

Sociolinguistic analysis of the quest for African transnational languages

SEKONGO Gossouhon,
Alassane Ouattara Université-Côte d'Ivoire
sgossouhon@gmail.com

Abstract:

The issue of Africa's underdevelopment is sometimes explained as dependent on Africa's multilingual profile. This multilingual characteristic of Africa makes it impossible for Africans to design real language policies with a possible opening to neighboring countries. One of the consequences of this is the inability of Africans to ensure reliable intercultural communication between neighboring countries. It is this lack of reliable and authentic inter-community communication that constitutes the interest of this analysis. Based on both qualitative and quantitative data, this analysis will rely on the sociolinguistic theory of linguistic planning policy to offer a few transnational languages in order to ensure communication and strengthen links between neighboring countries; thus, ensuring the socio-cultural and economic development of Africa.

Keywords: underdevelopment-multilingualism-language policies-development-intercultural communication.

Résumé :

La problématique du sous-développement de l'Afrique est parfois expliquée comme dépendant du profil multilingue de l'Afrique. Cette caractéristique multilingue de l'Afrique entraîne l'impossibilité pour les Africains de concevoir de véritables politiques linguistiques avec une possible ouverture sur les pays voisins. Une des conséquences de ce profil linguistique, est l'incapacité des Africains à assurer une communication interculturelle fiable entre les pays voisins. C'est cette absence de communication intercommunautaire fiable et authentique qui constitue l'intérêt de la présente analyse. En se basant sur des données tant qualitatives que quantitatives, la présente analyse s'appuiera sur la théorie sociolinguistique de la politique d'aménagement linguistique pour proposer quelques langues transnationales afin d'assurer la communication et raffermir les liens entre pays voisins ; assurant ainsi le développement socioculturel et économique de l'Afrique.

Mots clés : Sous-développement-multilinguisme-politiques linguistiques-développement-communication interculturelle.

Introduction:

The current analysis addresses the issue of the necessity of promoting some well selected African languages to serve as a transnational language. The importance of such a language is to help solve the communication gap between African countries separated by the linguistic divides that exist between French speaking countries and English-speaking countries (see map, page 2), though some of these countries are linguistically linked at the basis. In terms, this language will not only help solve communication needs between individuals beyond frontiers in Africa, but also it will help solve the same needs inside the same nation.

A positive and often referral side of Africa is that Africa is a rich continent on the basis of its resources. According to Isabelle Ramdoo (2019, p.1), Africa transpires as the richest continent in terms of its natural resources with sixty (60) types of minerals, but more specifically it has 90 percent of the platinum stores; 80 percent of coltan; 60 percent of cobalt; 70 percent of tantalum, 46 percent of the diamond reserves and 40 percent of gold reserves, to name only these. In addition to these important quantities of natural resources, we can also add

an important number of languages. The number of languages in Africa oscillates between one thousand (1000) and two-thousand (2000) languages. However, none of these riches do not profit to the African continent. Along with this paradox, Ramdoo (2019, p.1) will even state that Africa impresses by its grasping contrasts between its important quantity of local resources and the level of its poverty. In fact, the natural resources of Africa are always exported as raw material and will only return back in final products ready for consumption. As for the African languages, they are simply excluded from its development systems. As such, these languages only serve for home context.

And yet, Africa is aspiring to development, a ground within which the exploitation and use of local resources constitutes a fertile area to operate an actual development. It can barely be observed worldwide that the most developed nations are those which transform their local resources as bases on which they ground development. Similarly, most of the nations which use at least one of their local languages not only in the educational system as well as in intergroup communications are the most developed nations. Another point might be that groups of nations that come about to ensure intercommunity communication often constitute indisputable forces to ensure development. On this basis, it can rightfully be said that the failure of African nations to devise an actual language policy is the key reason for the underdevelopment of African nations. In other terms, the consubstantial dependence of Africa



Official Languages in Africa:

 Afrikaans	 Portuguese
 Arabic	 Spanish
 English	 Swahili
 French	 other languages

Source : [NordNordWest](#), Official languages in Africa.svg 26 March 2010

may be explained by the reluctance of Africa to resort to its own resources whenever development issues are at stake.

One of the determinant issues impeding to the development of the African continent is first and foremost the issue of linguistic integration. The concept of integration may imply that of insertion in the way an entity accommodates to other(s). In other terms, it is an openness to other(s). In the case of languages, integration may imply that possibility of the communicating connection and it necessarily implies to various communities. In my view, one of the first issue Africa must solve and which constitutes the inception to a true development is the insurance of intercommunity communication basing on some African transnational languages.

Leaning on the theory of Language Planning policy and, in some extent, on the Theory of ethnography of communication, the objective of this analysis, is to suggest a language which can serve as fertilizer to an authentic communication between individuals from different African backgrounds. The idea behind this objective is to solve communication needs basing on a language which goes beyond African frontiers, and as such, may enable a mutual intelligibility between linguistic communities inside and outside nations.

The real issue at stake, is not as such the actual absence of languages which can play such a function, but the hesitation of decision-makers to take a courageous decision to promote some of the African transnational languages⁹ so that to ensure an actual integration of African nations. The objective to reach an actual integration will not be fully realize if communication problem is at stake. However, if developmental issues also depend, on a large scale, on the openness of communities, can such a policy bring about an actual understanding between different communities? What are the indicators to succeed such a policy? How to determine a transnational language?

1- Methodology.

A methodology applicable to the good conduct of the current analysis will call, at the same time, for qualitative as well as quantitative data. The interest of the qualitative data will help better explain or enlighten some of the key concepts in the current analysis. This necessitates a resort to second-hand information as data source. As for quantitative data, second-hand data will also be of a great importance. In fact, to better make out and analyze the view at stake some data obtained through different researches that have been conducted in various setting will be exploited.

Obviously, the types of data to exploit clearly indicate that this research is, on the one hand, at the same time a quantitative and qualitative research, and on the second hand it is also at the same time a descriptive and analytic research. Descriptive research is a research type that is used to identify and obtain information on the characteristics of a particular issue or phenomenon under study. As for the analytic research, it can be defined as a research type that aims at understanding phenomena by discovering and measuring causal relations between them.

The present research paper investigates the correlation between language and intergroup communication. Resorting to the two types will in the one hand help elucidate what is to understand by the concept of intercultural communication. On the second hand, they will

⁹ A transnational language can be looked on as a language which is source of transnational identity and at the same time this language has a symbolic status. In the current context, it is a language that originates and is used in and beyond various nations.

help establish the causal relations between intercultural communication and the concept of development.

2- Development and the Issue of Intercultural Communication

Intercultural communication is a sociolinguistic theory which addresses a set of questions such as what language to use? When? Where? To whom? In other terms, it consists in answering the question of what we need to know so that to become an active member of a speech community. Intercultural communication can be seen as the study of patterns of language use which confer the status of active member to an individual speaker. Borrowing words from Ekkehard Wolf H. (2000, p.298), I can state that intercultural communication “*seeks to answer several big whs: who speaks what to whom, when and where, and why in which particular language variety?*” Resorting to the words of Ekkehard Wolf H. (2000, p.298) is interesting in as much as the author himself asserts that the big whs reflect some of the major factors involved when two or more individuals are speaking to each other; that is, engage in verbal as much as social interaction. In his view; verbal or social interaction goes along with set of questions which encompasses the incompressible presence of participants (who speaks to whom?), the topic of conversation (what are they talking about?), the setting and the sociocultural context (where and when at any particular social occasion or cultural event do they speak?), the pragmatic function (why are they speaking, what is language used for?); and the language variety (which particular lect, code or register are they using?)

Concerning development, it is a double edge-process which implies a progression. Generally, this concept alludes to economics; the increase of PDP, or in terms of income per capita. To this quantitative aspect of development opposes a qualitative one. The qualitative aspect of development is what puts mankind at the center of the debates. It is the type of development which does not ignore suffering, happiness, joy, to paraphrase E Morin (2002, p.48). For this author, the quest for profit and profitability dehumanizes mankind, emptying him of his social and positive contents.

Contrary to this, the qualitative aspect of development is what gives to man an important place in his community and his environment. As such, the qualitative aspect of development implies a social change which is necessarily a collective phenomenon, that is, it involves a community or a significant sector of a community. It affects the conditions, lifestyles or even the mental universe of more than a few individuals. In addition, a social change must be a change of structure, that is to say, one must be able to observe a modification of the social organization in its entirety or in some of its components. In this perspective, the social change can also adapt to an openness, key characteristic for communities or societies which target a true development.

Social openness is somehow the capitulation of identity practices to make home to a new social basis. It implies sociocultural and linguistic dynamism and the acknowledgement of the great contribution of each linguistic group to the community life. In fact, the new vision of Africa which aims at integration “necessitates new supranational entities” (Amaryll Chanady, 1994, p.171). To paraphrase Chanady¹⁰, I can say that for the African nations, it is essential to conceptualize national and cultural identity heterogeneously. This calls for the appropriation of the notion, of *differance* as devised by Cross (2004). This supposes a stance in which the constructions of one’s identity goes beyond the strict consideration of what intrinsically of his cultural background so as to see in neighboring cultural systems, the possibility of constituting identity referrals for an individual. In so doing, it can help account

¹⁰ idem

for internal differences as well as external influences, and to locate nations referring supranational conglomerations. Additionally, it can also be used to approach the complex and changing reality of our time, where many ethnic and social groups within a country claim greater participation in political and economic life and their right to be different and where international consultations allow the realization of clearly supranational projects. Such projects bypass a linguistic integration so that to easier communication between different linguistic groups and foster mutual intelligibility between communities.

In the process of intercommunity communication, the acquisition of a common language is crucial. However, linguistic integration does not work just like other forms of integrations (Conseil de l'Europe 2016, P.2). Linguistic integration works hand in hand with the modification of identities. And as an identity marker, language participates to the creation of social distinction. In fact, learning a language is not just a matter of practical competence, but it potentially triggers a process of questioning identities¹¹. For the Conseil de l'Europe (2016, P.2) linguistic integration function as a dissymmetric process. It goes without saying that the presence of a new language can bring about threats. But in the case of the current study, the languages on which intercommunity communication will be based make part of the linguistic resources of the settings at stake.

Moreover, the promotion of such a language has the advantage to challenge the remaining vestige of the colonial legacy that is basically made of colonial languages. It is well-known that colonial power has imposed colonial languages, and by the same token, colonial culture. Consequently, these colonial languages have assimilated African local languages, and in so doing, they have been producing lot of power based on the monopoly in all the key domains which could at least be considered as the domain of expression of African local languages. As such the structural domination of the African culture was set. The strategy was such that colonizers make sure that the systems elaborated would be perpetuated even after colonization. A global example of such a strategy is that even after independence, colonial languages remain the official languages of most of the African countries and any attempt to empower African languages fail because of two main factors.

One of these factors is what Scotton (1990, p.27) called the “elites closure”. This factor derives from the result of the brain-washed strategy applied by colonizers in the view of convincing African that their own cultures and languages are so poor that they cannot help operate development. In so doing the power is left in the hands of the elites to ensure the continuity of colonial domination but with a new method.

As for the second factor, it is the consequence of the former factor. It is what is looked on as the “inheritance situation” (Gellar, 1973, p.385) which aims at seeing how policies and practices from the colonial period continues to determine post-colonial policies and practices. As such, the importance of the development in its qualitative aspect, that is, the human development was overlooked. The consideration that local languages constitute the most efficient medium of education was brushed about. Literacy for development which targets the empowerment of individuals was misguided to become literacy for prestige (Paa Kwasi, 2005). All these orientations have made home for various conceptions of what should be considered as the international with whom the establishment of communication for development is a must. In fact, for most African countries, the international community mainly consisted of the former colonial power and the other countries that share its language. In doing so, many important neighboring countries which have different official languages would be seen as distant countries, in as much as there is a linguistic distance. Linguistic

¹¹ “Conseil de l'Europe / Unité des Politiques linguistiques (Strasbourg) – Projet ILMA : www.coe.int/lang-migrants/fr”

distance is a multidimensional phenomenon (Vincent J. Van Heuven, 2008, p.39). Obviously, linguistic distance implies cultural distance, and by the same token ideological distance.

The subdivision of African countries on the basis of the official languages they speak has somehow created blocs of which the most important are the African English-speaking countries and the African French-speaking countries. In this regard; each of these blocs looked on at the other as a totally separated and even strange community with its characteristics of insecurity, creating so the paranoia of anxiety.

It can clearly be stated that the resort to colonial languages as official languages in most African countries has rather created many problems than they have solved. As already stated above, their maintenance has perpetuated the ever-growing supremacy of colonial languages to the detriment of local languages. Moreover, their prevalence has cut-off the natural function that African languages should play, that of the necessary tools for the successful articulation of the polity, and as powerful symbols of the community (José del Valle, 2012, p.392). It should not also be forgotten that language does not only serve for communication, it is also a matter of ideology to support and vehicle an identity. In defining ideology, José del Valle supports that:

Ideology is indeed a slippery category. And so is, therefore, linguistic ideology. However, from a glottopolitical perspective, I embrace its adoption to highlight the well-known fact that speech itself and representations of language – implicit or explicit – are embedded in cultural, political, and social contexts. (2012, p.391).

The reading of this quotation shows that there remains a key element to work on if African nations actually will to build their development on a solid rock; that is, repositioning their local languages at the center of development matters. However, amidst the plethora of African languages, which language can reasonably help bridge up communication gap? In other words; which language can actually ease the process of African integration? What can serve criteria for the determination of the language of intercommunication flexibility?

2- Indicators to Ensure Intercommunity Communication.

To ensure a sustainable intercommunity communication necessitates we move on the basis of the linguistic profile of Africa. The linguistic profile of Africa is characterized by an intensive multilingualism and it is composed of four language phyla¹²: the Afroasiatic languages, the Nihilo-Saharan languages, the Niger-Congo languages and the Khoisan languages. Each of these four language phyla stretches over a specific area of the African continent.

Estimated at approximately 375 languages, Afroasiatic languages are used in North Africa and the horn of Africa. This language phylum is made of a set of subgroups such as the Semitic languages; the Cushitic languages, the Berber and the Chadic languages.

Concerning the Nihilo-Saharan languages; they are about a hundred (100) languages and are found in the area going from southern Egypt to northern Tanzania and into Nigeria and DR Congo. Some of the known languages in this language phylum concern Kunari, Songhay, and Maasai.

¹² Roger Blench, 2017, African language isolates. In *Language Isolates*, edited by Lyle Campbell, pp. 176-206. Routledge.

The Niger-Congo transpires as the largest group of language families in Africa¹³. It nearly covers the entire Sub-Saharan Africa. This language phylum is made of more than 1,500 languages among which we have Mande, Igbo, Yoruba, Fula. The fourth phylum composing the African linguistic map is made of the Khoisan languages. This language phylum seems to be the smallest of the four languages phyla of Africa and it is made of about 30 languages. Khoisan languages are mainly found in Namibia and Botswana whereby languages such as Shona, Sesotho and Zulu are found.

From the introduction of the four language languages phyla in Africa clearly comes out that a language project which would intend to foster transnational communication would not be an easy task. In fact, there are so many languages in Africa that such a project necessitates a deep reflection on how to proceed in order not awake the old demons of linguistic conflicts. It is no more an information that language goes together with a set of ideologies that always prevail and constitute actual constraint in language determination. However, thanks to the information collected in previous works, my point is that a project which intend to promote some languages in Africa with the intention to facilitate transnational communication could be made on the basis of macro-areas of genetic boundaries in Africa.

Moving on the basis of these boundaries has the advantage to solve at some regional levels, the issue of authentic communication problem between neighboring countries which sometimes face communication issues when they use different colonial languages as official languages. Anyway, my suggestion does not intend to increase the already complex multilingual profile of African nations, but rather to call on African nations within which language planning policies are on process, to integrate in their reflection the necessity to easier communication with neighboring countries by means of some shared transnational languages.

Obviously, the two conflicting, that is, the positions of Nationists and that of Nationalists would be at stake. If for Nationists a language planning policy should favor linguistic pluralism, for nationalists, it should rather be centered around a linguistic assimilation. In our specific case, there is a necessity to opt to the linguistic pluralism, in as much as the issue is to solve a transnational communicative need.

3- Languages for transnational communication

In the view of suggesting possible transnational languages, the works of researchers such as Testen, David (2020), Wolff, H. Ekkehard. (2014, 2016), Bendor-Samuel, John T. (2000, 2014, 2015), Britannica (2014, 2019), Nancy Kula and Lutz Marten (2008) and Vydrine, Valentin (2015) will be of a great help. A synthesis made on the basis of the outcomes of the researches of these authors leads to the following points noted in the table below:

N°	Languages	Location	Use Rate
1	Arabic	Used as a first language in an area stretching from the Atlantic coast of northern Africa to western Iran	More than 200 million as first language, 250 million people as a secondary language
2	Berber	Spoken in the Large region of northern Africa between Egypt's Siwa Oasis and Mauritania. The	14 million people

13 Irene Thompson, "Niger-Congo Language Family", "about world languages ", March 2015

		heaviest concentration of Berber speakers is found in Morocco.	
3	Oromo	Spoken mainly in Ethiopia Eritrea, Djibouti, Somalia, and northwestern Kenya.	20 millions speakers
4	Fulani	Spoken in almost all the savanna lands from Senegal to Sudan and large in number in Nigeria and Cameroon.	15,000,000 speakers (Bendor, 2015)
5	Yoruba	Yoruba is of a wide geographic spread, stretching from the Benin-Nigeria border. It is used cross Nigeria and Cameroon through central Africa to Eastern Africa. It includes all the countries in central and southern Africa	Yoruba (20,00 0,000 speakers) (Bendor, 2000)
6	Madingo	Mali, guinea-Conakry ; Burkina faso, Côte d'Ivoire, Gambia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Liberia (Vedryne Valentin, 2015, p.6)	Over 20 millions
7	Igbo	Nigeria (Bendor 2014)	20 millions speakers
8	Lingala	widely used in Congo (Brazzaville) and Congo (Kinshasa), (Bendor 2000)	Lingala, has 9,000,000 speakers
9	Kongo	Congo (Kinshasa) and Angola , Congo (Brazzaville) (Bendor 2000)	7,000,000
10	Swahili	Swahili is widely used as a lingua franca in an area extending from Lamu Island, Kenya, Tanzania, Kenya, Congo (Kinshasa) Uganda (Britannica, 2014). It also used in Somali, Rwanda, Burundi, RDC, Mozambique (Nancy Kula and Lutz Marten, 2008)	5,000,000 native speakers but some 30,000,000 second-language speakers. (Britannica, 2014)
11	Sotho	South Africa and Lesotho (Bendor 2000)	Northern Sotho (3,800,000) and Southern Sotho (4,000,000)
12	Xhosa	Xhosa and Zulu are similar enough to be considered dialects of one language (Britannica, 2019)	7,000,000 speakers (Bendor 2000)
13	Afrikhaans	South Africa and Namibia (Nancy Kula and Lutz Marten, 2008)	6,000,000 speakers

14	Zulu	South Africa, Lesotho, Botswana, Mozambique, Swaziland (Bendor, 2000)	9,000,000 speakers
15	Shona	Zimbabwe, Zambia, Mozambique, Botswana (Bendor 2000)	7,000,000 speakers

A reading of the table above shows that North Africa occupied by afro-Atlantic philum is a space highly dominated by the Arabic language with more than 200 million speakers who use it as a first language and some 250 million speakers using it as a secondary language (Testen, David, 2020, p.1). The spread of the Arabic language goes from Morocco to Sudan including Ethiopia, Eritrea, Djibouti, Somalia, and Northwestern Kenya. It stretches up to western Africa (Mali, Mauritania, Niger) central Africa (central Republic of Africa). Next to the Arabic language which highly occupies North Africa, we have the Berber language with only 14 million speakers. Therefore, in this large area the Arabic language can serve as transnational language.

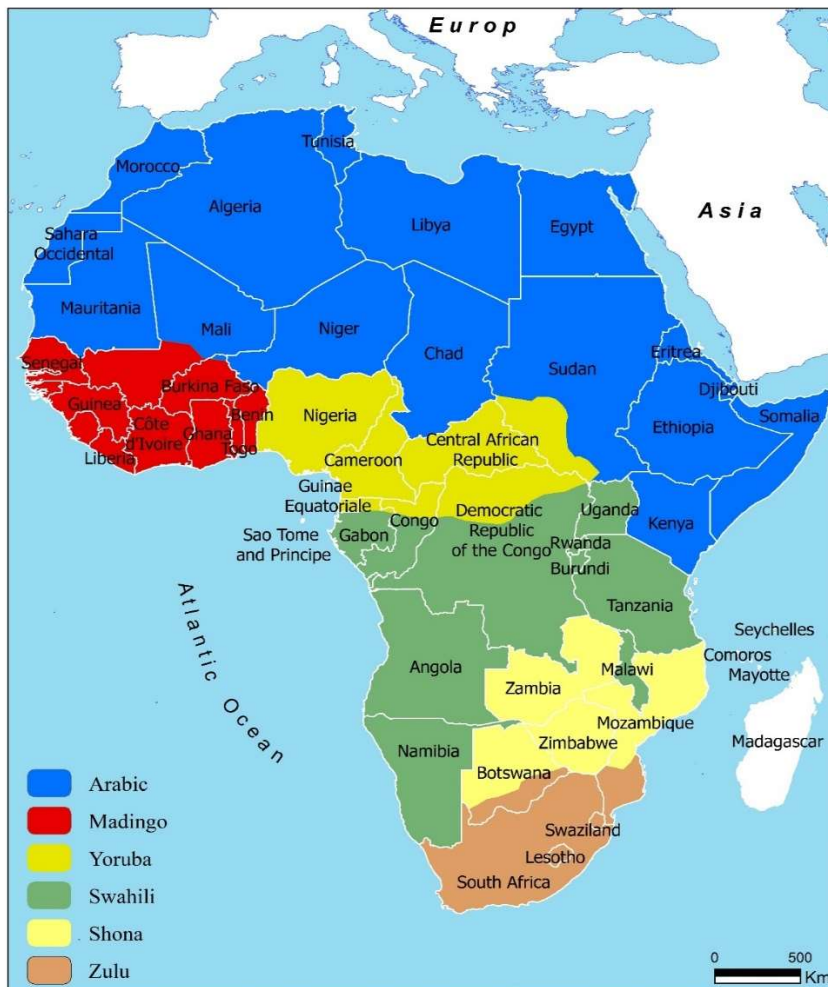
The most complex zone is the one occupied by the Niger-Congo which splits into multiple languages amongst which the most spread ones are Madingo (which has various denomination as Bambara, Malinke, Mandinka and Diula). The madingo is spoken by more than 20 million speakers. It stretches to almost all the western Africa and used in countries such as Mali, Guinea-Conakry; Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, Gambia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Liberia (Vedryne Valentin (2015, p.6). Next to the Madingo language, is Yoruba which serves as transmission belt between Western, Central and even a part of Southern Africa. Yoruba is of a wide geographic spread, stretching from the Benin-Nigeria border. It is used across Nigeria and Cameroon through Central Africa to Eastern Africa. It includes all the countries in Central and Southern Africa (Bendor, 2000). Therefore, beyond any other ideological consideration, Madingo and Yoruba could be used as transnational languages, respectively in western Africa and from Nigeria to the beginning of southern Africa, passing by central Africa.

In the Eastern and central part of Africa covered by the Bantu language family ; that is, the area comprising Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Kinshasa), Lamu Island, Kenya, Tanzania, Kenya, Congo (Kinshasa) Uganda, Somali, Rwanda, Burundi, RDC and Mozambique, two languages prevail : Lingala and Swahili. In this area, the most used language is Swahili with 5,000,000 native speakers and some 30,000,000 second-language speakers. (Britannica, 2014). Swahili covered almost all the countries of this geographical space as it is spoken in the area extending from Lamu Island, Kenya, Tanzania, Kenya, Congo (Kinshasa) Uganda (Britannica, 2014). It is also spoken in Somali, Rwanda, Burundi, RDC, Mozambique (Nancy Kula and Lutz Marten, 2008). In the contrary, Lingala which has 9,000,000 speakers is only used in two countries, Congo (Brazzaville) and Congo (Kinshasa), (Bendor 2000). Therefore, for the sake of transnational communication, Swahili could fit as it is used in almost all the countries of this zone.

In the Southern part of Africa, which is a zone covered by the Khoisan language phylum, a zone stretching from Namibia to Zimbabwe and down to South Africa. In this area, the most used languages are Sotho (Northern Sotho (3,800,000 speakers and Southern Sotho 4,000,000 speakers), Xhosa (7,000,000 speakers), Zulu (9,000,000 speakers) Shona (7,000,000 speakers). But, researches show that Xhosa and Zulu are similar enough to be considered as dialects of one language (Britannica, 2019, p1). Therefore, speakers of Xhosa and Zulu can be said to share mutual intelligibility between them. Concerning the Afrikaans, this language is only used in South Africa and Namibia (Nancy Kula and Lutz Marten, 2008). The same false truth in respect of the Sotho language which is spoken only in South Africa and Lesotho (Bendor 2000). In such case, the most spread languages in Southern Africa would be

the Zulu and shona and they can easily serve as languages for transnational communication in Southern Africa.

From the suggestion made, six languages such as Arabic, Madingo, Yoruba, Swahili, Zulu and Shona can be used for transnational communication in Africa. The advantage with these languages is that they are already part of the linguistic realities of the societies for which they have been suggested (see map below). Therefore, they would have the advantage of reinforcing the cultural identities of their respective societies not without reinforcing the link between them.



Conclusion

By means of this analysis, my intention consisted in showing that it is possible to work out an actual linguistic connection between various communities in Africa, but on the basis of the linguistic resources offered by the settings. It is really embarrassing to forget about what we have as linguistic bridge between the various African communities and resort to foreign

languages possibilities that are mastered by few individuals, and as such fail to actually establish the linguistic connection between communities.

Moreover, foreign languages in Africa have succeeded in perpetuating the idea of the 'world blocks' as, only those countries that use the same foreign language would only feel a link between themselves. From the national perspective to the international scope, a language of transnational communication would not only help reinforce the capacity to hearing and understanding one another, but it can help devise tolerance, empathy between various and distant communities. Obviously, tolerance, empathy and mutual intelligibility constitute key elements on which development can be built. However, with the reluctance of African people to rely on their cultural resources to work out development, would they accept the suggested languages for transnational and/or intercommunity communication?

References

- AMARYLL Chanady, 1994. « L'ouverture à l'Autre. Immigration, interpénétration culturelle et mondialisation des perspectives » la question identitaire au Canada francophone. *Récits/parcours/enjeux/hors-lieux*. Pp 167-188. <https://www.erudit.org/fr>
- BENDOR-Samuel, John T.. "Atlantic languages". *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 16 Jan. 2015, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/African-Atlantic-languages>. Accessed 18 September 2021.
- BENDOR-Samuel, John T.. "Benue-Congo languages". *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 14 Dec. 2000, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Benue-Congo-languages>. Accessed 18 September 2021.
- BENDOR-Samuel, John T.. "Igbo languages". *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 31 Dec. 2014, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Igbo-languages>. Accessed 18 September 2021.
- BRITANNICA, The Editors of Encyclopaedia. "Swahili language". *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 27 Aug. 2014, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Swahili-language>. Accessed 20 September 2021.
- BRITANNICA, The Editors of Encyclopaedia. "Xhosa language". *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 8 Feb. 2019, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Xhosa-language>. Accessed 20 September 2021.
- CONSEIL de l'Europe, 2014, *Unité des Politiques linguistiques* (Strasbourg) – Projet ILMA : www.coe.int/lang-migrants/fr
- MORIN, E. (2002). Pour une politique de civilisation. *La pensée de midi*, 7, 40-50. <https://doi.org/10.3917/lpm.007.0040>
- GELLAR Sheldon, 1973. State-Building and Nation-Building in West-Africa? S.N. Eisenstadt and Stein Rokkan (eds), *Building States and Nations*, vol2. Beverly Hills. Sage publications, pp384-426.
- JOSE del Valle, 2012, « Transnational languages: beyond nation and empire? An introduction », *Sociolinguistic Studies*, VOL 5. EQUINOX PUBLISHING, ISSN: 1750-8649 (print) ISSN: 1750-8657 (online) pp.387–397 © 2012, City University of New York, CUNY, USA.
- MORIN Edgar, 2002, « Au-delà de la globalisation et du développement, société-monde ou empire-monde ? La Découverte | « Revue du MAUSS » 2002/2 no 20 | pages 43 à 53 ISSN 1247-4819 ISBN 2-7071-3876-2 <https://www.cairn.info/revue-du-mauss>
- MYERS-Scotton, Carol? 1990. Elite Closure as Boundary Maintenance: The Case of Africa. In Brian Weinstein (ed.) *Language Policy and Political Development*. Norwood , New Jersey : Ablex. 25– 42.
- NANCY Kula and Lutz Marten, « Central, East and southern African languages » *One Thousand Languages: Living, Endangered, and Lost*, edited by Petr K. Austin. University of California Press, Berkeley Los Angeles. 2008.

- RAMDOO Isabelle, 2019, « L'Afrique des ressources naturelles novembre », *International Institution for Sustainable Development* (IISD) IA vanguardia dossier N°: 74, Madrid Espagne.
- RASTIER François, 2003, le langage comme milieu : des pratiques aux oeuvres construction des connaissances et langage dans les disciplines d'enseignement » Bordeaux, France.
- SCOTTON Carol Meyers, 1990 : Elite's Closure as boundary maintainance ; The case of Africa. Brian Weinstein edition. Language and Political Development. Norwood, N.J : Ablex publishing Corporation, pp.23-42.
- TESTEN, David. "Semitic languages". *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 13 May. 2020, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Semitic-languages>. Accessed 18 September 2021.
- VINCENT J. Van Heuven, 2008: « Mutual intelligibility of related language varieties » , *International Journal of Humanities and Arts Computing* 2(1-2), Edinburgh University Press and the Association for History and Computing 2009 DOI:10.3366/E1753854809000305
- VYDRINE, Valentin, *Manding-English Dictionary: Maninka, Bamana Vol. 1. A, B, D-DAD* Supplemented by some entries from subsequent entries. MeaBooks Inc. 2015.
- Wolff, H. Ekkehard (2000) "Language and Society." In: B. Heine & D. Nurse (Eds) *African Languages: An Introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 298-347.
- Wolff, H. Ekkehard. "Berber languages". *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 26 Sep. 2016, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Amazigh-languages>. Accessed 18 September 2021.
- WOLFF, H. Ekkehard. "Chadic languages". *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 15 Dec. 2014, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Chadic-languages>. Accessed 18 September 2021.