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The languages of the world : a cartographic and statistical survey

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The Languages of the World:
A Cartographic and Statistical Survey

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ABSTRACT

The Languages of the World: A cartographic and statistical survey

This thesis surveys the languages spoken in all the countries of the world. Using both explanatory text and maps to illustrate language situations, the thesis shows the complexity of language contact and language distribution throughout the world. An important part of this thesis is the discussion of the problems in creating maps which accurately represent the language situation in a country, and the difficulty in creating language contact maps. In using maps as an analytic tool, the thesis considers whether or not it possible to represent adequately changes in language use. Which languages will survive or die in future years, and what affects their chances of survival are considered in the concluding chapter.

The thesis has six aims. The **first** aim was to look at current estimates of the number of languages spoken in the world, and the number of speakers; considering the problems involved in determining these figures. This is achieved in the **second** aim, which was to provide a comprehensive overview of the language situation in all countries, through the use of maps and explanatory text. The **third** aim is to look at how language data can be used to create accurate cartographic representations of language contact and language distribution. **Fourthly**, some of the problems involved in creating language maps are explored , both in gathering accurate data and presenting this information in a coherent and unambiguous way. The **fifth** aim of the thesis is to include a critical review of the sources available. The **final** aim of this thesis is to look at the factors which cause change in language situations, referring to the maps as a method of recording and predicting these changes.

The thesis is organised into eleven chapters. The first chapter provides a broad picture of the number of languages spoken and considers the problems in trying to find an accurate total. In chapters two to ten, an outline of the language situation in every country of the world is provided. In particular, details are included such as; size of population, official language, number of minority languages - and the size of their population, language use, and also in many cases providing a brief historical background to the present language situation. In the concluding chapter, the problems of creating language maps, and their importance in analysing the dynamic nature of language are considered.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis derives from my working with Professor Colin Baker and Dr. Sylvia Prys Jones on a commissioned project. Prof. Baker was asked to write an Encyclopedia of Bilingualism and Bilingual Education, and I was recruited to work on all the graphics (diagrams, illustrations, graphs, maps, charts, flow charts). The maps in this thesis also appear in the Encyclopedia as does parts of the text accompanying the maps. The original work on such maps and text is mine, and I am grateful to Colin Baker and Sylvia Jones for their comments and suggestions with both maps and text.

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INTRODUCTION

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This thesis surveys the languages spoken in all the countries of the world. Using both explanatory text and maps to illustrate language situations, the thesis shows the complexity of language contact and language distribution throughout the world. An important part of this thesis is the discussion of the problems in creating maps which accurately represent the language situation in a country, and the difficulty in creating language contact maps. In using maps as an analytic tool, the thesis considers whether or not it possible to represent adequately changes in language use. Which languages will survive or die in future years, and what affects their chances of survival are considered in the concluding chapter.

Aims

This thesis was written with the following aims in mind.

1 To discover how many languages are spoken in the world today, and considering the problems in determining this figure.

2 To provide a comprehensive overview of the language situation in all countries, through the use of maps and explanatory text.

3 To look at the way bilingualism (or language contact) and language distribution have been mapped.

4 Exploring the problems involved in creating language maps - both from the point of view of gathering the data and the practical problems of representing this information cartographically.

5 A critical review of the sources available.

6 To consider how a language situation changes through language decline or revival. What factors determine the survival of a minority language?

A Note on Terminology

The study of language and geolinguistics has many terms and definitions used to represent ideas and concepts within the field. I shall outline the terms used in the following chapters. The descriptions are brief, as the terms are looked at in greater detail in the following chapters.

The first term, and probably the one most often used in the following

chapters, is that of **mother tongue**. I have used 'mother tongue' speakers when referring to the first language learnt by an individual or group. It is not necessarily the language most in use, or the language in which the individual is most proficient. The term mother tongue can also be used to refer to a language which is viewed most positively by it's speakers, or as a mother tongue of a particular country, such as Welsh in Wales, (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 1989). In many cases, the term **first language** is used in a similar way to 'mother tongue' as it also refers to the first language learnt. A **second language** is the second language learnt and spoken. In some cases the second language can be stronger than the mother tongue (or first language), and used to a greater extent. Neither of the terms refer to the amount of use of a particular language, only to the chronological order in which they were learnt.

Those who speak only their mother tongue (or first language) are known as **monolingual**. A monolingual is a person who can only communicate in one language. Those with a knowledge in more than one language are known as **bilingual, trilingual** or **multilingual**. In many cases, I have included figures on the number of bilinguals within a country. These figures refer to those individuals who are able to speak two languages. Although defining bilingualism is not a straightforward matter, and must include issues of fluency, ability and use of the languages, in the following chapters it is used as a blanket term, irrespective of degree of ability or extent of use. It is used only to refer to those persons able to speak two (or more) languages, irrespective of their ability. Individuals who are able to speak or communicate in three languages are known as trilingual. Multilinguals are those able to speak three or more languages. In the literature, the term 'bilingual' is often used as an umbrella term to include bilinguals and multilinguals. (J. Edwards, 1994)

Bilinguals can be examined as individuals and in groups (societal terms). It is used when looking at the use of two languages within an individual, and also at the use of languages in society. What is described above is the language ability of individuals. When looking at a group or community, the ability to communicate in more than one language is known as **societal bilingualism** or **diglossia.** Societal bilingualism refers to the co-existence of two or more languages used by groups within society, which must be

distinguished from language contact between individuals. Societal bilingualism does not necessarily imply that that all members of the society or country are bilingual. In some officially multilingual countries (such as Belgium), a majority of the population are monolingual. This is because the languages are separated territorially by fairly fixed boundary lines. In most cases however, societal bilingualism refers to groups of bilinguals in a particular region. (Baker, 1996)

The different language groups are known as **language communities**. When different language communities live in the same region or country, the 'contact' between them is know as **language contact**. 'Language communities' is generally used in the following chapters when referring to those speaking a language other than the official language; a community which is relatively small in number when compared to the number of official language speakers. The term 'language community' can also be used to describe groups of majority language speakers, such as an English language community, which includes all the English speakers in the UK, for example.

A **community language** is the language used by a particular community within a region. As in the case of the UK, a community language often refers to the language spoken by an ethnic minority group. These languages are not always indigenous to the country, but rather the language of an in-migrant population.

In most countries there is a recognised **official language**. The official language of a country is generally used in government, education and the media. In many publications, the term **national language** is also used, with no clear distinction made between this term and the term 'official language'. In many cases, the two different terms were used by different sources when referring to the same language. The difference between these two terms must be clarified. In a multilingual country, there may be a recognised official language (or languages), and also several national languages. In Angola (for example) the official language is Portuguese, with six African languages having the status of national languages. The official language is the one used in government and education, and as in many African countries, is the language of former colonial rulers. National languages are

often indigenous languages, and although they do not have the same status as an official language, they may have an important symbolic status for national pride.

In most countries, several language communities co-exist. The languages may have a different status (such as the official and national languages) and often have different uses. The different uses of languages in a bilingual society is known as **diglossia**. One language, perhaps the official, may be used in a formal context, with a second language used in more informal situation, such as in the home.

A language of high status is sometimes known as the **majority language**. This term has varying meanings. On the one had it may refer to an official language with high status, but which is not necessarily the most widely used. The term may also be used to refer to the language spoken by the majority of the population. In the following chapters, the term majority language is used when referring to the most widely spoken languages, whether or not they are the official languages. A **minority language** is a language used by a minority of the population. Often a minority language is one of low status and prestige. (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1977)

In many parts of the world (e.g. the Caribbean) where languages are in contact, a system of communication known as **pidgin** has developed. A pidgin language is not the native language of any person, but rather a mixture of languages, sometimes with a limited vocabulary. Pidgin languages have developed mainly where language communities do not share a common language through which they can communicate in order to trade. Most pidgins are based on European languages, such as English, French or Portuguese. When a pidgin language expands and becomes the lingua franca of a population, it develops a more formal role. As it is adopted as a mother tongue, the pidgin becomes a **creole**. The development from being a pidgin to a creole involves an expansion in the vocabulary and complexity of the language. (Arends, Muysken & Smith, 1994)

In such cases, the movement to using a different language is often at the expense of another. When this happens, (and not only between pidgins and creoles), it is known as a **language shift**. This not only occurs within a

language community, but also within an individual. In literature, the term language shift is generally used when referring to the decline in the use of a language (a downward shift). If the number of speakers is relatively stable, the term **language maintenance** is used. This stability involves the continuing use of a minority language in both adults and children, (Baker, 1996). The process of reversing a downward language shift through promoting it's use and range of functions in the community is known as **language revival**. If all the speakers of a language move to using another language to the extent that few or no mother tongue speakers exist, the language will eventually decline and die. The term **language death** is used to describe a language which is no longer spoken and used as a means of communication.

In many cases, the shift from one language to another is caused by political, social and economic changes within the language community and the country in which they live. The study of the regional distribution of languages in relation to factors such as these is known as **geolinguistics**. Geolinguistics aims to study the distribution, change and environment of languages, and record these changes in the form of maps, diagrams and text. (Williams, 1988)

Having discussed terminology, this thesis now moves on to the first chapter - *An Overview of Languages in the World.* This chapter aims to provide a broad picture of the number of languages spoken and considers the problems in trying to find an accurate total. In chapters two to ten, I have attempted to provide an outline of the language situation in every country of the world. In particular, I have tried to include details such as: size of population, official language, number of minority languages - and the size of their population, language use, and also in many cases providing a historical background to the present language situation. In the concluding chapter, the problems of creating language maps, and their importance in analysing the dynamic nature of language, is considered.

Chapter One - An Overview of World Languages

How many languages are there in the world?

Should one wish to discover how many languages are spoken in the world, and turn to appropriate references, the conclusion would quickly be reached that there is no one figure available. There is no agreement as to the number of languages in the world, and the figures given are often estimates which vary from as few as three thousand to as many as ten thousand languages (Crystal 1992, p 284). Ten thousand seems an unlikely high figure, and most estimates vary between three to six thousand. Before considering why there is such uncertainty on the number of living languages, I shall present some of the figures found in the main sources used in this thesis.

References such as Comrie (1991), do not attempt to identify all the languages of the world, but rather the three hundred which he considered to be the worlds major languages. These are mainly the languages with the greatest number of speakers, or languages of special interest. In the introduction, however, he estimates the number of languages to be some 4,000. This, he admits, is a conservative estimate, made in the hope of avoiding contradiction. Ruhlen's (1991) *A Guide to the World's Languages* lists roughly five thousand languages in an attempt to classify most of the world's languages, and W.F. Mackay (1991) estimates that there are 6170 living languages in the world. Works such as Comrie (1991), which classify languages are, often based on previous works, such as Voegelin & Voegelin's *Classification of the World's Languages* (1979). In this book, Voegelin & Voegelin (1979) identify 20,000 languages and dialects, grouped into 4,500 living languages.

Two of the main highly scholarly sources of information used in the following chapters were Moseley's & Asher's *Atlas of the World's Languages* (1994), and Grimes' *Ethnologue* (1992). Both these books attempt to identify all the languages of the world. *The Ethnologue* is long and comprehensive list of all the world's countries, while Moseley and Asher's, (1994) publication is more centred on mapping.

Moseley & Asher (1994) list some 6,620 languages in the index of their book. This is not a correct figure of the living languages of the world, but rather a list of all the languages included on the maps. There are several maps, especially of South America, which are 'time of contact' maps. This means that they represent the native or indigenous languages spoken at the time of first contact between South American Indians and European explorers. These maps differ greatly to the present day language maps. Due to the diseases and destruction colonisation brought, many tribes and with them their languages, disappeared. For example, map 20 (p82) shows the languages present at the 'time of contact' in the Caribbean region. 212 languages are mapped, compared to 119 on the 'contemporary' map - (map 14 p78). This pattern is repeated when comparing present day maps and 'time of contact' maps. The index, therefore, includes many languages long since extinct.

In order to find out Moseley & Asher's estimate of living languages we need to exclude these extinct languages from the list. By looking only at present day maps, I conclude that some 5866 living languages are shown in this book, - some 400 less than maps representing the situation in the early 19th century. In the table below, the languages have been divided between nine regions, the countries included in each region being the same as in the following chapters.

Regions of the World	Estimated number of living languages
Asia	1484
Central America	176
Caribbean	0*
South America	427
North America	358
Europe	181
Middle East	132
Africa	1977
Oceania	1131
TOTAL	**5866**

(based on Moseley and Asher, 1994)

Note: * No detailed maps of the Caribbean countries are provided in *The Atlas of World Languages*

These figures were calculated mostly from the maps and in some regions the accompanying text. The total number of languages spoken does seem fairly high, although I have attempted to avoid double counting a language which was present on more than one map. Many languages (especially in Africa) were not included on the maps, but rather listed in the accompanying text - due to lack of information on distribution or location of speakers. The region with the greatest number of languages spoken is Africa with 1977, followed by Asia with 1484. These two regions are recognised as being fairly linguistically complex, especially regions such as Papua New Guinea in Asia - which has some 800 known languages. Within these regions, new languages are frequently discovered in remote areas or among little studied communities.

The difficulty in precision in estimates of the numbers of languages in the world is represented in the changing total of world languages in different editions of *The Ethnologue*. The total number of languages listed in the 1992 edition is 6528, a net gain of 360 languages since the previous edition. The latest edition, of 1996, again increases, this time by 175 - bringing the overall total to 6703. Grimes explains this as the result of better information, ' based on surveys and other research... In most cases the new languages are not languages not previously unknown to outsiders, but ones which had been thought to be dialects of another language.' (Grimes 1992, p7) This is also indicated in the following table:

	1992		**1996**	
Americas	949	15%	1000	15%
Africa	1995	30%	2011	30%
Europe	209	3%	225	3%
Asia	2034	31%	2165	32%
Pacific	1341	21%	1302	19%
TOTAL	**6528**		**6703**	

(Grimes, 1992)

The Ethnologue (1992) divides the countries of the world into five regions; The Americas, Africa, Europe, Asia and the Pacific. In order to make a comparison between Grimes' (1996) figures and those derived from Moseley and Asher's (1994) work, it is necessary to group the countries into slightly different regions. The countries included in the following categories

correspond to the way the countries have been grouped in the following chapters. For example, whereas Grimes counts both South America and North America as one region, I wished to separate the figures for these regions. Determining these figures involved counting the number of languages in each country, while trying to avoid duplication. This proved rather difficult, as one language can appear under a dozen or so countries. An obvious example of this is English, which has a population of speakers in the majority of the world's countries. The following table shows my calculation of the number of languages spoken in each region, based on *The Ethnologue* (1992).

	Sign Languages	**Pidgins and Creoles**	**All Other Languages**	
Asia	17	12	1982	
Central America	5	2	312	
Caribbean	2	9	11	(26)
South America	7	13	437	
North America	7	7	225	
Europe	26	0	207	
Middle East	3	0	108	(33)
Africa	9	21	1967	(15)
Oceania	4	10	1340	(7)
TOTAL	**80**	**74**	**6508**	

(based on Grimes, 1992)

Due to the fact that I counted the languages of each region separately, it must be the case that figures overlap slightly. For example, Central America, The Caribbean and South America have 312, 11 and 437 languages spoken in each region respectively. If the three regions were combined, the total number of languages needs to be reduced by at least twenty six languages. This is due to the fact that some languages exist in many countries. For this reason, all the figures in brackets on this table are those which need to be deducted from the overall total. My overall total is slightly lower than the figure given by *The Ethnologue* (1992). This may be due to the fact that I did not count some languages that were classed as 'nearly extinct', or because I counted two dialects as one language, where *The Ethnologue* has two separate entries.
A detailed critique of these sources is provided in the concluding chapter of this thesis.

Providing an Accurate Figure of Languages in the World

As we have seen in the above section of this chapter there seems to be much disagreement as to the total number of living languages. Why is there such uncertainty? What prevents us from providing an accurate figure? In answering these questions, three main problems need to be considered.

1 Changing Circumstances

The number of languages know to be spoken in the world is always changing. An increase can occur through new languages being discovered in remote, unresearched areas of the world. There are many parts of the world which have not yet been completely studied: the Amazon basin, for example, or linguistically complex areas such as Papua New Guinea. However, as very few languages are discovered in this way, many more are likely to be found through investigation of languages and dialects all ready known. In an area whose languages have not been extensively analysed, it may have been assumed that what is spoken by the people in question is one language and a number of dialects. Further study may reveal that the 'dialect' is found to be so different that it is more correctly recognised as a separate language.

Not only may the number of known living languages increase, but it may also decrease. All over the world, there are many languages on the verge of extinction. People may shift away from using one language to using another, or (more extremely) the population of a language community may die out. In recent centuries, the movement of Europeans into areas such as the Americas and Australia has not only led to the spread of known living languages, but has also accelerated the death of many languages indigenous to these areas. Kaufman (in Asher and Simpson, 1994) estimates that the indigenous population of South America fell from 22 million to one million in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the time when Europeans moved to the continent. This dramatic decrease in the population must have resulted in numerous languages also dying out as happened in Brazil where, in the nineteenth century, over a thousand Indian languages dropped to fewer than 200 (Crystal, 1992). The indigenous population was reduced by the Europeans, both by their weapons and by the diseases they brought. As recently as 1962, newly introduced diseases destroyed a community, and with it, the language. The language Trumai,

spoken only in one village in Venezuela was reduced to having less that ten speakers by an influenza epidemic (Crystal, 1992).

The number of languages spoken in the world may also decrease when speakers of a language stop using it in favour of another. This shift away from a language often occurs for social or economic reasons. In the case of South America, the in-migration of Europeans resulted in the introduction of many European languages to the continent. This is reflected today in the fact that Spanish is the official language of almost all South American countries.

Wurm (1996) believes that there are currently some three thousand languages which should be classed as endangered, seriously endangered or dying. He believes that many other languages, although still viable, are also showing signs of being potentially endangered.

2 Identifying Different Languages

Most of the world's major languages are generally known by one single name, which is still fairly easily identified when translated into other languages, such as English, French or Spanish. It is a simplistic view, that English is spoken by the English, French by the French, and so on. Although different varieties of English are spoken in different regions of the world, such as in America or Australia, it is still recognised as the same language.

When counting the number of less well known languages, the situation is not so straight forward. Crystal (1992) identifies several problems concealed in differentiating between languages based on name only. The first extreme case he gives is that of a language which has no specific name. Many communities simply call their language by a word for 'our language' or 'our people' (Crystal, 1992), for example the name Bantu in Africa. Bantu is a name given to a whole family of languages, which means 'people'. This causes some problems when trying to identify different languages by simply asking people, 'what language do you speak?', as different languages are known by the same name.

Crystal's second example is at the other extreme, a language which has several names. It may be known by one name by some speakers, and by

another name in a neighbouring language community, and by yet a different name by those in different countries. In an attempt to overcome this problem Grimes (1992) provides a three letter code for each separate language, listing all known names for the language in the entry.

Part of the problem of sorting out the names of different languages is tied to the problem of defining 'what is a language and what is a dialect'.

3 Defining a Language

Determining the number of languages in the world involves deciding when different speech varieties are to be considered different languages or dialects of a language. Although on a purely linguistic basis this may not seem to pose too much of a problem, in reality deciding what is a language and what is a dialect is often affected by political and social factors.

Based on linguistic criteria, a deciding factor often used in discriminating between a language and a dialect is that of mutual intelligibility. If people seem to understand each other then they speak the same language. Or if they don't understand each other, then they must be speaking two different languages. Problems with this criterion arise when dialects of the same language are not mutually intelligible, or when mutually intelligible languages are referred to as different languages, (Asher & Simpson, 1994).

An example of this is the case of Bulgarian and Macedonian. Different political bodies disagree as to the status of Macedonian. The two languages are closely related, and in Macedonia, both are given the status of separate languages, with Macedonian being the official language of the country. In Bulgaria, however, Macedonian is not recognised as a separate language, but as a dialect of Bulgarian, (Grimes, 1992). This distinction is not based on linguistic criteria, but rather on the political agenda of the neighbouring governments.

Another example in Europe of mutually intelligible languages known as different languages is that of Dutch and German. The most northern dialects of German are mutually unintelligible to the most southern, while dialects of German spoken close to the Dutch border are mutually intelligible to the northern dialects (Comrie, 1991). The criteria for determining which

languages are separate relates mainly to social factors. The factors that determine which dialects belong to which language (Dutch or German) is decided not linguistically, but rather due to the area where the dialect is spoken. This example can also be applied to languages such as Danish, Norwegian and Swedish, all of which could be considered mutually intelligible dialects of the same language, based only on linguistic criteria. Politically, expression of similarity is not acceptable.

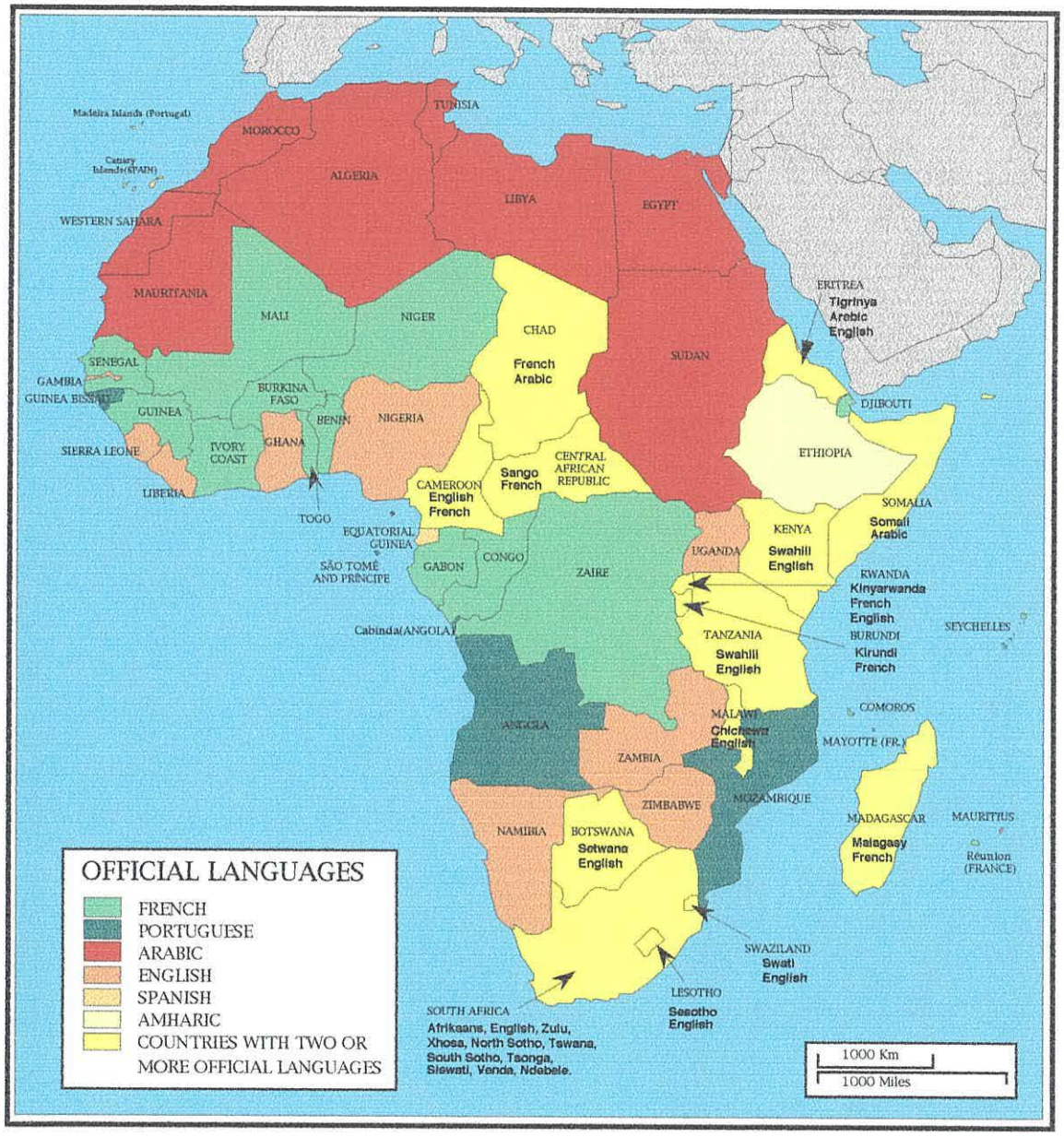
The link between different languages in this manner is known as a dialect continuum, which refers to a chain of languages spoken throughout an area. Adjacent dialects understand each other, when those further apart in the 'chain' are not able to understand each other, (Crystal, 1992). The two end points of this chain may be dialects so different from one another that there is no mutual intelligibility. Another example of this is given by Ruhlen (1991). Both Italian and French have historically comprised numerous regional dialects that alter gradually from one region to the next, 'from a form of speech that was clearly Italian to one that was unmistakably French.' (Ruhlen 1991,p7) Although neighbouring regions could communicate with no difficulty, the two ends of the chain of dialects were not mutually intelligible.

At what point in the chain does one language end and another begin? Comrie, (1991) suggests that there is no way of resolving this problem, making it impossible to answer the question how many languages are spoken in the world. The answer is that it all depends on what you mean by a language.

In the following chapters I shall look at the language situation in all countries of the world: providing a brief history, where relevant to the language situation; the size of the population, the majority languages; the minority languages; and the status given to the languages in each country.

Chapter 2 - AFRICA

Map 2:1 Official Languages of Africa



Algeria

The Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria, formerly a French colony, gained independence in 1962, following the war against France. The population of 28.5 million (CIA, 1995) is of Arab, Berber or mixed Arab-Berber ancestry. After 1962, the majority of the one million Europeans resident in Algeria left the country, and now less than one percent of the population is of European origin. A diglossic situation exists in Algeria, as in other Arabic speaking countries. Modern Standard Arabic is the official language, used in public, official, formal and written contexts, while colloquial dialects of Arabic are spoken as a mother tongue and used in informal contexts by the majority of the population. (Classical Arabic is the

language of Islamic worship). Most of the remainder of the population speak dialects of Berber, the original indigenous language of a large part of North Africa. There are no accurate figures for the numbers of Berber speakers, since the language has no official status. Estimates for the number of speakers range at between 13 percent and 42 percent of the total population (Dj. Djouadi, 1994). Almost all Berber speakers also speak Arabic and thus are classed as Arabic speakers. Since 1988, Berber has received some government support. Two newspapers in Berber exist and there is news in Berber on television twice a day. Also, cultural societies and centres have been established to promote the teaching and popularisation of Berber language and culture.

French still enjoys a high status in Algeria. It is the first foreign language and is still widely read and spoken by many educated Algerians. National radio has a French station. The only TV channel is in Arabic with some French material. The majority of newspapers and magazines are in French, and French is widely used in higher education. Scientific material in school and university text books is almost exclusively in French, while Arabic is the medium of primary education. A law to Arabise local administration, business, politics and the media from July, 1992 was postponed indefinitely, because it was felt that the necessary conditions for adequate implementation of the law did not yet exist (Dj. Djouadi, 1994). English is also a recognized foreign language in Algeria and is gaining in prestige.

Angola

The People's Republic of Angola was formerly part of Portuguese West Africa. The country gained independence from Portugal in 1975 after 14 years of guerrilla warfare and a brutal civil war. The population in 1995 was estimated at 10 million (CIA, 1995). Because of the devastation and social unrest caused by sporadic warfare since independence, it is not easy to assess the language situation in Angola. It is estimated that there are more than 90 ethnic groups in Angola, and numerous local languages are spoken. Over 90 percent of the population speak Bantu languages. There are three major ethnolinguistic groups, the Ovimbundu (37 percent) in the central and southern regions, the Kimbundu (25 percent) in Luanda and the east, and the Kikongo (13 percent) in the north (Grimes, 1992).

Portuguese is the official language of the country, used in the media, government and education, and spoken by younger people and educated people especially in the larger towns of the coastal area. Prolonged contact with African languages has given rise to two way language borrowing. Local varieties of Portuguese have evolved, heavily influenced by indigenous languages, and the local African languages have borrowed from Portuguese.

Most Portuguese left the country after independence and less than 80 thousand remain. In addition, there are about 180 thousand *mesticos* (people of mixed Portuguese-African ancestry). Six African languages have the status of national languages, and are used in adult literacy programs, radio and television. These are Kikongo, Kimbundu, Chokwe, Umbundu,

Mbunda-Ngangela and Kwanyama (E. Bonvini, 1994).

Benin

The Republic of Benin is a former French colony, with a population of 5.5 million (CIA, 1995). Over 50 language varieties are spoken, some of them closely related with a high degree of mutual intelligibility, and all having equal status as non-official national languages. The four main indigenous languages are Yoruba, Fon, Gen and Bariba. The official language is French, used in government, administration, education and the media. Some television programs are shown in the four main indigenous languages. There are rural radio broadcasts in 18 national languages. Increasing use is being made of national languages in education (Hazoumé, 1994).

Botswana

The Republic of Botswana has a population of 1.4 million (CIA, 1995). A former British Protectorate, it gained its independence in 1966. Twenty five African languages are spoken in Botswana, but the majority language, Setswana, a Bantu language, is the mother tongue of some 85 percent of the population and is spoken as a second language by a further nine percent. Kalanga is spoken by a small minority group of 120,000 (Sim, 1994). English and Setswana are the official languages and both are used in the media. Setswana is the medium of instruction in the first years of primary schooling, while English is used thereafter.

Burkina Faso

Burkina Faso, formerly the French colony of Upper Volta, achieved independence in 1960. Burkina Faso has a population of 10.4 million (CIA, 1995) and is a country of great ethnic and linguistic diversity. It is estimated that approximately 60 languages are spoken in the country, and 18 have been designated as national languages (Coulibaly, 1994). Thirteen languages are used on radio together with French, the official language. The three most important languages are Moore (Mossi), spoken as a first or second language by over half the population, mainly in the centre of the country; Jula (a Mande variety), spoken in the West, and Fufulde (a variety of Fula), spoken in the East. These three languages are used over a wide area as lingua francas. Inhabitants of large towns tend to be multilingual, while bilingualism in the mother tongue and one of the main lingua francas is common. French, the language of education, government and administration, is only spoken competently by about 10 percent of the population (Coulibaly, 1994).

Burundi

Burundi, formerly administered by Belgium as part of Rwanda-Urundi (see Rwanda), became an independent monarchy in 1962. It has a population of

6.26 million (CIA, 1995). French and Rundi (Kirundi) are the two official languages. Rundi is the same language as Rwanda (Kinyarwanda). Rwanda-Rundi is the Bantu language with the greatest number of first language speakers. Rundi is the mother tongue of over 99 percent of the population in Burundi. It is the first language of the Hutu (89 percent), Tutsi (10 percent) and Twa (less than one percent). Only one other recorded language variety exists as a mother tongue in Burundi, namely Hima, spoken by a few thousand speakers. Swahili is spoken as a second language by an estimated 10 percent of the population (Sim, 1994). French is the language of education.

Cameroon

The Republic of Cameroon consists of the former French Cameroons (East Cameroon) and British Cameroons (West Cameroon) which gained independence in 1960 and 1961 respectively. East Cameroon and West Cameroon were joined in 1972. Cameroon, with a population of 13.5 million (CIA, 1995), is a multilingual and multiethnic society. It is estimated that there are about 140-150 ethnic groups in Cameroon, speaking numerous languages and dialects, possibly as many as 300 (Connell, 1994). English and French are the official languages, used in government and education, but French predominates, with the use of English being confined to the smaller Western region.

Because of the complex linguistic situation in Cameroon, bilingualism or multilingualism is the norm for the population. No one indigenous language predominates, although three are widely spoken. Fula or Fufulde, spoken in the northern part of the country, has over half a million first language speakers, and is used as a second language by up to four million others (Grimes, 1992). Ewondo, the language of the capital, Yaounde, has over half a million first language speakers, the largest number of native speakers of any Cameroonian language, and is the lingua franca of the central region. Duala has less than 100 thousand first language speakers but is widely used as a second language in the western region. However, the main lingua franca of the country is Cameroon Pidgin English. It is spoken predominantly as a second language by approximately two million people in the southwest and northwest provinces, but it is widely used in other areas, particularly major cities (Grimes, 1992). Linguists have identified six major subvarieties of Cameroon Pidgin. Other Cameroonian languages have pidginized versions as second languages, for instance, Ewondo Populaire, a pidginized form of Ewondo spoken around Yaounde.

The fact that the territory of the Cameroon was formerly controlled by Britain and France means that there are varying attitudes towards use of indigenous languages in education. Following the tradition of the French, the government has given little importance to the use of indigenous languages in education. However, in the area of the former British colony, many private schools (usually mission schools) educate children in the local language for at least the first years of primary schooling.

Canary Islands

The Canary Islands comprise seven main islands and several smaller islands, most of which are uninhabited. The islands have been a Spanish possession since 1479 and are now divided into two autonomous provinces. The official language and main language of the population of approximately one million is Spanish. The indigenous Berber language has long been extinct. (CIA, 1995)

Cape Verde Islands

The Republic of Cape Verde comprises the Cape Verde Islands, located in the North Atlantic ocean, west of Senegal (not shown on map). The former Portuguese colony gained independence in 1975 and has a total population of about 435 thousand (CIA, 1995). The majority of the population are of mixed African and European descent and are known as Creoles or *mesticos*. The official language is Portuguese, but the first language of 70 percent of the population and the main lingua franca is Crioulo, a Portuguese based Creole. The remainder of the population speak African languages, Balanta or Manjaku (Asher and Simpson, 1994).

Central African Republic

Prior to independence in 1960, the Central African Republic was a French colony. It is estimated that about 50 indigenous languages are spoken. About 90 percent of the population of over 3.2 million (CIA, 1995) also speak Sango, an Ubangi language that spread throughout the country during the colonial era. Sango is spoken as a first language by much of the urban population and a second language by almost the entire rural population. Sango became a national language in 1964 and an official language in 1991. French has been the official language of the Central African Republic since 1959 (Koyt, 1994). French is the medium of education in school and an important subject, but few people attain a high level of competence in it. French is used exclusively in written administration, but Sango is being increasingly used for official oral communication. Both French and Sango are used on radio and television but Sango predominates on radio and French on television. Official newspapers are in French. Since 1992, there has been an official policy of state bilingualism, encouraging the increasing use of Sango, particularly written Sango, in a variety of public spheres, including education.

Chad

The Republic of Chad was formerly a French colony which became independent in 1960. The population (CIA, 1995) is 5.6 million. The country is home to numerous ethnic groups speaking over a hundred languages and dialects. Most of these are African languages, but dialects of Arabic are widely spoken in Chad. About half the population speak Arabic as a first or second language (Grimes, 1992). A form of pidginized Arabic is used as a

trade language.

Until 1979, French was the only official language, used in education and government. Since 1979, French and Arabic have been joint official languages, but in practice, French continues to be used as the language of administration, the media and the medium of instruction at all levels of education. Some Arabic medium primary schools and institutions of higher education exist, particularly in major urban centres. Chad national radio broadcasts in French, Arabic and eight African languages. All the languages of Chad have equal status as national languages and are used in local administration, regional agricultural training centres and health clinics (Khamis, 1994).

Comoros

The Federal Islamic Republic of the Comoros gained its independence in 1975. It was formerly under the joint control of France and Madagascar. The Republic consists of three main islands, Njazidja, Nzwani and Mwali. A fourth island, Mayotte (Mahore), chose to remain under French administration. The Comorian people are of mixed Black African, Malagasy and Arab descent, reflecting the diverse waves of settlers. The official languages are Arabic and French, but the native language of the majority of the population is Comorian or Shafi Islam, a blend of Swahili and Arabic. Comorian is closely related to the Swahili of mainland Africa, but mutual intelligibility between the two is limited (Asher and Simpson, 1994). Education at primary and secondary level is through the medium of French. The population is 549 thousand (CIA, 1995).

Congo

The Republic of Congo was a French colony until 1960. The population of 2.5 million consists of numerous ethnic groups, speaking a great variety of languages and dialects. The Kongo peoples constitute about half the population. Other major ethnic groups include the Teke and Sanga. French is the official language, but approximately 60 vernaculars have been recorded (Bokoumaka, 1994).

Nearly all Congolese are at least bilingual, and many are multilingual. Several languages are used as lingua francas and trade languages between ethnic groups. Lingala is widely used in the centre and north, and Munukutuba (a Kongo based creole) is the main lingua franca of the south. Both are widely used on radio and television and also in trade, small businesses and adult literacy programs. Several of the most important indigenous languages possess considerable bodies of literature, including religious literature. French is currently the medium of education at all levels but several indigenous languages are promoted in education (Bokoumaka, 1994).

Djibouti

Djibouti was formerly known as the French Territory of the Afars and the Issas. It became independent in 1977. This small country had an d population of 421 thousand in 1995 (CIA, 1995). The two principal ethnolinguistic groups are the Afar in the north (about 37 percent of the population) and the Issa in the south (about 47 percent), (Appleyard, 1994). The latter are closely related to the people of Somalia, and speak a Somali variety which belongs to the northern cluster on which Standard Somali is based. French is the official language of the country, but both Afar and Somali are used on radio and both have the status of written languages. Arabic is spoken by 12 percent of the population, chiefly by traders from Yemen (Appleyard, 1994).

Egypt

The Arab Republic of Egypt has a population of over 62 million (CIA, 1995). Most Egyptians are of mixed ancestry, having descended from Arab settlers and the indigenous pre-Arab population. A diglossic situation exists in Egypt, as in other Arabic speaking countries. Modern Standard Arabic is the official language, used in public, official, formal and written contexts, while colloquial dialects of Arabic are spoken as a mother tongue and used in informal contexts by almost the entire population. (Classical Arabic, the language of the Qur'an, is used in the mosque). The Egyptian Copts, a Christian minority, represent five percent of the population (CIA,1995). The Coptic language, the direct descendant of the ancient Egyptian language, has ceased to be used as a daily language, and the Copts speak Arabic as their mother tongue. Coptic is still used as a liturgical language in Coptic churches, but Arabic is used for sermons and Bible readings. The Nubians, living south of the Aswan, speak the Nubian language, which is also spoken in the Sudan. There are no official figures but it has been estimated that there may be as many as 250,000 Nubians living in Egypt. Small minorities of Italians, Greeks and Armenians live in the major cities. The 15 thousand inhabitants of the Siwa Oasis, near the Libyan border, speak a dialect with a Libyan Berber component (Parkinson, 1994).

Egypt counts itself a francophone country, so French is the language of choice, when, for instance, diplomatic invitations are issued. But in practice, English is the dominant second language in the media and education. One prestigious university in Egypt, the American University in Cairo, teaches in English.

Equatorial Guinea

The Republic of Equatorial Guinea, a former Spanish colony, gained its independence in 1968. It consists of a mainland region, Mbini, and five offshore islands. The small country has a population of only 420 thousand (CIA, 1995) but the linguistic situation is complex and multilingualism is common. Spanish is the official language, used in administration,

education and broadcasting. It is also used increasingly as a lingua franca. Six Bantu languages are spoken, and several creoles, notably Pidgin English (Weskos), which is spoken in major towns. French has become increasingly used, because of the influence of neighbouring countries (Chia, 1994).

Eritrea

Eritrea was an Italian colony between 1890 and 1941, and was then under British mandate between 1941 and 1951. It was forcibly annexed by Ethiopia in 1962, but regained its independence in 1993. The population in 1995 was estimated at 3.5 million (CIA, 1995), including one million refugees. The majority are speakers of the Semitic language Tigrinya. The official languages are Tigrinya, Arabic and English.

Ethiopia

Map 2:2 Some Indigenous Languages of Ethiopia

The Republic of Ethiopia had an estimated population of almost 56 million in 1995, although this includes Eritrea which became independent in 1993 (CIA, 1995). The Ethiopian government estimate was 53.2 million inhabitants in the Republic in 1993. Two factors in the 1990s contributed to slight population changes in Ethiopia. Due to drought and war, over half a million refugees fled from Sudan and Somalia into Ethiopia by 1990 and as many as 1.5 million Ethiopian refugees had moved to Sudan and Somalia. Also, in 1993, the province of Eritrea gained its independence.

Between 70 and 100 languages are spoken in Ethiopia, with the most linguistic variety in the South West. The main languages are Amharic,

Oromo, Tigrinya and Somali, with Amharic as the lingua franca being spoken as a first language by approximately 28 percent of the population and as a second language by a further 40 percent (Sim, 1994). Amharic is the language of the original inhabitants of Ethiopia, and its predecessor, Ge'ez (sometimes spelt Giiz), is still used as a liturgical language of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, to which just over half the population belong. A third of Ethiopians are Muslims, using Arabic in their worship.

Ethiopia was relatively untouched by European colonialism, being the only African country that was not colonised by Europeans in the nineteenth century. This factor, plus the presence of the Ethiopian Orthodox (Coptic) Christian tradition have affected the linguistic history of the country.

Only a minority of Ethiopians attend formal education (approximately 20 percent attend primary school and 12 percent attend secondary school). Thus languages are often transmitted informally in the community, and in relationships across communities, with many people becoming bilingual or multilingual without formal education. Bilingualism and multilingualism are the norm in Ethiopia.

Until 1974, Amharic was the sole national and official language, with English also being officially recognized. Amharic tends to be the language of government, the legal code and courts, and is dominant in the mass media. However, since 1974, official policy has acknowledged the equality of all the country's languages and recognized 15 regional languages: Afar, Amharic, Gurage, Hadiyya, Kambatta, Kefa-Mocha, Kunama, Oromo, Saho, Sidama, Silti, Somali, Tigre, Tigrinya, and Welaita. Since 1976, there have been mass literacy campaigns in rural areas, using these 15 regional languages. English appears on currency and postage stamps alongside Amharic, but is spoken by only a small educated minority of people.

The use of Amharic has increased during the 20th century, both as a first and second language, and in multilingual urban areas there has been a shift to Amharic as a mother tongue. The main reasons for the spread of Amharic have been urbanisation, the media and education.

Mother Tongue Speakers in Ethiopia

Language	Estimated Percentage of Population	Estimated Size in Millions
Oromo	29.1	15.48
Amharic	28.3	15.06
Tigrinya	9.7	5.16
Gurage	4.5	2.39
Somali	3.8	2.02
Sidama	3.0	1.60
Welaita	2.6	1.38
Others	19.0	10.11
Total	100	53.2

(National Office of Population, 1993)

The 1994 Ethiopian Language Policy

Following internal wars and struggles in Ethiopia, a new language policy was adopted in 1994, attempting to create an ethnically fairer language policy. The new language policy stipulates the role of Amharic and English as well as other indigenous languages in the school curriculum. The new language policy directed that: (1) the language of primary education would be the language of a region. Thus, to a certain extent, mother tongues are allowed in primary education; (2) Amharic would be taught as the *lingua franca* for communication across Ethiopia, and (3) English would be the medium for secondary and higher education (Bloor and Tamrat, 1996).

This potentially raises the status of local, indigenous mother tongues. The policy also allows such vernaculars to develop writing systems using the Roman Alphabet. Thus, the status of the Ethiopic writing system with its 275 symbols (which is used by most Ethiopians who are literate) has been challenged. The status of mother tongue language and literacy is being raised to try to bring about an accommodation of different ethnic and cultural identities (while also hoping that there will be national cohesiveness and a national identity through the lingua franca).

Since there are between 70 and 100 different languages in Ethiopia, it is not possible to accommodate all minority languages within the primary school system. Many of the minority languages that are used in the primary school initially lack educational materials in mother-tongues, and also an lack a sufficient number of teachers who can teach in and through these minority languages. Such a multilingual policy, while politically more appropriate, is pragmatically challenging.

The new Ethiopian language policy sees mother-tongues having local usage, Amharic being the national language and English the international language. The outcome appears to give English a much greater place in the school system at the expense of Amharic. It may be easier to attain high standards of Amharic oracy and literacy than gaining competence and literacy in English as Amharic has wider usage and more communicative value in Ethiopia. Promoting English in the school system may also produce an English-speaking elite, with a social distance between those who are educated in English and the remainder.

A move away from a centralised nation towards regionalism includes trying to give equal treatment for regional languages. However, the multilingual situation of Ethiopia makes for a complexity that makes language planning difficult and constantly disputed (Bloor and Tamrat, 1996).

Gabon

The Gabonese Republic, formerly part of French Equatorial Africa, gained its independence in 1960. The population of 1.1 million (CIA, 1995) consists of approximately 40 ethnic groups, speaking over 50 languages or dialects, almost all of the Bantu family. The official language is French, used in government, administration and education. Because no widely spoken

lingua francas exist, and because the school attendance rate is high, most individuals have at least some French, and French is increasingly used as a language of wider communication in the country (Blanchon, 1994).

Gambia

The Republic of the Gambia has a population of nearly a million (CIA, 1995) and is one of Africa's smallest nations. The Gambia was a British colony until 1965. Numerous languages are spoken in the Gambia. The main indigenous language is Mandinka (a Mande language), spoken by about 40 percent of the population, living mainly in rural areas. The Fula are the second largest ethnic group in the Gambia, constituting about 12.5 percent of the population. Fula, like Mandinka, is spoken mainly in the rural areas of the interior.

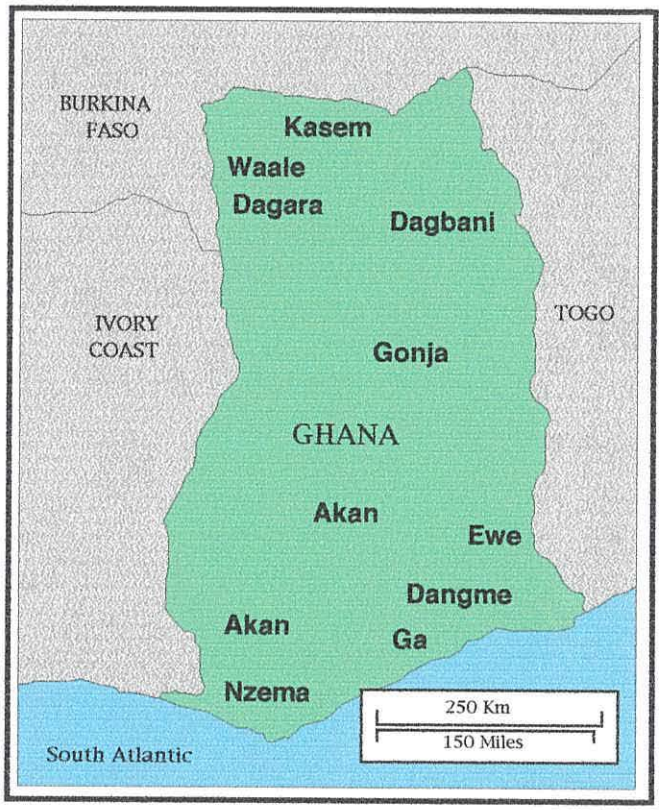
Bilingualism in Mandinka and Fula is common in these rural areas. Another important language is Wolof. Although the Wolof ethnic group constitute only 13 percent of the population (Duran, 1994), they are a powerful and prestigious group, living mainly in urban areas on the coast, including Banjul the capital. Jola is the fourth most widely spoken language in the Gambia (6.5 percent). The Jola are almost always bilingual, also speaking Mandinka. Many urban Jola have adapted to other cultures, especially Wolof and Mandinka, and ceased to use their own language. A small, but economically powerful group are the Aku speakers. Aku is an English based creole, the language of the freed slaves who settled in Banjul in the 19th century.

English is the official language of the Gambia, and the only language used in schools. Radio Gambia broadcasts news and cultural programs regularly in the main local languages.

Ghana

Ghana, formerly the British Colony of the Gold Coast, became independent in 1957. There are about 75 different ethnic groups in Ghana, and each group speaks a different language or dialect. Much of the population of 17.7 million (CIA, 1995) are bilingual or multilingual, especially in urban centres. Most people living in the area where their first language is indigenous speak two or sometimes three languages, while people living outside their 'home' area typically speak three or more. The most important indigenous language is Akan, spoken by about almost half of the population as a first language, and widely used as a lingua franca (Kropp Dakubu, 1994).

Map 2:3 Some Indigenous Languages of Ghana



English is the official language. It is used in government, the media, large-scale commerce and in education. For the first three years of primary school, indigenous languages are used to convey the curriculum, with English being used thereafter. Twelve major indigenous languages or dialects are officially recognized for use in schools: Akan (Asante, Akuapem, and Fante dialects), Ewe, Ga, Dangme, Nzema, Gonja, Dagbani, Dagara, Waale and Kasem. There are some radio and television broadcasts in the major indigenous languages but the majority of broadcasts are in English (Kropp Dakubu, 1994).

Guinea

The Republic of Guinea was formerly a French colony and became independent in 1958. About 25 different languages are spoken by various ethnic groups in the population of approximately 7.7 million (CIA, 1995). The main indigenous language is Futa Jallon, a variety of Pulaar, spoken by about 40 percent of the population in the central plateau. Maninke (a Mande variety) is spoken by 25 percent in the east. Susu is spoken by nearly 10 percent in the coastal areas (Grimes, 1992). The main languages used as lingua francas are Maninke and Futa Jallon. French is the official language, used in education, the media and in government and administration. There are eight national languages: Maninke, Susu, Futa Jallon, Kissi, Basari, Loma, Koniagi, Kpelle (also a Mande language), (Bergman, 1994).

Guinea-Bissau

The Republic of Guinea-Bissau was formerly a Portuguese colony, but gained its independence in 1974. It consists of the mainland and numerous small offshore islands, most of them part of the Bijagos Archipelago. The population is just over 1.1 million (CIA, 1995), and about two dozen vernacular languages are spoken. The three major vernaculars are Balante (the first language of 30 percent of the population, living mainly in the centre), Fula (spoken natively by 20 percent, mainly in the North East) and Mandinka (a Mande variety, mother tongue of 14.5 percent of the population, living mainly in the North East), (Grimes, 1992). The official language of Guinea-Bissau is Portuguese, used in government, media and education, but Crioulo, a Portuguese based Creole, is spoken as a lingua franca by most of the population, and as a first language by many children of ethnically mixed marriages. When the country became independent in 1974 there were plans to develop Crioulo as the national language, but there were also fears that it would restrict access to the rest of the world. Bilingualism is common in the mother tongue and one main indigenous language, or in the mother tongue and Crioulo (Wilson, 1994).

Ivory Coast (Cote D'Ivoire)

The Ivory Coast, a former French colony, became independent in 1960. It has a population of 14.8 million (CIA, 1995), including about three million in-migrant workers and their families. There are more than 60 ethnic groups, speaking many indigenous languages or dialects (N'Guessan, 1994).

French is the official language of the Ivory Coast, and the urban areas have been greatly influenced by French culture. In 1990, there were 3.5 million French speakers, nearly one quarter of the population. It is estimated that more than 60 percent of the population have some competence in French. A higher percentage can speak Popular Ivory Coast French, a kind of pidginized French (N'Guessan, 1994).

In addition to French, two indigenous languages or language clusters are widely used as lingua francas, Jula (a Mande variety) and Anyin-Baoulé. Jula is the lingua franca of the Mande region where it is spoken by at least 60 percent of the population as a first or second language. Anyin-Baoulé is spoken in the South East. It consists of a block of two closely related language varieties (N'Guessan, 1994).

Kenya

The Republic of Kenya gained independence from Britain in 1963. The country had an estimated population of 28.8 million in 1995 (CIA, 1995). About 54 language varieties are spoken in Kenya, some closely related. The five largest groups, with more than a million speakers each, are Kikuyu (20 percent), Luo (14 percent), Luyia (13 percent), Kamba (11 percent) and Kalenjin (6 percent), (Sim, 1994). English and Swahili are the official

languages of Kenya. About 16 percent of the population have some competence in English. Swahili is spoken as a first language mainly in coastal areas, but is spoken as a second language by almost 70 percent of Kenyans. Bilingualism and multilingualism are most common in urban areas where there is more language contact. Official educational policy is to encourage use of the mother tongue for the first years of primary schooling, thereafter making the transition to English. (Sim, 1994)

Lesotho

Lesotho, formerly Basuto Land, was administered by Britain from 1868 until 1966, when it gained its independence. Nearly all the two million inhabitants of the country (CIA, 1995) are ethnic Basothos, and speak Sesotho, a Bantu language. Other Bantu languages such as Zulu and Xhosa are spoken by small minority groups, but speakers of these languages typically speak Sesotho as well.

Sesotho is the medium of education for the first four years of primary school, then English takes over. Since many Basotho have only basic primary education, they remain monolingual in Sesotho. Only a few attain any degree of competence in English. English and Sesotho are the two official languages. English is used in government and administration, but Sesotho is increasingly used in areas such as religion, politics and broadcasting (Matsela, 1994).

Liberia

The Republic of Liberia has its origins in the establishment of settlements in the 1820s by the American Colonisation Society for the repatriation of freed African American slaves to Africa. In 1841, Liberia became an independent republic. It comprised the freed slave settlements and neighbouring territory inhabited by indigenous African ethnic groups. The population was estimated at three million in 1995. (CIA, 1995)

The linguistic situation in Liberia is diverse. At least 27 language varieties have been identified, grouped as 16 separate languages or clusters of closely related languages (Fyle, 1994). The largest groups are Kpelle (a Mande variety), spoken by 20 percent of the population as a first language, and Bassa, spoken by 14 percent. None of the other languages is spoken as a mother tongue by more than eight percent of the population. Five percent of the population are descendants of the emancipated slaves, and speak an English-based creole called Americo-Liberian. Americo-Liberian is widely used as a lingua franca but has no official status. Two other languages used as lingua francas are Vai and Mandingo (both Mande varieties). Because of the linguistic diversity of the country, multilingualism is common. Typically a person may speak up to four languages, for example, English (if educated), Americo-Liberian, Vai or Mandingo and the mother tongue.

The official language of Liberia is English, used in the media, government,

administration and education. Approximately 20 percent of the population are able to speak English (CIA, 1995). The indigenous languages are used on radio and in local administration. A program is underway to make use of all indigenous languages as media of instruction in early primary education.

Libya

The Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah comprises the former Italian colonies of Tripolitania, Cyrenaic and Fezzan. The country became an independent republic in 1951. The indigenous population is of mixed Berber and Arab ancestry. Arabic is the sole official language, and the native language of the vast majority of the 5.2 million citizens (CIA, 1995). An estimated four percent of the population speak dialects of Berber, mainly in the few Berber speaking villages in the south and west. Berber was the original indigenous language before the arrival of the Arabic-speaking peoples. Fifteen to twenty percent of the population consists of foreign workers and their families (CIA, 1995).

A diglossic situation exists in Libya, as in many other Arabic speaking countries. Modern Standard Arabic is used as the official language, in government, public life, media and education. Colloquial Arabic dialects are used in spoken, informal contexts. (Classical Arabic, the language of the Qu'ran, is used in Islamic worship).

In Libya, English has become a most important foreign language. It is used as a means of instruction in science at college and university level. Both English and Italian are used in trade, and are widely understood in major cities, but the period of Italian colonisation made little linguistic impact on the population as a whole (Holes, 1994).

Madagascar

The Democratic Republic of Madagascar comprises the main island of Madagascar and several small islands. It was a French colony until 1960. The vast majority of the population of approximately 13.8 million (CIA, 1995) are of mixed Malayo-Indonesian, African and Arabic descent. There are 18 main ethnic groups, comprising 98 percent of the population, but they all speak the same language, Malagasy, a Malayo-Polynesian language, that has been influenced by Bantu languages and by Arabic and French (Asher and Simpson, 1994). There are four main minority groups which together number less than 100,000: French, Cormorians, South Asians (most of whom speak Gujarati) and Chinese. Malagasy and French are the official languages. Since independence, the official use of Malagasy has increased. Both Malagasy and French are used as media of instruction in schools and at university. Government publications appear in Malagasy and French, and both languages are used in broadcasting.

Malawi

Malawi (formerly Nyasaland) was under British colonial rule until 1964, when it gained its independence. It is estimated that 13 indigenous languages are spoken in Malawi, The 1966 population census indicated that Chichewa was the majority language, spoken as a native language by 50.2 percent of the population and as a second language by a further 25 percent (Timpunza Mvula, 1994). The present population is estimated at over 9.6 million (CIA, 1995), not including refugees.

In 1968, Chichewa and English became official languages of Malawi, while minority languages were still encouraged. Chichewa is the medium of instruction for the first four years of primary education, and is then replaced by English. Chichewa continues to be taught as a compulsory subject. Parliamentary sessions are held in English only. Radio broadcasts are in English and Chichewa. Chichewa is used widely as a lingua franca between people of different ethnic groups, and is gaining ground at the expense of other indigenous languages. Bilingualism is common in Malawi, as speakers of different languages learn Chichewa at school or work, and also use a mother tongue. Chichewa is the language of adult literacy classes. Chichewa has not yet superseded other indigenous minority languages in the home, but this may happen as inter-ethnic marriages become more common. Trilingualism (English, Chichewa and a minority language) is also common among educated people (Timpunza Mvula, 1994).

Small British and Indian minorities also live in Malawi. The recent civil war in neighbouring Mozambique resulted in the influx of nearly a million Mozambican refugees into Malawi by 1990, speaking indigenous Mozambican languages.

Mali

Mali was a French colony until 1960 and has a population of nearly 9.4 million people (CIA, 1995). About 20 languages or dialects are spoken in the country (Dumestre, 1994). French is the sole official language in Mali, although it is only spoken by about five percent of the population. It is the main language of government and administration, of television and of education. Since the 1980s, four national languages, Fufulde, Songhai, Tamasheq, and Bambara, have been introduced in the first three years of primary education. Bambara, a Mande variety, is the majority language of Mali, and is spoken as a first or second language by 80 percent of Malians. It is gaining ground as a lingua franca and also as a home language at the expense of some other indigenous languages. Both French and Bambara are used on the radio.

Mauritania

The Islamic Republic of Mauritania has a population of 2.26 million (CIA, 1995), including an estimated 224 thousand Bedouin nomads. Mauritania,

formerly part of French West Africa, became independent in 1960. About 80 percent of the population are Moors, of mixed Arab and Berber descent, and speak Hassaniya Arabic, a variety of Arabic which is not easily intelligible to speakers of other colloquial Arabic varieties. The remainder of the population are Black Africans, who mainly speak indigenous African languages. French is widely spoken by educated Black Africans. After independence, there was a long dispute between Moors and Black Africans about whether French should be retained as an official language, but in 1991, Arabic became the sole official language. Three other languages were granted the status of national languages: Soninke, (a Mande variety, spoken by about 30,000), Toucouleur (Pulaar) (spoken by about 250,000) and Wolof (spoken by about 120,000), (Asher and Simpson, 1994). The Berber dialect, Zenaga, is spoken among the Bedouins. Since 1988, Arabic has been the medium of instruction in all schools, although this measure was opposed by the French-speaking south. The state radio service broadcasts in Arabic, French and the other national languages. In Mauritania, like other Arabic-speaking countries, a diglossic situation, with Modern Standard Arabic being used in official life and education, and Hassaniya Arabic in informal and family contexts.

Mauritius

The population of the island state of Mauritius, numbered at just over a million (CIA, 1995), consists of the descendants of Arabs, Asians, Africans, and Europeans who settled in the island over centuries. The island was most recently a British colony, gaining its independence in 1968, and English has been the official language since 1810. French is spoken as a first language by almost 10 percent of the population and also used in many official contexts. The main lingua franca is Mauritian Creole, spoken as a first language by 25 percent of the population, and in daily use by over half the population. About 20 other languages are spoken by small minority groups, including European and Asian languages. Bhojpuri is spoken by over 200 thousand, and is also a second language for many. More than one language is used by 11.2 percent of the population, according to the 1990 Housing and Population Census (Central Statistic Office, 1990). The largest bilingual groups being those speaking Creole, French, Hindi and Bhojpuri.

Languages	**Total number of Speakers**
Creole	652,193
Bhojpuri	201,618
French	34,455
Hindi	12,848
Bilingual	**Number of Bilingual Speakers**
Creole and French	21,387
Creole and Bhojpuri	48,579
Bhojpuri and Hindi	20,976

(Central Statistical Office, 1990)

Mayotte (Mahore)

Mayotte (Mahore) is one of the four islands of the Comoro archipelago. It is a French overseas territory and the official language is French. Mayotte has a population of about 97 thousand (CIA, 1995), mainly of mixed Arab, Black African and Swahili descent. Over two thirds of the population speak Swahili as a first language. Most of the remainder speak Mahorian, a variety of Comorian, a blend of Arabic and Swahili also spoken on the other Comorian islands. A small minority speak a Malagasy dialect (Asher and Simpson, 1994).

Morocco

In contemporary Morocco, the majority of the population are of mixed Berber and Arab descent. About 65 percent speak colloquial Moroccan Arabic as a first language. The remaining third are native speakers of Berber dialects living mainly in the mountains. There are three main varieties of Berber which are not always mutually intelligible, Tarifit (north), Tamazight (central areas) and Taselhit (southwest). The majority of Berber speakers also speak Arabic (Bouzidi, 1994).

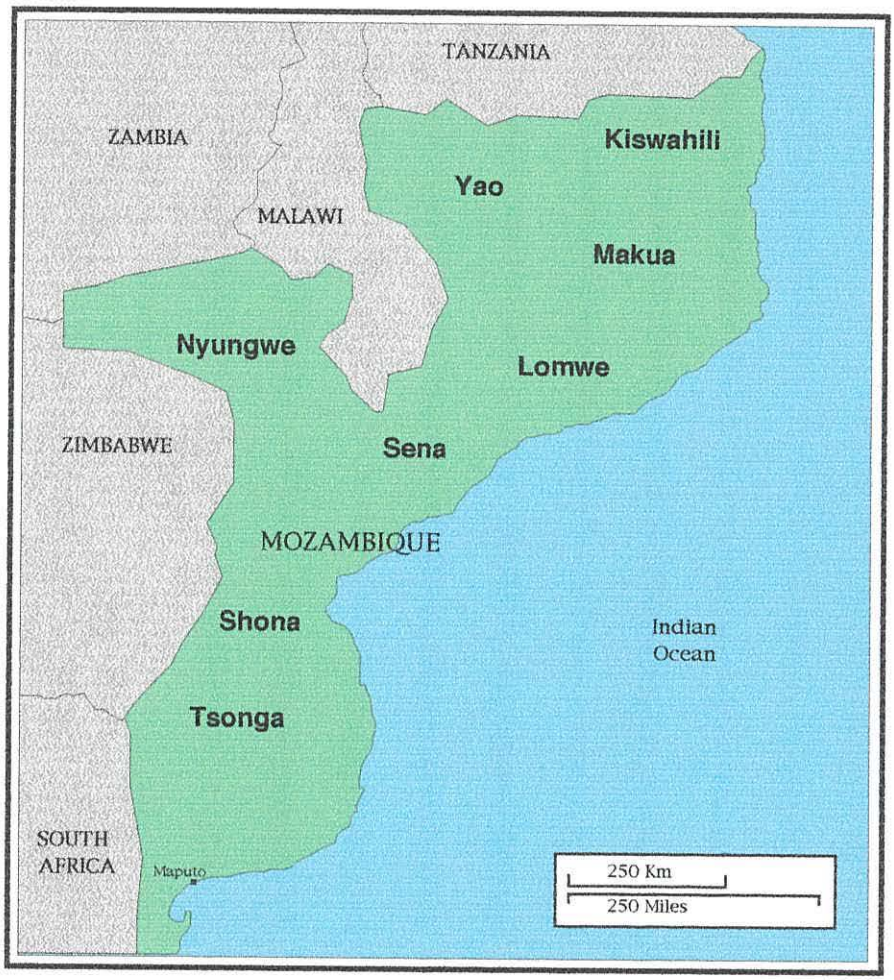
The official language of Morocco is Arabic. A diglossic situation exists in the country. Modern Standard Arabic is used in administration, education, mass media, some governmental offices and as a language of wider communication with other Arab countries. Moroccan Arabic is used in informal, oral situations. (As in other Islamic countries, classical Arabic is used in liturgical worship). (Bouzidi, 1994).

Morocco was administered by France between 1912 and 1956 and French is still widely used in government, commerce and administration. It is studied and used as a teaching medium for over 50 percent of secondary school graduates, and it is the language most used by educated people. Some 15 to 20 percent of the population are estimated to be literate in French, but English, taught in schools as a foreign language, is beginning to gain ground at the expense of French (Bouzidi, 1994).

Daily newspapers are published in Arabic and French. Part of Morocco, the north and part of the Sahara, was formerly under Spanish control and Spanish is still spoken in these areas.

Mozambique

Map 2:4 Some Indigenous Languages of Mozambique



Mozambique, a former Portuguese colony, gained independence in 1975. Portuguese remains the official language. Mozambique has a population of just over 18 million (CIA, 1995). Numerous indigenous African languages exist in Mozambique belonging to the Bantu family. Eighteen Bantu languages have been identified (Machungo, 1994), the largest language groups being Makua (around 7.5 million speakers), Tsonga (around 3.5 million), Sena (around 1.5 million) and Nyungwe (around one million). Only about one percent of the population speak Portuguese as a first language but almost a quarter of Mozambicans are bilingual in Portuguese and an African language. Some Mozambicans speak more than one indigenous Mozambican language. Portuguese is the language of prestige, the language of education, government and administration. Mozambican languages have no official status. Small minority groups speaking Asian languages also exist.

Namibia

Namibia, (formerly South West Africa), gained independence from South Africa in 1990. Before independence, English and Afrikaans were the official

languages, while German had semi-official status within the administration of whites. Since independence, English has been the sole official language.

In 1995, the estimated population of Namibia was 1.6 million (CIA, 1995). Several African languages are spoken, and also English, Afrikaans, German and some Portuguese. The chief lingua franca of the central and southern areas is Afrikaans. In the Caprivi area, the main lingua franca is Lozi, a language also spoken in Zambia. Oshivambo is the first language of over half the population.

Before independence, the educational system made use of students' mother tongue as a medium of instruction in the first three years of school, subsequently transferring to English or Afrikaans. Since independence, English has been promoted as a language of national unity and of wider communication, and is the only medium of instruction in schools, with the major indigenous languages being studied as subjects until the end of the primary school phase (Mesthrie, 1994).

Niger

The Republic of Niger, which gained independence from France in 1960, had an estimated population of 9.28 million in 1995 (CIA, 1995). Ten indigenous languages are spoken in Niger, and they all have the status of national languages. The majority language and the main lingua franca is Hausa, spoken as a first language by about 53 percent of the population, and as a second language by about a further 30 percent. Other widely spoken languages are Songhai-Zerma, spoken by 21 percent, Tamashiqt, the Berber variety of the Tuareg nomads, spoken by 11 percent, Fufulde (a variety of Fula), spoken by 10 percent, and Kanuri, spoken by about five percent. Niger was administered by France until 1960 and French is still the official language, the language of government and administration, and all levels of education. However, less than 10 percent of the population speaks, reads and writes French. Most inhabitants of Niger are bilingual in their mother tongue and another national language. The main national languages are used in adult literacy projects, radio transmissions and are taught in some primary schools (Amani, 1994).

Nigeria

The Federal Republic of Nigeria was administered by Britain until independence in 1960. The 1991 census indicated that the population of Nigeria was 88.5 million, but other estimates have placed it at at least 100 million (CIA, 1995) . The ethnic and linguistic situation in Nigeria is very varied. It is estimated that there are about 374 ethnic groups, speaking a total of over 440 languages. The largest groups are the Hausa and Fulani peoples of the north, the Yoruba of the south west and the Igbo of the south east. Hausa is spoken as a first language by about 20 percent of the population, and as a second language by a further estimated 20 percent. Yoruba is spoken as a first language by 25 percent and Igbo by 20 percent (Connell, 1994).

The 1979 constitution recognizes the three major indigenous languages (Hausa, Yoruba and Igbo) and stipulates that they may be used, alongside English, in the National and State assemblies. English is the official language of Nigeria, but is only spoken with some fluency by an estimated 10 to 30 percent of the population. While Hausa is the main lingua franca of the north, Nigerian Pidgin English is used as a second language by about 30 percent of population, mostly in the south, but increasingly in northern urban areas. Nigerian Pidgin English has been considered a low status form of English, but its increasing use means that it may eventually receive some kind of official recognition. Both English and African languages are used in the media. Educational policy is that the mother tongue or community language should be used in pre-primary and the first years of primary education, subsequently transferring to English. However, the great variety of languages and the fact that few of them have a written form, means that this policy is difficult to implement. Many Nigerians would like to see an indigenous language as the official language of the country, but English has an advantage that it is neutral and does not exacerbate ethnic tension (Connell, 1994).

Réunion

The island of Réunion is an overseas territory of France, to the south east of Madagascar. It was colonised by the French in the 17th century, who brought slaves from Africa to work the sugar plantations. The population of 666 thousand (CIA, 1995) is mainly of mixed African, Asian and French descent. There are also minority groups of Chinese, Pakistanis and Indians. French is the official language and the language of education, but a French based Creole (called Réunion Creole French) is the most widely spoken language and is gaining in status.

Rwanda

The republic of Rwanda, formerly administered by Belgium as part of Rwanda-Urundi (see Burundi), became independent in 1962. The population of Rwanda consists of three main ethnic groups, the Hutu, constituting 90 percent of the population of 8.6 million (CIA, 1995), the Tutsi (nine percent) and the Twa, a pygmy people (one percent). (These figures were calculated before the massive dislocation of population caused by the bitter ethnic conflicts of the mid-1990s.) Rwanda is unusual among African nations in that almost the entire population has the same native language, Kinyarwanda. Kinyarwanda is the same language as Rundi , the majority language of Burundi. It is the Bantu language with the greatest number of speakers. A small minority in Rwanda (about four thousand) speak Hima. French, English and Kinyarwanda are the official languages, the latter being used in the first years of primary education. Swahili is used by about 10 percent of the population as a lingua franca (CIA, 1995).

São Tomé and Príncipe

The Democratic Republic of São Tomé and Príncipe consists of two main islands with a total population of 140 thousand (CIA, 1995). The uninhabited islands were discovered by the Portuguese in the late 15th century. They remained under Portuguese control until independence in 1975. The population of the islands is composed of descendants of African slaves brought to the island, in-migrants from Cape Verde islands, and a few Europeans. Almost all the Portuguese left the islands after independence.

The official language and the medium of education is Portuguese. Varieties of a Portuguese-based Creole are widely used by about half of the population: Santomese and Angolar are spoken on São Tomé and Principense is spoken on Príncipe (Asher and Simpson, 1994).

Senegal

Senegal, a former part of French West Africa, gained its independence in 1960. Numerous languages and dialects are spoken in the country. The dominant ethnic group are the Wolof, who constitute nearly half of the population of nine million (CIA, 1995). The official language of the country is French, but the six most important indigenous languages have been elevated to the status of national languages. These are Wolof, Serer, Pulaar, Joola, Mandingo and Soninke. (The last two are varieties of Mande, a closely related group of languages widely spoken in West Africa).

The language of administration and education (at all levels) is French, although Wolof is used in state run nursery schools. Wolof is the main lingua franca of the country. Over 70 percent of the population can use or at least understand Wolof. In spoken contexts, Wolof can normally be used instead of French. Wolof is used as well as French in parliamentary deliberations. All six national languages and French are used in the media (Mbodj, 1994).

Seychelles

The Republic of the Seychelles consists of an archipelago of 92 islands and islets. The islands were under the control of France and then Britain from the 18th century, but gained their independence in 1976. Most of the population of 72.7 thousand (CIA, 1995) are of mixed European, Asian and African descent. At least 95 percent of the population speak a French-based creole (Asher and Simpson, 1994), known as Seychelles Creole French, which replaced English and French as the official language in 1981. Creole, English and French are all used in the National Assembly, in newspapers, radio and television. English is the main language used in schools, but Creole has been increasingly used as a medium of instruction since the 1980s. Also, the Catholic church has tended to make increasing use of Creole instead of French.

Sierra Leone

The Republic of Sierra Leone became independent from Britain in 1961. Eighteen languages are spoken in the country. Three main indigenous languages are spoken as first and second languages. Speakers of Mende (a Mande variety) in the south and east number about 30 percent of the total population of 4.75 million (CIA, 1995). Temne is spoken by the other major ethnic group in the West. Krio, an English-based Creole, is spoken by the descendants of freed black slaves. In 1787, opponents of the slave trade founded a colony for freed slaves, Freetown, now the country's capital. By 1850, more than 50,000 former slaves had settled there. Krio is spoken as a first language by only two percent of the country's population, but is widely used in Sierra Leone as a lingua franca and trade language. The official language is English, used in government, business, administration, broadcasting, journalism and education. Attempts to use the main indigenous languages in education failed because of lack of printed curriculum materials, including dictionaries and grammars.

Because of social mobility and density of population, there is considerable language contact in Sierra Leone, resulting in widespread bilingualism and multilingualism. Many speakers of minority languages are bilingual in the mother tongue and one of the major indigenous languages, Krio, Temne or Mende. Many educated people also speak English. Arabic is used as a religious language by Muslims and also for some business and trade (Fyle, 1994).

Somalia

The Somali Democratic Republic was formerly under both British and Italian colonial rule, but gained its independence in 1960. Ethnic Somalis constitute 98 percent of the country's population of 7.3 million (CIA, 1995) and more or less the entire population speaks Somali. Some minority languages are spoken by small groups, but these languages have no official status and their speakers typically speak Somali as well.

In 1972, the government made Somali the official language of the country. A standard form was recognized, based on the northern dialect group and a written convention was established, using the Roman alphabet.

Arabic is the national language of the country. The majority of the population of Somalia are Muslims, and the country maintains close links with the Arab world. Somali is the language of the media and of education. Arabic is the most important second language in schools, while English and Italian are also taught (Orwin, 1994).

South Africa

The Republic of South Africa has a total population of about 45 million (CIA, 1995). According to 1995 estimates, the majority of the population (75

percent) were black African, 13.6 percent were white, 2.6 percent were Indian and 8.6 were of mixed race. Over half the white population are Afrikaners, descendants of Dutch settlers with a strong French and German element. According to 1993 official estimates, Afrikaans was the first language of 14.5 percent of the population, comprising almost all Afrikaners and many of those of mixed ethnic origin. English was the first language of 8.4 percent, comprising most other whites, and also some Asian, mixed race and black South Africans. Seventy tree percent spoke one of the nine official African languages as their mother tongues. Four percent spoke a variety of other languages, including Indian languages (such as Gujarati), Chinese, and European languages such as Portuguese, (Sidiropoulos et al., 1995).

Until 1993, English and Afrikaans were the only two official languages of South Africa. In 1993, the new constitution designated the nine most prominent African languages as joint official languages, although the use of English and Afrikaans still tends to predominate. The table below shows the nine official African languages and the number of their first language speakers as percentages of the total population. The nine African languages are all majority languages in different regions, and the new language policy allows for a regional or territorial bias in their official status and usage. However, the policy may be revised and refined to take account of the more complex, multilingual situation in the major urban areas.

The Official African Languages of South Africa

Languages	**Proportion of Total Population**
Zulu	22.4%
Xhosa	18.3%
North Sotho (Pedi)	9.1%
Tswana	7.7%
South Sotho (Sesotho)	6.4%
Tsonga	3.7%
Siswati	3.1%
Venda	1.7%
Ndebele	0.7%

(Sidiropoulos et al., 1995)

Because of the multilingual nature of South Africa, bilingualism and multilingualism are commonplace, especially among non-Whites. Afrikaans or English are the main languages of education, so first language speakers of these two languages receive their education in their mother tongue. Black African children are generally educated in their home language or one of the official African languages for the first four years of primary education, switching to English afterwards (Desai, 1995).

English and Afrikaans still predominate as the main languages of government but provision has been made for using the official African languages.

Sudan

The Republic of the Sudan is the largest country in Africa. Between 1898 and 1956 it was under joint British and Egyptian control. The country became an independent republic in 1956 and has a population of just over 30 million (CIA, 1995). The inhabitants of the Northern two-thirds of the country are mainly Muslims of mixed Arab and African ancestry. Other ethnic groups in Northern Sudan include the Beja, Jamala and Nubian people. About 60 languages are spoken in the northern areas, but most people also speak Arabic, the official language of the country. (About 50 percent of the total population of Sudan speak Arabic as a first language) (Sim, 1994). As in many other Arabic countries, a complex diglossic situation exists. Classical Arabic is used mainly for Islamic liturgical purposes. Modern Standard Arabic is used as the official written language and for formal spoken contexts, in government, schools, and for wider communication with other Arab nations. Sudanese Colloquial Arabic is the spoken form used orally at home and in informal contexts. An Arabic-based pidgin is also widely used in inter-ethnic communication.

The population of the Southern areas are mainly Black Africans, and about 50 minority languages are spoken in these areas. There has been considerable conflict between the Arab North and the African South. In 1972, the Addis Ababa Accord gave the three provinces of the Southern Region autonomy on most internal matters and established English as the working language of the region. Arabic is the official language of schools in the country, except in the Southern Region where English is used in many schools at all levels. The Southern Africans of the Sudan have a great loyalty to English and resist the encroachment of the Arabic language.

The Sudan government is encouraging the Arabisation of the country, but has a policy of maintaining minority languages. The Addis Ababa Accord designated nine of the most important minority languages for priority in development. Multilingualism is common in the Sudan, especially in urban areas. Urban dwellers in the South might typically speak the mother tongue, another vernacular, Sudanese Pidgin Arabic and English (Sim, 1994).

Swaziland

The Kingdom of Swaziland became independent of Britain in 1968, and has a population of 967 thousand (CIA, 1995). More than 90 percent of the population are ethnic Swazi and speak Swati, a Bantu language. The official languages are English and Swati. English is the official medium of instruction in schools from the third year of primary schooling, with Swati being taught as a subject from then onwards. Both languages are used in government, administration and religion. Minority languages spoken include Tsonga and Zulu (Masuku, 1994).

Tanzania

Tanzania became independent in 1961 and comprises the union of the two former British-administered countries of Tanganyika and Zanzibar. About 120 indigenous languages are spoken in Tanzania, almost all members of the Bantu language family.

In Tanzania, both Swahili and English are official languages. However, since independence, Swahili has been strongly promoted as the national language, and increasingly used instead of English. Less than 10 percent of the 28.7 million population of Tanzania (CIA, 1995) speak Swahili as a mother tongue. However, almost all the remaining 90 percent now speak Swahili as a second language.

Swahili is used as the medium of primary education. In the eighth grade, children begin to learn English. Thus Tanzanians who complete secondary schooling are likely to be trilingual in their ethnic language, Swahili and English. The language shift is towards bilingualism in Swahili and English, and against the maintenance of ethnic community languages. There are 13 other main ethnic languages. Sukuma is spoken as a first language by about 13 percent of the population, to the South East of Lake Victoria. It is closely related to Nyamwezi, spoken in much of the east of the country by another five percent. Eleven other major Bantu languages are spoken by between three to six percent of the population (French, 1994).

Togo

The Republic of Togo was formerly administered by France, and became independent in 1960. The population of approximately 4.4 million (CIA, 1995) comprises some 35 ethnic groups, speaking over 40 languages and dialects.

French is the official language of Togo, used in government, administration, education and commerce, but is spoken by only 30 percent of the population. Two indigenous languages, Ewe and Kabye, have the status of national languages and are used alongside French in the schools. Most Togolese are bilingual or multilingual, typically speaking their own native language or dialect, at least one language of wider communication, and also French if learnt at school. The Mina dialect of Ewe is the main lingua franca of Togo and is spoken as a first or second language by over 60 percent of the population (Gbekobou, 1994). Kabye and Dagomba are widely spoken in the north. Four languages are used in adult literacy: Ewe, Tem, Kabye and Ben (a Mande variety). Hausa and Tem, used by nomads, can also be classed as lingua francas. Local Togolese languages are used in kindergartens.

Tunisia

The Republic of Tunisia gained its independence from France in 1956. The Tunisians are of mixed Arab and Berber descent, although only two percent

of the population of almost 8.9 million (CIA, 1995) speak Berber dialects. (Most Berber speakers also speak Arabic). A diglossic situation exists in Tunisia, as in other Arabic-speaking countries. Modern Standard Arabic is the official language, used in formal, public and written contexts. Colloquial varieties of Arabic are spoken as a first language and in informal contexts by almost 98 percent of the population. French is still widely spoken, mainly by educated people. French is taught from the second year of primary school and is used as a teaching medium for most scientific subjects in higher education. Italian is increasingly spoken and understood through the media, and more people are learning English, because of its importance as a world language (S'hiri, 1994).

Uganda

The Republic of Uganda, a former British colony, gained independence in 1962. Over 40 African languages are spoken by a population of 19.5 million (CIA, 1995). Luganda is the most prominent African language spoken in Uganda. It is spoken as a first language by about a third of the population, and as a second language by another third. It is the main lingua franca of the south. English, the official language, is spoken as a second language by over 30 percent of Ugandans, and is the first language of some educated urban dwellers. Swahili, the main trade language, is spoken as a second language by over 20 percent of Ugandans (Walusimbi and Moe, 1994). Many other Ugandans have some minimal competence in either English or Swahili or both. Swahili is the language of the security forces and has been promoted as a possible national language. The use of local languages is supported by the government. The official policy is to use local languages as media of instruction in primary education, but in practice, English or one of the regional languages is more often used.

Zaire

The Republic of Zaire, formerly the Belgian Congo, gained its independence from Belgium in 1960. It is estimated that the population of 44 million (CIA, 1995), speak more than 200 language varieties. (The majority are Bantu languages, and many are closely related, making it difficult to distinguish between dialects and separate languages).

French is the official language of Zaire, used in government, education and business. Four African languages are widely spoken both as first languages and as lingua francas: Swahili in the East and South, Kikongo (Kituba) in the West, Tshiluba in Kasai, and Lingala along the Congo river. The World Bank (1987) provided estimated percentages of the total population using these four languages as mother tongues and second languages, and this is presented in the following table.

Languages	Mother Tongue	Second Language
Swahili	36%	13%
Lingala	28%	41%
Tshiluba	17%	---
Kikongo	12%	18%

(Kutsch Lojenga and Sim, 1994)

Lingala enjoys prestige as the language of the capital city, the army and national radio, its use seems to be spreading. The regional languages are used as the medium of education for the first two years of primary school, with a subsequent transition to French.

Zambia

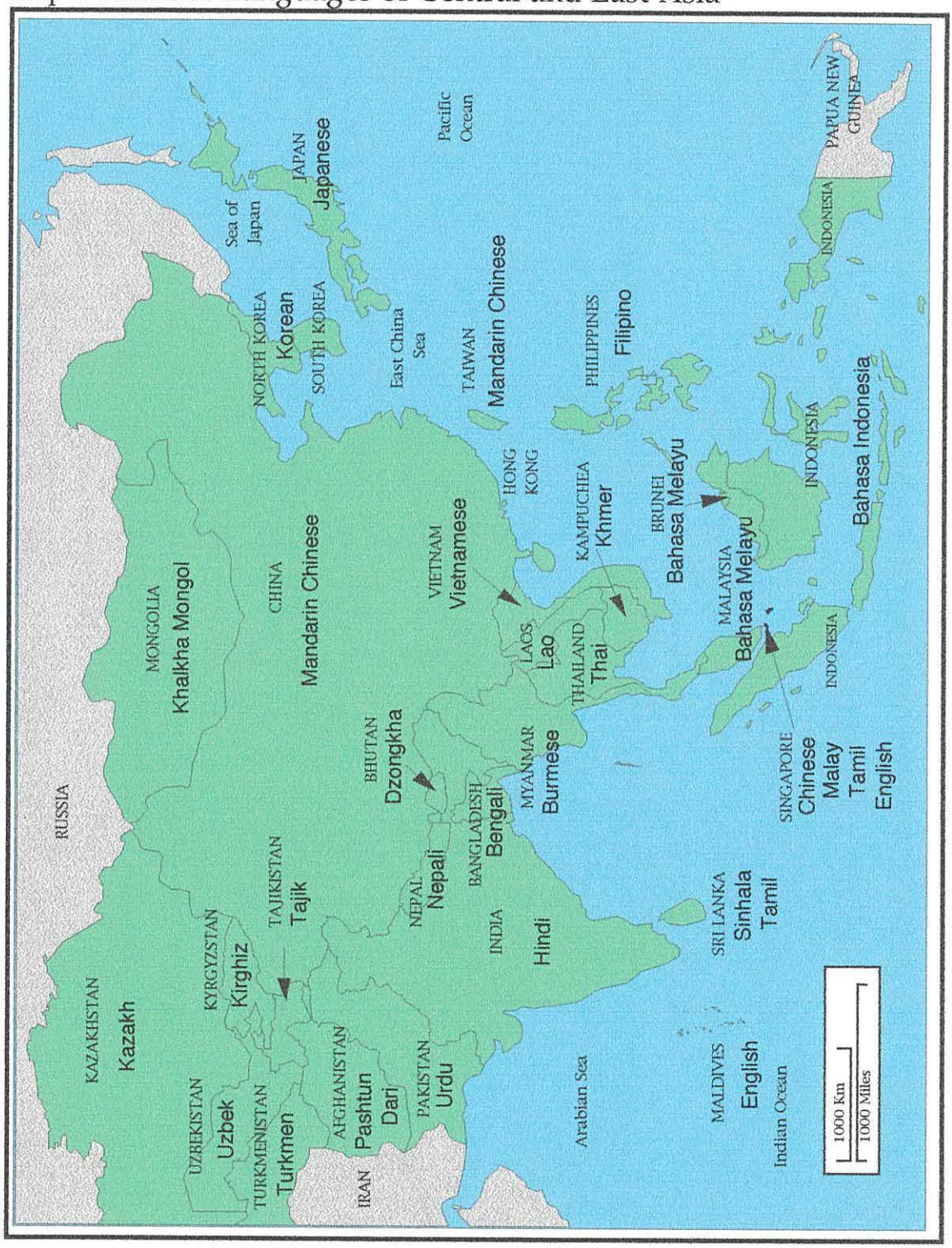
The Republic of Zambia, formerly Northern Rhodesia, was under British control until independence in 1964. The population of 9.4 million (CIA, 1995) comprises more than 70 ethnic groups, and about 25 to 30 Bantu language varieties are spoken. These have been classed into 16 separate languages or language clusters (Wendland, 1994). English is the official language of Zambia. It is the language of government, business, and education. English is spoken as a first language by less than one percent of the population, and as a second language by only 30 percent, chiefly an educated elite. Seven African languages also have official status in the country: Bemba, Lozi, Tonga, Luvale, Nyanja, Kaonde and Lunda. Bilingualism in the mother tongue and a regional lingua franca is common in rural Zambia. In urban areas, the ability to speak three languages is common (the mother tongue, a lingua franca, and sometimes English). Bemba is the most widely used and understood Zambian language. It is spoken as a first language by 19 percent, and as a second language by 60 percent. Nyanja (also called Chewa of Chichewa) is spoken as a first language by 12 percent and as a second language by 40 percent. Nyanja is spoken by a total of 10 million speakers in countries of Southern Central Africa, including Malawi, Zimbabwe and Mozambique (Wendland, 1994).

Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe, formerly the British colony of Southern Rhodesia, became independent in 1965. English is the official language but is the mother tongue of no more than one percent of the estimated population of 11.1 million (CIA, 1995). In 1992, the Zimbabwe Census placed the country's population at 10.4 million, of which about 25 percent is urban. About 15 indigenous African languages are spoken. Shona, a Bantu language, is the first language of approximately 75 percent of the total population. Another Bantu language, Ndebele, is spoken by over 10 percent. The country also has small minorities of Europeans, Asians, and persons of mixed race (Chimhundu, 1994).

Chapter 3 - ASIA

Map 3:1 Official Languages of Central and East Asia



Afghanistan

Since 1964, Pashtun and Dari (a variety of Persian) have been the official languages of the Islamic State of Afghanistan. Pashtun is the language of the

Pathan people, who account for just over half of the population of 21.25 million (CIA, 1995). The Pathan people are the economically and politically dominant group. They are to be found throughout Afghanistan, but are concentrated mainly in the east and south. Dari is the language of the Tajik communities, the second largest ethnic group, who account for 20 percent to 25 percent of the population (CIA, 1995). Dari is closely related both to Farsi, the majority language of Iran, and Tajik, the majority language of Tajikistan.

Together, Pashtun and Dari are spoken by an overwhelming majority of the population, and are the languages taught in schools. The provinces of Afghanistan are classified into two groups by the Ministry of Education. The first group are the provinces where Pashtun is the mother tongue and medium of education, with Dari taught as a second language. The second group is where Dari is the mother tongue, with Pashtun the second language. There appears to be a high degree of bilingualism in these two languages in Afghanistan. Although Pashtun has an extensive literature, Dari is used for cultural expression and for commercial and government business.

Some 11 percent of the population speak Turkic languages. Most of these live in the northern plains of the country. Uzbek is spoken by around nine percent, most of whom also understand Dari (Persian) or Pashtun as well. Turkmen is also spoken by a small minority (Grimes, 1992).

There are around fifty minority languages in Afghanistan. Those with over 100 thousand speakers are listed in the table below. A great variety of languages are spoken in Afghanistan, belonging to a number of different language families, following centuries of migration throughout this region of Asia. Smaller language communities include Baluchi, which is spoken in the south and southwest of the country, and belongs to the same language family as Persian.

The Soviet occupation of Afghanistan (1979-1989) and the ensuing civil conflict have resulted in considerable social upheaval. One third of the population have left the country to take refuge in neighbouring countries such as Iran and Pakistan, some temporarily, some permanently.

The Languages of Afghanistan

Languages	**Number of Speakers**
Pashtun	8,000,000 (official language)
Farsi (Persian, Dari)	5,600,000 (official language)
Hazaragi	1,403,000
Uzbek	1,403,000
Aimaq (Barbari)	800,000
Turkmen	380,000
Baluchi	200,000
Brahui	200,000
Ndebele	108,000

(Moseley and Asher, 1994; Grimes, 1992)

Bangladesh

Bangladesh, formerly East Pakistan, became an independent nation in 1971. The name 'Bangladesh' means 'Bengal nation', and 98 percent of the population of 128 million (CIA, 1995) are ethnic Bengalis and speak the Bengali language, an Indo-Aryan language. Bengali is also spoken by about 90 million people in the neighbouring Indian state of West Bengal, and by sizable minority groups in other parts of India. There are over 200 thousand Bengalis in the UK, about 150 thousand in the US and over half a million Bengali workers in parts of Central Asia. It is predicted that the total number of Bengali speakers in the world will exceed 200 million by the end of the 20th century.

Bengali is the official language of Bangladesh and its use is obligatory in all spheres of public life. English is used as a second official language. Both Bengali and English are used as media of instruction in schools, colleges and universities and in the media. Educated Bengalis are bilingual in Bengali and English. A number of minority languages are spoken in Bangladesh, mostly by small groups resident in hilly regions. These minority languages do not belong to the Indo-Aryan family. Most minority language speakers, except for those living in very remote regions, learn Bengali through schooling and from contact with Bengali speakers.

Languages	**Number of Speakers**
Bengali(official language)	125,440,000 (approx.)
Chakma	260,557
Arkanese	122,735
Burmese	100,000
Santali	100,000
Garo	92,800
Manipuri (Meithei)	92,800

(Grimes, 1992)

Bhutan

Bhutan is a relatively small country with a total population of 1.78 million (CIA, 1995). The majority of the population are closely related to the people of Tibet in language, customs and religion.

About a dozen languages are spoken in Bhutan, all belonging to the Tibeto-Burman family, except for Nepali, which is Indo-Aryan. The national language of Bhutan is Dzhongkha, a version of the principal language of Western Bhutan, and a descendent of classical Tibetan. Dzhongkha is known throughout the country by members of the educated elite, and by those who have contact with dzongs (forts) or with large Tibetan Buddhist monasteries. The most important regional languages are Nepali, spoken by about 25 percent of the population (CIA, 1995; Michailovsky, 1994), living mainly in the South-Western foothills, Scharchop in the East, and Bumthang in Central Bhutan.

Because of the linguistic diversity among the small population of Bhutan, English is the main language of the educational system from primary grades onwards. Dzongkha is taught for an hour a day in all schools. The Bhutanese Broadcasting Service broadcasts in English, Dzonghka, Sharchop and Nepali.

Classical Tibetan is also used as a liturgical language and the country's laws are written in this language.

Brunei

Brunei Darussalam is a small state on the northwest coast of the Island of Borneo. In 1995, the estimated population numbered around 292 thousand people (CIA, 1995).

The official language of Brunei is Bahasa Melayu, or Standard Malay. It is the language spoken by the majority of the population, with about 69 percent of the Brunei's inhabitants being ethnic Malays. The largest minority ethnic group in Brunei are the Chinese, who constitute 18 percent of the population. Other minority groups in Brunei include Indians, and various indigenous peoples, with 14 thousand Dyaks, Ibans, and Lun Bawang living in the country. There are also around 20 thousand expatriate workers from Europe and Asia (CIA, 1995).

The English language is also widely used in Brunei. It is one of the languages used in both primary and secondary schools, along with Bahasa Melayu and Chinese. Bahasa Melayu is closely related to Bahasa Indonesia.

In 1981, 22 percent of the population spoke Malay as their first language, with the largest bilingual group being those speaking Malay and English. Over 14 percent of people in Brunei were bilingual in these two languages in 1981 (US Bureau of the Census, 1996).

Languages in Brunei, 1981

Languages	Number of Speakers
Malay	42,186
Chinese	11,602
English	8,544
Other	30,184
Malay and English	39,157
Chinese and English	5,193
Chinese and Malay	952

(US Bureau of the Census, 1996)

Cambodia

Cambodia, also known as Kampuchea, has a population of approximately 10.5 million (CIA, 1995). Nearly 90 percent are ethnic Cambodians, known as Khmer. Their language, Khmer, is the sole official language of Cambodia

(Smyth, 1994). Cambodia was a French Protectorate between 1863 and 1953, and French was still widely used as an official language until recently. The present government, however, discourages its use. The remaining population includes Vietnamese (5 percent), Chinese (1 percent), and also small minorities of Laotians, Thai and Chaim-Malays (CIA, 1995).

China

Approximately 92 percent of the 1.2 billion inhabitants (CIA, 1995) of the People's Republic of China speak varieties of Chinese, a Sino-Tibetan language. Four main subgroups of dialects of the Mandarin variety of Chinese are spoken in Northern China by about 70 percent of the total population. These dialect groups are quite closely related, being mutually intelligible in varying degrees. The six main groups of dialects of Southern China are spoken by about a quarter of the total population of China. They are much more disparate from the Northern dialects and are, for the most part, mutually unintelligible. For this reason, some linguists prefer to view them as separate languages. However, the unified written tradition of Chinese and the strong sentiment of national unity and solidarity among Chinese people means that the Chinese themselves have always regarded their various vernaculars as dialects of a single language (French, 1994).

The classical written language, Wén-Yán, has been the means of unifying the widely disparate spoken dialects of Chinese. It is a logographic writing system, where characters represent linguistic units or morphemes. Thus, the same written language can represent widely differing pronunciations and even different vocabularies. During the twentieth century, the complex Wén-Yan has been largely superseded by Bái-huà, a simplified written language based on the contemporary spoken dialects.

During the twentieth century, there has been a strong movement for the promotion of a single standard, spoken language, based on the Mandarin dialects and the pronunciation of Beijing. This language has been the official language of China since the establishment of the People's Republic in 1949. Since 1956 it has been the medium of instruction in schools and is increasingly gaining ground. In China this language is called Putonghuà (common language) while in the West it is known as Mandarin (French, 1994).

About eight percent of the Chinese population speak languages other than Chinese. Fifty five minority languages are currently spoken in China. In Northern China, the main minority languages are Mongolian (2.7 million), Tingus (4.5 million), Turkic (7 million), Korean (1.9 million). In Southern China, the major groups of non-Chinese languages are Tibeto-Burman (about 12 million), Thai (19 million) and Miao-Yao (about 7 million) (Grimes, 1992; Bradley and Harlow, 1994).

Cocos Islands

The Cocos Islands, (not shown on map) also known as the Keeling Islands, are a territory of Australia, consisting of 27 small coral islands in the Eastern Indian Ocean, only two of which are inhabited. The official language is English and the population of about 600 (CIA, 1995) consists of both Europeans and Cocos Malays. Two thirds of the population speak Cocos Malay, and this language is used in broadcasting alongside English.

Hong Kong

Hong Kong is located at the southeastern tip of China. It consists of a small area of only 1,070 square kilometres, comprising Hong Kong Island, Kowloon and the New Territories, including the tip of the mainland and 235 outlying islands. Hong Kong Island was claimed by the British in 1841 and the rest of the territory became a British Crown Colony in 1897. Hong Kong reverted to China on July 1st, 1997.

According to 1995 estimates, the population of Hong Kong was 5.5 million , almost 98 percent of whom were Chinese (CIA, 1995). Cantonese is the most widely used Chinese dialect, spoken as a first language by over 88 percent of the population and as a second language by another 7.3 percent. There is widespread bilingualism in Chinese and English. English is spoken as a first language by over 100 thousand people (Census and Statistics Department, 1991), but is more widely spoken as a second language by over a million people. Potonghua or Mandarin Chinese is spoken as a first language by only about one percent of the population, and as a second language by about 17 percent. Other varieties of Chinese are spoken, and in addition there are small minorities of Japanese and Filipino speakers.

Chinese and English are the official languages of Hong Kong, but English has been perceived as being more prestigious than Chinese. It has been the language of higher government administration and business, the medium of instruction in most secondary and tertiary educational institutions and the language of the law courts. However, there is currently a movement towards the greater use of Chinese in official contexts. Chinese was accorded the status of an official language in 1974, although the variety of Chinese to be used was not specified.

Usual Language / Dialect	Number of Speakers
Cantonese	4,583,322
English	114,084
Fukien	99,045
Hakka	84,134
Chiu Chau	72,812
Putonghua	57,577
Other Chinese dialects	52,210
Shanghainese	34,078
Sze Yap	22,415

Japanese	8,895
Filipino	5,939
Others	34,398
Total	5,168,909

Source: Census and Statistics Department, 1991
(extract from TABLE A3; Population by Usual Language)

Usual Language and Second Language

First Language	Second Language			No Second Language
	Cantonese	English	Putonghua	
Cantonese	---	1,249,442	365,168	2,393,444
English	18,121	---	2,853	29,563
Fukien	68,952	1,432	15,974	10,859
Hakka	63,019	871	4,016	14,419
Chiu Chau	55,527	1,163	3,678	10,948
Putonghua	31,919	5,611	---	9,746
Other Chinese dialects	36,481	573	4,439	9,169
Shanghainese	21,953	1,581	5,223	4,952
Sze Yap	14,096	287	378	7,453
Japanese	668	5,699	206	2,234
Filipino	224	5,363	21	248
Others	7,337	16,088	2,856	6,322
Total	318,297	12,88,110	404,812	2,499,357

Source: Census and Statistics Department, 1991.
TABLE A12; Usual Language And Second Language

India

India is a country of great linguistic diversity. In the 1981 census, the population of 936.5 million were recorded as speaking 1600 separate languages or dialects. Two hundred distinct language varieties have been identified and 24 of these are spoken by more than a million people each (Annamaliai, 1994).

Language politics play an important part in the recent history of India. During the struggle for Indian independence from Britain during the first half of the 20th century, Hindi and the closely related variety, Urdu, were promoted as symbols of national identity. When independence was attained in 1947, and when India and Pakistan were partitioned as two separate states, Hindi became the official language of India and Urdu of Pakistan. The non-Hindi speakers opposed Hindi as the official language, claiming that this gave Hindi speakers a superior status and an unfair advantage in employment and public life. The anti-Hindi movement was particularly strong in the 1950s in South India, with many riots and violent protests. Many people supported the reintroduction of English as an official language, because of its neutral status, ostensibly not favouring one ethnic group over another. As a compromise, English was given the status of an associate official language to Hindi for an indefinite period. Also the boundaries of the states were redrawn to correspond more closely to the boundaries of

linguistic groups. The Three Language Formula was established, giving official status to Hindi, English and different regional languages in specified states. Most states have one predominant language, which is used as the official language of the state, plus several minority language groups (which comprise between four percent and 30 percent of the state's population).

In addition to Hindi and English, 15 languages have regional official status in various states. These are Assamese, Bengali, Gujarati, Hindi, Kannada (Kanarese), Kashmiri, Malayalam, Marathi, Oriya, Panjabi, Sanskrit , Sindhi, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. These languages are used in schools and administration.

English, although spoken by only about three percent of the population as a first or foreign language, remains important in government, education and science, a remainder of the British colonial influence. English is understood by many 'educated' persons and is used, for example, for correspondence between Hindi-speaking and non-Hindi-speaking states. It is also a language shared by the Dravidian-speaking south and the Hindi-speaking north. Hindi is spoken by an estimated 39 percent of the population, and is understood by a large number of other inhabitants. It is predominant in the northern and central regions.

Hindi and the other Indo-Aryan languages (including Assamese, Bengali, Gujarati, Kashmiri, Marathi, Oriya, Panjabi, and Urdu) are spoken mainly in the northern part of the country. The Dravidian languages (including Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, and Kannada) are spoken in the four southern states. Sino-Tibetan and Austro-Asiatic languages generally survive only in small and isolated regions.

Multilingualism is quite common in India. According to the 1981 census, 13.3 percent of the population spoke a second language (Annamaliai, 1994). Of these, 26 percent spoke English and 22 percent Hindi. A common pattern of multilingualism is that speakers of minority languages also speak English or Hindi, usually acquired through schooling. In accordance with the Three Language Formula, schools teach Hindi, English and another Indian language (usually the majority language of the state if that is not Hindi). (Sridhar, 1991)

Languages in India at the 1981 Census

Language	Number of Speakers	State(s) where languages are located
Hindi	264,189,057	Uttar Pradesh/Madhya Pradesh/Bihar/Rajasthan
Telugu	54,226,227	Andhra Pradesh
Bengali	51,503,085	West Bengal
Marathi	49,624,847	Maharashtra
Tamil	44,730,389	Tamil Nadu
Urdu	35,323,282	Uttar Pradesh
Gujarati	33,189,039	Gujarat
Kannada	26,887,837	Karnataka
Malayalam	25,952,966	Kerala

Oriya	22,881,053	Orissa
Panjabi	18,588,400	Panjab
Assamese	10,000,000 (est.)	Assam
Bhili / Bhilodi	4,450,771	Madhya Pradesh / Rajasthall,Gujarat
Santali	4,208,304	Bihar / West Bengal
Kashmiri	3,174,684	Jammu and Kashmir
Gondi	1,954,693	Madhya Pradesh / Maharashtra
Sindhi	1,946,278	Gujarat
Konkani	1,584,063	Karnataka /Goa /Dadra and Nagar Haveli
Dogri	1,520,889	Jammu and Kashmir
Tulu	1,376,306	Karnataka
Kurukh / Oraon	1,264,590	Bihar /Madhya Pradesh /West Bengal
Gorkhali / Nepali	1,252,444	West Bengal / Sikkim
Khandeshi	1,186,921	Maharashtra
Manipuri / Meithei	904,353	Manipur
Ho	802,434	Bihar / Orissa
Mundari	752,683	Bihar
Khasi	632,443	Meghalalaya
Halabi	524,758	Madhya Pradesh / Maharashtra
Kui	507,639	Orissa

(Asher, 1994)

Indonesia

The Indonesian Republic, located in South East Asia, consists of over 13 thousand islands, only half of which are inhabited. The larger islands include Sumatra, Java, Timor, Celebs and Moluccs. Indonesia also shares the governance two islands. The Island of Borneo is shared with both Malaysia and Brunei, and the Indonesian region of Irian Jaya occupies the western half of the island of New Guinea.

Indonesia, with an estimated population of over 200 million, is one of the most densely populated countries in the world (CIA, 1995). Linguistically, Indonesia is a highly diverse country, with over 600 languages (Grimes, 1992). The official language and the most widely spoken language is Bahasa Indonesia. It is closely related to Bahasa Melayu, the official language of Brunei and Malaysia, but also includes elements borrowed from other indigenous languages of Indonesia, particularly from Javanese. Bahasa Indonesia was made the official language in 1945, when it was the mother tongue of only five percent of the population (Jones, 1994). Although this figure was relatively low, Bahasa Indonesia was chosen as it was the language associated with independence and nationalism. Since independence, the government has been active in developing, promoting and standardising the Indonesian language, and extending its technical and scientific vocabulary.

The distribution of Indonesia's many languages is not even throughout the islands. In some regions, especially in western Indonesia, local languages have high numbers of speakers. There are over 70 million Javanese speakers, concentrated mainly on the island of Java (Jones, 1994). Languages

in eastern Indonesia and Irian Jaya also have local importance, although the relative number of speakers are low, numbering in thousands rather than millions. The official language, Bahasa Indonesia, functions as the lingua franca throughout the islands.

In Indonesia, the state makes provisions for the development and support of some regional languages. The Ministry of Education and Culture ensures that many children are educated in their mother tongue at primary level, with Bahasa Indonesia taught as a second language. From the fourth primary grade onwards, the language of instruction is Bahasa Indonesia.

Languages of Indonesia	Number of Speakers	Islands
Bahasa Indonesia (official Language)	125,000,000	
Javanese	75,200,000	Java and Bali
Sunda	27,000,000	Java and Bali
Madura	10,000,000	Java and Bali
Minangkabau	6,500,000	Sumatra
Bali	3,000,000	Java and Bali
Aceh	3,000,000	Sumatra
Banjar	2,100,000	Borneo (Kalimantan)
Sasak	2,100,000	Lombok (Nusa Tenggara)
Batak Toba	2,000,000	Sumatra
Lampang	1,500,000	Sumatra

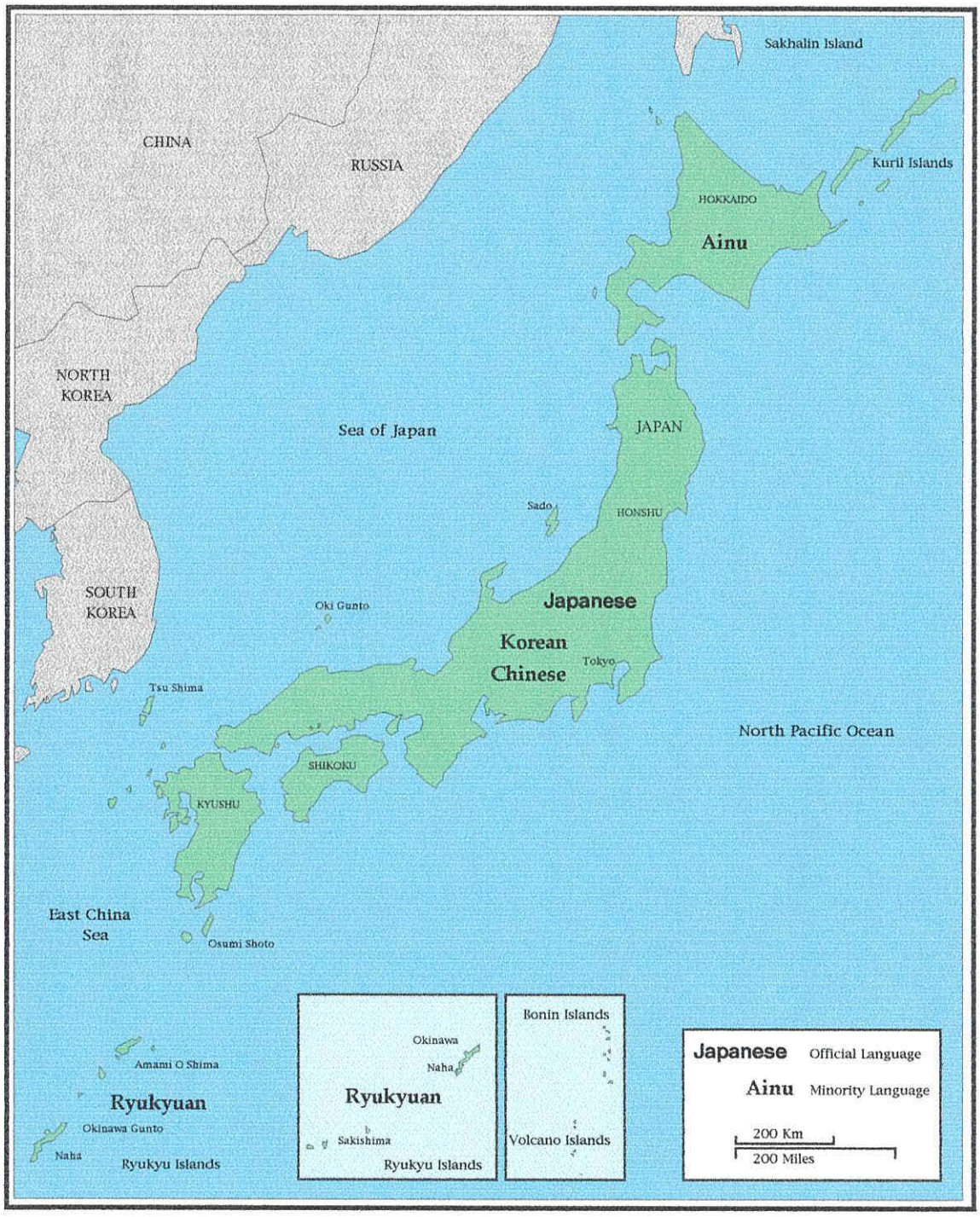
(Grimes, 1992)

Japan

Japan is located in East Asia. It consists of four large islands, Hokkaido, Honshu, Shikoku and Kyushu, as well as the islands of Ryukyu, to the South West of Kyushu, and over a thousand other islands. Almost the entire population of Japan (an estimated 125.5 million in 1995, CIA) speak varieties of Japanese, the official language. Because of the geographical nature of Japan, consisting of numerous mountainous islands, there is great dialectal variety, and many of the dialects are mutually unintelligible. The dialects spoken on the islands of Ryukyu constitute a distinct variety, and some linguists have preferred to view them as dialects of a separate language.

Since the Meiji Restoration in 1867, there has been a strong movement for national unity in Japan. This has involved the promotion of a standard language, *hyojun-go*, and the decline of local dialects. The use of the Ryukyuan dialects and other local Japanese dialects has declined because of the use of the standard language in schools and other public domains (e.g. the mass media).

Map 3:2 Languages of Japan



The other indigenous minority language of Japan is Ainu, now almost extinct. There are also small minorities of Chinese and Koreans. Maher and Kawanishi (1995) estimate that there are 19 thousand Koreans living in Tokyo alone. The Chinese population numbers between 50 and 100 thousand (Maher, 1995). English has great prestige in Japan, but is not widely spoken, although students study it for six years in school.

Kazakhstan

Kazakhstan was formerly the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic and formed part of the USSR. It gained its independence in 1991 as part of the Commonwealth of Independent States.

Kazakhstan has been under Russian domination since 1866. Until recently, Russians outnumbered the indigenous Kazakh people. One reason was the large scale in-migration of Russians and other Slavic peoples since the 18th century. Also, the number of Kazakhs decreased as a result of attacks by Russian settlers and the forced collectivisation of farms. Hundreds of thousands of Kazakhs were killed or emigrated to China. In recent years, the population of Kazakhs has increased and they now constitute about 42 percent of a population of almost 17.4 million, slightly more than the Russian minority (37 percent). There are also small minorities of Germans (4.7 percent) and Ukrainians (5.2 percent). The remainder of the population consists of smaller numbers of other Asian and European groups (CIA, 1992).

The official language is Kazakh, a Turkic language, but it is only spoken by the ethnic Kazakhs (i.e. 42 percent of the population). Eighty five percent of the population are recorded as being able to speak Russian. This indicates that most members of other language groups are also bilingual in Russian, indicating that most members of other language groups are also bilingual in Russian. This reflects the high status of Russian as the main language of administration, business and education during the Soviet era.

Kyrgyzstan

Kyrgyzstan was formerly a republic of the USSR. Kirghiz territory was gradually annexed by Russia between 1855 and 1876, and many Russian settlers moved in. The Soviet imposition of a policy of collectivisation during the 1930s had disastrous results. The Kirghiz resisted, and millions were killed, imprisoned or fled to China. For this reason, until recently the Kirghiz constituted less than half the population of Kyrgyzstan. The country gained its independence upon the dissolution of the USSR in 1991. The country has a population of 4.7 million. The main ethnic groups are the Kirghiz (52.4 percent), Russians (21.5 percent) and Uzbeks (12.9 percent), (CIA, 1995). The ethnic Kirghiz speak a Turkic language. Since independence, the government has pursued a policy of Kirghizisation and de-Russification of the country. However, there has been a recognition of the need for ethnic tolerance, in view of the long standing tensions between the Kirghiz and the Russian and Uzbek minorities. Kirghiz is the official language, but Russian is still widely used, and many people are bilingual in Kirghiz and Russia.

Laos

Laos, officially the Lao People's Democratic Republic, has a estimated population of approximately 4.8 million (CIA, 1995). Laos is a country of

great ethnic and linguistic diversity. Over 90 languages or dialects are spoken by different groups (Koret, 1994). The dominant ethnic group are the Lao, comprising 48 percent of the population. They live mainly in the lowlands and speak dialects of Lao, a language closely related to Thai. Lao is the official language of Laos, and the Vientiaine dialect is the basis for the standard form of the language.

Under colonial rule, French was the official language, and after independence in 1949, it continued to be the dominant language of government and higher education, until the Communist victory in 1975. Lao is now the sole official language of the country, and the only language used in government, education and mass communications. Lao is used as a lingua franca by many speakers of other languages. After decades of civil war in Laos, the government is trying to unite the country and create a sense of national identity. However, it is not an easy task to unite a country composed of so many ethnolinguistic groups, some of which transcend the country's borders. The government is conducting a campaign for mass literacy in the Lao language, and linguists are working on the creation of technical, scientific and pedagogical vocabulary in Lao. (Koret, 1994)

As well as the nearly two million speakers of Lao, there are one approximately million speakers of other Thai languages in Laos. Over 50 languages of the Mon-Khmer family are spoken by a total of 600,000 people. There are also 300,000 speakers of languages of the Miaow-Yao family living in high mountainous regions. Sixty thousand speakers of Tibeto-Burman languages live at lower altitudes. There are also small Chinese and Vietnamese minorities living in towns (Koret, 1994).

Dialects of the Lao language are spoken by more people outside Laos than inside. There are 15 million Lao speakers in Northeast Thailand, while sizable overseas Lao communities exist in both France and the US. The Lao language is very similar to Thai, and in Thailand Lao is regarded as a dialect of Thai. Because of Thailand's cultural and economic dominance, most Lao people readily understand standard Thai. Thai radio and television is popular in Laos, and many educated people can read Thai. Through the mass media, Thai has influenced the Lao language, with many words and phrases being borrowed. Thai speakers usually have difficulty understanding Lao, because they do not have much exposure to it and because it is viewed as a low prestige variety of Thai.

Macau

Macau, an overseas territory of Portugal, consists of three islands off the south east coast of China. It is the oldest permanent European settlement in the Far East, dating from the 16th century. Over 95 percent of the population of almost half a million are ethnic Chinese, speaking Cantonese. Only three percent are native speakers of Portuguese (CIA, 1995). Portuguese and Chinese are both official languages, and used in the media. Over 83 percent of children are educated in Cantonese (Asher and Simpson, 1994).

Malaysia

Malaysia is divided into two main regions, Western and Eastern Malaysia. Western Malaysia lies on the peninsula south of Thailand where over half the population are ethnic Malay. In 1993, the population of the peninsula was 15.2 million, and out of this population, 56 percent were Malays and other indigenous peoples. Thirty four percent were ethnic Chinese and 10 percent were Indians, (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1995).

Eastern Malaysia includes the regions of Sabah and Sarawak on the island of Borneo. It is estimated that between a half and two thirds of the population belong to one of the numerous indigenous groups which inhabit Borneo. The largest groups include Sea Dayaks (Ibans), Land Dayaks (Bidayuhs), Kadazans, Kenyahs, Melanaus and Muruts (who are known as Bumiputras). There are also ethnic Chinese, Indians and Europeans living throughout Malaysia. The total population of Malaysia was estimated to be over nineteen and half million in 1995 (CIA, 1995).

The official language of Malaysia is Bahasa Melayu. It is spoken by most Malaysians as a first or second language and is the most important lingua franca. Bahasa Melayu is also the official language of Brunei on the north west coast of Borneo, and is closely related to Bahasa Indonesia, the official language of the Indonesian Republic. Many other languages and dialects are spoken in Malaysia, including varieties of Chinese, as well as Tamil and English. Chinese varieties are spoken by around 30 percent of the total population, concentrated mainly in the Sarawak region. All the dialects have their own speech communities. The most populous is the Hokkien group, which numbers about a million speakers, followed by Yue (Cantonese) and Teochew.

Indian languages commonly spoken in Malaysia include Tamil, Telegu, Malayalam, Panjabi, Hindi, Gujarati and Urdu. English was the official language before Bahasa Melayu in 1957. It is widely used in law and medicine, the financial sector, trade and business and higher education. A Malay pidgin known as 'Bazaar Malay' and also a pidgin Chinese and a pidgin Tamil are all used as trade languages.

Languages

Bahasa Melayu (official language)	7,181,000 (10 million including second language speakers)
Chinese (Hakka, Mandarin, Min Nan, Mei Pin and Yue)	4,303,426
Iban	377,000 (1 million including second language speakers)
Javanese	300,000
Negeri Sembilan Malay	300,000
Tamil	274,218
Dusun	154,000
Sama (Balangingi, Central and Southern)	150,000

(Grimes, 1992)

Maldives

The Republic of Maldives in Southern Asia consists of a group of atolls in the Indian ocean, and has a population of 261 thousand (CIA, 1995). It gained its independence from Britain in 1965. The main ethnic groups are Sinhalese, Dravidian (from southern India), Arab and African. English is the official language, and the language spoken by most government officials, but the main language of the general population is Divehi, a language closely related to Sinhala, the language of the Sinhalese people in Sri Lanka.

Mongolia

The Republic of Mongolia, formerly known as the Mongolian People's Republic or Outer Mongolia, is situated in Central Asia. According to 1995 estimates (CIA, 1995), the population is almost 2.5 million. Ninety percent of the population are ethnic Mongols and speak Mongolian languages. The official language of the Republic is Khalkha Mongol (also known as Halh), spoken by 78.8 percent. Another 10.7 percent speak closely related Mongolian languages, some of which are regarded as dialects of Khalka. Kazakh, a Turkic language, is spoken by 5.9 percent of the population in the northwest. Uvin (Uriankhai), another Turkic language, is spoken by one percent in the north and west. Two other small minority language groups have been recorded, Evenki and Hoton (Northern Chinese), each with approximately 2,000 speakers (Asher and Simpson,1994).

The Republic of Mongolia has had close links with the USSR from the beginning of the 20th century. Since the breakup of the former Soviet Union, the Republic has gained a greater measure of independence, but maintains close ties with Russia. A few thousand Russian speakers are permanent residents, and Russian is the most widely taught foreign language. Several thousand students go to study every year in Russia and other Eastern European countries.

Myanmar

Until 1989, Myanmar was known as Burma. Myanmar was under British colonial rule from the 19th century until 1948, and formed part of British India between 1885 and 1937. Over 100 distinct languages are spoken in Myanmar among the population of 45.1 million (1995 estimate). The majority and official language is Burmese, the language of the Burman ethnic group. This group comprises 68 percent of the population, living mainly in the more prosperous lowlands, and forms the dominant social and economic group. The Burmese language is the medium of trade, communications and education. Burmese belongs to the Tibeto-Burman family of languages and is distantly related to Chinese.

The largest ethnic minorities include the Karens and Kyahs (10 percent), the Shans (8 percent), the Chins and Kachns (4 percent), the Chinese (3 percent)

and the Indians (2 percent). Most of the minority groups live in the hilly regions and are relatively poor. Most minority language speakers also speak Burmese.

While the country was still under British colonial rule in the 1920s and 1930s, an upsurge in nationalistic sentiment led to the increasing use of Burmese instead of English in education and public life. However, by the 1980s there had been a shift back to the use of English. English is widely used as a teaching medium in schools and is the only language used at university level. The single state run Burmese newspaper is published in both Burmese and English editions.

Nepal

The mountainous Kingdom of Nepal has a population of 21.5 million (CIA, 1995). The official language of the country is Nepali, spoken as a first language by over half of the country's population, and as a second language by many more. Eighteen main languages were identified in the 1981 census, but it is likely that at least 35 languages are still spoken in Nepal (Hutt, 1994). Nepali is strongly promoted as the 'language of the nation'; it is the sole language of education, administration, government and the law. English is also taught in schools. Until recently, Radio Nepali and Nepal TV only broadcast in Nepali and English, but from 1990, limited use has been made of Newari and Hindi. Many speakers of minority languages also speak Nepali. The other languages of Nepal have recently been given some official recognition.

Nepali is used throughout Nepal, especially in the east of the country, but in Tarari, in the south of Nepal, bordering India, Hindi is more commonly used as the lingua franca. In this region, there are calls to make Hindi a second national language (Hutt, 1994). Tibetan dialects are spoken along the northern border of the country, identified as 'Bhote Sherpa' in the 1981 census.

Number of Mother Tongue and Second Language Speakers of Nepal's Largest Language Groups.

Language	Number of Speakers	Number of Second Language Speakers
Nepali	9,302,880	3,347,261
Maithili	2,191,900	71,226
Bhojpuri	1,379,717	74,148

Minority Languages of Nepal, from the 1981 Census.

Languages	Number of Speakers
Nepali	8,767,361
MaithIli	1,668,309
Bhojpuri	1,132,805
Tharu	545,685
Tamang	522,416
Newari	448,746

Abadhi	234,343
'Rai-Kiranti'	211,353
Magar	212,681
Gurung	174,464
Limbu	129,234
'Bhote Sherpa'	73,589
Rajbansi	59,383
Satar	22,403
Danuwar	13,522
Sunwar	10,650
Santhal	5,804
Thakali	5,289
Other	764,802

(Bureau of Statistics, Kathmandu - 1981)

North Korea

In 1945, the peninsula of Korea was partitioned between the occupying forces of the US (in the south) and the USSR in the north. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea) was established in 1948. According to a 1995 estimate, the population of North Korea was nearly 23.5 million (CIA, 1995). Almost the entire population speaks Korean, the official language, a member of the Ural-Altaic family of languages. There is also a small Chinese speaking minority.

South Korea

Following the post-World War Two partitioning of Korea between US and USSR forces, the Republic of Korea (South Korea) was established in 1948. Like North Korea, South Korea is one of the most linguistically and ethnically homogeneous countries in the world. There are no recorded linguistic or ethnic minorities and the entire population of nearly 45.5 million (CIA, 1995) speaks Korean, the official language.

Korean is written in a phonetic script, called *hangul*. North Korea uses *hangul* exclusively, while, in the South, borrowed Chinese characters are used to supplement *hangul*. This practice is tolerated, but not encouraged.

The political and ideological separation between North and South Korea has accentuated linguistic differences between the two regions. The eventual reunification of the country is still an aim (King, 1994).

Pakistan

The Islamic State of Pakistan was created on August 14th, 1947, as a homeland for the Muslims of South Asia, by a partition of British India. The idea of partitioning India into separate Hindu and Muslim areas had originated in the 1930s. Pakistan originally consisted of two separate areas located about a thousand miles apart to the east and west of India. The two

areas had no common linguistic or cultural heritage, but were united by Islam. Eventually, the eastern portion seceded in 1971, and became the independent nation of Bangladesh.

1995 estimates give the population of Pakistan as 131.5 million (CIA, 1995). The country is composed of many diverse ethnic and linguistic groups, following centuries of invasion and settlement. The Panjabis are the largest ethnic and linguistic group, comprising 64 percent of the population. (This figure includes about 10 percent who are speakers of Siraiki, until recently regarded as a dialect of Panjabi). The largest ethnolinguistic minorities are the Sindhis (12 percent) who represent the majority of the population in the province of Sind, and the Pashto or Pashtuns (13 percent) who are in the majority in the North West Frontier Province and have strong ties with Afghanistan. There are also the Baluchi (2 percent) in the province of Baluchistan, and the Brahuis, a small Dravidian minority. The mountainous Northern Territories are home to a variety of diverse minor languages including Dardic (Shina, Khowar), Tibetan (Balti), and the isolated Burushaski. During the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan (1979-1989) and in the troubled years following, more than three million Afghan refugees fled to North West Pakistan and settled there. About half of these still remain in Pakistan.

The official language of Pakistan is Urdu. Urdu is spoken as a mother tongue by 6.7 percent of the population, the community of Mujahirs, or Muslim refugees from India who came to Pakistan in 1947. However, Urdu and the closely related variety Hindi, were prestigious literary languages in India for centuries and became symbols of nationalism and the desire for independence during the decades before 1947. Gandhi attempted to unify Hindi and Urdu as Hindustani, but because of the conflicts between Hindus and Muslims, this did not succeed.

Urdu is the medium of central government, administration, religion and broadcasting and is also used in education. It is widely spoken and understood as a lingua franca. English continues to be a high status language and is widely used in Pakistan, as in India, chiefly in government and business and by an educated elite. English-medium schools, colleges and universities continue to enjoy greater prestige than the officially encouraged Urdu-medium system.

Bilingualism and trilingualism are common in Pakistan. Although much of the rural population is monolingual, there are notable local patterns of bilingualism which include those between Sindhi and Siraiki in Sind, Baluchi and Brahui in Baluchistan, and Pashto and Hindko in the North West Frontier Province. Many people are bilingual in a local language and Urdu, and the urban elite are typically trilingual in English, Urdu and a local language.

No three-language policy exists in Pakistan as in India, but the strongest provincial languages (e.g. Sindhi, Pashto, Panjabi), are used widely in the media and education, and there have been demands for increased official

recognition for these regional languages alongside Urdu. The following table, based on data from the 1981 census, shows that Panjabi, Sindhi and Pashto are majority languages in their own regions. (Shackle, 1994)

Pakistan: Language Percentages by Household (taken from the 1981 Census)

Languages	Panjab	Sind	Baluchistan	NWFP*	Pakistan
Urdi	4.3	22.6	1.4	0.8	7.6
Panjabi	78.7	7.7	2.2	1.1	48.2
Siraiki	14.9	2.3	0.5	4.0	9.8
Hindko	---	0.4	0.1	18.1	2.4
Sindhi	0.1	52.4	8.3	---	11.8
Baluchi	0.6	4.5	36.3	---	3.0
Brahui	---	1.1	20.7	---	1.2
Pashto	0.8	3.1	25.2	68.3	13.2

*North West Frontier Province
(Shackle, 1994)

Philippines

The Philippine Islands are situated at the northern end of the Malay Archipelago in the Western Pacific Ocean. The Independent Republic of the Philippines comprises approximately 7,100 islands, most of which are tiny and uninhabited. The majority of the population of 73.2 million (CIA, 1995) live on the eleven largest islands.

About 80 languages and dialects are spoken in the Philippines. The majority of Filipinos are of Malayan descent. Ten languages belong to the Malayo-Polynesian language family, and are of regional importance. The main Malayo-Polynesian languages are Bisayan, Talagog and Ilokano.

The Philippines were ruled by Spain from the late 16th century until 1898. Spanish is still spoken by a dwindling minority of Filipinos of Spanish descent. There is also a small Chinese speaking minority, composed of in-migrants from China. There are two Muslim minority groups, the Moro and the Samel.

The official language of the Philippines is Filipino, based on the Talagog language. Primary education is free and compulsory in the Philippines, and Filipino is the medium of education in all the state primary schools. However, English is also an important second language in the Philippines. Between 1898 and 1946, the Philippines was under US control and since the country gained independence in 1946, it has maintained close links with the US, which has military bases on the islands. English is widely spoken as a second language by the educated elite and is commonly used for government and commercial purposes and in the media. It is also widely taught in schools and used as a medium of teaching, especially at the higher levels of education (Maher, 1994).

Singapore

The Republic of Singapore comprises one large island and more than 50 small islets. It lies to the south of Malaysia, and is separated by a narrow strait, the Johor Strait. The island is one of the most densely populated countries in the world, and the majority of the population live in the south of the island. In 1995, there was an estimated population of almost 2.9 million (CIA, 1995).

Singapore has four official languages: Chinese, Malay, Tamil and English. The use of four official languages shows the diverse nature of Singapore's population, and within each language group, there are many people speaking various dialects of the languages. The Chinese form around 78 percent of the population of Singapore. The official variety of Chinese promoted by the government is a version of Modern Standard Chinese known as Huayu. Like the standard language of the People's Republic of China, Putonghua, Huayu is based on the Beijing dialect of Mandarin, but the two versions differ slightly in both vocabulary and grammar. Although Huayu is the official variety of Chinese in Singapore, a great number of Chinese speak other varieties of Chinese, as is shown in the figures below (Tay, 1994).

The ethnic Malays form 14 percent of the population, from both Malaysia and Indonesia (Tay, 1994). There are about 396 thousand speakers of Malay. Tamil is spoken around by 90 thousand people, and ethnic Indians count for seven percent of the Singapore population. English has a high number of speakers, especially second language speakers. It is the language of administration and is taught in most schools as a second language.

Official Languages	**Number of Speakers**
Malay	396,000
English	227,000 (also 729,000 second language users)
Chinese (Mandarin)	201,000
Tamil	90,000
Other languages	
Chinese (Hakka, Min Nan, Min Pei, Yue)	1,578,000
Thai	15,000
Chinese Malay (Baba Malay)	10,000
Malayalam	10,000
Panjabi, Eastern	9,500
Japanese	7,590
Korean	5,200

(Department of Statistics (Singapore)1990; Grimes, 1992)

Sri Lanka

Sri Lanka, a former British colony, gained full independence in 1948. Seventy four percent of the population of 18.3 million (CIA, 1995) are ethnic

Sinhalese and speak Sinhala as their first language. Eighteen percent are ethnic Tamils, descendants of in-migrants from India, living mainly in the north and east, and speak Tamil as their mother tongue. Another seven percent are Muslims of Arabic descent and also speak Tamil as their first language. There are three tiny minority groups speaking Burgher (a pidgin based on Portuguese, Dutch, Sinhala and Tamil), Malay or Veddah, an aboriginal language. Together, these three groups comprise about one percent of the population.

English was the official language of the country until 1957 and is still widely used in government and administration. It is estimated that about 10 percent of the population speak English as a second language, including many people in public and private sector administration (CIA, 1995). Sinhala and Tamil are both official languages and children may be educated in either language. English is widely taught as a second/foreign language in schools. Sinhala is used for all administrative purposes in all provinces except the North East province, where Tamil is used. Official documents are published in Sinhala, Tamil and English and these three languages are used in the media. Many educated Muslims are trilingual. They speak Tamil at home, are educated through Sinhala or Tamil, and conduct their business in English, Tamil or Sinhala (Sanmugadas, 1994).

During recent years there has been ethnic conflict between Tamils and Sinhalese in Sri Lanka. While the Sinhalese have promoted Sinhala over English as a major marker of their ethnic and national identity, the Tamils have perceived the superior status of Sinhala as a sign of their own disadvantaged status.

Taiwan

After being under Japanese occupation for half a century, Taiwan was reclaimed by China in 1945. In 1947, the island was proclaimed a province of the People's Republic of China, but the Taiwanese people were not willing to recognize the Communist Chinese government. A rival Chinese government, the government of the Republic of China, was established in Taiwan and still exists. Long term plans for a process of reunification with China are currently underway.

84 percent of the population of 21.5 million (CIA, 1995) are ethnic Taiwanese. Most Taiwanese speak as their mother tongue, Taiwanese, a form of the Southern Min dialect of Chinese. About 14 percent of the population consist of mainland Chinese (CIA, 1995), who have moved to Taiwan since the end of World War Two. The mainland Chinese speak a variety of dialects of Chinese, including a version of modern standard Chinese or Mandarin Chinese, sometimes called Guoyu. Guoyu is the official language of Taiwan, the language of administration, education and most broadcasting, and its use as a first and second language is spreading. Ten percent of the population speak dialects of a variety of Chinese termed Hakka or Kejia (French, 1994). There are small minorities of speakers of other varieties of Chinese. About two percent of the population are Aboriginal peoples (CIA, 1995), perhaps

related to people of the Philippines or Indonesia and speaking dialects of the Malay-Polynesian language group. Many older people retain a knowledge of Japanese acquired during the period of Japanese rule. There is much bilingualism and multilingualism in Taiwan, and it is increasing with the spread of Guoyu (French, 1994).

Tajikistan

The Republic of Tajikistan (Tadzhikistan) was formerly the Tajikistan Soviet Socialist Republic. It gained its independence on the dissolution of the USSR in 1991. The population is 6.1 million (1995 census). The Tajiks, an Iranian Muslim people, comprise about 65 percent of the population (CIA, 1995). Their language, Tajik, is a Persian language, closely related to Farsi, the majority language of Iran, and Dari, the majority language of Afghanistan.

Tajikistan was part of Uzbekistan for some years in the 1920s, and both countries have sizable minority groups within one another's borders. Almost 24 percent of the population of Tajikistan are Uzbeks. Russians form 3.5 percent of the population, (CIA, 1995). There has been ethnic tension and conflict over the years, and during the internal conflicts of the 1990s, Uzbeks and Russians left the country in large numbers, thus increasing the proportion of Tajiks. Other minorities include Kyrgyz, Ukrainians, Germans, Turkmen and Koreans. Tajik is now the official language, but Russian is still widely used in government and business. Most Tajiks speak Russian as a second language (Grimes, 1992).

Thailand

The Kingdom of Thailand, (formerly Siam), has a population of over 60 million (CIA, 1995 census). Thailand has been a monarchy since 1350 and has never been colonised. Eighty percent of the population are ethnic Thais and speak the Thai language. There are four main Thai dialects: Central Thai, on which the official language is based, Northern Thai, Southern Thai, and North Eastern Thai. North Eastern Thai is also called Lao and is the official language of the neighbouring Republic of Laos. In Thailand, however, Lao is perceived as a low status dialect which speakers of Standard Thai find difficult to understand.

The largest ethnic minority in Thailand are the Chinese (12 percent). Over 50 other languages from various language families are spoken by small ethnic minority groups in Thailand (Ronnakiat, 1994). Other sizable minority groups are the Malay-speaking Muslims in the South, in the Northern hills, and Cambodian and Vietnamese refugees in the East. The governmental language policy is to promote only standard Thai as the official language, and to draw together all the diverse ethnic groups into a unified nation. About 97 percent of the population of Thailand can speak Thai. This indicates that bilingualism in Thai and a minority language is common. The main trade languages are Thai, Chinese and English.

Japanese is frequently used in business circles. English is widely spoken by an educated elite (Ronnakiat, 1994).

Turkmenistan

Until independence in 1991, Turkmenistan (or Turkmenia) was the Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic. The Turkmen people comprise about 73 percent of the population of just over four million (CIA, 1995) and speak Turkmen, a Turkic language, which is the official language. The largest minorities are Russians and Uzbeks, about nine percent each, (CIA, 1995). Other ethnic groups are the Kazakhs, Tatars, Ukrainians, Asians and Armenians.

Uzbekistan

Uzbekistan was formerly the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic. It became independent upon the dissolution of the USSR in 1991. Of the population of 23 million, 71.4 percent are Uzbeks, and speak Uzbek, a Turkic language (Asher and Simpson, 1994). Uzbek is the official language of the country. Russians comprise 8.3 percent of the population, living primarily in urban areas. There has been ethnic conflict in Uzbekistan, as in some other former Soviet countries, and the size of the Russian minority has decreased as Russians have emigrated to Russia and elsewhere. Tajiks, speakers of Tajik, a Persian language, comprise 4.5 percent of the population, living primarily in the cities. Other minorities include the Tatars, Karakalpaks, Koreans, Kirghiz, Ukrainians, Turkmens and Turks (CIA, 1995).

Vietnam

The Socialist Republic of Vietnam is situated in South East Asia. Nearly 90 percent of the population of almost 74.4 million (CIA, 1995) are ethnic Vietnamese and speak the Vietnamese language. This includes over a million Vietnamese living in other countries. Vietnamese is the official language of Vietnam, and the majority language in all areas of the country. Over 50 minority languages are also spoken in Vietnam. A variety of languages are spoken by the 'montagnards', three million people of various ethnic groups living in the central highlands and mountains of the North. Khmer (Cambodian) is spoken by 0.5 million people and Cham by 50 thousand people (Grimes, 1992). Most speakers of minority languages also speak Vietnamese. The official language policy of Vietnam has been to maintain and promote minority languages and protect and develop the rights of their speakers.

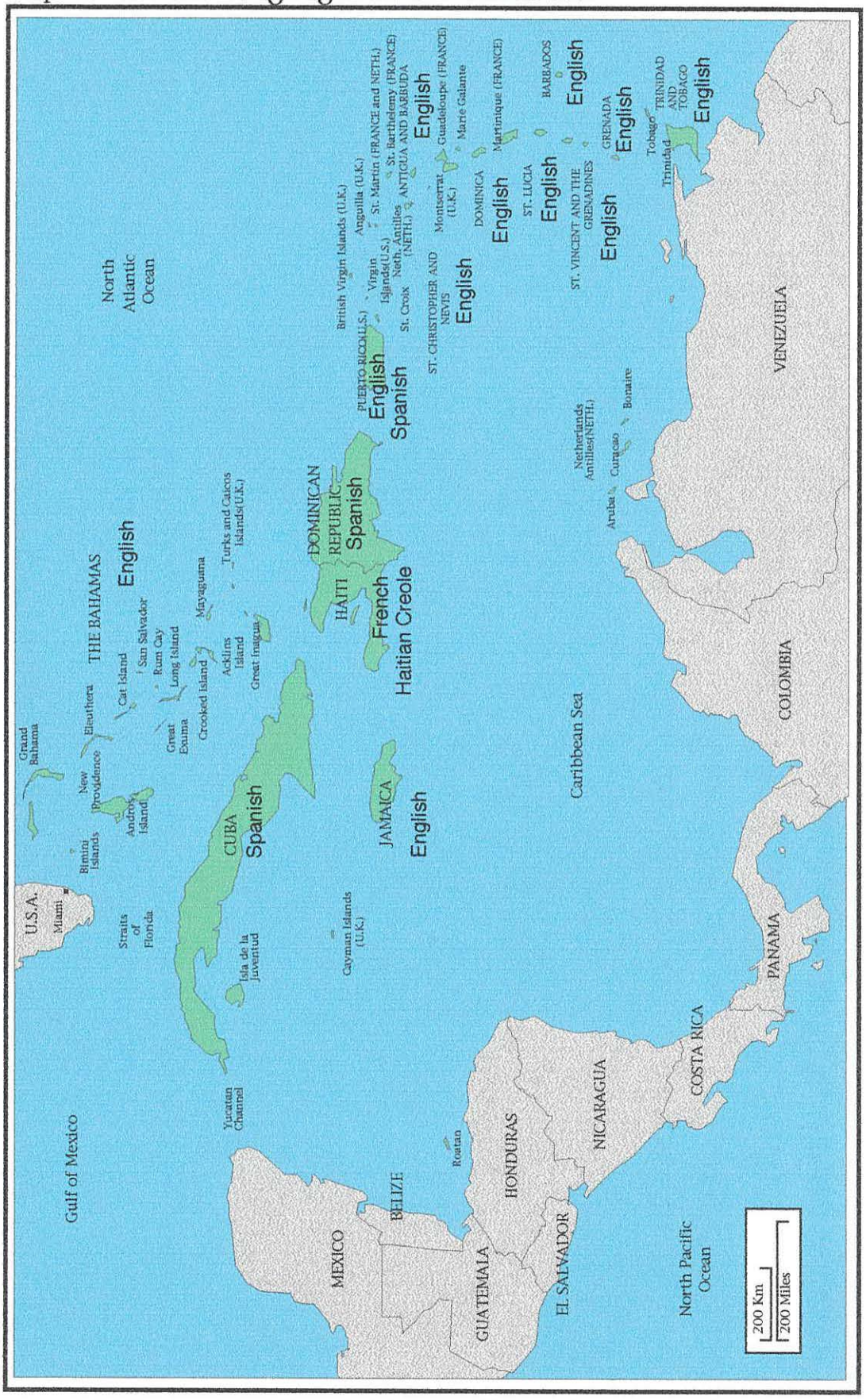
Vietnam was ruled by China for eleven centuries, between the 1st century BC and the 10th century AD. The Chinese language had a great influence on Vietnamese. Over half the words in the Vietnamese lexicon are borrowed from Chinese. Many Chinese migrated to Vietnam during the 17th and 18th centuries and settled mainly in urban areas, becoming involved in commerce, manufacturing, fishing and coal mining. During pre-colonial

and colonial periods, the Chinese were placed under a separate administration. Recent governments, however, have attempted to assimilate them. Thousands of ethnic Chinese left the country after the reunification of Vietnam in 1976 because of a government decision to nationalise commerce and industry in the south. It is estimated that two million still live in Vietnam, representing about three percent of the total population.

French was spoken widely in Vietnam as a second language during the period of French colonisation (1880-1945), and was still used in South Vietnam during the period of partition (1954-1976). Its use has now decreased. Vietnamese replaced French as the language of education in 1945. During the period of French colonial administration, French was widely spoken in urban areas, and many older city dwellers are bilingual in French and Vietnamese. French has had relatively less influence than Chinese on the Vietnamese language, but a large number of loan words from French are used in the speech of urban areas. French remains the official language in diplomatic and international political contacts.

Chapter 4 - THE CARIBBEAN

Map 4:1 Official Languages of the Caribbean



Anguilla

The British dependency of Anguilla is located at the northern end of the Leeward Islands in the Caribbean sea. Anguilla was first colonised by the British in the 17th century, who brought Black African slaves to the island. Today, most of the seven thousand inhabitants (CIA, 1995), are descendants of Black African slaves.

English is the official language of Anguilla, but most of the population speak Lesser Antillean Creole English as their first language. This English-based creole is close to the creoles of neighbouring Caribbean islands, such as Montserrat and Antigua. It has some degree of mutual intelligibility with the English-based creoles spoken in Jamaica and the Bahamas. (Grimes, 1992)

Antigua and Barbuda

The Caribbean country of Antigua and Barbuda is located to the southeast of Puerto Rico, in the Caribbean Sea. It is made up of three islands, Antigua, Barbuda and Redonda, (which is uninhabited). This former colony gained its independence from the United Kingdom in 1981 and the official language is English. However, the most widely spoken language is Lesser Antillean Creole English, which is spoken by most of the 65 thousand inhabitants. (CIA, 1995)

Aruba

Aruba, which lies off the Venezuelan coast, was formerly a part of the Netherlands Antilles, which is still an overseas territory of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. It separated in 1986, and became an autonomous region of the Netherlands. Aruba was first claimed by the Spanish, but was seized by the Dutch in the 17th century. Dutch is the official language.

In 1995, Aruba had an estimated population of almost 66 thousand (CIA, 1995), most of whom are of mixed European and American Indian descent. The main language spoken on Aruba is Papiamento, a Portuguese-based creole, with mixtures of Dutch, English, Arawak and African languages. Papiamento is the main language used in primary education. English, Spanish and Sranan are also spoken on Aruba. Sranan is an English-based creole, originating from Suriname (Asher and Simpson, 1994).

The Bahamas

The Commonwealth of the Bahamas is composed of about 700 islands. Most of these are uninhabited, with the population living mainly on 30 islands. More than half the population live on the island of New Providence, where the capital Nassau is situated. The population was estimated to be 256 thousand in 1995 (CIA, 1995). More than 80 percent of the population are Black African descendants of slaves. The official language of the Bahamas is English.

As the official language, English is widely understood by Bahamans. However, the majority of the population, 86.5 percent, speak Bahamas Creole English as their mother tongue (Asher and Simpson, 1994).

Barbados

Barbados was a former British colony, and is a small island, the most eastern of the West Indies. It had an estimated population of 256 thousand in 1995, making it one of the most densely populated islands in the world (CIA, 1995). Ninety percent of the island's population is Black African, and are descendants of slaves brought to the country from Africa to work on the sugar plantations. The remainder of the population is composed of Whites and people of mixed race. English is the official language of Barbados. The language spoken by the majority of Barbadians is Bajan, which is considered to be a dialect of English rather than a creole.

The British Virgin Islands

Four main islands and over 32 islets make up the British Virgin Islands, a possession of the United Kingdom. The four main islands are Anegada, Jost Van Dyke, Tortola and Virgin Gorda. They are located to the east of Puerto Rico in the Caribbean Sea. In 1995, the British Virgin Islands had an estimated population of 13 thousand (CIA, 1995). Most are the descendants of slaves who worked on the colonial plantations.

The official language is English, but most of the population speak Lesser Antillean Creole English as their main language.

The Cayman Islands

The Cayman Islands are a dependent territory of the United Kingdom, located about 160 km south of Cuba, in the Caribbean Sea. Grand Cayman, Little Cayman and Cayman Brac are the three islands which form the Cayman Islands, with an estimated population (CIA, 1995) of 33 thousand.

British settlers from Jamaica first colonised the islands in the 18th century. The island's population is a mixture of European, Black African and people of mixed descent. The official language and the language spoken by the inhabitants of the Cayman Islands is English.

Cuba

The Island of Cuba is the largest in the Caribbean Sea, and is located south of the United States, separated by the Straits of Florida. The estimated population of Cuba in 1995 was 10.9 million (CIA, 1995). About two thirds of the population are White, mainly of Spanish descent. Black Africans and people of mixed ancestry make up the remainder. Many of the Black

Africans are descendants of slaves who were imported to the islands to work on the sugar plantations. The original population of the islands were American Indians. Their population declined as large numbers of Spanish people migrated to Cuba. None of the original Amerindian languages are spoken in Cuba.

Spanish is the official language, and the mother tongue of almost all of Cuba's population. English is widely spoken in Cuba as a foreign language. English has been important as a language of trade throughout this century, although its use was discouraged after the Cuban revolution in 1959, when Cuba became a communist state. The importance of English in trade and industry is recognized and the language is taught in many schools. Russian was also taught to military students until the late 1980s, as Cuba and Russia had close ties as trade and defence partners. Other foreign languages taught include German, French, Portuguese, Italian and Arabic (Hunter, 1994).

Dominica

The Commonwealth of Dominica, with an estimated population of 82 thousand in 1995 (CIA, 1995), is one of the smallest countries in the Western Hemisphere. The population is predominantly Black, with a small number of Carib Indians. The official language of Dominica is English. The French originally colonised the island in the 17th century but, in 1763, it came under British rule, until its independence in 1978.

Although English is the official language, at least 95 percent of the population speak Lesser Antillean Creole French, and 70 percent are monolingual in Creole. This French-based creole is also known as Patwa or Patois. About 10 percent of Creole French speakers understand standard French (Asher and Simpson, 1994).

The language of those who do not speak Creole French is Dominican English. The small minority of ethnic Carib Indians no longer speak their native language, Island Carib. This language died out in Dominica in the 1920s, and most of the Carib Indians now speak Creole French.

The Dominican Republic

The Dominican Republic occupies the eastern two-thirds of the Caribbean island of Hispaniola, with Haiti occupying the remaining third. The estimated population of The Dominican Republic was over 7.5 million in 1995, most of whom speak Spanish, the official language (CIA, 1995). The original Arawakan Indians who inhabited the land became extinct as the Spanish colonised the islands. French explorers also visited the land and colonised the area now known as Haiti. The largest minority language group in the country comprises those speaking Haitian Creole French. There are 159 thousand speakers of Creole French, two percent of the population (Grimes, 1992). Creole French is the majority language of Haiti.

There are also a small number of speakers of Samaná, an English based creole. This is the main language spoken in the Samaná bay area of the country. The inhabitants of this region are mainly descendants of freed slaves from the United States, who settled in the Dominican Republic in the nineteenth century. There are around eight thousand speakers of Samaná English (Grimes, 1992). English is the main foreign language taught in schools, with some Portuguese also taught.

Grenada

The State of Grenada is an independent island nation located 150 km north of the South American Coast in the Caribbean Sea. In addition to the main island, Grenada, there are several smaller islands, including Carriacaou and Petit Martinique. In 1995 the islands had an estimated population of 94 thousand (CIA, 1995), most of whom are of Black African descent. Many of the Black Africans were brought from Africa to work on the sugar plantations during the 18th century. The official language of the country is English.

Most of the Grenadians speak English as their first language. The dialect they use is different from standard English, and is known as Grenadian English. Two main minority languages are spoken in Grenada. A substantial minority of 43 thousand people speak Lesser Antillean Creole English (Grimes, 1992). The second minority language is Lesser Antillean Creole French. There are only a few speakers of this language, mainly older people, found in small scattered pockets of the country, generally in rural areas.

Guadeloupe

The French overseas department of Guadeloupe consists of a group of eight islands located to the north of the Windward Islands. The French first colonised Guadeloupe in the early 17th century, and conquered the original Carib Indians who lived on the islands. Today, the majority of the population are Black Africans, descendants of slaves brought to work on the sugar plantations. Black Africans and people of mixed African and European descent constitute 90 percent of the population, with small minorities of Europeans, East Indians and Chinese. The estimated population in 1995 was 402 thousand (CIA, 1995).

The official language of Guadeloupe is French. However, most of the population speak Lesser Antillean Creole French, also known as Patwa. The variety spoken on Guadeloupe is very close to that spoken on the island of Martinique.

Haiti

Haiti comprises the western third of the Caribbean island of Hispaniola, bordered by the Dominican Republic in the east. The population of Haiti

was estimated to be over 6.5 million in 1995 (CIA, 1995), making it one of the most densely populated countries in the world. Haiti was ceded to France by Spain in 1697. Up to 95 percent of Haitians are of Black African origin, descendants of slaves brought by French colonists to work on the plantations. There are a small minority of Europeans and people of mixed descent. The original Arawakan Indian inhabitants became extinct as the Spanish and French colonised the island. The Spanish colonised the east of the island, now known as The Dominican Republic.

The two official languages are French and Haitian Creole. Haitian Creole, a French-based creole, is the mother tongue and only language of over 90 percent of the population (Asher and Simpson, 1994). In 1961, Creole was granted legal and education status in Haiti, but is not as widely used in education as French. Creole is regarded as being of lower social status than French. French is the second language of around 400 thousand Haitians (Grimes, 1992).

Jamaica

The Island of Jamaica, formerly a British colony, is the third largest island in the Caribbean sea and is located south of Cuba. The estimated population in 1995 was over 2.5 million (CIA, 1995). The population of Jamaica consists mainly of descendants of Black African slaves, with descendants also of South Asians, Europeans and Chinese.

The official language of Jamaica is English, and this is the language used in education. However, most of the population, especially in rural areas, speak a Creole dialect. Western Caribbean Creole English is the language used by 94 percent of the population. Western Caribbean Creole English is also known as Patwa, Bongo Talk and Quashie talk (Grimes, 1992).

Martinique

Martinique is an overseas department of France, located in the eastern Caribbean sea. The island, first discovered by Columbus in the early 16th century, was colonised by France, and the official language of the island is French. The majority of the population are of Black African descent, whose ancestors were brought from Africa as slaves to work on the sugar plantations. In 1995, the estimated population was 394 thousand (CIA, 1995).

The language spoken by most of the inhabitants of Martinique is Lesser Antillean Creole French, also known as Patwa. Varieties of this creole are spoken on several of the Caribbean islands and the variety spoken on Martinique is very close to the variety spoken on Guadeloupe.

Montserrat

The Caribbean island of Montserrat is a dependency of the United Kingdom, situated to the south east of Puerto Rico. The islands were first discovered by

Columbus in the 15th century, and have since been colonised by the Irish, the British and the French. In 1995, the island had an estimated population of almost thirteen thousand (CIA, 1995), most of whom are descendants of Black African slaves brought to the Caribbean islands to work on the sugar plantations. The official language and the native language of the population is English.

The Netherlands Antilles:

Curacao, Bonaire, Saint Martin, Saba and Saint Eustatius.

The Netherlands Antilles are an overseas territory of the Netherlands, made up of two groups of islands lying some 800 km apart. The two largest and most populated islands are Curacao and Bonaire, known as the Leeward Islands, which lie off the Venezuelan coast. Saint Martin, Saba and Saint Eustatius are smaller islands, collectively known as the Windward Islands. These islands are located to the north of Antigua and Barbuda. The Netherlands Antilles had an estimated population of 203 thousand in 1995 (CIA, 1995).

The original Arawak and Carib Indians were conquered by the Spanish and Dutch colonists. The population of the islands are descendants of American Indians, Dutch, Portuguese and Black African slaves.

The official languages on the Leeward Islands are Dutch and Papiamento. Papiamento is the language spoken by most of the population, with Dutch decreasing in importance. Papiamento is a Portuguese-based creole, with mixtures of Dutch, English, Arawak and African languages. The main language of instruction in the schools on Leeward islands is Dutch, with Papiamento used at primary level.

Inhabitants of the Windward Islands speak English, which is their official language. Spanish is also widely spoken. The main language of instruction in schools is English (Asher and Simpson, 1994).

Puerto Rico

Puerto Rico is a Caribbean island, south of Hispaniola, and is part of the commonwealth of the United States. Known also as the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, it has an estimated population of 3.8 million (CIA, 1995). Both Spanish and English are official languages. Puerto Rico used to be a colony of Spain up until 1898, when control passed to the United States. Almost all of the population are of Spanish descent. The vast majority of the population speak Spanish as their native language and Spanish is the language of everyday life in homes, shops and streets. In the 1990 Census, 52% of Puerto Ricans reported that they were monolingual Spanish speakers; another 24% as dominant in Spanish with some fluency in English (Morris, 1996). English is the mother tongue of some 107 thousand Puerto Ricans. It is also the language used by the small minority of foreign-born residents, mostly from the United States. There are also a few speakers

of French, German and Italian living in Puerto Rico. Approximately one third of the Puerto Rican population have migrated to the United States.

Three Creole languages are spoken in Puerto Rico, but only by a small percentage of the population. Haitian Creole French is spoken by approximately 400 people, Papiamento, a Portuguese-based creole, by around 200 people, and Dutch Creole has only a few speakers remaining (Asher and Simpson, 1994).

Saint Christopher and Nevis

The islands of Saint Christopher and Nevis make up the Federation of Saint Kitts and Nevis. They are located in the eastern Caribbean Sea and were formerly a colony of the United Kingdom. The estimated population of the islands is 41 thousand, most of whom live on Saint Kitts (CIA, 1995). The islands were originally inhabited by Carib Indians until British colonists arrived in the 17th century.

The official language is English. However, most of the inhabitants speak Lesser Antillean Creole English, known also as Kittitian Creole.

Saint Vincent and the Grenadines

Saint Vincent and the Grenadines are Caribbean islands, located to the north of Trinidad and Tobago. This former British colony gained its independence in 1979. The islands have an estimated population of 117 thousand (CIA, 1995), mainly of Black African descent. The original inhabitants of the islands were Arawak and Carib Indians. The official language of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines is English. Lesser Antillean Creole English is the most widely spoken language, and is the mother tongue of a majority of the population (Grimes, 1992).

St Lucia

The island of St Lucia was claimed by both Britain and France during the 17th and 18th centuries, but was under British control from 1814 until it gained independence in 1979. About 90 percent of the island's population of 156 thousand (CIA, 1995) are descended from Black African slaves, imported by the French to work in the sugar-cane plantations. The official language is English but the most widely spoken language is a French-based Creole called Kwéyòl (Kwiyrl) or Patwa, the creole which developed among the plantation slaves. Kwéyòl is still the first language and mother tongue of the majority of St. Lucians, and it is estimated that at least 90 percent of St. Lucians have some degree of fluency in Kwéyòl. (FRC, 1992) However, in recent years, more widespread educational opportunities, the mass media and better communication have increased the number of bilinguals speaking both English and Kwéyòl. It has been estimated that over 80 percent of St. Lucians are bilingual in English and a Creole (FRC, 1992).

A diglossic situation exists in St. Lucia: English is favoured for public, formal communication and French Creole (Kwiyrl or Kwéyòl) for private, informal communication. French Creole is closely related to other creole varieties spoken in neighbouring islands. An English-based Creole is also used in Saint Lucia, particularly in urban areas.

English continues to be the language of prestige and official life. Recently there has been an effort to increase the status and raise the public profile of French Creole. A standard orthography has been established and there is also pressure on government to include Kwéyòl in the education system. There has recently been a greater use of Kwéyòl in the mass media.

Trinidad and Tobago

Trinidad and Tobago is an independent nation in the Caribbean Sea, seven miles to the north of the South American country of Venezuela. These two islands have a population of one and quarter million, of both Asian and African ancestry (CIA, 1995). The original Arawaka and Carib Indian inhabitants became extinct as the Spanish colonised the islands. Black African slaves were brought to work an the plantations, and when slavery was abolished in 1833, the British brought in Muslim and Hindu Indians to replace plantation slaves.

The official language is English, which is also the first language of the majority of the population, especially on Trinidad.

The largest minority language group in Trinidad and Tobago are those speaking Caribbean Hindi, or Hindustani. Thirty six percent of the population are of Asian descent, and 10 percent of these, or 45 thousand, speak Caribbean Hindi as a native language (Grimes, 1992). Most speakers of Caribbean Hindi also speak English. The rest of the Asian population speak English as their mother tongue. The use of Caribbean Hindi is slowly decreasing as the younger generations shift to English.

The second largest minority language spoken is Lesser Antillean Creole English. This language is spoken by about 36 thousand people, who all live on the island of Tobago (Grimes, 1992). Trinidad Creole French is spoken in some of the northern villages in Trinidad.

The Turks and Caicos Islands

The Turks and Caicos Islands are part of the British West Indies, and are a dependent territory of the United Kingdom. There are around 30 islands, located to the south east of the Bahamas, only eight of which are inhabited. In 1995, the estimated population was 13 thousand. (CIA, 1995).

The islands were first colonised by the British, who brought African people as slaves to work on the plantations. By today, the majority of the population are descendants of Black Africans, and their main language is

English the official language.

A small minority of people on the Turks and Caicos islands speak Haitian Creole French, mainly in-migrants from Haiti. (Asher and Simpson, 1994).

The Virgin Islands of the United States

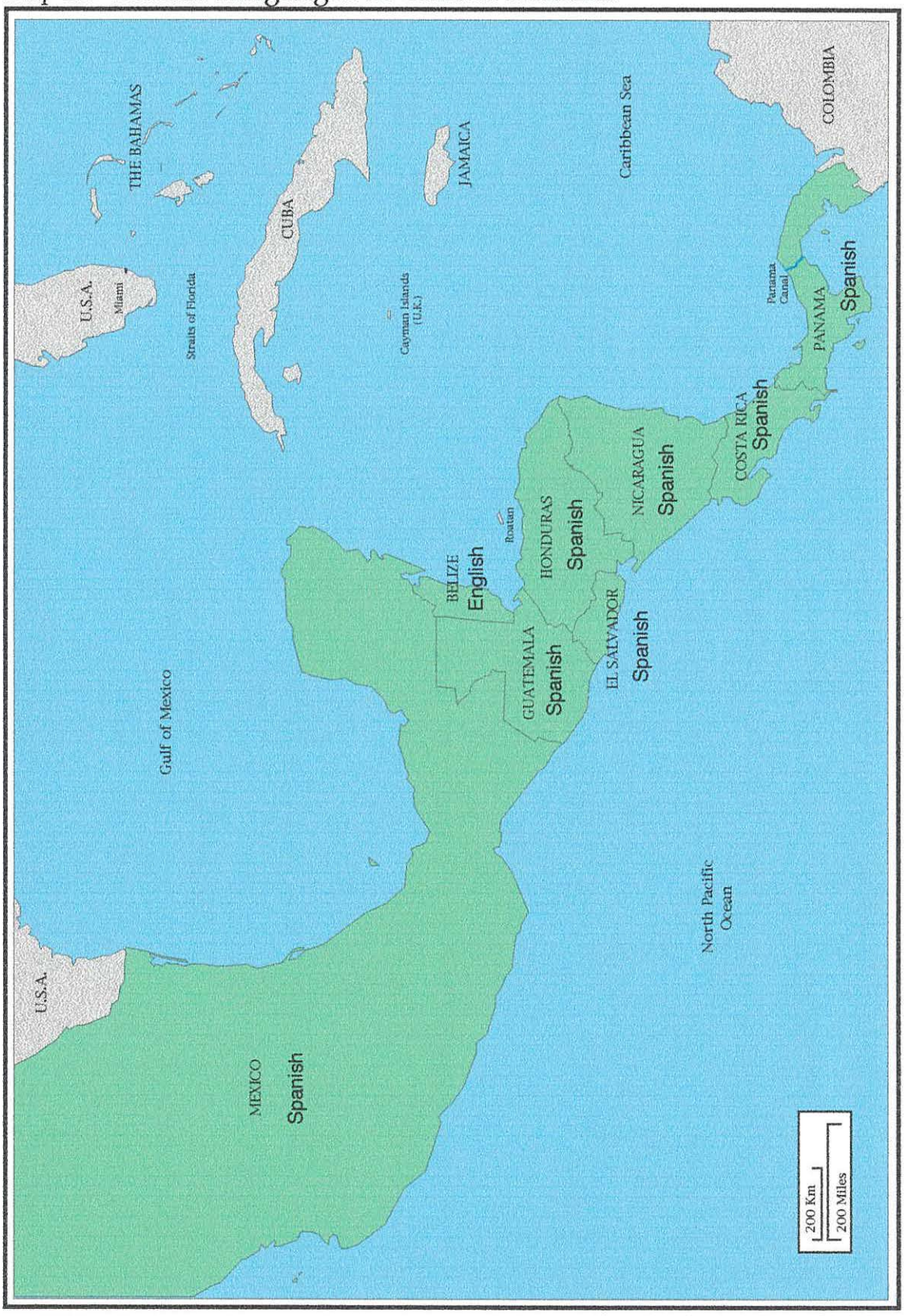
The Virgin Islands are located east of Puerto Rico in the Caribbean Sea. There are over 50 islets and a group of seven main islands. They are owned by the United States, and have an estimated population of 97 thousand (CIA, 1995). Most Virgin Islanders are descendants of slaves who worked on the colonial plantations. Three of the islands, Saint Thomas, Saint Croix and Saint John, have, at various times, been a possession of the British, the Danes and the French. The United States purchased the islands from Denmark in 1917. The official language is English.

A fairly high percentage of the current population have migrated to the Virgin Islands. Thirteen percent of the population were born in the United States. Most of these speak English as their main language. The West Indians of the island form 74 percent of the population, of whom 29 percent were born elsewhere in the West Indies (CIA, 1995). The West Indians speak Lesser Antillean Creole English.

There are about 200 speakers of Papiamento, a Portuguese-based creole, and also a few dozen speakers of a Dutch-based creole, called Negerhollands (Asher and Simpson, 1994). Spanish is also spoken on the Virgin Islands by some four and a half thousand people, mainly in-migrants from Puerto Rico.

Chapter 5 - CENTRAL AMERICA

Map 5:1 Official Languages of Central America



Belize

Belize is one of the smallest countries in Central America, with an estimated population of 214 thousand (CIA, 1995), but linguistically and culturally, it is also one of the most diverse. Belize, formerly known as British Honduras, is a former British colony, which gained full independence in 1981. The official language of Belize is English. English is used by the government and the media and is also the main medium used in education, and English literacy rates are high.

English is widely spoken as a second language, but few people speak it as their native language. Amerindian languages and Belizian Creole are the languages commonly used at home. Spanish is spoken by some 33 percent of the population, concentrated mainly in the north of the country (Grimes, 1992).

Belizean Creole, an English-based creole, is the mother tongue of 61 percent of Belize's population. It is also known as Creola. Most of its speakers live in urban areas. Second language speakers are mainly rural, increasing the percentage of those able to speak the language to 75 percent of Belizeans. Creola is a variant of West Caribbean Creole English (DeChicchis, 1994).

Three main Amerindian languages are spoken in Belize, all belonging to the Maya group. These are Kekchí, Mopán and Yucatec. Mopán and Kekchí, (also known as Q'eqchi), are spoken mainly in the district of Toledo. Bilingualism is common, and Kekchí is the region's lingua franca. It is estimated that Mopán or Kekchí are the mother tongues of 64 percent of this region's inhabitants (DeChicchis, 1994). The third Mayan language, Yucatec, is spoken by almost six thousand people, living mainly in the north of Belize.

Speakers of the Arawakan language, Garifuná, also known as Black Carib, live along the southern coast. Communities of Garifuná speakers are to be found in many Central American countries, and most of these communities are bilingual or multilingual. The Garifuná speakers of Belize are no exception. It is common for them to speak English, Belizean Creole or Spanish as well.

Plautdietsch, an archaic variety of German, is spoken by five thousand Mennonites. It is spoken mainly in the home, as are other small numbers of European and Asian languages spoken in Belize.

Languages Spoken	**Number of Speakers**
Belize Creole English	158,000
Spanish	61,380
Carib, Balck (Garifuná)	20,460
Kekchí	10,000
Mopán Maya	6,000
Yuctec	5,800
Plautdietsch	5,000

(Grimes, 1992; DeChicchis, 1994a)

Costa Rica

The Republic of Costa Rica is bordered by Panama in the south and by Nicaragua in the north. In 1995, the estimated population of the country was 3.4 million (CIA, 1995). In Central America, Costa Rica probably has the highest percentage of people of European descent, around 96 percent of the population, mainly Spanish. The official language of Costa Rica is Spanish, the mother tongue of 2/3 of the population, used in education and government.

Most of the original American Indian population have been absorbed among the in-migrant population. However, Amerindian languages are still spoken by small groups. Two of the main indigenous languages spoken in Costa Rica are Bribri, also known as Talamanca, and Cabécar, which is also known by the name of one of its dialects, Chirripó. There are five thousand Bribri, who use the language mainly in the home. About half of them also speak Spanish. In areas with a high concentration of Bribri speakers, bilingual Spanish and Bribri schools are provided. Cabécar is spoken by some three thousand people in Costa Rica.

Western Caribbean Creole English is spoken by an estimated two percent of the population, mainly descendants of African slaves who migrated to the country from Jamaica, and who live mainly along the Caribbean coast. Speakers of Creole English may not speak Standard English, but are likely to be bilingual in Creole and Spanish. There are a considerable number of people who speak standard English, mainly US citizens resident in Costa Rica. The four and a half thousand Chinese living in Costa Rica speak Cantonese, Mandarin or Hakka varieties of Chinese.

Languages Spoken	Number of Speakers
Spanish (official language)	2,156,960
*WCCE	55,100
Bribri (Talamanca)	5,000
Chinese	4,500
Cabécar (Chirripó)	3,000

*Western Caribbean Creole English
(Grimes, 1992)

El Salvador

The Republic of El Salvador is located on the Pacific Coast of Central America between Guatemala and Honduras. In 1995, an estimated 5.8 million people were living in El Salvador making it the most densely populated country in Central America (CIA, 1995). The majority of the population are *mestizos*, of mixed Spanish and American Indian ancestry, with around 10 percent being American Indian. The official language and the native language of the majority of the population is Spanish.

El Salvador is different from other South and Central American countries in that most of the American Indian population no longer speak their

indigenous language. The ethnic Lenca population numbers around 50 thousand, nearly all of whom speak Spanish as their mother tongue. Of almost 200 thousand in the Pipil ethnic group, only about 20 older people are fluent speakers of the Aztecan language, Pipil (DeChicchis, 1994). There is little or no effort to reverse such language shift by either the ethnic groups or by the El Salvadoran government.

A third American Indian language spoken in El Salvador is Kekchí, or Q'eqchi'. There are over 12 thousand speakers, most of whom are in-migrants from Guatemala, where the language is widely spoken (Grimes, 1992). The majority of the men learn Spanish at work, while the Kekchí women are mostly monolingual.

In El Salvador, there is a small non-Hispanic foreign population, most of whom use Spanish. In the larger cities, English is also spoken.

Languages Spoken	Number of Speakers
Spanish (official language)	5,670,000
Kekchí	12,286
Pipil	20
Lenca	nearly extinct

(Grimes, 1992; DeChicchis, 1994)

Guatemala

Guatemala has a population of eleven million people (CIA, 1995), making it the most populous country in Central America. The official language is Spanish, used by the government, media, and as the primary medium of education, and also used as a lingua franca by most Guatemalans. However, unlike other central American countries, a high percentage of the population still speak American Indian languages. Some 50 percent of Guatemala's population are Maya Indians, most of whom speak at least one Mayan language. This represents the largest existing Mayan community in the world, with smaller communities to be found in neighbouring Honduras, El Salvador and Mexico. Twenty two Mayan languages are spoken in Guatemala, 16 of which have over 10 thousand speakers each.

Although Spanish is the official and majority language, there is support for minority languages at local level. In areas with a high concentration of Mayan people, the government has introduced Mayan languages as the main languages of instruction in local schools. The four main languages, K'iche, Kaqchikel, Mam and Q'eqchi', are already used in schools, and work is underway to introduce other Mayan languages to schools. The degree of Spanish and Mayan bilingualism differs from one community to another. Mayan speakers living in urban areas are more likely to speak Spanish as well.

As well as the Mayan language communities, Guatemala has a small population speaking the Arawak language, Black Carib, or Garifuná. There are around 4000 Garifuná speakers, living mainly along the Caribbean coast,

and in the city of Livingston. (DeChicchis, 1994) Most of this language community are bilingual in Spanish and Garifuná, with many of the men also able to speak English and Western Caribbean Creole English. This is due to the fact that they travel to find work, often to other Caribbean and Central American countries.

Mayan Language Population in Guatemala. Languages with more than 10,000 speakers.

Languages Spoken	Number of Speakers
K'iche' (Quiche)	925300
Mam	686000
Daqchikel	405000
Q'eqchi'	256000
Q'anjob'al	112000
Tz'utujil	80000
Ixil	71000
Achi	58000
Chortí	52000
Poqomchi'	50000
Jakalteko	32000
Poqomam	32000
Chuj	29000
Sakapulteko	21000
Akateko	20000
Awakateko	16000

(DeChicchis, 1994)

Honduras

The Central American Republic of Honduras has an estimated population of 5.4 million (CIA, 1995). Most of this population are *mestizos* (of mixed Spanish and Amerindian descent), with only seven percent being American Indians. The official language is Spanish, which is the first language of about two thirds of the population, but several Amerindian languages are also spoken in Honduras. These include Mískito, Tol and Sumo. In recent years, the Sumo and Mískito population in Honduras has increased considerably as refugees have fled from the Contra fighting in Nicaragua. J. DeChicchis (in Asher and Simpson, 1994) estimates that migration has quadrupled the prewar population of Mískito living in Honduras.

Off the northern coast of Honduras lie several small islands, such as the Bay Islands and Roatan. These are home to 70 thousand Garifuná speakers (DeChicchis, 1994). This Arawak language is also known as Black Carib. Garifuná is also spoken by small communities on the northern coast of Honduras. The Bay Islands are home to 11 thousand first language English speakers, mainly descendants of pirate traders. Many of the men from the Garifuná community speak English or Spanish as a second language, as they travel from the islands to find work.

Languages Spoken	Number of Speakers
K'iche' (Quiche)	925300
Mam	686000
Daqchikel	405000
Q'eqchi'	256000
Q'anjob'al	112000
Tz'utujil	80000
Ixil	71000
Achi	58000
Chortí	52000
Poqomchi'	50000
Jakalteko	32000
Poqomam	32000
Chuj	29000
Sakapulteko	21000
Akateko	20000
Awakateko	16000

(DeChicchis, 1994; Grimes, 1992)

Mexico

Mexico is bordered by the South American countries of Belize and Guatemala, and by the United States in the North. In 1995, Mexico had an estimated population of 93.9 million (CIA, 1995). The 1990 census showed that 91 percent, or some 85.5 million, of Mexico's population speak the official language, Spanish, as their first language, making Mexico the largest Spanish speaking country in the world (Census of Mexico, 1990).

Over a hundred American Indian languages are also spoken in Mexico. The five largest are Náhuatl, Maya, Mixteco, Zapoteco and Otomí. The largest minority language, Náhuatl, has around 1,197,000 speakers, which constitutes about 27 percent of the total of minority language speakers (Census, 1990). Náhuatl is also known as Mexicano. This was the official language of the Aztec empire. Speakers of Mexicano and other minority languages are concentrated mainly in the states of Oaxaca and Yucatan, in the east of Mexico. In both of these states, minority languages are spoken by over 40 percent of the population. In some parts of Mexico, almost no Amerindian languages are spoken. The northern part of the country, for example, is almost entirely Spanish speaking.

The levels of bilingualism among minority language groups in Mexico are fairly high, with over 75 percent of minority languages speakers also fluent in Spanish. Spanish is the language used in the media and publishing. It is also the medium of education at all levels (French, 1994).

Minority Languages in Mexico, which have more than 100 thousand Speakers.

Languages Spoken	Number of Speakers
Náhuatl	1,197,328
Maya	713,520

Mixteco	383,544
Zapoteco	380,690
Otomí	280,238
Tzeltal	261,084
Tzotzil	229,203
Totonaca	207,876
Mazateco	168,374
Chol	128,240
Mazahua	127,826
Huasteco	120,739
Chinanteco	103,942

Source: 1990 Census of Mexico

Nicaragua

The Republic of Nicaragua is bordered in the north by Honduras, and in the south by Costa Rica, and is the largest country in Central America. The estimated population in 1995 was 4.2 million (CIA, 1995). The official language is Spanish, the language of government and education, the first language of half the population and the lingua franca used throughout the country. Around 77 percent of Nicaragua's population are *mestizos*, of mixed European and American Indian ancestry. Another 10 percent are of European descent, nine percent of Black African descent, and about four percent are Asian (CIA, 1995).

The African and American Indian populations are concentrated mainly along the Caribbean coast, and Mískito and English are the main languages spoken in this area. Mískito speaking Nicaraguans number between 70 and 150 thousand, and Western Caribbean Creole English is spoken by 30 thousand, some 23 percent of the coastal population (Grimes, 1992). The use of these and other indigenous languages such as Sumo, is encouraged by the government. Minority languages are actively promoted, and the right of all citizens to use their local language is recognized by the government. Dictionaries and other literacy materials have been provided in Mískito. Most Mískito speakers are bilingual in Spanish.

In central Nicaragua, Sumo is spoken by 5 thousand people. The speakers of this Amerindian language are likely to know some Spanish or English, and occasionally Mískito (DeChicchis, 1994).

Languages Spoken	**Number of Speakers**
Spanish (official language)	1,918,000 (1992 est)
Mískito	150,000
*WCCE	30,000
Sumo	6,700
Black Carib	1,500

*Western Caribbean Creole English
(Grimes, 1992)

Panama

The Republic of Panama lies on the stretch of land which joins North and South America. The country has an estimated population of 2.6 million, and the official language is Spanish (CIA, 1995). Spanish is the language used in education and by the government, and is spoken by 90 percent of Panamanians. English is also widely used in Panama, especially in Panama City and in the Canal zone because of the historical connection with the United States. English is the administrative language of this area, and bilingualism in Spanish and English is common. Many workers were brought into the country from Jamaica and Barbados to help build the Panama Canal. They constitute around 14 percent of the population and speak mainly English and West Caribbean Creole English rather than Spanish. Ten percent of the population are of European (usually Spanish) descent, the rest being *mestizos*, people of mixed Spanish and American Indian ancestry (CIA, 1995).

A number of Amerindian languages are spoken in Panama, and in recent years autonomous territories called *comarcas* have been developed to ensure their future. Two large *comarcas* have been allocated to speakers of Kuna and Chocó. Both these languages are concentrated in the east of the country. Ninety percent of those who speak Kuna live in the Kuna Yala *comarca*, which is situated near the coast in the San Blas region. Most Kuna speakers have some knowledge of Spanish. The Chocó *comarca*, Embera Drua, is in the province of Darién, and is home to 60 percent of the Choco language group. About half of the Embera Dura's population speak some Spanish. There have also been proposals to develop *comarcas* for two other language groups, the Guaymí and Térraba (DeChicchis, 1994).

Languages Spoken	Number of Speakers
Spanish (official language)	1,918,000 (1992 est)
Guaymí	70,000
Kuna	50,000
Chocó	12,000
Embera	8,000
Chinese	6,000
Waumeo	3,000
Térraba	2,000
*WCCE	100,000 to 299,000

(DeChicchis, 1994; Grimes, 1992)

*Western Caribbean Creole English

Chapter 6 - EUROPE

Map 6:1 Majority Languages of Europe

Map 6:2 Minority Languages of Europe

Western Europe
Austria

Austria has a population of just under eight million (CIA, 1995) and its official language is Standard German. About 98 percent of the population speak dialects of German as their mother tongue (Grimes, 1992). Minority language groups count for a very small percentage of the population.

The minority languages include Croatian, Slovenian and Hungarian. These languages have some official recognition, and are taught alongside German in some bilingual schools. This is the case in areas with a large proportion of speakers, for example in Burgenland, a state in the east of Austria which borders Hungary. There are about 45 thousand Croats, and 15 thousand Hungarians living throughout the country. Slovenian is spoken mainly in the south of Austria and is an official language in the province of Carinthia.

There are an estimated 35 thousand Slovenes living in Austria (Smolle and Breathnach, 1995).

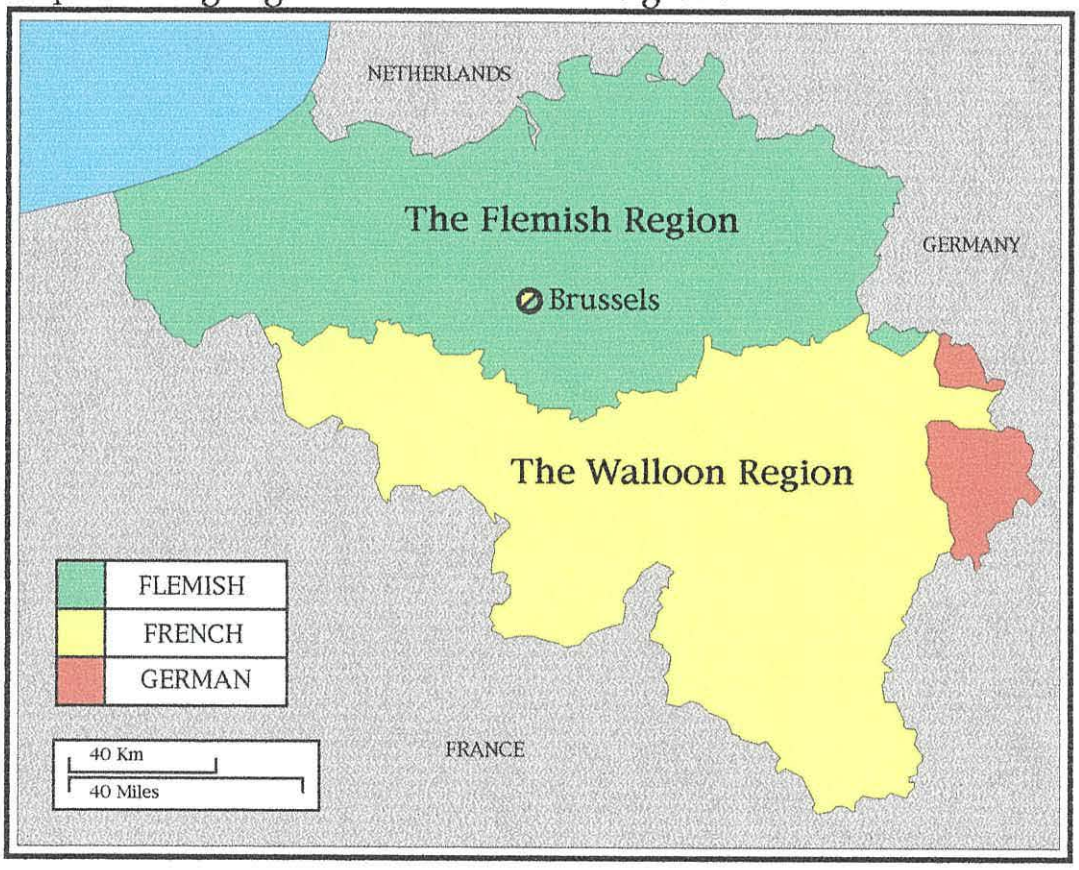
There are small groups of Czechs and Slovaks as well as Romanian, Serb, Turkish and Italian speakers, who together count for less than 0.1 percent of the population.

Languages Spoken	Number of Speakers
German (official language)	7,500,000
Croatian	45,000
Slovenian	35,000
Czech	19,000
Hungarian	15,000
Slovak	3,000 to 5,000

(Grimes, 1992: Smolle and Breathnach, 1995; Meckenzie, 1994)

Belgium

Map 6:3 Language Communities in Belgium



Belgium had an estimated population of 10 million (CIA, 1995), and has three official languages, French, Flemish and German. German is the least spoken, used by only one percent of the Belgian population in the cantons of Eupen, Malmédy and St. Vith. These cantons lie in the east of the Walloon Region and have been part of Belgium since 1918, when they were awarded to the country in the Treaty of Versailles.

French, also known as Wallon, is spoken by 33 percent of the population and most Belgians have some knowledge of French. The capital, Brussels, is situated within the Flemish Region of the country and the city has two official languages, Flemish and French. The majority of the population of Brussels speak French.

The largest language community is that of the Flemish speakers. Flemings now constitute around 60 percent of the Belgian people, and the status of this language has risen continuously since 1932. Most of the Flemings are concentrated in the northern half of Belgium in the Flemish Region of the country. Flemish is also known as Dutch, which is the official language of the Netherlands. Dutch and Flemish share the same standard language.

Although Belgium has three official languages, but there is a relatively low level of bilingualism, although speakers of the two main languages learn one another's languages in schools. Traditional social and economic tensions feature among the reasons for this.

About 15 thousand speakers of Luxembourgish live in regions of Belgium which are adjacent to Luxembourg, and there is a growing demand for the introduction of the language in local schools. Luxembourgish (or Lëtzeburgesch) is the national language in the neighbouring Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, but is given no official status in Belgium.

Belgium has a large in-migrant population, amounting to about a tenth of the total population. Large non-native language groups include Italians, Spanish, Greek, Arabic and Turkish speakers. Most of the in-migrant population acquire a Belgian language, usually French, some minority language groups also retain their mother tongue.

Official Languages	**Number of Speakers**
Flemish	5,772,280
French	4,000,000
German	150,000
Minority Languages	
Arabic	122,700
Turkish	63,600
Luxembourgish	14,900

(Grimes, 1992; J.L. Mackenzie, 1994)

The Czech Republic and The Slovak Republic

On January 1st 1993 Czechoslovakia separated into two republics. Bohemia, Moravia and parts of Silesia formed the new Czech Republic, with Slovakia in the east becoming The Slovak Republic. In the Czech Republic, the official language is Czech, and in The Slovak Republic, the official language is Slovak. Czech and Slovak are closely related languages, and are mutually intelligible to a large degree. Until the 19th century, there was a single literary language, but then a separate Slovak literary language was established, based on the speech of rural Slovaks.

The Czech Republic
1995 estimates number the population at 10.43 million, almost 95 percent of whom speak Czech (CIA, 1995). Within the Czech Republic, Standard Czech is the language of education, government and the media, but throughout the country, various dialects are spoken which differ from the standard form. There are 308 thousand Slovaks living in the Czech Republic (Asher and Simpson, 1994). The remaining two percent of the population comprises several small minority groups, chiefly ethnic Germans, Hungarians, Romanies and Poles. Most members of these minority language groups retain their mother tongue, but are also bilingual in Czech.

The Slovak Republic
In 1995, the population of the Slovak Republic was estimated at 5.4 million (CIA, 1995). Eighty five percent are ethnic Slovaks, speaking dialects of Slovak as their first language. Slovakia has a greater proportion of minority language groups than the Czech Republic, most living in the south of the country. The largest minority group are the Hungarians, who comprise over 10 percent of the population. There are also small minorities of Romanies, Czech, Ukrainian, German and Polish. As most of the minority groups are concentrated in the Slovak Republic, more Slovaks than Czechs are bilingual in the majority language and a minority language.

Main Languages Spoken in the Czech and Slovak Republics

Languages Spoken	**Number of Speakers**
Czech (official in the Czech Republic)	10,000,000 (approx)
Slovak (official in the Slovak Republic)	5,000,000 (approx)
Hungarian	587,000
Polish	58,570
German	48,750
Ukrainian	39,000
Russian	6,000

Denmark

The total population of Denmark in 1995 was estimated to be 5.2 million (CIA, 1995). The majority are native speakers of Danish, the official language.

Two main minority languages are spoken on the mainland, German and Greenlandic. German is spoken in the Nord-Schleswig region of Denmark, bordering on Germany, and is recognized as an official regional language. There are approximately 23 thousand German speakers in this region, over nine percent of the region's population (Grimes, 1992). German is taught as a second language in all Danish schools of the region, and there are some schools where German is the language of instruction.

Greenlandic, an Eskimo (Inuit) language with some Danish borrowings, is spoken by about seven thousand people on the Danish mainland (Grimes, 1992).

English is the first foreign language in Danish schools, and because of the international importance of English and the influence of Anglo-American culture, many Danes, especially among the younger generation, have some competence in English.

The Faroe Islands

These islands have been ruled by either Norway or Denmark since the 14th century, but today they constitute an autonomous region within Denmark.

The population of the Faroe Islands, which numbers around 49 thousand (CIA, 1995), still speak a form of the old Norse called Faroese, which is the official language of the Islands. Danish is the second official language. All school students are educated bilingually, in Faroese and Danish.

France

The official language of France is French, spoken as a first language by the majority of the population of 58 million (CIA, 1995). Outside France, there are about 60 million French speakers (first or second language). French is spoken in Belgium, and in the former French colonies in Africa and Asia. There are over six million French speakers in Canada (Grimes, 1992).

Many minority languages are also spoken in communities throughout France. There are 1.5 million speakers of German dialects, most living in Eastern France, in the Alsace-Lorraine and the Moselle provinces. Between 80 and 90 percent of these speak French as well. French is the official language and the only language of education in these two regions, although recently bilingual education in French and standard German has been introduced (European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages, 1993).

Basque (a language 'isolate', with no known genetic relationship to any other known language) is spoken along the French-Spanish border, and the number of speakers in France is estimated at about 80 thousand (Green, 1994). Dialects of Catalan (a Romance language, closely related to French and Spanish) are also spoken in the South of France in the Pyrenean Mountain region (Pyrenees-Orientales) by about 260 thousand speakers. Breton (a Celtic language, closely related to Welsh) is spoken in the northwest of France, and although there are no official figures, it is estimated that about 500 thousand speak Breton (Grimes, 1992). These three languages have no official status and are in decline. Attempts are being made to maintain them and increase their usage by language activists, but with little or no government support. (Basque and Catalan have official status in Spain).

Flemish, or Dutch, is found mainly in the northeast of France, and is spoken by around 90 thousand people. Near the Italian border, about one million Italian speakers reside, the majority of whom are bilingual in French and Italian (Grimes, 1992).

Recent in-migrant languages in France include substantial numbers of Turkish, Arabic, Antillean Creole French and Kabyle speakers. Speakers of Arabic, mainly from North Africa, number about one million, the third largest minority language group in France. Kabyle is a Berber variety, spoken by in-migrants from Algeria. Antillean Creole French is spoken by in-migrants from former colonies of France in the Caribbean (Green, 1994).

In the South of France, Occitan dialects of French are spoken, which are divergent from the Northern French varieties and from Standard French. In mediaeval times, Occitan had autonomous status as a literary language and many of its speakers argue that it should once more be given the status of a separate language. Of the 13 million inhabitants of the area where Occitan is spoken (comprising 31 départements), it is estimated that about half have a knowledge of one of the Occitan varieties. Occitan has no official status, but is taught in certain schools and at university level. Some speakers maintain that Occitan itself comprises more than one language (European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages, 1993).

Corsica

The island of Corsica, in the Mediterranean, has been part of France since the 18th century, and has close cultural ties with Italy. The Corsican language, closely related to the Tuscan dialect of Italian, is still spoken by about 200 thousand people, many resident in mainland France or in other countries. Most of its speakers also speak French. There is a movement in Corsica for bilingual education in Corsican and French.

Languages Spoken	Number of Speakers
French (official language)	51,000,000 (1st Lang speakers)
Occitan	6,500,000
German	1,500,000
Italian	1,000,000
Arabic	974,000
Breton	685,000
Kabyle	537,000
Catalan	260,000
Portuguese	150,000
Corsican	150,000
Antillean Creole French	150,000
Turkish	135,000
Flemish	90,000
Basque	90,000

Germany

German is the official language of Germany, and the native language of almost all its citizens. In 1995 the estimated population of Germany was 81 million and over 95 percent speak German as their first language (CIA, 1995).

There are a number of long-established minority language groups within

Germany. The Sorbian language is spoken by communities in the east of Germany, such as in the administrative districts of Brandenburg and Saxony-Anhalt. There are approximately 80 thousand Sorbian speakers living in Germany and they form a majority of the population in a small number of villages.

Frisian, a Germanic language, is another minority language in Germany. In the Middle Ages, Frisian was spoken in an area between the Rhine estuary and the Weser. There are two main varieties, West Frisian and North Frisian. Although there are differences between the two dialects, the figures for Frisian have been combined on the graph. There are an estimated 10 thousand Frisian speakers living in Germany, and most speak German as well. Many Frisians are trilingual, also speaking a variety of Danish. Frisian is spoken by an estimated 350 thousand people in the Netherlands and has official status in the province of Friesland (Wilts and Fort, 1996). The support given to Frisian in Germany depends on the districts in which it is found. The districts of Schleswig-Holstein in the North give some recognition to the rights of both Frisian and Danish communities. On the other hand, Niedersachsen, which is also in the north of Germany, offers little protection to its minority languages. Danish is spoken in areas of Germany which border Denmark with an estimated 50 thousand speakers (Simpson, 1994). These long established minority language groups are relatively small in number, and nearly all their speakers also speak German.

Migrant Workers in Germany

Since the 1960s, over four million people have entered Germany as 'guest workers' or *gastarbeiter*. Such migrant workers were needed by Germany as factory workers (for example, when the German economy expanded in the 1960s). Between 1955 and 1968, Germany signed agreements with other European countries to organize the recruitment of unskilled labour. Such recruits came from Italy, Spain, Greece, Turkey, Portugal and Yugoslavia. Rather than just becoming temporary guest workers, many in-migrants brought their families to join them, planning to stay in Germany for a long period.

In the 1990s, the second generation in-migrant population has tended to reproduce at a faster rate than indigenous Germans. Such in-migrant or guest workers mostly live in urban areas where there is heavy industry and a high density of population. Cities such as Frankfurt, Offenbach, Stuttgart, Munich and Berlin have large communities of guest workers. Some live in ghetto-like accommodation.

The low status, relative poverty and marginalization of these guest workers has tended to make integration into German society difficult. However, it is a sense of cohesiveness born out of relative material deprivation that has helped the maintenance of the languages of these in-migrants. For example, the Turkish in-migrants have tended to retain their sense of Turkish identity and culture.

For these in-migrants to access medical, bureaucratic and educational

services, it is often necessary for one or more members of the family to know German. Generally, such in-migrants wish to learn the language of the host country, regarding it as a handicap if they are ignorant of the German language.

Languages Spoken	Number of Speakers
German (Official language)	78,000,000
Turkish	1,552,300
Kurdish	300,000
Polish	100,000
Sorbian	80,000
Arabic	69,500
Danish	50,000
Frisian	10,000

(Simpson, 1994; Mackenzie, 1994)

Greenland

Greenland, one of worlds largest islands, has been self-governing since 1979. The official languages of Greenland are Danish and Greenlandic Inuit (an Eskimo language). The majority of the population are Greenlanders, of mixed Danish and Inuit descent. The population is estimated to be over 57 thousand (CIA, 1995), and nearly all of the population live on the south west coast of Greenland.

There are still some small Eskimo communities in Greenland. These are located mainly along the north coast and are usually isolated communities.

All children in Greenland are educated bilingually, in Greenlandic Inuit and Danish. The more widely used language of the two is Inuit, spoken by nearly 50 thousand.

Italy

Italian is the official language of Italy, and the mother tongue of an overwhelming majority of the population of nearly 58.3 million (CIA, 1995). There are over 54 million native Italian speakers (Mackenzie, 1994). The standard Italian language is based on the dialect of Tuscany. Italian has many diverse dialects, some of which are mutually unintelligible. Some of these are claimed by linguists to be separate languages (e.g. Friulian, Ladin, Sardinian). It is estimated that about half of the Italian population still speak a dialect as their mother tongue. However, because of the influence of education and the mass media, many of these dialects are becoming closer to the standard form of the language, and most Italian speakers can use and understand the standard language.

The largest minority language on the graph, Friulian, which has between 550 and 600 thousand speakers, is considered by many to be a separate language from Italian, and more closely related to Provençal French than to standard

Italian. Friulian is spoken mainly in the North East of Italy and the majority of its speakers also know standard Italian (Grimes, 1992).

Other minority languages in the North of Italy include Ladin (also related closely to Italian, but considered by many to be a separate language), Slovenian (a Slavic language), Provençal French and German. German is spoken mainly near the Austrian border by a very small percentage of the whole population. However, within some regions (such as the Trentino-Alto Adige), the 1981 census showed the number of speakers to be as high as 64 percent of the region's population. In the Trentino-Alto Adige region, equal status is given to German and Italian (European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages, 1993).

Albanian, Croatian and Greek are spoken in the South and on the East Coast. The speakers of these languages are descendants from refugees and mercenaries from past centuries.

Most of Italy's minority language speakers are bilingual, speaking both a minority language and standard Italian. However, some of the minority language groups also speak other minority languages. For example, most of the Slovenians living in Italy near the Slovenian border speak Friulian as a second or third language, as do the Germans living in the area.

Languages Spoken	**Number of Speakers**
Italian	54,000,000
Friulian	600,000
Occitan	300,000
German	225,000
Slovenian	100,000
Albanian	100,000
Ladin	35,000
Greek	20,000
Catalan	15,000
Croatian	3,500

(Grimes, 1992: Mackenzie, 1994; European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages, 1993)

Sardinia

The island of Sardinia (population estimated at 1.6 million in 1988) is a part of Italy and the majority (over one million) are native speakers of Sardinian. Sardinian is regarded as being a separate language from Italian, but is not widely used in education or public life. Most of its speakers also speak Italian. Other minority languages spoken in this area include Catalan and Corsican.

Sicily

The Island of Sicily has 4.5 million inhabitants. Sicilian differs markedly from standard Italian, but does not have the status of a separate language.

Liechtenstein

The Principality of Liechtenstein, situated between Austria and Switzerland, is one of the smallest independent states in the world. The official language is German, but the majority of the population of 30 thousand speak a Germanic dialect known as Alemannish as their home language (Grimes, 1992).

Luxembourg

Luxembourg is a small country in western Europe, situated between France and Germany. It has a population of around 400 thousand (CIA, 1995). A triglossic situation exists in Luxembourg. Both French and German are official languages and are used in official, formal and written contexts. German is widely used in written documents, notices and newspapers. French is used in government and official communication. The mother tongue and daily spoken language of the majority of the population is Luxembourgish (Lëtzebuergesch), a language closely related to German. Luxembourgish has the status of a national language.

The medium of kindergarten education is Luxembourgish. German is the main language of instruction at primary level, and French at secondary level.

A number of other languages are spoken in Luxembourg, mainly because of foreign workers resident in the country. These include workers from Portugal, Italy, Belgium and Germany. Most foreign workers and their families have no knowledge of Luxembourgish, but can learn to communicate with native Luxembourgers in French or German. However, young in-migrant children are encouraged to attend kindergarten to learn Luxembourgish (European Bureau for Lesser used Languages, 1993).

Monaco

The small independent state of Monaco, situated in an enclave in southeast France, has 30 thousand inhabitants (CIA, 1995), of whom 58 percent are speakers of the official language, French. Seventeen percent speak the Ligurian dialect of Italian, and 15 percent speak the Monégasque dialect of Occitan. English is widely used. Internal radio broadcasts are in French, Italian, Arabic and English (Asher and Simpson, 1994).

The Netherlands

The official language of the Netherlands is Dutch, and it is the language used by the majority of the population of 15.4 million (CIA, 1995).

Dutch is also a second language for many foreign nationals living in the

Netherlands, such as Moroccans, Turks and Spanish. Their children learn Dutch at school, but in many cases, they are also given the opportunity of being taught in their mother tongue. In The Netherlands, and in Scandinavian countries, there is a relatively greater motivation to learn major European languages, especially English.

In the province of Friesland, in the north of the Netherlands, a high percentage of the population, about 350 thousand, speak Frisian as their first language (Wilts and Marron, 1996). It is recognized as the official language of this province besides Dutch. A study in 1984 showed that 94 percent of the population in Friesland can understand the Frisian language. Seventy three percent speak Frisian, but only 10 percent are literate in the language. Efforts are being made to increase the status of Frisian, and it is a compulsory subject in primary schools in the province (European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages, 1993).

Languages Spoken	**Number of Speakers**
Dutch (official Lang)	13,400,000
Frisian	350,000
Turkish	150,000
Arabic	100,000

(Grimes, 1992; Mackenzie 1994; Wilts and Marron, 1996)

Portugal

The official language of Portugal is Portuguese. It is the language of the vast majority of the population, which in 1995 was estimated to be 10.5 million (CIA, 1995). Portugal is one of the most linguistically and ethnically homogeneous countries in the world. The dialects of Portuguese are mutually intelligible.

The Galician variety of Portuguese is spoken in the north of Portugal. Galician has official status as an autonomous language in the neighbouring autonomous province of Galicia in Spain, but is regarded as a dialect of Portuguese in Portugal. (Some Spanish Galicians would like Galician and Portuguese dialects to share a single standard language). There are also some 5000 speakers of Romany (Grimes, 1992). Due to the fact that Portuguese is the language of almost the entire population, there is not a high degree of bilingualism in Portugal. However, the return of migrant workers from the north of Europe and the development of tourism has brought increasing numbers of people speaking other languages into permanent residence in Portugal (Frier, 1994).

San Marino

The Republic of San Marino, the smallest independent state in Europe, is situated in an enclave in Northern Italy. Italian is the official language and the native language of the 24 thousand inhabitants (CIA, 1995).

Spain

The population of Spain in the 1986 Census was almost 39 million, and over 28 million (72.8 percent) of the population were first language Spanish speakers (Mackenzie, 1994). By 1995, the population estimate was 39.4 million (CIA, 1995). Spanish is the official language of the entire country. However, the language is often called Castilian, to distinguish it from other widely spoken languages, Galician, Basque and Catalan, that have regional official status in Spain. The term 'Castilian Spanish' is also used to distinguish the Spanish spoken in Spain from Spanish as spoken in the US, Mexico and South America, for example.

Galicia is situated in the north west corner of Spain, where Galician is recognized as the official regional language together with Castilian. Eighty two percent (1986- in Mackenzie, 1994) of the population of the region speak Galician, and 91 percent understand it. Galician is closely related to dialects of Portuguese, and some Galician speakers support the idea of a common standard language for Galician and Portuguese.

The provinces of Vizcaya, Guipúzcoa and Alava make up the Autonomous Basque Community. These provinces lie in the north of Spain, next to the coast and the French border. Castilian Spanish and Basque are both official languages. The 1986 Spanish Census showed that about 25 percent of the community spoke Basque (European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages, 1993).

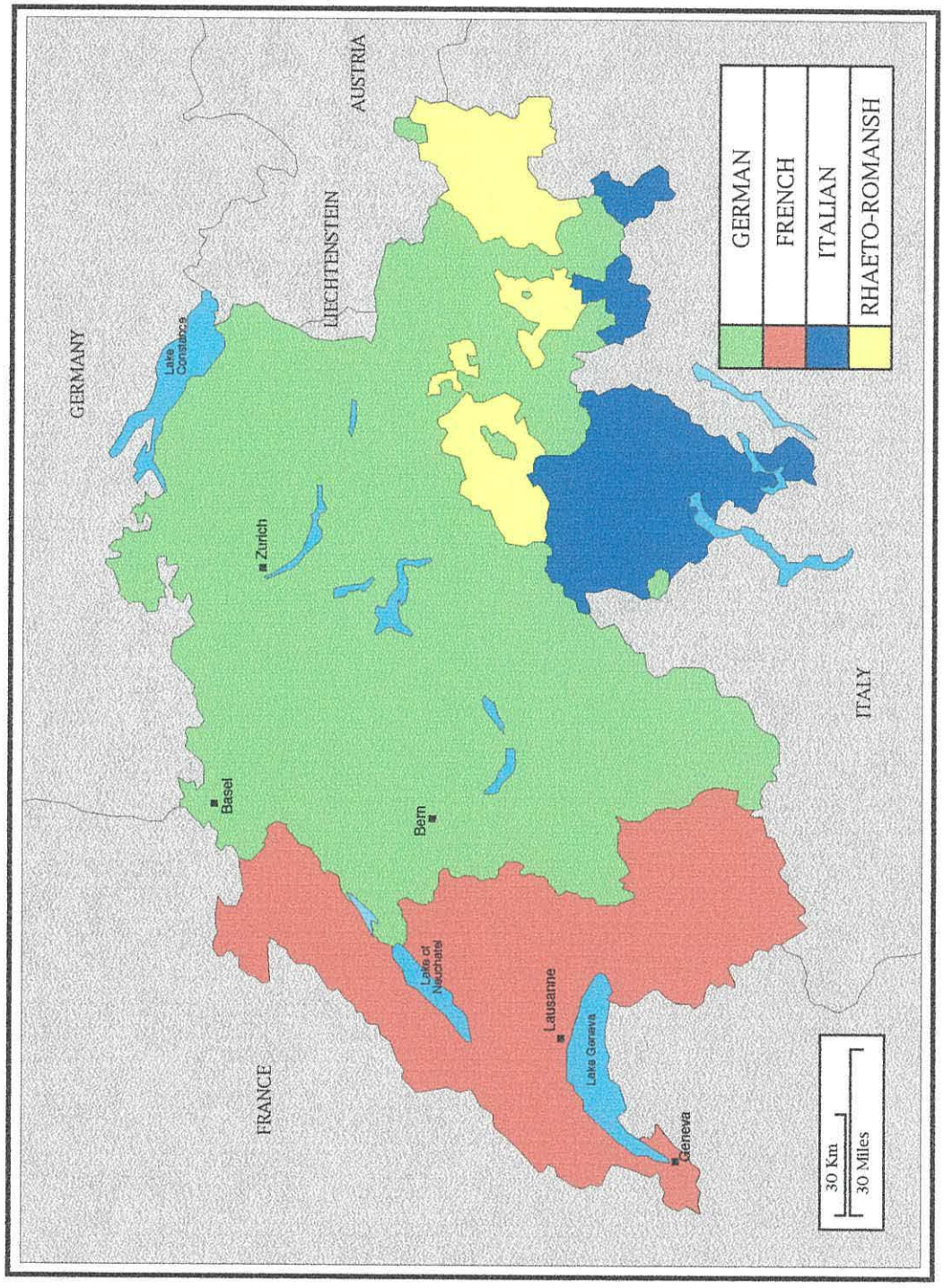
In Catalonia in northwest Spain, Catalan and Castilian Spanish are co-official languages. There are around nine million speakers of Catalan and the 1986 census showed that 90 percent of Catalonia's population understand the language. About 64 percent speak Catalan. Catalan is also widely spoken in Valencia (where the local variant is known as Valencian) and in the Balearic Islands (European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages, 1993).

Aragonese is spoken mainly in the Pyrenean valleys, and there are an estimated 30 thousand speakers. Asturian is spoken in the Asturias, in Northern Spain. Neither of these languages are recognized as official languages.

Languages Spoken	**Number of Speakers**
Catalan	8,500,000
Galician	3,173,000
Basque	615,000
Asturian	450,000
Aragonese	30,000

Switzerland

Map 6:4 Language Areas in Switzerland



Switzerland is a land-locked state in the mountainous centre of Western Europe. It is bordered by Germany, France, Italy, Austria and the Principality of Liechtenstein. It is thus not surprising that the population of Switzerland comprises several different language groups. Structurally, Switzerland has evolved as a federal state with twenty-six member states, known as cantons and half-cantons, which enjoy a high degree of autonomy.

Switzerland has four official national languages, German, French, Italian and Romansh. Only the first three have official status at federal level. Romansh has official status at a local level. It is one of the three official languages, along with German and Italian, in the canton of Graubünden, in the east of Switzerland. The three cantons of Berne, Fribourg and Valais each have two official languages, German and French. The remaining cantons only have one official language each. The administration and educational system of each canton is conducted through the medium of the official language or languages.

In the 1990 Census, Switzerland had a population of over 6.8 million, 63.6 percent of whom spoke German as their first language (SFSO, 1994). German is spoken throughout most of Switzerland, especially in cantons adjacent to Germany and Austria. Of all the German-speaking persons, 93.3 percent speak a Swiss-German dialect on an everyday basis. 66.4 percent claimed that they spoke only Swiss German, and not Standard German. Standard German is taught in schools, and used in most written communications (SFSO, 1994).

French and Italian are spoken in the cantons which border France and Italy respectively. French speakers constitute 19.2 percent of the population and Italian 7.6 percent. Italian is the predominant language in the southern canton of Ticino. Romansh, which is the main language of 39,600 speakers, or 0.6 percent of the population, is spoken mainly in the canton of Graubünden, in the East of Switzerland. It is not uncommon for those from this area to be fluent in Romansh, German, French and Italian. However, in Switzerland as a whole, bilingualism is not universal, because of the territorial boundaries between languages, and the fact that most cantons conduct administration and education through the medium of only one language. Schools promote Swiss solidarity over and above language barriers by requiring that every child learn the basics of a second national language. English is also taught in schools as a foreign language.

Many in-migrant workers reside in Switzerland, mainly from Italy, Spain and France. At the time of the 1990 census, there were over 1.2 million in-migrant workers in the country, or 18.1 percent of the population. Many of these people speak a language other than one of Switzerland's national languages. Forty three point three percent of all foreigners, and 1.3 percent of Swiss, declared having a language other than German, French, Italian or Romansh as their main language. Such non-national languages, spoken by 8.9 percent of the population, were more common than Italian. These include Slavic languages at 1.9 percent, Spanish 1.7 percent, Portuguese 1.4 percent, and Turkish and English both constituting 0.9 percent of the languages spoken (SFSO, 1994).

National Languages	**Number of Speakers**
German	4,374,694
French	1,321,695
Italian	524,116
Romansh	39,632

Other Languages	
Slavic Languages	128,000
Spanish	119,000
Portuguese	95,000
Turkish	62,000
English	60,000
Albanian	37,000
Arabic	18,000
Other Non European Langs.	57,000
Other European Languages	44,000

(SFSO, 1994: Grimes, 1992)

Main Languages Spoken in Switzerland, 1990 Census.

Languages	Number of Speakers
German	63.7%
French	19.2%
Italian	7.6%
Romansh	0.6%
Other	8.9%

(SFSO, 1994)

Percentage of Monolingual and Bilingual speakers in Switzerland, 1990.

First Language	Monolingual	Bilingual
German	65.0%	37.0%
French	43.0%	58.0%
Italian	26.0%	73.0%
Romansh	20.0%	80.0%
English	3.0%	98.0%
Other	17.0%	83.0%

(SFSO, 1994)

Main Languages of Switzerland's Five Largest Cities, 1991.

The 5 Largest Cities	Total	German	French	Italian	Romansh	Other Languages
Zurich	365,043	281,317	7,953	24,948	1,257	49,568
Basle	178,428	137,369	4,997	12,482	257	23,323
Geneva	171,042	9,610	112,419	9,786	139	39,078
Berne	136,338	110,279	5,236	7,134	224	13,465
Lausanne	128,112	6,799	95,455	6,755	79	19,024

(SFSO, 1994)

North East Europe

Belarus

Belarus was formerly a constituent republic of the USSR, but in August 1991 it achieved independence. It is estimated that three quarters of the population are ethnic Belorussians, and the majority speak Belorussian as a native language. During the Soviet are, Russian was the official language of the country, and predominated in business, administration and education.

Since 1990, Belorussian has had official status and its use has increased. In 1995, the population of Belarus was estimated to be over 10.4 million (CIA, 1995).

The Belorussians are related closely to Russians and Ukrainians, both culturally and linguistically, and most Belorussians also speak one of these languages. Another name for Belorussian is White Russian. Russians and Ukrainians form the largest minority language groups in Belarus. Russians count for 13 percent of the population, living mostly in the urbanised, industrial areas of the country. The Belorussians have tended to live in rural areas.

The figures used for the minority language graph, as for other former USSR republics, are from the 1979 USSR census. According to these figures, there were 100 thousand Ukrainian speakers living in Belarus, 31 thousand Polish speakers, and 15 thousand Yiddish speakers. 1995 figures on the ethnic composition of Belarus suggest that Poles now account for 4.1 percent of the population, and Ukrainians for 2.9 percent.

Languages	**Number of Speakers**
Belorussian	7,800,000
Russian	1,352,000
Ukrainian	100,000
Polish	31,246
Yiddish	15,139

Estonia

On the sixth of January 1991, Estonia was recognized as an independent republic by the former USSR. The country has an estimated population of 1.6 million (CIA, 1995). During the Soviet era, Russian was the predominant language of business, administration and education, but now the sole official language is Estonian, and the use of Russian has decreased. Estonian is spoken by 62 percent of Estonian citizens. At the beginning of Soviet rule in 1940, the percentage was much higher, closer to 89 percent, but the in-migration of Russians to the country reduced this figure dramatically.

Russians still form a large part of the Estonian population. They count for almost 30 percent of the population, making them the largest minority group in Estonia. Most of the Russian speakers live in urban, industrialised areas. In the city of Narva, in the north eastern area of the country, the inhabitants are almost exclusively Russian. On the other hand, over half the ethnic Estonians live in rural areas of the country (Sim, 1994).

Other minority languages in Estonia include Ukrainian, Belorussian, Finnish and Yiddish. The figures used in the minority language graph are based on the 1979 USSR Census. However, recent estimates indicate that Ukrainians count for 3.17 percent of the population, Belorussians count for 1.8 percent, and the Finns for just over one percent. Many of the Finnish speakers also speak Russian. In these estimates, another 2.13 percent was

ascribed to 'other' language groups. These other minority groups include Jews, Latvians and Swedish speakers.

Languages	Number of Speakers
Estonian	662,000
Russian	480,000
Ukrainian	16,017
Belorussian	8,127
Finnish	6,582
Yiddish	749

Finland

Finland has an estimated population of five million (CIA, 1995), and 93.5 percent speak Finnish as their mother tongue (Peltonen, 1993). Finnish and Swedish are both official languages. Finland is usually described as being a Scandinavian country, but Finnish is not related to Swedish or to the other Scandinavian languages, Norwegian, Danish, Icelandic, Greenlandic and Faroese. There are about 297 thousand Swedish speakers in Finland, just over six percent of the total population (Peltonen, 1993). Most Swedish speakers live along the south eastern coast in the province of Ahvenanmaa, and on the coast of Ostrobothnia. Most are bilingual in Swedish and Finnish. There are Swedish language newspapers, a radio station and T.V. programs in Finland.

A minority language in Finland, and other areas of Scandinavia is that of the Sámi people. Sámi is spoken by an estimated two thousand people in the north of Finland (Nuolijärvi, 1994). It is difficult to specify the exact number of Sámi speakers due to their nomadic lifestyle. Most of the Sámi living in Finland are bilingual in Sámi and Finnish. Throughout Finland, Norway, Sweden and the Kola Peninsula in Russia, there are estimated to be between 70 and 80 thousand Sámi people (Helander, 1992).

Although the numbers of foreign residents living in Finland has been fairly low in the past, the figure is now growing. In 1990, there were 26,200 foreign residents, a figure which had more than doubled since 1980 when foreign residents numbered 12,800. In-migrants have moved to Finland from Sweden, Germany, America and the former Soviet Union. According to 1993 statistics, the number of foreigners in Finland has gone up to 50 thousand, with Russians as the largest group (Peltonen, 1993).

Languages	Number of Speakers
Finnish	4,900,000
Swedish	297,000
Russian	3,884
Sámi	1,734

Latvia

Both Latvia and Lithuania declared their independence from the USSR on

September 6th, 1991. The official language of Latvia is Latvian, a Baltic language closely related to Lithuanian. It is the language used by the majority of ethnic Latvians.

Ethnic Latvians, or Letts, form 52 percent of the population, estimated at 2.7 million in 1995 (CIA, 1995). This percentage was considerably higher before Latvia became part of the USSR in 1940. Letts formed 75 percent of the population in 1923. Russian in-migration into Latvia increased the proportion of Russian speakers to 33.8 percent of the Republic's population. The majority of the Russians live in urban, industrialised areas (Encarta, 1994).

Minority language groups in Latvia include Belorussian, Ukrainian, Polish and Yiddish speakers. Each group is relatively small. Belorussians make up 4.5 percent, Ukrainians 3.4 percent, and Poles 2.3 percent of the population.

Languages	**Number of Speakers**
Latvian	1,398,600
Russian	912,600
Belorussian	43,193
Ukrainian	31,098
Lithuanian	27,135
Polish	20,932
Yiddish	8,006 (Grimes, 1992)

Lithuania

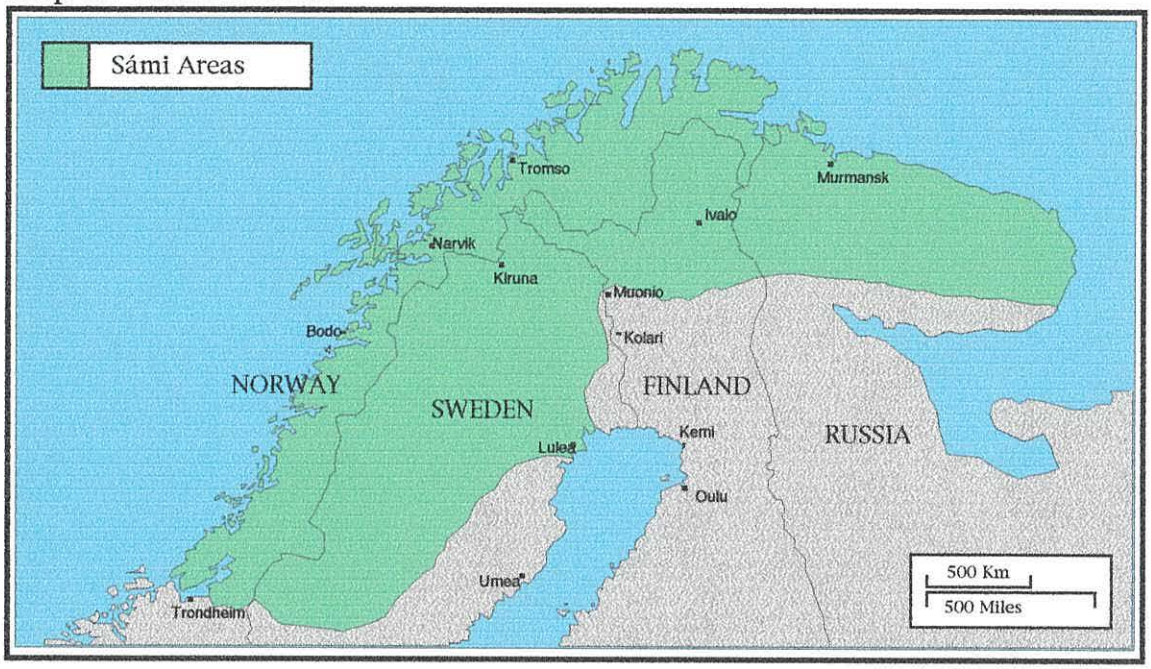
Lithuania declared its independence from the USSR on September 6th, 1991. The official language is Lithuanian, a Baltic language closely related to Latvian. The population was estimated to be 3.8 million in 1995 (CIA, 1995), and over 80 percent are ethnic Lithuanians, who speak Lithuanian as a first language.

The figures represented on the graph are those from the 1979 USSR Census, listing Polish, Belorussian, Ukrainian and Yiddish as minority languages in Lithuania. Russian is also spoken in Lithuania by a small percentage of the population. According to recent estimates, Russian speakers count for 8.6 percent of the population, while Polish speakers constitute 7.7 percent and are concentrated mainly in the south of the country. Belorussians make up 1.5 percent of the population and other groups form 2.1 percent (Comrie, 1994).

Languages	**Number of Speakers**
Lithuanian	2,724,112
Russian	372,712
Polish	218,029
Belorussian	27,995
Ukrainian	16,910

Norway

Map 6:5 Sámi Areas



The estimated population of Norway in 1995 was 4.3 million (CIA, 1995), 99.5 percent of whom speak the official language, Norwegian (Grimes, 1992). Norwegian is closely related to both Danish and Swedish. The languages of these three neighbouring Nordic countries are so similar that their speakers can understand each other to varying degrees.

There are two official written varieties of Norwegian, Bokmal (Book Norwegian) and Nynorsk (New Norwegian). Both have equal status. Bokmal is mainly used in cities and in the thickly populated area of East Norway surrounding Oslo. Nynorsk is the main language used along the western coast and the mountain districts of central Norway.

The media, schools and administration use both languages, but Bokmal predominates. The majority of books and magazines are published in Bokmal, and it is also the language used in business, advertising and industrial training. The language used in the schools varies from region to region depending on the choice of the local communities. Over 80 percent of schoolchildren use Bokmal, and between 16 percent and 17 percent use Nynorsk (Halvorsen, 1989).

There are various minority language groups living in Norway. Around 10 thousand Finnish speakers in live Norway, mainly in Finnmark in the North of the country (Grimes, 1992). They constitute just over 0.2 percent of the population.

Another minority language within Norway is Sámi, which belongs to the same language family as Finnish. Sámi is also known as Lapp. This name comes from the Finnish language and not recognized as a name for

themselves by the Sámi people. They prefer to be called Sámi, a name from their own language. The Sámi live in the subarctic regions of Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia. The total Sámi population throughout these four countries is estimated at 70 to 80 thousand. In Norway, it is estimated that the Sámi population numbers 40 thousand (Helander, 1992). Most of the Sámi also speak the main language of the country in which they live.

Languages	Number of Speakers
Norwegian	4,400,000
Finnish	10,000
Sámi	40,000

Poland

Most of the 38.7 million inhabitants of Poland speak Polish, the official language of the country. Ethnic Poles make up 98 percent of the country's population. Minority language groups count for two percent of the population (CIA, 1995).

Before the Second World War, minority languages formed a much more substantial 35 percent of the population. Poland not only had a large number of Germans, Ukrainians and Belorussians but also a Yiddish-speaking Jewish minority. Many Polish Jews did not survive the Holocaust, and, after the Second World War, large numbers of Germans, Ukrainians and Belorussians were expelled from the country. The boundaries of Poland were also changed: it lost its eastern territories and gained land to the west. Poland became far more homogeneous, both ethnically and linguistically (Comrie, 1994).

Currently, the largest minority groups in Poland are the Germans, Ukrainians and the Belorussians. German communities are found mainly in the Opole region and Silesia, and, since 1991, some primary schools in these regions have offered education through the medium of German. The Ukrainians are found throughout Poland, and the Belorussians are concentrated mainly in the northeast. Smaller minority groups include Lithuanians, Slovaks, Greeks, Jews, and Tatars. Most of these groups speak both a minority language and Polish.

Languages	Number of Speakers
Polish	36,554,000
German	36,554,000
Belorussian	308,000 to 350,000
Ukrainian	200,000 to 230,000
Lemka	210,000 to 220,000
Romany	50,000 to 60,000
Lithuanian	25,000
Slovak	20,000
Yiddish	20,000
Russian	15,000
Armenian	10,000 to 13,000

Greek + Macedonian	8,000
Czech	5,000
Crimean Tatar	2,000 to 3,000

(Grimes, 1992; Biura Do Sparaw Mniejszosci Narodowych - Bulletin From The Office For Ethnic Minorities, 1993)

Russia

Russia is one of the largest countries in the world. It is home to over 100 nationalities and has an estimated population of almost 150 million (CIA, 1995). Russian is the official language. Over 81 percent of the population are ethnic Russians. These Russian speakers are unlikely to speak a minority language. Only 4.1 percent of Russians in the former USSR could speak a language other than Russian. However most of the minority ethnic groups are bilingual in their minority language and Russian. Because of the difficulty in trying to represent over 100 languages on the minority language graph, only the languages with more than 500 thousand speakers have been included. The data derives from the 1979 USSR census (Comrie, 1994).

The largest minority ethnic and language group is the Tatars, who constitute 3.8 percent of the country's population. Tatar is the mother tongue of 85.9 percent of this ethnic group. Ukrainians make up 2.9 percent of the Russian population, and Chuvash 1.2 percent.

Other ethnic groups with a relatively large population are the Bashkir, Mordvin, Chechens, Udmurt and Mari. Both the Mordvinians and Udmurts live along the border with Finland, in the Volga or Urals area. Although most of the minority languages count for less that one percent of the total Russian population, within certain regions, they form a relatively high percentage. For example, the Karelian language has only 75 thousand speakers and counts for only 0.05 percent of the country's population. However, within the region of Karelia, its speakers form 11 percent of the population.

Most minority language speakers also speak Russian, which is widely used throughout the country as a language of business, commerce and official life. During the 76 years of the Soviet Union, official policy gradually moved away from the equality of all Soviet languages to the promotion of Russian. Russian is a compulsory subject in all schools and many minority language children are educated in the Russian language. Contemporary Russia has 21 ethnically based republics, one autonomous region and 10 autonomous national areas, where minority languages have varying degrees of official status. Thus the languages of the larger ethnic groups have been maintained. The smaller minority groups, tending to live in scattered communities, have been more likely to shift to Russian.

Languages	**Number of Speakers**
Russian	121,500,000
Tatar	4,418,000
Ukrainian	1,475,000

Chuvash	1,401,000
Bashkir	867,000
Mordvin	829,000
Chechen	708,000
Udmurt	532,000
Mari	526,000

(Comrie, 1994)

Sweden

Most of the 8.8 million inhabitants of Sweden (CIA, 1995) are native speakers of Swedish, the official language of the country. In 1986, 93 percent of the population were native Swedish speakers (Grimes, 1992).

Finnish and Sámi are the main minority languages in Sweden. There are about 300 thousand Finnish speakers forming three percent of the population. Most live on the north east coast of the country. The majority of the Sámi live in the north. It is estimated that there are about 10 thousand Sámi speakers (Grimes, 1992).

There are also small numbers of Danes, Germans and Norwegians, plus an estimated six thousand Latvians living in Sweden. After the Second World War, Sweden received a large number of refugees from the Baltic states. The in-migrants included Latvians, Serbo-Croat and Turkish people. It is the policy of the Swedish government to encourage minority language speakers to learn Swedish, while making some educational provision for the maintenance of minority languages.

Languages	**Number of Speakers**
Swedish	8,184,000
Finnish	300,000
Yugoslav	39,600
Iranian	35,100
Norwegian	35,000
Danish	28,000
Turkish	24,100
Chilean	19,000
Sámi	10,000
Latvian	6,000

Svalbard

Svalbard (formerly Spitzbergen) consists of an archipelago in the Arctic ocean, and is a Norwegian territory. The population of just under 3 thousand consists of 35 percent Norwegians and 64 percent Russians (CIA, 1995). Both Norwegian and Russian are spoken.

Eastern Europe

Albania

Albania is one of the smallest countries in Europe, and it is also one of the most linguistically homogeneous. Almost 98 percent of the 3.4 million inhabitants (CIA, 1995) are ethnic Albanians, and Albanian is the official language of the county.

Two main dialects of Albanian are spoken, Tosk and Gheg. Tosk is spoken in the south of Albania, and the official language is based on this dialect. Gheg is spoken in northern Albania, and most Gheg speakers also speak standard Albanian. The speakers of both dialects can generally understand one another.

Minority languages in Albania include 60 thousand speakers of both Greek and Romany, and small groups of Bulgarians and Serbs (Grimes, 1992).

Bosnia and Hercegovina

Bosnia and Hercegovina, commonly called Bosnia, was formerly part of the now defunct Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The country declared its independence in March 1992. However, the Bosnian Serbs took up arms to resist this, and to create Serb-controlled areas within Bosnia. In mid-1996, Bosnia and Hercegovina's war against Yugoslav-backed Serbs had not been resolved, and Serbs controlled much of the Bosnian territory.

Before the war, Muslims constituted the largest ethnic group in Bosnia and Hercegovina, representing 44 percent of the population. Muslims are descendants of Turks and Slavs who converted to Islam during the period when the region was part of the Turkish Ottoman Empire. Serbs constituted 31 percent and Croats made up 17 percent of the population (Malcolm, 1994). These figures are not a reliable guide to the present situation, since there has been considerable dislocation of population since 1992 due to military action and 'ethnic cleansing'. The estimated population in 1995 was 3.2 million.

All three main ethnic groups speak varieties of a South Slavic language, which is called different names by different groups. The language has generally been known as Serbo-Croat, or Serbian and Croatian, reflecting the fact that the two main ethnic groups, Serbs and Croats, have developed two separate literary or standard languages, Serbian and Croatian. By establishing separate autonomous standards during the 19th century, and by maximizing the differences between the two standard languages, both Serbs and Croats have sought to reinforce their distinct ethnic identity. One main difference is in the orthography. Croatian uses the Roman alphabet, while Serbian uses the Cyrillic script. (Muslims also tend to use the Roman script). There are also lexical differences between the different languages, and differences in the way they have expanded their lexical resources, Serbian tending to accept foreign borrowings, while Croatian is more puristic. Since the start of the war in 1992, Serbians and Croatians have increasingly

attempted to distance their two languages from one another.

In Bosnia and Hercegovina, where one ethnic group does not predominate, the official usage has tended to draw on both Serbian and Croatian, using forms from both languages interchangeably (Malcolm, 1994).

Bulgaria

There are approximately 8.7 million people living in Bulgaria (CIA, 1995), and an estimated 85 percent are speakers of Bulgarian, the official language. Bulgarian is closely related to the Macedonian language, and there is a small minority of Macedonian speakers in the country, approximately 2.5 percent of the population. However, in Bulgaria, Macedonian is not recognized as a separate language, but as a dialect of Bulgarian.

The minority language graph is based on the 1965 linguistic census figures available for Bulgaria. More recent figures classify the population along the lines of ethnic divisions, but the number of minority language speakers corresponds fairly closely to ethnic breakdown.

The largest minority are Turks, the descendants of Turks who moved to the country when it was a part of the Ottoman Empire. In 1992 they made up approximately 9.8 percent of the population (Kyuchukov, 1995). Other smaller minority groups living in Bulgaria are the Romany, Gagauz, Tatar and Albanian. For example, in 1990, it was estimated that there were six thousand Tatars. Most of the 12 thousand Gagauz live along the coast of Bulgaria. Both of these languages are closely related to Turkish.

Mother Tongue of the Population in 1992

Languages	**Percentage**
Bulgarian	86.3%
Turkish	9.8%
Romany	3.0%
Other	0.9%

(Kyuchukov, H., 1995)

Croatia

Croatia was formerly one of the six constituent republics of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia which now no longer exists. Croatia declared its independence in June, 1991 and the estimated population in 1995 was 4.6 million (CIA, 1995). However, it is not easy to make an accurate estimate of the population, because since the commencement of the war in 1992, large numbers of Croatian and Serbian refugees have crossed the border from Bosnia. Over two thirds of the population are ethnic Croats, speaking Croatian, a South Slavic language.

There are five South Slavic languages, Bulgarian, Macedonian, Croatian,

Serbian and Slovenian. Croatian and Serbian are so closely related that they have been regarded by some as the same language, and have traditionally been called by the collective term Serbo-Croat. Variants of this language are spoken by the three main ethnic groups in the territory of the former Yugoslavia: the Serbs, Croats and Muslims. However, the two most prominent ethnic groups, the Serbs and the Croats, have sought to maximize their own ethnic identities and the differences between them, including linguistic differences.

Since the 19th century, the two ethnic groups have developed their own autonomous literary standards. The most obvious difference between the Serbian and Croatian standard languages is that the former is written in the Cyrillic script, like most other Slavic languages (e.g. Russian), while Croatian employs the Roman alphabet. There are also differences in vocabulary and methods of creating new words. Both ethnic groups have jealously guarded the distinctiveness and autonomy of their own literary standards. In the 1960s, the production of a joint Serbo-Croat dictionary in the two scripts was stopped because the Croats felt that distinctive Croat usage was not sufficiently acknowledged. Since independence, the Croatians have sought further to increase the distance between Croatian and Serbian by resurrecting some archaic Croatian words and phrases.

According to the 1991 census, 78.1 percent of the population of Croatia were ethnic Croats. Ethnic Serbs are the largest minority in Croatia. In 1991, they represented 12 percent of the population. In 1996, Croatian Serb separatists still controlled about a third of Croatian territory. Other small minority groups include Muslims (0.9 percent), Slovenians (0.5 percent), Hungarians (0.5 percent) and Italians.

Cyprus

Cyprus, the third largest island in the Mediterranean, has an estimated population of 736 thousand (CIA, 1995). The population of the island is divided into two main ethnic groups, the Turks, about 12.9 percent of the population, and the Greeks, about 84.1 percent of the total. The remaining 3 percent of the population are foreigners residing in Cyprus. Both Greek and Turkish are official languages in Cyprus. (Press and Information Office of Cyprus, 1994)

The language of the Greek Cypriot community is Greek, and much of the community adheres to the Greek Orthodox Church of Cyprus. Since 1983, the north of Cyprus, where the majority of the Cypriot Turks live, declared its independence, forming the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. The Turkish Cypriot community generally adheres to Islam. The independence of the region is recognized only by Turkey.

The two main minority languages spoken on Cyprus are Armenian and Arabic. It is estimated that there are around 20 thousand speakers of both these languages (Mackenzie, 1994). Most speakers of Armenian and Arabic also speak Greek.

Greece

Greek is the official language of Greece, and is spoken by an overwhelming majority of the population. There are 10.6 million people living in Greece (CIA, 1995), and the native language of 98.5 percent of the population is Greek (Grimes, 1992).

Minority languages in Greece include Macedonian, Albanian, Turkish, Macedo-Romanian, Bulgarian and Armenian. The largest minority group in Greece are the Macedonians, who count for 1.8 percent of the population. Albanian is spoken by small communities in central and southern Greece. Turkish is found mainly in the Aegean regions of Greece, and as Muslims, their communities have some limited protection and rights. Some subjects in Muslim schools are taught through the medium of Turkish, and the rest through Greek.

Macedo-Romanian, or Arumanian, is spoken by around 50 thousand people in Greece, mainly in the northern regions of the country. Armenian and Bulgarian are the smallest minority language groups. The Armenians constitute 0.2 percent of the population, and the Bulgarians around 0.3 percent. However, in the region of Kastoria on the border with Albania, the percentage of Bulgarian speakers is higher than Greek. None of these minority languages has official status.

Languages	Number of Speakers
Greek	10,388,000
Macedonian	180,000
Albanian	140,000
Turkish	128,000
Macedo-Romanian	50,000
Bulgarian	30,000
Armenian	20,000 (Grimes, 1992)

Hungary

Hungary has a population of over 10.3 million (CIA, 1995), and about 98 percent speak Hungarian, the official language, as their mother tongue. Although Hungary is a fairly homogeneous country linguistically, this has not always been the case. Before the First World War, Hungarians constituted a minority in the country, but, as a part of the Treaty of Trianon, the country was reduced in size and the population reduced by about two-thirds. The land and people which remained in Hungarian control were the areas with the highest concentration of Hungarians.

There are some small minority groups within Hungary: Romanies, Germans, Slovaks, Romanians, Croatians, Serbs and Slovenes. There are also a number of Bulgarians, Greeks, Poles and Armenians. These ethnic minorities live throughout Hungary, but the number of people in the different ethnic groups is much higher in some cases than the number who

speak the relevant minority languages. None of minority the languages have been given official status, with Hungarian recognized as the language of education and government. However, the Constitution does guarantee equal rights and freedom to all the national minorities to speak their own language (Fact Sheets on Hungary, 1995).

On October 23rd, 1989, Hungary became a democratic Republic after four decades of Russian domination and one-party rule. During the period 1948-1989, the Russian language was widely used in official life and was a compulsory subject in school, although few Hungarians learnt to speak fluent Russian. Since independence, the Russian language has been less used and there has been a fresh emphasis on the rights of minority language groups within Hungary. In 1990, the Office for National and Ethnic Minorities was set up by the government to ensure the enforcement of minority rights, and in 1993, parliament passed a law which embodied the rights of national and ethnic minorities.

Since 1989, there has been a growing movement for bilingual education, with Hungarian as the national language along with either a foreign or a minority language present in Hungary.

Languages	**Number of Speakers**
German	250,000
Croatian	32,244
Romany	20,000
Slovenian	4,205

(Fact Sheets on Hungary, 1995)

The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia

Macedonia was formerly part of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which came to an end in 1992, after four out of the six constituent republics seceded. Macedonia declared its independence in September 1991, and has temporarily adopted the name, The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, pending the settlement of a dispute with Greece, which objected to the use of the name 'Macedonia'. The majority of the population (67 percent) are ethnic Macedonians, and speak Macedonian, a Slavic language closely related to Serbian, Croatian and Bulgarian. Macedonian is similar to Bulgarian such that it has sometimes been regarded as a variety of Bulgarian.

Macedonian is spoken by about 200 thousand people in Bulgaria, where it is viewed as a dialect of Bulgarian, and also in the province of Macedonia in northern Greece, where the language is called Slavika. However, in the Republic of Macedonia, a separate Macedonian literary language has been in existence since 1944, and most scholars now accept Macedonian as a separate language. The Macedonian standard language is based on a different group of dialects from the Bulgarian, and it is also written in a different version of the Cyrillic script.

Albanian Muslims are the largest minority language group, making up

about 20 percent of the population according to the 1991 census. (Albanian politicians claim that the figure is much higher). They speak Albanian, the official language of Albania, also spoken in southern Greece and parts of Italy. Turks constitute 4 percent of the population, Serbs 2 percent, Romany 2 percent and other ethnic groups 5 percent. Serbian and Croatian is commonly spoken. In 1995, the estimated population was 2.15 million. (An 1994 official government census gave the population as 1.94 million, but minority groups may have been under-represented).

Moldova

Moldova was formerly a member of the USSR, gaining its independence in 1991. The official language of the country is Moldavian. Moldavian and Romanian are often regarded as the same language, although there are regional differences. Also, Romanian uses the Roman alphabet while Moldavian uses the Cyrillic alphabet.

The figures represented on the minority language graph are from the 1979 USSR census. No figures were available on language minority groups since independence.

There are approximately 4.5 million people living in Moldova (CIA, 1995), and around 64 percent of these are ethnic Moldovans. Russians and Ukrainians form the two largest minority groups, each comprising 13 percent of the total population. The census figures for the former USSR show that the Russian group used to be considerably larger before independence, constituting 22 percent of the population (Comrie, 1994). The majority of Ukrainians and Russians are concentrated in the Dnestr region, in the east of the country.

Other ethnic groups include Bulgarians and Gagauz. Gagauz numbered over 126 thousand speakers in the 1979 USSR census, and is a language closely related to Turkish. The speakers of this language are concentrated mainly in the south west of Moldova.

Languages	Number of Speakers
Moldovian	2,454,663
Russian	853,460
Ukrainian	384,248
Gagauz	126,529
Bulgarian	64,000
Yiddish	26,000
Belorussian	5,070

Romania

Romanian is the official language of Romania. The country has an estimated population of over 23 million, and Romanian speakers constitute over 90 percent of this population (Asher and Simpson, 1994).

Other languages spoken include Hungarian, German, Turkish, Romany, Bulgarian and Tatar. The Hungarian population are an important minority within Romania. They count for about seven percent of the population and live mainly in central Romania, in Transylvania. This part of the country has, at various periods through history, been a part of Hungary. Hungary's claim on the area is based on the large numbers of Hungarians, or Magyars, living there. It is estimated that between 2.5 and three million Hungarian speakers live in the region (Grimes, 1992). They perceive themselves as Hungarians rather than Romanians, and there has been considerable ethnic tension. The region was last in Hungarian possession during the Second World War, but was subsequently returned to Romania.

The Transylvanian area of Romania is also home to many German speakers. They make up around 1.5 percent of the country's population. The other smaller minority groups are located throughout Romania, but count for only a very small percentage of the country's population (Grimes, 1992).

Languages	**Number of Speakers**
Romanian	19,550,000
Hungarian	1,619,368
German	500,000
Romany	200,000
Crimean Tatar	25,000
Turkish	14,000
Bulgarian	10,500
Polish	10,000

Serbia and Montenegro

The two republics of Serbia and Montenegro, together with the autonomous provinces of Vojvodina and Kosovo, have, since 1992, constituted the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, a country that was not internationally recognized in 1996. The former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia became defunct in 1992, after four of its six constituent republics, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia and Slovenia, declared their independence. The former territory of Yugoslavia is inhabited by three main ethnic groups, and power conflicts between these groups provided the impetus for the break up of the former Yugoslavia, and for the subsequent conflicts.

The three groups, Serbs, Croats and Muslims, all speak varieties of the same South Slavic language, that has often been internationally known as Serbo-Croat. However, Serbian and Croatian have developed two different literary standard languages since the 19th century, reflecting the desire for recognition and maintenance of a separate ethnic identity on the part of the Serb and Croat groups. Serbians write the language in the Cyrillic script, like other Slavic languages, including Russian, while Croats and Muslims write the language in the Roman alphabet. There are some regional differences, and these have been emphasized and extended since the beginning of the

conflict. The majority group in the new Yugoslavia are the Serbs, who comprise 63 percent of the population (75 percent in the republic of Serbia). Serbian is the official language, and the language spoken by the Serbs and Montenegrins. The latter constitute about six percent of the population, living primarily in Montenegro. Albanian Muslims comprise about 14 percent of the population of the new Yugoslavia. Hungarians, who live primarily in the autonomous province of Vojvodina in the north, constitute four percent. There are also a small group of Romanies. These figures are from the 1991 census. The estimated population of Serbia and Montenegro in 1995 was just over 11 million (CIA, 1995).

Slovenia

Slovenia was formerly part of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which ceased to exist in 1992, after four out of the six constituent republics seceded. Slovenia declared its independence in June 1991, and the estimated population of the country in 1995 was two million (CIA, 1995). Ethnic Slovenes constitute more than 90 percent of the country's population and speak Slovenian, the official language (Asher and Simpson, 1994). Slovenian is a South Slavic language closely related to Serbian and Croatian. It is written in the Roman alphabet, like Croatian and unlike Serbian and most other Slavic languages which use the Cyrillic script. Ethnic Serbs (about 2 percent), Croats (about 3 percent), Muslims (about 1 percent) and various other ethnic groups (about 4 percent) constitute the remainder of Slovenia's population (CIA, 1995). Serbian and Croatian, and also German, are widely spoken in Slovenia.

Turkey

Turkey's estimated population in 1995 was 63 million (CIA, 1995). The vast majority are Turks, and Turkish is spoken as a first language by 90 percent of the population. Turkish is the official language.

There are a number of minority language groups within Turkey. The 1965 census was the last to include a question on language, and the minority language graph is based on these figures.

Two minority languages which have not been included on the graph are Kurdish and Arabic. These are relatively large groups, compared to the other minority languages. There were 2.3 million Kurdish speakers in the last census (Comrie, 1994), and it is currently estimated that there are 3.9 million first language Kurdish speakers, mostly living in the eastern provinces of Turkey (Tekin, 1994). Most of the Kurdish population are bilingual in Kurdish and Turkish, and many Turks speak Kurdish as a second language.

Arabic was spoken by 365 thousand at the time of the last census (Comrie, 1994). It is estimated that their current number lies between 600 and 800 thousand. Most live in the south east in enclaves adjacent to Syria and are

bilingual in Arabic and Turkish.

Circassian is the largest minority language shown on the graph, spoken by over 58 thousand. Circassian communities are to be found throughout the whole of Turkey. Most of the Greeks, Armenians and Judezmo speakers live in the cities of Istanbul and Ankara. (Judezmo is a Romance language spoken by Jews). The number of Greeks living in Turkey has declined in recent decades, and a recent estimate numbers their population at between five and eight thousand.

Other minority languages in Turkey include Georgian, English, Bulgarian, Laz, Albanian, German and Abaza. A high percentage in all the different minority language communities also speak Turkish and there is also bilingualism in two minority languages.

Minority Languages of Turkey (Excluding Kurdish and Arabic)

Language	Number of First Language Speakers	Second Language Speakers
Circassian	58,339	48,621
Greek	48,096	75,941
Georgian	34,330	44,934
Armenian	33,094	22,260
English	27,841	
Bulgarian	27,226	3,126
Laz	26,007	55,158
Albanian	12,832	39,613
Judezmo	9,981	3,510
German	4,901	
Abaza	4,563	7,556

(Comrie, 1994)

Ukraine

Ukraine became an independent republic in 1991, as did many other Soviet republics. Both Ukrainian and Russian are official languages in the country. The Ukrainian language is closely related to Russian, and Ukrainians are also known as Little Russians. The Ukraine has a population of nearly 52 million, of which 72 percent are native speakers of Ukrainian. Russians constitute 22 percent of the population, and live mainly in urban areas. Many of the larger cities are predominantly Russian speaking (CIA, 1995).

The figures for the other minority language groups derive from the 1979 USSR census (Comrie, 1994). These include Romanian, Bulgarian, Hungarian, Belorussian, Yiddish, Tatar, Polish and Greek. Romanian, the largest minority language listed, has nearly 300 thousand speakers, counting for less than 0.6 percent of the population.

The distribution of these ethnic groups within the Ukraine varies from

region to region. Western Ukraine is predominantly Ukrainian, with most minority groups living throughout the rest of the country.

Languages	Number of Speakers
Ukrainian	37,400,000
Russian	11,400,000
Rumanian	284,649
Bulgarian	162,693
Hungarian	158,978
Belorussian	142,727
Yiddish	57,179
Tatar	50,579
Polish	36,543
Greek	9,221

(Comrie, 1994)

United Kingdom and Ireland

United Kingdom

The majority of the population of the United Kingdom (which includes England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland) are monolingual English speakers. It is estimated that between 95 percent and 98 percent of the United Kingdom are monolingual in English. Thus, *ipso facto,* English is the all-powerful and dominant language of the United Kingdom, not needing official or legal ratification. Compared, for example, with the United States or Canada, the United Kingdom is a relatively monolingual country. However, there is linguistic diversity within the UK.

The linguistic diversity of the United Kingdom has various elements. In Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales there are different Celtic languages. In northern Ireland, 6.6 percent are bilingual in Irish Gaelic and English. (see the entry under Ireland, page 000); in Scotland, 1.4 percent are bilingual in Scottish Gaelic and English; and in Wales, 18.7 percent are bilingual in Welsh and English. However only the Welsh language has been given official status (within the borders of Wales).

Another element in the linguistic diversity of the United Kingdom comes with recent in-migrant languages, sometimes called 'Community Languages' or 'those for whom English is an additional language'. Such Community Languages include Bengali, Panjabi, Hindi, Gujarati, Cantonese, Italian, Polish, Greek and Turkish speakers. These groups will be considered next. Entries for the Celtic regions appear later.

Map 6:6 Languages in the United Kingdom and Ireland

Community Languages In The United Kingdom

The 1991 United Kingdom Census indicated that 3 million of the total population were from an ethnic minority group. This was the first census to include a question on ethnicity and it identified eight main ethnic minority groups in the United Kingdom. (Ethnic minority in the terminology of the United Kingdom Census refers to in-migrant minorities rather than

indigenous minorities such as Welsh and Gaelic speakers, who are discussed below).

Ethnic Minority Groups in the UK in the 1991 Census

Ethnic Minority Groups in the UK, 1991 Census	Percentage of the Population
Indian	1.5%
Black Caribbean	0.9%
Pakistani	0.9%
Black African	0.4%
Asian	0.4%
Black Other	0.3%
Bangladeshi	0.3%
Chinese	0.3%
Other	0.5%

(OPCS, 1992)

Ethnic minorities account for 5.5 percent of the population. The largest ethnic minority are the South Asians (originating from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh) who represent 2.7 percent of the British population. Census data shows that the ethnic minorities are largely concentrated in the more populated and industrial areas. More than half the ethnic minority population of the United Kingdom live in south east England and the Greater London area alone contains almost 45 percent of the total ethnic minority population. Community languages are not only found in England, but throughout the United Kingdom (e.g. in Glasgow, Cardiff and Belfast).

The Census did not include a question on the language of these ethnic groups. As the different ethnic communities have developed in the United Kingdom, a shift towards the use of English over generations has been witnessed. However, a Language Survey conducted by the Inner London Education Authority in 1987 found that a quarter of London's children had a mother tongue other than English. The largest language groups were Bengali, Urdu, Gujarati, Panjabi, Turkish, Greek and Chinese. In all, 131 languages were located in Inner London among school children.

Cornish

Cornish is a Celtic language closely related to Welsh and was once spoken in the most south western part of England. The last native speaker of the Cornish language died in the 19th Century. There have been attempts to revive the language during this century with around a hundred people at present being able to converse reasonably fluently in the language. The language has no official status, and is rarely taught in schools. Supporters of Cornish tend to learn the language through evening classes and correspondence courses.

British Sign Language

A common misconception about sign languages is that they consist of rudimentary gestures. A second misconception is that all signs are direct

visual representations of objects and concepts, and thus all sign languages are mutually intelligible. On the contrary, there are numerous different sign languages in the world which all have their own structures and conventional signs. Someone using American Sign Language, for example, would not be able to communicate with someone who uses French Sign Language. Examples of other sign languages in the world include: Chinese Sign Language, Swedish Sign Language, Russian Sign Language, German Sign Language, Japanese Sign Language, Malaysian Sign Language, Mexican Sign Language, Spanish Sign Language and Kenyan Sign Language.

British Sign Language is a language of Britain (Alladina and Edwards, 1991). A linguistic analysis of British Sign Language (as with other Sign Languages of the world) shows that it is as complex and able to fulfil as wide a range of communicative functions as other languages. British Sign Language was used in deaf education in the 19th century but until recently has been regarded as a language that would not allow the integration of deaf children and adults into mainstream society. Parents have often been urged to use speech and not sign language with their deaf children. However, as Ladd (In Alladina and Edwards, 1991) has shown, British Sign Language has a history traceable to the 1500's and developed in deaf schools and deaf clubs in the Industrial Revolution of the 19th century. The British Sign Language community is estimated as between 50,000 and 100,000 strong. British Sign Language is used in deaf homes, as well as in clubs for deaf people and local community organizations. Parents of deaf children are now often encouraged to teach their children British Sign Language as their first language, with English as their second language. British Sign Language has regional variations and also has no written form.

Scotland

Gaelic

Scottish Gaelic (often just called Gaelic) and Irish Gaelic (often just called Irish) are closely related and have a degree of mutual intelligibility.

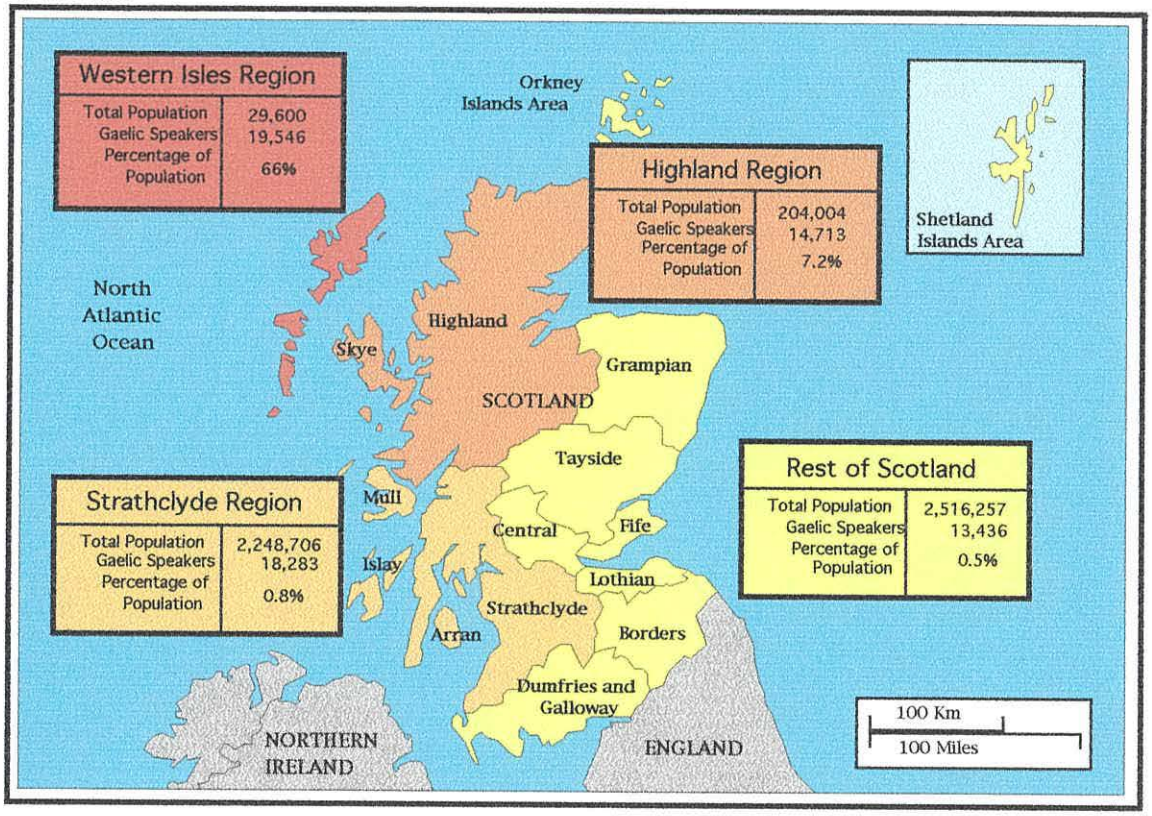
The 1991 Census found that of a Scottish population of approximately 5 million, 1.4 percent, (about 66,000 people), could speak Gaelic. Although there are Gaelic speakers through most of Scotland, with communities in the cities such as Edinburgh, Aberdeen and Glasgow, the highest concentration of speakers is to be found in the Western Isles.

In Scotland, Gaelic does not have national official status. However, in local government (eg the Western Isles Island Council), there is official regional status. Gaelic is used in local government meetings, economic initiatives, bilingual education and the media (eg programs on television). Gaelic also has institutional strength in bodies such as a Gaelic medium business college and a Gaelic Playgroup Association, and cultural strength in music, dance and informal networks of Gaelic speakers.

The remoteness and inaccessibility of the Western Isles, where Gaelic is

relatively strong, has meant that they have resisted Anglicisation more successfully than the rest of Scotland. While the population of Gaelic speakers in the Western Isles, as in the rest of Scotland has decreased, there is a strong revivalist approach in language planning.

Map 6:7 The Distribution of Gaelic Speakers in Scotland, 1991 Census



Lallans

Lallans, sometimes called Scots or Scottish, is found in areas south and east of the Scottish Highlands. There is no census or estimate of the number of speakers of Lallans. Lallans has descended from varieties of English spoken in the Lowlands of Scotland, and was made famous by the poetry of Robbie Burns (18th century). Its speakers do not generally perceive it as being a dialect of English, and recently there have been demands by some Lallans speakers to restore it to the status of an autonomous language. A visitor to Lowlands Scotland will tend to notice its differences rather than its resemblance to the English language. While the Lallans tongue has no legal status and no formal use in public administration, it is used in spoken communication. In 1985, the New Testament was translated into Lallans. There is no formal use in schools of the language but it is studied in Scottish universities and is included in the Scottish National Dictionary.

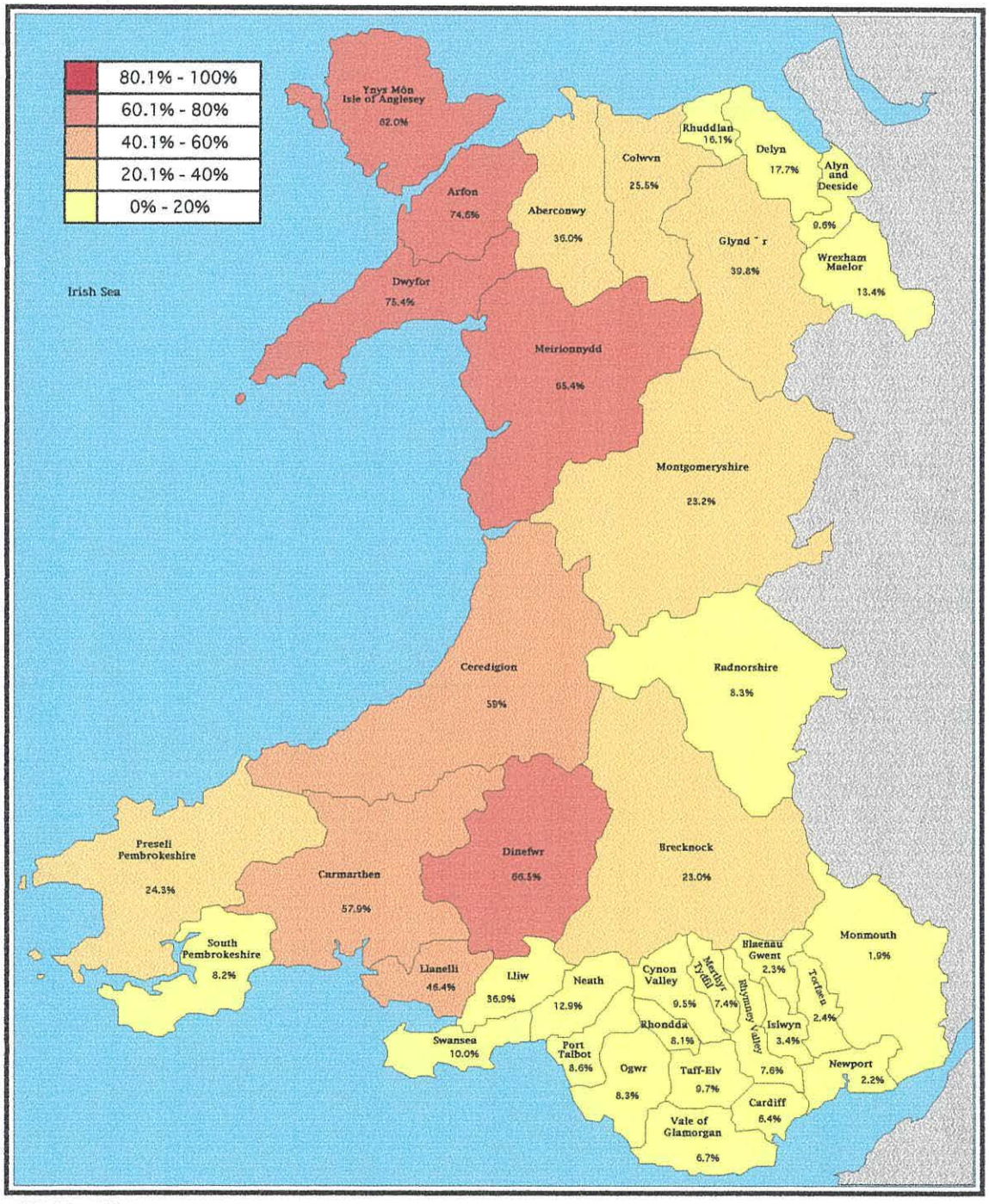
The Orkney and Shetland Islands

In the Northern Isles of Scotland (Orkney and Shetland), there has not been a Celtic tradition. The people of the Northern Isles were Norse in origin.

Indeed, Orkney and Shetland were part of the Kingdom of Norway until the 16th century when they were turned over to Scotland in settlement of a debt. The people of the Northern Isles are still conscious of their separate identity and are reluctant to be called Scots. However, the Norse dialects have died out and been replaced by English. The funding of North Sea oil meant prosperity for the Northern Isles, but led to increased in-migration and Anglicisation.

Wales

Map 6:8 The Distribution of Welsh Language in Wales by District, 1991 Census



(OPCS, 1994)

In the 1991 Census of the United Kingdom, the population in Wales was counted as 2.8 million of whom 18.7 percent could speak Welsh (OPCS, 1994). Welsh speakers are to be found through the whole of Wales. However, the percentage of Welsh speakers in the industrial valleys and cities of South Wales tends to be quite low. In the heartlands of the language in the north and west of the country, the percentage is much higher, and in many communities, Welsh speakers are in a majority.

The number of Welsh speakers seems to be holding steady and has decreased by only 0.3 percent since the last Census in 1981. The highest percentage of speakers are between the ages of 3 and 15 (OPCS, 1994).

Welsh medium education is available from primary school through to higher education, and the 1988 Education Reform Act ensured that Welsh is taught in almost all Welsh schools either as a first or second language. Welsh has official status in Wales, and there is a Welsh language television channel. (See page 000). Welsh is used in business, administration, courts, Universities and Colleges, playgroups and many other community activities, (e.g. eisteddfodau - cultural events solely in Welsh).

The Isle of Man

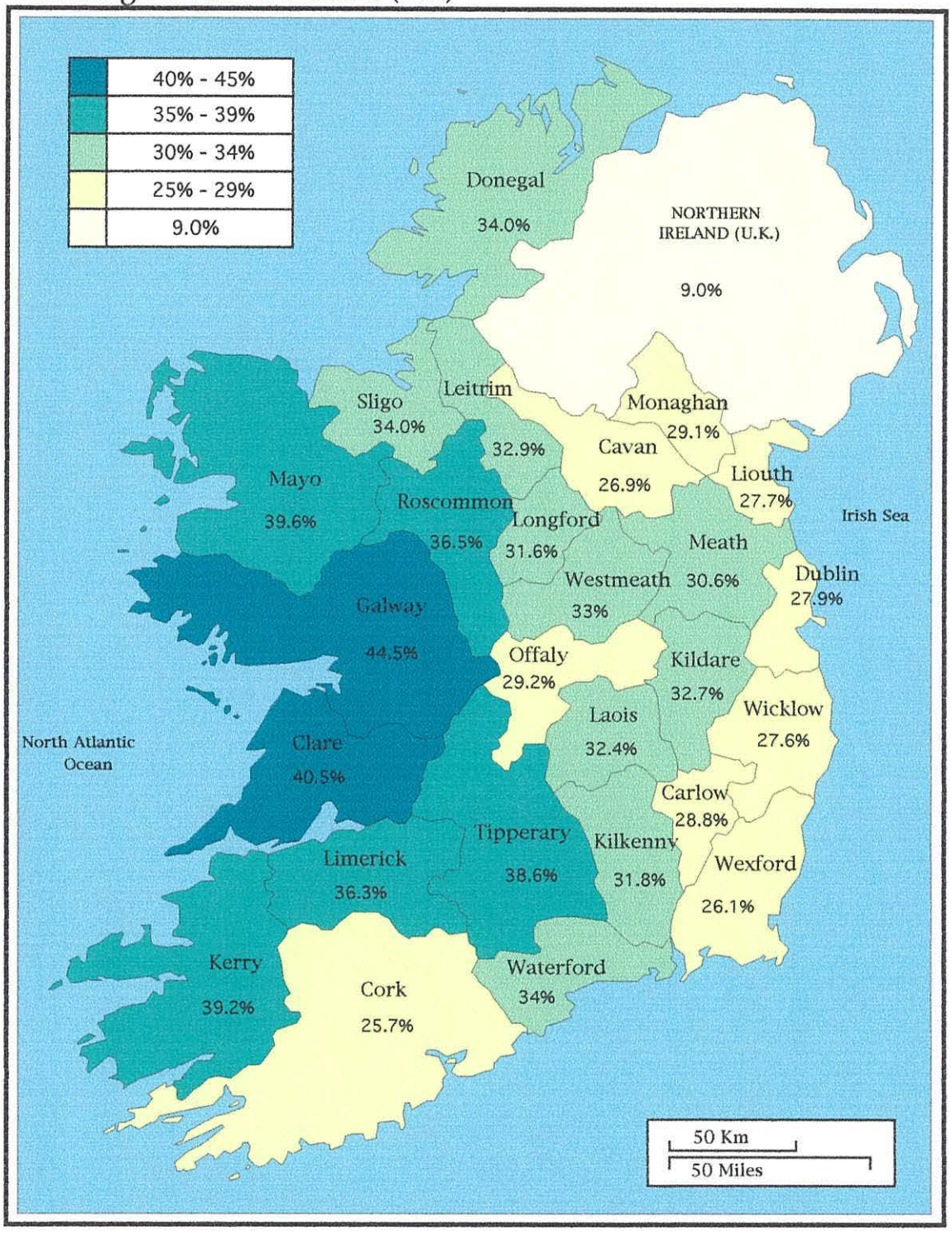
The Isle of Man, in the North Sea, has at various times been ruled by the Norse, Scots and English but its Celtic population spoke a language called Manx that is closely related to Irish and Scots Gaelic. Around the 1700's, English was not understood by about two-thirds of the islanders. With the advent of public schooling, English became the dominant language, so that by the mid 19th century, Manx was rarely used in the law courts and was ignored by the schools. Manx became extinct with the death of the last native speaker of the language in December 1974. However, there are current revivalist attempts.

The Channel Islands

The Channel Islands are situated in the English Channel between England and France. Although geographically closer to France, they are affiliated to the British Crown. The process of anglicisation has led to English being the main language of the Islands. However Norman-French dialects are still spoken in some parts of Guernsey and Jersey, and French and English bilingualism is not uncommon.

Ireland

Map 6:9 The Percentage of Irish Speakers in Irelands' Counties, including Northern Ireland (UK)



(Central Statistics Office, 1996; Department of Health and Social Services, 1993)

The Irish Republic

Since the Constitution of Ireland in 1937, the Irish language has been recognized as the first official language of the Republic. Irish is promoted

through the education system and taught as a second language to many children.

The revival of Irish has had an important place within official state orthodoxy. The Irish language is enshrined in the constitution as the first of the state's two official languages, the second being English. The Republic of Ireland invested significantly, although not always effectively, in a wide variety of economic, social, cultural and educational initiatives to promote Irish. Since the founding of the Irish Free State, the Irish language received considerable state support and state sponsorship. One problem was that the Irish language became state-led rather than owned by local communities.

The 1986 Census found that 31.1 percent of the population of 3.5 million were able to speak Irish with varying degrees of ability, although it is estimated that only 4 to 5 percent use the language regularly. Irish can be found through the whole of the Republic, but the majority of speakers are to be found along the western coast in designated Irish language areas called the Gaeltacht.

Number of Irish Speakers in Ireland from 1861 to 1991.

Language	Number of Speakers	% of Population
1861	1,077,087	24.5%
1871	804,547	19.8%
1881	924,781	23.9%
1891	664,387	19.2%
1901	619,710	19.2%
1911	553,717	17.6%
1926	540,802	19.3%
1936	666,601	23.7%
1946	588,725	21.2%
1961	716,420	27.2%
1971	789,429	29.3%
1981	1,018,413	31.6%
1986	1,042,701	31.1%
1991	1,095,830	32.5%

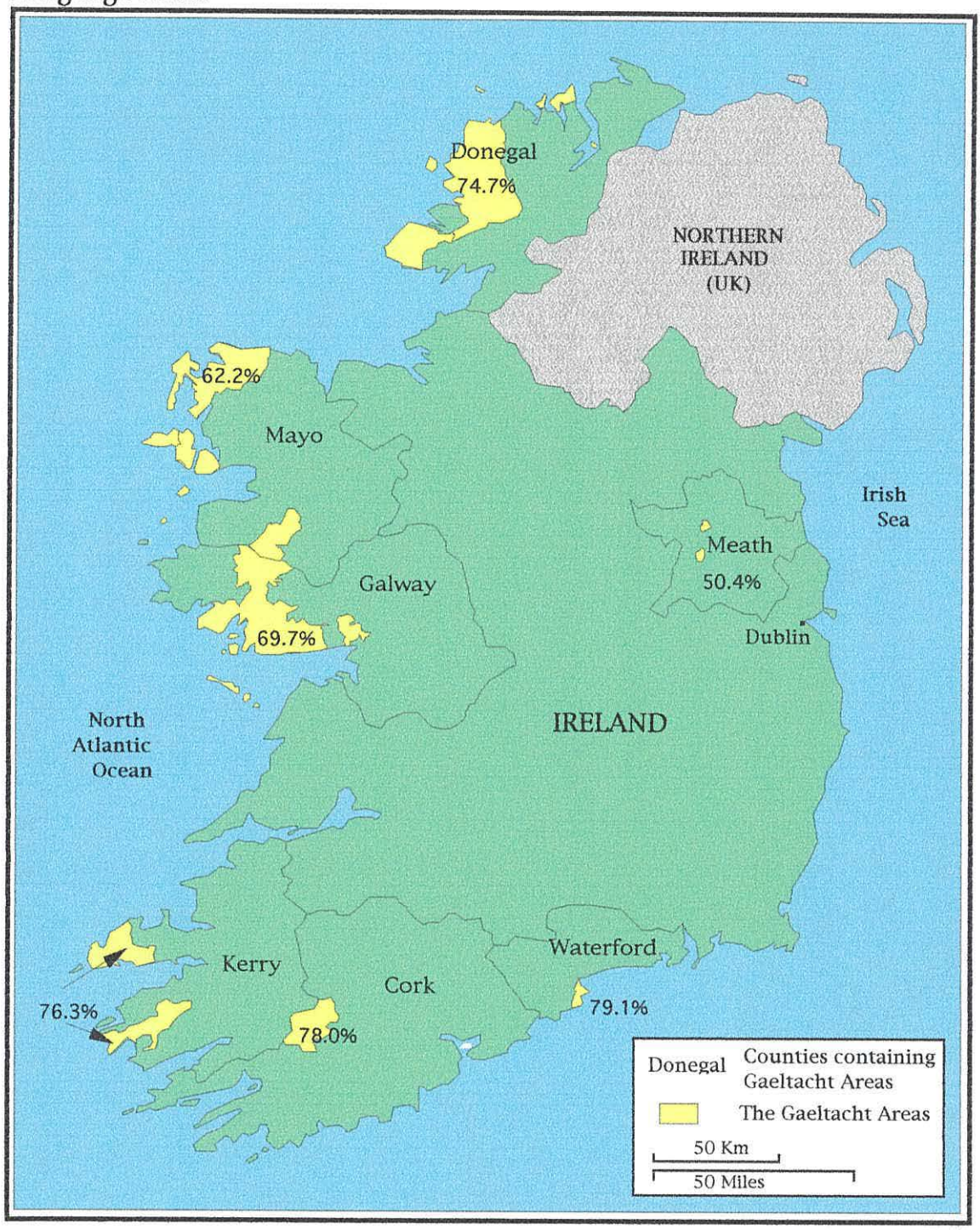
Percentage Of Irish Speakers by Age, 1991.

Age	Percentage of the Population
3 - 4	4.6%
5 - 9	27.3%
10 - 14	50.9%
15 - 19	54.8%
20 - 24	38.6%
25 - 34	29.2%
35 - 44	31.9%
45 - 54	29.5%
55 - 64	25.7%
65 and over	18.5%

(Central Statistics Office, 1996) Note: These figures refer only to areas within the current Irish Republic.

The Gaeltacht

Map 6:10 Percentage of Irish Speakers in the Gaeltacht: Designated Irish Language Areas



Note: Figures represent numbersof Irish speakers as a percentage of the total population of each Gaeltacht area.
(Central Statistics Office, 1996)

The Gaeltacht are officially designated Irish language areas. These areas were first set out in the 1956 Gaeltacht Area Order, and are mainly located along the Western coast of Ireland in counties Donegal, Mayo, Cork, Kerry, Galway, Waterford and Meath.

The Government's aim in establishing the Gaeltacht was to promote the use of the Irish language in strong heartland ares that would naturally reproduce the language. This was to be achieved through improving the social conditions of the Gaeltacht, providing a better infrastructure, providing Irish language schools, and encouraging economic development. Irish speakers could then hope to find employment in the Gaeltacht areas and enjoy a reasonable standard of living. 2.3 percent of the Irish Republic's population live in the Gaeltacht, although the numbers of Irish speakers in these rural areas are decreasing, as in the rest of Ireland. Many native speakers of Irish in the Gaeltacht have increasingly chosen English as a means of communication in their community, and sometimes with their children. Speaking Irish as the dominant language of communication in the Gaeltacht has therefore lately become a matter of conscious choice rather than of instinct or need.

Population of Gaeltacht Areas in the 1991 Census

Age	**Percentage of the Population**
Galway	21,533
Donegal	17,573
Mayo	7,096
Kerry	5,945
Cork	2,686
Waterford	1,035
Meath	600

(Central Statistics Office, 1996)

Northern Ireland

The United Kingdom government does not give official status to the Irish language in Northern Ireland, and the 1991 Census was the first Census since 1911 to include a question on people's ability to understand and speak Irish. This Census found that Irish is spoken by 9.2 percent of the Northern Ireland population in communities scattered throughout its six counties. 6.6 percent have some degree of literacy in the language (Department Of Health and Social Services, 1993).

In Northern Ireland, by the time of the Irish Free State, Irish speaking communities had virtually disappeared. However, new generations of Irish speakers, wanting to revive the Irish language in Northern Ireland, have continued to emerge from the 1920's to the present. Thus, in contrast with the Republic of Ireland, there has been a people-led and not a state-led revival. The ruling forces of Northern Ireland (in London) have sometimes been hostile, and at the best indifferent, to the Irish language in Northern Ireland. Language activists in Northern Ireland therefore have faced frustration in dealing with official indifference to the language. However, this has given their language activism a mission, a focus and an energy.

1991 Census analyses indicate that a knowledge of Irish is largely confined to the Roman Catholic population, although over 5,000 non-Catholics also

state that they speak Irish. Such Irish speakers are supported by a Belfast-based Irish language social club, a cultural centre, an Irish language newspaper, a book shop, a radio station, art centre and a theatre. In the 1970's, Irish medium education was begun in Northern Ireland, but outside the public system. Currently, there are around 1,000 children attending Irish medium schooling in Northern Ireland, a mixture of private and public schooling.

Chapter 7 - THE MIDDLE EAST

Map 7:1 Official Languages of the Middle East

Armenia

The Republic of Armenia was formerly part of the USSR, but gained its independence in 1991. Armenia has a population of over 3.5 million (CIA, 1995). Speakers of Armenian, an Indo-European language, comprise over 90 percent of the population. This proportion has increased considerably over recent years owing to the conflict with Azerbaijan over sovereignty of the Nagorno-Karabakh Enclave, which is officially part of Azerbaijan but is surrounded by Armenian territory. Many Azeris have left Armenia to return to Azerbaijan and only 2.6 percent of the population are Azeris

(Hewitt, 1994). Conversely, ethnic Armenians have left Azerbaijan to seek refuge in Armenia. The only Armenians left in Azerbaijan are those residing in the Nagorno-Karabakh enclave where they are in the majority. Russians comprise 1.6 percent of the population. Armenian is the official language but Russian is also commonly spoken. In 1989, nearly half of the Armenian population had a command of Russian. The Armenian people have faced waves of persecution over the centuries, most recently from the Ottoman Turks at the turn of the 20th century, and many have fled to form communities in other countries, throughout the Middle East, the US and other parts of the world. (Hewitt, 1994)

Azerbaijan

The Republic of Azerbaijan was formerly part of the USSR, and became independent in 1991. Azeris now form about 90 percent of the population of almost 7.8 million (CIA, 1995). They speak Azeri, a language closely related to Turkish. Azeri is the official language of the country. Azerbaijan is in conflict with its neighbour Armenia, over the Nagorno-Karabakh Enclave, a portion of land officially part of Azerbaijan, but surrounded by Armenian territory, and populated by a majority of Armenians. The percentage of Azeris in the country has increased in recent years, since the return of many Azeris from Armenia. Conversely the Armenian minority in Azerbaijan has decreased to only about two percent, almost all living in the Nagorno-Karabkh enclave.

Other language minorities include the Russians (5.6 percent), as well as small groups of speakers of Lezgian dialects, Kurds, Talysh, Tatars, Georgians, Ukrainians and Avars. Russian is still spoken, but its use is declining. Most speakers of minority languages also speak Azeri, and often use it as a written language, since most are not literate in their mother tongues (Clark, 1994).

Azeri is spoken by minority groups of Azeribaijanis living in neighbouring countries, notably in Iran. According to official Iranian sources, there were nearly nine million Azeri speakers in Iran in 1986.

Bahrain

The independent Emirate of Bahrain consists of an archipelago of islands in the Southern Persian Gulf. The population of Bahrain is 575 thousand (CIA, 1995) and the official language is Arabic. Dialects of Arabic are the mother tongue of about three quarters of the population. About eight percent of the population are of Iranian origin and mainly speak Farsi (Persian) as well as Arabic. Ten percent of the population are of Asian origin (CIA, 1995), and Urdu is widely spoken as well as other Asian languages. In recent decades, English has been spoken and understood as a second language by many Bahrainis, mainly in commercial and business contexts. This occurred because of British control of Bahrain's external affairs until 1971, and because of the country's subsequent development as an international commerce and

banking centre (Holes, 1994).

Georgia

The Republic of Georgia became independent upon the dissolution of the USSR in 1991. The population of 5.7 million (CIA, 1995) comprises over 100 ethnic groups. The majority language and the official language is Georgian. Over 70 percent of the population are classed as 'ethnic Georgians' (CIA, 1995), but this includes significant numbers or speakers of closely related languages such as Svan, Mingrelian and Laz. Most of these are bilingual in their mother tongue and Georgian. The main minority language groups from the 1989 census (Hewitt, 1994), are the Armenians (8 percent), the Russians (6 percent), Azeris (5.7 percent), Ossetians (3 percent) and Abkhazians (3 percent).

Bilingualism is common in the Republic, with Georgian and Russian being spoken by many people as second languages. Almost 10 percent of the population know Russian. The Republic contains three autonomous areas, based on ethnic groups, the Abkhaz Autonomous Republic, the Ossetian Autonomous Republic and the Adzhar Autonomous Republic. (The Adzhars are Turkicized Georgians). The Abkhaz and Ossetian minorities have been in conflict with the Georgian government over demands for increased autonomy. These conflicts have been exacerbated since the Georgian supreme Soviet passed a law establishing the superior status of the Georgian language in 1989, making it obligatory in all schools, including minority language schools.

Iran

The Islamic Republic of Iran has a population of 64.6 million (CIA, 1995). About 50 percent of the population are Persians and speak dialects of modern Persian (Farsi), which is the official language (Grimes, 1992). Farsi is spoken in all the major cities and in the north east. There are several minority language groups, most of which have a strong ethnic identity. About 5 percent of the population are Kurds, living in the semi-autonomous province of Kurdistan (Grimes, 1992). Baluchi is spoken in the south east. Both Baluchi and Kurdish are Iranian languages, related to Persian. About 20 percent of the population speak Turkic languages, notably Azeri and Turkish, and also Uzbek. Other minority language groups include Armenian, Georgian and Syrian. Arabic is widely spoken in the oil region of the south west (Abu-Haidar, 1994).

Farsi is the main medium of instruction in schools and is the language of the media and the administration. However, it is not spoken or understood in all areas of the country.

Iraq

The Republic of Iraq has a population of over 20.6 million (CIA, 1995).

About 75 percent of the population are Arabs and speak various dialects of Arabic. Modern Standard Arabic is the official language. The largest ethnic and language minority are the Kurds, who inhabit the northern highlands, and who constitute about 18 percent of the population (Grimes, 1992). Since 1980, the Kurds have been given some autonomy in their home region, and the Kurdish language has official status there. Other language minorities include the Turkomans. Dialects of Persian are spoken along the Iran border, and there are small Armenian communities in the larger cities. There are also some speakers of neo-Aramaic dialects. Most speakers of minority languages also speak Arabic.

Israel

The State of Israel, established in 1948 as the Jewish homeland, is a country of considerable linguistic diversity. Eighty two percent of the population of over 5.4 million (CIA, 1995) are Jewish. Half of these were born in Israel, but their parents or grandparents migrated to Israel from over 100 different countries and spoke about 85 major languages or dialects. Hebrew and Arabic are the official languages of the country. Most Jews speak Hebrew, but, for some of them at least, it is a second language acquired in school or in intensive courses for new in-migrants. Many Jews continue to speak their first languages at home rather than Hebrew.

The Israeli government has maintained a policy of linguistic assimilation for new in-migrants, but bilingualism continues to be widespread (Spolsky, 1994). Yiddish is still widely spoken, especially in Orthodox Jewish communities. A substantial number of Amharic speakers have recently migrated to Israel from Ethiopia and there has been a massive influx of Russian Jews since 1989 (Spolsky, 1994). Because of the great numbers of Russian speakers, they have not yet been easily assimilated and the Israeli government has made language concessions, including some educational provision in Russian. English is widely used as a second or third language, and has some official recognition.

About 18 percent of the population of Israel are non-Jewish, mainly Arabs. Arabic is used in schools, in legal affairs and in the legislature (CIA, 1995). Many Arabs know some Hebrew, as Hebrew is taught in Arab schools. Also, some Jews are fluent in Arabic. Conflicts between Jews and Arabs in Israel is rarely caused by language differences.

Jordan

The Hashemite kingdom of Jordan had an estimated population of 4.1 million in 1995 (CIA, 1995). Jordan gained independence from the British mandate in 1946. The population are almost entirely Arabs, including many thousands of Palestinian refugees. There are small minorities of Circassians and Armenians, numbering less than 50 thousand each. Arabic is the official language, and is used in schools. However, English is widely understood among the upper and middle classes. English is the main

foreign language taught in schools. At university level, medicine and science are taught mainly in English. The second foreign language is French, mainly taught at elite private schools (Suleiman, 1994).

Kuwait

Prior to the Iraqi invasion of 1991, native Kuwaitis formed less than 40 percent of the population of Kuwait, and less than 20 percent of the labour force. The remainder comprised in-migrant workers, mainly Palestinians, South Asians, Sudanese, Yemenis and Egyptians. After the conclusion of the Gulf War, the population of Kuwait was less than half the prewar total and the government planned to limit the number of foreign workers to less than 50 percent. The population of Kuwait is currently 1.8 million of which 45 percent are Kuwaitis and 35 percent come from other Arab countries (CIA, 1995). Thus more than 85 percent of the population speak various colloquial dialects of Arabic (Grimes, 1992). The official language of the country is Modern Standard Arabic, used in government, administration and education. The main language minorities are nine percent South Asian (mainly from Pakistan and India) and four percent from Iran (CIA, 1995). There are radio broadcasts in Arabic, Persian, English and Urdu. English is quite widely understood and spoken, and is used to teach science and medicine at tertiary level. Both before and particularly after the Gulf War, English has been accorded relatively high status.

Lebanon

Lebanon is an independent republic. According to 1995 estimates, the population was almost 3.7 million (CIA, 1995). The majority of Lebanese speak Arabic as their mother tongue and Arabic is the official language. There is a small community of Armenian speakers, about six percent of the population (Grimes, 1992). Between 1920 and 1946, Lebanon was under a French mandate. French and English are widely used and understood in official life, business and commerce. Spanish is also understood by some Lebanese. A high literacy rate and a relatively high standard of education among the Lebanese means that many people are familiar with these three Western languages. Also, since the turn of the century, there have been large Lebanese expatriate communities in France, the US and South America which have maintained strong links with the mother country.

Foreign newspapers and magazines are available in Lebanon and the local press publishes in English, French and Armenian, as well as Arabic. French appears to be losing ground to English as a language of wider communication, although French is still the medium of education in some high schools (Holes, 1994).

Oman

The Sultanate of Oman had an estimated population of just over 2.1 million in 1995, the majority of whom were Arabs (CIA, 1995). Minority groups of

expatriate workers, mostly South Asians (Indians, Pakistanis, Sri Lankans, Bangladeshis) are found in the principal ports, as are many East Africans. These expatriate workers, working mainly in the petroleum industry, constitute about half the salaried labour force. Arabic is the official language, spoken by virtually all Omani nationals as a first or second language. Bilingualism in Arabic and a minority language is widespread. There are minority groups of speakers of modern South Arabian languages, related to Arabic. Swahili is widely spoken in large coastal towns, being the native language of many Omanis who returned to Oman from the former Omani colony of Zanzibar in the mid-60s. Baluchi, Urdu and other Asian languages are spoken by workers from the subcontinent. English is widely used and understood in coastal areas, especially by Omanis who have returned from East Africa (Holes, 1994).

Qatar

The State of Qatar, a former British protectorate, became independent in 1971. Arabic is the official language, but only 40 percent of the population of 533 thousand are Arabs. Many foreign workers reside in Qatar. Eighteen percent of the population are Pakistanis, and 10 percent are Iranian (CIA, 1995). English is commonly used as a second language in government and commerce.

Saudi Arabia

Saudi Arabia had an estimated population of just over 18.7 million in 1995 (CIA, 1995). According to the 1992 census, over a quarter of the population were expatriate workers, from the Middle East, Africa or Asia. About 90 percent of the population are Arabs, either Saudi citizens or workers from other Arab countries, and Arabic is the official language. The other 10 percent speak English or Asian languages. English is often used as a language of wider communication among the multilingual workforce. Arabic is the language of government, commerce and education, but English is commonly used at tertiary level to teach science and medicine (Holes, 1994).

Syria

The Syrian Arab Republic had an estimated population of 15.45 million in 1995 (not including about 30 thousand in the Israeli-occupied Golan heights) (CIA, 1995). About 90 percent of the population are Arabs, and Arabic is the official language. The largest non-Arab minorities are Kurds who live along the Turkish border, and Armenians, who live chiefly in the larger cities. Syria was under a French mandate between 1919 and 1943 and French was once widely used in official life. Its use has now decreased considerably. Arabic is the language of education and administration. Syria has a very positive pro-Arabic stance, and requires the use of Arabic to teach medicine and science at tertiary level. In most other Arab countries, these subjects tend to be taught in English at this level (Holes, 1994).

United Arab Emirates

The United Arab Emirates consists of a confederation of seven small independent states, Abu Dhabi, Ajman, Dubayy al-Fujayrah, Ras al-Khaymah, ash-Shariqah, Umm al-Qaywayn. The official language is Arabic, but less than half of the population of 2.9 million (CIA, 1995) are ethnically Arabs. 1982 figures recorded that only 19 percent were Emirian nationals and 23 percent were workers from other Arab countries (CIA, 1995). There has been a great influx of foreigners working in the petroleum industry. Half the current population are from South Asia, and nearly 10 percent are from other parts of the world, including Western countries, East Asia and Iran. However, Arabic is spoken by the majority of population as a first or second language. English, Persian, Gujarati, Panjabi, Bengali, Malayalam, Tamil, Hindi and Urdu are all commonly spoken languages (Holes, 1994). English functions as a lingua franca to some extent in the multilingual coastal towns. Arabic is the language of government, official life and education, but English is used to teach science and medicine in some tertiary institutions.

The West Bank

The West Bank, an area of about 2280 square miles west of the Jordan river, was formerly part of Jordan, but was occupied by Israel in 1967. The Israeli-Palestinian interim agreement of September 1995 granted the area a broader measure of self-government, by means of an elected self-governing authority, the Palestinian Council.

Over 80 percent of the population of 1.3 million (CIA, 1995) are Arabic speaking Palestinians. The remainder are Jewish settlers, most of whom speak Hebrew. English is also understood by some inhabitants of this area.

The Gaza Strip

The city and seaport of Gaza on the eastern Mediterranean Sea and the surrounding area were formerly part of South Western Syria and were occupied by Israel in 1967. Over 99 percent of the population of 813 thousand (CIA, 1995) are Arabic-speaking Palestinians, while 0.6 percent are Hebrew-speaking Jewish settlers. The Israeli-Palestinian interim agreement of September 1995 granted the area a broader measure of Palestinian self government by means of an elected self governing authority, the Palestinian Council. English is understood by some of the dwellers in this area.

Yemen

The Republic of Yemen was formed when the Yemen Arab Republic (Northern Yemen) united with the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (Southern Yemen) in 1990. The population of 14.7 million (CIA, 1995) is

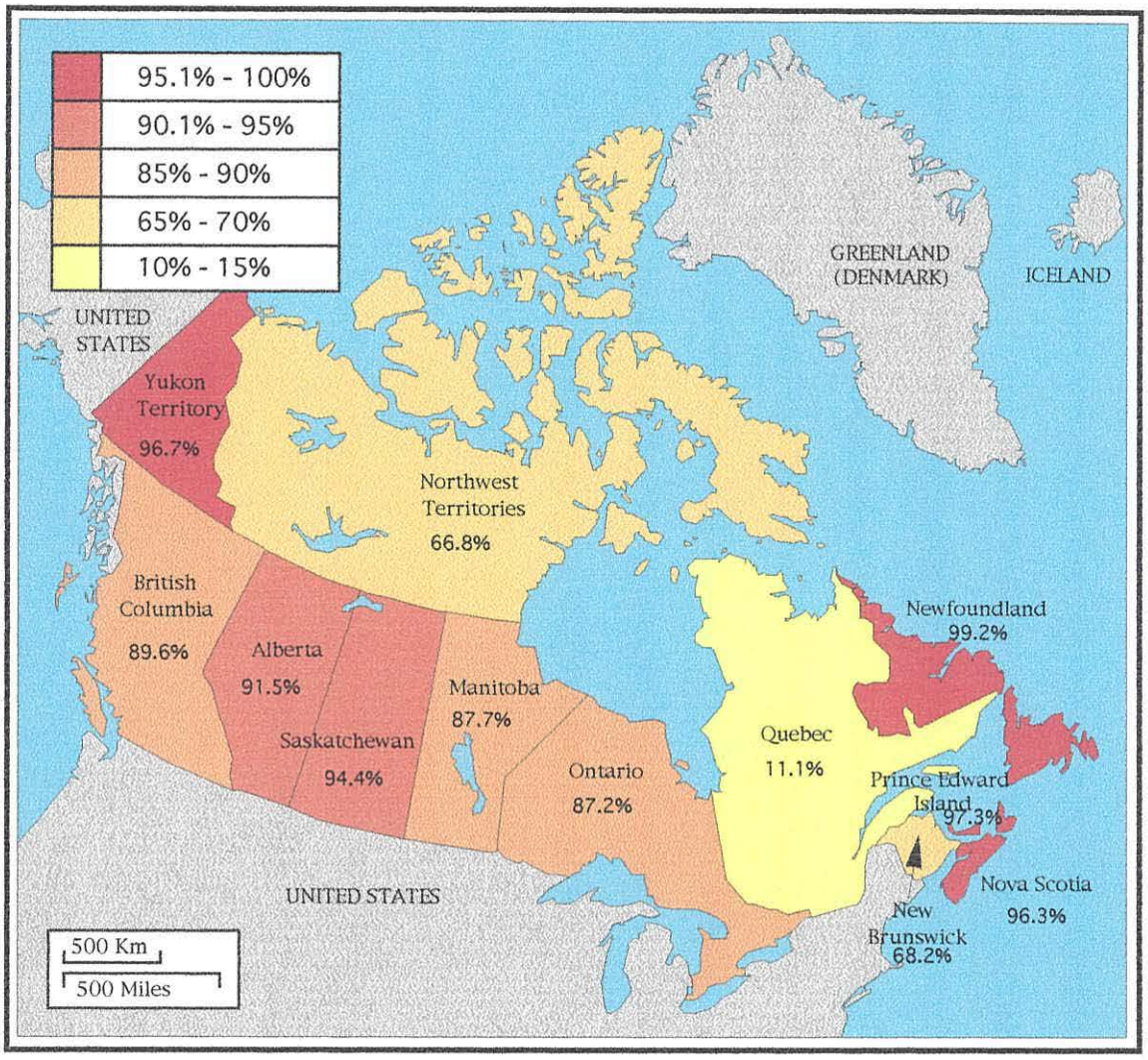
composed mainly of Yemenis, either of Arab descent or of mixed Arab and African descent who live in the coastal areas. Arabic is the official language, and the native language of the majority of the population, including 3-4 million expatriate Yemenis who have returned home since the 1991 Gulf War (Hillenbrand, 1994). South Arabian languages, Mahri and Sokotri, are spoken by indigenous groups, but they are in decline owing to depopulation from the Mahra and Sokotra areas, and the spread of Arabic. There are small minority language groups, mainly in Southern Yemen. These include expatriate workers from Pakistan, Malaysia, the US, UK, the the Philippines and Germany for example. There are a number of Somali refugees and a sizable Eritrean community (Hillenbrand, 1994).

Since the unification of the country, English has become the most important second language and tends to be used as a lingua franca between non-Arab groups. Arabic is the language of government, media, religion and education. However, English is the medium of teaching in the faculties of medicine, science and architecture at the University of Sanaa. As in many other Arab countries, a diglossic situation exists between Modern Standard Arabic, the official, written language and the colloquial Arabic dialects used in informal oral contexts.

Chapter 8 - NORTH AMERICA

Canada

Map 8:1 Percentage with English as their Home Language in Canada



Canada is a federated state in North America north of the United States, except for the state of Alaska (belonging to the US), Greenland (a self-governing territory of Denmark) and the two small islands of Saint Pierre and Miquelon, located south of Newfoundland, which are overseas territories of France.

In 1995, the estimated population of Canada was 28.4 million. The original inhabitants of the territory now known as Canada were the American Indians and Inuit (Eskimo) peoples close relatives of the American Indians of the US Their ancestors were Mongoloid peoples, from Asia who entered North America across the Bering Land Bridge sometime between 25000 B.C. and 12000 B.C. By the beginning of the 17th century, about 250 thousand of their descendants inhabited the territory now known as Canada.

The modern state of Canada has its origins in the arrival of French and British settlers in the 17th century. In the early 17th century, the first permanent French settlements were established in what is now New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Quebec city and Prince Edward Island. By 1763, the British had gained control over the French colonies in Canada, including New France (the present day Quebec). However a law was passed in 1774, (the Quebec Act), guaranteeing the maintenance of the French language, French civil law and the Roman Catholic faith in the French-speaking region. In 1867, the Dominion of Canada came into existence, with the unification of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Quebec and Ontario. During the 19th century, Canada expanded westwards, adding new territories.

In-migration to Canada

Settlers of British origin came to Canada mainly after the completion of the British conquest of French territory in 1763. After the thirteen seaboard colonies of North America declared their independence from Britain in 1776, thousands of British 'Loyalists' fled to Canada, increasing the number of English speakers. The large scale migration of English, Scots and Irish to Canada during the 19th century further swelled the ranks of the English-speaking population. In the late 19th century and 20th century, there has been considerable migration from other European countries.

Of the population of 27 million (1991), 28 percent were of British-only origin and 23 percent of French-only origin. Another four percent of the population reported a combination of British and French backgrounds, with 14 percent having partly French and/or English backgrounds. The remainder were mainly German, Italian, Ukrainian, Dutch, Scandinavian, Polish, Jewish, Hungarian and Greek. The 1991 Census revealed that 16 percent of the Canadian population (or 4.3 million people) were in-migrants (defined as 'not Canadian by birth').

Due to a combination of a relatively low birth rate and in order to support economic growth, Canada embarked on a strategic policy of in-migration in the late 1980s. The graph shows the increase in in-migration in the 1990's. In 1960, there were close to 100 thousand in-migrants, rising to just below 150 thousand in-migrants in 1970 and 1980. In the 1990s, over 200 thousand in-migrants per year have entered Canada.

In 1996, the quota for new in-migrants was set at around 200,000 in-migrants and refugees (with refugees comprising close to 1 in 8 new in-migrants). In the 1970s to the 1990s, many in-migrants came from Asia and the West Indies.

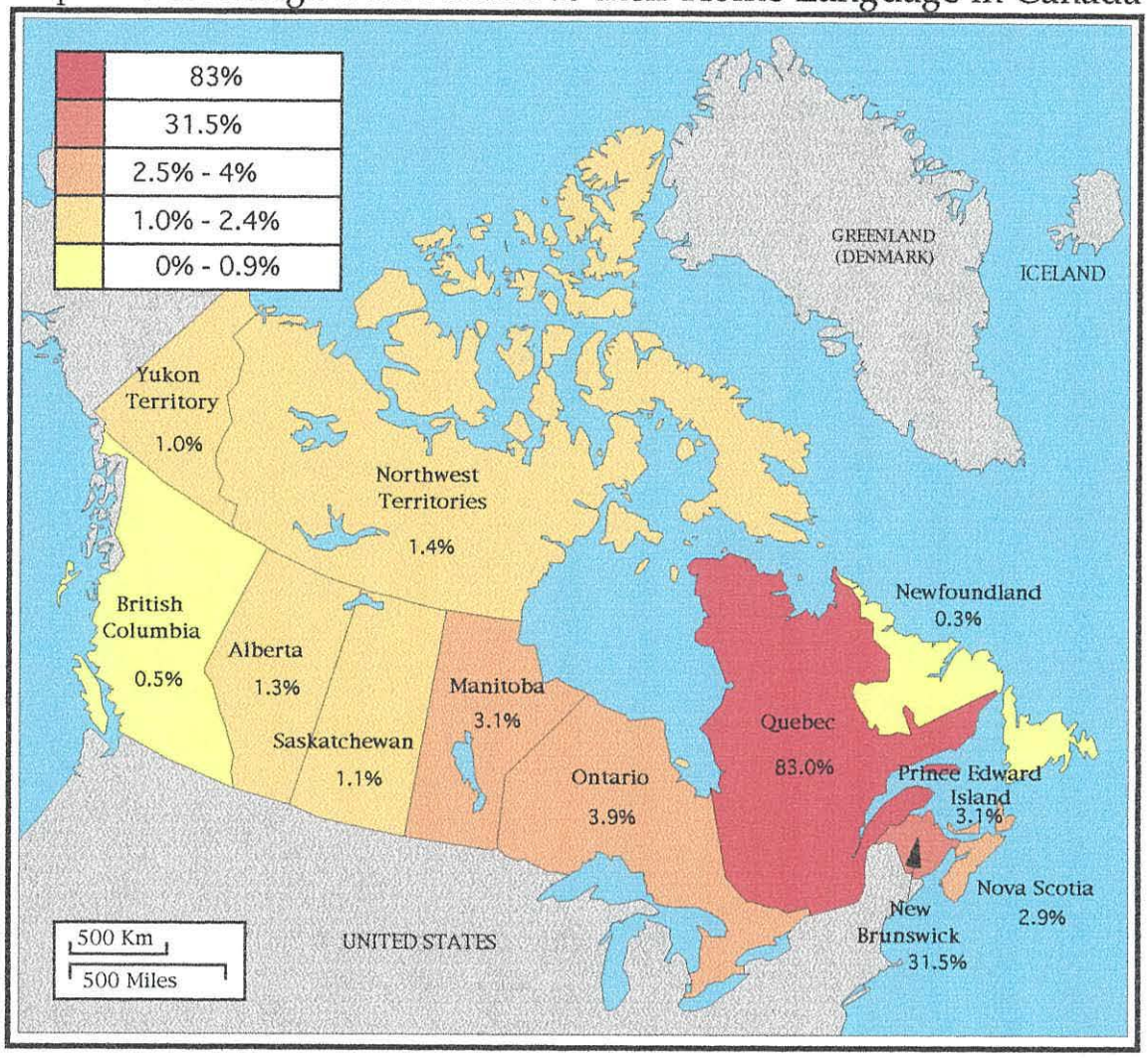
In-migration into Canada 1960 - 1994.

Year	Number of In-migrants
1960	105,000
1970	150,000
1980	145,000
1990	215,000

1991	235,000
1992	255,000
1993	255,000
1994	222,000

Official languages in Canada

Map 8:2 Percentage with French as their Home Language in Canada



During the 18th and 19th centuries, some politicians urged that the status of French in Quebec should be removed and that the French-speaking population should be anglicised. However, French speakers have been sufficiently numerous and sufficiently powerful to defend their linguistic, cultural and social rights.

English and French are both official languages in Canada. The Official Languages Act adopted in 1969 gave these languages equal status, rights and privileges in matters of federal jurisdiction. Citizens can demand services in either of the official languages from agencies or ministries of the federal government. In Canada, the official status of French and English apples at the federal level. Only one provincial government, New Brunswick, has declared the two as official languages. In 1977, the government of Quebec

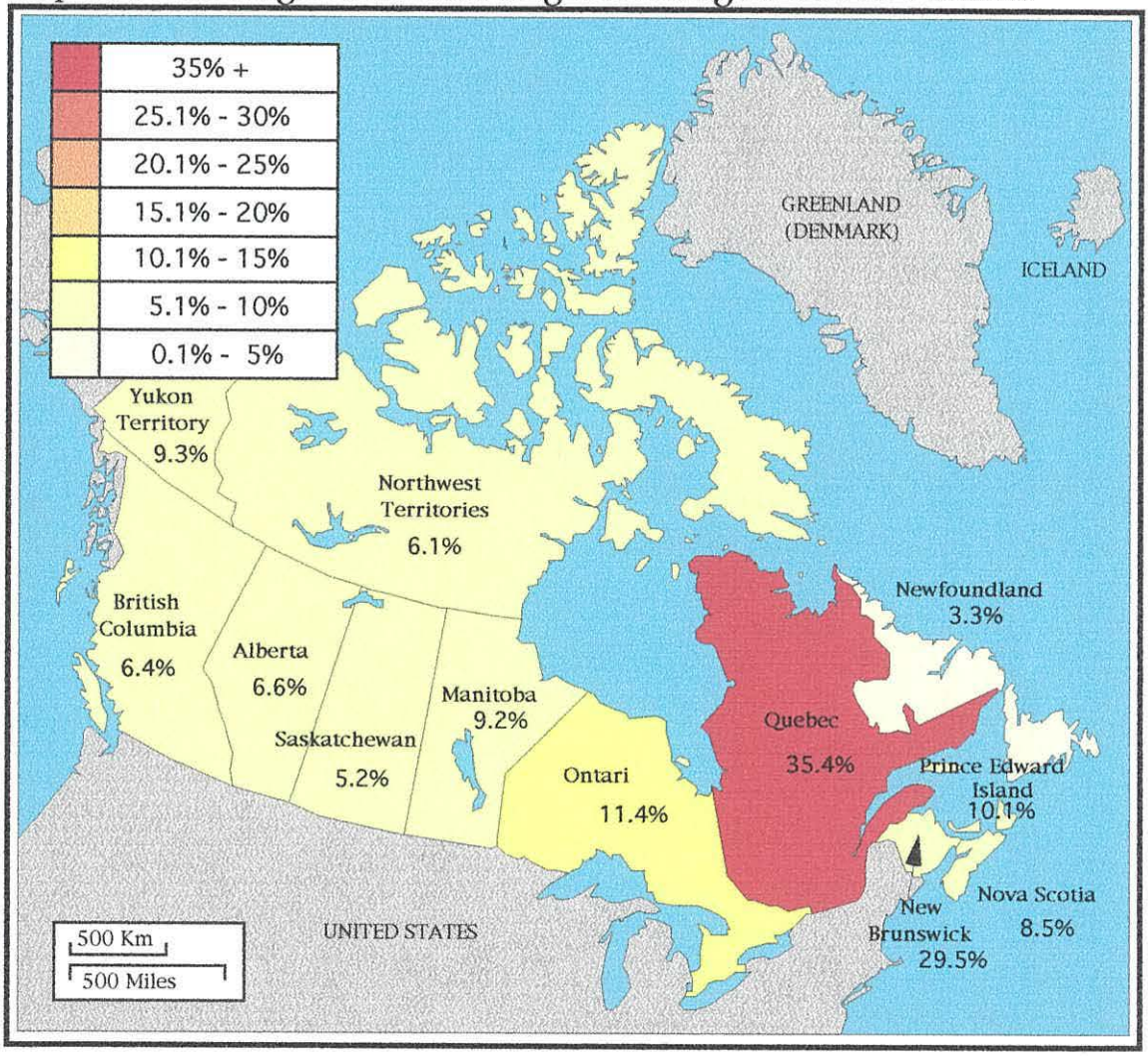
legislated that French should be the only official language of that province.

The 1991 Canadian Census showed that close to 17 in every 20 people spoke either French or English as their first language. Francophones are mainly found in Quebec, with anglophones representing 1 in 10 of the population of Quebec. In other parts of Canada, francophones are a minority, approximately 1 in 20 of the population. However, in the province of New Brunswick, francophones represent about a third of the population.

English-French Bilingualism in Canada

According to the 1991 Census in Canada, 4.4 million people (16 percent of the population) were bilingual in English and French. As the accompanying map shows, the largest number of bilingual people is found in Quebec, New Brunswick and Ontario. In 1991, these three provinces contained 86 percent of all bilingual people in Canada.

Map 8:3 Percentage of French-English Bilingualism in Canada



There is a strong tendency for bilingual individuals to come from English and French linguistic minorities. That is, outside Quebec, francophones are more often bilingual than anglophones, whereas in Quebec, anglophones

are more likely to be bilingual than francophones. Thus, bilingualism in Canada is particularly associated with language minorities in majority language areas. Twenty two and half million Canadians (83 percent of the total population) can speak English. Of this group, 16.3 million indicated in the 1991 Census that English was their mother tongue.

Generally, over the past 40 years, the overall percentage of anglophones in Canada has remained stable. Of the 8.5 million Canadians who speak French according to the 1991 Census, 6.6 million declared French at their mother tongue. In percentage terms, the proportion of francophones in Canada (in the total population) has decreased from 29 percent in 1951 to 24 percent in 1991. This is partly explained by the large number of in-migrants in recent years who have a mother tongue other than French. Francophones are particularly found in southern Quebec, while in northern Quebec there are large numbers of people who speak Aboriginal languages.

Non-official languages in Canada

Other languages in Canada are often termed non-official languages. The accompanying graphs and tables provide specific details about the size of these different language groups that make up the linguistic mosaic of Canada. Non-official languages have no special legal status, although the Official Languages Act (1969) encouraged the idea of multiculturalism throughout the nation. This included support for French culture outside Quebec, and also the maintenance of non-official languages, both in-migrant and indigenous. There is some government subsidisation of language schools, language festivals and local newspapers in such non-official languages. To distinguish such heritage language speakers from anglophones and francophones, some Canadians use the term 'allophones' to refer to Canadians whose mother tongue is any language other than French and English (but sometimes excluding Aboriginal groups). In 1991, some five million Canadians spoke a language other than French or English, and 4.1 million of these had a non-official language as their mother tongue. This is a result of the large in-migration that has occurred in the last 40 years.

In Canada, allophones tend to live in urban areas (approximately four out of five allophones live in large city areas). Almost half can be found in Ontario. Some two million allophones, approximately one Ontarian out of five, had a mother tongue other than English or French. The most popular destinations of in-migrants are Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver.

Canadians with a non-official language as a mother tongue represented 15 percent of the population in 1991. This is a rise of 12 percent since 1951 when 3 percent of the population had a non-official language. In 1951, Ukrainian and German were the most frequently reported non-official languages. In 1991, Italian, Chinese and German were the most represented non-official languages in Canada with about half a million speakers each. Heritage languages, both in-migrant and indigenous, are sometimes used in the media.

Language shift to English over two or three generations has been a feature of most in-migrant minorities in Canada. The majority of new in-migrants prefer to learn English than French and to enrol their children in schools where the language of instruction is English.

Aboriginal Language Groups

One important heritage language group in Canada are the Aboriginal peoples, the indigenous residents before the French and British arrived. The history of the indigenous peoples in Canada is similar to that of the indigenous peoples of the United States. Over a period of two centuries they were gradually subjugated, disempowered and their territories confiscated. Aboriginal peoples make up less than one percent of the population of Canada but form a majority of the population in the North West Territories and a significant percentage of the population in Yukon. More than 50 Aboriginal languages are spoken, but most are threatened or on the verge of extinction. Among these 50 Aboriginal languages are Blackfoot, Cree, Chipewyan, Mohawk and Inuktitut. The following table shows the regional distribution of eight of the most reported Aboriginal languages and gives the numbers of speakers in the 1991 Census.

Aboriginal Language	Size of Language Group	Main Area where Language is spoken
Cree	82,070	Manitoba and Saskatchewan (57%) *
Ojibway	25,245	Ontario and Manitoba (89%)
Inuktitut	24,980	Northwest Territories/Quebec (95%)
Montagnais-Naskapi	7,575	Quebec (84%)
Micmac	6,260	Nova Scotia & New Brunswick (68%)
Dakota	4,110	Alberta (71%)
Blackfoot	4,000	Alberta (97%)
South Slave	3,520	Northwest Territories/Alberta (94%)
Other	32,410	---
Total	190,170	---

* The percentage refers to the proportion of all speakers of an aboriginal language (e.g. 57 percent of Cree speakers live in Manitoba and Saskatchewan).
(Harrison & Marmen, 1994)

The Mother Tongue of Canadian Residents, 1991 Census

Language	Number	Percentage
English	16,169,880	59.9%
French	6,502,860	24.1%
Italian	510,990	1.9%
Chinese	498,845	1.8%
German	466,240	1.7%
Portuguese	212,090	0.8%
Polish	189,815	0.7%
Ukrainian	187,015	0.7%
Spanish	177,425	0.7%
Dutch	139,035	0.5%
Other	1,939,855	7.2%

The Increase in English-French Bilingualism, 1981 - 1991

Province / Territory	Percentage Change
New Brunswick	3.0%
Quebec	3.0%
Prince Edward Island	2.0%
Yukon	1.4%
Manitoba	1.3%
Nova Scotia	1.2%
Newfoundland	1.0%
British Columbia	0.7%
Ontario	0.6%
Saskatchewan	0.6%
Alberta	0.2%
Northwest Territories	0.0%

Home Languages in Canada's Ten Largest Cities, 1991 Census

City	English	French	Other
London	92.6%	0.3%	7.0%
Calgary	90.4%	0.5%	9.1%
Edmonton	89.9%	0.9%	9.3%
Hamilton	89.9%	0.6%	9.6%
Winnipeg	9.6%	2.4%	9.2%
Vancouver	83.3%	0.4%	16.3%
Toronto	78.2%	0.6%	21.2%
Ottawa-Hull	62.4%	30.8%	6.8%
Montreal	19.3%	69.4%	11.3%
Quebec	1.6%	97.6%	0.7%

Home Language in the 1991 Canadian Census

Province	English	French	Other
Newfoundland	99.2%	0.3%	0.5%
Prince Edward Isl	97.3%	2.4%	0.3%
Yukon	96.7%	1.4%	1.9%
Nova Scotia	96.3%	2.5%	1.2%
Saskatchewan	94.4%	0.7%	4.9%
Alberta	91.5%	0.8%	7.7%
British Columbia	89.3%	0.4%	9.9%
Manitoba	87.7%	2.3%	9.9%
Ontario	86.2%	3.2%	10.6%
New Brunswick	68.2%	31.2%	0.7%
NW Territories	66.4%	1.6%	32.0%
Quebec	11.1%	83.0%	5.8%

Rate of Language Shift of Principal Language Groups with a Mother Tongue Other than English. Canadian Census, 1991.

MotherTongue	Rate of language shift (% change)
Panjabi	17.9%
Chinese	18.5%

Spanish	26.4%
Greek	31.5%
Portuguese	32.8%
Arabic	33.8%
Polish	40.9%
Italian	48.0%
German	72.7%
Ukrainian	75.5%
Dutch	86.8%

(Note: A higher percentage indicates a greater movement away from the mother tongue to English. A lower percentage indicates greater retention of the mother tongue.)

Canada's Home Languages, 1991 Census

Language	Percentage of Speakers
English	68.3%
French	23.3%
Other	8.4%

Distribution of the Ethnic Origins of Canada's Population, Census 1991

Ethnic Origin	Percentage of the Population
Aboriginal	2.8%
British	40.5%
Chinese	1.4%
East and Southeast Asian	0.9%
French	26.6%
German	8.1%
Italian	3.3%
Jamaican,Haitian,other Caribbean	1.2%
Jewish	1.1%
Netherlands	2.9%
Other	2.3%
Polish	2.0%
Portuguese	0.8%
Scandinavian	2.2%
South Asian	1.0%
Ukrainian	3.1%

(Badets & Chui, 1994; Harrison & Marmen, 1994)

Saint Pierre and Miquelon

Saint Pierre and Miquelon, a French territorial collectivity, comprises two small groups of islands off the south coast of Newfoundland. French is the official language and the language spoken by the majority of the 6 thousand population (CIA, 1995), most of whom are descendants of French settlers.

United States of America

The United States of America is the fourth largest country in the world, after the Russian Federation, China and Canada, and the third most populous, after China and India. In 1995, the estimated population of the US was 263,835,000. The territory of the United States consists of 48 contiguous states, in the centre of the North American Continent, and two other states, Alaska, north west of Canada and Hawaii, a group of Pacific islands about 2000 miles south west of San Francisco. The US also controls a number of overseas territories, Puerto Rico and the US Virgin Islands in the Caribbean, the Panama Canal Zone in Central America (scheduled for return to Panama by the year 2000) and American Samoa, Guam and Palau in the Pacific. The language situation in these overseas territories is discussed elsewhere in the map section.

The Language Situation in the United States

The majority language of the United States is English. English is the language of government, international relations and the main language of the media, education and public life. The United States' Constitution does not specify English as the official language, but in recent years, some states have passed laws designating English as their sole official language, mainly in response to a perceived threat of minority language groups. The standard English used in the US differs in minor respects from that used in Britain but has long had the status of an autonomous variety. In the State of Hawaii, Hawaiian, a Polynesian language, is spoken by 2000 out of an estimated population of 200 thousand, but has official status in Hawaii.

English is the first language and only language of the majority of the population. However, there is great ethnic and linguistic variety within the United States which reflects four centuries of in-migration and settlement from many parts of the world.

The History of In-migration to the United States

The original inhabitants of the North American continent were the American Indians, also known as Native Americans. The origin of Native Americans can be traced to around 40,000 years ago. The first groups of Mongolians made their way into present day Alaska and settled in parts of Canada, the United States and South America.

The first permanent European settlement in what is now the United States was established by the British in Jamestown in 1607. From then on, throughout the 17th and 18th centuries, the Eastern seaboard was gradually colonised by the British and these colonies formed the nucleus of the future United States. The colonies gained their independence from Britain in 1783, and for over a century, the history of the United States became a history of Westward expansion, including the acquisition of territories from the French and Spanish, and of in-migration, as people from many parts of the world arrived in search of the US dream of freedom, liberty, opportunity and

prosperity.

Between 1790 and 1860, the population of the United States rose from four million to 32 million. By 1890 it had doubled again to 64 million, with 10 million in-migrants arriving during that 30 year period. In the first great wave of in-migration, between 1820 and 1860, more than five million new Americans arrived, of which 90 percent were from Britain, Ireland and Germany. Between 1860 and 1920, around 29 million in-migrants arrived, mostly from eastern and southern Europe, including Russia, Poland, the Balkans and Italy. During the same period, increasing numbers of Asians, especially Chinese and Japanese, migrated to the Pacific Coast and Hawaii.

Mass in-migration meant great ethnic and linguistic diversity, and this was often perpetuated over several generations, as in-migrants settled near relatives or compatriots, and created their own religious and social institutions in which their own languages were maintained. Over a period of two or three generations, however, descendants of in-migrants were usually assimilated to the English-speaking majority, although their distinctive lifestyles and ethnic customs often continued for longer. This depended on such factors as the number and distribution of in-migrants. Chinese and other Asian minorities tended to maintain their languages for longer because they formed distinct enclaves, usually in urban areas.

In-migration during the latter half of the twentieth century has been mostly of Latinos (Hispanics), Pacific Islanders and Asians. The Hispanics entered mainly from Mexico, Cuba and Puerto Rico. Thousands of Mexicans (Chicanos) enter the US every year, many illegally, because of relative poverty and overpopulation in Mexico, and perceived greater opportunities in the US. Many Cubans fled to America after 1959 as refugees from the regime of Fidel Castro. They are concentrated mainly in Miami, Florida. Every year, several million Puerto Ricans travel between Puerto Rico and the US. Hispanics also come from Central American and Caribbean countries such as Columbia and the Dominican Republic. Pacific Islanders include many in-migrants from American Samoa, while the largest groups of Asian Americans are the Chinese, Filipinos, Japanese, Asian Indians, Koreans and Vietnamese. There are also communities of Haitians, speaking Haitian Creole.

An important in-migrant group in the history of the US are those originally from Africa. In 1990, the Black population of the United States was nearly 30 million. The majority are descendants of Black Africans captured and forcibly transported to North America to work as slaves on the plantations from the 17th century onwards. The slave traders deliberately separated slaves who spoke the same language to lessen the risk of conspiracy and rebellion. The slaves developed varieties of pidgin English as contact languages on the plantations. These became creolized, and became the only languages of children born to slaves on the plantations. These English-based Creoles no longer exist, but Creole features are found in contemporary Black English.

Another group of historical interest in US in-migration history are the Cajuns. Cajuns is the name given to descendants of French-Canadians expelled by the British from eastern Canada in 1755. They live mainly in southern Louisiana. Their language, which is in decline, is an archaic dialect of French with a mixture of words taken from Spanish, English, German, African and Indian peoples.

Maps

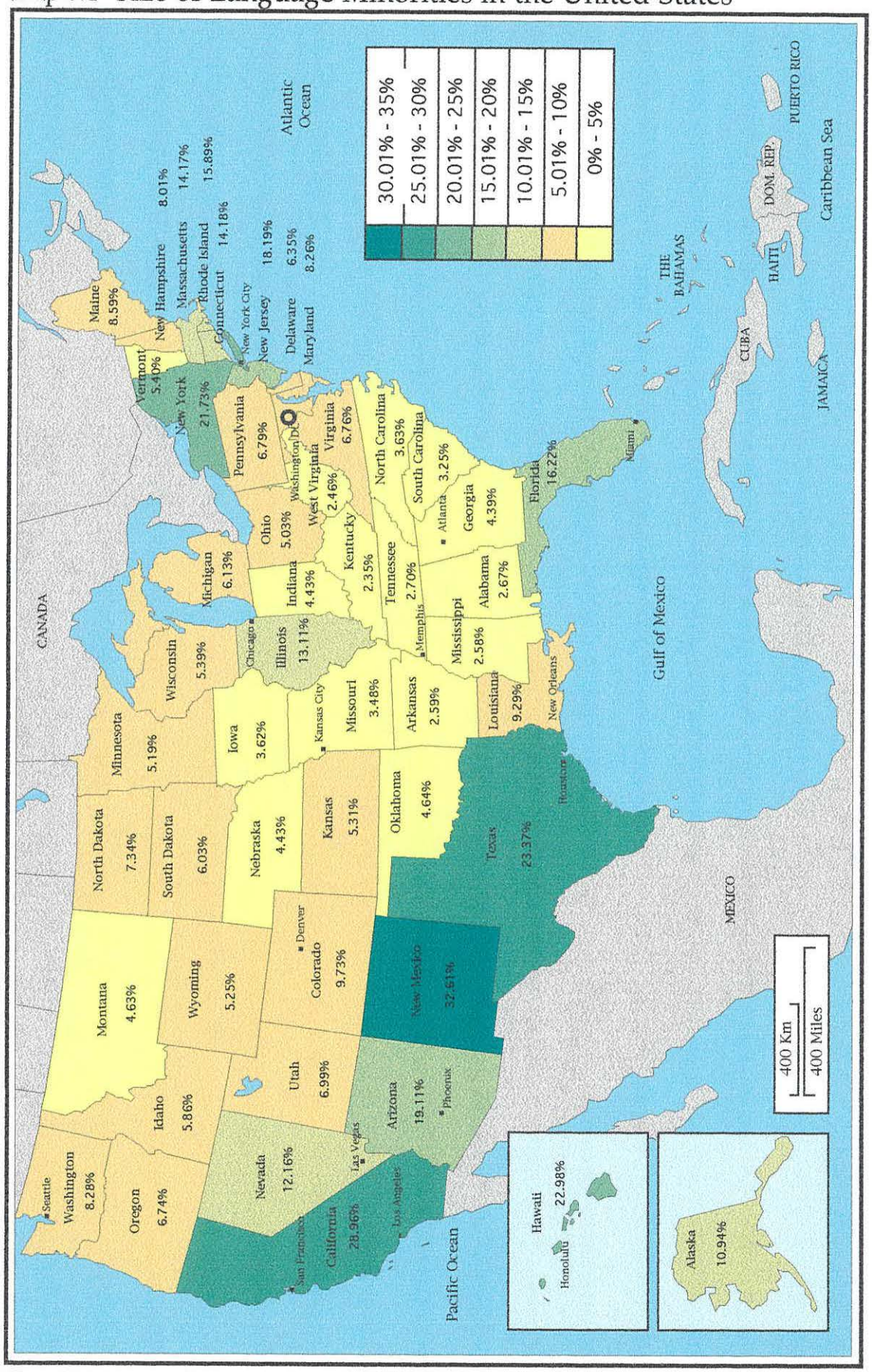
The accompanying maps portray the language profile of the United States at the 1990 Census. The first map, (map 8:4) indicates the presence of language minorities in different States by percentage of total population. For example, 23.37 percent of the Texan population speak a language other than English as their home language. Relatively high percentages of language minority speakers are found in the States of New Mexico, California, Texas, Hawaii, New York, Arizona, New Jersey and Florida which all have over 15 percent of their population in this category.

A separate table provides details of the size of the language minority in each State. For example, there are 8.6 million Californians, four million Texans and 3.9 million in the State of New York enumerated as language minority members. There are also over two million language minority people in Florida, and over a million such inhabitants in the States of Illinois and New Jersey.

Size of Language Minorities in the United States

State	Size of language minority	Percentage of State Population
California	8,619,334	28.96%
Texas	3,970,304	23.37%
New York	3,908,720	21.73%
Florida	2,098,315	16.22%
Illinois	1,499,112	13.11%
New Jersey	1,406,148	18.19%
Massachusetts	852,228	14.17%
Pennsylvania	806,876	6.79%
Arizona	700,287	19.11%
Michigan	569,807	6.13%
Ohio	546,148	5.03%
New Mexico	493,999	32.61%
Connecticut	446,175	14.18%
Virginia	418,521	6.76%
Washington	403,173	8.28%
Maryland	395,051	8.26%
Louisiana	391,994	9.29%
Colorado	320,631	9.73%
Georgia	284,546	4.39%
Wisconsin	263,638	5.39%
Hawaii	254,724	22.98%
Indiana	245,826	4.43%
North Carolina	240,866	3.63%
Minnesota	227,161	5.19%

Map 8:4 Size of Language Minorities in the United States



Note: This map includes all language minorities designated as such in the US 1990 Census.

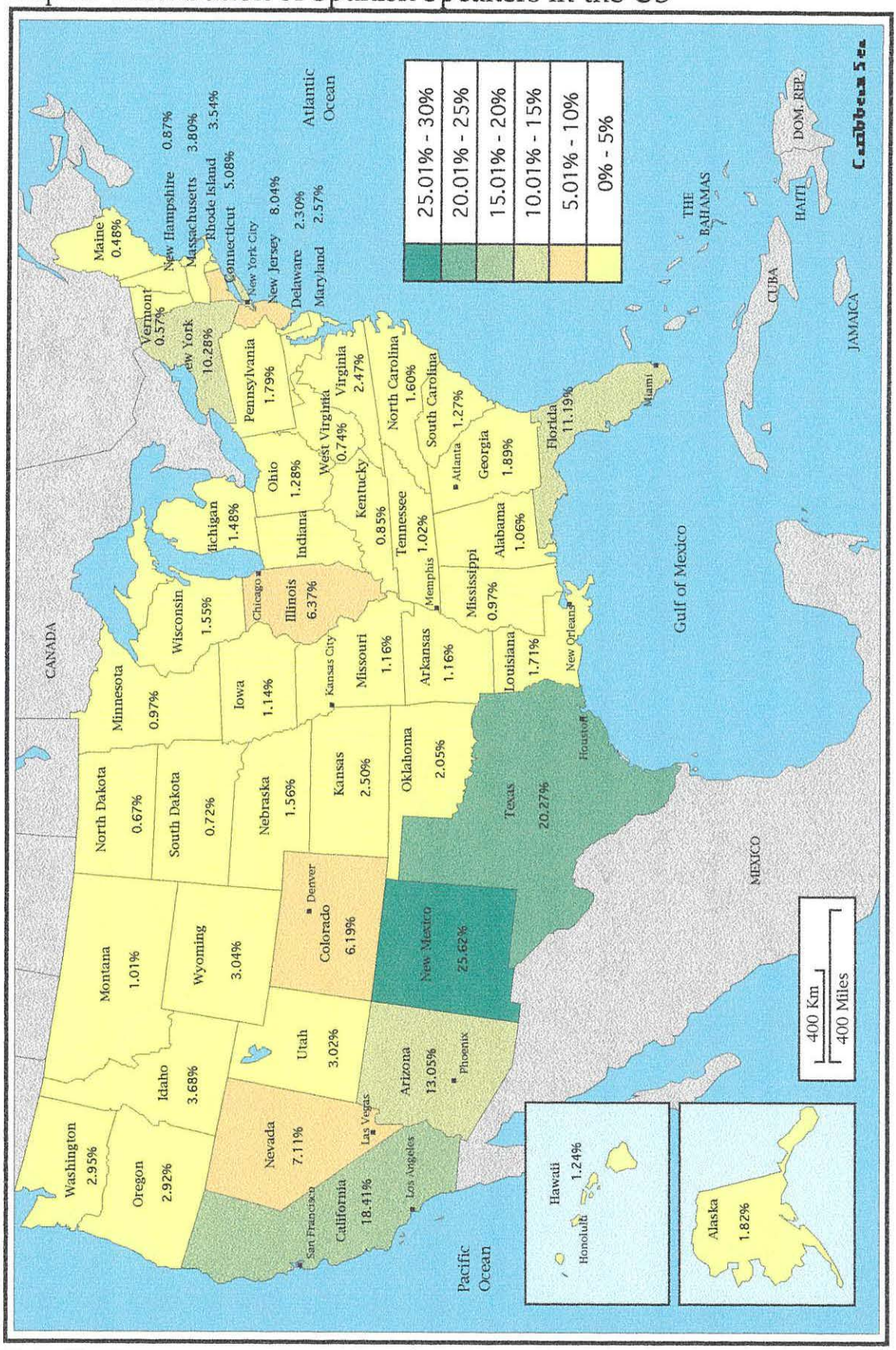
Oregon	191,710	6.74%
Missouri	178,210	3.48%
Rhode Island	159,492	15.89%
Nevada	146,152	12.16%
Oklahoma	145,798	4.64%
Kansas	131,604	5.31%
Tennessee	131,550	2.70%
Utah	120,404	6.99%
South Carolina	113,163	3.25%
Alabama	107,866	2.67%
Maine	105,441	8.59%
Iowa	100,391	3.62%
New Hampshire	88,796	8.01%
Kentucky	86,482	2.35%
Columbia	71,348	11.76%
Nebraska	69,872	4.43%
Mississippi	66,516	2.58%
Arkansas	60,781	2.59%
Alaska	60,165	10.94%
Idaho	58,995	5.86%
North Dakota	46,897	7.34%
West Virginia	44,203	2.46%
Delaware	42,327	6.35%
South Dakota	41,994	6.03%
Montana	37,020	4.63%
Vermont	30,409	5.40%
Wyoming	23,809	5.25%

The second map (map 8:5) shows the distribution of Spanish speakers across States in the US according to the 1990 Census data. For example, in New Mexico, 25.62 percent of that State's population were enumerated as Spanish speaking, followed by Texas with 20.27 percent, California with 18.41 percent, Arizona with 13.05 percent, Florida with 11.19 percent and New York with 10.28 percent. Four States are then portrayed in more detail: California, Texas, Arizona and New York. (see map 8:6)

For completeness, map four (map 8:7) indicates the distribution, according to the 1990 Census, of those who are monolingual in English. The states of West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama and Arkansas reveal the highest percentages of monolingual English speakers.

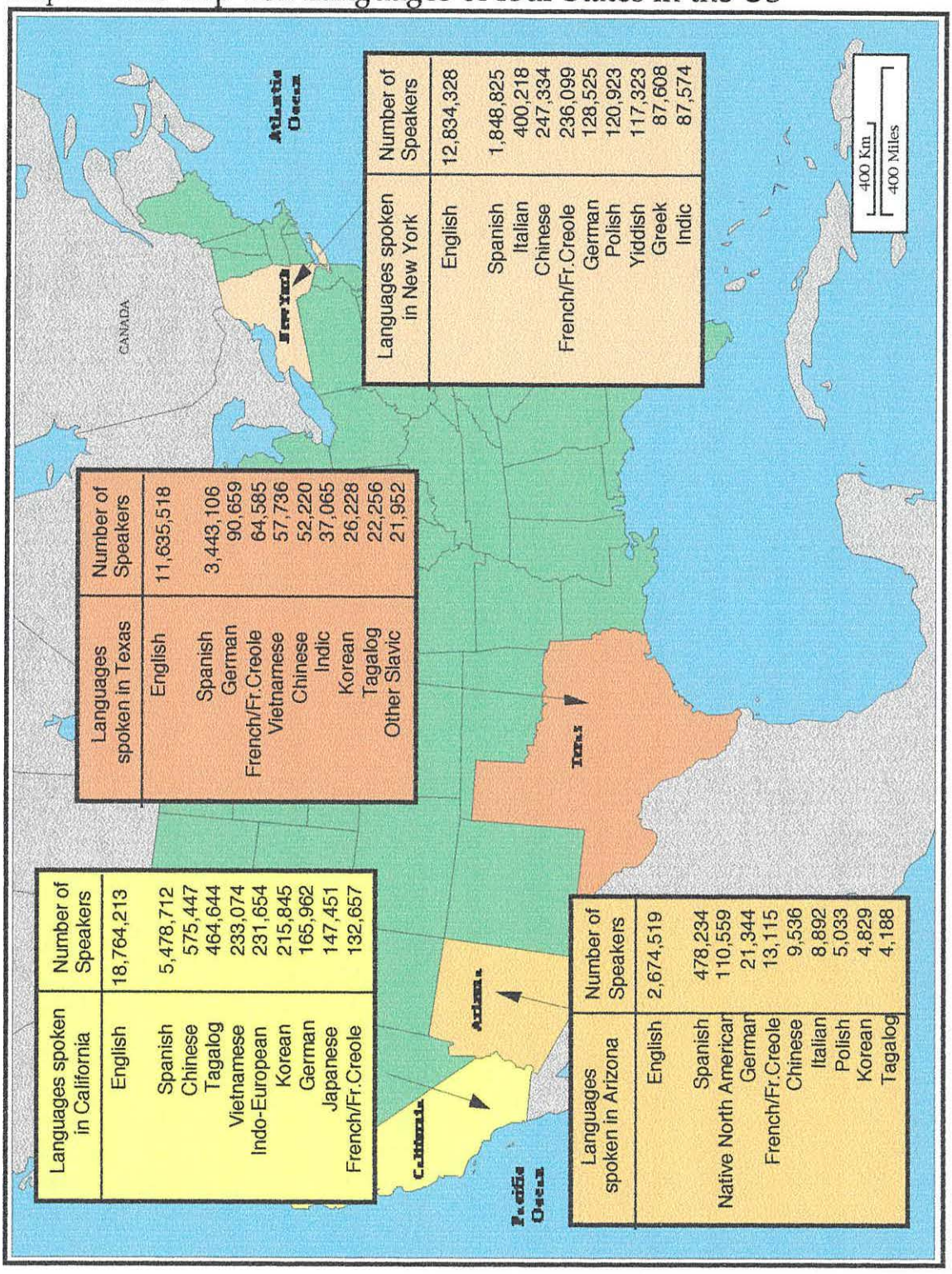
The fifth map (8:8) uses 1990 Census data and provides a map of bilingualism in the United States. Bilinguals are those who reported speaking a language other than English at home, and who also speak English 'well' or 'very well'. Thus, the map displays those States where bilinguals are more and less present. For example, 28.9 percent of New Mexicans spoke English 'well' or 'very well' and another language. Other States with relatively high proportions of bilinguals are: Arizona, California, Hawaii, New York and Texas. At the opposite end of the dimension is Kentucky with 2.03 percent as 'bilinguals'. Low proportions of bilinguals are also found in Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee and West Virginia.

Map 8:5 Distribution of Spanish Speakers in the US

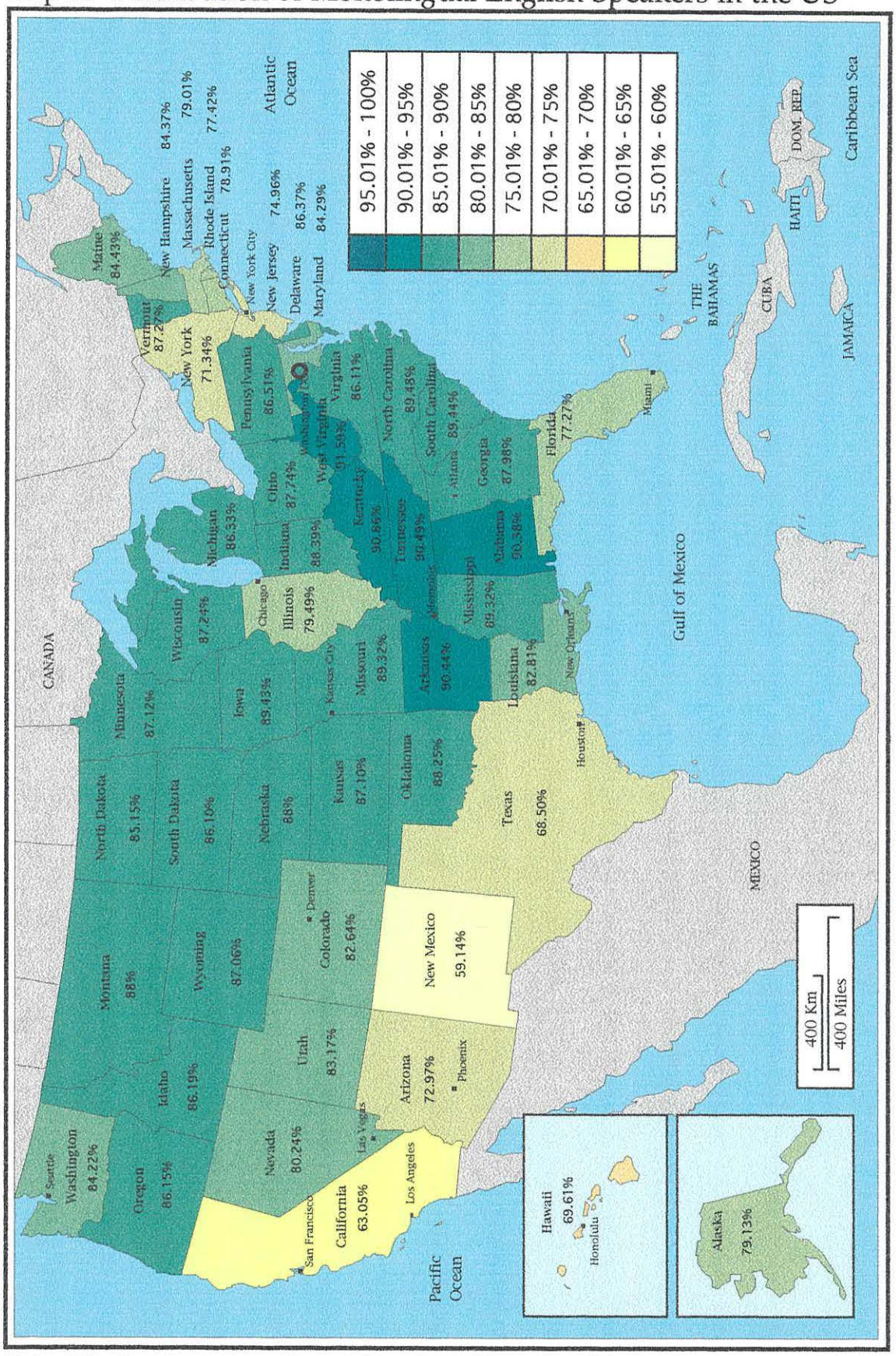


Note: The figures represent the numbers of Spanish speakers in each state as a percentage of the total population of that state.

Map 8:6 The Top Ten Languages of four States in the US

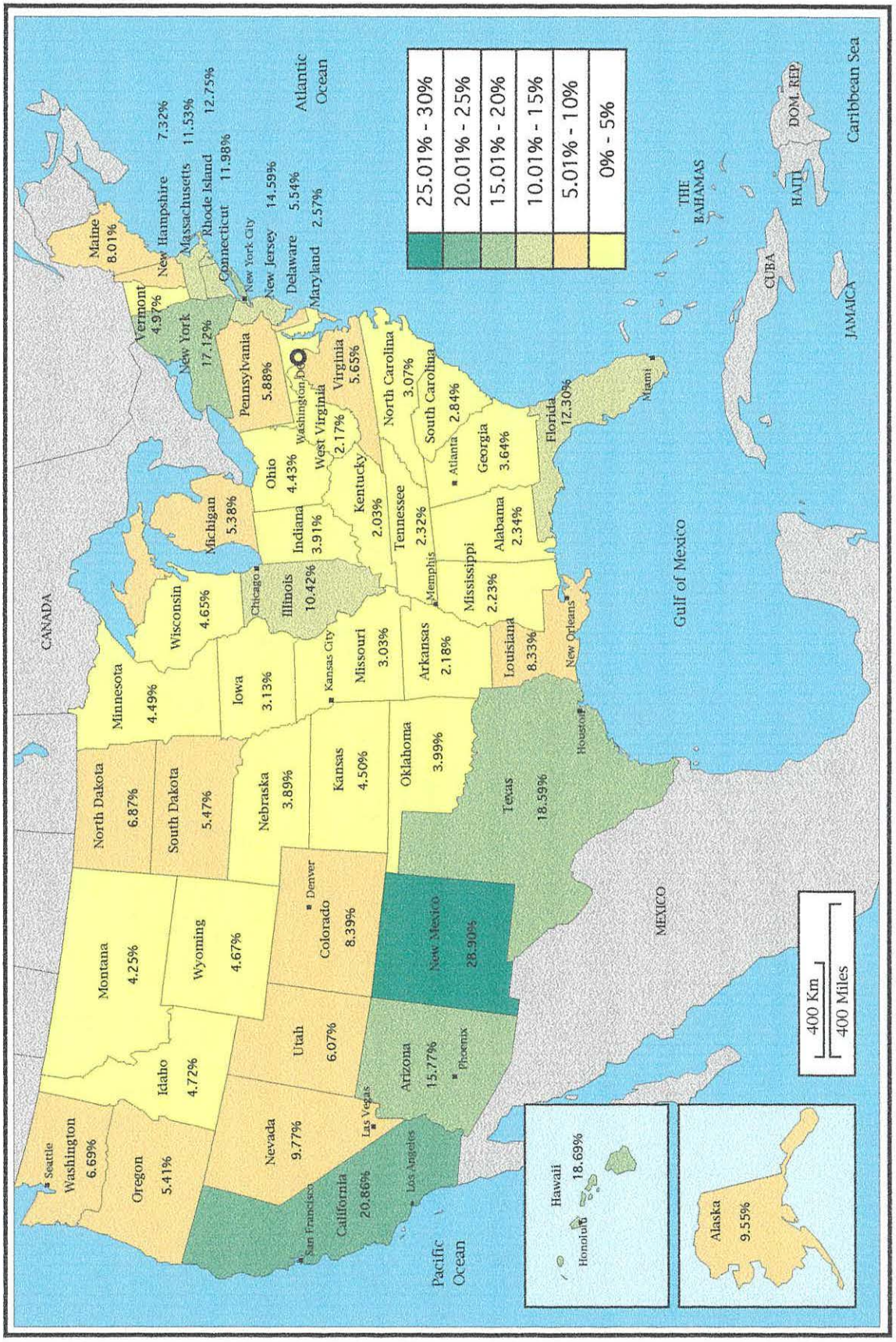


Map 8:7 Distribution of Monolingual English Speakers in the US



Note: The figures represent the numbersof monolingual English speakers in each state as a percentage of the total population of that state.

Map 8:8 Percentage of the US Population who are Bilingual at the 1990 Census



Note: The figures represent the numbers of bilinguals in each state as a percentage of the total population of that state.

Languages (other than English) Spoken at Home: 1980 and 1990 United States Census

Language	1980	1990
Spanish	11,116,000	17,345,000
French/Fr. Creole	*1,609,000	1,930,000
German	1,587,000	1,548,000
Chinese	631,000	1,319,000
Italian	1,618,000	1,309,000
Tagalog (Filipino)	*452,000	843,000
Polish	821,000	723,000
Korean	266,000	626,000
Vietnamese	195,000	507,000
Portuguese	352,000	431,000
Japanese	336,000	428,000
Greek	401,000	388,000
Arabic	217,000	355,000
Hindi (Urdu)	*130,000	331,000
Russian	173,000	242,000

*3 years and over; all other figures, 5 years and over

Native Americans

The history of the Native American people is a history of plunder and exploitation, one outcome being language decline and death. It is estimated that around five hundred separate languages and dialects were spoken by Native Americans before the Europeans arrived in the late fifteenth century. Such natives numbered approximately two million people living within the current boundaries of the United States.

Within a few decades, the European invaders had begun to appropriate native land (although they occasionally signed treaties with Native Americans for the acquisition of their land). Such negotiations and conflicts marked the beginning of language contact and language conflicts between European settlers and Native Americans.

Territorial rights, with reservations for Native Americans, did not necessarily preserve Native American languages and dialects. Once living on a reservation, a Native American indigenous group needed to meet, and negotiate with agents of the government. When enduring periods of starvation (through the government ignoring treaties regarding food distribution), the relative power and value of native compared with settlers' languages was much in contrast.

While some Native American languages have survived until the present, the story of such languages is one of decline, desperation and often death. Assimilative forces, often represented in government agents and teachers, have made the maintenance of Native American languages difficult, leading to replacement rather than preservation. The economic poverty of native Americans, the relatively poor quality of education provided for them, and problems of health and alcohol, each helped make assimilation into

language majority society in the United States appear attractive and desirable. Only on the surface was there a choice of language, a choice of culture and a choice of lifestyle. Where economic deprivation existed, the pull and the push was both towards the majority language and its attendant culture.

There have been attempts to reverse the downward language shift in Native American languages. Following the Indian Reorganisation Act of 1934, native languages were encouraged, and standards of education were improved. This program aimed to reverse the effects of continuous assimilation. The Act recognized the cultural and linguistic distinctiveness of Native Americans and wished to preserve their differences. In recent decades, the national Indian Youth Conference, the 1975 Self-Determination Act and various protests have raised not only an awareness of the native people's situation, but also a conscience about it.

It is estimated that there are currently as many Native Americans in the United States as when Christopher Columbus landed in 1492 (approximately two million). Many of these, due to intermarriage, may only have a small percentage of Native American blood. The number of languages that appear to have a future among Native Americans is few. If these languages die, or become further weakened, the long ancestral history of languages and their cultures in the United States will be impoverished.

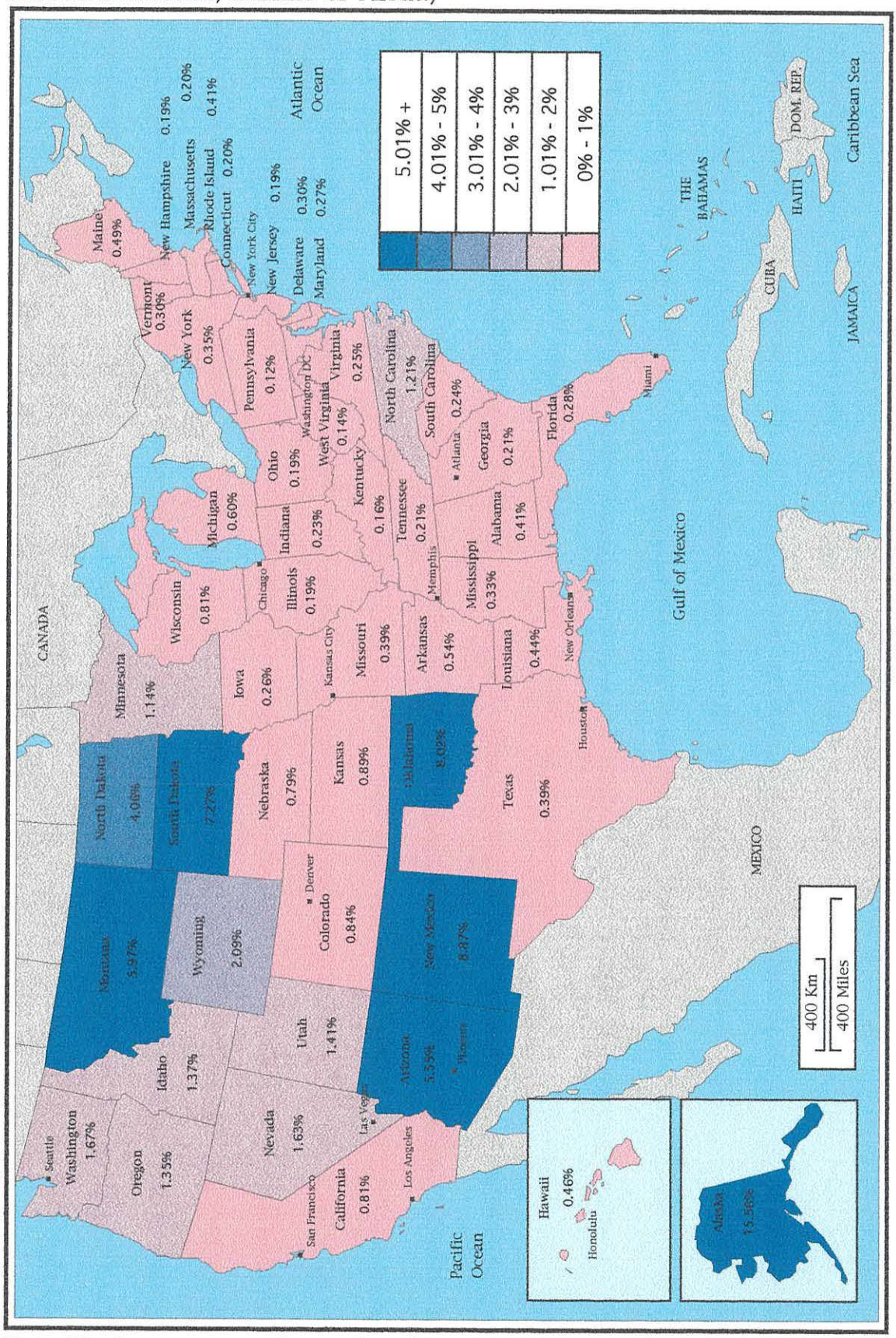
Indigenous Ethnic Groups in the United States

Of a total US population of nearly 264 million, 0.7 percent were classed in the 1990 US Census as American Indian, Eskimo or Aleut; 3.4 percent as Asian and Pacific Islanders, 10.4 percent as Hispanics, and 73.5 percent as Whites (excluding Hispanics). The accompanying map (see map 6) indicates the location of the American Indian, Eskimo or Aleut

Those classed as American Indian, Eskimo or Aleut were particularly located in the States that are listed in the table below. As can be seen, some States have large numbers of American Indian, Eskimo or Aleut people (e.g. California), other States have smaller numbers but larger percentages of the total State population (e.g. South Dakota).

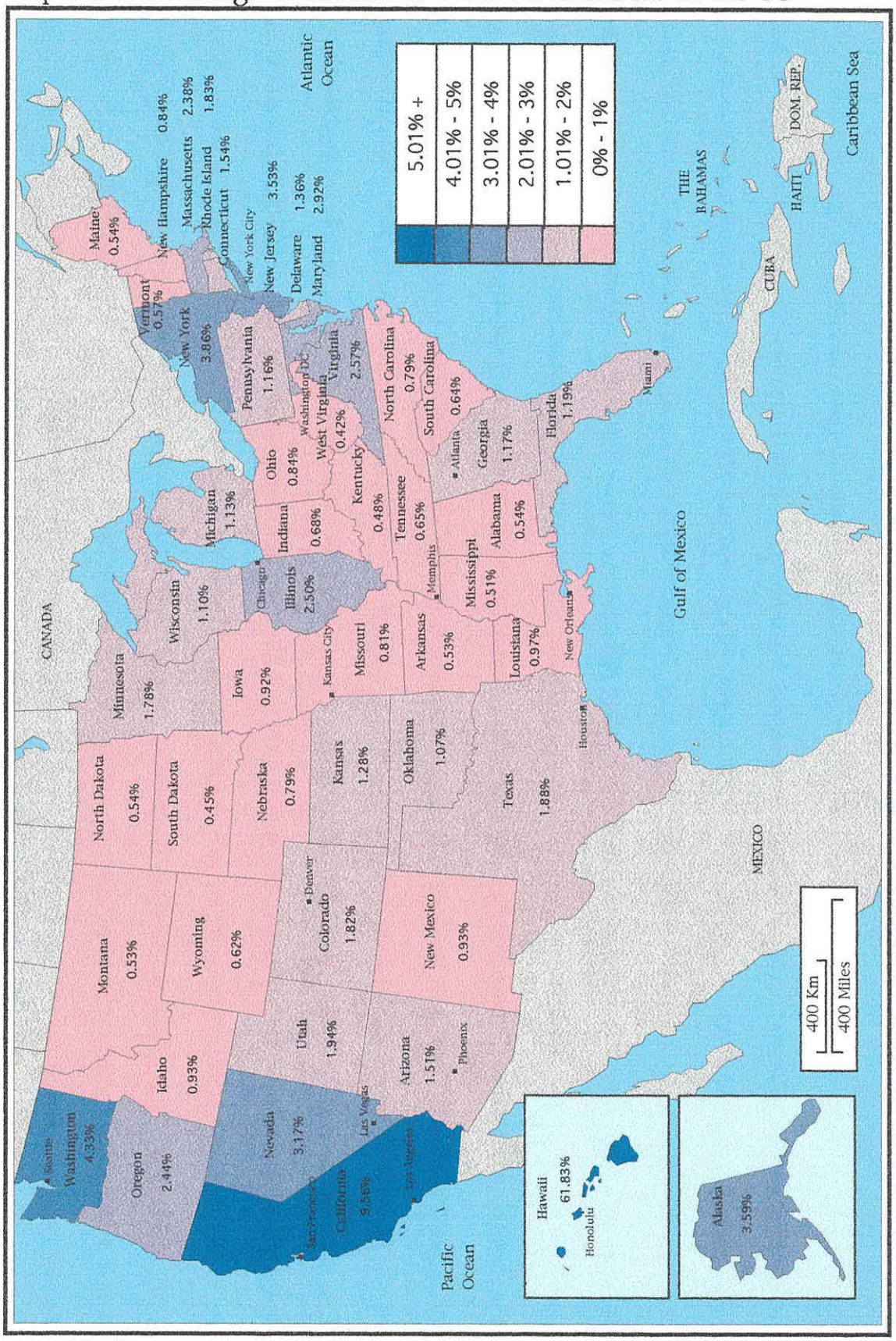
State	Total No. of American Indian, Eskimo or Aleut People	Percentage of the Population of the State
Alaska	85,689	15.58%
Arizona	203,527	5.55%
California	242,164	0.81%
Montana	47,679	5.97%
New Mexico	134,355	8.87%
North Dakota		25,917 4.06%
Oklahoma	252,420	8.02%
South Dakota	50,575	7.27%

Map 8:9 Distribution of American Indians in the US (includes; American Indians, Eskimo or Aleut.)



Note: The figures represent the numbers of American Indians in each state as a percentage of the total population of that state.

Map 8:10 Percentage of Asians and Pacific Islanders in the US



Note: The figures represent the numbers of Asians and Pacific Islanders in each state as a percentage of the total population of that state.
(Asians and Pacific Islanders include: Chinese, Filipino, Japanese, Asian Indian, Korean,

Vietnamese, Hawaiian, Samoan, Guamanian, Cambodian, Hmong, Laotian, Thai, Bangladeshi, Burmese, Indonesian, Malayan, Okinawan, Pakistani, Sri Lankan, Tongan, Tahitian, Northern Mariana Islander, Palauan and Fijian)

Asians and Pacific Islanders in the United States

The seventh map (map 8:10) shows the distribution of those classed as Asian and Pacific Islanders. In 1995, 3.4 of the population were Pacific Islanders. The table below indicates that California heads the list with close to three million Asian and Pacific Islanders. New York and Hawaii have close to 700 thousand residents of Asian and Pacific Islander heritage. Apart from Hawaii (62 percent of the population), the States of California (9.6 percent) and Washington (4.3 percent) have relatively higher percentage densities of Asian and Pacific Islanders.

State	Total No. of American Asians and Pacific Islanders	Percentage of the Population of the State
Alaska	19,728	3.59 %
California	2,845,659	9.56 %
Hawaii	685,236	61.83 %
Illinois	285,311	2.50 %
New Jersey	272,521	3.53 %
New York	693,760	3.86 %
Texas	319,459	1.88 %
Washington	210,958	4.33 %

Data from the US Census Bureau

Some Findings from the 1990 Census:

- In 1990, 31.8 million US residents (14 percent of the population) age 5 and over reported speaking a language other than English at home. In 1980, the figure was 23.1 million residents (11 percent of the population).

- After English, Spanish was the language most often spoken at home. More than half (54 percent or 17.3 million) of those who spoke a language other than English at home reported they spoke Spanish.

- Spanish was nine times more frequently a home language than French (including French Creole), which was the second most common non-English language spoken at home and was used by 1.9 million persons. Then followed German, with 1.5 million speakers, and Chinese and Italian, each with 1.3 million. In total, 4.5 million persons spoke an Asian or Pacific Island language.

- In all four regions of the US (Northeast, Midwest, South, West). Spanish was the language with the highest number of speakers (other than English). The next most widely used language, however, was different. In the Northeast, Italian was second; in the Midwest, German; in the South, French; and in the West, Chinese.

- In 39 States and the District of Columbia, Spanish was the most frequently spoken non-English language spoken at home. The most

frequent non-English language for the remaining States varied. French (including French Creole) was the most common in Louisiana, Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont. German was most used in Minnesota, Montana, and North and South Dakota. Portuguese was the most prevalent in Rhode Island, Yupik in Alaska, and Japanese in Hawaii.

- Between 1980 and 1990, the languages with the sharpest decline in the numbers of speakers included Italian (down 19 percent), Polish (down 12 percent), Greek (down 3 percent) and German (down 2 percent).

- In the same period (1980 to 1990), Vietnamese speakers had risen by 161 percent, Hindi (Urdu) by 155 percent, Korean by 135 percent and Chinese by 109 percent.

Census Updates

The US Census Bureau produces updates on population patterns in between Censuses. For example:

- Close to one in ten of the population were of Hispanic origin in 1995.

- In 1995, approximately nine out of every ten residents were born in the US. Eleven out of every 20 Hispanics were born in the US.

- In 1994, in-migration accounted for 30 percent of the increase in the US population that year.

- In 1994, the increase in population varied according to group. Asian and Pacific Islanders along with Hispanics increased in their total numbers by over 3 percent (respectively 3.8 percent and 3.5 percent), while the Black American and the American Indian, Eskimo and Aleut populations increased by 1.5 percent, and the white non-Hispanic population by 0.8 percent.

Future Trends

The United States Census Bureau produces estimates of future population trends. Such trends show differences between ethnic groups. The pie charts show the predicted changes in the relative size of ethnic groups in the United States by comparing 1995 figures with projected year 2050 figures. They show that the White (excluding Hispanics) population may decline from 73.5 percent of the total population to 52.5 percent. In contrast, the Asian and Pacific Islanders and Hispanics will grow significantly. The Asian and Pacific Islanders are predicted to quadruple their numbers and the Hispanics to treble their population. Thus, the ethnic diversity of the United States will continue to grow, with possibilities also of increased cultural and linguistic diversity. This is portrayed in the accompanying table and pie charts.

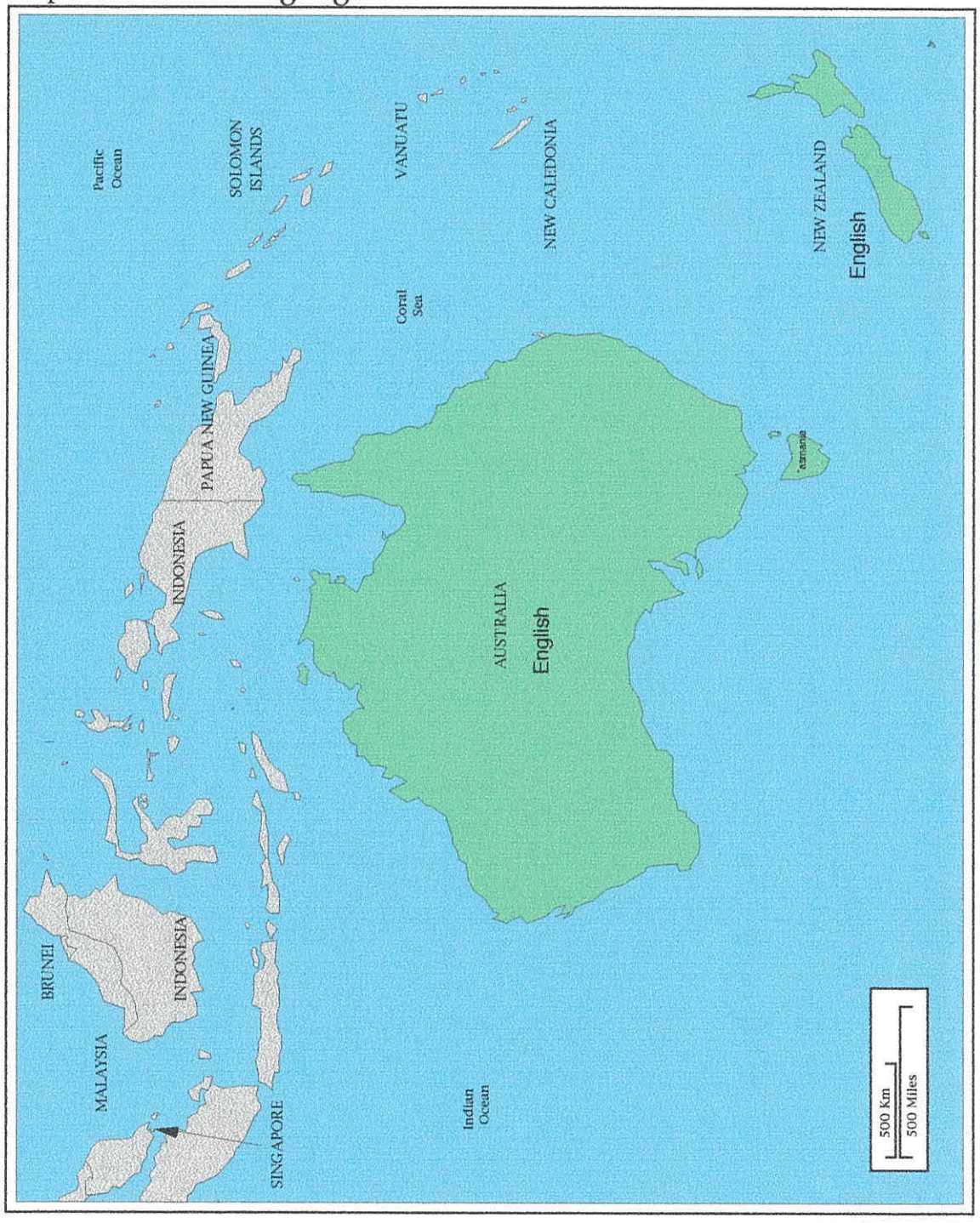
	US Population December 1995		**Est. US Population July 2050**	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent

Total Population	263,835,000	100.0	392,031,000	100.0
White (excluding Hispanics)	193,881,000	73.5	205,849,000	51.2
Black (excluding Hispanics)	31,770,000	12.0	56,346,000	14.3
American Indian, Eskimo & Aleut	1,942,000	0.7	3,701,000	0.9
Asian and Pacific Islander	8,852,000	3.4	38,064,000	10.9
Hispanics	27,390,000	10.4	88,071,000	22.7

(All statistics are based on United States Bureau of Census figures,1995).
(NOTE: The groups are defined by US Census Bureau as:
1 - White population excluding Hispanics
2 - Black population excluding Hispanics
3 - American Indian, Eskimo and Aleut population excluding Hispanics.
4 - Asian and pacific islanders excluding Hispanics
5 - Hispanics from a variety of origins.)

Chapter 9 - OCEANIA, AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND

Map 9:1 Official Languages of Australia and New Zealand



Australia

Australia, the sixth largest country in the world, had an estimated population of almost 17 million in the 1991 Census. Ninety percent of the population are of European descent, mainly British. The remaining 10 percent include the indigenous Aboriginal peoples, who constitute 1.5

percent, and in-migrants from other parts of the world, notably Asia. The current Australian population, according to the 1991 Census, were born in the following areas:

Area born	Percentage
Australia	75.4%
Europe	13.6%
Asia	4.9%
Other	2.2%
Rest of Oceania	2.1%
North and South America	0.9%
Africa	0.8%

(Smolicz, 1994)

The official language of Australia is English, which is spoken by 82.6 percent of the population as their first language. Almost all of the remaining population speak a variety of different in-migrant languages, reflecting the vast migration to Australia from European countries, especially after World War Two. In the 1991 Census, 17.4 percent (2,710,136) of the population of Australians claimed to use a language other than English at home (Smolicz, 1994). The most widely used European in-migrant languages are Italian, Greek, German and Dutch. Among the Asian in-migrant people, Chinese, Filipino and Vietnamese languages form the largest language groups (J. L. Bianco, 1995).

In total, about 100 community languages are in daily use in Australia (Clyne, 1994). However, the tendency among minority language groups in Australia is for language shift to English to occur within one or two generations. Official government policy until the 1970s was to help in-migrants to learn English as quickly as possible, by means of extensive 'English as a second language' teaching programs for children and adults. There was no official provision for minority language maintenance.

Since the 1970s, the government has moved from an assimilationist policy to a policy that shows some concern for community languages. Currently, there is widespread educational provision for community languages at primary and secondary level, and some successful bilingual programs have been run. However, the level of provision varies between regions. (Immersion education is also gaining in popularity, in languages such as German, French, Indonesian and Japanese.) Bilingual programs are found mostly in inner city areas where the majority of in-migrants have settled. (Clyne, 1994)

Minority Languages used by the Australian Population in the 1991 Census.

Language	Number of Speakers
Italian	420,442
Greek	286,379
Chinese Languages	265,499
Arabic (inc. Lebanese)	163,279
German	117,450
Vietnamese	110,637

Spanish	91,117
Polish	67,256
Macedonian	64,698
Filipino Languages	59,697
Maltese	53,052
Dutch	48,198
French	47,378
Aboriginal Languages	45,208

(Smolicz, 1994)

The original inhabitants, the Australian Aborigines, constitute 1.6 percent (265,378) of the population based on the 1991 Census (Smolicz, 1994). Since the Europeans colonised Australia in the 18th century, the Aboriginal languages have been in decline and many have become extinct. It is estimated that there were over 260 Aboriginal languages spoken, comprising between 500 and 600 dialect varieties. None of the 150 Aboriginal languages still living is spoken by more than three thousand speakers and many have very few speakers, numbering between a few hundred and half a dozen. One of the largest Aboriginal languages is Kala Lagaw Ya, which has three thousand speakers in the Queensland area of Australia. Western and Eastern Aranda is spoken by two thousand Aborigines, mainly in areas surrounding the city of Alice Springs. Pitjantjatjara, spoken in northwest Australia, and Anindilyakwa, both have around a thousand speakers. Most Aborigines are bilingual in their mother tongue and English. Bilingual education in Aboriginal languages, mainly for Aboriginal communities, is increasing, especially in the Northern Territories.

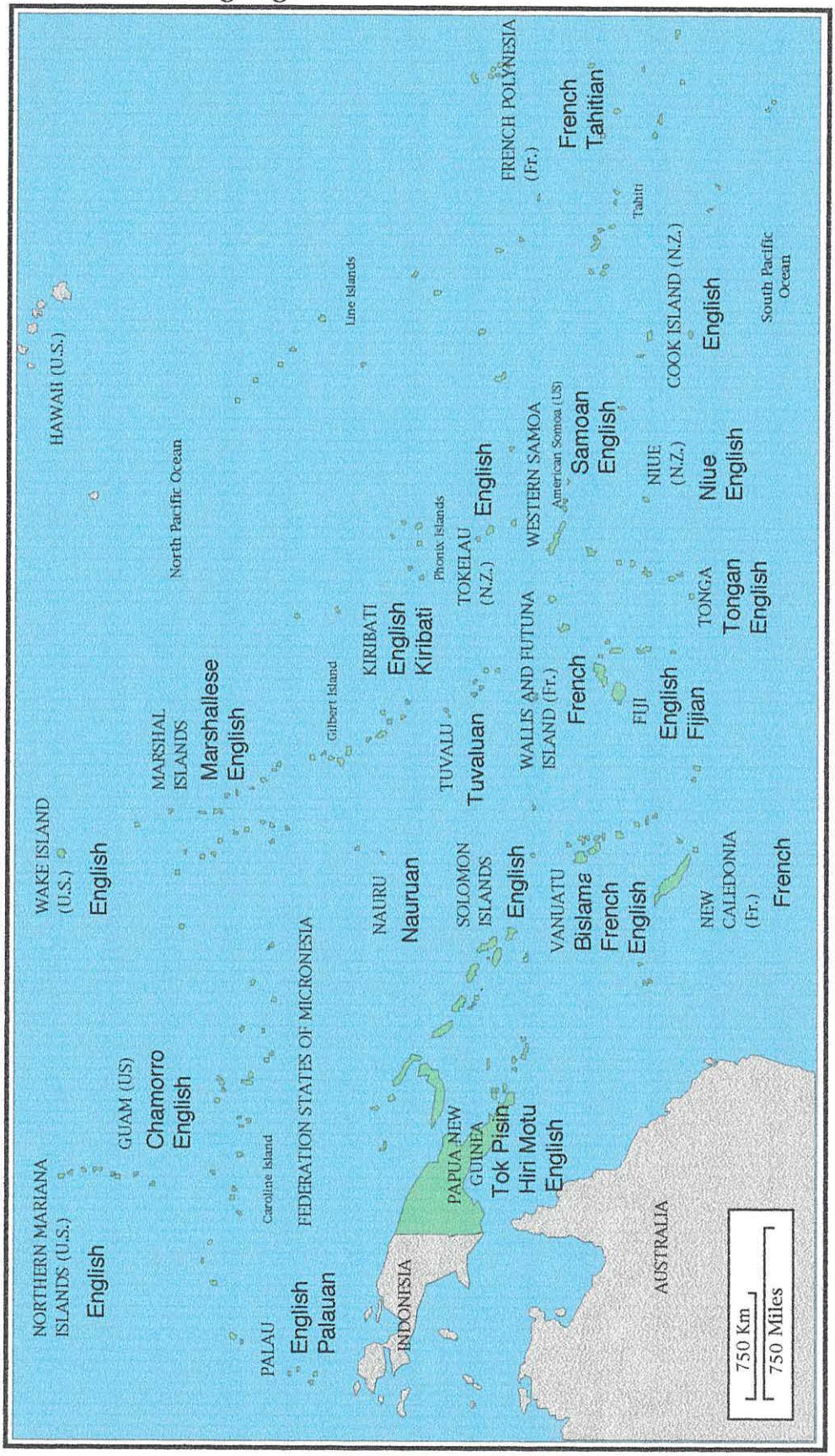
American Samoa

American Samoa comprises seven islands in the South Pacific Ocean, between Hawaii and New Zealand. In 1995 the estimated population of the islands was 57 thousand (CIA, 1995). The two official languages are English and Samoan. The islands are an unincorporated territory of the US, and have been under US control since the beginning of the 20th century. The largest island is Tutuila, the site of a US naval base.

English is the mother tongue of around 1200 people, most of whom are foreign born. It is also a second language for 75 percent of native born American Samoans (Grimes, 1992). Although Samoan is the first language of the indigenous population, English is widely used as a lingua franca between Samoans, Americans, and other migrants to the islands. Both languages are used in government, media and education (Mosel, 1994). Bilingualism is widespread, and many of the younger Samoans use English instead of Samoan. Ninety percent of the population speak Samoan as their first language.

Two minority language groups in American Samoa speak Tongan and Tokelauan. There are around one hundred Tokelauan speakers, and approximately 500 Tongan speakers. Most have migrated to American Samoa from other Pacific islands. (Grimes, 1992)

Map 9:2 Official Languages of the Islands of Oceania



Cook Islands

The Cook Islands are located in the southeast Pacific Ocean, midway between Hawaii and New Zealand. The fifteen islands are a dependency of New Zealand. In the 1986 Census, the population was 17,610, but by 1995 the estimated population was over 19 thousand (Asher and Simpson, 1994; CIA, 1995). Cook Island Maori and English are the official languages of the Cook Islands. Cook Island Maori is also known as Rarotongan and is an Eastern Polynesian language, related to New Zealand Maori. English is spoken by a small number of Cook Islanders, and 2.4 percent of the population are European.

A number of Polynesian languages are spoken on the islands. Cook Island Maori is the most widely spoken language, with some 17 thousand native speakers. It is also the second language of many minority language speakers. It consists of several mutually intelligible varieties. There are approximately 600 speakers of Penrhyn, another Polynesian language not closely related to Cook Island Maori, living mainly on the island of Tongareva. Pukapuka, a language related to Samoan, is spoken by around 800 Cook Islanders on the island of Pukapuka. These are the two largest minority language groups. Smaller groups include speakers of Niue, of which there are around 20 speakers in the Cook Islands. (Grimes, 1992)

Fiji

Fiji is located in the South Pacific Ocean and comprises of over 300 islands and islets, only a hundred of which are inhabited. Fiji was a British colony for nearly a century, but became independent in 1970. The population in 1995 was estimated at 772 thousand (CIA, 1995), 80 percent of whom live on the largest island, Viti Levu. Fiji has two national languages, Fijian and English.

The population of Fiji is divided into two main ethnic groups, which together constitute about 95 percent of the population. Before independence in 1970, the Indian population was by far the largest, and most of this population are descendants of Indian field workers brought to Fiji by the British during their time as colonial rulers. However, since independence, the Indian population has been declining, and it is currently estimated that the ethnic Fijians are the slightly larger group.

Fijian is spoken by about 430 thousand people. Fijian comprises two main dialect groups, Western Fijian and Eastern Fijian. Western Fijian is spoken in the western half of the island of Viti Levu and on neighbouring smaller islands. Eastern Fijian dialects are spoke in the eastern half of Viti Levu, on the other major island of Vuana Levu, and on the small islands to the south. Eastern Fijian forms the largest language group, numbering 330 thousand (Grimes, 1992). Standard Fijian, based on the Eastern Fijian dialect, is used as a lingua franca between the two dialect groups.

The principal language of the Indian ethnic group is Hindi, spoken by

around 80 percent of Indians. Other languages spoken include Tamil, Gujarati, Bengali, and Urdu. Most of the Indian population are bilingual in their mother tongue and English. English is the principal language of inter ethnic communication, but two pidgins are also used, Pidgin Fijian and Pidgin Hindustani (French, 1994). Both these pidgins developed as contact languages on the plantations. Fijian, Hindi and Urdu are used as teaching media during the first years of primary education. In the mass media, English, Fijian, Hindi and Urdu are all used. English is spoken as a first language by about 20,000 citizens of European origin as well as some urban dwellers of non-European origin.

Other languages are also spoken in Fiji. These include Kiribati, Rotuman and Lauan. Rotuman is a language closely related to Fijian, and is spoken on Rotuma, a small island about 300 miles from Fiji. There are about nine thousand speakers. Lauan is spoken by 16 thousand, and Kiribati by over five thousand people. Several varieties of Chinese are spoken by the few thousand ethnic Chinese (Grimes, 1992).

Language	Number of Speakers
Fijian	429,441
Hindi	380,000
Lauan	16,000
Rotuman	9,000
English	8,000
Kiribati	5,300

(Grimes, 1992)

French Polynesia

French Polynesia has been an overseas territory of France since 1946, and is situated in the South Pacific Ocean, between South America and Australia. It comprises over 130 islands, including the island of Tahiti and the Society islands. In the 1988 Census, there was a total population of 188,814 (Tryon, 1994) . By 1995, this figure was estimated to be 219 thousand (CIA, 1995). The two official languages of French Polynesia are French and Tahitian.

French is spoken by some 15 thousand people in French Polynesia. Most of these are foreign born. French, along with Tahitian, is the language of government, broadcasting and education. Tahitian is the principal language of the islands and is spoken as a mother tongue by over 70 percent of the population. Over half of the population live on the island of Tahiti. Tahitian is widely used by most of the population as a first or second language, for trade and general communication.

As well as Tahitian, four other indigenous Polynesian languages are spoken in French Polynesia, Tuamotuan, Marquesan, Mangarevan and Rapan. Most of the speakers of these languages are located on different islands. Speakers of Mangarevan are found mainly on the Gambier islands, with Marquesan spoken on the Marquesas Islands. On these islands, Marquesan is used in schools alongside French and Tahitian. Two percent of the

population speak Hakka Chinese, although this figure is decreasing as many are shifting to Tahitian.

Language	Number of Speakers
Tahitian	132,169 (est.)
Hakka Chinese	19,200
French	15,338
Tuamotuan	14,400
Austral (Tubuai-rurutu)	8,000
Marquesan	8,000
Mangareva	1,600
Rarotongan	869
Rapa	400

(Grimes, 1992)

Guam

The United States territory of Guam is a part of the Northern Mariana chain of islands. However, it is not considered a part of the Mariana group as it has long been governed separately. Guam is the largest and most populous of the Mariana Islands, and has an estimated population of 153 thousand (CIA, 1995). The official languages are Chamorro and English.

Speakers of English number around 29 thousand (Asher and Simpson, 1994). Around nine percent of the total population are United States military personnel. The language of the majority of the population is the second official language, Chamorro. Over 50 percent speak Chamorro as their mother tongue. A total of over a 100 thousand people speak Chamorro including second language speakers (Grimes, 1992).

Tagalog (also the official language of the Philippines) is spoken by approximately 24 thousand speakers, and Palauan by around 15 thousand speakers (Asher and Simpson, 1994). Chamorro, Tagalog and Palauan are all Western Malayo-Polynesian languages. Chamorro, English and Tagalog are used in the media.

Kiribati

The Republic of Kiribati, formerly known as the Gilbert Islands, is located on the equator in the Pacific Ocean. Kiribati gained independence from British control in 1979. Kiribati is a group of 33 islands, which include Line Islands and Phoenix Islands. The estimated population in 1995 was 97 thousand (CIA, 1995).

The official languages of Kiribati are English and Kiribati, a Micronesian language, known also as Gilbertese. Ninety seven percent of the population speak Kiribati as their first language, and most are literate in the language. Both English and Kiribati are used in the mass media. In the 1979 Census, 338 inhabitants spoke English as their first language (Grimes, 1992), and

there are small numbers of speakers of Polynesian languages.

Marshall Islands

The Republic of the Marshall Islands is located in the North Pacific Ocean. The republic includes the islands of Bikini, Eniwetak and Kwajalein, and has an estimated population of 56 thousand (CIA, 1995). The Marshall Islands were under US control between 1947 and 1991, when they gained full independence. The two official languages of the islands are English and Marshallese.

The majority of the population speak Marshallese, a Micronesian language which is also known as Ebon. There are two main dialects which are mutually intelligible. English is spoken by most of the population, and some people are able to speak Japanese (Asher and Simpson, 1994).

Federated States of Micronesia

The federated States of Micronesia, situated in the Western Pacific Ocean, consists of numerous islands and atolls, and includes the states of Kosrae, Pohnpei, Truk and Yap. It was formerly a U.N. Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, but has been independent since 1990. Fifteen Polynesian or Micronesian languages are spoken on the islands. The official languages of the four states and the main lingua francas of their inhabitants are Kosraean, Pohnpeian, Chuukese and Yapese. English is a second official language in each state and is used as a lingua franca throughout the nation. Children are educated in their native language for the first few years of primary school, gradually making the transition to English (Rehg, 1994).

Nauru

Nauru is a small island republic in the south western Pacific Ocean, in between Hawaii and Australia. It was most recently administered by Australia, until independence in 1968. In the 1983 census of Nauru, the population was enumerated as 8,042. By 1995, the estimated population had risen to around 10 thousand (CIA, 1995). Over half the population are indigenous Nauruans, and the remainder consists of smaller groups of Asians, Pacific islanders, Australians and New Zealanders. The official language of Nauru is Nauruan, and this is the mother tongue of the ethnic Nauruans. Nauruan is also spoken as a second language by other groups.

English is widely understood by most language groups in Nauru. Although it is the mother tongue of only a few hundred people, there are around seven thousand second language English speakers. While Nauruan is the official language, in practice, English is the language used for most government and commercial purposes, and as a lingua franca.

There are five minority languages spoken in Nauru. Of the Pacific Islanders, 1.7 thousand speak Kiribati and about 600 speak Tuvaluan (Grimes, 1992).

There are a small number of speakers of two other Micronesian languages, Marshallese, also known as Ebon, and Kosraen. The speakers of these two languages are generally bilingual with Nauruan as their other language.

Chinese make up 15 percent of the Nauruan population. Some eight percent of the population speak either Mandarin or Cantonese (Grimes, 1992).

Language	Number of Speakers
Nauruan	6,000
Ikiribati (Kiribati)	1,700
Chinese (Mandarin and Cantonese)	626
Tuvaluan	607
English	564

(Grimes, 1992)

New Caledonia and Dependencies

New Caledonia, together with the Loyalty Islands, has been a French overseas territory since the mid-19th century. In 1995, the population was estimated at about 184 thousand (CIA, 1995). The official language is French, and there are some 53 thousand first language French speakers, mainly in-migrants from France. Twenty eight Melanesian-Polynesian language varieties are spoken on the islands by the indigenous inhabitants who represent about half the population. There has traditionally been a high level of bilingualism and trilingualism among the inhabitants of the islands, due to language contact and intermarriage. Many of the indigenous languages are not in decline, but there is a tendency for the younger generation to use French, which is the medium of primary and secondary education. The remaining half of the population comprises of Europeans, mainly French, and other in-migrants, often from Vietnam, Indonesia and nearby islands such as Vanuatu, French Polynesia and Wallis and Futuna.

Language	Number of Speakers
French	53,400
Dehu	15,000
Wallisian	9,000
Ajië	7,000
Tahitian	7,000
Javanese	6,750
Nengone	6,050

(Grimes, 1992)

New Zealand

New Zealand comprises two large islands, North and South Island, and several smaller ones, including Cook Island, Niue and Tokelau. The total population is almost three and a half million people, three quarters of whom live on North Island.

The official language is English. According to the 1986 Census, approximately 82 percent of New Zealanders are Pakeha, the Maori word for European settlers. Most of these settlers are of British descent. The Maoris form about nine percent of the population, some 300 thousand people (Grimes, 1992). Use of the Maori language has declined throughout the 20th century. Only about a third of Maoris now speak the Maori language, and all Maori speakers also speak English. The other two thirds speak only English, although most still strongly identify themselves as Maori. Efforts are being made to reverse the decline of the Maori language, through bilingual education and community involvement.

Maori is the largest minority language in New Zealand, but there are several other minority groups. These include migrant workers from other Pacific Islands, and people of Chinese and Indian descent.

Language	Number of Speakers
English	3,213,000
Maori	100,000
Samoan	50,000
Cook Island Maori (Rarotangan)	25,000
Chinese (Yue)	20,000
Hindi	11,200
Fijian	6,671
Niue	5,688

(Grimes, 1992)

Niue

Niue Island, once called Savage Island, is located in the southwestern Pacific Ocean. The island is a self governing territory of New Zealand, and has a population of 2,200 (CIA, 1995). The official languages are English and Niue, a Polynesian language closely related to Tongan.

Niue is the mother tongue of 97 percent of the population (Grimes, 1992), and is very much the language of everyday life. Niue is the language used in schools for the first three years of education, after which there is a transition to English. Niue is the language of government, while English tends to predominate in the media. Levels of Niue and English bilingualism are high.

Many Niueans have migrated to New Zealand. About 13 thousand Niueans live in New Zealand (Siakimotu, 1994), retaining their indigenous language while also being competent in English.

Norfolk Island

Norfolk Island is an overseas territory of Australia, located to the north of New Zealand, (not shown on the map). The population of 2,756 (CIA, 1995)

consists of descendants from Bounty mutineers relocated in 1856 from Pitcairn Island, and also in-migrants from Australia and New Zealand. English is the official language, and the native language of three quarters of the population. About one quarter of the population speak the Norfolk dialect of Pitcairn-Norfolk, a language which has evolved from a mixture of 18th century British English and Tahitian. Some scholars consider Pitcairn-Norfolk to be a creole (Asher and Simpson, 1994).

Northern Mariana Islands

The Northern Mariana Islands is the name given to a group of 14 islands located in the Western Pacific Ocean. They are also known as the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands, and are a commonwealth of the United States, like Puerto Rico. Only six of the islands are inhabited, including Saipan, Tinian and Rota. The official language is English. Mariana Islands have a population of 51 thousand (CIA, 1995), the majority of whom speak Chamorro, a Micronesian language. Most of the speakers are concentrated on the island of Saipan where Chamorro is used as a trade language. Some Chamorro speakers are bilingual in English and Chamorro.

A second Micronesian language spoken in the Mariana Islands is Carolinian. This language is spoken mainly in the home, but is taught alongside Chamorro in schools (Asher and Simpson, 1994).

Palau

Palau is an independent republic in the Western Pacific. Palau was formerly a part of the United States Trust Territory of the Pacific islands. Also known as Belau, the republic consists of over 200 islands, only eight of which are inhabited. In 1995 the estimated population of Palau was 16.6 thousand (CIA, 1995). The official languages of the republic are English and Palauan.

Palau is divided up into 16 states. English is official in all 16 states, but in three states, languages other than Palauan are second official languages. In the state of Sonsoral, Sonsorolese is the official language, as are Anguar and Japanese in Anguar, and Tobi in the state of Tobi. Most of Palau's population speak Palauan as either a first or second language.

Papua New Guinea

Papua New Guinea is made up of the eastern half of the island of New Guinea and smaller surrounding islands. The estimated population was almost 4.3 million in 1995 (CIA, 1995). The first Europeans to claim Papua New Guinea were the Spanish in the 16th century. By the 19th century, the country had been take over by Great Britain, who transferred rule to Australia. Papua New Guinea gained independence in 1975.

Over 800 indigenous language varieties are spoken in Papua New Guinea. Geographical extremes, such as high rugged mountains, have contributed to

the isolation of different ethnic groups, and consequently to linguistic diversity. However, there is considerable language contact and much of the population is bilingual or multilingual.

There are three official languages in Papua New Guinea. English has been an official language since the country was a British colony in the 19th century. The table below shows that the language has 50 thousand speakers, (Grimes, 1992), although there may be as many as 200 thousand first and second language speakers of English in Papua New Guinea (Wurm, 1994). English is considered an elite language rather than a language of wider communication.

Two languages more recently given the status of official languages are Hiri Motu and Tok Pisin. These languages are used by over half the country's population. The most important lingua franca is Tok Pisin, or New Guinea Pidgin, which has over two million speakers. It is an English-based pidgin and is the main means of communication within the country. Hiri Motu is a pidginization of the Austronesian language of Motu, or True Motu.

Some of the indigenous languages have regional status and are used, though often only orally, in local government.

Official Languages	Number of Speakers
Tok Pisin	2,000,000
Hiri Motu	120,000
English	50,000

(Grimes,1992)

Minority Languages with more than 50 thousand speakers

Language	Number of Speakers
Enga	180,000
Hagen (Medpla)	100,000
Dobu	100,000
Kuaman (Chimbu)	80,000
Wahgi	50,000

(Wurm, 1994)

Pitcairn Island

Pitcairn Island is a dependent territory of the United Kingdom, located to the east of French Polynesia, (not shown on the map). There are around 70 inhabitants (CIA, 1995), who are the descendants of mutineers from the British ship HMS Bounty and Tahitians who settled in the uninhabited island in 1790. English is the official language but the inhabitants speak the Pitcairn-English dialect of Pitcairn-Norfolk, a language variety that has evolved from a mixture of 18th century British English and Tahitian. Some scholars consider that Pitcairn-Norfolk is a creole.

The Solomon Islands

The Solomon Islands are made up of 30 mountainous and volcanic islands, located between Papua New Guinea and Vanuatu, and have a population of around 400 thousand (CIA, 1995). English is the official language, although it is spoken by only 1.2 percent of the population. Ninety three percent of the population are Melanesians (CIA, 1995). Some 80 local languages are also used. Solomon Pijin, based on English, is one lingua franca widely used throughout the islands. Solomon Pijin is closely related to Bislama, one of the official languages of Vanuatu. Regional lingua francas in the Solomon Islands include Kuara'ae, Babatang, To'abaita and Gari.

Language	Number of Speakers
Solomon Pijin	100,000 (mainly second language speakers)
Kwara'ae	21,000 (mainly second languages speakers)
To'abaita	18,400
Bobatang	11,000 (6,000 are second language speakers)
Are'are	10,800
Kwaio	10,600
Lau	10,300
Gari	6,000

(Grimes, 1992)

Tokelau

Tokelau is a dependent territory of New Zealand, and consists of three small atolls, Atufu, Fakaofo, and Nukunono. These islands are located in the South Central Pacific ocean, and are administered from a base in Western Samoa. In the 1986 Census, a total population of 1,690 was recorded, but by 1995, the population was estimated to have decreased to around 1,500 (CIA, 1995). The official language of Tokelau is English.

Tokelauan, a Polynesian language, is the native tongue of 99 percent of the population. There are a few dozen native Samoan speakers. (Grimes, 1992). However, most of the population are bilingual in Tokelauan and Samoan, and English is also quite widely spoken. All three languages are used in schools (Asher and Simpson, 1994).

Tonga

Tonga constitutes 150 small islands in the South Pacific Ocean. A former British Protectorate, it gained independence in 1970. It has an estimated population of 105 thousand (CIA, 1995), 98 percent of whom speak Tongan, the official language, a Polynesian language related to Samoan. English is the second official language (Helu, 1994).

A small number of Tongans speak English as a first language, mainly expatriates, plus Tongans born and raised overseas. English is used alongside Tongan in government and education. French and Japanese are

also taught as foreign languages in some Tongan schools (Helu, 1994).

The remaining two percent of the population mainly speak the language of the Niua Fo'ou island. This language, called Niua Fo'ou, is considered by some to be a dialect of Tongan.

Tuvalu

Tuvalu is made up of a group of nine islands, and was formerly known as the Ellice Islands. The islands became independent from the UK are a few dozen native in 1978. These islands lie in the Western Pacific ocean, south of Kiribati. In 1995, Tuvalu had an estimated population of nine and a half thousand (CIA, 1995). The official language is Tuvaluan, a Polynesian language, the mother tongue of some eight and a half thousand of the population. The rest of the population speak Kiribati, a Micronesian language, or English as their first language. In 1987, there were 870 speakers of Kiribati in Tuvalu, constituting one percent of the population (Grimes, 1992). English is not widely spoken as a language in Tuvalu, but is used in the media alongside Tuvaluan (Asher and Simpson, 1994).

Vanuatu

Vanuatu is a small country consisting of twelve Pacific islands. The islands, formerly known as New Hebrides, were jointly administered by the British and French until independence in 1980. Melanasians account for 94 percent of the population.

Vanuatu is a country of great linguistic variety. Over a hundred indigenous languages and dialects are spoken by the population of around 180 thousand (CIA, 1995). French, English and Bislama are all official languages, but Bislama, a Melanesian pidgin language based on English, is the lingua franca. Bislama is closely related to Solomon Pijin, spoken on the Solomon Islands, and less closely related to Tok Pisin, one of the official languages of Papua New Guinea. There are thought to be more than 100 thousand speakers of Bislama (mainly second language) in Vanuatu. French and English are spoken by approximately four percent of the population. Although Bislama is the language of wider communication, both education and law are conducted through the medium of French and English.

Official Language	**Number of Speakers**
Bislama	128,000
French	4,864
English	1,408
Minority Language	
Hano	7,000
Lenakel	6,500
Uripiv-Wala-Rano-Atchin	6,000
Paama	5,250
Ambae (East)	5,000

Ambae (West)	4,500

(Grimes, 1992)

A Census was conducted by the Statistics Office of Vanuatu in May 1989. The percentage of residents over the age of six who could speak particular languages was as follows, revealing that nine out of every ten residents are bilingual or multilingual (Crowley, 1994).

Language	**Number of Speakers**
Bislama (monolingual)	0.4%
Foreign Language e.g. French, English (monolingual)	0.3%
Bilingual in Bislama and English	39.1%
Bilingual in Bislama and French	19.4%
Trilingual in Bislama, English and French	4.8%
Local Language (monolingual)	10.2%
Local Language and another language(s)	25.8%

Wake Island

Wake island is located in the Central Pacific Ocean, and consists of three small coral islets. These islets were uninhabited until their discovery by the Spanish in 1568, and are currently administered by the United States. The islets are populated by US Air Force personnel who speak English. There are also a small number of worker from countries such as Thailand, who are bilingual in their native language and English (Asher and Simpson, 1994).

Wallis and Futuna

The self governing French territory of Wallis and Futuna consists of two groups of islands in the south west Pacific ocean. The Wallis Islands comprise over 20 islands, the largest being Uvea. Futuna, known also as Iles de Hooru, consists of the two islands of Alofi and Futuna. The estimated population of the territory in 1995 was 14,500 (CIA, 1995). The official language is French.

The two main languages spoken on the islands are Wallisian (also known as East Uvean) and East Futuna. These two languages are related Malayo-Polynesian languages, but are not mutually intelligible. In 1987, there were about 3,600 speakers of East Futuna living mainly on the Futuna Islands. They form 31 percent of the population, and most speak French as their second language (Grimes, 1992).

Wallisian is spoken by seven and a half thousand people, mainly on the Wallis group of islands. French, Futuna and Wallisian are all used in broadcasting and education (Grimes, 1992).

Western Samoa

Western Samoa consists of a group of volcanic islands in the South Pacific

Ocean. There are two main islands, Upolu and Savaii, and seven smaller islands. In 1995, the estimated population was 209 thousand (CIA, 1995). Western Samoa has two official languages, English and Samoan. The islands were formerly under the control of New Zealand, but gained independence in 1962.

Samoan is the mother tongue of the overwhelming majority of the population and is often given priority over English. In the parliament, all speeches are given in Samoan with English translations. In education, all children are taught through the medium of Samoan for the first three years of their education. They are then taught bilingually in Samoan and English. Although English is widely understood, it is used mainly as a lingua franca between Samoans and expatriates (Mosel, 1994).

Chapter 10 - SOUTH AMERICA

Map 10:1 Official Languages of South America

Argentina

In 1995, Argentina had an estimated population of over 34 million (CIA, 1995). Spanish is the official language, and the first language of the majority of Argentines.

Most Argentines are descendants of Spanish settlers. The *mestizos*, people of mixed European and American Indian ancestry, were once a majority in the country. Most have now been absorbed into the general population, and only about 30 thousand still exist as distinct ethnic groups. The White population has increased greatly in the last two centuries. This is due to the many in-migrants arriving from Europe. These include French, Germans, Italians and British (e.g. the Welsh who emigrated to Patagonia in the 1860s), as well as Spaniards. The presence of these European in-migrants has led to languages such as French, German, English and Italian being taught in schools as a foreign language. Many in-migrants and their descendants still speak their own languages, but there is a shift to using Spanish as their main language (for example the use of Welsh in Patagonia is declining).

A number of Amerindian languages are also spoken in Argentina. Araucanian, or Mapudungun, is spoken by some 40 thousand people in areas bordering with Chile (Fishburn, 1994). Also, along the Bolivian border, and in areas close to Peru, Quechua and Guaraní are spoken. In Argentina, Guaraní is known as Chiriguano.

The largest Quechuan variety is South Bolivian Quechua. Other varieties, such as Northwest Jujuy, are intelligible to speakers of the South Bolivian variety. Many members of the Quechua language group are temporary labourers in Argentina, with the highest concentration of speakers living in the capital, Buenos Aires. Most Quechua speakers also speak Spanish (Grimes, 1992).

Language	Number of Speakers
Spanish	25,000,000
Quechua, South Bolivian	850,000
Quechua, Santiago Del Estero	75,000
Mapudungun (Araucano)	40,000
Chiriguano (Guaraní)	15,000
Toba	15,000 to 20,000
Quechua, Northwest Jujuy	5,000

(Grimes, 1992)

Bolivia

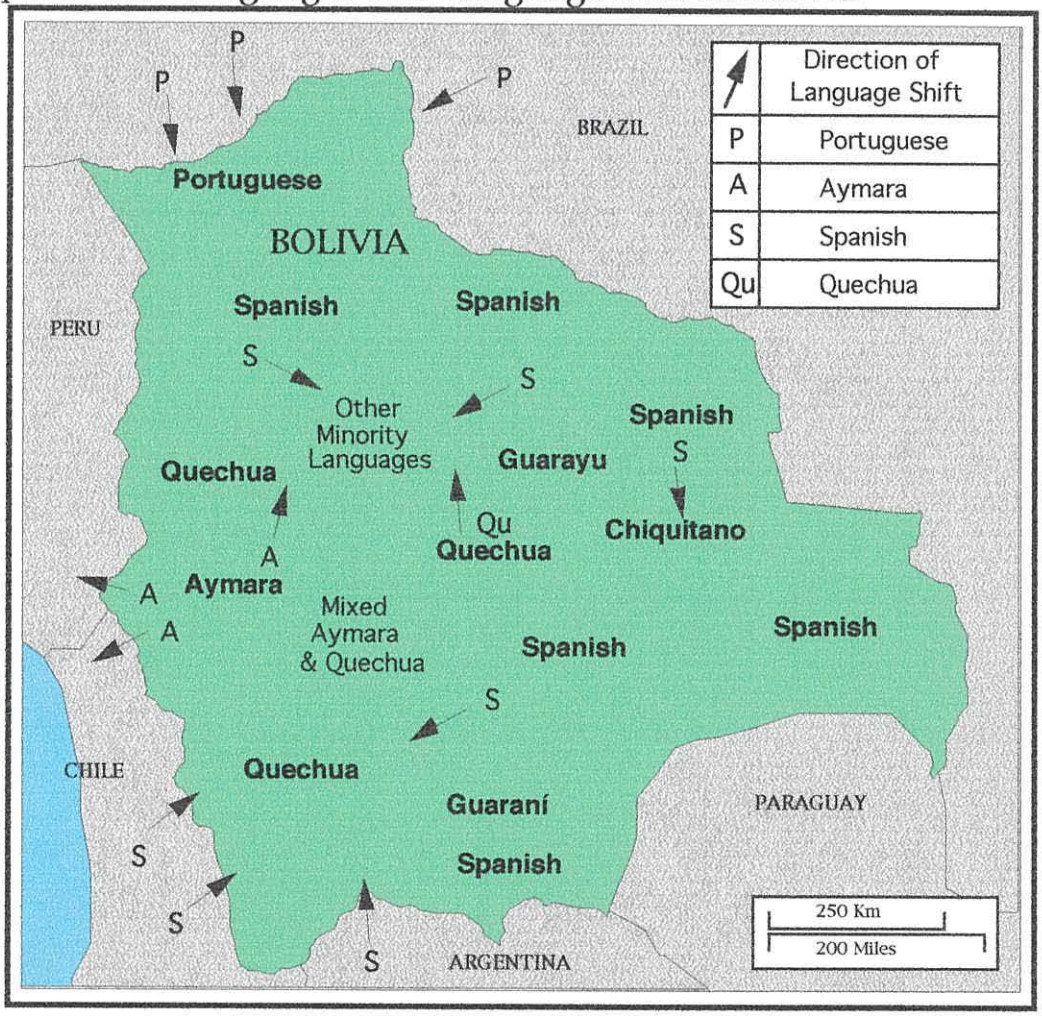
The population of Bolivia in 1989 was estimated to be over seven million, giving the country one of the lowest population densities in South America. The majority of the population are American Indians. The two largest Indian groups are the Quechua and the Aymara. They constitute 37 percent and 25 percent of the population respectively. Mestizos, people of mixed American Indian and European descent, constitute about 25 percent to 30 percent of the population, while people of European ancestry, mainly Spanish, constitute between five percent and 15 percent of Bolivians (CIA, 1995).

Bolivia has three official languages, Spanish, Quechua, and Aymara. Guaraní (another Amerindian language) is also recognized as a national

language. Up until 1993, Spanish was the sole official language, but the government of President Gonzalo Sanchez de Lozada, elected in June 1993, also gave recognition to the native languages. There are 35 Amerindian languages in Bolivia (French, 1994a), mostly concentrated in the eastern part of the country and in rural areas. Apart from Quechua and Aymara, none of the indigenous languages have more than 25 thousand speakers. Chiquitano and Guaraní have around 20 thousand speakers each and are located mainly in south eastern Bolivia. Spanish is widely spoken in the cities and has traditionally been the language of the educated elite. The new government has also introduced the right of every child to read, write and learn in its mother tongue.

Bilingualism is fairly common in Bolivia and the current reforms of education are introducing bilingual education. Approximately 65 percent of the population, or over four million, speak one of the native languages, usually in addition to Spanish (CIPCA , 1995). Most of the native Aymara and Quechua speakers also speak Spanish, and an estimated 200 thousand are also trilingual in these three languages.

Map 10:2 The Languages and Language shift in Bolivia



(*Censo 1992 (INE)*, 1995)

Official Language	Number of Speakers
Quechua	2,413,509
Spanish	2,203,000
Aymara	1,654,129
Other Languages	
Chiquitano	20,000
Eastern Bolivian Guaraní (Chiriquano)	15,000
Western Bolivian Guaraní	1,000 to 3,000

(Census, 1992 ; Grimes, 1992)

Monolingual Language Groups in Bolivia, from the 1992 Census.

	Monolingual Speakers	
Language	**Number**	**Percent**
Spanish	2,203,000	41.7%
Quechua	428,000	8.1%
Aymara	169,000	3.2%
Other indigenous language	11,000	0.2%
Non-indigenous language	18,000	0.3%

(CIPCA, 1995)

Bilingual Language Groups in Bolivia, from the 1992 Census.

Language	% of Bilingual Speakers
Spanish / Quechua	26.2%
Spanish / Aymara	19.8%
Other	0.8%

(e.g. indigenous language people, other non-indigenous languages such as Japanese)
(CIPCA, 1995)

Percentage of Change in the number of Official Language speakers, between 1976 and 1992.

Language	% of Change
Quechua	-5.4%
Aymara	-5.8%
Spanish	8.6%

(CIPCA, 1995)

Number of Indigenous Language Speakers in Bolivia, 1992 Census

Language	Number of Speakers (age 6+)	Number of Speakers (younger than 6, est.)	Total (est. allowing for 10% of people not enumerated in Census)
Quechua	1,805,843	2,194,099	2,413,509
Aymara	1,237,658	1,503,754	1,654,129
Guaraní	49,618	60,286	66,315
Other Indigenous language	29,582	53,943	43,490

(CIPCA, 1995)

The Numbers of Spanish, Quechua and Aymara Speakers in Bolivia, 1992 Census.

Language Spoken	Number of Speakers

Spanish	4,594,000
Quechua	1,806,000
Aymara	1,238,000
Other Indigenous Lang.	70,000

(CIPCA, 1995)

Brazil

Brazil has an estimated population of over 135.5 (CIA, 1995) million people, most of whom live in the densely populated areas of eastern Brazil. The official language is Portuguese. Brazil is the largest Portuguese-speaking nation in the world, and the majority of the population speak the language, with the exception of some 35 thousand American Indians living in isolated groups in the interior of the country. Other Brazilians who do not speak Portuguese include recent in-migrant groups to the country, such as the Japanese (Vandresen, 1994) .

Over the centuries, there has been a great deal of migration to Brazil. European languages were brought by the colonialists, and African languages brought with slave traffic. There are a number of in-migrant languages currently in Brazil. These include German, Italian, Polish, Ukrainian and Japanese, being found especially in the cities and tropical regions in the south of Brazil. Vandresen (in Asher and Simpson, 1994) estimates that there are 800 thousand German speakers living in Brazil, mostly Protestant Mennonites from Southern Germany and Switzerland, who have migrated to Brazil since World War Two. The Mennonite communities use German mainly for religious and informal purposes, and most speak Portuguese as well. In many in-migrant communities there has been a shift to Portuguese as the main language, and this led to the disappearance of some older in-migrant languages, mainly African.

Languages such as Portuguese have over the centuries also been in contact with the numerous indigenous languages. There are currently between 150 and 170 different Amerindian languages spoken in Brazil. These are related to five main language families, Tupi-Guarani, Carib, Arawak, Ge and Pano. One of the largest languages in the Tupi-Guarani family is Kaiwá, with between 12 and 14 thousand speakers (Grimes, 1992).

Language Spoken	**Number of Speakers**
Portuguese (official lang.)	150,000,000
In-migrant Languages	
Italian	1,000,000
German	800,000
Polish and Ukrainian	500,000
Japanese	500,000
Indigenous Languages	
Kaingáng (Coroado)	18,000
Yanomámi	16,000
Terêna	15,000
Kaiwá	12,000 to 14,000

Ticuna	12,000
Guajajara	10,000

(Vandresen, 1994 ; Grimes, 1992)

Chile

The official language of Chile is Spanish. In 1995, the population was estimated to be 14 million (CIA, 1995), and over 90 percent spoke Spanish as their first language. Spanish is the dominant language throughout the country and is the language of education and the media. Most of the population of Chile are *mestizos*, of mixed American Indian and European ancestry. Around five percent of the population are pure Indian.

Although Spanish is widely used throughout the country, some of the original American Indians still speak their indigenous languages. One such group are the Araucanians, or Mapuche. They live mainly in the Bio-Bio and the Araucania regions in the south of Chile. There are between 200 and 400 thousand speakers of Araucano, also known as Mapudungun (French, 1994). The majority of the Araucanians are bilingual in Spanish and their mother tongue.

In the northern most regions of Chile bordering Peru and Bolivia, there are a few thousand speakers of Aymara and Quechua. These two Amerindian languages have large numbers of speakers in both Peru and Bolivia. Easter Island (Rapa Nue), a territory of Chile lying some 4000 km off the west coast, is inhabited by two thousand speakers of a Polynesian language, Rapa Nue. Speakers of Rapa Nue also speak Spanish (French, 1994).

Colombia

The estimated population of Colombia in 1995 was over 36 million (CIA, 1995). Most of the Colombians are *mestizos*, of mixed Spanish, American Indian or Black African descent. American Indians constitute around one percent of the population.

The official language in Colombia is Spanish, and this is the language spoken by most of the population. It is the language used in government and in education. Many of the speakers of Amerindian languages also speak Spanish, although the degree of bilingualism can vary widely throughout the country.

Grimes (1992) lists 79 living languages present in Colombia. After Spanish, the largest language group is the Guajiro. This Arawakan language is spoken by over 80 thousand people, mainly in the La Guajira region of the country, a peninsula on the Caribbean coast. Páez, the second largest indigenous language group, has around 40 thousand speakers. These, and other minority language groups, are distributed throughout Colombia. Western Caribbean Creole English is spoken on the islands of San Andrés and Providencia by some 15 thousand inhabitants, mainly of Black African

descent, but is not widely spoken on the mainland of Colombia. Varieties of this English-based Creole, which developed as a contact language on British colonial plantations, are spoken in Belize, Jamaica and Guyana.

Language Spoken	Number of Speakers
Spanish	26,000,000
Guajiro	82,000
Páez	40,000
Cuaiquer	20,000
Catío	15,000
Guahibo	15,000
Western Caribbean Creole English	15,000
Guambiano	9,000
Chamí	8,000
Inga (Highland, Lowland)	8,000

(Grimes, 1992; and DeChicchis, 1994)

Ecuador

The Republic of Ecuador lies on the northern Pacific coast of South America. It includes the Galapagos Islands off the Pacific coast, and is bordered by both Colombia and Peru. In the 1982 Census, Ecuador had a population of 8,050,630. In 1995, the estimated population was almost 11 million (CIA, 1995). Forty percent of the population are American Indian, and 40 percent are *mestizos*, (those of mixed Indian and European descent). The remaining percentage of the population are of European or African descent.

The official language of Ecuador is Spanish, spoken as a first or second language by most of the population, along with Quichua, the language of the American Indians. In Ecuador, between 10 and 20 percent of the population speak the Indian language Quichua, a variety of Quechua (French, 1994). The speakers of Quichua are mostly those from the original, indigenous population. The highest concentration of Quichua speakers are found in the province of Chimborazo. Quichua speakers can also be located in considerable numbers in other provinces. Although Spanish is the main language of the cities and the Costa region of the country, urban migration has led to the use of Quichua in the cities.

Quichua is not the only Amerindian language spoken in Ecuador. The second largest Amerindian language is Shuar, or Jívaro, which has around 30 thousand speakers concentrated mainly in the south east of the country(French, 1994).

Language Spoken	Number of Speakers	
Spanish	7,000,000	
Quechua (Quichua)	1,459,000	
Shuar (Jívaro)	30,000	
Chachi	5,000	
Achuar-Shiwiar	2,000	
Colorado	1,800	(Grimes, 1992; French, 1994)

French Guiana

In 1995, the estimated population of French Guiana was about 145 thousand (CIA, 1995). People of mixed European and African descent account for some 66 percent, while the American Indians constitute 12 percent of the population. There are also small minorities of Chinese, Laotians and Europeans, mostly French.

As the official language, French is used in both education and administration. However, it is not used by the whole population. In the remote interior of French Guiana, Amerindian languages are spoken by descendants of the Arawak, Carib and Tupi-Guarani groups. Also spoken throughout the country is French Guiana Creole. It is the mother tongue of some 50 thousand (34 percent) of the population, but this figure is decreasing with a shift to French (Grimes, 1992).

Guyana

In 1993, Guyana had a population of 730 thousand. Guyana is a former British colony, and became independent in 1966. English is the official language, but the first language of 85 percent of the population is Guyanese Creole English, or Creolese (Edwards, 1994). A diglossic situation exists in Guyana. Creole is the language of informal situations, folk songs and popular culture, with Standard English used in the media, education and for official purposes.

There are a number of different ethnic groups living in Guyana, the largest of which are the East Indians who constitute 50 percent of the population (Edwards, 1994). The ancestors of these people migrated to the country from the Indian subcontinent, and although many of their original languages have disappeared, Hindi and Urdu are still used by the East Indians for religious purposes. There are few monolingual Hindi or Urdu speakers in Guyana.

The second largest ethnic group are the Africans, who make up 35 percent of the population. These are people descended from slaves, imported to work in the sugar plantations. None of the original African languages are still in use today. Most of the Black Guyanese are concentrated in the capital of the country, Georgetown, and in other urban centres, and speak Creole English. Eight percent of the population are of mixed racial origin, five percent are American Indians, with Europeans and Chinese both constituting one percent of the country's population.

A number of American Indian languages are spoken in Guyana, including Arawak, Wapishana, Akawaio and Patamona. These languages have been preserved, mostly due to the remoteness and inaccessibility of the areas in which the American Indians live. However, the American Indian cultures and languages are not encouraged. There are no more than a few thousand speakers of these languages, with the number of monolingual speakers

decreasing.

Language Spoken	Number of Speakers
Guyanese (Creole English)	650,000
	(250,000 Blacks, 400,000 Hindustanis)
Wapishanas	9,000
Akawaio	3,000 to 4,000
Patamona	3,000 to 4,000
Arawak	1,500

(Grimes, 1994)

Paraguay

Paraguay has an estimated population of five million people (CIA, 1995), and has two official languages, Spanish and Guaraní. Guaraní is an Amerindian language, and is spoken by around 90 percent of the population.

A large percentage of the population are bilingual in Spanish and Guaraní. Over 50 percent of the people are bilingual in these languages, with a further 40 percent being monolingual Guaraní speakers (French, 1994). Those who are bilingual tend to use Spanish in formal situations, turning to Guaraní in less formal domains. Guaraní is the language most used throughout the Amazon region.

91 percent of Paraguayans are *mestizos*, that is of mixed American Indian and Spanish descent. A number of European minority groups live in Paraguay, the most prominent of which is the German community. There are between 20 and 40 thousand speakers of German (French, 1994), most of them Mennonites, members of a Protestant evangelical religious group, which originated in Switzerland and Germany. Communities of Mennonites have migrated to both North and South America since the 18th century. Older communities still speak an archaic form of German, known as Plattdietsch, or Mennonite German, but more recent in-migrants speak modern standard German. Most of these German communities are found in the Chaco region of Paraguay, a sparsely populated region in the west of the country.

Some of the larger indigenous language minority communities live in the Chaco region. These include the Chulupe and Lengua languages, which are two of the minority indigenous languages which have over 10 thousand speakers (Grimes, 1992). Many of the indigenous peoples from this region use Guaraní as their main language. European minority groups also include descendants of Italian, Dutch and Portuguese settlers.

Language Spoken	Number of Speakers
Spanish and Guaraní (bilingual)	2,010,853
Guaraní (monolingual)	1,614,105
Spanish (monolingual)	261,118
German (Standard)	166,000
German (Plattdietsch)	20,000 to 40,000

Portuguese	130,000
Chulupi	18,000
Lengua	10,000

(British Embassy Asunción Paraguay, 1996 ; Grimes, 1992)

Peru

Peru lies on the Western coast of South America, and has an estimated population of over 24 million (CIA, 1995). There are two official languages in Peru, Spanish and Quechua. Spanish had been the sole official language, but in 1975, Quechua was given the same status by the Peruvian Government. Spanish is the dominant spoken language, and the main language of the media and education. The highest concentration of Spanish speakers live in the coastal lowlands. These are the urbanised areas of Peru which have few speakers of Amerindian languages. In recent years urban migration has resulted in small communities of minority language speakers, especially Quechua, being present in the larger cities, such as the capital Lima.

Most of the speakers of Quechua are to be found in the south of Peru. The 1981 Census showed that 16 percent of the population were bilingual in Quechua and Spanish, while another 11 percent were monolingual in Quechua (Von Gleich and Suny, 1994). Quechua is a language which has many different varieties, some of which are not mutually intelligible. In 1975, when the language was given official status, the government produced dictionaries and grammars for six of the dialects. Many Quechua speakers are bilingual in Spanish, except for a minority who live in the most rural and isolated areas. Although Spanish is the main language of education, in the areas where Quechua, and other indigenous languages such as Aymara, are important, bilingual education is provided.

The second largest indigenous language in Peru is Aymara. Although this language does not have official status, since 1975 it has been given limited official recognition. As with Quechua, most Aymara speakers are found in the south of the country which borders Bolivia. Around 300 thousand people use this language (French, 1994). Grimes, (1992) estimated the number of Aymara to be between 300 and 500 thousand.

Language Spoken	Number of Speakers
Spanish (official lang..)	18,278,000*
Quechua (official lang..)	5,004,000
Aymara	300,000 to 500,000
Aguaruna	20,000
Campa, Asháninca	15,000 to 18,000
Campa, Ashéninca	12,000 to 15,000

(*Figure from the 1981 Census when the population numbered 18,278,000)
(Grimes, 1992; Von Gleich and Suny, 1994; French, 1994)

Suriname

Suriname, formerly Dutch Guiana, is a republic in northeastern South America. In 1995, the estimated population was 429 thousand (CIA, 1995). Suriname is a former Dutch colony, and gained its independence in 1975. Before the arrival of Dutch colonists, the country was inhabited by groups of Arawak, Carib and Warrau Indians. The official language of Suriname is Dutch. There are a few thousand Surinamese who speak Dutch as their first language, with around 100 thousand second language speakers (Grimes, 1992). Dutch is the main language of instruction in schools, with both English and Spanish taught as foreign languages.

The largest ethnic group in Suriname are Asian Indians (Hindus), who constitute 37 percent of the population (CIA, 1995). The language spoken by most Asian Indians is Caribbean Hindi, or Sarnami Hindi. This language is based on the Indian languages Bhojpuri, Awakhi and Hindi. There are some monolingual speakers, but most use Dutch as their second language.

A further 15 percent of the Suriname population are Indonesians (CIA, 195). Both the Indonesians and Asian Indians were brought into Suriname to replace Black African slaves after emancipation in 1863. Most Indonesians in Suriname speak Suriname Javanese, a variant of Javanese, as their first language.

Three main Amerindian languages are spoken in Suriname by American Indians, who constitute 10 percent of the population (CIA, 1995). These are Trio, Wayana, and Kalinha. Approximately two and a half thousand American Indians speak Kalinha, six hundred speak Wayana, and eight hundred speak Trio (Grimes, 1992).

Sranan, known also as Suriname Creole English or Taki-Taki, is spoken by some 80 percent of the population as a second language. It is the lingua franca for Hindustanis, Javanese, American Indians, and the Bush Negroes (descendants of Black African slaves). It is also the mother tongue for around 150 thousand Surinamese (Grimes, 1992).

Language Spoken	Number of Speakers
Dutch (official lang..)	1000 (1977)
Sranan (Suriname Creole English)	150,000
	(300,000 inc. 2nd lang.. speakers)
Caribbean Hindi	150,000
Suriname Javanese (Caribbean Javanese)	60,000
Guyanese	50,000
Saramaccan	25,000

(Grimes, 1992)

The Falkland Islands (Islas Malvinas)

The Falkland Islands (called Islas Malvinas by neighbouring Argentines) consists of approximately 200 islands in the Atlantic Ocean, north east of the

southern tip of South America. The islands are a dependent territory of the United Kingdom. The population of 2,317 (CIA, 1995) are English-speaking of British descent. The official language and the language used on the islands is English. The Falkland Islands were taken by the British from the Argentineans in 1833, and since then, Argentina has laid claim to the islands. This dispute gave rise to the Falkland War in 1981.

Uruguay

Uruguay is the second smallest nation in South America, and in 1995 had an estimated population of 3.2 million (CIA, 1995). The original inhabitants of Uruguay were Charrua Indians. In the 17th century, the Spanish first established a colony in Uruguay. The official language of the country is Spanish, and this is the language spoken by most of the population.

85 percent of Uruguay's population are of European descent, mainly Spanish and Italian. A small part of the population migrated to Uruguay from other South American countries, such as neighbouring Brazil and Argentina. Around five percent to 10 percent of the country's population are *mestizos*, of mixed European and American Indian ancestry (CIA, 1995). The original small indigenous population has long since been absorbed by those migrating to the country.

Near the Brazilian border, there is a considerable degree of bilingualism in Spanish and Portuguese. A mixture of Portuguese and Spanish is also spoken in this area, and known as Brazilero. Foreign languages are often taught in schools, mainly English (Odber de Baubeta , 1994).

Venezuela

Venezuela lies on the northern coast of South America, with Columbia to the west, and Brazil to the south. In the 1992 Census, the country had a population of 20.5 million, most of whom speak Spanish, the official language. About 70 percent of the population are *mestizos*, those of mixed American Indian and European descent. Approximately 20 percent of Venezuelans are of European descent, and are concentrated in the larger cities. Black people count for around 8.5 percent, living mainly along the Caribbean (CIA, 1995). Many are descendants of Black Africans brought by the slave trade. The indigenous American Indians form a small proportion of the population. The 1992 Census showed that 315,815 ethnic Indians lived in Venezuela, forming 1.54 percent of the population.

Some 37 indigenous languages are found in Venezuela, some spoken by only a handful of people. Other languages number in the thousands. Eighty percent of the American Indian population speak at least one Amerindian language. The 1992 Census showed that there were 28 different ethnic groups living in Venezuela. The largest ethnic group are the Wayuu, who make up 54.5 percent of the American Indian population. They live mainly in the Zulia region of Venezuela, with over 127 thousand living in

neighbouring Colombia. Most of the Wayuu speak the language of their own ethnic group more than Spanish, but there is a high degree of bilingualism. Most of the American Indians are bilingual, with 75 percent able to speak Spanish and their mother tongue.

Language Spoken	Number of Speakers
Spanish (official lang..)	14,000,000
Guajiro	45,000
Yanomami	12,000 to 14,000
Warao (Guarao)	15,000
Piaroa	12,000
Guajibo	5,000
Maquiritari	4,970
Pemon	4,850
Kalihna	4,000 to 5,000
Manfahuaca	3,000
Yaruro	2,000 to 3,000

(Grimes, 1992; Central de Estadística e Informática, 1992)

Languages spoken by members of the original indigenous population, five years and over. Census of Venezuela, 1992

Language Spoken	Number of Speakers
Spanish	50,692
Indigenous Language	49,286
Indigenous Language and Spanish	153,100
Indigenous, Spanish and Other	1,251
Indigenous and Other	292
Other	20
Total	254,641

Languages spoken by the Wayuu Ethnic Group (over five years of age) Census 1992.

Language Spoken	Number of Speakers
Spanish	19,822
Indigenous Language	13,602
Indigenous Language and Spanish	106,194
Indigenous and Other	0
Other	0
Total	139,618

Chapter 11 - CONCLUSION

The final chapter of this thesis provides a brief introduction to the organizing concepts of geolinguistics, before considering the problems of mapping languages, and also the factors which cause changes in a language's use and distribution.

1 - An Introduction to Geolinguistics

As we have seen in the previous chapters, there is no definite figure that can be given for the number of languages spoken in the world. All the entries for the different countries combine to form a complex picture of the distribution of the world's languages. Some countries are the home to hundreds of languages, as we have seen in the case of Papua New Guinea, where over 800 indigenous languages are spoken. Other regions of the world, in contrast, may have relatively few indigenous languages.

A main part of the previous chapters involved estimating the numbers of speakers of different languages within each country. Although finding accurate data is very important, it is also important to consider the issues which may affect the use of a language by it's speakers. A language can be considered to be a living thing, always changing, moving, growing or even dying. In recent decades, a branch of human geography has developed to study these issues. To look at language in it's geographical context. This area of study is known as Geolinguistics.

Geolinguistics is defined by Williams (1988) as the systematic analysis of language in its physical and human context. Although geolinguistics looks at the variations and distribution of languages, it also seeks to consider the use of language in relation to political, cultural, economic and psychological standpoints.

Geolinguistics has developed from the wider branch of human geography concerned with studying the connection between social behaviour and the environment. This development stems from two sources of inspiration (Williams, 1988). The first is the work of early cultural geographers such as V. de la Blanch, M.J. Fleure and E. Edmont. Secondly, geolinguistic analysis

was inspired by the work of dialectologists and compilers of linguistic atlases. There has been some interest in identifying regional dialects for some centuries. A German dialectologist called George Wenker published a linguistic atlas in 1881 called 'Sprachatlas des Deutschen Reichs (or Language Atlas of the German Empire). His work involved sending questionnaires to teachers in different areas, asking them to note down all the local dialects they were aware of. The work of E. Edmont was published in France between 1902 and 1910. This linguistic survey of France still stands as one of the most influential works in the history of dialectology. (Crystal, 1992). Studies on dialects are distinctly different to that of geolinguistic analysis. Where as dialectology is concerned with linguistic features, Geolinguistics has developed into looking at language in a geographical context.

Van der Merwe (1993, p23) outlines three main geographical concepts important in the study of geolinguistics. The first is that of language distribution. How many speakers are there, and what variety of the language is spoken? When looking at the distribution of languages, geolinguistics seeks to identify the boundaries between different languages, the diversity within areas especially where different languages are in contact. Secondly, language change is an important issue in the study of geolinguistics in seeking to identify the areas of growth and decline. The environmental factors which contribute to a change must be identified, and studied over time in order to address questions, such as what determines the distribution of languages? Why do some languages expand and others decline? and what are the causes of language extinction? Thirdly, there is the language environment. The environmental factors that are important include 'location, space, place, perception, interaction, competition, centrality, regionalism, ethnicity, minority groups and urbanisation.' (Van der Merwe 1993, p23). These factors need to be looked at in order to identify the fabric of the society where the language is spoken. In doing this we can follow the changes which take place over time.

A fourth, and important, aspect of geolinguistics can be found in the aims of the American Society of Geolinguistics, '...to measure and **map** the [languages] genetic, historical and geographical affiliation and relations.' (Goebl, Nelde & Wolck, 1996, p63). Maps and diagrams are an important part of geolinguistics.

2 - The Problems of Mapping Languages

As already mentioned, the development of linguistic atlases has a long tradition. One of the most recent publications of cartographic representation of languages is that of Moseley and Asher's (1994) *Atlas of the World's Languages*. This publication is a valuable contribution to geolinguistics, and through looking at this, and other sources, I want to consider some of the issues and problems involved in representing languages maps. Before looking at the practical problems of creating language maps, we must first of all consider what information exactly the map is going to represent. Where is the information gathered and by whom? In this next section, I wish to consider the validity and reliability of the sources available for language data.

Language Census Data

The main official source of information for most countries comes from their census. Some countries regularly gather information in this way, and in a few countries a question on language is included. These governments recognise the importance of knowing what languages are spoken and where, as language is often a factor which must be considered in the policy making process, especially when looking at issues such as education and the needs of minority groups within society. When looking at language census data there are a number of question we need to consider.

The first and most obvious is, when was the data collected? In the UK, a census is conducted every ten years. Some countries may gather information at frequent intervals. In each case it is important to consider whether there has been any dramatic changes in the population since the figures were gathered. Factors such as migration, war and a high birthrate can, for example, rapidly change the language situation, dating the census figures. These dramatic changes occur mostly in the developing countries. For example, due to the wars in Sudan and Somalia, over half a million refugees fled into Ethiopia in the 1980s, to flee war and drought. This migration can occur in a relatively small amount of time, which makes the actual number of speakers in a language community very different to the number represented in the last census. In the case of the Miskito language community in Honduras their figure has quadrupled in recent years. Miskito speakers have fled to the country from Nicaragua, again to avoid

being caught in a war, (J. Dechicchis, 1994). It is also the case that many language figures are out-of-date due to high birthrates. In the developing countries especially, the total population can change considerably in a decade. In India the population increased by 25% in the years between the census of 1971 and 1981.

In some cases it is difficult to judge whether or not the figures present an accurate picture of the languages spoken due to a percentage of the population that have not been included. In most countries, some people are difficult to reach or track down, but it is true mostly in the most inaccessible parts to the world. For example, in the Bolivian census an estimated 10% of the population are not enumerated, (CIPCA, 1995).

The problems above deal mainly with the difficulties in recording the changes in unstable populations and the percentage which are not recorded. Even in a perfect case, where full and recent figures are available, there are still many complications. Not all censuses include a question on language. The information may not be considered important, or it is possible that governments wish to ignore minority groups within a country. In the case of Turkey, the census did not include a language question after 1965, which leaves more recent figures to be based on the size of ethnic groups. The size of an ethnic group does not always correspond to the size of the language group. (Comrie, 1994)

In some cases, people wish to identify with a particular ethnic group and see the ability to speak a language as part of that identity. In Ireland, the number of Irish speakers is currently 31.1% (Central Statistics Office, 1996). Many of these may have very little ability in the language, and it is estimated that only 4% to 5% use the language regularly. It may be that many wish to present a strong Irish identity, and considered the ability to speak Irish as part of that identity. Most censuses are self-reporting, and their reliability is affected by a number of factors (e.g. by ethnic identity, as in the case of Ireland) or by the status of the language. If the language is one of high status within country, those answering the census may claim a better knowledge of the language than is actually the case. On the other hand, if a minority language has low status and prestige, speakers of that language may decide not to reveal their ability. Figures from language questions thus need to be

interpreted very carefully.

As with all language surveys, questions need to be clear and unambiguous. No misunderstandings should be caused by the way a question is worded. Often a census does not distinguish between language use and language ability, providing no knowledge of the numbers of speakers who regularly communicate in a particular language, or move from speaking one language to using another. Studying language contact from census statistics also has a number of problems. In most censuses questions on bilingualism are limited. Romaine (1995), suggests that investigating the degree of bilingualism in a census is often constrained by limitations such as time and money. In the case of the 1991 UK census, specific questions were asked on the ability of Welsh, Gaelic and Irish speakers, but no other. There were no question included which allowed in-migrant languages to be represented and which allowed speakers of community languages to show their use and ability of different languages. This problem can be overcome to some degree by including open ended question, such as 'what is your mother tongue?' or 'What is the language spoken in the home?'. This leaves room for any number of languages to be recorded.

Although these questions are useful in determining the variety of languages spoken, they do not allow researchers to measure the competence of the respondents language ability, or the degree of bilingualism. In order to try and measure bilingualism, more specific questions are needed.

As we have already seen in the introduction, there are many problems in defining bilingualism. Although for most people an obvious definition is a person who can speak two languages, in reality defining who is bilingual is much more difficult. It is most often the case that bilinguals' ability may not be the same in both languages, that they are not balanced bilinguals - with a 'native like control of two or more languages'. (Bloomfield, 1993) Therefore, are bilinguals the people who have equal competence in both languages, or does a person who understands but does not speak a language also a bilingual? Baker (1996) suggests that there are four basic skills which need to be considered when measuring a bilingual's ability. The first two are listening and speaking, which are oracy skills. Literacy skills include the last two abilities, reading and writing. These four skills are found in varying

degrees in each bilingual person, and considering each avoids a simple classification of who is, or is not a bilingual.

To reflect this, a census needs to find out much more about a respondent than 'what languages do you speak?'. The degree of bilingualism can not be measured, for example, in questions such as 'Can you speak French/English?' - which is the question that has been included in the Canadian census for many years, (Romaine, 1995). This type of question does not make a distinction between language ability and the use of a language. In more recent years, the Canadian census has included more language questions. In the 1986 census, one question was 'Can you speak English or French well enough to conduct a conversation?'. This type of question aims to find out a person's degree of competence in either language. However, as I have all ready mentioned, all questions need to be clear and worded in a way which cannot lead to different interpretations. As Baker (1996) points out, this type of question reveals the ambiguity of many census question on language. The terms used, such as 'well enough' and 'conversation' may be interpreted in different ways by different respondents.

An example of another census which is aiming to measure the respondent's degree of bilingualism is that of Venezuela. The 1992 census asks about competence in both the indigenous and non-indigenous languages. The census also distinguishes between language ability and language use, between oracy and literacy. The questions in the census first establish which languages the respondent can speak, dividing the languages between indigenous and non indigenous, then asks; 'Which language do you normally use to communicate with other members of the community?' (OCEI, 1993). This type of question goes further in determining which the use of languages by the respondent.

These examples outline the many problems of finding figures on language contact. Not all censuses include a language question, even fewer a question on bilingualism. Those who do are problematic in determining the use and ability of speakers, and their degree of bilingualism.

Sources other than Census Language Questions

So far, I have only considered the problems involved in determining

language contact when looking at census data. When there is no census, an estimate of the number of speakers in a country is found from other sources of information, often less valid than a population census. These sources include information provided by researchers, travellers, or missionaries, and often do not provide a complete picture of the language situation in a country. In my research I sought information from many other sources. The three main sources were the *Ethnologue,* (Grimes, 1992), *Atlas of the World's Languages* , (Moseley and Asher (eds), 1994) and *The Encyclopaedia of Linguistics and Language,* (Asher and Simpson (eds), 1994). These are three very different works, all of which were as useful as they were problematic.

Moseley and Asher's (1994) work includes entries on all topics connected to language and linguistics. In addition they had entries for most of the world's countries, outlining the language situation. The entries have all been written by different authors, leading to a great variety in the type of information included on each country. Some entries include figures for the number of speakers of the countries main languages, while others had none. (Although this can't always be the fault of the author, as we have already recognised, not all countries provide figures form official censuses, and many languages in less developed parts of the world have yet to be classified let alone counted). In the countries where figures are included, it was not always apparent where the figures came from. These figures must be treated with caution, as we cannot know whether they are derived from a linguistic survey, or are estimates made by an academic, or the government. Other entries use census figures, or 'information from other sources', such as *The Ethnologue* (Grimes, 1992).

I have already discussed some of the problems involved in using census data, many of which apply to all linguistic surveys. The Ethnologue (Grimes, 1992) contains figures which originate from a wide variety of sources, including census information, government surveys, information from publications such as the National Geographic, or figures form linguistic surveys as far back as 1977 (Voegelin & Voegelin) for example. The Ethnologue is published every four years by the Summer Institute of Linguistics, and aims to include information an all known languages in use in the world. The world is divided into five regions, The Americas, Asia,

Europe, The Pacific and Africa. The countries included in each region are listed in alphabetical order, and in each is included a list of the languages spoken in each country. The number of speakers, number of bilinguals, size of ethnic group, distribution and information on language status is often included. The Ethnologue is a useful source of information, in particular as it offers an easy way of assessing the linguistic complexity of a country. One can see immediately whether there are hundreds or simply a handful of languages spoken. Of course, this is assuming that the Ethnologue does indeed include every language in every country, or alternatively over-count the number of languages.

Although the lists appear fairly comprehensive, even including extinct and nearly extinct languages, many in-migrant languages are often not to be found. This is particularly true in European countries. In the case of the United Kingdom, where there is a considerable variety of community languages spoken, they are not included as languages spoken in the United Kingdom, not even in the form of rough estimates. The book concentrates mainly on languages indigenous to the regions, although some in-migrant languages spoken as a result of colonialism are included, as it is often the case that thy status of those languages is that of official language, (e.g. Spanish in South America). This is also true of the languages represented in Moseley and Asher's (1994) world maps. In some regions Moseley and Asher give a far more detailed account of the languages in contact in past centuries rather than the languages (especially in-migrant languages) spoken today. Although they are mentioned briefly in the text, the community languages spoken in Europe, or the European or Asian languages spoken in the Americas are not included on Moseley and Asher's maps. In the introduction to their work the editors acknowledge that it is not possible to represent all languages on the maps, especially in large cities.

When considering the numbers of languages listed in the Ethnologue, it is important to recognise that this work is considered by some linguists as falling in the category of 'splitters'. Linguistic splitters are considered to be those people who sub-divide large groups of languages varieties and dialects which it is assumed belong together into smaller units. (Campbell, 1991) The opposite of 'splitters' are the 'lumpers', who are supposed to be linguists who group together many languages which are identified as sharing some

genetic relationship. Kaufman (1994) believes that the Ethnologue exaggerates the number of languages spoken in the world. He claims that 'a linguist who attends to linguistic structure only. leaving speaker attitudes aside, will recognise fewer than 50% of the number of distinct languages that are recognised in the Ethnologue.' (Kaufman,1994, p33). Kaufman argues that the Ethnologue is primarily recording the difference between sociolinguistic and ethnolinguistic groups, not distinct languages. Kaufman gives the example of Guatemala. The Ethnologue totals 54 languages, whereas Kaufman, in a linguistic survey, found only 25 languages spoken in the country. However, what is not clear is whether Guatemala is a general example.

I believe that this exaggeration on the Ethnologue's behalf does not greatly affect the figures which I have quoted in my research. If the Ethnologue is indeed recording ethnolinguistic data, it is often the smaller minority languages which are affected through the splitting of dialects into separate languages. My work includes mainly the official languages and the largest minority language groups within each country.

Grimes (1992) identifies many problems in gathering data for the Ethnologue in it's introduction. She recognise that all figures can only be estimates, even census data, and that some figures are based on ethnic groups or that for some languages and dialects there are no figures available. One of the main problems with the data found in the Ethnologue is the fact that it originated from so many different sources. Although this is likely to be unavoidable, it does make it necessary to question the reliability of the data. Many sources are extremely dated such as those for languages spoken in the former USSR, or language figures taken form publications such as Voegelin & Voegelin (1977). Surely these figures must have altered a great deal in the space of twenty years. A second problem in the inclusion of dated figures is the fact that the total number of speakers of all the language groups in a country do not equal the estimates for the sum of the countries population.

The work mentioned above by Voegelin & Voegelin is the *Classification and Index of the Worlds Languages* (1977). This was not a source which I used very much in my gathering of data, as I aimed to find more recent figures. This work however is an important part of the work on language

classification, and was one of the first books of it's kind which attempted to classify all the languages of the world and the number of speakers. Many more recent books are based on it's findings. *The Compendium of the World's Languages* (Campbell, 1991) is a work which aims to give a brief description of the world's major languages. His list of some 300 languages was based mainly on the list of 1,000 languages given by Crystal in *The Cambridge Encyclopaedia of Language*, (1992). This list (page 436-444) is based on Voegelin & Voegelin work in 1977. This list omits all languages with fewer than ten thousand speakers, a situation which may have altered in the last two decades. Although the changes which must have taken place may not have affected the Compendiums choice of three hundred languages, it does show the importance of tracing a figure back to it's origin. A figure which can seem fairly recent, may in fact be too dated to be considered currently valid.

Another importance source of information in gathering linguistic data was the *Atlas of the World' s Languages* (Moseley and Asher, 1994). This large work contains language maps for every part of the world. Each region is examined by a different author, leading to a great variety in the type of information found. In the case of Europe, figures from recent censuses are included as are estimates for languages not found in census data. Other regions, such as Africa, are not given any figures. The importance of this book lies not so much in the figures it uses but in the detailed mapping of the world's languages. Not all languages are represented on the maps, as this would be next to impossible. Thus I shall now move on to begin considering the different methods of representing linguistic data on maps, and the problems that arise.

Methods of Mapping Languages

As I have already mentioned, mapping languages forms an important part of geolinguistics. I have tried to outline the main problems in gathering valid and reliable data. I shall now turn to consider the issues involved in representing this information in the form of maps.

As we have seen in previous chapters, the languages spoken throughout the world present a complex picture. It is necessary to accompany all but the simplest maps with explanatory text. Moseley and Asher (1994) acknowledge

in their introduction that most sources do not use maps, but rather descriptive text when discussing language contact. This is due to two main reasons. Firstly, the fact that there is very little data available on the nature and extent of bilingualism, and secondly due to the many problems involved in mapping language contact.

The most basic type of map used is a simple reference map, which shows the boundaries of different features, such as language, and locates various objects within the boundaries. This type of map is often used due to the fact that it is fairly easily understood. Some problems involved might include the location of the labelling on the map, so as not to be misleading. Boundaries on language maps are often drawn as distinct and clear lines - showing perhaps the location or the number of speakers of a language. The areas identified are often shaded, a feature found in language mapping such as the Moseley and Asher (1994) maps of the world. Shading can be used in two main ways. Firstly to represent different variables (such as language), or secondly to represent the intensity of a variable. This second method is known as chloropleth mapping. The Welsh map (map 6:8) is an example of this method. The boundaries of the variable lie on the boundaries of each county, and the colours used reflect the degree to which the population of each county speak Welsh. Lighter colours represent a low percentage, while a darker colour represents a higher percentage. These maps are useful in presenting information that can be understood quickly and easily. To insure this, the number of shadings or patterns included need to be kept to a reasonable number - perhaps no more than half a dozen. Jenks (1963) considers eight to be the upper limit in terms of the average map readers ability in understanding and distinguishing between the colours. As the numbers of categories increase it becomes more difficult for the reader to recognise the differences represented by the different patterns and shades.

Chloropleth maps present a number of problems. The first is deciding where the boundaries (or isogloss) lie. In the maps created for this thesis the boundaries follow state, county or country lines, reflecting the way in which the data was gathered. Maps in the *Atlas of the World's Languages* show the boundaries as the areas where the highest concentration of speakers are located. In Moseley and Asher's (1994) maps, the shading does not represent the degree to which the language is spoken, but rather reflects the family to

which the language belongs. These are not strictly chloropleth maps, as they represent qualitative variable and not quantitive data. Depicting a geographic area in a single colour can lead to what is known as area bias (Garson and Biggs, 1992). Although this is mostly true of maps which have been divided into equal parts, it is also true of the language maps. Shading an entire area suggests that the language use within that area is evenly distributed, although this is rarely the case.

When boundary lines are not predetermined, deciding on their location can be extremely problematic. The use of language rarely corresponds to an official or political boundary. For example, there are many German speakers living in France along the border with Germany. Moseley and Asher (1994) reflect this in their map (68) by creating a boundary for language separate to the official border. This poses many problems for the reader. Is the German language exclusively used in that part of France? It seems likely that there are German speakers living in areas outside the boundary located on the map as it is never the case that a clear boundary is present where the use of one language ends and another begins. This is true of most minority languages in Europe, and many maps that have used boundaries and shading in this way produce misleading information.

Shading is used in a different way to show bilingual communities. In Moseley and Asher (1994, map 66), the representation of the Welsh and English bilingualism is achieved through using two colours within the same boundary area. There are two main criticisms with could be levelled at this particular map. Firstly, as noted above, the use of boundaries is highly misleading. Large parts of south Wales are not included in the 'Welsh speaking' area, whereas census information (OPCS, 1994) clearly shows that there is a large community of Welsh speakers in the south, particularly in the capital, Cardiff. Secondly, the use of two colours representing overlapping languages suggests that the distribution of speakers of both languages is evenly spread throughout the area. This problem is recognised in some of the maps, for example map 69 (Moseley & Asher, 1994), showing the languages spoken in Romania. A darker effect was created in the areas of the country where a higher concentration of Hungarian speakers were located, and a less intense etching in the areas where the speakers were more scattered with a higher proportion of Romanian speakers.

In the Ethnologue (1992) the problem of representing overlapping languages is overcome, to some degree, by using broken boundary lines - for example, the map of Malawi (p 296). These lines go some way in indicating the dynamic of language on a map. Many of the Ethnologue's maps do not contain any form of boundary line, simply the name of the language placed in the area where the highest concentration of it's speakers are located.

In considering these difficulties in representing language distribution and language contact on maps, I shall now turn to look at the usefulness of maps in analysing language data.

Maps as an Analytical Tool

One of the main aims of geolinguistic mapping is to help in the analysis of linguistic data. Ambrose and Williams (1991) identify six main functions that need to be incorporated in the creation of a successful language map. The six functions are;

> '1 - to set the bounds (the shape and scope) of the study.
> 2 - to observe, collect and record information in an ordered manner.
> 3 - to store, retrieve and update information consistently.
> 4 - to analyse by cartographic means (e.g. straightforward visual interpretation, conversion of data, point to area, examination of interactive and chronological sequences)
> 5 - to present results.
> 6 - to interpret results.' (Ambros &Williams,p 300, 1991)

They argue that the majority of maps fail to serve as a direct analytical tool as they are mostly based only on point 2 or 5 in the above list. Macaulay (1985) makes the distinction between 'display maps' and 'interpretative maps', the second kind being the type of map which can involve an element of analysis. If Macaulay recognises that an interpretative element can be presented in language maps, why is it that most simply 'record information' and 'present results'? (Ambrose and Williams , 1991).

Two main reasons are suggested by Ambrose and Williams (1991). Firstly, the inherent problems involved in the mapping process (issues which have been dealt with in the previous section), and secondly, in the relationship between geography and linguistics. They suggest that the problem arises

from the lack of linguists who are able to represent their findings cartographically. 'Linguists venture into the world of map making and geographers into the realm of linguistics, but rarely is there genuine co-operation in the setting-up of goals and methods.' (Ambrose and Williams 1991, p302). As yet, no conventions for language mapping have yet been established, leaving the choice of potential cartographic methods wide open.

A method of using maps as an analytic tool may be to use several maps of the same area containing different information. The first, a 'display' map, showing the percentage of people who speak a certain language, and a second map showing the use of the language by it's speakers. Comparing the two sets of information may be the first step in turning the purely descriptive maps into analytical tools.

It is possible to see how a language's situation changes using some of Moseley and Asher's (1994) maps. As already mentioned, some regions have present day maps and 'time of contact maps'. Comparing these can show which languages have become extinct, or which are more widespread today.

Showing change over time is an important aspect of language maps, as they show the dynamic of the language in question. As in Moseley and Asher's (1994) example above, the changing size and shape of the boundary lines show how a language distribution has changed. If reliable longitudinal data is available, such as census information, it is possible to show the change in language use. This is done by identifying each region by the Percentage change in the use of the language - for example, the Canadian map, 8:1). The percentage represents an increase or decline in the use of a language, using shading as a method of differentiating quickly between the areas of increase or decline.

One good example of a clear and detailed map showing language contact in a dynamic way, is the Bolivian map (map 10:2). This map is a simplified version of a language territory map of Bolivia produced by Astet, Riester and Mihotek (Censo 1992 *(INE)*, 1995). I have retained most of the elements of the original map, simplifying it slightly inn order to concentrate on the main languages of Bolivia. The CIPCA (1995) map uses a separate colour for each language, using symbols such as arrows, letters, and various boundary lines

to indicate the areas of language spread and language shift. The arrows indicate the direction in which the use of the language is spreading, showing Spanish and Portuguese moving into the territory of indigenous minority languages. This map clearly represents the growth of one language at the cost of another. The situation is shown to be changing, conveying the ever changing movement of languages.

When descriptive information is available, Mackay (1988) suggest that the information can be used in attempt to answer questions such as the following: What determines the distribution of language? Why do some languages expand and others contract? Does the rise of one language suppose a proportionate fall in other languages? What attracts the use of a particular language? and what are the causes of language extinction? (Mackay 1988, p32). In the next part of this chapter, I shall consider some of the possible answers to these questions.

3 - Language Change

As we have seen in the first chapter, present estimates of world languages number between five and six thousand. Out of these languages at least one thousand have over 10,000 speakers, a further two hundred languages are spoken by more than a million. Only sixty languages have in excess of ten million speakers (Swaan, 1991). In answer to the question of language survival, it is important to consider whether the number of speakers affects the probability of avoiding extinction. Swaan (1991), believes that those languages with around 10,000 speakers is a number to small to ensure survival in the modern world. The larger languages, especially those with ten million speakers (90% of the world's population) stand a much greater chance or surviving. Swaan identifies a further ten to twelve languages with a hundred million speakers each, and finally one or two huge languages which have around one billion speakers - Chinese and possibly English.

Large languages (such as English) are spoken over most continents, by native and second language speakers, and play a key role in the picture of world languages. Although their survival is not in question, what of those smaller languages with fewer than ten thousand? What is the future for them? If we believe that the larger languages are those with an assured future, it is

possible that as few as six hundred languages can be considered out of any danger of becoming endangered (Krauss,1992).

The disappearance of various languages has been an on-going process for thousands of years. However, in the last few centuries, the rate of disappearance seems to have increased dramatically. All over the world, examples can be found of languages on the verge of extinction. Peru, for example, has 103 languages (Grimes, 1992). Only 83 of these are living languages, eight are 'nearly extinct', with twelve langugaes which have recently become 'extinct'. Several other languages have so few speakers, that their survival does not look at all promising. This pattern is repeated in the majority of countries listed in The Ethnologue (1992). In Australia alone, over one hundred languages are 'nearly extinct'.

What chance is there of the survival of a minority language? The movement away from the use of one language to another, usually a move in favour of the dominant, larger language, is known as language shift. What factors contribute to language shift?

Language Shift

The shift away from minority language by it's speakers is caused by numerous interacting factors. In determining these we must first recognise that the use of a language is closely related to the society, culture, political and economic situation in which the language exists. A language does not simply decline due to a defect in the language itself, but rather depending on the situation of the speakers. Shift can only occur when bilingualism is present in the language community. In order to monitor the rate of shift, it is important to look at the use of both languages by the speakers. When language shift takes place, not only do speakers turn from using the language, but language proficiency in different domains also decrease. The final stages of language shift, is language death, where mother tongue speakers cease to exist.

Although there is no single set of factors which can be given to fully explain language shift, factors which are considered to be most involved may include the following:

Demographic factors - As we have already noted, the size of the

language community may have some bearing on it's future. It often seems to be the case that the smaller the community, the greater the threat of shift, and eventually death. All the languages listed as 'nearly extinct' in Grimes' Ethnologue (1992) have only a handful of speakers left. Demographic factors which encourage language shift may include: the number of speakers living a great distance from other members; 'homeland remote or inaccessible'; and a 'low rate of return to the homeland, little intention to return or impossible to return.' (Baker, 1996). Quite often, the reasons for migration from the homeland are economic.

Economic factors - The migration from a language 'homeland' may be necessary to find employment. The countries with the majority of languages in danger of extinction are mostly the developing countries. In these countries, certain regions which undergo the process of urbanisation and modernisation often attract large numbers of migrant workers, who, in order to find employment turn to speak the dominant language. Migration to gain employment and the shift in language use can not be confined as an example of shift in developing countries only. Many European, Australian and Amerindian languages face reducing numbers of speakers for similar reason.

Paulston (1994), believes that the economic factor is the most common reason for migration in Europe in recent decades. Haugen (1990), argues that the movement of people out of the Scottish Highlands in search of employment was a key factor in the decline of Scots Gaelic. Migration from the homeland affects the language situation, as does migration into the region by speakers of the dominant language. In the UK, the process of anglicisation in Wales involved the in-migration of English speakers (the dominant language) into areas of South Wales where the coal mines provided employment. Migration for economic reasons partly accounts for present day bilingualism in Europe, with numerous community languages present in most countries.

Status - The status of a language is an important factor in determining the rate of shift. The status of a language (or prestige value) is closely related to the economic status of the language (Baker, 1996). The dominant language is often the one with the higher social status, and more political and economic power, which means that speakers of a low status language may want to shift towards the language with higher status. Learning the language of a particular social group can be seen as a way minority language

speakers aim to identify with the dominant language group. It may also be the case that the high status language is 'forced' on other language communities, it being the language of education, administration, religion, politics and the law. The spread of compulsory education in the dominant language has been a major factor in the decline of minority languages. In some cases the language shift may stabilise, with the community remaining bilingual, with both languages used for different function. When this diglossic situation emerges, it is know as language maintenance.

Language Maintenance

Where language maintenance occurs, Paulston (1994) considers the following three reasons as being of major importance.

Firstly, 'self-imposed boundary' maintenance. This maintenance is often due to factors other than language, most frequently religion. An example is the case of the Mennonite communities in South America. They are bilingual in Portuguese and German, with German used mainly in religious and informal purposes (Vandressen, 1994). Such measures to maintain a language (in this case German) is unusual 'and never undertaken over time only for the sake of language itself.' (Paulston 1994, page 21)

Secondly, 'externally imposed boundaries'. This usually may be caused by factors such as geographic isolation, (for example, in Papua New Guinea. The geographical extremes found, such as high rugged mountains, have contributed to the isolation of different language groups). Another externally imposed boundary defined by Paulston (1994) may take the form of denied access to goods, services and employment.

Thirdly, 'a diglossic like situation'. The dominant and minority language exist side by side, each used for a specific purpose. This was seen in the case of Guyana, with Creole being the language of informal situations, folk songs and popular culture, and Standard English used in the media, education and official purposes (Edwards, 1994).

In the examples of language shift and language maintenance given above, it is important to remember that these situations are always changing. A stable and balanced language situation is very rare, with the balance changing constantly. Although, as we have seen above, language shift can lead to language death, in some cases, conscious efforts are made to protect minority languages. This is termed language revival and reversal.

Language Reversal and Revival

Language revival is defined by Nahir (in Paulston 1994, p 93) as 'the attempt to turn a language with few or no surviving native speakers back into a normal means of communication in a community.' Language reversal on the other hand implies the turning around of a downward language shift, and in the particular functions of that language. Reversal focuses on the circumstances where one language moves back into prominent use, where a dominant, majority language once existed. Language reversal changes the downward shift through promoting the use of the language and its range of functions in the community. Reversing language shift is acheived through planned policies, often in relation to the other languages of the country, with the aim of improving the balance in favour of the minority language. One of the main theories on reversing language shift is by Joshua Fishman (1991). He does not accept that the only future for endangered languages is extinction, and argues steps can be taken to prevent languages becoming endangered in the first place. In order to achieve this, we need to consider what the priorities in planning language shift should be (Baker, 1996).

Fishman's 'Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale' (1991), was formed to aid language planning that is aimed at reversing language shift. The scale provides a guide showing the level at which a minority language is threatened. The higher the number, the greater the risk to the language. For example, the highest on the scale is stage eight - The reconstruction of language and adult acquisition. This stage represents a language facing extinction. Only older members of the community speak the language, often in isolation to each other, and children are no longer taught the language as their mother tongue. Fishman (1991) questions whether anything can be done to save a language in this situation. He concludes that its only hope is that the younger generation will revive the language.

The next stage, stage seven, is entitled, 'the cultural interaction involving community based older generation.' The language may be in use, but only by older members of the community. Again, new generations of mother tongue speakers are unlikely to be present. While the language has not yet reached the stage where reconstruction is needed, to ensure survival, the younger generation must reproduce the language in their children.

reached the stage where reconstruction is needed, to ensure survival, the younger generation must reproduce the language in their children. Through each of the stages, the situation of the language becomes slightly less threatened. By stage four, the language is in a position where compulsory education is available through the minority language. The situation where the language is least threatened is stage one, where the minority language is present in education, the work place, mass media and governmental operations at higher and nationwide levels (Fishman, 1991).

Fishman (1991) points out that although in the higher stages the language may have some status or economic benefits, the real future of any language lies in the lower stages - in the family and the community. It is here that the future of any language is ultimatley determined, in whether or not the language is passed on to the following generations. The critical stage in determining the passing on of a language is stage six (Fishman, 1991). At this stage, the language is used between grandparents, parents and children. If the language is strong within the family unit, Fishman argues that it also stands a good chance of survival in other spheres.

In relation to mapping languages, if we accept Fishman's scale, we can see the importance of showing the specific use of a language by the community. In the final stages of reversing language shift, the language is seen to be present in all spheres of life - education, media, government, the work place and in the home.

The important variables to map are the uses of a language and it's function in the community. Each function, such as home language, schooling or the language of government administration could be represented on different maps, to be used in conjunction to gain a full understanding of the language situation. Although, admittedly, producing these kinds of maps for many regions of the world would prove a highly difficult task. As the functions attached to each language change, the level of decline or rise for each language can be measured for each of it's functions. Perhaps in doing this we can determine which factors attract speakers of which languages, for example, cases where minority language speakers switch to the dominant language, which contributes to the power of the dominant language.

If policies aimed at strengthening the use of minority languages are implemented, such as compulsory education in minority languages, mapping in this way would provide a picture of the change (if any) in this function of the language. When considering which languages are best suited to survive, not only the number of speakers and their distribution are important, but also the it's functions.

The thesis ends on this positive note - that of language revival and reversal. In the 1960s and 1970s, much writing in this area was about language shift and language death. In the 1980s, language maintenance was the focus of discussion and debate. In the 1990s, the spotlight has changed to language revival and reversal.

As J. B. Priestley (in Stephens, 1992) said, 'Most people tell me that the Indians cannot hold out much longer. Another generation at the most, they say. I am not so sure. There is in the world today some spirit rising against the huge force of uniformity. Who, a century ago, would have imagined the revival of self-consciousnesss among the Welsh, renewal of the language and their desire for self-determination.'

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