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THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC SITUATION OF SOUTH SUDAN

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Abstract

This paper aims at providing a description of the sociolinguistic situation of South Sudan. It focuses on the ethno-linguistic composition of the country. It attempts at answering these questions: what are the languages spoken in each one of the South Sudanese states and what are the demographic weights of their speakers; and what are the languages of wider communication (LWC)? The paper presents information on the ethnic groups and the languages spoken in each one of the three main areas of South Sudan (Greater Bahr el Ghazal, Greater Upper Nile, and Greater Equatoria).¹ The status and functions of South Sudanese and immigrant languages in each one of the ten South Sudanese states is described. Thus, the situation of South Sudanese indigenous languages can be accounted for and the sociolinguistic profile of South Sudan is also presented. Qualitative method is the method adopted in the present study. Interview and observation are the main tools of data collection. A number of interviews are administered to more than thirty people. It is found that English has a high status which may affect the situation of South Sudanese local languages in the long run. The study recommends that local languages should be developed and promoted; however, the government needs to be keen to avoid competition over few resources.

Key terms: *sociolinguistic situation, language status, language function*

1. Background

The Republic of South Sudan is a newly born country. It was founded on 9th July 2011 after its breakup from Sudan.² Its capital is Juba with Ramciel as the proposed new capital. South Sudan has an area of 619,745 km² and it is a landlocked country in east-central Africa. South Sudan is classified as part of the North Africa sub-region by the United Nations Organization (UN). It has a population of around 10,314,021 (Source: 2011 World Bank estimate). According to the Sudan's Fifth Population Census 2008, there were around 8,260,490 people. Its boundaries are Sudan to the north, Ethiopia to the east, Uganda and Kenya to the southeast, the Democratic Republic of Congo to the southwest and Central African Republic to the west. English is the official language of the

¹ See Map (1): South Sudanese States.

² Southern Sudan is used in this paper to denote the area before its breakup from Sudan and South Sudan for the newly born country.

country.³

The geographic location of South Sudan has made it recipient of migrations of many people of different ethnic origins. The ethnic diversity can be noticed by the existence of ethnically different groups either from different areas of South Sudan, Sudan or from other African countries. In addition to common boundaries, South Sudan is bound by complex racial and ethnic links to many countries of the region. Throughout the centuries, groups of people and whole tribes crossed freely into the territory of South Sudan, where they intermingled and culturally blended with the native population.

Southern Sudan was deeply affected by the long term war in southern Sudan which broke up at 1983. Thus, under the pressure of war its inhabitants migrated within and outside the Sudan, and after the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in January 2005, the resettlement of the displaced people has begun. In addition, the area is also affected by the Darfur Crisis (2005) in which a great number of Sudanese (Darfurians) have settled in different areas in South Sudan.

2. Methodology

The aim of this paper is to draw a sociolinguistic profile of South Sudan; therefore, it adopts qualitative method to collect information on the languages and ethnic groups in each one of South Sudanese states. Interviews and participants' observation, in addition to the researcher's own observation are the tools used by the researcher. Using different approaches to data collection and observation, in particular, leads to richer understanding of the social context and the participants therein as discussed by Breuer and Roth (2003).

2.1. Interviews

A number of interviews were administered to more than thirty people, males and females. Their ages ranged from seventeen to over eighty years. Their educational backgrounds varied from illiterate to university level. They belong to different ethnic backgrounds. As far as their professions are concerned, they are house wives, teachers, chiefs, farmers, administrative officers, government officials, traders and cattle keepers.

In addition to the interviews conducted in Aweil Town (2009, 2011 and 2014), many other interviews were conducted in Wau (January 2010), Juba (December 2010, December 2011 and October 2014) and Khartoum (about 20 interviews at different times according to convenience). The aim was to collect more detailed information on the socio-linguistic situation of South Sudan. Information on ethnic groups, languages, the domains of language use, inter-ethnic marriage, displacement and other information on the situation of South Sudanese languages, Arabic, English and immigrant's languages were among the issues discussed.

2.2. Participant observation

Participant observation was useful tool to the researcher in a variety of ways: it used to fill gaps and to support information provided by the interviewees, it improves the quality of data collection and interpretation, and facilitates the development of new research questions or hypotheses and it also helps discovering the nature of social reality by understanding the actor's perception, understanding and interpretation of that social world. Most of the field work includes participating and observing

³ See <http://www.sudantribune.com/+-South-Sudan,036-+>.

the people and community under study. It was a moderate participation, i.e. participating in everyday events (DeWalt and DeWalt 1998: 262). The researcher took part in many social activities with students and teachers through spending a day in a number of schools, and people in street, hospital, markets, local courts, and many national occasions during her stay at the area. Written notes were the method used by the researcher to record day-to-day observations, conversations and informal interviews which were read later to understand and analyze the data. It was an important source of information that helped the researcher to construct description of the society which facilitated understanding and interpreting of the results.

The following section presents information on the classification of the languages of South Sudan within Greenberg's classification of African languages (1970).

3. Classification of the languages of South Sudan

There are many classifications of the languages of Africa, including Sudan. In the present study, the South Sudanese languages are classified following Greenberg's classification (1970). According to this classification, the languages of Africa fall in four language families, three of which, Afro-Asiatic, Niger-Kordofanian, and Nilo-Saharan, are represented in South Sudan. Each one of these three families is divided into sub-groups that are in turn subdivided into sets of closely related languages. There are two sources relied on here to account for the distribution of languages of Sudan, including southern Sudan. The first one is the Summer Institute of Linguistics' Ethnologue Database (<http://www.ethnologue.com>). The number of languages of Sudan listed in the Ethnologue is 142, of which 134 are living languages and eight are extinct. The second source is Thelwall (1978), which contains a linguistic profile of Sudan based on the first Population Census of 1955. In addition to South Sudanese languages, there are many other languages spoken by immigrant ethnic groups in the country. Accordingly, the languages are categorized into two groups: indigenous languages and immigrant languages. For the immigrant languages, only the languages found in the study area will be mentioned within Greenberg's classification.

3.1. Indigenous languages

This group of languages includes the national languages spoken by the indigenous people of South Sudan. The term national is used in this context to denote the languages used by South Sudanese indigenous ethnic groups. They are grouped into three categories; Afro-Asiatic, Nilo-Saharan and Niger Kordofanian language groups. This category comprises various numbers of languages belonging to different subgroups of African languages. Most of the South Sudanese languages belong to the Nilo-Saharan language family (mostly Nilotic subgroup) and the Niger Congo family of the Niger- Kordofanian phylum. These languages are grouped into four groups; Nilotic which is sub-divided into Western Nilotic and Eastern Nilotic, Central Sudanic, Eastern Sudanic, and Niger Congo. The Afro-Asiatic language family is represented by southern Sudanese Arabic as a variety spoken by the majority of South Sudanese people. Some information on it is presented below.

Afro-Asiatic

This category includes South Sudanese Arabic. South Sudanese Arabic as one of the major dialects of Sudanese Arabic is presented in the following paragraphs since it is widely spoken in South Sudan.

Southern Sudanese Arabic

These varieties of Sudanese Arabic are peculiar to South Sudan,⁴ i.e. they are influenced by the South Sudanese local languages in each sub-region. It is spoken by 200,000 (1987) speakers as L1 and by 400,000 speakers as L2 and it is a language of trade and a major language in Juba, Wau and Malakal towns. It is used in religious services as mentioned in the Ethnologue.⁵ Unlike Northern Sudanese Arabic, the varieties of South Sudanese Arabic do not pose any threat to the local languages in South Sudan, as it is a matter of coexistence, because these varieties are not yet hegemonic as they do not have a well built corpus of literature and discourse like the case of standard Arabic in the Sudan (Nashid 2014: 171). Its regional varieties are Bahr el Ghazal, Upper Nile and Equatoria.⁶

The first regional variety is Bahr el Ghazal. It is represented by Wau Arabic, the variety spoken in Western Bahr el Ghazal State. Wau Arabic is influenced by the Luwo language spoken by Jur Chol, the major ethnic group in Western Bahr el Ghazal state. It is a widely used language variety. The variety spoken in NBeGS, influenced by the Dinka language, is Arabic variety used by different ethnic groups living in the region to fulfill different functions. The second regional variety is the Upper Nile, influenced by the local languages in the Upper Nile area like Nuer and Shilluk will be discussed later in the sub-section 4.2.1. The Equatoria variety is represented by Juba Arabic. Juba Arabic, a Pidgin-Creole Arabic, is spoken by 200,000 as first language (L1) and by 400,000 as second language (L2) in Juba city alone (1987 estimate) as mentioned in the Ethnologue. It is also spoken in South Sudan in the towns and many villages all over Equatoria region and up into Bahr el Ghazal and Upper Nile regions. It is also used as the major language of communication between speakers with different linguistic backgrounds in Equatoria, south of Wau and Malakal. It is used in many public places: markets and churches. Many school teachers use it at least part of the time. It is a language of trade. Bahr el Ghazal and Upper Nile varieties are pidgin, unlike the Equatoria variety represented by Juba Arabic which is a Pidgin-Creole since it is acquired as L1 by South Sudanese as explained by some studies on Juba Arabic (Mahmud 1983).

Nilo-Saharan

This category includes Nilotic subgroups, Central Sudanic, and Eastern Sudanic Language groups.

Nilotic Languages

It is a subgroup of Eastern Sudanic, Chari-Nile, and Nilo-Saharan phylum. It is divided into Western, Eastern and Southern Nilotic. Some of the Western and Eastern Nilotic languages are found in South Sudan therefore, they will be presented below.

Western Nilotic Languages

Among the Western Nilotic languages spoken in South Sudan are Dinka, Nuer, Shilluk, Acholi, Anuak, Reel and Lou (Luwo).

Eastern Nilotic Languages

This category includes Bari, Belanda Bor, Latuko, Kakwa, Lokoya, Lango, Loppit, Mandari

⁴ There is no sufficient information on these varieties; exceptionally some on Juba Arabic (see Mahmud 1983), and Manfredi and Petrollino (2012).

⁵ See http://www.ethnologue.com/show_language.asp?code=pga.

⁶ This regional subdivision of the Southern Sudanese Arabic is made by the researcher and most of the information included is taken from the researcher's visits and the interviews.

(Mundari), Dongotono, Pāri and Otuho.

Central Sudanic Languages

The South Sudanese languages included in this group are Baka, Bongo, Morokodo, Beli, Gbaya (Kresh), Binga, Yulu, Moru, Avukaya, Keliko, Lugbara, Ma'di, Gula, Jur Ma'do, Nyamasa-Molom, Aja and Lulubo.

Niger Congo Languages

This sub-group of Niger Kordofanian includes many languages, such as Zande, Belanda Viri, Feroge, Bai, Banda, Indri, Ndogo, and Mangayat.

3.2. Immigrant Languages

This category includes all non-indigenous languages of South Sudan. They are sub-categorized into Afro-Asiatic, Nilo-Saharan and Niger-Kordofanian.

Afro-Asiatic languages

The languages in this group which were found in South Sudan are three languages; Arabic (Sudanese, Egyptian, Lebanese, etc.), Bedawiyat, and Hausa.

Arabic

Arabic has different dialects that are discussed below since Sudanese Arabic was one of its dialects and it may be used by some returnees.

Sudanese Arabic

There are great regional variations in the Sudanese Arabic because it is spoken by people whose native language is not Arabic; therefore, it is greatly influenced by the Sudanese local languages. Sudanese Arabic can be regionally divided into four dialects; Northern dialects spoken by different groups like Shaygiyya, Rubāṭāb, etc., Eastern dialects spoken by Shukriyya, Rufā'a, etc., Western dialects spoken by Baggara is closely akin to the colloquial Arabic spoken in Chad and is known as "Shuwa Arabic" and lastly, the Central dialect, spoken mainly by Ja^caliyyīn, is referred to as Khartoum dialect or Sudanese Colloquial Arabic (SCA). It is the main and standardized dialect that is used in broadcasting; TV and radio (Abu-Manga and Abu Bakr 2006). The number of the speakers of Sudanese Arabic is difficult to determine since there are no sufficient studies and the number of people who speak Arabic as L1 or L2 is increasing.

Nilo-Saharan Languages

This category includes Fur, Zaghawa (Saharan) and Masalit language (Maban), spoken in western Sudan and Nubian languages. Western Sudan is deeply affected after the violent conflict that started in Darfur 2007. People left their land and a great number of Fur, Zaghawa and Masalit started to settle in all South Sudanese states as shown in sections 4.1., 4.2., 4.3. This may lead to change in the sociolinguistic situation for all groups. Some languages of the Nile and Kordofanian Nubians are also found in South Sudan.

Niger Kordofanian

Fulfulde is the only language which belongs to this language family that is found in the study area.

Generally speaking, the three language families are represented in South Sudan. Most of the languages spoken in the South Sudan belong to the Nilo-Saharan language family. They are Dinka, Nuer, Shilluk, Acholi, Anuak, Gbaya, Gula, Nile Nubian, Kordofanian Nubian, Zaghawa, Masalit and Fur. Niger Congo language family is represented in the study area by Zande, Belanda Viri, Feroqe, Banda and Fulfulde languages. Although the number of languages that belong to the Afro-Asiatic language family found in South Sudan is small compared with other families, their speakers constitute the majority of the Sudanese population due to the number of South Sudanese who speak Arabic either as L1, L2 or L3. The languages spoken in the study area in this family are Arabic with its different dialects, Bedawiyat (Beja) and Hausa. The majority of these languages have Latin-based script, except Anuak which has, in addition to Latin-based script, Ethiopic script and Hausa and Fulfulde which have, in addition to Latin-based script, Arabic script and Ajami style.

The classification of South Sudanese languages has been stated, therefore, the following section gives an account of the sociolinguistic situation of South Sudan.

4. The Sociolinguistic situation of South Sudan

South Sudan can be described as being linguistically, ethnically and culturally diverse; each one of its ethnic groups is subdivided into different sub-groups having different religious beliefs, cultures and even their styles of life are different. As mentioned, there are over 60 indigenous languages spoken in South Sudan. The languages with the highest number of speakers, in South Sudan, are the Dinka, a language continuum with perhaps 1.4 million in 1986 and Nuer with 740,000 speakers in 1982. These two groups of languages are also closely related to one another. Bari had 420,000 in 2000, and Zande had 350,000 speakers in 1982. Of the Ubangi languages, the available figures indicate that Zande is the only one with a substantial number of speakers in southern Sudan. There exist many tribal clusters. The major ones present in South Sudan are Dinka (approximately 15 percent combined), Nuer (approximately ten percent), Bari, and Zande. The Shilluk constitute a historically influential state along the White Nile, and their language is fairly closely related to Dinka and Nuer. The traditional territories of the Shilluk and the North-eastern Dinka are adjacent.⁷

The South Sudanese ethnic groups are Acholi, Adio (Makaraka), Aja, Anyuak (Anyuaa), Atuot (Reel), Avukaya, Azande, Bai, Baka, Belanda-Boor, Belanda Bviri, Bari, Binga, Bongo, Didinga, Dinka (Jieng), Dongotona, Feroqhe, Gollo, Ifoto, Imatong, Indri, Jiye, Jur (Beli and Mo'do), Jur Chol (Luo), Kakwa, Kara, Keliku, Kuku, Lango, Larim (Boya), Logir, Lokoya, Lopit, Lotuka (Otuho), Lugbwara, Lulubo, Maban, Madi, Mananger, Mangayat, Moro, Moro Kodo, Mundari, Mundu, Murle, Ndogo, Ngulngule, Nuer (Naath), Nyangatom, Nyangwara, Pari, Pojullo, Sere, Shatt, Shilluk (Chollo), Suri (Kachipo), Tenet, Tid, Toposa, Uduk, Woro, Yulu.⁸

According to the Fifth Population Census 2008,⁹ the population of southern Sudan is estimated at

⁷ See <http://unic.un.org/imucms/khartoum/36/499/sudanese-tribes.aspx>.

¹⁶ From: <http://www.gurtong.net/Peoples/PeoplesProfiles/Maban/tabid/212/Default.aspx>.

⁹ The Sudan's fifth population census was conducted in April in 2008 and the results are published in April 2009, when South Sudan was still part of Sudan. The Sudan's Fifth Population Census is very important since the previous censuses (1973, 1983 and 1993) excluded Southern Sudan because of wars. The results of this census are politically significant. The data collected during the census would be the primary source of information to decide the number and re-allocate the electoral constituencies and to re-demarcate the administrative boundaries. The census data determined the outcomes of the 2011 referendum on the right of Southern Sudan to self-determination. Furthermore, data collected during the population census was the basis for re-distribution of political power and repartition of economic wealth in the country (A DRDC Report, 2010: 6). The negotiations on Darfur Crisis is also based on the results of this census "... the census data would be used not only for national development planning and social services, but also as the basis for review and repartition of political power and economic wealth across the country- thus laying down the foundation for a democratic and egalitarian Sudan" (ibid: 11). However, the government of Southern Sudan (GoSS) rejected the results of the census for different

around 8,260,490 (21.1% of the Sudan's total population); 4,287,300 (51.9%) out of them are males and 3,973,190 (48.1%) are females. The languages of South Sudan presented below will be accounted for in relation to the Sudanese languages as the present study had started and the data was started to be collected when South Sudan was part of the former Sudan. In addition, the majority of the Sudanese languages are found in South Sudan. A number of linguists, anthropologists and social scientists had identified more than a hundred languages and dialects that are used by the Sudanese. It is important to note that, the number of languages in Sudan is not fixed. The only reliable source that can be depended on is the 1955 census in which 113 Sudanese languages are mentioned. This encompassed more than fifty ethnic groups and six hundred tribes. Gore (1989) mentioned 570 tribes grouped into 56 ethnic groups.

The following Table shows the distribution of the Sudanese languages, including the languages of South Sudan, according to the 1993 population census. Any questions on language, ethnic origin and religious affiliation were excluded from 2008 Census due to their sensitivity as they are often the main causes of conflict in Sudan.

Table (1): The first 14 languages and number of speakers in Sudan 1993 ¹⁰

Languages	Number of speakers	Percentage
Arabic	13,191,340	51.1
Dinka	2,740,900	10.6
Beja	1,181,335	4.6
Nuer	1,160,398	4.5
Fur	663,913	2.6
Zande	648,783	2.5
Bari	418,920	1.6
Masalit	406,310	1.6
Fulfulde	392,100	1.5
Koalib	386,713	1.5
Taposa	306,375	1.2
Hausa	295,775	1.1
Lotuho (Latuko)	290,565	1.1
Shilluk	236,565	0.9

reasons; to mention one, it insisted that the number of the population of Southern Sudan residents in Northern Sudan is over 2 million inhabitants and they are not only 500,000 as estimated by the census.

¹⁰ Source: Abu-Manga and Abu Bakr (2006), modified from Bell and Hurreiz (1975).

92 other Sudanese languages	3,498,840	13,6
Total	25,818,824	100

The linguistic situation in Sudan including southern Sudan is characterized by linguistic multiplicity and linguistic diversity. Wars, famines, influx of refugees from the neighbouring countries and population displacement result in intensive groups' mobility (Abu-Manga and Abu Bakr 2006: 6). Arabic is the majority language spoken by more than 50% of the Sudanese total population. Seven of the fourteen main languages are located in South Sudan; Dinka, the first language in South Sudan, is the second language (after Arabic) spoken by 10.6% of the Sudan's total population.

Some information on the sociolinguistic situation in South Sudan will be presented below.¹¹ The ethnic and linguistic composition of the ten South Sudanese States will be described each one separately.

The following Table illustrates the population of Southern Sudan based on their region of origin. southern Sudan is divided into three major areas in which the people of Bahr el Ghazal area represent 34.1%; Upper Nile represent 35.5% and Equatoria represent 30.4 % of the southern Sudan's total population.

Table (2): The distribution of southern Sudanese Population according to region of origin¹²

Regions	Male		Female		Total	
	Frequency	percentage	Frequency	percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Bahr El Ghazal	1,449,743	50.3	1,429,739	49.7	2,879,482	34.1%
Upper Nile	1,592,495	53.2	1,398,345	46.8	2,990,840	35.5%
Equatoria	1,314,250	51.3	1,249,529	48.7	2,563,779	30.4%
Total	435,648,8	51.7	4077613	49.3%	8434101	100%

4.1. Greater Bahr el Ghazal

Bahr el Ghazal region, which derives its name from a tributary of the White Nile that flows east-northward, consists of the states of Northern Bahr el Ghazal, Western Bahr el Ghazal, Lakes, and

¹¹ This information is collected at the researcher's visits to Central Equatoria State, Juba city (November 2010, December 2011 and October 2014), Northern Bahr el Ghazal State (November 2009, and 2014), Western Bahr el Ghazal State (January 2010), in addition to interviews with people belonging to or living in any of the South Sudanese States (For all informants providing data on the ten South Sudanese States see Appendix 1).

¹² The source is Sudan Fifth Population Census 2008.

Warrap. It borders Central African Republic to the west, Greater Equatoria to the east and Upper Nile to the east north and Darfur (Sudan) to the north. It is an area of swamps and ironstone plateaus inhabited mainly by the Dinka people, who make their living through subsistence farming and cattle herding. The region has been affected by civil war for many years. It was a scene of fighting in the First Sudanese Civil War (1955). In 1982, the Sudan People Liberation Army (SPLA) was formed there by John Garang to fight the government in Khartoum. This was the beginning of what soon became known as the Second Sudanese Civil War. The subsequent conflict lasted up to 2003 and more than two million people were killed. A substantial fraction of the population of the region was internally displaced or took refuge in the neighbouring countries.¹³ The total population of this area is estimated, according to the Sudan Fifth Population Census (2008), as 2,879,482 (50.3% males and 49.7% females) (Table 2).

The following Table illustrates the Southern Sudanese population based on their region of origin; Southern Sudanese, Northern Sudanese and non-Sudanese. This Table provides information on the ethnic composition of southern Sudanese States.

Table (3): The distribution of southern Sudanese population according to regional group¹⁴

Southern Sudanese States	Northern Sudanese	Southern Sudanese	Non-Sudanese	Total	
				Frequency	Percentage
Upper Nile	38,4444	911,314	4,496	1,300,254	15.1
Jonglei	1,024	1,337,533	3,027	1,358,602	15,8
Unity	9,733	567,002	1,041	585,801	6.8
Warrap	2,586	957,328	1,331	972,928	11.3
Northern Bahr el Ghazal	3498	708,134	1,498	720,898	8.4
Western Bahr el Ghazal	14,626	310,405	2,235	333,431	3.9
Lakes	952	684,448	1,968	695,730	8.09
Eastern Equatoria	1,132	892,738	3,177	906,126	10.5
Western Equatoria	1,023	608,833	3,917	619,029	7.2
Central Equatoria	6,125	1,068,518	17,641	1,103,592	12.8
Total	425143	8046253	39870	8596391	100

¹³ See: <http://www.answers.com/topic/bahr-el-ghazal>.

¹⁴ The source is Sudan's Fifth Population Census (2008).

4.1.1. Northern Bahr el Ghazal State

The capital of the State is Aweil. It has an area of 30,543.30 km². The population is estimated around 720,898 according to 2008 population Census; 98.2% (708,134) out of them are Southern Sudanese, 0.5% (3,498) out of them are Northern Sudanese and 0.2% (1,019) are non-Sudanese (Table 3).

The majority groups there are Dinka and Jur Chol. There are also Nuer, Bari, Acholi, Shilluk, Zande, Latuka, Kresh and Anuak. There are also Fellata (called Mawālīd), Bargo and Barno. There exist a considerable number of Sudanese groups: Nuba, Arabs from Jazīra and the White Nile, Baggara (Misseriyya and Rizegāt), Masalit, Fur and Zaghawa. In addition, Europeans, Ugandans, Ethiopians, Somalis and Kenyans are also found. Luwo (Jur Chol) and Dinka are the languages of wider communication. South Sudanese Arabic is used in the market places and streets. Both Dinka and South Sudanese Arabic are used for worship. Western Sudanese Arabic (Schwa) is used by some Fur, Zaghawa and Baggara. After the CPA, Luwo is used in the media in Aweil Centre County; namely, in the radio and TV news. The use of English is restricted to education and administrative tasks.

4.1.2. Western Bahr el Ghazal State

It has an area of 91,075.95 km². It borders Central African Republic, Warrap State, Northern Bahr el-Ghazal state, Western Equatoria state and Southern Darfur state (Sudan) in the North. Wau is the capital of the state. The population according to the 2008 Census is estimated at around 333,431.¹⁵ southern Sudanese represents 93.09% (310,405), northern Sudanese represents 4.39% (14,626) and non-Sudanese represents 0.67% (2,235) of the state's total population (Table 3).

The main ethnic groups in the state are Jur Chol, Dinka, Belanda Viri, Belanda Bor, Ndogo, Kresh, Bongo, Zande, Feroge, Bai, Yulu, Baka, Fertit and Fellata. There are also Arabs from the White Nile who got married with the local tribes. Fur, Masalit and Zaghawa started to arrive to the area after CPA (2005) and with the breakout of the Darfur Crisis (2007). Some Greek settled there since the Turco-Egyptian conquest and they got married with the local tribes. There are also a numbers of new comers from the neighbouring countries, who arrived to the area after CPA, such as Ugandans, Ethiopians, Somalis, Kenyans, and Egyptian.

The language of wider communication is Wau Arabic. It is the language used in inter-group communication, media and in churches for worship. The second language is Luwo or the locally called Jur Chol and the third one is Dinka which is spoken even by Jur Chol. English is used for administrative purposes and when communicating with foreigners. Each ethnic group, except Jur Chol, has their own areas of residence (*Hay*); therefore, ethnic languages are increasingly used in day-to-day communication within a group. Other languages are Aja, Bai which are spoken in Wau-Deim Zubeir area, and Banda (West Central) is spoken in the area between Wau and Mboro. Belanda Bor is spoken in the area south of Wau and Belanda Viri in the area 40 miles from Deim Zubeir. Feroge is spoken at Khor Shammam, near Raja. Gbaya is spoken by the Kresh and Indri is spoken in a small area around Raja. Mangayat is spoken in Raja and Ndogo is spoken in the western

¹⁵ See <http://www.geohive.com/cntry/southsudan.aspx>.

district. Thuri is spoken in the area between Wau and Aweil. Yulu is also spoken at Khor Buga, near Raja (Ethnologue Database).¹⁶ Jur Chol, Belanda and Dinka languages are considered as languages of wider communication in the state. Other languages are used narrowly by their speakers when communicating within the group.

4.1.3. Warrap State

The state capital is Kuajok. It has an area of 45,567.24 km². The population according to the 2008 Census is estimated at around 972,928.¹⁷ southern Sudanese represents 98.2% (957,328), northern Sudanese represents 0.27% (2,586) and non-Sudanese represents 0.14% (1,331) of the state's total population (Table 3).

The main ethnic group in Warrap is Dinka (Jieng). The minority tribes include the Luo (Jur Chol and Jur Mananger) and Bongo. The state is home to Twic, Jur Chol, Bongo and Rek, sub-tribes of Nilotic groups. Twic and Rek belong to Dinka tribe. The languages of wider communication are Dinka, Arabic and Luwo (Jur Chol).

4.1.4. Lakes State

The state capital is Rumbek. It has an area of 43,595.08 km². The population according to the 2008 Census is estimated at around 695,730.¹⁸ Southern Sudanese represents 98.4% (684,448), northern Sudanese represents 0.14% (925) and non-Sudanese represents 0.28% (1,968) of the state's total population (Table 3).

There are two main ethnic groups in the State; Dinka (Agar) and another group locally called Jur Biel. Jur Biel belongs to the Upper Nile area (Shilluk tribe). They look like Dinka and speak one of the Jur or Luwo dialects. A small hybrid group (Arab and local tribes) called Mawālīd, is also found. Fur and Zaghawa started to arrive to the area after CPA and with the breakout of the Darfur Crisis. There exist Fellata in small number. Ugandans, Ethiopians, Somalis and Kenyans are also found in small numbers.

Dinka is the language of wider communication, which is used in inter-group communication and in the market places. The second language is English which is used for administrative purposes and in education. Both Dinka and English are used in the media and for worship. Besides, Arabic is narrowly used in the market places by the Zaghawa and Fur. Beli is the language used by Jur Biel; Mo'da is also spoken in its border with Western Equatoria state.

Below is a Table summarizing the ethno-linguistic composition of the four states of the Greater Bahr el Ghazal area:

¹⁶ See http://www.ethnologue.com/show_language.asp?code=pga.

¹⁷ See <http://www.geohive.com/cntry/southsudan.aspx>.

¹⁸ See: <http://www.geohive.com/cntry/souths>.

Table (4): Languages and ethnic groups of the Greater Bahr el Ghazal area¹⁹

States		Main	Minor
Northern Bahr el Ghazal	Languages	Dinka, Arabic, English	South Sudanese languages
	Ethnic groups	Dinka, Jur Chol, Fellata	A. South Sudanese: Kresh, Nuer, Shilluk, Acholi, Latuka, Bari, Zande, Anuak B. immigrants: B.1. Arabs: Arabs, Arab: Baggara B.2. Western Sudanese: Fur, Zaghawa, Nuba B. 3 West Africans: Fellata, Barno, Bargo B.4. East Africans: Ugandans, Ethiopians, Somalis Kenyans, Europeans
Western Bahr el Ghazal	Languages	Wau Arabic, Luwo, Dinka, English	South Sudanese languages
	Ethnic groups	Jur Chol, Dinka, BelandaViri, Belanda Bor, Ndogo, Kresh, Bongo, Zande, Feroge, Bai, Yulu, Baka, Fertit, Fellata	A. immigrants: A.1. Arab: Arabs, Egyptian, A .2 Western Sudanese: Fur, Zaghawa, A.3. East African: Ugandans, Ethiopians, Somalis, Kenyan, A .4. Europeans: Greek
Warrap	Languages	Dinka, Luwo, English	South Sudanese languages, Arabic
	Ethnic groups	Dinka	A. South Sudanese: Luo (Jur Chol and Jur Mananger), Bongo
Lakes	Languages	Dinka, Beli, English, Mo'da	South Sudanese languages, Arabic
	Ethnic groups	Dinka, Jur Biel	A. immigrants: A.1. Arab: Mwālīd, A.2. Western Sudanese: Fur, Zaghawa, A.3. West African: Fellata, A.4. East African: Ugandans, Ethiopians, Somalis, Kenyans

¹⁹The term 'major' is used by the researcher to denote languages used by majority and also for demographically big ethnic groups and 'minor' to denote languages with limited used and for demographically small ethnic groups.

4.2. Greater Upper Nile

This area includes three states; Upper Nile, Jonglei and Unity. The total population of this area is estimated according to the Sudan Fifth Population Census 2008; 2,990,840 (53.2% males and 46.8% females) (Table 2). The following information about languages and ethnic groups has been collected before the breakout of the last tribal war (2013) after which the sociolinguistic changed due to the groups' mobility in this area.

4.2.1. Upper Nile State

The capital is Malakal. It has an area of 77,283.42 km². The population is estimated at around 964,353 according to 2008 population census.²⁰ Southern Sudanese represents 94.5% (911,314); Northern Sudanese represents 3.9% (38, 4444) and non-Sudanese represents 0.47% (4,496) of the state's total population (Table 3).

Ethnic groups according to their demographic weight can be listed as Shilluk, Dinka, Nuer, Burun, Moriyé and Moryaak. There are also groups from Equatoria such as Zande, Bari, Moru, Anuak, Acholi and Mundari. Sudanese Arabs from Jazīra (Ja^caliyyīn, Salmūniyyīn), Hassāniyya and Shaygiyya are also found, with cases of inter-ethnic marriage between them and the local tribes.²¹ Other Sudanese ethnic groups found in the state are Nuba, Fur, Zaghawa, Tama, Funj, Baggara (Misseriyya, Hawāzma and Bideriyya), Hadandawa, and Bani^cĀmir. Hausa, Fellata and Bargo also live there. The groups from the neighbouring countries, including Ugandans, Ethiopians, Somalis, Kenyans, and Egyptians are also found in a considerable number.

The language of wider communication is a pidgin Arabic; it is a mixture of Nuer, Dinka and Arabic. It is used in the streets, market places, in the worship, and in inter-group communication along with Nuer. English is used in education, media and for administrative purposes. Nuer, Shilluk and other ethnic languages are used increasingly in intra-group communication.

4.2.2. Jonglei State

The capital of the state is Bor. It has an area of 122,580.83 km². The population according to the 2008 Census is estimated at around 1,358,602.²² Southern Sudanese represents 98.4% (1,337,533), northern Sudanese represents 0.08% (1,024) and non-Sudanese represents 0.22% (3,027) of the state's total population (Table 3).

The main ethnic group is Dinka. The other South Sudanese ethnic groups are Mundari, Bari and Murle. Sudanese Arabs are represented by Ja^caliyyīn. Western Sudanese groups are Zaghawa and Fur. There are also Fellata in a great number. Ugandans, Ethiopians, Somalis and Kenyans are also found. A pidgin Arabic is the language of wider communication that is used in the public places as markets along with Dinka.

4.2.3. Unity State

The capital of the state is Bantiu. It has an area of 37,836.69 km². The population according to the

²⁰ See: <http://www.geohive.com/cntry/southsudan.aspx>.

²¹ The inter-ethnic marriage is unidirectional in which Arab men are married to women from local tribes.

²² See: <http://www.geohive.com/cntry/southsudan.aspx>.

2008 Census is estimated at around 585,801.²³ Southern Sudanese represents 96.8% (567,002), northern Sudanese represents 1.66% (9,733) and non-Sudanese represents 0.18% (1,041) of the state's total population (Table 3).

Unity State is inhabited predominantly by two ethnic groups, the Nuer (majority) and the Dinka. In addition, there are also Shilluk, Zande, Anuak and Fellata. Sudanese are represented by Baggara (Misseriyya), Nuba, Fur and Zaghawa. Some Europeans from Norway and Britain are also found. Chinese and Americans, Ugandans, Ethiopians, Somalis, Kenyans and Egyptians are also found in a considerable number.

The languages spoken there are Nuer and Dinka. The language of wider communication is Nuer. Both Nuer and a pidgin Arabic are also used in the public places, such as markets, streets and churches, and in inter-group communication. English is used in education and for administrative purposes. There is inter-ethnic marriage in a great percentage between Arabs and Nuer, which is unidirectional, i.e. Arab men get married to Nuer women. The Table below summarizes the ethno-linguistic composition of the Greater Upper Nile area.

Table (5): Languages and ethnic groups of the Greater Upper Nile area

States		Main	Minor
Upper Nile	Languages	Nuer, Dinka, Arabic, English	South Sudanese languages
	Ethnic groups	Shilluk, Dinka, Nuer, Burun, Moriye, Moryaak	A. South Sudanese: Zande, Bari, Moru, Anuak, Acholi, Mundari B. immigrants: B.1. Arab: Arabs, Egyptians, Baggara, B.2. Western Sudanese: Nuba, Fur, Zaghawa, Tama, Funj, B.3. Eastern Sudanese: Hadandawa, Beni ^C Amir, B.4. West African: Hausa, Fellata, Bargo, B.5. East African: Ugandans, Ethiopians, Somalis, Kenyans
Jonglei	Languages	Dinka, Arabic, English	South Sudanese languages
	Ethnic groups	Dinka	A. South Sudanese: Mundari, Bari, Murle B. immigrants: B.1. Arab: Arabs, B.2. Western Sudanese: Zaghawa, Fur, B.3. West Africans: Fellata, B.4. East African: Ugandans, Ethiopians, Somalis, Kenyans
Unity	Languages	Nuer, Dinka, Arabic, English	South Sudanese languages
	Ethnic	Nuer, Dinka	A. South Sudanese: Shilluk, Zande, Anuak

²³ See: <http://www.geohive.com/cntry/southsudan.aspx>.

	groups		B. immigrants: B.1. Arab: Baggara, Egyptians, B.2. Western Sudanese: Nuba, Fur, Zaghawa, B.3. West African: Fellata, B.4. East African: Ugandans, Ethiopians, Somalis, Kenyans, B.5. Europeans: Norway, Britain, B.6. Americans, B.7. Asians: Chinese
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4.3. Greater Equatoria

This area includes three states; Central Equatoria (former Bahr el Jabal), Western Equatoria and Eastern Equatoria. The total population of this area is estimated, according to the Sudan Fifth Population Census 2008, at around 2,563,779 (52.3% males and 47.7 % females) (Table 2).

4.3.1. Central Equatoria State

The capital of the state is Juba. It has an area of 43,033.00 km². The population according to the 2008 Census is estimated at around 1,103,592.²⁴ Southern Sudanese represents 96.8% (1,068,518), northern Sudanese represents 0.56% (6,125) and non-Sudanese represents 1.59% (17,641) of the state's total population (Table 3).

The major tribes in the area include Bari which is the largest one, Keliko, Kuku from KajoKeji County, Lugbara, Nyangware from Rokon area, Makaraka and Lulubo. The other tribes are the Nyepo in Northern Kajo-Keji County and Lokoya along Nimule Road. There are also Mundari, of Terekeka County, Fojulu from Lainya County, Yei County and Juba District, and Kakwa from Yei County and Morobu. There is the Kalico from Morobo County. There is another as well; the Fojulu-Tijor which is found near Tali. Thus, these tribes are the eight tribes which speak one language known by Kutuk. The majority of Mundari people are bilingual in Mundari language and Bari language because some of them live at border with Bari, north of Juba. Each one of these ethnic groups has in addition to its language, other special languages. They are hidden languages known as 'Kobura', which are spoken at times of danger.²⁵

Ethnic groups can be organized according to their demographic weight as follows: Bari, Mundari, Fajulu and Yambara. At the peripheries of Juba, there are Didinga, Taposa, Lokoya, Latoka, Baka, Moru, KakwaMa'di and Lamo. There are large ethnic groups living inside Juba city. Other South Sudanese ethnic groups are represented by Dinka, Nuer, Shilluk and Anuak in addition to Zande. Sudanese Arabs, from Jazāra, White Nile and Khartoum are represented by Ja^caliyyīn, Shaigiyya and others. Besides, there are some Nile Nubians as Dongolese and some of the Kordofanian Nuba. The other Sudanese ethnic groups are Fur, Zaghawa, Masalit, Baggara (Misseriyya) and Beja. There are also groups from West Africa represented by Fellata, Hausa, Bargo, and Barno. Those who came from African countries can be grouped as Ugandans, Ethiopians, Somalis, Kenyans, Senegalese, Zairians, and many others. There are also some Arabs from Lebanon, Syria and Egypt. The Europeans found in the state are English and Italians. In addition, there are some Americans and Israelis. Other groups include Indians and Russians.

The languages used in public places, especially markets, are Juba Arabic, English, Swahili and Bari

²⁴ See: <http://www.geohive.com/cntry/southsudan.aspx>.

²⁵ The data is obtained from the researcher's observation and interviews

and this is due to that most of the market workers and traders are mainly Ugandans. During my last visit to Juba (December 2011, 2014), I noticed that great number of the market traders are Zaghawa and Fur, in addition to many other groups from western Sudan as a result of the Darfur Crisis. This may lead them either to the increase of use of Western Sudanese Arabic or get to learn Juba Arabic for the running of their business. In addition, Sudanese Colloquial Arabic (SCA) becomes dominant in Juba markets due to the great numbers of returnees and Sudanese traders (October 2014). English is the language used in education. Arabic and Swahili are used as means of instruction in some of the private schools. In other public places like streets, Juba Arabic, English or local languages are used. The choice of the code depends on what is the majority group in the area, as Bari for example. Juba Arabic is used in churches for worship and in inter-group communication. English and Juba Arabic are used in TV and Radio transmission. Outside Juba city, ethnic languages are used increasingly in day-to-day-communication.

4.3.2. Western Equatoria State

The state capital is Yambio. It has an area of 79,342.66 km². The population according to the 2008 Census is estimated at around 619,029.²⁶ Southern Sudanese represents 98.4% (608,833), northern Sudanese represents 0.17% (1,023) and non-Sudanese represents 0.63% (3,917) of the State's total population (Table 3).

The tribes living in the State are Zande, Baka, Mundu, Jur Biel, Avokoya, Moru, Bari, Kuku, Bongo and Belanda.²⁷ Languages spoken there include Avokoya (in the Ajila district north of Yei), Kakwa (in Yei district), Ma'di, Mo'da, Nyamusa-Molo, Suri, Taposa, and Zande.

4.3.3. Eastern Equatoria State

The state capital is Torit. It has an area of 82,542 km². The population according to the 2008 Census is estimated at around 906,126. Southern Sudanese represents 98.5% (892,738), northern Sudanese represents 0.12% (1,132) and non-Sudanese represents 0.35% (3,177) of the state's total population (Table 3).

There are fifteen tribes whose home is Eastern Equatoria state. In Kapeota Province live the Toposa, Gie and Nyangathom. Didinga, Dodos and Boya are found in Chukudum. In Imotong Province there exist Otuho, the Lopit, the Lango, Pari who are also known as Lokoro, and Tenet who inhabit a portion of Lopit hills and Lokoya of Lowoi. In Magwi Province live the Acholi, Ma'di, Iriye and Ofiriha tribes. Eastern Equatoria State is a South Sudanese gateway to Uganda, Ethiopia, and Kenya.²⁸ Various languages are found in the state including Dongotono, which is spoken in area near Torit, Lango and Lokoya are spoken in Torit district, Loppit is spoken in the area northeast Torit, Lulubo, Otuho (Latoka) and Acholi are also spoken in the area.

To conclude, the following tribes occupy the three states of Greater Equatoria from east to west. Acholi, Avokaya, Baka, Belanda, Bari, Didinga, Kakwa, Keliko, Kuku, Lango, Lokoya, Narim, Lopit, Lugbwara, Lulubo, Ma'di, Moru, Mundari, Mundu, Nyangbwara, Otuho, Pari, Pojulu, Tenet, Toposa and Zande. The below Table summarizes the ethno-linguistic composition of the Greater Equatoria area:

²⁶See:<http://www.geohive.com/cntry/southsudan.aspx>.

²⁷ See:<http://www.ssddrc.org/states/western-equatoria.html>.

²⁸See <http://www.sudanvisiondaily.com/modules.php?name=News&file=article&sid=4299>.

Table (6): Languages and ethnic groups in the Greater Equatoria area

States		Main	Minor
Central Equatoria	Languages	Juba Arabic, English, Swahili Bari, Kutuk, Mundari	South Sudanese languages
	Ethnic groups	Bari, Mundari, Lugbara, Nyangware, Makaraka, Lulubo.	A. South Sudanese: Nyepo, Lokoya, Fojulu, Kakwa, Kalico, Fojulu-Tijor, Didinga 8.Taposa, Lokoya, Latoka, Baka, Moru, Kakwa, Ma'di, Lamo, Dinka, Nuer, Shilluk, 19.Anuak, Zande B. immigrants: B.1. Arabs: Arabs, Baggara, Lebanese, Syrians. Egyptians, B.2. Nubians: Dongolese, B.3. Western Sudanese: Fur, Zaghawa, Masalit, Nuba, B.4. Eastern Sudanese: Beja, B.5. West Africans: Bargo, Barno, Fellata, Hausa, Senegalese, B.6. East Africans: Ugandans, Ethiopians, Somali, Kenyans, Zairians, B.7. Europeans: English, Italians, Americans, Israelis, B.8. Asians: Indians, Russians
Western Equatoria	Languages	Zande, English	Avokaya, Kakwa, Madi, Mo'da, Nyamus, Molo, Suri, Taposa
	Ethnic groups	Zande	A. South Sudanese: Baka, Mundari, Jur Biel, Avokoya, Moru, Bari, Kuku, Bongo, Belanda, Taposa
Eastern Equatoria	Languages	Dongotono Lango, Lokoya, Lulubo, Otuho (Latoka), Acholi, English	South Sudanese languages
	Ethnic groups	Acholi, Toposa, Gie, Nyangathom, Didinga, Dodos Boya	A. South Sudanese: Otuho, Lopit Lango, Pari Tenet, Lokoya, Lowoi, Magwi, Ma'di, Iriye, Ofiriha

4.4. Summary

To sum up, the language situation in South Sudan can be described by explaining the status of Arabic, English and the local languages there. More than sixty languages are spoken in South Sudan. It is the only area in the former Sudan in which there is a Pidgin-Creole Arabic with unique sociolinguistic characteristics. English language has special status that appears in the rate of its knowledge and use in everyday life. English is characterized by having legal status according to Addis Ababa Agreement 1972, which identified English as the main language in the south, and in that agreement, southern Sudan was the only area in which local languages have legislative status that guarantees their use in the primary education. After CPA (2005), English was recognized as the official language of South Sudan and South Sudanese indigenous languages as national languages extending their use to include administrative domains on the states' level. Besides, some of these languages are used in education, such as the teaching of Dinka language in NBeGS.

South Sudan pidgin-creole Arabic is the language spoken by the majority, especially by children. It is also used in different domains and has different functions. It is used for communication between different ethnic groups. Besides, it is used as a second language more than any other languages. It is also the language of political speech that is more acceptable by the public and it partially carries the South Sudanese folklore. It is the language which is used by teachers to explain and translate the classical Arabic, and it is the language of education as stated by Mahmud (1983).

Moreover, the distinctive Juba Arabic language is a widely used *lingua franca* in South Sudan. Yet, the language of education and government business is English. Juba Arabic (*^CArabi Juba*) is derived mostly from the Bari and the same can be said about the different pidgin Arabic all around South Sudan as Wau Arabic. Furthermore, the two widely used tribal languages are Dinka and Nuer. Dinka is officially and culturally dominant in the states of Northern Bahr el Ghazal, Western Bahr el Ghazal, Lakes, Warrap, Jonglei, and Abyei. Nuer is active in Unity state and Upper Nile state. Many ethnic groups in South Sudan tend to know and use Dinka even in the areas where Dinka people are not a majority language, such as Wau. This may be due to their demographic weight and the nature of Dinka themselves, who tend to use their language even in inter-group communication as a symbol of their dignity and social pride.

The wide spread of Arabic language within the family domain is not deeply rooted since most of the South Sudanese stick to the use of their native languages in day-to-day communication. The South Sudanese attitudes towards the spread of Arabic is negative; some of them showed their anxiety about this fact, some deny it and others completely neglect it.

Despite the status of Arabic as the official and national language, English was acknowledged as the principle language in southern Sudan in the early 1970s. Nevertheless, in the south, the two years of primary school are taught in local languages. Thereafter, through secondary either Arabic or English is chosen as a medium of instruction; the one that is not used as a medium will be taught as a subject. In the early 1970s, half of the general classes were conducted in Arabic and half in English in Bahr el Ghazal and Equatoria provinces. In early 1990s, under SPLA/M control, the use of Arabic as a medium of instruction in southern schools remained a political issue, with many southerners regarding Arabic as an element of northern cultural domination. After the signing of the CPA, English was chosen as a medium of instruction in the schools.

After the secession of South Sudan from Sudan, there are different calls to shift from Arabic language to English, Swahili, and other South Sudanese indigenous languages. English language became the official language of the country and other indigenous languages are to be used for

different administrative purposes. In addition, it is being used for education and in the media to practically implement the CPA, by which the southern Sudanese indigenous languages have to be respected and promoted. South Sudan will face a challenge in shifting from Arabic to either English or any other ethnic language, since Arabic is used as a lingua franca and a language of wider communication there. Besides, the choice of language will result in a problem for which one of the South Sudan indigenous languages can be chosen without creating any problem with the speakers of other languages?. The linguistic diversity in South Sudan is overcome by choosing English as the country's official language; therefore, it may gradually replace Arabic in the future. The result may be of a negative effect on the South Sudanese indigenous languages, because the status of a language as an official language of education and administration may be among the determinant factors of this influence. In such situation, this may lead to shift some functions of the South Sudanese indigenous languages to English. The case of Arabic in Sudan is an example at hand. The institutional support that Arabic received has led to the progressive shift from other Sudanese languages. The results of the surveys conducted in different areas in Sudan stated that the speakers of Sudanese languages witnessed progressive shift towards Arabic that varies according to the degree of Arabicization of these groups (*cf.* Ahmad (1996), Hammād (1998), Jabar al-Dār (2008), Jāhāllah (2001, 2005 and 2012), Šālih (1997), Abu-Manga (1978), Garri (2012), Idris (2007), Ismail (1978 and 1984), Ismail and Ushari (1978), Mahmud (1983), Miller and Abu Manga, (1992), Mugaddam (2002 and 2005), Sid-Ahmad (1979), Thelwall (1971), and Zumrawi (1980).

5. Conclusion

South Sudan is a multi-ethnic and multi-linguistic country, where a variety of local and immigrant ethnic groups and languages exist. This diversity is in a need of well management. Conducting sociolinguistic surveys is necessary to draw a sociolinguistic profile of South Sudan, since the languages spoken in different areas in South Sudan and the demographic weights of their speakers are not well known due to group mobility. Such information is a prerequisite in developing language policies representing the ethno-linguistic diversity of the country. The language policy and planning that a nation draws up dictates which languages should be taught in schools, used as media of instructions and chosen as the official language of the country. Thus, language policy would be grounded on the South Sudan's own linguistic and cultural uniqueness. There appears the necessity to adopt the mechanism required for achieving better plans for language management. Development and promotion of the local languages is an essential task because this will help these languages to be maintained. However, the government needs to be keen to avoid competition over few resources for this development.

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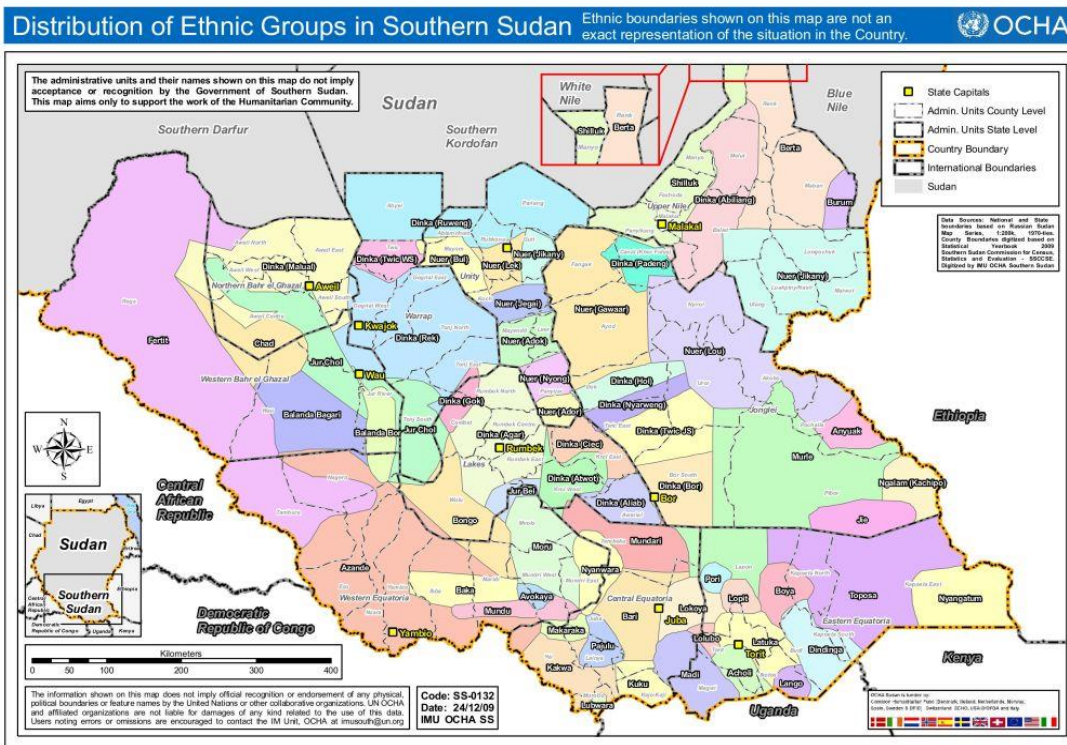
Appendix (2): Maps

Map (1): The States of South Sudan



Source:[http://www.humansecuritygateway.com/documents/HRW_GapsCivlianProtection_Southern Sudan.pdf](http://www.humansecuritygateway.com/documents/HRW_GapsCivlianProtection_Southern_Sudan.pdf)

Map (2): The Distribution of Ethnic Groups in Southern Sudan



Source: <http://unic.un.org/imucms/khartoum/36/499/sudanese-tribes.aspx>.