

Annotated statistics on linguistic policies and practices in Africa

(revised April 2004)

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Preface

This report consists of a presentation of data collected from answers to the UNESCO questionnaire on *Politiques and pratiques linguistiques en Afrique / Linguistic Policies and Practices in Africa*, to be published in conjunction with Proceedings from the Intergovernmental Conference on Linguistic Policies in Africa, organized by UNESCO in Harare in March 1997. Answers have been solicited from all Sub-Saharan African countries, but at present information is still incomplete for Cameroon, Madagascar and Uganda, and lacking for Cameroon, Gambia, Liberia, São Tomé and Príncipe, Seychelles, and Zambia. A renewed call for questionnaire responses was addressed to the UNESCO offices in these countries in March, 1998. Messages have also been sent to the LINGUIST and SIL mailing lists on Internet with a plea for help from people who are familiar with the linguistic situation in the countries in question.

The help from UNESCO field offices in obtaining responses is hereby acknowledged. In addition, I would like to express our thanks to the following persons who have provided information on specific countries: Marlyse Baptista (Cape Verde), Alfred Matiki (Malawi), Vinesh Y. Hookoomsing (Mauritius), and Mohamed Diriye Abdullahi (Somalia). Thanks also to other people on Internet who have given various kinds of advice. I am finally indebted to Karsten Legère and Carol Benson for the final editing of the manuscript. The responsibility for remaining errors in the text is entirely my own.¹

0. Introduction

0.1 The investigation

In connection with the Intergovernmental Conference on Linguistic Policies in Africa held in Harare in March 1997, UNESCO commissions in sub-Saharan African countries received a questionnaire on *Politiques et Pratiques linguistiques en Afrique/Linguistic Policies and Practices in Africa* inspired by the *Charte de la langue française* (French language charter) implemented in Québec in Canada. The aim of the questionnaire was to elicit information about linguistic rights and usage in areas such as legislation, the judicial system, administration, education, business, and the media. Addressees were also asked to state the number of inhabitants in the country, official language(s), and names and number of speakers of all languages present in the country. The full questionnaire, presented in either English or French, had the following design:

Politiques et pratiques linguistiques en Afrique/Linguistic policies and practices in Africa

Country (adjoin a list with the complete addresses of the centers or institutions involved in African language research and promotion, along with their main publications)

1. General situation

1.1 Population (at last census followed by latest population estimate)

1.2 Majority language (spoken by more than 50% of speakers on national territory). Give the estimated number of speakers (in %) with alternative name(s) of the language(s), if any.

1.3 Minority languages (spoken by less than 50% on the national territory). Give the name(s) of the languages in use with alternative name(s) ranked in decreasing order according to the estimated number of speakers (in %) on national territory.

¹ It should also be pointed out that the data reflects the situation at the time of reporting, i.e. 1997/98, and that only partial up-dating has been possible. In this document, language names appear as they were given by respondents, not necessarily in conformity with how languages are named in other sources.

2. Legal status of languages

- 2.1 Official languages
- 2.2 Other languages with defined status
- 2.3 Texts defining their status

3. Use of languages in legislation (give the names of the languages in decreasing order depending upon the amount of their use, stating "oral" if the use of a language is only oral)

- 3.1 Languages used in parliamentary debate
- 3.2 Languages used in the writing of laws
- 3.3 Languages used in promulgation of laws
- 3.4 Texts defining their use

4. Use of languages in the judicial system

- 4.1 Authorized languages
- 4.2 Languages ordinarily used
- 4.3 Languages of judgements
- 4.4 Texts defining their use

5 Use of languages in administration

- 5.1 Languages of the executive
- 5.2 Languages used in official mailings to regional or local governments (if any)
- 5.3 Languages used in official mailings to foreign governments
- 5.4 Languages used in regional (provincial, etc.) or local (town, etc.) administration
- 5.5 Languages used in election campaign meetings
- 5.6 Texts defining their use

6 Use of languages in education

- 6.1 Languages used in Preschool and kindergarten
- 6.2 Languages used in primary schools (grades, subjects concerned)
- 6.3 Languages used in secondary schools
- 6.4 Languages used in Tertiary education (universities etc.)
- 6.5 Languages used in adult literacy programs
- 6.6 Languages taught (in primary school, secondary school and Tertiary education), stating whether "compulsory" or "optional" (subject taught)
- 6.7 Texts defining their use

7 Use of languages in business

- 7.1 Languages used in commercial advertisements
- 7.2 Languages used in administrative posters
- 7.3 Languages used in labelling
- 7.4 Languages used in instruction manuals
- 7.5 Languages used in commercial printed matter
- 7.6 Texts defining their use

8 Use of languages in the media

- 8.1 Languages used in written press (adjoin a list of main journals or periodicals with name, frequency of issue, average circulation and the African language(s) used)
- 8.2 Languages used on the radio (hrs/week)
- 8.3 Languages used on television (hrs/week)
- 8.4 Texts defining their use

In examining the responses given to the questionnaires, we find that there is a large discrepancy between language rights and language use in Africa. The majority of African states are multilingual, with some countries such as Nigeria, Cameroon, and Zaire hosting several hundred languages. However, African languages tend to have "corpus but no status" as Chaudenson (1993:360) puts it, whereas Indo-European ones have "status but no corpus". The questionnaire answers reveal that African languages are very important in certain sectors of society. This is especially true for activities such as local election

campaigns, adult literacy and local radio programmes. Further analysis will provide us with details concerning the presence of African languages in various domains and will raise questions as to why certain languages are favoured in different contexts by different countries.

0.2 The respondents

There are 53 or 54 independent nations in Africa (depending on one's way of counting). Africa also hosts a number of non-autonomous areas including the Western Sahara and islands such as the Chagos Archipelago, which includes Diego García, the Canary Islands, Mayotte, and St. Helena. Of the 53 independent states, 46 are normally included in the sub-Saharan region. Countries not considered as belonging to sub-Saharan Africa are the Maghreb nations, i.e. Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, Egypt, Mauritania, and the Sudan, as well as the Western Sahara. Some of these countries such as the ones lying further south have speech communities of Niger-Congo and/or Nilo-Saharan languages. This is particularly true of the Sudan, in which 142 languages are spoken (Ethnologue 1996), most of which belong to the Nilo-Saharan family. However, in the Maghreb countries just mentioned, Arabic is the majority and official language.

Of the 46 sub-Saharan African countries, complete responses have been provided by 38 nations, while 8 countries have supplied incomplete or no answers. The countries which have responded are:

Angola
Benin
Botswana
Burkina Faso
Burundi
Cape Verde
Central African Republic (CAR)
Chad
Comoros
Congo-Brazzaville
Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)²
Djibouti
Equatorial Guinea
Eritrea
Ethiopia
Gabon
Ghana
Guinea-Bissau
Guinea
Ivory Coast
Kenya
Lesotho
Malawi
Mali
Mauritius
Mozambique
Namibia
Niger
Nigeria
Rwanda
Senegal

² ex-Zaire.

Sierra Leone
Somalia
South Africa
Swaziland
Tanzania
Togo
Zimbabwe

The large number of responses lends acceptable validity to the statistical calculations carried out on the material. It should also be noted that information is wholly lacking only in five cases, namely for Gambia, Liberia, São Tomé and Príncipe, Seychelles, and Zambia. When it comes to Cameroon, Madagascar, and Uganda, the information provided has been partially useful. Finally it should be underscored that in the presentation of official languages and numbers of speakers of individual languages, all nations are represented, since missing information has been completed with data from Ethnologue (Grimes 1996), which was the then actual version when the report was compiled.

1. General linguistic situation

The items in the questionnaire pertaining to the general linguistic situation are the following:

1. General situation

1.1 Population (at last census followed by latest population estimate)

1.2 Majority language (spoken by more than 50% of speakers on national territory). Give the estimated number of speakers (in %) with alternative name(s) of the language(s), if any.

1.3 Minority languages (spoken by less than 50% on the national territory). Give the name(s) of the languages in use with alternative name(s) ranked in decreasing order according to the estimated number of speakers (in %) on national territory.

In the 46 sub-Saharan African countries, at least 1,000 languages are spoken. The Ethnologue (1996) claims that no fewer than 2,011 languages are spoken in all of Africa, a number that would be equivalent to 30% of the languages of the world. This may be an overestimation, since potential dialects and very small languages are treated charitably by the Ethnologue. Nevertheless, the average sub-Saharan country hosts many languages, and it is rarely the case that a single language is spoken by the majority of a national population.

For the purposes of this study, 'majority language' is defined as a language spoken by more than 50% of the population. Notice though that 'majority language' is not necessarily equivalent to 'national language', let alone 'official language'; the distinction between official and national languages is not clear-cut. As a matter of fact, many respondents seem to equal 'local language' with 'national language', which is unproblematic when we are dealing with large languages but less so when it comes to small ones.

Let us also point out that minority languages, i.e. languages spoken by less than 50% of a country's population, are not automatically endangered. Actually, many African minority languages are numerically healthy and far from being endangered, if one sets 100,000 as a rough number of speakers below which a language may have difficulty surviving another generation (cf. e.g. Wurm, 2001).

Some countries have an official language that is Indo-European but is not mentioned as being a majority or a minority language. One example is Rwanda, where French and English are among the official languages, but where these languages are not mentioned by the respondent as a majority or a minority language. Presumably the respondent has considered Indo-European languages to fall outside both categories, which means that they are considered as neither in the statistics.

It should also be noted that questions such as those in section 1 do not account well for bi- and multilingual societies (as pointed out to me by Philip Baker, personal communication, September 1998). For example, if a language is spoken as a mother tongue (or L1) by less than 50% of the population of a country but is widely used as a second language, can it be considered a majority language? This problem of definition is reflected in some of the responses provided to the questionnaire. For example, the respondent from Kenya lists Kiswahili as a majority language whereas Tanzania doesn't, and Congo-Brazzaville lists three majority languages, namely Lingala, Munukutuba and French. Another example is Liberian English, which is spoken by the majority of Liberians as a second language, but does not have a significant L1 community; should English then be considered a majority language in Liberia? If we only count majority languages spoken as first languages by specific groups (e.g. Sesotho in Lesotho), we will get a different picture. Again, we have to stick to the information provided by the respondents as to which languages are majority ones.

Notice further that it is cumbersome for highly multilingual countries such as Nigeria, Tanzania, or Zaire to list all their minority languages. However, in some cases this has been done very thoroughly. For example, the Ethiopian respondent enumerates 84 languages.

While most Sub-Saharan African countries host considerable numbers of languages, many are able to identify a majority language in some sense, as the following list demonstrates.

Sub-Saharan African countries that have identified majority languages:

Botswana: Setswana
 Burkina Faso: Moore
 Burundi: Kirundi
 Cape Verde: Cape Verdean Creole
 CAR: Sango
 Comoros: Shikomor
 Congo-Brazzaville: Munukutuba (+Lingala, French)
 Djibouti: Afar
 Equatorial Guinea: Fang
 Ethiopia: Amharic (49%)
 Ghana: Akan (made up of Ashanti, Akuapim, Akyim, Fanti, Kwahu, Brong, Guan, Denkyira)
 Guinea-Bissau: Crioulo (Kiriol)
 Guinea-Conakry: Maninkakan (Mandinka), Pulaar, Soso
 Kenya: Kiswahili
 Lesotho: Sesotho (Southern Sotho)
 Liberia: Liberian English (Creole)
 Madagascar: Malgache
 Malawi: Chichewa
 Mali: Bambara (Bamanan)
 Mauritius: Morisyen (+French, English)
 Niger: Hausa
 Nigeria: Hausa, Igbo, Yoruba
 Rwanda: Kinyarwanda
 São Tomé and Príncipe: Crioulo
 Senegal: Wolof
 Seychelles: Seselwa
 Sierra Leone: Krio
 Somalia: Somali
 Swaziland: Siswati
 Tanzania: Kiswahili
 Zimbabwe: Shona

Using our loose definition of majority language as being one spoken by over 50% of the population as an L1 or an L2, we find that 31 of the 46 or 67% of Sub-Saharan African countries have such a language. If we adhere strictly to the 50% criterion and only count L1

speakers, we lose CAR, Guinea-Conakry, Kenya, Liberia, Mali, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, and Tanzania, and the figure drops to 22 nations or 48%. The following diagrams depict this difference.

Diagram 1.
 Sub-Saharan African countries with majority languages
 (including widely-used L2s; maj. = majoritary; lg = language).
 N=46

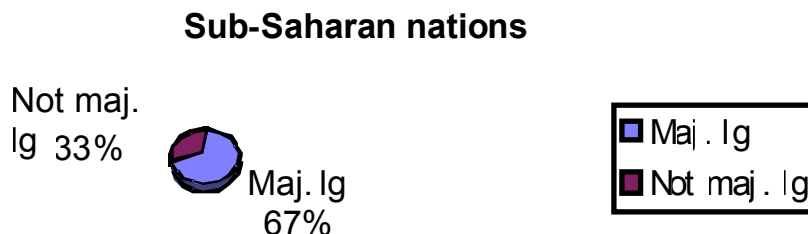
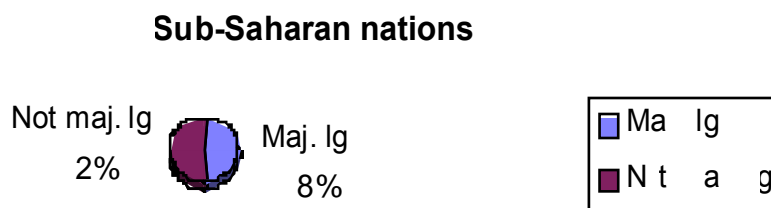


Diagram 2.
 Sub-Saharan African countries with majority languages (excluding widely-used L2s)
 N=46



Note that no sub-Saharan country has a majority Indo-European language. It should also be observed that there are few if any “monolingual” African nations. Those normally mentioned are Burundi, Madagascar, and Rwanda (which Twarhiwa (1996) proposes are “perfectly monolingual”) and Lesotho and Somalia (which Twarhiwa claims are borderline cases, as 99% and 98% are said to speak Sesotho and Somali, respectively).³ It is interesting in this context to examine which of these majority languages are also official languages. This question will be treated in the next section.

³ Twarhiwa (1996) further provides the following table of majority languages spoken by:
 90% or more: Botswana, Comoros, Seychelles, Swaziland, Tanzania
 80–90%: Malawi, Mauritania
 70–80%: Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Mauritius, Senegal, Zimbabwe
 60–70%: Burkina Faso, Ethiopia, Kenya
 50–60%: CAR, Ghana, Mali, Sudan, Zambia

2. Official languages

The survey questions on official languages in the investigation are the following:

2. Legal status of languages

2.1 Official languages

2.2 Other languages with defined status

2.3 Texts defining their status

It is sometimes difficult to say which is/are the official language(s) of a certain country because there may be no paragraph in the constitution stating this. Notice also the problematic question 2.2, where it may be unclear what “defined status” means. Actually, many respondents list a number of “indigenous” languages here which never again appear among the answers.

For the purposes of this analysis, when there is no constitutional mention of a certain language as being official, we assume that the language(s) used in governmental documents, for example, is/are the official language(s). Although it is theoretically possible that an African language can be official yet very rarely used at the government level, this does not appear to be the case. The following lists the most complete list possible of official languages in the various sub-Saharan African countries:

Sub-Saharan African countries and their official languages:

Angola: Portuguese

Benin: French

Botswana: Setswana, English

Burkina Faso: French

Burundi: Kirundi, French

Cameroon: French, English

Cape Verde: Portuguese

CAR: French, Sango

Chad: Arabic, French

Comoros: French, Arabic, Comorien

Congo-Brazzaville: French

Djibouti: French, Arabic

DRC: French

Equatorial Guinea: Spanish

Eritrea: None (but Tigrinya and Arabic are literary languages)

Ethiopia: Amharic, English (only Amharic at the regional level)

Gabon: French

Gambia: English

Ghana: English

Guinea-Bissau: Portuguese

Guinea-Conakry: French

Ivory Coast: French

Kenya: English, Kiswahili

Lesotho: English, Sesotho

Liberia: English

Madagascar: Malgache

Malawi: Chichewa, English

Mali: French

Mauritius: English (+French orally)

Mozambique: Portuguese

Namibia: English

Niger: French

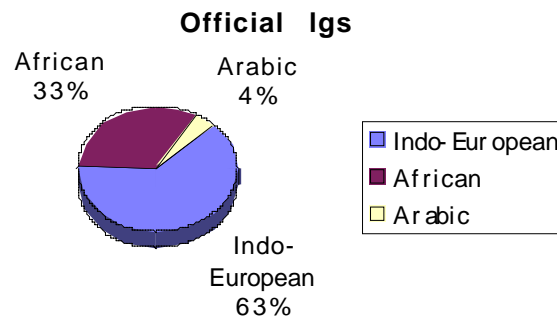
Nigeria: English

Rwanda: Kinyarwanda, French, English (?since 1996) Kiswahili (semi-official)
 São Tomé and Príncipe: Portuguese
 Senegal: French
 Seychelles: French, Seselwa (Creole, Kreol), English
 Sierra Leone: English
 Somalia: Somali, Arabic (in certain cases)
 South Africa: Northern Sotho (Sepedi), Southern Sotho (Sesotho), Setswana, Siswati, Tshivenda, Xitsonga, Afrikaans, English, Isindebele, Isixhosa, Isizulu
 Swaziland: Siswati, English
 Tanzania: Kiswahili, English
 Togo: French
 Uganda: English
 Zambia: English
 Zimbabwe: English, Shona (Ndebele has restricted official usage)

A total of 24 African languages were reported to be official languages. African languages are referred to in a general manner in one other instance, namely by Ethiopia, which claims to have official regional languages. Eritrea constitutes a special case since the respondent indicated that there are no official languages.

If we disregard certain complications and contrast languages on a larger scale, we get the following graphic, with the caveat that there were problems in defining the three supergroups in question (see further below).

Diagram 3.
 Official languages in sub-Saharan Africa
 N=73



Notice that some countries have more than one official language, so that N=73 indicates the number of languages having official status in the 46 sub-Saharan African countries under investigation.

2.1 Arabic as official language

For the purposes of this analysis, Arabic is regarded as a “non-African“ language, a view which of course can be disputed. Whereas Arabic has official status in all of the Maghreb countries (including Mauritania and the Sudan), it is official in only four of the sub-Saharan African countries:

- (1) Chad (with French)
- (2) Comoros (with French and Comorien)
- (3) Djibouti (with French)
- (4) Somalia (with Somali)

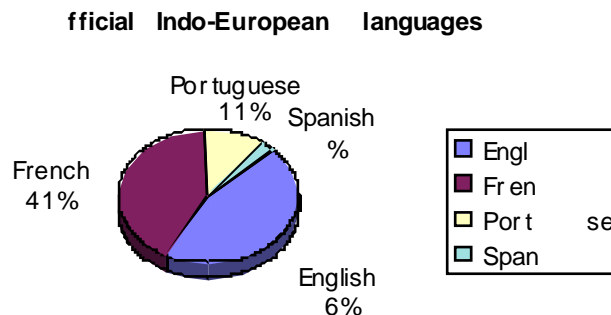
Eritrea is problematic in this respect since, as already pointed out, the respondent claims that there is no official language (“in the language policy all languages are equal”), even though Tigrinya and Arabic seem to have special status. Notice further that different (and sometimes mutually unintelligible) varieties of Arabic are involved and that the difference between written and spoken Arabic is important. Among other things, Arabic is a religious language and thus also present in Koranic or Madrassa schools. It is possible that there are countries where Arabic is important in religious practices and instruction but not noticeable in other domains of society, and therefore may not be listed among the languages of certain nations; see e.g. Somalia, where the government does not use Arabic.

Thus, in the following statistics, Arabic has been classified together with Indo-European languages in opposition to "African" languages, for want of a better solution.

2.2 Indo-European languages with official status

As the above diagram demonstrates, Indo-European languages still play a significant role as official languages in sub-Saharan Africa. For this analysis, neither Afrikaans nor other kinds of creole languages spoken in Africa are regarded as Indo-European languages; they are considered to be “indigenous” African varieties, even though this definition could be questioned. If we stick to our categorization and break down official Indo-European languages into subgroups, we get the following graphic:

Diagram 4.
European languages with official status in sub-Saharan Africa
N=46



Regarding the four European languages, Spanish is official in one country only, namely Equatorial Guinea. Portuguese has official status in five countries, i.e. Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, São Tomé and Príncipe.⁴ For all of these countries it can be noted that the Indo-European language in question is the only official language.

French is an official language in 11 countries: Benin, Burkina Faso, Congo-Brazzaville, DRC, Gabon, Guinea-Conakry, Ivory Coast, Mali, Niger, Senegal, and Togo. Meanwhile, English is official in another 11 countries: Gambia, Ghana, Liberia, Mauritius (+French to some extent), Namibia, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, South Africa (+10 other languages), Uganda,

⁴ For the purposes of this analysis, we are disregarding the presence of Portuguese Creole in Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, and São Tomé and Príncipe, and discussing only the formal language which represents “Standard” Portuguese. The same can be said concerning the coexistence of English and French pidgins and creoles with “standard” forms of these European languages in other African countries.

Zambia, Zimbabwe (+Shona and possibly Ndebele). Cameroon has both French and English as official languages.

This leaves us with a total of 27 of the 46 sub-Saharan African states (or 59%) that do not recognize any African language at the official level. On the other hand, there is no sub-Saharan African country where an Indo-European language is spoken by the majority. As mentioned in the previous section, two African countries have a combination of Arabic and an Indo-European language (French in this case) as official languages, namely Djibouti and Chad.

2.3 African languages with official status in sub-Saharan Africa

“African” languages as considered in this analysis to be those belonging to the Niger-Congo, Nilo-Saharan, Khoisan, or Afroasiatic groups (excepting Arabic in the latter case). As indicated above, Afrikaans and creoles spoken in Africa are regarded as African languages, not Indo-European. Indian languages spoken in Africa such as Bhojpuri or Gujarati are considered non-African languages. Malagasy constitutes a special case since it belongs to the Austronesian family yet is treated here as an African language.

Countries which officially recognize both African and Indo-European languages are the following:

Botswana: Setswana and English
Burundi: Kirundi and French
CAR: Sango and French
Comoros: Comorien, Arabic and French
Kenya: Kiswahili and English
Lesotho: Sesotho and English
Malawi: Chichewa and English
Rwanda: Kinyarwanda, Kiswahili, French and English
Swaziland: Siswati and English
Tanzania: Kiswahili and English
Zimbabwe: Ndebele, Shona and English

In addition, the Seychelles recognize Seselwa (Seychellois Créole), French and English as official, but as mentioned above the designation of Seselwa as African or Indo-European is debatable.

Five countries promote African languages at the official level more explicitly. These countries are the following:

(i) Ethiopia with Amharic, although English may have semi-official status. Notice that the Ethiopian respondent also replied that “regional working languages and/or Amharic are official at the regional level”.

(ii) Eritrea with Tigrinya, but Arabic may have semi-official status. The response from Eritrea was actually that all languages are official, but that Tigrinya and Arabic are literary languages.

(iii) Madagascar with Malgasy (Malgache).

(iv) Somalia with Somali (and Arabic).

(v) South Africa constitutes a very special case since it recognizes no less than 11 official languages. Two of these are Indo-European, English and Afrikaans, but again the typological status of the latter is problematic. African languages with official status in South

Africa are Isixhosa, Isizulu, Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, Sindebele, Siswati, Tshivenda, Xitsonga.

Notice that Niger-Congo languages, notably Bantu ones, are absent from the above list except for the case of South Africa.

Consider the above data presented in the form of different lists below.

(a) Languages with official status in sub-Saharan Africa, in alphabetical order:

Afrikaans	1
Amharic	1
Chichewa	1
Comorien	1
Isixhosa	1
Isizulu	1
Kinyarwanda	1
Kirundi	1
Kiswahili	3
Malagasy	1
Sango	1
Seselwa/Seychellois	1
Sepedi	1
Sesotho	2
Setswana	2
Shona	1
Sindebele	2
Siswati	2
Somali	1
Tigrinya	1
Tshivenda	1
Xitsonga	1

(b) Languages with official status in sub-Saharan Africa, in numerical order:

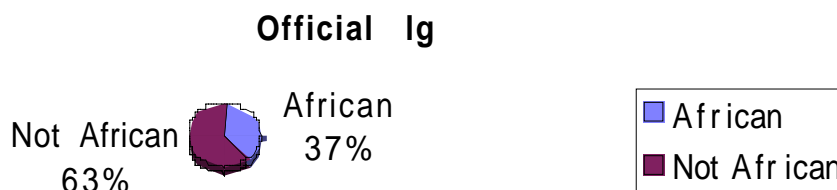
Kiswahili	3
Sesotho	2
Setswana	2
Sindebele	2
Siswati	2
Afrikaans	1
Amharic	1
Chichewa	1
Comorien	1
Isixhosa	1
Isizulu	1
Kinyarwanda	1
Kirundi	1
Malagasy	1
Sango	1
Seselwa/Seychellois	1
Sepedi	1
Shona	1
Somali	1
Tigrinya	1
Tshivenda	1
Xitsonga	1

c) African languages with official status in sub-Saharan Africa, by country:

Botswana	Setswana + English
Burundi	Kirundi + French
CAR	Sango + French
Comoros	Comorien + Arabic + French
Eritrea	Tigrinya + Arabic
Ethiopia	Amharic + English
Kenya	Kiswahili + English
Lesotho	Sesotho + English
Madagascar	Malgache
Malawi	Chichewa + English
Rwanda	Kinyarwanda + Kiswahili + French + English
Seychelles	Seselwa + English + French
Somalia	Somali + Arabic
South Africa	Afrikaans, Isixhosa, Isizulu, Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, Sindebele, Siswati, Tshivenda, Xitsonga + English
Swaziland	Siswati + English
Tanzania	Kiswahili + English
Zimbabwe	Sindebele + Shona + English

The above list shows that 17 of the 46 sub-Saharan nations have official languages that are African. This is depicted in the diagram below:

Diagram 5.
African official languages in sub-Saharan Africa
N=46



3. Use of languages in legislation

The questionnaire items pertaining to languages in legislation were the following:

3. Use of languages in legislation (give the names of the languages in decreasing order depending upon the amount of their use, stating "oral" if the use of a language is only oral)

- 3.1 Languages used in parliamentary debate
- 3.2 Languages used in the writing of laws
- 3.3 Languages used in promulgation of laws
- 3.4 Texts defining their use

It could be assumed that languages used in legislation are more or less the same as those that have official status. In cases where African languages are recognized at the official level, this means that they would be assumed to be authorized in legislation. The list below shows that this is true, except for in some special cases. It is also fairly common that some African languages that are not official may nevertheless be used in legislation.

In the following countries, the language(s) used in legislation is/are identical to the official language(s): Benin, Botswana, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cameroon (?), CAR, Congo-Brazzaville, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea-Conakry, Ivory Coast, Malawi, Mali, Mozambique, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Togo, and Zimbabwe. (Data on the following countries is still lacking: Gambia, Liberia, STP, Seychelles, Uganda, and Zambia.)

The countries listed below allow languages other than the official ones to be used in legislation. Additional languages thus allowed are marked in italics.

Angola: Portuguese (the respondent reports that in legislation as well as education, translation of the constitution into Kikongo, Cokwe, Oshiwambo, Kimbundu and Umbundu took place before the war in 1992)

Cape Verde: Portuguese, *Crioulo*

Chad: French, Arabic, *Sara (restricted)*

DRC: French, *Lingala, Kiswahili, Ciluba, Kikongo*

Eritrea: Tigrinya, *Afar, Arabic, Bilen, Hedareb, Kunama, Nara, Saho, Tigre* (see the discussion on official languages above)

Guinea-Bissau: Portuguese, *Crioulo*

Kenya: English, Kiswahili, *other Kenyan languages*

Madagascar: Malgache, *French*

Mauritius: English, French, *Creole*

Namibia: English, *Oshiwambo (Oshikwanyama, Oshindonga, Oshikwambi, Oshimbalantu, Oshingandjera, Oshikwaluudhi, Oshimbandja), Khoekhoegowab (Nama/Damara), Otjiherero, Rukwangali, Afrikaans, Silozi*

Niger: French, *Hausa, Songhai/Zarma*

Nigeria: English, *Hausa, Igbo, Yoruba*

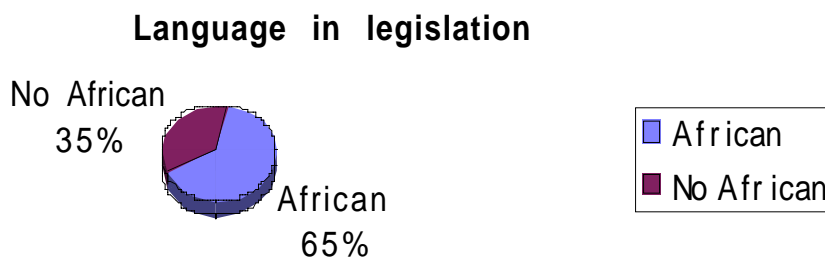
Senegal: French, *Wolof*

A total of 50 African languages were reported under languages of legislation. African languages are referred to in a general manner in another three instances. Note that the Comoros, Djibouti, and Somalia list Arabic as an official language but not as a language of legislation. In addition, Kiswahili has official status in Rwanda but is not mentioned among the languages used in legislation in the country. Madagascar, on the other hand, does not mention French as an official language, but does mention it as a legislative one. In this latter case, the Indo-European language is not officially recognized but used in practice, and as such Madagascar seems to be unique among the sub-Saharan countries. It should also be pointed out that the list above reveals which countries already have official African languages and further allow African languages in legislation. A case in point here is Kenya, where Kiswahili is the only official language but “other Kenyan languages” are allowed legislatively. Hopefully this means that ethnic minorities are recognized, which is not often the case, whether or not a country has an African or Indo-European official language.

Several activities are subsumed under the “legislation” category. This includes parliamentary activities during which questions are discussed, decisions made and laws passed. Of course, there may be important differences between languages used in parliamentary discussions and those used for writing laws, and it would be surprising if languages used in the latter context were not equivalent to official languages. This is also demonstrated by the questionnaire responses, where one can notice that non-official languages are allowed in the former context (parliamentary discussions). This may mean that many local languages are allowed in speech but not in writing, and one is tempted to draw the conclusion that officially unwritten languages do not qualify as legislative or official languages. This may be an indication of some kind of postcolonial diglossia, in which African languages are used orally and Indo-European ones in writing. The diagram below illustrates which countries allow languages other than the official one(s) in legislation.

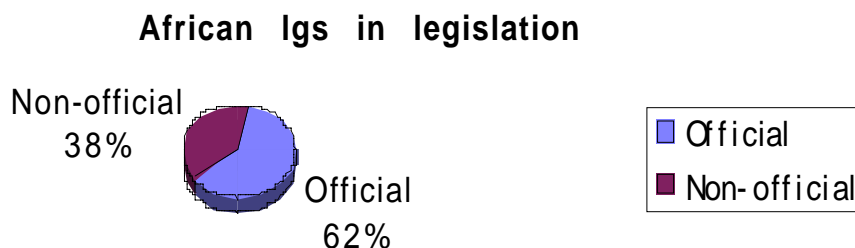
At this point in the analysis there are 26 sub-Saharan nations that allow African language(s) in legislation. This is 9 more than the 17 nations that recognize African languages at the official level. Consider the diagram below.

Diagram 6.
 Languages in legislation in sub-Saharan countries
 N=40



When we compare official languages to legislative ones, we find that the percentage of Sub-Saharan nations allowing African languages almost doubles in the latter case, i.e. from 37% to 65% (with the caveat that there are differences due to varying values of N). The 65% of sub-Saharan countries that indicated they allow African languages in legislation represent 26 nations, 10 of which endorse the use of non-official African languages in legislation.

Diagram 7.
 African languages used in legislation
 N=26



4. Use of languages in the judicial system

The questions asked in connection with the judicial system were the following:

4. Use of languages in the judicial system

- 4.1 Authorized languages
- 4.2 Languages ordinarily used
- 4.3 Languages of judgements
- 4.4 Texts defining their use

Many African countries have both a western-like court system and a more traditional one. One would suspect that African languages are used more frequently in the latter system, and that the number of African languages allowed judicially is higher than the number of official languages. The list below demonstrates how languages in the judicial system compare to official ones:

Nations in which language(s) in the judicial system are also official language(s): Angola, Botswana, Burundi, CAR, Comoros, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Lesotho, Madagascar, Mali, Mozambique, Sierra Leone, Somalia, South Africa, Swaziland, Togo, and Zimbabwe.

Nations in which languages other than the official ones are allowed in the judicial system (non-official languages are indicated in italics):

Benin: French, *Adja, Baatonum, Dendi, Fongbé, Yoruba, Waama*
Burkina Faso: French, *Moore, Jula, Fulfuldé*
Cameroon: French, English, national *languages*
Cape Verde: Portuguese, *Crioulo*
Chad: French, Arabic, *local languages (Sara, Kanembou, Maba, Gorane, Toupouri...)*
Congo-Brazzaville: French, *Lingala, Munukutuba*
Djibouti: French, Arabic, *Afar, Somali*
DRC: French, *Lingala, Kiswahili, Ciluba, Kikongo and local languages*
Equatorial Guinea: Spanish, *Fang*
Gabon: French, *local languages (40) in local courts*
Ghana: English (*with translation into local languages*)
Guinea-Bissau: Portuguese, *Crioulo*
Guinea-Conakry: French *and national languages*
Ivory Coast: French (*and local languages?*)
Malawi: English, *local languages in traditional courts*
Mauritius: English, French, *Creole*
Namibia: English, *Afrikaans, African languages in traditional courts*
Niger: French, *Hausa, Zarma and national languages (Tamajaq, Fulfulde, Kanuri, Tubu, Gulmance, Arabic)*
Nigeria: English, *Hausa, Igbo, Yoruba*
Senegal: French, *Wolof, Pulaar, Serrer, Joola, Mandinka, Soninke*
Tanzania: Kiswahili, English, *ethnic languages*

For the above list, data is lacking for the Gambia, Liberia, STP, Seychelles, Uganda, and Zambia. The total number of African languages reported as used by judicial systems was 63. African languages are referred to in a general manner in another 13 instances.

Please note that the Comoros, Djibouti, and Somalia, which did not include Arabic among their languages of legislation, did mention this language as a judicial one. We find here that quite a few sub-Saharan nations disallow African languages in the judicial system at some level. The exceptions are Angola, Mali, Mozambique, Sierra Leone, and Togo (and possibly Ivory Coast). The above list shows which countries allow non-official African languages in the courts. Often this is reflected in formulations like “local languages are used“ or something similar; however, the absence of such a formulation may be due to the fact that the country in question has few or no ethnic minorities. If a country does not appear on this list, it does not mean that that country neglects African languages, since such languages may already be recognized at the official level (cf. nations such as Eritrea, Ethiopia, or South Africa). Notice that there is no case where an African language is recognized in legislation but not in the judicial system. In parallel with legislation, Rwanda mentions only Kinyarwanda and French as judicial languages, whereas these two plus English and Kiswahili are listed as official languages.

Diagram 8.
Sub-Saharan nations allowing African languages in the judicial system
N=40

Language in judicial system

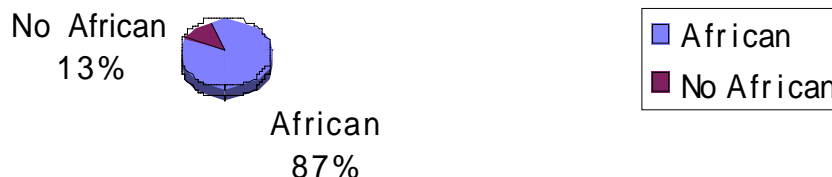
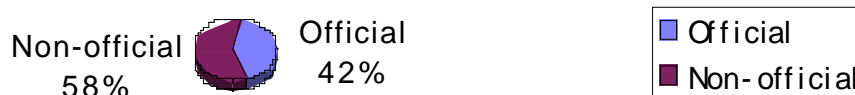


Diagram 9.
Nations allowing African languages in the judicial system
N=36

African languages in judicial system



Please note that when a nation like Malawi says that English and local languages are allowed in the judicial system this must be taken to mean that official as well as non-official African languages are used, since Chichewa is an official language in Malawi. The same obtains for Tanzania, which has both Kiswahili and “ethnic languages” for which the country gets one point in each category.

5. Use of languages in administration

The questionnaire items related to languages in administration were the following:

5. Use of languages in administration

- 5.1 Languages of the executive
- 5.2 Languages used in official mailings to regional or local governments (if any)
- 5.3 Languages used in official mailings to foreign governments
- 5.4 Languages used in regional (provincial, etc.) or local (town, etc.) administration
- 5.5 Languages used in election campaign meetings
- 5.6 Texts defining their use

The questions concerning this domain received relatively disparate answers. For example, it is quite obvious that a language of wider communication, if such a language exists, is used in regional correspondence, whereas other languages are allowed or become necessary at the local level. As for mailings to foreign governments, these are of course formulated in the language of the addressee. Finally, there is a strong presence of African languages in election campaign meetings, for obvious reasons. The findings are summarized in the list below. As

before, indication of where administrative languages differ from official languages is done by use of italics.

Nations in which language(s) in the administration are the same as official language(s) are Angola, Burundi, CAR, Comoros (except for Arabic), Equatorial Guinea (?), Eritrea, Ethiopia, Ivory Coast, Lesotho, Madagascar, Mali, Mozambique, Rwanda (save Kiswahili), South Africa, Swaziland, and Tanzania.

Non-official languages used in administration are given in italics:

Benin: French, *Adja, Baatonum, Dendi, Fongbé, Yoruba, Waama*
Botswana: Setswana, English, “*language dominant to the area*”
Burkina Faso: French, “*local dominant language*” (59 minority national languages)
Cameroon: French, English, *national languages*
Cape Verde: Portuguese, *Crioulo*
Chad: French, Arabic, *local languages*
Congo-Brazzaville: French, *Lingala, Munukutuba (local languages)*
Djibouti: French, Arabic, *Afar, Somali*
DRC: French, *Lingala, Kiswahili, Ciluba, Kikongo and local languages*
Gabon: French, *local languages at electoral assemblies*
Ghana: English and *local languages in election campaign meetings*
Guinea-Bissau: Portuguese, *Crioulo*
Guinea-Conakry: French and *national languages*
Kenya: English, Kiswahili or *relevant ethnic language*
Malawi: English, Chichewa, *local languages*
Mauritius: English, French, *Creole, Bhojpuri (to some extent)*
Namibia: English, *dominant language of the community (if any)*
Niger: French, and *national languages (Hausa, Zarma, Tamajaq, Fulfulde, Kanuri, Tubu, Gulmance, Arabic)*
Nigeria: English, *Hausa, Igbo, Yoruba*
Senegal: French, *Wolof, Pulaar, Serrer, Joola, Mandinka, Soninke*
Sierra Leone: English, *local languages at chiefdom level*
Somalia: Somali, Arabic, *English (to foreign countries)*
Togo: French, *local languages*
Zimbabwe: English and *local languages in election campaign meetings*

Data are still lacking for Gambia, Liberia, STP, the Seychelles, Uganda, and Zambia. A total of 56 African languages are reportedly used for administration. African languages are referred to in a general manner in another 18 instances.

As the list demonstrates, there is even more diversity among the languages of administration. The most notable difference between languages in administration and languages in the judicial system is that the phrase “local languages” occurs frequently in various forms in the case of administration. Of course, local administration is normally carried out in local languages, and local election meetings take place in these languages.

The percentages in this section are quite similar to those for languages in the judicial system. The only countries that do not allow African languages in administration are Angola, Equatorial Guinea (presumably), Ivory Coast, Mali, and Mozambique, which represent the same number of nations (but with somewhat different members) as those not allowing African languages in the judicial system. The difference is that Sierra Leone and Togo allow local languages in administration but not in the judicial system. A total of 35 countries have ratified the use of African languages, of which 24 acknowledge the judicial use of non-official African languages; this difference is only interesting insofar as the given countries host other African languages apart from official ones. In other words, “monolingual” countries with African official languages, such as Burundi, Madagascar, and Rwanda, should perhaps have been excluded from this calculation, but have not since that could give the false impression that Kirundi, Malagasy and Kinyarwanda can not be used in administration.

Diagram 10.
African languages in administration

African languages in administration



6. Use of languages in education

The use of languages in education was investigated according to the following questions:

6 Use of languages in education

- 6.1 Languages used in Preschool and kindergarten
- 6.2 Languages used in primary schools (grades, subjects concerned)
- 6.3 Languages used in secondary schools
- 6.4 Languages used in Tertiary education Tertiary education(universities etc.)
- 6.5 Languages used in adult literacy programs
- 6.6 Languages taught (in primary school, secondary school and Tertiary education), stating whether "compulsory" or "optional" (subject taught)
- 6.7 Texts defining their use

In this case the questions elicited a variety of answers. We will not consider such cases as Latin or Greek taught at African universities, but on the other hand, it is worth noting if an African language is taught as a subject, especially at the lower levels which is a sign that it is recognized. However, it should be questioned whether the classroom language in these cases is the African language itself or an Indo-European one. It appears that preschool and elementary schools as well as adult literacy programs are those activities where African languages are most highly involved. In other words, we observe a decline in the presence of African languages in secondary and higher education. As for adult literacy programs, they almost always by definition involve African languages, but some countries also mention Indo-European languages under this heading. The following summary provides more detailed information on language of instruction.

Angola

Preschool, kindergarten	Primary education	Secondary education	Tertiary education	Adult literacy programs	Languages taught
Portuguese	Portuguese	Portuguese	Portuguese	Kikongo, Cokwe, Umbundu, Oshiwambo (before the war)	Portuguese

Benin					
Preschool, kindergarten	Primary education	Secondary education	Tertiary education	Adult literacy programs	Languages taught
"Regional national language" and French	French	French	French	"National languages"	European languages
Botswana					
Preschool, kindergarten	Primary education	Secondary education	Tertiary education	Adult literacy programs	Languages taught
Setswana, English, or "language dominant to the area"	Setswana 1-4, English 5-7	Setswana, English	English	Setswana, language dominant to the area	Setswana, English
Burkina Faso					
Preschool, kindergarten	Primary education	Secondary education	Tertiary education	Adult literacy programs	Languages taught
French	French, "certain national languages"	French	French	Bisa, Bobo, Bwamu, Dyerma, Dagara, Fulfulde, Gulmancema, Jula, Kar, Kasim, Lobiri, Lyele, Moore, Nankana, Nuni, San, Senufo, Sisale, Sonray, Tamaashaq	Primary: French, national language envisioned Secondary, tertiary: Indo-European languages - (Fulfulde, Jula, Moore at the baccalaureat level)
Burundi					
Preschool, kindergarten	Primary education	Secondary education	Tertiary education	Adult literacy programs	Languages taught
Kirundi	Kirundi 1-4, French 5-6	French	French	Kirundi	Kirundi, French, English
Cameroon (data incomplete)					
Preschool, kindergarten	Primary education	Secondary education	Tertiary education	Adult literacy programs	Languages taught
French, English (depends on region)	French, English (depends on region)	French, English (depends on region)	French, English (depends on region)	?	French, English (depends on region)

Cape Verde					
Preschool, kindergarten	Primary education	Secondary education	Tertiary education	Adult literacy programs	Languages taught
Creole	Portuguese	Portuguese	Portuguese	Portuguese	Portuguese, French, English
CAR					
Preschool, kindergarten	Primary education	Secondary education	Tertiary education	Adult literacy programs	Languages taught
Sango, French	Sango, French	Sango, French	French (?)	Sango, French, Yaka	Sango, French
Chad					
Preschool, kindergarten	Primary education	Secondary education	Tertiary education	Adult literacy programs	Languages taught
French	French, Arabic	French, Arabic	French	French, Arabic, Sara (?), Kuo, Boudouma, Dangaleat, Moukoulou, Sokoro, Kenga, Soumraï, Maba, Kéra, Massalit	French, Arabic, Indo-European languages
Comoros					
Preschool, kindergarten	Primary education	Secondary education	Tertiary education	Adult literacy programs	Languages taught
Comorien, Arabic (Koranic school)	Arabic, French	French, Arabic (?)	French, Arabic (?)	Comorien	French, Comorien, English
Congo-Brazzaville					
Preschool, kindergarten	Primary education	Secondary education	Tertiary education	Adult literacy programs	Languages taught
French	French	French	French	French (?), Lingala, Munukutuba	Indo-European languages

DRC (ex-Zaire)

Preschool, kindergarten	Primary education	Secondary education	Tertiary education	Adult literacy programs	Languages taught
French, the four national languages Lingala, Kiswahili, Ciluba, Kikongo + the "larger vernacular languages" such as Tetela, Ruund, Yaka, Kintandu	French, the four national languages Lingala, Kiswahili, Ciluba, Kikongo + the possibility of using "vernacular languages" the first two years	French, pilot studies in national languages interrupted	French	French (?); four national languages Lingala, Kiswahili, Ciluba, Kikongo + larger vernaculars such as Tetela	<u>Primary:</u> French, the national languages Lingala, Kiswahili, Ciluba, Kikongo + vernacular languages case by case. <u>Secondary:</u> French, English, Latin, national languages Lingala, Kikongo, Kiswahili, Ciluba. <u>Tertiary:</u> French + other Indo-European languages, the national languages Lingala, Kikongo, Kiswahili, Ciluba, certain vernaculars in the African studies department

Djibouti

Preschool, kindergarten	Primary education	Secondary education	Tertiary education	Adult literacy programs	Languages taught
French	French	French	French	French, Arabic	French, Arabic, English

Equatorial Guinea

Preschool, kindergarten	Primary education	Secondary education	Tertiary education	Adult literacy programs	Languages taught
Spanish	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish

Eritrea					
Preschool, kindergarten	Primary education	Secondary education	Tertiary education	Adult literacy programs	Languages taught
"Mother tongue"	"Mother tongue"	English	English (?)	"Mother tongue"	English, Arabic (from grade 2)
Ethiopia					
Preschool, kindergarten	Primary education	Secondary education	Tertiary education	Adult literacy programs	Languages taught
Vernacular languages (16 major)	Vernacular languages, Amharic sometimes as interim solution	English	English	Vernacular	Mother tongue, Amharic, English
Gabon					
Preschool, kindergarten	Primary education	Secondary education	Tertiary education	Adult literacy programs	Languages taught
French	French	French	French	French, local varieties	French, local varieties through 6 th and 5 th
Ghana					
Preschool, kindergarten	Primary education	Secondary education	Tertiary education	Adult literacy programs	Languages taught
English and local languages	Local languages and English	English and local languages	English	15 local languages	Local languages, English, French
Guinea-Bissau					
Preschool, kindergarten	Primary education	Secondary education	Tertiary education	Adult literacy programs	Languages taught
Portuguese, oral Crioulo	Portuguese, Crioulo used experimentally	Portuguese, French	Portuguese	Crioulo, Fula, Balanta, Portuguese	Portuguese, Indo-European languages
Guinea-Conakry					
Preschool, kindergarten	Primary education	Secondary education	Tertiary education	Adult literacy programs	Languages taught
French	French	French	French	French, national languages	French

Ivory Coast

Preschool, kindergarten	Primary education	Secondary education	Tertiary education	Adult literacy programs	Languages taught
French, national languages used experimentally	French, national languages used experimentally	French	French	French, national languages	French, national languages used experimentally

Kenya

Preschool, kindergarten	Primary education	Secondary education	Tertiary education	Adult literacy programs	Languages taught
English, Kiswahili, other Kenyan languages	English, Kiswahili, other Kenyan languages	English	English	Kiswahili, other Kenyan languages	English, Kiswahili

Lesotho

Preschool, kindergarten	Primary education	Secondary education	Tertiary education	Adult literacy programs	Languages taught
Mainly Sesotho, English	Sesotho to grade 4, then English	English	English	Sesotho	Sesotho, English, French

Madagascar

Preschool, kindergarten	Primary education	Secondary education	Tertiary education	Adult literacy programs	Languages taught
Malgasy	Malgasy	Malgasy, French	French, Malgasy (?)	Malgasy?	French, Malgasy (?)

Malawi

Preschool, kindergarten	Primary education	Secondary education	Tertiary education	Adult literacy programs	Languages taught
Chichewa	Chichewa to grade 4, then English	Chichewa, English	English	Chichewa	Chichewa, English

Mali

Preschool, kindergarten	Primary education	Secondary education	Tertiary education	Adult literacy programs	Languages taught
French	French, national languages	French	French	national languages	French, national languages in primary and "non-formal" levels

Mauritius

Preschool, kindergarten	Primary education	Secondary education	Tertiary education	Adult literacy programs	Languages taught
English, French, Creole	English, French, Creole	English, French, Creole	English, French	Creole, Bhojpuri	English, French, Creole, "ancestral languages" (=Asian languages)

Mozambique

Preschool, kindergarten	Primary education	Secondary education	Tertiary education	Adult literacy programs	Languages taught
Portuguese	Portuguese, local languages used experimentally	Portuguese	Portuguese	Portuguese	Portuguese

Namibia

Preschool, kindergarten	Primary education	Secondary education	Tertiary education	Adult literacy programs	Languages taught
Afrikaans, English, German, Khoekhoegowab, Oshikwanyama, Oshindonga, Otjiherero, Rugciriku, Rukwangali, Setswana, Silozi, Thimbukushu, Ju/'hoan	Afrikaans, English, German, Khoekhoegowab, Oshikwanyama, Oshindonga, Otjiherero, Rugciriku, Rukwangali, Setswana, Silozi, Thimbukushu	English, Afrikaans, German and those national languages which are used in grades 1-3 as medium of instruction	English	Afrikaans, Khoekhoegowab, Oshikwanyama, Oshindonga, Otjiherero, Rugciriku, Rukwangali, Setswana, Silozi, Thimbukushu, Ju/'hoan	English, Afrikaans, German and those national languages which are used in grades 1-3 as medium of instruction

Niger

Preschool, kindergarten	Primary education	Secondary education	Tertiary education	Adult literacy programs	Languages taught
French and national languages	French and national languages (experimentally)	French	French	?	?

Nigeria					
Preschool, kindergarten	Primary education	Secondary education	Tertiary education	Adult literacy programs	Languages taught
Mother tongue, language of immediate community, English	Mother tongue, language of immediate community, English	English	English	Hausa, Igbo, Yoruba, mother tongue, language of immediate community, English	English, Hausa, Igbo, Yoruba, Arabic, French
Rwanda					
Preschool, kindergarten	Primary education	Secondary education	Tertiary education	Adult literacy programs	Languages taught
Kinyarwanda	Kinyarwanda	French, English	French, English	?	Kinyarwanda, French, English (?)
Senegal					
Preschool, kindergarten	Primary education	Secondary education	Tertiary education	Adult literacy programs	Languages taught
French, Wolof, Pulaar, Seereer, Joola, Mandinka, Soninke	French, Arabic	French	French	Wolof, Pulaar, Seereer, Joola, Mandinka, Soninke, French, Arabic	French, Arabic, Indo-European languages, Wolof, Pulaar, Seereer, Joola, Mandinka, Soninke
Sierra Leone					
Preschool, kindergarten	Primary education	Secondary education	Tertiary education	Adult literacy programs	Languages taught
Mende, Temne, Limba, Krio, English	Mende, Temne, Limba, Krio, English	English	English	Mother tongues	English, French, mother tongues
Somalia					
Preschool, kindergarten	Primary education	Secondary education	Tertiary education	Adult literacy programs	Languages taught
Somali or other languages in private or community-centred school	Somali, English, Arabic	Somali, English, Arabic	Somali	Somali, Arabic	Somali, Arabic, English

South Africa

Preschool, kindergarten	Primary education	Secondary education	Tertiary education	Adult literacy programs	Languages taught
English, Afrikaans	English, Afrikaans, African languages	English, Afrikaans	English, Afrikaans	official African languages, English, Afrikaans	English, Afrikaans, German, official African languages

Swaziland

Preschool, kindergarten	Primary education	Secondary education	Tertiary education	Adult literacy programs	Languages taught
Siswati, English	Siswati, English	Siswati, English	English	Siswati, English	Siswati, English, French

Tanzania

Preschool, kindergarten	Primary education	Secondary education	Tertiary education	Adult literacy programs	Languages taught
Kiswahili, English (in some schools)	Kiswahili	English	English	Kiswahili	Kiswahili, English, French

Togo

Preschool, kindergarten	Primary education	Secondary education	Tertiary education	Adult literacy programs	Languages taught
Mother tongues	French	French	French	Ewe, Kabiye, Tem, Ben	Ewe, Indo- European languages, Arabic

Uganda

Preschool, kindergarten	Primary education	Secondary education	Tertiary education	Adult literacy programs	Languages taught
Mother tongue	English, Ugandan languages (?), Kiswahili (?)	English, Kiswahili (?)	English	Local languages	English, Luganda, Lwo, Runyakitara (Runyoro-Rutoro & Runyankole- Rukiga), Ateso/Akarimojo ng, Lugbara, Swahili, other Ugandan or foreign languages

Zimbabwe

Preschool, kindergarten	Primary education	Secondary education	Tertiary education	Adult literacy programs	Languages taught
English and local languages	English, national languages (Shona, Ndebele), minority languages	English	English	English, national and minority languages	English, Shona, Ndebele, minority languages, Indo-European languages

Data lacking: Gambia, Liberia, STP, Seychelles, Zambia

The total number of African languages reported under education is 176. African languages are referred to in a general manner in another nine instances.

The most striking aspect of the education category is that a great many countries list a number of languages by name in this context, instead of merely saying that local languages are used in basic education. (This does not always show in the above table, but see the appendix for further information.) Many countries enumerate a number of minority languages which are present in the educational system. As pointed out above, adult literacy programs presumably help to increase the number of African languages used in education. Of the 41 countries providing data on languages used in education, only five refuse to recognize African languages at any level in this context. The five countries in question are Angola, Cameroon, Djibouti, Equatorial Guinea, and Mozambique, but Angola and Equatorial Guinea claim to have promoted African languages in education in the past, and experimental activities in this area may be going on in various places. The data on languages in education can be broken down as follows:

Diagram 11.
Languages in education in general.
N=41, not counting Afrikaans among African languages.

Lg in education in general

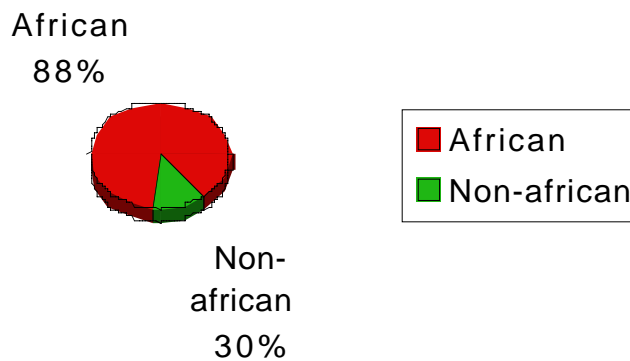


Diagram 12.
Languages in preschool and kindergarten

Lgs in nursery school/kindergarten

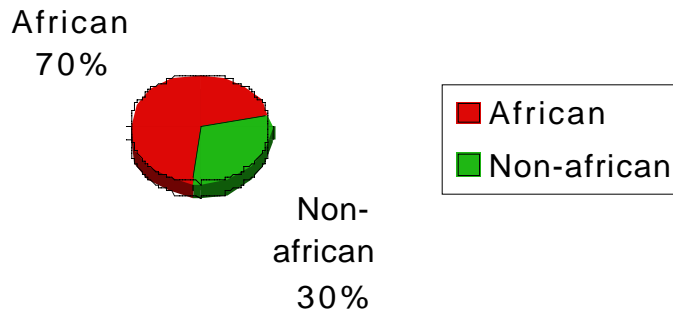


Diagram 13.
Languages in primary education

Lgs in primary education

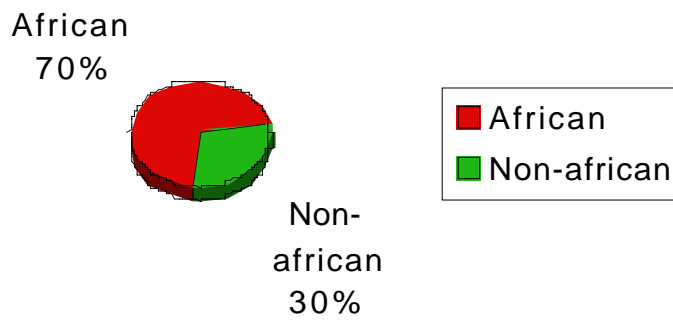


Diagram 14.
Languages in secondary education

Lgs in secondary education

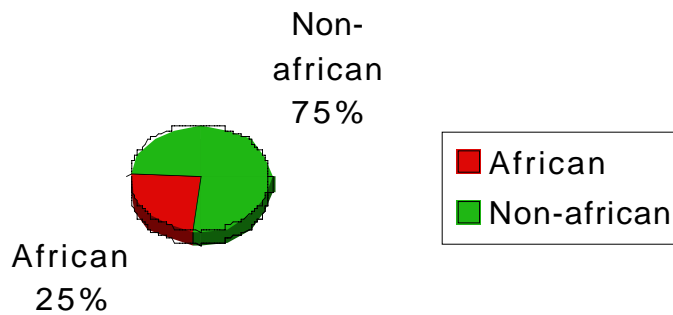


Diagram 15.
Languages in tertiary education

Lgs in higher education

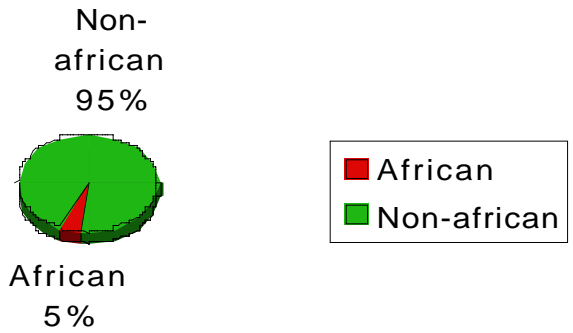


Diagram 16.
Languages in adult literacy programmes

Lgs in adult literacy programmes

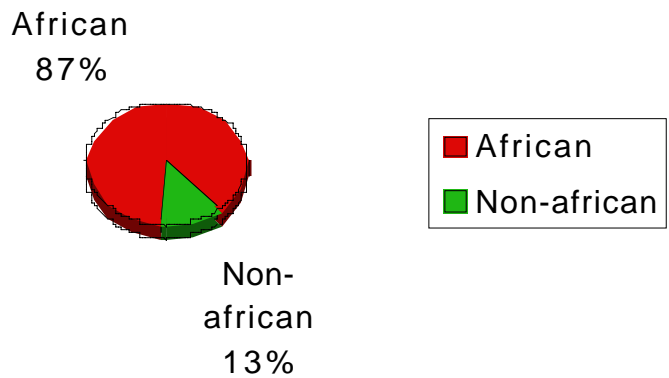
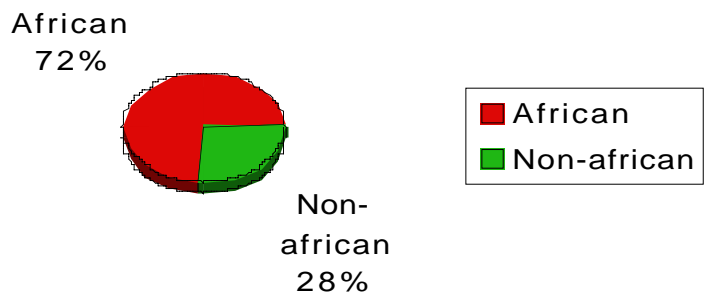


Diagram 17.
Languages taught (in primary, secondary or tertiary education).

Lgs taught



As we can see, the diagrams give a highly disparate picture of the situation. African languages dominate in preschools and adult literacy programmes, whereas they are rare in secondary schools, let alone universities. The only countries which report on use of African languages in tertiary education are Madagascar and Somalia.

7. Use of languages in business

The following questions were asked concerning the use of languages in business:

7 Use of languages in business

7.1 Languages used in commercial advertisements

7.2 Languages used in administrative posters

7.3 Languages used in labelling

7.4 Languages used in instruction manuals

7.5 Languages used in commercial printed matter

7.6 Texts defining their use

In business, African language are used to a noticeable extent, though presumably for the simple reason that products sell better to the general public if they are advertised in local languages. However, this tendency may be counterbalanced by the fact that Indo-European languages symbolize economic wealth and can therefore also be desirable for business use. Consider the following information:

Angola

Portuguese

Benin

French, Adja, Baatonum, Dendi, Fongbé, Yoruba, Waama

Botswana

Seswana, English

Burkina Faso

French, national languages

Burundi

Kirundi, French

Cameroon

French, English (depends on the region)

Cape Verde

Portuguese, Crioulo

CAR

French, Sango

Chad

French

Comoros

French, Comorien (limited)

Congo-Brazzaville

French, Lingala, Munukutuba

Djibouti

French, Arabic

DRC

French, Lingala, Kiswahili, Ciluba, Kikongo, English (limited)

Equatorial Guinea

Spanish

Eritrea

Afar, Arabic, Bilen, Hedareb, Kunama, Nara, Saho, Tigre, Tigrinya, English, Italian

Ethiopia

Amharic, Oromo, Tigrigna, English

Gabon

French, local languages

Ghana

English + “the 6 major local languages“

Guinea-Bissau

Crioulo, Portuguese

Guinea-Conakry

French, Maninkakan, Soso, Pular

Ivory Coast

French, national languages, especially Dioula and Baoulé

Kenya

English, Kiswahili, foreign languages

Lesotho

Sesotho, English

Madagascar

French, Malgasy

Malawi

Chichewa, English, other Malawian languages

Mali

French + national languages

Mauritius

French, Creole, English

Mozambique

Portuguese

Namibia

English; Afrikaans or national languages in local contexts (Oshiwambo, Khoekhoegowab, Otjiherero, Rukavango [Rugciriku, Rukwangali, Thimbukushu], Silozi, Setswana

Niger

French

Nigeria

English, Hausa, Igbo, Yoruba, language of immediate community

Rwanda

Kinyarwanda, French, English, Kiswahili

Senegal

Wolof, French, Pulaar, English, Arabic

Sierra Leone

Krio, community languages

Somalia

Somali, Arabic, English

South Africa

English, Afrikaans, Zulu, Xhosa, Sotho and other official African languages

Swaziland

Siswati, English

Tanzania

Kiswahili, English

Togo

French, Ewe, Kabiye

Zimbabwe

English, Shona, Ndebele

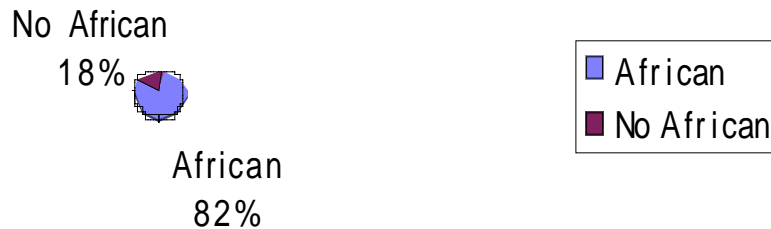
Data lacking: Gambia, Liberia, São Tomé and Príncipe, Seychelles, Uganda, Zambia

The total number of African languages reported under Business use is 66. African languages are referred to in a general manner in another nine instances.

Among the 40 nations providing the above answers, seven do not refer to African languages used in business. The countries in question are Angola, Cameroon, Chad, Djibouti, Equatorial Guinea, Mozambique, and Niger. In percentages, we get the following distribution:

Diagram 18.
Languages in business
N=40

Languages in business



8. Use of languages in the media

The use of languages in the media was investigated with the help of the questions below:

8 Use of languages in the media

8.1 Languages used in written press (adjoin a list of main journals or periodicals with name, frequency of issue, average circulation and the African language(s) used) 8.2 Languages used on the radio (hrs/week)

8.3 Languages used on television (hrs/week)

8.4 Texts defining their use

One problem in this category is that some highly “foreign“ languages tend to appear in this domain, such as English-speaking cable television in a country like Senegal which otherwise does not have much to do with Anglophone culture. Cable television often entails a language of wider communication which may not be used by the population in question, but here it is still considered a language of the media. On the other hand, it is also in this domain that we find the strongest presence of African languages, presumably due to the fact that every African country has local radio stations broadcasting in local African languages. This is in clear contrast to the limited or non-existent use of African languages on television, let alone in the written press where Indo-European languages tend to dominate. Below are the detailed data concerning language in the media.

Angola

Press	Radio	TV
Portuguese	Portuguese, local languages	Portuguese

Bénin

Press	Radio	TV
”French and national languages”	”French and national languages”	”French and national languages”

Botswana

Press	Radio	TV
English, Setswana	Mostly Setswana, English	English, Setswana

Burkina Faso

Press	Radio	TV
French, national languages	French, national languages	French, Fulfulde, Jula, Moore

Burundi		
Press	Radio	TV
Kirundi, French	Kirundi, French, Kiswahili, English	Kirundi, French, Kiswahili
Cameroon		
Press	Radio	TV
French, English (depending on the region), local languages?	French, English (depending on the region), local languages?	French, English (depending on the region), local languages?
Cape Verde		
Press	Radio	TV
Portuguese, Crioulo	Portuguese, Crioulo	Portuguese, Crioulo
CAR		
Press	Radio	TV
French, Sango (?)	French, Sango (?)	French, Sango (?)
Chad		
Press	Radio	TV
French, Arabic	French, Chad Arabic, Sara, literary Arabic, Toupouri, Moundang, Foulbé, Massa, Kanembou, Béri (Zaghawa), Gorane	French, literary Arabic
Comoros		
Press	Radio	TV
French, Comorien	Comorien, French, Arabic	Comorien, French
Congo-Brazzaville		
Press	Radio	TV
French	French, local languages	French (?)
Congo-Kinshasa		
Press	Radio	TV
French and the four national languages Lingala, Kiswahili, Ciluba, and Kikongo	French and the four national languages Lingala, Kiswahili, Ciluba, and Kikongo + certain vernaculars	French and the four national languages Lingala, Kiswahili, Ciluba, and Kikongo
Djibouti		
Press	Radio	TV
French	French, Arabic, Somali, Afar	French, Arabic, Somali, Afar
Equatorial Guinea		
Press	Radio	TV
Spanish	Spanish, Fang and indigenous languages	Spanish, Fang and indigenous languages
Eritrea		
Press	Radio	TV
English, Tigrinya, Arabic	Tigrinya, Tigre, Kunama, Afar, Arabic	Tigrinya, Arabic (+ one hour English on BBC weekdays)

Ethiopia		
Press	Radio	TV
English, vernacular languages	Vernacular languages, English, Arabic, French	Amharic, Oromo, Tigrigna, English
Gabon		
Press	Radio	TV
French	French, local languages	French
Ghana		
Press	Radio	TV
English	English, Akan, Ewe, Nzema, Hausa, Dagbani, Ga	English, Akan, Ewe, Nzema, Hausa, Dagbani, Ga
Guinea-Bissau		
Press	Radio	TV
Portuguese	Portuguese, Crioulo, other national languages	Portuguese, Crioulo
Guinea-Conakry		
Press	Radio	TV
French	French, 9 national languages	French, 9 national languages
Ivory Coast		
Press	Radio	TV
French + national languages in the rural areas	French in addition to 17 national languages	French in addition to 17 national languages
Kenya		
Press	Radio	TV
English, Kiswahili, other Kenyan languages	English, Kiswahili, 20 other Kenyan languages	Kiswahili, English
Lesotho		
Press	Radio	TV
English, Sesotho	Sesotho, English	Sesotho, English
Madagascar		
Press	Radio	TV
Malgache, French	Malgache, French	Malgache, French
Malawi		
Press	Radio	TV
English, Chichewa?	English, Chichewa, local languages?	English, Chichewa?
Mali		
Press	Radio	TV
French, Bamanankan, Fulfulde, Soninké	French, Bamanankan, Fulfulde, Soninké, Dogon, Songoy, Tamasheq, Mamara, Syenara, Bomu, Bozo, Maure	French, Bamanankan, Fulfulde, Songoy, Tamasheq, Soninké, Syenara

Mauritius		
Press	Radio	TV
French, English, Creole, Indian languages, Chinese (?)	French, Creole, English, Hindustani, other Indian languages, Chinese	French, English, Creole, Hindustani, other Indian languages, Chinese
Mozambique		
Press	Radio	TV
Portuguese	Portuguese, Gitonga, Cicopi, Shimakonde, Ciyao, Echuwabo, Cinyanja, Cinyungwè, Cisena, Cishona, Xitshwa, Xironga, Xichangana	Portuguese
Namibia		
Press	Radio	TV
English, Afrikaans, German, Oshikwanyama, Oshindonga, Oshiwambo, Otjiherero, Rukwangali, Silozi	English, Oshiwambo, Silozi, Rukavango, Afrikaans, German, Khoekhoegowab, Otjiherero, Setswana	English, occasional cultural programmes from all Namibian language groups
Niger		
Press	Radio	TV
French, local languages?	French, Hausa, Zarma, Tamajaq, Fulfuldé, Kanuri, Tubu, Gulumance, Arabic (?)	French, local languages (?)
Nigeria		
Press	Radio	TV
English, Hausa, Igbo, Yoruba	English, Hausa, Igbo, Yoruba, Edo, Kanuri, Fulfulde, Izon, Efik, Tiv, Arabic, Swahili, French, language of immediate community	English, Hausa, Igbo, Yoruba, language of immediate community
Rwanda		
Press	Radio	TV
Kinyarwanda, French, English (?)	Kinyarwanda, French, English (?)	Kinyarwanda, French, English (?)
Senegal		
Press	Radio	TV
French, Wolof, Joola, Pulaar	French, Wolof, Pulaar, "other languages"	French, Wolof, Pulaar, Seereer, Joola, Soninke, Mandinka
Sierra Leone		
Press	Radio	TV
English	English, Mende, Temne, Limba, Krio	English, Mende, Temne, Limba, Krio
Somalia		
Press	Radio	TV
Somali, English, Arabic (?)	Somali, Maay	Somali, Arabic

South Africa

Press	Radio	TV
English, Sotho, Tswana, Zulu, Xhosa, Afrikaans (and more?)	English, Sotho, Tswana, Zulu, Xhosa, Afrikaans and other regional official languages (?)	English, Sotho, Tswana, Zulu, Xhosa, Afrikaans and other regional official languages (?)

Swaziland

Press	Radio	TV
English, Siswati	English, Siswati	English, Siswati

Tanzania

Press	Radio	TV
Kiswahili, English	Kiswahili, English	Kiswahili, English

Togo

Press	Radio	TV
French, Ewe, Kabiye	French, Ewe, Kabiye, Kotokoli, Moba, Gourmantche, Gourma, Tchokossi, Mina, N'gangan, Peul, Tamberma, Tamba, Naudem, Sola, Bassar Konkomba, Tchamba, Agnanga, Adele, Akebou, Akposso, Ife, Fon, Adja, Haoussa, Yourouba	French, Ewe, Kabiye

Uganda

Press	Radio	TV
English, Langi, Runyankore/Rukiga, Ateso, Luo, Luganda & other	English, Ugandan languages (?)	English, Ugandan languages (?)

Zimbabwe

Press	Radio	TV
English, Shona, Ndebele, Kalanga	English, Shona, Ndebele, Venda, Chewa/Nyanja, Kalanga, Shangani, Tonga	English, Shona, Ndebele

Data lacking: Cameroon, Gambia, Liberia, São Tomé and Príncipe, Seychelles, Zambia

The total number of African languages reported under the Media category is 242. African languages are referred to in a general manner in another seven instances.

Of the 40 countries providing answers, not a single one disallows the use of African languages in the media at some level. In addition, many countries list a large number of languages as being used in the media. Even notoriously pro-Indo-European language countries such as Angola and Mozambique mention a number of Bantu languages under this heading. Below is an illustration of language use in the three media domains. The percentages should be considered estimates since the data above contains a few question marks, but the overall picture is clear.

Diagram 19.
Languages in written press
N=40

Lgs in written press

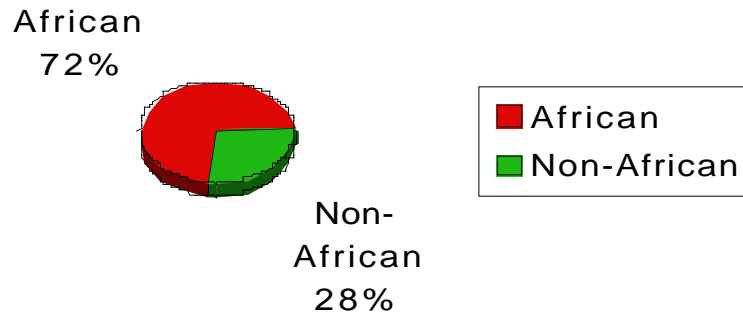


Diagram 20.
Languages on the radio
N=40

Lgs on the radio

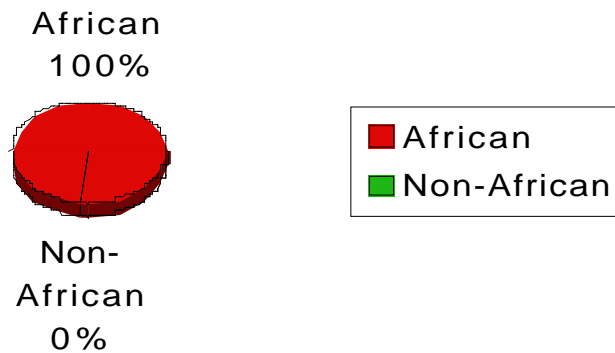
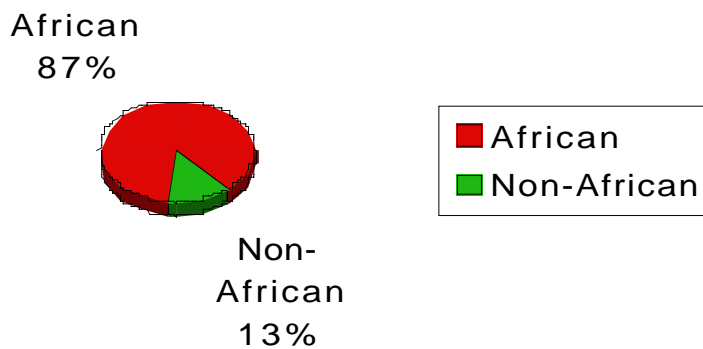


Diagram 21.
Languages on television
N=40

Lgs on television



9. The language situation in individual Sub-Saharan countries

In this section we present the total number of languages mentioned by the countries participating in the investigation. Most of these languages were given in response to questions on the general linguistic situation of the country, as discussed in section 1. However, we have also included languages that were not mentioned in that context but in answers pertaining to other domains, such as education and the media. As previously noted, many countries fail to mention official Indo-European languages (if such exist) either as majority or as minority languages, and in these cases I have added the languages in question to the computation.

It is interesting to consider how many African languages exist in addition to those mentioned by respondents from the various countries at some point in their reports. I am therefore comparing the present answers to the data contained in Ethnologue (1996), the most comprehensive catalogue of languages in the world. As already pointed out, Ethnologue is tolerant in their classification of languages and may tend to overreport the number of languages in the world, but their work is the most authoritative source in the field. In the following, I also indicate which languages have less than 100 000 speakers (=“small languages”), a figure which, as pointed out above, has been argued to be critical for a language to survive. Of course, the notion of ‘endangered language’ is relative, and 100 000 speakers is a lot in a country like Equatorial Guinea which only has 497 000 total inhabitants. Further, the figures have to be taken as estimates because sometimes the speaker numbers given in Ethnologue are incomplete or not fully reliable. Still we believe that their account gives a good picture of the overall situation.

Angola

“A majority language in each linguistic region ”: Kikongo, Kimbundu, Umbundu, Cokwe, Ngangela, Oshiwambo, Olunyaneka, Oshikuvale

Population: **12 million** Languages listed: **9** Languages in Ethnologue: **41** Small languages: **26**

Benin

No majority language. “Some of the minority languages” : Fon(gbé), Yoruba (and its varieties), Nagot, Mokolé, Idaacan, Shabé, Adja (Ajagbé), Bariba (Baatonum), Goun (Gungbe), Aïzo (Ayizogbè), Peuhl (Fulfulde), Ouémé (Wemegbé), Sahoué (Saxwegbé), Dendi, Ditammari, Pila-pila (Yom), Idassa (Ede-Idaasha), Berba (Biali), Mina (Gengbé), Pla (Xwlagbé), Donpago (Lokpa), Yoabu (Waama), Boko (Boo), Windji (Assila, Anii), Natimba (Nateni), Haoussa (Hawsa), Koto-koli (Tem)

Population: **6 million** Languages listed: **27** Languages in Ethnologue: **51** Small languages: **40**

Botswana

Majority language: Setswana. Minority languages: Sesarwa, Seherero, Sehambukushu, Sekalaka, Herero, Mbukushu, Yeeyi

Population: **2 million** Languages listed: **7** Languages in Ethnologue: **30** Small languages: **28**

Burkina Faso

Majority language: Moore. Minority languages: Fulfulde, Gulmacema, Jula, Bisa, Lyele, Bobo, San, Meekakan, Dagara, Bwamu, Lobiri, Nuni, Senufo, Tamaashaq, “others” (58 total)

Population: **10 million** Languages listed: **16** Languages in Ethnologue: **71** Small languages: **52**

Burundi

Majority language: Kirundi. Minority languages: Kiswahili, French

Population: **6 million** Languages listed: **3** Languages in Ethnologue: **3** Small languages: **2**

Cameroon

No majority language. Minority languages: “All the languages: Bassaa, Dioula, Pulaar, etc.”

Population: **13 million** Languages listed: **5** Languages in Ethnologue: **286** Small languages: **269**

Cape Verde

Cape Verdean Crioulo, Portuguese

Population: **0.4 million** Languages listed: **2** Languages in Ethnologue: **4** Small languages: **2**⁵

CAR

In order of number of speakers: Sango (majority), Gbaya, Banda, Mandja, Ngbaka, Sara, Yakoma-Sango (=Yaka?), Zandé-Nzakara

Population: **3 million** Languages listed: **8** Languages in Ethnologue: **69** Small languages: **59**

Chad

Chad Arabic (12% as L1, 45% as a lingua franca). An additional 125 languages of which the principal ones are Sara, Kanembou-Kanouri, Gorane, Maba (=Marba?), Mousseye, Boulala, Moundang, Peul, Massa, Toupouri. Minority languages: Kim, Niellim

Population: **6 million** Languages listed: **14** Languages in Ethnologue: **128** Small languages: **115**

Comoros

Shikomor (Shingazidja, Shimwali, Shindzuani, Shimaore), French, Arabic, Malagasy, Kiswahili

Population: **0.5 million** Languages listed: **5** Languages in Ethnologue: **4** Small languages: **3**

Congo-Brazzaville

Majority languages: Lingala, Munukutuba, French. Minority languages: local languages (70 types of Bantu languages in zones A, B, C, and H, as well as the Oubangien and pygmy languages)

Population: **2 million** Languages listed: **3** Languages in Ethnologue: **60** Small languages: **56**

Djibouti

Afar, Somali, French, Arabic

Population: **0.5 million** Languages listed: **4** Languages in Ethnologue: **4** Small languages: **2**

DRC

No majority language. Minority languages: Kiswahili, Lingala, French, Ciluba, Kikongo, Tetela-Kusu-Ekonda-Seengele-Ndekese-Mongo, vernacular Kikongo, the Lunda group, Kiluba, Kiyombe, Cokwe, Bangala (Ituri), Songye, Lokele-Topoke, Kinande, Teke-Yansi-Mhunda, Mashi, Wongo-Lele, Kete-Salampasu, Pende-Kwese-Sonde, Budza-Ngombe-Libindza, Ngbaka-Ngbandi-Banda-Linda, Yaka-Suku-Pelende, Kinyarwanda-Rundi-Fuliro

Population: **42 million** Languages listed: **45** Languages in Ethnologue: **221** Small languages: **167**

Equatorial Guinea

Spanish, Fang, Ndowe (Kombe, Benga), Bisio (Bujeba), Bubi, Fadambu, Pichin (pidgin)

Population: **0.5 million** Languages listed: **7** Languages in Ethnologue: **12** Small languages: **11**

Eritrea

Afar, Arabic, Bilen, Hedareb, Kunama, Nara, Saho, Tigre, Tigrinya

Population: **4 million** Languages listed: **9** Languages in Ethnologue: **12** Small languages: **6**

Ethiopia (spelling according to respondent)

Amarigna (49%) + 83 more: Oromigna (Oromeffa), Tigrigna, Anyiwakgna, Arbonegna, Arigna, Basketigna, Benchigna, Shegna, Merigna, Burijgna, Argobigna, Agew/Awingigna, Sebatbet Guragie, Hadiyigna, Gedeogna, Dimegna, Sodogna, Dizigna, Somaligna, Siltinga, Dasenechgna, Ganijuligna, Guagugna, English, Charrigna, Kematigna, Agew/Kamyrgna, Jebelawigna, Sidamigna, Welayitigna, Gumuzigna, “not stated“, Kelfigna, Marekogna, Harerigna, Alabigna, Nuwerigna, Machagna, Timbarogna, Fadashigna, Kulogna, Kemantigna, Hamerigna, Gamogna “other Ethiopian languages“, Kewamigna, Golfigna, Yemsagna, Koyrigna, Gebatogna, Gamiligna, Shinashigna, Meenigna, Sahogna, Kunamigna, Mesengogna, Malieigna, Kechamigna, Bodigna, Dorzigna, Alfarigna, Kebeenagna, Konsogna, Maogna, Shekogna, Naogna,

⁵ Notice, however, that Mandyak has 92 120 speakers, i.e. almost one quarter of the Cape Verdean population of slightly more than 400,000.

Mursyigna, Komigna, Shitagna, Gidoligna, Mellogna, Surigna, Oydigna, Kontigna, Gewadigna, Zerguligna, Zeysigna, Tsamaigna, Mosiyagna, Nyangalomigna, Mabaangna
Population: **53 million** Languages listed: **84** Languages in Ethnologue: **86** Small languages: **63**

Gabon

Mazona group: Fang-atsi, Fang-make, Fang-mvaï, Fang-ntumu, Fang-nzaman, Fang-okak; Myene group: Enengga, Galwa, Mpongngwe, Ngkomi, Orunggu, Okoa; Mekona-Menaa group: Akele, Unggom, Lisigu, Mbangwe, Metombolo, Seki, Tumbidi, Shake, Wumpfu, Lendambomo; Menkona-Manggote group: Ikota, Bengga, Shamayi, Mahongwe, Ndasas, Bakola; Membe group: Getsogo, Gepinzi, Kande, Gebobe, Gehimbaka, Gebiya, Ebongwe; Merye group: Gisira, Gibarama, Gibunggu, Yipunu, Yilumbu, Yisanggu, Nggubi, Cibili [+ some illegible language names]; Metye group: Yinzebi, Yitsenggi, Yimwele, Yibili, Liduma, Liwanzi, Yibongo; Membere group: Lembaama, Lekaningi, Lindumu, Latege, Latsitsege; Makena group: Bekwil, Shiwa, Makina, Mwesa; Baka group: Baka

There are efforts to create a unified variety called *Gassilangue*, comprising Mpongwe, Fang-Ntumu, Yipunu, Ikota, Latege, Getsoge; there is a launching in schools of Fang-Ntumu, Mpongwe, Ikota, Getsogo, Yipunu, Liwanzi, Lembaama, and Latege.

Population: **1 million** Languages listed: **61** Languages in Ethnologue: **40** Small languages: **38**

Gambia

Population: **1 million** Languages in Ethnologue: **20** Small languages: **17**

Ghana

Majority language: Akan (made up of Ashanti, Akuapim, Akyim, Fanti, Kwahu, Brong, Guan, Denkyira).
Minority languages: Ga-Adangbe, Ewe, Dagbani, Nzema, Sisala, Wala, Ganja, Frafra, Wassas, Efutu, Kasem, Guan, Dagaare

Population: **18 million** Languages listed: **23** Languages in Ethnologue: **51** Small languages: **40**

Guinea-Bissau

Majority language: Crioulo/Kiriol. Minority languages: Fula (Pullo), Balanta, Mandinga (Mandikakan), “others”

Population: **1 million** Languages listed: **5** Languages in Ethnologue: **23** Small languages: **19**

Guinea-Conakry

Majority languages: Maninkakan, Pulaar, Soso. Minority languages: Kpelewoo, Lomagooi, Kisiei, Wamey, Oneyan, Manon, Landuma, Nalu, Bajaranke, Soninke, Mende, Mini, Temine, Baga, Balante

Population: **8 million** Languages listed: **19** Languages in Ethnologue: **30** Small languages: **24**

Ivory Coast

French, Abbey, Abouré, Abron, Adrioukrou, Agni, Attié, Baoulé, Bété, Dida, Dioula, Ebrié, Ewe, Godié Néyo (?), Gouro, Guéré, Guerzé, Koulango, Krou, Mooré, N’zima, Sénoufo, Toura, Wobè, Yacouba (probably forty to sixty language varieties)

Population: **13 million** Languages listed: **25** Languages in Ethnologue: **74** Small languages: **53**

Kenya

Majority language: Kiswahili. Minority languages: Embu, Kamba, Kikuyu, Mbere, Meru, Tharaka, Kisii, Kuria, Luhya, Maasai, Njemps, Samburu, Teso, Turkana, Boran, Gabra, Burji, Boni-Sanve, Mijikenda, Pokomo, Taita, Taveta (?), Suba, Luo, Dorobo, Kaienjin, Dasnach-Shangil, Orma, Rendile, Sakaye, Ajurari, Somali (including Degodia and Ogaden), Gurreh, Harriyah

Population: **26 million** Languages listed: **36** Languages in Ethnologue: **61** Small languages: **29**

Lesotho

Majority language: Sesotho (Southern Sotho). Minority languages: English, Xhosa

Population: **2 million** Languages listed: **3** Languages in Ethnologue: **4** Small languages: **2**

Liberia

Population: **3 million** Languages in Ethnologue: **34** Small languages: **27**

Madagascar

Majority language: Malagasy. Minority languages: Comorien, Chinese, Hindi, Arabic

Population: **14 million** Languages listed: **5** Languages in Ethnologue: **6** Small languages: **3**

Malawi

(In order of number of speakers) Chichewa (majority), Chilomwe, Chiyao, Chitumbuka, Chisena, Chikhokhola, Chitonga, Chingoni, Chinkhonde, Chilambya, Chisukwa, Chinyakyusa, Kiswahili, English

Population: **10 million** Languages listed: **14** Languages in Ethnologue: **15** Small languages: **7**

Mali

Majority language: Bambara (Bamanan). Minority languages: Peulh (Fulfulde, Pulaar), Sonraï (Songoy), Dogon (Dogoso, Dogokan), Soninke (Sarakollé, Marka), Senoufo (Syenara), Minianka (Mamara), Bobo (Bomu, Bore), Bozo, Tamasheq

Population: **11 million** Languages listed: **11** Languages in Ethnologue: **32** Small languages: **14**

Mauritius

Majority language: Creole. Minority languages: French, English, Bhojpuri, Hindi, Urdu, Bhojpuri, Tamil, Telugu, Marathi, Chinese/Mandarin, Arabic, Gujrathi

Population: **1 million** Languages listed: **13** Languages in Ethnologue: **5** Small languages: **3**

Mozambique

Emakhuwa (important but not over 50%); Isizulu, Siswati, Gitonga, Cicopi, Kiswahili, Kimwani, Ekoti, Shimakonde, Ciyao, Elomwe, Echuwabo, Cinyanja, Cisenga, Cinyungwe, Cisena, Cishona, Xitshwa, Xironga, Xitsonga (Xichangana)

Population: **18 million** Languages listed: **21** Languages in Ethnologue: **33** Small languages: **11**

Namibia

Afrikaans, Bushman languages (Ju/'hoan and other San languages), English, German, Khoekhoegowab (Nama/Damara), Oshikwanyama, Oshindonga, other Oshiwambo varieties, Otjiherero, Rucgiriku and Shishambyu, Rukwangali, Setswana, Silozi, other Caprivian languages, Thimbukushu, other languages

Population: **2 million** Languages listed: **17** Languages in Ethnologue: **28** Small languages: **24**

Niger

Majority language: Hausa. Minority languages: Arabic, Fulfulde, Gurmance, Kanuri, Songhaï-Zarma, Tamajak, Tubu, Peul (Fulfulde)

Population: **8 million** Languages listed: **10** Languages in Ethnologue: **21** Small languages: **12**

Nigeria

Majority languages: Hausa, Igbo, Yoruba. Minority languages: over 400

Population: **101 million** Languages listed: **4** Languages in Ethnologue: **478** Small languages: **405**

Rwanda

Kinyarwanda, Kiswahili

Population: **9 million** Languages listed: **4** Languages in Ethnologue: **3** Small languages: **2**

São Tomé and Príncipe

Population: **0.1 million** Languages in Ethnologue: **2** Small languages: **1**

Senegal

Wolof (majority and national language), Pulaar, Seereer, Joola, Mandinka, Soninke (national languages), Baïnunk, Manjaku, Mancagne, Pöpel, Kognaji, Bédik (?), Tanda, Balant (localised usage)

Population: **8 million** Languages listed: **15** Languages in Ethnologue: **39** Small languages: **31**

Seychelles

Population: **0.07 million** Languages in Ethnologue: **3** Small languages: **3**⁶

⁶ However, Seselwa is spoken by practically the entire population.

Sierra Leone

Kono, Kuranko, Sherbro, Susu, Fula, Loko, Madingo, Kisi, Yalunka, Krim, Vai, Gola, Kru, Galinas

Population: **5 million** Languages listed: **15** Languages in Ethnologue: **23** Small languages: **13**

Somalia

Majority language: Somali Minority languages: Maay (May-May), Mwini, Bajuni, Jiido, Mushunguli

Population: **9 million** Languages listed: **7** Languages in Ethnologue: **13** Small languages: **11**

South Africa

Northern Sotho (Sepedi), Southern Sotho (Sesotho), Setswana, Siswati, Tshivenda, Xitsonga, Afrikaans, English, Isindebele, Isixhosa, Isizulu, Khoi, Nama, San, Sign language, German, Greek, Gujarati, Hindi, Portuguese, Tamil, Telugu, Urdu, Arabic, Hebrew, Sanskrit

Population: **39 million** Languages listed: **26** Languages in Ethnologue: **31** Small languages: **16**

Swaziland

Siswati, English, French (?)

Population: **0.9 million** Languages listed: **3** Languages in Ethnologue: **4** Small languages: **3**

Tanzania

120 languages and language varieties, Swahili, English, Arabic, Hindi, Gujarati

Population: **33 million** Languages listed: **5** Languages in Ethnologue: **132** Small languages: **86**

Togo

Mina, Kabiye, Tem, Ewe, Ben, Bassar, Naudm, Ife, Akposso, Lama (=Lamba?), Adja, Tchokossi, Konkomba, Gourma, Peul, Tchamba, Haoussa

Population: **4 million** Languages listed: **18** Languages in Ethnologue: **43** Small languages: **32**

Uganda

Acholi, Akarimojong, Alur, Ateso, Bari, Dhopadhola, Dodoth, Ik (Tenso), Jie, Jonam, Kakwa (Bari), Kebu, Kinubi (=Nubbi?), Kinyarwanda, Kumam, Kupsabe/i/ny (Sebei), Langi, Lendu, Lubwisi, Luchope, Luganda, Lugbara, Lugisu, Lugungu, Lugwe, Lugwere, Luhya (Luyia), Lukenyi, Luluba, Lunyole, Lusamia, Lusoga, Lusinga, Luziba, Madi, Manbeth/Manbetu, Mening, Ngapore, Rufumbira, Ruhororo, Rukonjo/e (Ruyira), Runundi & Runyarwanda, Runyankore, Runyaruguru, Rurundi, Ruruli, Rutagwenda, Rutooro, Rwamba (Bulebule), Suk (Pokoot), Okoro, Tebeth (Tepas), Twa

Population: **22 million** Languages listed: **55** Languages in Ethnologue: **47** Small languages: **18**

Zambia

Population: **10 million**

Languages in Ethnologue: **41** Small languages: **25**

Zimbabwe

Shona, Ndebele, Kalanga, Tonga (Hwange-Binga), Nyanja/Chewa, Nambya, Shangani, Venda, Sotho, Chikunda/Sena, Tshwawo, Doma, Xhosa, Tonga (Mudzi), Tswana, Hwesa, Barwe

Population: **11 million** Languages listed: **18** Languages in Ethnologue: **20** Small languages: **12**

Since many African languages transcend national borders, we cannot simply add the number of languages listed in Ethnologue for Sub-Saharan countries, because then we might count some languages more than once. The total number of languages listed in all sub-Saharan countries on the above list amounts to 2 438, whereas the number of individual sub-Saharan languages is lower than 2 000 (since the number of all languages in Africa amounts to 2,011, as previously pointed out). However, we can use the above figures for showing how many linguistic minorities (speech community with less than 100,000 members) there are in the sub-Saharan countries. We propose that even though a language like Tsonga is spoken both in Mozambique and South Africa, speakers in the two countries constitute two different speech communities, if for no other reason than their different histories and current language politics. If we divide the sum of small languages in sub-Saharan nations (1 882) with the total number of languages spoken (2 438), we get a percentage of 77%. Thus, 77% of the sub-Saharan linguistic communities speak a language which can be considered endangered in

some sense. If we computed this figure relatively, taking into account the fact that some sub-Saharan countries have quite a few inhabitants, we would get an even higher percentage.

10. Conclusions

It would seem that we are observing a situation in which Indo-European languages have a strong position in formal contexts, whereas the importance of African languages increases the more informal the situation gets. It has already been noted that the domains in which African languages are predominant seem to be local election campaigns, adult literacy programmes, and local radio stations. The number of languages listed by name is highest in the media domain, where a total of 242 languages are mentioned. The mentioning of languages by name is important, because it means that they are recognized separately, instead of being lumped together under a general formulation like “languages of the area.” If we compare the number of African languages mentioned in the different domains, we get the following picture:

Domain	African languages mentioned by name
Media	242
Education	176
Business	66
Judicial	63
Administration	56
Legislation	50
Official	24

Thus, the media and education clearly dominate when it comes to the mentioning of African languages by name, with 242 and 176 points respectively. Business, judicial, administration, and legislation constitute an intermediate cluster with between 66 and 50 languages named, whereas the official domain lags behind with only 24. If we add the number of languages mentioned in a general way in the different domains, the pattern remains fairly constant with the exception that Judicial and Business change places:

Domain	African languages mentioned by name and generally
Media	249
Education	185
Judicial	76
Business	75
Administration	74
Legislation	53
Official	25

The general impression emerging from these tables is that African languages are more present in informal settings than in formal ones. On the other hand, it is reassuring to see that African languages are important in education, something which augurs well for the future of these languages as well as for effective teaching. In some countries, the use of Indo-European languages is well-motivated and may have a unifying effect, whereas in others it is artificial and works to the detriment of African languages. Considering the number of African languages spoken on the continent, they ought to be better represented in the above domains, not the least in the more formal ones.

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