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(In)visibility of Ajami in Chad and Sudan and in Nigerian Android applications

My short remarks are based on the observations in Chad and Sudan plus the recent Nigerian apps marked as "Warash" (Warsh, not only the Qur'an).

Some occurrences of African Ajami may be described as invisible\marginal or occasional\experimental.

A few cases of invisible\marginal Ajami may be found in the Nigerian Android apps of Sagware International, such as "Albur'da na Warash" (al-Burda) and "Ishiriniyya na warash"(al-Ishriniyya). Interestingly, the developers describe these apps as based on both printed and manuscrit works (Hausa: *bugun warshu* and *rubutun hannu na warshu*). In fact, the apps of Sagware International are based on Nigerian market editions in Arabic, where **Hausa** Ajami is only used in the glosses. Neither the developers of the apps, nor the editors of the original publications mentioned the fact that Hausa Ajami occurrences can be found in these texts. It seems that the bilingual Arabic-Hausa works tend to be treated as **Arabic, while Hausa** ''**disappears''**.

Lack of Ajami visibility is not a rare phenomenon in modern Sudanic Africa. For example, during my recent visit to N'Djamena I could see and acquire a good number of Arabic editions (mostly from Kano, and only one from Chad) in Central Sudanic script. Some of these editions were in **Hausa** Ajami or in Arabic with Hausa glosses. Among other Islamic publications which were on sale next to the central mosque, there were some Roman-script books in Hausa and even single publications in Albanian and Tagalog (I have no idea who could buy them in Chad). The local SIL publications also included works in Chadian Arabic and Maba in both Roman and Arabic scripts. At the same time, not a single work was found in **Kanuri or Kanembu**, though the speakers of these languages are not rare in N'Djamena. My Kanembu interlocutor in the city was interested in languages and has opened a foreign language school, but he did not know that his own language had a history of written use!

Unlike Kanembu and Kanuri in N'Djamena, **Maba** Ajami can be described as a visible adaptation of Arabic script; it has been supported by both native speakers and foreign missionaries. The corpus of Maba Ajami editions includes more than fifteen works published by the SIL. Eleven new letters and three additional vowel-signs were introduced into Maba Ajami. However, Arabic and French remain the main languages of written communication in the Wadai region. Moreover, Maba is being replaced by Chadian Arabic in the urban areas.

Occasional/experimental Ajami seems to be connected with external influence or interest. Thus, the SIL published "Dînaã cûrou\

Le monde est vaste" in **Dazaga** (a Saharan language, in Arabic and Roman script) and French (Niamey, 2009, "Édition expérimentale"). The Dazaga Ajami version includes a number of additional letters and vowel-signs. However, it is not clear whether this "experimental edition" was linked with any previous writing tradition in Dazaga.

During my last visit to Sudan, I had a chance to discuss the **Beria** (**Zaghawa**) language with a Russian-speaking Zaghawa student from Khartoum University. This student is studying linguistics, so one could expect the Inbtremational Phonetic Alphabet to be used. Instead, maybe out of courtesy, the young linguist started to write his language in Cyrillic. Then, as we also discussed Sudanese Arabic dialect, he shifted to Arabic scirpt for Beria as well. However, he stressed that the only written language in his area was Arabic. So both Cyrillic and Arabic scripts

in this case can be seen as occasional/experimental, unlike West African Ajami in Soninke, Hausa or Fula.

The question why Ajami sometimes remains marginal or experimental remains open for discussion. The well-known "phonological" explanation is hardly plausible. For example, while Maba Ajami is visible, the Chadian publications in closely cognate Masalit language are in Roman script. Probably the same question may be asked when studying the Ajami manuscripts in the Mande linguistic area in Mali.

Illustration:Maba Ajami (الأصوات ورموزها في برا مبا (لغة الوداي – البرقو). تأليف البروفسير عبد الله محمد آدم Abdallah Mahammad Adam Abu ...أبو نضيفة. الأستاذ المشرف في الدر اسات العليا. في جامعة افريقيا العالمية المائرة Nadîfa, 1994, Al-aswât wa ramûzha fî bura maba (lughat al-waday - al-bargu), Mu'assasat alrisâla, Beirut -title page, not a SIL publication)

