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A Tale of Two Banks of a River: A Critical Study of Ethnonyms in the Toponymies of Rufa'a and Hassahiesa, Sudan

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Abstract

This study investigates the use of ethnonyms in the toponymies of Hassahiesa and Rufa'a areas in Gezira State, Sudan. Using the principles of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Discourse Historical Approach (DHA), the study analyses place names as arenas of power struggle and explores the additional functions they play. It studies the distribution of ethnonyms in the names of 1161 villages and the impact of the historical, socio-political, and economic factors on their choice. The study shows that there are two types of ethnonyms used in the two areas and that their distribution is more widespread in the toponymies of Rufa'a than in that of Hassahiesa. It further shows that the unequal distribution of ethnonyms is the result of herders' migrations to the Butana plain and the introduction of the agricultural scheme and light industries in Gezira. The study demonstrates that the inhabitants of Rufa'a used ethnonyms as a passive resistance strategy to challenge state power. On the other hand, the decreased number of the feature in Hassahiesa is an indication of its farmers' population integration in the colonial development projects and their tendency to form multi-ethnic and cooperative communities. The study findings indicate that ethnonyms are utilized as identity constructive and perpetuating strategies and as boundary demarcation markers.

Keywords: Critical Discourse Analysis, Discourse Historical Approach, Ethnonyms, Toponymy, Sudan.

1.1. Introduction

The study of place names or 'toponymy' was approached from different disciplines such as linguistics, anthropology, cartography, geography, history, legal studies, literary studies, philosophy, political science, and environmental psychology (Vuolteenaho and Berg 2009). Within the field of linguistics, it was concerned with the taxonomy and etymology of place names (Rose-Redwood, Alderman and Azaryahu 2010, Scott and Clark 2011). Recent shifts within the fields of geography and cartography resulted in the emergence of critical toponymy. The field focused on the nature and influence of unequal social and political power-dynamics that shape spatial nomenclature (Azaryahu 2011, 32,

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Castro et al. 2017, 590, Rose-Redwood et al. 2010). The new approach aims at "exploring the power of naming in the construction of historical and contemporary landscapes" (Vuolteenaho and Berg 2009, 1).

There is a huge body of research on place naming which adheres to a critical perspective that deals with toponymy as (i) a practice of governmentality and urbanization (Rose-Redwood 2006, Brocket 2019, Bigon 2008); (ii) a tool for colonization and political hegemony (Kadmon 2004, Faraco and Murphy 1997, Castro et al. 2017, Rose-Redwood et al. 2010, 455, Madden 2017, Azaryahu 2011, 31, Light et al. 2002, Yeoh 1996, Light and Young 2017, Vuolteenaho and Berg 2009, Berg and Kearns 1996, Bigon 2008); (iii) a means of resistance where different groups challenge imposed nomenclature (Yeoh 1992, Vuolteenaho and Berg 2009, Yeoh 1996, Myers 1996, Kearns and Berg 2002, Berg and Kearns 1996, Wideman 2015); and (iv) an instrument to achieve place commodification (Light 2014, Light and Young 2014, Karimi 2016, Raposo 2006).

This study investigates the use of ethnonyms in the toponymy of Hassahiesa in Gezira and Rufa'a in the Butana plain. The two neighboring areas lie opposite each other on the banks of the Blue Nile, Sudan. It focuses on the place names of Hassahiesa, Rufa'a, and their 1161 villages. It examines the distribution of ethnonyms in the two areas and the impact of the historical, economic, and sociopolitical factors on them. The study analyses place names as texts with differences in power, as arenas of dominance and resistance, and it aims to find out the functions that ethnonyms play in place naming. The study uses a multidisciplinary approach that is based on the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and the principles of Discourse Historical Approach (DHA).

1.2. Importance of Toponyms

Due to many reasons, toponyms are a very important part of any language. Place names are used as administrative tools that set boundaries and identify different areas (Madden 2017, Azaryahu 1996). They are used by authorities to format space in line with their interests and developmental projects (Madden 2017, 2). Moreover, they help us to get familiarized with the areas that we occupy (Raper 1988).

Furthermore, toponymy is a token to mark and control space (Stolz and Warnke 2016, 34, Castro et al. 2017, 589). The study of place names provides us with a picture of the ethnic composition of their current and prior residents (Rajić 2012, 217, Assadorian 2017, 52), and other social changes that occurred in a specific area (Faraco and Murphy 1997).

The change of place names is rare (Vemic 2008, 138, El Fasi 1978, 18), and as a result, toponyms constitute important historical records of the pioneers that forged them, their linguistic origins, events that occurred in the past, and migrations and settlements in a particular area (Raper 1988, Vemic 2008, 138, El Fasi 1978, 18, Kadmon 2004, Helleland 2012, 102, Weiner 1991, 45, Stolz and Warnke 2016, 30, Medway and Warnaby 2014, 154, Roden 1974, 78, Curchin 2011).

When dealing with space as a cultural arena, toponyms reflect the cultural heritage of the groups that established or settled in a place (Raper 1988, Handcock 2011, Helleland 2012, Rose-Redwood et al. 2010, Helleland, 2002, 4, Wanjiru-Mwita and Giraut 2020, 2). Toponyms also give a distinctive identity to a place for both residents and outsiders (Jordan 2010, 49, Kavaratzis and Ashworth 2005). They bolster

the emotional ties of a group with the place it occupies and creates a sense of belonging to it (Madden 2017, 2, Helleland 2012, 502, Jordan 2010, 49, Kearney and Bradley 2009, Kostanski 2014). Place names are often used as tools for cultural hegemony (Wanjiru-Mwita and Giraut 2020, 2). Toponyms are also an integral part of the linguistic heritage of any nation (Raper 1988), which reveals its "linguistic characteristics" (Castro et al. 2017, 589) and "linguistic identity" (Assadorian 2017, 52). In addition, place names facilitate the formation of "cultural, social, and economic relations" (Wanjiru-Mwita and Giraut 2020, 2).

As a political practice, place names are utilized to celebrate and commemorate figures, events, and ideologies (Light et al. 2002, Yeoh 1992) that contribute to nation-building (Light et al. 2002). In this way, they contribute to the application of aspects of national identities and nationalism onto space (Helleland 2012, 502, Njoh 2016). Toponyms are also used in imposing political and colonial agenda (Verdery 1999, Njoh 2016; Madden 2017, Wanjiru and Matsubara 2016, 6, Azaryahu 2011, Snodia et al. 2010). Moreover, they are used to legitimize racial and spatial segregation during colonial periods (Bigon 2008, Bigon 2016, Yeoh 1992, Wright 1987, Beeckmans 2016).

1.3. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Discourse Historical Approach (DHA):

According to Reisigl and Wodak (2015, 89) discourse is "a cluster of context-dependent semiotic practices that are situated within specific fields of social action." Discourse can generally be defined as "a complex bundle of simultaneous and sequential interrelated linguistic acts, which manifest themselves within and across the social fields of action…" (Wodak 2001, 66). Van Dijk (2001) defines it as "a communication event, including conversational interaction, written text, as well as associated gestures, facework, typographical layout, images, and any other semiotic or multimedia dimension of signification." Fairclough and Wodak (1997, 261) claim that discourses "are partly realized in ways of using language but partly in other ways." Bloor and Bloor (2013) include phonemes, morphemes, words, phrases, etc. in their definition of discourse.

There is a dialectal relationship between discourse, society, and culture. Discourse is shaped by society and culture, and it contributes to shaping them (Fairclough and Wodak 1997). CDA assumes that "all discourses are historical' and as a result, it considers extralinguistic features such as 'culture, society, and ideology'" (Meyer 2001, 15). The field considers discourse as a form of "social practice" (Wodak 2014, Janks 1997) which tries to explain the power and ideologies that are latent in semiotic data and the relationships that bind them (Wodak 2014, 303). CDA is concerned with revealing and investigating implicit or explicit unequal social relations and power aspects of dominance and resistance that are (re)produced, maintained, enhanced, or legitimized in discourse (Wodak 2001, 2, Echitchi 2017, Van Dijk 1995, 18, Fairclough and Wodak 1997, Van Dijk 1993, Tenorio 2011, 184, Reisigl and Wodak 2015, 88).

CDA focuses on the three concepts of power, ideology, and history (Wodak 2001, Fairclough 1995). Wodak (2001, 11) notes that "A defining feature of CDA is its concern with power as a central condition in social life, and its efforts to develop a theory of language which incorporates this as a major premise." It concentrates on the relations of power, dominance, contention, inequality, and how they are reproduced

or challenged through discourse (Van Dijk 1995, 18). Moreover, it considers ideologies of the dominant groups as means that produce asymmetrical relations through discourse (Wodak 2001, 3, Reisigl and Wodak 2015, 88).

Wodak (2015, 2) states that "All social practices are tied to specific historical context and the means by which existing social relations are reproduced or contested and different interests are served." Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) focuses on the historical, social, and political background as well as the context that influences discourse production (Wodak 2001, 65, Wodak 2015, 3, Echitchi 2017, 11, Meyer 2001). Taking context into consideration is an important aspect of understanding discourse (Fairclough and Wodak 1997, 276, Janks 1997, 329, Echitchi 2017).

DHA tries to explain how power differences and inequalities are established, maintained, promoted, or resisted in discourse (Echitchi 2017, 11). Wodak (2001, 11) states that "texts are often sites of struggle in that they show traces of differing discourses and ideologies contending and struggling for dominance." The approach attempts to integrate the intertextual and interdiscursive relationships of discourses and genres with sociological and contextual elements (Wodak 2001). The historical context is taken into account in interpreting texts and discourses (Echitchi 2017). Reisigl and Wodak (2015, 88) note that DHA attempts "to 'demystify' the hegemony of specific discourses by deciphering the ideologies that establish, perpetuate or fight dominance. For the DHA, language is not powerful on its own – it is a means to gain and maintain power by the use powerful people make of it."

Recent developments in the field of CDA endeavor at investigating "the discursive construction of national sameness and the social exclusion of out-groups through the discourse of difference" (Tenorio 2011, 191). The research is based on the concept that "identity is established, reproduced, and maintained in discourse and language is a very important indicator of it as well as a means to question and resist it" (Echitchi 2017).

In their study of national identity, Wodak et al. (2009, 35) noted that lexical, syntactic, and other grammatical features can express concepts such as "unification, unity, sameness, difference, uniqueness, origin, continuity, gradual or abrupt change, autonomy, heteronomy, and so on." The researchers revealed a group of macro-strategies that are employed in the discursive formation of identity. These macro-strategies are active in the construction, perpetuation, transformation, and dismantling of identity. Wodak et al. (2009, 33) and Wodak (2001, 71–72) explained the functions of these strategies as follows: (1) "constructive strategies" construct national identity by trying to unify a social group and present it as unique and separate from the others; (2) "perpetuating" or "preserving" strategies attempt to maintain and conserve identity; (3) "transformation strategies" change identity; and (4) "destructive strategies" aim at dismantling existing identities.

Furthermore, Echitchi (2017, 13–14) discussed several constructive strategies: singularization and autonomization, which aim to present a social group as "intrinsically distinct from (and better than) the rest of the country it is part of and its people;" assimilation strategies, which try to show the "group as culturally, linguistically and historically homogeneous and united;" and cohesivation strategies, which promote "unity and cohesion between members of the minority group."

1.4. Previous Studies

Kadmon (2004) studied the role toponymy plays in the geopolitical sphere. The study surveyed what it referred to as "toponymic wars". It cited the tensions between Macedonia and Greece over the former's name, as Greece considers it a native name for one of its provinces. It cited examples of tensions inside a single country such as that between the Greek and Turkish administrations of Cyprus and between the Israeli and Palestinian governments. The study also discussed the politically motivated name replacements that resulted from administrative instability or regime change in the post-colonial period in Africa, the Middle East, and the Pacific region.

Mamvura (2014) studied the social variables that shaped school names in Zimbabwe during the colonial period. The study showed that place names are used to express and legitimize power. Those who have power manipulate and control place naming. Europeans and Africans utilized place names to demonstrate their meanings and accounts of history of the toponomastic landscape. It also showed that toponyms are critical place-making devices that set imagined boundaries and index discourses of sameness and differences of people.

Faraco and Murphy (1997) studied the change in the street names of the Andalusian town of Almonte during the rule of the Second Republic (1931-1936), General Francisco Franco (1936-1975), and the revival of democracy after Franco's death. The study discussed how the toponymic changes demonstrate the ideology, goals, tactics of each regime and its relationship with its citizens. It showed that during the Second Republic street toponymy was utilized to promote educational agenda, Franco's toponyms were devised to intimidate citizens, and democracy tried to put an end to the toponymic cycle of winners and defeated.

Light et al. (2002) investigated the role street names play in the legitimatization and institutionalization of socialism in Bucharest, Romania, in the period from 1948 to1965. The study is a comparative research of maps, street plans, newspapers, and other documents. The socialists used street names as means of propaganda for the regime, its ideology, and program, and as tools to reconstruct national identity, as well as indicators of international relations, especially with Russia. The regime resorted to multiple uses of the same name for many streets and the use of names related to the same event in one area of the city to amplify the effect of commemoration of socialist figures. Later, the state was forced to remove Russian names to assert the country's independence and negate its former close ties with Russia.

Madden (2017) explored the role neighborhood renaming plays in conflicts over toponymy in Brooklyn, New York City. The study used archival data and open-ended interviews as sources for its data. It showed that privileged groups monopolize the renaming powers and were faced with the resistance of the poor who consider it as symbolic violence and negligence of municipal authorities to observe their existence. It also demonstrated that renaming is a tool for the promotion and legitimization of redevelopment and the revalorization of space, marginalization, inequality, and displacement as well as being part of prestige, stigma, and belonging discourse.

Ndletyana (2012) studied the renaming of public places in South Africa after the end of the apartheid era in 1994. The study showed that the renaming process aimed at restoring indigenous names. The renaming was unequal in the country's nine provinces due to the locals' differing perception of the colonial period. Also, political considerations had an impact on the renaming process; for instance, Mandela's government changes were limited and symbolic while those made by Mbeki's, in 1999, referred mostly to pre-colonial and indigenous toponymy.

Guyot and Seethal (2007) investigated the changes in place names in post-apartheid South Africa as a tool to restructure the country and to promote identities. The study used the participation observation method, interviews, and documents materials. The study found that the changes were confined to street naming, correction of spelling, transcription of indigenous names, and introduction of politically driven names. It also showed that the change of toponymy was intended to legitimize the new political regime and to set up a new history distinguished by older pre-colonial references. The study concluded that change of toponymy can be used to unify the identity of people of different languages and cultures, build a nation, and achieve peaceful multicultural existence.

Rajic (2012) investigated the change of toponymy of state, academic, cultural, and administrative institutions, etc. in Belgrade. The study discussed the renaming process and its consequences. The process reflected the demographic, economic, political, and cultural changes that occurred in Serbia. The renaming was carried out to (re)construct the country's history and political relations, as well as ethnic, political, cultural, and religious identities.

Wanjiru and Matsubara (2016) investigated the place names of the Kibera slum of Nairobi, Kenya and the socio-political processes that shaped it, in addition to its impact on the cultural landscape and development. The data of the study were collected from archives, field surveys, and interviews. The research showed that the slum was established for the Sudanese soldiers who fought along the British Colonizers' lines. The study demonstrated that the toponymy of the area during the British colonial rule reflected the Sudanese soldiers' cultural heritage. However, after the independence, disparity among locals and the government, on one side, and the Sudanese soldiers, on the other, resulted in changes to place names. The study concluded that the toponymy of Kibera reflects the history of the area as well as the socio-economic and political factors that shaped it.

Yeoh (1996) investigated the socio-political factors that shaped the practices of street naming in post-colonial Singapore and people's resistance to and acceptance of them. In their efforts to assert local identity in place names, national governments devised several policies and committees. In 1967, the Street-Naming Advisory Committee was tasked with the renaming of colonial British street names, and it replaced them with Malayan toponymy. The citizens protested against the proliferation of Malay toponymy and asked for English signage. Most of the citizens opposed the practice of Romanization due to their poor knowledge of English. In 1967, the government tasked a committee with the Chinese translation of street names. In the 1980s, the state's decision to adopt a universally accepted Mandarin system for Romanizing street names resulted in debates at state and domestic levels. In post-colonial

Singapore, the different policies pursued to build a multiracial country and the reactions to them resulted in a "littered" landscape.

Bigon (2008) examined the French colonial street name policy in Dakar, Senegal, from 1862 to 1930. The study discussed the meanings of and implications behind the French and the indigenous nomenclature of the city. It showed that the colonizers introduced new street toponymy to implement an informal residential segregation between the French and the locals. Toponymy was used to alienate the indigenous people from the city center, which was considered "European". The study demonstrated that the colonizers adopted African toponymy when it facilitated the locals' submission or cooperation. The Dakarois' reaction to the new nomenclature was sometimes challenging and sometimes submissive. After the country's independence, the colonial naming of streets persisted with minor changes such as paying homage to national figures.

Wanjiru-Mwita and Giraut (2020) studied the toponymy used by British colonizers in the 19th century in Nairobi, Kenya. They pointed out how toponymy was one of the symbolic strategies employed by the colonial authority to reinforce its hegemony, and shape new ideologies and identities. The study showed that the British used toponymy as a tool to impose political references and to shape the identity of the city. The social hierarchical structure of the country with the British at the top, followed by Asians and Africans, was reflected in the city's toponymy with the center and important facilities named after British figures, while the peripheries were kept for the Asians and Africans.

Njoh (2016) analyzed the French and English colonial place naming practices in Dakar, Senegal and Nairobi, Kenya, as tools for articulating European power and superiority. The two colonial authorities exploited toponymy to project their power. Unlike the British, the French sought to use indigenous nomenclature to name streets in Dakar. Due to its bloody revolution that led to independence, post-colonial Kenya quickly carried out a renaming campaign that substituted Eurocentric place names with Kenyan and African toponymy to demonstrate nationalism and symbolic resistance. In contrast, European place names were kept in Dakar after independence because of the assimilation practices of the French and the country's peaceful independence. Consequently, spatial names in Nairobi reflect African nationalism and power, but in Dakar they continue to mainly project European power.

Karimi (2016) explored the conflicts over place naming in Kabul after the U.S. invasion of Afghanistan in 2001. The study used official data, local press, user-generated online maps, and field observations as data sources. It showed that the coalition government, which was composed of former rival groups, engaged in ideological conflict over place (re)naming and used it to resolve political disagreements, secure political recognition and allegiance, and in exchange for political or economic favors.

1.5. Methods

The data of the study were collected from the Sudanese governmental electronic database known as "The Governmental States' Information System" in December 2018. Lists of names of the villages of Hassahiesa and Rufa'a were prepared first. The frequency of ethnonyms in each area was calculated. The

frequency of ethnonyms was statistically processed using SPSS. The arithmetic mean and standard deviation were calculated and compared. An independent sample "t" test was used to find out whether the differences in the distribution of ethnonyms in the two areas are statistically significant or not.

Applying the principles of CDA and DHA, the study provides a historical, social, economic, and political background of the two areas in order to find out how their demography, inhabitants' economic activities, and dominant social structures were shaped.

Hassahiesa lies on the west bank of the Blue Nile. The town forms a part of the Gezira Agricultural Scheme. It is divided into six localities. The number of villages in those localities is 658. Rufa'a is a part of the Butana plain and is located on the east bank of the Blue Nile. It has five localities and 503 villages. The population of the area mainly pursues pastoral activities.

2. Results and Discussion

2.1. Types of Ethnonyms

The study found that there are two types of ethnonyms used in the collected data. The first group consists of tribal plural nouns ending with /a/, /ah/, and /ein/. The three suffixes are masculine plural name markers used by Sudanese colloquial Arabic. The second group is made up of names derived from names of ethnic groups, tribes, and founding father(s) ending with the suffix /āb/. This suffix is used by the Sudanese to mark adjectival and demonymic forms. Illustrative examples of the different ethnonyms used in the two areas is presented in Table No. 1 and the distribution of the two types is summarized in Table No. 2.

Table 1: Examples of ethnonyms in the two areas**.**

suffix	Examples from Hassahiesa area	Examples from Rufa'a area
/a/	ketair al- a'awamara, um dwanah al-ahamada, al-zubeirat kuwahla	kuwahla, a'awamara, al-tarajama, al-danaqala
/ah/	al-juma'iyah, al-nefidiyah, al-mesairiyah	al-fadniyah, al-a'waidah,al-khawaldah, al-magharbah
/ein/	qaneb Alhalawein, al-a'qalein, al-batahein, al-fadlein	al-a'arakein, asiyal al-rufaein, kerimat al-j'alein, zurqat al-lahuwein
/āb/	al-talbāb, al-shaurāb, al-sa'adāb, al-hamadāb	al-a'ishāb, al-rezigāb, al-sarurāb, al-rahlāb, al-bediyāb

Table 2: The distribution of ethnonym types in the two areas.

Area	**Tribal plural nouns ending with /a/, /ah/, and /ein/**	**Nouns ending in /āb/**
Hassahiesa	53	41
Rufa'a	68	104

2.2. Frequency of Ethnonyms in the Two Areas:

The results of the independent "t" test (Tables No. 3 and 4) show that the level of significance is 0.008, which is less than 0.05 level of significance that means there is a disparity in the frequency of ethnonyms in the two groups. The "t" test results for the Equal variances assumed is 0.023, which is less than the 0.05 level of significance that shows there are statistically significant differences in the

distribution of ethnonyms in the two areas. The frequency of ethnonyms in the villages of Rufa'a is higher than that recorded in the villages of Hassahiesa.

Table 3: The frequency of ethnonyms in the villages of Hassahiesa and Rufa'a.

Group Statistics						
Town	Number of villages	Number of ethnonyms	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Hassahiesa	658	94	7	13.42	10.92	4.12
Rufa'a	503	190	4	47.50	30.75	15.38

Table 4: The results of independent sample t-test.

	Levene's Test for Equality Variances		T- test for Equality of Means						
	F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
								Lower	Upper
Equal Variances assumed	11.392	.008	-2.74	9	.023	-34.07	12.45	-62.24	-5.9
Equal Variances not assumed			-2.14	3.44	.110	-34.07	15.92	-81.26	13.12

2.3. Historical and Socio-Political Background

Wodak (2015, 3) stated that "The DHA attempts to integrate a large quantity of available knowledge about the historical sources and the background of the social and political fields in which discursive 'events' are embedded." Therefore, it is imperative to provide a brief account of the historical, social, economic, and political events and circumstances that contributed to the formation of the area under study. The following is a discussion of the historical, political, and socio-economic reasons behind the increase of the use of ethnonyms in Rufa'a and its low occurrence in Hassahiesa area.

The discussion is divided into two parts. The first discusses the three historical periods that shaped the demography of Hassahiessa and Rufa'a, i.e., the Turkish Occupation, the Mahdiya, and the Anglo-Egyptian Colonization. The second part is dedicated to the impact of economic activities on place naming followed by a discussion of the impact of historical and socio-economic factors on toponymy.

2.4.1 The Turkish Era (1821–1885)

The Turkish colonization of Sudan lasted from 1821 to 1885. The goal of that invasion was to grasp the country's wealth and "enslavable population" (Hasan 2007). Brutal force and inhumane practices characterized the whole era. The Turks' soldiers and mercenaries used firearms and artillery to subjugate the locals who were armed with lances, knives, and swords (Holt and Daly 2000). After the fierce resistance which the advancing troops faced in 1821, Ismail Pasha, the leader of the campaign, offered a reward for each pair of local inhabitants' ears. The soldiers engaged in a campaign of brutality and disfigurement of civilians to obtain the promised reward (Budge 1907), and they indulged in cutting off

the ears of civilians, women, and the elderly. It was reported that they sent three thousand pairs of ears back to Cairo (Robinson 1925). Since its advent, the military campaigns led to the slaughter and displacement of thousands of Sudanese. As a result, many towns and villages were entirely abandoned as their inhabitants fled to other areas (Waddington and Hanbury 1822, Hill 1966). The colonization resulted in massive displacements and migration of locals across the country especially to Buṭana, Red Sea areas, and the Ethiopian frontier.

The same strategy was used by the leader of the Kordofan campaign, Muhammad Bey Khusraw the Defterdar, who offered his soldiers a bounty for the locals' ears. The ears of the victims were salted and were sent back to Cairo (Stapleton 2013). Ismail Pasha exacted exorbitant taxes on the locals, and his men raided the villages and ransacked its dwellers (Robinson 1925). In 1822, after being insulted by Ismail Pasha, Makk Nimr of Shendi burnt Ismail along with his soldiers alive. As a result, the Defterdar led a retribution campaign to take vengeance for the killing of Ismail. He burnt the town of Shendi, claimed 50,000 Sudanese lives (Rinehart 1982, 20), and facilitated the escape of many including Makk Nimr (Budge 1907) and his tribesmen to the Buṭana plain. Makk Nimr was later joined by Makk Al-Musaeid of Al-Mattama and the Abdallab tribe (Robinson 1926).

After the Turkish government was established, the slave trade flourished immediately, causing scores of inhabitants from the central region of Gezira to flee their areas to escape slave traders. Within one year 30,000 slaves were sent back to Egypt to be trained as soldiers (Rinehart 1982).

Due to the introduction of an unjust tax system at the beginning of 1822, the Sudanese revolted in Sennar. The taxation system was inaugurated in Gezira, and its people and those who live on the banks of the Nile were the most affected (Beska 2019). Heavy taxes were imposed on slaves, livestock, and houses, and failure to pay them resulted in confiscation of property or execution. After the burning of Shendi and other towns in the North, the Turkish violently quelled the rebellion in Sennar, and numerous inhabitants fled their lands (Robinson 1926). The administration did not impose taxes on camels as it lacked the resources to collect them from the Bedouins in Butana and other distant areas. This made Butana an attractive destination and a haven for many, especially herders.

Consecutive Turkish administrations continued to exact new taxes (Martin 1921) to the extent that all the economic activities in the country came to a halt. The Turkish rule was characterized by "Misgovernment, monopoly, extortion, and oppression," and governors indulged in slave trade although it was prohibited (Budge 1907). In 1863, Baker reported that the "Governor extorted from all sides, and filled his pockets by obstructing every commercial movement with the view of obtaining bribes. Dishonesty and deceit characterized officials from the highest to the lowest, and each robbed in proportion to his grade […]" (Budge 1907). Head and subordinate officials as well as village leaders indulged in tax embezzlement (Bjorkelo 1984). The locals used to desert their areas before the arrival of tax collectors who resorted to brutal procedures in collecting it, as the process was similar to military campaigns (Weiss 2003, 214). Thousands of farmers deserted their lands, and thousands of herders fled with their herds to the outskirts of the country (Osman 2018).

Butana constituted a haven for the locals in the Gezira area and other parts of the country. The attraction to Butana was triggered by the loose grip of the Turkish government in the plain, and its inability to closely monitor the area. In addition to that, the fertility of its grassy plain and the scarcity of permanent dwelling areas due to inhabitants and herds' dependency on seasonal rains, rivers, and brooks attracted migrants. The following lines are composed by an anonymous poet in which s/he declares the alternative they had at that time to set free from the Turkish power in central areas (Al Karib 1994,24):

The Pasha, to whom all are raising their complaints,
What is his value or importance?
If he constricted the movement in his villages
Does he own God's cold East?

The poet used the phrase "his villages" to refer to the areas west of the Nile and "God's cold East" to refer to Butana. The latter means that the Turks have no authority over the area, and the only authority observed there is God's.

2.4.2 The Mahdiya (1885–1898)

Under the leadership of Muhammad Ahmed Almahdi, the Sudanese revolted against the Turks and liberated the country in 1885. The Mahdiya focused on military campaigns, and people were recruited in three armies. The Mahdiya failed to provide its troops with food supplies and other logistics (Weiss 2014) and did not pay its soldiers on a regular basis, so they resorted to attacking villages looking for food or logistics.

Voluntary and forcible emigrations were imposed by the Mahdiya to secure support and allegiance and to pacify opposition. At the beginning of his movement, Almahdi encouraged his followers to join him on Abba Island (Abu Shouk 2015). Moreover, in 1885, Almahdi asked his followers to move to the newly established capital Omdurman (Werner 2018).

After the death of Almahdi, Alkhalifa Abdallahi ascended to power. He imposed compulsory emigration on his tribe, the Taa'isha, and their neighbors, the Baqqara, from their homeland in the West to the Capital (Weiss 2003, 222). He ordered them to migrate to Omdurman to form his own army and to consolidate his grip on power. The tribes depleted of grain the regions that they passed on their migration route to Omdurman of grain (Weiss 2003, 222). Alkhalifa grabbed all the fertile lands around the capital and along the banks of the Nile and assigned them to his tribe without offering any type of compensation to their original owners (Weiss 2003, 223, Alqaddal 1992, 253, Nakash 1988).

Alkhalifa used to force other tribes or notable individuals of doubtful loyalty to move to Omdurman where he could put them under close surveillance and expose them to propaganda. In fact, those emigrants were considered as hostages or captives (Holt 1970, 160). In 1886, the Khalifa ordered the inhabitants of Gezira and other areas to come and settle in Omdurman. By 1887, Gezira was completely abandoned, and the Khalifa allowed its residents to return in 1888 after a famine broke out (Al Karib 1994, 25).

During the reign of *Almahdi*, the expenditure on the three armies and Alkhalifa's tribe was a burden on the treasury (*Alqaddal 1992, 268)*. To compensate for the insufficient revenues, the Mahdiya officials used to collect heavy taxes. The economy of the state was considered a booty economy that depended on taxation (Weiss 2003, 217). The government levied multiple taxes on its citizens and there were malpractices in its collection. The Mahdiya taxation system was considered more despotic than that of the Turks. Heavy and various taxes were imposed on trade. The merchants were forced to pay taxes when they passed through any area (Weiss 2014). In addition to the heavy taxes levied on crops in Gezira, the residents were forced to pay customs on cotton (Al Karib 1994, 25). Tax collectors over valued custom dues (Alqaddal 1992, 265). Soldiers oversaw tax collection, and sometimes the process turned into looting and plunder (Alqaddal 1992, 266). Failure to pay taxes was sometimes punished by death (Boddy 1989, 30).

The soldiers used to collect food and logistics from villagers by force. For instance, the expedition that headed to Egypt in 1889 cruelly looted the villages on the banks of the Nile and maltreated the villagers along the way (Alqaddal 1992, 280). Hundreds of villagers fled their areas upon receiving news of the coming expedition (Boddy 1989, 31). On the Ethiopian frontier, soldiers collected grain forcibly from natives (Alqaddal 1992, 269). In times of scarcity, the Khalifa used to force locals to provide his troops with grains without any payment (Weiss 2003, 224).

Alkhalifa treated the opposing tribes and notable individuals harshly. The decimation, ransacking, and looting of rival tribes were common strategies of reprisal (Alqaddal 1992). Alkhalifa resorted to violent collective penalties to quell opposition and secure subjugation (Sharkey 2012). He relieved and executed many of Almahdi's aides and kinsmen (Alqaddal 1992). Moreover, in 1887, he brutally attacked the Kababish tribe and confiscated their camel herds and wealth (Alqaddal 1992). He arrested many Shukriya leaders of Butana and put pressure on their tribe (Alqaddal 1992). In 1888, he hanged and mutilated sixty-seven Batahin men publicly in Omdurman (Holt 1970).

After the famine of 1889–1890, many lost their faith in the Mahdiya. Jihad became less appealing to them. Soldiers began to desert their posts and move to agricultural areas, especially in the Gezira. The army in Qalbat near the Ethiopian borders suffered the most and lost a lot of its recruits (Alqaddal 1992, 247).

2.4.3 The Anglo-Egyptian Era

In the past, Gezira was inhabited by different nomadic and seminomadic tribes (Baum 1988). Most of the native tribes had seasonal settlements in different parts of the region (Brausch 1964). The nomads used to move with their herds to the south during winter and return to the north during autumn to escape pests and diseases. The Gezira had trade relations with other parts of the country and the outside world (Bernal 1991), and it engaged in sorghum and livestock trade (Shaw 1987). The area was on the West African pilgrimage route to Mecca across the Red Sea (Barnett 1977). Unlike other parts of the country at that time, Gezira had a more diversified tribal composition.

In addition to herding activities, the locals pursued traditional agricultural activities in riverain and rain lands. They used to grow different seasonal crops for self-sufficiency and trade. After the Turkish

invasion of the country in 1821, animals became of great importance especially when there was a crop failure, drought, famine, political unrest, or heavy taxes levied by governments (Randell 1961).

The Condominium government established the Gezira agricultural scheme in 1911 and expanded its area to reach 5 million acres by 1925. The Scheme made use of the area's natural resources to produce different cash and food crops. The project was established to increase the government's revenues, contribute to the country's social evolution, improve the peasantry standards of living (Gaitskell 1959), and produce cotton for the British textile industry (Bernal 1997, Al Karib 1994).

The area witnessed huge demographic changes after the measures taken by the authorities to facilitate the work of the scheme. The geography of the region was changed when whole villages were relocated to complete the digging of the water canal grid and the division of field blocks (Bernal 1988, Ertsen 2016). The government forcibly incorporated the natives' lands into the scheme, rented it from them initially for 40 years, and allocated the landowners small farms for cultivation purposes instead (Bernal 1997, 454, Bernal 1988). The agricultural activities attracted huge numbers of seasonal cotton-picking laborers who came from inside of the country and West Africa. In 1934, 8000 seasonal workers lived across the Gezira (Ertsen 2016, 207). They were encouraged to move to the scheme, and later they were integrated as tenants (Brausch 1964). The farming activities encouraged the introduction of cotton gins, oil pressing mills, and textile factories. The introduction of those industries in major towns encouraged laborers to move and settle in Gezira.

With the advent of the Scheme in the mid-1920s, the nomads were forced to leave their traditional settlements and migration routes in the region. The introduction of organized agriculture in the Gezira Scheme displaced herders and forced them to other areas (Mohamed Salih 1990). The administration treated animal resources as alien elements that were not welcomed in the Scheme. It stopped the fodder production and forced the inhabitants to keep their livestock outside the borders of the Scheme (El Sammani and Salih 2006). The number of herders in the Scheme declined remarkably (Brausch 1964, 349). The population of nomads in Gezira dropped from 90% to 7% (Abdel Ghaffar 1976), and hundreds of thousands of small-scale traditional agriculturalists and herders were displaced (Kebbede 1997). Many nomads moved with their herds to Butana and settled there (Al Karib 1994).

The scheme is an example of a coercive colonial development project that changed the pre-existing indigenous agricultural activities, brought production under the government's monopoly, and made demographic changes (Bernal 1988, 93). The Scheme was an attempt to "create a (colonial) Sudanese society: a homogeneous society of hardworking and disciplined peasants" (Bernal 1997). For the indigenous population, the Scheme was a strategy that attempted to subjugate them to the British authority (Barnett 1977). The residents' perspective was unheeded: "Although British officials within the Gezira had a more sympathetic understanding of the region, local voices were unable to change that central dominant vision" (Clarkson 2005). The resistance of farmers to government's control took many shapes such as "carelessness in cultivation" of some crops and refusal to grow cotton (Ertsen 2016), as well as the raising of memoranda to authorities (Clarkson 2005).

With the introduction of the Scheme, the inhabitants felt that they were captives in their own land. Gaitskell (1959), the first director of the project in the period from 1923 to 1945, quoted a popular saying that echoes the perception of the natives of their situation inside Gezira in comparison with that of those who live in Butana across the Blue Nile. Thus, Gaitskell (1959) quoted:
The man on the east bank is free like a nomad,
The man on the west bank is like a soldier in a camp.

2.5. The Economic Activities in the Two Areas

Economic activities play an important role in the formation and culture of social groups. Many studies found differences between social groups based on the economic activities they pursue. Farmers have cultural traits different from those of the herders. Studies showed that agriculturalists are essentially sedentary and are closely attached to their lands and local communities. Agricultural activities are tedious, need a lot of workers, and are constrained by seasonal time limits. As a result, farming requires the development of social interdependence relations within agriculturalists' communities (Uskul et al. 2008, 8552). On the other hand, pastoralists are less sedentary, as they need to move their herds to different places in search of water and grazing lands. Herding depends largely on independent decision-making abilities; therefore, herders show a tendency towards independence (Uskul et al. 2008, 8553, Moritz 2008). Moreover, herders are more prone to take risk and act autonomously (Goldschmidt 1965).

Because herding activities are generally pursued in remote areas where the grip of authorities is not tight, pastoralists' capital is more often under the risk of the attacks by other groups (Nisbett and Cohen 1996, Moritz 2008, Goldschmidt 1965). As a precaution to fend off theft, herders need to maintain a reputation of aggressiveness and violence (Figueredo et al. 2004, 338). Daily practices of herding that require a display of control and dominance over animals contribute to the development of pastoralists' aggressive behaviour (Moritz 2008). Moreover, disputes over water and grazing grounds are common among herders. Therefore, herders tend to be on the offensive and fight more than farmers (Nisebt and Cohen 1996, Moritz 2008, Goldschmidt 1965). Herders are more conflict-oriented than agriculturalists of the same ethnic background (Edgerton 1971). Consequently, tensions tend to develop between pastoralist nomads and their neighboring communities (Phillips 2001). On the other hand, farmers have more closely structured societies that protect them, and they observe the rule of law more than herders (Figueredo et al. 2004, 338).

Pastoralism requires herders to make adjustments to their social structures and practices. Herders' need for mobility forces them to construct flexible social organizations (Moritz 2008). Mobility prevents them from investing heavily in private commodity or land (Goldschmidt 1965, 403). To maintain the autonomy and freedom of action that are essential for pastoralism activities, herders tend to form small groups. Herding societies have a patrilineal hierarchy with a masculine orientation that requires the cooperation of a father and adult sons with a household as the perfect social unit (Goldschmidt 1965). On the contrary, farming societies need more cooperation between their members, and they prefer bigger, flexible structured societies (Goldschmidt 1965).

2.6. Impact of Historical and Socio-economic Factors on Ethnonymy Distribution

The country witnessed dramatic geographic and demographic changes during the Turkish and British colonial periods and the Mahdiya reign. Local tribes moved or were forced to move from their indigenous areas. State violence during invasion, quelling of opposition and rebellions, or reprisal forced many groups to flee their regions. The exorbitant and unjust taxes as well as the malpractices that accompanied its collection led to the migration of many tribes away from their historic areas. The introduction of agricultural projects attracted great numbers of wage and seasonal laborers, and led to the migration of many ethnic groups. The government's restrictions on pastoralists' seasonal migration forced them to abandon Gezira. Pastoralist tribes from other parts of the country continually sought refuge in Butana.

Since the early stages of its history and as a part of Gezira, Hassahiesa was inhabited by different tribal groups. The colonial government took over the land from the local inhabitants to redistribute it to equal tenancies and for the digging of the canal grid. Old villages were moved or abandoned, and new ones appeared. The agricultural activities introduced by the Scheme drew migrants from inside and outside the country. The advent of light industries and cotton mills in the area attracted additional numbers of workers who permanently settled down in the area. Unlike the situation in Rufa'a, these factors resulted in the formation of a heterogeneous population.

There are many reasons behind the decline of the use of ethnonyms in place names in Hassahiesa. Historically, Gezira is known to have a diversified society in comparison with other parts of the country. The multi-ethnic nature of the inhabitants of the area increased the need to form homogenous societies. Moreover, the residents' dependence on others and the need for cooperation to carry out arduous agricultural operations contributed to the decrease of the frequency of ethnonyms. In addition to that, the state monopoly over land planning influenced place naming. The use of the name of a specific tribe in the area could disrupt harmony among farmers' societies, render cooperation impossible, and could create tribal rifts that would jeopardize the smooth governmental management of the whole Scheme.

On the other hand, Rufa'a is a part of the western Butana plain, characterized by the pastoralist nature of its population. Unlike its western neighbor, the area remained undisturbed by governmental restrictions on internal migrations and animal herding activities. Native tribes continued to live more freely in comparison with the population in Hassahiesa. The aggression, violence, and exorbitant taxes during the Turkish colonization as well as the Mahdiya rule that primarily affected Gezira, forced many tribal groups, especially herders, to flee to Butana. The inability of the Turkish administration to exact taxes on Butana herders and the Anglo-Egyptian monopoly over Gezira was behind the mass migrations to the different parts of Butana. The tendency of the herders to form small social groups allowed them to move freely and establish homogenous urban settlements mainly dwelled by their small social circles. The independence of pastoralists, their tendency to make individual decisions, and their hostile nature may be behind their preference to settle in Butana, away from the others and the government.

2.7. Functions of Ethnonyms

The study showed that ethnonyms serve several functions. The following is a discussion of their functions based on the findings of the study.

Since the early stages of the country's history, ethnic groups lived in their own areas. Ethnonyms were widely used in the Sudanese onomasticon. Names of ethnic groups, tribes, or founders of tribes appear abundantly in the local namescape, events, and genealogy. The increase of ethnonymic use is an indication of the passive resistance of the locals to colonial policies and the Mahdiya's rule. It is also considered as a means through which the locals try to assert their place in their own country. People who migrated to Butana were mainly independent herders. They were driven by their rejection of the colonial restrictions imposed on them and sought to continue their traditional ways of life away from colonial constraints. Their preference to use ethnonyms in their place names is an indication of their resistance to the colonial rule and their rejection of its policies. On the other hand, the decline of the use of the ethnonyms in Gezira is an indication of the submission to the colonially imposed diversified community. The farmers of Gezira were forced to accept the ethnic diversity that resulted from the inauguration of the Scheme and to abandon the use of endonyms.

Historically, race was used as the most important identity marker (Safran 2008, 438), and ethnic identities are considered boundary identities that socially distinguish individual groups and their neighboring communities (Barth, 1969). Assadorian (2017, 52) defines place names as "those linguistic elements that reflect the ethnographic picture of a given area […]". By using ethnonymy in toponymy, people try to assert their unique tribal and ethnic identities. Following Wodak et al. (2009, 33) and the model in Wodak (2001, 71–72), it can be claimed that people use ethnonyms as a constructive strategy aimed at unifying members of their social groups to maintain their solidarity and unity. Ethnonymy was also used as a perpetuating strategy that seeks to conserve group identity. By doing so, herders can continue to function as independent and homogeneous social and economic organs.

Herding activities are conducted in peripheral areas where the herders are at risk of losing their stock to outlaws, so they need to promote their reputation of aggression and violence in their place names to fend off attackers. Being under constant threat of attacks, herders resort to announcing their ethnic name in toponymy to demarcate the boundaries of their territory. Ethnonyms are a manifestation of the group's reputation, and using them in toponymy help project the group's aggressive stance on the places they dwell.

The use of an ethnonym projects the herders' tendency towards independence and autonomy, while its low frequency among farmers' places indicates their inclination towards social interdependence. Farmers need to bolster ties among their well-structured societies, and the use of ethnonyms may undermine such efforts.

3. Conclusions

The current study investigates the use and distribution of ethnonyms in the toponymies of Hassahiesa and Rufa'a localities. It discusses the impact of historical, economic, and sociopolitical factors on the choice of ethnonyms and the functions ethnonyms play in place naming.

It identified two types of ethnonyms, i.e., tribal plural nouns that end in /a/, /ah/, and /ein/ and others that end with /āb/. It also showed that ethnonyms were used in the toponymy of Rufa'a more than in that of Hassahiesa. It demonstrated that the invasion, suppression of rebellions, exorbitant taxes, and aggressive collection tactics, alongside the introduction of new economic projects and the states' loose grip over Buatna resulted in remarkable demographic changes in the two areas during the Turkish and British colonial periods and the Mahdiya reign. These changes led to the concentration of herders' population in Butana and agriculturalists' communities in Gezira. It showed that the status of the Butana plain as a haven for dissents and of Gezira as a melting pot of social groups played a role in the unequal distribution of ethnonyms.

The study also showed that ethnonyms were used as a resistance strategy by dwellers of the Butana plain, an expression of their rejection of colonial policies and adherence to their traditions. On the other hand, the decrease in ethnonymic use in Gezira is an indication of the integration and assimilation of inhabitants in colonial projects. The study also demonstrated that villagers used ethnonyms as a constructive strategy to unify their social groups and as a perpetuating strategy to maintain group identity. Ethnonyms were employed to demarcate a group's boundaries and to project an image of unity and strength on the place it occupies, to fend off intruders. They projected the flexibility, autonomy, and independence of a group.

Studying toponyms within the field of Critical Discourse Analysis can provide insights into language preferences, cultural footprints, power relations, hegemonic and resistance practices. It also sheds light on how groups see themselves and the others and how they define their identities and position in a place. Toponyms should be studied as discourse markers laden with historical and social information, (a)symmetrical power relations, and as arenas of struggle between the dominant and dominated.

قصة (ضفتي نهر): دراسة نقدية للأسماء القبلية بمناطق رفاعة والحصاحيصا

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الملخص

تستقصي هذه الدراسة استخدام أسماء المجموعات القبلية في أسماء الأماكن بمحليتي الحصاحيصا ورفاعة في ولاية الجزيرة، السودان .تستخدم الدراسة مبادئ تحليل الخطاب النقدي ومنهج الخطاب التاريخي، لتحلل أسماء الأماكن كساحات للصراع على السلطة وتحاول استكشاف الوظائف التي تؤديها تلك الأسماء. كما تدرس توزيع الأسماء القبلية في أسماء 1161 قرية وتأثير العوامل التاريخية والاجتماعية والسياسية والاقتصادية في اختيارها، وأظهرت الدراسة أن هناك نوعين من الأسماء القبلية التي تستخدم في المنطقتين وأن انتشارها في رفاعة أكثر مما هو في الحصاحيصا. وأظهرت أن التوزيع غير المتساوي بالمنطقتين نتج بسبب هجرة الرعاة إلى سهل البطانة وإنشاء المشروع الزراعي والصناعات الخفيفة في الجزيرة. كما أوضحت الدراسة أن سكان منطقة رفاعة استخدموا الأسماء القبلية كاستراتيجية مقاومة سلبية لتحدي سلطة الدولة. وأن انخفاض أعداد السمة في أسماء المناطق بالحصاحيصا هو مؤشر على اندماج مزارعيها في مشاريع التنمية الاستعمارية وميلهم إلى تشكيل مجتمعات متعددة الأعراق. كما أشارت إلى أن الأسماء القبلية تستخدم كاستراتيجيات لبناء الهوية واستدامتها وترسيم الحدود.

الكلمات المفتاحية: مبادئ تحليل الخطاب النقدي، منهج الخطاب التاريخي، الأسماء القبلية، أسماء الأماكن، السودان.

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