

SOUTHERN SUDANESE ARABIC AND THE CHURCHES

CATHERINE MILLER

Abstract. This paper examines how Churches in Southern Sudan have used different varieties of Arabic, including Arabic-based P/C in both written and oral productions. Whereas Churches have been important agents of the linguistic British colonial policy and have acted as main agents for the defence of Southern Sudanese languages, they have also relied heavily on various forms of Arabic. 3 types of data are compared: two written published documents (text book from the Catholic mission in Wao in 1929 and a small booklet of Religious Hymns by the African Inland Church in Juba in 1979) and one oral recording (Preaches in an Anglican Churches in Juba in 1984). Comparison between the two written documents shows that the use of Latin script is common but that the levels and styles are very different. One is close to the oral level and indicates that the Churches have developed a specific form of Juba-Arabic.

INTRODUCTION

The spread of Arabic in Southern Sudan is believed to have started in the second part of the 19th century, following the Turco-Egyptian conquest of Southern Sudan (Kaye and Tosco 1993 & 2001 Mahmud 1983, Owens 1997).¹ It gave birth to an Arabic contact variety, known today as Juba-Arabic, which emerged and spread as a *lingua-franca* in the military and slave camps that flourished during this period (Mahmoud 1983). This Arabic-based *lingua-franca* maintained itself throughout the 20th century and developed into a P/C in the main urban areas. It attracted the attention of a few linguist, interested to study the linguistic features of an Arabic-based P/C.² Whereas in the early 20th century, the autonomy of Juba-Arabic *vis à vis* Northern Sudanese Colloquial Arabic or *vis à vis* other types of Arabic (Classical or Modern Standard Arabic) did not seem to be obvious for

¹ This historical perception that relies on the idea that Southern Sudan was almost totally cut from Northern Sudan for centuries due to geographical borders (the famous Nilotic swamps) has been reproduced by linguists (including the present author) because it fit well with the idea that Arabic develop as a P/C under specific historical conditions. If this might be true for the Province of Equatoria, it might be very exaggerated for the Province of Bahr al Ghazal where contacts with Arabic-speaking areas were certainly more frequent. But this is another domain of research for both linguists and historians.

² See for example the publications of A. Nhyal, U. Mahmoud, C. Miller, A. Kaye, M. Tausco and E. Yokwe. Updated references can be found in Avram (2004), Miller (2006), Owens (1997).

colonial observers, today Juba-Arabic is recognized as one of the main languages of Southern Sudan by all political actors and is dissociated from the other Arabic varieties. However, the existence of Juba-Arabic as an autonomous variety should not mask the fact that in daily uses, the linguistic boundaries are far to be clear-cut. The term Juba-Arabic itself is ambiguous. Associated with the city of Juba, the biggest city and capital of Southern Sudan, it is not clear if it should be considered as the share Arabic-based variety of the whole Southern Sudan and a number of people prefer to use the term Southern Arabic or simple Arabic.³ The data presented in this paper exemplify the linguistic diversity of the Arabic used in a rather specific context, that of the Christian Churches, in writing and oral materials. As we shall see, the use of Arabic by Christian churches is interesting because Christian missionaries have been considered as main defenders of Sudanese vernaculars. When translating the Christian texts in what they labelled Southern Sudanese Arabic, the Churches resorted to a number of Arabic classical expressions and to a rather specific vocabulary.

BRIEF HISTORICAL BACKGROUND: ARABIC IN SOUTHERN SUDAN

The development of Arabic in Southern Sudan has been a key political issue and the brief historical sketch that follows is intended to highlight the position of the main different actors, including the Christian churches.

After the Turco-Egyptian rule which was overthrown in 1884 by the Mahdist revolution (a Sudanese Islamic messianic religious movement), Southern Sudan was colonized by the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium from 1897 to 1956.

The British Condominium policy in Southern Sudan is said to have fostered the divide between the Southern and Northern parts of the country. Whereas Arabic and Islam were recognized as official language and religion of Northern Sudan, the British tried to stop the progression of Islam and Arabic in the southern parts of the country. Many historians and linguists (Abu Bakr 1975, Beshir 1956, Holt 1979, Sanderson & Sanderson 1981 and many others since) have analyzed and described the Condominium educational and linguistic policy in Southern Sudan as mainly directed against the spread of Islam. Education was left in the hand of the Missionaries and of the various European churches, being Catholic or Protestant. This anti-Arabic anti-Islamic policy became dominant after the 1924's events,

³ Following the Peace Agreement of 2004, the UNDP has established a new Radio in 2007, Radio Miraya broadcasting from Juba in English and Arabic including Juba-Arabic. They received complaints by listeners from other areas of Southern Sudan who recommended that the Radio should shift to a more common Southern Arabic variety (that they labelled simple Arabic *arabi basit*). The European experts who were in charge of the programs were wondering how to distinguish Juba-Arabic from simple Arabic! (Interview, Radio Miraya, Khartoum, 17th October 2007).

when some Egyptian officers joined Sudanese nationalist militants. Egyptian soldiers were pulled back from Southern Sudan and Egyptian citizens were refrained to settle in Sudan (both North and South).

In 1930, the Rejaf Conference settled the main guidelines of the Southern language policy. English was the main official language. Local African languages were to be promoted and seven Southern Sudanese languages were selected for standardization in order to be used in administration and schooling. Teaching in the Southern schools was supposed to take place either in the local vernacular languages or in English, according to levels and types of school. Official use of written Arabic was prohibited but use of local spoken Southern Arabic as an inter-ethnic lingua-franca could not be prevented in areas of high multilingual diversity.

Missionaries and Churches are supposed to have been key actors in this stand against Islam and Arabic. They became involved in the valorisation and promotion of the local Southern vernaculars such as Dinka, Nuer, Bari, Latuko, Zande, etc. Apart from the two eminent British linguists Tucker and Bryan (Tucker & Bryan 1956), who act as main experts in the Rejaf Conference (Berair 2007), most early descriptions of the Southern languages are due to missionaries, particularly Verona Fathers like Spagnolo (1933). Translation of the Bible or parts of the Evangelists started to be published in the main Southern Sudanese languages.

The Rejaf language policy was slowed down in 1946 when it became evident that Sudan was going to become an independent state and that Southern Sudan will join the northern part of the country and will not be attached to Uganda or Kenya (Cook 1955). In order to facilitate the unification of the country, Arabic was reintroduced as the main language of teaching and administration.

At time of Independence, the Northern Sudanese nationalist movements opted for an official linguistic policy which counteracted the former British colonial policy. They imposed Arabic as the sole official language of the whole country and facilitated the diffusion of Islam in Southern Sudan. Missionaries were expelled from Southern Sudan in 1964. Following the pan-Arabic ideology of that time, Northern Sudanese nationalists believed that the political unity of the country will be achieved through linguistic unity, i.e. arabization (and corollary islamization) of the population. But this official policy was opposed by many Southern Sudanese, particularly the English-speaking elite and the Christian militants. This led to the first civil war between Northern and Southern Sudan (1956-1972).

The 1972 Addis-Ababa Agreement ended this first conflict and set up the new directions of the language policy in Southern Sudan. Whereas Arabic was still recognized as the official language of the whole country, English was recognized as the second language of Southern Sudan and vernacular languages were to be promoted and taught in Primary schools. The Southern Ministry of Education signed an agreement with the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL). The SIL, an American Evangelist organization, specialized in the translation of the Bible in

several languages of the world, was in charge of the linguistic training of the Sudanese teachers. They established a Training Institute in the small town of Meridi in Equatoria Province and started to send SIL linguists in small villages in Southern Sudan in order to describe the languages and translated the Bible. Therefore promotion and defence of the African southern vernacular languages were again mainly in the hand of the Churches and the new missionary brands (SIL members).

With the beginning of the second civil war in 1982 between the SPLM/A(Sudanese Population Liberation Movement/Army) and the Government (a war that lays until 2005), the SIL moved to Juba in 1984 and then to Khartoum and Kenya, following the displaced Southerners fleeing the war. In Khartoum, the SIL continued, albeit with a low-political profile, to work with Southern Sudanese displaced communities in the promotion of their languages and even with some non-Arab Muslim communities from Western and Eastern Sudan. They published a number of small books (alphabet, tales, etc.). Their financial means remain apparently very limited but they can be considered as the main organization trying to support the development of Sudanese vernaculars until the signature of the Naivasha Peace Protocol of 26/5/2005. The new Peace Agreement and the subsequent 2005 Sudanese Constitution endorse a radical change in the state linguistic policy. They recognize Arabic and English as the two official languages of the whole country and all Sudanese vernaculars (labelled indigenous languages) as national languages (Abdelhay 2008).

ARABIC AND THE CHURCHES: THE PRAGMATIC STAND

This brief historical background provides an overall picture where the various Christian movements appear as key actors in the defence and promotion of the Southern Sudanese vernaculars (and English) in order to stop the spread of Arabic and Islam.

But this general picture needs to be qualified. The social history of the various linguistic strategies used by the various local religious actors had never been done in depth and I believe that many archives remain to be studied on this matter. In this small paper, I want to present what I considered to be a preliminary research on some uses of Arabic by the Southern Sudanese Churches.

The investment and impact of the Christian movements toward the promotion of the Southern Sudanese vernaculars had remained rather limited and the Churches have cleverly perceived the dominant sociolinguistic trend. From the beginning of the 20th century, Southern Sudanese Arabic (Southern Sudanese Arabic is here used as a general label including various Arabic-based contact varieties) was the dominant lingua franca in some parts of Southern Sudan, like in the region of Bahr al Ghazal with its high linguistic diversity and its close contact

with the Northern Western regions of Darfour and Kordofan or in the main urban centres that emerged during the colonial period. The Churches were very much aware of this linguistic reality and, in many contexts, chose to spread their religious messages in different kind of Southern Arabic varieties rather than in English or in local vernaculars.

When doing field work in Southern Sudan in 1981 and 1984, I could observe that the implementation of Southern Sudanese languages in the Equatorial schools (as recommended by the Addis-Ababa Agreement) was extremely limited due to lack of manpower and institutional buildings. In many areas, supposed to be at the forefront on this vernacular policy, the teachers were not from the area and were not trained in the local languages. In Juba and in many other urban areas, the Churches had several religious services, some in local languages and others in Southern Arabic. Priests said that they had to deliver preaches in Southern Arabic because it was the only common language for most Southern urban dwellers. The Radio of the Southern Sudanese Council of Churches (SSCC), which was widely listen to in Juba was offering broadcasts in English, Modern Standard Arabic, Southern Arabic and Southern languages. Particularly popular were small theatrical series dedicated to pedagogic and social programmes broadcasted in Juba-Arabic, i.e. the more or less stabilized Arabic-based P/C used here intentionally as a marker of Southern identity as against Northern Sudanese identity and Arabic colloquial.

The Churches and particularly the SSCC can be considered as key actors of the promotion and valorisation of Juba-Arabic in Southern Sudan. From a language described as a very rudimentary jargon by first European observers it became a tool for expressing Southern identity. Whereas, daily uses were characterized by high degree of variation, the SSCC conscious use was acting for a kind of stabilization and standardization of Juba-Arabic. The members of the SIL, whose presence in Southern Sudan was supposed to be for the exclusive promotion of the non-Arabic Southern vernaculars, were aware of the social and demographic strength of Juba-Arabic. A SIL linguist, R. Watson, devoted his time to the description of Juba-Arabic and published one of the few available printed materials in the 1980s (Watson 1984 & 1989).

SCRIPT AND STYLES OF ARABIC CHRISTIAN TEXTS

During my field work, I collected some oral and written materials produced by the Southern Churches. I recorded some religious services in Juba in 1981 and 1984 and came across a small booklet published by the African Inland Church in Juba in 1979. Later on, in 1996, an anthropologist, Rupert Hasterok, working in the National Sudanese Archives in Khartoum attracted my attention towards some materials which were published in 1929 by the Catholic Mission Printing press in

Wau (Bahr al Ghazal Province, Southern Sudan) and gave me some photocopies of teaching books.

All this published material is written in Latin script as were/are the materials published in Southern Sudanese vernaculars. The choice of the script is not a neutral one and in many countries there have been acute controversies concerning the choice of the official script, each script being more or less associated with a specific religious trend (Arabic with Islam, Latin with Catholic and Protestant Christianity, Cyrillic with Orthodox Christianity). Many non-Arab Muslim communities around the world have and still use the Arabic script to write their own vernacular language. By doing so, they share a common cultural writing with the other members of the Arab-Muslim world.

The use of Latin script to write Arabic can be interpreted as a means to dissociate Southern Sudanese Arabic from Islam and an attempt to include Southern Sudanese Arabic within the larger Christian community. However additional research is needed to evaluate if all the Arabic materials produced by the Churches in Southern Sudan were in Latin Script. It must be mentioned that an Arabic version of the Bible in Latin script was to be found in Khartoum in the early 1980. Entitled *kitaab al vahd aj jadiid min al kitaab al mugaddis* and published by the Bible Alliance Mission, Holmes Beach, Florida in 1978, this translation was sold in the library of the Bible society in the centre of Khartoum and I'm not sure to whom it was supposed to be addressed.

The use of Latin script was never unified and each publication has its own rules of writing.

The language level is also very different from one publication to another.

1. The Teaching Books of the Catholic Mission Printing Press of Wau (1929) reproduce, from the first level and first exercises, a rather composite language with a mixture of colloquial features and more classical words or features. No typical feature of Southern Sudanese P/C is to be found.

The first 26 pages of the first book (*Kitab el aual li ta'lim el geraia, ua'l kitaba*) are devoted to learn the alphabet, including the Arabic emphatic, pharyngeal and velar consonants: ḍ=ض, ḥ=ح, ẖ=خ, ġ=غ, ṣ=ص, š=ش, ṭ=ط, ẓ=ظ

The pharyngeal ع is written with a stress on the following or preceding vowel: á, é, í like *ádu* 'enemy', *ébara* 'expression', *iežrá* 'he cultivates', etc.

Long vowels are not marked. Semi-vowel و is written /u/ (*uajib* 'must', *ualad* 'boy') and semi-vowel ي is written /i/ (*iuḥebni* 'he likes me', *iom* 'day').

Pages 27 to 31 contain small reading exercises telling moral advices. The transcription of the Arabic letters is unsystematic, sometimes emphatics are indicated, sometimes not, like *uaṭani* (وطني) 'my Nation' but *Es-sabr* (الصبر) 'the patience'.

Among the colloquial features, one notes:

- The realization of /g/ instead of classical /q/ (*gal* ‘he said’, *galb* ‘heart’),
- The use of definite article *el* instead of classical *al* (*er-Rab* ‘the Lord’, *el áalam* ‘the World’, *el insan* ‘the Man’),
- Relative pronoun *elli* instead of classical *alladhi* (*ana aḥeb el balad elli fihi ulettu*),
- Absence of classical final vowel for verb and noun (*ḥalag* ‘he creates’, *aḥeb* ‘I like’, etc.).

Among the semi-classical features, one notes:

- The use of verb *urid* ‘want’ instead of colloquial *dayir*, *dēr* (JA *aozu* whereas *rudu* means ‘to like, love’),
- The verb *a’ta* ‘give’ instead of colloquial *‘adda* (JA *wodī*)
- The frequent use of the imperfective 3rd sg. verbal prefix *yu-* (*iu*): *iuḥebni* ‘he likes me’, *iuámelni* ‘he makes me’, *iuḥajim* ‘he fights’.

The same script and the same mixture of colloquial and classical features are found in two successive books (*Kitab el ibtidai el jez-il aual* with 18 short texts and *Kitab el geraia el jez-il ula* with 25 short texts), whose texts discuss mainly moral values and precepts. One notes a more systematic realization of classical structures like:

- Verb+ Subject word order and presence of a verbal final vowel: *ḥatafa kalb geṭaāt laḥm* ‘a dog seized a piece of meat’, *kana asad naim* ‘a lion was sleeping’, *ua gabaḍa ála’l far* ‘he seizes the mouse’, *Daḥala el mufattiš iom maktab es-sanat-el-ula* ‘One day the inspector entered the office of the first year’, etc.
- Use of classical relative pronouns *alladhi*, *allati* (ellati): *fa la tatamaial iaminaha au iasaraha kama iafálu’l banat ellati la adab lahum* ‘she must not bend right and left as do the girls who are shameless’.

Although we do not know who exactly wrote those small text books, it appears that the Catholic Mission of Wau (which was heading the Cathedral in Wau, the main city of Bahr al Ghazal Province), was teaching a kind of simplified classical Arabic and did not chose a more pidgin-creole variety. Samples of text provided in Appendix 1 show the stylistic tune and the moral content of these texts. The last text dealing with how girls should refrain to go outside of their home indicates that Christians and Muslims shared somehow the same moral values...

2. The booklet of the African Inland Church (Taratil Hymns in Southern Sudanese Arabic 1979, Juba) presents a different level, with many Southern Sudanese features but still a few classicisms.

- The velar consonant /خ/ is often reproduced as /kh/ (*khalig alsama wa alard* ‘creates the sky and the earth’; *la tadkhillun* ‘do not enter’, *khabaru al Injil* ‘they spread the Evangels’) but sometimes also as /k/ (*akwana* ‘our brother’, *kafu* ‘fear’, *koruf* ‘sheep’) like in Juba-Arabic.

- The velar consonant /غ/ is written /gh/, /g/ or /k/ (*aghfir lana zunubana* ‘protect us from our sins’, *guna* ‘song’, *inta kasalta* ‘you washed’).
- The classical interdental consonants /ث/ and /ظ/ are written as th and dh respectively (*thalith* ‘third’, *mithil* ‘like’, *nadhafa* ‘cleanness’).
- The /ش/ is sometimes written /sh/ but more often /s/ (*Fotishni Allah* ‘God protects me’, *sufu* ‘see’, *nashkur* ‘llah ‘we thank God’, *sukuru* ‘thank’).
- Whereas the definite article *al-* does not exist in current Juba-Arabic, it’s frequent in the *Taratil* (see in particular Text 1 in Annex II): *alard* ‘the Earth’, *alruh algadus* ‘the Holy Spirit’, *alyom althalith* ‘the third day’, etc.
- A remarkable classical feature is the use of internal passive forms like *wulid min Maryam Alazra*’s ‘he was born from Marie’, *wa sulib* ‘he got crucified’

Unlike the Wau Textbooks, the morpho-syntax of the *Taratil* reproduced many features similar to the P/C level, including:

- Avoidance of medium consonant cluster: *arija* ‘come’, *fikirat* ‘thoughts’, *sukuran* ‘Praise’, *makasut* ‘happy’, *ataku* ‘laugh’, etc.
- Invariable verbal forms (*inta masi* ‘you walk’, *inta rudu gulu* ‘you want that’),
- Independent possessive pronouns (*isim bitak* ‘your name’, *kursi bitak* ‘your chair’),
- Independent accusative personal pronouns (*izakan Yesu yeji alela bi ligo inta kefin?* ‘If Jesus comes today, how will he find you?’)

and many syntactic/idiomatic structures like:

- *fi saa rudu kalasu* /in time want finish/ ‘at time of the Last Judgement’,
- *ana bi rudu inta ma geliba bifutu kulu* /I like you with heart pass all/ ‘I love you above all’,
- *sufu inta kulu fandasiyatak* /see you all bragging/ ‘see how braggart you are’
- *jolo futu Yesu ma kebiri la mafis, wahid la* /person pass Jesus with big Neg one Neg/ ‘no one is bigger than Jesus’
- *Wokit bita kasulu geliba ma yeji tani mara* /time of wash heart Neg. come other time/ ‘There will be no other time for purification’

Examples of these Hymns are provided in Appendix II.

3. Oral Preaches, Anglican Church, Juba 1984.

The oral preaches I recorded in 1984 reflect a level close to the written materials of the *Taratil*.

We find the same religious specific and rather literary vocabulary like

- *hulasa* ‘The Pures’,
- *Ruh al kudus* ‘the Holy Spirit’
- *Ruh al negis* ‘the devil Spirit’
- *Sifra al takwin* ‘the Genesis’

- *Sifra al ambiya* ‘the Prophecy’
- *Fandasiya le nefsum* ‘braggart’
- *ma farah* ‘with Joy’ (*u kun jena bita rabona ma farah* ‘and be always the child of our Lord with joy);
- *jerebu* ‘give temptation’ (*wa šetan kan bi jerebu le uwo sedid* ‘and Satan was giving him temptation’), (*uwo gilil setan fi tejriba bito de* ‘he defeats the temptations of Satan’)
- *malakut* ‘the Angels’
- *mamudiya* ‘baptism’, (*uwa ja le Filip wa indi mamudiya fi isim ta yesua* ‘He came to Filip and got baptised’)
- *kasulu ma dom bita Yesua al-mesi* ‘to purify with the blood of Jesus’
- *ita bikun waskan abu šabaka juru min juwa moya* ‘are you going to be the unchaste that the net has taken from the water?’
- *bašir* ‘to preach’ (*wa bašir bitana bas fi kasma lakin ajat nina ge bašir de nina ma amolu le?* ‘Our preaching is just in the words but why don’t we do the things we are preaching?’)

Youth people, when listening to these preaches, considered that the language of the Churches was reflecting an old and rather archaic way of speaking. An expression like *zol de fandasiya* was used only by old people whereas younger people would say *zol de rukka* or *jak de dekor* ‘this guy is a braggart’. A remarkable lexical aspect is that almost all the words can be traced to an Arabic root whereas the syntax presents the main features of Juba-Arabic including many cases of grammaticalization such as the use of complementizers *gale* ‘say’ and *keli* ‘let’, verbal passive forms and verbal particles to express TMA (Tense-Modal-Aspect) values (Miller 2001, Avram 2004). See from Appendix III sentences like:

- *inžil máta biwārī gál fi wáhed rájel*
The Evangelists tell that there was a man
- *fa nina bišúf hine gál fi nás taníin*
And we see here that they are other people
- *keli umon rúdu sókol al-úwa ge amulu*
They must accept what he was doing
- *fa keli nina arofu gal yesua yau biyagder fi kalamát al-zei da*
But we must know that Jesus has the power on those problems

CONCLUSION

The Churches can be considered as one of the actors who participated in the spreading of Arabic in Southern Sudan, including in its Latin written form. But the use of Latin script does not mean that the texts are necessarily in Southern Arabic.

Whereas in 1929, the Catholic Mission of Wau was engaged in teaching a somewhat simplified version of classical Arabic, the African Inland and the Anglican Churches of Equatoria in the late 1970s-early 1980s had opted for a more specific southern variety, albeit with some lexicon characteristics due to the nature of the religious corpus. From my own observation, the language level used by the Churches in Equatoria was closed to the language level spoken by elder people and to the language level broadcasted by the radio of the SSCC (Southern Sudan Council of Churches). Translation of religious texts is considered to be an important step towards the vernacularization and standardisation of oral languages (Anderson 1991). Researches in this domain has indicated that in many countries Christians and Muslims have largely influenced each other in the creation of new vocabularies to express religious concepts (Adama 2008, Penrad 2008). In the case of Southern Sudan, more research is needed in order to investigate who were the pioneers for translating the Christian texts into Southern Sudanese Arabic (European missionaries or Arab Christians or Sudanese Christians?) and which models do they use (Oriental Arabic Bible Translation?). Did the Muslim Southern Sudanese communities resort also to Arabic-based contact varieties to spread their faith? Does the Churches still play a role in the standardization of Southern Arabic?

REFERENCES

- Abdelhay, A., 2008, *The Politics of Language Planning in the Sudan: The Case of the Naivasha Language Policy*, PhD thesis, University of Edinburg.
- Abu B., Y. Khalifa, 1975, "Language and Education in Southern Sudan", in: H. H. Sayid, H. Bell (eds.) *Directions in Sudanese Linguistics and Folklore*, Khartoum, K.U.P., 13–18.
- Adama, H., 2008, "Choix linguistique et modernité islamique au Cameroun : le cas du fulfulde et de l'arabe", *Revue des Mondes Musulmans et de la Méditerranée*, 124, 47–68.
- Anderson, B., 1991, *Imagined Communities. Reflexion on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London, Verso.
- Avram, A. A., 2004, "Arabic Pidgins and Creoles from a Comparative Perspective", *Romano-Arabica*, III, 25–40.
- Berair, A. S., 2007, *Linguistic Politics in Sudan: Issues of Power, Ideology and Cultural Difference*, PHD Thesis, Khartoum, Institute of Afro-Asian Studies.
- Beshir, M. O., 1969, *Educational Development in the Sudan, 1898 to 1956*, Oxford, Clarendon Press.
- Cook, C. L., 1955, "Languages of the Southern Provinces of the Sudan" (Govt. printing Office), *The Bible Translation*, 6, 122–127.
- Holt, P. M., 1979, *The History of the Sudan*, London, Weindenfeld and Nicolson.
- Kaye, A., T. Mauro, 1993, "Early East African Pidgin Arabic", *SUGIA*, 14, 269–305.
- Mahmud, U., 1983, *Arabic in the Southern Sudan*, Khartoum, FAL.
- Miller, C., 2001, "Grammaticalisation du verbe dire et subordination en Juba Arabic", in: R. Nicolai (ed.) *Leçons d'Afrique Filiation, Rupture et Reconstitution des langues : un Hommage à G. Manessy*, Leuven, Peeters, 455–482.
- Miller, C., 2006, "Juba Arabic", in: K. Versteegh *et al.* (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Arabic Languages and Linguistics*, Vol. 2, Leiden, Brill, 517–525.
- Owens, J., 1997, "Arabic-based Pidgins and Creole", in: S. G. Thomason (ed.), *Contact Languages, A Wider Perspective*, Amsterdam-Philadelphia, John Benjamins Publishing, 125–172.
- Penrad, J. C., 2008, "L'intangible et la nécessité. Arabe et kiswahili en islam d'Afrique orientale", *Revue des Mondes Musulmans et de la Méditerranée*, 124, 27–46.

- Sanderson, L. P., N. Sanderon, 1981, *Education, Religion and Politics in Southern Sudan 1899-1964*, London & Khartoum, Ithaca Press and Khartoum University Press.
- Santandrea, P. S., 1964, *A Tribal History of the Western Bahr al Ghazal*, Verona, Collona di Studi Africani del Missionari Comboni.
- Spagnolo, Rev. Fr L. M., 1933, *Bari Grammar*, Verona, Mission Africane.
- Tucker, A.N., M.A Bryan. 1956. *The non-Bantu languages of North-East Africa*, London, Oxford University Press.
- Watson, R., 1984, *Juba Arabic for Beginners*, Juba, Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Watson, R., 1989, "An Introduction to Juba Arabic", *Occasional Papers in Southern Sudan Linguistics*, 6, 95-117.

Appendix 1

Kitab el aual li ta'lim el geraia

Ua'l kitaba

Catholic Mission Printing Press, 1929, Wau

Tamrin p. 27

Āla ma tagaddam

Eškur el moħsen ileik. Man iezraq el kasal iaħşod el fagr.
Ana akrah el kaddab. El mal iabga ma` man ia`refan iaħfazha
Falsan fa falsan el kis iafrag.
Man iezra` katir ila'l eid fa aħirran iabga laho galil.
Katrat ejju` moħerra bi's-seħħa. Es-sabr mur, ua laken aħeru ħelu.
 Praise the strength on you. The one who cultivates laziness collect poverty.
 I hate the liar. Money stays with the one who knows to keep it
 Coin by coin the sac gets empty
 Who cultivates a lot until the Feast, at the end got little
 Too much hunger damages the health. The patience is bitter but its end is soft.

Tamrin el aual p. 29

Er Rab el llah

Er-Rab ħalag el áalam ua sanaá el insan.
Er-rab a'tani el ħaiat ua iaħfazha li.
Er-Rab iuħebni' ua iaşna' mai el ħer ua
iuámilni meṭl Ebnahu la! ma aħsan Rabbi!
Ana urid an uħibbahu min kul nafsi ua fog
kulli šei
 The Lord created the world and designed the human being
 The Lord gave me the life and preserves it for me
 The Lord loves me and provides me with goodness and
 No one acts with me like his Son! No one better than My Lord!
 I want to love him from all myself and above everything

Tamrin et-tani p. 29

El Uařan

Ana aħeb el balad elli fihi ulettu al uařani.
Iuħebbuha el fallah el muřtaħid ua eř řadig ua eř-řannai el mahir.
Iuħebbuha el Kahin et-tagi, ua el mnállim el áamil ua el junbi el uařani ua

el hukkam. Iuḥebbuhā el jundi elli iuhajim el a'daa bi la ḥof ua iuḥareb ua iamut
 I love the country in which I was born, my nation
 Love it the valiant peasant and the friend and the skilled artisan.
 Love it the Priest, and the working teacher and the junbi(?) of the nation and
 the rulers. Loves it the soldier who is facing the enemies without fear and is fighting and is dying.

Kitab el geraia el jez-il ula
 Catholic Mission printing press, 1929 (Wau)

ADABU'S SEIRI

Iza ḥarajat el bint min beitiha tagṣidu'l madrasa, au min el madrasa tagṣidu'l beit, iajib an taṣir mo'tadilata'l jism; fa la tataamaial iaminaha au iasaraha kama iafālu'l banat ellati la adab lahum. Ua li tataāllam kullu bint an el uguf fi'ṭ-ṭarig min ġeir sabab, au li asbab ḥafifa, mina'l ādati-z zamima. Ua iza ḥarajat li'l fusḥa ma' ualideiha au aḥad aḡaribiha, iajib an taṣir sauaa, fa la tataḡaddamhum ua la tataaḥar ānhum ua uaiaha min el eḥtimam bi nafsīha ua tark eḡuatiha eṣ-ṣiḡar li anfusihi, ua iajib an takun ḥeir masal lahum fi'l alāab, ua āleiha an tatajanab alāab eṣ-ṣubian el gubaḥa

If the girl goes out from her house to proceed to the school, or from the school to proceed to the house, she must walk with a straight body, without moving from right to left as are doing the shameless girls. And all the girls must know that staying in the street without reasons or for light reasons is a blameworthy habit. And if she goes out to walk around with her parents or with one of her relatives, they must walk together, and she must not precede them or be behind them and forget her self-respect and leave her small sisters alone, and she must be a good model for them in the games and she must avoid the games of the shameful lads.

TARATIL HYMNS IN SOUTHERN SUDANESE ARABIC Africa Inland Church, Juba, Sudan 1979 Nile Printing Press, Juba.

1. IMAN AL RUSUL!
 Ana amin biAllāh Alab Alḡadir
 Khalig alsama wa alard,
 Wa bi Yesua Almasih
 Ibinu alwahid.
 Alazi hubula bihi
 Bialruh Alḡadus
 Wa wulid min Maryam Alazra's,
 Wa ta'lam ala ahad
 Bilatus Albuni
 Wa Sulib, wa mat, wa ḡabir, wa
 Nasal ila alhawīya
 Wa ḡam fi alyom althalith
 Min bein alamwat
 Wa sada ila alsama
 Wa Huwa jalis an yamin
 Allāh Alab Al ḡadir
 (aldhabit alkul)
 Wa sayati min hinak liyadin
 Alahya wa alamwat
 Waa min bil-Ruh Alḡadus

Wa bilkanisa almugadasa al jama
 Wa bishirka algadisiin
 Wa bimaḡgara
 Alkhataya wa bigiama almouti
 Wa bilhaya alabadiya.
 AMIN
 (The Apostles Creed)

3. DOM BITA AL YESU

Inta masi alsan seli Rabuna
 Alsan dom bita Yesu Kristu?
 Inta rudu gulu Yesu bi agder
 Yaksul inta kudus hagiga?

Dom bita al Yesu
 Sei Kasulu inta nafsak?
 Dom bitou nefu al kasalu ana
 Fi kida ana hasa makasut

Inta kasalta batal bitak kulu
 Fi am dom bita Yesu Kristu?
 Inta dowuru alela ma Yesu?
 Ma guwa Bitou al kudus de?

Inta dayiru kafu yamsukak
 Kan Yesu bi arija hasa?
 Sibū kalam batal bita wasaka,
 kasulu nadif ma dom Betou
 (Are you washed in the blood)

YESU GAIM MIN BEIN AMWAT!

Nashkur, 'llah fi alyom da
 Yom Kebir lena kuluna
 Yesu gam min bein amwat,
 Arfa iskum fog wa guna haleluya!

Yesu gam min bein amwat
 Katayat na, Yesu gam wa Huwo fi
 Bet Allah fog
 Fi sama Haleluya!

Yesu gam min bein amwat
 Ma indina kafu tani
 Hu galab guwa ta mut,
 Nahnu bardu bi Isimu, Haleluya

Yesu gam min bein amwat
 Kharabu kalam de lel nas
 Hu yarja le duniya
 Ashan yakud almuminiin, Aleluya!

Nashkur, 'llah fi alyom da
 Yom kabir lena kuluna
 Yesu gam min bein amwat,
 Arfa iskum fog wa guna, Aleluya!
 (Jesus Lives Thy Terror Now)

Appendix III

Sermon, Anglican Church, Juba, South Soudan, March 1984

Ya akwána wa akwát
 O brothers and sisters

salám lekum kúlu bi isim yesua al-mesih
 Peace on you all in the name of Jesus the Messiah

injl máta biwəri gál fi wáhed rájel al-kán indu intáj
 The Evangelists tell that there was a man who had ?

uwó amyán wa ma biwónosu/ asán senú/ uwo /rájel da /
 He was blind and mute, because, this man,

indu ruuh al negíf aw šetán fi gísim bitó/
 had a bad spirit, an evil in his body

faa kán fi akwána tanín el jib rájil da gidám yesua/
 and there were other brothers who brought the man in front of Jesus

umon bikun asuma an al-hilaaj al-yesua amol li rajil al-indu ida abis/
 They had heard on the treatment that Jesus did for the Leper

dé kán hásil fi bet ar-ráb
 this occurred in the Temple

fa nina bišúf hine gál fi nás taniin al-kán áraf aja al-kwáyey
 and we see here that other people if they know a good thing

umon bidúsu le nefisa bitómon bes
 they hide it for themselves

lakín umon bisíbu kalám al-kwayes da nas tanín kamán biyaref asán nas tanín kamán biligo baráka min fôgo
 but they let other people also know the good thing so that they benefit from the baraka

wa nina bišúf gál rájil ale indu šetán
 and we see that the man had an evil

wa šetán amulu-o ma biyagdar išúfu ma biyagdar iwonosu
 and the evil forbid him to see and to speak

uman asma an hiláj al yesu-al-mesí ge amolu
 they heard about the treatment that Jesus the Messiah was doing

fa uman jib rajil da gidám yesu al mesí

and they brought this man in front of Jesus the Messiah

fa al-rájl al-indu šitán da kan jibu gidám yesua
and the man who had an evil was brought in front of Jesus

yesua amol hiláj le uwa min hajaat al taláta al-kán fi gisim pitao
Jesus cured him from the three things he had in his body

awol túruju al-šitán bára min úwa
first he took the evil away from him

tanya fatau ena bitó ašán bi šúf táni
second he opened his eyes so he could see again

talta fatau kasma ašán uo biwonosu
third he opened his mouth so that he could speak

ya akwána de hája al-ajib jidán
O brothers this is a very marvellous thing

mafi zoz al-bidayer gene fi hala ale ze da
nobody wants to stay in such a state

lakín šitán al uwa adu bitána bijibu kalamát al zé dá fogo nás
but Satan who is our enemy is bringing this kind of problems on people

fi nás ketír hasa al-šetán robutú keda ma genzir bitao
there are many people who are bound by the evil

aburu hiláj al-nua baraó baraó
they try many types of medicine

aburu alabu lugara bita jokjok
they try the plays of the jokjok Drums

wa haját tanín al-katír amolu asán hiláj bijá
and many other things they do in order to get cured

lakín ma biyagder
but it doesn't work

fa keli nina arofu gal yesua yau biyagder fi kalamát al-zei da
But we must know that Jesus has the power on those problems

asan úwo amolu fa ze ma uwa amulu bi yóm dák
because he did it and as he did that day

uwo biyagdar amulu alela le ita al-indu kalám aw sékil al-ayán al ze da
he can do today to you who has problem of sickness

fa nina bišuf ir-rajil da indu taláta haját fi gisim bitó
and we see that this man has three things in his body

šetán u ma biyágder wonisu
Evil and he cannot speak

u ma biyagder šuf
and he cannot see

lakin yisu al-mesi amolu hiláj bi haját de kúlu
But Jesus the Messiah cured all these things

inžil mata bistamir kaman biwori innu kan anas fi kotir al-límu
The Evangels told us also that many people met

fi mahal al-yisu amolu hiláj da fogú
in the place where Jesus was curing

wa umon nas da kan šuf al ajáwi al-yisu al-mesi amulu
and they, those people, saw the Miracles that Jesus was doing

um ja istagrabín jiddán
and they got very surprised

wa hatta umon kelem wa gál mimkin da jena bita daud al uwo mesih
until they say that maybe it is the child of David, the Messiah

ya akwana wa ekwát daiman sokol bita raboona bizahar baráú
O brothers and sisters, the work of God always appears in its own way

yóm min al-ayám yesua kélem le yahudín
One day Jesus told the Jews

gal kan umon bisedek kalám al min kasma bito
that if they believe his words

keli umon rúdu sókol al-úwa ge amulu
they must accept what he was doing

asan senu sokol de biwori an zol al rásul
because this action shows he is a Prophet

ua kaman biwori guwa bita allah
and it shows also the strength of God

fa raboona ge istakel sogol bito hata aléla
and Our Lord is doing his work until today

lakin nina bišuf gal kalám al-yesua al-mesi amolu kwés le zól da
but we see that the words of Jesus the Messiah were good to this person

le sáfa bita fariziyin
On the side of the Pharisee

umon kan ja zalaniin wa hatta umon kelem gal haa yesua indu guwa al ja min byzabol
they were unhappy and said that aah Jesus has the strength that comes from Beelzebub

yaani guwa al ja min šetán
the strength that comes from Satan

wa guwa de yau sibu uwa bamolu al-ajawib da
and this strength let him make these miracles

fi da yesua kan arefu kalám al fariziyin ge fokri fogo da badri
And Jesus knew what the Pharisee were thinking like this from early

wa yesua gal fekira bitákum ya ferziyín ma sáh abadan
and Jesus said your thought ô Pharisee is not true at all

lakín kamán ašán nas al-farziyín de umon aoz ikate kalám al-haG
but as the Pharisee wanted to cover the truth

ya umon sibu/ya umon feker/ya umon kelem gal
they let, they thought, they said that

yesua ligo guwa min byzabol/ min šetán
Jesus found his strength from Beelzebub, from Satan
/.../

fa de biwori gal yesua ma biamolu haja baraú ma rabóna
And this shows that Jesus was not acting without the Lord

fa keli nina aruf gal šetán ma biwodi guwa asan keli karabu guwa bito
and we must know that Satan does not provides strength (to someone) so that he destroy his own
power

lakin uwa geyru karabu šukul bita allah
but so that he destroys the work of God

fa lokan byzabol aw šetán yau wodi guwa le yesua al-mesi
and if it was Beelzebub of Satan who empowered to Jesus the Messiah

kan biwodi guwa le zol mesi asan keli zol de karabu bita kulu
they would have empowered the Messiah so that he destroys everything

lakin ašuf guwa al-yesua al-mesi indu iwa ja min allah
but we see that the power of Jesus the Messiah comes from God

kelina aref kaman gal šetán ma bidosoman šetán
We must understand that Satan does not fight Satan

lakin šetán bidosoman ma rabóna asan uo aoz karabu sokol bita rabóna
But Satan fights with our Lord because he wants to destroy the work of our Lord

lakin ma biyagdar asan allah indu guwa futu bita šetán
but he can't because the power of God is stronger than that of Satan

fa al-kalám al-muhim le nihna ene
and what is important for us here

nihna aruf gal rabóna indu guwa
We know that our Lord is powerful

wa kulu šukul al kan yesua al-mesih amulu fi zaman al uwo fi arabiya da
and all the things that Jesus the Messiah made at the time he was in arabiya (?)

de guwa bita rabóna
come from God's power

wa neſs al-guwa rabóna sibu le kenisa
and it's the same power that our Lord gives to the Church

wa kenisa bagdar amulu awajib kabir fi yom bita alela
and the Church can make big miracles until today

ile kalam al-muhim keli nina teki iman le rabóna al-indu guwa
and the important thing is that we must submit our faith to our Almighty Lord

nas seli rabóna allah al indu guwa
people pray God the Almighty

nina biseli keli ita saaduna ašan bikun gerib ma ita
we pray so You help us and we come near you

sukran asan ita rabona al indu sulta wa ale indu guwa ale futu kulu fi sama wa fi ard
Thanks because you are our Lord, whose power is bigger than everything on earth and sea

sukran ya rabuna kun garib ma ana
Thanks our Lord to be near me

nihna seli bi isim yesua al-mesih
Amen.
We pray on the name of Jesus the Messiah
Amen