

A Linguistic Revitalization of the Nubian Language: A Call for Action

Dr. Osman Hassan Osman

Assistant Professor of TEFL

University of Nizwa

Dr. Mahmoud Abuof

Lecturer of Applied Linguistics

University of Technology and Applied Sciences

Citation: Osman Hassan Osman and Mahmoud Abuof (2022) A Linguistic Revitalization of the Nubian Language: A Call for Action, *British Journal of English Linguistics*, Vol. 10, Issue 4, pp.25-39

ABSTRACT: *This study aims at revitalization of the Nubian language which is at the risk of morbidity. The Nubian language is spoken in the Northern Sudan and Southern Egypt. The Nubians who live in the area speak two dialects of the language: Matoki (Andandi) and Fadicca. The researchers collected the data by using two tools; semi-structured interviews and focus group. The participants are members of social groups, Facebook and WhatsApp. The findings of the study reveal that the Nubian language, despite being in danger of extinction, is still being used and the possibility of maintaining and is high since the Nubians are aware of its importance in constructing their identity and maintain their heritage. The study is significant as it contributes to the ethnic diversity in the Sudan and the nation solidarity which may help in prevailing peace all around the vast country of multilingual and multicultural groups. It also adds to the academia in field of sociolinguistics.*

KEY WORDS: Nubian language, Nubian Identity, language revitalization, heritage, language policy

INTRODUCTION

In Sudan, Arabic is the state supported language and the medium of communication among more than a hundred indigenous languages spoken by different tribes in different parts of the vast country, (James 2008). The Nubian language or Nubiin, being one of those local languages, is the focus of this study. The Nubians inhabit regions straddling the River Nile, in Southern Egypt and Northern Sudan. In Sudan, Nubiin is mainly spoken by the Nubians of Wadi Halfa, Mahas, Sikut and Dongola. In these areas, the Nubian language is composed of two dialects: *Matoki (Andandi)* and *Fadicca*. The number of Nubian speakers in both Sudan and Egypt today according to SIL Ethnologue's estimation in 2022, is one million (Eberhard, Simon, and Charles 2022). Being part of the Nilo-Saharan language family, the Nubiin is one of the main four African linguistic phyla: Niger-Congo, Nilo-Saharan, Afro-Asiatic, and Khoisan (Childs 2003). However, Nichols (1997: P.376) believed that "Nilo-Saharan is probably not a genetic grouping and not even a structural pool but is simply a residual grouping." As a matter of fact, most Nubians are bilingual in Nubian and Arabic and some of them, especially the educated ones, are multilingual.

Historical Review

The Origins of the Nubians

According to Edwards (2004), for a long time the name Nubia referred to Egypt's southern neighbour. Historically speaking, the Nubia can be traced back to 3000 BC as disclosed by burial excavation in Kerma. According to (Török 2008), Nubia refers to the *Lower Nubia*, which is the area between the 1st and 2nd Cataracts, as well as the *Upper Nubia*, which lies between the 2nd and 5th Cataracts (Figure 1). He claimed that the Nubians were indigenous people who inhabited those areas and he termed their culture as Late Neolithic. The Nubians were divided into Groups A, B and C consecutively on the basis of Egyptian artefacts. Around the middle of the 3rd millennium BC, as the result of cumulative drought, the cattle breeding populations moved from Wadi Howar (a valley in the Sudan and Chad) to the Dongola region. He believed that the immigrants from Wadi Howar played an important role in the appearance of the Kingdom of Kerma. The word Nubia or (Nôbâ) may be derived from the Nubian word 'nab' which means gold, (Kirwan, 1937, Török, 2008). One of the authors of the present article is a fluent speaker of the Nubian language and confirms that the word 'nab' is still being used by the present-day Nubians to mean gold. Moreover, Edwards (2004) pointed out that historically, there are other names given to this region, for example, Kush or Ethiopia. As Khalil and Miller (1996) discussed, modern Nubia extends from the 1st cataract in Egypt to Ad-Dabba between the 3rd and 4th cataracts in the Sudan. Although at the present time, the inhabitants of Ad-Dabba do not speak the Nubian language and they rarely claim their Nubian heritage.

After the construction of the High Dam in Aswan which inundated almost 500 kilometres of Nubian land, in the early 1960s, the Nubians were evacuated from their homeland. The Egyptian Nubians were relocated to Kom Ombo and the Sudanese Nubians were resettled in Eastern Sudan in a place named Halfa el Jadida (New Halfa). This unprecedented exodus may have had an impact on the Nubian language and may be investigated later, especially in the case of Sudanese Nubian speakers.

To summarize the origin of the Nubians, it is useful to quote Lobban Jr. (2004: 288) who states that "Nubia is the land of ancient kingdoms of Kerma ... and the various ancient states, such as Wawat, Irtet and Setiu."

Significance of the Study

There is a scarcity in research that addresses the challenges and obstacles facing the Nubians and the Nubian language in Sudan. This study is significant as it covers this gap and puts pressure on the government to change the state language policy and adopt linguistic pluralism. The study highlights the value of rights to using indigenous languages in education and address the issue of language maintenance and revitalization.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Language and Identity

Language has been defined in divergent ways by different scholars historically. For example, Sapir (1921: P, 7) cited in Edwards (2009) defined it as “language is a purely human and non-instinctive method of communicating ideas, emotions, and desires by means of a system of voluntary symbols”, while Morris (1946) viewed it differently. For him language is an arrangement that has arbitrary symbols which have been agreed upon by the community and therefore, these symbols can be understood regardless of the immediate context and are connected in a systematic way. As noticed by Bourdieu (1991) language does not only act as a means of interaction and communication, but it is a symbolic power. Moreover, language is essential to unite the members of the community, playing an important role in emotional connection and in transmitting information and heritage from one generation to another. Language also helps speakers to maintain their identities. For this reason, it is of vital importance to maintain the Nubian language because it seems to be hovering on the brink of extinction as a result of emigration, Arabization and its lack of easy writing system. Moreover, intermarriage between Nubians and other Arabic speaking groups may also threaten the Nubian language as will be seen in the Discussion Section. This is not a call for racially endogamous marriages, but to state the dangers facing the Nubian language.

Identity as suggested by (Benwell and Stokoe 2006) is inherited or something that people were born with, which is an essential part of humans ‘psyche’. They believed that “identity is an issue of agency and self-determination,” (P.18). The Nubians in the extreme North of the Sudan have retained their indigenous languages and are proud of their Nubian identity and heritage (Deng: 2006). However, being a Nubian today means having complex cultural identities, Arab-African-Sudanese and Nubian identities. Sharkey (2008) claimed that in the Sudan, a long period of Arabization has taken place, entailing the systematic spread of both Arab identity and the Arabic language among peoples of North Sudan. It is likely, Arabization has endangered indigenous languages and could impose the Arab cultural ideology in replace of indigenous ones. Moreover, the Nubians of Northern Sudan have migrated to Egypt and to the Central Sudan, mainly, to Khartoum on their own and to New Halfa against their will after the construction of the High Dam in Aswan (Egypt). The immigration and exodus have impacted their identities and language, especially the younger generations. Sharkey (2008) argued that while the Nubians speak their local language at home, they are competent in Arabic because they come from communities of low economic status, and this factor motivated them to migrate to Egypt, and later to Khartoum and other Sudanese towns. These days, it is not only males that leave the Nubian land, but almost all the family members. In this way, it is similar to an exodus of the homeland. Therefore, this may endanger their Nubian language, identity, and heritage. Another threatening factor to the Nubian language is the seemingly elite status of the Arabic language which confers low status on the indigenous languages.

The Nubian Language Planning

As mentioned above, after the construction of the High Dam at Aswan (1964), The areas between the First Cataract (Egypt) and the Second Cataract (Sudan), as well as most of the villages and towns along the banks of the Nile in those regions were submerged. Those who lived there were evacuated and resettled in areas with completely different environments to their homelands. This displacement, according to many Nubians, is a culpable negligence towards one of the oldest nations in that area and comes with disasters consequences. For example, it has had an adverse impact on Nubian social life and culture. It may endanger their language; drive it to the brink of extinction and disintegrate Nubian values. To avoid these costs, the Nubian language should be preserved because it is the symbol and identity of the Nubians and the container of their culture. The planning of the Nubian language, therefore, aims at maintaining the Nubian heritage and culture lest they disappear under the water of the High Dam. It does not aim at making it an official language in either Egypt or Sudan. As stated above, the Nubian is spoken in Sudan and Egypt freely. Neither government proscribes its use as an indigenous language. However no official attempts have been made to develop it. Those who are interested in restoring it have made their valued contributions on their own volition and unaided. A leading body, the Nubian Studies and Documentation Centre, is trying to develop the language. It has issued a lot of articles and research to preserve the Nubian heritage and culture.



Figure 1 The Map of the Nubian Land. Source Google Images (2020)

Many scholars, Nubians and non-Nubians, have tried to standardize the Nubian language, for example, Idrees and Khalil (2014), and Kabbara (1997).

The Writing System

The Nubian language as stated by Rouchdy (1992) can be traced back to the 7th century when it was discovered and recorded by linguists. However, the written Nubian language dates back to the tenth and eleventh centuries, during the Christian era. At that time, Nubians wrote in their own language as well as in Greek, Coptic and Syriac, (Griffith, 1913:1).

According to Kabbara (1997), there were efforts to write the Nubian in the Latin and Arabic alphabets but this achieved little success. In fact, it is notably difficult to write the Nubian sound using Arabic or Latin letters because it contains sounds which do not exist in these languages. However, those scholars/researchers who are pro using Arabic alphabets added some modifications to these letters to imitate Nubian sounds.

Now the Nubian language is spoken by Nubians who live on the banks of the River Nile in the extreme north of Sudan and south of Egypt (two varieties in each country). Recently there have been many attempts develop a suitable writing system to expose Nubian songs, poetry and literary work to the outside world. Kabbara (1997) stated that the Nubian alphabet (Nobiin agii, which literally means 'Nobiin letters) were used during the Christian era; in the Nubian region, however, they were not used after the spread of Islam in the 13th century. From that time onwards, it was used only as a spoken language. Kabbara's book is a good example of corpus planning. He explained that the Nubian alphabet, (Appendix 2) which can be taught and learned by Nubians or non-Nubians, consists of 26 characters: 19 consonants, 5 vowels and 10 diphthongs. The pronunciation and the system of writing are beyond the scope of this article.

The Nubian language planning is at its early stages; therefore, all the work mentioned above may need further investigation. There is a big gap in Nubian studies; therefore, this study is an attempt to fill this gap by investigating the factors that may threaten the existence of this ancient language and trying to prevent its extinction by revitalization. The primary aims of this study are to investigate the intergenerational transmission of the Nubian language, to explore how it has been affected by the Arabic language, and to explore its linguistic revitalization. The current research has employed a qualitative approach in order to reach an in-depth understanding of the factors that may endanger the survival of the language. The current study may contribute to an understanding of the endangerment of the Nubian language. The study raises the following research questions:

Research Questions

This paper attempts to answer the following research questions:

- a) To what extent is the Nubian Language used in all sociocultural domains?
- b) How do the Nubians encourage/Discourage intergeneration transmission?
- c) How do the Nubians maintain/abandon their language?
- d) How could the Nubian language be revitalized?
- e) What is the most suitable orthography system for the Nubian language?

The Status of the Nubian Language at present

The authors have used the factors of the UNESCO's Ad Hoc Group on Endangered Languages issued in 2003 as the criteria to assess the status of the Nubian language. (Appendix 1)

As mentioned above the main aim of this article is to revive the moribund Nubian language. The authors claim that the Nubiin is on the verge of extinction or it is in a critical state. First of all, it is necessary to identify government attitudes towards the indigenous languages. This can be achieved by reviewing the Transitional Constitution of 2005. The 2005 Constitution was more democratic according to James (2008). The Transitional Constitution recognized the linguistic diversity of the country and explicitly mentioned rights of the indigenous people to use their own languages. It clearly stated that, "All the indigenous languages are national languages which shall be respected, developed and promoted." Of primary importance is the following point, "The use of either language at any level of government or education shall not be discriminated against". (Appendix 3) for the whole text concerning language in the Constitution).

Although the overthrown authoritarian regime admitted the negligence of indigenous people and their local languages, no practical action was taken except in the South Sudan. It is thus an appropriate time to bestow Sudanese people with the right to use and revitalize their indigenous languages. To the best of the researchers' knowledge, the Nubian language, to some extent, is vital to and is spoken among young generations, especially, those who stay in the Nubian areas. However, Nubian children are abandoning the language and tending to use the state-supported Arabic at home and in school. Thus, it will likely lead to the extinction of the Nubian language. The researchers are aware of the fact that the death of the Nubian language entails the disappearance of a great amount of intangible cultural heritage such as songs, poetry and folklore, wedding ceremonies, religious rituals, traditional crafts and the priceless oral traditions and legends, jokes and proverbs.

Theoretical Framework

This study adopts the theoretical framework of Tollefson's (2006) critical language policy (CLP) to highlight and discuss social and political forces that influence language policy in the Sudan. Tollefson (2006) criticized traditional research of language policy because of its apolitical focus of technical problems, like, terminological development while ignoring social and political forces which affect language policy. Moreover, critical research entails social change in a way that examines what role language policy plays in social, political and economic inequality. Furthermore, critical research is influenced by critical theory which includes a wide range of work that examines the procedures which create and sustain systems of social inequality.

The researchers aim to focus on the key ideas of the critical theory. The first is that, power controls events. By exploring power, CLP can emphasize the fluid relationship between social structure and individual agency. The second element is struggle. Following Marxist

ideology, there is often a social class struggle between the exploiters and exploited. In this regard, the ruling class may set a language policy which serves their own interests, for example, by selecting the language of dominant group as the official one, while ignoring indigenous languages. The third element is colonization which can be seen in post-colonial contexts where language policies favour the formerly imposed languages of the colonizers. In these countries, using a colonial language as a national language means imposing the need for all citizens to learn it (despite their indigenous tongue) in order to secure education and/or work. This is because sometimes learning the national language correlate to being able to earn a living (see Habermas: 1987). Besides, the above mentioned, there are other necessary elements to considered when discussing language policy. These are:

Hegemony is defined by Gramsci (1988) as the procedures carried out by social and state institutions which help a few dominant individuals to secure and retain power. In such contexts, language as a cultural and linguistic capital makes the dominant unequal to the dominated (Bourdieu 1991). Critical language policy addresses how ethnolinguistic minorities may disturb the dominant social systems by sticking to their mother tongue which they sustain in order to construct and solidify their identity, as well as resisting and challenging social hierarchy of the dominant group.

The study uses poststructural principles which advocate language rights and resisting government control over language use among linguistic minorities. It also aims uncover government “games” that attempt to marginalize indigenous languages. The study theorizes critical language policy and gives examples of the status of the Nubian language in Sudan and to some extent in Egypt. It also builds on Foucault’s (1991) concept of governmentality which addresses state institutional domination and exploitation that shape, form and construct language behaviour. Foucault’s theory of governmentality allows this study to shed light on: Language use and educational practices, the formation of culture and knowledge and culture that aims to create submissive and passive individuals who accept exploitation.

To link the theoretical framework with UNESCO’s Ad Hoc Group on Endangered Languages factors, (Appendix 1), the relationships are considered as follows. For example, power is associated with factors 1, 4, 5, 7 and 8. Struggles is associated with factors 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 .6 and 9. Resistance is linked with factors 2, 3, 5, and 6. There are other elements, such as harmony and social agency which could be related to factors 7 and 8 (Appendix 1). These relations will be discussed in detail in the Discussion Section.

METHODOLOGY

The researchers adopted a qualitative approach because in their opinions it is the best approach to answer the research questions mentioned above. They applied focus group discussions (FGDs) to find out the perception and attitudes of the selected participants towards their local language and to explore whether they know their language might be in

danger. The researchers used social media (WhatsApp/Facebook) to access to a large number of people from different Nubian areas. The virtual participants belong to different Nubian regions, *Matoki* and *Fadicca* which means they represent areas from Dongola to Aswan, overlooking the political borders. The main participants are members of a group called The group is called The Nubian Lexicon (see the reference for the address) created to maintain the Nubian language by exchanging 'forgotten' Nubian vocabulary and to discover the different meanings and pronunciations in each region. This way, the varieties of the Nubian accents become clear to the members of the group. The researchers think such websites and groups may play an important role in assessing the vitality of the Nubian language although it is a complicated enterprise as pointed out by James (2008). He believed that "the degree of language vitality is the basic indicator used in determining the appropriate type of language revitalization program" (P. 3). While assessing the vitality of the Nubian language, the researchers drew on the factors listed by UNESCO's Ad Hoc Group on Endangered Language (Appendix 1). These factors were discussed within the theoretical framework.

Analysis and Interviews

Gibbs (2007) believed that data analysis has different procedures and stages which enable researchers to commence interpreting and explaining the data. Therefore, data analysis is the procedure of analyzing and interpreting the data. The collected data from interviews were analyzed using thematic analysis to code and to generate themes. The responses to the interviews (Appendix 3) revealed that most of the Nubians are keen to maintain and vitalize their indigenous language. Through the group, in which one of the researchers is an active member, members exchange ideas and help each other retrieve forgotten vocabulary and identify the equivalents of words which have different meanings or pronunciations of the same signified.

For the first question which is related to how children acquire the Nubian language, the responses varied. It was noticed that for families who stay in Nubian original places, children acquire and pick up the language naturally as a mother tongue from the community and from home. On the other hand, those children who were born outside the Nubian regions can be divided into two groups. If both spouses are Nubians, and one of them at least uses the Nubian language at home, either with their spouse or with the children. This may help their children to pick up some words and therefore, the children may understand Nubian language. This may be considered as passive fluency following Leap (1988). If one of the spouses is not a Nubian, then Nubian is rarely spoken at home. It is also noted that in extended families where one or both grandparents are alive, children acquire the Nubian easily at home.

Regarding the second question, which is about the language the participants speak at home, many of the interviewees use Arabic or English if they live abroad which may lead to language attrition or language loss in the near future. The children pick up language from the media such as kid's channels. For question three which is about the language the

participant's spouse speaks to the children, the answers varied depending on their residence and/or the ethnicity of the spouse. If both parents are Nubians, it is likely that they inculcate in their children the pride of their grandparent's language.

Question four is about telling Nubian legends to the children. A considered number of the interviewees stated that they tell legends to their children to instill the Nubian culture and hermitage. This is exceptionally important because the legends in plant in children the Nubian ethics, culture and help in construction the Nubian identity. Moreover, these legends make great impact on how they perceive life from the Nubian lens. This goes in line with resistance and power.

In response to question five which is about encouraging children to listen Nubian songs, A great number of them also encourage their children to listen to Nubian songs. These two points may be promising because by memorizing and repeatedly listening to songs, their children may opt to learn the language and culture and thus preserve and construct their Nubian identities. According to some interviewees, listening to songs provokes their children to be interested in learning the language. This could be considered as compensation for their exposure to Arabic media.

As for question six which enquires about the interest of their children in learning formulaic phrases in Nubian. It was surprising that most of the participants express their excitement about 'teaching' their children greetings and Nubian digits to them. The children, according to the parents are very interested and they find sort of fun and belonging to the Nubian land by repeating Nubian words and phrases.

Question seven is about the participants' emotional feeling when the speak Nubian. All the participants expressed their pride when they speak the Nubian language regardless of their place of residence. This may prove the role of language in constructing the identity of the person and its emotional role.

For question eight, none and ten, the participants explained that there are attempts to maintain the language and showed that there are documents and recordings that help the language to be maintained. Many of them thought that the songs, proverbs and the Nubian poetry may help the young people to learn and memorize the Nubian words. There are centres for teaching the Nubian language in some countries abroad, for example, in America, the UK and Switzerland. In the Sudan, there are higher studies to obtain master's and PhD degrees in the International University of Africa, located in Khartoum. There is a Nubian TV channel located in Dongola, the capital of *Al Wilya AShamlia* (The Northern State).

Analysis of the Group Discussion

As mentioned earlier, the participants pf the social media groups represent the Nubians who speak *Matoki* (*Andandi*) and *Fadicca*, which means they cover from Dongla in the

Sudan to Aswan in Egypt. The aim of this social group is to memorize and retrieve the forgotten vocabulary and to be aware of the accent varieties among the Nubians. One of the researchers being a member of WhatsApp/ Facebook Group (Nubian Lexicon) used to give certain words in Arabic and asked the equivalence in Nubian as the Table 1 (Appendix 5) illustrates. Then the questions below were discussed among the members. Focus group questions:

1. Do you think Nubian language to be part of your identity?

Most of the participants expressed their pride and self-esteem of being Nubians, some of even said they speak Arabic with a Nubian accent to distinguish their identities. This proves that language and identity are inseparable.

2. Describe how this is manifested in the way you bring up your children?

The majority of the participant try to link in their children sense of belonging by telling them about the ancient history of the Nubian and that they are the descendants of the great pharoses like Taharqa and Tatum Amon, Amani Rina the Great Queen of Nubia and they encouraged them to listen to the Nubian songs like the Great singer Hamza Eddin, Mohammed Wardy and Mekki Ali Idrees.

3. What role does Nubian language play in your life?

Most of those who participated in the discussion thought the Nubian language distinguished them as Nubians wherever they lived without feeling alienated from others. For them it is a kind of belonging.

4. How do you define yourself in terms of ethnic, cultural and social identity?

The participants thought that as Nubians they felt that they belong to one family and this could be seen in the social solidarity but without expelling others and without living in an enclosed and isolated circle.

Summary of the Interviews and Discussion

From the above discussion and the participants' responses, it seems that the Nubians resist and struggle for the survival of their language, culture and heritage. By struggling, they can stand against the hegemony of the governmental monolingual policy. The study demonstrated the attempts of the Nubians against the linguistic inequality. They are aware of the power of the Arabic culture and ideology that may endanger their own language and heritage.

CONCLUSION

The objective of this study was to investigate the status of the Nubian language and how it is related to the Nubian identity and to what extent it will be able to survive and avoid distinction and whether it is at the brink of morbidity.

The study was carried among the social media users to cover a wider range of Nubians and their diverse dialects. The researchers used semi-structured interviews and focus group to triangulate the collected data.

The findings of the study revealed that Nubians are enthusiastic and keen to maintain their language, However, the language is facing a danger of extinction due to the government monolingual policy, immigration and the hegemony of the state supported Arabic language.

Implications and Suggestion

It is high time to implement the outcomes of the Transitional Constitution (TC) (2005) that recognized the multilingual policy and the right of the indigenous people to use their local language and be part of the curriculum. It is noticed that the 2005 TC language Policy was not implemented except for the South Sudan. It is worth mentioning that granting linguistic rights to indigenous people may reduce conflict and strengthen internal solidarity and helps justice to prevail among the different ethnicities. Furthermore, the researchers stress that it is high time for the Nubians to initiate teaching Nubian and adopt the Nubian alphabets in order to read and write the Nubian language which may help in preserving the Nubian literature, proverbs and poetry. It is also recommended that the Nubians of diverse dialects can borrow from each other the forgotten vocabulary items and coin new words for new inventions. Appendix 5 illustrates some of the Arabic words which have no equivalence in the Nubian language. Maintaining indigenous language and valuing them lead to enriching the Sudanese cultural diversity and actualize the motto 'unity in diversity'. The recognition of distinctive indigenous identities is essential in the process of democratization of the New Sudan. Further research is recommended to address the gaps that may have not been covered by this study, such as publishing grammar books, writing stories and poetry using Nubian alphabet. Another gap in the field is how to include the new generations who live far away from the Nubian homeland.

Limitations of the Study

This study contributes to the sociolinguistics area which rarely researched in the Sudan regarding indigenous languages and their role in constructing indigenous identities and strengthening the political solidarity of the country. Having said that, the researchers attempted to bridge this gap by involving the Nubians from Sudan and Egypt regardless of their residence. However, the participants of this study were limited to those who use social media and the study does not cover young generations who live away from the Nubian lands and their attitudes towards their parents' language.

References

- Beriar, A.A. and Rababah, H. A. (2016). The Endangerment of the Nubian Language: Sociolinguistics, Language Policy and Literacy Perspectives. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics and translation*. 2 (1) 1-7
- Benwell, B., Stokoe, E., (2006). *Discourse and Identity*, (1st edition). Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh.
- Bourdieu, P. (1991). *Language and Symbolic Power*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Childs, G. T. (2003). An introduction to African languages. *An Introduction to African Languages*,

1-285.

- Deng, F. M. (2006). Sudan: A nation in turbulent search of itself. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 603(1), 155-162.
- Dorian, N. C. (1992). Investigating obsolescence: Studies in language construction and death. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Eberhard, David M. Gray F. Simon, and Charles D. Fenng (eds.) (2022). Ethnologue: languages of the World. Twenty-fifth edition. Dallas, Texas: SIL International. Online version: <http://www.ethnologue.com>
- Edwards, D. N. (2004). *The Nubian Past: An archaeology of the Sudan*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Edwards, John (2009). *Language and Identity: An Introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Grenoble, L. A. and Whaley, L. J (2005). Saving languages: An introduction to language revitalization. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Retrieved from www.cambridge.org/9780521816212
- Griffith, F. L.(1913). The Nubian texts of the Christian period. Berlin: Verlag Der Konigl
- Habermas, j. (1987). The theory of communicative action. (vol 11). Boston: Beacon Press.
- Idrees, M. A and Khalil, K. I. (2014). *A Nobeen Dictionary: Mahas-fadiga*.Cairo: Nubian Studies and Documentation Centre.
- James, W. (2008). *Sudan: Majorities, Minorities, and Language Interactions* in Simpson, A (Ed.)
- Kabbara, M. K (1997). How to write the Nubian Language? Cairo: The Nubian Studies and Documetation Centre. Retreivd from www.alkottob.com
- Khalil, M. and Miller, C (1996). Old Nubian and language uses in Nubia. Retrieved from <http://journals.openedition.org/ema/1032>
- Kirwan, L. P. (1937). Asuvey of the Nubian Origins. Sudan Notes and Records. Vol 20/1. PP 47-62. Retrived from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41716373>
- Leap, W. L. (1988). Applied linguistics and American Indian language renewal: Introductory comments. *Human organization*, 47(4), 283-291.
- Lobban Jr, R. A., Lobban, R. A., Kramer, R. S., & Fluehr-Lobban, C. (2002). *Historical dictionary of Ancient and Medieval Nubia*. Lanham, Maryland, and Oxford: The Scarecrow Press.
- Morris, Charles (1946). *Signs, Language and Behavior*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall
- Nichols, Johanna. (1997). Nichols, Johanna. 26.359–84.
- Rouchdy, A. (1992). "Persistence" or "tip" in Egyptian Nubian, in Dorian (editor) pp 91-102.
- Sapir, Edward (1921). Language. New York: Harcourt Brace.
- Sharkey, H. J. (2008). Arab identity and ideology in Sudan: The politics of language, ethnicity, and race. *African Affairs*, 107(426), 21-43.
- Simpson, A. (2008). *Language and National Identity in Africa*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Török, L. (2008). *Between two worlds: The frontier rehiion between ancient Nubia and*

Egypt 3700 BC - 500 AD. Leiden. Boston: Brill
 Grenoble, L. A., & Whaley, L. J. (2006). Orthography. *Saving languages. An introduction to language revitalization*, 137-59.
https://www.facebook.com/groups/459961337385544/?hoisted_section_header_type=recently_seen&multi_permalinks=5547385395309754

Appendix (1)

Factor 1: Intergenerational language transmission

Factor 2: Absolute number of speakers

Factor 3: Proportion of speakers within the total population

Factor 4: Trends in existing language domains

Factor 5: Response to new domains and media

Factor 6: Materials for language education and literacy

Factor 7: Governmental and institutional language policies, including official status and use

Factor 8: Community members' attitudes toward their own language

Factor 9: Amount and quality of documentation

Source: Grenoble and Whaley (2006)

Appendix 2

Nubiin graphemes

Letter	IPA transliteration
ⲁ	/a/
ⲡ	/b/
Ⲣ	/c/
Ⲕ	/d/
ⲕ	/e/
Ⲗ	/f/
ⲗ	/g/
Ⲙ	/h/
ⲙ	/i/
Ⲏ	/j/
ⲏ	/k/
Ⲑ	/l/
ⲑ	/m/
Ⲓ	/n/
ⲓ	/o/
Ⲕ	/ŋ/
ⲕⲓ	/p/

ρ	/r/
c	/s/
ϣ	/ʃ/
τ	/t/
οϣ	/u/
ϑ ²	/w/
ι..	/y/

Appendix 3

2.8 Language:

2.8.1 All the indigenous languages are national languages which shall be respected, developed and promoted.

2.8.2 Arabic language is the widely spoken national language in the Sudan.

2.8.3 Arabic, as a major language at the national level, and English shall be the official working languages of the National Government business and languages of instruction for higher education.

2.8.4 In addition to Arabic and English, the legislature of any sub-national level of government may adopt any other national language(s) as additional official working language(s) at its level.

2.8.5 The use of either language at any level of government or education shall not be discriminated against.

(Source, James: 2008)

Appendix (4)

The Semi-Structured Interview Questions

Resentence: Spouse: Nubian/non-Nubian Grandparents: alive/not alive

1. From where did your children acquire the Nubian language? (resistance/struggle)
2. Which languages do you speak at home? (struggle/ power/ colonialization)
3. In which language does your spouse speak to the children? (power/struggle/resistance)
4. What do you think about telling Nubian legends to your children? (resistance)
5. What about encouraging your children to listen to Nubian songs? (power/struggle)
6. Are your children interested in learning a few words such as greeting and instructions or short speeches for formulaic use in Nubian? (resistance/struggle)
7. How do you feel when you speak Nubian? (power/ hegemony/ struggle)
8. Are there collections of linguistic publication, field notes and sound recording? (resistance/struggle)
9. Are there any attempts to open classes to teach the Nubian language? (struggle/resistance/agency)
10. Are there any attempts of teaching the Nubian to speakers of other languages? (struggle/resistance/ agency)

Appendix 5

Table 1: Some lexical differences between *Matoki (Andandi)* and *Fadicca*

Arabic	English	Andandi	Fadicca
حمار	Donkey	hanu	Kaj
نخيل	Date palm	Benti	Fenti
أبي	My father	Ambab	Abu
سيئ	Bad	Uoz	Uos
طائر	Bird	Kawarti	Kawarti
عظم	Bone	Keed	Qisir
كسر	Breaking	Korjad	Korjad
يشعل	Burn	Urre	Ulle
ابن	Son	Bitan/ga	Ga
ماء	Water	Esse	Aman
بقرة	Cow	Ti	Ti
ماعز	Goat	Barti	Fag
قطعة	Cat	Sab	Kadees
حصان	Horse	Kaj	Murti
حمامة	Dove	Kuru	hamam
بيضة	Egg	Kombu	kombu
مال	Money	Dongi	shunqir
ذبابة	Fly	Kulti	Kuti
كف	Hand	Eddi	Eddi
رأس	Head	Ur	Ur
ركبة	Knee	Kurti	Kurti
كتاب	Book	Kitab	Kitab
قلم	Pen	Qalam	Qalam
طاولة	Table	Tawla	Tawla
عربية	Car	Arabiya	Arabiya