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9. ARABIC LOANWORDS IN THE NILOTIC LANGUAGES OF THE SOUTHERN SUDAN

AL-AMIN ABU-MANGA

1. Introduction

The Southern Sudan, though part of a politically unified state in which Arabic is a dominant lingua franca, remained for a long time subject to a particular colonial policy ("divide and rule") which aimed at hindering the spread of the Arabic language. This colonial policy, coupled with facets of geography (long distance), development (lack of built roads), society (ethnic and religious diversity), and economics, negatively affected the process of linguistic interaction between Arabic and the languages of that region. Notwithstanding these factors, Arabic had and still has enough dynamism to make significant inroads into these local languages.

In this paper I intend to study Arabic loanwords in some Nilotic languages of Southern Sudan from phonological, morphological, and semantic perspectives. I will thus try to describe the linguistic mechanisms and strategies of the adaptation of the loanwords to the language patterns of the recipient languages. The languages considered in this study are mainly Dinka (Bor and Atuat dialects) and Bari. It is worth noting that this study is confined to its absolute socio-linguistic boundaries, i.e. without any political or ideological implications.

2. Arabic in the Southern Sudan: Historical Background

The contact between Arabic and the languages of Southern Sudan represents one of the rare cases wherein Islam did not have a significant role to play. The first stage of this contact (before the 1850s) was in the form of long-distance trade, whereby Arabic-speaking merchants from Dar Fur and Wadai used to cross Shilluk-land on their way to the kingdom of Sennar (Mahmud 1983: 15). Thus, some of the old Arabic loanwords in the field of trade and commodities exchange in the languages of that area are expected to have originated from this contact.

During the first decades of Turco-Egyptian rule (1821-1850), the South was annexed to the rest of the country, creating the present-day Republic of the Sudan. This was followed by the establishment of semi-military centres for trade in commodities such as ivory, ostrich feathers, and also in "slaves" (Ibid: 17, 20). These centres were populated by people from different speech
communities and managed by Arabic speakers of equally different national backgrounds. Communication needs for this amalgam led to the emergence, development, and spread of a pidgin form of Arabic.

Unlike the Turco-Egyptian administration, the British administration in Sudan (1882-1956) decided to keep the northern and southern parts of the country as separate as possible ("divide and rule" policy). For the British, Islam and its vehicle, i.e. the Arabic language, could be the best unifying factor for a nation like Sudan. Therefore, as noticed by Miller (1989:53), the basic foundation of their language policy in the Southern Sudan was laid upon that assumption: "arabisation et islamisation étant des processus interdépendants (potentiellement, dangereux pour le pouvoir colonial), freiner la progression de l'arabe revenait à freiner la progression de l'islam".

For the implementation of this policy, the use of pidgin was prohibited in the entire region except in and around Juba (Rondyang and Miller 1984). Moreover, education was entrusted to Christian missionaries, who were to conduct teaching in nine of the Southern Sudanese vernacular languages recommended by the Rejaf Conference of 1928.4

At the dawn of independence (1950) Arabic was re-introduced in all southern schools as a subject, with a view to replacing both vernaculars and English as medium of instruction in the future (Abu Bakr 1975: 13), but this program did not work satisfactorily due to the civil war. In the Addis Ababa Accord5 of 1972 English was recognized as the principle language for Southern Sudan, to be used side by side with Arabic. The major vernacular languages were also to be reintroduced in the first two years of Primary School.

However, the above anti-Arabic language policy seems to have functioned in an opposite direction: for the attempt on the part of the British to develop a number of Southern Sudanese languages at the same time hindered the development of any of them as lingua franca. Therefore, Arabic increasingly continued to play its role as an inter-group language. As noted by Miller and Rondyang (op. cit.) with regard to Juba, the regional capital of the South: "In spite of seventeen years of Civil War, Arabic language is dominating in all linguistic exchanges in the town, and nobody can deny that Arabic has become the first language of Juba town".

3. Theoretical Background

When linguists speak about "languages in contact", they often refer to situations where speakers of these languages actually come into direct contact. But on the other hand, languages can come into contact independently of their speakers, namely through literary traditions, as Greenberg (1962: 19) remarks. Relying on this, the present author (1986: 19) postulated the terms/notions of "close" and "peripheral" language contact corresponding to the two above situations, respectively. The first applies in cases such as contact between Arabic and other Sudanese languages, whereas the second applies to the contact between Arabic and some West African languages such as Hausa and Fulfulde.
"Close language contact" yields a number of sociolinguistic phenomena, notably: borrowing, bilingualism, interference, code-switching, loan-translation, and language shift. In "peripheral language contact", on the other hand, only borrowing is expected to take place.

Borrowing, which is our main concern in this study, is then the only common factor in the two types of contact. It is defined as "an attempt to reproduce in one language patterns that have been found in another" (Haugen 1950: 288). The process of borrowing always entails modification of the loanwords and their adaptation to the linguistic patterns of the recipient language before their final integration into the vocabulary of that language.

4. Borrowing of Arabic Words into the Nilotic Languages

There are three important linguistic and sociolinguistic factors which have to be taken into consideration when studying loanwords. These are the source of borrowing, the intermediary channels of diffusion, and the internal phonological shifts in the target language (Gregerson 1967, Wexler 1980).

By "source of borrowing", we refer to whether the words are borrowed from written or oral sources. As far as Arabic loanwords in the Nilotic languages are concerned, the dichotomy written/oral seems to be of less importance because, as mentioned earlier, the spread of Arabic in Southern Sudan was neither accompanied by Islamization of the people nor was its later teaching at school a massive success. Therefore, since the contact between Arabic and Southern Sudanese languages is of the type of "close language contact", i.e. involving speakers of the languages concerned, nearly all the Arabic loanwords in these languages were orally borrowed and diffused. These include words picked up from auditory mass media (radio and television).

Instead of the written/oral dichotomy, we find it more appropriate in this study to consider the varieties of Arabic which provide our target languages with loanwords. Most important in this regard are:

(a) The Central colloquial dialect. To this source belong many words pertaining to household utensils (θānū dish, tarabéθ table), market (dukaan shop, giric piastre), food stuffs (weeka okra, leemuun lemon), and frequently used function words and interjections (kalas enough, lakin but).

(b) The Turco-Egyptian variety of Arabic. Words belonging to this source are either not current in the Central colloquial dialect or restricted to specific sectors of the northern society. They mostly pertain to administration and administrative power:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nilotic languages</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Central dialect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>maabuuθ (Bari: möbus)</td>
<td>prisoner</td>
<td>masjuun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aburkamin²⁷</td>
<td>court clerk</td>
<td>kaatib maškama</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
temerji  nurse  mumarrid/tamarji

tanoora  a kind of underwear  (becoming obsolete)

(c) Pidgin Mangalese or Juba Arabic. Some words from this source are in the form of compact phrases. Others combine morphological elements of the target languages, while others display a high degree of integration. Most of them are found particularly in Bari.

Examples:

dorbarau < bidawir baraahu (lit. he moves alone)
"bailed prisoner"
Central dialect equivalent: madmuun

biniked < ibni kelb (lit. the son of dog)
"cunning"
Central dialect equivalent: same as above

fogurjō < fagur (lit. a poor person + jō, a suffix in Bari functioning as verbalizer, i.e. to render/make/consider as poor)
"to degrade"

The Central dialect uses instead the verb yafkar be, yazdari yale.

badidur < bard-ad-duhur (lit. afternoon)
"part-time job" i.e. done after the normal working hours (in the afternoon).
Central dialect equivalent: duhriyya, referring specifically to any afternoon work done on the farm.

makatala < probably magta† piece
In Bari makatala refers to a limited piece of work, usually on the farm, for which a wage is paid.

Apart from these main sources, in Dinka there is a word believed to have come from the Western Sudanese (Dar Fur) variety of Arabic. This is ajurai "bread". The suffix -ai or -aya is often encountered in that dialect bearing a singulative/diminutive connotation (e.g. ʃookaaya a sharp thorn). However, the stem ajur-, if ever known, is not currently used in the Central colloquial dialect.

Some loanwords in a given language may display phonological or morphological patterns which are unusual to the patterns of that specific language. In such cases intermediary channels of diffusion can be considered. One example of this is the loan paniina < faniila (undershirt), encountered in Dinka Bor. Replacement of the phone [l] by [n] in this example is unexpected, since nothing in the Dinka phonological system prevents the medial occurrence of [l]. The same can be said about the replacement of [b] by [m] in the loanword mabu(u)r < baabur "steam", which occurs in this form in both Dinka and Bari. Therefore, the above examples (paniina and mabu(u)r) might have been borrowed indirectly through one of the non-Nilotic languages of Bahr al Ghazal; namely, of the Moro-Madi or Bongo-Bagirmi groups.
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The third factor (the internal phonological shift in the target languages) is found to be irrelevant for our study because of the recent dating of borrowing from Arabic into the Southern Sudanese languages. In other words, since the beginning of the intensive contact process, no internal shifts in these languages has yet taken place.

Loanwords in Bari can be distinguished from those in Dinka in terms of the degree and morphological patterns of integration as follows:

(a) Arabic loanwords in Bari display a higher degree of integration than those in Dinka. Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bari</th>
<th>Dinka</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kerdzadza$^{10}$</td>
<td>giɔaaθ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>börömit</td>
<td>bermil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suwut</td>
<td>caăt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) Blending of morphological elements to loanwords is attested only in Bari; these elements are mostly verbal suffixes. Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bari</th>
<th>Dinka</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dzulumbö</td>
<td>to cheat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>főgurjö</td>
<td>to degrade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>döyindyö</td>
<td>to borrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sølimökin</td>
<td>handed to</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We notice that verbal suffixes are attached even to those loans which are originally verbs (see the last two examples).

(c) Frequently interfering Arabic adverbs and interjections occur more in Bari than in Dinka (kulukulu < kullukullu at all, bes < bas enough/that is all, etc.).

All these phenomena with regard to Bari are the result of the earlier-mentioned colonial language policy, whereby interaction in Arabic in the Southern Sudan was allowed only in Bari-land (Juha and its surroundings).

4.1 Phonological Adaptation

The process of phonological adaptation of the Arabic loanwords in our target languages follows the universal patterns noted in such situations. That is to say, the alien sounds in these words are usually replaced by the nearest ones in terms of articulation in the target languages. Some others are modified to suit the phonological patterns of these languages.

Vowels are expected to constitute an important problem in our study. Though all the five Sudanese Arabic vowels (i,e,a,o,u) exist in the vowel systems of our target languages (Dinka and Bari), our data display a number of irregular realizations of Arabic vowels whereby a and o are sometimes centralized (e.g. caăt < $aaahid
witness); long vowels are sometimes shortened (lekin < laakin but), and i/e and o are sometimes modified into e and u respectively (e.g. kerdzadza < gizada bottle). These phenomena seem to have been dictated by different phonological conditions and environments in the languages concerned, which may not adequately be accounted for in this limited study.

On the contrary, many Arabic consonants do not exist in Dinka or Bari. Their adaptation mechanism in the two Southern Sudanese languages operates systematically as follows:

(a) All the Arabic emphatic (pharyngealized) consonants [l], [d], [z] and [l] lose this important feature in both Dinka and Bari.

Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dinka</th>
<th>Bari</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ṭaałuuna &gt; toltauna(B) grinding mill</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaagi &gt; gaadit/gadi(B) judge</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sugduug &gt; sunduuk/sanduk(B) box</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>galam &gt; galam pen or pencil</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) The pharyngeals and glottals tend to disappear in all environments. In medial and final positions the preceding vowel is lengthened to compensate for the lost consonants.

Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dinka</th>
<th>Bari</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ṫakūm &gt; akiim doctor</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭawaayid &gt; awata tax</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭalif &gt; alip thousand</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭaan &gt; ṭāan/sakan(B) dish</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dzineeh &gt; dzene pound (currency)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(c) The phone [f] is replaced by [p] in Dinka in all positions; in Bari it remains [f] initially and becomes [p] in medial and final positions:

Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dinka</th>
<th>Bari</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fanilla &gt; paniina undershirt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>faas &gt; mapath axe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?alif &gt; alip thousand</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bari:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fagur(poor) &gt; fagurdzo degrade</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>safiia &gt; sapia tin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keef &gt; kep how</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(d) [s] in Dinka mostly becomes [θ], while in Bari it remains [s]; this applies in all positions:

Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dinka</th>
<th>Bari</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>saaθa &gt; θaa watch</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭaskari &gt; alaθker soldier</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mabuuθ &gt; mabuuθ prisoner</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bari:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saaθa &gt; sa? watch</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭaskari &gt; asekeri soldier</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mabuuθ &gt; möbus prisoner</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(e) [z] in Dinka becomes [ʔ] in non-final and [θ] in final positions; in Bari it becomes [dz] in initial and medial positions (no example for final position was reported):

Dinka:  
zulum > ūlum  cheating
mazllum > maļulum  an appeal, court (being cheated)
kooz > kœə  mug
Bari:  
zaatu > dzatu  itself, really
gizaaza > kerdzadza  bottle

(f) [dz] fluctuates between [c] and [dz] in Dinka; in Bari it remains [dz]:

Dinka:  
dzirdziir > cIRCIR  a kind of lettuce
sidzin > sidzin  prison
Bari:  
dzadiid > dzōdid  new
mudzza > mudzura  channel

(g) [ʃ] becomes [c] in Dinka and [s] in Bari:

Dinka:  
ʃaayi > cai  tea
girʃeen > girceen  two-piastre coin
Bari ʃaahidiin (ʃuhuud) > suwudin  witnesses
gurus ʃ > gurus  money

(h) [x] becomes [k] in Bari; no relevant examples were reported for Dinka:

xalaas > kalas  that is all, enough
laxbaʃa > lakabata  disorder, false accusation

Examples with [w] were not reported for the two languages.

For further illustration, let us schematize the above-described phonological renditions in the following diagram:

Arabic:  t d l f s/ʃ z/z dz ʃ x h/ʔ ʔ/ʔ

Dinka:  t d l p ʔ ʔ ʔ c/dz c  zero zero

Arabic:  t d l f s/ʃ z/z dz ʃ x h/ʔ ʔ/ʔ

Bari:  t d l f p s dz dz s k zero zero

All the Arabic phones, with the exception of [dz] for Dinka and [dz] and [s/ʃ] for Bari, do not form part of the phonological systems of the two target languages.
The Arabic consonant [dʒ] in Dinka seems to fluctuate freely between the Dinka [dʒ] and [c]; at least, this is how it was perceived by the author. In Bari, this sound was perceived by the author as it actually is.

[z/ʒ] being rendered as [θ] and [ð] in Dinka is environmentally conditioned, (i.e. final/non-final positions, respectively). In Bari neither of these inter-dentals exist; hence, the replacement by the more distant [dʒ].

[f] does not exist in the phonological systems of either of the two target languages; but while in Dinka it is replaced by [p], the fricative seems to have already established a place in the consonant system of Bari in initial position.

Finally, [h] does not exist (as a phoneme) in either of the two languages. In Bari it occurs only in certain exclamations (e.g. há, exclamation of surprise (Yokwe 1978: 27).

4.2 Morphological Adaptation

In non-class, non-gender languages such as the majority of the Nilo-Saharan ones, morphological adaptation of Arabic loanwords confines itself mainly to derivation and plural formation, the study of which requires a fairly thorough knowledge of the morphological systems of the target languages. Thus, due to the intricate nature of the nominal morphology of the Nilotic languages, I limit this section at this stage to Dinka.

One important morphological feature peculiar to Dinka relates to the "regressive assimilation rules", by which final plosives in nouns are replaced by nasals when the nouns are followed by adjectives, possessive and demonstrative pronouns, or by nouns in the genitive case, as follows (Tucker 1978: 52a):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{p} & \rightarrow \text{m} \quad \text{liep} \quad \text{tongue} & \rightarrow \text{liem baar} \quad \text{long tongue} \\
\text{θ} & \rightarrow \text{nh} \quad \text{alaθ} \quad \text{cotton} & \rightarrow \text{alanh θiθ} \quad \text{red cotton} \\
\text{k} & \rightarrow \text{ŋ} \quad \text{tik} \quad \text{woman} & \rightarrow \text{tiŋ de bɛŋ} \quad \text{wife of the chief} \\
\text{c} & \rightarrow \text{ŋ} \quad \text{moc} \quad \text{man} & \rightarrow \text{mɔŋ dit} \quad \text{a big man} \\
\text{t} & \rightarrow \text{n} \quad \text{wut} \quad \text{village} & \rightarrow \text{wunda} \quad \text{our village}
\end{align*}
\]

The above assimilation rules are found to operate perfectly with the Arabic loanwords in Dinka. Examples:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{p} & \rightarrow \text{m} \quad \text{taarip} \quad \text{half-piastre} & \rightarrow \text{taarim de meθ} \quad \text{half-pt. of the boy} \\
\text{th} & \rightarrow \text{nh} \quad \text{koθ} \quad \text{mug} & \rightarrow \text{kɔŋ de piu} \quad \text{water mug} \\
\text{k} & \rightarrow \text{ŋ} \quad \text{waragak} \quad \text{paper, book} & \rightarrow \text{waragan dit} \quad \text{big paper, book} \\
\text{c} & \rightarrow \text{ŋ} \quad \text{gAAC} \quad \text{belt} & \rightarrow \text{gɔŋ de meθ} \quad \text{belt of the boy} \\
\text{t} & \rightarrow \text{n} \quad \text{cäät} \quad \text{witness} & \rightarrow \text{can de Deng} \quad \text{Deng's witness}
\end{align*}
\]

Apart from this, Dinka employs quite complicated and intricate mechanisms for nominal and verbal derivation, compounding, and plural formation. These mechanisms are based primarily on vowel-quantity change, vowel-quality change, voice-quality change
(breathy/non-breathy), and tonal change (Akol 1989: 28). Sometimes two or more of these strategies may operate simultaneously.

My data do not include relevant cases for derivation and compounding. As for plural formation, one finds that the majority of the above strategies operate with the Arabic loanwords, but in varying degrees of productivity. However, the first strategy, i.e. vowel-quantity change, is by far the most productive. Thus, the Arabic loanwords in the Dinka data are classified according to the patterns of plural formation described below.

(a) Lengthening of the last vowel (of the singular form) and lowering of its (non-low) tone. The other vowels maintain their original tones (i.e. those of their singular forms). Loanwords of this category are always multi-syllabic and represent 62% of the total number of loanwords in the data. Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wárágák</td>
<td>wárágeèk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gálám</td>
<td>gálâam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jéné</td>
<td>jènèè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dójoláap</td>
<td>dójolâap</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) Shortening of the medial vowel of the word: This concerns all and only monosyllabic loans with long vowels (12% of the loanwords in the data). The plural forms display irregular tonal patterns. Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>koóθ</td>
<td>koóθ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reéθ</td>
<td>reéθ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cäär</td>
<td>road, street, car</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>súuk</td>
<td>sùh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cäät</td>
<td>cåt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(c) Lengthening and diphthongization (to -ai) of the final vowel -a, the tone of the diphthong always remaining low. This mechanism affects all and only loanwords ending in -a (also 12% of the total). Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>máalágá</td>
<td>máalágaaí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>áwátá</td>
<td>áwátáaí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>màláyà</td>
<td>màláyaaí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kúura</td>
<td>kúuraaí</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(d) Lowering of the tone of the last vowel, which is always long. This group of loanwords can be treated as a sub-category of the loanwords classified under the first mechanism, the difference being that the last vowel is already long. All the loanwords here are disyllabic with a high-low tonal structure, forming about 7% of the total number of loanwords in the data. Examples:
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>màbùur</td>
<td>steamer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lèemùun</td>
<td>lemon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>màdiir</td>
<td>director</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ðàåbùun</td>
<td>soap</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Elision of the final consonant, change of quality, and i- diphthongization of the vowel, the diphthong carrying a falling tone. This category is confined to monosyllabic loans with high tone, ending in -c. It is the least productive (only 2% of the loanwords). Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gáac</td>
<td>belt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>déec</td>
<td>army</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.3 Some Semantic Considerations

What a language borrows from another language varies according to the kind of relationship which exists between the two speech communities and the opportunities of the cultural and material contact. Thus, the semantic fields to which the borrowed words belong can throw some light on the nature of that relationship.

Although the corpus of the data (for both Dinka and Bari) is far from being exhaustive, the loanwords therein are spread over a large number of semantic fields. The most important among these are:

(i) Administration and administrative power: maamuur paramount chief, mapatiec inspector, madiir director, maapa6 governor, booliis policeman, déec army, gedìya (court) case, sijin prison, gaddit judge, etc.
(ii) Literacy: waragak paper, book, galam pen, pencil, naajir headmaster, etc.
(iii) Trade: dukaan shop, taajir trader, jelaap Northerner trader, suuk market, etc.
(iv) Household utensils: koo6 mug, ðaàn dish, maalaga spoon, jerdak bucket, sapia tin, etc.
(v) Money: giric piastre, taarip half-piastre, jene pound, rial ten-piastre coin, etc.
(vi) Clothing: jelabiya gown, paniina undershirt, rida shorts, gomiθ shirt, gáac belt, markuup locally made shoes, etc.
(vii) Technology: telepuun telephone, raadi radio, ðaa watch, amaara pavilion, gatar train, musajil cassette-recorder, carit cassette.

This is in addition to a large number of miscellaneous words which are very frequent in daily life: baden then, later, lisa not yet, lakin but, yela and then, kep how, abadan at all, males sorry, hasa now, etc.

Penetration of such a large number of words into the languages of the Southern Sudan and their distribution in different semantic fields stand as a challenge to all natural and man-made
constraints. Moreover, the numerous loanwords in the field of household utensils, vegetables, and food testify to the actual close cultural interaction between the northern and southern parts of the country.

5. Conclusion

In this paper, I have attempted a study of Arabic loanwords in two Nilotic languages: Dinka and Bari. This study suggests that the former colonial language policy and geographical and socio-economic constraints negatively affected but did not effectively hinder the spread of Arabic in Southern Sudan and its eventual influence on the languages of that region. However, the large number of loanwords pertaining to household utensils and daily life testifies to the societal nature of Arabic influence on these languages, i.e. independently of any policy.

It is true that at present a considerably high degree of negative attitude towards Arabic is attested among the majority of Southerners, but this may hamper the spread of only a particular form of Arabic, i.e. the modern standard Arabic and not the pidgin. With the increasing rate of migration to the northern urban centres, Southerners become more and more exposed to Arabic, which may enhance the process of borrowing.

NOTES

1. The data for this study were collected from the Dinka and Bari communities in Khartoum, through my students at the Institute of African and Asian Studies, the University of Khartoum, and Khartoum International Institute for Teaching Arabic to Non-Arabic Speakers. I am grateful to Dr. Mohammed Salah Eldeen, Department of Linguistics, University of Khartoum, for revising the first draft of the paper.

2. Dinka (self-name jien) is a member of the Western Nilotic group of the Nilo-Saharan family spoken by about 2,400,000 people, concentrating mainly in Bahr al-Ghazal and Upper Nile provinces in Southern Sudan. See Mansour (1983).

3. Bari (self-name bari) was previously classified as "Nilo-Hamitic", now usually known as Eastern Nilotic. It is spoken by about 323,000 people (1983 census), mainly in Equatoria Province.

4. The Rejaf Language Conference was held in April 1928 for consideration of a language policy in education for Southern Sudan. Nine South Sudanese languages were thereafter recommended for promotion: Dinka, Nuer, Shilluk, Bari, Lotuko, Zande, Kresh, Ndogo, and Moru. For more details see Gabjanda and Bell 1979.

5. This refers to the agreement signed in Addis Ababa (Ethiopia 1972) between the Sudanese Government and the Anyanya Guerilla movement to bring an end to the (first) civil war in Southern Sudan.
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6. All examples are from Dinka, Bari, or both. Two dots on top of the vowel (e.g. ȧ) indicate centralization. Orthographic th is replaced by θ.

7. In the Central Dialect the use of this word is presently restricted to military circles; it is realized as bolkamiin, meaning simply "clerk".

8. In the Central Dialect the word mumarrid is gradually superseding tamarji.

9. Contact of Arabic with these languages was more intensive than with the Nilotic languages, as found in a sociolinguistic survey among the migrants from Southern Sudan in Khartoum carried out by C. Miller and A. Abu-Manga (1988-89, unpub.).

10. IPA symbols are used when possible; otherwise, orthographical symbols are used.


12. Pharyngealization of the phoneme /l/ in Arabic is a phonetic rather than phonological feature, i.e. it is conditioned by being preceded by a.

13. It is not always so. In a study of Arabic loanwords in Fulfulde by the author, it was found that the syllabic structure of the Arabic verbs decides whether the verb is borrowed in its complete (fa'ala) or incomplete (ya'ala) aspectual form (Abu-Manga, 1986: 140-1).

14. Assignment of tone to loanwords seems to be governed by their original syllabic structure and stress, but more investigation in this area is needed.

15. From the results of the sociolinguistic survey among migrants from Southern Sudan in Khartoum; see note 9.

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