



**The Effects of Sudanese Proverbs in Establishing and Entrenching the Concepts of Racism**  
Hamida Ibrahim Mohammed Osman<sup>1</sup> - Mahmoud Ali Ahmed -<sup>2</sup>Areig Osman Ahmed Mohamed<sup>3</sup>

**Abstract**

This paper attempts to investigate to what extent folk culture has managed to establish and entrench the concept of racism among Sudanese, the paper focused on the proverbs as a powerful example and important mean for transmission of beliefs, and cultural values .Thus, in order to collect the necessary data, the researcher collected more than 500 Sudanese proverbs and diagnosed them to find out the proverbs that reflect any sense of racism in the Sudanese culture. The findings of this study resulted in 36 racial proverbs that express direct racism , they mostly focused on the Arab\ non Arab discrimination in a blatant way that could entrench the concept of racism and ethnic prejudice amongst Sudanese.

**Key words:** Racism ethnicity folk culture proverbs

**المستخلص**

تهتم هذه الدراسة ببحث مدى تأثير الأمثال الشعبية في تعزيز العنصرية و التمييز العرقي في الثقافة السودانية كوسيلة مؤثرة و مهمة في تناقل القيم و الثقافة و المعتقدات. درست الباحثة اكثر من 500 مثل شعبي سوداني بحثا عن اي امثال تركز للنعرات العنصرية. تلخصت نتائج الدراسة في حصر و تحليل 36 مثل شعبي يكرس بصورة مباشرة و غير مباشرة للتمييز العرقي العنصري و اثر مثل هذه الامثال الكبير علي تشكيل عقلية الناس .

**INTRODUCTION**

Sudan, located in the heart of Africa with all-Arab characteristics in the North, has combined African and Arab values to create its significant culture and identity, the current population of Sudan is 41,905,123 as of Saturday, December 1, 2018, based on the latest United Nations estimates. This population consists of a large cultural diversity which is made up of a combination of original inhabitants of the Nile Valley and migrants from the Arab peninsula. There are 19 major ethnic groups and over 597 ethnic subgroups speaking more than 100 languages and dialects. These multifaceted ethnic divisions make [Sudan](#) a very diverse country, with each ethnic group having a unique culture of its own

and lifestyle. Arab speaking Muslims are considered the largest single ethnic group at about 70% of the total population( 22 million), while other ethnicities such as Nubians, Zagawa, Copts, Beja , Masalit , Fulani and others make up the remainder. (WorldAtlas.com).Thus, Sudanese culture is a mixture of Afro-Arab traditions and customs. A mixture of Arab and African tribes is found in the North and West, while African groups dominate the South. The east is dominated by Arab groups. Although many different languages are spoken in Sudan, Arabic is the official language in the country; it is the Arabs and non-Arabs. (Ahmed 2005:27)



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In a culture with such diversity, the folklore content such as proverbs is very rich; people use proverbs and other types of folklore to express their understanding of their beliefs, values, identity and their surroundings in ordinary daily conversations.

This paper, focuses on proverbs as effective elements in transmitting human culture and experience. They are historical measurements of human social development, connecting the past with the present.

In some cultures proverbs are a rich part of everyday life, while in others they are considered as old fashioned. People may unconsciously use and employ proverbs in their speech, including racial proverbs, however, Riesigl and Wodak (2001) argue that the creation and the retention of racial is a complicated process that can't be understood without a comprehensive base of different social, psychological, historical, cognitive and linguistic considerations.

## **2. Proverbs as an influential discourse in African culture**

Hymes (1964) defines proverbs are influential type of discourse. They are regarded as a sacred cultural heritage and part of tradition as well as a way of thinking. Scholars like Arewa and Dundes (1964), Firth (1926), Ogbalu (1965), Herzog (1936) and Seitel (1969) have made significant studies that reflect the importance of proverbs in given societies. However, there is still a lack of area studies of proverbs in their particular natural situations. Finnegan (1970: 394) notes that despite the importance of proverbs in African societies, there are no satisfactory investigations dealing with their use.

Arewa (1970:430] has argued that proverb texts are intensively recorded but they are not treated in interactional settings. Abrahams(1972) comments in this regard is that we still know little of why and how people use proverbs, or anything of the range of social uses and cultural situations in which they are encountered (p. 119).

About Sudanese proverbs, a study that is conducted by Salwa Ahmed (2005) in Berlin university ,she has examined Sudanese and English proverbs, and the major issues in Sudanese people's daily lives as revealed in these proverbs, then compared them with English proverbs used in England. The study has found interesting results on how racism and ethnic prejudice are deeply rooted in our culture, she stated:

" although many Sudanese proverbs call for social solidarity and unity, others show class polarization and racism among Sudanese themselves. The phenomenon appears absent in English proverbs; racism towards outsiders, regardless of its presence or absence in society, was not discovered by the researcher in their proverbs.

"Another study is made by Suleiman Norein Osman (2006) who investigated proverbs and idioms phrases in Zaghawa language, a large ethnicity that located in the west of Sudan and spread in many neighboring countries. He collected, analyzed, and presented 70 proverbs and 23 idiomatic phrases in Zaghawa language, as a rich source of cultural heritage in its all-encompassing, general, specific and symbolic anthropological sense.



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The absence of the racial proverbs among the English in Salwa's research, shed the light on the great influence of the tribalism and ethnicity on shaping our culture and conflicts in Sudan and in other similar African cultures.

In Uganda for instance, ethnicity and tribalism are central at any conflicts or political bias, as investigated by Kibanja, Kajumba, Johnson (2011), who believe that the recurrence of ethnic conflict is rooted in the colonial history of almost every African country and is perpetuated today through differential power and resource inequities based on tribal divisions, they stated : "Tribalism was used as a basis for mobilization of the people for social and political purposes, and major political parties were founded on tribal and religious grounds." (p.403).

Hence proverbs as a basic part of the African folk culture are influenced by this context of racial and tribal divisions.

### **3. Racism , Ethnic Prejudice and Stigma in Sudan**

Racism is defined by van Dijk(2006) who intensively writes on racism and prejudice in discourse, as a social system of power abuse or domination, reproduced by social practice of discrimination on the one hand, and by prejudiced attitudes and ideologies on the other hand. According to Taguieff (1991), the popular use of the word racism shows hybrid forms which, become concrete in one general synthetic definition :

" Racism is an ideology, the hard core of which consists of an asserted inequality.

This is founded on natural differences between groups (races).

An assumption implying the practices of exclusion, discrimination, persecution and annihilation is ushered in, and accompanied by, forms of hate and disdain." (p.225)

Van Dijk (1998b) has developed a model that linked between the generation of prejudice and discursive units larger than the sentence.

He argued that the production of ethnic prejudice is related to the long term memory, which includes firstly the attitudes that stored collectively in the shared beliefs of a society (semantic memory).

For example, there is a shared belief, that "*Shawaiga*" people are good at managing money, while another belief talks about the smart and quick response of *Rubatab* tribe. Moreover, van Dijk relates the production of ethnic prejudice to the personal and situational experiences that become general situational models in a society (episodic memory), for example an unfavorable experience of doing business with Southern Sudanese ethnicities will become a situational model that states :

" Doing business with Southerners will always have negative results". This turns into the third stage of personal model of the social situation, this model of a social situation links communicative aims and interests with situational and individual social conditions (control system) (1998:88). Van Dijk sees this system with different strategies to percept, interpret, store, use, or retrieve ethnic information about minorities and their actions (1998:90).



In Sudan, the Arab\ African) identity is a subject of ethnic prejudice or stigmatization, Hashim (2006) who writes intensively on Sudanese identity and cultural, political conflicts that according to the process of the stigma, people of the margin are not equally stigmatized. He discussed the issue of stigma based on ethnicity in a very direct way.

By putting the degrees of stigma he argues that the more black a person is and the more African the person is, the more stigmatized he become. The levels of stigma go from high to low degree as follows:

- a) African features (thick and broad nose and lips, and fuzzy short hair);
- b) blackness;
- c) an African language;
- d) and lastly being a non-Muslim .

The most stigmatized are those who combine the four degrees of stigma, like the majority of Southerners who thus become first degree stigma. The Africans of Nuba Mountains and Ingassana come immediately after the Southerners as a via media second degree stigma.

Then come the peoples of western Sudan "al-Gharrāba" as the third degree stigma, regardless of their different tribal affiliations, and of whom the most stigmatized people are those who are originally from either Central or Western Bilād al-ān, like the Fulani and Hausa, etc. Then next group is the Beja people of eastern Sudan who, although light-skinned, have their own non Arabic language and are very poorly educated and can hardly speak

either standard or colloquial Arabic fluently; furthermore, they are bedouins leading a life that is very backward at best.

The last to come are the Nubians in the north who are the least stigmatized for one main reason. The people of the middle, generally speaking, are nothing but Arabized Nubians, with some survivals of Christian customs still manifested in their cultures. Salwa Ahmed (2005) similarly argued that Sudanese have contradictions in their values and beliefs that appears to her in her study of Sudanese proverbs, she finds it ironic that although there is a rich content of proverbs about solidarity and good manners, there is also a number of racial proverbs that reflect the reality of ethnic prejudice between Sudanese. She states :

"Sudanese divide themselves according to social classes and tribal status. For example, they have very strict rules forbidding intermarriage and concerning family formation. The word a'bed (slave) has very high frequency of usage in Sudan"

.This explanation summarizes the situation of ethnic prejudice or "stigma" in Sudan that make it easier for the reader to understand the nature and influence of Sudanese racial proverbs in the next section.

#### **4. Statement of the problem**

It is contended that studying proverbs will attract attention to the nation's values, as well as nation's threats, Some proverbs planted discrimination and encourage ethnic prejudice, and it may lead to conflicts between ethnicities.



Researchers and writers are busy studying the causes and solutions for wars and conflicts in Sudan.

However, no research according to the researcher's knowledge focus on this area of proverbs as a discriminative and influential content in our culture.

According to Idris (2005), Race and ethnicity have been identified as major sources of the conflict, The conflict in Darfur and many other areas in Sudan have variable scenarios, however, they all share the feeling of suppression and marginalization from the privileged North or riparian Arab, or "the center " as Mohamed Jalal Hashim call it.(2008).

Thus in this paper the researchers are trying to look into the different Sudanese proverbs that aim to entrench the discriminative discourse, in order to shed the light on one of the important and influential cultural content that may construct racial ideologies among people.

### **5. Questions of the study**

1- To what extent does the content of our Sudanese proverbs express any types of racism?

2- To what extent folk culture like proverbs, has managed to establish and entrench the concept of racism amongst Sudanese?

**6. The Methodology** The methodology for the present paper was qualitative data collection from proverbs. The proverbs collection and analysis were from different sources like "Sudanese cyclopedia for proverbs", a study that was made by Salwa

Ahmed in 2005, investigating and comparing Sudanese proverbs to English ones.

Moreover, the researcher collected many racial proverbs through social media discussion that she made in a "Facebook" group that gathers thousands of Sudanese researchers from different backgrounds and ages, the researcher asked them a direct question about their knowledge of any racial proverbs in their areas. Each proverb is first written in Arabic then in transcription, then translated with explanation of its cultural connotation.

### **7. Sudanese racial proverbs**

Sudanese social life is reflected in the proverbs that express rich cultural values and major issues in people's daily lives, including educational principles, God and religious life, family relationships, friendship, neighborhood relationships, marriage and women and other major issues in our life. (Ahmed 2005). However, it is undoubtedly that racism, remain a reality in Sudan and deeply rooted in its history. They bear witness to various kinds of social inequality and racism in Sudan. This is ironic, because it has been claimed that Islam's values are practiced in Sudanese society. Islam rejects any type of class polarization and social injustice, as they are essential causes of violence, wars, and hatred.

The researcher has collected and investigated the following racial proverbs among more than 500 Sudanese proverbs:





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The Sudanese proverb and its transcription	The English translation \ the contextual use	The cultural interpretation
<p>1. <i>Shira al-a'bd wala tarbiyту</i> شرا العبد و لا تربيته</p>	<p>Buying a slave is better than bringing him up It is used to proof that it is better to by the ready-made product instead of wasting time and effort in preparing it yourself.</p>	<p>This proverb advises that it is better for you to buy a slave than to waste your time and money feeding and fostering him. Slavery existed in some parts of Africa until early in the twentieth century and Sudan was active in the slave trade during the Turkiyah, (Turkish regime 1821-1885</p>
<p>2. <i>La takhawi al-a'b, al-a'b nassai</i> لا تخاوي العب العب نساي</p>	<p>Do not associate as a brother with a slave, as the slave is forgetful It is used to warn people from unfaithful and betraying people.</p>	<p>This proverb asserts that a slave has no manners and he always forgets your kindness and good treatment.</p>
<p>3. <i>la tbool fi al-shag la tkhawi al-a'b, al-shag hssai w al- a'b nassai</i> لا تبول في الشق لا تخاوي العب , الشق حساي و العب نساي</p>	<p>Don't pee in a ground crack, and don't befriend a slave as well, for the slave forgets your deeds as the crack absorbs your urine. It is used to warn from the unfaithful people.</p>	<p>This is close to previous proverbs, however more insulting. The African race person is not the right person to befriend, he forgets your good deeds to him and betrays you, so don't trust him</p>
<p>4. <i>Al-jins al- bakhas la tajualu dukhreek</i> الجنس البخس لا تجعلو دخريك</p>	<p>Do not associate as a brother with a slave. It is used to warn from this ethnicity which known as un faithful un-trusted people .</p>	<p>This proverb is like the previous one asserts that a slave has no loyalty and can't be trusted to be a friend</p>
<p>5. <i>Al- gharabi kan dakhal beidak shirib, beidak khirib</i> الغرابي كان دخل شرب بيتك خرب</p>	<p>If a western person enter your house and drink, your house is going to be destroyed. It is used to warn from ethnicities from the West ( African rooted) as known as un faithful un-trusted people .</p>	<p>This proverb accused people from the west, who are African race that they are not trusted and betrayals , so people shouldn't let them in their houses or trust them.</p>
<p>6. <i>Al- jayi min al-gharib , ma bisur al- galib</i> الجاوي من الغرب ما يبسر القلب</p>	<p>Who comes from the west , doesn't please the heart. It is used to warn from this ethnicity which known as, problematic un trusted people</p>	<p>This proverb is close to the previous one , in that people who comes from the West, they mean the African race, are not welcomed, because they probably make some bad deeds.</p>
<p>7. <i>Al-a'rabi lahhin lu wa al-nubawi bain lu</i> العربي لحن له و النوباوي بين له</p>	<p>For an Arab use a gesture and for a non-Arab explain in detail It is used to proof that people from this ethnicity are stupid and can't understand, comparably by the smart Arabs.</p>	<p>People who use this proverb mean that it is difficult to communicate with non-Arabs as they do not speak Arabic. In fact sometimes they use it as an insult claiming that Africans are not as intelligent as Arabs, or even stupid.</p>
<p>8. <i>Al-ghayear manziltu a'bed</i> الغير منزلتو عبد</p>	<p>He who changes his host is a slave It is used to proof that people should settle in their home towns and never moved or they become disrespectful just like that ethnicity.</p>	<p>Some Sudanese prefer to stay with relatives or friends when they travel from one place to another inside the country; they must stay in one place as it is unacceptable that one moves from one host to another. People</p>



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		who use this proverb mean that one who does not understand the tradition of staying with one host is not a noble person.
9. <i>Al- kad'adeeb talata: A 'bdan ma a'indu seed, wa zolan jai min ba'eed, wa shaiban ma a'indu nadead</i> الكضاضيب تلاته : عبدا ما عندو سيد, وزولا جاي من بعيد, و شايبا ما عندو نديد	Liars are three: A slave without an owner, a man coming from a far land and an old man without a peer It is used to warn from liars by using those examples.	This proverb suggests that those who have no coevals and the ones who are not known by their origins can easily tell lies as they do not have any witnesses to challenge them. People who use this proverb explicitly refer to slavery by using the word owner.
10. <i>Al-hamala sawat al-a'bid faki</i> الهملة سوت العبد فكي	Inadvertence has made the slave a jurist It is used to claim that in a time of no social rules , even the un deserved un respectful people could find a social prestige , which they don't deserve.	People who use this proverb mean that firmness is required in all situations and suggest that carelessness might give slaves a chance to become ambitious and try to be religious men who are respectful at that time.
11. <i>Jins a'bid mino al-khear jabad</i> جنس عبده منو الخير جيدة	Goodness is far from the nature of slaves The same previous usage	This proverb says that goodness should not be expected from slaves as good values do not exist in their race.
12. <i>Sajam al-h'ila al-daleela a'ajami wa fas'eyh'a ratani</i> سجم الحلة الداليل عجمي و فصيحاً رطاني	What a disaster in a district if its leader is non-Arab and its eloquence is jargonized The same previous usage	People who use this proverb warn that leadership should not be given to those who are non-Arab or African and speak colloquial Arabic.
13. <i>Sajam al-h'ila al-daleela a'bid</i> سجم الحلة الداليل عبد	What a disaster in a district if its leader is non-Arab or African The same previous usage.	This proverb means same as the above one.
14. <i>A'bdan takafitu bala ghabeena</i> عبدا تكفتو بلا غيبنة	A slave whom you slap without prejudice (You can slap a slave without any reason It is used to exemplify for a disgusted and humiliated type of people.	This proverb implies that a slave as an ugly person that you can slap not because he did something wrong or annoyed you, but just for his ugliness.
15. <i>Dabarat amearam bikoha fi al-khadim</i> دبرة الميرم بيكووها في الخادم	The wound of the princess is cauterized on the maid It is used when the punishment goes to someone else other than the doer because of his social status.	This proverb means that if a princess needs a treatment which causes pain, she should not have to endure that pain, so her servant must take it on her behalf. People use the proverb when a person of high status deserves to be punished, but cannot be punished due to their status; others in a lower status take the blame instead.
16. <i>Dabarat al-h'us'an bikoha fi al-h'umar</i> دبرة الحصان بيكووها في الحمار	A horse has a wound, but they ordered a donkey to be cauterized in its place The same previous meaning	This proverb means same as the above one.
17. <i>Ghabeenat al-a'rabeah befishoha fi al-sireah</i> غيبنة العربية بينفسوها في السرية	The anger with the wife from a noble origin is let out on the maid The same previous meaning	This proverb similarly comments that if a man has two wives, the one of lower status will be blamed for the mistakes of the one



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		of higher status.
18. <i>A'areeya ma bedoom lil-khadim um gadoom</i> عارية ما بتدوم للخادم ام قدوم	A borrowed cloth will not last for the servant with a big mouth It is used to proof that borrowed thing don't sustain.	This proverb says that because an African maid is poor she does not have good clothes, so she might borrow some, but soon she will return them and keep her ragged clothes.
19. <i>Ma biswa sha'rah min rasi</i> ما بسوي شعرة من راسي	Not worth a strand of my hair It is used to humiliate and discriminate someone.	People who use this proverbial phrase mean that some people are so worthless in terms of their origins that they are inferior even to a strand of their hair. It express prejudice on others
20. <i>Kulu a'ind al-a'rab s'aboon</i> كلو عند العرب صابون	Everything in the eyes of Arabs is only soap It is used to proof that Arab people are naive, in that they do not differentiate between the valuable and the cheap things.	This proverb comments that nomads do not value anything and see all things as no difference, because of their primitiveness
21. <i>Al-a'arbi ma bita'aza kama murah'u</i> العربي ما بتعزي كان ما مراحو	A nomad would not be respected were it not for his herd It is used to proof that people with no social status can't be evaluated but with their properties.	Nomads are referred to as Arabs; they are considered as uncivilized by urbanites or those who live in cities and towns. People who use this proverb suggest that they respect a nomad only because of the large number of animals that he owns.
22. <i>Ana be seadi wa seadi baseadu</i> انا بي سيدي و سيدي بي سيديو	I have a master, but my master has one too It is use to justify the approach of superiority in the social system, in that every one has to follow someone higher status than him.	This proverb might reflect a class system in showing that everyone has someone who is superior and oversees his actions. This comes from the historical religious class system of Sufi in the earlier 20 <sup>th</sup> century.
23. <i>Al-a'in ma ta'la a'la al-h'ajib</i> العين ما تعلي علي الحاجب	The eye never stands higher than the eyebrow The same previous meaning	This proverb is close to the previous one, in that it talks about the class system of superiority according to your ethnicity and power. In that noble ethnicities are always on the top , no one should dare changes this system.
24. <i>Al-a'ireq dasas</i> العرق دساس	The root is hidden To warn from engaging in any social or business commitment with people from certain ethnic roots.	Blood and upbringing are believed to influence character. This proverb suggests that no matter how good you are you should be judged by your origins, which might come to the surface even if you try to hide it. People also use it to refer to a bad reputation that ancestors might have. “ (2005:185)
25. <i>Akhr al-zaman algibli yakheeb wa al-hurra tai'eeb</i> آخر الزمن القبلي يخيب والحرة	It is unbelievable that the noble race commit mistakes and fail in their life It is used to express sorrow when good	The proverb indicates that people from noble races can't be failure or commit mistakes or unpleasant actions, as if these





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تعيب	things happened to people who they think don't deserve it.	bad deeds appeals only to African race only.
26. <i>Sa'dak in ghalab, yakhdimook awlad al- a'rab</i> سعدك ان غلب يخدموك اولاد العرب	If you are lucky, you will be served by Arabs The same previous meaning.	This have a close meaning to the previous proverb, in that Arabs are not servants, so if some Arab serves you, you are lucky that you are served by such noble people, since they agreed that servants obviously should be Africans.
27. Al-hassani in salmak, I'd asabe'ek الحساني ان سالمك عد اصابعيك	If a Hassanian one shake hands with you, you should count and check your fingers It is used to express a taken for granted a bad reputation about certain people or ethnicity.	This proverb describes a certain tribe which is Hassania that they are robbers and thief to the point that they can steal your fingers after shaking hands.
Al-hassani yisrig al-kuhul minel e'in الحساني يسرق الكحل من العين	Hassani tribe are naturally thieves, that they can steal the eye liner from your eye. The same previous meaning	Hassani are robbers and thieves to the point that they can steal your eye liner from your eye .
28. Al- kahli in salamak, I]d asabe'ek الكاهلي ان سالمك عد اصابعيك	If a Kahli one shake hands with you, you should count and check your fingers The same previous meaning.	The same meaning of the previous proverb, describing Kawahla, another tribe. Both tribes live in the West of Sudan. These proverbs express ethnic prejudice practiced against certain tribes.
29. <i>Al-ta'aishi wa la al-matoa'sh</i> التعيشي ولا المتوعش	Genuine Taa'shi is better than who claim that he is Taa'shian. It is used to encourage the genuine choices in things instead of taking the fake	This proverb assures the value of the ethnic origins when it comes to the value of people, in that being original race gives you value better that try to be with other ethnicity than yours.
30. <i>Al- Turki wa la Al-Matoarak</i> التركي ولا المتورك	Genuine Turk is better than who try to mimic Turk The same previous meaning.	The same meaning.
31. <i>Al-Arabi In gal-lak Bet Fulan Bi Jai, Sheel-lak Sharbat Moya</i> العربي ان قال لك بيت فلان بي جاي شيل لك شربة مويه	The Arabi could misled you from the way if you depend on him to give you direction. It is used to warn from unreliable information that you can get from Arab(who live in rural areas) people.	This proverb discriminate against certain ethnicity of Arab in that they are tricky people.
32. <i>Al-arabi In gultalu hak , masha w jak.</i> العربي ان قتلو هاك مشى وجاك	Arabi people are insistent in begging , if you give them once , they will keep coming back to beg again. It is used to warn from giving those people who are not needy and they don't deserve giving , they just find it easy to beg.	This proverb discriminate against certain ethnicity of Arab in that they are tricky and lazy people who take advantage of good people.
33. <i>Al- Jaali Yegadi Yomu</i>	The Jaa'li wasting the whole day arguing	The proverb discriminate against Jaa'lian



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<i>Khanig</i> الجعلي يقضي يومو خنق	and insisting on tiny issues. It is used to express the foolishness of certain tribe that can spend the whole day arguing or trying to prove he is right even for small issues	tribe people, and attribute them with foolishness and nervousness .
34. <i>Al- Jaa 'lin al-u'ara, ya 'risu al-tes lel teas, yimlu al-beit tesesa</i> الجعليين العوره يعرّسو للتس للتسه يملو البيت تسسه	Idiot Jaa'lian, they marry the goat to the goat, and their houses become full of goats. It is used to mock the stupid acts .	The proverb discriminate against Jaa'lian tribe people, and attribute them with foolishness and inappropriate actions.
35. <i>Al-Dungulawi galu leho tur gal ahlibuhu</i> الدنقلوي قالو لو تور قال اهلبيو	Dungulawi tribe people do not understand easily , it is used to mock the stupidity of Danagla tribe.	The proverb discriminate against Danagla tribe people, and attribute them with foolishness and illogical actions.
35. <i>Al-shaigia ma bitkhali jarrata, wal jidada ma bitkhali bahtata.</i> الشايغيه ما بتخلي جرتا والجداده ما بتخلي بحتتا	Shaigia women speak in a certain accent that never change, and chicken finds its food with certain way that never change. It is used to express that who has certain habit will never change it.	The proverb mock the Shaigia tribe accent which is special accent in Sudan .
36. <i>Al-silemania al ma bisrig fihum ma wad halal</i> السليمانيه المابسرق فيهم ما ود حلال	Among the silemania people, who doesn't steal is not a good man, It is used to express that some attributions or habits is a must for some people that they can't quit.	This proverb accuse Silemania tribe people that they are robbers and thieves to the point that they are not attributed as good people unless they steal.

**Table (1) Sudanese racial proverbs**

There are 36 proverbs in this table, which the researchers concentrated on out of more than 500, because they contain racial and ethnic prejudice. It is noticed that most of these proverbs are excluding the African rooted ethnicities located in the West of Sudan, actually 19 proverb out of 30, blatantly use the words like "A'bid" or "khadim", "Nubawi" which mean slave or servant as excluded and discriminated against, only because they are from certain ethnicities that are historically considered as less privileged and honored. Moreover, there are 2 proverbs that reflect racial discrimination indirectly by naming certain tribes that implicitly being prejudiced

because of being from certain areas such as the West of Sudan (24.27.28.) However, these kind of cross sectional proverbs that take place and reflect limited and certain experiences that can't over generalized on the whole Sudanese culture. The Arab ethnicities in the below proverbs introduce an idiot or foolish or lazy personality that is attributed to Arabi people, when we use Arabi here, it is worth mentioning that this word is used for rural simple people who live away from civilized cities.

كلو عند العرب صابون \ العربي ما بتعزي كان ما مراحو  
العربي إن قتلو هاك مشى و جاك \  
العربي إن قال لك بيت فلان بي جاي شيل لك شربة مويه



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Contradictory , when looking to the rest of the proverbs, we found that only 3 proverbs above have mentioned the word "Arab" in a discriminated way , in proverb (20. 21,26), they attributed the Arab as primitive uncivilized people, however, the interpretation of the word "Arabi" here also exclude certain tribes or ethnicities according to their economic and social level. Contradictory in 26 the word " Arab " is used in a different way , as the privileged Northern riparian ethnicities that have the superiority over other ethnicities. However, these kind of cross sectional proverbs that take place and reflect limited and certain experiences that can't over generalized on the whole Sudanese culture.

This discriminative proverbs against Arabi people , and the contradictory other ones ,gives us another way of looking to ethnic prejudice and its use in the Sudanese culture ,

آخر الزمن القبلي يخيب و الحرة تعيب \ العين ما تعلي علي الحاجب \ انا بي سيدي و سيدي بي سيدي

In 29 and 30 express how people evaluate the ethnic origins when it comes to the value of people, in that being original race gives you value better that try to be with other ethnicity than yours, it talks about the racial prejudice that we can see when it comes to judge people by their origin.

التعيشي ولا المتوعش \ التركي و لا المتورك

The preverbs that used to discriminate certain tribes are also common in the Sudanese culture, like

الشايقيّه ما بتخدي جرتا والجداده ما بتخدي بحتتا \ الجعلي يقضي يومو خنق \ الدنقلاوي قالو لو تور قال اطلبو

These proverbs are used also in a cross sectional base , in that there is a historical competition between the Jaa'lian and Shawaiga tribes , so we find each tribe use proverbs against the other one , then the use spread in the society .Hence, the racial and ethnic prejudice in these proverbs varied between three groups :

the cross sectional use of these proverbs can justify that in spite of the blatant racial expressions against African rooted people in the West and South of Sudan , still this discrimination could be found in other directions, what make it clear that certain proverbs could be used by certain groups in certain circumstances.

We can't put a naïve contrast between Arab \ non Arab ethnicities.

Also, the researcher found 5 proverbs that generally reflect superiority and prejudice without specifying certain ethnicity, in that the speaker expresses his superiority on others regardless of their race, in 19 ( ما بسوي شعرة من ) (راسي) an arrogance is expressed towards others in that everyone else is worthless, in 22, and in 23 and 25 an admission of the social system of racism and superiority of certain people over others has been expressed.

1/ The racial proverbs that discriminate the African rooted ethnicities, blatant and direct , the first 18 ones, and 3 indirect ones .

2/ The cross sectional proverbs that take place and reflect certain attributions on certain tribe or ethnicity, and express certain experiences .

3/ The proverbs that reflect a more general believe of superiority among people when using them.



## 8. Conclusion

In this study, more than 500 proverbs were investigated, 36 racial ones have been Collected, analyzed, and presented .The influence of the folk culture on shaping the believes of people specially in sensitive topics like racism is important, The study has resulted in three categories of racial proverbs. The racial proverbs discriminate the African rooted ethnicities, either blatant and direct, or indirect ones. The cross sectional proverbs that take place and reflect on certain tribes on certain experiences that can't over generalized on the whole Sudanese culture. The proverbs that reflect a more general believe of superiority among people when using them.

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