Teaching and learning to read and write in a multilingual contexte: Burkina Faso, Niger, and Senegal

SCHNEUWLY, Bernard, et al.
BERNARD SCHNEUWLY, SANDRINE AEBY DAGHÉ, IRINA LEOPOLDOFF, GLAIS SALES CORDEIRO, THERÈSE THÉVENAZ-CHRISTEN, AND SIMON TOULOU

13. TEACHING AND LEARNING TO READ AND WRITE IN A MULTILINGUAL CONTEXT

Burkina Faso, Niger, and Senegal

INTRODUCTION

This chapter details the theoretical background for, and research conducted within, the first phase of an ambitious project led by the International Bureau of Education (IBE), entitled Improving learning outcomes in early grade reading: integration of curriculum, teaching, learning materials and assessment. Funded by the Global Partnership for Education (GPE), the project targeted early literacy education across three sub-Saharan countries: Burkina Faso, Niger, and Senegal.

The first section of this chapter provides a historical, linguistic, and educational context of the three countries in which the research was undertaken. The second section outlines the conceptual and theoretical bases of our fieldwork, which are founded upon the essentials of language acquisition and instruction. Following is an overview of each country’s analysis as to reading and writing. The final section emphasizes the importance of quality teacher education as a centerpiece of effective early literacy education.

Country-specific analyses and findings will follow in subsequent chapters.

CONTEXT AND PROJECT AIMS

To share experiences from countries with different developmental and historical contexts would be less relevant than to share, as the project did, activities across three countries with similar histories. The South-South exchange and cooperation among the three sub-Saharan countries made for an enriching learning process. Their common colonial heritages are vital to consider, especially where a colonial language (French) has been adopted as the official language for schooling, a language often unfamiliar and foreign to both students and staff.

These countries’ similar issues with having adopted a non-native language in the education system are evident in their education policies. A lack of instruction in students’ mother tongue creates an education gap that needs to be addressed. Eliminating it (that is, providing initial or simultaneous instruction in students’ first
languages) can help students acquire the foundation skills necessary to improve overall learning outcomes. If done effectively, including the mother tongue as the language of instruction will have positive impact on the quality of education. It is necessary to find efficient ways to teach reading and writing in the official language and the mother tongue, perhaps simultaneously, focusing all the while on imparting basic skills. Only after students have acquired certain skills in the first language should schools introduce a full curriculum in the official language. The linguistic context in all three countries is, however, particularly complex. Diverse mother tongues - ranging from 20 to 60 - are spoken by their respective populations. Another common linguistic feature: they have all adopted competency-based curricula which share features but are marked by some compelling differences, this situation allows for comparison and collaboration. These linguistic features must be operationalized and aligned for basic reading and writing instruction within a bilingual context.

In terms of educational practice, Burkina Faso, Niger, and Senegal were chosen for this study because they share similar education challenges, including poor acquisition of basic reading and writing skills and low student learning outcomes in early grades. All three countries are among those most at risk of not reaching the Education for All (EFA) goals displayed in the education development index (UNESCO, 2015). Out of 113 countries index, Burkina Faso and Niger ranked respectively 109th and 112th.

In seeking solutions to the complex challenges faced by these countries, the aims of the researchers in the IBE project were threefold. First was to conduct a thorough analysis of the existing international literature and theoretical guidelines in order to establish a definition of reading and writing instruction in a multilingual society faced with great poverty. Because all three countries have gaps in their knowledge of instructional best practices, a second aim was to raise practice to a standardized level, characterized by coherence and consistency, particularly as to the curricular content for reading in early grades, the content of textbooks and other learning materials and their availability and use, the teacher training curriculum, and the teaching practice itself. Third aim: that preliminary findings would bring about concrete recommendations that would lead to the production of national action plans elaborated by the specialized teams in each country, with a main focus on teacher training.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORKS AND THEORETICAL BACKGROUNDS

This section aims at providing the theoretical background that underlies the analysis. Didactic, sociolinguistic, and pedagogical theories on reading and writing are dynamically interlinked, and the three describe elements that must be mastered in order to achieve reading and writing proficiency. Newcomers to the written culture must learn to engage with the world anew, as learning to read and to write means adopting novel ways of using language and, in turn, of thinking.

Key Components of a Written Culture

Reading and writing are complex and interwoven skills consisting of the following three components, discussed in turn in greater detail below:

- Awareness of, and knowledge about, written culture: the reader can identify the aim of his or her reading and writing activity and has an activity that is defined in the context of a world containing writings (literary genres, texts, and writings that function and have a function in a given context);
- Text comprehension and production: the reader, surrounded by written culture, understands a text or a particular writing based on his or her general knowledge concerning the structure and contents of the text; and
- Mastery of written language: the reader has specific knowledge of a written language (sentences, words, infralexical units such as phonemes, graphemes, and syllables, etc.).

Awareness of, and Knowledge about, Written Culture

Chartier (2001) defines written culture as 'the set of objects and practices of reading and writing specific to a certain time and space' (authors' translation). Access to this culture is fundamental in the acquisition of reading and writing skills and most beneficial when started as early as possible in a child's life. Studies indicate that students must transform their relationship to language to become literate (Bernardin, 2013). This relationship change is particularly complex in Africa, where 'the traditional modes of transmitting knowledge are mostly distant to the ones of school' (Maurer, 2011). Such complexity should not obstruct the fundamental mission of schools, which is to introduce learners to written culture, and should not cause anyone to fall into the trap of 'racializing the school' (Doumbia, 2001). In order to counter the absence of written culture in students' daily lives, a substantial effort has to be made to create an environment within school life in which written culture may be cultivated.

To cultivate written culture, and transform a learner's relationship to the world, it is imperative to offer multiple opportunities for interaction with written texts such as:

- different contexts in which to use text;
- a variety of texts;
- exposure to a variety of text genres - books and other forms of published text;
- presence of books or other written materials in class; and
- reading of, and looking at, picture books and illustrated children's books designed for entertainment.

The quality of texts and the quality of interactions with texts must take precedence over quantity. Discussions and debates about text use and their social functions - in other words, entering into written culture - are therefore essential, in the understanding that reading and writing are not simply the mastering of the
graphophonological code, but the creation and transformation of new linguistic activities, social interactions and relationships with one's surroundings. This understanding is illustrated in Goigoux's (2016) study, conducted in 130 first grade classes, which demonstrated that the cultivation of written culture is a marker of success for reading and writing instruction.

**Text Comprehension and Production: Oral Language-Reading-Writing and Vocabulary**

It is crucial to deepen and expand oral means of communication already existing in a learner's family and surroundings (Dickinson, Golinkoff, and Hirsh-Pasek, 2010; Verhoeven and Van Leeuwe, 2008). To do so, new oral genres should be introduced in public situations, in class and/or in the media (Dolz and Schneuwly, 1998), genres such as:

- short debates, radio programmes, stories, tales, and explanations of simple phenomena;
- listening to the teacher in formal situations;
- listening to recorded texts; and
- playing rule games, telling short stories, describing scenes, explaining games.

These oral genres provide exposure to new linguistic means and assist in expanding a vocabulary base prior to the acquisition of writing skills. Building upon repertoires of already-existent oral communication in national languages may assist learners to read and write in their mother tongue as well as in a second language, such as French. These oral genres are a necessary prerequisite for entering written culture.

Rooted in oral language, the verbal transmission of text - mediated by a teacher - is a preliminary step to reading proficiency. The voice of a teacher, live or recorded, can introduce the text. However, simply listening to a text does not result in immediate understanding; rather, the text has to be worked out, explained, summarized, rephrased, and transformed (Duke and Pearson, 2002; Dumortier and Dispy, 2006; Pressley, 2002; van den Broek, Kendou, Lousberg, and Visser, 2011; Willingham, 2006). Auditory understanding of written texts is a prerequisite to deciphering, which is an essential reading skill. Deciphering does not, however, equate to comprehension, which in itself relies upon the reader's ability to connect his or her general knowledge to the structure and content of a specific text.

The production of written texts can occur without mastering deciphering. This can be accomplished through a variety of didactic procedures, for instance, *dictating to an adult* - which allows students to understand and become familiar with the rhythm of writing in real communicative situations. Through this, learners become aware of the specificities of written language, of its different functions and of its constraints (Thévenaz-Christen, 2012). Further didactic procedures emphasize word units that remain integrated in the text, and also the connection between the alphabetic and orthographic system (Saada-Robert and Christodoulidis, 2012).

Various didactic procedures are powerful tools in vocabulary instruction (the understanding of new words and expressions). Vocabulary instruction enhances a learner's ability to make links between oral and written forms of comprehension and production (Beck, Perfetti, and McKeown, 1982; David, 2003; Hirsch, 2003; Perfetti, 2007). The oral dictation of a text, which may be too difficult for a learner because of its vocabulary, provides the listener with an opportunity to be in contact with unknown words, and to discuss, reorganize, and interact with the text. This results in the expansion of vocabulary and comprehension of new words (David, 2003; Gambert et al., 2000).

**Mastery of the Linguistic Functioning of Written Language: The Question of the Written Code**

The mastery of the code is a central element of learning how to read and write. The alphabetic principle - defined by the correspondence between graphic and phonic units - implies the capacity to analyse language independent of sense. It is a complex ability of objectification fostered in school (Morais, 1998). The capacity to analyse and objectify language is seen as a metalinguistic ability (Gambert, 2005) that has to be explicitly constructed. It is derived from phonological awareness, which is the ability to segment the chain of sounds produced by language in units, like words and syllables, to create the chains of phonemes. The next step is the manipulation of phonemes, referred to as phonemic awareness. Moreover, understanding the dimensions of letters - their name, the sound(s) they represent, and their graphic form - helps learners to master the code (Briquet-Duhaize and Moal, 2013; Briquet-Duhaize, 2014; Hilairet de Boisferon, Colé, and Geniaz, 2010).

The importance of explicit instruction in phonological awareness has been highlighted in several studies (Bara, Gentaz, and Colé, 2004; Kana and Ray, 2003) as contributing to the ability to manipulate (delete, substitute, and segment) phonemes within a word. Phonological awareness is a predictor of success in learning to read and write, even if the causal influence of this awareness is open for discussion. In a quantitative meta-analysis, Ehri, Nunes, Willows, Schuster, Yaghoub-Zadeh, and Shanahan (2001) demonstrate that teaching phonological awareness has a statistically significant effect on learning to read. Morphological awareness, on the other hand, is defined as the conscious perception of the significant role of letter configurations, developed on three levels: orthographic, alphabetic-phonological, and orthographic-morphological, which should be developed parallel to phonological awareness. Morphological awareness performs a vital role (Fayol and Jaffré, 2014; Nouri Romdhane, Gambert, and Belajouza, 2003) in agglutinating languages, in which morphemes play a particularly important role (Klaas and Trudell, 2011).

When teaching the code, reading and writing must be continually interwoven (Saada-Robert and Rieben, 1993) with a diversity of text, which is essential for the effective use and mastery of written code. Consequently, pedagogical activities should provide different forms of writing, such as 'intelligent copy', inventing
short sentences, exchanging words between students, and writing on the basis of a reference text. Such forms of writing activities consolidate understanding of written code and improve text comprehension.

In a connectionist model, semantic and orthographic dimensions correspond to phonological dimensions from the beginning. Additionally, metalinguistic abilities—metaphonological or metasyntactical—also play an important role (Gombert, 2003; Nouri Rnomade et al., 2003).

### Didactic Implications

The key components of written culture are autonomous and yet part of one dynamic system, strategically complementing each other and interdependent in nature. Learning to read and write means the construction of these components as three new psychological abilities (Goigoux, 2004). Be that as it may, understanding or writing texts does not require the complete mastery of each component. A reader may understand an unknown word when reading without complete mastery of decoding. Likewise, perfectly decoding a given word does not guarantee its understanding. Case in point: a Nigerian third grade student may perfectly “read” (‘decode’) or pronounce a French word without understanding it, owing to a low mastery of the language. Understanding a word is determined by the intent to build the meaning and connect it with a reading project. Such a process is difficult, long, and slow for emergent readers and proves additionally complex within a multilingual context, as is often the case in sub-Saharan countries with French as the official language.

Knowledge of text diversity—the function and organization of text and how it varies according to text genres—allows readers to anticipate the purpose of a text and its contents and to continue to make connections within a reading project. Knowing, even intuitively, how a text is built favors the construction of meaning as reading progresses. The lexical and infralexical knowledge (syllables, phonemes, graphemes, and morphemes) is heavily dependent on both oral language and language of instruction. The mastery of infralexical units is gained when children learn to speak and is a prerequisite for teaching the written code. Following this principle, writing cannot occur without the mastery of oral language, nor of phonological dimensions without meaning, nor of sounds without letters. All this has at least the following didactic consequences:

- The key components utilized in reading and writing must unfold in a meaningful and appropriate progression, beginning on the first day of school. Therefore, the design of comprehensive reading lessons must integrate all cognitive abilities.
- Novice readers mobilize the same cognitive abilities as expert readers. Differences do not arise from the process itself, but rather from the reader’s construction of meaning based on prior conceptions, reading experiences, and knowledge of writing.
- The ability to construct meaning mobilizes high attention and multiple types of knowledge. Discrepancy between mother tongue and language of instruction affects initial reading acquisition. Within this discrepancy, two learning processes will occur simultaneously: (1) learning to speak and listen to a new language; (2) learning to read and to write sets of words that are not practiced in everyday life. This challenges students as well as teachers, who have to guide learning in a language that is largely foreign to both.

### Entering into Written Culture in a Multilingual Context

The theoretical framework applied in this research combines the concept of multilingualism with other features which characterize the context of the fieldwork.

Multilingualism is prominent in most countries of the world, particularly in Africa, home to one third of the spoken languages of the world (Wolff, 2011). Such diversity challenges the initiation to written culture and thus language instruction. The typology of Maurer (2010) indicates that many languages have been transcribed quite recently and have not developed a diversified ‘written culture’. Evidently, this results in complex social and didactic problems.

Language instruction within a multilingual context as rich as in Sub-Saharan Africa is a prominent issue, as the official language is not least learners’ mother tongue. Wolff (2011) accurately describes this situation and offers interesting information on Burkina Faso and Senegal. Various models of language instruction exist (bilingual, monolingual, and multilingual); however, each country should carefully consider the context when deciding on which reference model to use. Conclusive evidence indicates that effective early language instruction stems from a learner’s mother tongue. The advantage of ‘mother tongue medium education’ is described in a number of studies—Garcia (2009), Skutnabb-Kangas and Heugh (2012), Ouane and Glanz (2011). Being exposed to two or more languages is an advantage ifofor as it demonstrates that languages function differently with respect to morphology, spelling, syntax, and text genres; even comparing languages offers the possibility to observe language functioning. The acquisition of stable literacy skills arises when learners develop their mother tongue over time in conjunction with the introduction of a second language at a later stage. The optimal time for the mastery of the mother tongue in school appears to be three to six years.

Additional complexity presents itself within the learning process of mother tongue languages. Other than dialectal differences (Tambulikani and Bus, 2012, for Zambia; Nicot-Guillourel, 2009, for Madagascar) some of these languages have not developed the vocabulary nor text structures belonging to written culture. Languages have to be ‘scripturalized’. Or even, as Alexander (2011) states, ‘intellectualized’: an immense social effort that goes far beyond what school can do; yet, schools are, and have to be, actors in this process. In the case of sub-Saharan countries, the specificities of the mother tongue languages are rarely highlighted in educational contexts. As all three of our countries are characterized by such rich multilingual environments, as well by education systems mostly oriented towards the official French, which is pervasive in secondary and higher education and at administrative levels, they all...
need a bilingual education model in primary school; sole mother tongue instruction is realistically not possible. In most multilingual countries, monolingual teaching models hinder the consolidation of real-life learning beyond the reading ability of transcoding writing to oral language.

A critical obstacle to overcome in all three countries is ‘knowledge transfer’ in reading and writing from one language to another. The transition from mother tongue languages to French is arduous, as the former have transparent spellings while the latter has opaque spellings—whereby most phonemes can be written with several graphemes. Consequently, specific didactic techniques have to be developed in order to minimize these obstacles. Putting attention on, and reflecting on this issue encourages the development and strengthening of linguistic knowledge in mother tongue languages—grammar, vocabulary, and oral and written text genres—even if it is implicit.

Whether it be part of monolingual or bilingual models, French as a second or foreign language is inevitable in schools. In accordance with this reality, pedagogical methods cannot subscribe to conventional approaches for three reasons (Trudell, 2013):

- Learning a second language should be carried out in conjunction with exposure to its written culture. In other words, a foreign language and mastery of reading and writing should exist concurrently.
- Writing in a foreign language operates differently from that of the first language (opaque versus transparent spelling).
- For the majority of the population, the language of instruction is foreign even if it is pervasive across the education system.

In a monolingual French model, distinct and adaptive pedagogical methods must be developed. Nonetheless, it is possible to use the ‘language immersion’ (Alidou, Boly, Brock-Utne, Diallo, Heugh, and Wolff, 2006) method as a substantial basis for ‘real-life’ communicative development.

In a bilingual model, pedagogical methods must encompass both reading and writing synchronously whilst providing an array of different forms. The applicability of mother tongue languages within these methods is beneficial, as they can facilitate access to the foreign language. The application of mother tongue languages is demonstrated in class observations conducted during the research (see the following chapters).

**Curriculum Alignment**

Within any and all models of instruction, the development of effective literacy is unequivocally dependent on curriculum alignment and quality teacher education. To this end, the goals and objectives of school programmes, syllabi, and pedagogical methods must adjust accordingly and be enacted and sustained by all education actors.

Adopting the perspective of didactic progression, curriculum alignment must be conceptualized, coherent, and adaptive in nature. Furthermore, it is critical that education actors take into account the pedagogical, didactic and cultural contexts as they pertain to curriculum alignment. As teachers are the primary actors of implementing curriculum, their professional development plays a central role in curriculum alignment. Therefore, they must be active actors in putting attention on, and acting on the integration of theoretical knowledge with practical knowledge. The research aspires to shed light on these interwoven complexities and their relationship within the setting of the three sub-Saharan countries.

**RESEARCH ON TEACHING READING AND WRITING IN THREE SUB-SAHARAN COUNTRIES**

The research entailed four different types of analyses in each country:

- analysis of programmes and ‘prescriptions’;
- analysis of textbooks for reading and writing instruction;
- interviews with official representatives; and
- observation of reading and writing practices in school classes.

**Analysis of Programs and Prescriptions**

All three countries are undergoing curriculum and syllabus reforms, based on a reconstruction of their underlying principles and influenced by an international understanding of pedagogical theories. Past and present educational policies coexist in each country regarding public education, official educational doctrine, and curricular standards. This dichotomy adds additional complexity to the collection and analysis of programmes and prescriptions. To ensure the validity of the analysis and to be able to define reading and writing objectives in the first years of compulsory school, all texts officially produced over the past 20 years had to be collected and analysed.

The analysis of programmes and prescriptions addressed the following aspects:

- Are reading and writing defined? If so, how?
- Which aspects are defined? Written culture? Writing and text comprehension? Vocabulary? Oral language?
- What is the importance of teaching the code, and by what means?
- How is the concept of multilingualism presented?

**Analysis of Textbooks for Learning to Read and Write**

Because of the multiplicity of uses, varieties, and situations, dozen of different textbooks had to be collected. Different textbooks exist and are used in monolingual classes in French, whilst others are used in bilingual classes in mother tongue
languages; and others are produced by different organizations for experimental classes.

The analysis of textbooks for reading and writing instruction examined the following aspects:
- Is the culture of writing present in textbooks (literary genres, images, photographs, etc.), and how?
- Is text comprehension taught, and how?
- Is written code taught, and how?
- Is multilingualism present, and, if so, in what form?

Interviews with Official Representatives

In each country, we met with official representatives of varying levels of the education system and discussed the following:
- general politics of the country;
- current reforms undertaken;
- official language instruction policies (national language, official language, and their relationship in the different school levels);
- methods prescribed for reading and writing instruction;
- teacher education as a whole; and
- teacher education in the domain of language instruction and the teacher's own linguistic constraints.

Observation of Reading and Writing Practices in Classes

Acknowledging that classroom observations provide merely a snapshot of early reading education, which is an ongoing, fluid process, in each country one lesson was videotaped and teachers interviewed, in order to identify and analyze the instructional and learning dynamics in reading and writing practices. As an attempt to capture the multifaceted nature of educational complexities present in these countries, teachers were selected based on school level, region, and whether they were using bilingual and/or multilingual models.

Collected data was analysed around data 'synopsis' (Schneuwy and Dolz, 2009), where the lesson was reorganized into a sequence of school activities according to different indicators, such as:
- change of task or social form of interaction;
- linguistic indices in the discourse of the teacher;
- change of content or material used (book, blackboard or exercise book).

The combination of several classroom activities framed within the lesson and grouped together (for instance, different tasks on the same sound) can create a hierarchical description of which linguistic skills took place. These hierarchical descriptions were thus coupled with the collected data from interviews, and three main aspects were analysed:
- What happens before and after the lessons?
- What objectives does each teacher consider most important in the teaching of reading and writing?
- What are the teacher's comments on the videotaped lesson?

This multilayered approach gave way to the identification of the main contents taught in classrooms, leading to a comparison between grades, applied methods, and the functionality of any implemented model of instruction.

These four analyses - whose methodologies are detailed in the following chapters - resulted in the production of concrete recommendations that were adopted by the three countries in the form of action plans that targeted teacher education.

CONCLUSION: TARGETING TEACHER EDUCATION

On the basis of the analysis presented in this chapter, the main target point was teacher education. All three countries likewise regard it as a key component. For this reason, it is at the heart of their respective national plans of action. Teacher education constitutes a central point for curriculum alignment and all subsequent actions; however, it proves to be very complex in nature. Therefore, in order for the given recommendations to be adopted, significant changes should be introduced and implemented within the teacher education policy and programmes in order to allow for the context-specific expansion of written culture, and other communicative means, across an array of textual genres.

Recently initiated teacher education reforms in Burkina Faso, Niger, and Senegal align with international tendencies, such as: a change in admission criteria (that is, a 'baccalaureate' diploma is required before admission to primary-teacher training schools); an emphasis on professional competence; and a strengthening of the relationship between theory and practice. Further, teachers are trained in difficult situations that demand the integration of knowledge and practical analysis. Nevertheless, these changes fail to address the urgent need for country-specific language instruction.

The general discourse on teacher education reforms targets the upgrading of students' level and/or mastery of French and of mother tongue languages, but it lacks a focus on theoretical and pedagogical content. Likewise, methodological knowledge is strongly framed by official prescriptions but does not take into account relevant field information that can provide significant context and content for evidence-based changes. Presently in teacher education programmes, instructional content must be quickly mastered, thus restricting full acquisition of knowledge and full development of adaptive and pedagogical methods. Such limitations are difficult to address in a culture in which multiple mother tongue languages are spoken. Coupled with the
students' requirement to learn French as a second official language, these limitations can pose great challenges for teachers and other education actors. Current teacher training programmes do not prepare future teachers for French language instruction and reading proficiency in the first three years of primary school. Although some resources do exist, such as several experiments on bilingual teaching models that are becoming well known at ministry level, they remain outside of the teacher education curricula.

In summary, quality teacher education, which includes concrete didactical methods and instruments, is crucial in the development of students' capacities. These essential components must align with theoretical knowledge and respond to the complex linguistic reality of such countries. Furthermore, the elaboration, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation of didactical instruments is important within the framework of a comprehensive and continuous teacher education policy. Such policy must consider oral language instruction, written language comprehension and text production in order to enhance the following elements:

- Acquisition of understanding of formal oral text genres (in national languages and French).
- Production of different written text genres (in national languages and French).
- Development of knowledge about, and mastery of, the grapho-phonological code and the functioning of the French language.

NOTES

1. The approach taken is based on sociolinguistic interactionism (2004, 2005) based on Saussure's theory of language and discourse (Bronckart, Bula, and Bota, 2010), Vygotsky's theory of language production (1934/1960), and Soviet theory of speech and language (Velichovskii, 1929/2010). The main unit of language production is text genres in social communicative situations (Bronckart, 2002, 2004). This theory leads to an approach of language teaching through text genres (Schneuwly and Dolez, 1997; see also the 'Genre pedagogy' based on systemic functional linguistics: Martin and Rose, 2012; for a comparative analysis of different approaches of teaching with genres: Schneuwly and Dolez, 2012).

2. There are numerous studies (Fijal, 2003, for instance) on teaching and learning reading and writing. This research is particularly influenced by francophone studies, all the more so as the countries writing. This research is particularly influenced by francophone studies, all the more so as the countries writing.

3. Most interesting reflections about these problems can be found in Maurer (2011) and Trudel and Schoeller (2009). Consistent with what is written in the preceding section of this chapter, Trudel and Schoeller (2009) insist on the importance of text and meaning. Indeed, Fijal, 2003) provides one of the rare studies on practice of teaching in African bilingual teaching of reading and writing.

4. Besides the appropriation and training of graphic motor gestures that allow getting readable copies of different writings through handwriting.
d'enseignement en questions, Revue des HEP de Suisse romande et du Tessin, 1) (pp. 37-56). Lausanne, Switzerland: CDHEP et IRDP.


