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ABDOU MIJINGUINI

koyo
da
koyarwa

Sadarwa

Sandarwa

DANDUDS

Talla

Han 59

KOYARWA

KOYO

FASALTA HARSUNA

(Takaitacciyar Gabatarwa)

SAIKO

Sadarwa

Wadari

Talla

KOYO

Sandarwa

Sadarwa

daba'awar talmako

koyo
da
koyarwa

ABDOU MIJINGUINI

FASALTA HARSUNA

(Takaitacciyar gabatarwa)

Madaba'ar Gama Gari

1.

1. « Ilimi ba kishi banza ne ».

2. Babu Al'ummar da ta fi yayan da suka girmamar da ita girma.

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1. Al'umma

Yana da muhimanci ga duk mai nazarin rayuwar harshe ya kula da dangantakar da ke da akwai tsakanin harshe da al'umma. Yawanci dai, in aka ce al'umma, ana nufin wani rukunin zamnannin mutane da suke raba mahalayyan rayuwa kamar su isili ko tushe, harshe, tabi'o'i, ds. Kamar yanda Maurice Barrès ya rubuta

« Al'umma (nation), wani zaman tare ne da mazamnan suke da harshe ɗaya, isili ɗaya, al'ada ɗaya, kuma suna zamne yankin ƙasa guda » Maurice Barrès ta alƙalamin Pierre Alexandre, 1968.

Amma wasu matunanan na nanata cewar « kishin da mazamnan suke nunawa game da ɗayancin al'ummarsu » fannin gaske ne da ya kamata a ƙara ga fayyatar. Fayyatar da Barrès ya ma al'umma tana nuna cewar babu al'ummar da ta sami matsayinta na al'umma ba tare da harshenta ba. Kamar yanda wata faɗa ta ce « harshe ɗaya al'umma ɗaya », ko da yake ba haka a sauƙaƙe abin yake ba kullum da ko ina, kamar yanda za mu gani a gaba. Akwai tahe-

tahe ko kaurace- kaurace masu mafarai iri iri da suke kai mutane zama cikin al'ummu daban da nasu al'ummun na ainahi. Akwai kuma gushe-gushen al'ummu da kansu, gushe-gushen da ke kai waɗannan al'ummu cudanɗa da makamatansu (a dubi Mahadi Adamu, 1986, ko Djibo Hamani, 1975, don yan misalai).

Cikin kasashe da dama, kamar yanda mayyan kasashen duniya suke, sasanta harshe da kasa da al'umma, abu ne mai wuyar al'amari. Ana iya lura da hakan, ya zamanto Ruwanda ake, kasa mai al'ummu biyu, *Tuttsi da Hutu*, da harshe guda *kinyaruwanda*, ko a Aljeriya, mai al'ummu biyu (*larabawa* da *barbar*) da harshe biyu, *larabci* da *abzinanci*, a Amerika, Tarayyar Sobiet, ko Tarayyar Najeriya, masu harsuna da yawa, balle ma a yanzu da hamayyar harsuna ta zama tushen hasumomi da haddasawa kamar yanda ake amfani da su wurare da dama. Cikin wannan halin ne, a Amerika, kasar da ta fi kowacce karfin tattalin arziki, wasu jami'an ilimin harsuna suka kago ilimin Fasalta Harsuna.

2. Mine ne Fasalta Harsuna ?

i. Dan tarihi kafan:

Katibai da dama na rubuta cewar Einar Haugen ne ya fara amfani da kalmar « *planning* » wato 'fasalta' game da harshe, cikin wata takarda mai laƙabin « *planning for a Standard Language in Modern Norway* » da ya wallafa a 1959 cikin *Anthropological Linguistics* (Juzi'i na 1, L^o3; sh. 8-21). Su Joshua FISHMAN, Jyotirindra DAS GUPTA, Joan RUBIN, Bjorn H. JERNUD, ds. Ne suka yada mama'anin (concept) na « language planning » da a nan muka fassara « Fasalta Harsuna » (FH)¹ tamkar wani hangen matsalolin harshe game da fannoni daban daban na rayuwa kamar su yanayin zaman al'umma, karuwar yawan jama'a, siyasa, dokoki, al'adu, ds. Kuma kowa ya san duba al'amurran duniya a yau game da waɗannan fannoni abu ne na alfahari da yake yaɗuwa kullum. Shi ya sa dubarorin fayyatar fasalta harsuna (FH) suka sami kahuwa sannu sannu tamkar dubarorin

¹ A Taron fassarar Kammalallen Tarihin Afirka, na afirlun 1990 a Yamai, Dr Dalhatu ya ba ni shawarar fassara kalmar haka.

rayuwar jama'a kamar yanda suke tunkaruwa ta fannoni daban daban. Haka ne, kamar kowane fagen tunani, FH ya sami fayyatar kansa da kalmomi na kansa. Tunanin ya sami faɗaɗuwa da girkuwa a tarurruka da dama na kara ma juna ilimi. Na farko dai a 1968 wasu jami'an Amerika suka kiri wani taron kara ma juna ilimi kan "*Matsalolin harsuna a kasashe masu tasowa*" ("Language Problems of Developping Nations"), wanda Joshua A. Fishman, Charles A. Ferguson da Jyotirindra Das Gupta suka wallafa sakamakon a 1968. Daga 1969 ne fagen tunanin ya fara samun tarurruka na kansa. Tsakanin 1968 da 1969, Fishman, Jernudd, Das Gupta da Rubin suka yi shekara guda cir a East-West Center na Hawaii suna nutsattsen tunani game da fayyace ko mine ne Fasalta Harsuna kafin su gabatar da jawabbansu gaban taron da aka gardamta matsaloli irin na siyasar harsuna, zaɓen harshe, ds. Kuma aka bayyana faɗaɗuwar fayyatar fagen. Cikin waɗanda aka kira taron har da wakilan kwangiloli da kungiyoyi masu zaman kansu. Haka Barbara Finberg ta Carnegie Foundation (a d. J Rubin, R. Shuy, 1973) ta nuna buƙatarsu ta ganin an yi taƙaitattun bincike-bincike a fagen harshen yara, musamman

ma koyon harshe ga yara, da fagen matsaloli da kankanan al'ummu suke huskanta ta wajen harshe. Kamar ginshikoki masu zaman kansu, wakilin Ofishin Tarbiyya na US, shi ma ya gabatar da bukatun gwamnatusu.

Ta haka ne jami'ai da wakilai daban daban suka yi amfani da kafofin da tarurrukan suka basu don zurfafa saninsu game da **Fasalta Harsuna** (FH), da share fagagen manufofin da suka kamata fagen ilimin ya kumsa. Sakamakon dayan taron ne Rubin J. da Jernudd B. suka daba'a a 1971 da lakabin « *Can Language Be Planned?* » wato "*ana iya fasalta Harshe?*" Daga nan komi ya ci gaba.

ii. Yaduwar tunani da kalmomi:

Doli ne in FH na son cim-ma gurinsa na ilimi mai yancin kansa a fagagen ilimin harsuna, ya ginu da tunanin kansa da kalmomin kansa. Saboda haka ne daga wannan taro zuwa wancan, jami'ai suka yi ta fadada manufofi da zurfafa tunani kansa. Duk da yake ayyukan farko sun hasashi kasashe masu tasowa, nan da nan ya zama gurin kasashe masu karfin tattalin arziki. Da ma a kasashe da dama

kamar su Kanada, Baljiyam, Sifaniya, Suwidan, Najeriya, Tanzaniya, ds., rukunnan jami'ai dukufe suke ga neman warware matsaloli da tushensu yake dangane da harshe. Kafin mu nufi harsunan da kansu, har mu yi nazarin ire-iren fasaltawarsu cikin misalan yan kasashe kadan, ya kamata mu nemi gane yanda fagen FH ya ginu game da mama'annansa na kansa (with his own concepts) kamar yanda maginan nasa suka fayyatar da shi. Suwa nene maginan? Za mu gabatar da biyar cikinsu.

EINAR HAUGEN

Shi ne, bayan karanta wani aiki na Uriel Weinreich (1954), ya fara ambata kalmar "language planning" (Fasalta Harsuna) wadda ya fayyace tamakar

"Sasanta rubutu (normative ortography), shirya nahau da kamus don sanyawa hanyar karatu da rubutu ko amfanin baka kurum da harshe cikin al'ummar da ba bai daya ba take wajen harshe."
Haugen: 1968 [1954]:673.

Da ma Weinreich (1968 [1954: 314) da Tauli (1968/55) sun yi amfani da kalmar '*Standardisation*' (*daidaitarwa*) da kusan ma'anar FH, ko da yake a fayyatar kalmar tasu, sun kara "zaman wasu kungiyoyi na gwamnati ko masu zaman kansu da aka dora ma nauyin daidaitar da harshen (*réglage linguistique*)"

Haugen ne ya nemi bambanta matsalolin da suka shafi *kama* (ko kamannin harshe ko suffarshi (form)) da waɗanda suke na aikinsa ne (ko muƙaminsa ko matsayinsa (*fonction*)). Kamar yanda ya rubuta a 1983 (1983:270), saɗun nashi (son modèle) ya kumshi matakarori guda biyar :

- a. zaɓen daidai dīn harshe (ko *kamar* da ta dace (*selection of norm*))
- b. shirya ko waɗarintar da kamar da aka zaɓa (*codification of norm*)
- c. bayyana darajar *kamar* da aka zaɓa ga al'umma (ko shibka wannan kama ga al'umma) (*implementation of fonction*);
- d. yaɗa darajar ko ayyanar da ita (*elaboration of fonction*), saboda harshen ya kai

matsayin da ake so ga duk buƙatar da aka nuface shi da ita.

Ga allon saƙun na Haugen kamar yanda ya sake shi a 1983 (1983: 275) bayan ya yi la'akari da ci-gaban Fasalta Harsuna.

MATSAYI	KAMANNIN HARSHE (FORM) [SIYASOSHIN HARSUNA]	AIKIN HARSHE (FONCTION) [KIWON HARSHE]
JAMA'A (société) Fasalta matsayi (status planning)	1. zaɓen daidai dɪn harshe (ko kamar da ta dace (<i>selection of norm</i>)) (Tahiyar da niyyoyi) -a. gano matsalar -b. kaiwa / gusawa	3. Shibkawa (ko yaɗawa) (hanyar tarbiyya) -a. matakan gyara -b. mizanintawa / ƙintatawa (evaluation)
HARSHE Fasalta yaɗa rubece-rubece (corpus planning)	2. waɗarinta daidai-dɪn-har- she (ko kamar da aka zaɓa) standardisation(daidaitarwa) -a.waɗarin rubutu (orthogra- phe) -b.waɗarin jumloli (syntaxe) -c.waɗarin kalmomi (lexique)	4. zamanintar da harshe (modernisation de la langue) a. zamanintar da keɓaɓɓun kalmomi b. ƙara raya salo ga harshe

JIRI . NEUSTUPNY

Yana daya daga cikin gatayen jami'an FH. A ganinsa (1970), huskantar matsalolin harsuna iri biyu ce:

- Ta farko ita ce huskantar matsalolin ta fannin siyasa (**policy approach**) ; hakan ya danganta da « makeken fannin rayuwar harsuna game da zamantakewa » (macro-sociolinguistique). Nan ne ake huskantar matsalolin zaɓen harshe ko harsunan kasa, daidaitar da shi ko da su (standardisation), sasanta rubutunsu (harmonisation of orthography), ds. Wadannan matsalolin kuwa, a ganin Neustupny, matsaloli ne na kasashe masu tasowa.

- Ta biyu ita ce huskantar matsalolin ta fannin kiwon harsuna (**cultivation approach**). Wannan huskantar tana dangane da « kimantaccen fannin rayuwar harshe game da zamantakewa » (micro-sociolinguistique). Nan za a neman daidai-din-harshe (norm), salon rubutu ko na fada (style), daidaita harshe da buƙatu iri iri na sadarwa, ds. Su kuma inji Neustupny, matsaloli ne irin na kasashe da tattalin arzikinsu ya ci-gaba.

Saboda duk haka, Neustupny ya rubuta cewar Fasalta Harsuna fanni daya ne kurum na « sarrafa harsuna » (« LP is only one kind of « language treatment »).

A ganinsa (1968), tun farko matsalar ta tabbata daga waɗannan mama'annan : « matsaloli » (problems); « siyasa » (policy); « harshe », ds. Kuma ga gauraya abun da ke na « *matsayin zanen kamannni* » (descriptive level) ne, da wanda ke na « *matsayin ayyanarwa* - ko na matsayin dokoki » (prescriptive level). Ta Hakan za a lura da matsalolin harshe kishi biyu ne :

- waɗanda nan take-yanke suke karfafa kishi (conscious problems), misali bambance-bambance tsakanin harsuna cikin kasa, musamman ma tsakanin harshen hukuma (official language) da sauran harsuna ; yaƙi da jahilci ; sasanta rubutu ; ds.

- Waɗanda suke boye (inconscious problems), misali na tsakanin harshe da dangin da yake raba iyali da su; ko kuma matsaloli da ke na harshe ne dangane da fannonin nausi (ko na kurwar rayuwar ɗan Adam) (psychologie), ds., da ba a kula da su

sosai ba, balantana har su zama wani abun lura ta fannin siyasa.

A ganin Neustupny, tunani kan matsalolin harshe, ba zai zama cikakke ba in har ya kauyace ma wadannan matsalolin, saboda su suke haskaka hufɗar da ke tsakanin duk wani « *wadari* » ko « shiri » (code) da ke samuwa cikin wani « *tsawabi* » ko « tsari » (système). Haka ya rubuta cewar « matsaloli irin na 'daidaitarwar harsunan hukuma' (standardisation des langues officielles), na sasanta rubutu, na samo keɓaɓɓin kalmomi (terminologie), ds., ba matsaloli ba ne da ke kauye ga **matsalolin sadarwa** ta hanyar sauran shiliyoli da ba na harshe ba. Kamar yanda Fishman (1968 ; 1973) yake ganin *armen harshe da fasaha* (couplage langue-technologie), haka Neushtupny yake tsammanin ba a iya tunana matsalalolin harshe kauyace da matsalolin sadarwa (arman da ke babbar matsala ga kasashe masu tasowa).

HEINZ KLOSS

Ya yi suna saboda sahan fasaltawar da ya bayyana cikin wani ɗan littafi da ya wallafa a ICRB

(International Center for Research on Bilingualism / Cibiyar Binciken Gwagwarmayar Harsuna cikin Duniya) ta Jami'ar Laval (a Kebek) a 1969. Cikin wannan dan littafi ne ya ce ai « **Fasalta Harsuna** » aiki biyu ne : ***Fasalta rubuce-rubuce ; da Fasalta matsayi.***

- **Fasalta Rubuce-rubuce** (corpus planning), ayyuka ne kan harshen da kansa kamar yanda Kloss ya rubuta:

"ko a ce wata ma'aikatar gwamnati, ko wani mutum ko rukunin mutane da suke hangen **wani sauyi** ga *kama* ko *suffar* harshe, ko sauyawar harshen da kansa, ta hanyar bada ra'ayoyi ko dolinta yin amfani da sabbin kalmomi, sabuwar hanyar rubuta harshe, ko kuma sabon jeren baƙaƙe da wasullan harshen" (Kloss, 1969:81)

- **Fasalta Matsayi** (status planning): a nan Kloss na nufin duk matakan da za a iya dauka musamman ma na fannin dokoki don kare harshe daga duk wani harin waje ko razanar ciki, su zamanto na wasu harsuna ne ko ma na gwamnatin kasa ne.

JOSHUA A. FISHMAN

Bayan ya lura da fasaltarwa da yawancin sauye-sauye cikin wasu fagagen tunani (ms. Siyasar tattalin arziki), sai ya hasashi sakamakon da ake bida daga manufofin Fasalta Harsuna. Sahun manufofin ya tashi daga sauye-sauye iri biyu: **na ci-gaban fasaha** da **na haɓakar da rayuwar jama'a**. Waɗannan sauye-sauye su suke tushen murhun na Fishman da tuballan su ne: **ci-gaba** (dé veloppement); **zamanintarwa** (modernisation), da **turantarwa** (occidentalisation). Gicciyen sauye-sauyen da waɗannan tuballan ya bada wannan allon :

	ci-gaba	zamanintara	turantarwa
Sauyin fasaha da ake so a cim-ma da farko	Sauyin da aka sa gaba shi ne na fasahohi	Ayyukan tsa - ka-tsakiya	Sauyi mai zurfi game da rayuwa da al'adu ake so a cim-ma da farko
Sauyin rayuwa da ake so a cim-ma da farko (ko ta hanyar aro daga wasu har-suna, ko ta waiwaiyen hanyoyin cikin	Sauyin ya dangana ga aron dubaru, ko da yake ana koƙarin riƙe tsarin da ke nan ana aiki da shi.		Sauyin na dangane ga aron dubarori ko kuwa ga kungiyoyin musamman da aka shirya kuma da koƙarinsu na su kwaikwayi waje ne.

Turken sahun: a d. Fishman, 1973.

Idan aka lura sosai da kanun allon sai a gano da matsayin aro cikin sauyin da ake bukata (a d. Mijinguini, 1989, ko Ali Rigigi 1986). Kuma ana iya fahintar hakan game da wasu ra'ayoyi da Fishman din ya bayyana a 1968 game da harsunan æasashe masu tasowa, inda ya rubuta:

"Ba yanda ake **shigarwar** (intégration) da ake bukatar cim-ma da gaugawa ta samu daga yanayin kasashen na wannan lokacin [...]. Wannan halin ya sa kasashen suka like ma harsunan Turai tamkar wata bukatacciyar hanya ta dace ma siyasarsu [...], tunda daurinsu taɓarɓare take, kuma da ma ba abin a zo a gani ba ce wadda ake iya dawwame ma don zamanintarwa [...], duk da matsaloli da baibaicin da ke tare da amfani da harshen waje, tunda harshe da fasaha abubuwa ne da ke aure da juna, su kuwa sabbin kasahen ba su iya cim-ma "*shigarwar al'adu*" (intégration culturelle) in ba ta hanyar harsuna da fasahohi baki ba" (Fishman, 1968).

JEAN-CLAUDE CORBEIL

A matsayinshi na bakebake², ya nufaci fanning dangane da matsaloli da kasarsa Kanada take huskanta, wato hamayyar faransanci da ingilisanci wadda cikinta faransawan Kebec da ke jin a danne suke, suka tashi tsaye kokowar birkitar da wannan danniyar ta harshe da al'adu. Saboda haka Corbeil ya hasashi FH kamar wani *kishin ciki* inda mai kishin ke shirya dubarorin yanci da ci-gaban rayuwarsa. Kamar yanda jini ke dauda cikin rawayawarsa cikin jiki, kuma ya wanke kansa cikin wannan rawayawar, har ya raya lafiyar yau da gobe ta jikin, haka Corbeil ya huskanci Fasalta Harsuna, kamar yanda ya bayyana cikin wata takarda mai laƙabin "la 'régulation linguistique" (maikarwar harsuna?) da ya³ wallafa a 1983. Nan ya fayyace 'maikarwar' (régulation) kamar

« wani sawarwari (phénomène) ne wanda ta kansa mamban wani rukuni ko wata yar ƙungiya ke amfani da harshe cikin daratta wasu halaye da jama'ar rukunin ko ta ƙungiyar ta yarda da su kuma ta ba su ƙarfi »
Corbeil, 1983 : 283.

² Mutunen Québec

Ta fanni kalmomi, Corbeil ne ya jawo hankalin masu amfani da harshen faransanci, cewa «*Aménagement Linguistique*» ce kalmar faransanci da ta fi dace ma nufin «Language Planning», ba «Planification Linguistique» ba, da faransawa kamar su Louis-Jean Calvet suka yi amfani da ita.

iii. Fayyata

Mun ga yanda daga taro zuwa taro, jami'ai suka tunana wannan sabon fannin nazarin harsuna da suka sa ma suna «Fasalta Harsuna». Har ma mun bada ra'ayoyin kadan daga cikin masanan. Yanzu sai mu nemi *fayyatar* (définition) wannan sashen ilimi a takaice. Mun ga yanda Haugen ye fayyaci FH har ma ya bayyana sahunsa baryoyi guda huɗu: 1. *tsaida siyasa* (policy formulation); *wadarintarwa* (codification); 3. *ayyanarawa* (élaboration); 4. *zartarwa ko shibkawa* (implementation). A wadannan hanyoyi ne Neustupny ya aɓara matakar guda: *kiwata* ko kiwo kurum da ya ce ma «**cultivation**» Kuma mun ga a ra'ayin Neustupny FH wani fanni ne guda kawai na «aikata harsuna»

(language treatment) da ke rataye a wuyan gwamnati, kamar yanda Jernudd ya nanata :

« duk abin da hukuma za ta yi (action officielle) da ya huskanci manufokin kasa, kuma da za a damka ayyukan tafiyar da shi ga ma'aikatar gwamnati (organisme gouvernemental) ko duk ma'aikata da gwamnatin kasar ta amince da tafiyar da shi » (Jernudd, 1972 :11-12).

Haka ne fayyatar kalmar ta yi ta yaduwa yan shekarun baya. A nasa gefen Brian Weinstein cewa ya yi ai Fasalta Harsuna

"wani amintaccen matsawoncin kokari ne da ake kishinsa, kuma da gwamnati ta yarda da shi saboda sassauya ayyukan harshe (modifier les fonctions d'une langue) ga al'umma dan a kashe wasu matsalolin sadarwa" (Weinstein, 1980:56).

Kuma ya kara da cewa:

"wata jarabawa ce (tentative) wadda ake gewayawa bayan harshe don a kashe matsaloli irin na rayuwar al'umma (problèmes sociaux), na tattalin arziki da siyasa" (Weinstein, 1980/56).

Bayan la'akari da duk wa'annan ra'ayoyi daban daban muna iya takaicewa cewar Fasalta Harsuna wni sabaki ne *hukumar kasa* (Intervention de l'Etat), ko sa-kai ne na *wani* ko *wasu* masu zaman kansu, don shirya amfani da harshe ko harsuna cikin wani yanki ko wata kasa saboda samun sauƙin dawainiyoyin tattalin rayuwa cikin wadata, sauƙi da ci-gaba (su zamanto na tattalin arziki ne, na al'adu ne ko na huskar siyasa ne). Do haka ya kamata a nemi moriyar Fasalta Harsuna kalkashin bazarar siyasar tattalin arziki. Don haka FH ba fage ba ne da ke kyankene a gandayen binciken mazazarta ilimin harsuna su kawai. Don haka a kowace kasa aka huskance shi da manufofin da ke muhimmai ga al'umma ko al'ummun kasar.

Wannan bambance-bambancen kudurorin, na guri da na manufofi suka sa shan bamban wajen sunayen fagen: *Fasalta Harsuna* a Amerika,

bIKOBO CTPO T bCTBO (*gina harshe*) a Tarayyar Sobiet (a d. Deserijev, 1983), '*gyaggyara zaman harsuna*' (aménagement linguistique) a Kanada, ds. Ire-iren huskantar sun kawo tsananin

Bayan la'akari da duk wa'annan ra'ayoyi daban daban muna iya takaicewa cewar Fasalta Harsuna wni sabaki ne *hukumar kasa* (Intervention de l'Etat), ko sa-kai ne na *wani* ko *wasu* masu zaman kansu, don shirya amfani da harshe ko harsuna cikin wani yanki ko wata kasa saboda samun sauƙin dawainiyoyin tattalin rayuwa cikin wadata, sauƙi da ci-gaba (su zamanto na tattalin arziki ne, na al'adu ne ko na huskar siyasa ne). Do haka ya kamata a nemi moriyar Fasalta Harsuna kalkashin bazarar siyasar tattalin arziki. Don haka FH ba fage ba ne da ke kyankene a gandayen binciken mazazarta ilimin harsuna su kawai. Don haka a kowace kasa aka huskance shi da manufofin da ke muhimmai ga al'umma ko al'ummun kasar.

Wannan bambance-bambancen kudurorin, na guri da na manufofi suka sa shan bamban wajen sunayen fagen: *Fasalta Harsuna* a Amerika,

bIKOBO CTPO T bCTBO (*gina harshe*) a Tarayyar Sobiet (a d. Deserijev, 1983), '*gyaggyara zaman harsuna*' (aménagement linguistique) a Kanada, ds. Ire-iren huskantar sun kawo tsananin

tunani kan matsayin harsuna game da rayuwar al'umma.

3. HARSUNAN DUNIYA

Kamar yanda muka fahinta a nan sama, Fasalta Harsuna fagen ilimi ne mai wuyar al'amari saboda sassarkiyar wasu fannoni daban daban wadanda ke muhimmai ga rayuwar mutun da rayuwar al'umma. Ta fannin matsayin harshe ga rayuwar mutun, ana iya karanta rubuce-rubuce da suka shafi *makaurata* ko *matafa* kurum, dangance da cin-karo da matsalolin harshe ke kawowa matuka. Kuma ana iya karanta sakamakon yake-yake, hamayyar siyasoshi zamanin dimukaradiya, tafiyar da mulki cikin kasa, mulkin kabilanci, ds. da suke iya kawo muhimman sauye-sauye ga rayuwar harshe cikin mahallinsa. Ta wani fannin, misali a Afirka, a tuna da cewar yawancin kasashen wannan nafiyar, kasashe ne da ke kumshe da al'ummu da dama, al'ummun da ke zaune da harsunansu na ainahi amma da, a sakamakon mulkin mallaka, suka batar da hukumominsu na ainahi, kuma suke amfani da harsunan tsaffin mamallakan nasu. Ire-iren wadannan matsalolin ya kawo a nazarci

yawon harsunan duniya da matsalolin da suke ciki, kafin a dukufa ga duk wannin aikin Fasalta Harshe.

Misali abin sani shi ne : Harsuna nawa ke raye sararin duniyarmu ta yau? Wadanne ire-iren matsayai suka dogara gare su? Harsuna nawa aka hi amfani da su ga rayuwar yau da kullum? Harsuna nawa ne na hukuma? Wane guri ke gaban mafasaltan game da harshe, misali a Afirka? ds.

i. Harsuna nawa ne a duniya ?

Amsar wannan tambayar na da wiyar haɓɓikantunwa ko da yake mabincika da dama sun jaraba kawo gudummuwarsu. Shi dai Mackey (1984 : 38) cewa ya yi yawancin ƙidayoyin na bada adiddai tsakanin 3000 da 9000. A Kalifurniyar US, mujallar ETHNOLOGUE ta 1978 ta bada adadin harsuna kusan 5100. A ƙididdigar Leclerc (1986), yawan harsunan duniya ya kai 6660. Ga yanda Leclerc ya tada lissafin nasa :

Nahiyoyi		Harsunan hukuma	sauran harsuna	yarurruka
Turai	60	30	30	?
ASIYA	800	30	770	6000
Ma fi yawa a				
1. Indonesiya	200			
2. Tarayar sobiet	130			
3. Indiya	100			4000
OSIYANIYA	1750			
1. harsunan Papuwa	760			
2. harsunan Osturaliya	260			
3. harsunan Melanesiya	700			
4. harsunan Polinesiya da Mikuronesiya	4			
AFIRKA	1850	15		
..harsuna hamitawa	210			
2. " Niger-Kwango	900			
3. " bantu	600			
4. " Nilin sahara	100			
5. " Nijar kwardofan	30			
6. " Kwasa	4			
AMERIKA TA AREWA	200	2		
AMERIKA TA KUDU da Tsibirran Ancii	2000			
GABA DAYA	6660		a d. Jacques Leclerc 1986 : 53-63	

A nazarin Leclerc, cikin harsuna 6660 da mutum milyar 4,5 suke amfani da su, harsuna huɗu kurum, *shinuwanci*, *ingilisanci*, *spanisanci*, da *indiyanci* suka make milyar 1,5, wato kishi 33 cikin ɗari na al'ummar duniya.

Harsuna 7 suke biye da waɗannan : *rashanci*, *larabci*, *bangalanci*, *portuganci*, *jamusanci*, *japananci*, da *faransanci*, da mutum kusan milyan 900 suke amfani da su. In aka kara bakwai ɗin nan ga huɗun fari, sai a ga kusan kishi 55 cikin ɗari (55%) na al'ummar duniya suka san harshe 11 cikin 6660.

Har yau dai ta alƙalamin Leclerc, Harsuna 62 da aka fi amfani da su a duniya suka make kusan kishi 85 na al'ummar duniya, saboda kowannensu mutun fiye da milyan 10 suke rabbatawa da shi. A ƙarshenta cikin milyar ɗin nan 4,5 na jama'ar duniya da suke amfani da harsunan nan 6660, milyan 500 ne kurum suke amfani da yawancin harsunan, wato harshe 5849.

Ko da yake ba a rasa ƙuraƙurai, ƙididdigar ta Leclerc na nuna bambance-bambance ainun tsakanin harsuna da al'ummu da kansu. Mafaran bambance-

bambancen kuwa na da yawa. In aka duba rukunin harsunan nan huɗu na farko (*shinuwanci, ingilisanci, spanisanci, da indiyanci*) sai a ga mafaran yawan marabbata da su ɗin ba ɗaya ba ne. Yawan shinuwanci da indiyanci ya dangana ga girman al'ummunsu na ainahi. Ba harsuna ba ne ba da suka bazu ko ina cikin duniya. Yawan masu amfani da ingilisanci da spanisanci ya danganta da bazuwar harsunan (*dispersion linguistique*) da bunkasar cigaban fasaha da ta kasuwanci ta kawo tun karni na 18. Haɓakar waɗannan fannoni a Amerika ya sa ingilisanci ya fi kowane harshe yaɗuwa a kasashen duniya. Mutun fiye da milyan 360 ke amfani da ingilisanci cikin kasashe kamar 60, amma in an haɗa da sauran waɗanda suke amfani da wannan harshe tamkar harshe na biyu, to marabbata da ingilisanci sun kai milyan 1,5.

A cewar Leclerc, Harsuna wajen 2000 suka rasu sakamakon yaɗuwar ingilisanci. Dada ko harsuna nawa spanisanci da faransanci suka kashe?

Wani abun riƙewa daga wannan ɗan lissafi shi ne: harsunan duniya kishi-kishi ne; akwai harsuna masu ƙarfin bazuwa, akwai wasu harsunan da a halin

yanzu masu amfani da su ragewa kurum suke yi. Bunæasar tattalin arziki, kimiyya da fasaha, kasuwanci da æarfin soja, birnintarwa da halin sadarwa cikin birane, siyasar al'adu da masana'antun harshe, manyan hanyoyin sadarwa, ds. na kaðan daga cikin fannonin zamani game da sawarwarorin rayuwar harshe. Kuma in aka yi la'akari da yanayi ko kusanci, sai a ga wasu harsuna sun fi wasu dacewa da kusanci mai nagarta game da gaugauta sadarwa ko gaugauta ingancinta. Game da hamzarin kusanci ga rayuwar harshe, Pierre Alexandre ya rubuta cewar:

« Lalle a Afirka kamar ko ina yanayin rayuwa da na tarihi mafarai ne mahimmai na bazuwa ko wanzuwar harsuna, amma waðannan mafaran su da kansu sun danganta a Afirka hiye da ko'ina da yanayin kusanci da na kwancin Kasa » (Pierre Alexandre 1967:11)

Misali an fi saduwa da manyan harsuna a kasashen Sahel sa'anda kananan harsuna suke da yawa cikin rugayen dazuzzukan Kamaru, Zayir, Kwango, ds.

Amma wannan huskantar dauri ce; Yanzu hanyoyin siyasar harsuna suke tafiyar da rayuwar

harshe, yaduwar, raguwar ko rasuwar. Misali a Zayir Suwahili ya tasa dâ, da wani hamzari da ba a yi tsammanin wani harshen bantu ba zai kare shi. Siyasar habukar da lingala ta kade-kade da amfani da harshen cikin manyan birane kamar Kinshasa, ya sa Suwahili ja da baya inda lingala ke yaduwa. Irin wannan gusa-in-maye ta samu ga harsuna da dama musamman ma game da siyasoshin mulkin mallaka da suka dinga kafa cibiyoyin mulki sabin wurare da dâ ba a ma san da su ba.

ii. **Muƙamin harshe da matsayinsa**

Kamar yanda aka bayyana nan sama, ƙarfin yaduwar harshe ya danganta da mafarai da dama da suke da alaƙa da ƙoƙarin al'umma ko rishin hamzarinta. Dâ ana alaƙanta tabbacin yaduwar harshen da ƙarfinsa ga yawan al'ummarsa ta ainahi, birnantarwa da ƙarfin tattalin arziki. Zamanintar da rayuwa ta kawo sabbin kafon sadarwa da harsuna ƙalilan ne suka mallake su, har ma yau da ƙarfin tattalin arziki ke ƙoƙarin dayanta siyasar duniya (mondialisation). Duk da wannan ƙoƙarin, ƙasashe da dama sun ci gaba da fasalta dokoki da tsaidar da matsayi ga

harsuna daban daban. Matakin farko da ake dauka shi ne na matsayin harsuna cikin *mahadantar* kasa (constitution). Misali cikin wannan ginshikin da kasa ke dogara ga shi, a Afirka, yawanci harsunan mamallakan jiya ne suke *harsunan halak* ga hukumomin kasahen. Misali a Mali da Nijar faransanci ke harshen halak ga hukumomin kasashen sa'anda harshen ingilishi ke halattacen harshen hukuma a Nijeriya ko Gana. Bayan wadannan harsunan ake zancen *harsunan kasa* (langues nationales) da yawanci ake lakaba ma manya-manyan harsunan kasashen. Wannan rishin cikakken matsayi ya kawo rudani da yawa har ma da yake-yake da yawanci aka yi kiwo ka aka tsima daga wajen nahiyar.

Ta fannin fasalta dokoki, daga manazarta harsuna zuwa ga UNESCO an sami jeren mukamai daban daban ga harsuna, kuma daidai ruwa daidai tsaki. A takaice ana iya tunar da wadannan matsayan:

- **harshen mama** : harshen da ko wane taro yake tasawa da shi. Wanibi ana dayanta shi da *harshen farko*.

- **Harshen farko:** harshen da mutum ya fara koyo ko ba na uwarsa da ubansa ba ne.
- **Harshe na biyu:** harshen da mutun yake koya bayan nasa na mama.
- **Harshen gida:** (langue du foyer) harshen da iyali suka amince su yi amfani da shi (tamkar wani harshen aiki), in ma uwa ko uba, ko wani da ko dīya, ya san wani harshe ko wasu harsuna. *Kishin harshe* ke gina matsayin *harshen gida*, (da yawanci harshen uba ne), kamar yanda ake kayyade harshen aiki, na hukuma, ds.
- **Harshen iyali:** (langue familiale) keɓaɓɓen harshen gida, da ke da rukumci misali wajen maƙaurata.
- **Harshen gari:** shi ne harshen da hukumar magajin gari take aiki da shi (langue communale).
- **Harshen wa'iyya:** (langue communautaire) harshen da ma fi yawan wata karkara aka fi amfani da shi.
- **Harshen ƙasa:** harshen wata al'umma ko na wasu sassan yan ƙasa (langue nationale).

- **Harshen hukuma:** harshen gwamnati da hukumar kasa.
- **Halattaccen harshen kasa:** harshen da doka ta tsaida a matsayin harshen kasa (langue officielle).
- **Harshen ketare:** harshen waje; **baƙon harshe** (langue étrangère).
- **Harshe gama-gari:** harshen sadarwar kowa da kowa (lingua franca ; vehicular language; language of wider communication; ds.).
- **Harshen waje:** harshen yankin wata nahiya; ms. Swahili a Afirka ta gabas ko hausa a Afirka ta yamma.
- **Harshen mamallaka:** harshen baƙi da suka mallaki wata kasa (langue coloniale).
- **Harshen koyarwa:** harshen makaranta.
- **Buƙataccen harshe:** harshe wanda saboda wata baiwarsa ake buƙatar sanin shi a farkwance (langue prioritaire).
- **Ds.**

Rayuwar harshe ta danganta da karfin matsayinsa ko muƙaminsa ga al'ummarsa ta ainahi.

Ko wane harshe na iya zartar da matsayi daya, biyu ko hiye da haka. Misali ba *harshen mama* na kowa da kowa ba ke iya zama *hashen koyarwa*, *harshen aikin ofisoshi*, ko *halattacen harshen hukuma*, alhali kuwa wani harshen yana iya cika duk wadannan matsayin. Kuma ba kullum ba masu amfani da harshe suka san karfinsa; wayewar kai ga diyan al'ummar ainahi, dubarorinsu na huldodin duniya, hamzarunsu na cigaba da kara kyautata rayuwarsu, kishin kiwon fasaho'i game da kishin al'ummar tasu da kanta, hanyoyi ne da ke iya tabbata karfin harshe da yada mukamanshi. Misali kishin da bambarawa ke nunawa ga harshen bambaranci ya sa wannan harshe zama *harshen kasuwa* cikin birane da dama na Mali, Cote d'Ivoire, Guiné, Burkina faso, ds. Kuma in an yi la'akari da fannan kimiya da husaho'i, kafin mulkin mallaka, harshen hausa a matsayinsa na *harshen tunani*, na kirkire-kirkire da sauran al'amurran cigaba, ya kawo yaduwar kalmomi da dama a fannonin tarbiyya, magani, ado, wasanni, salloli da sabgogi, abinci, siyasa da mulki, ds. da kafofin sadarwa na zamani suke cikakken amfani da su yanzu.

Tunda a da afirkawa ba su saba yake-yake ba sabo da harshe, hamayyar harsuna ta fara samuwa

daga karni na 19, wato daga zamanin mulkin mallaka. Sakamakon mulkin mallaka ne harsuna da yawa suka rasu a Afirka, wasu kuma suke sukucewa sannu sannu. Ire-iren wannan matsaloli suka kawo kasashe da dama, ko ma al'ummu su girka wani shiri na fasalta harsuna. Ana iya bada misalin Turkiya (a d. G. Hazai, 1974), yawancin kasashen larabawa (a d. Salih J. Altoma, 1974), Kanada (a d. Maurais, J. 1985), Faransa (a d. Quémada 1983); Tanzaniya (a d. Ec. Polome, 1983), ds.

Za mu yi nazari kadan daga cikin waɗannan misalan.

4. HAKIKANTAR DA FASALTA HARSUNA

Kamar yanda Weinstein ya ce, F H dai wani kofari ne da ake kiwonsa saboda hakikantar da shi zai kashe wasu matsaloli da al'umma take jin su ga rayuwarta. In kuwa haka ne, akwai tambayoyi kamar waɗannan: wane mafari ko waɗanne mafarai ke tushen F H ? Kaka aka huskanci zamnari da wannan guri har a cim-ma sakamankonshi na alheri? Waɗanne mataakai aka dauka don a dawwamar da gurin ya zama hanyar ci-gaba ta yau da kullum?

Amsoshin wadannan tambayoyi sun danganta ainun da halaye daban daban.

i. Wa ke jigon tunana FH ?

Abin la'akari tun farko shi ne, F H ba wani fagen sauyi ba ne da ya bayyana da mataakai iri ɗaya cikin faɗin duniya.

Misali a Tanzaniya, Gwamnatin Kasar ce ta kuɗiri haƙumantar da harshen swahili da zamanintar da shi. Haka ma a zamanin Tarayyar Sobiet gurin gwamnati ne, na ɗayanta harshen Tarayyar (wato rashanci) tare da kare harsunan jahohin tarayyar.

A Kebek ɗin Kanada, yayan ɗaya daga cikin al'ummun Kasar ne da suke tsammani an danne musu haƙkinsu na harshe da al'adu, suka wartsake don ganin sun ƙwato wannan haƙƙi, wato rayar da harshen faransanci a Kebek da Kanada.

A wasu misalan kuwa, maimakin gwamnati ko wata al'umma, wata ko wasu ƙungiyoyi ne masu zaman kansu, ko ma masu hulɗa da wata gwamnati ko da wasu gwamnatoci, za ta, ko za su kuɗiri F H. A wannan rukunin mafasalta, ana iya zana

kungiyoyin addini kamar kungiyoyin «mishau» a kasashe da dama da suka ga mulkin mallaka; kuma ana iya zana kungiyoyin kawo sauyi cikin wata kasa kamar jam'iyyun siyasa; ko cikin kasashe da dama kamar misalin kungiyoyin «francophonie», ISESCO, da makamantansu.

Haka ne ake iya rikewa da « kowane allazi da nashi amanu », kowane tunani game da F H da irin siyasar harsunan da zai haifa.

ii. Wadanne irin ayyuka fasalta harsuna ke iya kumsa ?

Salon F H da shirin da ya kumsa sun danganta da wanda ya tunana shi.

- A Tanzaniya ko Kenya inda gwamnati take da gurin kasantar da swahili, gwamnatin ce ta tsaida zaɓen harshen da matakan da za a bi don ya zama cikakken harshen hukumar kasa. Cikin matakan akwai kafa cibiyoyin bincike musamman ma kan harshe, da horon jami'an da za su tafiyar da shirin a fannoni daban daban kamar na girka keɓaɓɓun kalmomi (terminologie) da bayyana su, shirya

kamusoshi (lexicographe), nahau; shirya littattafai don azuzuwan makarantu; wallafa littattafai kan fannonin ilimi daban daban; shirya hulɗa da kasashe masu amfani ko aiki da harshen; ds. (a d. L. Harris, cikin C. Kennedy, 1984: 118); ɗaukar yaunin duk ayyukan da za su wakana karkashin kudurin fasaltawar; wanza ayyukan da yada amfani da su; kintata ko auna ci-gaban da fasaltawar ta samu lokaci zuwa lokaci; kashe matsalolin da suke bullowa; ds.

A Québec dagan nemn huta daga sanar tarihi motsin ya fara. A lokacin ne (1960-1962), in ji Corbeil (1980), Kebakawa suka fara hudda tsoro har suna ɗaukar magana da harshensu (duk da fatalwar kaskantarwar da aka yi musu), inda suke nuna baƙin cikinsu game da mallakar siyasa da ta tattalin arziki, da danniyar da suke wahala da ita daga maƙwabtansu sauran Kanadawa masu amfani da harshen ingilisanci. Hakan ne ya kawo tunana siyasar yanto Québec daga Tarayyar Kanada (Fédération Canadienne) tamkar matirkilin F H a wannan yanki. F H a Québec ya kumshi fannoni da dama :

- ƙidaya a Québec da Canada don gano sassauyawa amfani da faransanci (harshen Kebakawan) ko ta fannin yawan masu amfani da shi, ko ta fannin gano ie-iren *karin harshen* dangance da wuraren da ake amfani da shi, wato **masana'antu, gida, mahukumtayya, kasuwa ko kantuna**, ds. Matsalar da aka huskanta a wannan lokacin (1960-1970), ita ce ta **auna yankasanci (ko al'ummanci) da kishin harshe** da suke alaƙance kurum da amfani da harshen: ƙidayar na neman gano waɗanne yaƙasa suke kokowar amfani da faransanci kawai, tamkar wani kishi ga harshensu, waɗanne suke amfani da harshe biyu (nasu da na aro), ko kuma suwa sam ma da harshen aro kawai suke amfani? Cikin wannan kokowar ce ƙungiyoyin kare faransanci shi kaɗai suka yi ta kahuwa a Québec: Alliance Laurentienne, 1957; le Rassemblement pour l'Indépendance Nationale, 1960; Les Etats Généraux du Canada Français, 1967; ds.

- Sakamakon bincike-binceken da rukunnai suka yi ta shiryawa (Commission Laurendeau-Dunton; Commission Gendron; ds.) ya ƙara haskaka hanyoyin Fasalta Harshe da zai sa Kebakawa su cim-ma samun « *lafiyar harshe* » (paix linguistique)

wadda a ganinsu in babu ita duk wani kokarin ci-gaba takurarre ne.

- Ta wani fannin kuma, F H a Québec ya umshi ayyuka da dama game da Fasalta rubuce-rubuce da Office de la Langue Française ke jagoranta, da Fasalta dokoki musamman ma aka fara da doka ta 63 mai laabin « loi pour promouvoir la langue française », da babbar doka ta 101 mai sunan « Charte de la langue française » (Usular Harshen Fransanci) take biye ma.

- Duk wannan waƙin, Kebakawa sun yi shi game da gagarumar kokowar gina tattalin arziƙi na jaharsu, inda **harshen jahar** tasu ya zama harshen kafofin sadarwa na zamani, harshen masana'antu, na kasuwa, na jami'a ds.

Kamar yanda misalan nan biyu, na Tanzaniya da Québec, suke nunawa, ayyukan haƙiƙanta F H sun bambanta daga wannan al'umma zuwa waccen, ko daga wannan ƙasa zuwa waccen, dangance da matsalolin da ake so a kashe da husa'o'in (**stratégies**) da za a yi amfani da su. Fasaltawa, jeren mataƙai ne da ba dukansu ba suke da muhimmanci ga kowa. Cikin mataƙan ana iya zana :

1. **Zaɓen harshe** (cikin sauran harsuna ƙasa) ko **yare** da ya kamata a fasalta
2. **fasalta dubarori**: da an tsaida manufofin da ake so a cim-ma, sai a shirya dubarorin da ake tsammahani muhimmai ga manufofin. Misali shirin ya ƙumshu cibiyoyin bincike ko masana'antun harshe? Akwai ƙwararrin masana da za su tafiyar da shirin ko sai an hore su? waɗanne fannonin rayuwa ne ko na tattalin arziki F H ya shafa? Koyarwa? Hukuma? Kafofin sadarwa? Kasuwa? Ds. ta wace hanya za a shirya littattafan da suka dace? waɗanne mataakai aka dauka a haɗumance? Wanne ne shirin fasalin dokoki? Ds.
3. **haƙiƙantar da fasaltawar** da ke iya ƙumsar:
 - dubarorin wayar da kai;
 - samun ƙwararrun masana da za su iya tafiyar da shirin
 - shirya dokoki da zartar da su;
 - kafa ofisoshi ko masana'antun tafiyar da shirin;

- tsaida siyasar zamanar da shirin.

4. Auna mizanin tafiyar da shirin lokaci zuwa lokaci, kawo gyara da kara sawa hanya.

Wadannan matakan sun danganta da kudurorin fasaltawar da suke iya bambanta daga wannan kasa zuwa waccan. A ganin Carol M. Eastman (1983:205 da gaba), kudurorin da ake so a cim-ma suna iya zama:

- sabunta harshe (language réform);
- daidaitar da harshe (standardisation);
- zamanintar da kalmomi (lexical modernisation).

Ko da yake tun farko an fayyace kuduri game da hanyoyin hakikantar da shi, ba kullum ba a saukake ake cim-ma manufofin da aka yi hasashe ba, kamar yanda Eastman yake nunawa; a d. allo na nan kasa.

	ZURFANTAR- WA	KUZARARIN- TARWA	SAKANTARWA	DAIDAITAR- WA	ZAMANINTAR KALMOMI
Misalai	Fransanci	Ibranci	Turkisanci	Suwahilanci	Suwadisanci
Ma'aikatar da ke da nauyin tafiyar da fasaltawar	Académie française	Language Concil	Turkish Linguistic Society	Interterritorial language committee	Center for technical terminology
Fayyatar	A turke faransanci zurfan, kalmomi su zamanto duk na harshen ne	A samu harshen sadarwa na kowa da kowa	A samu haɗa Turkce da Osmon lica da Rauyatar da larabcin Perse	A samu harshen koyarwa daya cikin duk maka rantun kasa	A kiyaye keɓaɓɓu kalmomi saboda ayyukan hukuma masana'antu
Wadarintarwa	ci-gabantar da ayyukan kamus, nahawu da adabi	Koyar da Ibranci	Tarihintar da ayyukan kamus da keɓaɓɓun kalmomi	Daidaitar da nahauwu da kamusoshi	Daidaitar da amfani da harshen (a rubuce ko a faɗa) sabo da sadarwa (jaridu, radiyoyi), hukum da masana'antu
zartarwa	Académie na da zau renta da ma'aikata da kayan aiki. Maka rantu na ai ki da saka makon aikin nata.	Ofisoshin koyarwa da ibrancin	hulɗa tsakanin sadarwa da makarantu	Kwamitin daba'awar suwahili a Afirka ta Gabas.	Gatayen masana cikin fannoni daban daban
Rintatawa (évaluation)	Zamanintar da kalmomi maimakin zurfantarwa	Kuzarintarwar ta koma daidaitarwa da zamanintarwa	Sakantarwa ta tsaya ga daidaitarwa	Sabbin kashashe sun kafa nasu masaltar	Zamanintarwa ci gaba

Mawaiwaya : a d. Carol M. Eastman, 1983:239

Daga wannan allon ana iya la'akari da ba kullum ba ake cim-ma gurin farko ko na ainahi. Misali in aka dubi faransanci, gurin ainahin shi ne a tace duk wata gudummuwar waje, a zurfantar da harshe (purification de la langue). Amma ina! Ba a cim-ma wannan gurin ba duk da yake an bada koƙarin zamanintar da kalmomi. Haka in an lura da sauran misalan, akwai abinda aka yi hasashe, akwai sakamakon da aka cim-ma. Matsaloli da dama na iya samuwa tsawon lokacin da ake zartar da fasaltawar. Saboda haka tun farko wasu mabincika kamar Mugesera (1987) suka bada himma ga matsayin **Fasalta Dubarori** (aménagement des stratégies).

5. MATSALOLIN AMFANI DA HARSHE

Matsalolin harsuna na cikin mahimman matsalolin zamani. Misalai da dama na nuna cewar hamayya da yawa tsakanin ƙasashe ko al'ummu, a yau, suna da alaƙa da matsalolin harshe ko na al'adu. A yau an gano da cewar *harshe* kamar *addini*, makami ne na shimfiɗa siyashoshi, su zamanto na rayuwar al'umma ne, ko kurum ma, na hulɗa tsakanin ƙasa da ƙasa. Ta nan za a gane illolin takardun Neustupny, musamman

ma ta 1968 « Some General Aspects of Language Problems and Language Policy in Developing Societies », ta 1974 « Basic Types of Treatment of Language Problems », ds. Duk cikin waɗannan takardu, Neustupny ya nuna cewar Fasalta Harsuna ba wani abu ba ne illar **sarrafa matsalolin harshe**. Matsalolin harshe kuwa iri iri ne. Tun farko dai wata damuwa ce ga kasashe ko ga al'ummu saboda **matsalar aikata harsuna** ko ta fannin **zaɓen harshe** ko harsuna cikin kasa (matsayin "policy formulation"), ko ta **kiwon harshen** (cultivation); a d. fayyatar Haugen da Neustupny J V. na sama.

Kamar yanda muka bayyana nan sama, huskantar matsalolin harshe (a ra'ayin Neustupny), kishi biyu ce:

- Na 1, **huskantar sarrafa matsalolin ta fannin siyasa** (policy approach): wannan huskantar ita take la'akari da matsaloli kamar na *zaɓen harshe* ko *harsunan kasa*, *zaɓen halattaccen harshen hukuma*, *harshen koyarwa a makarantu*, *sasanta rubutu*, *daidaitarwa*, *ɗayaɗanta amfani*, ds.; wato huskantar sarrafa matsalolin harshe a siyasance,

ita take kula da matsaloli waɗanda na siyasa ne, kuma da mahukumta ke kula da tafiyar da su.

- Na 2, in an huskanci aikata matsalolin ta fannin **kiwon harshe** (cultivation approach) za a kula da matsaloli kamar su kwarewa, zurfantarwa, isar harshe ga cika wani aiki (ko ga tafiyar da wani mukami), matsalolin salo, na targashen sadarwa, ds. Jama'ai da gatayen malaman harshe da na saurar sassan ilimi suke da nauyin zartar da wannan huskantar.

Cikin yawan matsalolin da aka zana nan sama ne za mu nazarci kafan.

i. **Harshen al'umma / harshen kasa:**

A fayyatar UNESCO (1951), kuma in an lura da musallai da dama da tarihi ke badawa, **harshen al'umma** (wato National language), «harshe ne na siyasa, na rayuwa da kiwon al'adun wasu haɗaɗɗun mutane ko jama'ar da gurin diyanta shi ne na tsayewa ne tare ko haɗiye». "Haɗaɗɗun mutane" game da mahalayyan da muka gani nan sama (a d.

Al'umma), suna iya zama mutanen da suka hada wata al'umma (ms. Isra'ilawa), ko suka gama wata kasa (ms. larabawan masar), ko kuma suka yi kasashe da dama (Tarayyar kasashen larabawa). Ta wannan hange, babu bambanci tsakanin **harshen kasa** da **harshen al'umma**, saboda duk mukami da aikin da harshen kasa zai cika, harshen al'umma yana da wannan nauyin, kamar yanda ake gani a kasashe da dama.

Sai dai a kasashen da suka san mulkin mallaka, kuma inda danniyar waje take da karfi, misali a Afirka, tarihi ya kawo wata hulda game da harsunan kasashen. Kamar yanda Alpha Ibrahima Sow(1977) ya ce, yawancin hukumomin Afirka, hukumomi ne na al'ummu da dama kowace al'umma take da harshenta na ainhai. Kuma kamar yanda P. Alexandre (1968) ya rubuta, yawanci yan yakin kubuto Afirka daga mulkin mallaka ba su yi amfani da harshe ba tamkar makami ga yakin nasu, balantana bayan samun yancin, su mukamunta harsunan. Sakamakon wannan ne ya kawo huldar danniya ta *diglossia* tsakanin harsunan al'ummun Afirka (da suka badda hukumomunsu) da harsunan mulkin mallaka

(ingilisanci, faransanci, portuganci, ds.) da sabbin hukumomin kasashen na Afirka suke amfani da su.

Duk da yake kasashen Afirka da dama ba su ruhe ma al'amarin idanu ba cikin shirin siyasoshinsu, amfani da harsunan Afirka babbar matsala ce. Kasashe kadan suke da cikakkun dokokin da ko tantama babu za su haɓaka kiwon harsunan har su zama cikakkun harsunan hukumomin jahohi, na kasa ko na kasashe, ko kuma su zama ingantattun harsunan koyarwa, duk da misallan koƙarin da hukumomin Tanzaniya, Malagasiya, Najeriya, Mali, Kenya, ds., suka yi.

Ta fannin sadarwa, yawancin jaridu da radiyoyin kasashen da harsunan waje suke aiki, kamar yawancin bincike da rahotannin aiki. Game da haka sai mu nanata ra'ayin Leclerc (1986:145) inda ya ce tabbacin karhin harshe abu ne da ya danganta da daidaituwar harshen (normalisation), yawan littattafan da aka wallafa cikin shi, yawan jaridun da ke hutowa nashi, yawan *yaniya* ko "mullin film" din da aka yi da harshen, karhi da kirkin tashoshin watsa labaru su zamanto na radio ne ko na talabizin; ds.

Karhin wannan kafofi ko hanyoyi, tabbaci ne na hulfar da ke da akwai tsakanin duk wani kokarin tattalin arziki da fannin sadarwarshi.

Matsalolin sadarwa game da sararin sadarwa (al'umma ko kasa) matsaloli ne da suke da huska da yawa. Misali yana da muhimmanci a shirya dokoki don kare harshen sadarwa cikin kasa ko cikin wani yanki, kamar yanda ya kamata a san mutane su ne ginshikan sadarwa na farko. Saboda haka huskantar matsalolin harshe game da mai amfani da harshen, abu ne mai farkontaka mutuka.

ii. matsalolin sadarwa cikin al'umma ko cikin kasa:

a. gwagwargwamar harsuna da amfani da su:

Kwamaitakar harsuna ko hayayyar amfani da su cikin sarari guda abun la'akari ne game da matsalolin F H. In al'umma biyu na makwabtaka, misali masu amfani da lingala da masu amfani da suwahili, wane harshe ke ketara sararin amfani da shi na ainihi? Kuma in akwai hayayyar amfani

da harsuna (superposiion), suwa suke zaɓar yin amfani da suwahili maimakin lingala? Kaka ne zaɓen ke kasantuwa? Kuma wanne ne sakamakonshi ga mai zaɓen in mutun ɗaya ne ko kuma in al'ummar ce gaba ɗaya?

Ta halin maƙwabtaka an san mafarai kamar su birnantarwa (urbanisation), ƙarfin tattalin arziki, musamman ma kasuwa da hanyoyin sadarwa na zamani da za su sa waɗannan maƙwabta su karɓi wannan harshe tamkar harshensu na biyu. Haka in an ɗauki misalin Afirka, Ibrahim Alpha Sow (1977) ya ce:

«Gaskiya ne a Afirka baƙar fata ta yau, wasu harsuna ƙaruwarsu kaɗan ce lokacin da wasu suke bunƙasa saboda sauƙin amfani da su da ke dangane da yawan jama'ar da ta san su, ƙarfin tattalin arziki da na siyasa na al'ummar su ta ainahi, game da mafaran rayuwar zamani kamar su birane da «hedikwatoci» da suke jawo yan ƙauye a kowane lokaci».

Ana iya ƙara wasu misalan kamar su *ƙaura* (a d. Mahadi Adamu, 1970 ; Djibo Hamani, 1976. ; ds.).

Ta fannin hayayyar amfani da harshe babu misalin da ya fi na huldar danniya tsakanin harsunan Turai da suke harsunan hukuma, na koyarwa, na harakoki... cikin kasasashen da suka yi zama kalkashin mulkin mallaka.

Kwamaitaka ko hayayyar amfani da harsuna na ayyanuwa da sakamako kusan daya, da a dinkule za mu nazarta tamkar matsalolin amfani da harshe cikin halin gwagwarmaya da na gushi.

b. matsalolin amfani da harshe

Yawanci karshen abkuwar gwagwarmayar harsuna (ta zamanto ta *Kwamaitaka ko hayayyar*) yana da sakamako ga masu amfani da harsuna

la'akari da yawan misalan da aka sani yayan wata al'umma

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ko ina

shawwa

wasika

rahoto

Amfani da harshe

ko wane lokaci

KOYO

DAKATA

