of the language of Amharic that would be the language of integration witnessing a supra-socio-linguistic consciousness- as a kind of exorcising from the syncretism of the diversity- shall also be declared from below by the economic integration of the labour force in the different socio-linguistic groups. How can we communicate for national production, otherwise?

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