

# Ethnologue: Languages of Mali

## Twenty-sixth edition data

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## List of Abbreviations

A	Agent in constituent word order
ACHPR	African Charter on Human Peoples' Rights (1987)
<i>alt.</i>	alternate name for
<i>alt. dial.</i>	alternate dialect name for
AOV	Agent-Object-Verb
C	Consonant in canonical syllable patterns
CDE	Convention against Discrimination in Education (1960)
<i>Class</i>	Language classification
CPPDCE	Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions (2005)
CSICH	Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003)
DBS	Deaf Bible Society
<i>dial.</i>	primary dialect name for
DOOR	Deaf Opportunity Outreach
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966)
ISO	International Organization for Standardization
km	kilometer(s)
L1 / L2	first language / second (or other additional) language
<i>Lg Dev</i>	Language development
<i>Lg Use</i>	Language use
m	meter(s)
P	Patient in constituent word order
PARADISEC	Pacific And Regional Archive for Digital Sources In Endangered Cultures
<i>pej.</i>	pejorative
pl.	plural
S	Subject in constituent word order
sg.	singular
SIL	SIL International
SOV	Subject-Object-Verb
SVO	Subject-Verb-Object
<i>Type</i>	Typological information
UNCRPD	United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (2006)
UNDRIP	United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2007)
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
UNSD	United Nations Statistics Division
V	Vowel in canonical syllable patterns

## How to Use This Digest

This *Ethnologue* country digest provides an extract of the information about the language situation in Mali that is published in the 26th edition of *Ethnologue: Languages of the World* (see <http://www.ethnologue.com>), including some ways of presenting the information that are not available in the online version. The digest begins with a “Country Overview” (page 6) and “Statistical Summaries” (page 8) of languages and number of speakers by language size, by language status, and by language family.

The “Alphabetical Listing of Languages” (page 11) provides detailed information on the 71 languages listed in the *Ethnologue* for the country of Mali. This includes languages that are indigenous to the country, languages that have developed well-established multigenerational speaker communities after immigrating in the past, and languages that have a significant presence in the country but are not established (that is, not being transmitted to the next generation within the country). A complete language entry has the following form and content:

**Primary language name** [ISO 639-3 code] (Alternate names). Autonym. *Users*: Country user population. Population stability comment. Population remarks. Monolingual population. Ethnic population. *Location*: Location. *Status*: EGIDS level. Special cases. Language function in country. *Class*: Linguistic classification. Macrolanguage membership. *Dialects*: Dialect names. Intelligibility and dialect relations. Lexical similarity. *Type*: Linguistic typology information. *Lg Use*: Remarks on use of the language. Domains of use. User age range. Language attitudes. Bilingualism remarks. Use as second language. *Lg Dev*: Literacy rates. Literacy remarks. Use in education. Publications and use in media. Revitalization efforts. Language development agencies. *DLS*: Digital support. *Writing*: Scripts used. *Other*: Non-indigenous. General remarks. Religion. Macrolanguage member languages. *Map*: Map page. *Worldwide*: Total population in all countries. Other countries where used.

See <http://www.ethnologue.com/methodology/#languagePages> for a full description of these information elements. If the autonym contains the “?” character, this indicates a complex non-Roman character that the PDF-creating software we are using is not able to render. We regret the inconvenience.

The “Language Maps” (page 28) show the locations of the listed languages. If the location of a language is given on a map, the *Map* element of the language entry indicates the page number of the map. If the language is identified on a map by name, but that name differs from the primary name in the language entry, the name on the map is given in parentheses. If the language is represented on the map by an index number, rather than by its name, the index number is given following the page number (with a colon as separator).

Many ways of finding languages are provided. “Languages by Population” (page 32) lists the languages in order of their first-language speaker populations. “Languages by Status” (page 37) lists the languages by their level of development or endangerment as measured on EGIDS, the

Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (Lewis and Simons 2010). “Languages by Region” (page 44) lists the top-level administrative subdivisions of Mali and the languages located within each. “Languages by Family” (page 46) lists the languages by their linguistic classifications. “Language Code Index” (page 49) gives an alphabetical listing of all the three-letter codes from ISO 639-3 that are used in this digest to uniquely identify languages. “Language Name Index” (page 51) lists every name that appears in the language listings as a primary or alternate name of a language or dialect. A total of 391 unique names are associated with the 71 languages described in this digest.

Finally, a listing of all the published sources cited within this digest is found in “Bibliography” (page 60). The published sources are cited using standard in-text citations enclosed in parentheses, consisting of the author’s or editor’s surname followed by the year of publication. Unpublished sources including personal communications and unpublished reports are also acknowledged when specific statements or facts are attributed to them. They are identified using in-text citations enclosed in parentheses in which the year of the communication is given first, followed by the source’s first initial and surname. In such a case, there is no corresponding entry in the bibliography.

This digest is designed for use in both digital and print formats. The cross-references are thus rendered as page numbers that are hyperlinks. When using the document in printed form, simply turn to the referenced page by number. When using it in digital form, click on the blue text to jump to the cross-referenced location.

If you believe any of the information about a language in this digest is in error or if you are able to supply missing information, please send your proposed change to the editor using one of the means given below. Provide as much information as possible about the source of your information. Full bibliographic details of published sources are especially helpful.

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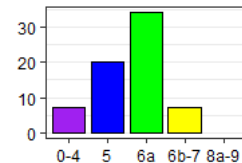
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## Country Overview

Name of country	Mali
Other names	Republic of Mali
Population	20,742,000 (2022 World Factbook)
Principal language	French
Literacy rate	36% (2018 UNESCO)
International conventions	ACHPR (1981), CDE (2007), CPPDCE (2006), CSICH (2005), ICCPR (1974), UNCRPD (2008), UNDRIP (2007)
General references	Bendor-Samuel and Hartell 1989, Capron 1973, Manessy 1961, Manessy and Sauvageot 1963, Manessy 1975, Manessy 1981, Nicolaï 1979, Nicolaï 1981, Nicolaï 1983

### Language counts

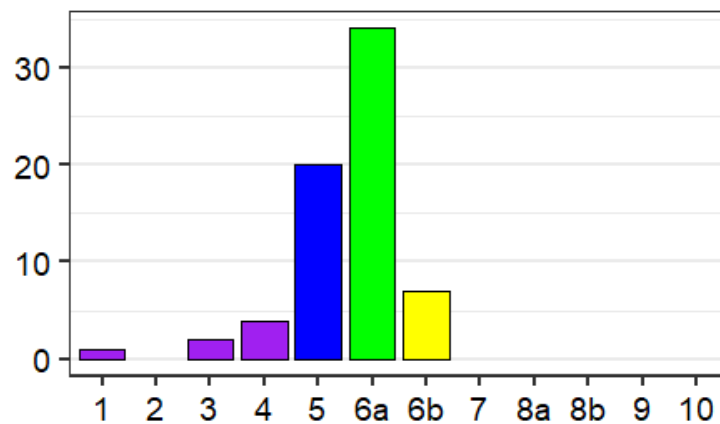
The number of established languages listed for Mali is 68. All are living languages. Of these, 63 are indigenous and 5 are non-indigenous. Furthermore, 7 are institutional, 20 are developing, 34 are vigorous, and 7 are in trouble. Also listed are 2 unestablished languages and 1 macrolanguage.



See the next page for an explanation of the summary categories for language vitality used in the above counts and graph.

## Language Status Profile

The following histogram gives a graphic profile of the established languages in Mali with respect to their status of language development versus language endangerment. This includes all of the languages appearing in the “Alphabetical Listing of Languages” (page 11) that report an EGIDS level after *Status*; macrolanguages and unestablished languages are not included in the profile. The horizontal axis plots the estimated level of development or endangerment as measured on the EGIDS scale (Lewis and Simons 2010). The height of each bar indicates the number of languages that are estimated to be at the given level. Consult “Languages by Status” (page 37) in order to see the specific languages for each level.



The color coding of the bars in the histogram above matches the color scheme used in the summary profile graph on the preceding page. In this scheme, the EGIDS levels are grouped as follows:

- Purple = Institutional (EGIDS 0–4) — The language has been developed to the point that it is used and sustained by institutions beyond the home and community.
- Blue = Developing (EGIDS 5) — The language is in vigorous use, with literature in a standardized form being used by some though this is not yet widespread or sustainable.
- Green = Vigorous (EGIDS 6a) — The language is in vigorous use among all generations and remains unstandardized.
- Yellow = In trouble (EGIDS 6b–7) — Intergenerational transmission is in the process of being broken, but the child-bearing generation can still use the language so it is possible that revitalization efforts could restore transmission of the language in the home.
- Red = Dying (EGIDS 8a–9) — The only fluent users (if any) are older than child-bearing age, so it is too late to restore natural intergenerational transmission through the home; a mechanism outside the home would need to be developed.
- Black = Extinct (EGIDS 10) — The language is no longer used and no one retains a sense of ethnic identity associated with the language.

## Statistical Summaries

The “Alphabetical Listing of Languages” (page 11) provides a detailed listing of all the languages of Mali. This section steps back from the detail to offer a summary view of the language situation in the country. Specifically, it offers three numerical tabulations of the living established languages of Mali and their users: by language size, by language status, and by language family.

### Summary by language size

Table 1 summarizes the distribution of living established languages in Mali by number of L1 speakers. The *Population range* column categorizes the sizes of the languages by order of magnitude (in terms of the number of digits in the population of first-language speakers). Consult “Languages by Population” (page 32) for a listing of the specific languages in each range category.

The *Count* column gives the number of living established languages within the specified population range. The *Percent* column gives the share of the count for that population range as a percentage of the total number of languages given at the bottom of the Count column. The *Cumulative* column gives the cumulative sum of the percentage of languages going from top to bottom in the column.

The *Total* column gives the total L1 population of all the languages in the given range category. The second *Percent* column gives the percentage of the total country population as estimated at the bottom of the Total column. Note that if the table has a row for Unknown, representing languages for which the *Ethnologue* does not have a population estimate, the calculation of population percentage is not able to take those languages into account. The final *Cumulative* column gives the cumulative sums of the population percentages going from top to bottom in the column.

**Table 1:** Distribution of languages by number of first-language speakers

Population range	Living languages			Number of speakers		
	Count	Percent	Cumulative	Total	Percent	Cumulative
1,000,000 to 9,999,999	3	4.4	4.4%	6,320,000	45.62241	45.62241%
100,000 to 999,999	23	33.8	38.2%	6,961,000	50.24962	95.87204%
10,000 to 99,999	17	25.0	63.2%	499,300	3.60432	99.47635%
1,000 to 9,999	21	30.9	94.1%	71,040	0.51282	99.98917%
100 to 999	3	4.4	98.5%	1,500	0.01083	100.00000%
Unknown	1	1.5	100.0%			
<i>Totals</i>	68	100.0		13,852,840	100.00000	

## Summary by language status

Table 2 summarizes the distribution of living established languages in Mali by their status in terms of language development or language endangerment. The *EGIDS* column categorizes the languages by their level on the EGIDS scale. Consult “Languages by Status” (page 37) for a listing of the specific languages that have been assigned to each level. Note that the EGIDS level reported here is for the status of the language in Mali. Languages that are also used in other countries may be assigned to a different EGIDS level in those countries.

The next six columns are as in Table 1. In addition, the *Mean* column gives the average L1 population of all the languages with the given EGIDS level and the *Median* column gives the median L1 population for the languages at that level, that is, half of the languages at that level have a higher population and half have a lower population. If there are any languages with an unknown population, these are ignored in the calculation of the mean and the median.

**Table 2:** Distribution of languages by vitality status

EGIDS	Living languages			Number of speakers				
	<i>Count</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Cumulative</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Cumulative</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Median</i>
1	1	1.5	1.5%	19,200	0.1386	0.1386%	19,200	19,200
3	2	2.9	4.4%	4,118,000	29.7268	29.8654%	2,059,000	2,059,000
4	4	5.9	10.3%	1,828,000	13.1959	43.0612%	457,000	738,000
5	20	29.4	39.7%	5,497,000	39.6814	82.7426%	274,850	176,000
6a	34	50.0	89.7%	2,363,920	17.0645	99.8071%	69,527	15,350
6b	7	10.3	100.0%	26,720	0.1929	100.0000%	3,817	1,000
<i>Totals</i>	68	100.0		13,852,840	100.0000			

## Summary by language family

The genealogical classifications given in the language entries of the “Alphabetical Listing of Languages” (page 11) name 6 different top-level groups. Table 3 summarizes the distribution of living established languages and their L1 populations within these families. The columns are as for table 2, with the exception that *Cumulative* is excluded since there is no inherent ordering of the families.

**Table 3:** Distribution of languages by language family

Language family	Living languages		Number of speakers			
	<i>Count</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Median</i>
Afro-Asiatic	4	5.9	1,162,000	8.4	290,500	449,000

Language family	Living languages		Number of speakers			
	<i>Count</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Median</i>
Indo-European	1	1.5	19,200	0.1	19,200	19,200
Language isolate	1	1.5	2,000	0.0	2,000	2,000
Niger-Congo	53	77.9	11,800,440	85.2	222,650	25,000
Nilo-Saharan	6	8.8	818,700	5.9	136,450	92,000
Sign language	3	4.4	50,500	0.4	16,833	25,000
<i>Totals</i>	68	100.0	13,852,840	100.0		

## Alphabetical Listing of Languages

**Arabic, Hasanya** [mey] (Hassani, Hassaniya, Hassaniyya, Maure, Mauri, Moor, Sahrawi, Sulaka, Suraka, Suraxxé). *Users*: 123,000 in Mali (2014 UNSD). *Location*: Widespread. *Status*: 5 (Dispersed). Recognized language (1996, Law 96-049 of 14 December). *Class*: Afro-Asiatic, Semitic, Central, South, Arabic. *Lg Use*: Used by all. Used as L2 by Koyra Chiini Songhay [khq], Soninke [snk]. *Lg Dev*: Literature. Radio. Dictionary. *Writing*: Arabic script, Naskh variant. Latin script, in development. *Other*: Muslim. *Maps*: 29, 29, 30, 30. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 5,189,980. Global EGIDS level: 3 (Wider communication). Also indigenous in: Algeria (Hassaniyya Arabic), Mauritania (Hassaniyya), Western Sahara (Hassaniyya Arabic). Also established in: Morocco (Hassaniyya Arabic), Niger (Hassaniyya Arabic), Senegal (Hassaniyya). Unestablished in: Gambia (Hassaniyya), Libya (Hassaniyya Arabic), United States (Hassaniyya).

**Arabic, Standard** [arb]. *Users*: 41,800 in Mali (2015 SIL), all users. *Location*: Widespread. *Status*: 4 (Educational). Recognized language (1992, Constitution, Article 25), used in education. *Class*: Afro-Asiatic, Semitic, Central, South, Arabic. *Type*: VSO; prepositions; noun head initial; gender (masculine/feminine); dual number; definite and indefinite affixes; case-marking (3 cases); verb affixes mark number, gender of subject; aspect; 28 consonant and 6 vowel phonemes; non-tonal; stress on first syllable; trilateral roots, few affixes. *Lg Dev*: Taught in some primary schools in madrasas, private Islamic schools, for primary education. The government of Mali estimates that about 30% of school-going children are enrolled in madrasas. Fully developed. Bible: 1645–2008. *Writing*: Arabic script, Naskh variant, primary usage. Braille script. *Other*: Non-indigenous. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 273,989,700. Global EGIDS level: 0 (International). Indigenous in: Saudi Arabia. Also established in 30 other countries and unestablished in 1 more.

**Bamanankan** [bam] (Bamanakan, Bambara). Autonym: Bamanankan. *Users*: 14,000,000 in Mali, all users. L1 users: 4,000,000 in Mali (2012 V. Vydrin), increasing. 75,000 Ganadugu (Vanderaa 1991), 164,000 Wasulu (2009 census). L2 users: 10,000,000 (2012 V. Vydrine). *Location*: Bamako, Kayes, Koulikoro, and Ségou regions; Sikasso region: north, middle Niger river watershed. *Status*: 3 (Wider communication). Recognized language (1982, Decree No. 159 of 19 July, Article 1). Bamanankan serves as lingua franca everywhere, except for the northeastern part of the country. Bamanankan is the form of Jula [dyu] recognized by the Malian government. Used for travel, market, and business communication. *Class*: Niger-Congo, Mande, Western, Central-Southwestern, Central, Manding-Jogo, Manding-Vai, Manding-Mokole, Manding, Manding-East, Northeastern Manding, Bamana. *Dialects*: Standard Bambara, Somono (Kombye), Segou, San, Beledugu, Ganadugu, Sikasso, Wasulunkakan (Maninkakan, Eastern, Wassulu, Wassulunka, Wassulunke, Wasulu, Wasuu). Many local dialects. The main division is standard Bambara, influenced heavily by Eastern Maninkakan [emk], and rural dialects. Bamanankan dialects are spoken in varying degrees by 80% of the Mali population. In Mali, Wasulunkakan is shared by both Bamanankan and

Eastern Maninkakan, but in Guinea it is only a dialect of Eastern Maninkakan. *Type*: SOV; postpositions; passives; tense; causatives; 21 consonant and 14 vowel phonemes; tonal (2 tones: high, low). *Lg Use*: Growing. All domains. Used by all. Positive attitudes. Used as L2 by Bankagooma [bxw], Bunoge Dogon [dgb], Duungooma [dux], Jenaama Bozo [bze], Jowulu [jow], Kagoro [xkg], Kelengaxo Bozo [bzx], Konabéré [bbo], Koyra Chiini Songhay [khq], Koyraboro Senni Songhay [ses], Maasina Fulfulde [ffm], Malian Sign Language [bog], Mamara Sénoufo [myk], Pana [pnq], Soninke [snk], Supyire Sénoufo [spp], Syenara Sénoufo [shz], Teyaxo Bozo [boz]. *Lg Dev*: Literacy rate in L1: 15%. Taught in many adult and youth literacy classes (2021 SIL). Taught in some primary schools in early grades only. Bambara is most widely used and best developed program (2021 SIL). Literature. Newspapers. Radio. TV. Videos. Dictionary. Grammar. Texts. Bible: 1961–1987. *DLS*: Ascending (0.42). *Writing*: Latin script. N’Ko script, used in Mali. *Other*: Wasulu are former Fulbe. Muslim, traditional religion. *Maps*: 29, 31, 30, 30. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 14,181,650 (as L1: 4,179,190; as L2: 10,002,460). Also indigenous in: Côte d’Ivoire (Bambara). Also established in: Senegal (Bambara). Unestablished in: Canada, Gambia (Bambara), Mauritania (Bambara), Niger.

**Bangime** [dba] (Bangande, Bangeri Me, Bangeri Me Dogon, Bangerime, Bangi Me, Dyeni, Elebo, Noumandan, Numadaw). *Users*: 2,000 (Blench 2005). *Location*: Mopti region: Bandiagara circle, 7 villages. *Status*: 6a (Vigorous). *Class*: Language isolate. *Type*: SVO; postpositions; noun head initial; definite article; isolating language; 17 consonants and 7 vowels; tonal (high, low). *Lg Use*: Used by all. Also use Jenaama Bozo [bze]. *Lg Dev*: Dictionary. Grammar. *DLS*: Emerging (0.02). *Writing*: Unwritten. *Other*: Muslim, traditional religion. *Maps*: 30:1, 30.

**Bankagooma** [bxw] (Banka, Bankagoma, Bankagoroma, Bankaje, Samogho). *Users*: 6,000 (2007 SIL). Ethnic population: 6,000. *Location*: Sikasso region: Sikasso circle, 2 areas northeast of Sikasso town; Danderesso, 7 other townships. *Status*: 6a (Vigorous). *Class*: Niger-Congo, Mande, Western, Northwestern, Samogo. *Lg Use*: Bankagooma no longer spoken in several towns, where the people now speak Bambara [bam]. A few villages are still stable. Used by all. Also use Bamanankan [bam]. *DLS*: Still. *Writing*: Unwritten. *Maps*: 31, 30.

**Bolon** [bof] (Bo, Boka, Boon, Boron). *Users*: 5,920 in Mali (1998 SIL). *Location*: Ségou region: San circle, 2 villages; Tominian circle, 7 villages. *Status*: 6b (Threatened). *Class*: Niger-Congo, Mande, Western, Central-Southwestern, Central, Manding-Jogo, Manding-Vai, Manding-Mokole, Manding. *Dialects*: Bon, Samalen. *Lg Use*: Some young people, all adults. *Writing*: Unwritten. *Other*: Muslim, traditional religion. *Maps*: 31, 30. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 22,920. Global EGIDS level: 6a (Vigorous). Also indigenous in: Burkina Faso.

**Bomu** [bmq] (Bo, Bobo, Bobo Wule, Boore, Boré, Mu Boomu, Western Bobo Oule, Western Bwamu, Western Red). Autonym: Boomu. *Users*: 317,000 in Mali (2022). *Location*: Mopti region: Djénne circle; Ségou region: San circle, San area on Bani river south bank; Sikasso region: enclave along Burkina Faso border. *Status*: 5 (Developing). Recognized language (1982, Decree No. 159 of 19 July, Article 1). *Class*: Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-

Congo, North, Gur, Central, Northern, Bwamu. *Dialects*: Dwemu, Dahanmu, Mao. Dwemu subdialects are Terekongo (Terekoungo), Wahu (between Téné and the Bani river), Togo. Dahanmu subvarieties are Koniko, Mandiakuy, Bomborokuy, and Mao (Mahou). *Type*: SOV; postpositions; genitives, relatives before noun heads; articles, adjectives, numerals after noun heads; word order distinguishes subjects, objects, indirect objects; V, CV, CVV; tonal. *Lg Use*: Used by all. Used as L2 by Konabéré [bbo]. *Lg Dev*: Taught as subject in some primary schools. *Dictionary*: Bible: 2005–2013. *DLS*: Emerging (0.06). *Writing*: Latin script. *Other*: Traditional religion. *Maps*: 31, 30, 30. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 373,000. Also indigenous in: Burkina Faso.

**Bozo, Jenaama** [bze] (Boso, Corogaama, Djenaama, Nononke, Sarkanci, Sarkawa, Sorko, Sorogaama, Sorogoye). *Autonym*: Sorogama. *Users*: 197,000 in Mali (2003 SIL), increasing. *Location*: Mopti region: Djenné and Mopti circles on Niger river, Tenenkou and Youwarou circles; Ségou region: Niger river, upstream from Mopti. *Status*: 5 (Developing). *Class*: Niger-Congo, Mande, Western, Northwestern, Soninke-Bobo, Soninke-Boso, Boso, Jenaama. *Dialects*: Pondori, Kotya (Kotyaxo), Korondougou, Débo. *Lexical similarity*: 53%–76% with Teyaxo Bozo [boz] (most similar). *Lg Use*: Nononke and Somono who live in the same area speak Jenaama as L1. Used by all. Positive attitudes. Also use Bamanankan [bam], particularly northern-dialect speakers with some proficiency in a Songai or Fulfulde variety and southern-dialect speakers in a Bambara variety. Used as L2 by Bangime [dba]. *Lg Dev*: Grammar. Texts. *Bible portions*: 2008. *DLS*: Emerging (0.12). *Writing*: Arabic script, Naskh variant, in development. Latin script. *Other*: Muslim. *Maps*: 30, 30. *Worldwide*: Also established in: Nigeria (Sorko). Unestablished in: Côte d’Ivoire.

**Bozo, Kelengaxo** [bzx] (Boso, Hain, Hainyaxo Bozo, Hanyaxo, Kelenga, Kelengaxo, Kélinga, Kélingua, Xan, Xanyaxo). *Users*: 30,000 (2009 SIL). *Location*: Ségou region: Macina and Ségou circles, Ke-Maacina area upstream to Tamani, both sides of Niger river. *Status*: 6a (Vigorous). *Class*: Niger-Congo, Mande, Western, Northwestern, Soninke-Bobo, Soninke-Boso, Boso, Eastern. *Dialects*: None known. *Lexical similarity*: 48%–66% with Teyaxo Boso [boz] (most similar). *Lg Use*: Used by all. Also use Bamanankan [bam]. *DLS*: Emerging (0.06). *Writing*: Unwritten. *Other*: The Bambara term Boso refers to the entire ethnic group. Muslim. *Maps*: 30, 30.

**Bozo, Tiemacèwè** [boo] (Boso, Bozo, Tiema Ciewe, Tiemacewe, Tiéma Cièwè, Tiéma Cèwè, Tièmacèwè, Tié). *Users*: 2,500 (1991). *Location*: Mopti region: Youwarou circle, where Niger river leaves Lake Debo, 6 villages. *Status*: 6a (Vigorous). *Class*: Niger-Congo, Mande, Western, Northwestern, Soninke-Bobo, Soninke-Boso, Boso, Eastern. *Dialects*: None known. *Lexical similarity*: 60%–79% with Teyaxo Bozo [boz]. *Lg Use*: Used by all. Also use Koyra Chiini Songhay [khq]. Also use Maasina Fulfulde [ffm]. *DLS*: Emerging (0.01). *Other*: The Bambara term Boso refers to the entire ethnic group. Muslim. *Maps*: 30, 30.

**Bozo, Teyaxo** [boz] (Boso, Tie, Tiemaxo, Tigemaxo, Tiguémakho, Tiéyakho, Tyeyaxo, Tégué). *Autonym*: Teyaxo. *Users*: 118,000 (1987 census). Population may include Tiemacèwè Bozo [boo] and Kelengaxo Bozo [bzx]. *Location*: Mopti region: Tenenkou circle, northwest of

Kouakourou town on Niger river; upriver into Ségou region: Machina circle. *Status*: 5 (Developing). Recognized language (1982, Decree No. 159 of 19 July, Article 1). *Class*: Niger-Congo, Mande, Western, Northwestern, Soninke-Bobo, Soninke-Boso, Boso, Eastern. *Dialects*: None known. Lexical similarity: 53%–76% with Jenaama Bozo [bze] (most similar), 30% with Soninke [snk]. *Lg Use*: Some ethnic Marka and Somono live among them and speak Teyaxo as L1. Used by all. Also use Bamanankan [bam]. Also use Maasina Fulfulde [ffm]. Use of Bambara or Fulfulde depends on region. *Lg Dev*: Taught as subject in some primary schools. Grammar. Bible portions: 2009. *DLS*: Ascending (0.15). *Writing*: Arabic script, Naskh variant, in development. Latin script. *Other*: Muslim. *Maps*: 30, 30.

**Dogon, Ampari** [aqd] (Ambeenge, Ampari, Pignari). *Users*: 5,200 (1998 SIL). *Location*: Mopti region: Bandiagara circle, Pignari commune, 16 villages. *Status*: 6a (Vigorous). *Class*: Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, Dogon. *Dialects*: None known. Lexical similarity: 40%–53% with Mombo Dogon [dmb]. *Lg Use*: Used by all. *DLS*: Still. *Writing*: Unwritten. *Maps*: 30:13, 30.

**Dogon, Ana Tinga** [dti]. *Users*: 500 (2005 D. Douyon and R. Blench). *Location*: Mopti region: Koro circle, Diankabou township, Ana village. *Status*: 6b (Threatened). *Class*: Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, Dogon. *Dialects*: None known. Reportedly most similar to Yanda Dom Dogon [dym]. *Lg Use*: Some young people, all adults. Some also use Maasina Fulfulde [ffm]. Also use Jamsay Dogon [djm]. Also use Tebul Ure Dogon [dtu]. *Lg Dev*: Texts. *DLS*: Still. *Writing*: Unwritten. *Other*: Muslim. *Maps*: 30:9, 30.

**Dogon, Bankan Tey** [dbw] (Bankan Tey, Oualo, Walo). *Users*: 1,320 (1998 census). *Location*: Mopti region: Douentza circle, north Douentza town area, Walo village, other hamlets. *Status*: 6a (Vigorous). *Class*: Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, Dogon. *Dialects*: None known. Reportedly similar to Nanga Dama [nzz] with which it shares both lexicon and a final -m on many nouns. The influence of Songhay on Bankan Tey and Jamsay [djm] on Ben Tey [dbt] have resulted in fairly substantial lexical differentiation. *Lg Use*: Used by all. Also use Jamsay Dogon [djm]. Also use Maasina Fulfulde [ffm]. Also use Tondi Songway Kiini [tst]. *Lg Dev*: Dictionary. Grammar. Texts. *DLS*: Still. *Writing*: Unwritten. *Maps*: 30, 30.

**Dogon, Ben Tey** [dbt] (Ben Tey). *Users*: 3,000 (2005 J. Heath). *Location*: Mopti region: Douentza circle, 3 villages south of Douentza town. *Status*: 6a (Vigorous). *Class*: Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, Dogon. *Dialects*: None known. The people of Beni and Gamni have contact with Jamsay [djm] speakers, and to a lesser extent with speakers of Nanga [nzz] and Fulfulde. The influence of Songhay on Bankan Tey [dbw], and that of Jamsay on Ben Tey, have resulted in fairly substantial lexical differentiation. *Lg Use*: Used by all. All also use Jamsay Dogon [djm]. *Lg Dev*: Grammar. *DLS*: Still. *Writing*: Unwritten. *Maps*: 30:7, 30.

**Dogon, Bondum Dom** [dbu] (Bondum-Dom, Najamba-Kindige Dogon). *Users*: 24,700 (1998 J. Durieux). *Location*: Mopti region: Douentza circle, Borko village. *Status*: 6a (Vigorous). *Class*: Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, Dogon. *Dialects*: Kindjim, Nadjamba. *Lg Use*: Used by all. Also use Jamsay Dogon [djm]. *Lg Dev*: Grammar. Texts. *DLS*: Emerging (0.01). *Writing*: Unwritten. *Maps*: 30, 30.

- Dogon, Bunoge** [dgb] (Budu-Tagu, Bunoge, Korandabo). *Users:* 1,000 (2005 D. Douyon and R. Blench). *Location:* Mopti region: Bandiagara circle, Goundaka township, Boudou, Dakouma, and Sangou villages. *Status:* 6b (Threatened). *Class:* Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, Dogon. *Dialects:* None known. Nominal plural suffix aligns it with Ampari Dogon [aqd] and Mombo Dogon [dmb], but lexically quite different (Blench 2005). *Lg Use:* Fulfulde [ffm] is replacing Bunoge among younger generations (2012 J. Heath). Some young people, all adults. Most also use Maasina Fulfulde [ffm]. Many also use Bamanankan [bam]. *Lg Dev:* Grammar. Texts. *DLS:* Still. *Writing:* Unwritten. *Other:* Muslim. *Maps:* 30:3, 30.
- Dogon, Dogul Dom** [dbg] (Dogul-Dom). *Users:* 15,700 (1998 J. Durieux). *Location:* Mopti region: 14 villages northeast of Bandiagara, Nandoli is center. *Status:* 6a (Vigorous). *Class:* Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, Dogon. *Lg Use:* Used by all. Many also use Tommo So Dogon [dto]. Some also use Donno So Dogon [dds]. *DLS:* Still. *Writing:* Unwritten. *Maps:* 30:4, 30.
- Dogon, Donno So** [dds] (Donno, Donno So, Kamba So, Kamma So). *Users:* 45,300 (1998 J. Durieux). *Location:* Mopti region: Bandiagara circle, area upstream on Yame river. *Status:* 5 (Developing). *Class:* Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, Dogon. *Dialects:* Kamma So, Donno So. *Lg Use:* Used by all. Used as L2 by Dogul Dom Dogon [dbg]. *Lg Dev:* Literacy and numeracy primers available but not in use because government language policy only allows Toro So materials. Dictionary. Grammar. NT: 1988. *DLS:* Emerging (0.01). *Writing:* Latin script. *Maps:* 30:12, 30.
- Dogon, Jamsay** [djm] (Dyamsay Tegu, Gamsaj, Jamsay). *Users:* 130,000 in Mali (1998 J. Durieux). *Location:* Mopti region: Koro circle near Burkina Faso border; southwest Koro circle, Kiri town, northwest to Douentza circle. *Status:* 6a (Vigorous). *Class:* Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, Dogon. *Dialects:* Domno, Gono, Bama, Guru, Pomuru. Degree of comprehension between dialects uncertain. *Lg Use:* Used by all. Used as L2 by Ana Tinga Dogon [dti], Bankan Tey Dogon [dbw], Ben Tey Dogon [dbt], Bondum Dom Dogon [dbu], Nanga Dama Dogon [nzz], Tebul Ure Dogon [dtu], Yanda Dom Dogon [dym]. *Lg Dev:* Radio. Dictionary. Grammar. Texts. *DLS:* Emerging (0.01). *Writing:* Unwritten. *Maps:* 30, 30. *Worldwide:* Also indigenous in: Burkina Faso.
- Dogon, Mombo** [dmb] (Kolu-so, Kolum-so, Pignari). *Users:* 19,000 (1998 SIL). *Location:* Mopti region: Bandiagara circle, 27 villages from Bandiagara to Mopti. *Status:* 6a (Vigorous). *Class:* Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, Dogon. *Dialects:* None known. Lexical similarity: 40%–53% with Ampari Dogon [aqd]. *Lg Use:* Used by all. *Lg Dev:* Dictionary. *DLS:* Still. *Writing:* Unwritten. *Maps:* 30, 30.
- Dogon, Nanga Dama** [nzz] (Nanga Dogon). *Users:* 3,000 (2009 SIL). *Location:* Mopti region: Douentza circle, 9 villages northeast of Bamba town, southwest of Debere town. *Status:* 6a (Vigorous). *Class:* Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, Dogon. *Dialects:* None known. Reportedly similar to Bankan Tey [dbw] and Ben Tey [dbt]. *Lg Use:* Used by all. Most also use Jamsay Dogon [djm]. Most also use Tommo So Dogon [dto]. *Lg Dev:* Dictionary. Grammar. *DLS:* Still. *Writing:* Unwritten. *Maps:* 30:6, 30.

- Dogon, Tebul Ure** [dtu] (Oru yille, Tebul Ure). *Users*: 3,000 (2005 Foundation for Endangered Languages). *Location*: Mopti region: Koro circle, Diankabou township. *Status*: 6a (Vigorous). *Class*: Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, Dogon. *Lg Use*: Used by all. Most also use Jamsay Dogon [djm]. Used as L2 by Ana Tinga Dogon [dti], Yanda Dom Dogon [dym]. *DLS*: Still. *Writing*: Unwritten. *Maps*: 30:8, 30.
- Dogon, Tene Kan** [dtk] (Tene Kan, Tene Tingi, Tengu Kan, Togo Kan). *Users*: 127,000 (1998 J. Durieux). *Location*: Mopti region: northeast Bankass circle, near Koro circle border; into Bandiagara circle. *Status*: 6a (Vigorous). *Class*: Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, Dogon. *Dialects*: Togo Kan, Giwnri Kan, Woru Kan (Wolu Kan), Tengu Kan, Tene Kan. *Lg Use*: Used by all. *Lg Dev*: Grammar. *DLS*: Emerging (0.01). *Writing*: Unwritten. *Other*: Muslim, Christian. *Maps*: 30, 30.
- Dogon, Tiranige Diga** [tde] (Duleri, Duleri Dom). *Users*: 4,200 (1998 SIL). *Location*: Mopti region: Kendie, Lowol Gueou, and Pignari Bana townships on northeast Dogon plateau. *Status*: 6a (Vigorous). *Class*: Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, Dogon. *Dialects*: None known. Lexical similarity: about 50% with Mombo [dmb]. *Lg Use*: Used by all. *DLS*: Still. *Writing*: Unwritten. *Maps*: 30:2, 30.
- Dogon, Tommo So** [dto] (Tombo-So, Tommo So). *Users*: 50,000 (McPherson 2013). *Location*: Mopti region: Diamnati, Kassa, Kendé, Kendié, Metoumou, Ondougou, Segué Iré, Tédié, and Wadouba townships. *Status*: 6a (Vigorous). *Class*: Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, Dogon. *Dialects*: None known. Reportedly similar to Donno So [dds] and Toro So [dts]. *Lg Use*: Used by all. Used as L2 by Dogul Dom Dogon [dbg], Nanga Dama Dogon [nzz], Yanda Dom Dogon [dym]. *Lg Dev*: Radio. Grammar. *DLS*: Still. *Writing*: Unwritten. *Maps*: 30:5, 30.
- Dogon, Tomo Kan** [dtm] (Tomo-Kan). *Users*: 133,000 in Mali (1998 J. Durieux). *Location*: Mopti region: Bankass circle far southwest; Ségou region: Tominian circle. *Status*: 6a (Vigorous). *Class*: Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, Dogon. *Dialects*: Bongu, Aa Bara, Aa, Tienwan Ganda, Tie Bara, Nienne, Tanwan Bara, Basara. *Lg Use*: Used by all. *Lg Dev*: Literature. Dictionary. Grammar. *DLS*: Emerging (0.01). *Writing*: Latin script. *Maps*: 30, 30. *Worldwide*: Also indigenous in: Burkina Faso.
- Dogon, Toro So** [dts] (Bomu Tegu, Dogoso, Toro So). *Users*: 50,000 (1998 J. Durieux). *Location*: Mopti region: Bandiagara and Koro circles, Bereli and Madougou town areas. *Status*: 4 (Educational). Recognized language (1982, Decree No. 159 of 19 July, Article 1). *Class*: Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, Dogon. *Dialects*: Yorno, Youga, Ibi, Sangha, Ireli. *Lg Use*: All domains. Used by all. *Lg Dev*: Literacy rate in L1: 5%. Literacy rate is 30% among Christians (2013 SIL). Taught in some adult and youth literacy classes (2021 SIL). Taught in some primary schools in early grades only. Dictionary. Grammar. Bible: 2010. *DLS*: Emerging (0.07). *Writing*: Latin script. *Other*: Different from Dogoso [dgs] and Dogosé [dos]. Cliff dwellers. Muslim, Christian. *Maps*: 30, 30.
- Dogon, Toro Tegu** [dtt] (Tandam). *Users*: 2,900 (1998 J. Durieux). *Location*: Mopti region:

Douentza circle, Ouro Nguerou town area, 15 villages. *Status*: 6a (Vigorous). *Class*: Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, Dogon. *Dialects*: None known. Toro Tegu is very different from Jamsay [djm], the other Dogon language widely known by Toro Tegu speakers (2011 J. Heath). *Lg Use*: Used by all. *Lg Dev*: Grammar. Texts. *DLS*: Emerging (0.01). *Writing*: Unwritten. *Maps*: 30, 30.

**Dogon, Yanda Dom** [dym] (Dogon, Yanda, Yanda Dom). *Users*: 2,000 (Blench 2005). *Location*: Mopti region: Koro and Bandiagara circles, southwest of Bamba town. *Status*: 6a (Vigorous). *Class*: Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, Dogon. *Dialects*: None known. Reporedly similar to Nanga Dama [nzz] with which it shares both lexicon and a final -m on many nouns. *Lg Use*: Used by all. Most also use Jamsay Dogon [djm]. Most also use Tebul Ure Dogon [dtu]. Most also use Tommo So Dogon [dto]. *Lg Dev*: Grammar. Texts. *DLS*: Still. *Writing*: Unwritten. *Maps*: 30:11, 30.

**Duungooma** [dux] (Du, Duungo, Mali Duun, Samogho, Samogo, Samoro, Western Duun). *Users*: 160,000 (2022). *Location*: Sikasso region: Kadiolo and Sikasso circles; Bafini river north basin. *Status*: 6a (Vigorous). *Class*: Niger-Congo, Mande, Western, Northwestern, Samogo. *Lg Use*: Used by all. Positive attitudes. Most also use Bamanankan [bam]. Also use French [fra], especially students. Also use Jula [dyu]. Used as L2 by Jowulu [jow]. *Lg Dev*: Literature. Dictionary. *DLS*: Emerging (0.04). *Writing*: Latin script. *Other*: Muslim, traditional religion. *Maps*: 31, 30.

**French** [fra] (Français). Autonym: français. *Users*: 3,699,200 in Mali, all users. L1 users: 19,200 in Mali (2022). L2 users: 3,680,000 (Marcoux et al 2022). *Status*: 1 (National). Statutory national language (1992, Constitution, Article 25). *Class*: Indo-European, Italic, Romance, Italo-Western, Western, Gallo-Iberian, Gallo-Romance, Gallo-Rhaetian, Oïl, French. *Type*: SVO; prepositions; noun head final for common adjectives, numbers, possessives, but most attributive adjectives come after the noun; gender (masculine/feminine); definite and indefinite articles; verb affixes mark person, number; passives; tense; comparatives; 20 consonant and 14 vowel phonemes; non-tonal; syllable-timed stress. *Lg Dev*: Taught in all primary and secondary schools. Fully developed. Bible: 1530–2000. *Writing*: Braille script. Duployan shorthand. Latin script, primary usage. *Other*: Non-indigenous. Official language for instruction in schools. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 309,804,220 (as L1: 80,770,190; as L2: 229,034,030). Global EGIDS level: 0 (International). Indigenous in: Andorra, Belgium, France, Luxembourg, Monaco, Switzerland. Also established in 95 other countries and unestablished in 24 more.

**Fulfulde, Maasina** [ffm] (Fulani, Fulbe, Macina, Peul, Toucouleur). Autonym: Fulfulde, Maasinankoore. *Users*: 1,040,000 in Mali (2014 UNSD). *Location*: Widespread. *Status*: 4 (Educational). Recognized language (1982, Decree No. 159 of 19 July, Article 1). *Class*: Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Atlantic, Northern, Senegambian, Fula-Wolof, Fula, West Central. A member of macrolanguage Fulah [ful] (Senegal). *Dialects*: Western Macina, Eastern Macina. Some dialect differences, but all dialects in Mali perceived inherently intelligible. Substantial Bamanankan [bam] influence. There is skewing between the ethnic

and linguistic relationships. *Lg Use*: All domains. Used by all. Positive attitudes. Also use Bamanankan [bam]. Used as L2 by Ana Tinga Dogon [dti], Bankan Tey Dogon [dbw], Bunoge Dogon [dgb], Tiemacèwè Bozo [boo], Teyaxo Bozo [boz]. *Lg Dev*: Literacy rate in L1: 5% (2007 S. Crickmore). Literacy rate in L2: 5% in Bambara [bam] (2007 S. Crickmore). Taught in some adult and youth literacy classes (2021 SIL). Taught in some primary schools in early grades only. Literature. Newspapers. Radio. Dictionary. Grammar. NT: 2005. *DLS*: Emerging (0.09). *Writing*: Arabic script, Naskh variant. Latin script, official usage. *Other*: Maasina in Mali is a major Fula geopolitical state. Muslim, Christian. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 1,588,240. Also established in: Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana.

**Jahanka** [jad] (Diakhanke, Diakkanke, Dyakanke, Jahanque, Jahonque, Jakankalou). *Users*: 500 in Mali (2001), decreasing. *Location*: Kayes region: Kéniéba circle, Kofoulabé, a few other villages. *Status*: 6b\* (Threatened). *Class*: Niger-Congo, Mande, Western, Central-Southwestern, Central, Manding-Jogo, Manding-Vai, Manding-Mokole, Manding. *Lg Use*: Also use Western Maninkakan [mlq], with some shifting. *Lg Dev*: Radio. *Writing*: Arabic script, Naskh variant. *Other*: Non-indigenous. Reportedly originated in Mali. Origins traced to Soninke [snk], but now speak a separate language. Muslim. *Maps*: 29, 30. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 147,500. Global EGIDS level: 6a (Vigorous). Indigenous in: Guinea. Also established in: Guinea-Bissau (Djakanka).

**Jalunga** [yal] (Dialonke, Djallonke, Dyalonke, Jalonke, Jalunga xuwiina', Jalunganéé, Jalungas, Yalunka, Yalunke). Autonym: Jalunga xuwiina'. *Users*: 9,000 in Mali (2002 SIL). *Location*: Kayes region: Kéniéba circle, 3 enclaves. *Status*: 5 (Developing). *Class*: Niger-Congo, Mande, Western, Central-Southwestern, Central, Susu-Yalunka. *Dialects*: Bafing, Yalunka, Jalunga, Fontofa. *Lg Use*: Used by all. *Lg Dev*: Dictionary. Bible: 2009. *Writing*: Arabic script, Naskh variant. Latin script. *Other*: Muslim. *Maps*: 29, 30. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 180,700. Also indigenous in: Guinea (Yalunka), Senegal, Sierra Leone (Yalunka).

**Jowulu** [jow] (Jo, Samogho). Autonym: Jowulu. *Users*: 17,000 in Mali (2021 SIL), increasing. Ethnic population: 20,000 (2021 SIL). *Location*: Sikasso region: Kadiolo circle, Loulouni commune, 12 villages on Burkina Faso border. *Status*: 5 (Developing). *Class*: Niger-Congo, Mande, Western, Northwestern, Samogo. *Lg Use*: Used by all. Positive attitudes. Most also use Jula [dyu]. A few also use Duungooma [dux]. A few also use French [fra], especially educated speakers. A few also use Supyire Sénoufo [spp]. Also use Bamanankan [bam], especially men. *Lg Dev*: Literacy rate in L2: 5%. Active literacy program. Literature. Bible portions: 2004. *DLS*: Emerging (0.04). *Writing*: Latin script. *Other*: Ethnonym: Samogho, a cover term including the Dzuungoo [dnn], Matya Samo [stj], and possibly other languages. Muslim, Christian, traditional religion. *Maps*: 31, 30. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 18,000. Also established in: Burkina Faso.

**Jula** [dyu] (Dioula, Diula, Djula, Dyoula, Dyula, Julakan). Autonym: Julakan. *Users*: 396,000 in Mali, all users. L1 users: 118,000 in Mali (2022). L2 users: 278,000 (2013 SIL). *Location*: Mopti, Ségou, and Sikasso regions. *Status*: 3 (Wider communication). Used for travel, market, and business communication. *Class*: Niger-Congo, Mande, Western, Central-Southwestern,

Central, Manding-Jogo, Manding-Vai, Manding-Mokole, Manding, Manding-East, Northeastern Manding, Bamana. *Lg Use*: Used as L2 by Duungooma [dux], Jowulu [jow], Konabéré [bbo], Pana [pnq], Shempire Sénoufo [seb], Syenara Sénoufo [shz]. *Lg Dev*: Literature. Radio. Videos. Dictionary. Grammar. Texts. Bible: 2013. *Writing*: Arabic script, Naskh variant. Latin script. N’Ko script, used in Côte d’Ivoire and Burkina Faso. *Other*: Non-indigenous. The Malian government recognizes Jula in Mali as Bambara [bam]. Muslim. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 12,841,000 (as L1: 2,563,000; as L2: 10,278,000). Indigenous in: Burkina Faso, Côte d’Ivoire.

**Kagoro** [xkg] (Kakolo). *Users*: 15,000 (2001 V. Vydrin). Ethnic population: 30,000 (2001 V. Vydrin). *Location*: Kayes region: Diema, northeast Kita, south Nioro circles; Koulikoro region: Kolokani and Nara circles; Ségou region: Kadiolo circle. 88 villages. *Status*: 6b\* (Threatened). *Class*: Niger-Congo, Mande, Western, Central-Southwestern, Central, Manding-Jogo, Manding-Vai, Manding-Mokole, Manding, Manding-West. *Dialects*: Mogola, Kamiko, Sébékoro, Jumara, Diéma, Guissimbiné, Séféto. Similar to Xaasongaxango [kao]. Bambara [bam] have poor comprehension of Kagoro. Western dialects (Séféto, Guissimbiné) are reportedly similar to Maninka-Bagè, a dialect of Kita Maninkakan [mwk]. Lexical similarity: 86% with Kita Maninkakan [mwk]. *Lg Use*: Being replaced by Bambara. Kagoro now spoken only in a few corners of Kaarta. Also use Bamanankan [bam]. Also use Soninke [snk]. *DLS*: Still. *Writing*: Unwritten. *Other*: Some lexical influence from Soninke [snk]. Recent heavy Bamanankan [bam] influence. Muslim, traditional religion. *Maps*: 29, 31, 30.

**Konabéré** [bbo] (Black Bobo, Bobo, Bobo Da, Bobo Fi, Boboda, Konakuma, Kunaburi, “Bobo Fing” pej.). Autonym: Kunaburi. *Users*: 25,000 in Mali (2007 SIL). Few monolinguals. *Location*: Sikasso region: east Yorosso circle, on Burkina Faso border; some in Ségou region. *Status*: 6a (Vigorous). *Class*: Niger-Congo, Mande, Western, Northwestern, Soninke-Bobo, Bobo. *Dialects*: San, Yaba, Tankire. *Type*: CV, CVC, CVV, CCV; tonal. *Lg Use*: Used by all. Positive attitudes. Also use Bamanankan [bam]. Also use Bomu [bmq]. Also use Jula [dyu]. *Lg Dev*: Literacy rate in L2: 10% in Bambara [bam]. Dictionary. *Writing*: Latin script. *Other*: Traditional religion, Christian, Muslim. *Maps*: 31, 30, 30. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 60,000. Also indigenous in: Burkina Faso.

**Koromfé** [kfz] (Foula, Foulse, Koromba, Koromfe, Kurum-Korey, Tellem). Autonym: Koromfe. *Users*: 6,000 in Mali (2011 SIL). *Location*: Mopti region: Koro circle, 11 villages on Burkina Faso border. *Status*: 5 (Developing). *Class*: Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, North, Gur, Central, Northern, Kurumfe. *Dialects*: Eastern Koromfe, Western Koromfe. *Lg Use*: Used by all. *Lg Dev*: Literature. Dictionary. Grammar. Texts. NT: 2017. *Writing*: Latin script. *Maps*: 30, 30. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 202,000. Also indigenous in: Burkina Faso.

**Langue des signes de l’Afrique francophone** [ase] (ASL, American Sign Language, LSAF, LSFA, Langue des signes franco-africaine, Malian ASL). *Users*: 25,000 in Mali (2021 DBS/DOOR/SIL). Estimated 40,000–65,000 people with profound hearing loss in Mali (Nyst 2015), of which approximately half are assumed here to use LSAF [ase]. *Location*: Scattered. *Status*:

5 (Developing). *Class*: Sign language, Deaf community sign language. *Type*: One-handed fingerspelling system derived from French Sign Language [fsl]. SVO, topic comment structures; adjectives, numerals, genitives, question word initial or final, relative clause after noun head. *Lg Use*: Used in education. Used by all. Also use Malian Sign Language [bog]. Used as L2 by Malian Sign Language [bog]. *Lg Dev*: TV. Videos. Dictionary. Grammar. Bible: 2020. Agency: L'Association Malienne des Sourds. *Other*: Non-indigenous. Since LSAF is not recognized by ISO 639-3 as a distinct language, it must be treated here as a dialect of ASL, with influence from spoken and written French [fra] (initialization of signs and mouthing) and addition of local signs. The relationship of ASL and LSAF in Mali to standard ASL in the United States and to LSAF in other francophone African countries has not been systematically assessed (Nyst 2015). The name 'Malian Sign Language' is used both for this variety, influenced strongly by ASL and here called LSAF, and for a more traditional and indigenous variety centered in Bamako, sometimes called Bamako Sign Language [bog]. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 989,605 (as L1: 858,605; as L2: 131,000). Indigenous in: United States (American Sign Language). Also established in 23 other countries and unestablished in 12 more.

**Malian Sign Language** [bog] (Bamako Sign Language, LSM, LaSiMa, Langue des signes bambara, Langue des signes malienne). *Users*: 25,000 (2021 DBS/DOOR/SIL). Estimated 40,000–65,000 people with profound hearing loss in Mali (Nyst 2015), of which approximately half are assumed here to use Malian Sign Language [bog]. *Location*: Bamako capital district, other urban areas such as Kita, Mahina, Mopti, and Douentza, and some rural areas. *Status*: 6a\* (Vigorous). *Class*: Sign language, Deaf community sign language. *Dialect*: Bamako Sign Language. Variation within Bamako and between Bamako and other parts of Mali has only been assessed preliminarily (Nyst 2015). *Lg Use*: Mostly older urban signers, rural signers and those with no access to formal education or LSAF. Shifting to ASL [ase] (LSAF) in Bamako (Nyst et al 2012). In Bamako, primarily used by men (Nyst 2015). Many also use American Sign Language [ase], specifically, the ASL-derived variety sometimes called Langue des signes franco-africaine (LSAF) as it is used in Mali (Nyst 2015). A few also use French Sign Language [fsl], which was used for a brief period in education, before being replaced by ASL [ase] in about 2001 (Nyst 2015). A few also use Quebec Sign Language [fcs], which was taught for one year in 2009 (Nyst 2015). Also use Bamanankan [bam]. Also use French [fra]. Used as L2 by Langue des signes de l'Afrique francophone [ase]. *Lg Dev*: Dictionary. Texts. Agency: Association malienne pour les sourds (AMASOURD, Malian Deaf Association). *DLS*: Still. *Other*: The name 'Malian Sign Language' and its French equivalent are also used for the signing variety based on ASL [ase]. *Maps*: 29, 31, 30 (as Bamako Sign Language).

**Maninkakan, Eastern** [emk] (Maninga, Maninka, Maninkakan, Maninkaxan). Autonym: Maninka. *Users*: 390,000 in Mali (2014 UNSD). *Location*: Koulikoro region: Kati circle, into Kangaba circle, 5 communes; Sikasso region: Yanfolila circle. *Status*: 6a (Vigorous). *Class*: Niger-Congo, Mande, Western, Central-Southwestern, Central, Manding-Jogo, Manding-Vai, Manding-Mokole, Manding, Manding-East, Southeastern Manding. *Lg Use*: Used by all. *Lg*

*Dev:* Dictionary. Grammar. Texts. NT: 1932–1966. *Writing:* Arabic script, Naskh variant. Latin script. N’Ko script, used in Guinea. *Maps:* 29, 31, 30. *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 3,722,300. Global EGIDS level: 3 (Wider communication). Also indigenous in: Guinea, Sierra Leone. Unestablished in: Liberia.

**Maninkakan, Kita** [mwk] (Central Malinke, Kita Maninka, Malinke). *Users:* 434,000 (2014 UNSD). *Location:* Bamako capital district; Kayes region: Kita circle except far east; Koulikoro region: west of Bamako; Ségou region: Baroueli circle. *Status:* 6a (Vigorous). Recognized language (1996, Law 96-049 of 28 December). *Class:* Niger-Congo, Mande, Western, Central-Southwestern, Central, Manding-Jogo, Manding-Vai, Manding-Mokole, Manding, Manding-West. A member of macrolanguage Mandingo [man] (Guinea). *Dialects:* Bagè, Kita, Biriko (Birgo), Sagabari. Kita have 64% intelligibility of Bamanankan [bam]. *Lg Use:* Used by all. *Lg Dev:* Grammar. *DLS:* Emerging (0.02). *Other:* Muslim. *Maps:* 29, 31, 30.

**Maninkakan, Western** [mlq] (Malinka, Malinké, Northwestern Maninka, Western Malinke). *Users:* 433,000 in Mali (2009 census). *Location:* Kayes region: Bafoulabé circle and Baking-Baloy drainage area; Kayes circle north to Kayes, north Kéniéba circle. *Status:* 5 (Developing). *Class:* Niger-Congo, Mande, Western, Central-Southwestern, Central, Manding-Jogo, Manding-Vai, Manding-Mokole, Manding, Manding-West. *Dialects:* Kouroudougou, Konkodougou, Djébé, Niagala. *Lg Use:* Used by all. Used as L2 by Jahanka [jad]. *Lg Dev:* Taught as subject in some primary schools. Radio. Grammar. Bible portions: 1997–2003. *Writing:* Arabic script, Naskh variant. Latin script. *Other:* Muslim, traditional religion. *Maps:* 29, 30. *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 2,068,000. Also indigenous in: Gambia, Senegal.

**Marka** [rkm] (Dafing, Marka-Dafin, Meka). *Users:* 58,800 in Mali (2022). *Location:* Mopti region: Bankass circle, south of Diallassagou town; Ségou region: northeast Tominian circle, along Burkina Faso border. *Status:* 6a (Vigorous). *Class:* Niger-Congo, Mande, Western, Central-Southwestern, Central, Manding-Jogo, Manding-Vai, Manding-Mokole, Manding, Manding-East, Marka-Dafin. *Type:* SOV; postpositions; genitives, articles, adjectives, numerals, relatives after noun heads; question word final; word order distinguishes subject, object, indirect object; CV. *Lg Use:* Shifting to Bambara [bam]. Most Pana people also speak Marka-Dafin very well. Used by all. Used as L2 by Pana [pnq]. *Lg Dev:* Literature. Radio. Grammar. Bible portions: 1987. *Writing:* Latin script. *Other:* Used for followers of the traditional religion, Dafing for Muslim speakers. Different from the Marka name for Soninke [snk], and Marka-Jalan who speak the San dialect of Bamanankan [bam]. Muslim. *Map:* 30. *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 265,800. Also indigenous in: Burkina Faso.

**Moore** [mos] (Mole, More, Moshi, Mossi). Autonym: Moore. *Users:* 49,800 in Mali (2022). *Location:* Mopti region: Koro circle on Burkina Faso border, border area south of Koro town. *Status:* 6a (Vigorous). *Class:* Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, North, Gur, Central, Northern, Oti-Volta, Western, Northwest. *Type:* SVO; postpositions; genitives, articles, adjectives, numerals after noun heads; question word final; word order distinguishes subjects, objects; CV, CVC, CVV, CCV; tonal. *Lg Use:* Used by all. *Lg Dev:* Radio. Dictionary.

Grammar. Bible: 1983. *Writing*: Braille script, developed in 2010. Latin script, primary usage. *Other*: Came from Burkina Faso during the colonial period. Traditional religion, Muslim. *Maps*: 30 (as Mòoré), 30 (as Mòoré). *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 11,861,900. Global EGIDS level: 3 (Wider communication). Also indigenous in: Burkina Faso, Togo. Also established in: Côte d'Ivoire, Niger. Unestablished in: Benin, Ghana, Senegal.

**Pana** [pnq] (Sama). *Users*: 2,800 in Mali (1982 SIL), decreasing. *Location*: Mopti region: Bankass circle, Baye township, on Mali-Burkina Faso border. *Status*: 6b (Threatened). *Class*: Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, North, Gur, Central, Southern, Grusi, Northern. *Dialects*: Pana North, Pana South. *Lg Use*: Some young people, all adults. Also use Bamanankan [bam]. Also use Jula [dyu]. Nearly all bilingual by age 15, but with unknown proficiency. Also use Marka [rkm]. *Lg Dev*: Texts. *Writing*: Unwritten. *Other*: Traditional religion, Christian, Muslim. *Map*: 30. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 7,800. Global EGIDS level: 6a (Vigorous). Also indigenous in: Burkina Faso.

**Pulaar** [fuc] (Peuhl, Peul, Pulaar Fulfulde). Autonym: Pulaar. *Users*: 382,000 in Mali (2022). *Location*: Kayes region: Diema, northwest Kayes, Niore, and Yelimané circles; Koulikoro region: Banamba, north Kolokani, and Nara circles. *Status*: 5 (Developing). *Class*: Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Atlantic, Northern, Senegambian, Fula-Wolof, Fula, Western. *Dialect*: Toucouleur (Fulbe Jeeri, Haalpulaar, Halpulaar, Pulaar, Tukolor, Tukolor). *Lg Use*: Fulbe Jeeri is an ethnic group which speaks Pulaar as L1. Used by all. Used as L2 by Soninke [snk]. *Lg Dev*: Radio. Dictionary. Grammar. Texts. NT: 1997. *Writing*: Arabic script, Naskh variant. Latin script. *Other*: Muslim. *Map*: 30. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 5,912,700. Also indigenous in: Gambia, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau (Fula), Mauritania, Senegal.

**Pular** [fuf] (Foula Fouta, Fouta Dyalon, Fulfulde Jalon, Fullo Fuuta, Futa Fula, Futa Jallon, Fuuta Jalon). Autonym: Pular. *Users*: 118,000 in Mali (2022). *Location*: Kayes region: Kéniéba circle. *Status*: 5 (Developing). *Class*: Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Atlantic, Northern, Senegambian, Fula-Wolof, Fula, West Central. *Lg Use*: Used by all. *Lg Dev*: Dictionary. Grammar. NT: 2011. *Writing*: Adlam script, used since 1989. Arabic script, Naskh variant. Latin script. *Other*: Muslim. *Maps*: 29, 30. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 4,846,200. Also indigenous in: Guinea, Guinea-Bissau (Futa Fula). Also established in: Senegal, Sierra Leone.

**Samo, Matya** [stj] (Samogho, San, San Macaa, Sànan, Sã). *Users*: 1,000 in Mali (2013 SIL). *Location*: Mopti region: Bankass circle, southeast Baye township, Dissa and 12 other villages. *Status*: 6b\* (Threatened). *Class*: Niger-Congo, Mande, Eastern, Eastern, Samo. *Map*: 30. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 165,000. Global EGIDS level: 6a (Vigorous). Also indigenous in: Burkina Faso.

**Sàmómá** [knz] (Kalamsé, Kalemsé, Kalenga, Sàmó). Autonym: Sàmó. *Users*: 2,500 in Mali (2014 UNSD). *Location*: Mopti region: Koro circle, Dougoutene and Koro townships, about 12 villages, including Sougou, Zon, Ponghon, Gako, and Soyema. *Status*: 6a (Vigorous). *Class*: Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, North, Gur, Central, Southern, Grusi, Northern. *Dialect*: Logremma (Logma, West Kalamsé). *Lg Use*: Several villages shifted to

Jamsay Dogon [djm] or Tomo Kan [dtm]. Used by all. *Lg Dev*: Literature. Bible portions: 1978. *Writing*: Latin script, no longer in use. *Other*: Distinct from other languages called Samo. Traditional religion, Christian, Muslim. *Maps*: 30, 30. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 12,070. Also indigenous in: Burkina Faso (Kalamsé).

**Sénoufo, Mamara** [myk] (Bamaraga, Mamara, Mianka, Minianka, Miniyanka, Minya, Minyanka, Tupiire). Autonym: Mamaara. *Users*: 738,000 (2000). *Location*: Ségou region: Bla circle, scattered; Sikasso region: Koutiala and Yorosso circles. *Status*: 4 (Educational). Recognized language (1982, Decree No. 159 of 19 July, Article 1). *Class*: Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, North, Gur, Senufo, Suppire-Mamara. *Dialects*: Sōghoo, Bājii, Nafāã, Mijuu, Kle Noehmō, Nejuu, Koloo, Kujaa, Suōō. Reportedly similar to Supyire Senoufo [spp], but intercomprehension difficult. *Lg Use*: All domains. Used by all. Also use Bamanankan [bam]. *Lg Dev*: Literacy rate in L1: 15% (2013 SIL). Literacy rate in L2: 10% in French [fra], 15% in Bambara [bam] (2013 SIL). Since literacy began in 1998, everyone wants to be called just Mamara or Minyanka. Literacy has unified this group. Taught in some primary schools in early grades only. Radio. Videos. Dictionary. Grammar. NT: 2006. *DLS*: Ascending (0.18). *Writing*: Latin script. *Other*: Traditional religion, Muslim. *Maps*: 31, 30.

**Sénoufo, Shempire** [seb] (Gbajere). *Users*: 14,800 in Mali (2009 T. Requadt). *Location*: Sikasso region: Kadiolo circle, Bagoé river west bank to Cote d'Ivoire border, and Bafini river south bank. *Status*: 6a (Vigorous). *Class*: Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, North, Gur, Senufo, Suppire-Mamara. *Lg Use*: Used by all. Also use Jula [dyu]. *Other*: The language is called Gbajere by Syenara [shz] speakers. *Maps*: 31, 30. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 286,800. Also indigenous in: Côte d'Ivoire.

**Sénoufo, Sicité** [sep] (Sucite, Sicijuungé, Siciré, Sicité, Sipiité, Tagba). Autonym: Sicijuungé. *Users*: 3,000 in Mali (2007 SIL). *Location*: Sikasso region: Sikasso circle, 4 villages on Burkina Faso border. *Status*: 6a (Vigorous). *Class*: Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, North, Gur, Senufo, Suppire-Mamara. *Type*: SOV; postpositions; genitives before nouns, articles, adjectives, numerals after noun head, question word initial; 1 prefix, 2 suffixes; word order distinguishes subjects, objects, indirect objects; CV, CVV; tonal, 3 tones. *Lg Use*: Used by all. *Lg Dev*: Radio. NT: 2017. *Writing*: Latin script. *Other*: Little intermarriage with others in the southern area. Traditional religion, Muslim. *Maps*: 31, 30. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 58,900. Global EGIDS level: 5 (Developing). Also indigenous in: Burkina Faso. Unestablished in: Côte d'Ivoire.

**Sénoufo, Supyire** [spp] (Sup'ide, Suppire). Autonym: Supyire. *Users*: 350,000 (2007 SIL). 100,000 monolinguals. Ethnic population: 500,000 (2007 SIL). *Location*: Sikasso region: Sikasso circle, north from Sikasso city. *Status*: 5 (Developing). *Class*: Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, North, Gur, Senufo, Suppire-Mamara. *Dialects*: Kampwo, Kadi, Nyana Nyuni, Fanywohoshin. *Lg Use*: Home, village. Used by all. Positive attitudes. Most also use Bamanankan [bam]. Used as L2 by Jowulu [jow], Syenara Sénoufo [shz]. *Lg Dev*: Literacy rate in L2: 20% in Bambara [bam]. Literature. Radio. Videos. Grammar. NT: 2008. *DLS*: Ascending (0.14). *Writing*: Latin script. *Other*: Traditional religion, Christian, Muslim. *Maps*:

29, 31, 30.

**Sénoufo, Syenara** [shz] (Senare, Senari, Shenara, Syenara). *Users*: 155,000 (2010 SIL), decreasing. *Location*: Sikasso region: Kadiolo circle. *Status*: 5 (Developing). Recognized language (1982, Decree No. 159 of 19 July, Article 1). *Class*: Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, North, Gur, Senufo, Senari. *Dialects*: Sangaar, Kuleele, Loakloho, Tuvunro, Pomporo, Tagbaar. *Lg Use*: Used by all. Positive attitudes. Also use Bamanankan [bam]. Also use Jula [dyu]. Also use Supyire Sénoufo [spp]. *Lg Dev*: Literacy rate in L2: 2% in Supyire [spp], 11% in Bambara [bam] (2007 M. Coulibaly). Taught as subject in some primary schools. Radio. *DLS*: Emerging (0.04). *Writing*: Latin script, limited usage. *Other*: Traditional religion, Muslim. *Maps*: 31, 30.

**Siamou** [sif]. *Users*: 37,100 in Mali (2022). *Location*: Bamako capital district. *Status*: Unestablished. *Class*: Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, Kru, Seme. *Type*: SOV; postpositions; genitives, articles, personal pronouns before noun heads; adjectives, numerals after noun heads; question word final for yes-no questions; content question words appear in normal position: e.g., S-O-adverbial-O of prep; word order distinguishes subjects and objects; tonal (3 phonemic tones: High, Mid, Low and downstep; 7 different tone categories for monosyllabic words). *Lg Dev*: Grammar. Bible portions: 2009. *Writing*: Latin script. *Other*: Non-indigenous. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 63,800. Global EGIDS level: 6a (Vigorous). Indigenous in: Burkina Faso. Unestablished in: Côte d'Ivoire.

**Songhay, Humburi Senni** [hmb] (Central Songai, Hombori Songhay, Songai, Songay Senni, Songhai, Songhay, Songhoy, Songoi, Songoy, Sonrai, Sonrhai). *Users*: 15,000 in Mali (1999 J. Heath). *Location*: Mopti region: Douentza circle, between Gao and Mopti cities; Tombouctou region: Gourma-Rharous circle. *Status*: 6a (Vigorous). *Class*: Nilo-Saharan, Songhai, Southern. *Dialects*: Hombori, Maransé. Maransé dialect is 77% intelligible of Songhay of Falangountou. Lexical similarity: Maransé is 65% with Songhay of Falangoutou, 35% with Songhay of Gao. *Type*: SOV; tonal. *Lg Use*: Used by all. *Lg Dev*: Dictionary. Grammar. Texts. *DLS*: Emerging (0.02). *Writing*: Latin script. *Other*: Muslim, traditional religion. *Maps*: 30, 30. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 81,200. Also indigenous in: Burkina Faso (Songhay).

**Songhay, Koyra Chiini** [khq] (Songai, Songhai, Songhay, Songhoy, Songoi, Songoy, Sonrai, Sonrhai, Timbuktu Songhoy, West Songhoy). *Users*: 200,000 (1999 SIL), increasing. *Location*: Mopti region: Douentza and Youvarou circles; northeast Ségou region: Niono circle, northeast to Niger river; Tombouctou region: Niger river, both banks. *Status*: 5 (Developing). *Class*: Nilo-Saharan, Songhai, Southern. *Dialects*: Koyra Chiini, Djenné Chiini. Main dialect division between Timbuktu and the upriver towns from Diré to Niafunké. Very distinct in Djenné city. Lexical similarity: 77% with Gao and Timbuktu dialects, 50% lexical similarity with Tadaksahak [dsq]. *Type*: Kaado (Zarma dialect in Niger) is SOV, West Songhay SVO. Djenné Chiini phonology, lexicon, basic inflection almost identical to Koyra Chiini, but syntax (especially relativization and focalization) very different; Djenné has 7 vowels to 5 for Koyra Chinni (1999 J. Heath); Kaado has 3 tones, West Songhay no tones. *Lg Use*: Used by all.

Positive attitudes. Timbuktu has more prestige than other West Songhoy dialects. Also use Bamanankan [bam]. Also use French [fra]. Also use Hassaniyya [mey]. Also use Tamasheq [taq]. Used as L2 by Tiemacèwè Bozo [boo]. *Lg Dev*: Literature. Dictionary. Grammar. NT: 2017. *DLS*: Emerging (0.04). *Writing*: Latin script. *Other*: Muslim, traditional religion. *Maps*: 29, 30, 30.

**Songhay, Koyraboro Senni** [ses] (East Songhay, Gao Songhay, Koyra Senni, Koyra Senni Songhay, Songai, Songay Senni, Songhai, Songhay, Songoi, Songoy, Sonrai, Sonrhai). *Users*: 430,000 (2007 SIL), increasing. 300,000 monolinguals (2007 SIL). Ethnic population: 850,000. *Location*: Gao region: Gao town area along Niger river; Tombouctou region: Niafunké to Niger border. *Status*: 5 (Developing). Recognized language (1982, Decree No. 159 of 19 July, Article 1). *Class*: Nilo-Saharan, Songhai, Southern. *Dialects*: Gao, Fulan Kirya. Intelligibility good among all dialects on Niger River. Fulan Kirya dialect has more limited intelligibility through heavy lexical borrowing from Fulfulde [ffm] and Humburi Senni Songhay [hmb]. The Gao dialect is dominant in all respects. Lexical similarity: 77% with Gao and Timbuktu dialects; 50% with Tadaksahak [dsq]. *Type*: SOV; nontonal. *Lg Use*: Used by all. Positive attitudes. Also use Bamanankan [bam]. Also use French [fra]. Also use Tamasheq [taq]. Bilingualism is not extensive (1999 J. Heath). *Lg Dev*: Actively promoted by the government through adult literacy classes and as the language of instruction at the primary level in some experimental schools. Some French literacy. Taught as subject in some primary schools. Literature. Dictionary. Grammar. NT: 2014. *DLS*: Ascending (0.29). *Writing*: Latin script. *Other*: Muslim, traditional religion. *Maps*: 29, 30.

**Soninke** [snk] (Aswanek, Aswanik, Azer, Ceddo, Cheddo, Gangara, Genger, Kwara, Maraka, Marka, Markaajo, Markakan, Sarakole, Sarakolle, Sarakule, Sarakulle, Sarangkole, Sarangkolle, Saraxuli, Sebbe, Serahule, Serecole, Sooninke, Wakkore, Wankara). Autonym: Sooninkanxanne. *Users*: 1,280,000 in Mali (2009 census), increasing. *Location*: Kayes region: Kayes, Nioro, and Yélimané circles; Koulikoro region: Banamba, Kolokani, Koulikoro, and Nara circles; Ségou region: Baraouéli and Ségou circles. 6 principal towns, 163 villages. *Status*: 5 (Developing). Recognized language (1982, Decree No. 159 of 19 July, Article 1). *Class*: Niger-Congo, Mande, Western, Northwestern, Soninke-Bobo, Soninke-Boso, Soninke. *Dialects*: Kinbakka, Kinxenna, Geriga (Giriga). Giriga dialect heavily influenced by Hassaniya Arabic [mey]. *Lg Use*: Vigorous. Used by all. Positive attitudes. Also use Bamanankan [bam]. Also use French [fra]. Also use Hassaniyya [mey]. Also use Pulaar [fuc]. Used as L2 by Kagoro [xkg]. *Lg Dev*: Literacy rate in L1: 5%–10%. At Bamako university, there are now many more Soninke students who choose this language than before, and numbers are rising. The language is also used in adult education in the Soninke region, especially around Yelimané (2013 SIL). Taught as subject in some primary schools. Literature. Newspapers. Radio. TV. Videos. Dictionary. Grammar. Texts. Bible portions: 2001–2012. *DLS*: Ascending (0.29). *Writing*: Arabic script, Naskh variant. Latin script. *Other*: Different from Marka [rkm]. Muslim. *Maps*: 29, 31, 30. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 2,251,700. Also indigenous in: Guinea (Sarakolé), Mauritania, Senegal. Also established in: Gambia (Serahule), Guinea-Bissau. Unestablished in: Côte d'Ivoire, United States.

**Tadaksahak** [dsq] (Daosahaq, Daoussahaq, Daoussak, Dausahaq, Dawsahaq). Autonym: Idaksahak. *Users*: 169,000 in Mali (2022), increasing. 70,000 youth are monolingual. *Location*: Gao region: Menaka circle, west into Ansongo circle. Menaka is principal town. *Status*: 6a (Vigorous). *Class*: Nilo-Saharan, Songhai, Northern. *Dialects*: No major dialects. Closely related to Tagdal [tda] (Niger), Tasawaq [twq] (Niger), and Korandje [kcy] (Algeria). Northern Songhay Languages share features from Songhay languages and Tamasheq [taq]. *Type*: SVO; stress system. *Lg Use*: Vigorous. Used by all. Positive attitudes. Some also use Tamasheq [taq], although women and children in isolated encampments understand very little. *Lg Dev*: Literacy rate in L1: 0% (2007 M. Almaki). Literacy rate in L2: 0% (2007 M. Almaki). Literature. Grammar. *DLS*: Emerging (0.01). *Writing*: Arabic script, Naskh variant. Latin script. *Other*: Shares culture with Tamasheq [taq]. *Maps*: 29, 30. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 170,800. Unestablished in: Algeria.

**Tamajaq** [ttq] (Təmajəq, Tahoua, Tajag, Tamajeq, Tamashekin, Tamasheq, Tomacheck, “Tourage” pej., “Tuareg” pej.). *Users*: 449,000 in Mali (2022). *Location*: Gao region: Menaka circle. *Status*: 6a (Vigorous). *Class*: Afro-Asiatic, Berber, Tamasheq, Southern. *Dialects*: Tawallammet Tan Dannag (Ioullemmeden), Tawallammat Tan Ataram. *Lg Use*: Used by all. *Lg Dev*: Literature. Radio. NT: 2016. *Writing*: Arabic script, Naskh variant. Latin script. Tifinagh (Berber) script, called Shifinagh in Niger. *Other*: Muslim. *Maps*: 29, 30. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 1,278,000. Global EGIDS level: 5 (Developing). Also indigenous in: Niger (Tawallammat Tamajaq). Also established in: Nigeria (Tawallammat Tamajaq).

**Tamashek** [tmh]. A macrolanguage. Population total all languages (L1 only): 2,791,700. *DLS*: . *Other*: Includes: Tahaggart Tamahaq [thv] (Algeria), Tamasheq [taq], Tawallammat Tamajaq [ttq] (Niger), Tayart Tamajeq [thz] (Niger). *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 2,791,700.

**Tamasheq** [taq] (Tamachen, Tamashek, Tamashekin, Tomacheck, tamachèque, tamasagt, “Tuareg” pej.). Autonym: Təmajəq. *Users*: 590,000 in Mali (2022). *Location*: Widespread northeast: Gao, Kidal, and Tombouctou regions; Mopti region: Youvarou circle. *Status*: 5 (Developing). Recognized language (1982, Decree No. 159 of 19 July, Article 1). *Class*: Afro-Asiatic, Berber, Tamasheq, Southern. A member of macrolanguage Tamashek [tmh]. *Dialects*: Timbuktu (Tanaslamt, Tombouctou), Tadhag (Kidal, Kidal Tamasheq). May be 2 separate languages. *Lg Use*: Used by all. Used as L2 by Koyra Chiini Songhay [khq], Koyraboro Senni Songhay [ses], Tadaksahak [dsq]. *Lg Dev*: The government is actively promoting the language through adult literacy classes. Taught as subject in some primary schools. Grammar. NT: 2003. *DLS*: Ascending (0.27). *Writing*: Latin script. Tifinagh (Berber) script. *Other*: The Bellah were formerly under the Tamasheq economically. Muslim. *Maps*: 29, 30, 30. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 900,000. Also indigenous in: Burkina Faso (Kidal Tamasheq). Unestablished in: Mauritania.

**Tebul Sign Language** [tsy]. *Users*: 500 (2007 SIL). *Location*: Mopti region: Koro Cercle, Diankabou township, Uluban village area. *Status*: 6a\* (Vigorous). *Class*: Sign language, Shared sign language. *Lg Use*: Family and community members in Koro and Douentza Cercles use signing to communicate with the deaf. *DLS*: Still. *Other*: There are also several

communities in neighboring Douentza Cercle with a relatively high incidence of deafness (estimated 700–1,300 out of 248,000) and use of sign language (Nyst et al 2012); relationship of the signing in Douentza to that in Tebul has not been determined. *Maps*: 30:10, 30.

**Tondi Songway Kiini** [tst] (Songway Kiini, TSK). *Users*: 3,000 (1998 SIL). *Location*: Mopti region: Douentza circle, Kikara village northeast. *Status*: 6a (Vigorous). *Class*: Nilo-Saharan, Songhai, Southern. *Dialects*: None known. Clearly distinct from other Songhay languages. *Type*: Tonal. *Lg Use*: Used by all. Used as L2 by Bankan Tey Dogon [dbw]. *Lg Dev*: Dictionary. Grammar. *DLS*: Still. *Writing*: Unwritten. *Other*: Muslim. *Maps*: 30, 30.

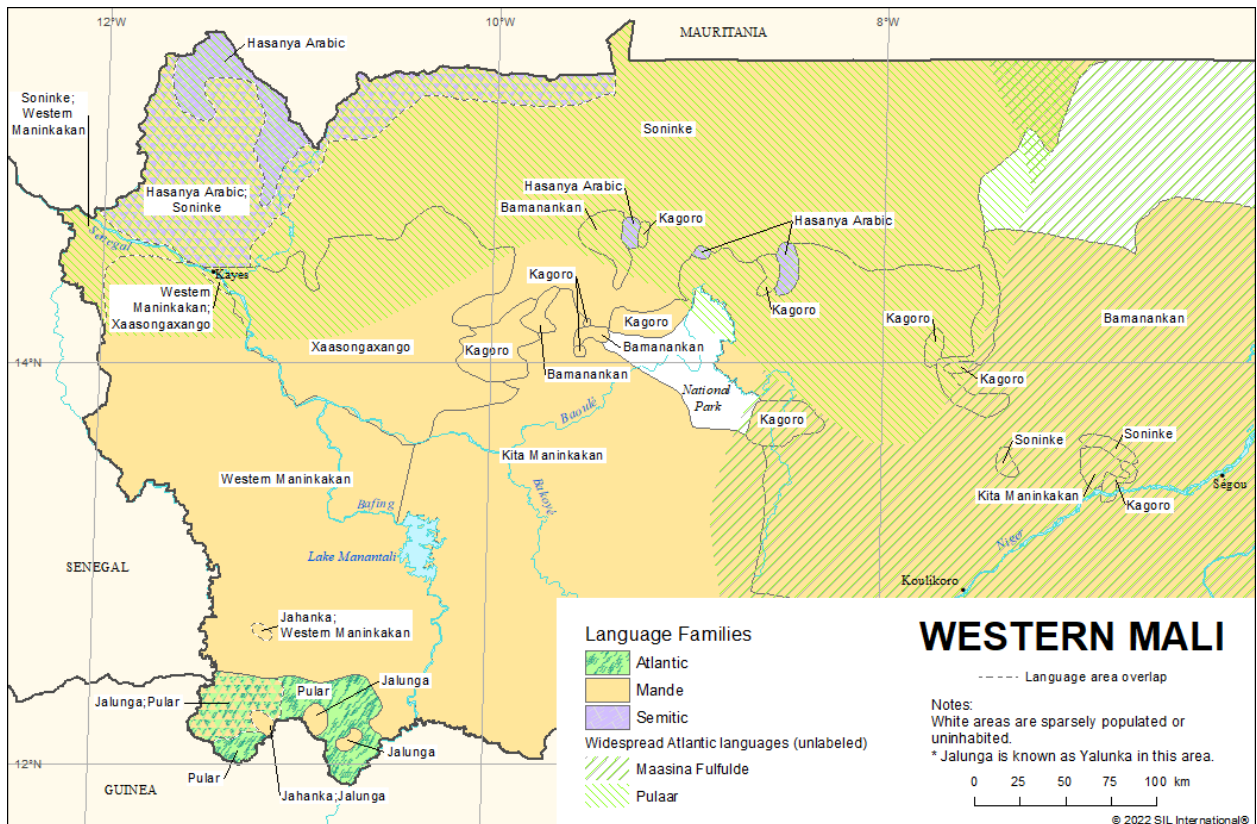
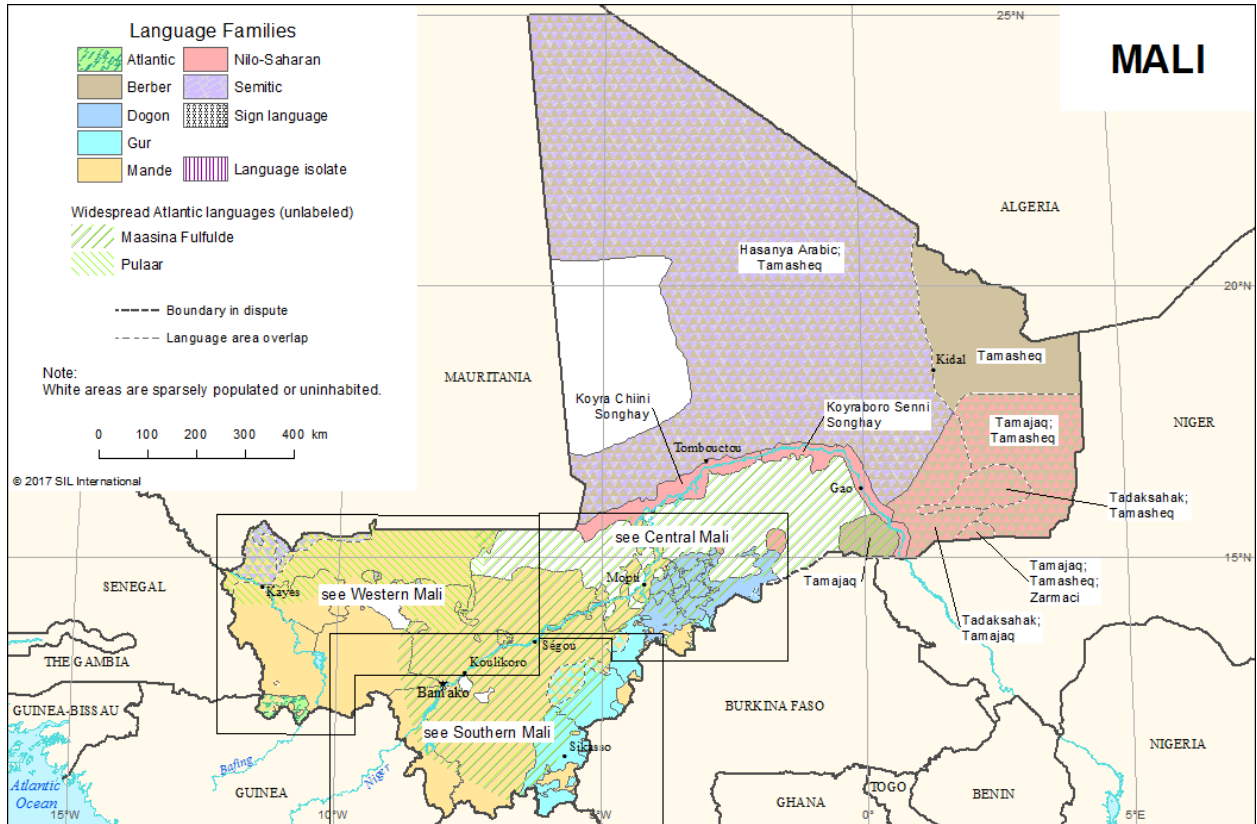
**Wolof** [wol]. *Users*: 79,200 in Mali (2022). *Location*: Bamako capital district. *Status*: Unestablished. *Class*: Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Atlantic, Northern, Senegambian, Fula-Wolof, Wolof. *Type*: SVO; prepositions; no noun classes, but class particles; definite article; passives; tense and aspect; 25 consonant and 16 vowel phonemes; non-tonal. *Lg Dev*: Radio. Dictionary. Grammar. NT: 1988–2010. *Writing*: Arabic script, Naskh variant, called Ajami. Latin script, primary usage. *Other*: Non-indigenous. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 12,397,200 (as L1: 6,050,920; as L2: 6,346,280). Global EGIDS level: 3 (Wider communication). Indigenous in: Mauritania, Senegal. Unestablished in: Canada, France, Gambia, Guinea-Bissau, United Kingdom, United States.

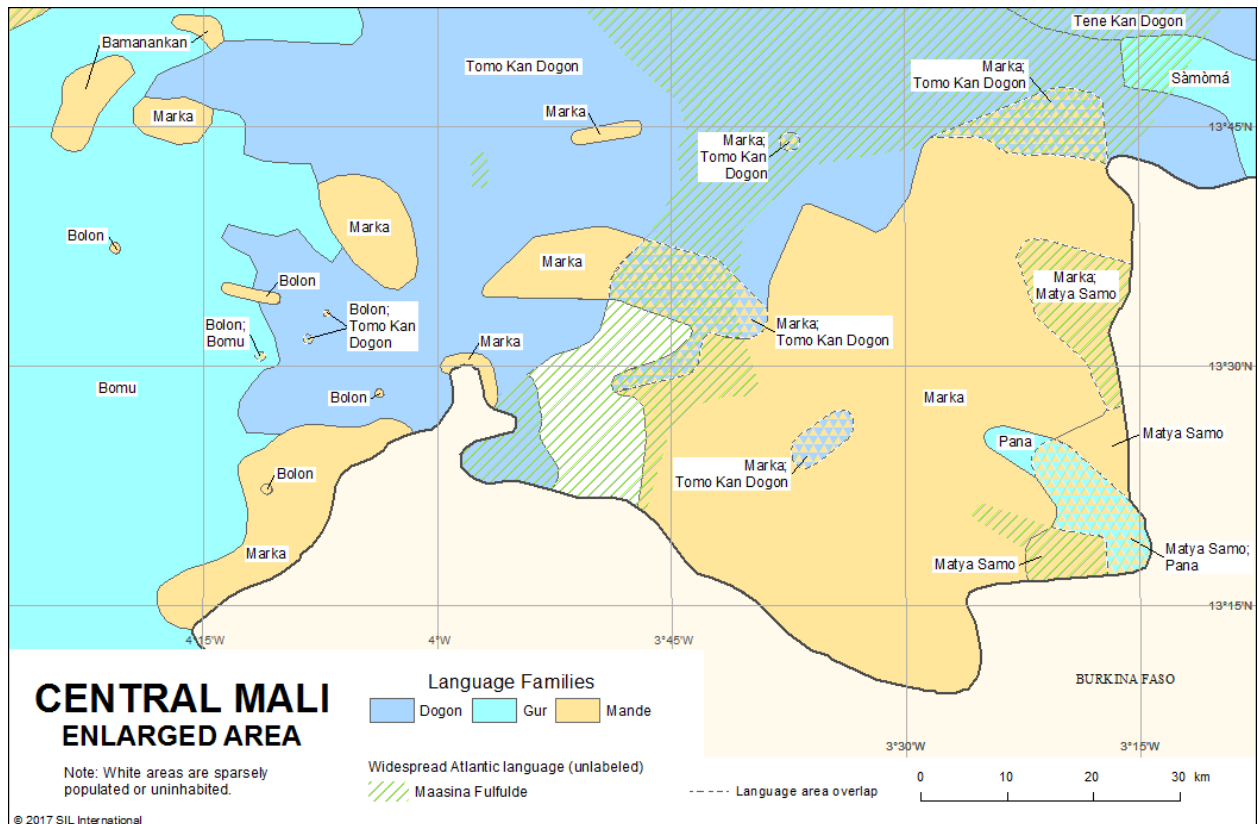
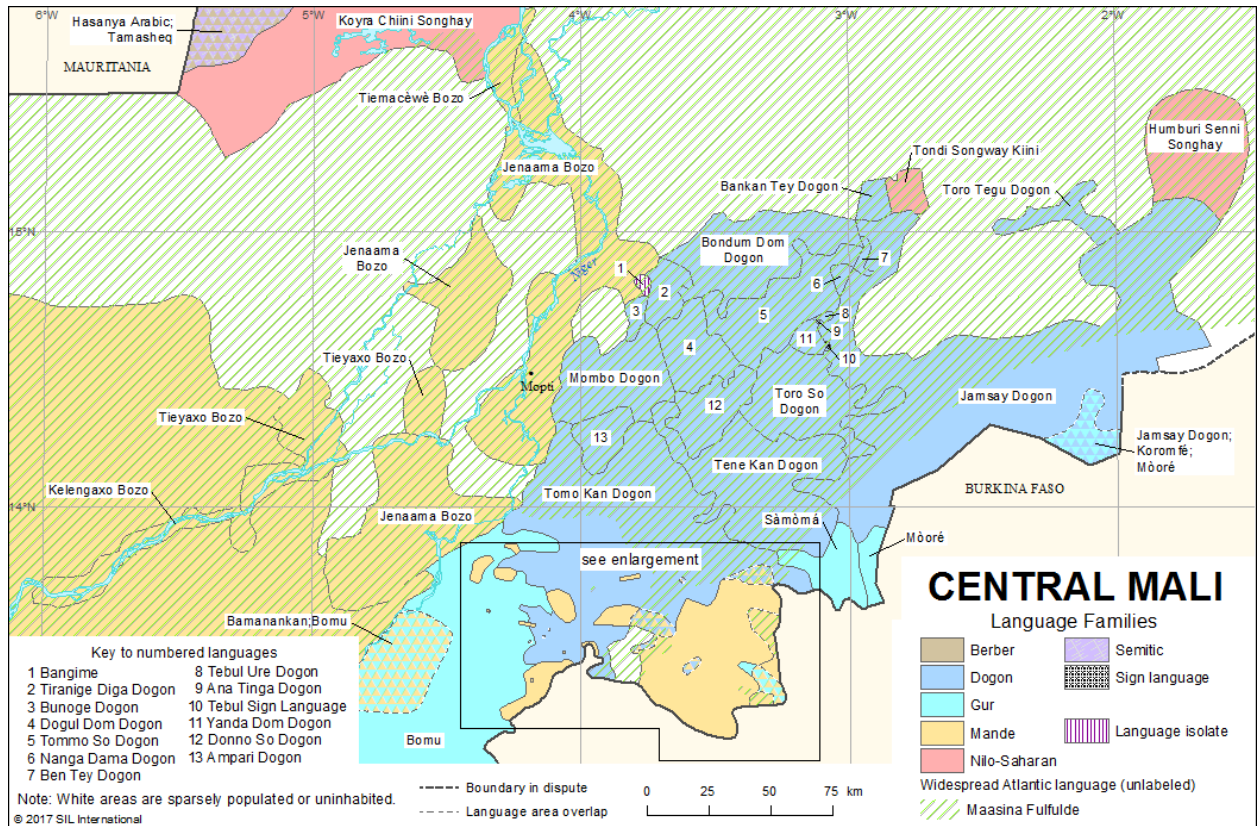
**Xaasongaxango** [kao] (Kasonke, Kasso, Kasson, Kassonke, Khasonke, Khassonka, Khassonké, Malinke, Maninka, Xaasonga, Xasonga, Xasonke). Autonym: Xasongo. *Users*: 700,000 in Mali (2012 V. Vydrin). *Location*: Kayes region: Bafoulabé, Kayes, and Kéniéba circles. *Status*: 5 (Developing). Recognized language (1996, Law 96-049 of 14 December). *Class*: Niger-Congo, Mande, Western, Central-Southwestern, Central, Manding-Jogo, Manding-Vai, Manding-Mokole, Manding, Manding-West. *Dialects*: Xaasonga, Kéniéba Maninka. High intelligibility of Western Maninkakan [mlq], less of Bamanankan [bam], but for sociolinguistic reasons they are considered separate languages. 90% inherent intelligibility of Loma [loi]. Lexical similarity: 70% with Mandinka [mnk] of Gambia and Senegal. *Lg Use*: Used by all. *Lg Dev*: Taught as subject in some primary schools. Dictionary. Grammar. Texts. NT: 2008. *DLS*: Emerging (0.04). *Writing*: Latin script. *Other*: French spelling is Khassonké. Muslim. *Maps*: 29, 30. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 714,600. Also established in: Senegal (Xasonga). Unestablished in: Gambia (Xasonga).

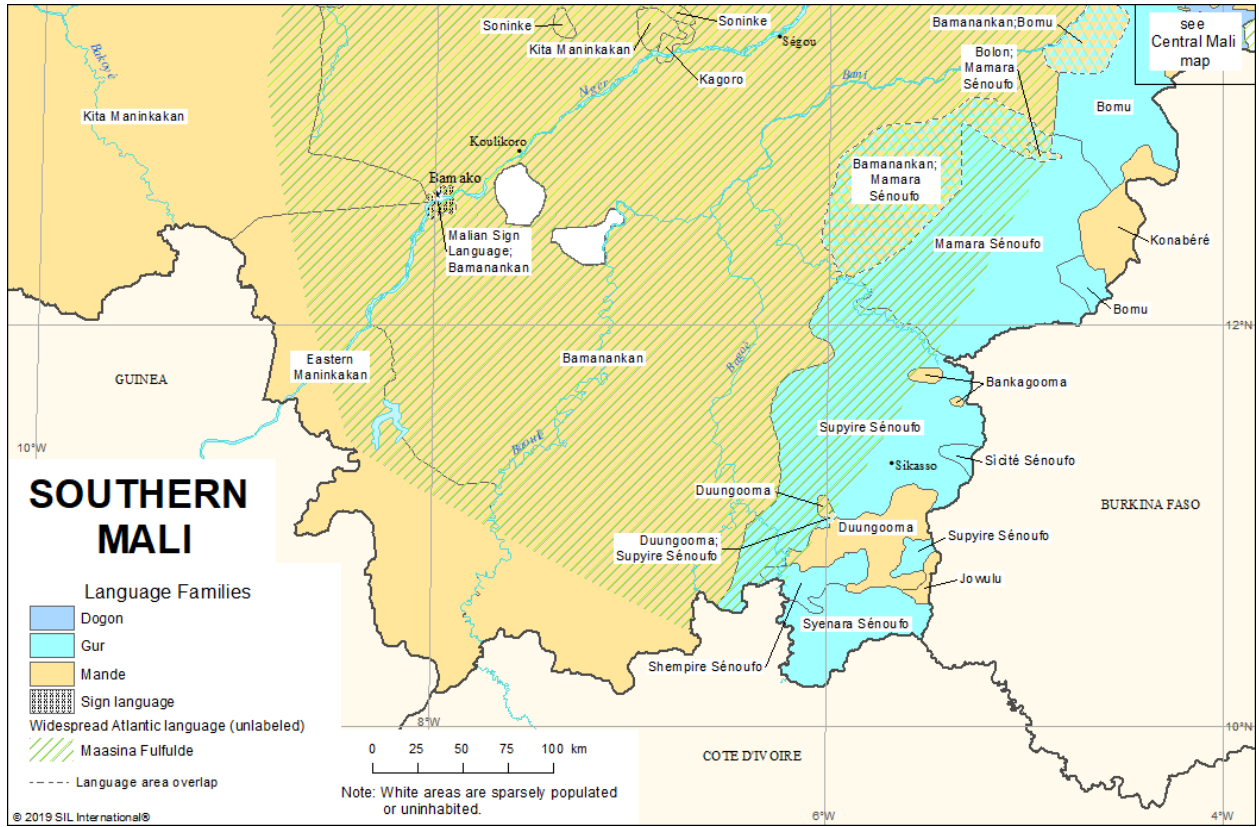
**Zarmaci** [dje] (Adzerma, Djerma, Dyabarma, Dyarma, Dyerma, Zabarma, Zarbarma, Zarma, Zarmaciine, Zerma). Autonym: Zarma sanni, Zarmaciine. *Users*: 1,700 in Mali (2012 G. Davis). *Location*: Gao region: Ansongo circle, 2 villages south of Menaka at Niger border. *Status*: 5 (Dispersed). *Class*: Nilo-Saharan, Songhai, Southern. *Lg Use*: Used by all. *Lg Dev*: Radio. TV. Dictionary. Grammar. Texts. Bible: 1990. *Writing*: Arabic script, Naskh variant. Braille script. Latin script, primary usage. *Other*: Muslim, traditional religion. *Maps*: 29, 30. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 5,990,100. Global EGIDS level: 4 (Educational). Also indigenous in: Burkina Faso (Zarma), Niger (Zarma), Nigeria (Zarma).

## Language Maps

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## Languages by Population

In this section the languages of Mali are listed in order of their population of first-language speakers within the country, from highest to lowest. The entries report just the population and status elements.

### 1,000,000 to 9,999,999

**Bamanankan** [[bam](#)] *Users:* 4,000,000 in Mali (2012 V. Vydrin), increasing. 75,000 Ganadugu (Vanderaa 1991), 164,000 Wasulu (2009 census). 14,000,000 in Mali, all users. L2 users: 10,000,000 (2012 V. Vydrine). *Status:* 3 (Wider communication). Recognized language (1982, Decree No. 159 of 19 July, Article 1). *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 14,181,650 (as L1: 4,179,190; as L2: 10,002,460).

**Soninke** [[snk](#)] *Users:* 1,280,000 in Mali (2009 census), increasing. *Status:* 5 (Developing). Recognized language (1982, Decree No. 159 of 19 July, Article 1). *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 2,251,700.

**Fulfulde, Maasina** [[ffm](#)] *Users:* 1,040,000 in Mali (2014 UNSD). *Status:* 4 (Educational). Recognized language (1982, Decree No. 159 of 19 July, Article 1). *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 1,588,240.

### 100,000 to 999,999

**Sénoufo, Mamara** [[myk](#)] *Users:* 738,000 (2000). *Status:* 4 (Educational). Recognized language (1982, Decree No. 159 of 19 July, Article 1).

**Xaasongaxango** [[kao](#)] *Users:* 700,000 in Mali (2012 V. Vydrin). *Status:* 5 (Developing). Recognized language (1996, Law 96-049 of 14 December). *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 714,600.

**Tamasheq** [[taq](#)] *Users:* 590,000 in Mali (2022). *Status:* 5 (Developing). Recognized language (1982, Decree No. 159 of 19 July, Article 1). *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 900,000.

**Tamajaq** [[ttq](#)] *Users:* 449,000 in Mali (2022). *Status:* 6a (Vigorous). *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 1,278,000.

**Maninkakan, Kita** [[mwk](#)] *Users:* 434,000 (2014 UNSD). *Status:* 6a (Vigorous). Recognized language (1996, Law 96-049 of 28 December).

**Maninkakan, Western** [[mlq](#)] *Users:* 433,000 in Mali (2009 census). *Status:* 5 (Developing). *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 2,068,000.

**Songhay, Koyraboro Senni** [[ses](#)] *Users:* 430,000 (2007 SIL), increasing. 300,000 monolinguals (2007 SIL). Ethnic population: 850,000. *Status:* 5 (Developing). Recognized language (1982, Decree No. 159 of 19 July, Article 1).

**Maninkakan, Eastern** [emk] *Users:* 390,000 in Mali (2014 UNSD). *Status:* 6a (Vigorous).

*Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 3,722,300.

**Pulaar** [fuc] *Users:* 382,000 in Mali (2022). *Status:* 5 (Developing). *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 5,912,700.

**Sénoufo, Supyire** [spp] *Users:* 350,000 (2007 SIL). 100,000 monolinguals. Ethnic population: 500,000 (2007 SIL). *Status:* 5 (Developing).

**Bomu** [bmq] *Users:* 317,000 in Mali (2022). *Status:* 5 (Developing). Recognized language (1982, Decree No. 159 of 19 July, Article 1). *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 373,000.

**Songhay, Koyra Chiini** [khq] *Users:* 200,000 (1999 SIL), increasing. *Status:* 5 (Developing).

**Bozo, Jenaama** [bze] *Users:* 197,000 in Mali (2003 SIL), increasing. *Status:* 5 (Developing).

**Tadaksahak** [dsq] *Users:* 169,000 in Mali (2022), increasing. 70,000 youth are monolingual. *Status:* 6a (Vigorous). *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 170,800.

**Duungooma** [dux] *Users:* 160,000 (2022). *Status:* 6a (Vigorous).

**Sénoufo, Syenara** [shz] *Users:* 155,000 (2010 SIL), decreasing. *Status:* 5 (Developing). Recognized language (1982, Decree No. 159 of 19 July, Article 1).

**Dogon, Tomo Kan** [dtm] *Users:* 133,000 in Mali (1998 J. Durieux). *Status:* 6a (Vigorous).

**Dogon, Jamsay** [djm] *Users:* 130,000 in Mali (1998 J. Durieux). *Status:* 6a (Vigorous).

**Dogon, Tene Kan** [dtk] *Users:* 127,000 (1998 J. Durieux). *Status:* 6a (Vigorous).

**Arabic, Hasanya** [mey] *Users:* 123,000 in Mali (2014 UNSD). *Status:* 5 (Dispersed). Recognized language (1996, Law 96-049 of 14 December). *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 5,189,980.

**Bozo, Tieyaxo** [boz] *Users:* 118,000 (1987 census). Population may include Tiemacèwè Bozo [boo] and Kelengaxo Bozo [bzx]. *Status:* 5 (Developing). Recognized language (1982, Decree No. 159 of 19 July, Article 1).

**Jula** [dyu] *Users:* 118,000 in Mali (2022). 396,000 in Mali, all users. L2 users: 278,000 (2013 SIL). *Status:* 3 (Wider communication). *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 12,841,000 (as L1: 2,563,000; as L2: 10,278,000).

**Pular** [fuf] *Users:* 118,000 in Mali (2022). *Status:* 5 (Developing). *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 4,846,200.

## 10,000 to 99,999

**Wolof** [wol] *Users:* 79,200 in Mali (2022). *Status:* Unestablished. *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 12,397,200 (as L1: 6,050,920; as L2: 6,346,280).

**Marka** [rkm] *Users:* 58,800 in Mali (2022). *Status:* 6a (Vigorous). *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 265,800.

- Dogon, Tommo So** [dto] *Users:* 50,000 (McPherson 2013). *Status:* 6a (Vigorous).
- Dogon, Toro So** [dts] *Users:* 50,000 (1998 J. Durieux). *Status:* 4 (Educational). Recognized language (1982, Decree No. 159 of 19 July, Article 1).
- Moore** [mos] *Users:* 49,800 in Mali (2022). *Status:* 6a (Vigorous). *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 11,861,900.
- Dogon, Donno So** [dds] *Users:* 45,300 (1998 J. Durieux). *Status:* 5 (Developing).
- Siamou** [sif] *Users:* 37,100 in Mali (2022). *Status:* Unestablished. *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 63,800.
- Bozo, Kelengaxo** [bzx] *Users:* 30,000 (2009 SIL). *Status:* 6a (Vigorous).
- Konabéré** [bbo] *Users:* 25,000 in Mali (2007 SIL). Few monolinguals. *Status:* 6a (Vigorous). *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 60,000.
- Langue des signes de l’Afrique francophone** [ase] *Users:* 25,000 in Mali (2021 DBS/DOOR/SIL). Estimated 40,000–65,000 people with profound hearing loss in Mali (Nyst 2015), of which approximately half are assumed here to use LSAF [ase]. *Status:* 5 (Developing). *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 989,605 (as L1: 858,605; as L2: 131,000).
- Malian Sign Language** [bog] *Users:* 25,000 (2021 DBS/DOOR/SIL). Estimated 40,000–65,000 people with profound hearing loss in Mali (Nyst 2015), of which approximately half are assumed here to use Malian Sign Language [bog]. *Status:* 6a\* (Vigorous).
- Dogon, Bondum Dom** [dbu] *Users:* 24,700 (1998 J. Durieux). *Status:* 6a (Vigorous).
- French** [fra] *Users:* 19,200 in Mali (2022). 3,699,200 in Mali, all users. L2 users: 3,680,000 (Marcoux et al 2022). *Status:* 1 (National). Statutory national language (1992, Constitution, Article 25). *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 309,804,220 (as L1: 80,770,190; as L2: 229,034,030).
- Dogon, Mombo** [dmb] *Users:* 19,000 (1998 SIL). *Status:* 6a (Vigorous).
- Jowulu** [jow] *Users:* 17,000 in Mali (2021 SIL), increasing. Ethnic population: 20,000 (2021 SIL). *Status:* 5 (Developing). *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 18,000.
- Dogon, Dogul Dom** [dbg] *Users:* 15,700 (1998 J. Durieux). *Status:* 6a (Vigorous).
- Kagoro** [xkg] *Users:* 15,000 (2001 V. Vydrin). Ethnic population: 30,000 (2001 V. Vydrin). *Status:* 6b\* (Threatened).
- Songhay, Humburi Senni** [hmb] *Users:* 15,000 in Mali (1999 J. Heath). *Status:* 6a (Vigorous). *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 81,200.
- Sénoufo, Shempire** [seb] *Users:* 14,800 in Mali (2009 T. Requadt). *Status:* 6a (Vigorous). *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 286,800.

**1,000 to 9,999**

**Jalunga** [yal] *Users:* 9,000 in Mali (2002 SIL). *Status:* 5 (Developing). *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 180,700.

**Bankagooma** [bxw] *Users:* 6,000 (2007 SIL). Ethnic population: 6,000. *Status:* 6a (Vigorous).

**Koromfé** [kfb] *Users:* 6,000 in Mali (2011 SIL). *Status:* 5 (Developing). *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 202,000.

**Bolon** [bof] *Users:* 5,920 in Mali (1998 SIL). *Status:* 6b (Threatened). *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 22,920.

**Dogon, Ampari** [aqd] *Users:* 5,200 (1998 SIL). *Status:* 6a (Vigorous).

**Dogon, Tiranige Diga** [tde] *Users:* 4,200 (1998 SIL). *Status:* 6a (Vigorous).

**Dogon, Ben Tey** [dbt] *Users:* 3,000 (2005 J. Heath). *Status:* 6a (Vigorous).

**Dogon, Nanga Dama** [nzz] *Users:* 3,000 (2009 SIL). *Status:* 6a (Vigorous).

**Dogon, Tebul Ure** [dtu] *Users:* 3,000 (2005 Foundation for Endangered Languages). *Status:* 6a (Vigorous).

**Sénoufo, Sicité** [sep] *Users:* 3,000 in Mali (2007 SIL). *Status:* 6a (Vigorous). *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 58,900.

**Tondi Songway Kiini** [tst] *Users:* 3,000 (1998 SIL). *Status:* 6a (Vigorous).

**Dogon, Toro Tegu** [dtt] *Users:* 2,900 (1998 J. Durieux). *Status:* 6a (Vigorous).

**Pana** [pnq] *Users:* 2,800 in Mali (1982 SIL), decreasing. *Status:* 6b (Threatened). *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 7,800.

**Bozo, Tiemacèwè** [boo] *Users:* 2,500 (1991). *Status:* 6a (Vigorous).

**Sàmòmá** [knz] *Users:* 2,500 in Mali (2014 UNSD). *Status:* 6a (Vigorous). *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 12,070.

**Bangime** [dba] *Users:* 2,000 (Blench 2005). *Status:* 6a (Vigorous).

**Dogon, Yanda Dom** [dym] *Users:* 2,000 (Blench 2005). *Status:* 6a (Vigorous).

**Zarmaci** [dje] *Users:* 1,700 in Mali (2012 G. Davis). *Status:* 5 (Dispersed). *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 5,990,100.

**Dogon, Bankan Tey** [dbw] *Users:* 1,320 (1998 census). *Status:* 6a (Vigorous).

**Dogon, Bunoge** [dgb] *Users:* 1,000 (2005 D. Douyon and R. Blench). *Status:* 6b (Threatened).

**Samo, Matya** [stj] *Users:* 1,000 in Mali (2013 SIL). *Status:* 6b\* (Threatened). *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 165,000.

## 100 to 999

**Dogon, Ana Tinga** [[dti](#)] *Users:* 500 (2005 D. Douyon and R. Blench). *Status:* 6b (Threatened).

**Jahanka** [[jad](#)] *Users:* 500 in Mali (2001), decreasing. *Status:* 6b\* (Threatened). *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 147,500.

**Tebul Sign Language** [[tsy](#)] *Users:* 500 (2007 SIL). *Status:* 6a\* (Vigorous).

## Unknown

**Arabic, Standard** [[arb](#)] *Users:* 41,800 in Mali (2015 SIL), all users. *Status:* 4 (Educational).

Recognized language (1992, Constitution, Article 25), used in education. *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 273,989,700.

## Languages by Status

In this section the languages of Mali are listed in order of their status within the country as represented by their level on the EGIDs scale (Lewis and Simons 2010). The language entries are reduced to just the information elements that are relevant to assessing the EGIDS level: population, status, language use, language development, and writing.

### 1 (National)

**French** [[fra](#)] *Users*: 3,699,200 in Mali, all users. L1 users: 19,200 in Mali (2022). L2 users: 3,680,000 (Marcoux et al 2022). *Status*: Statutory national language (1992, Constitution, Article 25). *Writing*: Braille script. Duployan shorthand. Latin script, primary usage. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 309,804,220 (as L1: 80,770,190; as L2: 229,034,030).

### 3 (Wider communication)

**Bamanankan** [[bam](#)] *Users*: 14,000,000 in Mali, all users. L1 users: 4,000,000 in Mali (2012 V. Vydrin), increasing. 75,000 Ganadugu (Vanderaa 1991), 164,000 Wasulu (2009 census). L2 users: 10,000,000 (2012 V. Vydrine). *Status*: Recognized language (1982, Decree No. 159 of 19 July, Article 1). Bamanankan serves as lingua franca everywhere, except for the northeastern part of the country. Bamanankan is the form of Jula [[dyu](#)] recognized by the Malian government. Used for travel, market, and business communication. *Lg Use*: Growing. All domains. Used by all. Positive attitudes. Used as L2 by Bankagooma [[bxw](#)], Bunoge Dogon [[dgb](#)], Duungooma [[dux](#)], Jenaama Bozo [[bze](#)], Jowulu [[jow](#)], Kagoro [[xkg](#)], Kelengaxo Bozo [[bzx](#)], Konabéré [[bbo](#)], Koyra Chiini Songhay [[khq](#)], Koyraboro Senni Songhay [[ses](#)], Maasina Fulfulde [[ffm](#)], Malian Sign Language [[bog](#)], Mamara Sénoufo [[myk](#)], Pana [[pnq](#)], Soninke [[snk](#)], Supyire Sénoufo [[spp](#)], Syenara Sénoufo [[shz](#)], Teyaxo Bozo [[boz](#)]. *Lg Dev*: Literature. Newspapers. Radio. TV. Videos. Dictionary. Grammar. Texts. Bible: 1961–1987. *Writing*: Latin script. N’Ko script, used in Mali. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 14,181,650 (as L1: 4,179,190; as L2: 10,002,460).

**Jula** [[dyu](#)] *Users*: 396,000 in Mali, all users. L1 users: 118,000 in Mali (2022). L2 users: 278,000 (2013 SIL). *Status*: Used for travel, market, and business communication. *Lg Use*: Used as L2 by Duungooma [[dux](#)], Jowulu [[jow](#)], Konabéré [[bbo](#)], Pana [[pnq](#)], Shempire Sénoufo [[seb](#)], Syenara Sénoufo [[shz](#)]. *Writing*: Arabic script, Naskh variant. Latin script. N’Ko script, used in Côte d’Ivoire and Burkina Faso. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 12,841,000 (as L1: 2,563,000; as L2: 10,278,000).

### 4 (Educational)

**Arabic, Standard** [[arb](#)] *Users*: 41,800 in Mali (2015 SIL), all users. *Status*: Recognized language (1992, Constitution, Article 25), used in education. *Writing*: Arabic script, Naskh variant,

primary usage. Braille script. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 273,989,700.

**Dogon, Toro So** [dts] *Users*: 50,000 (1998 J. Durieux). *Status*: Recognized language (1982, Decree No. 159 of 19 July, Article 1). *Lg Use*: All domains. Used by all. *Lg Dev*: Dictionary. Grammar. Bible: 2010. *Writing*: Latin script.

**Fulfulde, Maasina** [ffm] *Users*: 1,040,000 in Mali (2014 UNSD). *Status*: Recognized language (1982, Decree No. 159 of 19 July, Article 1). *Lg Use*: All domains. Used by all. Positive attitudes. Also use Bamanankan [bam]. Used as L2 by Ana Tinga Dogon [dti], Bankan Tey Dogon [dbw], Bunoge Dogon [dgb], Tiemacèwè Bozo [boo], Tieyaxo Bozo [boz]. *Lg Dev*: Literature. Newspapers. Radio. Dictionary. Grammar. NT: 2005. *Writing*: Arabic script, Naskh variant. Latin script, official usage. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 1,588,240.

**Sénoufo, Mamara** [myk] *Users*: 738,000 (2000). *Status*: Recognized language (1982, Decree No. 159 of 19 July, Article 1). *Lg Use*: All domains. Used by all. Also use Bamanankan [bam]. *Lg Dev*: Radio. Videos. Dictionary. Grammar. NT: 2006. *Writing*: Latin script.

## 5 (Developing)

**Bomu** [bmq] *Users*: 317,000 in Mali (2022). *Status*: Recognized language (1982, Decree No. 159 of 19 July, Article 1). *Lg Use*: Used by all. Used as L2 by Konabéré [bbo]. *Lg Dev*: Dictionary. Bible: 2005–2013. *Writing*: Latin script. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 373,000.

**Bozo, Jenaama** [bze] *Users*: 197,000 in Mali (2003 SIL), increasing. *Lg Use*: Nononke and Somono who live in the same area speak Jenaama as L1. Used by all. Positive attitudes. Also use Bamanankan [bam], particularly northern-dialect speakers with some proficiency in a Songai or Fulfulde variety and southern-dialect speakers in a Bambara variety. Used as L2 by Bangime [dba]. *Lg Dev*: Grammar. Texts. Bible portions: 2008. *Writing*: Arabic script, Naskh variant, in development. Latin script.

**Bozo, Tieyaxo** [boz] *Users*: 118,000 (1987 census). Population may include Tiemacèwè Bozo [boo] and Kelengaxo Bozo [bzx]. *Status*: Recognized language (1982, Decree No. 159 of 19 July, Article 1). *Lg Use*: Some ethnic Marka and Somono live among them and speak Tieyaxo as L1. Used by all. Also use Bamanankan [bam]. Also use Maasina Fulfulde [ffm]. Use of Bambara or Fulfulde depends on region. *Lg Dev*: Grammar. Bible portions: 2009. *Writing*: Arabic script, Naskh variant, in development. Latin script.

**Dogon, Donno So** [dds] *Users*: 45,300 (1998 J. Durieux). *Lg Use*: Used by all. Used as L2 by Dogul Dom Dogon [dbg]. *Lg Dev*: Dictionary. Grammar. NT: 1988. *Writing*: Latin script.

**Jalunga** [yal] *Users*: 9,000 in Mali (2002 SIL). *Lg Use*: Used by all. *Writing*: Arabic script, Naskh variant. Latin script. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 180,700.

**Jowulu** [jow] *Users*: 17,000 in Mali (2021 SIL), increasing. Ethnic population: 20,000 (2021 SIL). *Lg Use*: Used by all. Positive attitudes. Most also use Jula [dyu]. A few also use Duungooma [dux]. A few also use French [fra], especially educated speakers. A few also use Sopyire Sénoufo [spp]. Also use Bamanankan [bam], especially men. *Lg Dev*: Literature.

Bible portions: 2004. *Writing*: Latin script. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 18,000.

**Koromfé** [kfz] *Users*: 6,000 in Mali (2011 SIL). *Lg Use*: Used by all. *Writing*: Latin script. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 202,000.

**Langue des signes de l'Afrique francophone** [ase] *Users*: 25,000 in Mali (2021 DBS/DOOR/SIL). Estimated 40,000–65,000 people with profound hearing loss in Mali (Nyst 2015), of which approximately half are assumed here to use LSAF [ase]. *Lg Use*: Used in education. Used by all. Also use Malian Sign Language [bog]. Used as L2 by Malian Sign Language [bog]. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 989,605 (as L1: 858,605; as L2: 131,000).

**Maninkakan, Western** [mlq] *Users*: 433,000 in Mali (2009 census). *Lg Use*: Used by all. Used as L2 by Jahanka [jad]. *Writing*: Arabic script, Naskh variant. Latin script. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 2,068,000.

**Pulaar** [fuc] *Users*: 382,000 in Mali (2022). *Lg Use*: Fulbe Jeeri is an ethnic group which speaks Pulaar as L1. Used by all. Used as L2 by Soninke [snk]. *Writing*: Arabic script, Naskh variant. Latin script. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 5,912,700.

**Pular** [fuf] *Users*: 118,000 in Mali (2022). *Lg Use*: Used by all. *Writing*: Adlam script, used since 1989. Arabic script, Naskh variant. Latin script. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 4,846,200.

**Songhay, Koyra Chiini** [khq] *Users*: 200,000 (1999 SIL), increasing. *Lg Use*: Used by all. Positive attitudes. Timbuktu has more prestige than other West Songhoy dialects. Also use Bamanankan [bam]. Also use French [fra]. Also use Hassaniyya [mey]. Also use Tamasheq [taq]. Used as L2 by Tiemacèwè Bozo [boo]. *Lg Dev*: Literature. Dictionary. Grammar. NT: 2017. *Writing*: Latin script.

**Songhay, Koyraboro Senni** [ses] *Users*: 430,000 (2007 SIL), increasing. 300,000 monolinguals (2007 SIL). Ethnic population: 850,000. *Status*: Recognized language (1982, Decree No. 159 of 19 July, Article 1). *Lg Use*: Used by all. Positive attitudes. Also use Bamanankan [bam]. Also use French [fra]. Also use Tamasheq [taq]. Bilingualism is not extensive (1999 J. Heath). *Lg Dev*: Literature. Dictionary. Grammar. NT: 2014. *Writing*: Latin script.

**Soninke** [snk] *Users*: 1,280,000 in Mali (2009 census), increasing. *Status*: Recognized language (1982, Decree No. 159 of 19 July, Article 1). *Lg Use*: Vigorous. Used by all. Positive attitudes. Also use Bamanankan [bam]. Also use French [fra]. Also use Hassaniyya [mey]. Also use Pulaar [fuc]. Used as L2 by Kagoro [xkg]. *Lg Dev*: Literature. Newspapers. Radio. TV. Videos. Dictionary. Grammar. Texts. Bible portions: 2001–2012. *Writing*: Arabic script, Naskh variant. Latin script. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 2,251,700.

**Sénoufo, Supyire** [spp] *Users*: 350,000 (2007 SIL). 100,000 monolinguals. Ethnic population: 500,000 (2007 SIL). *Lg Use*: Home, village. Used by all. Positive attitudes. Most also use Bamanankan [bam]. Used as L2 by Jowulu [jow], Syenara Sénoufo [shz]. *Lg Dev*: Literature. Radio. Videos. Grammar. NT: 2008. *Writing*: Latin script.

**Sénoufo, Syenara** [shz] *Users*: 155,000 (2010 SIL), decreasing. *Status*: Recognized language

(1982, Decree No. 159 of 19 July, Article 1). *Lg Use*: Used by all. Positive attitudes. Also use Bamanankan [bam]. Also use Jula [dyu]. Also use Supyire Sénoufo [spp]. *Lg Dev*: Radio. *Writing*: Latin script, limited usage.

**Tamasheq** [taq] *Users*: 590,000 in Mali (2022). *Status*: Recognized language (1982, Decree No. 159 of 19 July, Article 1). *Lg Use*: Used by all. Used as L2 by Koyra Chiini Songhay [khq], Koyraboro Senni Songhay [ses], Tadaksahak [dsq]. *Lg Dev*: Grammar. NT: 2003. *Writing*: Latin script. Tifinagh (Berber) script. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 900,000.

**Xaasongaxango** [kao] *Users*: 700,000 in Mali (2012 V. Vydrin). *Status*: Recognized language (1996, Law 96-049 of 14 December). *Lg Use*: Used by all. *Lg Dev*: Dictionary. Grammar. Texts. NT: 2008. *Writing*: Latin script. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 714,600.

## 5 (Dispersed)

**Arabic, Hasanya** [mey] *Users*: 123,000 in Mali (2014 UNSD). *Status*: Recognized language (1996, Law 96-049 of 14 December). *Lg Use*: Used by all. Used as L2 by Koyra Chiini Songhay [khq], Soninke [snk]. *Writing*: Arabic script, Naskh variant. Latin script, in development. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 5,189,980.

**Zarmaci** [dje] *Users*: 1,700 in Mali (2012 G. Davis). *Lg Use*: Used by all. *Writing*: Arabic script, Naskh variant. Braille script. Latin script, primary usage. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 5,990,100.

## 6a (Vigorous)

**Bangime** [dba] *Users*: 2,000 (Blench 2005). *Lg Use*: Used by all. Also use Jenaama Bozo [bze]. *Lg Dev*: Dictionary. Grammar. *Writing*: Unwritten.

**Bankagooma** [bxw] *Users*: 6,000 (2007 SIL). Ethnic population: 6,000. *Lg Use*: Bankagooma no longer spoken in several towns, where the people now speak Bambara [bam]. A few villages are still stable. Used by all. Also use Bamanankan [bam]. *Writing*: Unwritten.

**Bozo, Kelengaxo** [bzx] *Users*: 30,000 (2009 SIL). *Lg Use*: Used by all. Also use Bamanankan [bam]. *Writing*: Unwritten.

**Bozo, Tiemacèwè** [boo] *Users*: 2,500 (1991). *Lg Use*: Used by all. Also use Koyra Chiini Songhay [khq]. Also use Maasina Fulfulde [ffm].

**Dogon, Ampari** [aqd] *Users*: 5,200 (1998 SIL). *Lg Use*: Used by all. *Writing*: Unwritten.

**Dogon, Bankan Tey** [dbw] *Users*: 1,320 (1998 census). *Lg Use*: Used by all. Also use Jamsay Dogon [djm]. Also use Maasina Fulfulde [ffm]. Also use Tondi Songway Kiini [tst]. *Lg Dev*: Dictionary. Grammar. Texts. *Writing*: Unwritten.

**Dogon, Ben Tey** [dbt] *Users*: 3,000 (2005 J. Heath). *Lg Use*: Used by all. All also use Jamsay Dogon [djm]. *Lg Dev*: Grammar. *Writing*: Unwritten.

- Dogon, Bondum Dom** [[dbu](#)] *Users:* 24,700 (1998 J. Durieux). *Lg Use:* Used by all. Also use Jamsay Dogon [[djm](#)]. *Lg Dev:* Grammar. Texts. *Writing:* Unwritten.
- Dogon, Dogul Dom** [[dbg](#)] *Users:* 15,700 (1998 J. Durieux). *Lg Use:* Used by all. Many also use Tommo So Dogon [[dto](#)]. Some also use Donno So Dogon [[dds](#)]. *Writing:* Unwritten.
- Dogon, Jamsay** [[djm](#)] *Users:* 130,000 in Mali (1998 J. Durieux). *Lg Use:* Used by all. Used as L2 by Ana Tinga Dogon [[dti](#)], Bankan Tey Dogon [[dbw](#)], Ben Tey Dogon [[dbt](#)], Bondum Dom Dogon [[dbu](#)], Nanga Dama Dogon [[nzz](#)], Tebul Ure Dogon [[dtu](#)], Yanda Dom Dogon [[dym](#)]. *Lg Dev:* Radio. Dictionary. Grammar. Texts. *Writing:* Unwritten.
- Dogon, Mombo** [[dmb](#)] *Users:* 19,000 (1998 SIL). *Lg Use:* Used by all. *Lg Dev:* Dictionary. *Writing:* Unwritten.
- Dogon, Nanga Dama** [[nzz](#)] *Users:* 3,000 (2009 SIL). *Lg Use:* Used by all. Most also use Jamsay Dogon [[djm](#)]. Most also use Tommo So Dogon [[dto](#)]. *Lg Dev:* Dictionary. Grammar. *Writing:* Unwritten.
- Dogon, Tebul Ure** [[dtu](#)] *Users:* 3,000 (2005 Foundation for Endangered Languages). *Lg Use:* Used by all. Most also use Jamsay Dogon [[djm](#)]. Used as L2 by Ana Tinga Dogon [[dti](#)], Yanda Dom Dogon [[dym](#)]. *Writing:* Unwritten.
- Dogon, Tene Kan** [[dtk](#)] *Users:* 127,000 (1998 J. Durieux). *Lg Use:* Used by all. *Lg Dev:* Grammar. *Writing:* Unwritten.
- Dogon, Tiranige Diga** [[tde](#)] *Users:* 4,200 (1998 SIL). *Lg Use:* Used by all. *Writing:* Unwritten.
- Dogon, Tommo So** [[dto](#)] *Users:* 50,000 (McPherson 2013). *Lg Use:* Used by all. Used as L2 by Dogul Dom Dogon [[dbg](#)], Nanga Dama Dogon [[nzz](#)], Yanda Dom Dogon [[dym](#)]. *Lg Dev:* Radio. Grammar. *Writing:* Unwritten.
- Dogon, Tomo Kan** [[dtm](#)] *Users:* 133,000 in Mali (1998 J. Durieux). *Lg Use:* Used by all. *Lg Dev:* Literature. Dictionary. Grammar. *Writing:* Latin script.
- Dogon, Toro Tegu** [[dtt](#)] *Users:* 2,900 (1998 J. Durieux). *Lg Use:* Used by all. *Lg Dev:* Grammar. Texts. *Writing:* Unwritten.
- Dogon, Yanda Dom** [[dym](#)] *Users:* 2,000 (Blench 2005). *Lg Use:* Used by all. Most also use Jamsay Dogon [[djm](#)]. Most also use Tebul Ure Dogon [[dtu](#)]. Most also use Tommo So Dogon [[dto](#)]. *Lg Dev:* Grammar. Texts. *Writing:* Unwritten.
- Duungooma** [[dux](#)] *Users:* 160,000 (2022). *Lg Use:* Used by all. Positive attitudes. Most also use Bamanankan [[bam](#)]. Also use French [[fra](#)], especially students. Also use Jula [[dyu](#)]. Used as L2 by Jowulu [[jow](#)]. *Lg Dev:* Literature. Dictionary. *Writing:* Latin script.
- Konabéré** [[bbo](#)] *Users:* 25,000 in Mali (2007 SIL). Few monolinguals. *Lg Use:* Used by all. Positive attitudes. Also use Bamanankan [[bam](#)]. Also use Bomu [[bmq](#)]. Also use Jula [[dyu](#)]. *Writing:* Latin script. *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 60,000.
- Malian Sign Language** [[bog](#)] *Users:* 25,000 (2021 DBS/DOOR/SIL). Estimated 40,000–65,000

people with profound hearing loss in Mali (Nyst 2015), of which approximately half are assumed here to use Malian Sign Language [bog]. *Lg Use*: Mostly older urban signers, rural signers and those with no access to formal education or LSAF. Shifting to ASL [ase] (LSAF) in Bamako (Nyst et al 2012). In Bamako, primarily used by men (Nyst 2015). Many also use American Sign Language [ase], specifically, the ASL-derived variety sometimes called Langue des signes franco-africaine (LSAF) as it is used in Mali (Nyst 2015). A few also use French Sign Language [fsl], which was used for a brief period in education, before being replaced by ASL [ase] in about 2001 (Nyst 2015). A few also use Quebec Sign Language [fcs], which was taught for one year in 2009 (Nyst 2015). Also use Bamanankan [bam]. Also use French [fra]. Used as L2 by Langue des signes de l’Afrique francophone [ase]. *Lg Dev*: Dictionary. Texts.

**Maninkakan, Eastern** [emk] *Users*: 390,000 in Mali (2014 UNSD). *Lg Use*: Used by all. *Writing*: Arabic script, Naskh variant. Latin script. N’Ko script, used in Guinea. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 3,722,300.

**Maninkakan, Kita** [mwk] *Users*: 434,000 (2014 UNSD). *Status*: Recognized language (1996, Law 96-049 of 28 December). *Lg Use*: Used by all. *Lg Dev*: Grammar.

**Marka** [rkm] *Users*: 58,800 in Mali (2022). *Lg Use*: Shifting to Bambara [bam]. Most Pana people also speak Marka-Dafin very well. Used by all. Used as L2 by Pana [pnq]. *Writing*: Latin script. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 265,800.

**Moore** [mos] *Users*: 49,800 in Mali (2022). *Lg Use*: Used by all. *Writing*: Braille script, developed in 2010. Latin script, primary usage. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 11,861,900.

**Songhay, Humburi Senni** [hmb] *Users*: 15,000 in Mali (1999 J. Heath). *Lg Use*: Used by all. *Lg Dev*: Dictionary. Grammar. Texts. *Writing*: Latin script. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 81,200.

**Sàmòmá** [knz] *Users*: 2,500 in Mali (2014 UNSD). *Lg Use*: Several villages shifted to Jamsay Dogon [djm] or Tomo Kan [dtm]. Used by all. *Writing*: Latin script, no longer in use. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 12,070.

**Sénoufo, Shempire** [seb] *Users*: 14,800 in Mali (2009 T. Requadt). *Lg Use*: Used by all. Also use Jula [dyu]. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 286,800.

**Sénoufo, Sicité** [sep] *Users*: 3,000 in Mali (2007 SIL). *Lg Use*: Used by all. *Writing*: Latin script. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 58,900.

**Tadaksahak** [dsq] *Users*: 169,000 in Mali (2022), increasing. 70,000 youth are monolingual. *Lg Use*: Vigorous. Used by all. Positive attitudes. Some also use Tamasheq [taq], although women and children in isolated encampments understand very little. *Lg Dev*: Literature. Grammar. *Writing*: Arabic script, Naskh variant. Latin script. *Worldwide*: Total users in all countries: 170,800.

**Tamajaq** [ttq] *Users*: 449,000 in Mali (2022). *Lg Use*: Used by all. *Writing*: Arabic script, Naskh variant. Latin script. Tifinagh (Berber) script, called Shifinagh in Niger. *Worldwide*: Total

users in all countries: 1,278,000.

**Tebul Sign Language** [tsy] *Users:* 500 (2007 SIL). *Lg Use:* Family and community members in Koro and Douentza Cercles use signing to communicate with the deaf.

**Tondi Songway Kiini** [tst] *Users:* 3,000 (1998 SIL). *Lg Use:* Used by all. Used as L2 by Bankan Tey Dogon [dbw]. *Lg Dev:* Dictionary. Grammar. *Writing:* Unwritten.

## 6b (Threatened)

**Bolon** [bof] *Users:* 5,920 in Mali (1998 SIL). *Lg Use:* Some young people, all adults. *Writing:* Unwritten. *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 22,920.

**Dogon, Ana Tinga** [dti] *Users:* 500 (2005 D. Douyon and R. Blench). *Lg Use:* Some young people, all adults. Some also use Maasina Fulfulde [ffm]. Also use Jamsay Dogon [djm]. Also use Tebul Ure Dogon [dtu]. *Lg Dev:* Texts. *Writing:* Unwritten.

**Dogon, Bunoge** [dgb] *Users:* 1,000 (2005 D. Douyon and R. Blench). *Lg Use:* Fulfulde [ffm] is replacing Bunoge among younger generations (2012 J. Heath). Some young people, all adults. Most also use Maasina Fulfulde [ffm]. Many also use Bamanankan [bam]. *Lg Dev:* Grammar. Texts. *Writing:* Unwritten.

**Jahanka** [jad] *Users:* 500 in Mali (2001), decreasing. *Lg Use:* Also use Western Maninkakan [mlq], with some shifting. *Writing:* Arabic script, Naskh variant. *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 147,500.

**Kagoro** [xkg] *Users:* 15,000 (2001 V. Vydrin). Ethnic population: 30,000 (2001 V. Vydrin). *Lg Use:* Being replaced by Bambara. Kagoro now spoken only in a few corners of Kaarta. Also use Bamanankan [bam]. Also use Soninke [snk]. *Writing:* Unwritten.

**Pana** [pnq] *Users:* 2,800 in Mali (1982 SIL), decreasing. *Lg Use:* Some young people, all adults. Also use Bamanankan [bam]. Also use Jula [dyu]. Nearly all bilingual by age 15, but with unknown proficiency. Also use Marka [rkm]. *Writing:* Unwritten. *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 7,800.

**Samo, Matya** [stj] *Users:* 1,000 in Mali (2013 SIL). *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 165,000.

## Unestablished

**Siamou** [sif] *Users:* 37,100 in Mali (2022). *Writing:* Latin script. *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 63,800.

**Wolof** [wol] *Users:* 79,200 in Mali (2022). *Writing:* Arabic script, Naskh variant, called Ajami. Latin script, primary usage. *Worldwide:* Total users in all countries: 12,397,200 (as L1: 6,050,920; as L2: 6,346,280).

## Languages by Region

This index gives an alphabetical listing of the top-level administrative subdivisions within Mali. Under the name of each region is a list of the language communities that are located within its area.

### Bamako

- Bamanankan [bam], 11
- Malian Sign Language [bog], 20
- Maninkakan, Kita [mwk], 21

### Gao

- Songhay, Koyraboro Senni [ses], 25
- Tadaksahak [dsq], 26
- Tamajaq [ttq], 26
- Tamasheq [taq], 26
- Zarmaci [dje], 27

### Kayes

- Bamanankan [bam], 11
- Jahanka [jad], 18
- Jalunga [yal], 18
- Kagoro [xkg], 19
- Maninkakan, Kita [mwk], 21
- Maninkakan, Western [mlq], 21
- Pulaar [fuc], 22
- Pular [fuf], 22
- Soninke [snk], 25
- Xaasongaxango [kao], 27

### Kidal

- Tamasheq [taq], 26

### Koulikoro

- Bamanankan [bam], 11
- Kagoro [xkg], 19
- Maninkakan, Eastern [emk], 20
- Maninkakan, Kita [mwk], 21
- Pulaar [fuc], 22
- Soninke [snk], 25

### Mopti

- Bangime [dba], 12
- Bomu [bmq], 12
- Bozo, Jenaama [bze], 13

- Bozo, Tiemacèwè [boo], 13
- Bozo, Teyaxo [boz], 13
- Dogon, Ampari [aqd], 14
- Dogon, Ana Tinga [dti], 14
- Dogon, Bankan Tey [dbw], 14
- Dogon, Ben Tey [dbt], 14
- Dogon, Bondum Dom [dbu], 14
- Dogon, Bunoge [dgb], 15
- Dogon, Dogul Dom [dbg], 15
- Dogon, Donno So [dds], 15
- Dogon, Jamsay [djm], 15
- Dogon, Mombo [dmb], 15
- Dogon, Nanga Dama [nzz], 15
- Dogon, Tebul Ure [dtu], 16
- Dogon, Tene Kan [dtk], 16
- Dogon, Tiranige Diga [tde], 16
- Dogon, Tommo So [dto], 16
- Dogon, Tomo Kan [dtm], 16
- Dogon, Toro So [dts], 16
- Dogon, Toro Tegu [dtt], 16
- Dogon, Yanda Dom [dym], 17
- Jula [dyu], 18
- Koromfé [kfz], 19
- Marka [rkm], 21
- Moore [mos], 21
- Pana [pnq], 22
- Samo, Matya [stj], 22
- Sàmòmá [knz], 22
- Songhay, Humburi Senni [hmb], 24
- Songhay, Koyra Chiini [khq], 24
- Tamasheq [taq], 26
- Tebul Sign Language [tsy], 26
- Tondi Songway Kiini [tst], 27

### Ségou

- Bamanankan [bam], 11

Bolon [bof], 12  
Bomu [bmq], 12  
Bozo, Jenaama [bze], 13  
Bozo, Kelengaxo [bzx], 13  
Bozo, Tieyaxo [boz], 13  
Dogon, Tomo Kan [dtm], 16  
Jula [dyu], 18  
Kagoro [xkg], 19  
Konabéré [bbo], 19  
Maninkakan, Kita [mwk], 21  
Marka [rkm], 21  
Sénoufo, Mamara [myk], 23  
Songhay, Koyra Chiini [khq], 24  
Soninke [snk], 25

**Sikasso**

Bamanankan [bam], 11  
Bankagooma [bxw], 12

Bomu [bmq], 12  
Duungooma [dux], 17  
Jowulu [jow], 18  
Jula [dyu], 18  
Konabéré [bbo], 19  
Maninkakan, Eastern [emk], 20  
Sénoufo, Mamara [myk], 23  
Sénoufo, Shempire [seb], 23  
Sénoufo, Sicité [sep], 23  
Sénoufo, Supyire [spp], 23  
Sénoufo, Syenara [shz], 24

**Tombouctou**

Songhay, Humburi Senni [hmb], 24  
Songhay, Koyra Chiini [khq], 24  
Songhay, Koyraboro Senni [ses], 25  
Tamasheq [taq], 26

## Languages by Family

This index gives an alphabetical listing of the linguistic classifications used for the established languages of Mali. The entries in this index represent the full path in the linguistic family tree from the highest level grouping down to the lowest. All the languages listed in the same entry are members of the same lowest-level subgroup. The referenced page contains the main entry that describes the language.

### **Afro-Asiatic, Berber, Tamasheq, Southern**

Tamajaq, Tawallammat [ttq], [26](#)

Tamasheq [taq], [26](#)

### **Afro-Asiatic, Semitic, Central, South, Arabic**

Arabic, Standard [arb], [11](#)

Hassaniyya [mey], [11](#)

### **Indo-European, Italic, Romance, Italo-Western, Western, Gallo-Iberian, Gallo-Romance, Gallo-Rhaetian, Oïl, French**

French [fra], [17](#)

### **Language isolate**

Bangime [dba], [12](#)

### **Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Atlantic, Northern, Senegambian, Fula-Wolof, Fula, West Central**

Fulfulde, Maasina [ffm], [17](#)

Pular [fuf], [22](#)

### **Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Atlantic, Northern, Senegambian, Fula-Wolof, Fula, Western**

Pulaar [fuc], [22](#)

### **Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, Dogon**

Dogon, Ampari [aqd], [14](#)

Dogon, Ana Tinga [dti], [14](#)

Dogon, Bankan Tey [dbw], [14](#)

Dogon, Ben Tey [dbt], [14](#)

Dogon, Bondum Dom [dbu], [14](#)

Dogon, Bunoge [dgb], [15](#)

Dogon, Dogul Dom [dbg], [15](#)

Dogon, Donno So [dds], [15](#)

Dogon, Jamsay [djm], [15](#)

Dogon, Mombo [dmb], [15](#)

Dogon, Nanga Dama [nzz], [15](#)

Dogon, Tebul Ure [dtu], [16](#)

Dogon, Tene Kan [dtk], [16](#)

Dogon, Tiranige Diga [tde], [16](#)

Dogon, Tommo So [dto], 16

Dogon, Tomo Kan [dtm], 16

Dogon, Toro So [dts], 16

Dogon, Toro Tegu [dtt], 16

Dogon, Yanda Dom [dym], 17

**Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, North, Gur, Central, Northern, Bwamu**

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**Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, North, Gur, Central, Northern, Kurumfe**

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**Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, North, Gur, Central, Southern, Grusi, Northern**

Kalamsé [knz], 22

Pana [pnq], 22

**Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, North, Gur, Senufo, Senari**

Sénoufo, Syenara [shz], 24

**Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, North, Gur, Senufo, Suppire-Mamara**

Sénoufo, Mamara [myk], 23

Sénoufo, Shempire [seb], 23

Sénoufo, Sicité [sep], 23

Sénoufo, Supyire [spp], 23

**Niger-Congo, Mande, Eastern, Eastern, Samo**

Samo, Matya [stj], 22

**Niger-Congo, Mande, Western, Central-Southwestern, Central, Manding-Jogo, Manding-  
Vai, Manding-Mokole, Manding**

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Jahanka [jad], 18

**Niger-Congo, Mande, Western, Central-Southwestern, Central, Manding-Jogo, Manding-  
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Marka [rkm], 21

**Niger-Congo, Mande, Western, Central-Southwestern, Central, Manding-Jogo, Manding-  
Vai, Manding-Mokole, Manding, Manding-East, Northeastern Manding, Bamana**

Bamanankan [bam], 11

Jula [dyu], 18

**Niger-Congo, Mande, Western, Central-Southwestern, Central, Manding-Jogo, Manding-  
Vai, Manding-Mokole, Manding, Manding-East, Southeastern Manding**

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**Niger-Congo, Mande, Western, Central-Southwestern, Central, Manding-Jogo, Manding-Vai, Manding-Mokole, Manding, Manding-West**

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Maninkakan, Kita [mwk], 21

Maninkakan, Western [mlq], 21

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**Niger-Congo, Mande, Western, Central-Southwestern, Central, Susu-Yalunka**

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**Niger-Congo, Mande, Western, Northwestern, Samogo**

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Duungooma [dux], 17

Jowulu [jow], 18

**Niger-Congo, Mande, Western, Northwestern, Soninke-Bobo, Bobo**

Konabéré [bbo], 19

**Niger-Congo, Mande, Western, Northwestern, Soninke-Bobo, Soninke-Boso, Boso, Eastern**

Bozo, Kelengaxo [bzx], 13

Bozo, Tiemacèwè [boo], 13

Bozo, Tieyaxo [boz], 13

**Niger-Congo, Mande, Western, Northwestern, Soninke-Bobo, Soninke-Boso, Boso, Jenaama**

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**Niger-Congo, Mande, Western, Northwestern, Soninke-Bobo, Soninke-Boso, Soninke**

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**Nilo-Saharan, Songhai, Southern**

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Songhay, Koyra Chiini [khq], 24

Songhay, Koyraboro Senni [ses], 25

Tondi Songway Kiini [tst], 27

Zarma [dje], 27

**Sign language, Deaf community sign language**

American Sign Language [ase], 19

Malian Sign Language [bog], 20

**Sign language, Shared sign language**

Tebul Sign Language [tsy], 26

## Language Code Index

This index gives an alphabetical listing of all 71 three-letter codes that are used in this work to uniquely identify languages. The referenced page contains the main entry that describes the language. All codes listed are part of the ISO 639-3 standard; see <http://www.sil.org/iso639-3/>.

<b>aqd</b>	Dogon, Ampari, <a href="#">14</a>	<b>ffm</b>	Fulfulde, Maasina, <a href="#">17</a>
<b>arb</b>	Arabic, Standard, <a href="#">11</a>	<b>fra</b>	French, <a href="#">17</a>
<b>ase</b>	American Sign Language, <a href="#">19</a>	<b>fuc</b>	Pulaar, <a href="#">22</a>
<b>bam</b>	Bamanankan, <a href="#">11</a>	<b>fuf</b>	Pular, <a href="#">22</a>
<b>bbo</b>	Konabéré, <a href="#">19</a>	<b>hmb</b>	Songhay, Humburi Senni, <a href="#">24</a>
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- Minya**, *alt.* Sénoufo, Mamara [myk], 23
- Minyanka**, *alt.* Sénoufo, Mamara [myk], 23
- Mogola**, *dial.* Kagoro [xkg], 19
- Mole**, *alt.* Moore [mos], 21
- Moor**, *alt.* Hassaniyya [mey], 11
- Moore** [mos], 21, 30, 30
- More**, *alt.* Moore [mos], 21
- Moshi**, *alt.* Moore [mos], 21
- Mossi**, *alt.* Moore [mos], 21
- Mu Boomu**, *alt.* Bomu [bmq], 12
- Nadjamba**, *dial.* Dogon, Bondum Dom [dbu], 14
- Nafāā**, *dial.* Sénoufo, Mamara [myk], 23
- Najamba-Kindige Dogon**, *alt.* Dogon, Bondum Dom [dbu], 14
- Nanga Dogon**, *alt.* Dogon, Nanga Dama [nzz], 15
- Nejuu**, *dial.* Sénoufo, Mamara [myk], 23
- Niagala**, *dial.* Maninkakan, Western [mlq], 21
- Nienne**, *dial.* Dogon, Tomo Kan [dtm], 16
- Nononke**, *alt.* Bozo, Jenaama [bze], 13
- Northwestern Maninka**, *alt.* Maninkakan, Western [mlq], 21
- Noumandan**, *alt.* Bangime [dba], 12
- Numadaw**, *alt.* Bangime [dba], 12
- Nyana Nyuni**, *dial.* Sénoufo, Supyire [spp], 23
- Oru yille**, *alt.* Dogon, Tebul Ure [dtu], 16
- Oualo**, *alt.* Dogon, Bankan Tey [dbw], 14
- Pana** [pnq], 22, 30
- Pana North**, *dial.* Pana [pnq], 22
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- Peuhl**, *alt.* Pulaar [fuc], 22
- Peul**, *alt.* Fulfulde, Maasina [ffm], 17  
*alt.* Pulaar [fuc], 22
- Pignari**, *alt.* Dogon, Ampari [aqd], 14  
*alt.* Dogon, Mombo [dmb], 15
- Pomporo**, *dial.* Sénoufo, Syenara [shz], 24
- Pomuru**, *dial.* Dogon, Jamsay [djm], 15
- Pondori**, *dial.* Bozo, Jenaama [bze], 13
- Pulaar** [fuc], 22, 30  
*alt. dial.* Pulaar [fuc], 22
- Pulaar Fulfulde**, *alt.* Pulaar [fuc], 22
- Pular** [fuf], 22, 29, 30
- Sā**, *alt.* Samo, Matya [stj], 22
- Sagabari**, *dial.* Maninkakan, Kita [mwk], 21
- Sahrawi**, *alt.* Hassaniyya [mey], 11
- Sama**, *alt.* Pana [pnq], 22
- Samalen**, *dial.* Bolon [bof], 12
- Sàmó**, *alt.* Kalamsé [knz], 22
- Samo, Matya** [stj], 22, 30  
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- Samogho**, *alt.* Bankagooma [bxw], 12  
*alt.* Duungooma [dux], 17  
*alt.* Jowulu [jow], 18  
*alt.* Samo, Matya [stj], 22
- Samogo**, *alt.* Duungooma [dux], 17
- Sàmòmá** [knz], 22, 30, 30
- Samoro**, *alt.* Duungooma [dux], 17
- San**, *alt.* Samo, Matya [stj], 22  
*dial.* Bamanankan [bam], 11  
*dial.* Konabéré [bbo], 19
- San Macaa**, *alt.* Samo, Matya [stj], 22
- Sànán**, *alt.* Samo, Matya [stj], 22

- Sangaar**, *dial.* Sénoufo, Syenara [shz], 24
- Sangha**, *dial.* Dogon, Toro So [dts], 16
- Sarakole**, *alt.* Soninke [snk], 25
- Sarakolle**, *alt.* Soninke [snk], 25
- Sarakule**, *alt.* Soninke [snk], 25
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- Sarangkole**, *alt.* Soninke [snk], 25
- Sarangkolle**, *alt.* Soninke [snk], 25
- Saraxuli**, *alt.* Soninke [snk], 25
- Sarkanci**, *alt.* Bozo, Jenaama [bze], 13
- Sarkawa**, *alt.* Bozo, Jenaama [bze], 13
- Sebbe**, *alt.* Soninke [snk], 25
- Sébékoro**, *dial.* Kagoro [xkg], 19
- Séféto**, *dial.* Kagoro [xkg], 19
- Segou**, *dial.* Bamanankan [bam], 11
- Senare**, *alt.* Sénoufo, Syenara [shz], 24
- Senari**, *alt.* Sénoufo, Syenara [shz], 24
- Sénoufo, Mamara** [myk], 23, 30, 31  
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- Sénoufo, Sicità** [sep], 23, 30, 31  
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- Sénoufo, Supyire** [spp], 23, 29, 30, 31  
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- Sénoufo, Syenara** [shz], 24, 30, 31  
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- Serahule**, *alt.* Soninke [snk], 25
- Serecole**, *alt.* Soninke [snk], 25
- Shenara**, *alt.* Sénoufo, Syenara [shz], 24
- Sicijuungé**, *alt.* Sénoufo, Sicità [sep], 23
- Siciré**, *alt.* Sénoufo, Sicità [sep], 23
- Sicità**, *alt.* Sénoufo, Sicità [sep], 23
- Sikasso**, *dial.* Bamanankan [bam], 11
- Sipiité**, *alt.* Sénoufo, Sicità [sep], 23
- Sôghoo**, *dial.* Sénoufo, Mamara [myk], 23
- Somono**, *dial.* Bamanankan [bam], 11
- Songai**, *alt.* Songhay, Humburi Senni [hmb], 24  
*alt.* Songhay, Koyra Chiini [khq], 24  
*alt.* Songhay, Koyraboro Senni [ses], 25
- Songay Senni**, *alt.* Songhay, Humburi Senni [hmb], 24  
*alt.* Songhay, Koyraboro Senni [ses], 25
- Songhai**, *alt.* Songhay, Humburi Senni [hmb], 24  
*alt.* Songhay, Koyra Chiini [khq], 24  
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- Songhay**, *alt.* Songhay, Humburi Senni [hmb], 24  
*alt.* Songhay, Koyra Chiini [khq], 24  
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- Songhay, Humburi Senni** [hmb], 24, 30, 30  
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- Songhay, Koyra Chiini** [khq], 24, 29, 30, 30  
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- Songhay, Koyraboro Senni** [ses], 25, 29, 30  
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- Songhoy**, *alt.* Songhay, Humburi Senni [hmb], 24  
*alt.* Songhay, Koyra Chiini [khq], 24
- Songoi**, *alt.* Songhay, Humburi Senni [hmb], 24  
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- Sonrai**, *alt.* Songhay, Humburi Senni [hmb], 24  
*alt.* Songhay, Koyra Chiini [khq], 24  
*alt.* Songhay, Koyraboro Senni [ses], 25

- Sonrhai**, *alt.* Songhay, Humburi Senni [hmb], 24  
*alt.* Songhay, Koyra Chiini [khq], 24  
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- Sooninkanxanne**, *alt.* Soninke [snk], 25
- Sooninke**, *alt.* Soninke [snk], 25
- Sorko**, *alt.* Bozo, Jenaama [bze], 13
- Sorogaama**, *alt.* Bozo, Jenaama [bze], 13
- Sorogama**, *alt.* Bozo, Jenaama [bze], 13
- Sorogoye**, *alt.* Bozo, Jenaama [bze], 13
- Standard Bambara**, *dial.* Bamanankan [bam], 11
- Sucite**, *alt.* Sénoufo, Sicité [sep], 23
- Sulaka**, *alt.* Hassaniyya [mey], 11
- Suõõ**, *dial.* Sénoufo, Mamara [myk], 23
- Sup'ide**, *alt.* Sénoufo, Supyire [spp], 23
- Suppire**, *alt.* Sénoufo, Supyire [spp], 23
- Supyire**, *alt.* Sénoufo, Supyire [spp], 23
- Suraka**, *alt.* Hassaniyya [mey], 11
- Suraxxé**, *alt.* Hassaniyya [mey], 11
- Syenara**, *alt.* Sénoufo, Syenara [shz], 24
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- Tadhaq**, *dial.* Tamasheq [taq], 26
- Tagba**, *alt.* Sénoufo, Sicité [sep], 23
- Tagbaar**, *dial.* Sénoufo, Syenara [shz], 24
- Tahoua**, *alt.* Tamajaq, Tawallammat [ttq], 26
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- Tandam**, *alt.* Dogon, Toro Tegu [dtt], 16
- Tankire**, *dial.* Konabéré [bbo], 19
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- Tawallammat Tan Ataram**, *dial.* Tamajaq, Tawallammat [ttq], 26
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- Tebul Ure**, *alt.* Dogon, Tebul Ure [dtu], 16
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- Tie**, *alt.* Bozo, Tieyaxo [boz], 13
- Tié**, *alt.* Bozo, Tiemacèwè [boo], 13
- Tie Bara**, *dial.* Dogon, Tomo Kan [dtm], 16
- Tièma Cèwè**, *alt.* Bozo, Tiemacèwè [boo], 13
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- Tienwan Ganda**, *dial.* Dogon, Tomo Kan [dtm], 16
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- Timbuktu**, *dial.* Tamasheq [taq], 26
- Timbuktu Songhoy**, *alt.* Songhay, Koyra Chiini [khq], 24

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- Tomo-Kan**, *alt.* Dogon, Tomo Kan [dtm], 16
- Tondi Songway Kiini** [tst], 27, 30, 30
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- Wakkore**, *alt.* Soninke [snk], 25
- Walo**, *alt.* Dogon, Bankan Tey [dbw], 14
- Wankara**, *alt.* Soninke [snk], 25
- Wassulu**, *alt. dial.* Bamanankan [bam], 11
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- Western Bobo Oule**, *alt.* Bomu [bmq], 12
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