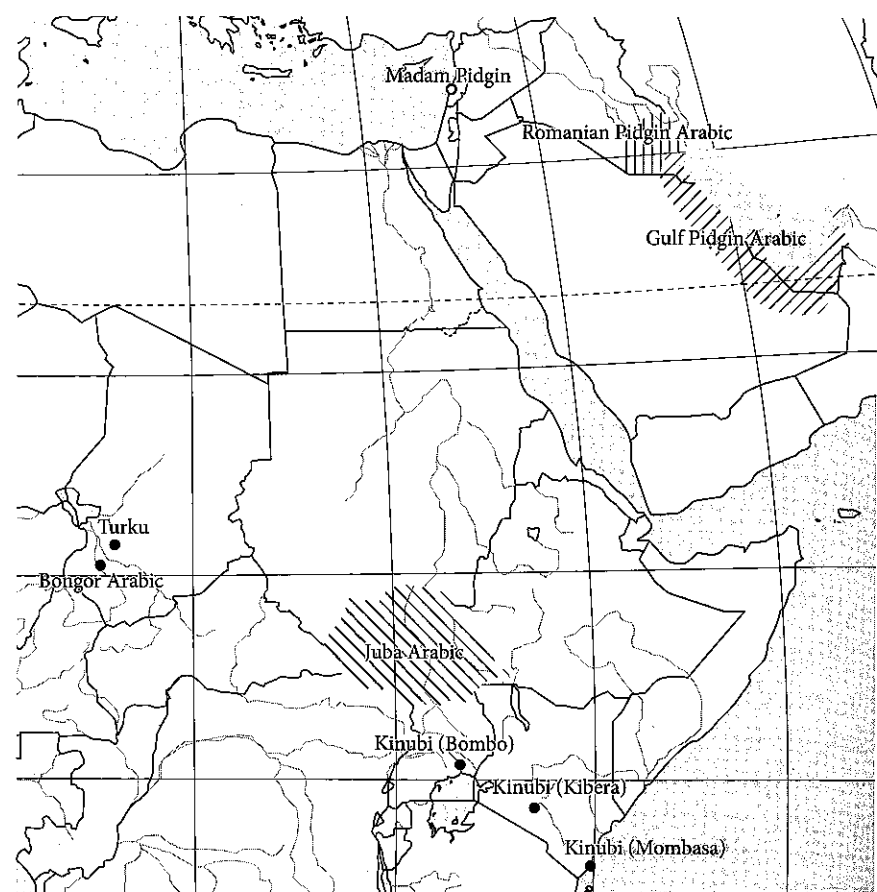# PIDGINS AND CREOLES

MAURO TOSCO AND STEFANO MANFREDI

22.1 ARABIC-BASED PIDGINS AND CREOLES: WHAT THEY ARE AND WHAT THEY ARE NOT

The subject of this article is languages derived from the drastic restructuring of Arabic. They can be spoken either as first or second languages. Typically, pidginization results from insufficient exposure and consequent imperfect learning of a superstrate language in a highly multilingual context. When use of the variety is not discontinued, the original incipient pidgin may become extended or stabilized. Further nativization of the variety leads to its creolization, while continued exposure to the superstrate language may lead to a process of decreolization.

Many and widely different Arabic-based varieties have been called at various stages pidgins or creoles (PCs). In an attempt to classify these linguistic varieties, we distinguish two groups of PCs:[1] the Sudanic PCs and the immigrant pidgins in Arab countries. This geographical opposition turns out to be both structural and historical. A few Sudanic pidgins have developed in the course of time into stabilized pidgins and creoles, while the recent and contemporary varieties spoken by immigrant communities in a few Arab countries bear all the marks of incipient varieties. Moreover, Sudanic PCs developed and are attested out of the core of the Arab-speaking world (in present-day Chad, Southern Sudan, and East Africa), where the direct presence of speakers of the superstrate (Arabic) was minimal or indirect; they therefore adhere to the canonical conditions for the emergence of PCs (see Map 22.1).

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[1] Although often inconsistent and etymologizing, we retain the authors' transcriptions throughout. On the other hand, we modify and uniformize the authors' glosses.

MAP 22.1 Geographical distribution of Arabic-based pidgins and creoles (major centers and areas of distribution).

It is important to stress the difference between Arabic-based PCs (cf. also Owens 1996 for an overview) and (1) peripheral Arabic dialects and (2) Arabic spoken as a nonfirst language as an interethnic medium.

22.1.1 Pidgins and Creoles versus Peripheral Arabic

Owens (2001) draws the parallel between peripheral Arabic and Arabic-based PCs and takes Central Asian Arabic as a representative of the former. Central Asian Arabic is spoken by at most a few thousands in various locations in Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and Afghanistan. The first and last are particularly close, although almost nothing is known about Arabic in Tajikistan (and in many areas of Uzbekistan as well). The history of these varieties and their speakers is also shrouded with mystery

and could date back to the 8th century and the Islamization of Uzbekistan or the 14th and Timur's (Tamerlane's) empire. Connections with other Arabic dialects are uncertain, apart from a certain resemblance with the varieties of Northern Mesopotamia.

Owens (2001) argues that peripheral Arabic is an "Araboid language" that has undergone so many structural changes that it can no longer be regarded as a form of Arabic—being rather a "mixed language." The mixed nature of Central Asian Arabic is disputed by, for example, Zaborski (2008), who prefers to stress the Arabic character of these varieties. Still, the profound impact of Uzbek, Tajik, and to a lesser extent Turkmen as well a, in Afghanistan, Dari, and Pashtu has been tremendous and has induced, among others:

- The change of basic sentence word order into subject–object–verb (SOV)
- The introduction of postpositions alongside the inherited Arabic prepositions
- The introduction of a present perfect based on the Arabic active participle followed, for the first and second person, by the ending *-in* and the object pronominal affixes; for example, *zorb-in-ak* "you have hit" (Zimmermann 2002: 46)
- The frequent use of "light verbs" in compounds, such as *sava* "to do" and *zarab* "to hit," on the model of Tajik and Uzbek
- The loss of the Arabic definite article and the introduction of an indefinite article *fad* (< *fard*)
- The introduction of the construction Possessor + Possessum followed by a pronominal affix, such as *duk aadami milt-u* "that man's nationality" (= that man his nationality) (Zaborski 2008: 429)

As in PCs and non-native Arabic, pharyngealization is lost (but the pharyngeal fricatives are retained).

Certainly, these "Araboid varieties" are not PCs. According to Owens (2001: 353), "creolization involves a greater degree of simplification relative to the source language(s) than does the development of a mixed language; whereas the precise source of many creole structures is opaque, that of mixed languages is relatively transparent." This is certainly true of Central Asian Arabic, where the Turkic and Iranian source is evident. Is Central Asian Arabic, then, a mixed language? Certainly not in the strong sense of a language where two grammars functionally coexist. Cases of such a "double grammar in a single language" exist, although they are exceedingly rare: Michif (Bakker 1997) and Media Lengua (Muysken 1997) are probably the best examples. It seems instead possible to use the label mixed language in a diachronic sense, as defining a language that has undergone deep structural changes and even a complete typological metathesis as a result of the impact of a second language of a radically different type. In such a weaker meaning, Central Asian Arabic (and maybe other peripheral varieties heavily restructured by contact) can certainly be considered a mixed language.

22.1.2 Pidgins and Creoles versus Non-native Arabic

A lower degree of structural simplification and alteration is attested in non-native variet-
ies of Arabic used as interethnic lingua francas. They certainly share with Arabic-based
PCs a number of features. These non-native varieties of Arabic are probably more com-
mon a phenomenon than our scanty data may suggest. The complex situation of Arabic
in Chad has been described and discussed several times, most recently by Miller (2009);
Ferguson (1970) reports on Ethiopia. We shall concentrate here on Eritrea, where the
use of Arabic as an interethnic medium has been studied by Simeone-Senelle (2000),
making in passing a few parallels with the better investigated case of Chad.

In both cases, Arabic as an interethnic lingua franca is a third variety of Arabic, dis-
tinct from both the local native dialect(s) and "official" Arabic.[2] Great differences are
caused by the starkly different ethnic and linguistic picture of the two countries: in
Chad, Arabic is today the major interethnic medium (spoken by maybe 60% of the total
population).[3] In Eritrea, the role of Arabic, negligible as a native language, is also appar-
ently very minor as an interethnic medium.

As a consequence, the role of the local spoken dialects is stronger in Chad than in
Eritrea; in the latter, as in a typical interethnic medium, the native language of the speak-
ers plays a bigger role in shaping Arabic: thus, in Eritrea Arabic /z/ is preserved by native
speakers of Saho (which has /z/ in its inventory) and is replaced by /s/ by ʿAfars (who
have no /z/ in their native language); /š/ is preserved in the Arabic as spoken by Sahos
and often replaced by /s/ or palatalized by ʿAfars.

Everywhere (and, as will be seen, in the Arabic-based PCs), pharyngealization is gen-
erally lost; Simeone-Senelle (2000: 157) notes that, when preserved, "emphasis" is rather
realized as pharyngealization rather than being replaced by ejective consonants, as is the
case in the neighboring Semitic languages. Interdentals are either realized as alveolar
stops or fricatives.

In both countries, a certain amount of morphological simplification is the rule; how-
ever—and this is a crucial difference—in contrast to PCs, verbal inflection and deriva-
tion are largely preserved. Thus, in Eritrea the first-person singular of the imperfective
coalesces with the 1SG: ánā má-naġder "I cannot." Likewise preserved are two series
of personal pronouns (independent and bound) and a certain number of Arabic plu-
ral patterns. Influence from the native languages of the speakers is somewhat stron-
ger in syntax, where, for example, the verb tends to appear in final position, as in most
Ethiopian languages.

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[2] In both Eritrea and Chad Arabic is one of the two (*de jure* or *de facto*) official languages of the country
(alongside Tigrinya in Eritrea and French in Chad). In both countries, therefore, official and written
Arabic *is* part of the picture. Moreover, in both countries Arabic is spoken as a native language: in Eritrea
by just 32,000 speakers (1% of the total population of the country) according to Simeone-Senelle (2000:
155) and by a sizable part of the population (10%) in Chad.

[3] de Pommerol (1999); Arabic surpasses French as an interethnic medium any local language as well as
at least as an oral medium.

22.2 SOME GENERAL FEATURES OF ARABIC-BASED PIDGINS AND CREOLES

Many features that go under the general label of "simplification" are common to any
restructured variety of Arabic, while others are common to most. It is of the foremost
importance here that the comparison be established with the lexifying dialect and not
with the Classical or Standard language (although influence from the latter may be
found in the pidgin due to the well-known phenomenon of diglossia).

Pending a more detailed analysis, the following is a reasonable list.

In phonology:

- Pharyngealization is universally lost; this involves both the pharyngeal fricatives
  and the pharyngealized fricatives and stops. The former are usually reduced to /ʔ/
  or Ø and /h/ (with further reduction to Ø possible), respectively. The pharyngeal-
  ized stops and fricatives /ṭ/, /ḍ/, /ṣ/, and /ẓ/ are reduced to the corresponding plain
  sounds.
- The velar fricatives /x/ (ḫ) and /ɣ/ (ġ) usually merge with /k/ and /g/.
- The uvular stop /q/ is usually changed into /k/ or /g/.
- Gemination and vowel length are usually lost.
- Interdentals /θ/ (ṯ) and /ð/ (ḏ; both only when present in the lexifying dialect) are
  either changed into dental stops /t/, /d/, or into fricatives /s/, /z/.

In morphosyntax:

- The productive Semitic and Arabic root-and-pattern morphology is lost as a
  productive mechanism at both the inflectional and derivational level. Although
  inflectional morphology in general is also greatly reduced, one notes in expanded
  pidgins (Juba Arabic) and creoles (Kinubi) the partial retention of inflectional
  plural morphemes as well as the development of elaborated Tense–Mood–Aspect
  (TAM) marking and of the morphological use of suprasegmentals.
- The definite article ʔal= (and its local variants, especially ʔil=) is lost.
- Analytical expression of the genitival phrase is generalized, and the Arabic "con-
  struct state" (Possessum Article-Possessor) is lost as a productive device.
- Only one series of pronouns (the independent ones) is preserved, while possessive
  and object suffix pronouns are lost.
- Sentential word order tends to be SVO and phrasal word-order Head-Modifier,
  although variation is attested (especially at the phrasal level) in unstable pidgins
  and contact varieties.

As expected, the lexical stock is greatly reduced, and its place is taken by semantically
transparent compound expressions.

22.3 EARLY SOURCES FOR "PIDGINIZED" ARABIC

Thomason and Elgibali (1986) are the only source on the so-called Maridi Arabic. It was found in 1982 by Alaa Elgibali in the *Kitaab al-masaalik wa-l-mamaalik* (Book of the Roads and Kingdoms) by the 11th-century Andalusian geographer Abuu 'Ubayd al-Bakrii. The book, parts of which have been lost, was written in 1068 and is based upon literature and reports from travelers and geographers from the 10th century (al-Bakrii himself never left Andalusia). The book is generally considered an important source for the history of West Africa, the trans-Saharan trade, and the Ghana Empire. In the short passage of interest here (which, it must be noted, is lacking in most editions), Al-Bakrii provides secondhand data on the Arabic spoken by "Blacks" in an unknown locality called Maridi, which Thomason and Elgibali propose to locate in central Mauritania, that is, in the westernmost part of the Sahara. It is interesting, on the other hand, that the passage is found within a description of Aswan, in Southern Egypt. Kaye (1985) suggests instead that Maridi is the homonymous town in modern Southern Sudan (in a Zande-speaking area, where Juba Arabic is nowadays the main lingua franca). This hypothesis is discussed and refused by Thomason and Elgibali, who do not think that the Arabs could have reached such a southern latitude (close to the present-day border with the Congo Democratic Republic) by the 10th–11th century.

The short specimen (just 10 sentences, but 3 of them are identical) consists of a folktale. Features typical of pidginization are the absence of an article, the uninflected verbal forms, and the presence of a preverbal aspectual particle written *dy*, which Thomason and Elgibali connect to modern-day *ge* of both Juba Arabic and Kinubi. One interesting phonological feature of the language is actually the shift of the Arabic letter *jīm* (variously realized in the Arabic dialects as /g/, /ʒ/, /dʒ/, or /j/) to the letter for /d/ (the latter shift is actually attested in modern dialects of Upper Egypt and Sudan, which could be relevant for the localization of Maridi). Noteworthy is the unexpected presence of what looks like a dual personal pronoun, the lack of an existential element (like *fi* in other Arabic-based PCs) and, in syntax, the order adjective–noun. The lexical material is entirely Arabic, apart from a form written *kyk* and possibly to be interpreted as "people." Thomason and Elgibali (1986: 326) tentatively connect it with Songhay *-koi* "person who," but a much closer parallel can be found in Eastern Daju (Nilo-Saharan, Eastern Sudanic; Nuba Mountains) *kik* "man; person." The same word has entered Kordofanian Baggara Arabic as *kiik* (Manfredi 2010: 88). This is therefore a further element supporting a Sudanese location for Maridi.

Thomason and Elgibali interpret al-Bakrii's scanty data as evidence of an early Arabic-based pidgin or trade jargon spoken by Berbers. (Berbers are obviously not considered "black" by Arabs, but Thomason and Elgibali suggest that the speakers could have been Berberized "Blacks.") As a result, in Thomason and Elgibali's analysis of the text, comparison with Berber varieties features prominently. On the other hand, the authors do not take into sufficient account the fact that the text is claimed to be the reproduction of what a "dignitary from Aswan" remembered of his visit to Maridi,

the black population there, and "their miserable Arabic" (*'arabiyyathum al-murziya*). What we have is therefore not a "language" but its caricature: the "bad Arabic" of foreigners is seen through the lens of the native speakers.

Similar cases of "broken" Arabic in literary works are of course not unknown in various European literatures. The data found in the Italian literature of the 16th century have been studied several times; Contini (1994) provides a useful summary and a few sound conclusions. Ludovico di Vartema, a traveler from Bologna who lived in the Arab world for many years, gives in his *Itinerary* (1510) a certain number of sentences in Arabic. According to Contini, these are to be interpreted as instances of the author's imperfect learning of (a Syrian dialect of) Arabic rather than as specimen of an Arabic pidgin. The case of *La Zingana*, a comedy by G. A. Giancarli (1545), whose protagonist (a gipsy woman) speaks a mixture of the Mediterranean Lingua Franca and of "Arabic," is possibly different. Contini argues that at least a part of the data can be taken to represent an incipient pidgin, possibly based upon an Egyptian variety of Arabic.

22.4 SUDANIC PIDGINS AND CREOLES

Following Tosco and Owens (1993), we adopt the definition Sudanic PCs for a linguistically homogenous group of pidgins and creoles that have a common origin in the southern Sudan. In the first half of the 19th century Arab slave traders penetrated southern Sudan from the north setting up military camps (locally known as *zaraaʔib*, SG *zariiba*, which literally means "cattle enclosure") inhabited by a heterogeneous population raided among different Nilotic groups (Mahmud 1983; Miller 1984, 2006; Owens 1985, 1990). Due to the asymmetrical linguistic intercourses between the Arabic-speaking traders and the slave population, a pidginized form of Arabic arose as a military *Lingua Franca*. This pidginized variety represented the ancestor of all the contemporary Sudanic PCs, and for that reason Tosco and Owens label it "Common Sudanic PC Arabic" (253).

The lexifier of the Common Sudanic PC Arabic was a mixture of Sudanic[4] and Egyptian dialects (with a predominance of the former dialectal subtype), while its substratum was composed of a number of Nilotic languages, such as Bari, Dinka, and Nuer. Given their common historical origin, all the Sudanic PCs share a large number of linguistic features both in domain of phonology and in that of morphosyntax, even though, due to the later geographical dispersion, Sudanic PCs also show interesting structural divergences. For the time being, the Sudanic PCs include four varieties that are, respectively, referred to as Turku, Bongor Arabic, Kinubi, and Juba Arabic. On structural grounds, these can be divided into an eastern branch including Juba Arabic and Kinubi and a western branch with Turku and Bongor Arabic.

[4] Following Owens (1993), the label "Sudanic Arabic" refers to the dialectal area stretching from Lake Chad to the west to the Red Sea to the east. It should not be confused with "Sudanese Arabic," which refers to the dialects of the Republic of Sudan.

22.4.1 Turku and Bongor Arabic

Turku[5] is the name of an Arabic pidgin once spoken in western Chad. The scanty data concerning this Arabic variety were gathered by Gaston Muraz, a French medical officer who worked in western Chad at the beginning of the 20th century. Owens and Tosco (1993) published a descriptive and comparative study of Turku on based on this account. Turku was possibly the first pidginized variety that split off from the Common Sudanic PC Arabic spoken in southern Sudan. Bongor Arabic (Luffin 2007) is instead the name generally given in Chad to a pidgin Arabic spoken in the southwestern part of the country in and around the town of Bongor, the capital of the region of Mayo-Kebbi Est. (Other Turku-like varieties could well be found in Chad but have not been reported.) Bongor Arabic should therefore not be confused with the *arabe tchadien* referred to in Section 22.1.

In 1879, following the formal abolition of slavery by the Turco-Egyptian government, a Nubian trader known as Rabeh withdrew with his slave soldiers into present-day Chad and eventually established himself in the region of Borno. According to Owens and Tosco (1993: 183), the Arabic variety that Rabeh's army brought to Chad achieved a sufficient degree of stability becoming a common means of communication for the foreign soldiers and other African populations of western Chad as well. We have no information as to whether Turku creolized, but Bongor Arabic (see 22.2.1.4) has clear structural affinities with the Arabic variety described by Muraz.

Most of the lexicon and much of the grammar of Turku derive from Sudanic Arabic. In line with the other Arabic PCs, Turku presents a reduced phonology in which secondary consonant realizations and long vowels are absent. Also Western Sudanic Arabic dialects (Owens 1993b: 86) generally lack pharyngeal sounds, but, contrary to Turku, they are far from being morphologically less complex than other Arabic dialects. Like other Sudanic PCs, Turku has only number as a morphological category. Turku verbs are uninflected forms, which derive in large part from Arabic imperatives. As in Juba Arabic and in Kinubi, verbs often present a final *-u#*. In addition, *fi* is used as an existential copula. Another important typological feature that Turku shares with the other Sudanic PCs and with Western Sudanic Arabic dialects is represented by "exceed" comparative constructions using the verb *fút(u)* "to pass," as in the following example from Tosco and Owens (1993: 211):

(1)   ínte   awán   fut   kadábgel
        you   bad   pass   K.
        "You (SG) are worse than Kedabgel."

In common with Turku, Bongor Arabic has *íntukum* as 2PL personal pronoun (which consists of the 2PL independent pronoun *intu* and the 2PL bound pronoun *-kum*), while

in eastern Sudanic PCs we find the form *ítakum* (from the 2SG independent pronoun *i(n)ta* and the the 2PL bound pronoun *-kum*).

It is important to remark that the influence of the Western Sudanic Arabic dialects is much stronger in Turku and in Bongor Arabic than in other Sudanic PCs. For instance, differently from Kinubi and Juba, the numeral sequence of teens in Turku is 10's+1's, as in Nigerian Arabic (Tosco and Owens 1993: 250). Furthermore, the possessive marker in Turku is *ána*, which derives from the Western Sudanic form *hana*. On this account, Turku and Bongor Arabic are generally put together into the western branch of the Sudanic PCs.

Finally, it should be noted that, due to the prolonged coexistence with Chadian dialects, the structures of the pidginized variety of Bongor show instances of a steady depidginization. For example, in contrast to Turku and other Sudanic PCs, Bongor Arabic distinguishes between independent (e.g., *ána, ínti, hu*) and bound (e.g., *-(y)i, -k(i), -hú*) pronouns (Luffin 2007: 638).

22.4.2 Kinubi

The eruption of the Mahdist revolt in 1884 signaled the end of Turco-Egyptian authority in southern Sudan. In 1888, a military expedition was sent by the *Mahdi*, Muḥammad Aḥmad, in an attempt to enlarge his authority to the southern territories cut off the southernmost province, Equatoria, from the northern Sudan. The governor of the province, the German Eduard Schnitzer (better known as Emin Pasha), was forced to flee to Uganda with those slave soldiers who had remained loyal to the central government. The army first moved to Wadelai, just north of Lake Albert. Later on, the troops were co-opted into the British King's African Rifles, and they subsequently moved to Kenya and Tanzania (Heine 1982: 12; Owens 1990: 220; Luffin 2005a: 28). This series of population displacements gave rise to the current dialectal varieties of Kinubi,[6] the only Arabic creole known so far.

Unlike Turku, the dislocation of Schnitzer's army to Uganda caused a decisive break of the Common Sudanic PC Arabic from both its Arabic lexifier and its Nilotic substratum. As a consequence, the variety once used as an interethnic means of communication in the southern Sudan was rapidly nativized by the children born in Uganda. The implications of such a process concern not only the structural stabilization and the grammatical expansion of the new creolized variety but also the identity of the creole speakers. Given that Nubi communities are now surrounded by a majority of Swahili or Luganda speakers, Kinubi has become a fundamental marker of the Nubi ethnolinguistic identity. At the present time, a large amount of descriptive data is available on three Kinubi geographical

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[5] The glossonym "Turku" finds its origin in the Arabic word *turk ~ turuk* for "Turkish." This term was applied by Chadian populations to the newcomers from the Sudan regardless of their different ethnic origin (Tosco and Owens 1993: 183).

[6] The glossonym "(Ki-)nubi" derives from the Sudanese Arabic word *nuuba, nuubi*, which generally means "slave." The term was then modified by the prefix *ki-* that, among other things, marks glossonyms in Swahili (Kaye 1994: 126; Luffin 2005a: 32). (Ki-)nubi is also referred to as "Nubi" (Wellens 2005)—although we prefer to use the glossonym "(Ki-)nubi," in opposition to the ethnonym "Nubi."

varieties: (1) the Kenyan dialects of Mombasa (Luffin 2004, 2005a, 2005b, forthcoming) and (2) Kibera (Heine 1982; Owens 1977, 1989, 1990, 1993a, 2001; Khamis and Owens 2007) and (3) the Kinubi variety of Bombo in Uganda (Wellens 2005).

Regarding dialectal differences within Kinubi, Luffin (2005a: 75–76) proposes some possible isoglosses for the identification of the Kinubi variety of Mombasa compared with the dialects from Kibera and Bombo. These are mainly related to some conservative features (e.g., presence of the plural marker -át) as well as to the lower incidence of phonotactic process such as apocope and epenthesis. Wellens (2005: 179) also observes some diatopic variation among the Nubi communities of Uganda. She also notes that Kinubi speakers of Northern Uganda use the passive form of the auxiliary when the main verb is passive (e.g., *arijá sebú úo*—"he was left again," also noted for Kibera in Kenya; Owens 1977), while in the southern part of Uganda only the main verb takes the passive form (e.g., *árija futú úo* "he was passed again"). Another syntactic difference concerns the different position occupied by the negative marker *ma*; if in Uganda *ma* tends to occur sentence-finally, in Kenya it often precedes the verb (Luffin 2005a: 216–217; Wellens 2005: 250–253). Furthermore, Kinubi dialects also differ with regard to the different degree of interference from their Bantu adstratum. For example, Mombasa Kinubi has integrated from Swahili three noun markers *m-*, *wa-*, *ma-* (Luffin 2005a: 135), while in the Kinubi variety of Bombo we find only the two markers *m-* and *wa-* (Wellens 2005: 75).

Kinubi phonologies are rather similar to those of other Sudanic PCs. As in Turku and Juba Arabic, Kinubi generally lacks the Arabic pharyngealized consonants. On the other hand, it integrated secondary realizations such as ŋ, ṭ, ŋ, ɲ, from Bantu languages (Luffin 2005a: 58; Wellens 2005: 45). Kinubi presents a reduced five-vowels system (*a, e, i, o, u*); as in Turku and Juba Arabic, stress is lexically distinctive as in the opposition between *sába* "seven" and *sabá* "morning" (Owens 1985: 145). In addition, Kinubi derives an infinitive and a passive voice by means of stress shift: *ásurubu* "drink," infinitive *asurúbu*, passive *asurubú* (Owens 2001: 362). As far as Ugandan Kinubi is concerned, Wellens (2005: 54) proposes a four-way stress contrast that additionally distinguishes a gerund form: *kásulu* "wash," gerund *kasúlu*, infinitive *kásúlu*, passive *kasulú*. An alternative analysis for stress–tone distinction in Kinubi has been proposed by Gussenhoven (2006: 218), for whom Kinubi "has obligatory, culminative, metrically, bound accent, with only a single tone being inserted in the accent locations." Following this analysis, Kinubi would represent an intermediary typology between tone languages and stress-accent languages.

Kinubi and the other Sudanic PCs typically display the order Head-Modifier. The head noun is followed by either the indefinite article *wái* or a definite article *de*. Pronominal possessors, adjectives, and numerals follow (Wellens 2005: 133):

(2)
mára	wái	kwéisi
woman	one	good

"a good woman"

One of the most discussed features of Kinubi and of other Sudanic PCs is represented by the large number of verbs ending in -u#. The explanation proposed by

Owens (1985) for this phonomorphological feature is that the Arabic imperative plurals ending in *-ū* were the main morphological source for the analogical development of the pidginized verbal patterns. In Owens's diachronic reconstruction, Kinubi -u# subsequently generalized its morphological role to that of a verbal particle. Versteegh (1984), for his part, considers the final -u# as a transitivity marker derived from the Arabic 3rd SG masculine bound pronoun *-hu*. If Luffin (2005a: 265–267) sticks to Owens's position in his description of the Kinubi of Mombasa, Wellens (2005: 138–145) chooses to share Veerstegh's hypothesis. In particular, she argues that in Ugandan Kinubi inherently transitive verbs with only one participant occur more often without -u# because they have a low degree of transitivity. Wellens (2005: 331–345) gives a diachronic explanation for her thesis, pointing out that Kinubi verbs mainly derived from Arabic singular imperatives (with or without an object suffix; Wellens 2005: 141):

(3)
ya	nyerekú	dé	gi-ákul(u)
CONJ	child	DEF	PROG-eat

"Thus the child (was) eating."

Kinubi and Juba Arabic share an innovative system of TAM marking based on the use of preverbal particles. Kinubi has three basic TAM markers:

- The preverbal particle *bi-* derives from the imperfective–indicative marker **bi-* found in Egyptian and Sudanic dialects; in Kinubi it generally expresses a future tense (Heine 1982: 53–55; Wellens 2005: 153–156).
- The particle *gi-/ge-* provides a progressive meaning to the verb since it finds its origin in the phonological reduction of the active participle **gaaʕid* (<*q-ʕ-d* "sit"), which is also used in Sudanic Arabic for expressing a progressive aspect (Luffin 2005a: 279; Wellens 2005: 148).
- The morphologically independent marker *kan* derives from the perfective 3rd singular masculine person of the verb "be" **kaan*, and in Kinubi it adds an anterior (past-before-past) meaning to both marked and unmarked verbs (Luffin 2005a: 280; Wellens 2005: 153).

According to the semantic distinction between stative and nonstative verbs, unmarked stative verbs such as *áju* "want" and *árufu* "know" express a simple present, while unmarked nonstative verbs such as *kásuru* "break" and *gum* "get up" have a perfective reference (Owens 1977: 109; Wellens 2005: 146). A few examples illustrating the most common TAM references expressed by Kinubi are as follows:

Simple present (unmarked stative verb; Heine 1982: 35):

(4)
úo	ááju	júa	al	áána	bío	dé
3SG	want	housee	REL	1SG	buy	DEF

"She likes the house I bought."

Past (unmarked nonstative verb; Luffin 2005a: 282):

(5)   *núbi   wósul   mombása   bédir*
       Nubi   arrive   Mombasa   early
       Les Nubi arrivèrent tôt à Mombasa [Nubi arrived early in Mombasa]."

Future (*bi*-marked nonstative verb; Wellens 2005: 153):

(6)   *kwéis   ána   kamán   bi-wónusu   sía*
       good   1SG   also   FT-talk   little
       "Good, I will also talk a little bit."

Simple/generic present (*gi*-marked nonstative verb; Luffin 2005a: 285):

(7)   *mára   tái   gi-kélem   nubi*
       woman   my   PROG-speak   Kinubi
       "Ma femme parle kinubi [My wife speaks Kinubi]."

Past-before-past (*kan*-marked existential copula *fi;* Wellens 2005: 157):

(8)   *kan   fi   rági   wái   fi   riyagá   na*
       ANT   EXS   man   one   in   Riyaga   there
       "There was a man in Riyaga there."

gi- marked passive verb; Wellens 2005: 179

(9)   *gi-nyakamá   anási*
       PROG-capture.PSV   people
       "The people were captured."

Imperfect (*kan* with *gi*-marked verb; Luffin 2005a: 294):

(10)   *úwo   kan   gi-so*
        3SG   ANT   PROG-do
        "Il faisait [He was doing]"

Counterfactual conditional (*kan* with *bi*-marked verb in the apodosis; Wellens 2005: 160)

(11)   *kan kan   íta   árufu   anás   to   kan   ina   bi-áburu   so   sunú*
        if   ANT   2SG   know   people   his   ANT   1PL   IRR-try   do   what
        "If you had known his people, what could we have tried to do?"

Finally, it is important to remark that, as in many other creole languages, Kinubi expresses a future progressive through the combination of the future/irrealis and progressive markers (Luffin 2005a: 281):

(12)   *úwo   bi-gi-já*
        3SG   FT-PROG-come
        "Il sera en train de venir [He will be coming]"

22.4.3 Juba Arabic

Despite the partial regression of Arabic in the southern Sudan at the turn of the 20th century, the linguistic heterogeneity of the region contributed to the maintenance of the Common Sudanic PC Arabic as an interethnic means of communication. At the same time, the previously pidginized variety of Arabic started to be nativized by children born of interethnic couples. This situation gave rise over time to an "expanded pidgin"[7] or, in other words, an intermediary variety between pidgins and creoles that has become the native language for only a few of its speakers (Bakker 2008: 139). This variety is commonly known as Juba Arabic and, even if it still represents the second or third language of many southern Sudanese groups, it also became the majority native language of the Juba urban center and is a "national" language according to the Sudanese People Liberation Movement's language policy (although English is the only official language of South Sudan).

Moreover, the prolonged coexistence of Juba Arabic with Sudanese (Standard) Arabic caused this expanded pidgin to be consistently influenced by its lexifier. This situation is described as a post-creole continuum, and it generally results in increased structural affinity between creole languages and their lexifiers (Versteegh 1993: 65–68; Kaye and Tosco 2001: 94–97). Similar to diglossic situations in modern Arabic dialects, the degree of structural interference from Sudanese (Standard) Arabic to Juba Arabic varies a great deal according to sociolinguistic variables such as the speakers' residence and their type and degree of education. As a consequence, Juba Arabic is marked by a higher degree of individual variation than the more stable Kinubi. From a sociolinguistic point of view, it is also important to note that, unlike Kinubi, Juba Arabic does not represent an exclusive marker of ethnic identity. On the contrary, it furnishes an inclusive basis of identification for all southern Sudanese people regardless of their different ethnolinguistic backgrounds.

A great deal of what is known of Juba Arabic (both along the linguistic and the sociolinguistic dimensions) is due to the painstaking work of Catherine Miller (1984, 1985,

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[7] The glossonym Juba Arabic (*árabi júba*) refers to Juba, the capital city of southern Sudan. Previously, Juba Arabic was as also referred to as Bimbashi Arabic, from the Turkish word *binbaşı* "major" (the military rank; Miller 1991: 179).

1989, 1993, 1994, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2006). Nhial (1975) and Yokwe (1995) attempt a comparative approach to Juba Arabic. In addition, there are at least two studies dedicated to the TMA system of Juba Arabic, Mahmud (1979) and Tosco (1995). Mahmud (1983) also provides a good sociohistorical account of the spread of Juba Arabic in southern Sudan. Bureng (1986), for his part, analyzes Juba Arabic from a substratist point of view.

Given their numerous structural affinities, and the fact that there is a high degree of mutual intelligibility between the varieties, Juba Arabic and Kinubi may be said to represent together the eastern branch of the Sudanic PCs (Tosco and Owens 1993: 250). Apart from the numerous phonological similarities, we can note that, as in Kinubi, the analytic possessive exponent of Juba Arabic is *ta/bitá* (from the Egyptian **bitaaʕ*, later introduced in Sudanese Arabic in competition with the still more common *ḥagg*). Furthermore, as in Kinubi, transitive verbs often end with a final *-u* (Miller 1993: 152–154). As an expanded pidgin, Juba Arabic displays typical features of creole languages. For example, Juba Arabic has a prototypical passive construction. This is expressed by a transitive clause in which the patient occupies the subject position, the passive verb is marked by stress shift, and an optional agent follows the preposition *ma* "with" (Manfredi and Petrollino forthcoming):

(13)   john   kutú   géni   fi   síjin   (ma   jés)
         J   put.PSV   stay   in   prison   (by   army)
         "John was imprisoned (by the army)."

Another purely syntactic strategy for passivization involves no morphological marking on the verb and the patient in postverbal position. No agent is expressed, and the construction can be considered impersonal (cf. (9); Manfredi 2013):

(14)   áfu   ána   min   árabi
         forgive   1SG   from   Arabic
         "I was exempted from (the) Arabic (exam)."
         ["They exempted me from the Arabic (exam.)]"

Furthermore, in line with many creole languages, Juba Arabic uses the bare verb *gále* "say" as complementizer of verbs of speaking and knowing (Miller 2001: 470).

(15)   biníya   de   ma   be-árufu   gale   jamá   de   gi-kábasu   úo
         girl   DEF   NEG   IRR-know   say   people   DEF   PROG-betray   3SG
         "La fille ne sait pas qu'ils vont la tromper
         [The girl doesn't know that they will fool her]."

It is also to be noted, on the other hand, that Juba Arabic and Kinubi display important grammatical divergences that may be ascribed to the prolonged contact between the Sudanese expanded pidgin and its lexifier. One of the most striking discrepancies

between Kinubi and Juba Arabic concerns the use of TMA markers: Juba Arabic possesses the same TMA markers as Kinubi, but it does not allow the sequence of *bi-* and *ge-/gi-* for expressing a future progressive. That is, because the morpheme *bi-*, apart from introducing a future tense, also correlates with the habitual and the progressive aspects in Juba Arabic parallel to Sudanese (Standard) Arabic, such as *bi-mši* "he goes" (Tosco 1995: 458). In view of the fact that *bi-* also marks counterfactual conditional clauses (see (11) for counterfactual conditional in Kinubi), in Juba Arabic it generally correlates with an irrealis aspect rather than with a future tense as in Kinubi.

Second, it is a fact that both Juba Arabic and Kinubi developed innovative grammatical functions compared with their common lexifier. This notwithstanding, if the creolization of Kinubi resulted in a large, independent expansion of its grammatical structures, the influence of Sudanese Arabic on Juba Arabic halts any similar process. For instance, in Juba Arabic the particle *ya* can be used either as as a vocative marker (e.g., *ya zol* "Hey man!"; Manfredi and Tosco forthcoming) or as a presentative focus marker (e.g., *úo ya bíu fi yuganda de* "he buys them in Uganda", where the verb *bíu* is in focus, Manfredi and Tosco forthcoming). In Kinubi, on the other hand, *ya* can be used either as nonverbal copula occurring between the subject and the predicate (e.g. *áfandi marús de ya jídi téna* "Cet Efendi Marus est notre grand-père"; Luffin 2005a: 184; see also (3)) or as a contrastive focus marker (e.g. *máma táki ya ma gi-dúgu íta* "it was not your mama who beat you", where the negative operator *ma* is in focus, Wellens 2005: 172).

As a final remark, Juba Arabic and Kinubi also differ to a degree with regard to their lexicon. As other pidgin languages, Juba Arabic compensates its lexical gaps through the lexification of Arabic morphosyntactic sequences. In Kinubi, these complex lexical items have been gradually replaced with Swahili or Luganda borrowings. For example, if in Juba Arabic the relative clause *mára rágjil to mútu* (lit. "the woman whose man died") has been lexified with the meaning of "widow," in Ugandan Kinubi the same semantic reference is expressed by the Luganda loan *mamwándu* (Behnstedt and Woidich 2010: 49).

22.5 IMMIGRANTS PIDGINS IN ARAB COUNTRIES

A number of incipient pidgins are attested among immigrant communities in the Eastern half of the Arab-speaking world [Holes, "Orality"]. Such varieties have been so far documented in the Gulf (Smart 1990; Næss 2008; Bakir 2008, 2010), Iraq (Avram 2010), and Lebanon (Bizri 2005, 2010). All share typical features of contact varieties or, to use Avram's (2010) label, "pre-pidgins."

22.5.1 Gulf Pidgin Arabic

Gulf Pidgin Arabic (GPA) is the first documented variety with Arabic as a lexifier that emerged in recent years. Following Smart's (1990) early account, GPA has received

recently a good description by Næss (2008), which is based on fieldwork in the Omani town of Buraimi, on the border with the United Arab Emirates (UAE), while its verbal system has been analyzed by Bakir (2008, 2010), with data from Qatar.

The emergence of a pidginized variety of Arabic in the Gulf States (from Kuwait in the North to Oman, including Saudi Arabia) is the result of the oil boom and ensuing economic development of the area, and can be traced back to the 1970s of the past century. Næss (2008: 21) draws attention to the numerical weight of the immigrant communities in this part of the Arab world (up to over 80% of the total population in the UAE), their diverse linguistic background (although immigrants from the Indian peninsula are a clear majority), and a "politics of exclusion" (although their permanence in the country is often very long immigrants cannot ever really integrate in the host community and very rarely intermarry with locals). All these factors are conducive to the emergence of a restructured variety of the language of the host community and its possible stabilization as a structured variety.

Smart (1990) coined the term "Gulf Pidgin." In his short sketch this emergent variety is seen through Arab eyes, his data being written material of a jocular variety (mainly cartoon captions) in newspapers from the United Arab Emirates.[8] The result is probably more akin to Arabic foreigner talk than to any actual speech, but certainly the influence of foreigner talk was important in the genesis of GPA. The influence of the substratum is heavily felt in the shift of Arabic /f/ to /p/ in native speakers of Sinhala, Tagalog, Javanese, and Chavacano (who do not have /f/ in their inventories; Næss 2008: 32). Against the general trend to Head-Modifier phrasal order, many speakers produce sentences with Modifier-Head order, especially in the case of possessives *ukti binti* "sister's daughter" and *ana ukti* "my sister," an order which Næss (2008: 54) says to be quite common among Sinhala speakers. The lexicon is overwhelmingly Arabic (amounting, according to Næss 2008: 27, to more than 95% of the total). Arabic phrases are often interpreted as nouns, as in the frequent case of *šismik* (Gulf Arabic "what's your name?" from *ši-sm-ik* "what-name-your.M.SG") for "name."

The only pronominal series is made of the Arabic singular personal pronouns *ana* "I," *inte* "you (SG)," and both *huwa* (Arabic "he") and *hiya* (Arabic "she"), but without any evident gender opposition. The only plural personal pronoun is *nafarât* ("persons" in Arabic), but the use of two pronouns is also possible (such as *ana huwa* "I he" to say "we"; Næss 2008: 52).

The genitival construction employs the particle *mal* (from the Gulf Arabic possessive morpheme *maal*); a few examples of pronominal possessive affixes, such as *binti* (Arabic *bintii* "my daughter") seem lexicalized and interpreted as bare nouns. Again, the order Modifier-Head is occasionally used with genitival constructions with *mâl*, as in *mâl ana sadîg*[9] "my friend" (Næss 2008: 63). Negation is mainly expressed through *mafi*, although a

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[8] See also Al-Azraqi (2010) for the media coverage of the immigrants' Arabic in eastern Saudi Arabia.
[9] Næss (2008) marks etymological (i.e., present in the Arabic lexifier) vowel length, which, of course, is not phonological in GPA.

specific negation for nonimperative verbs, *ma*, is widely used (although *mafi* tends to spread to verbal negation too). Næss (2008) does not deal with the independent negation "no."

The whole question of the verb–noun distinction in GPA is complex as well summarized by Næss (2008: 83–85). In general, only one lexeme is taken from any single Arabic root, and in principle nouns can be used as verbs; a few, such as *kalâm* "to speak," or *tâlîm* "to study, learn," are much more frequently used as verbs than as nouns. Still, only etymological nouns and adjectives are verbalized through the use of the light verb *sawwi* "to do," and only etymological nouns tend to enter into possessive constructions with *mal*. On the basis of these criteria, Næss thinks that a verb–noun distinction is possible in GPA. Arabic verbs appear to enter GPA either under the form of the (Gulf) Arabic imperative singular or of the imperfective third masculine singular, without any clear ratio: *yerid* "want" (< 3MSG IMPF) always appears in the form of the Arabic imperfective and a few others, such as *yijlis* "sit," overwhelmingly do. Still others, such as *rûh* "go," almost never appear in the Arabic imperfective form, while others, such as *šûf/šûp* or *yešûf/yešûp* "see," are strongly favored in the "imperfective." In still other cases, such as *yistagel* "to work," the preference for the imperfective form can be due to the desire to avoid an initial /st/ cluster (cf. also Bakir 2010: 208, who thinks that prefixation of y(V)- is basically phonologically determined).

The verbal system does not have real TAM markers, either in the form of affixes or discrete, dedicated morphemes; rather, the adverbs *awwal* "first" > "before" and *bâdên* "then, later," though retaining their use as adverbs, are often used in a preverbal position to mark anteriority and posteriority, respectively (Næss (2008: 85). The same function can be taken over by other adverbs too, such as *bukra* "tomorrow" and *?amis* "yesterday" (Bakir 2010: 211). Bakir (ibid., 212) mentions the postverbal use of *kalaas* "done, finished" as a marker of completed action:

(16)   ?atbuk   kalaas   laham   šilli
     cook   CMPL   meat   take
     "When the cooking is done, I raise the meat (from the pan)."

Possibility is expressed by *yimkin* or *mumkin* and necessity by *laazim* (Bakir 2010: 213). Intention may be expressed through the use of *ruuh* "to go" (Bakir 2010: 214):

(17)   ?anaa   ruuh   kallim   baabaa
     1SG   FT   speak   master
     "I'll talk to Master."

In contrast to Sudanic PCs, *fi* is a general copula, as in (Bakir 2010: 215, 216, respectively):

(18)   fii   muškil
     COP   problem
     "There is a problem."

(19)   *ʔinta   fii   majnuun*
    2SG   COP   crazy
    "Are you crazy?"

Still, *fi* is used in a much wider range of meanings; many cases point to an interpretation as a progressive marker or as a marker of factuality (Næss 2008: 89, 90, respectively):

(20)   *ḥamsa   sana   fi   tâlîm   dâhil   jâma*
    five   year   COP   education   inside   university
    "I studied at university for five years."

(21)   *alhîn   fi   talâk*
    now   COP   divorce
    "I'm divorced now."

As mentioned already, à propos the verb–noun distinction, the verb *sawwi* "do" is used as a light verb, as in *sawwi môt* "kill" ("make die"), *sawwi arûs* "marry" ("make bride"), *sawwi nadîf* "clean" ("make clean"), *sawwi suâl* "ask" ("make question"). GPA has not stabilized yet, and both inter- and intrapersonal variation remains huge. Following Winford (2006), Bakir (2010: 223) considers GPA to be a "stage 2" pidgin,[10] which has acquired some simple rules for predication and solutions are not idiosyncratic.

22.5.2 "Romanian Arabic Pidgin"

Avram (2010) is a short description of an Arabic-based contact variety used in Romanian-serviced oil camps in Iraq in the period between 1974 and 1990, when the outbreak of the first Gulf War marked its death. The actors in the contact situation were the Romanian workforce and both Egyptian and Iraqi Arabs. The language itself is Arabic, but there is a sizable amount of English among the approximately 150 words that, according to the author, make up the basic vocabulary of the language. They include basic nouns and verbs, such as *work, slip* "sleep," *spik* "speak," and *giv* "give." English-derived material may be used pronominally, as in the case of *pipol* (English *people*) employed as a personal pronoun for all persons. It is not so much the use of a common noun as a pronominal that is relevant here but rather the use of a nonprimary lexifier (English; Gulf Pidgin Arabic uses in the same context the Arabic plural

[10] A "Stage 2 pidgin" (or prototypical pidgin) is "characterized by a clear though rudimentary grammatical organization, in other words, regular though simple rules of predication.... Grammatical categories have emerged, along with basic syntactic procedures" (Winford 2006: 298).

nafarât). Equally relevant here is the use of English-derived *no* as a general negative marker.

A noteworthy feature of Romanian Arabic Pidgin is its simple two-way contact history—Romanian versus "Arabic;" the substrate is likewise limited to Romanian. Arabic-derived (either from Egyptian or Iraqi) lexicon amounts to 75% of the vocabulary, the rest being taken from English, Romanian (but the author provides no clear examples), or "international" words. Actually, this seems a surprisingly low figure, and we suspect that Arabic makes an even bigger contribution. This and other features mentioned by the author (minimal pronominal system, absence of TMA markers, absence of conjunctions and complementizers) make it clear that we are faced here with a pre-pidgin (or jargon) rather than with a prototypical pidgin.[11]

22.5.3 "Pidgin Madam"

Under the label of "Pidgin Madam," Bizri (2005, 2010) discusses the simplified Arabic used by Sri Lankan housemaids in Lebanon. Again, the contact situation is basically bilingual: Lebanese Arabic versus either Sinhalese or Tamil. The Sri Lankan languages do not contribute at all to the lexicon, which is exclusively Arabic with a sprinkling of English (again, *no* is the negative particle) and French (e.g., *bonjour* and other greetings; *merci*; *bébé*) elements, which belong to the Arabic lexifying register: for example, *bonjour and bonsoir* are part of Beirut's speech and are actually more neutral than any Arabic greeting except the informal *marhaba* (although they are more common among Christians and the middle class; Germanos 2007). Bizri (2005: 54) rightly notes that in Pidgin Madam there is moins d'influence du substrat que dans les pidgins traditionellement étudiés" ("less substratal influence than among the traditionally-studied pidgins").'The influence of the substrate is basically limited to the phonology (thus, vowel length is retained), but, as noted by the author, a few modifiers (adjective, determiner, demonstrative) precede their head, and this may reflect the word order of the substrate.

A striking feature of the language is the abundance of morphologically complex forms of the lexifier that enter it: verbs are not taken from imperative singular forms only but to a large extent from the imperfective. The actors in the communication event are generally the landlady (the madam that gives the variety its name) and the maid: this is therefore basically a women's language. Not surprisingly, many verbal forms have the Arabic feminine (generally, second- or third-person singular) affix: thus, *ruuhi* "go" (rather than masculine *ruuh*), *neemit* "sleep" (< "she slept"). Likewise, adjectives generally enter the language in their feminine singular form. Object pronouns and even

[11] Pre-pidgins can be identified, following Winford's (2006: 296) definition of "stage 1 pidgins," as varieties characterized by "very minimal syntactic structures, many of which lack either arguments or predicates."

modal markers are often incorporated in the verbal form: *be-t-hebbi-ni* "love, like" (< "she loves me"), *tehkii-ni* "talk" (< "that you (F) talk to me"). Reanalysis of noun phrases (NP) as bare nouns is likewise common: *s-usm-o* "name" (< "what's his name?"). Unlike Romanian Arabic Pidgin, Pidgin Madam has a copula *fi* used in a very large variety of contexts (Bizri 2005: 65):

(22)   *hayda   fi   poliis*
        this   COP   police
        "ça il y a police" > "le policier qui était là-bas [the police who was here]"

(23)   *ana   kullu   fi   grad*
        1SG   all   COP   business
        "Moi tout il y a affaires" > "Toutes les affaires qui m'appartiennent
        [everything that pertains to me]"

This seems to imply that, if anything, there is even more latitude for variation in Pidgin Madam than in the other varieties. Again, everything points to a pre-pidgin rather than to a prototypical or more stabilized variety.

22.5.4 Conclusions on Arabic-Based Incipient Pidgins

It is not clear to what extent these simplified varieties are used by Arab natives in their interaction with foreigners: Bizri (2005: 66) writes of "une permission d'inventer donnée par 'Madam' à la domestique," ("a leave to improvise given by the Madam to the maid.") while Avram (2010: 21) speaks of "significant inter-speaker variation, due to the influence of the speakers' first language, i.e. Romanian, Egyptian Arabic and Iraqi Arabic respectively." Still, the language he describes is consistently the one used by Romanians, and the very name he uses to define it, "Romanian Arabic Pidgin," points to the users of this variety and not to any significant role played by their native language. Rather than true contact languages, it seems we are dealing here with varieties having Arabic as their target, but with two different inputs. Pidgin Madam is based on fairly normal Lebanese Arabic in terms of morphological structure, if not in syntax, lexicon, and maybe tempo of speech. In the case of Romanian Arabic Pidgin, on the other hand, some input in terms of a restructured foreign Arabic used by natives seems more probable. According to Bizri, the basic principle at work in Pidgin Madam is mimicry, "mimétisme de la langue des maîtres." If this is so, the Pidgin is the exclusive domain of the foreigners when speaking with Arabs; in the case of Romanian Arabic Pidgin (as in Gulf Pidgin Arabic), use on the part of the natives is possible. In both cases, and different from "true" pidgins, further use on the part of a multilingual community of non-Arabs is excluded.

22.6 THE RELEVANCE OF ARABIC-BASED PIDGINS AND CREOLES FOR ARABIC LINGUISTICS AND GENERAL CREOLISTICS

Generally speaking, Arabic-based PCs have engendered very little attention among either Arabicists or creolists. On one hand, Arabic PCs were simply not considered part of Arabic studies, and, even after Versteegh's (1984) brave proposal to use pidginization as a cornerstone of Arabic historical dialectology, they have received little consideration. On the other side, general linguists working on theories of pidginization and creolization have generally limited their attention to European-based PCs. In this regard, Jonathan Owens (2001), in an attempt to draw further attention to the structural relevance of the Arabic PCs for contact linguistics, aptly calls Kinubi "the orphan of all orphans." It is also true that during the last decade our knowledge of Arabic PCs progressed a great deal thanks to new descriptions of Kinubi varieties (Luffin 2005a; Wellens 2005) and to innovative studies on immigrant pidgins in Arab countries (Bizri 2005, 2010; Bakir 2008, 2010; Næss 2008; Avram 2010). This notwithstanding, Arabic-based PCs still represent a marginal sphere of research.

Pidginization and creolization have been called on in the birth of the modern Arabic dialects (a topic not germane to the present article), most notably by Versteegh. Versteegh (1984, 2004) argues that the modern dialects arose through a stage of simplified pidginization followed by elaboration and creolization. At a later stage, the creoles came under the influence of the standardized form of the target language, thereby losing their most "deviant" features. Versteegh's hypothesis has been generally met with skepticism by Arabic scholars (e.g., Holes 1995, 2004; Fischer 2006; Owens 2009 [2006]). Catherine Miller (2002), emphasizing again the importance of Arabic-based PCs for historical Arabic linguistics, instead stresses that the analysis of the ongoing pidginization–creolization process in Southern Sudan could have a theoretical relevance for historical dialectology in respect of the fact that Arabic dialects always spread in contact environments.

As to general linguistics, the inclusion of Arabic-based PCs would greatly benefit creolists in their assumptions on pidginization and creolization, as their study may contribute to the long-standing discussion concerning the definitions of incipient pidgin, stable pidgin, expanded pidgin, creole, and post-creole. The different sociolinguistic contexts that gave rise to Arabic PCs may shed new light on the interdependence between contact situations and their linguistic outcomes and help clarify a number of questions related to pidgin and creole genesis.

Substratist accounts of creole genesis do not fare well with Arabic-based PCs: a list of words of "African" and unknown origin in Kinubi (Pasch and Thelwall 1987: 141–144) suffices to reveal how limited the impact of the substrate has been in the lexicon

(most words in the list are actually recent loans from Swahili and would rather qualify as adstratal). Grammatical influence is equally limited (notwithstanding the special, but in fact limited, role played by Bari and studied by Bureng 1986). Universalist approaches have been adopted for the analysis of the verbal system of Kinubi (Owens 1993a) and Juba Arabic (Tosco 1995). Recently, it has been shown that Kinubi falls squarely into the "creole type" as defined by Bakker et al. (2011). Juba Arabic is thereby included as well.

Owens (2001: 368) proposes to analyze Kinubi in the light of the "restructuring" process that involved its Arabic lexifier. Adopting this perspective, Owens reduces the role played by substrate and universal ("no-strate") factors in creole genesis and concentrates on the innovative aspects of the Kinubi grammar compared with Sudanic Arabic. More in particular, he argues that restructuring in Kinubi allows for an expansion of the tripartite nature of the creole-origin hypotheses (i.e., superstrate, substrate, and no-strate), since the "restructuring" hypothesis is "a consequence of the inability of the other approaches to fully account for the origins of creole structures" (ibid.).

Recently, both Kinubi (Luffin forthcoming) and Juba Arabic (Manfredi and Petrollino forthcoming) have been included in the *Atlas of Pidgin and Creole Language Structure* (APiCS). APiCS gathers comparable synchronic data on the grammatical and lexical structures of a large number of PCs in an attempt to present the geographical distribution of the most relevant features for creole linguistics. Thus, the presence of two Sudanic Arabic-based PCs will give the opportunity to compare their typological proximity with non–Arabic-based PCs and to finally enlighten their superstrate–substrate against their no-strate features.

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