

Language and Ethnic Groups in Sudan

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Abstract

This study aims at investigating language and ethnic groups in the Sudan. In this study the researcher has made a review of historical background of the Sudan and its people.

The Sudan is a multilingual country. It has more than 300 local vernacular languages. It has a diversity of cultures.

The Sudan has more than 300 indigenous tribes. They are Afro-Arabian Nilo-Saharan tribes and black African tribes. But Arabic language is the National Language and the language of education. There are the Nilo-Saharan tribes in the North of the Sudan within the blank of the Nile.

In the East of the Sudan mainly in the Red Sea State, there are the tribes of: Beni Amer, Hadndawa, Amharinga, and Tigrai. Each of these tribes has its own local language.

Then we have the Blue Nile State and the Nuba mountain tribes. Each of these tribes has its own local language. And we have North State Kordofan and South Kordofan State. The later is inhabited by many ethnic groups tribes. Each of these tribes has its own language.

Thus we have the greater Darfur States. Each of these state has many ethnic groups. Each of these groups has its own language.

Hence the case study of this paper is language and ethnic groups in the Sudan.

Keywords: Language, ethnic groups, bilingualism, multilingualism

INTRODUCTION:

(Library of Congress:- Fedral Research Division, country profile: Sudan, December 2004). Country Formal Name: Republic of the Sudan. Short form: Sudan. Term for Citizen (s): Sudanese. Capital: Khartoum. Other Major Cities: Omdurman, Khartoum North, Port Sudan, Kassala, Al Ubayyid and Nyala.

Independence: Sudan gained independence from United Kingdom and Egypt on January 1st 1956. Public Holidays: Sudan observes the following public holidays: Independence Day, Feast of the Sacrifies/ Id al-Adha, Islamic New year, Uprising Day, anniversary of 19th of December 2019 coup, Coptic Easter/ Shaman- Nassim, Birth of the Prophet/ Mouloud, end of Ramadan/ Id al-fitr and Christians (December 25). The asterisk indicates holidays with variable dates according to the Islamic or Coptic calendar.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND:

Prehistory and Early History: Northern Sudan was inhabited by hunting and gathering peoples by at least 60,000 years ago. These peoples had given way to pastoralists and probably agriculturalists at least by fourth millennium B.C. Sudan's subsequent culture and history have largely revolved around relation to the north with Egypt and to the South with tropical Africa, the Nile River forming "bridge" through the Sahara Desert between the two. The Ancient Egyptians sent military expeditions into Nubia, the region between the first and the second Nile cataracts, and at times occupied Nubia, as well as Cush, the land between the second and sixth cataracts, the population becoming partially Egyptianized. From the early eight century to the mid-seventh century B.C., the Cushites conquered and ruled Egypt. By the early sixth century B.C., a Chushitic state, Meroe, had emerged that eventually extended southward almost to present-day Khartoum. Meroe maintained commercial relations with the Roman world, developed a distinctive culture and written language, and became the locate of an iron-working industry. It succumbed to invasion in the mid-fourth century A.D.

By the sixth century, three state had emerged as the political and cultural heirs of the Meroitic kingdom. All were ruled by warrior aristocracies who converted to Christianity, accepting the

Monophysite rite of Egypt. The church encouraged literacy, the use of Greek in liturgy eventually giving way to the Nubian language. Arabic, however, gained importance after the seven century, especially as a medium for commerce. With the disintegration of the Christian Nubian Kingdoms by the fifteenth century, Islamic civilization and religion spread throughout northern and eastern Sudan. Pastoralists from Egypt filtered into the land, gradually giving rise to a new population composed of local Nubian and Muslim Arabs.

The coming of Islam gradually changed the nature of Sudanese society and facilitated the division of Sudan into northern and southern halves, one Arab, the other, African. In the sixteenth century, the ottoman Turks, governors of Egypt, claimed Nubia as a dependency but exerted little authority beyond the Nile. meanwhile, in central Sudan, a new state called Funj arose with its capital at Sennar on the Blue Nile. the Funj checked the expansion of the Arabs, in the process becoming devout Muslims themselves. In the west, the Fur people formed the state of Darfur and similarly adopted Islam. Both states engaged in the slave trade with Egypt.

Early in the nineteenth century, the Egyptian sent another military expedition into Sudan, establishing a new administration known as the Turkiyah, or Turkish regime. The Egyptians divided Sudan into a provinces, and in 1835 Khartoum became the seat of a governor general. The fostered the growth of Islamic law and institutions and organized and garrisoned the near provinces of Bahr al Ghazal. Equatoria, and upper Nile, home to the Nilotic Dinka, Nuer, and Shilluk as well as the non-Nilotic Azande. In 1874 Egypt conquered and annexed Darfur Slavery and the slave trade, age-old practices in Sudan, interns fied during the nineteenth century. Annual raids for salve resulted in the capture of thousands of black Sudanese, the destruction of the region's stability and economy, and a deep hotred of Arabs among the Southerners.

In the early 1880s, an Islamic cleric, seeking to create a "purified" form of Islam and the throw off Ottoman rule from Egypt, took the title of "Mohdi" ("the rightly guided one"), and launched a revolt against the Ottomans as well as the British, who in 1882 had assumed control of affairs in Egypt. By late 1885, the Mahdi's force, the Ansar, had driven the Egyptians out of Sudan. Mohdist control of central and northern Sudan lasted until an Anglo. Egyptians army defeated the Ansar in 1898. The next year, the Anglo-Egyptians

condominium in Sudan was proclaimed, which provided for joint overt and ship but which in effect placed control in British hands.

(Abdelrahim Hamid Mugaddam, August 2015, language identity in the context of conflict: the case of ethno linguistic communities in South Darfur, <http://www.researchgate.net/publication/280727453>, University of Khartoum/ Aljouf University. International Journal of the Sociology of language). Pointed out that, located in the western most part of the Sudan, the Greater Darfur (constituting five federal states) occupies an area of 549 thousand square kilometers. South Darfur State (SDS)- the area of the present study- is one of these states, with its capital Nyala. According to the Sudan Fifth Population and Housing. Census carried out in 2008, the population of (SDS) stands at 4,074,369 people.

Occupying Vast Savanah lands, SDS is a paradise for sedentary farmers and roaming pastoralists. Although they are usually transhumant, the majority of farmers are Negroid Africans while the majority of nomads are Arabs. Since the 1970s, the region has been devastated by frequent droughts, giving rise to tense competition between nomads and farmers over the shrinking land and water resources. Throughout its history, Darfur conflicts arising on such grounds were often contained amicably through time – honoured traditional conventions. Since the early 1980s, however, the Darfurians have become increasingly dissatisfied with their marginalized position. Nevertheless, there had never been a collective animosity towards the State until mid-2003, Afterwards, two armed movement. The Sudan liberation Army/movement, and justice and Equality Movement, both now falling under several breakaway groups, manifested themselves as movements fighting the government for political grounds.

In fact, as Harir (1993:4) notes, for a long time the Sudanese at large have been experiencing an unstated, but noticeable ethnic-based conflict. This can be seen as a centre vs. periphery conflict, Harir (1993:4) argues, which can be described as "what is not said which divides" the worthy sons of Arabs and gharraba. He argues that this is a long standing conflict traceable to the time of Mahdi, the famous religious propagandist, because the riverain Arabs:

...did not accept the authority of Khalifa Abdullahi, the appointed successor of Mahdi even though Khalifa Abdullahi was an Arab himself. His undoing, as far the riverain Ashraf

were concerned, was that he was a Baggara Arab of the Taisha tribe of Western Sudan, i.e. Darfur. (Harir 1993: 6-7).

We would argue that enmity between the centre and the periphery subdued, at least tactically, when the current conflict broke out. Instead, because the vanguards of the current conflict are mostly non-Arabs, and by the very same token that the majority of ethnic groups mobilized by the government to counter attack the liberation Army/movement were Darfur Arabs, antipathy between these two groups inevitably ensued. As a result, the two groups flagrantly vented their animosities towards each other, resulting in the devastation of the whole region. In terms of language, Arabic is the official language of the Sudan. Except for intermittent periods where English was imposed as an official language, Arabic has been the dominant language since the 1950s. Alongside, about a hundred language belonging to three families, Afro-Asiatic, Kordofanian, and Nile- Saharan, are spoken in the Sudan (Greenberg 1966). In Darfur, Afro-Asiatic and Nile- Saharan are spoken by Zagawa Fur, Massalit and Mdoub. Some languages such as Hausa, Fulani, Daju and Iringa are also spoken in Nigeria and Chad. Yet, the use of Darfurian languages amongst younger age groups is shifting to Arabic, the dominant language in Darfur and the Sudan at large (Idris 2007, Mugaddam 2006a; Mugaddam 2006b).

In this study we use the term "Arabicised", instead of "Arabised", to refer to communities in Darfur which underwent-or are currently undergoing- linguistic, social or cultural processes of Arabicisation in the sense noted by Abdelhay et al. (2011: 465-466). These authors give three definitions for "Arabicisation". Firstly, the term refers to the standardization of Arabic as well as the process of "degradation of local languages and other registers...for the spatiotemporal construction of the Sudan as a single homogenous linguistic community" (2011 : 465-466). Secondly, they use Arabicisation to refer to the political processes adopted for making Arabic the sole national language and medium of instruction; and, thirdly, as the Ideology of Arabism and Islamic nationalism.

In terms of marriage customs, music, dress, physical traits and other indicators of a particular community's identity, the vast majority of Darfurians can be described as Africanised Arabs. When language becomes a gauge, however, the indigenous Darfurians are more likely to be classified as Arabicised Africans. Viewed from the ethno linguistic

vitality theory perspective, what makes a particular community Arabicised or semi-Arabicised in Darfur is the vitality of community's language. However, whether they are "...Arab Sudanese and not Sudanese Arab", as argued by Aguda (1973: 180), the conundrum of who the Sudanese are continues to be a vexing question to linguists and researchers.

In the context of Arabicism and its relationship with Arab nationalism, it is important to give a brief account of the status of Islam and Arabic in Darfur as a whole. The first contact of Darfurians with the Arab Muslims was in about the 13th century (Hassan 1984; Gregerson 1977). Ever since, Arabic – the language of Arab Muslims – has been a lingua franca for eight millennia. During the Fur sultanates (1850-1916), Arabic was also the official language. It was taught to children as a means of preaching and propagating Islam. In addition, all decrees and official correspondence in the sultanates were issued in Arabic (Abu- Goroon 1969: 112). Having subdued other languages by the very virtue of powers vested in it during the pre-and post- colonial regimes, Arabic formidably gained ground. It is now the official language, the sole medium of instruction, the language of commerce, and above all, as argued by Sharky (2008) the language without which the Sudan could not have been strongly tied up with and Arab identity and Arab nationalism.

This study investigates the patterns of self-assertiveness by using Arabic language and other native languages among the ethnic groups characterized by ethno linguistic vitality in the most states of the Sudan such as the Red Sea State, the north state, Greater Darfur states, East Darfur, West Darfur, North Darfur, the White Nile state. The majority of the Sudanese state is inhabited by the indigenous Sudanese people. Some of them are Black African, some of them Afro-Arabian and others are semi-Afro-Arabians. Most of these Sudanese peoples have their own domestic vernaculars languages. Still Arabic language is the official language and the language of education and instruction. It is realized that the coming younger generations begin to lose or to miss their domestic vernacular languages and these local language starts to demolish with the expansion of Arabic language and its culture. Thus the aged-old generations of these local languages has started to observe Arabic language and its Islamic culture with animosity. That for the dominant of Arabic Language. They suspect the ex-government of National Congress Party which rules the Sudan from

1989-2019 with anxiety. They fear the language Ideology may scatter their multilingual and multicultural Sudanese community. Because the ex-regime has tried all the past period to impose Islamic culture and ideology through the intensive expansion of Arabic language. Since the Sudan is a country of clash of culture. Moreover, Sudan is rich with variables believes. Some of Sudanese people are Christians, some of them are Polytheists, but the majority are Muslim. Hence the minorities fear of the expansion of Arabic language and its culture and dominants its existence on the account of local language. Since the Sudanese peoples have more than 300 vernaculars languages. The Sudan is rich with domestic vernaculars languages, clash of culture, ethnicity and believes. During the British colony, English language was the official language; a language of education and instruction. But after independence of British rule, English language becomes as a foreign language. And Arabic language becomes dominant language.

Objectives:

The objectives of this study is to investigate language and ethnic groups. Since the Sudan is a country of various ethnicity. The Sudan is multilingual community, ethno linguistic society. It is rich with clash of cultures. The Sudan is rich with believes such as Islam and its culture, Coptic ethnicity and Christianity. Some of the indigenous peoples are polytheists just like some of Nuba a mountain and the black African southern Sudan before it is separated from the north of the Sudan.

This study aims at casting light into some examples of these domestic languages. And to what extent Arabic language succeeds to present its culture, ideology, believes and identity. To what extent the expansion of Arabic language has its impact over the local vernacular languages. To what extent these domestic vernaculars language struggle to survive among the youngers coming generations to communicate with these domestic languages as a mother tongue and Arabic language domination as a language of instruction, the language of education and the official language. There are questions need to be answered such as the identity: Are Sudanese peoples Arabs, Afro-Arabian or black Africans who speak Arabic as a mother tongue? Does ethnicity enrich the community with multilingualism? Does ethnicity enrich the community of Sudan with multicultural backgrounds. Among the Sudan conflict of ethnicity multilingualism and identities,

does diversity means strength to the Sudanese indigenous peoples. Does Sudanese identity as an ethnic groups with multilingual and multicultural resolve the Sudanese conflict with ethnicity that can be in favour of Sudanese identity.

All these questions are under focus and investigations: Is there inequality under the umbrella of Sudanese identity in the context of language and ethnic groups? All these questions need to be ensured through investigations? Are we really of one identity among these diversity of ethnicities?

The motives:

The motive of this study is shed some light to some of the local languages. It is to give examples of Random lexical items of Sudanese vernaculars languages. It is to display the diversity of Sudanese peoples, as a nation with multilingualism. It is to show the clash of culture of Sudanese people in the context of language and ethnic groups.

The motive of this study is to prove the hypothesis diversity means strength. Various culture of ethnic groups means power.

The motive of this study to put language and ethnic groups in the Sudan under focus. It is to present the power of Sudanese indigenous people under the umbrella of language and ethnic groups.

The motive of the study is display that language unity means language identity. Language and ethnic groups is ethnolinguistic phenomenon in Africa in general and in the Sudan in particular. This study claims that language and ethnic groups led to the fragmentation of the Sudan into two states. One in the north with Arab Muslims and another in the south with the black Africans Christianity.

The Sudan is made up of North State, that includes the local language of "Danagla, Helfaween, Mahuss, Sukuot, Rubatab", the Red Sea State includes the local language of "Beni Amer, Hadendawa, Amhringa". The North Kordofan that has no local languages. South Kordofan state which includes more than go local languages examples (Liri, murou, nimir, trig etc). West Darfur, State, East Darfur State and South Darfur State which include many local language such as (Falata, Hawsa, Zaghawa, massaleet etc.). White Nile State has no local language. Khartoum State has no local languages. Thus language and ethnic groups is interpreted in Sudan various States with various

indigenous vernaculars languages with different cultures. Moreover Sudanese people with different ethnic groups.

Therefore, the researcher is going to present some lexical items of these local vernaculars language of Sudanese indigenous peoples. This takes place in the part of the core of the topic.

LITERATURE REVIEW:

(Chuei D. Mareng, December 2009, The Sudanese dimensions: A country divided by ethnicity and religion, *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations* Vol. 3(12), pp. 532-539. ISSN1996-0832©Academic Journals, <http://www.academicjournal.org/ajpsir>) argues that, the words ethnic group and religions have been greatly controversial in world politics and especially in the developing world. This has been evidenced in the world that the word ethnic group and religion have created civil unrests within many countries and not just on the African Continents. This means that the communities which based their lives on ethnic groups have a different view of the term than the non-ethnic group communities. This is due to the fact that ethnic group and religion are perceived to be a legitimate cause for the group struggles to gain power or to be recognized. Therefore, this article analyzes the significance of ethnic group and religion involvement in causing conflicts in Sudan. It should be noted that many people used the term ethnic group and religion to achieve their common interests when they deemed that these terms would draw more support within their groups when using ethnic group and religion as a bottom line of their gains in national or local politics.

An examination of case study analysis is a combination of diverse means and activities that are dedicated to understanding and explaining case study process and behaviour of significant actors in the national and international system. This is due to the fact that case study analysis is broadly used in a conflict analysis to provide real world scenarios which help us to understand the nature of a conflict in one context. This means that case study emphasizes detailed contextual analysis that is limited to a number of events or conditions and their relationships. In this context, ethnic group is defined as a group of people who identified themselves with one another or are begin identified by others on the basis of their presumed cultural or biological similarities (Assefa, 1995). In analyzing Sudan's dimensions, this

discussion will focus on three regional relationships which tell us how for the Sudan's dimensions had gone. These three regional relationships on the Sudan's dimensions are: Darfur – and Northern Sudan's relationship; Southern – and northern Sudan's relationship; and Sudan's ethnic VS religious relationship. However, the main argument of this article is that Sudan's dimensions are caused by people's aspirations for economic survival. In order to understand Sudan's dimension, a case study analysis was selected to examine these dimension of the Sudan. The reason for choosing a case study analysis was that ethnic group's dimensions in Sudan are a very interesting subject to look at on the ground of contextual analysis. This makes historical context more important for us to look at before analyzing these issues. Even though historical context does not often resolve problem before hands, it does give us a better understanding of the problem.

Darfur and Northern Sudan's relationship:

In order to gain proper understanding of Darfur and Northern Sudan's relationship, it would be useful to get a sense of the background to the conflict in the region which has resulted in territorial claims. The clashes between the non-Arabs have been going on in the region of countries. These differences could be summed up as the ethnic groups' struggle for natural resources in the region (Barnett and Abdelkarim, 1991). However, there is more to be said about ethnic groups' struggle for natural resources. There have been several cases of the region's ethnic group' straddling both sides of the frontier between Chad and Sudan. Historically, there has been significant migration and trade across the border (Badal, 1986). While the region's peoples are mostly Muslims, they are diverse groups ethnically, linguistically and culturally and this has played a significant role in border crossing. There are two methods often used to describe the ethnicities in Darfur such as a language and occupation; each has been used for sometimes to distinguish each indigenous group from the others.

Sudan has two distinct major cultures, the Arab and Black-African, with hundreds of tribal divisions and a language groups, which makes effective collaboration among them a major problem (Global Security Organization, 2002). And even by climate itself, Sudan is divided between the Arab and Black- African, in which the Arabs live in desert area, while the Black-Africans live in tropical areas. There is

a sense that indigenous non-Arabs or African peoples historically do not speak Arabic at home and came to Sudan from the lake Chad area centuries ago (Ehret, 2001). However, those claiming the Arab descent are Arabic speakers. Another classification that distinguishes each group from the others is agriculturalists versus pastoralists. Pastoralists are people who make a living from herding animals and selling their products, such as animal skins, meat and milk. But agriculturalists are those who use industrial intensive technologies to produce food and market crops within a metropolitan area (Ehret, 2001). While there are some overlapping between the two descriptions, there are also important nuances between them.

It has been asserted that Darfur's sedentary agriculturalists are generally composed of non-Arab or African ethnic groups known as "Zurga" or blacks that include groups such as the Fur, Masalit, Tama, Tunjur, Bergid and Bertis who lived and formed in the central zone (United States Department of States, 2004). As a result of diverse ethnicities in the region, Darfur has been affected by intermittent attacks of conflict for several decades.

On the other hand, pastoralists from the North, including the Northern Rizeigat, Mahariya, Zaghawa, and others, typically migrate South in search of water sources and grazing in the dry season which usually occurs in November to April of each year (Global Security Organization, 2002). Since the mid-1980s, much of the Sahel region as hit by recurrent episodes of drought and increasing desertification. There was no doubt that Southern migration of the Arab pastoralists provoked the land disputes with the agricultural communities. These disputes generally started when the camels and cattle of Arab named trampled the fields of the non-Arab farmers living in the central and Southern areas of Darfur (Ehret, 2001). Some scholars have mentioned that the disputes were resolved through negotiation between traditional leaders both sides, but compensation for lost crops and agreements on the timing and routes for the annual migration was not resolved.

In the late 1980s, however, clashes become progressively bloodier through the introduction of automatic weapons. By 1987, many of the incidents involved not only Arab the Arab tribes, but also Zaghawa pastoralists who tried to claim land from Fur farmers and some Fur leaders were killed (Human Rights Watch Organization, 2004b), the increase in armed banditry in the region also dated from

this period, partly because many pastoralists lost all their animals in the devastating drought in Darfur of 1984-1985 and, in turn, raided others to re-stock their herds. There was also contentious political issues in the region (Human Rights Watch Organization, 2004b). in Darfur, Arab tribes considered themselves not sufficiently represented in the Fur-dominated local administration and in 1986, a number of Arab tribes formed what become known as "the Arab alliance" (Tujammoal Arabic) aimed at establishing their political dominance and control of the region. Meanwhile, Fur leaders distrusted the increasing tendency of the federal government to favor the Arabs (Human Rights Watch Organization, 2004b). as a result of this mutual distrust, political detention of people who were non-Arabs began because they were suspected of being rebel supports.

(Kuel Maluil Jok, March 2012, conflict of National Identity in Sudan, faculty of Arts at the University of Helsinki). Pointed out that, Sudan remains an unstable state with cycles of ruthless civil using that devastate its infrastructure, threaten its territorial integrity, flaw its economic growth and engender useful humanitarian destitution and catastrophes. The objectives of these was emanate from religious, economic and cultural settings. In the Northern Sudan, the Islamic religion is associated with the Arabic language, culture and race, due to its association with the Middle East. On the other hand, the concerns of the population of the South consist of economic deprivation of its region, limited participation in power sharing and the systematic threats to its Christian, Animist and African cultural identity. This research explores how decision-makers in Sudan address the complex objectives in a national constitution for the citizens. Since, 1958 to present day, major political, parties in Sudan fail several times to reach a consensus to legislate a unified constitutional system. The Islamic political parties of Umma with its sect, Ansar, Democratic Unionist Party (SUP) with its al-khatimyyia sect and the National Islamic Eront (NIF), which has rifted into the National Congress Party (NCP) and currently leads by the President Omer Hassan Al-Bashir and the Popular Congress Party (PCP) under the leadership of Hassan Abdullah Turabi all from the North of the Sudan was the adoption of Sharia (Islamic Law) to be a source of legislation and Arabic an official language in a national constitution. On the other hand, the political parties of secular Muslim from Nuba Mountains and "Christian Animist" of the south, especially the Sudan People's Liberation

Movement (SPLM) with its military wing, the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) support the legislation of religious and ethnic diversities which must be derived from the diverse set of customary laws. Islamic fundamentalism is an ideology, which claims that a just society must base its constitution on Sharia. National laws for such a society are derived from the three sources: Holy Quran, Hadith refers to all examples of the prophet Muhammed and the precedents which the recognized Islamic scholars interpret in consensus. The fowers of Aminism, however, believe that the social structure of society is compatible with powers, which live in natural phenomena, such as animals, trees, mountains and rivers. These brings affect people for both good and bad, but believers refrain from recognizing them as God, and hence, they are not worshiped, but respected.

There is no consensus among scholars over what over term best describes these beliefs in Sudan. Some call them "Animism" and others call them traditional or "theistic" religions. For instance, Nikkel defines the Dinka ethnic group of South Sudanese, as followers of "powers"; An-Na'im describes them as mainly Animists and Johnson rejects all these descriptions defining them as "pehorative" and asserts that the population in the south adheres to "theistic religions". With all the patitude and prohorative descriptions to the term Animist, this study adopts it because its definition best suits with the existing religious practices in the South Sudan, Nuba Mountains and Darfur and it argues that such diversities of religious beliefs constitutes the essence of Identity and the institutions created after independence of Sudan from Great Britain on 1 January 1956, have neglected to incorporate it into a national constitutions of the state. Muslim scholar T Abdou Moliqatim Simone points out that the legislative power in Sudan does not represent the prevailing religious and cultural diversity in national institutions. It aims to transform the whole country towards one religious character based on Islam. For instance, in September 1983, the former president Ja'afar Muhammed Nimieri imposed Sharia that applies hudud a formal legal code that stones to death a married woman proved quality of adultery, amputates cross limbs of a thief found guilty of stealing and whips any person found drinking alcohol. Simone concludes that such a law proves "unpopular" and intensifies the civil violence in the country between its opponents.

(Musa Adam Abdul- Jalil (PHD), 2014, *Retribolisation of the Educated Elite in Darfur and Phenomenon of tribal Shura Councils*, University of BERGEN).

Pointed out that, one may start by asking a broad question: Why do ethnic loyalties continue to influence the political process in Sudan to the present day? When gained its independence half a century ago, the modern educated elite who were associated with the struggle for independence perceived a future for their country that is free of the influence of tribal loyalties in public life. Not surprising, they branded native administration as an obstacle to the development of a modern state on the assumption that it promotes "tribalism". Consequently, the abolition of native administration was high on the agenda of all modernist forces, both in the far right and far left of the political spectrum. This is in line with what other researchers have noticed in many African countries. One would largely agree with what Woods (1994:466) has stated "following independence Africa's ruling elites sought to suppress all forms of ethnic affiliation and independent associational activity". They justified their actions on the basis that tribalism and ethnicity were detrimental to national unity and economic development. The material for this paper based on extended interviews with key informants and relevant secondary literature on Sudan and Darfur in addition to the author's lifelong experience as a member of and researcher on Sudanese Society.

Since the early 1990s the general attitude of the people in Sudan towards the issue of expressing tribal loyalties in public space has radically changed (at least in large urban centres where the idea of nationhood was most spread) to the effect that it is no longer considered objectionable for a person to be asked about his/her tribal identity in a government office upon demand of services such as education or health. As a reminder of the changing attitude, a new organizational structure for promoting tribal solidarity and representation has appeared amongst the majority of Darfurian tribes that is known as "Shura council". It is a form of voluntary association in which segments of an ethnic group are represented and is expected to act like a tribal parliament that develops strategies and act as a pressure group (Bobby) regarding the interests of the group. Shura Councils have been found by educated elite who operate largely from the national capital; with branches in the state capitals. As such it can be considered an urban phenomenon. It is not however, coincidental that

shura councils are recognized by the government as a legitimate representatives of their people. Many members of these associations are also members of the ruling party and some even hold ministerial office. Such unexpected developments certainly require the attention of researchers who are interested in studying directions of change in the political and social arenas in Sudan.

Anthropologists studying African societies have long noticed the distinctive features of life in the newly formed urban centres in the continent. One of the features that attracted their attention was the formation of ethnic based voluntary associations by migrants the dominant trend in the literature largely represented by the writings of British social anthropologists in the 1950s considers these associations as an adoptive mechanism to the new urban setting by providing basis for solidarity and some sort of social security in the absence of many functions that are supposed to be catered for by modern state and non-state agencies (see Little, 1957, Gluckman, 1958, Parkin, 1966, and Kerri, 1976). This approach or paradigm has been labeled as "instrumentalist".

Another common paradigm that appeared in the 1960s and 1970s was largely advocated by political scientists such as Wallerstein, 1960, and Bates, 1974. It considers ethnic associations as a manifestation of competition for political power. Urban elite from disadvantaged groups would mobilize fellow migrants and their rural populace in order to secure rights or gain privileges accorded by the state. This approach looks at ethnicity essentially as a political resource. The role of educated elite is instrumented in this kind of processes since they are the ones who understand the workings of modern institutions of governance that sanction political power.

Although the phenomenon of the tribal Shura councils under discussion in this paper supports the main assumptions of the above-mentioned approaches, it resonates more with the idea of the ethnicity as a political resource. Ethnic Voluntary associations did exist in Khartoum since the dawn of independence taking pretty much similar forms to those known in other parts of Africa. Some of them are based on territorial identification with villages or regional areas while others are clearly based on identification with primordial entities such as clans or tribes. Of course in rural areas the two criteria may coincide or crosscut depending on the specific situation. Darfur region has been suffering from negligence, lack of development and marginalization

that caused the educated elite to question regarding how the country is run. They formed a lobby group in 1964 under the name of "Darfur Development Front" which mobilized all the people of the region towards a common political goal. Shura Councils have appeared very recently (From mid 1990s) and have therefore been largely associated with the ongoing widespread conflict on the one hand and the recognition of a totalitarian regime on the other. Moreover they mobilize people along tribal primordial identities rather than territorial regional identity (i.e. more exclusionary and divisive). It is important to notice from the outset that this new type of association has not replaced the old more socially oriented associations but are constantly trying to incorporate them in a manner that retains ascertains division of labour between them.

(Abdelrahim Hamid Mugaddam, 2012, language situation in the Blue Nile, Department of Linguistics; University of Khartoum, Sudan). Argues that, the Blue Nile States is located in the south eastern part of the Sudan inhabited by approximately 675, 484 people living in an area of about 38,500 square kilometers, the region witnessed massive migration movements across history. In addition to the local African inhabitants many Arabs and African groups made their way to area constituting the present population which is concentrated in four provinces: Al-Damaazien, Al-Russairis, Bau and Al-Kurmuk. The region hosts about 40 different ethnic groups belonging to four major categories. The local indigenous groups (Berta, Burun, Ingassana, Hamaj, Dowala, Western wiet, Jumjum, Kuma, etc), the Arabs (Al-Ashraf, Kinaana, Rufaa, Kamaatir, etc). Western Sudan (Zaghawa, Massalit, Nuba, Fulani, Housa, etc). Southern Sudan (Dinka, Shulluk, Maban, etc). A quick look at the ethnic structure of the people living in Blue Nile suggests that a considerable number of languages are spoken in the region. These languages belong to three different language families, Afro-asiatic, Niger-Congo and Nilo-Saharan.

The first language family is represented by Housa and Arabic, the main lingua Franca in the area as well as the Whole Sudan. Arabic plays a crucial role in the socio-political and socio-economic life of the Blue Nile. It assumes an exceptionally dominant role in education, the media, and everyday interaction. The existence of Arabic in the Blue Nile and Southern Sudan can be traced back to the Turko-Egyptian period, which began 1821. During the Turko-Egyptian Rules Arabic

spread as the language of administration in northern and central Sudan. Because of the government's desire for a southward expansion in order to have access to human resources (slaves) and ivory, male adults from the Blue Nile and the Nuba Mountains were captured and recruited for the army. It was in the multilingual garrison camps in the Southern Sudan that pidginized versions of Arabic emerged which came to be known as Nuba and Juba Arabic. The second language family, Nilo-Saharan is represented by Berta (spoken by 22000 speakers), Ingassana (8000- 20000 speakers), Alca, Molok, Burun (1800 speakers), Kama (extinct) Gumuz (40000 speakers also spoken in West of Ethiopia), and other migrating languages (i.e., Bargu, Maba). The third language family, Niger-Congo, is represented by Fulfulde which is spoken widely in Sinnar State and the Blue Nile.

It is obvious from the above discussion that most of the language spoken in the Blue Nile belong to the Nilo-Saharan language family and that although the Afro-Asiatic and Niger-Kordofanian families are the least represented (Arabic and Fulfulde, respectively) in terms of number, their status and use are very pronounced. This is evident from the fact that Arabic plays the role of lingua Franca while Fulfulde is spoken by a considerable number of people in the area. In fact, Arabic is progressing significantly at the expense of ethnic languages especially younger generations.

The growing role of Arabic in Sudan has been documented by a number of studies conducted in different parts of the country (Mugaddam 2, forth coming).

The Core of the Topic:

The researcher in study is going to present examples of local languages in the Sudan States and its impact on the National language and the language of education and the language of official affairs which is Arabic language. In the tables below we are going to present the local language in North State:

Table (1):

Words of Halfawein Tribe North State	Meaning	Words of Halfawein Tribe North State	Meaning
Hiskagrou	How do you do	Id	Spouse Husband
Nood	boy	badian	Spouse wife
Berou	girl	Inie	Uncle
Gab	Father	Abunenba	Uncle
Ayneen	food	Anou	Grandfather
Keba	Evening	Anaw	Grandmother
Awar	Country		

Amjy	Life		
Kej	Donkey		

On one hand table (2) covers some examples of local language of Danagla North State and Table (3) covers some examples local language of Mahass tribe North State inhabitants:

Table (2): examples of local language of Danagla tribe:

Words	Meanings	Words	Meanings
Ny	Dinka	gor	ox
teeg	Sit down	Hano	donkey
Nog	go	Kare	fish
Ogej	man	Wissy	star
Kori	festival	Kosa	meat
Saregi	good	Aesy	water
Dongi	money	Nobre	Gold
Mosad	beautiful	Ambab	Father
Torob	lies	Jan	Buy
Torob	sycle	Baj	write
Torbal	Farmer	Sikky	ask
Banty	Dates	Aoso	laugh

Table (3): Covers some examples of local language of Mahass tribe North State:

Words	Meanings
Miskajlou	How do you do
Iknagana	
Naga	
Ikin	What is your name
Amir Ina	Who
Amengakiri	You
Kubkakiri	my name is Amir
Ashraba	bring food
Adila Auo	Beautiful
Auo Shafri	Lad
Kiri	Came

The tables above covers the major local languages in North State. But the influence of Arabic language as a national language and the language of education makes the younger's generations had a bad mastery of these local languages. And these languages start to demolish among the young generations of these tribes in the North State. They are: Danagla, Mahass and Halfaween.

This study covers the languages of the Red Sea State of indigenous tribes there. The major tribes are: Beni Aamir, Hadandwa and Amringa or Amhringa. These are the local languages in the Red Sea State inhabitants tribes:

Table (4): Local language of Amhringa tribe in Red Sea State:

Words	Meanings	Words	Meanings
Twat	morning	Abat	father
Mata	morning	Abat	father
Lilin	night	Inaat	mother
Guon	noon	Seat	women
Trara	Hill	Wound	brother
Watet	milk	Woundomo	friend
Woot	food	Lij	daughter
Waha	Water	Qatar	suburb

Table (5): Local language of Hadandwa Red Sea State inhabitants:

Words	Meanings	Words	Meanings
Deba	How do you do	Kekemhwa	good morning
Kito	Relative	Aunanani	me
Taklas	heng	Tonant	What is wrong with you
Aomig	donkey	Mehlo	Two
Ismal Aba	What is your name	Fedksh	Four
Naka	How much	Ashrama	Seven
Gal	one		
Kita	Where are you going		
Kaka Modwak	good morning		

Table (6): Local language of Beni Amir tribe Red Sea State:

Words	Meanings	Words	Meanings
Sini Sbahkum	good morning	Keden	Landscape
Sini walam	good afternoon	Dubr	Hill
Sini masam	good evening	Gubi	street
Min Ayamtikum	You come from where	Gadim	Earth
Mirlayka	What did you see	Deglel	Old man
Heet	Lion	Mubel	Divorce woman
Idg	Donkey	Salfal	Eagerness
Gimni	lioness		

This study covers the local language of Eltigrnga in the Red Sea in the table below:

Table (7):

Words	Meanings	Words	Meanings
Kimi hadrkm	good morning	Barkha	Landscape
Kimi walikum	good afternoon	Mungadi	Street
Kimi walikum	good evening	Gabou	Hill
Kimi Amskhm	You come from where	Gulgul	Landscape
Kubai misikhum	You come from where	Argut	Divorced woman
Intai Raikhum	What did you see	Huam	eagerness
Ambso	Lion	Nafogout	
Adgi	donkey		
Warou	lioness		

We are going to present the local language of Blue Nile State and the Nuba Mountain local language this is an example of more the 99 languages but these languages start to demolish with the expansion of Arabic language among the younger generation.

Table (8): The local language of Nimunj tribe language Nuba Mountain:

Words	Meanings	Words	Meanings
Banj	water	Baishi	house
Kie lee	Earth	Afini	brother
Bidr Niji	daughter	Wonkwy	my friend
Kudi lie	salt	Aniginkra	sister
Monoj	corn	Ashti	wine
Kodomole	hen	Bar	cow
Nigashi	smoke	Midur	Stone
Kudou	goat		

On the other hand the greater Darfur State has got many tribes some of them Africans works with agriculture and some of them are Afro-Arabian works with breeding cattle as nomads. Thus the dispute between them on water resources. An examples of these tribes who live in Darfur States are: Zaghawa, guran, Dajoug hawsa, Flata, habania, massalit, beni huba, Misiria Zarug, and El Rizigat tribe etc.

Table (9): Local language of Zaghawa Tribe in Darfur State:

Words	Meanings	Words	Meanings
Gili	Night	goo	food
Sali	morning	Akaya	drink
Kobai	Noon	Sai	cold
Auto	Sun	Bili	hot
Die	Camel	Touri	horse
Dimi	Cat	Hiri	cow
Biri	Dog	Adi	donkey
Bie	Water		

Table (10): Local language of Flata Tribe in Darfur State:

Words	Meanings	Words	Meanings
Ajamo	good morning	Mirohi lumo	market
Nabi wadyo	How do you do	Amaya	dead
Bungle	marriage	Sobajo	my friend
Inum	mother	Jirnam	waiting for you
Azoo	House	gada	sit down
Amen	my house	Mozogai	Run
Ingual	my son	Indo	Your name is
Nubj jata	Where are you going	Maka	who
Miah lumo	market		

Table (11): Local language of Hawsa Tribe in Darfur State:

Words	Meanings	Words	Meanings
Miki kiso	What do you want	Tahi	go
Kaiwani	Who are you	Mikki	What do you do
Dai Nakhito	You come from	Zona	sit down
Kaks on Anka	What is your name	Tifi	go
Nugwai	of whom you are a son	Konta	lie down
Kawer Rawai	bring water	Mulfilki	Dream
Bani Abingi	give me food	Hankori	patience
Yaka	Come		

Conclusion:

The case study of this paper is language and ethnic groups in the Sudan. The Sudan is rich with multilingualism. The Sudan is rich with ethnicity. All these factors play a vital role in the diversity of the Sudan. The Sudan is inhabited with Black African and Afro-Arabian Tribes. This study presents the Arabic language as a dominant language. Arabic language expansion has its impact on the local indigenous languages. The movement of trade, labour market and the influence of Nilo-Saharan tribes affect the local vernacular languages. The local indigenous languages have started to demolish. Because the younger generations do not have a good command of these local languages, that their fathers and grandfathers have a good command of their indigenous local languages.

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