

A GRAMMAR OF SANGO

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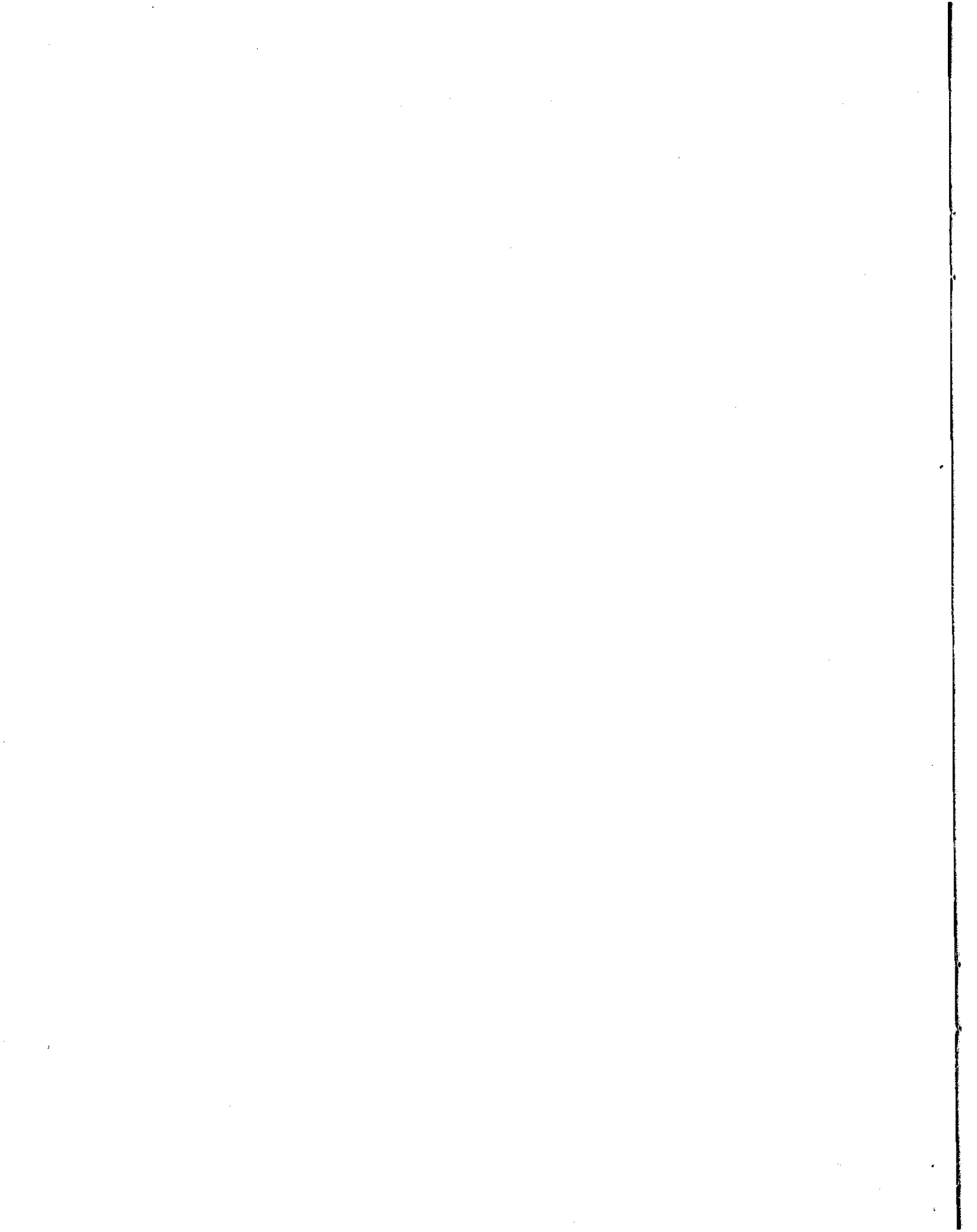
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INTRODUCTION

The Sango language

Sango is the lingua-franca of the Central African Republic, one of the few indigenous lingua-francas in Africa. Arising out of the Ngbandi dialects at the upper Ubangi River, it has spread throughout the country and into neighboring areas. There is a growing awareness of and pride in Sango as a national language. Although Sango does not have official status, it is used by government, both orally and in writing, for the popular dissemination of communications of all kinds. Among government officials, even at high levels, Sango is used along with French. It is also used in commercial establishments below the level of administration, and is the only African language used on the government-owned radio in the Central African Republic. It has not been used in public education up to the present, but it serves as a tool for basic education (by the missions) and its use in general elementary and mass education in the future is still under discussion.

Sango is a second language for most speakers, but there is now a large group of children in the capital, Bangui, who are learning Sango as a first language with the tribal languages of their parents, and another large group who are learning only Sango as a first language, and who are not learning tribal languages at all (e.g. the texts N78, N79, N80, N81).

Research carried out in July 1962 by myself in the Central African Republic indicates that the entire population except for very old women in remote areas speaks Sango. This leads to a significant upward revision of my earlier impression that one-third of the population used the lingua-franca. When the sizeable clusters of Sango-speaking people in both Congo Republics, the Chad, and the Cameroun, and the 115,000 speakers of Ngbandi (estimated by Lekens) are added, the figure of one million speakers of Sango seems very conservative.

Until this year, literature on the language was scarce and rudimentary. A few phrase books and grammatical notes were published early in the century, but none described the structure of the language. A privately published set

of lessons, based upon personal experience in learning the language, was produced in 1952, but is no longer available. This grammar, therefore, is the first attempt at a complete description of the Sango language. It stands also as one of the few descriptive grammars of a creolized language in the world.

Sango is a creolized language because it stands in somewhat the same relationship to vernacular Sango as Haitian Creole to French and Sierra Leone Kriol (<Criole) to English. This is to say that a language, here vernacular Sango, one of the dialects of the Ngbandi complex (which itself is a language of the Adamawa-Eastern group of Greenberg's Niger-Kordofanian), at one time came to be used as a lingua-franca. Because of this use it was very much simplified and to some extent transformed in structure. Not having the grammatical means of enriching itself, Sango (as creolized Sango will henceforth be called) has borrowed extensively from other languages. But these borrowings, being lexical, affect the grammar of the language very little indeed.

Because it is a creolized (by some people's definition even a pidginized) language, and because of its extensive assimilation of words from other languages, it is commonly held among many Europeans, and even by Centralafricans who have been influenced by their opinions, that there is no homogeneity in the language. Some will even announce that from one area to another and between one class of speakers and another, there is mutual unintelligibility. My own socio-linguistic research in 1962 and the carefully selected texts (see map) belie these opinions. One of the important conclusions drawn from this year-long linguistic study is that there is not infinite variety in Sango speech, but rather that there is a demonstrably unified language, the varieties of which are negligible and pretty well defined. For example, there seems to be some justification in distinguishing "country Sango," which is spoken by "country folk," from "town Sango," which is spoken by "town dwellers" or people who have traveled so extensively for longer or shorter periods of time that they have been well exposed to "town Sango." The "country folk" are that kind of people in any predominantly peasant, agrarian society which stands out by features of

speech and behavior. They are also very conscious of their naivete in the large towns. There is however too little data to distinguish accurately between town and country Sango. The observations of the Centralafricans must be considered for what they are: pre-scientific and crude impressions of socio-linguistic behavior. The one instance of ridicule which I witnessed involved an adolescent Banda boy whose Sango appeared to be grammatically quite standard but whose pronunciation was marked by "Bandaisms:" i.e. using [č] instead of [t] before [i], using [ř] in many words instead of [l], and using the central unrounded vowel in many words where [o] and [a] normally occur.

The above is a conclusion drawn from linguistic facts corroborated by extra-linguistic events. Claims to non-intelligibility must be explained by non-linguistic factors. One explanation which so many have naively ignored is the almost universal recourse to "I don't know what they are saying" as a means of avoiding identification with another community. Many people have also failed to investigate what was really meant by "don't understand." Interrogation will invariably reveal that where mutual intelligibility is claimed what is meant is that certain words were not common to two communities. The purpose of this grammar, however, is not polemic. This is only a description of the Sango language.

Purpose of the grammar

The purpose of this grammar is to set forth the structure of the Sango language following a conservative application of current linguistic analytic procedures. We have therefore deliberately avoided using this grammar, whose primary use was envisaged by the U. S. government as a pedagogic one, as an excuse for theoretic experimentation. We have likewise tried to avoid an excessive use of esoteric linguistic terminology. Absent also from the grammar is non-redundancy, that feature of scientific grammars which is considered an elegant desideratum if not necessity: i.e. not describing a feature of grammar more than once or in more than one way. Our goal was to make the structure accessible and understandable with the least effort.

This is not, however, a pedagogic grammar. Although we had in mind the possible users of the grammar, we maintained as the most legitimate goal the

description of "what made the Sango language work." A chapter especially designed for the teacher or learner of Sango was at one time considered (e.g. one on equivalent grammatical categories), but this was given up for lack of time. The index might perhaps serve as a useful but temporary substitute. With this grammar and the proposed dictionary and edited texts one should be fairly well equipped to work with this language. (A contract similar to the one which governed the preparation of this grammar is being negotiated with the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. The completion date is scheduled for September, 1964. No steps have yet been taken to see that the texts are edited and published, but we should hope that this valuable corpus of linguistic, ethnological, and historical data will not be lost to international scholars and the people of the Central African Republic.)

No grammar is complete, and this one is no exception. Further study on the language will undoubtedly reveal grammatical patterns which were not described in this grammar and will find ways of describing the same patterns in better ways. But an important step has been made. By presenting a large number of examples as well as translated texts we provide others with the means of checking our analyses. By having analysed a large body of texts we have been able to describe the most frequent, if not most important, grammatical patterns. What is equally significant is that this grammatical structure is valid for the whole Sango-speaking population.

Procedure in analysis

This grammar was prepared inductively. Rather than using an informant from whom utterances were elicited and then experimented with by further elicitation, we used the corpus which was selected from the tape-recorded texts and letters. In one sense an informant was not necessary, for both Mr. Taber and myself already know Sango. The more important reason for not using an informant was that we wanted this grammar to be as representative of the whole Sango-speaking area as possible. We wanted to be sure that we had enough data to catch variations which might be correlated with the first language of the speakers, with age, sex, and social evolution. Some differences emerge and these are always noted. The only part of the grammar which depends on the speech of a single informant is the lexicon. Comparing the

phonetic forms of phonologically "key" words in the discourses of any one speaker or between speakers would have been so immense a task that we never undertook it. Therefore we have normalized the notation to follow in general the speech of Mr. Simon-Pierre Nambozouina who came to the United States from the Central African Republic to transcribe the texts (see below).

For an inductive study of Sango grammar we were very well prepared. The entire corpus consisted of about 300 tape-recorded texts, which represent about 40 hours of listening time, in addition to 250 letters written by Centralafricans either to myself or to Radio Centrafrique. The texts consist of extemporaneous material (except for a few radio texts which are either prepared or extemporaneous translations from the French) covering many different subjects, by people of both sexes, covering a wide range of ages, and representing the full gamut of ethnic groups in the Central African Republic. The texts include things like the following: interviews with people immediately after an automobile accident, petty crime cases being tried in court, interviews with patients in hospitals, interviews with people engaged in different kinds of activities, fables, etc. Transcribing these texts was an enormous job; twenty-two hours of work for one hour of recording seemed to be an average.

Selecting the right texts to use in the grammatical analysis was extremely difficult. Whereas we wanted a very wide sample of interesting material which was at the same time of superior quality technically, we also had to have material on hand all the time for different stages in the analysis. We could not wait until all the texts had been transcribed and translated before we made the selection. There was a deadline to meet. For this reason primarily the selection falls somewhere short of perfection.

Once the selection had been made, the text was processed by means of the "complete filing" system. Described briefly, it is the following: a text is divided into portions small enough to fit into several frames on as many stencils as are needed. Each frame is coded to identify the speaker, text, and location in the manuscript. E.g.

F4/1.23

3

m-a-is

This is Fable 4, page 1, line 23, frame 3 of this text; male, adult, Isungu

speaker. Each stencil was then mimeographed to produce as many slips of paper as was estimated necessary. We needed as many slips for each frame as there were words and affixes. Once the slips were produced, the next step was to underline each word or affix, one unit per slip. In this way the entire corpus of over 36,000 slips was produced. It was only after slips were underlined and the linguistic units began to be filed that the real analysis was initiated.

The value of this type of filing system is threefold: (1) it is objective since one is not making a priori judgments as to what is important or not; it is complete so that one has a good impression of what the relative importance of different units in the language are; (3) it provides real examples, not ones made up by the analyst, for each grammatical point being discussed.

Such a system, of course, has its own limitations and difficulties. No one is more aware of these than we are. But for the work that needed to be done on Sango, this system fulfilled it excellently.

The choice of the examples was determined by their ability to best illustrate the grammatical point under discussion and by their amenability to translation. Those examples whose translation depended too much on the context were generally avoided. Otherwise, the selection of examples was random. It is therefore extremely interesting that every text in our corpus is represented in the examples (q.v. index). Moreover, the number of French words which occur in the examples is proof of the fact that we did not expurgate the French words or give undue preference to examples which were "pure" Sango. Each example (numbered consecutively in each numbered section of the outline) is coded to indicate its source in our complete corpus, only a small sample of which appears under READINGS: A, narratives and descriptions of ethnological interest; C, conversations; F, fables; I, interviews; L, letters; N, narratives and anecdotes; R, selections from radio programs. But in the absence of edited texts, no reference to page or line is made. The translations are generally free rather than literal and colloquial rather than formal, although exceptions can be found. The lexicon permits the reader to work out his own literal translations. Different translations of the same example can also be found. These have not been harmonized because they throw light on the problems of translating some Sango constructions. There are likewise differences

in the ways constructions have been punctuated. In question is the use of comma, which marks a pause. Identical constructions sometimes occur with pause and sometimes without pause. Rather than make them uniform, we have preferred to record the differences in speech on this level. Similarly, because of the possible stylistic correlates with the various forms of the verb 'to be,' i.e. eke and ke, and the negative marker pepe and ape, we have not normalized their transcription. Finally, examples are generally left without periods, except where really necessary, to avoid having to make decisions about where "sentences" ended.

French words in Sango

It has just been said that everything in any given text was filed. This means that French words were no exception. As one might expect in a country where French was the official language for about 75 years, there is a considerable amount of linguistic borrowing from that language. In our corpus about 473 known French words occurred. Some of these, naturally, occurred only once. Others occurred several times in different texts or several times in a single text. Some of them are words for which there are no equivalents in Sango (e.g. la république). Again, some of these words have been completely "naturalized," both in form and in meaning. E.g. pousser 'to push' has become púsu which can take the nominalizing suffix, i.e. púsungó. These words would be used by at least some people who otherwise have no knowledge of French. Other words are used only by polylinguals. What to do with these words constituted a real problem. It was resolved in the following way: French words are never ruled out, either from the texts or from the examples, but their transcription has been normalized to follow the traditional French spelling--with the modification that most verbs end with é--and when a prefix or suffix occurs with such a word, it is hyphenated. E.g. a-poussé, phonetically [apúsu] 'he pushes.' This is admittedly an arbitrary normalization, but in view of the wide range of phonetic assimilation, we were satisfied with no other solution. There should be one consolation in the fact that the dictionary will give the variant pronunciations.

Acknowledgements

This grammar was made possible by a generous grant (No. OE-2-14-020) from the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare through its Bureau of Educational Assistance Programs, by the authority of Title VI, Section 602, Public Law 85-864 (otherwise known as the National Defense Education Act). Without the assistance and cooperation of many other people, however, the task of describing the Sango language would never have been realized.

The American Council of Learned Societies, by providing me with a travel grant to attend the International Colloquium on Multilingualism in Africa, held at Brazzaville in August 1962, made it possible for me to go to the Central African Republic to obtain taperecorded texts. The collection of texts would have been impossible, however, without the assistance of the Foreign Missionary Society of the Brethren Church (headquarters: Winona Lake, Indiana), which provided me with a vehicle and sufficient funds for gasoline to make several trips. Too many to mention are the individuals whose hospitality I benefited from. Meals and lodging were always provided without reservation. Special mention must be made, however, of Rev. and Mrs. J. P. Kliever whose home in Bangui was my headquarters for the six weeks I was in the C. A. R. Whenever they were called upon for help, Central African officials also readily came to my assistance. Besides the Chefs de Sous-Préfecture whom I had occasion to see, I am happy to mention the Directeur du Centre d'Information Centrafrique who made it possible for me to obtain the valuable recordings of Sango used on Radio Centrafrique. It was because of the kindness also of the program director that I was able to get a few copies of letters which had been sent to them in the Sango language.

The administration of the Hartford Seminary Foundation is to be thanked for providing me with office space and equipment, for administering the funds, and for otherwise closely cooperating in every way for the successful termination of this project. A special expression of appreciation must also go to a group of ladies from the Bethel Baptist Church of Hartford who spent uncounted hours underlining words on 73,000 slips which were to be used in the grammatical analysis and in the dictionary project. Among them Mrs. Hilda Sand deserves to be singled out for her part in the work.

In spite of all of this help the project would never have been possible without the work done by my assistants Mr. Simon-Pierre Nambozouiana and Mr. Charles Taber. They did the groundwork for my analysis. Mr. Nambozouina's principal contribution was the transcription of the tape-recorded texts. He is a 40-year-old man of Gbaya extraction, well-traveled in the Central African Republic, faithful, industrious, and a pleasant co-worker. Mr. Taber contributed in many ways. Not the least of them was the clerical work he did which, as any linguist knows, comprises a good part of a descriptive project. But Mr. Taber was more than a secretary. As a speaker of Sango from childhood and as a graduate student in linguistics he was able to bring to discussions many worthwhile suggestions. Some of the initial analysis was done by him, and a few contributions to the completed description are his entirely: i.e. the connectives na (5.32) and tí (5.61--5.63; 5.65), the post-posed sentence particle laá (8.13), the verb we (9.30), substantive phrases (chp. 10), verb phrases (chp. 11), and the readings (chp. 18). He is also responsible for the final appearance of such material as the lexicons (Part Five).

Outline

The grammar of Sango is described in three parts with two additional parts devoted to additional information and illustration. These five parts are further subdivided into twenty chapters to simplify presentation.

Part I, Phonology, is concerned with a description and exemplification of the phonemes of Sango, a discussion of the variations between words which result from different kinds of phonological changes, and a description of the intonational features of the language. Where previous works have adequately dealt with certain aspects of the phonology, this treatment is necessarily brief.

Part II, Word Classes, describes the six classes of words in the language (presented in alphabetical order): adjunctives, connectives, nouns, pronouns, sentence particles, and verbs. Included in this part are the three affixes which exist in the language: the pluralizer á- and the nominalizer -ngó (both under nouns) and the subject marker a- (under pronouns). Since morphology plays so little role in Sango, the criteria for the determination of word classes are principally syntactic: they are grouped according to their distribution

with respect to each other and with respect to their function in various types of constructions. Interjections should be added as an additional class of words, but they are not specifically treated in this grammar.

Part III, Construction Classes, describes various types of units which consist of more than one word. First there are phrases, substantive and verb. (Exocentric phrases with connectives are described in the chapter on connectives.) Then there are pre-clausal and subjectival constructions which are not coordinate in the structure with the preceding but are more properly function classes. (They are described as "fillers" of certain "slots" in the sentence.) Finally there are non-verbal and verbal sentences, followed by a chapter on questions and processes.

Part IV, Texts, presents an analysed narrative text and several unanalysed but translated readings.

Part V, Lexicons, includes as complete a list of Sango words as is possible at this time plus the list of French words which occur in this grammar in the examples and in the readings.

Bibliography

A complete bibliography on Sango and closely related dialects is given in my article, Sango, an African lingua franca (Word 11.254-267). Since that time the following titles have appeared:

André Jacquot, Enquêtes socio-linguistiques concernant la langue sango (Bangui. Octobre-Décembre 1958), IEC/ORSTOM, 1959, 30 duplicated pages.

----, Notes sur la situation du sango à Bangui, résultat d'un sondage. Africa 31.158-166 (1961).

----, Esquisse phonologique du sango urbain (Bangui). Journal de la Société des Africanistes 30.173-191 (1961).

William J. Samarin, The vocabulary of Sango. Word 17.16-22 (1961).

----, Tribalism, lingua-francas, and the emerging states (a paper addressed to the linguistics section of the African Studies Association, New York, October 1961).

William J. Samarin, An African lingua-franca (a paper prepared for
the International Colloquium on Multilingualism in Africa,
Brazzaville, August 1962).

Statistical description of the corpus

Table of data on informants. The figures refer to the total number of words attributable to each category of informant. Under "Age," y refers to children or adolescents, and a to adults. Under "Degree of Sophistication," 1 refers to the lowest degree, 2 to people who have had a minimum of education and/or travel and broadening employment, and 3 to those with a fairly high degree of education and/or travel and employment. Under "Religion," p refers to Protestants, c to Catholics, and o to other or unknown religion.

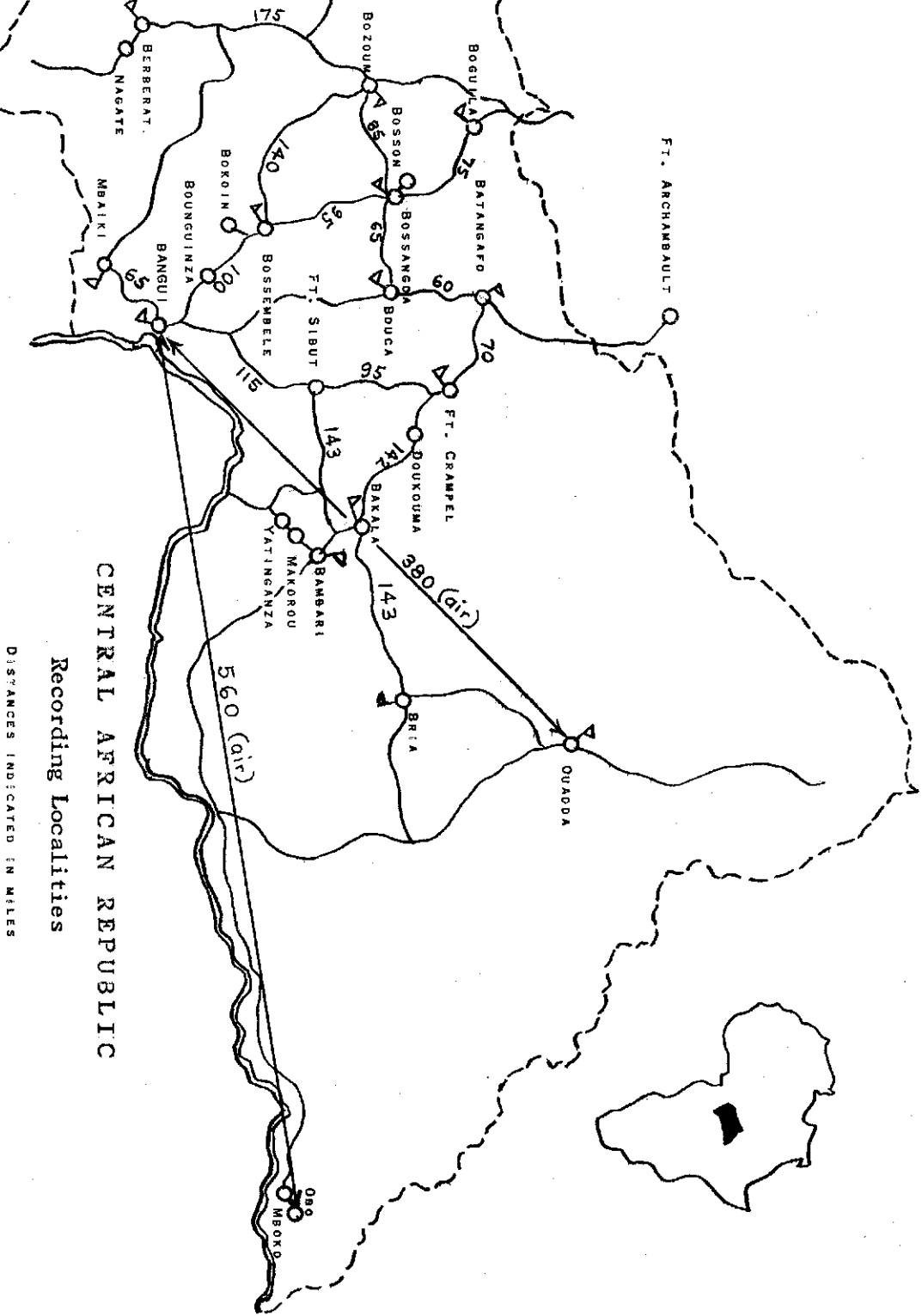
Language	Sex	Age	Degree of sophistication	Religion	Totals
Ali-Gbanu	m- 559 f- 1229	y- 0 a- 1788	1- 0 2- 1464 3- 324	p- 1370 c- 0 o- 418	1788
Banda	m- 388 f- 1297	y- 388 a- 1297	1- 0 2- 388 3- 1297	p- 1297 c- 388 o- 0	1685
Bassa	m- 0 f- 109	y- 109 a- 0	1- 0 2- 109 3- 0	p- 0 c- 0 o- 109	109
Boufi	m- 94 f- 0	y- 0 a- 94	1- 0 2- 94 3- 0	p- 0 c- 0 o- 94	94
Dagba	m- 0 f- 109	y- 109 a- 0	1- 0 2- 109 3- 0	p- 0 c- 0 o- 109	109
Gbaya	m- 1115 f- 0	y- 0 a- 1115	1- 215 2- 900 3- 0	p- 900 c- 0 o- 215	1115
Gbeya-Suma	m- 7578 f- 0	y- 233 a- 7345	1- 0 2- 4431 3- 3147	p- 4431 c- 0 o- 3147	7578

Language	Sex	Age	Degree of sophistication	Religion	Totals
Igbo	m- 589 f- 0	y- 0 a- 589	1- 0 2- 0 3- 589	p- 0 c- 0 o- 589	589
Isungu	m- 0 f- 323	y- 0 a- 323	1- 0 2- 0 3- 323	p- 0 c- 0 o- 323	323
Kaba	m- 282 f- 432	y- 282 a- 432	1- 0 2- 714 3- 0	p- 714 c- 0 o- 0	714
Kare	m- 0 f- 482	y- 0 a- 482	1- 0 2- 482 3- 0	p- 482 c- 0 o- 0	482
Laka	m- 363 f- 0	y- 363 a- 0	1- 0 2- 0 3- 363	p- 363 c- 0 o- 0	363
Ngbaka-Manza	m- 3272 f- 871	y- 0 a- 4143	1- 0 2- 2274 3- 1869	p- 2621 c- 1412 o- 110	4143
Sango	m- 0 f- 1790	y- 1790 a- 0	1- 0 2- 0 3- 1790	p- 1790 c- 0 o- 0	1790
Yakoma	m- 0 f- 304	y- 0 a- 304	1- 0 2- 0 3- 304	p- 304 c- 0 o- 0	304
Zande	m- 1539 f- 0	y- 0 a- 1539	1- 0 2- 797 3- 742	p- 797 c- 0 o- 742	1539
Unknown	m-11487 f- 2360	y- 728 a-13119	1- 0 2- 1427 3-12420	p- 1699 c- 1368 o-10780	13847
Totals	m-27266 f- 9306	y- 4002 a-32570	1- 215 2-13189 3-23168	p-16768 c- 3168 o-16636	36572

Table of word counts according to the kinds of texts.

<u>Kind</u>	<u>Sentence corpus</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Examples</u>
A	6126	465	6591	385
C	2110		2110	174
F	1403		1403	95
I	2238		2238	139
N	2690		2690	148
R	<u>2775</u>	<u>11874</u>	<u>14649</u>	<u>574</u>
Total on tapes	17342	12339	29681	1515
Letters	<u>502</u>	<u>6389</u>	<u>6891</u>	<u>271</u>
Grand totals	17844	18728	36572	1860

G.R.T.

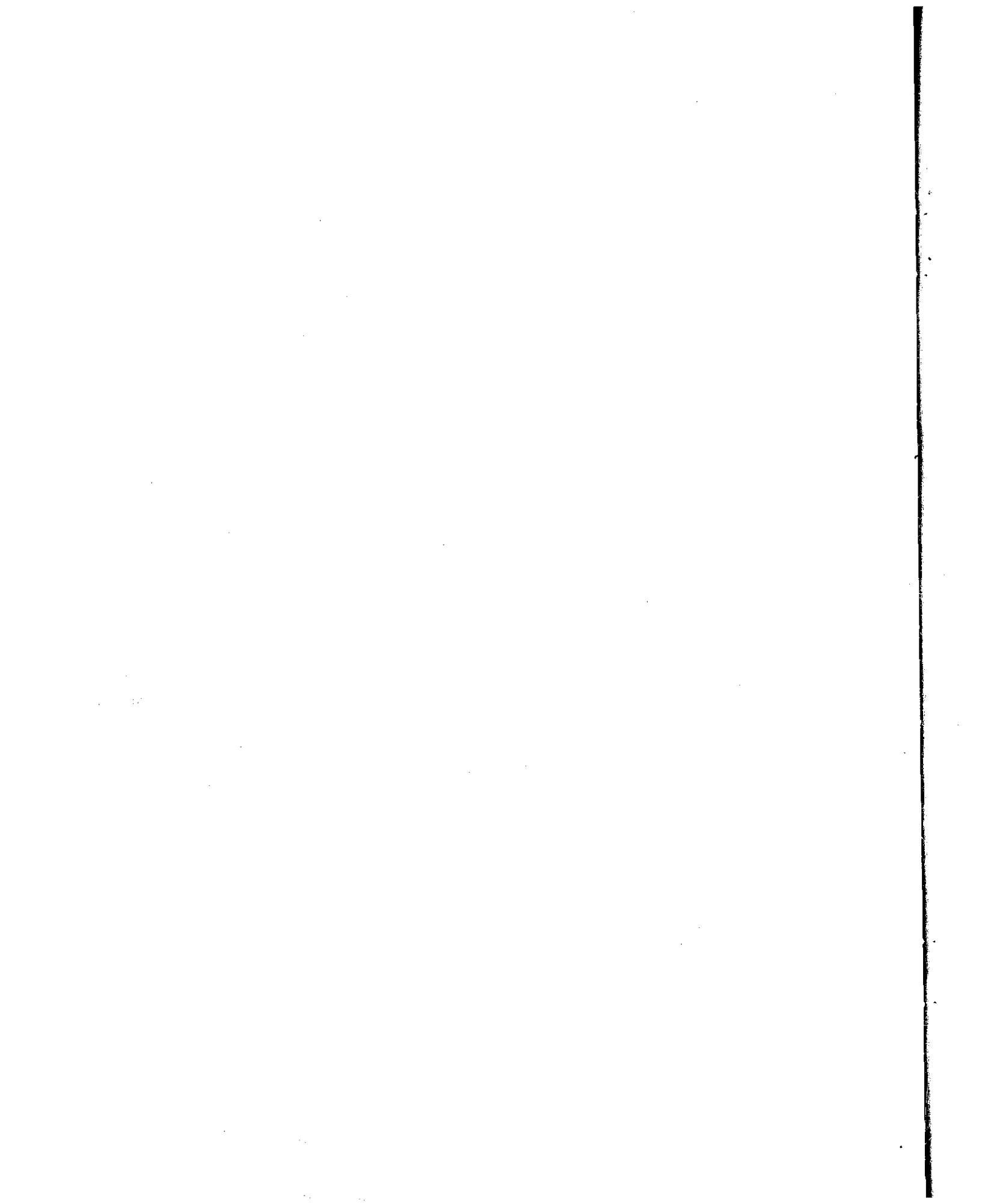


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Abbreviations and symbols

A	anecdote texts	[]	phonetic segment
Aa	ante-noun adjunctive		editorial insertions, p. 244
adj.	adjunctive	...	unintelligible, p. 244
Ap	post-noun adjunctive		separate constructions, p. 236
Au	universal adjunctive	()	complex clause, p. 236
Av	verbal adjunctive	(...)	omitted material, p. 244
C	connective	-	separate affix in French words
	verbal clause, p. 236	-	conjunctive union, p. 236
	conversation texts	{ }	non-lexically marked clauses, p. 244
ex.	example(s)		subject constructions, p. 207
F	fable texts		substantive phrases, p. 168
Fr.	French	*	sentence fractions, p. 215
I	interjection	**	emendations, p. 244
	interview texts	,	disjunctive union, p. 236
L	letter texts	<	derived from, borrowed from
lit.	literally	/	out of
M	bound morpheme, p. 281	~	or
N	noun		
	narrative texts		
NV	non-verbal clause, p. 236		
P	plural (e.g. 2p)		
Pr	pronoun		
Pa	sentence particle		
R	radio texts		
s	subordinate clause, p. 236		
	singular		
V	verb		



PART ONE: PHONOLOGY

Chapter 1

PHONEMES

The phonemes of Sango subsume pitch and pausal (i.e. prosodic and junctural) features as well as segmental ones. Pitch features are phonemically contrastive not only in the tonal phonemes but also in the intonational contours where pausal features are also significant. Stress is not a significant feature of the phonemic structure of the language, but it is used expressively. In this section consonants, vowels, and tones are taken up in that order.

1.10. Consonants

The consonants are schematically presented in the following chart before they are described and exemplified below:

Stops	p	t	k	kp
	b	d	g	gb
	mb	nd	ng	ngb
	b'			
Nasals	m	n		
Fricatives	f	s		h
	v	z		
		nz		
Vibrant		r		
Continuants		l		
		y	w	

The voiceless stops (p t k kp) are produced with varying degrees of aspiration, from very little to quite a bit, depending rather on the linguistic background of the speaker and the style of the particular discourse than on the immediate phonological environment. In the speech of Banda country folk [tʃ], i.e. an alveopalatal affricate, replaces t before the vowel i.

Speakers of Ngambay and Fulani languages very often replace p and b for the coarticulated stops (kp gb).

The voiced stops with nasal onsets (mb nd ng nɔ) are like the other voiced stops except for the prenasalization. These nasal segments are very brief and never appear to figure as the end of a preceding phonetic syllable. That is, kɔ́ndɔ 'chicken' is pronounced [kɔ́.ndɔ] and not [kɔ́n.dɔ]. The symbols ng and nɔ are convenient representations of phonemes which are more accurately represented as ŋ and ŋnɔ. These phonemes are occasionally realized in the connectives tongana and nɔngatí as phonetic [ŋ], i.e. a velar nasal, and [ŋn], i.e. a coarticulated velar-bilabial nasal. Those people who use no kp and nɔ naturally do not use nɔ. Other variations are on a phonemic level and are discussed below in chapter 2.

Some speakers use implosive stops b' and d' in the words kɔ́be 'food' and fadé 'fast' whereas others use the simple plosive ones. But in the words b'ɔngɔ́ 'hyena' and b'anda 'to ponder' our informant consistently used implosive stops. Other than making these observations, one hesitates in saying anything about the function of implosion in the language.

Contrasts between stop consonants

pá	'to accuse'	báa	'to see'
pé	'to twist (rope)'	bá	'middle'
te	'to eat'	de	'to remain'
té	'to meet'	dé	'to chop'
ta	'pot'	da	'house'
ká	'to sell'	gá	'to come'
kó	'to pluck'	gɔ́	'neck'
pé	'to twist'	kpé	'to flee'
kó	'to germinate'	kpó	'quiet'
ka	'then'	kpa	'to resemble'
kpa	'to resemble'	gba	'to copulate'
kpi	'to be sour'	gbí	'to burn'
kpó	'quiet'	gbó	'to grasp'
bi	'to throw'	gbí	'to burn'
báa	'to see'	gba	'to copulate'
bi	'to throw'	mbi	'I'
dé	'cold'	ndé	'different'
da	'house'	ndá	'end'

dú	'hole'	ndú	'to touch'
gá	'to come'	ngá	'also'
gó	'neck'	ngó	'canoe'
gbá	'in vain'	ngbá	'to remain'

The fricatives (f s h v z nz) have a considerable range of phonetic realization. Ngbambay-speaking people substitute f and v for p and b, and vice versa. However, the more they speak town Sango, the less this alternation characterizes their speech. Other speakers, like the Isungu (also called Mbati) will use a voiceless bilabial fricative [ɸ] for f. Both s and z are different from similar French and English sounds. Although they can be produced as sibilants, like the English counterparts, they very often have some if not considerable grooved articulation, similar to but not identical with the sound represented by sh as in 'shoe.' Other speakers, like the Banda, even use an affricate [dʒ]. The same is true for nz, which occurs as [nʒ] and [ndʒ]. The country talk of people whose language does not have [nz], e.g. the Gbaya, is characterized by [nd]. The phoneme represented by h is realized in the speech of some people by a voiceless non-syllabic but vocalic onset (quite similar to the initial segment in the American English word 'he') and in the speech of other people by a glottal stop: e.g. [hʔ] and [ʔʒ] 'to pass.'

The prenasalized fricative mv (where m stands for a labio-dental nasal) is marginal, occurring in the speech of some people only in the words mvəne 'lie' and mvəni 'owner.' When it does occur, it is usually preceded by another vowel. In other words, at the beginning of an utterance, one is more likely to hear v than mv.

- | | |
|------------------|-----------------|
| 1. vəne tí mɔ | 'That's a lie!' |
| 2. lo sára mvəne | 'He is lying.' |

This alternation between mv and v does not appear to be correlated with differences between town and country speech, although one tends to hear mv more frequently in the speech of people who have had training under Catholics or Protestants. However, the deceased President Boganda, whose speech can certainly not be described as country speech, used v-forms.

Contrasts between fricative consonants

fa	'to show'	wɔ	'to buy'
sí	'to arrive'	zí	'to dig'
sá	'to pour'	zía	'to place'
sɔ	'to hurt'	zɔ́	'to burn'
zí	'to dig'	nzí	'to steal'
zɔ́	'to burn'	nzɔ́	'corn'
zɛ	'leopard'	nzɛ	'moon'

In spite of the substitution of l and r for each other in many words, there is a contrast between the two phonemes, which is illustrated by the following words:

ngólɔ	'fish trap'	ngóro	'to surround'
mbúlú	'powder'	mbúru	'oil palm'
fúlu	'froth'	fúru	'mix with one's hands'
wala	'or else'	wara	'to find'

The phoneme l is not characterized by more than one discernible phonetic form: it is apico-alveolar without distinctive coarticulated tongue or lip modifications. On the other hand, r has several phonetic forms. These depend to a great extent on the linguistic background of the speaker of Sango. There is a voiced lateral flap (which is produced by drawing back the tip of the tongue to middle of the roof of the mouth and then striking the roof as the tip goes forward) which is common among the Gbanu people. Others, like the Banda, use an apico-dental single flap (not too different from the flap in the American pronunciation of 'Betty'). An apico-dental trill (i.e. multiple flap) occurs in a few words under special stylistic conditions (e.g. emphasis). A uvular flap like the French one is not native to Sango but it is used by French-speaking bilinguals in words of known French origin and also occasionally in Sango words in very affected speech. Naturally, those people whose language does not have a contrast between a lateral continuant [l] and some kind of flap, using only the former, will not likely make a distinction until they have learned it well.

The continuants w and y are not substantially different from the English segments initial in the words 'was' and 'yes.' When they precede nasalized vowels, however, they too are nasalized. In this environment y may actually

be realized as a segment approaching an alveopalatal nasal [ɲ̃]. E.g. wɛ́ 'iron,' yɛ́ 'what?' It is not unknown for w to occur as a segment approaching a voiced bilabial fricative (as recorded in awe 'finished' in the speech of a Gbaya at Berberati). For further comments on [w] and [y] sounds see below 2.21.

1.20. Vowels

1.21. Seven degrees of differentiation are to be distinguished in Sango oral vowels, three front vowels (i e ɛ), three back vowels (u o ɔ) and one central vowel (a). This is the number which is necessary to account for the distinctions made by individual speakers of Sango. (Contrasts and examples are given in the lists below.) When one compares the words used by one speaker with words used by another speaker, however, he finds different vowels being used in the same words. He can account for the alternation between vowels as different as a and ɛ by saying that here are vowel phonemes in variation in given words (as is done below in 2.22). But where there is variation between the front vowels (i e ɛ) themselves and between the back vowels (u o ɔ) themselves, he suspects that one of them at least might not be significant. The suspicion is increased by the fact that one hears vowel qualities which lie somewhere between i and e, and between e and ɛ (and likewise for the back vowels). As the following lists demonstrate, however, there are sufficient contrasts to maintain a seven-vowel phonemic system. One appropriately observes, moreover, that if the system were represented by two front (say i and e) and two back (say u and o) vowels, he would never know what any speaker was going to use in a particular word since gradations away from any norm are not conditioned by phonological environment. A practical, standardized orthography is another matter, one which does not concern us here.

The vowels i and u are high, tense, short, and unglided (i.e. without any significant nonsyllabic offgliding). The vowels e and o, on the other hand, have allophones which seem to glide from lower varieties of high (sometimes resembling the vowel in the English word 'it' pronounced in isolation) to higher varieties of mid. Before terminal or non-terminal pause the vowels e and ɛ are sometimes realized as very brief diphthongs, i.e. with a non-syllabic glide to the position of [i]. But it is never as pronounced as it is in the American English 'they.' Likewise, ɛ and ɔ have higher and

lower varieties. (This situation compares with that which exists between different but related languages: both the Gbaya of Bossangoa and the Gbanu of Bossembele have three front and back vowels, but the front vowel *ɛ* of Gbanu is higher than the vowel *ɛ* of Gbaya.) When nasalized, however, *ɛ* and *ɔ* are considerably lower than the oral ones.

A central vowel higher than *a* (not too distant from the English vowel of 'but') is heard in the speech of some people, particularly those who speak Banda and Ngbambay languages. This is no additional vowel phoneme. It is rather a dialectal pronunciation of certain standard vowels, most often *a* and *o*. Where it does occur, it does not replace all other vowels of a particular quality. While the patterns for interference have not been worked out, it is very likely that something about the phonological structure of the primary language is the determining factor.

Contrasts and examples

i		e	
bí	'night'	bé	'middle'
kpí	'to be sour'	kpé	'to flee'
zí	'to dig'	zé	'to promise'
lí	'head'	lé	'face'
bí	'to throw'	be	'to weary someone'
gí	'only'	ge	'here'
sindi	'sesame'	séngé	'insignificant'
kírí	'to return'	péré	'grass'
gígí	'outside'	dede	'horn of animal'
bírí	'yesterday'	berá	'war'
díko	'to read'	deko	'rat'
hínga	'to know'	kéké	'tree'
e		ɛ	
bé	'middle'	bé	'liver'
sé	'to be bitter'	sé	'to recline'
zé	'to promise'	zɛ	'leopard'
--		nzé	'to get weary'
kéké	'tree'	lɛkɛ	'to fix'
kété	'small'	pɛtɛ	'to squeeze'
ngéré	'price'	géré	'leg'

mbéni	'some'	mbéti	'book'
péré	'grass'	téré	'body'
lengé	'beads'	pépe	'negative'
dede	'animal horn'	gene	'guest'
éré	'name'	gbé	'underneath'
kpé	'to flee'	kóé	'all'
lége	'path'	me	'breast'
lélé	'donkey'	mane	'to swallow'
	u		o
kú	'to wait'	kó	'to germinate'
ndú	'to touch'	ndó	'atop'
lú	'to plant'	lo	'3rd pers. sg. pers. pron.'
pupu	'wind'	pópó	'amidst'
burú	'dry season'	bólo	'to stone'
gúrú	'smoke'	gólo	'to knock'
ndúzú	'sky'	ngóro	'certain variety of lion'
purú	'excrement'	póró	'skin'
yuru	'to flow'	yoró	'medicine'
kugbé	'leaf'	kombá	'guinea hen'
ngunzá	'manioc leaves'	ngonda	'bush'
kúngbi	'to break'	bóngbi	'to assemble'
lutí ká	'stand there!'	lo tí ká	'he fell there'
	o		o
tó	'to dip up'	tó	'to cook by boil- ing'
kó	'to germinate'	kó	'to pluck'
nzó	'corn'	zó	'to roast'
kpó	'quiet'	kpó	'to pierce'
so	'to save'	so	'to hurt'
bóndó	'mil'	bóngó	'cloth'
kóngó	'mallet'	kóngó	'rainbow'
kóso	'to drag'	kóso	'certain seed'
kpoto	'hat'	kpéro	'to boil'

ndóndó	'brain'	ndóké	'flower'
ngóro	'certain var. of lion'	ngóro	'to surround'
sónzó	'wild dog'	sósó	'to defecate'
yoró	'medicine'	yóro	'to insert'
kóngbá	'load'	kóngba	'frog'
kóri	'cushion'	kóli	'man'

a

báa	'to see'	gbá	'in vain'
babá	'father'	hánda	'to deceive'
bágara	'cow'	ká	'there'
bámará	'lion'	kámba	'rope'
da	'house'	mánga	'tobacco'
dambá	'tail'	ngása	'goat'
galá	'market'	nzala	'hunger'
ganzá	'circumcision'	papa	'spoon'

1.22. As a general rule, back and front vowels which follow a consonant and immediately precede another vowel lose their syllabicity. This means that one hears [w] and [y] segments instead, with the former being much more common than the latter. In fact, some words are always heard with a [w] only. In order to avoid arbitrariness which would conceal the quality of the vowel represented by a nonsyllabic w, it is preferable to represent all such non-syllabic segments by vocalic symbols. The segment [y] is assigned to i (in spite of the fact that i and e can sometimes alternate with each other), but it is not possible to assign all [w] segments to u. The reason is that words like [kwa] 'work,' [gwe] 'to go,' and [kwé] 'all' are never heard with [u], if a post-consonantal syllabic segment is heard at all, but with [ɔ] and [o] respectively. Rather arbitrarily therefore I have assigned post-consonantal [w] to u if it precedes i, to o if it precedes e, and to ɔ if it precedes a. The non-syllabic ones are therefore shown to occur only preceding a vowel (when not preceded by a consonant) and intervocalically. (Fricatives s and z which are followed by i and a vowel are often replaced by a simple fricative, q.v. 2.22).

[w] can occur		[y] can occur	
kúf	'to die'	bíá	'song'
kóé	'all'	bíanf	'truly'
kóá	'hair'	bíakú	'truly'
koa	'work'	bíó	'bone'
goe	'to go'	híó	'quickly'
ngui	'colombus monkey'	miombe	'eight'
sóá	'needle'	ngiá	'game'
gógóá	'buffalo'	ndiá	'law'
ngongoa	'seed grain'	zía	'to place'
ngóngóá	'ritual defilement'	sioní	'bad'
ndao	'blacksmith'	bói	'servant'
		kái	'to hush'
		kawai	'pumpkin'
		mái	'to grow'
		sái	'leaven'

1.23. Nasalized vowels occur only as ξ , ψ , ζ , and η . (There is no attested example of $\dot{\imath}$.) As has been pointed out, the nasalized vowels ξ and ζ are phonetically lower than the oral counterparts (ϵ and \circ). Nasalization of one degree or another also occurs following the nasal consonants (m n) in the speech of some people.

Nasalized vowels		Oral vowels	
f ξ	'odor'	--	
f ψ	'to smell'	fú	'to sew'
h ξ	'to ponder'	há	'to weave'
h ζ	'to pass'	hótó	'hill'
k ξ	'to refuse'	ke	'to be'
w ξ	'iron'	kóé	'all'
y ξ	'what?'	yené	'anus'
yama	'animal'	--	
y ζ	'to drink'	yó	'to be long'

1.24. Long vowels (i.e. phonetically long with a single articulation) occur with different or identical tones. They are represented as sequences of two identical vowels. While they never contrast with short vowels, they are phonetically distinct from them. This failure to be contrastive and the feature of alternation between long and short vowels make length marginally significant in Sango. What is meant by alternation is that words like *báa* 'see,' *fáa* 'cut,' *záá* (otherwise *zía*) 'put,' *kíi* 'spines,' and *kííi* 'death' also occur with the final vowel omitted. Another interesting feature is that among the words with long vowels are several which have high or low tones exclusively and are grammatically nouns. Moreover, although Mr. Nambozouina was quite insistent about their pronunciation in this form (at least in isolation), they do occur as monosyllables elsewhere. (It is doubtful that this list is idiolectal, however. One letter to Radio Bangui actually spelled 'breast' with two e's.) This particular list of words can conveniently be normalized as monosyllabic.

Normalized nouns		Other words	
<i>dí</i>	'hole'	<i>andáa</i>	'in other words'
<i>fǿ</i>	'odor'	<i>báa</i>	'to see'
<i>gbá</i>	'bundle'	<i>fáa</i>	'to cut'
<i>gó</i>	'neck'	<i>ndaráa</i>	'skill'
<i>hǿ</i>	'nose'	<i>ndóo</i>	'pot-making clay'
<i>ká</i>	'wound'	<i>ngbii</i>	'long time'
<i>kpu</i>	'mortar'	<i>taá</i>	'true, real'
<i>mé</i>	'ear'	<i>záá</i>	'to put'
<i>me</i>	'breast'	<i>ngbáá</i>	'slave'
		<i>ngbáa</i>	'buffalo'

1.30. Tones

1.31. There are three phonemic tones in Sango, high, mid, and low. For reasons given below mid is not symbolized, but high tone is marked by the diacritic (´) and low tone is left unmarked. There are glides from low to a higher level and from high to a lower level. These are represented as sequences of low-high and high-low respectively. Examples of the minimally contrastive use of high and low tones follow immediately; a summary list of tones classified by sequence patterns closes this section.

Contrastive use of tone

de	'to remain'	dé	'to chop'
me	'breast'	mé	'ear'
ngo	'drum'	ngó	'canoe'
kɔa	'work'	kɔ́á	'hair'
yíngɔ	'spirit'	yíngó	'salt'
baba	'pride'	babá	'father'
papa	'spoon'	pápa	'sandal'
kánga	'prison'	kángá	'hartebeest'
gonda	'to praise'	gónɔa	'kind of medicine'
bata	'to keep'	batá	'squirrel'
buba	'to ruin'	búbá	'foolish'
kóro	'to pierce'	kóró	'cold (illness)'
lengɛ	'beads'	lengé	'certain dance'
lele	'certain small antelope'	lélé	'donkey'
menɛ	'to swallow'	méné	'blood'
ndo	'place'	ndó	'atop'
nganga	'certain fetish'	ngángá	'bottle'
ngása	'goat'	ngásá	'wild yam'
ngbáa	'buffalo'	ngbáá	'slave'
ngóngɔa	'seed grain'	ngóngóá	'ritual defilement'
nze	'moon'	nzé	'to get weary'
samba	'beer'	sambá	'co-wife'
sara	'forked pole'	sará	'itch (condition)'
sará	'name of tribe'	sára	'to do'
tɛrɛ	'spider'	téré	'body'
to	'to send'	tó	'to dip up'
uru	'to blow'	úlu	'to jump'
wa	'inhabitant'	wá	'fire'
yo	'to be long'	yó	'to bear a load'

The preceding lists of words demonstrate the importance of low and high tones in lexical differentiation. No similar function is found in the grammar. The contrast between *tɛnɛ* 'to say' and *téné* 'word' is no exception. This distinction between verb and noun was inherited from Ngbandi.

1.32. As one might expect in a language spoken by bilinguals of many different linguistic backgrounds, there is a considerable amount of variation in tones from speaker to speaker and even in the speech of a single speaker. This does not mean, however, that there is tonal chaos in Sango. In everybody's speech there appear three distinct tones, but the phonetic realization of these tones depends in part on the primary language of the speaker. While this statement can be proven for Gbaya-speaking people (as is demonstrated below), it is still only an assumption for all others. In addition to phonetic variations, there are variations between tones: that is, certain words are pronounced with one tone (or sequence of tones) by one person and with another tone by another person. This phenomenon, however, is no different from the substitution of different consonants or vowels for each other (which is illustrated below). These tone alterations are, moreover, in some instances patterned ones. There is therefore no reason to believe that a disyllabic word sometimes heard as low-low will also be heard as low-high, high-low, and high-high.

As an illustration of the kind of tonal interference which operates in Sango, one can look at what occasionally happens to low tone in the speech of Mr. Nambozouina, a Gbaya from Bossangoa. Following a voiceless consonant in an utterance following pause, low tone is realized as a very rapidly falling glide from a level only slightly higher than one would expect for low in the same environment. The following words occurred with this feature:

pupu	'wind'	samba	'beer'
taba	'sheep'	tanga	'remainder'
finí	'new'	sara	'forked pole'
fondo	'plantain'	kpoto	'hat'
fa	'to show'		

Another example of tonal interference from Gbaya is the substitution of low tone for high tone when followed by high tone across open juncture. Compare the words for 'buffalo' in the following sentences:

1. gógóá asára ngangó na lo 'A buffalo hurt him badly.'
2. lo goe ndurú na gogoa ní 'He went close to the buffalo.'

But there is one pattern of alternation in Mr. Nambozouina's speech for which there is yet no explanation. It is the alternation of high-high and

low-high in many words. Thus, he uses both *témé* and *temé* 'stone,' *púru* and *purú* 'excrement,' *dódó* and *doóó* 'dance,' as well as *gógóá* (in addition to the above forms), but always *kété* 'small.'

1.33. Mid tone (i.e. one which is between high and low in a given environment) is a marginal phoneme in Sango. In only five words does it contrast with high and low tones in an identical tonal frame. Four words are all nouns having the tone sequence high-mid and one word is a monosyllabic sentence particle:

<i>kóli</i>	'man'
<i>wále</i>	'woman'
<i>ngágo</i>	'spinach'
<i>ita</i>	'sibling'
<i>o</i>	sentence particle

Since there are so few words with mid tone, it is nowhere symbolized in this grammar.

Other occurrences of a tone level which can be called mid are explained as being either the free variation of high and mid tones (phonetically) following voiced consonants or else the result of the influence of intonational (i.e. sentence) contours.

1.34. Sentences and phrases like the following were used as frames for the determination of pitch differences. They can be used also to great advantage in tone drills. Within the brackets <...> other nouns and verbs can be substituted.

- | | |
|--|-----------------------------|
| 1. < <i>yama</i> > <i>ní</i> | 'the animal' |
| 2. < <i>yama</i> > <i>óko</i> | 'one animal' |
| 3. < <i>yama</i> > <i>otá</i> | 'three animals' |
| 4. <i>kótá</i> < <i>yama</i> > | 'a big animal' |
| 5. <i>téné tí</i> < <i>yama</i> > <i>ní</i> | 'the matter of the animal' |
| 6. < <i>yama</i> > <i>aéke na ndo wa</i> | 'Where is the animal?' |
| 7. <i>lo mú na mo</i> < <i>yama</i> > <i>awe</i> | 'He already gave you meat.' |
| 8. <i>só aéke</i> < <i>yama</i> > <i>tí lo</i> | 'This is his meat.' |
| 9. <i>só</i> < <i>yama</i> > <i>tí lo</i> | 'This is his meat.' |
| 10. < <i>yama</i> > <i>tí lo aéke míngi</i> | 'He has a lot of meat.' |

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 11. < yama > laá sí lo sára téné ní | 'He's talking about the meat.' |
| 12. lo eke na < yama > míngi | 'He has a lot of meat.' |
| 13. lo yí kété < yama > ní | 'He wants the small animal.' |
| 14. lo < sára > awe | 'He did it already.' |
| 15. ála goe tí < pika > lo | 'They went to hit him.' |
| 16. lo < sára sárángó > | 'He's really working.' |

1.35. Here follow examples of high and low tones in polysyllabic words.

High-High:

pópó 'middle'
 kírí 'return'
 súmá 'dream'
 yángá 'mouth'
 lóró 'speed'
 ndóngé 'red pepper'
 géré 'foot'
 kóngó 'rainbow'
 fufú 'lung'
 hótó 'hill'
 yíngó 'salt'
 lóndó 'rise'
 kóngbá 'load'
 búbá 'foolish'
 kéké 'tree'
 séngé 'without...'

Low-Low:

kono 'be big'
 nginza 'money'
 sara 'forked stick'
 lenge 'necklace'
 wara 'receive'
 ulu 'jump'
 awe 'all finished'
 vene 'lie'

High-Low:

ngbúru 'embroil'
 fúta 'wages'
 mángo 'mango'
 lége 'road'
 língbi 'be able'
 yóro 'insert'
 óko 'one'
 gbánzi 'hinder'
 kpóka 'hoe'
 kóngo 'mallet'
 bólo 'to stone'
 ngóro 'surround'
 ála 'they'
 wóko 'weaken'
 sára 'do'
 bóngbi 'gather'

Low-High:

ngunzá 'manioc greens'
 yoró 'medicine'
 fadé 'fast'
 ukú 'five'
 dambá 'tail'
 tará 'grandmother'
 vurú 'white'
 lavú 'bee'

sisi 'thorn'	yingó 'spirit'
dede 'horn of animal'	mbunzú 'White Man'
kpaka 'scratch'	gindí 'bow'
baba 'pride'	kulá 'vengeance'
mane 'swallow'	sembé 'dish'
lando 'plain'	Nzapá 'god'
yuru 'leak'	ponó 'suffering'
zonga 'curse'	bozó 'bag'

Miscellaneous polysyllabic patterns:

High-high-high

kóróngó 'fan palm'
báságbó 'eland'
wátáká 'a lie'
ngbéréná 'brass bracelet'
báláwá 'shea nut or tree'

High-low-low

bágara 'bovine animal'

Low-low-high

lukundú 'witch spirit'
makoró 'calumny'
omaná 'six'
likongó 'spear'

Low-high-high

dawóló 'a certain dance'
gugúró 'small fish'

High-high-high-high

kpítíkpítí 'very dark black'
mbírímbírí 'straight'
ngéléngélé 'manner of shining'

Low-low-low

ndaveke 'syphilis'
mafuta 'oil'
yengere 'sieve'
pendere 'young'
zaranga 'roan antelope'

Low-high-low

tambéla 'walk'
mabóko 'hand'
lungúla 'remove'
kolóngo 'basin'
sumári 'a certain secret society'
kusára 'work'
ndakóro 'plant used as washcloth'

High-low-high

kótará 'ancestor'
bákoyá 'baboon'
méréngé 'child'
bámará 'lion'
kógará 'father-in-law'
búburú 'dumb'

High-high-high-low

kékéréke

Low-low-low-low

kutukutu 'automobile'

High-low-high-low

másarágba 'rhinoceros'

High-high-low-low

kíríkiri 'crooked'

bíribiri 'kind of beer'

Low-low-high-low

adorónu 'Hausa salt'

pópópó 'gruel'

Chapter 2

V A R I A T I O N S

Taken as a whole, the Sango language spoken by different people from different parts of the country is characterized by a considerable amount of phonologic variation. This means that one will hear forms as phonetically different as [tq̄q̄] for [toŋgana] 'when' and [mbúmbrí] for [mbírímbí] 'straight.' As long as these variations are not classified, the language gives one the impression of being heterogeneous and unstable. It is for this reason that some people have announced that there is no single language, that it lacks homogeneity. Variations do occur, but most of them are clearly patterned and, moreover, there is no variation which works against effective communication.

This section deals with patterned variations on a phonemic level. Allophonic variations (as between [z ʒ dʒ] for z) and the reduction of phonemic contrasts (as p and b for kp and gb) were discussed in the preceding section. Likewise, alternations affecting f, v, nz, mv, and the tones were discussed above. Certain other variations are not described here because they involve individual words and reveal no general pattern (e.g. faasó for fadesó). These variations would be recorded in a dictionary. The remaining variations are classified as external (when they are due to the placing of one word against another, i.e. in external sandhi) and internal (when there is no correlation with external environment). The latter involve individual consonants and vowels or both. The former involve final vowels.

2.10. External Changes

External changes occur with final vowels, which are elided under different conditions. First, the second of identical vowels in a vowel-vowel sequence can be elided in any environment. The words most commonly involved are báa 'to see,' fáa 'to cut,' andáa 'in other words,' and taá 'real.'

Secondly, final vowels are elided when followed by another word with an initial vowel. Only in the case of ape 'negative marker' is an initial vowel elided. Since this elision is optional, it is not indicated in this grammar apart from the examples, where the elided vowels are included

within parentheses. On the basis of a few examples (noteably those words with the consonant t left after elision) one is justified in saying that elision is accompanied by special articulatory features. It seems that elision results in a resyllabification of a segment such that a consonant closes a syllable and is longer than an ordinary consonant intervocalically. Thus, there is a phonetic difference between [to.to.a.pe] and [tot.a.pe] 'not cry' (where period indicates syllable division).

It should be remembered in connection with elision that whether or not it occurs, intervocalic hiatus between words is uncommon. Of course, where there is a pause (either non-terminal or terminal), there is hiatus. But within a stretch of speech bordered by pause, juxtaposed vowels are run together. Since there are only a few words with initial vowels, this phenomenon involves just these words again and again.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. lo goe na galá (a)pe -A44 | 'He didn't go to the market.' |
| 2. lo ke (a)pe | 'He's not there.' |
| 3. só bongó t(i) ála ma | 'Those are their clothes!' |
| 4. mbi tene n(a) ála kóé -R9b | 'I told all of you.' |
| 5. mo tot(o) ape -N8o | 'Don't cry.' |
| 6. yí s(ó) ake píka í na ndo só ..
-R6 | 'The thing which is hitting us
here...' |
| 7. ngbangatí téné só mo tene amú
ngiá na mbi laá, mbi hé s(ó)
ape? -C31 | 'Isn't it because of what you
said which gave me joy that
I am laughing?' |
| 8. kótóró ní ake nzon(i) ape -N8o | 'The village is not good.' |
| 9. s(ó) ake nzon(i) ape -R6 | 'That is not good.' |
| 10. nzala tí kíringó na kótóró
asára mbi bían(i) ape -N81 | 'I don't have any real desire
to return home.' |
| 11. ála ke g(á) ánde -R7b | 'They will be coming later.' |
| 12. ámbéni ake lónd(ó) ánde -R7d | 'Others will be leaving later.' |
| 13. ake pát(a) óse -N78 | 'It's two patas (i.e. ten
francs).' |
| 14. tongana ála kon(o) awe -A49 | 'After they have grown up....' |
| 15. lángó bal(e) óko na óse -R7b | 'on the twelfth (day)' |

16. mérengé tí l(o) ake -R6 'He has a child.'
 17. ato ngá mbéti na í g(e) 'He sent us a letter saying...'
 atens... -R7d

2.20. Internal Changes

Internal changes involve single consonants and vowels or a vowel and a consonant. These word variations can not be correlated with any known phonologic or grammatical environment.

2.21. Consonant alternations are of four types: alternations between l and r, between voiced and voiceless consonants, between a simple stop consonant and a prenasalized one, and between one position of r and another position of the same consonant.

The alternation between l and r is a common one in spite of the phonemic contrast between these two segments, which was demonstrated above. Not all words having l or r are characterized by such alternation, however. This is therefore a generalized pattern of alternation still lexically determined (i.e. correlated with a certain few words). Some of these words are the following:

ála	'they'	sukúla	'to wash'
bara	'to greet'	galá	'market'
li	'head'	kóli	'man'
nzala	'hunger'	wále	'woman'
ngéré	'price'	kobéla	'sickness'
sára	'to do'	mérengé	'child'

Alternations between voiced and voiceless consonants (i.e. b/p, gb/kp, s/z, etc.) are quite widespread. They are most common, however, among people who are native speakers of a Gbaya language.

Alternations between a simple voiced stop, a prenasalized stop, and a nasal consonant of the same articulation occur without any particular language being responsible. Words which are characterized by such alternations are the following:

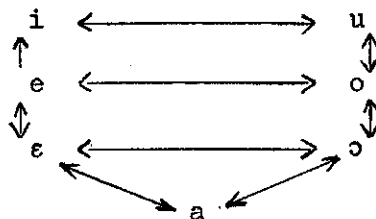
lége	~ lénge	'way'
mabóko	~ mambóka	'hand'

zeme ~ zembe 'knife'

mbunzú ~ munzú ~ muzú ~ bunzú 'White Man'

An alternation between h and w occurs before the vowel u. Only a very few words are involved: hú 'to breathe,' húnzi 'to complete,' húnda 'to ask.' The consonant h can also alternate with nothing. That is, it can be dropped out leaving no consonant in its place. What one hears as a [y] in its place is probably the transition between two vowels. Thus: [mbi yúnda lo] 'I ask him.' Here and elsewhere, it should be remembered, a glottal stop [ʔ] can occur instead of [h].

2.22. Alternations involving vowels are probably the most common of all alternations. Stated in terms of pairs of vowels, the pattern of alternations permits any vowel to substitute for the vowels most like it. The following chart schematizes the possibilities:



As one might deduce from these relationships, one can find a chain of alternations which includes the vowels i, e, ε, a, and ɔ. But it would be erroneous to say that i alternates with ɔ. It is the oral vowels which are under discussion here. No such alternations seem to characterize the nasalized vowels which are, at any rate, very few in number and minimally contrastive.

Not all words are characterized by alternate forms. In other words, not all words with u occur also with either i or o. Moreover, it should be noted that sometimes one vowel in a word is substituted for another one, and an identical vowel in that same word is left unchanged.

The following words are only a few of those which have alternant forms.

i ~ e		e ~ ε	
dé	'to name'	de	'to remain'
bale	'ten'	lége	'way'

língbi	'to be able'
yí	'to want'
éré	'name'
sése	'earth'
píka	'to strike'
sambéla	'to pray'

o - o

gbó	'to grab'
gozo	'manioc'
kóbe	'food'
kobéla	'sickness'
kóli	'man'
díko	'to count'
hío	'quickly'

i - u

bóngbi	'to gather'
yáyú	'sky'

mbéni	'some'
ngéré	'price'
pekó	'back'
veké	'okra'
kété	'small'
éré	'name'

o - u

bóngbi	'to gather'
lónó	'to arise'
makunzi	'chief'
ngunzá	'manioc leaves'
ngonda	'the bush'
lutí	'to arise'
kusára	'work'

a - e

má	'to hear'
omaná	'six'
ape - epe	'negative marker'
sambé - sambé	'dish'

Here again are a few words for which there are several different recorded forms (ignoring the consonant changes):

mafuta, mafata, mafota	'oil'
pekó, pekó, pikó, pokó, pókó	'back'
sambíla, sambúla, sambéla	'to pray'

Vowels contiguous to r are quite often elided or the elision may involve both a vowel and the r. The following are a few examples:

ér(é)	'name'
sár(a)	'to do'
tar(á)	'ancestor'
dor(o)ko ~ doko	'to butcher'
mbírímbírí ~ mbímbírí ~ mbrímbrí	'straight'
ndápéréré ~ ndápéré ~ ndápér ~ ndápré	'morning'
kót(ó)ró	'village'

giri(ri)	'long time ago'
kí(r)i	'to return'
kír(i)kir(i)	'crooked'

In the words zía 'to place' and sioní 'bad' the phoneme i is sometimes dropped with the following results: záá or zá for the first word, and soní for the second word.

Chapter 3

I N T O N A T I O N

Sango discourse, like that of other languages, is characterized by features of pitch, intensity (stress), pauses, and tempo. These features are correlated in various ways with stretches of speech that are identifiable grammatically, i.e. at certain syntactic boundaries and with units such as phrases and clauses. And although the sentence is a difficult unit to define (q.v. chp. 14, fn. 1), these phonological features are in some way part of its structure. In anticipation of the discussion on syntax, it should be said that what is closed with a period in the Sango transcription is only a stretch of speech which permits identification by an English translation.

Effective communication in any language is in some degree dependent on a control of these phonological features, and Sango is no exception. Here also there are "intonational morphemes," i.e. meanings which are superimposed on an utterance, giving it meaning which is not construed from the segmental morphemes. This is like English of course. What is even more important perhaps is that intonation features (which is how these prosodic and junctural features shall henceforth be called) are important in signaling the inter-relationship between syntactic constructions. Since so much of communication in Sango depends on different ways of joining constructions without the use of function words, comprehension is considerably reduced if one does not identify the signals which mark them. It is probably a failure to properly interpret these signals which more than anything else makes a European get lost while listening to a discourse in Sango. As an example, notice the following expressions where comma marks a slight pause which is accompanied by a tonal glide (ex. 1), or a sustained raised pitch on *aps* (ex. 2):

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. <i>mo ke ngá kótóró aps, mo gá</i> | 'If you didn't happen to be in |
| <i>téné ní aso mo, mo toto -A21</i> | the village, you come and the |
| | news hurts you, and you cry.' |
| 2. <i>hinga aps, lo goe bírí</i> | 'Perhaps he went yesterday |
| | (lit. know not he go yesterday).' |

3.10. Pauses

3.11. At least two kinds of pauses must be identified for describing Sango discourse. The first, terminal pause, occurs at the end of an utterance. It is identified by the following characteristics:

1. The absence of those features which characterize non-terminal pause,
2. The occurrence of certain tone contours (which are described below),
3. Being generally longer in time than non-terminal pause,
4. Being accompanied by tonal fadeout of phonemic low tone which may start by a dipping of the pitch level, or
5. Being accompanied by tone levels which are lower (whether phonemically high or low) than the same tone phonemes at the beginning of an utterance (without, however, being similar to the down-step of such languages as Swahili), and
6. Being accompanied by a higher register on the first few syllables of the following utterance.

Since bundles of these features also occur concurrently once or several times within longer stretches of speech, one can identify each of the stretches as being phonologically equivalent with an unbroken utterance. This is one of the criteria for the definition of a "sentence" (q.v. chp. 14, fn. 1).

Terminal pause is symbolized by a period.

3.12. The second kind of pause, symbolized by a comma, occurs within an utterance. This non-terminal pause is characterized most frequently by the following features:

1. A slight rising glide from the level of the tone preceding pause, whether high, low, or mid (sometimes accompanied by a slight glottal catch), or
2. A lowered high or a raised low in this same position, or
3. A sustained level pitch with lengthened vowel in this same position, and
4. A short pause, and
5. The absence of features which otherwise characterize terminal pause.

Unlike terminal pause, which seems to always be correlated with a grammatical unit, non-terminal pause occurs both at syntactic junctures (where it is functional) and at points of hesitation (where it is by no means grammatically functional). The syntactic constructions which are accompanied by a non-terminal pause are various types of dependent clauses in protasis (ex. 1-6), constructions in series (ex. 7-9), constructions preceding a dependent clause, primarily tense 'to say' (ex. 10-11), and various types of pre-clausal constructions (q.v. chp. 12, ex. 12-13). It can also follow connectives (ex. 14-15), separate a subject from the predicate (ex. 16-17), and even break up parts of a verb phrase. The last three occurrences are probably not functional and should not be indicated in the transcription of texts.

1. tongana mo sára tongasó pepe, 'If you don't do it like
lá kóé mo ke wara malade -A8 this, you'll always be get-
ting sick.'
2. tongana ayí tí sí na six heures 'When it was about six thirty,
et demie awe, só ndo avokó awe, when it had already become
lo goe na kóli só ... -F4 dark, she went to this man...'
3. tongana lo sí ká awe, áwále só kóé 'After he had arrived there,
agá así -F7 all these women came and ar-
rived.'
4. lo te ngunzá ní kóé awe, mo goe 'After he has eaten all the
mo mú na lo ngú -A11 manioc greens, you go and
give him water.'
5. mo lɛkɛ kóé awe, fadesó mo gá mo 'After you have prepared it all,
túku mafuta na yá ta -A8 then you come and you pour
oil into the pot.'
6. ála fáa lége ní awe, ála ke 'When they had crossed the road,
kírí tí ála ká tí goe -I55 they kept on returning over
there to go on.'
7. mo yí tí báa ndo, mo zía kpí -A8 'Just a little later, then you
add the paste.'
8. adé éré tí lo, lo yí da ape -F7 'He called his name, but he
didn't answer.'

- | | |
|--|--|
| 9. s6 mbi s6ra kus6ra t6 n6 ake
nzon6 na n6 tongas6 -I39 | '(He said), since I was working
for him, it was all right
with him.' |
| 10. mbi tene, mbi g6 k6k6 t6 y6ro
da -A40 | 'I said that I am looking for
a stick to stick into it.' |
| 11. k6li s6 atene w6le t6 lo, lo
leke k6ngb6 t6 n6 fades6 -F4 | 'This man told his wife to pre-
pare his things now.' |
| 12. na k6t6r6 t6 mbi, mb6n6 d6d6
a6ke -A9 | 'In my country, there is a
certain dance.' |
| 13. ngingza t6 vo na y6ng6, mbi
wara ape ng6 -A44 | 'Neither do I have the money
with which to buy salt.' |

3.20. Tone

In addition to the tonal features which accompany non-terminal and terminal pause which were described above, there are a number of terminal contours which add some kind of meaning to a whole utterance. It is almost certain that there are more than it has been possible to describe this far.

1. Slow and long rising glide starting from the level of the final tone phoneme of the utterance (ex. 1-4). This contour marks interrogation where there is no interrogative word or, where there is an interrogative word, asks for a repetition of what has been said.
2. Falling-rising glide on the last syllable of an utterance (ex. 5-7). Men all seem to agree that this contour is used especially by women. It too marks questions, but it seems to me to suggest sarcasm or hypocritical politeness.
3. Rising-falling glide on the last syllable of an utterance (ex. 8-10). This too suggests a bit of sarcasm or disinterest with questions but insistence or repetition with statements.
4. A level of pitch higher than one normally expects for statements. Little more can be said about this intonational pattern, for it is known only in the question-greeting *m6 ke s6ng6* 'How are you (lit. Are you all right)?' Contrasted with the statements *m6 ke s6ng6* 'You are all

right' or lo ke séngé 'He is all right,' the absolute pitch of the high tones of séngé in the question are definitely higher than in the statement.

5. The absence of features which mark terminal pause (q.v. 3.11, points 4 and 5). This contour is posited to account for the difference between the following two non-verbal sentences:

tongasó ma.	'That's the way.'
tongasó ma?	'You mean that way?'

The only discernible difference between the question and the statement is that in the former there is an arresting of the pitch on the final syllable so that it does not fall off to lower levels as happens in the statement.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. mbi túku mbéni na lo↑ -I9 | 'Shall I pour some for him?' |
| 2. mo vo awe↑ -I9 | 'Did you buy some already?' |
| 3. mbi sára téné tí pémbe tí mbi
só kóé da↑ -A9 | 'Shall I tell all about my
teeth in it (i.e. the tape-
recorder)?' |
| 4. téné tí terrain ní↑ -I55 | 'Do you mean about the airfield?' |
| 5. lo sí lá wa só↘ | 'Do tell, when did he arrive?' |
| 6. ndá tí tiri ní ake yę só↘ | 'Now what is the fight about?' |
| 7. mo goe tí pete gozo tí mo lá
wa só↘ | 'Dear, when are you going to
crush your manioc?' |
| 8. ká tí káté ní amú awe↘ | 'Has the sore on the chest
healed?' |
| 9. mo kpa mbéni zo sí mbi sára téné
na mo↘ | 'Do you resemble someone that
I should talk to?' |
| 10. yoró ti ngaánga tí ála só, azía
da, fadé mo ngbá zo↘ | 'This ngaánga fetish of theirs,
if they put it there, will
you remain a person?' |

In addition to the four intonational contours already described there is at least one more which occurs with negated questions which adds the meaning 'is it not true that.....?' (This is probably not the only contour which is used with negated sentences, either statements or questions. Others appear to exist, but they have not yet been analyzed.) This contour occurs as a

raised and sustained tone (about the height of mid) on both syllables of the negative marker *pɛpɛ/apɛ* (q.v. 8.12).

- | | | |
|-----|--|--|
| 11. | mbi má tongana mɔ mú kɔ́li awe
apɛ → -C8 | 'Haven't I heard that you've
taken a man?' |
| 12. | fadé mbi kɛ bi lo na ngonda apɛ →
-A40 | 'Won't I throw it away?' |
| 13. | lá só mbi báa kɔ́li tí mɔ agoe
na galá avɔ yama mbi báa apɛ →
-A44 | 'Today didn't I see your
husband go to the market and
buy meat?' |

Because of the practical problems involved in representing these various contours, they are henceforth ignored in this grammar. All statements are terminated with period and all questions other than those containing an interrogative word are terminated with a question mark.

3.30. Stress

Although stress (marked by ") is not lexically significant, since it does not operate to contrast any morphologically defined stretch of speech, it is used expressively. It seems to be in no way correlated with intonation contours but occurs on any word regardless of its class. This being true, it is difficult to determine why stress sometimes occurs at all. From our point of view, the word on which it occurs is not appropriately "emphasized," if this is the function of stress. It is nonetheless true that an utterance which has a stressed syllable in it is somehow expressively different from one which does not have stress.

The general pattern is the following: stress occurs on any monosyllabic word and on the first syllable of polysyllabic words, without any change of phonemic tone. The statement about tone must be modified to account for the word *pɛpɛ* (= *apɛ*) 'negative marker' which can take stress on either or both syllables and the tone of which is also changed.

- | | | |
|----|---|---------------------------------------|
| 1. | wále tí lo ní a"yí mbi pɛ"pɛ
-N81 | 'His wife did not like me.' |
| 2. | taá téré tí mbi a"vɔkɔ́ alíngbi
apɛ -N81 | 'My body was dirty beyond
belief.' |
| 3. | mbi tene "vens apɛ -C8 | 'I didn't lie.' |

- | | |
|---|--|
| 4. "tongana yɛ. mú na mbi bière.
-I9 | 'What's up? Give me beer.' |
| 5. mɔ éré ázo títene ála gá atoto
lo "na mɔ -A21 | 'You call people to come and
mourn him for you.' |
| 6. mɔ sukúla téré ní "pe"pe -A8 | 'You don't wash it.' |
| 7. lá tongasó í na ámbunzú, í
"goe -I55 | 'With the sun about like this,
the White Men and I went off.' |

3.40. French influenced

What has been already said about Sango intonation is probably the "normal" pattern. Stress and rising glide are also characteristic of a minor type of speech, one which is not correlated with any indigenous ethnic group but rather with people who have worked with French-speaking Europeans. Among them a final stressed vowel with high-falling glide (marked here by ^) or a final rising contour like the question one (no. 1 above) is quite common. These features seem to have no contrastive or expressive function. Rather, they are imitative of certain intonational features of French.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Jésus abáa mbéni ngó óse na
yángá tí ngú ní -R10 | 'Jesus saw two boats at the
edge of the lake.' |
| 2. ...sí lo tene na lô, lo poussé
ngó ní kété na lé tí ngú -R10 | '...so he told him to push the
boat out into the water a
bit.' |
| 3. kíringó tí í lo só, tí bíngó
gbánda lo só -R10 | 'We've just arrived from cast-
ing nets.' |

PART TWO: WORD CLASSES

Chapter 4

A D J U N C T I V E S

The adjunctives are those words which, like English adjectives and adverbs, can enter in subordinate endocentric construction with another word. They might be said to "modify" nouns, verbs, and--in one case--another adjunctive. Although they resemble school-grammar adjectives and adverbs in function, it is probably ill-advised to so name them, because Sango adjunctives differ from each other not by morphological features but by syntactic distribution. Moreover, there is so much overlapping between the subclasses that a definite division between a class of adjectives and a class of adverbs at the moment is impossible. It must be said, however, that it is not at all unlikely that further work would help to make subclassifications in some respects considerably neater.

While class identification is of considerable interest from a structuralist's point of view, what is most important for the learner of the language is the place of occurrence of any one of these words. For example, since *kóé* 'all' can occur both as an adjunct of a noun (as an "adjective") and as an adjunct of a verb (as an "adverb"), it is quite easy to misunderstand its function in a verb phrase when it is preceded by a noun. For example, the final *kóé* 'all' in the following clause can be taken with *pommes de terre* to mean 'all the potatoes' or with the verb *yóro* to mean 'also fry': *lá kóé mbi ke yóro na lo pommes de terre kóé*. From the context (C31) one selects the latter sense, i.e. 'I'm always frying him potatoes too.'

The adjunctives are therefore taken as a class and then divided according to predominant positions of occurrence. They are called "ante-noun," "post-noun," "verbal," and "universal" adjunctives. These names are given as cover designations for ease of remembering their class membership. It would be less misleading, perhaps, but more accurate, to designate them as sub-class I, II, etc.

Some of the adjunctives can also function substantively. This feature does not lead to further subclassifications but is simply discussed in chp. 10.

The following charts summarize the distribution of adjunctives.

Tabulation of the places of occurrence of all adjunctives

Adjunctive	ante- noun	post- noun	verb	univ.	Adjunctive	ante- noun	post- noun	verb	univ.
ánde	-	-	x	-	míngi	-	x	x	-
ándo	-	-	x	-	ndé	-	x	x	-
bíakú	-	-	x	-	ndurú	x	-	x	-
bíani	-	-	x	-	ngá	-	x	x	-
bingbá	x	-	-	-	ngangó	x	-	x	-
búbá	x	-	-	-	ngbéré	x	-	-	-
da	-	-	x	-	ngbii	-	-	x	-
fadé	-	-	x	-	ní	-	x	-	-
fadesó	-	-	x	-	numerals	-	x	x	-
finí	x	-	-	-	nzoní	x	-	x	-
gbá	-	-	x	-	óké	-	x	x	-
gbándá	-	-	x	-	óko	-	x	x	-
ge	-	-	x	-	pendere	x	-	x	-
gí	-	-	-	x	séngé	x	x	x	-
hío	-	-	x	-	sioní	x	-	x	-
ká	-	-	x	-	só	-	x	-	-
kété	x	x	x	-	taá	-	-	-	x
kírikiri	-	x	x	-	tár	-	-	x	-
kóé	-	x	x	-	tongasó	-	x	x	-
kótá	x	-	x	-	vení	-	x	-	x
kózo	x	-	x	-	vokó	x	-	-	-
kpíngba	x	-	-	-	vurú	x	-	-	-
kpítikpítí	-	-	x	-	wa	-	x	-	-
kpó	-	-	x	-	yekeyeke	-	-	x	-
mbakóro	x	-	-	-	yé	-	x	-	-
mbéni	x	-	x	-	yongóro	x	-	x	-
mbírimbíri	-	-	x	-					

Tabulation of the categories of adjunctives, according to their places of occurrence. Those which may also be used as substantives are marked with an asterisk.

<u>ante-noun</u>	<u>post-noun</u>	<u>verbal</u>	<u>universal</u>
bíngbá	*ní	ánde	gí
*búbá	*só	ándo	taá
finí	wa	biakú	
kpíngba	*yɛ	bíani	
mbakóro		da	
ngbééré		fadé	
vokó		fadesó	
vurú		gbá	
		gbándá	
		ge	
		hío	
		ká	
		kpítikpítí	
		kpó	
		*mbírímbírí	
		ngbii	
		tár	
		yekeyeke	
<u>ante-noun,</u> <u>verbal</u>	<u>ante-noun,</u> <u>post-noun,</u>	<u>post-noun,</u> <u>verbal</u>	<u>post-noun,</u> <u>universal</u>
*kótá		kírikiri	vení
*kózo	*kété	*kóé	
*mbéni	*séngé	*míngi	
ndurú		ndé	
*ngangó		ngá	
*nzoni		numerals	
*pendere		*óké	
*sioni		*óko	
yongóro		tongasó	

4.10. Ante-noun adjunctives

Ante-noun adjunctives (Aa) are distinguished by the fact that they generally stand in front of the noun they modify. Five of them, however, can also follow the noun (or perhaps only certain nouns) with no apparent change in meaning (viz. kété 'small,' kótá 'large,' pendere 'young,' séngé 'unimportant,' vokó 'black.' While all of them can apparently function substantively when followed by the post-noun adjunctive ní, a few of them (marked with an asterisk below) can function substantively without this word. It is to be noted that three of these are already written with a final ni syllable. The reason is that there is no adjunctive with the form mbe, and sio and nzo occur only in the speech of those influenced by the missions. Historically, of course, one would have to relate the first syllables of mbé ngú 'the other side of the stream,' mbáge 'a side,' and mbéni 'some.' In fact, sioní 'bad' and nzoní 'good' act like the other adjunctives in being able to take the adjunctive ní. All of these adjunctives appear to follow the identificational verb eke 'to be' or the copulatively-used verbs gá 'to come' and ngbá 'to remain' when they have the meanings 'to become' and 'to be' respectively. Moreover, a few of them (marked with ‡) can also modify verbs as adverbs would. The glosses indicate some of the resultant translation equivalents.

bingbá	'red, brown'	ngangó * ‡	'hard, terribly'
búbá *	'foolish'	ngbééré	'old'
finí	'new'	nzoní * ‡	'good, well'
kété * ‡	'small, a little'	pendere *	'young, nice'
kótá *	'large'	séngé * ‡	'unimportant, useless'
kózo * ‡	'first'	sioní * ‡	'bad, terribly'
kpingba	'hard'	vurú *	'white'
mbakóro	'old'	vokó	'black'
mbéni * ‡	'some, a certain, a little'	yongóro *	'long'
ndurú	'short, close'		

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. lo ke bingbá yama -F4 | 'It's a brownish animal.' |
| 2. mɔ́ búbá mérengé -L175 | 'You stupid child.' |
| 3. ázo só ake sára téné tí búbá
-R3 | 'These people are saying
things.' |
| 4. me ke búbá míngi | 'You're very stupid.' |
| 5. mbéni da agbí na finí kótóró
-N79 | 'A house burnt in the new
village.' |
| 6. agá apíka li tí kété mérengé só
-N79 | 'She came and hit this little
girl's head.' |
| 7. mbi kpo na ákété kété yama
-A40 | 'I spear little animals with
it.' |
| 8. mbi hinga français kété -I39 | 'I know French a little.' |
| 9. ála te kété kété kété -A50 | 'They ate a very little bit.' |
| 10. angbá kété, ála poisonné mbi
-N81 | 'A little more and they would
have poisoned me.' |
| 11. í yí tí hó kété... -N79 | 'Having gone on just a little...' |
| 12. na pekó ní kété, wále tí babá tí
lo akúfí -L16 | 'A little later and his father's
wife died.' |
| 13. mɔ́ mú na ála conseil kété sí
-L168 | 'Give them a little advice.' |
| 14. babá tí mbi tí kété | 'my uncle (i.e. father's younger
brother)' |
| 15. ála sára kótá wá da -A13 | 'They made a big fire there.' |
| 16. amú mbéni kótá bongó, bingbá
bingbá, abi na sése -R2 | 'He took a big cloth, a red one,
and cast it on the ground.' |
| 17. í sára ákótá lége -R2 | 'We made large roads.' |
| 18. tongana mbi commencé gá kótá
kété kété awe ... -N81 | 'When I began to grow up a
little....' |
| 19. lá kótá-kótá lá | 'mid-day, noon' |
| 20. í girísa France na kótá tí lo
pepe -R2 | 'We don't forget the greatness
of France.' |
| 21. kózo yí ní | 'the first thing' |
| 22. tene na mbi kózo(ní) -L3 | 'Tell me first.' |
| 23. kózo ní kóé, mbi ke díko éré
tí ázo -R9b | 'First of all I am going to read
the names of the people.' |

24. lo yó kózo ní sí lo tɛ kpíngba kóbe -A42 'He drinks first then he eats hard food.'
25. mbéni mbakóro wále aeke -L186 'There was an old woman.'
26. ála ke sára na mbéni yí ndé -A13 'They used to make different things out of it.'
27. ála mú mbéni mérengé óko -A9 'They take a child.'
28. ámbéni wále ahínga tí leke yá tí da tí ála pepe -A8 'Some women don't know how to fix the interior of their houses.'
29. í fáa mbéni kótá yáká -R6 'We made a large garden.'
30. amú na í nginza mbéni pepe -R2 'He doesn't give us money any more.'
31. mbéni, lo ke tí sára ngiá na kóli ní -L162 'Another one, she refuses to chat with her husband.'
32. ámbéni avo kárakó -N78 'Some buy peanuts.'
33. mo tene ngá gí ndurú téné -R1 'Say something short.'
34. mo gá ndurú na téré tí da -C30 'Come close to the house.'
35. ála píka lo ngangó - 'They hit him hard.'
36. ngangó tí lo ade -L186 'He still has strength.'
37. lo lánzó tí lo na ngbéré da -L27 'He's living in the old house.'
38. ála sára nzoní yí pepe -R2 'They don't do good things.'
39. só ake nzoní ape -R6 'That's not good.'
40. ála goe nzoní o - 'Goodbye (i.e. go well).'
41. asára kpa ní nzoní ape -R3 'He didn't do the work well.'
42. nzoní, ála goe na Boali -R7d 'You ought to go to Boali.'
43. mo fa na ála lége tí nzoní -A49 'You show them the right way.'
44. mbi gá pendere kóli na Rafai -I39 'I became an adolescent boy at Rafai.'
45. ázo tí pendere míngi -F7 'people of very good looks'
46. ála ke tí ála gí séngé zo -R10 'For their part, they were just ordinary people.'
47. gí ngunzá séngé sí lo tó só -A8 'Just plain manioc greens is what she cooks.'
48. amú nginza ake buba séngé séngé -A8 'He takes money and wastes it with no rhyme or reason.'

49. mbi hánda mo séngé -L175 'All I did was to deceive you.'
50. fadé mo wara ngá kóé séngé -C31 'You'll get everything all right
without any trouble.'
51. mbéni sioní kobéla asára ámbéni
zo óko óko -L7 'A certain bad disease is afflict-
ing a few people.'
52. apíka lo sioní 'He beat him terribly.'
53. só ake kobéla tí sioní míngi
-R4b 'That's a very bad disease.'
54. ála báa tongana sioní -A49 'They look upon it as evil.'
55. ngú (tí) vurú 'pus'
56. tongana lo sí na yongóro lége...
-L17 'When he had arrived at a re-
mote road....'
57. kótóró ade yongóro míngi -L17 'The village is still a long
way off.'

The following chart shows the order of occurrence of the adjunctives that modify nouns or other substantives.

ante-head 4	ante-head 3	ante-head 2	ante-head 1	HEAD	post-head 1	post-head 2	post-head 3	post-head 4	post-head 5
mbéni		mbéni	bingbá	nouns	kété				
míngi	á-		búbá		kírikiri	ní	só	vení	kóé
finí			finí	mbéni	míngi				ngá
taá			kété*		ndé*				
gí			kótá*	pro-	numerals				
			kózo	nouns	óke				
			kpingba		óko*				
			mbakóro		séngé				
			ndurú		tongasó				
			ngangó		vokó				
			ngbééré		wa				
			nzoní		yé				
			pendere						
			séngé						
			sioní						
			vokó						
			vurú						
			yongóro						
			French						
			adjec-						
			tives:						
			même						
			premier						
			vieux						
			vingt,						
			etc.						

*Adjunctives marked by an asterisk may be reduplicated.

4.20. Post-noun adjunctives

Post-noun adjunctives (Ap) are distinguished by the fact that they generally stand behind the noun they modify. As with ante-noun adjunctives some of these too can function substantively and as verb modifiers (marked again with * and ‡). Two of them (viz. ngá 'also' and tongasó 'thusly') also have the characteristic of being able to stand at the head of a clause in an introductory position (q.v. chp. 12). The latter word may be the result of adding só to another word, but since tonga otherwise does not occur alone (since it bears no meaning relationship to the connective tongana, q.v. 5.80), it is considered a single word and written as such. Special attention is given to ní, numerals, and só after which other examples are given. The complete list of Ap is the following:

kóé * ‡	'all, completely'
míngi * ‡	'much, many, very'
ndé ‡	'different, differently'
ngá ‡	'also'
ní *	'determinant'
numerals *	
śko * ‡	'one'
śke *	'how many?'
só *	'this'
tongasó ‡	'thus, thusly'
vaní	'the very'
wa	'what?'
yξ *	'what?'

4.21. ní is used both as a noun modifier and also as a pronoun. With nouns it serves as a determinant which is restrictive or anaphoric or both. As a pronoun its most common use is in indirect discourse. An enlarged discussion follows.

4.21.10. The restrictive function of ní depends on its being used to identify and single out a particular object. It is therefore in some respects similar to the English and French definite articles. The anaphoric function depends on its being used to refer to an object already mentioned in a discourse. These uses are not incompatible with the use of só 'this'

which is deictic and demonstrative; both ní and só can occur with the same noun.

As a general description the preceding statement is valid, but it does not account for all the occurrences of ní, and neither does it account for its omission where one might expect it. Sometimes a newly introduced noun is followed by ní for no apparent reason (ex. 2). On the other hand, where one noun is referred to several times in a discourse, only some of its occurrences are with ní (ex. 5). Moreover, only the frequency of the use of mbéni + noun + ní is proof that the construction is standard, for one would not expect a construction with both the indefiniteness of mbéni and the specificity of ní, unless mbéni means 'a certain' as well as 'some.'

1. tongana ángaragé ní abáa yama 'When the ngaragé see an
na ti tí ázo só, na ála tense, animal in the hands of these
mú na mbi yama ní -A37 people, they say, "Give me
the animal."'
 2. auto afáa mbéni mérengé ní ... 'An automobile had killed a
méné ní alíngbi na ndó tí child. ... The blood on the
lége ape -N79 road was incredible.'
 3. asára kótá wá da. na témé só 'They make a huge fire there.
aake témé só wé aake na yá ní. And this stone is stone in
na wé ní aake sí gígi. -A13 which there is iron. And
the iron comes out.'
 4. mo zía kpí. mo mú kósó. kpí 'You put sauce (in it). You
ní aake kósó. -A8 take kósó. The sauce is
kósó sauce.'
 5. tongana lo sí na yóngóro lége, 'When he had come to a remote
lo húnda mérengé tí lo, lo tense, road, he asked his child, he
mérengé tí mbi. na mérengé said, "My child." And the
ayí da. lo húnda lo, fadésó child answered. He (i.e. the
eke na kótóro ndurú? na father) asked him, "Are we
mérengé ní atene na babá tí now close to a village?" And
lo, babá, kótóro ade yóngóro the child said to his father,
míngi. ... fadésó lo gbóto "Father, the village is still a
mérengé tí lo ní na yá géré long way off." ... Now he dragged
tí lo. -L17 his child between his legs.'

6. kóli tí íta tí mbi tí wále ní, 'The husband of my sister, he
lo goe tí pika dole, sí lo went to hunt elephants, and
pika mbéni kóli dole ní, amú he shot an elephant, and it
lo afáa lo -L6 took him and killed him.'

While the use of ní as a restrictive or anaphoric determinant with most nouns is to some extent determined by the will of the speaker, its occurrence with other words is apparently determined linguistically. (a) There are several nouns which have to do with time, place, or reason (i.e. circumstantial nouns) which take ní when they are followed by no other complements (ex. 7-23). (b) Unless the -ngó verbal nouns have some kind of complement (q.v. 6.30), they very often take ní (ex. 24-29). (c) Certain adjunctives, when they are used substantively, sometimes take ní (q.v. 10.30).

ní with circumstantial nouns:

7. mo túku na ndó bé ní -A8 'You pour it on top.'
8. mbéni kóbe ti yóro na gbé ní
aake ape -A44 'There is no food to put
underneath (i.e. to mix
with it).'
9. mo mú mbanu, mo gá na gbé ní
-A29 'You take the cross-bow, you
come up underneath.'
10. ázo awara ngiá na lá ní míngi
-L27 'People were very happy on
that day.'
11. wángó só, lá ní mo mú só, anzere
na mbi míngi -R4d 'The advice you gave on that
day pleased me a great deal.'
12. mbi tambéla na li ní -R2 'I walked on top of it.'
13. na ndá ní, ála mú mbéni átémé
-A13 'After that, they take some
stones.'
14. ndá ní sí mbi húnda na mo -L168 'That's why I ask you.'
15. fadesó mbi má ndá ní awe -L27 'Now I've heard the whole
thing.'
16. atúku na ndó ní -A8 'Pour it on top.'
17. kóngbá tí mbunzú ahó ndó ní
-I55 'The White Men's baggage was
heavier than anything.'
18. bale óko na ndó ní óko 'eleven'

19. lo yó ngú na pekó ní -A11 'He drank water after it.'
20. lo gá na pekó ní -F7 'He came later.'
21. ála gá na téré ní míngi míngi
-A48 'They came to it in great numbers.'
22. lo zía ngú na yá ní -A15 'She puts water in it.'
23. wé aake na yá ní -A13 'Iron is in it.'

ní with nominalized verbs

24. mo ke na téné tí ténéngó ní
míngi -R4c 'You have a lot of things to say.'
25. tongana mbi wara yí tí téngó ní
-A40 'When I find something to eat...'
26. mbi hinga tí sárángó ní na Sango
ngá -I39 'I know how to do it in Sango also.'
27. tongana mo yí tí wóngó ní -C30 'When you want to buy...'
28. ngéré ní ake wókóngó ní kété
-R7d 'The price is somewhat low.'
29. kíringó ní na Bangui só aake
ngangó míngi -N35 'Returning to Bangui here was difficult.'

As for the position of ní in a noun phrase, it is very clear that other adjunctives only follow it (ex. 30-36) and that when a noun is modified by a phrase introduced by tí (q.v. 10.12) ní always comes at the end of the phrase whether it modifies the head or attributive noun (ex. 37-44). The one example of an "included" ní is not enough to admit an equally valid alternative.

ní followed by other adjunctives:

30. mo wara pendere bongó ní só
na ndo wa -C31 'Where did you get this nice dress?'
31. ála ke tene téné ní só gí na
yángá séngé séngé -R2 'They are saying these things just with the mouth (i.e. there is no truth in what they say).'
32. áméréngé ní ká, ála ke na yoró
-N81 'The young people over there, they have charms.'

33. gí kóli ní vaní asúru -L15 'It was just the husband himself who tore up (the paper).'
34. ála to mbéti ní kóé gí na direction só -R7e 'Send all the letters just to the head office.'
35. lo kamáta mbéni bordelle ní óko na ndó tí wále tí lo -L15 'He took a prostitute in addition to his wife.'
36. mo ke na nginza ní míngi -I9 'You have a lot of money.'

ní following tí phrases:

37. ámbunzú tí Bangui ní, ála gá mú na mbi nginza -I55 'The White Men from Bangui came and gave me money.'
38. kété ita tí lo só amú lége akírí. na ita tí lo ní akírí atene na lo -N79 'This younger sister of hers took to the road and returned. And her sister (i.e. the one indicated by the possessed form) said to her.'
39. bata ngá kóbe tí mo ní -C30 'Keep your food.'
40. wále tí lo ní ayí mbi pepe -N81 'His wife did not like me.'
41. éré tí dódó ní laá -A21 'That's the name of the dance.'
42. lo zía kété kété ita tí mbi óko na yá tí da ní -N81 'He put one of my little sisters in the house.'
43. ála mú yoró tí kobéla ní -R4b 'They took medicine for the sickness.'
44. bilharzie ní tí wále ake so ála -R4a 'The liver-fluke disease of women hurts them.'

4.21.20. When ní is used pronominally its referents are either animate or inanimate. Pronominal reference to inanimate objects is practically unknown except after the connective (ex. 1-7). Outside of the light-hearted or somewhat humorous reference to inanimate objects with the pronoun lo (q.v. 7.14), pronouns are avoided after the connective tí and after verbs. (The subject-marker a- is not really a pronoun even though it can stand for either an inanimate or animate subject. See 7.2a) However, as a result of the influence of the French language among bilinguals, ní is sometimes used as an object of a verb (ex. 8-11). The only examples occur in the speech of

bilinguals. In their speech too are a few post-verb occurrences which do not seem to have any function whatsoever (ex. 12-13).

ní with the connective na:

1. ála mú kóá tí mérengé ní, ála
goe na ní -L17 'They took the corpse of the
child and they went off with
it.'
2. mbéni omba tí mbi laá amú mbi, sí
agoe na ní -A21 'One of my aunts took me with
her.' [ní refers to mbi 'me.']
3. gí vin só mo bata na ní só vení
mo ks tó na ní -R9a 'It's only the wine in which you
have kept it (i.e. the kidneys)
that you cook it with.'
4. zo tí gíngó yoró na mbi, sí mbi
soigné na ní aeke pepe -L186 'There's no one to look for
medicine for me to treat my-
self with it.'
5. mo kpaka téré tí mbi na ní -F7 'Scratch my body with it (i.e.
the bark).'
6. tongana mbi wara gozo ngá, mbi
sára na ní, mbi te -A40 'When I find manioc also, I
prepare it with it (i.e. the
knife), and I eat it.'
7. ála kpo lo bíaní bíaní, lo kúí
na ní -A50 'They spear it completely and
it dies from them (i.e. the
wounds).'

ní with inanimate referents:

8. yá tí mbi asúku, akono tongana
ballon, sí ála pompé ní -N81 'My abdomen swelled up and be-
came as big as a balloon, as
if they had pumped it.'
9. í língbi títene í báa éré tí ála
hío, tí díko ní -R9b 'We can see your names right
away to read them.'
10. kpa kóé, fadé ála kpé ní pepe
-R10 'They will not be afraid of all
kinds of work.'
11. mo mú rognon só mo préparé ní
na vin -R9a 'You take the kidneys which you
have prepared with wine.'
12. lo tí ní na kutukutu ká -R2 'He fell from a car over there.'

13. mbi báa ní kótóró tí Côte- 'I saw the city of Côte-d'Azur.'
d'Azur -R2 [translation of: 'J'ai eu à
visiter la Côte-d'Azur.']

When standing for animate objects ní is also used pronominally in indirect discourse (ex. 14-19) and in direct discourse to avoid ambiguity (ex. 20). When it occurs as subject of a verb, its tone is very often low, but in this grammar it will be written only with high tone. In indirect discourse, whether the subject is third person singular or plural (and much more rarely second person singular or plural), ní occurs wherever a pronoun would ordinarily occur. This use of ní is, however, not obligatory, and one will often find the ordinary pronouns in indirect discourse. It should also be added that some speakers use í for ní under this circumstance. It is, however, not very common.

ní in indirect discourse:

14. wále só atene, ní eke na mbéni 'This woman said, "I have one
ókò na yá tí da tí ní -R9b child in my house."'
15. lo tene, depuis mamá tí ní adú 'He said, "Since the time my
ní só, ní de ní báa yama tí mother bore me, I haven't
sése agbó kámba na ndúzú seen a terrestrial animal
pepe -L175 trapped in the sky."'
16. lo tene, fadesó wále tí ní akúfí, 'He said, "My wife is now dead,
ní báa ndo pepe -L17 and I can't see."'
17. tere atene na lo, mo língbi tí 'The spider said to him, "Can
píka ní? -L175 you hit me?"'
18. kóli só atene na wále tí lo, lo 'This man said to his wife that
leke kóngbá tí ní fadesó she should get his things to-
-F4 gether now.'
19. tere atene na lo, lo mú na ní 'Spider told him to give him
mbo tí ní -F4 (i.e. the spider) his (i.e.
spider's) dog.'
20. mbéni kóli tí Banana afáa mamá 'A man from Banana killed his
tí lo. lo fáa me tí mamá tí mother. He cut off her
ní. -L17 breasts.'

There is one use of ní where its referent is completely generalized in much the same way as English 'that' in 'That's fine.' This is its use with laá (q.v. 8.13).

4.22. The numerals are used very much like the other adjunctives of this class, and whereas they can be used substantively, this use is uncommon. After a general discussion of the equivalents for English and French numerals, the peculiar uses of numerals with money and of the number 'one' are described.

Beyond the number 9 the Sango system of counting is decimal. Larger numbers are constructed syntactically.

1	śko
2	óse
3	otá
4	osió
5	ukú
6	omaná
7	mbásámbará
8	miombe
9	ngombáyá
10	bale śko (i.e. 1 unit of ten)
20	bale óse (i.e. 2 units of ten)
11	bale śko na (ndó ní) śko (i.e. 'ten and on top of it one')
21	bale óse na (ndó ní) śko
100	ngbangbu (śko)
1000	ngbangu bale śko (i.e. 100 x 10) or kutu
2000	ngbangbu bale óse (i.e. 100 x 20)
1031	ngbangbu bale śko na ndó ní bale otá na śko

Different conventions are used in counting money. The more acquaintance one has with French, the more one uses French numbers in counting money. But the system used most commonly is based on the páta which is a unit to designate five francs. Ten francs is therefore referred to by páta óse 'two pata's.' One thousand francs is referred to either by sáki (from French 'sac') śko or páta ngbangu óse (i.e. unit of 5, 200 times). When a figure is not divisible by five, one adds the phrase franc (pronounced most

commonly faránga) óko, etc. Prices for the general public are adjusted to the nearest páta, but banks and large commercial enterprises naturally figure on the franc.

- 25f páta ukú
 335f páta bale omaná na ndó ní mbásámbara (i.e. 67 páta's)
 1.565f sáki óko na (páta) ngbangbu óko na ndó ní bale óko
 na otá
 1.566 sáki óko na (páta) ngbangu óko na ndó ní bale óko na
 otá na faránga óko

Some of these constructions are obviously rather unwieldy but they are by no means uncommon.

The number óko 'one' is used in several idiomatic ways which need special attention. With the negative marker pepe (q.v. 8.12) it takes on the meaning 'not at all, absolutely not' (ex. 1-4). In some constructions it means 'just' or 'alone' or 'together' (ex. 5-6). Finally, there are expressions like lá óko 'one day' (in the sense of 'on one occasion'), and lége óko 'in the same way, together,' etc. (ex. 7-9).

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. yángá tí mbi ake da óko
pepe -I9 | 'I'm having nothing to do
with that.' |
| 2. tóró ní ake na yá tí ngonda
óko pepe -A48 | 'There are absolutely no
ghosts in the bush.' |
| 3. yí tí so í óko ake pepe -R6 | 'There's not one thing to
hurt us.' |
| 4. zo tí píka mbi óko ake pepe -R6 | 'There's no one to hit me.' |
| 5. mbi húnda gí Nzapá óko -N35 | 'I'm praying just to God.' |
| 6. í te kóbe óko -R2 | 'We eat together.' |
| 7. mbéni lá óko lé tí lo óse kóé
ake so lo -L186 | 'One day his two eyes hurt
him.' |
| 8. áBanda na áNzakara, ála ke lége
óko -I39 | 'The Banda and the Nzakara
are the same.' |
| 9. í bóngbi na ála lége óko -R2 | 'We met with them.' |
| 10. da ní agbí da ukú -N79 | 'Five house burned there.' |
| 11. ámbéni wále sí ake na téré tí
lo óse -R4a | 'He has two wives.' |

12. mbéni sioní kobéla asára ámbéni 'A certain bad disease is af-
zo óko óko -L7 flicting a few people.'
13. lo zía kété kété ita tí mbi óko 'He put my little sister in
na yá tí da ní -N81 the house.'
14. mbi báa gí mérengé tí kóli óko 'I saw just one boy.'
-R96
15. mo óko laá mo ke yá? -I9 'You're going to drink it alone?'
16. lo goe, lo óko, na li tí hótó 'He went alone to the top of
-R10 the mountain.'

4.23. The adjunctive *só*, whose function is that of a deictic with the meaning of 'this,' has several other specific uses. It occurs as the head of certain substantive constructions which are conveniently called "relative" (and which function subjectively, objectively, and as complements). It can also function pronominally and as a "filler" following certain connectives. By itself, or in the noun phrase *yí só* 'this thing,' it marks a certain kind of subordinate clause (q.v. 15.21.12b). Finally, it occurs at the end of clauses in a very idiomatic way.

4.23.10. Because *só* is used in constructions which are easily translated by an English clause with a relative pronoun, it is convenient to talk about the "relative" use of this adjunctive. It would be wrong, however, to equate *só* with English or French relative pronouns. Such an error would certainly lead to incorrect uses of *só*. (Instances of the interference of French relative pronouns in the speech of bilingual Centralafricans are noted below.)

The relative use of *só* is nothing more than a substantive construction which is followed by a modifying clause. The word *só* is to be construed as belonging to the substantive phrase, from which it is rarely separated by pause in any case, except where French seems to be interfering. E.g.

zo só ahínga mbéti 'whoever knows how to read'
'person this knows paper'

In isolation this construction would mean 'this person knows how to read,' but the context would determine whether such a construction were a clause in its own right or whether it were simply a substantive phrase. E.g.

mbi hinga mbéni zo só ahinga mbéti 'I know someone who knows how to read.'

The relative construction can have one of several relationships to the following clause.

In subjectival relationship (ex. 1-10) relative constructions are usually followed by a verb with the subject-marker prefix (q.v. 7.20), but occasionally a pronoun occurs as subject.

In objectival relationship (ex. 11-16), they can be construed as occurring alternatively in a similar simple clause. Thus, the relative construction *yama só mbi fáa* 'the animal which I killed' can be related to *mbi fáa yama só* 'I killed this animal.' Usually the noun head is close to the following clause, but if the noun is in a verb phrase itself, it may be separated from the following clause by other verb phrase elements (ex. 16).

The remaining group of occurrences consists of miscellaneous constructions which do not seem to fit into the other two groups, and which may be called complementary or circumstantial (ex. 17-26).

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. <i>yé ókó só afúti mé tí mbi</i>
-L27 | 'the one thing which inter-
fered with my hearing' |
| 2. <i>áméni wále só amú kóli</i> -L162 | 'some women who had taken
husbands (i.e. been married)' |
| 3. <i>zo só ayí tí fáa mbi</i> -R3 | 'the person who wants to kill
me' |
| 4. <i>í fáa mbéni kótá yáká só ahó</i>
ndó ní -R6 | 'We made a garden which was
really big.' |
| 5. <i>ála só agá retard</i> -L27 | 'those who came late' |
| 6. <i>mbéni só akpíngba</i> -R96 | 'some which have become hard' |
| 7. <i>Pierre só aka secrétaire</i> -R1 | 'Pierre who is secretary' |
| 8. <i>mbi só, mbi ké mará tí Zande</i>
-I39 | 'I who am of the Zande tribe' |
| 9. <i>íta tí mbi só lo ké...</i> | 'my brother who is...' |
| 10. <i>pémbé tí mbi só í báa a-manqué</i>
só -A9 | 'my teeth which you see are
missing' |

- | | |
|--|---|
| 11. kusára tí lo só lo éré mbi
ngbanga ní tí sára -L11 | 'his work which he called me
to do' |
| 12. kóbe só zo ate -L27 | 'food which a person eats' |
| 13. yí tí mo só mo sára kété amú
kaméla na mbi míngi -C31 | 'The little thing you did made
me very much ashamed.' |
| 14. vin só mo bata na ní só -R9a | 'the wine in which you kept it' |
| 15. yáká só í sára só -R6 | 'the garden which we made' |
| 16. mbi yí ti fa yí ndé ndé na mo
só mo húnda mbi da -L2 | 'I want to show you all the
different things about which
you asked me.' |
| 17. ní eke na kobéla só éré ní
bilharzie -R4a | '(He said) he had a disease which
was called liver-fluke disease.' |
| 18. mbéni ngambe tí mbi só éré tí
lo ake... -L7 | 'one of my younger siblings
whose name is...' |
| 19. zo só bé tí lo ayí, lo gá
-A21 | 'The person who wants to, let
him come.' |
| 20. na pekó tí mo só mo goe -L11 | 'after you left' |
| 21. mo eke súku na lo ngbanga-
tí tambéla só lo eke fatigué
na pekó tí mo -A49 | 'You scold him because he tired
himself in following you.' |
| 22. mbéni téné ake só mbi hinga
li tí mbi da pepe -L162 | 'a certain matter which I can't
understand' |
| 23. ndo só Nzapá afa na lo tí goe
da -A49 | 'the place to which God
instructed him to go' |
| 24. témé só wé ake na yá ní -A13 | 'stone in which there is iron' |
| 25. l'heure só mbi de kété kété,
babá tí mbi agoe... -N81 | 'When I was still very young,
my father went...' |
| 26. na lá ní só mbi goe na ní
-N81 | 'at the time when I went with
him' |

4.23.20. The adjunctive só is used pronominally but most commonly only in subjectival position. It can function as the subject of verbs (ex. 1-2) or as the topic of verbless clauses (ex. 3-6). With this function it has little more meaning than the ubiquitous 'this' or 'that' of English (e.g. 'That's good'). In other positions, where it occurs much less commonly, its meaning may be more specifically 'this.' In any case, the reference

of só is almost exclusively to inanimate objects. A special use of só following certain connectives is taken up immediately.

1. só aæke kusára tí wále laá -A15 'That's the work of women.'
2. só amú vundú na mbi míngi -L4 'That gives me a great deal of grief.'
3. só séngé -C31 'That's all right.'
4. só tongana yę -R4a 'How's that!'
5. só yę só? -C31 'What's that?'
6. só kóbe tí yáká sí aæke na aú só? -F4 'Is that garden food which Uncle has?'
7. só, mbi yí ape -R6 'That, I don't want.'
8. só vaní sí í kę -R2 'That's precisely what we reject.'
9. lége tí só angóro... -I55 'that particular road wound around...'
10. aæke só? -I9 'Is it this?'
11. mbi wara só mo sára -L27 'I received the one you did...'
12. mbi hínga tí mbi só óko pepe -R1 'For my part, I didn't know that at all.'
13. mbi yí só pepe -R6 'I don't like that.'

4.23.30. The adjunctive só is used pronominally as a meaningless filler following certain certain connectives when these are followed by clauses. The same constructions can occur equally well without só. These connectives are ngbangatí, tenatí, and tongana (q.v. 5.40 and 5.80). In these constructions só is very often followed by a pause but without a rising glide.

1. í wara nginza ngbangatí só í læke terrain -I55 'We received money because we prepared the airfield.'
2. lo húnda í ngbangatí só mbéní yí aæke so bé tí lo míngi -R4a 'He asked us because something was troubling him greatly.'
3. mbi sára yí só ngbangatí só mbi ke zo vókó -R1 'I do this because I am a Black Man.'
4. lo goe zía ála na kánga tenatí só zo akúí -L6 'He went and put them in prison because people had died.'

5. mbi díko Nzapá da tenetí só afúti lá kóé -L6 'I pray to God about it because they (i.e. the foetus) always die (i.e. mother has abortions).'
6. mbi yí ála kóé agoe tí voté tongana só ála voté kózo ní -R3 'I want you all to go to vote just as you voted before.'

4.23.40. Another special use of só, whether or not it be similar to the relative construction, is that which introduces a dependent clause (q.v. 15.21.126) in protasis. In this position só does not have any syntactic relation to the clause which immediately follows it, in which respect it differs from the relative constructions. It is rather certain that the word here in question is in fact the adjunctive, because it can be replaced by the noun phrase yí só 'this thing' with exactly the same meaning. The occurrence of só in this construction adds the meaning 'since, in view of the fact that' to the clause.

One example (ex. 6) leads one to conclude that the protasis alone can be used in an exclamatory sentence. However, not enough constructions of this type have been collected to permit more specific observations.

1. só mbi sára kusára tí ní, ake nzoní na ní tongasó -I39 '(He said) that since I worked for him, it was all right with him like this.'
2. só mo ke goe tí sí na Bangassou, ála ke fa téné ká na yángá tí Zande -I39 'If you were to go as far as Bangassou, (you would find that) they preach there in the Zande language.'
3. só mo tene awe, fadé í kírí í bi gbánda ní -R10 'Since you've spoken, we'll go back and cast the nets.'
4. só babá tí mbi adú mbi, aére tongasó 'Since my father gave birth to me, people call (me) this.'
5. só ndo avokó awe, lo goe na kóli só -F4 'When it has become night, she goes with this man.'
6. ka só lo hínga mbéti pepe so -R1 'But what about the fact that he doesn't know how to read!'

4.23.50. The adjunctive *só* occurs also at the end of a clause where it neither functions as a substantive nor as a noun adjunct. In this position, it is very often found to be preceded by a relative construction (ex. 1-5). This use of *só* might be described as tying a whole construction together, a feature of African languages which has already been noted by others. When there is no preceding relative construction, it becomes more difficult to identify the function of *só*. In most cases it has no easily identified lexical meaning in this position, but sometimes it seems to mean something like 'here.' Perhaps some clause-final occurrences of *só* are reduced forms of *na ndo só* 'here, in this place,' but certainly not all of them. Other final occurrences are seen to occur in constructions with *laá* (q.v. 8.13, ex. 8, 9, 13, 17-20).

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. á-famille só ahé mbi só, mbi
yí ála pepe -N35 | 'Relatives who make fun of
me, I don't like them.' |
| 2. báa áisioní yí só ake passé na
yá tí kótóró kóé só -I41 | 'See the bad things which are
taking place in all the
towns.' |
| 3. méréngé wále só lé tí lo ambóko
awe só, lo gá -F7 | 'The girl whose face was
ulcerated, she came.' |
| 4. ála má wángó só á-médecin ake
mú na ála só -R4c | 'Listen to the advice the
doctors give to you.' |
| 5. lo báa ásusú só ála gbó míngi
míngi só -R10 | 'He saw the fish which they
caught in such great
quantity.' |
| 6. téné só Mamadu ake tene só ake
vene pepe -R1 | 'What Mamadu is saying is
not a lie.' |
| 7. lo vení sí lo píka lettre só na
machine na mbi só -L27 | 'He typed this letter on a
typewriter for me.' |
| 8. ake kusára ti Nzapá laá sí
mbi ngbá tí hú ponó da só
-A44 | 'It's because of God's work
that I am suffering as
you see.' |
| 9. ní laá sí ála wara ngingza pepe
só -L1 | 'That's why they didn't get
any money.' |
| 10. só kóbe tí yáká sí ake na
aú só? -F4 | 'Is that garden food which
Uncle has there?' |

- | | |
|--|--|
| 11. só yẹ só? -C31 | 'What's this?' |
| 12. tongana yẹ só -I9 | 'What's the trouble?' |
| 13. téné tí mbi ní laá só -R2 | 'That's my speech (i.e. that's what I have to say).' |
| 14. mọ fa só gí téré séngé -C31 | 'You're just showing off.' |
| 15. lo kẹ hánda só mbi -C31 | 'He's deceiving me.' |
| 16. gí ngunzá séngé sí lo tó só
-A8 | 'It's just manioc greens which she prepares.' |
| 17. ní laá sí mbi pensé bẹ tí mbi
na ákusára tí mbi sí mbi
ẹkẹ toto só -L186 | 'That's why I thought about my work and am crying here.' |
| 18. gí téné ní laá awe só -R4b | 'That's all there is to the affair.' |
| 19. kóli tí mọ laá avọ só -I9 | 'It was your husband who bought it.' |
| 20. ní laá mbi ngbá tí dutí só
-A44 | 'That's why I continue sitting here.' |

4.24. The adjunctive wa 'what?' is used almost exclusively in the locutions for 'who?' (i.e. zo wa 'what person?'), 'where?' (i.e. ndo wa 'what place?') and 'when?' (i.e. lá wa 'what day?'). Replacing wa by yẹ does not appear to change the meaning, but such constructions with yẹ are rarely heard. One other use of wa is in só wa 'what thing?' which occurs only following a sentence in which só has been used, such as mú na mbi yí só 'give me that thing.'

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. lo kẹ gá lá wa | 'When is he coming?' |
| 2. mọ híngá tí mọ lá wa | 'The hell you know it!' |
| 3. mọ wara pendere bongó só na ndo
wa -C31 | 'Where did you get this pretty cloth?' |
| 4. mérengé só ake zo wa -R9b | 'Who is this child?' |
| 5. zo wa sí amú na mbi wa -L186 | 'Who gave it to me?' |

4.25. Both yẹ and wa, which have the meaning 'what?' occur as adjunctives of substantives, but because yẹ can also occur substantively, it has far greater syntactic freedom. It is by this fact also more frequent statistically. Many of its occurrences are accounted for by two common locutions in which it occurs: ngbangatí yẹ or tenetí yẹ 'why?'

and tongana yɛ 'how?' (The first words of these locutions are connectives described in 5.41, 5.42 and 5.80). The last expression is more than a simple interrogative of manner. While in some contexts it does signify means or manner, only some English sentences with 'how?' can be translated with tongana yɛ. Another lexical characteristic of this expression is that it can also express doubt or disbelief on the part of the speaker. One other feature of yɛ is that when it is used following a list of things, it takes on the meaning of 'anything, et cetera.'

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. yɛ aso mo -L186 | 'What's hurting you?' |
| 2. mo tene yɛ -R1 | 'What did you say?' |
| 3. mo ke pika na ya ti yɛ -R9b | 'What do you pound (things) in?' |
| 4. pasi ti yɛ si mbi eke baa so
-L186 | 'What suffering am I seeing?' |
| 5. mo vo mingi mingi tongaso ti
sara na yɛ -L168 | 'You buy a lot (of stamps) like this to do what (with them)?' |
| 6. ti mo yɛ -I9 | 'What's yours (i.e. What do you want)?' |
| 7. so yɛ so -C31 | 'What's this here?' |
| 8. angunza, agozo, yɛ. koe ake.
so koe kobe ti yaka. -R9b | 'Manioc greens, manioc, anything. All these exist. All of this is garden food.' |
| 9. tongana yɛ so -I9 | 'What's the trouble here?' |
| 10. fade ala sara tongana yɛ -R6 | 'What in the world will they do?' |
| 11. mo ga citoyen tongana yɛ -R6 | 'How do you become a citizen?' |
| 12. mo ke tambela tongana yɛ si
bongso ti mo atoto -N80 | 'How do you walk that your dress makes noise?' |
| 13. mo tene ake ti mo tongana yɛ
-C29 | 'What you mean by saying it's yours?' |
| 14. mo de ere ti lo ngbangati yɛ
-F7 | 'Why do you call his name?' |

4.26. Examples of the remaining post-noun adjunctives follow here. They are chosen to illustrate the greatest diversity of use for each one of the adjunctives.

- kóé 'all'
- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. yí kóé agá sioní awe -A15 | 'Everything has turned out bad.' |
| 2. áwále só kóé agá -F7 | 'All those women came.' |
| 3. Sango kóé mbi má -N35 | 'I understand Sango also.' |
| 4. lé tí lo kóé ambóko awe -F7 | 'Her face was completely ulcerated.' |
| 5. ála só kóé alóndó -F7 | 'All of them arose.' |
| 6. lo kóé lo eke goe -A49 | 'He too is going.' |
| 7. ála sambéla kéké, na témé, na pére, na nze kóé, na lá, yí kóé -A15 | 'They prayed to trees, and rocks, and grass, the moon also, and the sun, everything.' |
| 8. mo fáa yá tí oignon tí mo kóé -A8 | 'Cut up all of your onions.' |
| 9. lo zía yama só kóé da -L175 | 'He put all of this meat there.' |
| 10. ála hinga ngá lo kóé só -R7f | 'You know him all right.' |
| 11. ndo avokó na ála kóé -A51 | 'Night came upon them completely.' |
| 12. mo baa ándo wále tí mbi kóé pepe? -R1 | 'You've seen my wife before all right, haven't you?' |
| 13. li tí ála agá kóé bale óko -R10 | 'All of them were ten in number.' |
| 14. ála mú mbi kóé ma -L171 | 'Take me too!' |
| 15. yáká tí mbi akánga kóé awe -N35 | 'My garden is all choked up.' |
| 16. mo píka yá ní ngbii kóé -A8 | 'You crush the insides a long time.' |
| 17. awe kóé | 'It's all over.' |
| 18. nzó aeke. kárakó aeke. sindi aeke. mbi língbi díko ahúnzi pepe. ángunzá, ágozo yé. kóé aeke. só kóé kóbe tí yáká. -R9b | 'There's corn. There are peanuts. There's sesame. I can't finish naming everything. Manioc greens, manioc. There are all these things. All of this is garden food.' |

míngi 'much, many, very'

19. ábákoyá míngi aske fúti kóbe ní -F4 'Many baboons are ruining the harvest.'
20. áwáale míngi ake hǎ -F7 'A lot of women are going by.'
21. li tí ála míngi -R3 'They were numerous.'
22. áwáale kóé asára kóbe míngi míngi -F7 'All the women made a lot of food.'
23. ála wara kúí da míngi -A48 'Many of them found death there.'
24. ázo awara ngiá na lá ní míngi -L27 'People found a great deal of pleasure on that day.'
25. yáká tí kóbe ake míngi -R9b 'There are many food gardens.'
26. ngunzá ní anzere míngi -A11 'The manioc greens taste very good.'
27. kótóró ayo míngi -L17 'The village is a long way off.'
28. mbi bara mo míngi -L5 'I greet you warmly.'
29. mbi de mérengé míngi ape? -I55 'Wasn't I still a very young child?'
30. amú nzoní yí na í míngi -R2 'He gave us many good things.'
31. anzere na bé tí ála míngi -A48 'It pleased them very much.'
32. ábákoyá así gígí míngi na yáká ní -F4 'A lot of baboons came into the garden.'
33. áyí tí vundú atí na ndó mbi na pekó ní míngi -L7 'Many misfortunes descended on me after that.'
34. téné tí mbi aske míngi pepe -A42 'I don't have much to say.'
35. kárakó ní alé nzoní míngi -A11 'The peanuts have borne very well.'

ndé 'different'

36. lé tí kóbe ndé ndé aske -F4 'There are different kinds of fruit.'
37. amú na mbéni zo ndé -R3 'He gave it to a different person.'
38. mbi sára mbéni kca ndé ape -I9 'I haven't done a different kind of work.'

39. á-pont afúti na sése tí Bangui ndé ndé -L7 'Many different bridges were ruined in the region of Bangui.'
40. tí í ake ndo só ndé -I55 'Ours are different here.'
41. lo sára tí lo ndé 'He does it differently.'
- ngá 'also'
42. lángó ní ngá laá í fa na ála -R7d 'There, we've shown you the dates.'
43. áwále tí lo ngá ayó -L6 'His wives also drank it.'
44. tere ngá lo fáa yáká awe -F4 'The spider also had made a garden.'
45. mo hinga ngá mbéti mbirimbirí -R7e 'You also know how to read well.'
46. mbi wara ngá mbéni mbéti ge -R7f 'I have also received a letter here.'
47. babá tí méréngé ní akúí ngá -L17 'The child's father also died.'
48. ákóli aeke na mbáge óse tí te tí ála ngá -A8 'There were men on both sides to eat their share.'
49. mbi ngá, mbi ke ape -C30 'Me too, I don't refuse.'
50. na ngá, mbi tene merci mingi -A15 'And also, I give many thanks.'
- óke 'how much? how many?'
51. ázo óke ayí tí gá 'How many people want to come?'
52. ála eke óke 'How many of them are there?'
53. mo to ngingza ní na mbi óke -L27 'How much money did you send me?'
54. ngéré ní óke -C30 'What's the price?'
55. óke agá birí 'How many came yesterday?'
- tongasó 'like this, so, well'
56. mará tí ázo tongasó, í yí ála na yá tí kótóró tí í pepe -R2 'This kind of people, we don't want them in our villages.'
57. lá tongasó, í na ámbunzú, í goe -I55 'At about this time of the day, the White Men and I, we went.'

58. tongana mará tí téné tongasó
tí sioní ake na bé tí ála...
-R2 'if this kind of evil thought is
in their hearts...'
59. í sára tongasó giriri -L27 'We did it like this long ago.'
60. kusára tí wáale aake tongasó
-A15 'The work of women is like this.'
61. í zó lo gí na ndó tí wá tongasó
ngbii -I55 'We roasted it right over the
fire like this for a long time.'
62. ála tene mérengé wáale asára
l'école pepe. tongasó ngonzo
asára mbi míngi. -A49 'They said girls don't go to
school. So I was very angry.'
63. agá akpo dole. tongasó dole akúí. 'They come and spear the elephant.
-A50 So the elephant dies.'
64. tongasó sí fadé lo kono nzoni 'In this way he'll grow up
nicely.'
65. lo tene, tongasó pepe. -L16 'He said, "It wasn't like that."'
66. gí tongasó ma. 'That's just the way it is.'
- vení 'the very, precisely'
67. áSango vení ake fáa susu na
gbánda -I39 'It's the Sango people who catch
fish with nets.'
68. sése vení ake mú ngingza na zo
-R7a 'It's precisely the earth which
gives money to people.'
69. gí kóli ní vení asúru -L15 'It was the man who tore it.'
70. lo vení ahinga éré tí pendere
kóli só -F7 'It was he who knew the young
man's name.'
71. mbi óko vení mbi ke sára téné
só -N35 'I alone am the one who is tell-
ing this story.'
72. lo lóndó, lo vení -R1 'He got up, just himself.'
73. só vení sí í kę -R2 'That's precisely what we re-
ject.'
74. ake tongasó vení sí ála ke sára
rognon tí yama na vin -R9a 'That's exactly how you prepare
animal kidneys in wine.'

4.30. Verbal adjunctives

Verbal adjunctives (Av) are distinguished by the fact that they generally occur in a verb phrase where they modify the verb. It is doubtful that any of them occur as adjuncts of nouns: perhaps the few occurrences of *ge* 'here,' *ká* 'there' and *kírikiri* 'crooked' following noun phrases can be construed as being in minor clause types. Only one word, *mbirimbiri* 'straight,' appears to function substantively. The words *bíani* and *biaku* 'truly' can also occur at the beginning of a clause (like *tongasó* discussed above). The word *fadé* 'quickly' is identified with the form which marks the future tense (q.v. chp. 9). The word *fadesó* 'now,' on the other hand, is distinguished from *fadé*, although there may be historical relationship between the two.

The complete list of Av is the following:

<i>ánde</i>	'later, in the future'	<i>híó</i>	'quickly'
<i>ándo</i>	'already, in the past'	<i>ká</i>	'there, in that place'
<i>biakú</i>	'indeed, truly'	<i>kírikiri</i>	'crooked'
<i>bíani</i>	'indeed, truly'	<i>kpítikpítí</i>	'intensely (of black)'
<i>da</i>	'here, there'	<i>kpó</i>	'quiet'
<i>dongó yongóro</i>	'slimy'	<i>mbirimbiri</i>	'straight'
<i>fadé</i>	'quickly'	<i>ngbii</i>	'a while'
<i>gbá</i>	'in vain'	<i>tár</i>	'intensely (of white)'
<i>gbándá</i>	'at some future time'	<i>yekeyeke</i>	'slowly'
<i>ge</i>	'here'		

Some of the verbal adjunctives are obviously similar to words which are known in the literature on African languages as "ideophones." These words, whatever their grammatical classification might be, are generally quite distinct from the rest of the word classes in African languages. Semantically, they refer to one's perception of or emotional reaction to such things in the universe as size, dimension, motion, texture, speed, temperature, color, design, and so on. Phonologically and grammatically, they have characteristics which are uncommon elsewhere in any particular language. But one of their features is apparently shared by all African languages: wherever they have been seriously studied, they figure greatly in the total lexical inventory of a language. An average but careful dictionary might have from 1000 to 2000 such words.

It is somewhat surprising, therefore, in view of what has just been said, that there are so few ideophones in Sango. Our list is probably by no means exhaustive, but it is obviously very short. Increasing it will be no easy task. The investigator will have to determine which ones are truly Sango (i.e. used beyond the limits of a particular vernacular language) and which ones are not. One will certainly find, as I did, that speakers of Sango will introduce ideophones from their own languages.

One of the most frequently used ideophonic verbal adjunctives is *ngbii* 'for a while' (which also occurs as *ngbi ngbi*, with as many repetitions as one desires, and *ngbiii*, with a vowel as long as one desires). Like many ideophones, it is quite often difficult to translate.

An interesting characteristic of this word, and one which separates it from all the other verbal adjunctives, is its ability to function as a non-verbal sentence in a running narrative, most often paratactically joined to the following clause, but sometimes separated by terminal pause (ex. 4). Another interesting feature is that many speakers have identified *ngbii* with the French word *jusqu'à* (which is pronounced as *zúsúka*, etc.). That is, there is a relationship of synonymity between *ngbii* and *jusqu'à* (ex. 5-10). And as so very often happens, it is not uncommon to find loan-calques where both of the words (in either order) are used (ex. 8-9). There are, of course, instances of French-like uses of *jusqu'à*, i.e. as a connective, with or without the Sango connective *na* (ex. 11). Most of the examples come from Protestants whose Bible translation never uses *ngbii* but always uses *jusqu'à* as a connective.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. lo báa mbi <i>ngbii</i> . -L168 | 'He looked at me for a while.' |
| 2. mɔ kánga yángá ní akporɔ <i>ngbii</i> ,
awókɔ nzoní míngí -A11 | 'You put the lid on and it boils
a while, and it's very nice
and soft.' |
| 3. mbi kɔnɔ <i>ngbii</i> kóé sí mamá agá
asára téné ní na pekó -N81 | 'I grew up completely and then
Mother came and told me about
it later.' |
| 4. mbi sára yí só <i>ngbangatí</i> só mbi
ke zo vokó. <i>ngbii</i> , mbéni lá,
mbi tene na lo... -R1 | 'I do this because I am an
African. Some time passed,
and then one day I said to
him...' |
| 5. mɔ dutí kpó <i>jusqu'à</i> -F7 | 'Keep on being quiet.' |

- | | |
|---|--|
| 6. í na lo í dutí na ndo só
jusqu'à. -N35 | 'He and I sat here a long
time.' |
| 7. il faut que lo goe jusqu'à,
lo húnzi. -R4d | 'He must keep on going until
he finishes it.' |
| 8. aleke jusqu'à ngbii I55 | 'They worked on it a long time.' |
| 9. mo sára kóbe ngbii jusqu'à,
midi alíngbi awe -A11 | 'You keep on preparing the food,
and when it's noon....' |
| 10. lo yí da ape, ahf. jusqu'à,
méréngé wále só, lé tí lo
ambóko awe só, lo gá. -F7 | 'He didn't answer and went on.
This went on a long time, and
then this girl whose face was
ulcerated came.' |
| 11. lo yuru na lo dé ngá na 2
l'heure tí bí jusqu'à 7
l'heure ti ndápéréré. -L7 | 'He had diarrhea and he vomited too
at two o'clock at night until
seven o'clock in the morning.' |

Other verbal adjunctives:

- | | |
|---|---|
| 12. zángó yángá tí mo só. fadé
í báa ndá ní ánde. | 'Your sharp tongue! Some day
we'll see the outcome of it.' |
| 13. fadé kótóró tí Bangui ake kono
ánde -R2 | 'The city of Bangui will be big
in the future.' |
| 14. ála sára ándo sioní yí míngi
na í -R2 | 'They did terrible things to us
in the past.' |
| 15. mbi tene ándo na mo, wále tí
mbi aeke na hôpital -R1 | 'I told you before that my wife
was in the hospital.' |
| 16. ála zía yí tí ála biakú
biakú -R10 | 'They left their things once
and for all.' |
| 17. kóli ní aké wále só bíaní
-L15 | 'The husband rejected his wife
definitely.' |
| 18. taá téné tí mo bíaní? -C8 | 'Is what you say the real truth?' |
| 19. na bíaní, mbi hínga só -A15 | 'And indeed, I know this.' |
| 20. yí ake da ape -C31 | 'There's nothing to it.' |
| 21. lo yí da -C31 | 'He agrees.' |
| 22. mo túku kpí tí kárakó só da
-A8 | 'You pour this peanut paste
into it.' |
| 24. fadé lo kúí bíaní -L7 | 'He will really die.' |

25. lo zingo lo gbá -L175 'He stirred him in vain (i.e. without awakening him).'
26. fadé gbándá áméréngé ake gá na pekó tí mbi -R3 'At some time in the future children will follow me.'
27. mbi sára ngú óse ge -I9 'I've spent two years here.'
28. ayí tí mú mbéni áméréngé tí kótóró ge -R7e 'He wants to take some children from the village here.'
29. mbéti ní ake sí na í ge híó pepe -R9b 'The letters don't reach us here quickly.'
30. lo sí ká awe -F7 'He has already arrived there.'
31. amú lo ká na kótóró -L15 'He got him from over there in the village.'
32. áméréngé ní ká, ála ke na yoró alíngbi ape -N81 'The kids over there, they have a whole lot of charms.'
33. afáa ákóngbá tí yá tí da kírikiri -L162 'He destroyed the things in the house left and right.'
34. zo kírikiri alíngbi tí mú yoró pepe -R4c 'Not just anybody can take the medicine.'
35. bí ní avu kpítíkpítí 'The night was pitch black.'
36. mo zía mbi kpó -R1 'Leave me alone.'
37. lo dutí kpó -R2 'He sat still.'
38. mo kono mbírímbírí -R7e 'You're just the right size.'
39. mo hinga mbéti mbírímbírí -R7e 'You know how to read well.'
40. taá téné laá mbírímbírí mbi tene só -C8 'That's the whole and complete truth which I said.'
41. í ke sára ánde kótóró yekeyeke -R2 'We'll make the country in the future little by little.'

4.40. Universal adjunctives

The universal adjunctives (Au) *gi* 'only' and *taá* 'real' are distinguished by the fact that they occur in construction with single words or whole phrases, and they never occur as substantives.

4.41. The adjunctive *gi* 'only' is the most frequently occurring Au and the one with the widest range of occurrence. It is found with nouns (ex. 1-4), with pronouns (ex. 5-6), with verbs (ex. 7, but this is the only

occurrence in the corpus), with connectives (ex. 8-11), and with various other adjunctives (ex. 12-18). In some instances it is probably more accurate to interpret it as a mark of emphasis rather than trying to translate it with 'only' or some such word.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. mbi tɛ ɡí nɡunzá lá kóé -A44 | 'I eat just manioc greens all the time.' |
| 2. babá afáa ɡí yáká -A21 | 'My father is just a cultivator of gardens (i.e. peasant).' |
| 3. ɡí babá tí mbi laá asára -A40 | 'It was just my father who made it.' |
| 4. ázo avo ɡí vɔ́ngó -L11 | 'People just buy it (i.e. pay cash for it).' |
| 5. aéré ɡí mɔ -A9 | 'They call you specifically.' |
| 6. ɡí í na lo lá kóé -R1 | 'It's just him and me all the time.' |
| 7. ake ɡí hánda lo -C31 | 'He's leading him astray, that's all.' |
| 8. mbi má ɡí na yángá tí mbéni zo | 'I heard it only from someone else.' |
| 9. amú na lo ɡí na cuillère -A9 | 'They gave it to him only by spoonfuls.' |
| 10. vɛnɛ ní ɡí tí mbi? -C29 | 'Is the lie just mine?' |
| 11. ake ɡí nɡbangatí wále óko pepe
-R4a | 'It's not just for women alone.' |
| 12. nɡó ní aake ɡí osió -A21 | 'There were just four boats.' |
| 13. wángó tí lá só, ɡí ní laá awe
-R4b | 'The advice for today, that's all there is to it.' |
| 14. téré tí lo kóé ake ɡí sioní
míngi -F7 | 'Her whole body was entirely awful.' |
| 15. mbi wara ɡí kété kété -A44 | 'I received just a little.' |
| 16. ázo adutí ɡí séngé -R6 | 'People sit around just doing nothing.' |
| 17. mbi lángó ɡí ká -N80 | 'I lived just in that place.' |
| 18. mɔ dutí ɡí tongasó -R6 | 'You sit around just like this.' |

4.42. The adjunctive taá 'real' has a range of meaning quite similar to that of gí 'only,' but it has a more restricted distribution. It occurs only with nouns (ex. 1-3), pronouns (ex. 4) and a few connectives (ex. 5). Sometimes the translation of taá is quite removed from the meaning 'real.'

1. mo sára na mbi taá téné -C31 'Tell me the truth.'
2. taá yángá tí mbi ake Zande -I39 'My real language is Zande.'
3. mbi ke taá saleté -N81 'I was really dirty.'
4. abuba taá í bíaní -R2 'They indeed did us much harm.'
5. mbi wara taá na 4/18/61 -L7 'I received it exactly on
April 18, 1961.'

Chapter 5

C O N N E C T I V E S

The connectives are those words which, like the prepositions and conjunctions of school grammar, relate words or constructions to other words or constructions. The currently-used term "function word" applies to them also. They are not subdivided into various kinds of "prepositions" and "conjunctions," because such a classification would not fully reflect the patterns of distribution. No classification, in fact, seems appropriate because there is so much overlapping of function. Some of this is illustrated by the accompanying chart. These connectives are: andáa, ka, mais, na, ngbangatí, sí tenetí, tí, titene, tongana, and wala. The requirements of the decimal system of outlining forced na and mais, on the one hand, and ngbangatí and tenetí, on the other hand, into single sections. No harm is done because these pairs of connectives are semantically quite similar.

The following chart summarizes the functions of the various connectives in terms of what they join.

Function	andáa	ka	mais	na	ngbanga- tí and tenetí	sí	tí	titene	tongana	wala
noun - noun				x			x		x	x
noun - adjunctive				x			x		x	
noun - verb							x			
verb - noun				x	x		x		x	
verb - adjunctive				x	x		x		x	
verb - clause					x				x	
verb - verb				x			x			
adjunctive - adj.				x						x
adjunctive - noun							x			
clause - clause	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x
pre-clausal - cl.						x				
sentence initial	x	x	x	x	x	x			x	x
clause final						x		x		
phrase initial				x	x		x		x	

5.10. andáa

The connective andáa (which also occurs as kandáa) is an adversative which can be translated by 'but, however, yet, but in other words, but it turns out that,' etc. It always precedes verbal predications. The preceding construction can be either another clause (uttered even by a different speaker in a dialogue) or some other construction in a single sentence. But there is not enough data on the latter use to permit greater precision of statement.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. tongana mo má éré tí mo lá só
pepe, kandáa mbéti tí mo ade
na lége -R9b | 'If you don't hear your name
today, this means that your
letter is still on its way.' |
| 2. zo só ayí tí fáa mbi, andáa lo
yí tí fáa ázo só a-voté éré tí
mbi giriri -R3 | 'The person who wants to kill
me is one, in other words,
who wants to kill those people
who voted for me long ago.' |
| 3. mbi goe tí píka lo, andáa lo
kúí awe | 'I went to shoot him, but he had
already died.' |
| 4. andáa mo lungúla tongasó ma | 'So that is how you open it?' |
| 5. fadé lo zía mabóko tí lo na
ngú tí mbéti, tí gbóngó na
lé tí bulletin ní. andáa lo
signé awe. -R1 | 'He will put his thumb in ink
to seize the surface of the
card with it. Just like that,
and he's signed it.' |

5.20. ka

The connective ka is quite uncommon, occurring only 14 times in the corpus, and being found in only 5 different texts. It has two distinct uses. On the one hand, in 7 instances it introduces the apodosis of a condition contrary to fact or uncertain to the speaker, as in the sentence: ... wále tí mbi aske na kótóró, ka mbi na wále tí mbi í causé... '[If] my wife were in the village, then I and my wife would chat, [but she isn't].' In these, the protasis is introduced by tongana in 2 cases (ex. 1-2), by the combination ^{ka}/tongana with intervening pause in 1 case (ex. 3), by nothing in 3 cases (ex. 4-5), and in 1 instance the protasis is not expressed, being included in a previous speaker's utterance in a conversation (ex. 6). The other use, of which 5 out of 6 examples occur in one conversational text,

may be called the exclamatory use. It is always correlated with *ape* or *pepe* at the end of the sentence, and seems to introduce the idea of 'didn't it' or 'isn't it,' with emphasis or a sort of surprise. In four instances (ex. 7-8) the clause involved is verbal, and in 1 (ex. 9) it is non-verbal.

1. ngú tí mbi, tongana yá tí carte d'identité ka mo hinga -N35 'My age, if [it is] on my identity card, then you'll know, [but I'm not sure it is].'
2. tongana adu í, ka í sára nzoní yí mingi -R2 'If it were us, then we would do many good things.'
3. ka, tongana adú ámbunzú pepe, ka l'heure só mbi kúí tí mbi awe -N35 'If White People hadn't been born, then as far as I'm concerned, I would have already died by now.'
4. adu ní ála, ka ála língbi titens ála sára nzoní yí pepe -R2 'If they were them, then they couldn't do good things.'
5. wále tí mbi aske na kótóró, ka mbi na wále tí mbi í causé -N35 'If my wife were in the village, then I and my wife would talk.'
6. patron tí lo aké tí fúta lo awe? --- Óko pepe. ka lo tene na mbi awe. -R1 'Has his boss ever refused to pay him? --- Never. [If it were so], then he would have told me.'
7. mbi ke sukúla bongó na kóli só ka mbi passé ka mbi wara pendere bongó tongasó ape ma -C31 'I wash clothes for this man, and I iron and I still don't get beautiful clothes like this.'
8. íta, ka mo hinga manière tí wále aske ndé ndé ape? -C31 'Sister, don't you know that the tricks of women are varied?'
9. ka íta gí ní laá ape -C31 'Oh, sister, that isn't it at all!'

5.30. mais, na

5.31. The connective *mais* (from the French) has only one function, i.e. to join a clause (including verbless predications) to a preceding clause. Some of these clauses might possibly be constituents of a single complex sentence, but most of them seem to be independent sentences; nowhere does *mais* join clauses in such a way that they can function again as a single construction which can take *awe* or *pepe* (q.v. 9.30, 8.12). The clause which is introduced by *mais* can be related to the last one uttered by another speaker in a conversation. All of this is reminiscent of French *mais*. Like it Sango *mais* can be said to have the force of an adversative correlative meaning 'but.' This is its usual function, but there are many sentences where it seems to have no meaning different from *na* as a coordinating connective. In some places *mais* is even followed by another connective.

A brief pause can occur after *mais*, but this pause seems to have no connotative function unless accompanied by a rising contour. This contour serves to emphasize the connotation of the connective, that is, by strongly calling in question what has been said, by emphasizing the truth of what is going to be said, etc.

mais with adversative force:

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. <i>na ákaka tí giriri kóli afáa yáká, mais wále afáa yáká pepe. -A4</i> | 'In the times of the elders, men made gardens, but women didn't make gardens.' |
| 2. <i>wále só adú na kóli só á-mérenyé otá, mais óko akúí. -L15</i> | 'This woman bore that man three children, but one died.' |
| 3. B. <i>mó prié gí na Nzapá, awe. A. mais íta, lá kóé mbi ke prié. -C31</i> | 'B. 'Just pray to God.'
A. 'But friend, I always pray.' |
| 4. <i>ála tens, nginza ní sí aeke ngangó na ála. mais yí só aeke taá téné ní pepe. -L27</i> | 'They say that getting money is hard for them. But this is not the truth.' |

mais as a coordinating connective:

- | | | |
|----|---|---|
| 5. | ála tene, í língbi tí ɔa va
na lége tí malade só. mais
éré tí malade ní ake
monganga. -A48 | 'They said, we can become well
by means of this fetish. And
the name of this fetish is
monganga.' |
| 6. | na yá tí juin só, mbéni kóli
tí Banana óko ake. mais
lo báa ndo pepe. -L17 | 'In this month of June, there
was a man from Banana. And he
couldn't see.' |
| 7. | wále tí mbi ake na ngo tí nze
ukú. mais mbi díko Nzapá da
teneti só afúti lá kóé. -L6 | 'My wife is five months pregnant.
And I'm praying to God because
it (the foetus) always per-
ishes.' |

mais introducing verbless predications:

- | | | |
|-----|---|---|
| 8. | mais yí óko, ita. -L4 | 'But there's one thing, friend.' |
| 9. | mais tongana yé. -L5 | 'But what's the matter?' |
| 10. | mais gí na lége tí lékengó
kóbe. -A8 | 'But the reason is just the
manner of preparing food.' |

mais followed by other conjunctions:

- | | | |
|-----|---|---|
| 11. | na ngonzo asára mbi míngi pepe,
mais ngbangati mbi ngbá
méréngé. -A49 | 'And I wasn't very angry, be-
cause I was still a child.' |
| 12. | áyí só ála sára só ake lége ní
pepe. mais sí mbi fa na mo
tí má sí. -L2 | 'The things they did were not
right. But I'm telling you
so that you can hear.' |
| 13. | mais na í áméréngé tí yá tí
ála, í báa yí só tongana yí
tí mbirimbiri. -A48 | 'And we their children, we con-
sidered these things good.' |

5.32. The connective *na* is, by virtue of its very frequency (2593 examples in the corpus) difficult to define. Its basic idea seems to be something like proximity or accompaniment ('near' or 'with'), but it occurs with a wide variety of extensions of meaning: simple addition, location (to which, in which, from which), time (in which), beneficiary (which is an extension of location), possession, accompaniment, manner, means, and so forth. Though many examples present no problem, there are enough

borderline semantic distinctions and enough real ambiguities to preclude the use of the semantic categories in anything more than an indicative way.

Syntactically, *na* is used in two basic ways: to coordinate and to subordinate. In its coordinating function, it unites, usually additively, parallel constructions: two or more noun phrases, two or more *tí*-verb phrases, or two or more clauses. In its subordinating function, it introduces a wide variety of complements in the verb phrase (q.v. chp. 11), various kinds of pre-clausal constructions (q.v. chp. 12), and complements in verbless predications (q.v. chp. 14). In this subordinating use, *na* may sometimes be omitted (ex. 1-3), but may readily be supplied without changing the sense of the sentence. It may also on occasion be introduced when there seems no real justification for it (ex. 4-5).

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. anzere (na) ní míngi -R9a | 'It pleased him greatly.' |
| 2. lo sára (na) í téné -R9b | 'He spoke to us.' |
| 3. mo kírí (na) ní na mbi -C29 | 'Come back with it to me.' |
| 4. ála kú <u>na</u> mbi na lá tí 20 juin
-R2 | 'They waited for me on the
20th of June.' |
| 5. ake kírí <u>na</u> téné na Jésus -R10 | 'He returned a word (i.e.
answered) to Jesus.' |

5.32.10. There are 450 occurrences of coordinating *na* in the corpus, of which 192 join noun phrases, 30 enter into numeral phrases, 4 join *tí*-verb phrases, 1 joins a *tí*-verb phrase and a *tí*-noun phrase, and 223 join clauses.

Occurrences of noun phrases united by *na* include pronoun + *na* + pronoun (ex. 1-6), pronoun + *na* + noun phrase (ex. 7-11), noun phrase + *na* + noun phrase (ex. 12-25). In only two cases (ex. 26) does a pronoun follow *na* after a noun phrase. Series of noun phrases may be joined with *na* at every transition (ex. 29-31), or with *na* occurring at only some of the transitions (ex. 32-33). In a few cases (ex. 27-28), some other element, such as an adjunctive or an object, may intervene between the first noun phrase and the *na* which introduces a second noun phrase. When the first noun phrase of two united by *na* is introduced by *tí*, the *tí* may be repeated with the second noun phrase (ex. 20-21), or it may be omitted (ex. 18-19). The *tí* is never repeated when one or both of the

elements is a pronoun. The omission is more frequent than the repetition (18/28 occurrences). In 11 cases, a subordinating *na* precedes the first noun phrase (ex. 22-23), in which case it may be construed as introducing the entire construction consisting of all the noun phrases joined by coordinating *na*.

The one example of a *tí*-verb phrase and a *tí*-noun phrase being joined by *na* is ^{ex.} 34. In this case, the noun is a noun of action, and therefore may be considered to have a semantic affinity to verbs. There are also cases where *na* joins two *tí*-verb phrases (ex. 35-36). Examples of *na* entering into the construction of numeral phrases are 37-38.

When *na* joins clauses, it suggests simple sequence. The problem is then whether or not to consider what precedes as a different sentence or as a preceding clause in the same sentence. This problem is discussed under non-verbal sentences (q.v. chp. 14, fn.). In the present state of our knowledge, we must conclude that the placing of sentence breaks between clauses joined by simple *na* (ex. 39-56) is rather subjective and impressionistic. When *na* is accompanied by another conjunction, as *tongana* after *na* or *et* and *mais* preceding *na* (ex. 57-59), there is a much stronger presumption that the conjunctions introduce a new sentence. In some cases (ex. 60-61), *na* is preceded or followed by a pre-clausal construction, usually an adjunctive such as *tongasó* and *fadesó*. In the examples, where *na* is alone, no attempt is made to indicate sentence division. In some cases, where *na* is reinforced in such a way as to indicate a clear break, the sentence division is indicated.

Since in some cases, clauses may follow each other without any connective, it is necessary to consider what kinds of clauses may follow coordinating *na*. When the subjects of the preceding and following clauses are compared, the following facts appear: 55 occurrences represent sequences with the same subject in both clauses. Of these, the subject of the second clause is expressed by nothing in one case (ex. 39), by *a-* in 3 cases (ex. 40), by a pronoun in 44 cases (ex. 41-43), and by a noun phrase in 7 cases (ex. 44-45). In 90 cases, the subject of the two clauses is different. Of these, the subject of the second clause is expressed by *a-* in 4 cases (ex. 46), by a pronoun in 33 cases (ex. 47-48), by a noun

phrase in 45 cases (ex. 49-50), and by an adjunctive in 9 cases (ex. 51-53).

In addition to these examples, in which the subject immediately follows the connective, there are 26 cases where a pre-clausal construction follows *na* (ex. 54). In 3 cases, the *na* clause follows and is coordinated with a clause introduced by *tongana* (ex. 55-56). In 2 cases, the *na* clause following the *tongana* clause seems clearly to be the principal clause, and the *na* is anomalous (ex. 57). Cases where *na* is reinforced by another connective or by an adjunctive are also illustrated below (ex. 58-61). In the examples, since in many instances more than one *na* appear, the one intended is underlined. For a discussion of juxtaposed clauses without *na*, see 15.20.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. mo <u>na</u> lo í dutí tí causé -A8 | 'You and he sat to chat.' |
| 2. mbito agbó lo, <u>na</u> ála só kóé
-R10 | 'Fear gripped him and them
all.' |
| 3. í <u>na</u> mo í ke dé bá na ndó ní
ngá -C29 | 'You and I will swear over it
also.' |
| 4. mbi yí kótóró tí í <u>na</u> ála agá
taá kótóró -R3 | 'I want my country and yours
to become a real country.' |
| 5. í <u>na</u> ála kóé, í eke íta na íta
-R2 | 'We and they, all, are as
brothers.' |
| 6. ála éré í <u>na</u> mo kóé pepe? -R1 | 'Didn't they call me and you
both?' |
| 7. mbi bara o í <u>na</u> Madame nzoní
-L1 | 'I greet you and Madame
cordially.' |
| 8. mais nzala tí ála sí asára mbi
<u>na</u> wále tí mbi -L2 | 'But it's a desire for you that
is affecting me and my wife.' |
| 9. lo <u>na</u> zo vokó agá bngbi óko
-R2 | 'He and the Black Man came and
met together.' |
| 10. í óse <u>na</u> áméréngé tí mbi -N35 | 'we both and my children' |
| 11. mo girisa lo na sambéla tí í
<u>na</u> mamá ti Manya pepe -L7 | 'Don't forget her in the prayers
of you and the mother of Manya.' |
| 12. fadesó mo gá babá na mamá tí
mbi awe -R1 | 'Now you have become my father
and my mother.' |
| 13. mbéni téné tí ngangó <u>na</u> téné
tí pási aake da -R10 | 'Some hard things and some things
of suffering were in it.' |

14. áíta tí í kóé, na ámbéní zo tí kótóró míngi -A50 'all our relatives, and many other people of the village'
15. mo fa téré tí mo na kóbe tí mo -C31 'You show off your body and your food.'
16. Ngongo René Claude, só mbi sára kusára tí contrôleur du travail, na Pascal só aake secrétaire tí direction du travail -R1 'Ngongo René Claude, who did the work of a labor inspector, and Pascal, who was the secretary of the labor department'
17. lo tere, na mbéni yama só adé éré tí lo na yángá tí Sango, atene, kpíkara -L175 'he, the spider, and another animal whose name in Sango is kpíkara'
18. histoire tí babá na mamá tí mbi -A42 'a story of my father and mother'
19. mamá tí Manya na Ramona -L27 'the mother of Manya and Ramona'
20. kótóró tí ámbunzú na tí ázo vokó ngá -R1 'the country of White Men and of Black Men also'
21. mariage tí bureau na tí mission -L7 'civil and religious marriage (lit. marriage of the office and of the mission)'
22. mbi yoro yóróngó na oignon na tomate -C31 'I fried it with onions and tomatoes.'
23. lo eke na babá na mamá pepe -R1 'He doesn't have a father or a mother.'
24. mbi tene ní na lo kóé, lé na lé -R2 'I told it all to him, face to face.'
25. aake sára ngú na ngú? -L27 'Do they do it every year (lit. year with year)?'
26. í ázo tí sése kóé, na mbi aussi -R3 'we the people of the whole land, and I also'
27. amú na mo bara o tí lo, na madame na amérengé kóé -L27 'He gives you his greetings, and Madame and the children also.'
28. mbi bara o mo míngi na á-famille kóé ngá -L5 'I greet you cordially, and the whole family as well.'

29. ála sambéla kéké, na témé, na
péré, na nze kóé, na lá
-A15 'They worshipped trees, and
stones, and grass, and the
moon, also, and the sun.'
30. yáká tí nzó, na tí lóso, na tí
ananas -R6 'the fields of corn, and of rice,
and of pineapples'
31. bara o tí mbi na wále tí mbi
na áwa má bé tí Bogira kóé
-L2 'the greetings of me and my wife
and all the believers of
Bogira'
32. mbi bara o áwa má bé, á-membre,
á-chrétien na pasteur kóé
-L15 'I greet the believers, the
members, the christians and
all the pastors.'
33. aeke Pierre na André, Jacques
na Jean -R10 'It was Peter and Andrew, James
and John.'
34. nginza tí goe na ní na wále tí
mo, na tí baptême tí mo ngá
-R1 'money to take to your wife,
and for your baptism also'
35. tí má yángá tí mamá tí mo, na
tí má yángá tí babá tí mo -A42 'to obey your mother, and to
obey your father'
36. tí attaqué áíta tí lo na tí
kamáta ála -I39 'to attack his relatives and
to capture them'
37. lánzó bale óko na óse -R4d 'twelve days (i.e. one ten and
two)'
38. ngú bale óko na ukú na otá
-A21 'eighteen years (ten and five
and three)'
39. lo ske toto, na tene -L186 'He's crying, and says...'
40. kóli só akamáta wále tí lo, na
agá na Fort Archambault -L15 'This man took his wife, and
came to Fort Archambault.'
41. ála ske ázo só aeke dó sumári,
na ála mú mbéni kété kóbe tí
goe na ní -A48 'They were those people who
danced the sumári, and they
took some bits of food to
take away.'
42. tongasó, kóli só amú woga só
awe, na lo fáa kamba na gó tí
woga awe -F4 'And so, this man took this
small animal and he cut the
cord off the neck of the
animal.'

43. mbi wara yingó tí zía da, na
mbi wara mbéni kpí tí zía
da -A44 'I found some salt to put into
it, and I found some paste to
put into it.'
44. wẹ aeke na yá ní, na wẹ ní aeke
sí gígí -A13 'There is iron in it, and the
iron comes out.'
45. ázo só akirí agá na yá tí
kótóró tí lo awe, na ázo
ní a-commencé tí hú míngi
-I39 'when these people had turned
and entered into his village,
and they began to prosper
greatly...'
46. mbi sára na mafuta, na abe, na
mbi te -A44 'I fix it with oil, and it
browns, and I eat it.'
47. mbi língbi hónde yí tí Afrique
na mo pepe, na mo língbi tí
hónde yí tí Amérique na mbi
ngá pepe -L27 'I can't conceal the things of
Africa from you, and neither
can you conceal the things of
America from me.'
48. tongasó, kótará tí áni fadesó,
aeké sára mbéni yí tongasó
encore ape, na ála girisa lége
tí wẹ tí ála kóé awe -A13 'And so now, our ancestors
don't do anything like this
any more, and they (i.e.
people) have entirely for-
gotten the way of iron.'
49. lo húnda mérengé tí lo, lo tene,
mérengé tí mbi, na mérengé
ayí da -L17 'He asked his child, saying,
"My child." And the child
responded.'
50. í commencé tí sára yí só, na
ázo aeké gá na téré ní -A48 'We began to do this thing,
and people were coming near.'
51. lo kẹ kóbe tí ála, na só ahọ
-F7 'He refused their food, and
these passed on.'
52. ámbéni aeké píka ngo, na
ámbéni aeké fáa koko -A48 'Some were beating drums, and
some were cutting koko leaves.'
53. na ndá ní, lo dutí ká, na mbéni
só agá -F7 'Afterwards, she sat over there,
and this other one came.'
54. lo sukúla téré tí wále só kóé
awe, na ápendere wále só míngi
míngi, ála sára kóbe -F7 'When she finished washing the
body of this woman, then all
those very many young women,
they made food.'

55. tongana ámamá agoe na ngonda tí
mú makongó, na ála mú makongó
kóé awe, agá sí na kótóró
fadesó -A8 'When the mothers had gone into
the bush to get caterpillars,
and had finished getting the
caterpillars, they came then
to the village.'
56. mais tongana ángaragé ní abáa
yama na ti tí ázo só, na ála
tens, mú na mbi yama ní -A37 'But when the ngaragé initiates
saw the meat in the hand of
this man, then they said,
"Give me the meat."'
57. mbi sára école ngbii, na tongana
l'heure só í sára kóé -N81 'I went to school for a while,
and when the time came when
we had finished...'
58. mais na í áméréngé tí yá tí ála,
í báa yí só tongana yí tí
mbírímí -A48 'But as for us, the children of
their bowels, we considered
this as a right thing.'
59. et na mbi báa na lé tí mbi -L17 'And I saw with my own eyes...'
60. na, fadesó, í wara mbéni nzoní
yí -A42 'And now we have received a
certain good thing.'
61. tongasó na amú atúku na yá ní
-A8 'And so they took and dumped
it in.'

5.32.20. In its subordinating function, *na* introduces a complement, generally in a verb phrase (q.v. chp. 11), which carries a meaning of location, of benefaction, of time, of accompaniment, of possession, of manner, of means, of instrument, and so forth. In fact, *na* introduces all noun phrase verb complements except objects, copulative complements, a few time phrases made with *lá* 'day' and *ngú* 'year,' and *tí*-noun phrase possessives. In addition to appearing in verb phrases, *na* complements occur in pre-clausal constructions (q.v. chp. 12) and in non-verbal sentences (q.v. chp. 14), with the same general semantic categories.

5.32.21. The force of locative *na* can be made more specific by the addition of one of a number of nouns which help to define the locus of the action, the whole construction being a sort of prepositional expression. The idea of direction of the motion or of position as such is carried mostly by the verb, but a classification according to the verbs used is not nearly as clear nor as meaningful as the one based upon the following noun. These

nouns have their own specific and concrete lexical meanings, and may with these meanings be introduced by *na*. But in the idiomatic constructions they lose this specific meaning. Some of these conventionalized nouns are names of parts of the body, some refer to well-defined places. As in many languages, some expressions can bear notions of both location and time. This is the case especially with *na pekó tí*, which can mean both 'behind' and 'after,' in such a way that the distinction is not always apparent. But there are many unambiguous cases which oblige us to set up a time category as distinct from the locative idea. Here are the principal conventionalized nouns which express location:

- bé 'middle,' na bé ní 'at the center of' (ex. 1)
- devant (<Fr.), na devant 'in front of' (ex. 2)
- gbé 'underpart,' na gbé ní 'underneath' (ex. 3)
- gígí 'outside,' na gígí 'outside' (ex. 4)
- lé 'face,' na lé ní 'on the surface of' (ex. 5)
- li 'head,' na li ní 'on top of' (ex. 6-8)
- mbáge 'side,' na mbáge ní 'beside' (ex. 9-10)
- ndó 'top,' na ndó ní 'on top of' (ex. 11-12)
- ndo 'place,' na ndo só 'here' (ex. 13-14)
- ndúzú 'sky,' na ndúzú 'up' (ex. 15-16)
- pekó 'back,' na pekó tí 'behind' (ex. 17-20)
- pópó 'middle,' na pópó ní 'in the middle, in between' (ex. 21)
- sése 'ground,' na sése 'down' (ex. 22-23)
- téré 'body,' na téré ní 'beside' (ex. 24-25)
- yá 'belly,' na yá ní 'inside' (ex. 26-29)
- yángá 'mouth,' na yángá ní 'at the edge of' (ex. 30)

A few other words seem almost at the point of being likewise conventionalized in construction with *na*: *da* 'house' (ex. 31), *kótóró* 'village' (ex. 32), *lége* 'road' (ex. 33), *ngonda* 'bush' (ex. 34).

In addition, many kinds of nouns may follow *na* in a locative sense, notably proper nouns of places (ex. 35-36), personal nouns and pronouns (ex. 37-38), common nouns of places (ex. 39-40), and miscellaneous nouns (ex. 41).

1. azía ngó ní na bé ní -A21 'They put the drum into the middle of it.'
2. í zí na devant tí yoró tí í -A37 'We put it before our fetish.'
3. mbi wara na gbé tí mabóko tí mbi -R9b 'I found it under my hand.'
4. ake kú mbi na gígí -R1 'They're waiting for me outside.'
5. bi ngó tí mo na lé tí ngú -R10 'Push your boat out on the surface of the water.'
6. mbi tambéla na li ní -R2 'I walked in front.'
7. ála fáa ngbanga na li tí lo awe -L27 'They have passed judgment on him already.'
8. lo goe tí sára téné ní sioní míngi na li tí mo -A49 'He went and said very bad things about you.'
9. bé tí ála avurú na mbáge tí ázo vokó -R2 'They are completely candid towards Black People.'
10. zía mbéni yama ní na mbáge -I55 'Put some of the meat aside.'
11. í na mo í ke dé bá na ndó ní ngá -C29 'You and I, we'll swear on it also.'
12. lo lángó na ndó tí sése míngi laá -R7f 'It's because he has dwelt on the earth a long time.'
13. koa tí mbi aeke na ndo só -I41 'My work is here.'
14. agá na ndo tí mbi -R6 'He came to my place.'
15. ála sára mbéti na ndúzú -R9b 'Write at the top.'
16. aeke uru na ndúzú -R2 'They are flying in the air.'
17. mbéti tí ála angbá na pekó -R9b 'Your letters remain behind.'
18. mo ke dutí gí na pekó tí sandúku ti nginza ní -R1 'You've just been staying behind the cash box.'
19. mo goe na pekó tí lo -A29 'You follow him.'
20. kapita só aeke na pekó tí makunzi -A50 'the headman who is after the chief'
21. ála goe na pópó tí ádole só -A51 'They went among those elephants.'
22. mo kında mbi na sése? -C30 'Will you knock me down?'

23. mo zía na sése -R9a 'Put it aside (i.e. on the ground).'
24. aake dutí na téré tí mo -R1 'He remained beside you.'
25. mo gá ndurú na téré da -C30 'Come close beside the house.'
26. agá túku na yá tí ngú só -A8 'She comes and pours it into the water.'
27. lo kporo na yá tí ta só -F7 'She boiled inside the pot.'
28. wé aake na yá ní -A13 'There's iron in it.'
29. lo lungúla ngunzá só na yá tí ngú só -A8 'She removed these greens from the water.'
30. lo bǒngbi ála na yángá tí ngú -R10 'He gathered them beside (i.e. at the edge of) the water.'
31. aake fa na ámérangé na da -A49 'They showed the children in the house.'
32. wále tí mbi aake na kótóró pape -A35 'My wife wasn't in the village.'
33. hínga pape, á-postier asúru na lége -L3 'Who knows, perhaps the postal clerks tore it up on the way.'
34. fadé lo ngbá na ngonda bíani -F4 'He'll really stay in the bush.'
35. ála gá na Kelo giriri -L17 'They came to Kelo formerly.'
36. mbi goe na Bangui ape -A21 'I didn't go to Bangui.'
37. agoe na mbi na docteur -N81 'They took me to the doctor.'
38. tongana zo agá na mo -F4 'when someone comes to you...'
39. mbi wara ta na magasin -A15 'I found a pot at the store.'
40. mbi eke na l'école -A44 'I'm in school.'
41. mo báa na mbéti tí Matthieu ká -F4 'Look in the book of Matthew there.'

5.32.22. The category of benefaction is closely related to the locative, but is specialized enough to merit separate treatment. It is distinguished by referring exclusively to persons, and by having in general a close connection with a nearby object, which may sometimes be simply implied. In other words, this complement corresponds fairly closely to that sort of indirect object in English which occurs after verbs like 'give.' In Sango, it is also such verbs as mú 'give,' tene 'say,' fa 'show,' sára 'do,' and

so forth, which are followed by beneficiary complements. In most cases, *na* may be translated 'to' or 'for,' though in a few instances 'of' or 'from' seems more appropriate. The beneficiary complement is illustrated in examples 1-13. With a few intransitive verbs, such as *língbi* 'to be enough or appropriate' and *nzere* 'to be pleasant,' there is a *na* complement which is best construed as a beneficiary complement (ex. 10-11).

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. mbi mú <u>na</u> ndao -A40 | 'I gave it to the blacksmith.' |
| 2. mbi tene <u>na</u> mo -R6 | 'I tell it to you.' |
| 3. ála fa lége tí voté <u>na</u> ámbení
zo tí sése -R3 | 'You've showed the way to vote
to the other people of the
earth.' |
| 4. mbi sára koa <u>na</u> lo -R1 | 'I've worked for him.' |
| 5. mo eke sára <u>na</u> ála ngangó téné
-A49 | 'You're telling them hard
sayings.' |
| 6. lo gá tí húnda <u>na</u> mbi nginza
tí nze -R1 | 'He came to ask of me the wages
for the month.' |
| 7. ála ke toka mbéti <u>na</u> í -R9a | 'You're sending letters to us.' |
| 8. bé tí mbi aso <u>na</u> patron tí mbi
míngi -R1 | 'I'm much aggrieved at my boss.' |
| 9. mo eké súku <u>na</u> lo -A49 | 'You become very angry with
him.' |
| 10. alíngbi <u>na</u> lo pepe -R2 | 'It wasn't enough for him.' |
| 11. anzere <u>na</u> bé tí mbi míngi -R2 | 'It pleases me very much.' |
| 12. fadé mbi báa yí tí kírí <u>na</u>
question tí mo -L11 | 'I'll find something to answer
your question.' |
| 13. lo súru <u>na</u> mbi fondo óko -N81 | 'He split for me one plantain.' |

5.32.23. The *na* time complement may comprise conventionalized nouns, in much the same way as the locative complements (q.v. 5.32.21). In fact, the word *pekó* 'back' is common to both lists, and is the occasion of some ambiguity. Nevertheless, usually there is no problem (ex. 2-3). Other words so used are *ndá* 'end,' *na ndá ní* 'afterwards' (ex. 1), and *yá* 'belly,' *na yá tí* 'inside' (ex. 4). In addition to these locutions, a *na* time complement may comprise the name of a period of time (ex. 5-8), a date or a day of the week (ex. 8-9), an hour (ex. 9), a phrase designating a part of the day,

such as *lá kúí* 'sunset' (ex. 10), and miscellaneous nouns (ex. 11).

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. ámbéní zo só agá <u>na</u> ndá ní
-L27 | 'the other people who came afterwards...' |
| 2. lo gá <u>na</u> pekó ní -F7 | 'She came afterwards.' |
| 3. ahó fadé <u>na</u> pekó tí midi só
-R7a | 'They left quickly after noon today.' |
| 4. fadé í báa <u>na</u> yá tí nze só -C29 | 'We'll see during this month.' |
| 5. mo mú na lo <u>na</u> ndápéréré só
-R4a | 'You gave it to him this morning.' |
| 6. mo te <u>na</u> bí -A8 | 'You eat at night.' |
| 7. áni má gó tí mo <u>na</u> lá ní -L27 | 'We heard your voice on that day.' |
| 8. mbi eke éré ála da, <u>na</u> lá tí
dimanche, <u>na</u> 5 avril -R3 | 'I'm calling you to it, on Sunday, on April 5.' |
| 9. mbi lóndó na Nice <u>na</u> mercredi,
<u>na</u> 8 heures ti ndápéréré -R2 | 'I left Nice on Wednesday, at eight in the morning.' |
| 10. mo vo rognon ní <u>na</u> lá kúí -R9a | 'You buy the kidneys in the evening.' |
| 11. mbi sí <u>na</u> moitié -I39 | 'I've come to the midpoint.' |

As a possessive complement, the *na* phrase follows the verb *eke* 'to be.' The clause may be constructed in either direction: possessor + *eke* + *na* + possessed (ex. 1-3), or possessed + *eke* + *na* + possessor (ex. 4). Since this is not the only way of expressing possession, the following examples are given to illustrate the shades of meaning involved:

- | | |
|--------------------------------|---|
| <i>bongó ake tí lo</i> | 'The garment is his.' |
| <i>bongó ake na lo</i> | 'He has a garment.' |
| <i>lo eke na bongó</i> | 'He has a garment.' |
| <i>bongó ake na téré tí lo</i> | 'There is a garment on his body
(i.e. he is clothed).' |

But the relative frequency of these two orders is entirely in favor of the possessor + *eke* + *na* + possessed, which is found in 66 out of 68 examples. In the following examples, the *na* phrase is a complement of possession.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. mo eke na méréngé ti kóli? -R1 | 'Do you have a son?' |
| 2. lo eke na ngú bale otá na ndó
ní miombe -R7f | 'He's thirty-eight years old
(lit. he has 38 years).' |

3. ní eke tí ní na kóbe pepe -F4 'He himself didn't have any
food.'
4. yoró aske na ála -A51 'They had charms.'

5.32.25. The remaining kinds of na complements are rather miscellaneous. There is the complement of accompaniment (ex. 1-8) which involves no special difficulties. There is the complement of manner (ex. 9-11), expressed sometimes by means of the expression na lége tí + noun phrase (or simply lége ní), or by means of a noun or adjunctive expressing a disposition or a quality. There is the complement of means (ex. 12-16), which includes instrument, material means, parts of the body, language, and other expressions. It must be noted that the expression mbi sí na ngiá 'I'm full of joy,' which is included here, is, according to Mr. Nambozouina, a Europeanism. Standard Sango would reverse the order and say ngiá así bé tí mbi 'joy fills my liver.' Also included here are those complements comprising the expression na éré tí 'in the name of.'

There is a complement which for want of a better term is called the "subject," or "topical" complement in which na may be translated 'about' or 'concerning' (ex. 17). There is a quite typical complement which we may call the "end goal" (ex. 18-21), in which the basic pattern is subject + verb + raw material + na + finished product, as in ála sára wé na ngáfó 'They made the iron into hoes.' The main feature which defines this class seems to be a teleological element in the speaker's view of the complement. A number of other semantic categories are illustrated below (ex. 22-23), for which the gloss seems as complete an explanation as is necessary.

As has been shown, the specific meaning of na is very elusive. It has been variously translated 'to,' 'for,' 'at,' 'toward,' 'in,' 'from,' 'of,' 'with,' 'and,' 'as,' 'on,' and in many other ways. But it must not be supposed that this extreme range leads to ambiguity in actual communication. In all but a very few cases, the context indicates quite clearly what is meant.

1. mbi eke ká na mbéni ita tí mbi -I39 'I was over there with a certain brother of mine.'
2. mbi yí mo gá na ní -C29 'I want you to bring it.'

3. mbi ke mú na mo ngingza tí goe
na ní na wále tí mo -R1 'I'm giving you money to take to
your wife (lit. to go with
it).'
4. mbi língbi tí sára búbá na koa
tí mbi pepe -R3 'I can't act foolishly with
my work.'
5. lo dutí na De Gaulle séngé pepe
-R7a 'He didn't stay with De Gaulle
for nothing.'
6. mbi lángó na ita tí mbi -I9 'I lived (lit. slept) with my
brother.'
7. í bǒngbi na ála lége óko -R2 'We assembled together with
them.'
8. mbi ke ngbá gí na ngbére bongó
tongasó -C31 'I just remain with old clothes
like this.'
9. báa mbi na ngiá na yángá tí ála
-R6 '...see me with joy in their
mouths'
10. mamá tí mbi adutí gí na vundú
-N81 'My mother remained in great
grief.'
11. ázo, ála sára yáká tí coton na
ngú só na lége ní -L27 'People are making cotton fields
this year in the right way.'
12. áSango vení ake fáa susu na
gbánda -I39 'It's the Sango who kill fish
with nets.'
13. mo kpaka téré tí mbi na ní -F7 'Scratch my back with it.'
14. abáa í na lé pepe -R6 'They didn't see us with (their)
eyes.'
15. lo goe gbó kpóka tí yáká na
mabóko tí lo -A49 'He went and grabbed the garden
hoe with his hand.'
16. mbi tene na ála na éré tí ázo
tí ála kóé -R2 'I say to you, in the name of
all your people...'
17. mo eke d'accord na mbi na téné
só? -R1 'Do you agree with me concerning
this matter?'
18. ngáfó ake kpóka tí fáa na
yáká -A13 'The ngáfó is a hoe to make a
garden with.'
19. alíngbi na ngingza tí vo na yí
só pepe -A44 'It isn't enough money to buy
this thing with.'

20. mbi fáa na yama na kótóró -A40 'I kill animals with it in the village (lit. I kill with animals).'
21. ála sára í na búbá zo tí ála pepe -R2 'They don't make us into their fools.'
22. mamá tí mbi asára na mbi na m'érengé -A49 'My mother did it to me as a child.'
23. ámbéni ayó na du thé -N78 'Some drink tea.'

5.32.26. In verbless constructions (q.v. chp. 14), a na phrase may serve as the complement of a noun, thus entering into a noun phrase, in a way somewhat analogous to an attributive construction. But the semantic categories expressed are the same ones as are found in the instances previously discussed, where the na phrase is a complement of a verb. That is, the na phrase expresses location (ex. 1-2), time (ex. 3), possession (ex. 4), or end goal (ex. 5). In a few cases, the na phrase seems to be absolute, that is, in construction with nothing else, as some sort of elliptical sentence (ex. 3).

A na phrase may enter into or constitute pre-clause constructions (q.v. chp. 12), where they are semantically nothing more than complements of the verb placed before rather than after it. Thus, pre-clausal na phrases express location (ex. 6-7), time (ex. 8-9), means (ex. 10-11), subject (ex. 12), and so forth. Among the time phrases, na ndá ní and na pekó ní are frequently used (10/85 and 40/85 occurrences respectively). In a number of instances, these phrases are reinforced by such adjunctives as tongasó and fadesó.

1. Juif óko na pópó tí apôtre -R10 'one Jew among the apostles'
2. ázo tí mbi kóé lo só na téré tí mbi -R6 'All my people (are) these beside me.'
3. gí na yá nze tí avril 1958 -L15 'just during the month of April 1958'
4. ála kóé gí na kobéla tí bilharzie -R4a 'They all (have) the liver fluke disease.'
5. gí kusára na nginza sí atambéla -R1 'It's just work for money which goes.'

- | | |
|--|--|
| 6. <u>na</u> kótóró tí mbi ámbéní míngi
ahínga tí tó ngunzá pepe -A8 | 'In my village, many don't know
how to cook greens.' |
| 7. <u>na</u> pópó tí áni, áwále tí Manza
asára ta encore pepe -A13 | 'Among us, the Manza women
don't make pots any more.' |
| 8. <u>na</u> pekó ní, á-député aske voté
gouvernement -R3 | 'Afterwards, the deputies will
choose a government.' |
| 9. <u>na</u> ndá ní, tongana mbakóro wále
só afa éré tí kóli só -F7 | 'afterwards, when the old woman
told the name of this man...' |
| 10. <u>na</u> lége tí má bé áni eke ndurú
lá kóé -L27 | 'Through faith we are always
close.' |
| 11. <u>na</u> éré tí gouvernement tí France,
mbi tene ála kóé -R2 | 'in the name of the government
of France, I tell you all...' |
| 12. eh bien fadesó <u>na</u> lége tí tóngó
tí wále, na Bangui ndo só,...
-A8 | 'well now, concerning the cook-
ing of women here in
Bangui,...' |

5.32.30. The following tables show in detail the frequency of every kind of construction in which *na* may occur.

Table 1. Condensed table of all uses.

Coordinating:

joining noun phrases	192
joining numeral phrases	30
joining verb phrases	4
joining a verb phrase and a noun phrase	1
joining clauses	<u>223</u>
Total for coordinating uses	450

Subordinating:

in verb phrases	1951
in non-verbal constructions	36
in pre-clause constructions	<u>156</u>
Total for subordinating uses	<u>2143</u>
Grand Total, all uses	2593

Table 2. Frequency of different types of noun phrase + na + noun phrase.

pronoun + na + pronoun	19	
pronoun + na + pronoun kóé	12	
pronoun + na + pronoun só kóé	<u>1</u>	32
pronoun + na + noun phrase	32	
pronoun phrase + na + noun phrase	1	
noun phrase + na + pronoun	<u>2</u>	35
noun phrase + na + noun phrase	<u>67</u>	67
series of noun phrases, na each time:		
2 occurrences of na	15	
3 occurrences of na	2	
4 occurrences of na	<u>1</u>	40 total oc- currences
series of noun phrases, na not present		
each time	<u>7</u>	11 total oc- currences
noun phrase + adjunctive-object + na +		
noun phrase	<u>5</u>	5
deviant constructions	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>
Total occurrences of na joining noun phrases		192

Table 3. Frequency of different types of clause + na + clause.

simple na	178	
na tongana	19	
et/mais na	4	
na + preposed adjunctive	15	
preposed adjunctive + na	<u>7</u>	
Total occurrences of clause + na + clause		223

Table 4. Frequency of different types of na phrase complements of verbs.

locative	878	manner	47
beneficiary	461	means	93
temporal	172	subject	7
possessive	68	end goal	50
accompaniment	153	miscellaneous	22
Total na phrase verb complements: 1951			

Table 5. Frequency of different prepositional expressions of location.

bé	3	ndo	63
devant	3	ndúzú	9
gbé	14	pekó	26
gígí	3	pópó	11
lé	15	sése	34
li	13	téré	41
mbáge	18	yá	114
ndó	25	yángá	14
Total occurrences . . .		406	

Table 6. Frequency of beneficiary complements following the verb:

mú	112	húnda	18
tene	85	to, toka, etc.	27
fa	69	intransitive verb . . .	26
sára	66	miscellaneous	58
Total occurrences of beneficiary complement . . .		461	

Table 7. Frequency of different types of temporal complements.

ndá	1	phrase: lá kúí, etc. . . .	8
pekó	21	date, day of week	29
yá	27	hour	16
name of period of			
time	59	miscellaneous	11
Total of temporal na phrases		172	

Table 8. Frequency of complement of accompaniment following the verb.

eke	6	dutí	7
gá	20	lángó	6
goe	30	bóngbi	7
sára	22	miscellaneous	55
Total of complements of accompaniment		153	

Table 9. Kinds of na phrase complements in non-verbal constructions.

locative	33	possessive	1
temporal	1	end goal	1
Total in non-verbal constructions		36	

Table 10. Kinds of na phrases in pre-clausal constructions.

locative 63	means 4
temporal 85	subject 4
Total in pre-clausal constructions 156	

5.40. ngbangatí, tenetí

5.41. The connective *ngbangatí* serves both to introduce noun- and verb-phrase complements of verb phrases and also to join clauses to clauses (some of which may possibly be sentences). A somewhat ambivalent use of this connective is that where it introduces *téné só* or just *só* before being followed by a clause, i.e. *ngbangatí(téné)só*. While this construction can be pedantically translated 'for the reason that,' it appears to be otherwise indistinguishable from simple *ngbangatí*. (For this pronominal use of *só*, see 4.23.30.) It marks cause, reason, purpose, etc. and can be translated 'for, to, because,' etc. It therefore closely resembles *tenetí* in every respect. While the clausal use seems to be generally explanatory (e.g. 'because') rather than purposive (e.g. 'in order that'), it is the context which determines which meaning is in the sentence. The sentence *lo vò ngombe ngbangatí lo goe fáa na yama* would mean 'He bought a gun to go and shoot animals with it' but *lo vò ngombe ngbangatí lo fáa yama lá kóé* might mean 'He bought a gun because he shoots animals all the time.'

The first two syllables of the standardized form are pronounced in several different ways, the phonetic transcription of which is given below, where the dropping of the parentheses will produce yet another form.

<i>ɲmgbanga</i>	<i>ɲmgb̩</i>	<i>ɲmgb̩a</i>
<i>mbanga, mbaŋ(a)</i>	<i>mb̩̩(a)</i>	<i>mba</i>
<i>manga, maŋ(a)</i>	<i>m̩̩</i>	
<i>ɲmaŋa</i>		

For a similar diversity in forms, compare *tongana*, 5.80.

It is perhaps possible to look at some of the occurrences of *ngbanga* (followed by *tí*) as being the head noun of a noun phrase since there is a noun *ngbanga* whose meaning is 'word, affair, judgment,' etc. E.g. *mo sambéla ngbangatí mbi tenetí kusára tí lo só lo éré mbi ngbanga ní tí sára*. 'Pray for me because of his (i.e. God's) work which he called me to do.' Reason for not describing *ngbangatí* as *ngbanga + tí* is not so

much that it would make *tí* introduce clauses (which it otherwise does not do) but that when it precedes a clause it so often is separated by a pause from the preceding verb phrase; *tí* is never separated in this fashion.

More often than not (36/43), a preclausal use of *ngbangatí* is preceded by a pause (19 of which are sentence pause), but only rarely does pause precede a prenominal use of the connective. In the latter case the sentence with the pause seems to be stylistically different from the one without it. E.g. *tongana lo yí títens lo baa ndo na yá tí lé tí zo vókó, kaméla amú lo, ngbangatí sioní yí só giriri lo ke sára na zo vókó.* 'When he (i.e. the White Man) wants to look into the face of a Black Man, shame seizes him, because of the bad things he used to do to the Elack Man long ago (R2):'

ngbangatí with noun phrases (38/103 occurrences):

1. *yí só zo afáa téré míngi ape ngbangatí yí tongasó ape?* -N35 'Things over which people kill each other a lot about, aren't they things like these?'
2. *ake ngbangatí nginza* -I9 'It's because of money.'
3. *mo língbi tí kẹ lo ngbangatí bongó lá wa* -C31 'How can you reject him over clothes?'
4. *ake ngbangatí France vení sí fadesó sése tí í adutí kpó* -R2 'It is because of France that our country now is in peace.'
5. *mbi língbi tí kẹ á-famille tí mbi kóé ngbangatí só pepe* -N35 'I can't reject my relatives over this.'
6. *mo dé éré tí lo ngbangatí yẹ* -F7 'Why did you call his name?'
7. *mo húnda mbi tongasó ngbangatí yẹ* -C30 'Why do you ask me in this way?'

ngbangatí with verb phrases (2/103 occurrences):

8. *í gá na ndo só gí ngbangatí sára téné na ála na yá tí radio lá só* -R6 'We come here only to talk to you in the radio today.'
9. *í fono encore ngbangatí gí dole* -I55 'We marched again to look for elephants.'

ngbangatí with clauses (43/103 occurrences):

10. mbi zía yí só kóé ngbangatí 'I left all of this because
koa tí mbunzú aso zo míngi White Man's work hurts one
-R6 much.'
11. sioní yí só ahúnzi awe, ngbangatí 'All bad things have vanished
í vení, i ke na yá tí kótóró because we are in our own
tí í -R2 country.'
12. lo ke sára pendere yí míngi 'He's going to do a lot of
ngbangatí lá só lo ke na ngú nice things because today
bale otá na ndó ní miombe he's thirty-eight years
-R7f old.'
13. ake téné tí ngiá pepe, ngbangatí, 'It's not funny because when
tongana mo zo, mo báa kóá na you there, you see death
lé tí mo, mo língbi títene with your eyes, you can't
mo ngbá pepe -R4b continue living.'
14. fadesó atúku ála da ayóro ála 'Now she dumps them into it and
nzoní, ngbangatí ála fú. -A8 fries them well to prevent
them from spoiling.'
15. fadé ake éré ála ánde...ngbangatí 'They'll be calling them
ála gá tí sára examen tí ála later for them to come to
-R7b take their examinations.'

ngbangatí with (téné) só (15/103 occurrences):

16. mbi mú na mo merci míngi 'I thank you very much sir,
monsieur, ngbangatí téné só because you came and met me
mo gá mo wara mbi lá só -N35 today.'
17. mbi sára yí só ngbangatí só mbi 'I do this because I am a
ke zo vokó -R1 a Black Man.'
18. mbi má Sangó, mbi má mbírimbíri 'I understand Sango (but I
ape, ngbangatí só mbi goe na don't understand it well),
école -A21 because I went to school.'

ngbangatí introducing sentences (included in 43 clauses):

19. lo yí kékéréke, mbi ke kírí na 'If he wants, tomorrow I'll
koa. ngbangatí mbi ke babá come to work. Because I am
tí méréngé fadesó. -R1 the father of a child now.'

20. congé só ake tí múngó repos 'This vacation is to give rest
na zo tí kusára, títene to a workman so that his
ngangó tí lo agá da. strength will be renewed.
ngbangatí lo ke kéké pepe. -R1 Because he is no tree.'
21. tongana ála báa mo ke na nginza 'When they see that you have
ape, ála yí da pepe. ngbangatí not much money, they don't
wále a-dépensé nginza míngi. want to. Because women
-I9 spend a lot of money.'
22. B. mo ke hé gí ngiá na lé B. 'You are laughing in his
tí lo. só sárángó yí tí yę. presence. What kind of a
íta, ngbangatí téné só mo tene business is this? A. Isn't it
amú ngiá na mbi laá mbi hé because what you said made
só ape? -C31 me laugh?'

5.42. The connective *tenetí* is, both syntactically and semantically, virtually identical with *ngbangatí*. That is, it introduces verb- and noun-phrase complements of verb phrases, with a generally purposive or destinative meaning ('for,' 'to'), and it introduces clauses, with a generally explanatory force ('because of'). It is rather less frequent than *ngbangatí* in the corpus, and 58 per cent of its occurrences are found in letters, which come mostly from people of a Protestant background. In Protestant literature, *tenetí* is used almost exclusively, while *ngbangatí* is virtually absent. The tabulation of percentage of frequencies is given below:

Introducing noun phrases (including pronouns and nominalized verbs)	30 per cent
Introducing verb phrases (with purposive force)	2
Introducing clauses, reason (incl. <i>tenetí só</i>)	60
Introducing clauses, purpose (incl. 1 with <i>tenetí tene</i>)	3
Interrogative (<i>tenetí yę</i>) absolute	9
Interrogative (<i>tenetí yę</i> + clause)	6

The connective *tenetí* is said in at least six different ways, the phonetic transcription of which is given below: *tenetí*, *tentí*, *teti*; *tenetí*, *tentí*, *teti*.

The same reasons as are adduced for *ngbangatí* make it inadvisable to consider *tenetí* as being the head noun *téné* and the connective *tí*. These are, briefly: the frequent presence of pause between *tenetí* and the preceding verb phrase, and the fact that it would make *tí* introduce clauses. Furthermore, a literal translation of the noun would in most instances be an absurd

overtranslation, which is evidence that the force of the noun has been quite conventionalized. It should also be noticed that the tones of *tɛnɛ* are not high as they are with the noun *tɛné*. The above-mentioned pause occurs before *tenetí* in 32 per cent of the cases in which the following construction is a phrase, and in 88 per cent of the cases in which the subsequent construction is a clause. Of these last, 48 per cent are sentence breaks. In one instance, there is no pause before *tenetí*, but there is pause immediately after it, while in one case there is pause both before and after.

The expression *tenetí tɛnɛ*, which occurs once, followed by a clause, might be considered ambivalent, but it seems in every way equivalent to the construction without the second *tɛnɛ*, and so is assimilated to it.

Examples given below as are follows: *tenetí* introducing noun phrases (ex. 1-7), introducing a verb phrase (ex. 8), introducing clauses with explanatory force (ex. 9-16), some of which also contain *só* after *tenetí* (ex. 15-16), introducing clauses with purposive force, including the one with *tenetí tɛnɛ* (ex. 17-18), and introducing interrogative expressions, with *yɛ* (ex. 19-21).

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. í kángbi tenetí á-famille -A50 | 'We divided it for the family.' |
| 2. yí fadesó ngangó míngi tenetí
nginza -L2 | 'Things (are) tough right now
as far as money is concerned.' |
| 3. zo ate tenetí nzala -L27 | 'People eat out of hunger.' |
| 4. mbi mú merci na Nzapá tenetí bé
nzoní só lo sára na wále tí
mbi -L7 | 'I thank God for the kindness
which he showed to my wife.' |
| 5. lo toto tenetí mo lá kóé -L27 | 'He cries for you all the time.' |
| 6. bé tí mbi aso tenetí mo lá na
lá -L2 | 'My liver hurts for you every
day.' |
| 7. lo éré na kóbe tenetí téngó ní
-L17 | 'He begged for food to eat.' |
| 8. í vo nainginza, tenetí payé
l'impôt -A50 | 'We sell it for money, in order
to pay taxes.' |
| 9. tenetí í sára kóbe na lége ní
pepe, ní laá sí í ke wara
malade míngi -A8 | 'Because we don't prepare food
in the right way, that's why
we get many illnesses.' |

- | | |
|--|--|
| 10. merci míngi tenetí, mbunzú
así na kótóró awe -A15 | 'Many thanks, because the White
Man has arrived in town.' |
| 11. woga akpé tí lo bíaní awe,
tenetí lo eke yama -F4 | 'As for him, woga ran completely
away, since he was an animal.' |
| 12. lo tene mbi kú lo tenetí fadé
lo báa mbi -L7 | 'He told me to wait for him be-
cause he would see me.' |
| 13. mo tene ngá gí ndurú téné, tenetí
ámbení zo míngi ake kú mbi na
gígí -R1 | 'Just make a brief statement,
because many other people are
waiting outside for me.' |
| 14. tenetí tongana yí aake, lo fa
na mbi, báa, só lo, pepe -L2 | 'Because when there was a problem,
he didn't say to me, "Look,
this is it."' |
| 15. mbi tene merci míngi na Nzapá
tenetí só, mbi sí na gbé ní
pepe -A15 | 'I say many thanks to God be-
cause I didn't fall under it.' |
| 16. agoe zía ála na kánga, tenetí só
zo akúí tongasó -L6 | 'They went and put them in jail,
because people died like that.' |
| 17. mbi sára mbéti só na í tenetí
í má na téné tí mbi -L1 | 'I write this letter to you so
that you can hear about me.' |
| 18. aake ngbangati ngingza. tenetí
tene mo wara ngingza míngi, mo
húnda á-famille tí mo. -I9 | 'It's on account of money. In
order to get a lot of money,
you ask your family.' |
| 19. mbi tene merci míngi na Nzapá
tenetí yé? -A15 | 'I give many thanks to God for
what reason?' |
| 20. tenetí yé mo gá tí wóngó kóbe
na galá -C30 | 'Why do you come to buy food at
the market?' |
| 21. í mú mbéni, í mú na makunzi.
tenetí yé? lo vení sí a-
commandé kótóró. -A50 | 'We take some, we give it to the
chief. Why? because he's the
one who administers the
village.' |

5.50. sí

5.51. The connective *sí* introduces clauses except for one kind of construction described below. Like some of the other connectives it can stand at the beginning of a sentence in a monologue or dialogue (ex. 1-2), but its more common occurrence is between clauses or between a pre-clause

construction and its clause. Between clauses its primary, if not only, function is that of a sequential connective. An over-translation might be 'and then' or 'so then.' This is borne out not only by the nearest English equivalent translation but also by the fact that an African speaker of this language can replace *sí* by *ndá ní* or *na pekó ní* which are equivalent constructions for 'later' and 'after that.' Moreover, some of the clauses preceding *sí* can be reduced to subordinate status by adding *tongana* 'when' (q.v. 5.81) and leaving out the *sí*. Again, some occurrences of *sí* can be replaced by *na* or entirely left out with no apparent change in meaning. The various other translations of *sí* (like 'so that') are best attributed to the context. For this reason examples are classed according to whether the time of the events spoken of is in the past (ex. 3-9), in the present (ex. 10-16), or in the future (ex. 17-22).

sí introducing sentences:

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. lo tene, mbi eke servir mo pepe. <i>sí</i> mbéni kóli na pekó tí mbi atene, mais mo servir madame só. -L168 | 'He said, "I'm not serving you." So a man behind me said (to him), "But serve this lady."' |
| 2. A. wángó só lá ní mo mú só anzere na mbi míngi. B. oui. A. <i>sí</i> mbi tene ... -R4d | A. 'That exhortation you gave the other day, I liked it very much.' B. 'Yes.' A. 'So I say ...' |

sí with past time clauses:

- | | |
|--|--|
| 3. yá tí mbi asúku, akono tongana ballon, <i>sí</i> ála pompé ní -N81 | 'My abdomen swelled and grew as big as a balloon, which they pumped up.' |
| 4. agá a-commencé pika méréngé wále só awe, <i>sí</i> méréngé wále só atene ... -N79 | 'She came and began to hit this girl, and this girl said ...' |
| 5. abáa pási míngi na yá tí ngú bale osió, <i>sí</i> lo gá kótá -R2 | 'It suffered much for forty years and then became great.' |

6. ní yí tí gá tí sára kótóró tí ní na Bambari na ndo só, sí amú mbi ká, sí í na lo í gá na Bambari na ndo só, sí mbi commencé tí sára kusára tí lo -I39 'He wanted to come to live here in Bambari, so he took me there, then he and I, we came here to Bambari, and I began to do his work.'
7. mbi vení mbi wara sí mbi éré mo -C29 'I'm the one who found it and called you.'
8. mo mú rognon só mo préparé ní na vin na l'ail sí alángó - R9a 'You take the kidneys which you have prepared in wine and garlic and which stood (a while).'
9. lo goe tí pika dole, sí lo pika mbéni kóli dole ní, amú lo, afáa lo -L6 'He went to shoot an elephant, and he shot a male elephant, and it seized him and killed him.'

sí with present time clauses:

10. yę aso mo sí mo eke toto tongasó. -L186 'What is hurting you that you cry like this?'
11. tongana mo wara ngingza ní mngi ape, sí mo ke mú wále na yá ní, ngingza tí mo ahúnzi awe -I9 'If you don't earn much money and you take a wife on top of everything, your money is finished.'
12. zo tí gíngó yoró na mbi sí mbi soigné na ní ake pepe. ní laá sí mbi pensé bé tí mbi na ákusára tí mbi, sí mbi ske toto só. -L186 'There is no person to look for medicine for me so I can treat myself with it. That's why I'm thinking about my work and am crying like this.'
13. ála yí ála ke na bureau tí mbi, sí tongana téné ake, mbi ke na ndo só tí fángó ngbanga -R1 'They want you to be in my office, so that if there should be trouble, I am here to settle it.'
14. í zía kpí tí sindi na ndó ní, na kárakó, sí í ke te na ní -A8 'We put sesame paste on it, and peanuts, and we eat it with this.'

15. ake ngbangatí France vení sí fadesó sése tí í adutí kpó -R2 'It is because of France alone that now our country is peaceful.'
16. á-bon ní angbá, sí monsieur ade tí húnda ngbanga ní lá kóé -L11 'The debts remain and Monsieur continues to ask about them all the time.'
- sí with future time clauses:
17. tene na mbi kózo, sí fadé mbi báa mo tongana mo sí ánde na Bangui -L3 'Tell me in advance, and then I'll see you when you arrive in Bangui.'
18. wángó tí ndápéréré ake wara ká l'heure míngi míngi sí fadé í língbi títene í píka na mo disque pepe -R4a '"Wango ti ndaperere" doesn't have a lot of time for us to be able to play you a record.'
19. í yí títene í sára kótá yáká tí avion, sí fadé á-avion míngi a-língbi títene agá -R2 'We want to build a large air field so that many airplanes will be able to come.'
20. il faut í sára mbéni kótá yáká títene í lú yí da sí í wara nginza tí í -R6 'We must make large gardens and plant things in them so that we will receive our money.'
21. mbi yí tí sára réponse tí mo, na mo sára tí mbi na mbi, sí fadé aake nzoní míngi -L4 'I want to answer your letter, and you answer mine, and then it will be nice.'
22. ála ke commencé ánde na lánzó bale óko na óse, ake sí ánde na lánzó bale óko na osió, sí concours ní awe -R7b 'They'll be beginning on the 12th, going to the 14th, and then the competitive examination will be over.'

5.52. The connective *sí* follows pre-clausal constructions of subject (ex. 1-8), object (ex. 9-13), time (ex. 14-17), and circumstance (ex. 18-25). These are also discussed in chp. 12. The use of *sí* in this construction is not obligatory.

sí following pre-clausal subject construction:

1. só vení sí ake nzoní -R2 'This is what is good.'

2. lo vení sí acommandé kótóró -A50 'He's the one who governs the town.'
3. France vení sí asára na í nzoní míngi -R2 'It is France which was good to us.'
4. ázo tí sése tí Bangui kóé sí amú confiance tí ála na mbi -R3 'All the people around Bangui have placed their confidence in me.'
5. zo wa sí amú na mbi wa -L186 'Who was it that gave it to me?'
6. só kóbe tí yáká sí aeke na aú só? -F4 'Is this garden-food which Uncle has?'
7. áni báa mɔ pepe ngbangatí kobéla tí madame só sí a-merdé lo míngi sí mɔ goe ngbanga ní -L11 'We don't see you because of Madame's illness which is giving her much trouble and for which you returned.'
8. á-docteur sí ála mú na lo éré só na lo tongasó -L7 'It was the doctors who gave it this name like this.'

sí following pre-clausal construction:

9. gí lo sí Jésus ake fa lége tí yí kóé na lo -R10 'Jesus revealed all things only to him.'
10. só vení sí í kɛ -R2 'It's this which we reject.'
11. me yí óko. nginza ní sí ála wara tí bǒngbi na mbi tí to na í pepe. -L1 'But there's one thing. They don't find money to save with me to (permit me to) send it to you.'
12. zo só ayí tí fáa mbi, la République Centrafricaine sí zo ní ayí tí fáa lo -R3 'The person who wants to kill me wants to kill the Central African Republic.'
13. téné so inspecteur tí zo vokó kóé sí asára ní na Brazzaville -R1 'All the African inspectors spoke about this matter at Brazzaville.'

sí following pre-clausal temporal constructions:

14. bírí sí madame amú bongó ní na mbi -L7 'Yesterday Madame gave me the clothes.'
15. sept heures et demie sí ála gá -R7b 'Come at seven o'clock.'

16. kózoní sí mbi sára téné na ála, mbi yí ... -R9b 'Before I tell you, I want to ...'
17. kózoní sí lo mú ála tí gá apôtre, lo goe lo ʒko ná li tí hótó -R10 'Before He chose them to become apostles, He went alone to the top of a hill.'
- sí following pre-clausal constructions of consequence, manner, and reason
- 18.. lo tí ní na kutukutu ká na Londres. ní laá sí lo ke na kobéla. -R2 'He fell from an auto over there in London. That's why he's sick.'
19. í gá sára ngú míngi na Bangui. ní laá sí nzala tí kíringó na Fort Archambault asára mbi bien ape. -N81 'We came and have spent many years in Bangui. That's why I don't have very much desire to return to Fort Archambault.'
20. wále tí mo adú? a bon, ndá ní laá sí mbi báa mo fadesó ape? -R1 'Your wife gave birth? Oh, is that the reason why I haven't been seeing you lately?'
21. ndá ní sí mbi húnda na mo -L168 'That's why I ask you ...'
22. ...ála tene, ála má pepe. ndá ní só vení sí í eke tene ... -R9a '...you say that you don't hear. That's why we are saying ...'
23. tenetí sioní tí mo laá sí fúta ní agá na mo -L17 'It's because of your evil that the retribution has come upon you.'
24. mais peut-être sí tongana lo báa íta tí lo, wále, ake na ní míngi ... -R4a 'But perhaps when she sees that her women friends have it a great deal ...'
25. tenetí yé sí mo mú kótá yoró, sí íta tí mbi akúí -L16 'Why is it that you took the powerful medicine which resulted in my sister's dying?'

5.53. The only place where sí does not precede a clause is precisely where a clause can occur. The connective occurs at the end of a sentence as a result of ellipsis. It is very often possible to supply a meaningful apodosis. E.g. fa na mbi sí (fadé mbi hínga) 'Tell me then (I'll know).' While there are admittedly sentences where it would be awkward to supply an apodosis, there seems to be no advantage in describing a homophonous final

particle. This sentence-final use of *sí* can very often be left untranslated. Otherwise it can be translated 'then' or 'first.'

1. só taá téné, wala vane? fa na 'Is that the truth or a lie?
 mbi sí. -L27 Tell me.'
2. zía lo goe tí ká makala sí -I9 'Let her go to sell makala.'
3. ála má mbi sí -R1 'Now listen to me.'
4. mo língbi tí zía ngá, í hú téré 'Can't you let us rest a little?'
 tí í kété sí ape? -C31
5. tongana zo agá na mo, alíngbi 'When a person comes to you, you
 mo hínga lé tí lo sí -F4 should first recognize his face.'

5.60. tí

The connective *tí* is used even more frequently than *na* (2945 examples in the corpus), and it is also extremely versatile. It is therefore quite difficult to assign to it any basic meaning, for it may express in different circumstances ideas as diverse as possession, place, time, purpose, attribution, and various other things. One can say of it, however, that it is exclusively a subordinating connective. In this, it is quite different from *na* (q.v. 5.32) which has extensive coordinating functions. While in this one way it is restricted in function, however, *tí* has a wider range of occurrence than *na*, joining not only noun phrase complements to their heads, but also verb phrase complements, both to noun heads and to verb heads. The connective *tí* does not govern dependent clauses. Briefly, *tí* may join noun to noun; noun complement to verb head; adjunctive complement to noun head; a nominalized verb to a noun, an adjunctive, or a verb head; a verb complement to another verb; a verb complement to a noun head; and a few other uses which will be discussed and illustrated below.

5.61. As was shown above, the construction in which a noun phrase is joined to its head by *tí* is by far the most common usage of *tí* (2281/2945 occurrences). The head may be a noun (2170 occurrences), or a verb (72 occurrences). There are also 29 cases in which there is no head present. These phrases are called connective phrases (q.v. 10.40), and they invariably function as if there were a head noun, that is, they function substantively.

5.61.10. In noun phrases, a *tí*-noun phrase complement may express a wide range of relationships, including possession, equation, attribution, location, time, and others. As with *na* (q.v. 5.32.20) these categories are semantic, and are not in every instance mutually exclusive or free from ambiguity. They are therefore useful as an indication of the range of uses of *tí* rather than as a strictly grammatical classification.

5.61.11. By far the most frequent notion is possession, in one of three broad areas: the complement may express the whole of which the head is a part, such as *li tí zo só* 'The head of this man'; or it may indicate simple possession, such as *da tí zo só* 'The house of this man'; or it may indicate human relationships, such as *íta tí zo só* 'The sibling of this man.' Obviously, the distinction is purely semantic, and the definition of possession must often be made somewhat arbitrarily. The distinction between the possessive constructions using *tí* and those using *na* has been made elsewhere (q.v. 5.32.24). All three types of possessive constructions are illustrated below: part-whole (ex. 1-8), simple possession (ex. 9-15), and human relationships (ex. 16-20). Statistical tables of all the types of *tí*-noun constructions will be given below. A significant feature of this kind of usage is the extreme frequency of pronouns as possessive complements. In all three categories, but especially in the last, pronouns are overwhelmingly preponderant (821/1025).

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. adu kám̄ba k̄eté k̄eté na ḡó <u>tí</u>
woga só -F4 | 'He tied a very small cord to
the neck of the antelope.' |
| 2. alungúla lé <u>tí</u> k̄óli na wále
k̄óé -A42 | 'It opens the eyes of men and
women both.' |
| 3. bé <u>tí</u> zo a-changé -R10 | 'The liver of people changes.' |
| 4. ála ke sambéla k̄ótá li <u>tí</u>
h̄ótá -A48 | 'They worshipped the tops (lit.
the heads) of hills.' |
| 5. avok̄ó tongana p̄indírí <u>tí</u> wá
-R2 | 'It's black like the coals
of fire.' |
| 6. mbi ke díko fadesó éré <u>tí</u> ázo
só -R9b | 'I'm reading now the names of
these people.' |
| 7. mo h̄inga bé <u>tí</u> lo -F4 | 'You know his liver (i.e. him).' |
| 8. adé éré <u>tí</u> mbi pepe -F7 | 'She doesn't say my name.' |

- | | |
|---|--|
| 9. kóngbá <u>tí</u> mbunzú ní ahj ndó ní
-I55 | 'The belongings of this White Man were more than enough.' |
| 10. mbi goe na da <u>tí</u> kóli ape -C8 | 'I haven't gone to a man's house.' |
| 11. ake passé míngi na kótóró <u>tí</u>
ázo vókó -R1 | 'It's going around a great deal in the country of the Black People.' |
| 12. ála zía yí <u>tí</u> ála kóé -R10 | 'They left all their possessions.' |
| 13. goe na kótóró <u>tí</u> mbi -A40 | '...go to my village.' |
| 14. mariage <u>tí</u> ála aeke encore
pepe -L15 | 'Their marriage is no more.' |
| 15. par jour <u>tí</u> ála aeke ndé, tí í
aeke ndo só ndé -I55 | 'Their daily rate is different, and ours is different here.' |
| 16. babá <u>tí</u> mérengé ní akúf ngá
-L17 | 'The father of the child died also.' |
| 17. mamá <u>tí</u> Vote abara mo -L27 | 'The mother of Vote (personal name) greets you.' |
| 18. mbi ake fadesó. makunzi <u>tí</u>
á-fonctionnaire -R3 | 'I am now the chief of the civil servants.' |
| 19. kóli <u>tí</u> lo amú ngingza -L162 | 'Her husband took money.' |
| 20. kótará <u>tí</u> áni afa na áni -F7 | 'our ancestors showed us...' |

5.61.12. A second semantic category within the noun + *tí* + noun type of construction is what may be called the "equational construction," in which *tí* joins nouns which are semantically equivalent. Here one might overtranslate *tí* as 'which is (a).' It may be that this should be analyzed as constituting one type of attribution (q.v. below). Typically, the head noun indicates a class of things or beings, and the complement, in a way which may be termed appositional, makes the construction more specific. This is the ordinary means of naming a village, a river, and so on. The equational construction is illustrated below (ex. 1-5).

There is one typical ambiguity possible between possession and equation, in particular when nouns designating human beings are used. Thus, the following illustration might be construed either way:

mérenyé tí wáale só 'the child of this woman' or
'this child (which is) a female.'

In practice, however, the context almost never leaves any genuine ambiguity in interpretation.

1. nze tí novembre só -L27 'this month of November'
2. ámbení adú mérenyé tí wáale -L47 'Others bore girl children.'
3. kótóró tí République 'the country of Central
Centrafricaine -R4a African Republic'
4. na yángá tí Sango laá -A44 'That's in the Sango language.'
5. kóli tí ita tí mbi tí wáale ní 'the husband of my sibling (who
is) a female (i.e. my sister)'

5.61.13. Attributive complements may be classified generally as either objective or subjective, according to whether the head noun or the complement expresses the characterizing feature. A second classification, which cuts across the previous one, distinguishes between qualities and processes. There is thus a four-way classification: the head noun is a trait of the complement (ex. 1); the complement is a trait of the head noun (ex. 2-7); the head noun affects the complement in some manner (ex. 8-9); and the complement in some way affects or effects the head noun (ex. 10-13). In a number of these cases (ex. 1), the head is actually an adjunctive rather than a noun, but it is substantively used.

Just as there is potential ambiguity between possession and equation, there is also potential ambiguity between possession and attribution, as is seen from the following illustration, which may be construed two ways:

mabóko tí wáale 'the hand of the woman' (possession) or
'the left hand' (attribution).

Just as in the former case, however, the ambiguity is more potential than real, since the context almost invariably clears it up.

In two categories, that in which the head is a trait of the complement, and that in which the head is affected or effected by the complement, the latter is often a pronoun. In the first case, the proportion is 9 out of 28, but in the latter it attains 115 out of 172. This frequency of pronoun complements is a peculiarity of the possessive and attributive categories.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. abáa pendere <u>tí</u> ngú -R2 | 'They see the beauty of the water.' |
| 2. mo fa manière <u>tí</u> kɔa ní -C30 | 'Show the manner of this work.' |
| 3. á-microbe <u>tí</u> bilharzie -R4a | 'the microbes of the liver-fluke disease' |
| 4. aake téné <u>tí</u> ngiá pepe -R4b | 'It's not a joyful thing.' |
| 5. áyí <u>tí</u> vundú atí na ndó mbi -L7 | 'Things of grief have fallen on me.' |
| 6. mbi eke (...) zo <u>tí</u> péché -R10 | 'I am a man of sin.' |
| 7. yáká <u>tí</u> café -N35 | 'the coffee plantation' |
| 8. malade <u>tí</u> aú tí mbi -N80 | 'the sickness of my uncle' |
| 9. mo má téné tí kóá <u>tí</u> lo -L7 | 'You've heard the news about his death.' |
| 10. só aake kusára <u>tí</u> áwále laá -A15 | 'That's the work of women there.' |
| 11. mbi sára téné <u>tí</u> yángá tí mbi
-N35 | 'I say the things of my mouth (i.e. I speak for myself).' |
| 12. mbi wara lettre <u>tí</u> mo awe -L4 | 'I've received your letter.' |
| 13. ála girísa lége tí wé <u>tí</u> ála
awe -A13 | 'They have forgotten their way (of working) with iron.' |

5.61.14. Two categories may profitably be discussed together, those of place and time. Both may also be expressed by na complements, but with a distinct difference in nuance. It may be said that the na phrase expresses an accidental or incidental place or time relationship, while the tí phrase expresses a much more essential relationship, with the idea of relative permanence included. Compare the examples given below:

zo na Bangui 'a man in Bangui' vs.

zo tí Bangui 'a man of Bangui'

kóbe na lá kúí 'food in the evening' vs.

kóbe tí lá kúí 'the evening food.'

In fact, the relationship of the na phrase to a preceding noun is so tentative that if there is any verb in the vicinity, the na phrase will relate to the verb, while a tí phrase remains related to the noun. Locative tí phrases are illustrated below (ex. 1-3), as well as temporal phrases (ex. 4-5).

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. lo fáa ákóngbá <u>tí</u> yá tí da
kirikiri -L162 | 'He smashed all the furnishings
of the inside of the house
every which way.' |
| 2. ála fa lége tí voté na ámbéni
zo <u>tí</u> sése -R3 | 'You've shown the way to vote to
the other people of the earth.' |
| 3. áwále <u>tí</u> Bangui -N78 | 'the women of Bangui' |
| 4. na jeudi <u>tí</u> pekó -R7d | 'on next Thursday' |
| 5. huit heures <u>tí</u> ndápéréré -R2 | 'eight o'clock in the morning' |

5.61.15. The remaining four categories of noun-tí-noun phrases are much less frequent in the corpus. (a) There is, for instance, what may be termed the "topical complement," following such nouns as *téné* 'word' or the French *nouvelle*. Here, *tí* may be translated 'about' or 'concerning' (ex. 1-3). (b) Then there is the "relational" or "functional," in which a head noun designating an animate being is related by *tí* to a complement designating an activity, an institution, etc. (ex. 4-5). (c) There is what may be called the "destinative," in which *tí* may be overtranslated as 'designed for' or 'destined for' or 'used for' (ex. 6-9). (d) There is a group of examples in which there is a basic concept of quantity, including the notion of price or value (ex. 10-11).

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. <i>téné</i> <u>tí</u> politique -R2 | 'the matter concerning politics' |
| 2. <i>téné</i> <u>tí</u> nzi tí mɔ -R1 | 'the story of your theft' |
| 3. évangile <u>tí</u> lá ní só Jésus así
gígí -R10 | 'the gospel about that day when
Jesus went out' |
| 4. zo <u>tí</u> lengé ní apíka li tí mɔ
-A9 | 'The man attached to the lengé
dance hit your head.' |
| 5. á-église <u>tí</u> í amú na mɔ -L27 | 'our churches give you...' |
| 6. aake sára kɔa <u>tí</u> ngingza -L162 | 'They are doing work for money.' |
| 7. ngingza <u>tí</u> mérengé tí lo -R1 | 'money for his child' |
| 8. lá <u>tí</u> kótá bɔngbi -R1 | 'the day for the big gathering.' |
| 9. nzala <u>tí</u> ála sí asára mbi -L2 | 'Hunger for you is troubling me.' |
| 10. avo ngunzá tí páta osió -A8 | 'She bought twenty francs' worth
of greens.' |
| 11. ála kú tanga <u>tí</u> <i>téné</i> kóé -R7f | 'Wait for all the rest of the
story.' |

5.61.16. There is a category of noun + tí + noun in which the head noun is so conventionalized that the entire construction may be termed a "prepositional expression." In most instances, na precedes the first noun, but in some cases the na is omitted when the noun has a close conventionalized relationship with a preceding verb. The nouns which are so used are:

- devant (<French) (ex. 1)
- gbé 'lower part' (ex. 2-3)
- lé 'face' (ex. 4-5)
- lége 'path' (ex. 6)
- li 'head' (ex. 7-8)
- mbáge 'side' (ex. 9)
- ndó 'top' (ex. 10-11)
- ndo 'place' (ex. 12)
- pekó 'back' (ex. 13-14)
- pópó 'middle' (ex. 15)
- téré 'body' (ex. 16-17)
- yá 'belly' (ex. 18-19)
- yángá 'mouth' (ex. 20)

The resulting na phrase (q.v. 5.32.20) enters into a verb phrase as a modifying complement (q.v. 11.11), with an idea of time, place, manner, means, and so forth.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. í zía na devant <u>tí</u> yoró tí í
-A37 | 'We place it before our medicine.' |
| 2. mbi sí gígí na gbé <u>tí</u> kéké ní
-A15 | 'I've come out from under the tree.' |
| 3. á-fonctionnaire aske na gbé <u>tí</u>
mbi -R3 | 'The civil servants are under me (i.e. my authority).' |
| 4. bi ngó tí mọ na <u>lé</u> tí ngú -R10 | 'Thrust out your boat upon the surface of water.' |
| 5. mbi eke tene (...) na <u>lé</u> tí ála
kóé -R3 | 'I'm speaking before you all.' |
| 6. ake wara ní gí na lége <u>tí</u> ngú
-R4a | 'We get it only by means of water.' |
| 7. ála fáa ngbanga ní na li <u>tí</u>
Ngandawei awe -L27 | 'They've passed judgment on Ngandawei.' |

8. mo ke dé kóngó na li tí lo -A49 'You yell at him.'
9. bé tí ála avurú na mbáge tí ázo vókó -R2 'Their liver is white (i.e. they are candid) towards Black People.'
10. mo goe zía na ndó tí table -A11 'You go put it on top of the table.'
11. ahó ndó tí mbi -N81 'It overcame me (lit. it passed over me).'
12. lo zía yama só kóé na ndo tí camarade tí lo -L175 'He put all this meat at the place of his buddy.'
13. agoe na pekó tí kóli -A42 'They followed the man.'
14. í tomba pekó tí ála -I55 'We chased after them.'
15. ála goe na pópó tí ádole só -A51 'They went among these elephants.'
16. agá na téré tí dódó ní -A21 'They came beside the dance.'
17. ake zía na téré tí mbi -R3 'You've put it beside me.'
18. ála kánga lo ngá na yá tí nze óko -L17 'They imprisoned him also within a month.'
19. mbi eke na yá tí école -A44 'I'm in school.'
20. í sára na yángá tí ngaragé -A37 'We did it alongside the ngaragé place.'

5.61.20. A tí-noun phrase may, in a verb phrase (q.v. 11.14), serve several different functions. It may be a copulative complement (ex. 1) or an object (ex. 2). In addition, a tí-pronoun phrase may serve as a subject intensifier (ex. 3). In all of these cases, one may supply a noun of vague semantic content as a sort of putative head without changing either sense or syntactic function, but this is in no sense necessary. The construction without any head noun is termed a connective phrase (q.v. 10.40). It is of frequent occurrence, and is complete in itself.

1. mo pensé kóbe kóé aeke na galá ndo só gí tí mo? -C30 'Do you think all the food in the market here is yours?'
2. lo vo tí vingt francs -A8 'She bought twenty francs' worth.'
3. lo lángó tí lo na da -L27 'As for him, he sleeps in the house.'

5.61.30. A *tí*-noun phrase preceded by nothing may, on the one hand, be the subject of a verb (ex. 1), or, on the other hand, it may (ex. 2-4) enter into a pre-clausal construction (q.v. chp. 12). In this latter use, it may indicate time or some other circumstance affecting semantically the following verb, or it may be an expansion of the subject. A special use is in a sort of comparative construction with *tongana* (ex. 5). There are also a few examples (ex. 6) in which a *tí*-noun phrase enters into non-verbal constructions (q.v. chp. 14). As with other uses of such connective phrases (q.v. 10.40), in every case these phrases are used substantively.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. <i>tí</i> ákólí aké so ála míngi pepe
-R4a | 'Men's doesn't hurt them
much.' |
| 2. gí <i>tí</i> áwále laá aso ála míngi
só -R4a | 'It's just the women's that
hurts a lot.' |
| 3. <i>tí</i> lá só, í eke báa -L175 | 'As for today's, we'll see.' |
| 4. mais <i>tí</i> kótóró <i>tí</i> mbi, í zía
kpí <i>tí</i> sindi -A8 | 'But (according to the way of)
my village, we put in sesame
paste.' |
| 5. éré <i>tí</i> ála avú, <i>tongana</i> <i>tí</i>
ámberí zo pepe -R10 | 'Their names weren't beautiful
like those of other people.' |
| 6. <i>tí</i> taá kótóró <i>tí</i> mbi laá -A8 | 'That's (the way) of my real
village.' |

5.62. Much less frequently (59 examples), *tí* relates a complement, which is an adjunctive substantively used, to a head. In almost all instances, the adjunctive in question is either a quality word of some sort, such as *nzoní* 'good' or *mbírímbírí* 'straight,' or else it is a time word such as *fadesó* 'now.'

In phrases in which the complement is an adjunctive, the head may be a noun, as it is in 48 out of 59 examples. In this kind of construction, the adjunctive may express some kind of attribution (ex. 1-3), a temporal relation (ex. 4), a sort of demonstration (ex. 5), or an interrogation (ex. 6-8). In the one instance in which it follows a nominalized verb (ex. 8) it expresses an interrogation. In the example where it follows another adjunctive (ex. 9) it expresses an attribution. Of the two cases in which *tí*-adjunctive follows a verb, one expresses interrogation, and

the other time (ex. 10-11). In all seven of the cases in which the *tí*-adjunctive has no expressed head, it expresses time. Some of these (ex. 11) enter into verb phrases, some (ex. 12) are in pre-clausal constructions.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. mo fa yí <u>tí</u> nzoní na á méréngé
tí mo -A49 | 'You teach good things to your children.' |
| 2. ndo <u>tí</u> nzoní kóé tí Nzapá -F4 | 'the perfect place of God' (a Protestant religious expression) |
| 3. ázo <u>tí</u> sioní -L17 | 'evil people' |
| 4. yí <u>tí</u> giriri -A15 | 'the things of long ago' |
| 5. lége <u>tí</u> só -I55 | 'the way of this... (i.e. this way)' |
| 6. só manière <u>tí</u> yé -L162 | 'What sort of doings is this?' |
| 7. mo yí tí vó timbre <u>tí</u> óke -L168 | 'You want to buy stamps worth how much?' |
| 8. só sárángó yí <u>tí</u> yé -C31 | 'What kind of goings-on is that?' |
| 9. mbéni <u>tí</u> saleté aake sí gígí
-A13 | 'Another dirty one was coming out.' |
| 10. mo ke píka na yá <u>tí</u> yé -R9b | 'What do you pound it inside?' |
| 11. ahó <u>tí</u> giriri -R3 | 'It surpasses that of long ago.' |
| 12. <u>tí</u> fadesó, terrain ní ahúnzi
awe -I55 | 'By now, the field is finished.' |

5.63. Similar to the preceding constructions in which a noun complement was joined to its head by *tí* are those cases in which the complement is a nominalized verb (74 cases). Where the head is a noun (29/74 cases), the nominalized verb expresses such notions as purpose, occupation, activity, and so on, and may be considered a noun of action. In these cases this construction closely resembles the noun phrase. The head noun may bear either a subjective relationship to the nominalized verb (ex. 1) or an objective one (ex. 2). It may also express place or time (ex. 3-4). The same thing is true of the single example of a phrase with an adjunctive head (ex. 5). But when the head of the phrase is either a verb or a nominalized verb (45/74 cases), it is very hard if not impossible to discover any significant difference between the construction with a nominalized verb as complement and that with a verb. Thus the following two illustrations would seem to

be exactly equivalent:

lo goe tí mú kéké 'He went to get a stick.'
 lo goe tí múngó kéké

It behaves in every way like the other, and serves the same syntactic functions, as a complement of purpose (ex. 6-9), or a copulative complement after *eke* 'to be' (ex. 10). They may occur immediately after the verb (ex. 6-7), or be separated from it by various other complements (ex. 8-9).

There are several examples of nominalized verbs occurring like nouns after prepositional expressions consisting of *na* and a conventionalized noun before *tí* (ex. 11). There is also one example of a nominalized verb in a pre-clausal construction (ex. 12).

1. zo tí gíngó susu séngé -R10 'just a fisherman (lit. a man to hunt fish)'
2. mo eke na téné tí ténéngó ní míngi -R4c 'You have a lot of things to say.'
3. magasin tí kángó ákóngbá tí mo -R1 'the store to sell your goods'
4. l'heure tí kíringó tí í -N80 'the time of our return'
5. kózo tí hóngó tí lo na Israel -R7a 'before his departure for Israel'
6. goe tí tóngó kóbe na kóli tí ála tí téngó ní na midi -N78 '...go to cook food for their husbands to eat at noon.'
7. ní goe tí múngó ní -F4 'He went to get it.'
8. ála sára kamba tí ála tí fángó na yáma -L175 'They made their cords (i.e. snares) to kill animals with.'
9. fadé lo zía mabóko tí lo na ngú tí mbéti, tí gbóngó na lé tí bulletin ní -R1 'He'll put his finger into ink (lit. water of paper) with which to seize the surface of the bulletin.'
10. congé só aeke tí múngó repos na zo tí kusára -R1 'This vacation is to give a rest to men of work.'
11. lo ke merdé mo na lége tí fángó yáká -A49 'He pesters you about making a garden.'
12. mais tí kíringó ní na Bangui só, aeke ngangó míngi -N35 'But as for returning to Bangui, that was very hard.'

5.64. The connective *tí* marks verb phrases which function as modifiers of nouns or as complements in other verb phrases.

5.64.10. As complements of noun phrases, *tí*-marked verb phrases in some way describe or limit the noun. For the sake of convenience, one can classify the examples according to whether the head noun can be construed as the subject of the verb (ex. 1-2) or the object of the verb (ex. 3-4), or whether the verb can be construed as a limiting modifier of the noun (ex. 5-9).

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. <i>yí tí sò í òkò ake pepe</i> -R6 | 'There's not a single thing to hurt us.' |
| 2. <i>ázo tí sára wé, ála lèke wé
mbéni encore pepe</i> -A13 | 'People who work with iron, they don't fix iron any more.' |
| 3. <i>mbéni yí tí tẹ na pekó ní aake
ape</i> -A44 | 'There's nothing to eat after it.' |
| 4. ... <i>kámba ókò tí kánga na ngbundá
tí lo ókò ...</i> -L7 | '... one rope with which to tie around his waist...' |
| 5. <i>nginza tí wò na yíngó, mbi wara
ape ngá</i> -A44 | 'I also don't have money with which to buy salt.' |
| 6. <i>mbi sára kòá tí passé bongó</i>
-I9 | 'I did the work of ironing clothes.' |
| 7. <i>lége tí fonò na camion aake
ngangó</i> -L7 | 'Traveling by truck is difficult.' |
| 8. <i>lo hínga lége tí tó ngú</i> -A49 | 'She knows how to draw water.' |
| 9. <i>lá tí vote aake lá tí tiri
pepe</i> -R3 | 'Voting day is not a day to fight.' |

5.64.20. As complements in verb phrases, the *tí*-marked verb phrases either indicate purpose (intent, goal, etc.) or simply act as constructions subordinate to the head verb. The latter use parallels the use of 'to' in such an English construction as 'He wants to go now' whose only function is to relate 'go' to 'wants.' The purposive use of *tí* is in most instances quite adequately translated by 'to,' but some sentences demand something as strong as 'in order to, for the purpose of,' etc.

The *tí*-marked phrases can either follow the head verb immediately (ex. 1-11) or be separated from it by some other complements (ex. 12-23). While this discussion is properly in the domain of verb phrases, q.v. 11.14, a

better understanding of tí will result from an early exposure to its use. The most common occurrences are those separated from the verb by an object. In addition, the tí phrase may be preceded by a na phrase, by a na phrase and an object, by an object and a na phrase, or by a very few other miscellaneous complements. If there is any restriction as to what verbs can be followed by a tí phrase, it is probably a semantic one. There are some, however, which take a tí phrase more often than other verbs. These are gá 'to come,' goe 'to go,' hínga 'to know,' commencé 'to begin,' de 'to remain, continue,' língbi 'to be able,' ngbá 'to remain, continue,' and yí 'to want.' Even the verb eke 'to be' can take a tí phrase complement, with or without other complements (ex. 24-27).

tí phrases as verb phrase complements, immediately following the head verb:

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. mbi de tí mú kóli ape -C8 | 'I haven't got married yet.' |
| 2. mbi gá tí te kóbe -R1 | 'I come to eat.' |
| 3. í eke goe tí voté á-député
tí í -R3 | 'We are going to elect our
deputies.' |
| 4. zía lo goe tí ká makala sí -I9 | 'Let her go sell makala.' |
| 5. ámbéni wále ahínga tí lèke yá
tí da tí ála pepe -A8 | 'Some women don't know how to
fix the inside of their
houses.' |
| 6. mbi kẹ́ tí fúta lo awe -R1 | 'I have refused to pay him.' |
| 7. í commencé tí lú yí da awe -R6 | 'We have begun to plant things
there.' |
| 8. ála língbi tí báa yí só mo sára
na ála -A49 | 'They can see what you do for
them.' |
| 9. mbi ngbá tí kú -L27 | 'I continue to wait.' |
| 10. zo só ayí tí fáa mbi -R3 | 'the person who wants to kill me' |
| 11. ála yí tí goe na kótóró tí ála
-A37 | 'They want to go to their vil-
lage.' |

tí phrases as verb phrase complements, separated from head verb:

- | | |
|---|---|
| 12. ála mú mbéni kété kóbe tí goe na
ní -A48 | 'They obtained a little food to
take it (along).' |
| 13. zo ahánda mo séngé tí fúti ngingza
tí mo ape? -C31 | 'Isn't the person tricking you for
no reason to waste your money?' |

14. mbi éré ála kóé tí gá tí
voté -R3 'I call on you all to come to
vote.'
15. lo dutí na yá tí ngó ní tí tene
téné na ázo -R10 'He sat in the boat to speak to
the people.'
16. mbi fa na mo tí má sí -L2 'I'm telling you so you can hear.'
17. ámamá agoe na ngonda tí mú
makongó -A8 'Mothers go into the forest to
get caterpillars.'
18. mbi ke mú na mo nginza tí goe
na ní na wále tí mo -R1 'I'm giving you money to take
it to your wife.'
19. mbi to na ála mbéti só tí húnda
ála na téné só -L171 'I send you this letter to ask
you about this affair.'
20. ála fáa kóndo na téré tí ála
míngi míngi tí te -A48 'They killed very many chickens
of theirs to eat.'
21. mbi húnda ndá tí téné só na
Cécile tí má réponse ní -L171 'I ask for an explanation of this
matter of Cécile so as to hear
the answer.'
22. lo gá ndurú tí kúí -L7 'He's just about dead.'
23. ámbéni alóndó lá só tí goe na
Paris -R7d 'Some left today to go to Paris.'

tí phrases as complements of the verb eke 'to be':

24. mbi eke na ngiá tí fa na mo
nouvelle -L4 'I'm happy to tell you the
news.'
25. kpa tí fonctionnaire aeke tí
sára kusára tí diplomatie
-R3 'The work of government employees
is to do the work of diplomacy.'
26. ákóli aeke na mbáge aussi tí te
tí ála ngá -A8 'There were men beside it also
to eat theirs.'
27. ake téné tí mo tí sára
potopóto -A42 'It's your responsibility to
make beer.'

5.64.30. The dual function of tí phrases (i.e. as noun modifiers and verb complements) results in ambiguity, as one might expect, when a noun complement occurs between a head verb and a tí phrase. Thus, the sequence of words lége tí goe 'way to go' is not ambiguous below in the first sentence, where it can only be a noun phrase, but is so in the second:

1. lége tí goe na galá aks apɛ. 'There's no way of going to the market.'
2. mbi mú lége tí goe na galá. 'I set out for the market.' or 'I took the road which goes to the market.'

There are, however, surprisingly few ambiguous constructions in the corpus since the sense of the whole construction generally makes clear what is meant:

1. lo to ázo tí gí mérengé sɔ. 'He sent people to (i.e. for the purpose of) hunt for the child.'
-L17
2. lo sára kámba tí mú yama tí sése. -L175 'He made a snare with which to catch terrestrial animals.'

There is at least one device for mitigating the ambiguities, and that is by separating the tí phrase from the rest of the verb phrase by a pause.

3. akánga gbánda, tí fáa yama. 'He tied up the net, for the purpose of killing animals.'
-A50
4. í kóé, í sára kɔa, tí lɛkɛ sése tí babá tí í. -R3 'All of us are working so as to improve the land of our fathers.'

5.65. The following tabulations show, both comprehensively and exhaustively, the frequency of all the types of constructions using tí.

Table 1. Condensed table of all constructions.

tí + noun phrases:

noun + tí + noun	1862
prepositional expressions	318
verb + tí + noun	72
nothing + tí + noun	<u>29</u>

Total uses of tí + noun phrases 2281

tí + adjunctive phrases:

noun + tí + adjunctive	48
nominalized verb + tí + adjunctive	1
adjunctive + tí + adjunctive	1
verb + tí + adjunctive	2
nothing + tí + adjunctive	<u>7</u>

Total uses of tí + adjunctive phrases 59

tí + nominalized verb phrases:

noun + tí + nominalized verb . . .	29
adjunct. + tí + nom. verb	1
nom. verb + tí + nom. verb	3
verb + tí + nominalized verb . . .	35
prepositional expressions	5
nothing + tí + nom. verb	<u>1</u>

Total uses of tí + nominalized verb phrases . . . 74

tí + verb phrases:

noun + tí + verb	33
verb + tí + verb	<u>498</u>

Total uses of tí + verb phrases531

Grand total of all uses of tí 2945

Table 2. Tabulation according to the nature of the head.

noun head	1972	verb head	607
nominalized verb	4	prepositional expr.	325
adjunctive	2	nothing	37
Total		2945	

Table 3. Kinds of noun + tí + noun phrases.

<u>Kind of complement</u>	<u>Noun</u>	<u>Pronoun</u>	<u>Total</u>
possession	204	821	1025
equation	94	0	94
attribution	185	133	318
topical	58	3	61
relational	20	4	24
destinative	80	16	96
quantitative	19	0	19
locative	162	0	162
temporal	63	0	63
prepositional expressions	<u>248</u>	<u>70</u>	<u>318</u>
Totals	1133	1047	2180

Table 4. Kinds of possessive complements.

A is part of B	103	265	368
A possesses B	60	247	307
A is related to B	<u>41</u>	<u>309</u>	<u>350</u>
Totals	204	821	1025

Table 5. Kinds of attributive complements.

A is a trait of B	19	9	28
B is a trait of A	106	0	106
A affects B	3	9	12
B effects A	<u>57</u>	<u>115</u>	<u>172</u>
Totals	185	133	318

Table 6. Frequency of prepositional expressions.

devant	1	ndo	7
gbé	9	pekó	45
lé	13	pópó	15
lége	21	téré	30
li	11	yá	123
mbáge	10	yángá	10
ndó	23		

Total of prepositional expressions . 318

Table 7. Kinds of verb + tí + noun phrases.

copulative complement	7	modifying complement	7
object	8	subject intensifier	49
na phrase	1		

Total of verb + tí + noun phrases . 72

Table 8. Kinds of noun + tí + adjunctive phrases.

attributive	31	demonstrative	1
temporal	9	interrogative	7

Total of noun + tí + adjunctive phrases 48

Table 9. Kinds of noun + tí + verb phrases.

subjective	6	attributive	11
objective	2	miscellaneous	8
complement	6		

Total of noun + tí + verb phrases 33

Table 10. Kinds of verb + tí + verb phrases, tabulated according to the first verb.

bóngbi	3	língbi	50
commencé	42	lóndó	2
de	10	ngbá	12
gá	32	yí	87
goe	36	eke	32
hínga	9		
		Total of verb + tí + verb phrases . . .	315
		verb + complement(s) + tí + verb . . .	<u>183</u>
		Total of tí-verb phrases in verb phrases	531

5.70. títene

The connective títene is, by comparison with na and tí, far less common (only occurring 235 times), but in certain texts, especially radio texts, it is extensively used. This fact is to be correlated with the observation that every documented use of títene is by a town-dweller. Country folk do not seem to use it unless they have had considerable contact with town-folk. This connective therefore is possibly one mark of the difference between two varieties of Sango.

The function of títene is to join a clause to a preceding clause (i.e. in complex sentences); in only a few instances does títene occur elsewhere, i.e. standing at the beginning of a sentence or before a non-verbal construction within a single sentence. The clauses that títene introduces have two characteristics: they are in some way or another dependent on the preceding clause and they generally begin with nothing but a subject.

A slight pause generally accompanies títene, most often following it, but again sometimes preceding it or even both preceding and following it. When the pause precedes títene, the connective is seen to be far removed from the verb of the preceding clause. This pause does not seem to have any significant function.

The derivation of this connective is obviously the connective tí plus the verb tene 'to say.' Attempts to make títene the same as the construction tí tene are accompanied by problems in meaning and syntactic analysis. It

is more convenient to call it a connective with little or no lexical meaning. In only a couple of sentences can it possibly be translated as 'that is to say' or 'in other words,' but even these translations can be derived in part from the whole context. It can be conveniently compared to the English word 'to' which joins verbs to other constructions, a fact which is amply illustrated below. Complex sentences with *títens* are identical in meaning with either (a) sentences with hypotactically related clauses, (b) with sentences where the second clause is introduced by the connective *sí*, or (c) with sentences where a verb phrase is introduced by the connective *tí*. E. g.

- a) mbi de *títens* mbi gá wále ape = mbi de mbi gá wále ápe
'I haven't become a woman yet' N8o
- b) mo kɛ *títens* ála súru li tí mabóko tí mo = mo kɛ sí ála
súru li tí mabóko tí mo 'You refuse to let them
cut your finger' R4b
- c) ála yí *títens* asára koa nzoní pɛpɛ = ála yí tí sára koa
nzoní pɛpɛ 'They don't want to work well' R2

Because there are so many examples of the second type and because *títens* is so often accompanied by a slight pause, it seems reasonable to conjecture that one of the functions of this connective is to permit the breaking up of a sentence at a point where anticipated elements of the verb phrase would increase the complexity of the sentence. It permits the speaker, in a sense, to make a new beginning. Its weakness is that it leads to clauses which are not well tied together, a feature characteristic of an extemporaneous translation of a French text (viz. R2).

While there do not appear to be any restrictions on the kinds of clauses *títens* can follow, a short list of verbs frequently occurs in the first clause. They are: *de* 'to remain,' *ekɛ* 'to be,' *goe* 'to go,' *hínga* 'to know,' *húnda* 'to ask,' *commencé* 'to begin,' *língbi* 'to be able,' and *yí* 'to want.' Note that whenever *ekɛ na* indicates possession (ex. 23-24) the following clause is negative.

- | | |
|---|-----------------------------|
| 1. lo goe <i>títens</i> lo báa kótɔrɔ | 'He went to see the country |
| ní ká -R7a | over there.' |
| 2. í yí <i>títens</i> í sára kótá yáká tí | 'We want to make a great |
| avion -R2 | airport.' |

3. mbi hinga zo ká títene mbi to éré
tí lo pepe -L3 'I don't know anyone there whose
name I could send.'
4. (kótóró ní) ahinga mbi títene mbi
dutí ká ape -N8o 'The town doesn't appeal (lit.
doesn't know me) to me for me
to stay there.'
5. í commencé títene í dəroko dole ní
-I55 'We began to butcher the
elephant.'
6. mbi hunda na ála kóé títene ála
sára mbéti tí ála -R9b 'I ask you all to write letters.'
7. kobéla ní alingbi títene a-qa va
pepe -R4c 'The sickness couldn't get well.'
8. ála lingbi títene ála kirí na pekó
ape -R9b 'They can't go back.'
9. fadé lo lingbi títene kaméla amú
lo -R2 'Shame will be able to seize
him.'
10. lóso, nzó, ananas angbá títene
í lú yí da míngi -R6 'Rice, millet, and pineapples
remain so that we will plant
a lot of things in it.'
11. ní laá í mú wángó na ázu ní míngi
títene ála manqué pepe -R4b 'That's why we encourage every-
one strongly not to miss.'
12. ála ke mú ázaza títene aso na
í -R2 'They used to take switches to
hurt us with.'
13. il faut í sára mbéni kótá yáká
títene í lú yí da -R6 'We must make a great field to
plant things in.'
14. mo éré ázo títene ála gá -A21 'You call the people so that they
may come.'
15. ní laá sí ní ngbá na lo kété
títene ní h́ na Israel
-R7a 'That's why he stayed with him
a little before going on to
Israel.'
16. kobéla tí ála alingbi títene
adutí encore pepe títene
kobéla ní akpé. -R4c 'Their sickness may not remain
any more, but the sickness may
go away.'
17. mbi húnzi téné títene mbi tene
na ála awe -R6 'I've finished up the affair,
I've told [it] to you.'

18. ázo míngi aéré mbi títene mbi
goe mbi te kóbe na place tí
ála, títene í na ála kóé í
bóngbi téré, í yó samba lége
Óko -R2 'Many people invited me to go
eat food at their place, so
that they and I might assemble,
to drink wine together.'
19. ake títene í sára kpa tongasó
hío hío pepe -R2 'It's not as if we could do a
job like this in a great hurry.'
20. tongana mo má éré tí mo ape, ake
títene bé tí mo sí asára
mbáná na ní pepe -R9b 'If you don't hear your name,
don't let your liver get up-
set about it.'
21. infirmier ake na ála títene
kobéla tí ála alíngbi títene
adutí encore pepe -R4c 'They don't have a nurse so that
their sicknesses may go away.'
22. ake nzoní títene France amú na
í nginza lá kóé lá kóé
tongasó pepe -R2 'It isn't good for France to give
us money forever like this.'
23. mbi ke na droit títene mbi goe
mbi báa Bangui ape -I55 'I don't have the right to go
see Bangui.'
24. mbi ke na mbéni kpa títene mbi
goe na Bangui tí sára ape -I55 'I don't have a job to go do in
Bangui.'
25. tongana lo píka mo, tongana mo
ke ngangó mo píka lo. títene
tongana ní gá na kótóró tí
sára tere na yángá tí
commandement, commandement
akq lége ní awe. -A37 'When he hits you, if you are
strong you hit him. And so
when you come to the town to
tell the story in front of the
authorities, the authorities
will reject the case.'
26. kpa tí lo só aske ngangó míngi.
títene mbi fa na ála kótá kpa
tí inspecteur só nzoní. -R1 'This job of his is very hard.
And so I am explaining this
great work of the inspector
thoroughly.'

5.80. tongana

tongana is both a conditional-temporal and comparative connective. Because of the semantic differences, these two uses are discussed in two separate sections below. In addition to the semantic difference, there is a major one of distribution: when tongana is used conditionally or temporally,

it almost always occurs in a clause (i.e. the protasis) which precedes the apodosis. It is possible, of course, to consider the conditional-temporal *tongana* as a different word from the comparative one and either list it separately in this section on connectives or make it a unique clause-initial word. Neither alternative seems to have compelling advantages over the one adopted here. The last syllable of *tongana* may possibly be the connective *na* and the first part may be the same as that in *tongasó* 'thus,' but since today the combination would be syntactically unique and semantically indefensible, the connective is identified as a non-analysable word.

As with *ngbangatí* (q.v. 5.40), this connective is pronounced in several different ways. The phonetic transcription of those which occurred in the texts is given below, where the dropping of the parentheses will produce yet another form. In this grammar it is always given in the normalized form *tongana*.

tonga(na)	tɔŋana			
tɔŋa(na)	tɔŋana	tɔna, tɔnɛ	tɔŋ	
taŋgana		tɔna	tɔ(ŋ)	
doŋgana				

5.81. As a conditional-temporal connective *tongana* is usually translated 'when, while, if,' etc. This is not the only way of indicating these meaning categories in the language. Certain paratactic constructions have similar meanings. See 15. 21.12a. One of the errors of people whose native languages are French or English is to ignore these constructions and use *tongana* for all of the similar conjunctions in their native languages. Another error is to put the *tongana* clause at the end of the sentence. It occurs in this position only in letters written by people who have been exposed to the Sango of English-speaking missionaries. See ex. 11-12.

tongana occurs with clauses marked for completed action (q.v. 9.30) and for continued action (q.v. 9.30), but there is no attested example of *tongana* occurring in a clause marked for future time by *fadé* (q.v. 9.10). Its position in a clause is that immediately preceding the subject and therefore first in the clause. However, various pre-clausal elements (q.v. chp. 12) can precede or follow *tongana* (ex. 7-10).

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. tongana zo só adé éré tí mbi
pepe, mbi te kóbe tí lo ape -F7 | 'If this person doesn't call my
name, I won't eat his food.' |
| 2. tongana mo yí tí te na gozo, mo
te -A8 | 'If you want to eat it with
manioc, you (can) eat it (this
way).' |
| 3. tongana mbi te ngunzá, mbi te
mbéni yí da -A44 | 'When I eat manioc-leaves, I eat
something else with it.' |
| 4. tongana midi alíngbi, kóli tí
lo agá tí te -A8 | 'When it's noon, her husband
comes to eat.' |
| 5. tongana lo sí awe, lo baa kótá
yama tí méréngé só -L175 | 'When he had arrived, he saw
this child's big animal.' |
| 6. tongana lo píka zuru kóé awe, lo
mé kóbe -A42 | 'After she has pounded all the
mil, she mixes the dough.' |
| 7. nzoní, tongana mo yí tí tó na
vin só, mo goe ... -R9a | 'It's a good idea, when you want
to cook with this wine, for you
to go ...' |
| 8. giriri tongana mbi ngbá kété
masía, mbi yí tí goe l'école
-A49 | 'A long time ago, when I was
still a young girl, I wanted
to go to school.' |
| 9. na kótóró tí mbi, tongana ámamá
agee na ngonda tí mú makongó...
-A8 | 'In my village, when mothers go
to the forest to collect
caterpillars....' |
| 10. tongana lá só mo gwe mo éré ngú
sí mo fáa susu ape ... -R9b | 'If today you should go and dip
water (for catching fish) and
should not catch any fish....' |
| 11. mbi eke da tongana mo tene só
-L27 | 'I was there when you said that.' |
| 12. fadé mbi baa mo tongana mo sí
ánde na Bangui -L3 | 'I will see you when you arrive
in Bangui.' |

5.82. As a comparative connective tongana marks equivalence or approximation. Its translation is usually 'as, like' or 'about.'

5.82.10. This connective is in construction almost exclusively with noun phrases (including their equivalents, e.g. tí phrases, q.v. 10.40). It can, however, precede a clause. The construction introduced by tongana

almost always follows another construction of which it is a part. The exceptions are noted below. Its usual place is the verb phrase, but it may modify either the subject (ex. 1-3), the predicate (ex. 4-9), or some complement (e.g. time, object, quality, ex. 10-15). The few instances of its serving to modify a noun are ambiguous, and are not given here.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. í eke tongana turúgu -R3 | 'We are like soldiers.' |
| 2. gángó tí méréngé tí Nzapá aeke
tongana mbéni finí yí sí ázo
kóé ayí tí gá tí báa lo -R10 | 'The coming of the child of God
is like a brand new thing
which all people want to come
to see.' |
| 3. ála bǒngbi tongana 245 -L2 | 'About 245 of them gathered.' |
| 4. yá tí mbi asúku, akono tongana
ballon -N81 | 'My belly swelled up, it became
big like a balloon.' |
| 5. mo gá tongana moniteur -R7e | 'You will become like an in-
structor.' |
| 6. li tí méréngé ní a-tourné
tongana kobéla tí ngbálo -L27 | 'The head of the child turned
just like the sickness of
apoplexy.' |
| 7. bé tí ála avokó tongana pindíri
tí wá -R2 | 'Their livers are black like
coals of fire.' |
| 8. kobéla asára lo tongana tí
giriri pepe -L27 | 'Sickness is not bothering them
as formerly.' |
| 9. mbi ke sára téné tongana
méréngé -R1 | 'I'm talking like a child.' |
| 10. fadé méréngé tí mo aeke sioni
tongana mo -L17 | 'Your child will be bad like you.' |
| 11. lo de ngangó tongana méréngé só
ade na ngangó tí lo kóé -R10 | 'He remained strong like a youth
who retains all his strength.' |
| 12. ála báa í tongana yama pepe -R2 | 'They don't consider us animals.' |
| 13. lo mú ála tongana áita tí lo
-R10 | 'He took them as his brothers.' |
| 14. í sára ákótá lége tongana lége
tí train -R2 | 'We'll make a great road like
the road for a train.' |
| 15. mo fa na ála lége tí nzoní, ála
báa tongana nzoní yí -A49 | 'Teach them good ways, and they
will consider them as good things.' |

5.82.20. Although *tongana* introduces clauses, this use is uncommon. What usually functions in its place is a construction introduced by *só* (q.v. 15.21.12 b). The *só* construction might be thought of as a special kind of substantive phrase.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. mo mu yoró ní na l'heure só
tongana afa na mo -R4c | 'You take the medicine at this time, just as they have shown you.' |
| 2. mbi yí ála kóé agoe tí voté
tongana só ála voté kózo
ní -R3 | 'I want all of you to go vote just as you voted before.' |
| 3. il faut asára kóa na ngangó
tongana só gouvernement
atene -R6 | 'They must do the work vigorously just as the government says.' |

5.82.30. Two set phrases in which *tongana* occurs are *lége óko tongana* 'as, in the same way, along with, etc.' and *tongana ye* 'how?' Like *tongana só*, *lége óko tongana* can also stand between clauses. The second expression needs some comment. While it occurs like other *tongana* phrases in the verb phrase (where it modifies the verb), it can also be one of the constituents of a verbless sentence, equational or exclamatory (where the verb *eke* can be supplied). Moreover, although it is given the simple gloss 'how?' its translation varies considerably with the context. Where there is the verb *sára* 'to do,' one can read 'What can one do?' or 'What will happen?' and so forth. In other places one can read 'What is the reason for...?' 'How is it that...?' 'What do you mean (by saying that...)?' and so forth. In these latter instances one is calling in question what he has just heard.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. lo sára yí ní lége óko tongana
mérengé | 'He did the thing just like a child.' |
| 2. áwále afáa yáká lége óko tongana
ákóli afáa yáká | 'Women make gardens just like men make gardens.' |
| 3. mo gá citoyen tongana ye -R6 | 'How did you become a citizen?' |
| 4. mo pensé tongana ye -R1 | 'What do you think?' |
| 5. mo ké tongana ye -R1 | 'How can you refuse?' |
| 6. mo tene ake tí mo tongana ye -C29 | 'Why did you say it was yours?' |
| 7. mbi wara mbéni nouvelle tí ála
pepe fadesó tenetí nze otá
tongana ye -L5 | 'How come I haven't received any news from you now for three months?' |

8. tere atene, fadé ní sára tongana 'Spider said, "What'll we do?"'
 yɛ -F4
9. kusára tí mbi tongana yɛ -I41 'How is the work?'
10. tongana yɛ só -I9 'How's that?'

5.82.40. Occurrences of tongana initial in a clause (except for tongana yɛ which has already been discussed) are rare. Of the three following examples drawn from the corpus, number 2 is an obvious translation of the French quant à vous and number 3 is probably a loan translation of comme.

1. na tí mo, tongana Ramona, lo ɔa 'And as for yours, like Ramona,
 va? -L4 is she well?'
2. tongana tí ála, áíta tí mbi 'Now as for you, my brothers the
 á-centrafricain -R2 Central Africans...'
3. tongana lá kóé, ála má musique 'Just like every day, listen to
 -R9a music.'

5.90. wala

wala (or, walá) is a connective whose primary function is to combine alternative or correlative elements. The derived functions, less frequent and more difficult to describe in a few words, are treated separately below. It most often occurs before the second and each succeeding element but occasionally it may introduce the first element as well; less frequently does it occur only with the first, except with its derived functions where its alternative function is less obvious. There exists a small residue whose function can not be described because of the indeterminate nature of the sentences in which they occur.

5.91. The alternative-correlative function of wala is clearly seen in the following examples, where it combines noun adjunctives (ex. 1-3), noun phrases (ex. 4-5), phrases with na and tí (ex. 6-7), and clauses (ex. 8-10). Where there are no two correlative constructions it is sometimes difficult to translate wala. One nevertheless feels that other options are suggested by the occurrence of the word. This option can sometimes be suggested by the expressions 'perhaps, shall one say' or 'for example' (ex. 11-15).

1. só nzoní wala nzoní pepe -L2 'Is that good or not good?'
2. ála búngbi na dimanche 100, wala 'They meet on Sunday, a hundred,
 200, wala 90 -L27 or two hundred, or ninety.'

3. li tí ála míngi, wala bale otá,
wala bale osió, wala bale ukú
kóé -R3 'Many of them, perhaps thirty,
perhaps forty, perhaps fifty.'
4. ake mú na mo, wala quinine, wala
piqûre -R4d 'They'll give you either a pill
or a shot.'
5. ámbunzú só ake ge na République
Centrafricaine, wala só ake na
Afrique -R2 'Those White People who are here
in the Central African Repub-
lic, [in other words] or those
who are in Africa.'
6. na République Centrafricaine
wala na Bangui -R2 'in the Central African Republic
or in Bangui'
7. lo mú mbéni nginza tí kóbe tí
vo na bière, wala tí goe tí
báa mbadi, wala tí vo na
mbéni yí tí lo -L162 'He takes some of the food money
to buy beer, or to go gamble,
or to buy something for him-
self.'
8. atene, só ake ngangó, wala só
vení ake ngangó ape -R9b 'He said, is this hard, or else
isn't this hard?'
9. ála goe tí sukúla bongó na yá
tí ngú wala ála goe tí sára
ágozo tí ála na yá tí ngú
-R4a 'They go to wash clothes in the
river, or else they go to
prepare their manioc in the
river.'
10. mo goe mbéni ndo, wala mo ake da
bíani? -L5 'Have you gone elsewhere, or are
you still really there?'
11. mo ke mú yoró ní ngbii, wala
docteur atene, mo mú piqûre
bale óko na óse -R4d 'You take the medicine for a
while, possibly the doctor
says you should take twelve
shots.'
12. míngi ake goe, wala tí bángó yí
tongana ngú tí Gbutu só ake
tí na ngangó só -R2 'Many go, for example, to see
something like the water at
Gbutu which falls with such
force.'
13. mo língbi titene mo ke lége tí
goe tí éréngó ngú pepe. wala
hinga ape, na mbéni devinette
tí pekó ánde, fadé ála ke wara -R9b 'You can't refuse to go bail
water. Who knows, perhaps,
another later on, you'll win.'

14. tongana mérengé tí mbi eke da,
fadé ála goe école. wala
mérengé wále kóé, fadé lo
goe gí na école -A49 'When I have children, they
will go to school. Even girls
also, they will just go to
school.'
15. mbi te kóbe na place tí ála
wala na ndo tí ála [an
obvious substitution of a
Sango for a French word] -R2 'I eat at their place, or rather
at their place.'

5.92. In final position wala marks a question: the speaker as it were puts one alternative to his listener expecting him to reject it or to supply the other one. None of the question contours has to occur at the end of such a sentence.

- tongana mo te ngunzá, mo te susu
mélangé na ní wala -A44 'When you eat greens, do you
eat fish mixed with it,
or not?'

Chapter 6

N O U N S

Words designated by the name "nouns" have the following characteristics:

1. They can be pluralized by the prefixation of á- (q.v. 6.40).
2. They can take as modifiers any of the adjunctives listed in 4.10, 4.20.
3. They can occur in phrases with na and tí (q.v. 10.40).
4. They can function as subjects, objects, and temporal or spatial words in predications.

These are the characteristics of the class as a whole; groups of words or individual words may have their own restrictions.

6.10. Classes

The nouns can be subclassed with the following result:

1. Animate nouns (because they more frequently are pluralized and referred to with the personal pronouns than inanimate nouns).
2. Inanimate nouns (because they are not usually pluralized nor referred to in pronominal form).
3. Proper nouns (which are like animate nouns except that they are not usually modified either by the adjunctives or with a tí phrase).
4. Temporal and spatial words (which may take modifiers but do not function as subjects of predications).

Except for the category of plural number, which is marked by the prefix á-, no other semantic or grammatical category is represented with the noun itself. Others are achieved by modification with adjunctives or phrase construction. For example, male and female are distinguished by added kóli and wále respectively to the nouns.

6.20. Derivation

Derivation of nouns is achieved only by the suffixation of verbs with -ngó. More than the verb is nominalized: the whole verb phrase, including its complements, functions substantively. (For discussion and illustration see 6.30.) Other non-nouns which are used as nouns are advisedly omitted from the class of nouns. It is best to talk of this or that word or

construction functioning substantively. "Substantives" are therefore words from other word classes which in a particular construction function as nouns do. The following kinds of words and constructions can function substantively:

1. Verbs.
2. Adjunctives (with or without the adjunctive ní).
3. tí phrases

What appears to be compounding in Sango is in reality abbreviated noun phrases with the connective tí omitted. Every such phrase, no matter what its frequency may be, is equally acceptable with the connective. These noun phrases are those where one noun is semantically a modifier of the other. One can properly assume that such noun phrases are predictable: any much-used phrase consisting of noun + tí + noun can probably occur also as noun + noun. This is true because similar constructions occur in the indigenous languages of the area (e.g. Gbaya and Ngbandi). Here follow a few examples:

- lé ngú 'surface of the water'
 ngú lé 'tears' (lit. 'water of eye')
 da Nzapá 'church' (lit. 'house of God')
 kóá yángá 'beard' (lit. 'hair of mouth')
 mbé ngú 'other side of stream'
 kóli kóndo 'rooster' (lit. 'man chicken')
 mérengé wále 'daughter, girl' (lit. 'child female')
 yá da 'inside the house' (lit. 'belly house')
 mbétí nginza 'pay record, any paper on which money matters
 are recorded'
 párá kóndo 'chicken egg'

6.30. -ngó

The suffix -ngó is added to verb stems so as to make out of them (and the whole phrase of which they are the head) substantives. Like the English gerund, these noun-like verbal constructions lack grammatical subjects but can comprise objects, connective phrases, and other complements of time or place, etc. They are otherwise timeless since the words which mark futurity, imperfective action, and completed action do not occur in them. The examples below have been chosen to illustrate different kinds of nominalized verbs and phrases, but no further analysis is made of them.

Verbs nominalized by *-ngó* have the tone of the suffix, i.e. high. Polysyllabic words likewise have all high tones, but verbs with final identical vowels (e.g. *báa* 'to see') lose the final vowel with the suffixation (*bángó* 'seeing'). This description is true for some speakers, but for others it must be said that mid tone occurs on the nominalized verb, including the suffix. Low tone, however, never seems to occur. Likewise, polysyllabic stems sometimes do not change or if they do, they change in different ways (e.g. *wóko* 'to be soft' > *wókóngó* 'softness,' *sukúla* 'to wash' > *sukúlángó* 'washing'). A detailed study of these changes has not been made. At any rate, it seems advisable to choose one valid pattern regardless of the various equivalent possibilities.

Likewise, the quality of the vowel of the suffix has been normalized in the transcription *-ngó*. Both the vowels *o* and *ɔ* occur (with the latter apparently occurring more frequently), sometimes interchangeably, sometimes in harmony with the vowel of the stem (*o* with *o* and *e*, *ɔ* elsewhere), and sometimes consistently one or the other (e.g. as in the speech of one town adolescent who said *tóngó* 'drawing water' and *tóngó* 'cooking').

Nominalized verbs are used in three ways: (a) as ordinary nouns taking the plural marker *á-* and being capable of possession (q.v. 6.40 and 5.62; ex. 1-14), (b) following the connective *tí* as a complement of a verb in the same way that a verb can occur (q.v. 5.62; ex. 15-22), and (c) to intensify the meaning of the main verb, discussed below. The use (b) is apparently identical with that of a simple verb phrase in this same position. It too marks purpose or intent. This use separates *-ngó* nouns from all other nouns which can not occur in *tí* phrases in this environment, i.e. following a verb, with a similar meaning. It should be noted that *-ngó* nouns do not ever seem to occur as described under (b) without either some kind of complement or the noun adjunct *ní* (q.v. 4.21.10).

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>1. <i>ála sára kamba tí ála tí fángó</i>
 <i>na yama -L175</i></p> <p>2. <i>kóbe tí tégó tí Bata so aske</i>
 <i>ngunzá -A44</i></p> | <p>'They made themselves snares
 with which to kill animals.'</p> <p>'Food for eating (here at this
 village of) Bata is manioc
 greens.'</p> |
|---|---|

3. mbi eke tí mbi gí zo tí gíngó
ásusu séngé -R10 'I'm just an ordinary fisherman.'
4. zo tí gíngó yoró na mbi, sí mbi
soigné na ní, aeke pepe -L186 'There is nobody to look for medicine for me with which I can treat myself.'
5. mo ke na téné tí ténéngó ní
míngi ape? 'You have much to say, don't you?'
6. l'heure tí kíringó tí í álingbi
awe -N80 'It's time for us to go.'
7. na pekó tí bángó ní ... -L175 'And having looked ...'
8. fadé mo sára bé nzoní na síngó
tí mo na sése tí RCA -L3 'You will be kind on your arrival in the country of the Central African Republic.'
9. só tóngó yí tí áwále laá -A11 'That's cooking things of women (i.e. how women cook things).'
10. mbi yí tí mbi gíngó téné pepe
-C30 'I don't like looking-for-trouble.'
11. wóngó yí na mbi agá fángó téré?
-C30 'Buying things from me has become a cause for showing off?'
12. mbi ke mú wángó na ázo -R4b 'I'm giving advice to people.'
13. pémbé tí mo angbá na kángángó
ní -A9 'Your teeth are still shut.'
14. ...tongana gángó tí mo vení
-L27 '... like your own coming...'
15. lo ngbá tí fángó yáká -L186 'He continues to make gardens.'
16. mbi hínga tí sárángó ní na Sango
ngá -I39 'I know how to do it (i.e. read) in Sango also.'
17. mo língbi tí ke tí fútángó lo
pepe -R1 'You can't refuse to pay him.'
18. congé só ake tí múngó repos na
zo tí kusára -R1 'This vacation is for the purpose of giving rest to workmen.'
19. mo gá tí wóngó kóbe na galá
-C30 'You come to buy food in the market.'
20. lo ke na congé otá tí múngó ní
-R1 'He has three vacations to take.'

21. tongana mo yí tí vóngó ní... 'If you want to buy ...'
-C30
22. í sára ngú otá, na mbi ngbá 'We stayed three years and I
sárángó école lá kóé -N81 was going to school all the
time.'

The use described under (c) is achieved by repeating the main verb of the clause in the nominalized form (ex. 23-30). It can be looked upon as a form of reduplication. Like reduplication in so many languages in the world this one too has the function of an augmentative (like 'very') or intensifier. Another use is that of excluding events other than the one specified by the main verb. The -ngó nouns with this function can immediately follow the main verb or be separated from it by other complements in the verb phrase, but in no case does it ever take any modifiers (as a noun would) or complements (as a verb would).

23. mbi vo vóngó pape -A40 'I didn't buy it (because some-
one gave it to me).'
24. téré tí mo azá zángó -R7e 'Your body shines brightly (i.e.
is in very good health).'
25. dole ní akpé kpéngó -I55 'The elephants really ran away.'
26. ámérengé tí kóli así síngó na 'Boys just filled this place
ndo só -R6 up.'
27. mbi yóro yóróngó na oignon na 'I fried it with onions and
tomate kóé -C31 tomatoes.'
28. mo tó na yá tí ngú tóngó -A8 'You cook it in water.'
29. ázo avo gí vóngó -L11 'People just buy it (i.e. they
don't subscribe to the paper).'
30. mbi hó tí mbi hóngó -N80 'I went on my way.'

6.40. Pluralization

Plurality in the nouns is marked by the prefix á-, but plurality is by no means an obligatory category. The plural marker is being called a prefix only because it is morphologically bound to other words. But since there is no phonological reason for describing it as an affix, and since there are other words in the language which are morphologically bound to other words, such as tí, it is obvious that its description as an affix is arbitrary.

Even where there is reference to specific objects whose number is known, plurality is not necessarily marked. No attempt is here made to predict the occurrence or non-occurrence of the plural marker in the language except for the following general remarks. It appears that if the number of the objects is known, or assumed to be known, the marking of plurality is avoided. On the other hand, redundancy occurs in the noun phrase where plurality is marked both by á- and by a postposed noun modifier such as the numerals, míngi 'much,' and kóé 'all.' What is more significant is the fact that it is the animate nouns, rather than the inanimate ones, which are most frequently pluralized. This tendency to avoid the pluralization of inanimate nouns is, incidentally, characteristic of some other languages of the area, e.g. Gbaya. But these can not be made responsible for this feature in Sango, for it is found in too many texts of different people. Some examples of pluralized animate and inanimate nouns are ex. 1-12.

In a noun phrase where two nouns are joined by tí, it is uncommon for both nouns to be pluralized. But here also there is too little data to permit making a statement of maximum validity. Nevertheless, the tendency again is to pluralize the animate possessor noun of an inanimate possessed noun. See ex. 13-17.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. ní laá sí mbi tene ála kóé,
ákóli, na áwále... -R2 | 'This is why I tell all of you,
men and women....' |
| 2. ázo tí lo ayí lo míngi -I39 | 'His people liked him much.' |
| 3. í'bôngbi téré na á-français -R2 | 'We unite with the French.' |
| 4. áSango vení ake fáa susu na
gbánda -I39 | 'The Sango people are the ones
who kill fish with nets.' |
| 5. í goe wara ádole -I55 | 'We went and found elephants.' |
| 6. mbi língbi tí kẹ á-famille...
pepe -N35 | 'I can't reject my relatives.' |
| 7. mo hínga áwa tí Bangui ape -C31 | 'You don't know the inhabitants
of Bangui.' |
| 8. á-bon ni angbá -L11 | 'The debts remain.' |
| 9. áyí tí vundú atí na ndó mbi...
míngi -L7 | 'Many grievous things fell on
me.' |
| 10. lo fáa ákóngbá tí yá tí da
-L162 | 'He destroyed the interior
furnishings of the house.' |

- | | |
|--|--|
| 11. na yá tí á-bar óko óko -R7f | 'in each one of the bars' |
| 12. águnzá, ágozo, yę. kóé
aake. só kóé kóbe tí yáká.
-R9b | 'Manioc leaves, manioc, no
matter what. There's every-
thing. All this is garden
food.' |
| 13. vacciné mabóko tí ázo -R4b | 'vaccinate peoples' arms' |
| 14. mo má gó tí ámakáko ní -A29 | 'You hear the cries of the
monkeys.' |
| 15. goe tí súru ndó tí ámabóko tí
ázo só -R4b | 'go to vaccinate the arms of
people' |
| 16. ála kú tanga tí téné kóé...na
yángá ti ámbunzú -R7f | 'Wait for the remainder of all
the news in the White Man's
language.' |
| 17. ála goe na pópó tí ádole só
-A5o | 'They go into the midst of these
elephants.' |

The plural prefix occurs with the following substantives: nouns (including personal names and nominalized verbs), ante-noun adjunctives when they are used substantively, and the substitute yę 'what?' (These are illustrated by ex. 18-20 and 21-24 respectively.) By "occur" is here meant "to be in immediate construction with;" the use of á- in a noun phrase is further treated below. The use of á- with personal names adds the meaning 'so-and-so and those accompanying him' (a feature which is not only characteristic of Gbaya but also of some other African languages). The pluralization of yę has the meaning 'whatever things, any other things, so forth' and comes at the end of a list of things.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 18. áténéngó téné tí í -R2 | 'our talking' |
| 19. áwókóngó ní | 'the soft ones' |
| 20. áNgunzapa aake gá na ála ká
-I55 | 'Ngunzapa and the others are
coming over there.' |
| 21. ámbení adú mérengé tí wále -L17 | 'Some bore daughters.' |
| 22. ámbení míngi ahínga tí tó
ngunzá pepe -A8 | 'Many don't know how to cook
manioc leaves.' |
| 23. lo mú ámbení -R1o | 'He took some.' |
| 24. fadé mo wara ádole, ágógóá,
átágba, áyę. | 'You'll find elephants, buffaloes,
kob antelope, and other things.' |

When a noun has one of more ante-noun adjunctives, the plural marker can occur in one of several places in the following ways (illustrated by ex. 25-36):

- á + Adj. + N
 á + Adj. + á + N
 á + Adj. + Adj. + N
 Adj. + á + N
 á + Adj. + á + Adj. + N

The most characteristic use seems to be that of the single preposed á-, regardless of the number of modifiers. The other uses occur almost exclusively in the radio texts.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 25. lo béni áfiní zo só -R10 | 'He blessed these new men.' |
| 26. í sára ákótá lége -R2 | 'We are making large roads.' |
| 27. mbi kpo na ákété kété yama -A40 | 'I stab small animals with it.' |
| 28. ákózo zo -R10 | 'the first people' |
| 29. ámbení zo míngi aké ndo só -R2 | 'Many people are here.' |
| 30. ápendere wále só míngi míngi,
ála sára kóbe -F7 | 'All these many girls prepared
food.' |
| 31. ámbení kótará tí áni | 'some of our ancestors' |
| 32. agá na mbení á-camarade tí lo
-A8 | 'He comes with some of his
friends.' |
| 33. ásembé na ákété kété ápapa -R7d | 'plates and small spoons' |
| 34. lo húnda ámbení áwále -R4a | 'He asked some women.' |
| 35. ámbení ákété kété kóngbá aké
míngi -R7d | 'There are many small articles.' |
| 36. ámbení ápendere yí míngi aké ká
-R7d | 'There are many nice things
there.' |

Chapter 7

P R O N O U N S

7.10. Personal pronouns

7.11. The personal pronouns are neatly contrasted for singular and plural and for three persons in singular number. For singular number there are mbi 'first person,' mo 'second person,' and lo 'third person' (variant pronunciations of these are summarized in the chart below). For 'first person plural' the most common forms are é and í. The quality of the é form is higher even than the vowel in such French words as dé 'thimble.' Sometimes-- i.e. in the speech of some speakers--it is almost like the vowel in English 'it.' But it never approaches the vowel e. It is this latter fact that requires the normalization of the representation of the pronoun as í and not as é. 'Third person plural' is ála.

Some variant pronunciations of Sango pronouns

1s mbi : mbe, mbe, mi

2s mo : me, ma, mo, [m]

3s lo : lu, ro, [l]

1p í : é

2/3p ála : ára, áa

Other alternatives for the plural pronouns are used. Whereas the Catholics have "officially" adopted é for 'first person plural' and í for 'second person plural' (as found in the Missel published by the Diocese of Bangui), the Protestants have adopted áni for 'first person plural' but use í for 'second person' as do the Catholics. The use of áni has not spread beyond the Protestant constituency, and í is rarely used for the second person either by people trained by Protestants or Catholics. A noticeable example is the former (and now deceased) President of the Republic, Mr. Boganda, who at one time prepared himself for the priesthood. For the second person he used the much more common form ála. There is therefore a generalized and widespread use of ála both for second and third persons, a grammatical feature which is not unknown in some of the other languages of the area.

Since some languages of the area use a plural pronoun in referring to a single individual when that person is held in respect (e.g. Gbaya), *ála* (or the 'second person' *i*) replaces *mo* and *lo* in direct or indirect discourse.

These are called "personal pronouns" for their referents are almost exclusively human beings. It is perhaps more accurate to describe them as pronouns for animate beings. Although the third person forms *lo* and *ála* are occasionally used for inanimate objects, this use is obviously quite unusual except for *lo só* discussed below. It is due perhaps to the influence of other languages, French or the native languages of the speakers of Sango. In the latter case the personal pronouns are light-heartedly used for inanimate objects (which otherwise have no pronominal substitutes). In the former case one may assume that a bilingual is translating the French pronouns 'le, la' and 'les.' It should be said that pronominal reference to inanimate objects is simply avoided in Sango, and where bilinguals feel inclined to use one, they choose the adjunctive *ní* (q.v. 4.21.20) rather than the personal pronouns. The normal "substitute" for at least some constructions with a pronoun is like the following: *téné tí kobéla* 'the subject of the sickness' : *téné ní* 'the subject of it, the subject.'

<i>lé tí ká ní aeké kótá ní,</i>	'The surface of the wound was
<i>ní laá sí lé ní amú fadé</i>	large, and that's why the
<i>pepe.</i>	wound did not heal quickly.'

7.12. It is uncommon for personal pronouns to be used when a person's statement is being quoted. Second or third person pronouns, singular and plural, are replaced by the adjunctive *ní* (q.v. 4.21.20). The substitution of *ní* for these pronouns (most commonly *lo* and *ála*) is also made to avoid ambiguity. The one place where *ní* does not replace a pronoun in quoted discourse is when the pronoun stands in isolation. It is then followed by the sentence particle *o* (q.v. 8.10). All of these uses are illustrated below.

1. *lo tene ní yí tí goe ape.* 'He says that he doesn't want to go.' or 'He says, "I don't want to go."'
2. *lo yí tí mú bongó tí ní na lo.* 'He wanted to give his (i.e. his own) clothing to him (i.e. another person).'

3. lo tene, mbi o, ní eke goe na galá. 'He said, "Say there, I'm going to the market."'

7.13. The plural pronouns--*í* commonly and *ála* rarely--are also used to anticipate the plurality resulting from the combining of two singular pronouns or a singular pronoun and a singular noun. Put into literal English, one says 'we and he' instead of 'he and I.' These coordinate phrases occur almost exclusively as pre-clausal subject constructions in which case the verb has its own subject in the form of a plural pronoun. For further discussion see 12.12.10.

1. fadé í na mo, í dé bá da -C29 'You and I will take an oath about it.'
2. í na lo, í gá na Bambari -I39 'He and I, we came to Bambari.'
3. í na mamá, í gá -N80 'Mother and I, we came.'
4. mbi yí kótóró tí í na ála agá taá kótóró -R3 'I want your village and mine (i.e. our village) to become a real village.'
5. mbi na lo, áni goe -L11 'He and I, we went.'
6. lo na ála ake sára kusára -R10 'He and they were working.'

7.14. The one pronoun which is regularly used for inanimate objects but in a restricted way is *lo*. In a deliberately light-hearted or humorous way one can refer to almost any inanimate object with *lo*. This use compares with that of the noun *zo* 'person' in the same way: e.g. *mú na mbi zo só* 'Give me that thing' (instead of using *yí* 'thing'). Bilinguals in French also use *lo* as an object of a verb in spite of the general pattern to avoid pronominal reference in this position. When *lo* is followed by the adjunctive *só*, it is also used to identify any object, animate or inanimate, singular or plural, as something which was just mentioned or is just about to be mentioned. It most frequently occurs in identificational or equational sentences, with the verb *eke* or without any verb whatsoever. The omission of *lo*, leaving *só* (which is grammatically possible) changes the meaning. Moreover, while similar in meaning to a construction with *laá* (q.v. 8.13), it is both semantically and grammatically different. For example, *kɔa tí mbi laá* means 'That's my work (which I've just described).' But *kɔa tí mbi lo só* can mean that as well as 'This is my work (which I'm now going to describe).'

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>1. angbá fadesó gí yáká tí nzó, na
tí lóso, na tí ananas. lo só
ade. -R6</p> | <p>'There remain now just mil
gardens, and rice gardens, and
pineapple gardens. That is
what remains.'</p> |
| <p>2. téné só mbi yí tí tene na ála,
lo só -R6</p> | <p>'The subject about which I want
to talk to you is the follow-
ing.'</p> |
| <p>3. éré tí ála só lo mú ála lo só
-R10</p> | <p>'The names of those whom he
selected are the following.'</p> |
| <p>4. kíringó tí í lo só, tí bíngó
gbánda, lo só -R10</p> | <p>'We came back for this reason,
to cast nets (i.e. to go fish-
ing), that's why.'</p> |

7.20. Subject marker

The verbal prefix a- is considered a pronoun only for convenience. It differs more from the personal pronouns than it is similar to them. Like the personal pronouns it functions as the subject of a verb and in some instances it can substitute for any other grammatical subject (q.v. chp. 13). It is, in fact, a generalized subject marker. Its four distinctive characteristics are the following:

1. It occurs only immediately preposed to verbs where it marks the subject of a predication.
2. It never takes any modifiers of its own.
3. It is obligatorily redundant with any grammatical subject except unmodified personal pronouns. Pronoun phrases (q.v. 10.20) are followed by a-, but a single personal pronoun is not followed by a- except in the speech of certain individuals who disavowed fluency in Sango. One was an Igbo-speaking person from Nigeria and the other was a speaker of a "Bantu" language from the Berberati area.
4. It is used without limitation whatsoever for animate or inanimate objects.

These characteristics are syntactic in nature, and it is because of them that a- is considered a prefix. Since a- is syntactically "bound" to the verb, it is represented as if it were phonologically bound to it.

7.21. The following discussion is taken up entirely with the non-redundant use of a- (i.e. where there is no other grammatical subject). The redundant use of a- (i.e. where there is already another grammatical subject) is illustrated not only by the short text analysed below but also in chp. 13 where different kinds of grammatical subjects are described. It is appropriate to note here in passing that there are instances where a predicative verb (i.e. one which is not in a tí phrase, q.v. 9.20) seems to have no immediate grammatical subject at all. This may be more apparent than real, for the prefix a- is sometimes of such short duration and weak articulation that it seems to be missing. Nonetheless, there are enough such omissions that one must reckon with them. Unjustified on any grounds, however, is the omission of a- in the Protestant literature in such an environment as following a plural noun subject.

The very ubiquitousness of a-, even where it is not immediately preceded by a grammatical subject, makes a classification of its uses difficult. The following discussion is probably influenced more by subjective notions than by formal features.

When not immediately preceded by a grammatical subject a- is found to be used in the following ways:

1. Following sí and laá (q.v. 5.50 and 8.13) which join a pre-clausal subject construction (q.v. 12.12.10) with the verb (ex. 1-8).
2. To replace a previously mentioned subject (a) because it has just been identified or (b) when it is known by the context (ex. 9-14).
3. As an "empty," "indefinite," or completely generalized subject of a verb (ex. 15-23). This is paralleled by the English use of 'it, that, this, you' and 'they' where there is little specificity in the referent of the subject.

Following pre-clausal subject constructions:

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. kóli tí mbi só sí avo -I9 | 'It was this husband of mine
who bought it.' |
| 2. só kóbe tí yáká sí aeka na aú
só? -F4 | 'Is this food from the garden
which Uncle has here?' |
| 3. só vaní sí aeka nzoní -R2 | 'That is what's good.' |

4. France vení sí aeke bata í fadesó -R2 'It is France which is taking care of us now.'
5. gí lo sí aeke kírí na téné -R10 'It was only he who kept talking back.'
6. gí babá tí mbi laá asára -A40 'It was just my father who made it.'
7. kóli tí mo laá avo só -I9 'It was your husband who bought this.'
8. lo laá asára kótá yí -L175 'It was he who did great things.'

Where the subject is identifiable in the context:

9. mo zía ngá na ní tongasó na mbéni place tí dé, alángó -R9a 'You place them also with it like this in a cook place and leave them.'
10. mo píka veké, mo zía da. mo kánga yángá ní, akporo ngbii, awóko nzoní míngi. -A11 'You pound the okra and put it in. You cover the top and it boils a long time and it (i.e. the okra) becomes nice and soft.'
11. quand mème ngú, amú na lo gí na cuillère -A9 'Even water, they give it to him just with a spoon.'
12. lo píka mbéni kóli dole ní amú lo afáa lo -L6 'He shot a male elephant and it took him and killed him.'
13. ála gbó susu, así ngó óse -R10 'They caught fish which filled two canoes.'
14. mo sára kpa tí lo lá só, agá nzoní ape, atomba mo -R6 'You do his work today, and if it (i.e. the work) is not good, he dismisses you.'

As an indefinite subject:

15. fadé aeke nzoní míngi -L4 'It will be very good.'
16. na kótóró tí í na Gbanu aeke tongasó -A48 'In our villages among the Gbanu it's like this.'
17. éré tí mbi ngá gí zo wa. adé ngá éré tí mbi zo wa. -C31 'My name is also just "Who?" people just call me "Who?"'

18. tongana gouvernement agá abáa, 'When the government comes and
anzere na lé tí lo -R6 sees, it is pleased with it.'
19. ake tongasó vení sí ála ke sára 'It is just like this that you
rognon tí yama na vin -R9a prepare animal kidneys in wine.'
20. í ke dé bá da ngá. a-manqué 'We are going to take an oath
pepe. C-29 over it. There's no escaping
that.'
21. lo dutí na lá tí vingt, así na 'He remains from the twentieth to
vingt-trois. -R7a the twenty-third.'
22. fadé mbi sára agá ká -F7 'If I do it, it will turn into
a sore.'
23. mbi língbi díko ahúnzi pepe 'I can't read all of it to
-R9b completion.'

Of the three uses, perhaps the second one is the most common. What makes it so common is a corollary feature of the language: clauses are strung along sometimes joined by connectives and sometimes not, to indicate sequence of action or some other close relationship between clauses. This feature is amply illustrated in the accompanying text in which some of the other uses of a- are also exemplified. There are a few verbs which are commonly followed by a clause whose only subject marker is a-. There are other verbs with prefixed a- which occur in certain locutions. These verbs are tene 'to say' (ex. 24-30), língbi 'to be able, to be equal' which is used in a negative clause with the meaning "intensity" (ex. 31-33), hó 'to surpass' which follows another clause to indicate superlative degree (ex. 34-38), ngbá 'to remain' which indicates approach to doing something (ex. 39), de 'to remain' which in a negative clause indicates not having started doing something (ex. 40-41), and eke 'to be' in the verb phrases eke nzoní 'is good' and eke téné 'is affair' which indicate counsel or obligation (ex. 42-45).

24. mbi má atene, mo mú kóli ká 'I understand that you got
-C8 married there.'
25. lo hínga atene, ní eke wále 'She knows that she is a
-A8 woman.'
26. tongana afa na mo atene, mo eke 'When they tell you to take
mú yoró só -R4d this medicine.'

27. ámbéńí ake tene na mbi atene,
aeke ta -R9b 'Some are telling me that it is
a pot.'
28. ato koa na í atene, lá só lo ke
sára... -R7 'He sent word saying that today
he was going to make....'
29. ámbéńí wále ayí atene, kóli tí
ála afono pepe -L162 'Some wives don't want their
husbands to roam around.'
30. í éré tí í atene, róngó -I39 'We call it by the name róngó.'
31. apíka mbi, alíngbi ape -N81 'They beat me up something
terrible.'
32. ála ke na yoró, alíngbi ape
-N81 'They have an awful lot of
charms.'
33. atoto, alíngbi ape -N81 'It made an awful lot of noise.'
34. áni yí míngi ahọ́ -L175 'We like it very much.'
35. mawa akíri ahọ́ ndó ní -R2 'There was more suffering than
before.'
36. agbó susu ahọ́ ndó ní -R10 'They caught a great quantity
of fish.'
37. mo sára koa ahọ́ ámbéńí wále na
kótóró só kóé -C31 'You do more work than any other
woman in all this village.'
38. fadé mbi ke wara bongó ká na
yáyú ahọ́ mo ape? -C31 'Won't I be getting more clothes
than you over there in heaven?'
39. angbá kété, ála poisonné mbi
-N81 'A little more and they would
have poisoned me.'
40. ade mbi te mbéńí yí ní ape -N35 'I haven't yet eaten anything
of it.'
41. ade, ála sára na ámbéńí mbá tí
mbi tí mbéńí ndo pepe -R2 'They have not yet done some-
thing similar to any of my
colleagues of other places.'
42. ake nzoní í zingo ála -R9a 'We ought to wake you up.'
43. ake nzoní mo báa ngá téré tí
mo sí -R7e 'You ought to pay attention
to your body too.'
44. ake nzoní títene France amú na
í nginza lá kóé lá kóé tongasó
pepe -R2 'It is not advisable to say
that France should always
give us money like this.'

45. ake téné tí mǒ tí goe -A42 'It is your responsibility to go.'

7.22. Many of the uses of a- are illustrated in the following brief text (N79) which is the complete extemporaneous narration of a few incidents in the life of an adolescent girl. The narrator is a Sango-French bilingual who claimed to know neither the language of her father nor the language of her mother. She is one of those detribalized young people for whom Sango is a native language. Each grammatical subject is enclosed in [] brackets and all except pronominal ones are numbered for classification. The numbered subjects are classified as follows:

- A. Noun phrase subjects: 1, 2, 4, 8, 10, 13, 15, 18, 21, 24, 27, 28, 33, 34, 41, 43, 44, 47, 49, 51, 52, 53, 58, 61, 62, 68.
- B. Pre-clausal noun phrase subject construction is followed by a recapitulating pronoun rather than a-: 42.
- C. a- with a verb following a verb of motion: 37, 7, 9, 19, 20, 23, 25, 26, 31, 32, 35, 39, 55, 56, 66.
- D. a- with tense 'to say': 5, 16, 17.
- E. a- in alíngbi ape intensification: 36, 40, 63.
- F. a- with verbs in narrative sequence: 11, 12, 14, 22, 29, 38, 45, 46, 48, 54, 57, 59, 65, 67, 69.
- G. Where a- is a subject different from the preceding noun phrase or personal pronoun: 6, 30, 60, 64.
- H. Where a- is a general, unspecified, indefinite subject: 37, 50, 64.

áita, na école ti Bangui, [li tí 'Friends, at school in Bangui,
á-fille ní a]¹ke crapule míngi. girls are treacherous.
na mbéni lá, [mbéni finí fille ní a]² One day, a new girl arose and
lón dó, [a]³gá na école ménagère. came to Ecole Ménagère.
na [mbéni camarade tí mbi ní a]⁴toka And one of my friends sent
kété ita tí lo [a]⁵tene, [a]⁶ goe word to her younger sister,
[a]⁷dó géré tí lo. tongana [lo] saying, "Go and kick her
yí tí píka lo, fadé [í] gá [í] foot, If she wants to hit
píka lo. you, I'll come and hit her.

na [íta tí lo ní a]⁸gá [a]⁹dó
géré tí fille só awe, [fille
só a]¹⁰sára téné ape.

[a]¹¹mú lége [a]¹²goe.

[kété ita tí lo só a]¹³mú lége
[a]¹⁴kírí.

na [íta tí lo ní a]¹⁵kírí
[a]¹⁶tens lo [a]¹⁷tens, [mɔ]
kírí [mɔ] kɔtɔ lo, sí [lo]
sára téné.

na [íta tí lo ní a]¹⁸kírí
[a]¹⁹gá [a]²⁰kɔtɔ lo.

fadesó, mérengé tí wále só,
[bé tí lo a]²¹so.

[a]²²gá [a]²³píka li tí kété
mérengé só awe, [kótá ita tí
mérengé wále ní a]²⁴lón dó ká.

[a]²⁵gá [a]²⁶commencé píka mérengé
tí wále awe.

sí [mérengé wále só a]²⁷tens, baa
[gí mérengé só vaní a]²⁸gí yángá
tí ní, [a]²⁹dó géré tí ní.

[ní] kɛ.

[a]³⁰kírí [a]³¹gá [a]³²kɔtɔ ní.

[ní] kɛ.

sí [bé tí ní a]³³so, sí [ní] píka lo. And I was angry, so I hit her.

mais tí lo yɛ da, [lo] píka ní.

And when her sister came and
kicked this girl's foot, this
girl didn't say anything.

She departed and went.

This younger sister of hers de-
parted and returned.

And her sister said again to her,
she said, "You go back and
scratch her so she talks."

And her sister went back and came
and scratched her.

Now this girl, she was angry.

After she came and hit the head
of this little girl, her big
sister arose over there.

She came and began to hit this
girl.

So this girl said, "Look, this
girl was looking for trouble
and came and kicked my foot.

I refused.

She returned and came and
scratched me.

I refused.

But what's her trouble that she
hit me?"

yí tí báa tongasó, [ámérenyé míngi
a]³⁴gá, [a]³⁵commencé bóngbi na
li tí nouvelle mérenyé wále só tí
píkángó lo awe.

na [ála] pika lo, [a]³⁶lingbi aps.
[a]³⁷mú ála, [a]³⁸goe na ní na
directeur tí í ká.

[ála] goe [a]³⁹tiri ká ngbii,
[a]⁴⁰lingbi aps.

fadesó, na onze heures et demie,
[í] sí gígí tí gá na kótóró awe,
[í] yí tí sí na croisement
tongasó, andáa [auto a]⁴¹fáa
mbéni mérenyé ní.

na [ámamá tí mérenyé ála]⁴²lón dó na
tiri tí gá.

[méné ní a]⁴³lingbi na ndó tí
lége aps.

na [ázo a]⁴⁴dutí na place ní fadesó.

[ála] commencé kpo téré tí ála
kíríkiri.

[a]⁴⁵gbó chauffeur só, [a]⁴⁶fáa
cervelle tí chauffeur ní.

na [ála] goe na téné ní.

[í] yí tí báa tongasó, [á-police
au secours a]⁴⁷sí awe.

[ála] gbó zo só na ya tí auto ní
kóé.

[a]⁴⁸hó na ní.

Just then, a lot of children
came and began to gather around
this new girl to hit her.

And they hit her terribly.

They took them and went with
them to our director over
there.

They went and argued over there
a long time.

Now at eleven-thirty, after we
had already come out to go
home, and had arrived at the
intersection, an auto had
killed a child.

And the mothers of the child,
they arose angrily to come.

The blood on the road was
beyond belief.

And people were staying at that
place.

They began to stab each other
left and right.

They took this driver and broke
the head of this driver.

And they took the affair.

Just then, the emergency police
came.

They took all these people in
the car.

They went off with them.

[i] yí tí hó kété, [da a]⁴⁹ gbí,
[a]⁵⁰ toto na mbáge ní ká.

andáa [mbéni da a]⁵¹ gbí na finí
kótóró.

[da ní a]⁵² gbí da ukú.

fadesó [ville de Bangui ní a]⁵³ mú
lége, [a]⁵⁴ goe.

[a]⁵⁵ goe [a]⁵⁶ míngó áda só ngbii.

[a]⁵⁷ ngbá tí míngó mbéni, [mbéni
a]⁵⁸ tí [a]⁵⁹ gbí na mbáge.

[a]⁶⁰ yí^{tí} míngó mbéni, [mbéni a]⁶¹ gbí
na mbáge.

[da ní a]⁶² gbí ká [a]⁶³ língbi aye.

[a]⁶⁴ mú Ville de Bangui otá, sí
[a]⁶⁵ goe [a]⁶⁶ míngó da ní ngbii.

[a]⁶⁷ míngó da ní kóé awe, sí [Ville
de Bangui ní a]⁶⁸ mú lége
[a]⁶⁹ kírí.

na tongasó, [mbi] mú lége, [mbi] goe
na kótóró.

We had just gone off a little
ways when a house was on fire
and was rumbling over in that
direction.

It turned out that a house was
burning in the new settlement.

Five houses were burning there.

Now the City of Bangui (i.e. fire
wagons) took to the road and
went.

They went and extinguished the
burning houses a long time.

While they were putting out one,
another one collapsed and
burned in another spot.

They wanted to extinguish one,
another burned in another spot.

An incredible number of houses
burned there.

They took three fire wagons and
went and extinguished the burn-
ing houses a long time.

After they put out all the houses,
the fire wagons took to the
road and returned.

And so I took to the road and
returned home.'

SENTENCE PARTICLES

Sentence particles occur in two types: those which occur at the end and those which occur at the beginning of a sentence. The postposed ones are all indigenous, but most if not all (depending on what ones are admitted) of the pre-posed ones are French borrowings.

8.10. Post-posed

The post-posed sentence particles are *ma*, *o*, *pɛpɛ*, and *laá*, which are treated in that order in the following sections. The first three constitute a class separate from *laá* for the reason that whereas they can occur in any independent verbal clause, *laá* occurs in verbal clauses only when they are dependent. All of them, however, can occur in independent non-verbal clauses.

8.11. The particles *ma* and *o* (ex. 1-6 and 7-10 respectively) are expressive words, serving a function like those of some of the intonational contours. The particle *ma* has a meaning of insistence, emphasis, and the like, and can occur in certain kinds of interrogative sentences as well as statements. The particle *o* (with mid tone) serves very much as the opposite of *ma*, having the meaning of politeness, supplication, endearment, and the like. A morpheme which may or may not be the same as this *o* is used following terms of address in quoted discourse (ex. 11): the narrator thus introduces new people into the discourse while making it clear that they are not the grammatical subjects of the immediate clauses.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. <i>mɔ</i> <i>diminué</i> <i>na</i> <i>mbi</i> <i>ngá</i> <i>ngéré</i>
<i>ní ma</i> . -C30 | 'Reduce the price for me!' |
| 2. <i>Sango</i> <i>kóé</i> <i>mbi</i> <i>má</i> <i>na</i> <i>kótóró</i> <i>tí</i>
<i>í na</i> <i>l'Oubangui</i> <i>ma</i> -A35 | 'I learned Sango here in our
country, in Ubangi-Shari.' |
| 3. <i>mbi</i> <i>zía</i> <i>mbéni</i> <i>yí</i> <i>da</i> <i>sí ma</i> . -A44 | 'Of course, I put something in
it then (I eat it).' |
| 4. <i>mbi</i> <i>kɛ</i> <i>sukúla</i> <i>bongó</i> <i>na</i> <i>kóli</i> <i>só</i> ,
<i>ka</i> <i>mbi</i> <i>passé</i> , <i>ka</i> <i>mbi</i> <i>wara</i>
<i>pendere</i> <i>bongó</i> <i>tongasó</i> <i>apɛ</i> <i>ma</i> .
-C31 | 'I wash clothes for this man
(i.e. my husband) and iron
them, but I don't receive nice
clothes like these!' |

- | | |
|--|--|
| 5. ní laá ma. -R4c | 'That's it.' |
| 6. tongasó ma? | 'Is this how?' |
| 7. áíta tí mbi, ála hé pémbé tí
mbi ape o. -A9 | 'My friends, please don't make
fun of my teeth.' |
| 8. só séngé o. mo pensé ape o.
-C31 | 'That's all right. Don't think
about it.' |
| 9. íta o. fadé mbi wara tí mbi
pendere bongó na ndo wa o.
-C31 | 'Friend. Where will I get nice
clothes?' |
| 10. bala o. | 'Greetings.' |
| 11. lo tens, mbi o, fadé ni goe
na galá. | 'He said, "Say there, I'm going
to the market."'' |

8.12. Negative marker pepe.

8.12.10. The negative marker pepe occurs in several forms. Those which do not seem to be correlated with intonational features are, in addition to pepe, spe and ape (in which forms the vowel e can also be replaced by the vowel e). It is very likely that the forms without an initial p are stylistically different from the form pepe: the latter would seem to be more formal, precise, or emphatic than the others. The two kinds of forms occur in a single discourse of the same speaker. On the other hand, some speakers seem to use one form in preference to another. More work needs to be done on the stylistic and linguistic correlates of this word. One other phonetic form of this word is used by some speakers at least on some occasions: on magnetic tape it sounds as if the consonant p were replaced by a voiced bilabial fricative of very lax articulation (almost a w) and the vowel e were replaced by some vowel of central quality. The tones of this word vary considerably, depending on the intonation contour which is superimposed. If the first syllable takes stress, the pitch will be high. In questions of a certain type the tones may be mid-level (q.v. chp. 16).

8.12.20. The position of the negative is generally at the end of a clause or sentence which is being negated, but a few words, mostly post-posed sentence particles, can follow it. Where verb phrase complements are postposed to pepe, one suspects that there is interference from the model of the English-speaking users of Sango. One of the most glaring features of the

Sango syntax of Americans, in whose language 'not' is, of course, near the verb, is the placing of *pepe* near the verb. The examples illustrate the occurrence of various types of words and constructions after the negative marker.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. ní laá sí ála wara ngingza pepe
só -L1 | 'That's the reason why they
didn't receive money.' |
| 2. ála hé pémbé tí mbi ape o -A9 | 'Now don't make fun of my teeth.' |
| 3. bé tí lo ayí mo ape laá -C31 | 'It's because he doesn't love
you.' |
| 4. mbi wara bóngó ape ma -C31 | 'I don't receive clothes.' |
| 5. tongana mbi wara répcuse pepe na
ámbe tí kóé só mbi to na mo... | 'When I didn't receive answers
to the letters I had sent
you...' |
| 6. mbi wara mbéni nouvelle tí ála
pepe fadesó tenetí nze otá
tongana yé -L5 | 'Why is it that I haven't heard
from you now for three months?' |
| 7. lo mú na mbi ngingza ape ngingatí
yé | 'Why didn't he give me money?' |
| 8. yí tí hó mo óko aake ape na sése
só? | 'You mean that there is not one
thing on earth to surpass you?' |

8.12.30. The domain of *pepe* with few exceptions is a whole sentence, which may be either a non-verbal one (ex. 1-3) or a verbal one. This is to say that any affirmative sentence, with the exception of those marked for completed action by *awe* (q.v. 9.30), can have a negative counterpart. Where *awe* and *pepe* both occur in the same sentence (ex. 8-9), *awe* is in a clause included in the sentence, the whole of which is negated by *pepe*; all examples are questions. The exceptions concerning the domain of *pepe* include its use in isolation (ex. 6-7) reminiscent of its use in the original language as an interjection, and its use in a few noun and verb phrases (ex. 8-9). It may be possible to account for these latter exceptions with a different analysis (e.g. by taking *na* in ex. 8 as 'and' and the rest as a non-verbal clause) or by bilingual interference (ex. 9).

- | | |
|----------------------------|---|
| 1. gí ní laá ape? -C31 | 'Just that, isn't it?' |
| 2. só séngé ape -C31 | 'That's not all right.' |
| 3. tongasó pepe, ka mbi mú | 'If it weren't for that, I would
have taken it.' |

- | | |
|---|---|
| 4. í wǒko ngá awe ape? -C31 | 'Aren't we also tired already?' |
| 5. mbi má, mbi tene mo mú kǒli mo
goe na da tí kǒli awe ape?
-C8 | 'Didn't I hear that you had taken
a husband and had gone to his
house already?' |
| 6. pepe, fadé mbéni zo agá na
manière -F4 | 'If not, then someone will come
with deceit.' |
| 7. aeke tí bata ázo tí kusára
tongana kapita? pepe. -R1 | '(Is his work) to oversee work-
men like a foreman? No.' |
| 8. na lángó míngi pepe, babá tí
méréngé ní akúí ngá -L17 | 'Not many days later, the child's
father also died.' |
| 9. mbéni ayí tí sára ménage tí lo
pepe, tí occupé na kǒa pepe
-L162 | 'Some don't want to do the house
work, to occupy themselves
with work.' |

The following examples illustrate the use of pepe first in simple clauses, as independent sentences (ex. 10-15), subordinate clauses in "relative" constructions (ex. 16-18), and as various kinds of included clauses in complex sentences, and then in complex sentences (ex. 11-28). Among them are examples of verb phrases with tí-verb phrase complements (q.v. 11.14) which are interesting because they sometimes pose, at least theoretically, problems in ambiguity (discussed below).

The negative marker also occurs in certain locutions, such as óko pepe 'not at all' (q.v. 4.22), hinga pepe 'perhaps' (q.v. 15.21.12a), and alingbi pepe 'very much' (q.v. 15.21.11b).

- | | |
|--|---|
| 10. zo tí gíngó yǒró na mbi, sí
mbi soigné na ní, aeke pepe.
-L186 | 'I have no one to get the
medicine for me for treating
myself with it.' |
| 11. téné só Mamadu ake tene só aeke
vene pepe. -R1 | 'What Mamadu is saying is not
a lie.' |
| 12. amú na lo kóbe míngi pepe. -A9 | 'He did not give him much food.' |
| 13. kobéla asára lo tongana tí
giriri pepe. -L27 | 'The illness doesn't give him
as much trouble as it did
formerly.' |
| 14. mo tene vene pepe. -C8 | 'Don't lie.' |

15. í ke wara tí í ngingza míngi míngi 'We don't get a lot of money
tongana ázo ti Bangui ape. -I55 as do the people of Bangui.'
16. mbéni téné aeke só mbi hínga li 'There's a matter which I don't
tí mbi da pepe. -L162 understand.'
17. zo só bē tí lo ayí ape, lo ngbá 'The person who doesn't want
yí tí lo. -A21 to, let him stay.'
18. gí na lége tí kóbe só mo lēke 'It's just from the food which
nzoní ape. -A8 you do not prepare well.'
19. madame ayí pepe, lo lutí ndo 'If the lady doesn't care to,
avokó lo da. -L168 let her stand there until
night falls on her.'
20. pekó ní ayo ape, lo tí awe. -A29 'It's not long before he has
fallen.'
21. tongana mo te ape, mo kírí ní 'If you don't eat it, then give
na mbi. -C30 it back to me.'
22. lo tene, ní goe na kótóró tí 'He said that he did not go to
Israel séngé pepe. -R7a the country of Israel without
reason.'
23. mamá atene mo toto ape. -N80 'Mother said, "Don't cry."'
24. áni hínga mbéni yí óko tí sára 'We don't know one thing to do
ngbanga ní pepe. -L1 about it.'
25. mbi de tí mú kóli ape. -C8 'I haven't yet taken a husband.'
26. mbi língbi tí díko só angbá na 'I am unable to count those
lége tí gángó ní pepe. -R9b which are still coming.'
27. mbi wara mbéni yama tí te na 'I don't get any meat with
pekó ní ape. -A44 which to eat it.'
28. mbi yí tí goe na lo encore 'I don't want to go with him
pepe. -N80 again.'

8.12.40. Because of the obligatory placement of pepe at the end of a clause, there are possibilities for ambiguity. Theroetically, the following four sentences are possible:

1. mbi hínga |ake ngangó.

'I know that it is hard.'

2. mbi hínga |ake ngangó pepe.

'I know that it is not hard.'

3. mbi hinga |ake ngangó |pepe.

'I don't know that it is hard.'

4. mbi hinga |ake ngangó pepe |pepe.

'I didn't know that it wasn't hard.'

Such contrasts could be repeated for several common verbs, because this type of construction is much used in Sango (q.v. 15.21.12a). The fourth possibility does not at all occur in our corpus although I recall having heard long involved sentences with two pepe's juxtaposed in this way. At the moment I do not know how the ambiguity between 3 and 4 is resolved. One might suspect that there was some kind of junctural and intonational contrast between them. One can, of course, restructure the sentence, and this may be the reason why no really ambiguous sentences occurred in the texts. For example, since mbi hinga lo gá bírí pepe might mean 'I know that he didn't come yesterday' or 'I didn't know that he came yesterday,' one could say for the second meaning só lo gá bírí, mbi hinga pepe 'About his coming yesterday, I didn't know of it.' An unsuccessful attempt was made to investigate the matter by elicitation with an informant.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. mbi de mbi mú kóli ape. -C8 | 'I haven't yet taken a husband.' |
| 2. ní de ní báa yama tí sése agbó
kamba na ndúzú pepe. -L75 | '(He said), "I haven't yet
seen a terrestrial animal
trapped in the sky."' |
| 3. mbi língbi títene, mbi díko
ahúnzi pepe. -R9b | 'I can't say that I have listed
everything completely.' |
| 4. mbi hinga zo ká títene, mbi to
éré tí lo pepe. -L3 | 'I don't know any one there
whose name I can send.' |
| 5. docteur adé éré ní, mbi má
pepe. -L7 | 'The doctor did not give it a
name which I heard (i.e. if he
named it, I know nothing about
it).' |
| 6. ka mo hinga manière tí wále ake
ndé ndé ape? -C31 | 'Don't you know that the wiles
of women are varied?' |
| 7. í ke na moyen títene, í fáa dole
ní tí goe na ní, ake ape. -I55 | 'We had no way of cutting up the
elephant to take it away.' |

8.13. The sentence particle laá is used to make predications in which it functions as the predicate. Its force includes the ideas of emphasis (in

which case it is roughly analogous to French 'c'est...que'), of demonstration (cf. French 'voilà'), and of explanation. This particle is used extensively in radio texts (46/105) occurrences. Elsewhere it is used, with a couple of exceptions, by town people and young people. In this respect, the usage of *laá* parallels that of *títene* (q.v. 5.70), and may with it and other factors serve to mark the difference between two varieties of Sango.

The topic in a *laá* predication may be a substantive phrase (q.v. chp. 10), including a noun phrase (ex. 1-6), a connective phrase (ex. 7-9), or a pronoun (ex. 10-12). It may be a clause (usually only one) preceding *laá* (ex. 13-19). Finally, it may be the adjunctive *ní* (q.v. 4.21), in which case the referent is in the preceding discourse (ex. 20-25). The *ní* may be considered to replace a whole clause. The particle may be followed by the post-posed sentence particles *ma* (ex. 25), and *ape* or *pape* (ex. 26), or by the adjunctives *só* (ex. 27), *tongasó* (ex. 28) and *mbírímbrí* (ex. 4), or by *awe* (ex. 29).

The entire *laá* phrase functions in one of two ways: it is either a pre-clausal construction (q.v. chp. 12), or it is an independent predication (ex. 30-34). As a pre-clausal construction, it may function as the subject of the clause (ex. 1-2), or be in apposition with the subject (ex. 11-12). Or it may be, semantically, the object of the following verb (ex. 3-4) or a modifying complement (q.v. 11.11), usually with explanatory force (ex. 14-16).

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. gí kóa tí mbi <i>laá</i> áke píka
mbi -R6 | 'It's just my work that beats
me.' |
| 2. kóli tí mɔ <i>laá</i> avɔ só -I9 | 'It's your husband who bought
this.' |
| 3. vɛne <i>laá</i> mɔ ke tɛne só -C8 | 'It's a lie you are telling
there.' |
| 4. taá tɛné <i>laá</i> mbírímbrí, mbi
tsne só -C8 | 'It's the truth, straight, which
I am telling.' |
| 5. mais, yí ní <i>laá</i> , mbi de
mérengé -N81 | 'But the thing of it was, I was
still a child.' |
| 6. ndá ní <i>laá</i> , sí mbi tene na ála
giriri, á-fonctionnaire akú
kóa tí ála -R3 | 'This is the reason why I said
civil servants should wait for
their jobs.' |

7. gí tí áwále laá aso ála míngi
só -R4a 'It's just that of women that
hurts them so much.'
8. tenatí sioní tí mo laá, sí fúta
ní agá na mo -L17 'It's because of your evil that
retribution has come to you.'
9. tí Bangui laá -A8 'That's what pertains to Bangui.'
10. lo laá akírí asára kótá yí
-L175 'It's he who is turning and doing
a great thing.'
11. mbi laá mbi ke gá na pekó tí mo
-C30 'It's I who am coming after you.'
12. mo óko laá, mo ke yó? -I9 'You by yourself, will you drink
it?'
13. aeke téné ní laá sí mbi tene ála
kóé -R2 'It is this thing which I told
you all.'
14. aeke kusára tí Nzapá laá, sí
mbi ngbá tí hú ponó da só -A44 'It's the work of God in which I
am still suffering this way.'
15. mbi ngbá mérengé, mbi goe na
école laá, mbi má Sango bien
-A21 'When I was a child, I went to
school, and that is why I
understand Sango well.'
16. nginza aeke na lo ape laá lo
sára mo tongasó -C31 'Because he has no money, that's
why he's treated you like this.'
17. só aeke kusára tí áwále laá -A8 'That's the work of women.'
18. peut-être bē tí lo ayí mo ape
laá -C31 'Perhaps it's because his liver
doesn't love you.'
19. gí téné só lá só mbi yí títene
fa na ázo ní laá -R4c 'It's just this thing which today
I want, as it were, to show the
people.'
20. ní laá ake li na géré tí
áwále -R4a 'That's why it gets into the legs
of women.'
21. ní laá, ála to na í mbéti ge
-R7b 'That's why they sent us this
paper.'
22. ní laá mbi hinga ndá ní -N81 'That's why I understand it.'
23. mais ní laá Bangui ayo míngi
-I55 'But this is the problem, that
Bangui is so far.'
24. ní laá sí mbi yí mbéni nginza
kété -R1 'That's why I want a little
money.'

25. ɛɛ ní laá ma -R4c 'Sure, that's just it.'
26. só lángó tí kɔa laá aɔ? -N35 'Isn't that the time for work there?'
27. tɛné tí mbi ní laá só -R2 'That's what I have to say right there.'
28. yí ní laá tongasó -R4c 'That's the way it is, like that.'
29. kɔa ní laá awe -C31 'That's all the work there is.'
30. gí tɛné ní laá -R4d 'That's the issue right there.'
31. só lége ní laá -A8 'That's the way.'

8.20. Pre-posed

The pre-posed sentence particles are all borrowings from the French language unless one admits a few indigenous words which have been classified differently. The French loan-words (ex. 1-4) are *il faut* (pronounced as *fó*, *ifó* or *ilfó*) 'it is necessary that....,' *il ne faut pas* 'it is necessary thatnot,' *pourquoi* (pronounced as *púkwa* or *púrkwa*) 'why?' and *est-ce que* (pronounced as *ɛskí*) 'is it true that....?' The indigenous words which a different analysis might put here are *fadé*, which marks future time (q.v. 9.10), and *gbá*, which means something like 'nevertheless, necessarily.' (ex. 5). The first has been described as a verbal adjunctive and the second, of which there is only one example, might be considered a connective.

1. *est-ce que mbi na ála, í língi* 'Can't we sit in one place and
tí dutí place óko tí sára talk?
tɛné aɔ? -L171
2. *pourquoi mo tɛne mbi wara pepe.* 'Why do you say that I didn't
 -C29 find it?'
3. *il faut mbi goe na ngonda encore* 'I must go into the bush again.'
 -N35
4. *faut pas que mo zía lége ti* 'You must not renounce this (tak-
dimanche óko só, mo sára gí ing of medicine) for one week,
lángó óse, mo kírí na pekó and just do it for two days, and
pepe. -R4c then come back to it later.'
5. *mo zo ní, mo hínga tí kpé lóró* 'You there, you may not know how
aɔ, gbá mo ke kpé. -R4b to run fast, but nevertheless
 you'll run for sure.'

Chapter 9

V E R B S

9.10. Categories

The verbs of Sango, like the other classes of words, are morphologically quite simple. Their only affix is a- which marks the subject (q.v. 7.20). Otherwise, there is no inflection for any grammatical category whatsoever. The suffixation of -ngó (q.v. 6.30) is verbal simply because verb stems exclusively take this suffix, but the suffix is a nominalizing one and a verb stem with -ngó never functions as a predicate. Categories of time and aspect are accounted for lexically or contextually. For example, completed action is usually not marked in any explicit manner. When there is need for precision, awe 'it is finished' (q.v. 9.30) is introduced at the end of the clause(s). Future time is marked by fadé (q.v. 4.30) placed before the subject or by the verb eke 'to be' placed immediately before the main verb (discussed below). The "conditional mood" is marked by tongana and ka (q.v. 5.81 and 5.20). There is no passive. For other semantic and grammatical categories one must consult the dictionary.

9.20. Sequences of verbs

The only grammatically important characteristic of the verbs is their tendency to be grouped in certain constructions. Discussing this feature here is admittedly premature, for the feature is a syntactic one, but because a few specific verbs are involved, there is some advantage in classifying them now.

9.21. First, there are a number of verbs which are very commonly followed by a verb or verb phrase introduced by the preposition tí. These are the following:

- de 'to be about to' and in the negative 'to....not yet'
- commencé 'to begin'
- língbi 'to be able to'
- ngbá 'to remain, to be still doing something'
- manqué 'to do something without doubt' (in the negative)
- yí 'to want to'

These are not true auxiliaries however, for *tí*-phrase verbal complements are quite common in the verb phrase (q.v. 11.14). The only word which approaches being an auxiliary is *eke*, which is discussed below.

9.22. Other strings of verbs and clauses are more fully discussed in chp. 11 and 15. 21.11. The general tendency can be described as one for showing the interrelatedness or sequential occurrence of the events whose subject is the same. It is this syntactic characteristic of Sango which makes it often difficult to decide what are the boundaries of sentences. Probably no sentences are immune from this "compressing" tendency, and yet it is most common with any verb of motion. Of these the two most common are *gá* 'to come' and *goe* 'to go.' These occur frequently in narratives where they are followed by another verb which may or may not have the subject marker *a-* (q.v. 7.20). In these locutions a literal coming and going are very often not involved. The uses of these verbs are therefore idiomatic in a way similar to 'come' and 'go' in the English sentences 'Come on and tell us' and 'He went and punched him in the nose.'

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Kamara, goe báa magasin -R1 | 'Kamara, go and look at the storeroom.' |
| 2. mbi kpé, mbi goe lángó na da tí mbéni zo ní -N81 | 'I ran away, I went and slept in the house of a certain person.' |
| 3. í goe wara ádole -I55 | 'We went and found elephants.' |
| 4. tongana mo yí, mo goe kú mbi -C30 | 'If you want, go and wait for me.' |
| 5. í goe sára ngú míngi ká -N81 | 'We went and spent many years there.' |
| 6. gouvernement Dacko agá sí na ndo só -R6 | 'President Dacko came and arrived here.' |
| 7. ála gá sára kpa na yá tí kótóró tí í -R7d | 'They came and worked in our villages.' |
| 8. ámbunzú tí Bangui ní, ála gá mú na mbi ngingza -I55 | 'The White Men from Bangui came and gave me money.' |

9.23. The verb *eke* is used preceding other verbs except *de* 'to remain' to indicate incompleted or habitual action. Even without the marker of

completed action (viz. *awe*) the clause *lo te kóbe* might very easily be taken to mean 'he has eaten.' To make certain that the action is still going on one adds *eke* 'to be' to make *lo ke te kóbe* 'he is eating.' *eke* also occurs in sentences where futurity is certainly implied, but where it is not certain that continued action is suggested (ex. 14). The same uncertainty exists for those sentences where past time is unquestionable (ex. 12). More troublesome are those sentences where an explicitly marked incompleting or habitual action seems to be inappropriate (ex. 22). These latter sentences and the fact that they most often occur in the speech of the town folk seem to indicate the weakening, in one sense, of the distinctive function of *eke*. For some people it may be so stylish to use *eke* as an "auxiliary" that it no longer has any contrastive function.

Because the verb *eke* 'to be' can precede other verbs which, on the one hand, are not introduced by the connective *tí* and, on the other hand, do not--and cannot--take a subject, it is possible to look upon it as a kind of auxiliary verb. Another reason is that when it is preposed to another verb it is very weakly articulated. The first vowel is dropped or where retained is realised as a very short or nonsyllabic segment: e.g. one hears [mamáyke gwe] for what is normalized as *mamá ake goe* 'mother is going.' It is also more weakly stressed than the following verb. One can, in fact, have a phonological contrast between *ake tí lo* 'it's his' and *ake tí lo* (a variant pronunciation of *ake tí lo*) 'as for him, he refuses.' Some occurrences of *ke* appear to be suffixal to a personal pronoun or the subject marker *a-*. Such an evolution would not be surprising at all, but in this grammar no such special morpheme is isolated. The principal reason is that wherever *ke* occurs *eke* can easily be substituted with no change in meaning.

1. *ákété kété á-microbe tí bilharzie* 'Very small liver fluke germs
ní ake na yá tí ngú só. ní laá are in this water. That's
ake li na géré tí áwále. -R4a the reason why they enter the
legs of women.'
2. *ála goe tí sára ágòzo tí ála na* 'They go to fix their manioc in
yá tí ngú, na place só ngú só water, at a place where the
ake soa pepe -R4a water is not flowing.'

3. só tongana yę sí tí ákólí ake
so ála míngi pepe. gí tí
áwále laá aso ála míngi só.
-R4a 'How is it that the men's (i.e.
liver fluke disease) doesn't
hurt them much? It's just the
women's which hurts them a lot.'
4. í sára kóbe na lége ní pepe. ní
laá si í ke wara malade míngi,
sí í toto yá tí í. -A8 'We don't prepare food in the
correct manner. That's the
reason why we become sick so
much and we complain about
our abdomens.'
5. tí kótóró tí mbi, í zía kpí tí
sindi na ndó ní, na kárakó, sí
í ke te na ní -A8 'As for my home, we put sesame
paste on it, and peanut (i.e.
paste), and then we eat it
with them.'
6. ní laá ake nzoní, ála má wángó
só á-médecin ake mú na ála só
-R4c 'That's the reason why you should
listen to the advice which
doctors give you.'
7. lo ke changé bongó lá kóé lá kóé.
mais mbi wále ní, mbi changé
bongó ape. ázo ake báa mbi.
kaméla ake sára mbi míngi.
-C31 'He changes clothes all the time.
But I, the wife, I don't change
clothes. People look at me.
I'm very much embarrassed.'
8. ámbení ake goe na six heures.
ála goe, ála vo yí tí ála.
ála ke ká ní. -N78 'Some go at six o'clock. They go
and buy their things (i.e. for
resale). They sell it.'
9. B- mbi de mbi goe na da tí
kólí ape. A- vene laá mo ke
tene só. -C8 B- 'I haven't yet gone to my
fiancé's house.' A- 'It's
just lies you're telling.'
10. ake tongasó vení sí ála ke sára
rognon tí yama na vin -R9a 'It's just in this manner that
one prepares the kidneys of
animals in wine.'
11. tere agoe dutí na yángá tí yáká
tí kóbe só ..., ake te -F4 'Spider went and sat down at the
edge of this food garden of
his and began to eat.'

12. tongana ála wara ressort tí kutukutu só aeke fáa, ála sára na ngáfó -A13 'When they find an automobile spring which has broken, they make a hoe out of it.'
13. fadé mbi ke wara bongó ká na yáyú ahó mo ape? -C31 'Won't I get more clothes than you up there in heaven?'
14. tongana mbi fáa lo, fadé mbi ke bi lo na ngonda ape? -A40 'After I kill it (i.e. lizard), won't I throw it into the bush?'
15. tongana mo sára tongasó pepe, lá kóé mo eke wara malade -A8 'If you don't do it like this, you'll get sick all the time.'
16. ato kpa na í mbéti ge, atene, lá só, lo ke sára kótá matánga -R7f 'He sent word here to us in a letter saying that today he was going to make a big party.'
17. fadesó, í eke sára calcul tí nginza tí lo -R1 'Now let's figure up his money.'
18. fadesó, mbi ke mú ánde na lo congé -R1 'Now I'll give him a vacation from now on.'
19. lá kóé yáká tí kóli só, ábákoyá míngi aeke fúti kóbe ní. áméréngé tí lo ake tomba gbá. -F4 'All the time, this garden of his, baboons in great numbers ruined its harvest. His children chased them away to no avail.'
20. lo na zo vokó agá bngbi óko. ála ke te kóbe óko, ála ke yó samba óko. -R2 'He and the African came and met. They ate together, they drank beer together.'
21. depuis ngú bale óko na óse ála eke voté lá kóé -R3 'For twelve years you have been voting regularly.'
22. áwále só aeke leke ta, fadesó ála zía lége tí leke ta awe -A13 'Women who used to make pots, they have now given up making pots.'

9.30. we

The verb *we*, which may be glossed 'be finished,' may serve either as the predicate of a simple clause or be in paratactic construction with a principal clause. In either case, it never appears without the subject

marker a-, whether or not there is a substantive phrase (q.v. chp. 10) as a subject.

In a simple clause, we is the verb. The clause may consist only of awe, with or without adjunctives (q.v. 4.30) such as fadesó (ex. 1-2). Or it may have a substantive phrase subject (ex. 3-4). When the clause is introduced by the connective tongana (q.v. 5.81), or by na (q.v. 5.32) as suppletive for tongana in a series of parallel awe clauses (ex. 5-6), or when the awe clause, without any introducing word, ends on a rising intonation (q.v. 3.11), the clause is dependent. Otherwise, it is independent.

When awe is in paratactic construction with a principal clause, and immediately follows it, it is still analyzed as a clause, consisting of the verb and the subject marker. That this is a sound description is seen from the following parallels:

lo gá fadesó : awe fadesó

'He has come now.' : 'It is finished now.'

lo gá anínga ape : lo gá awe

'He came, it hasn't been long.' : 'He came, it is finished (i.e. He has already come.).'

But awe appears to be in the process of transition toward becoming a simple post-posed sentence particle (q.v. 8.10). It is to be noted that, since awe is in construction with the entire clause and not with the verb only, it occurs after the clause is completed. The only cases in which awe intervenes between a verb and some of its complements in the verb phrase (q.v. 11.10) is in some anomalous examples (ex. 7) occurring in the speech of some people who have been strongly influenced by Protestant missions.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. awe fadesó -L175 | 'It's finished now.' |
| 2. así na lángó bale óko na
osió sí awe -R7b | 'It came to the fourteenth day,
and then it was over.' |
| 3. téné tí mbi awe -A40 | 'My words are done.' |
| 4. gí ní laá awe? -R4b | 'Is that all there is to it?' |
| 5. jusqu'à tongana l'heure tí
yáká awe, áni kírí na
kótóró -A15 | 'Then when the time for making
gardens is over, we go back
to the village.' |

6. tongana áni tóró lengé awe, 'When we have set up the lengé
 (...) na l^hheure tí deux and (when) two o'clock has
 heures awe, áni bǒngbi tí fully come, we gather to dance
 dó lengé -A9 the lengé.'
7. tongana áni goe na pekó tí téné 'When we have followed the affair
 tí Nzapá yongóro míngi, áni of God for a long time, we have
 girísa ámbéni téné ní awe -F7 forgotten the other affairs.'

In these paratactic constructions, *awe* serves as the marker of an action antecedent to that of the verbs of the context. Since the simple unmodified verb (q.v. chp. 9) implies past time in a general sense, the clause modified by *awe* expresses a perfective idea, somewhat analogous to the pluperfect of some Indo-European languages. In any case, *awe* marks an action completed before the time implied by the immediate context. Since by definition *awe* is thus in contrast with *fadé*, the future marker (q.v. 9.10) and *eké*, the continuous action marker (q.v. 9.23), it does not occur in construction with clauses in which these appear, except again in a few anomalous examples.

Whether as a verb or as a marker, *we* occurs in affirmative, interrogative, or imperative sentences, but not in negative sentences. Interrogative uses are marked by a sentence-final rising intonation (q.v. 3.11), and sometimes by the addition of *ape* (ex. 8-11). In the single imperative use found in our corpus (ex. 12), *awe* seems to mean something like 'and that's all' or 'and that's enough.' Typically, dependent clauses in construction with *awe* are introduced by *tongana*, or by *na* as a suppletive for *tongana* in a series (ex. 13-18), by *só* (ex. 19-20), or by nothing, the subordination being marked by a rising intonation at the end of the clause (ex. 21-24).

8. mo má awe Albert? -R4d 'Have you understood, Albert?'
9. bon, depuis só mǎrangé tí mo ake 'Well, since your son has been
 sára kǒa só, mbéni lá óko, working at this job, has his
 patron tí lo aké tí fúta lo boss ever once refused to
 awe? -R1 pay him?'
10. mais pasteur í wóko ngá awe 'But pastor, aren't we completely
 ape? -C31 worn out also?'

11. mbi má mbi tene mo mú kóli,
mo goe na da tí kóli awe
ape? -C8 'Haven't I already heard that
you've taken a husband and
gone to his house?'
12. mo prié gi Nzapá awe -C31 'Pray only to God, that's enough.'
13. na áni hinga ake yi tí mbito
míngi, tongana ála girisa yi
tí kótóró awe -A13 'And we know it is a matter of
great fear, when they have for-
gotten the ways of the village.'
14. tongana í zía lait da awe, ake
páta óse -N78 'When we have put milk into it,
(the price) is ten francs.'
15. tongana agoe sí ká awe, bon, lo
lón dó, atene, tongana zo só
adé éré tí mbi, fadé mbi te
kóbe tí lo -F7 'When he had arrived there, he
got up and said, if anyone
says my name, I'll eat her
food.'
16. tongana mo lón dó na kóa ní mo
gá awe, mo sukúla ngú, mo yú
bongó tí mo, fadesó, mo píka
kate tí mo, atene, mbi eke
kóli -R6 'When you have left your work and
have come home, you wash up, you
put on your clothes, then you
hit your chest, you say, I'm a
man.'
17. tongana mo tourné kété alingbi
na ní awe, mo zía na sése
-A8 'When you have stirred it a little,
sufficiently for it, you put it
on the ground.'
18. na kótóró tí mbi, tongana ámamá
agoe na ngonda tí mú makongó,
na ála mú makongó kóé awe,
agá sí na kótóró fadesó,
azía ála na yá tí sakpá -A8 'In my village, when the mothers
have gone out into the bush to
get caterpillars, and have
gotten caterpillars, they come
and arrive in the village, and
then they put them into baskets.'
19. mais só Jésus ate téné awe, lo
dé kité ní pepe -R10 'But since Jesus had said it, he
did not object to it.'
20. bon, só mamá alón dó na Bangui
agá sí na ndo só mbi báa lé
tí lo awe só, mbi mú pardon
míngi na Nzapá -N35 'Now, because mother left Bangui
and came and arrived here and
I have seen her face, I give
thanks to God.'

21. yá tí mbi ní agá, a-diminué
awe, mamá agá amú mbi -N81
'When my abdomen had become less
swollen, my mother came and
took me.'
22. tere amá tongasó awe, lo kpé
tí lo bíaní -L175
'When spider had heard this, he
ran away.'
23. agá píka lí tí kété méréngé só
awe, kótá íta tí méréngé
wále ní alóndó ká -N79
'When they had finished hitting
the head of this little child,
the sibling of this girl rose
up there.'
24. eh bien, lo te ngunzá ní kóé awe,
mo goe mo mú na lo ngú, lo
sukúla mabóko tí lo kóé, lo
yǫ ngú na pekó ní -A11
'Then, when he has eaten up the
manioc greens, you go give him
water, he washes his hands
completely, he drinks water
afterwards.'

Independent clauses in construction with awe may have no introducer (ex. 25-29) or be introduced by some pre-clausal element, which may be relatively simple (ex. 30-34) or complex (ex. 35-36). Such clauses may in turn be followed by others introduced by various words, such as sí, fadesó, and fadé (ex. 37-43).

25. mbi má awe, monsieur
l'inspecteur -R1
'I've understood, Mr. in-
spector.'
26. ngunzá tí Bata sí mbi zía awe
-A44
'These manioc leaves at Bata,
I've given them up.'
27. mo tene vene awe laá -C8
'You have told a lie there.'
28. mbi kǫ tí fúta lo awe -F4
'I've refused to pay him.'
29. prié gí Nzapá awe -C31
'Pray only to God, that's all.'
30. fadesó mbi ça va awe -N35
'Now I've recovered completely.'
31. depuis só, andáa, oignon abe
awe -A8
'In the meantime, however, the
onions have finished browning.'
32. na lo fáa kámba na gó tí woga
awe -F4
'And he cut the rope from the
antelope's neck.'
33. ka lo tene na mbi awe -R1
'Otherwise he would have told me.'
34. déjà, mbi lú yáká tí kárakó
awe -R6
'Already, I have planted my
peanut garden.'

35. pekó ní ayo ape, lo tí awe
-A29 'It wasn't long afterwards, he
fell.'
36. yé tí báa tongasó, ámérangé
míngi míngi agá a-commencé
bóngbi na lí tí nouvelle
mérangé wále só tí pikángó
lo awe -N79 'When we tried to see what was
going on, many many children
had come and begun to gather
on the head of this new girl to
beat her.' (N.B. awe is in
construction with aga
a-commencé.)
37. amíngó da ní kóé awe, sí Ville
de Bangui ní amú lége akírí
-N79 'They had extinguished (the fire)
in the house completely, and
then the fire wagons (lit. the
city of Bangui) took to the
road and returned.'
38. mais mbi leke téné ní awe ngá,
sí mbi tene na mo tí má sí
-L2 'But I had fixed up the matter
completely, and then I told
you so you would hear.'
39. mo leke kóé awe, fadésó mo gá mo
túku mafuta na yá ta -A8 'You have finished fixing it, and
now you up and pour oil into a
pot.'
40. l'heure tí midi alíngbi awe,
tongasó kóli tí mo alóndó ká
na kóa, agá -A11 'Noon has fully come, and so your
husband arises from his work
and comes.'
41. mbi má téné tí Nzapá awe, na mbi
goe na gbé tí kéké mbéni tí
sambéla pepe -A15 'I had heard God's word, and I
didn't go under trees to pray
any more.'
42. tongana í voté awe, fadé í sára
gouvernement tí í -R3 'When we have finished voting, we
will set up our government.'
43. tongana í gá ngangó awe sí lo
língbi títens, lo zí mabóko,
na pekó tí í -R2 'When we have become strong, then
she (i.e. France) will be able
to loosen her hands from behind
us.'

As for more complex, and rarer, constructions, it may be said that when awe is in construction with a principal clause, it does not affect a só "relative" clause (q.v. 4.23.10) which may be included in a noun phrase

which is part of the clause (ex. 44-45). On the other hand, *awe* may be in construction with such a relative clause, in which case it immediately follows it (ex. 46-47). In one instance, *só* introduces a subordinate clause preceding a principal *awe* clause (ex. 48). In some cases, *awe* is in construction with a complex of clauses (ex. 49-52). In some of these cases, while there may be grammatical uncertainty about how many clauses are in construction with *awe*, there is no practical semantic difficulty. Finally, there are a number of cases (ex. 53-57) in which it is difficult if not impossible to assign the terms principal and subordinate in their classic meanings, though the semantic content is not ambiguous. It may be that the clauses are in reality separate sentences.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 44. wále tí mbi só agoe na kótóró,
awara mérengé awe -R1 | 'My wife, who went to the vil-
lage, has had a child.' |
| 45. mbi má téné kóé só mo tene na
mbi só awe -L4 | 'I've understood the whole mes-
sage which you sent me.' |
| 46. na l'heure só babá tí mbi asára
ká lángó míngi awe, mamá tí
mbi, amú mbi akpé -N81 | 'At the time when my father had
already been gone for many
days, my mother took me and
ran away.' |
| 47. jusqu'à, mérengé wále só, lé tí
lo ambóko awe só, lo gá -F7 | 'Until the girl whose face was
ulcerated, she came.' |
| 48. bíaní, só mbi gá na lo, babá na
mamá, akúí awe -R1 | 'Indeed, at that time when I
went to him, (my) father and
mother were already dead.' |
| 49. agá a-commencé pika mérengé tí
wále só awe -N79 | 'They had come and begun to
beat this girl.' |
| 50. mo goe na galá, mo vo ngunzá,
mo fáa ngunzá ní awe -A11 | 'You have gone to the market,
you have bought manioc greens,
you have cut up the manioc
greens.' |
| 51. i sára kóá tí í, agá nzoní
awe -R6 | 'We have done our work, it came
out very well.' |
| 52. kóli así gígí awe, ála zía lóró
da, akpé na wále bíaní awe
-F4 | 'When the man had come out, they
put some speed into it, he
ran away with the woman.' |

53. lá só mbi tɛ awe, mbi tɛ gí na yángá tí mbi -A44 'Today I have already eaten, I've eaten only sauce (lit. with my mouth).'
54. mais bé tí mbi aso ngá awe, mbi yí tí mbi gíngólo ape -C30 'But my liver has been hurt, I don't like provocation.'
55. mo sára kóbe ngbii, jusqu'à, midi alíngbi awe, mo gá mo mú sɛmbé -A11 'You prepare food for a while, until noon has fully come, (then) you up and take the dish.'
56. áni kú jusqu'à lo dú awe na l'hôpital tí Bossangoa na le 22 mars 1961, sí áni kírí ná kótóró -L7 'We waited until she had borne a child at the hospital at Bossangoa on March 22, 1961, and then we went back to the village.'
57. lo sí gígí, lo tí na sése, allé, lo gá pendere wále awe -F7 'She came out, she fell on the ground, and behold, she had become a beautiful woman.'

PART THREE: CONSTRUCTION CLASSES

Chapter 10

SUBSTANTIVE PHRASES

The substantive phrase is a syntactic category. That is, the term designates a category of constructions which may function as nouns in a clause. Basically, the substantive phrase is a phrase which may function as the subject or object of a verb. It includes noun phrases, in which a noun is the head; pronoun phrases, in which a pronoun is the head; adjunctive phrases, in which an adjunctive is the head; and connective phrases, in which *tí* is followed by a substantive or verb phrase. In the following paragraphs examples of such phrases are enclosed within braces { }.

10.10. Noun phrases

10.11. Noun phrases may consist of a simple noun (q.v. chp. 6), as illustrated below (ex. 1-2). They may consist of a noun with the adjunctive *ní* (ex. 3-4), of which a further discussion is given elsewhere (q.v. 4.21). They may consist of a noun preceded by an adjunctive (ex. 5-7), or followed by one of certain adjunctives, such as *só* and *kóé* (ex. 8-11), or a combination of these (ex. 12-13). The *só* may be followed by a "relative" construction (q.v. 4.23.10), as is shown in a number of examples (ex. 14-16).

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. {mbunzú} alóndó tí goe na
Bangassou -I55 | 'The White Man arose to go
to Bangassou.' |
| 2. mbi zía {ngú} da -A15 | 'I put water into it.' |
| 3. aeke {téné ní} laá -R2 | 'That's the issue right there.' |
| 4. {da ní} agbí da ukú -N79 | 'The houses burned there (were)
five.' |
| 5. lo gá {pendere wále} awe -F7 | 'She had become a beautiful
woman.' |
| 6. ála eke tí ála {gí séngé zo}
-R10 | 'As for them, they were just
ordinary people.' |
| 7. aeke na {yongóro lége} -R9b | 'They are on a far-off road.' |

- | | |
|---|--|
| 8. {mérengé só}, mbi hínga lo
kózo ní pepe -R1 | 'This child, I didn't know
him beforehand.' |
| 9. {kóli só} ayí tí dutí -F4 | 'This man wanted to sit down.' |
| 10. {ákóli kóé} ake wara bilharzie
-R4a | 'Men also catch the liver-fluke
disease.' |
| 11. {áwále kóé} ade ahínga éré tí
lo pepe -R7 | 'All of the women didn't know
his name.' |
| 12. {yí só kóé}, mo ke píka na yá
tí kpú -R9b | 'All these things, you pound
them in the mortar.' |
| 13. lo goe báa {mbakóro wále só}
-L186 | 'She went to see this old
woman.' |
| 14. {yí só mbi tene} aeke tongasó
-A42 | 'The thing which I said is like
that.' |
| 15. {téné tí politique só aeke na
yá tí kótóró tí í ge} -R2 | 'the matter of politics which is
here in our country.' |
| 16. {tambéla só Kamara ake sára na
yá tí magasin tí kángó
ákóngbá tí mo, na ndápéréré
así na lá kúf, tí balayé
magasin, tí sára átoka ní},
aeke kusára tí fútángó ní
na nze -R1 | 'The effort which Kamara is
putting out in the store where
you sell your goods, from
morning to night, to sweep the
store, to run the errands, is
work which must be paid by the
month.' |

10.12. Another broad class of noun phrases consists of a noun followed by a phrase comprising tí and a noun, a pronoun, or an adjunctive (ex. 1-7). The tí phrase involved may, as is shown elsewhere (q.v. 5.61.10), indicate possession, equation, attribution, destination, location, time, and so forth. In some cases, especially those which appear to be compound nouns (q.v. 6.20), the tí may be omitted without change of sense (ex. 8-11). It is the fact that tí may be inserted so readily, as well as the fact that compound words are otherwise unknown in Sango, that leads to the description of these constructions as phrases.

- | | |
|---------------------------------|---|
| 1. {bé tí tere} aso míngi -L175 | 'The liver of the spider hurt
very much (i.e. spider was
angry).' |
|---------------------------------|---|

- | | |
|---|--|
| 2. mo goe na {da tí kóli} awe ape?
-C8 | 'Haven't you gone to the house
of a man?' |
| 3. mbi eke {babá tí mérengé}
fadesó -R1 | 'I'm the father of a child now.' |
| 4. téné tí mo tí má yángá tí
{mamá tí mo} -A42 | 'It's up to you to obey your
mother.' |
| 5. í húnnda lo tenstí {sése tí í}
-R10 | 'We pray to him for our country.' |
| 6. mo mú {yíngó tí basánze} -A8 | 'You take homemade salt.' |
| 7. ake sára {téné tí búbá} -R3 | 'They are talking foolish talk.' |
| 8. {mbéni mérengé kóli} ahq na
lége -L186 | 'A certain male child passed by
on the path.' |
| 9. lo baa áni ndé na {lé lo} -L2 | 'He sees us differently with
his eyes.' |
| 10. {gí ngonzá séngé}, {kugbé
séngé} -A8 | 'Just greens alone, just leaves
alone.' |
| 11. así gígí na {lá kótá} - | 'He went out at noon.' |

10.13. A noun phrase may consist of a noun with tí and a verb following (ex. 1-2). There are also some phrases consisting of two nouns juxtaposed in an appositive relation (ex. 3), and of two or more nouns joined in an additive way by na (ex. 4). In a number of cases, the na phrase following the noun is subordinate (ex. 5-6). This phenomenon is discussed under na (q.v. 5.32.20). Since there may be phrases within phrases within phrases, and since there may be several complements in a noun phrase, some noun phrases are quite long (ex. 7-9).

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. mbi mú {lége tí goe na galá}
-A15 | 'I took the path to go to the
market.' |
| 2. {zo tí pika mbi óko} aake pepe
-R6 | 'There isn't a single person
to beat me.' |
| 3. fadé mo wara {mérengé tí mbi
Wanzaka Louise} -L4 | 'You'll find my child Wanzaka
Louise.' |
| 4. {áSango na áBanda na áNzakara},
ála eke lége óko -I39 | 'The Sango, and the Banda, and
the Nzakara, they're all alike.' |

5. mo sára kɔa ahɔ̄ {ámbení wále na kótɔ́rɔ́ só kóé} -C31 'You work much more than all the other women in this village.'
6. {gí kusára, na ngingza} sí atambéla -R1 'It's just work for money that goes.'
7. mo báa {place tí lo, lo goe tí dutí da só} -A29 'You see his place where he goes to stay.'
8. mo fa {manière tí kɔa ní só mo ke sára sí mo wara na yí tongasó} na mbi apɛ? -C31 'Won't you show me the way of your work which you do so as to get things like this?'
9. lo kóé aɛke na {yí tí yá tí ngú só, só aɛke dongó yongóro tongana téré tí susu} -F7 'She also had the things of the water which are slimy like the bodies of fish.'

10.14. Somewhat different are nouns derived from verbs by the addition of -ngó (q.v. 6.30). In most cases, phrases in which a nominalized verb is the head are substantive phrases (ex. 1-2). But in a verb phrase, and introduced by tí, the nominalized verb is indistinguishable from a plain verb (q.v. chp. 9). The nominalized verb after a verb is a verb intensifier (q.v. 11.16). In any case, such complements as may accompany the nominalized verb are verbal complements: objects, na-phrases, modifier complements, etc., so that internally the phrase with a nominalized verb as its head is constructed like a verb phrase (q.v. chp. 11).

1. {sárángó ngiá na yá da ká} aɛke nzoní apɛ 'Fooling around in the house there isn't good.'
2. {síngó tí mo na Dakar}, fadé mo gí lége tí sí na camp -L3 'Upon your arrival in Dakar, you will try to get to the camp.'

10.20. Pronoun phrases

Pronoun phrases may consist of a simple pronoun (q.v. chp. 5), as illustrated below (ex. 1-2). Or they may consist of a pronoun and só 'this' (ex. 3), or a pronoun and an adjunctive such as kóé 'all' (ex. 4), or a pronoun and both só and kóé (ex. 5). The pronoun may be followed by a tí-noun phrase (ex. 6) or by a tí-adjunctive phrase (ex. 7). A pronoun may be followed by a relative construction (q.v. 4.23.10), as illustrated below

(ex. 8). Several adjunctives, among them *vení* 'himself' and *ngá* 'also' may follow the pronoun directly (ex. 9-11). Finally, there are phrases in which a pronoun is joined additively to another pronoun or to a noun by *na* (ex. 12-14), and phrases in which a pronoun is in apposition to a following noun phrase (ex. 15-16). In such cases, when a pronoun is joined to a noun, the pronoun always comes first. It may also be said that "pronoun" subsumes certain pronoun phrases, and "noun" in the additive and appositive constructions subsumes noun phrases, so that the resultant phrase may be quite long (ex. 15).

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. {lo} eke bingbá yama -F4 | 'He was a reddish animal.' |
| 2. lo zía {mbi} na magasin tí lo
-I39 | 'He left me in his store.' |
| 3. {ála só} adutí tongana ita -R2 | 'These remained like brothers.' |
| 4. mbi yí, {ála kóé}, agoe tí voté
-R3 | 'I want all of you to go vote.' |
| 5. {ála só kóé} alóndó na vundú
-F7 | 'All of these arose in resentment.' |
| 6. {ála só tí zo só} agirísa awe | 'Those of this man have been lost.' |
| 7. {lo só tí ngangó vení} alíngbi
na mbi | 'It's the strong one that will suffice for me.' |
| 8. mo eke {lo só alíngbi tí sára
yí kóé} -R10 | 'You're the one who can do everything.' |
| 9. {mbi vení}, mbi eke mú na ála
koa -R3 | 'It's I myself who give them work.' |
| 10. {gí mo óko} mo yó? -I9 | 'You by yourself, you'll drink it?' |
| 11. {í ngá}, í hý na vacances -L15 | 'We also, we went on vacation.' |
| 12. {í na lo} í goe -N80 | 'She and I, we went.' |
| 13. {í na mamá}, í gá -N80 | 'I and mother, we came.' |
| 14. {mo na áméréngé tí mo}, mème
akuí nzala -R6 | 'You and your children, you even die of hunger.' |
| 15. {mo zo só, mo kẹ́ títene ála
súru li tí mabóko tí mo} -R4b | 'you, the person who refuses to let them cut the tip of your finger' |

16. {ála á-diacre tí Bangayanga} 'They the deacons of Bangayanga
ahínga pepe -L27 didn't know.

10.30. Adjunctive phrases

Adjunctive phrases may consist of a simple adjunctive (q.v. chp. 4), as illustrated below (ex. 1). More commonly, the adjunctive is followed by ní (ex. 2), which may in turn be followed by só (ex. 3), or by an adjunctive such as kóé (ex. 4). It may be followed by a relative construction (ex. 5). In some cases, the head adjunctive is followed by a tí-noun phrase (ex. 6-7), a tí-pronoun phrase (ex. 8) or a tí-adjunctive phrase (ex. 9), where the idea is that of attribution, as shown under tí (q.v. 5.61.13).

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. ayí tí míngó {mbéni}, {mbéni}
agbí na mbáge -N79 | 'They wanted to extinguish
some, others caught fire
nearby.' |
| 2. {sioní ní} laá -R2 | 'The evil (thing) is this.' |
| 3. {otá ní só}, lo commencé tí
quitté compagne tí lo -I39 | 'The third (year) he began to
leave his spouse.' |
| 4. {ámbéni kóé} ahú tí ála | 'All the rest left.' |
| 5. {ámbéni só bé tí ála avókó},
aake da míngi -R2 | 'There are many others, whose
livers are black.' |
| 6. abáa {pendere tí ngú} -R2 | 'They see the beauty of the
water.' |
| 7. {ngangó tí lo} ade ahúnzi pepe
-L186 | 'His strength was not yet
exhausted.' |
| 8. í girísa {France na kótá tí lo}
pepe -R2 | 'We won't forget France and
her greatness.' |
| 9. {mbéni tí saleté} aks sí gígi
-A13 | 'Some dirty (thing) was coming
out.' |

10.40. Connective phrases

Connective phrases used substantively are different from any of the above, in that the connective by itself can never function substantively. One can supply a vague filler head noun, such as yí 'thing' or téné 'affair,' but this cannot be used as a classificatory criterion. The types which are found in substantival functions are tí-noun phrases (ex. 1-2),

tí-pronoun phrases (ex. 3-4), tí-adjunctive phrases (ex. 5), and tí-verb phrases (ex. 6).

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. {tí ázo kóé só}, amú ngingza na
nze -R1 | 'As for all these people, they
get money by the month.' |
| 2. {tí taá kótóró tí mbi} laá
-A8 | 'This is that of my real vil-
lage.' |
| 3. fadesó, {tí í na yángá tí kótóró}
ahúnzi tí lo awe -R7f | 'Now, ours in the language of
the country is all over.' |
| 4. {tí ála}, aeke lángó miombe -R1 | 'Theirs is eight days.' |
| 5. agá sioní, ahú {tí giriri} -R3 | 'It became bad, surpassing that
of former times.' |
| 6. {tí sára só} aeke nzoní ape | 'To do this is not good.' |

10.50. Verb phrases

Mention is made under nouns (q.v. 6.10) of a few cases in which verbs are used substantively, modified or not by an adjunctive, but this usage is quite rare (ex. 1-2).

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. téné tí {nzi tí mɔ} -R1 | 'the fact about your theft' |
| 2. {toto ní} ade na yángá tí lo
-L186 | 'The crying remained in his
mouth (i.e. he continued to
cry).' |

Chapter 11

V E R B P H R A S E S

The verb phrase consists of a verb, with or without complements. It is used in two ways. With a subject and/ or subject marker a-, the verb phrase is the predicate of a clause. Without substantive subject or a-, and introduced by tí, it is a constituent of another verb phrase or of a noun phrase (q.v. 10.10). Approximately 13 percent of the verb phrases in the corpus comprise only a verb (q.v. chp. 9). This verb may be simple, consisting of one stem, or compound, consisting of *aké* 'to be,' *gá* 'to come,' or *goe* 'to go' with another verb. This unmodified verb phrase (ex. 1-12) is especially common in series of verbs which are closely related, as for example: *lo lóndó lo kpé* 'He got up, he ran.'

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. mbi <u>te</u> alíngbi na mbi ape -A44 | 'I ate, it wasn't enough for me.' |
| 2. í <u>goe</u> í lǎngó ká -N80 | 'We went and slept there.' |
| 3. bǎ tí ní <u>aso</u> , sí ní píka lo
-N79 | 'Her liver hurt, so she hit
her.' |
| 4. mbi <u>de</u> mbi <u>sára</u> pepe -I39 | 'I still haven't done it (lit.
I remain, I have not done it).' |
| 5. babá tí mbi, na mamá tí mbi,
kóé <u>akúí</u> awe -R1 | 'My father and my mother, both
have died.' |
| 6. mo <u>má</u> awe Albert? -R4d | 'Did you hear, Albert?' |
| 7. zía mbéni na wá, í <u>ke te</u> -I55 | 'Put some on the fire, we'll
be eating.' |
| 8. gí ngú só <u>ake</u> na wá, <u>ake</u>
<u>kpore</u> -A8 | 'Only the water which is on the
fire is boiling.' |
| 9. ámbéni avo, ámbéni <u>ake gá</u> -N78 | 'Some bought, some were coming.' |
| 10. <u>agá mú</u> , agá zía da -A8 | 'They came and took, they came
and put it in.' |
| 11. kpa só zo kóé zo <u>agoe sára</u> ,
ahúnda nginza -R1 | 'The work which all men go to
do, requires payment.' |
| 12. na ngú só, mbi yí, ála kóé,
agoe <u>tí voté</u> , tongana só, ála
voté kózo ní -R3 | 'This year, I want all of you to
go to vote, just as you voted
before.' |

11.10. Complements and their order

The word "complement" covers all constituent parts of the verb phrase other than the head verb. In dealing with complements, it is necessary to distinguish clearly between their form and their function, since some construction types serve more than one function, and since some functions are served by more than one construction type. The two concepts coincide only partially.

The construction types serving as complements of verbs are:

- SP - substantive phrase (q.v. chp. 10), including noun and pronoun phrases and connective phrases
- AV - verbal adjunctives (q.v. 4.30)
- A - noun adjunctives (q.v. chp. 4)
- CL - clauses (q.v. chp. 15)

The functions or phrase-slots are:

- O - object
- CC - copulative complement
- MC - modifier complement, including those of time, place, manner, means, reason, etc.
- SI - subject intensifier
- VI - verb intensifier

The correspondences between these two sets of entities are as follows:

<u>Construction type</u>	<u>Serves as</u>
SP	O, CC, SI (restrictions to be described), VI (only nominalized verbs), MC (both noun phrases and connective phrases)
AV	MC
A	O, CC
CL	O, CC
<u>Function</u>	<u>Is served by</u>
O	SP, A, CL
CC	SP, A, CL
MC	SP, AV
SI	SP (yí tí + pronoun, or simply tí + pronoun)
VI	SP (nominalized verbs)

The order in which these elements may occur is fairly free, so that it is difficult to chart. A few general remarks may be made at this time.

1. The constituent occurring most frequently immediately after the verb is the object, of whatever nature. Examples in which an object immediately follows a verb make up almost 40 per cent of the total number of verb phrases. Next in frequency of occurrence immediately after the verb is the *na* phrase, which appears in this position in 19.5 per cent of the examples in the corpus.

2. The greatest number of complements appearing in the verb phrase is five. Phrases comprising one or two complements are common, those with three are fairly rare, those with four or five are extremely rare.

3. Each constituent may have its own internal constituents, according to its own rules, which may be quite complex. There is a general inverse correlation between the complexity of individual constituents and the number of constituents in the phrase, but it is not absolute.

4. The verb phrase introduced by *tí* comprises the same constituents as that having a subject, but there are in general fewer of them.

5. It is very rare that any other complement in a verb phrase follows a *tí*-verb phrase complement.

6. It is quite rare that any other complement follows one which is itself a clause.

In all examples below, the verb will be underlined, and the various complements set off by vertical bars, inclusively. Anything that occurs after the last bar is not part of the verb phrase.

11.11. The object of the verb needs little explanation, as it coincides closely in Sango with the notion of the object in many other languages. As was suggested in the table above, the object may be a substantive phrase, such as a noun phrase (ex. 1-5) or more than one noun phrase (ex. 6), a pronoun phrase (ex. 7), or a phrase consisting of *tí* and a noun, a pronoun, or an adjunctive (ex. 8). It may be an adjunctive (ex. 9-11) or a clause (ex. 12-18). In more complex verb phrases, the object may be followed by an adjunctive (ex. 19-30) with or without further complements. Or it may be followed by a *na* phrase (ex. 31-45), or a *tí*-verb phrase (ex. 46-47), or by a substantive phrase, usually a connective phrase, serving as a modifier

complement (ex. 48-52). Finally, in a few cases there is a second object (ex. 53).

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. nzala <u>ahánda</u> zo sí zo
atí na hánda -F4 | 'Hunger tricks a man, so that he falls into temptation.' |
| 2. mbi <u>wara</u> nginza ape -A44 | 'I haven't received any money.' |
| 3. et puis <u>ahé</u> bíá , acommencé
tí <u>sára</u> ngiá tí <u>hé</u>
bíá -A21 | 'And then they sang songs, they began to play, to sing songs.' |
| 4. mbi <u>báa</u> yí-tí kírí na question
tí mɔ só mɔ húnda na mbi -L11 | 'I see the answer to return to your question which you asked of me.' |
| 5. mɔ <u>mú</u> rognon só mɔ préparé ní
na vin na l'ail sí alángó só
-R9a | 'Take the kidneys which you have prepared with wine and with garlic and which have stood.' |
| 6. mbi <u>wara</u> íta tí mbi tí wále, na
íta tí mbi tí kóli -N8o | 'I have found my sister and my brother.' |
| 7. mbéni íta <u>ake</u> <u>gí</u> <u>hánda</u> lo
-C31 | 'Another sister is just enticing him.' |
| 8. fadé téné tí ála <u>ahó</u> tí ákótá
zo tí Athènes, na tí Rome
-R1o | 'Their word will surpass that of the people of Athens and of Rome.' |
| 9. mɔ yí tí <u>vo</u> yɛ -I9 | 'What do you want to buy?' |
| 10. <u>abáa</u> pendere tí ngú -R2 | 'They see the beauty of the water.' |
| 11. íta, ní laá mbi <u>ke</u> <u>tene</u> só
ape -C31 | 'Sister, it's for this reason that I didn't say this.' |
| 12. mɔ <u>tene</u> mbi ke citoyen -R6 | 'You say, "I am a citizen."' |
| 13. mbi <u>húnda</u> tenetí yɛ mbi wara
mbétí tí ála só pepe -L6 | 'I ask, "Why haven't I received a letter from you?"' |
| 14. mbi <u>báa</u> ázo tí France asára
nzoní míngi -R2 | 'I see that the people of France have done much good.' |
| 15. mbi <u>pensé</u> ayo míngi -L175 | 'I think it is very far.' |
| 16. mbi <u>hínga</u> kusára tí mbi aeke
tí fángó ngbanga -R1 | 'I know that my job is to judge cases.' |

17. mbi yí | mo gá na ní | -C29 'I want you to come with it.'
18. mo zía | ábákoyá ní así gígí
míngi na yáká ní sí | -F4 'Let a lot of baboons come out
into the garden first.'
19. ála ke fúta | méréngé tí mo |
nzoní? | -R1 'Are they paying your son well?'
20. mbi zía | ngú | da | -A15 'I put water into it.'
21. babá asára | kɔa | da |
kózo | -N81 'Father did work there first.'
22. fadé ake wara | yí | da |
míngi | -R6 'They will be finding many
things in it.'
23. fadé ake éré | ála | ánde | na
lángó tí nze tí juillet |
-R7b 'They will be calling you later
on a day in July.'
24. kɔa tí politique, mbi ake éré |
ála | da | na lá tí dimanche, |
na 5 avril | -R3 'The work of politics, I am call-
ing you to it on Sunday, on
April 5.'
25. mo wara | lo | ká | na kéké ní |
ká | -A29 'You will find him there in the
tree there.'
26. áíta tí mbi, í bara | ála |
kóé | na dimanche so | lá só |
-R9a 'My brothers, we greet you all
on this Sunday today.'
27. ála commencé tí kamáta | yí só |
tongasó | tí sára na ámonganga
tí ála | -A48 'They began to take these things
in this way to make their
medicines.'
28. sentinelle agbó | mbi | da |
lá kóé | -N81 'The watchman caught me there
every day.'
29. mo ke fa | téré tí mo |
tongasó | ngbangatí yɛ | -C31 'For what reason are you showing
off in this way?'
30. mbi bara | mo | míngi | na
á-famille | kóé | ngá | -L5 'I greet you cordially and all
the family also.'
31. lo fáa | kámba | na gó tí woga |
awe -F4 'He cut the cord from the neck
of the antelope.'
32. mo éré áni tenetí kété l'école
tí sára | ngiá | na áni | -L27 'You will call us for an
elementary school to have
fun with us.'

33. mo sára | tí mbi | na mbi | -L4 'You make mine for me.'
34. ála yú | póró tí ála | na géré
tí ála | nzoní | -R3 'Put your shoes on your feet.'
35. ála ke tene | téné ní só | gí
na yángá | séngé | -R2 'They're just saying this with
their mouths.'
36. í zò | lo | gí na ndó tí wá |
tongasó | ngbii | -I55 'We roasted it on top of the
fire in this way for a long
time.'
37. mo commencé tí fa | yángá tí
áni | na ázo | ká | na
Amérique | na á-américain |
-L27 'You have begun to teach our
language to the people over
there in America, to the
Americans.'
38. mbi tene | ní | na lo | kóé |
lé na lé | -R2 'I told it to him entirely,
face to face.'
39. ála kú | tanga tí téné | kóé |
na sept-heures-et-demie | na
yángá tí ámbunzú | -R7f 'Wait for the rest of the story
at seven thirty in the language
of the White People.'
40. ála to | mbéti | na direction
tí jeunesse-sports | na Bangui |
ge | -R7e 'Send letters to the head office
of youth and sports in Bangui
here.'
41. même í gá na ndo só gí ngbangatí
gáa, tí sára | téné | na ála |
na yá tí radio | lá só | -R6 'We've come here just to see, and
to talk with you by radio
today.'
42. alíngbi tí tó | ngú | na lo |
na kótóró | tí sukúla | -A42 'You must fetch water for him to
the village to wash up.'
43. mbi húnda | ndá tí téné só | na
Cécile Simba | tí má réponse
ní | -L171 'I'm asking the meaning of this
affair of Cécile Simba to hear
the answer to it.'
44. mbi mú | merci | na Nzapá |
tenetí bé nzoní só lo sára
na wále tí mbi so míngi
míngi | -L7 'I give thanks to God because of
the very great goodness which
He has showed to my wife.'
45. ngiá así | bé tí ázo | na lá
ní só | tenetí mo | tongana
gángó tí mo vení | -L27 'Joy filled the hearts (lit.
livers) of the people on that
day because of you, just as if
you had come.'

46. akánga | gbánda | tí fáa
yama | -A50 'We fastened the nets to kill animals.'
47. í báa | lo | tí sára isoró na
lo | ngbangatí lo eke präsident
tí communauté | -R7a 'We saw him to chat with him because he is the president of the community.'
48. mbi língbi tí ke | á-famille
kóé | ngbangtí só | pepe -N35 'I cannot reject my entire family just because of this.'
49. mo dé | éré tí lo | ngbangatí
yε | -F7 'You mentioned his name for what reason?'
50. mo língbi tí ke | lo |
ngbangatí bongó | lá wa | -C31 'How could you ever reject him just on account of clothes?'
51. mo wara | mbi | lá só | -N35 'You have found me today.'
52. ála eke kamáta | mbéni yí |
tongana yí tí sára na nganga |
-A48 'They took something like the thing with which medicine is made.'
53. ála éré | lo | Pierre | -L27 'They called him Peter.'

The term "copulative complement" describes a complement which formally resembles the object but which is distinguished from the object by the fact that it is semantically related to the subject of the verb. e.g. to mark identification, equivalence, etc. The verbs eke 'be' (ex. 54-71), gá 'become' (ex. 72-77), dutí 'stay' (ex. 78-79), ngbá 'remain' (ex. 80-81), and de 'remain' (ex. 82), which may be classified as copulative verbs, may take copulative complements. The verb língbi without a subject 'it is necessary' may take a clause only as copulative complement (ex. 83). The copulative complement may be a pronoun (ex. 54), a noun phrase (ex. 55-59), an adjunctive (ex. 60-62), a connective phrase consisting of tí and a verb, or tí and a noun, pronoun, or adjunctive (ex. 63) or a clause (ex. 64, 83).

54. aεke | mbi | -R1 'It's me.'
55. aεke | yama | -A44 'It was an animal.'
56. aεke | téné tí mú merci na
Nzapá míngi | -L17 'It is an occasion to thank God fervently.'
57. lá tí vote aεke | lá tí tiri |
pepe -R3 'Voting day is not a day to fight.'
58. lo εke | mérengé wále, wala
mérengé kóli | -A49 'It is a girl child or a boy child.'

59. Pierre aεke | zo tí lé tí
ngú, zo tí gíngó ásusu |
giriri | -R10 'Peter was previously a man of
the water, a man who caught
fish.'
60. ngó ní aεke | gí osió | -A21 'The boats were just four.'
61. téné ní aεke | nzoní | pepe -L2 'The affair is not good.'
62. aεke | tí mo | pepe -C29 'It's not yours.'
63. koa tí lo aεke | tí leke
ngbanga tí ázo tí kusára
na ámbunzú | -R1 'His work is to fix up the
troubles of working men with
White Men.'
64. aεke | lo lángó na ndó tí
sése míngi | láá -R7f 'It's (because) he sleeps so
much on the ground, that's
why.'
65. mbi εke | babá tí méréngé |
fadesó | -R1 'I am the father of a child
now.'
66. aεke | kóli tí gíngó mbi |
lá wa | -C31 'He is a man to seek for me what
day (i.e. It's ridiculous to
think that ...)!'
67. mo εke | Yakoma | tí te
mbúru | pepe -A8 'You're not a Yakoma, to eat
palm nuts!'
68. aεke | nzoní | míngi | na mbi |
-A42 'It very good for me.'
69. mbi εke | yongóro | na mo | -L27 'I am far away from you.'
70. yí aεke | míngi | tí sára |
-L11 'There are many things to do.'
71. aεke | nzoní | í sára yí míngi
na yá tí kótóro tí í | -R2 'It's good that we do many
things in our country.'
72. lo commencé tí gá | zo | awe
-A49 'He had already begun to become
a person.'
73. koko ní agá | ngangó | awe
-A8 'The koko leaves have already
become tough.'
74. mo gá | citoyen | tongana yε |
-R6 'In what way do you become a
citizen?'
75. mbi gá | pendere kóli | na
Rafai | -I39 'I became an adolescent at
Rafai.'

76. li tí ála agá | kóé | 'Their number became in all
bale óko na óse | -R10 twelve.'
77. áyí agá | nzoní | na Bogira | 'Things have become very good
fadesó | míngi | -L2 now at Bogira.'
78. mo dutí | kpó | -F7 'You remain quiet.'
79. í dutí | nzoní | na lé tí 'We remain on good terms with
áméńí mbá tí í na ndó tí
sése | -R2 our other companions over
the earth.'
80. mbi ngbá | mérengé | -A21 'I remained a child.'
81. mo sukúla téré ní pepe, angbá | 'You don't wash the outside of
saleté | séngé séngé | -A8 it, it remains just dirty.'
82. mbi de | kété kété | -N81 'I was still very small.'
83. alíngbi | mo hínga lé tí lo 'It is necessary that you
sí | -F4 recognize his face.'

11.12. The category of modifier complements deserves some attention. It may be said to include broadly those complements which modify the verb itself in some formal manner analogous to the adverbial concept of European languages. The inclusion of so many complements under one head is justified on three grounds:

1. In only some cases are the internal distinctions, such as time, place, and manner, regularly correlated with formal criteria. As will be seen from the examples, some of these sub-functions are served by various construction-types, and some construction-types serve different sub-functions.
2. In many instances, the criteria are purely semantic, so that there are numerous borderline cases or cases of apparent overlapping which would preclude clear analysis at the grammatical level.
3. There are a number of miscellaneous modifiers which do not fit semantically into any of the major divisions. If one were to follow the semantic distinctions entirely, the number of different kinds of complements would be quite indefinite, depending upon subjective criteria of meaning, which preclude contrastive distinctions.

Thus, when a given construction type is clearly and exclusively associated with one semantic subdivision of the modifier complement, this will be indicated. Where the borders are not sharply defined, clear examples

can serve to cover the whole class without sacrifice of precision in the overall description.

The modifier complement may be a verbal adjunctive (ex. 1-31), which may or may not be followed by other complements. It may also be a connective phrase, with *tenetí*, *ngbangatí*, and *tongana* (ex. 32-38). It may be a noun phrase, expressing time when the head noun is *lá* 'day' or *ngú* 'year' (ex. 39-44) or some other semantic categories with other head nouns (ex. 45-46). Phrases introduced by *na* are also modifier complements, but are treated separately below in 11.13. The same is true of *tí*-verb phrases, in 11.14.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. <i>tenetí yę mbi tene </i>
<i>tongasó? -L27</i> | 'Why did I speak in this way?' |
| 2. <i>ázo ní acommencé tí hú </i>
<i>míngi -I39</i> | 'The people began to prosper greatly.' |
| 3. <i>Nzapá afa na lo tí goe da </i>
<i>-A49</i> | 'God instructed him to go there.' |
| 4. <i>fadé mo má nzoní -I39</i> | 'You will hear well.' |
| 5. <i>angbá kété, ála poisonné</i>
<i>mbi -N81</i> | 'A little more, and they would have poisoned me.' |
| 6. <i>mbi pensé tí sí fadesó -R9b</i> | 'I'm planning to arrive now.' |
| 7. <i>na ndá ní lo dutí ká -F7</i> | 'In the end he remained there.' |
| 8. <i>mo kú mbi mbi ke gá ngá -C30</i> | 'Wait for me, I'm coming also.' |
| 9. <i>lo na zo vokó agá bóngbi óko </i>
<i>-R2</i> | 'He and the Black Men came and gathered together.' |
| 10. <i>lo te kóé -L17</i> | 'He ate (it) completely.' |
| 11. <i>mo leke kóé awe -A8</i> | 'You have completely finished fixing it.' |
| 12. <i>lo ke lángó da séngé -R1</i> | 'He is sleeping there free.' |
| 13. <i>mo goe ká doucement</i>
<i>doucement -A29</i> | 'You go there very quietly.' |
| 14. <i>mo túku da ngbii kóé </i>
<i>-A11</i> | 'You pour (it) in, until it is all in (lit. a long time, complete).' |

15. í hinga | kóé | ge | na yá
tí kótóró tí République
Centrafricaine, | ála ke fa
na í mbéti | -R2 'We know well here, in the
Central African Republic,
they are teaching us to read.'
16. dole ní ake tambéla | tongasó |
na lá kúí | -I55 'The elephant was walking in this
way in the evening.'
17. mbi eke | ká | na mbéni ita tí
mbi ní ||na ngonda | ká |
ngbii, jusqu'à | -I39 'I was there with a certain
brother of mine, there in the
bush, for a long time.'
18. mbi ke toto | ngá | na téré ní |
lá só | -A49 'I was also crying beside it
today.'
19. fadesó, mbi ke mú | ánde |na lo |
congé | -R1 'Now, I'm going to give him
later a vacation.'
20. sab'a aeke mbéni wé só aleke |
tongasó, | tí gbó na wé na lé
tí wá | -A13 'A "sab'a" is a kind of tool
which is made in such a way
as to grab the iron out of
the fire.'
21. agá | kóé | tongana téré tí
mbéti vení | -R9b 'It becomes altogether like
the body of the letter.'
22. mo húnda | tongasó |
ngbangatí yé | -L168 'For what reason did you ask
in this way?'
23. fadé ála gá | ánde | áfiní zo |
-R10 'They will later become new
men.'
24. angbá | fadesó, | gí yáká tí nzó,
na tí lóso, na tí ananas |
-R6 'There remain now only the
fields of corn, of rice, and
of pineapples.'
25. fadé ake gá | ánde | kótá
kótóró, | tongana ámbéni só
í dé ándo éré tí ála fadé fadé
só, Israel na Allemagne na
URSS | -R2 'It will become later a great
country, like those others
which are already called Israel,
and Germany, and the USSR.'
26. fadé lo gá | ánde | mbéni zo |
tongasó, | na pópó tí ázo tí
ní | -R10 'He will become later another
man like this in the midst
of his men.'

27. ake mú | ánde | mérengé tí
kóli bale ótá, | mérengé
tí wále bale óko | -R7e
'They will be taking later thirty
boys and ten girls.'
28. mbi wara | ngá | mbéni mbéti |
ge | -R7f
'I've received also another
letter here.'
29. kóá ake tomba | ká | zo |
tómbángó | -R4b
'Death is really driving people
away over there.'
30. mbi língbi tí sára | tongasó |
óko | na mérengé tí mbi |
pepe -A49
'I could not do this to my child
at all.'
31. ála kóé ake | ká | na Nice, |
tongana tí ndo só, na
République Centrafricaine wala
na Bangui kótá kótóró tí í |
-R2
'They are all there, in Nice,
just like here, in the Central
African Republic or in Bangui
our big city.'
32. ahúnda | teneti crédit | -R6
'He asks for credit.'
33. ake | ngbangati wále | óko |
pepe -R4a
'It's not just for women.'
34. Monsieur S. ade tí húnda |
ngbanga ní | lá kóé | -L11
'Mr. S. is still asking for it
every day.'
35. lí tí mérengé a-tourné | tongana
kobéla tí ngbálo | -L27
'The head of the child turned,
as with the sickness apoplexy.'
36. í eke | tongana turúgu |
fadesó | -R3
'We are like soldiers now.'
37. éré tí ála ahú | tongana tí
áméni zo | pepe -R10
'Their names were not beautiful
like those of other people.'
38. mbi ke sára | tongana yé |
fadesó | -R1
'What shall I do now?'
39. mbi wara mbéni yí da, mbi te |
lá kóé lá kóé | -A44
'If I find something else there,
I always eat it.'
40. mbi gá | lá só | -R3
'I came today.'
41. ake sára | ngú na ngú? | -L27
'Do they do (this) every year?'
42. ake | lá kóé | téné tí
nzéringó na bé tí ála |
pepe -R10
'It isn't every day something
which pleases their liver.'

43. lo lángó | ngú bale otá na 'He has slept (i.e. lived) thirty
ndó ní miombe | na ndó tí eight years on this earth.'
sése só | -R7f
44. alóndó | lá só | tí goe na 'He left today to go to Paris.'
Paris | -R7d
45. mbi təne | lége óse ní, | 'I tell you the second time,
ámbéni só bé tí ála avókó, there are many others whose
aəke da míngi | -R2 liver is black.'
46. mbéti tí ála ake gá | par poste | 'Your letter came by mail.'
-R9b
47. lo goe | gəne | 'He went visiting (lit. he went,
a stranger).'

11.13. The phrase consisting of na and a noun phrase or a pronoun phrase is extremely prevalent (q.v. 5.32.20) as is seen from the statistical tables at the end of this chapter. Many verb phrases contain two or three na phrases. These serve as modifier complements, and may be roughly divided into several semantic categories, the precise shade of meaning depending of course upon the verb and the noun involved: place or direction (ex. 1-12), time (ex. 13), accompaniment or possession (ex. 14-19), benefaction (ex. 20-33), manner or instrument (ex. 34), end goal (ex. 35-36), and so on. Though these divisions are in most cases clear, there are some cases of borderline indeterminacy, so that this presentation is intended rather as an indication of the range of values of the na phrase than as a grammatical classification. Sometimes, na is omitted, but may be supplied. Where this is the case in the examples, na is inserted in parentheses.

In cases where more than one na phrase complement occurs in a verb phrase, certain patterns of priority emerge from the data. First, the beneficiary complement regularly, though not invariably, precedes complements of time, place, manner, means, subject, and so on. Likewise, complements of possession and accompaniment and complements of end goal regularly precede others in the phrase. In very many instances, both or all na phrase complements are complements of place and/or time, in which case the predominant order is place-time. Where two na phrase complements are of the same sort, while a third is of another sort, the two like ones go together and obey the same order of priorities as single ones. Complements of means, manner,

and goal, and so on, do not occur frequently enough, or else do not follow consistent enough patterns, to give grounds for generalization.

1. kózo só mbi eke | na l'hôpital | 'First of all I was in the
-N35 hospital.'
2. amú lé tí wá míngi míngi azía | 'They took very many coals and
na ndó ní | -A8 put (them) on top of it.'
3. lo dutí | na lí tí kéké | 'He is sitting in the top of
tongasó | -A29 the tree like this.'
4. í tene | na lé tí ála | kóé | 'We say before all of you here,
(na) ndo só, | ámbunzú só aake White Men who are here in the
ge na République Centrafricaine, Central African Republic, ...
(...) í yí óko gí títene, ála "We just want you to build
leke kótóró na í awe -R2 up the country with us."'
5. ála gá | na téré ní | míngi 'They came beside it in great
míngi, | tí gá tí sára téné | numbers to come to talk.'
-A48
6. mbi goe lángó | na da tí mbéni 'I went and slept in the house
zo ní | na mbáge tí gbé ní | of someone else over there on
ká | -N81 the lower side.'
7. mbi sí | na Bambari | na ndo 'I arrived in Bambari here on
só, | na le 4 janvier 1941 | January 4, 1941.'
-I39
8. mo pensé kóbe kóé aake | na 'Do you think that all the food
galá | (na) ndo só | gí tí is in the market here only
mó? | -C30 for you?'
9. lo kírí | na kótóró | tí mú 'He returned to the village to
mérengé só | -L175 take this child.'
10. mo gá | na marché | tí vo 'You came to the market to buy
kóbe | lá wa | -C30 food what day?' ('what day'
expresses strong skepticism.)
11. í na lo í dutí | na ndo só | 'She and I will remain here,
jusqu'à, l'heure só lo báa until the time when she sees
kóá tí mbi, mbi báa kóá tí my death, (or) I see her
lo | -N35 death.'

12. mo tó | na yá tí ngú | tóngó | -A8 'You cook it in water.'
13. fadé í báa | na yá tí nze só | -C29 'We will see this month.'
14. mbi eke | na kobéla só ére ní bilharzie, mbéni ákété kété yama só | -R4a 'I have the disease that is called schistosomiasis, those tiny little bugs.'
15. ázo tí mbi, ála eke | na ngiá míngi | ngbangatí Trompette ní só, ála wara só | -L1 'My people are rejoicing greatly on account of the Trumpet (a magazine) which they have received.'
16. lo eke | na ita tí lo | na kótóró | séngé | na wále tí lo | kóé | -L7 'He is with his brother in the village (doing) nothing, and with his wife also.'
17. ála mú mbéni kété kóbe tí goe | na ní | na yá tí ngonda | tí te | -A48 'They took a little food to go with it into the bush to eat.'
18. mbi eke | na mbéni téné | tí tene | míngi | pepe -N35 'I don't have very many things to say.'
19. lo éré | na kóbe | tenstí tēngó ní | -L17 'He begged for food for eating.'
20. só Nzapá amú | na áni | -A15 'This God has given to us.'
21. mo diminué | na mbi | ngá | ngéré ní | ma -C30 'Come on and reduce the price for me, now.'
22. ngú, amú | na lo | gí na cuillère | -A9 'Water, they gave him only in a spoon.'
23. ála sára | na í | (na) ndo só, | sioní | míngi | -R2 'They did us here a great deal of harm.'
24. mbi ke tene | na ála, | na lé tí ála kóé, | gouvernement ní aeke na ti tí mbi | -R3 'I'm telling you, in the presence of you all, the government is in my hands.'
25. mo eke sūku | na lo | ngbangatí tambéla só lo eke fatigué na pekó tí mo | -A49 'You scold him severely, because of the way he tires himself out following after you.'

26. bíá sò anzere | na mbi | lá kóé | -A42 'This song is pleasing to me always.'
27. mbi tene | na ála kóé, | fadesó, ála sò aeke ge | -R2 'I tell you all, "Now these are here."'
28. zo wa sò avo | na mɔ | pendere bongó ní sò | -C31 'Who was it that bought for you these beautiful clothes?'
29. mbi mú | na mɔ | merci | míngi | -C30 'I give you many thanks.'
30. apíka | na ála | mbéni pendere bíá óko, | tí mú ngiá na bé tí ála | -R9b 'We will play for you another beautiful song, to give joy to your livers.'
31. ála mú | na lo | éré sò | na lo | tongasó | -L7 'They gave him this name to him in this way.'
32. lo ke mú | na mɔ | nginza | tí bata na lo | -R1 'He's giving you money to keep him.'
33. ála tene | na nzoní bé | yí sò alíngbi na pópó tí ála | óko, pepe -R1 'You haven't said at all in good faith that which is fitting between you.'
34. ála sára | na ngáfó | -A13 'They made (it) into hoes.'
35. mɔ wara | na yí | tongasó | na mbi | ape -C30 'You haven't found a thing like this for me.'

11.14. A phrase consisting of *tí* and a verb phrase (q.v. 5.64) is also a common complement. The context may indicate a meaning of intention or purpose, or simply a relation of subordination of the *tí* phrase to the head verb. In every case, the implied subject is the same as that of the head verb. If there is a need to change the subject or to loosen the sentence structure, recourse is had on a different syntactic level to a subordinate clause introduced by *títene* (q.v. 5.70), which is semantically equivalent to *tí* + verb. A number of examples are given below (ex. 1-14). The phrase in which *tí* governs the nominalized verb (q.v. 6.30) has, in a verb phrase, the same function as the *tí*-verb phrase. Examples are given below (ex. 15-17). Finally, a verb introduced by *ngbangatí* or *tənətí* (q.v. 5.40) also has basically the same force, except that the purposive idea is more explicit (ex. 18-19).

1. mbi língbi | tí kẹ̀ mo fadesó | 'I can't reject you now.'
pepe -L27
2. mbi yí | tí goe l'écóle | -A49 'I wanted to go to school.'
3. mbi kẹ̀ | tí fúta lo | awe -R1 'I've refused to pay him.'
4. kóli ní a-obligé | tí sára bon | 'The husband is forced to
-L162 incur debts.'
5. ála gá | tí wara mbi | -N35 'They came to find me.'
6. áni goe | tí tó ngú | -A15 'We went to fetch water.'
7. lo commencé | tí dé kéké | -L175 'He began to chop the tree.'
8. lo lón dó | tí goe na berá | -I39 'He arose to go to war.'
9. ála báa méné só angbá | tí yuru 'They saw the blood which
na h́j tí méréngé ní | -L17 continued to run from the
nose of the child.'
10. mbi de | tí hinga áita tí mbi 'I still didn't know my
méréngé ká | ape -N80 sisters, the other
children, there.'
11. mbi hinga | tí tó ngunzá | pepe 'I don't know how to cook
-A8 greens.'
12. tongana mbi wara nginza míngi, 'When I get a lot of money,
só ake língbi | tí te kóbe, | that will be enough to eat
na tí sára yí tí áwále | -I9 food, and to do the work
of women.'
13. lo kẹ̀ | tí sára ngiá na kóli ní | 'She refuses to chat with her
ngbangatí dimanche óse, wala husband for two weeks or a
nze óko | -L162 month.'
14. fadesó, í ngbá tí débrouillé | 'Right now, we're still making
tí fáa gí ndembu, | tí gí gí out, just to cut rubber, to
áwótoro ní, | tí wara na hunt for bees, to get some
nginza | -I55 money.'
15. alíngbi tí kẹ̀ | tí fútángó lo | 'You can't ever refuse to pay
lá óko | pepe -R1 him.'
16. lo ngbá | tí fángó yáká | tí 'She still continues to work a
tóngó ngú, | tí balayé yá da, | garden, to fetch water, to
tí sárángó kóbe | -L186 sweep inside her house, to
prepare food.'

17. tenetí yę mə gá | tí vǒngó 'Why did you come to buy food
kóbe na galá | -C3o at the market?'
18. í gá | na ndo só | gí 'We've come here just to see.'
nbgangatí báa | -R6
19. í vǒ | na ngingza, | tenetí payé 'We sell it for money, to pay
l'impôt | -A5o taxes.'

11.15. The subject intensifier, as the name indicates, serves to emphasize the subject semantically in a manner functionally equivalent to the English expressions 'subject + himself,' or 'as for + subject.' The subject intensifier consists either of the noun phrase yí tí + pronoun 'thing of + pronoun' (ex. 1-2), or more usually simply of tí + pronoun (ex. 3-14). The tendency is strong, though not absolute, to place the subject intensifier immediately next to the verb. There is one example of the use of lo ókó 'he alone' in the verb phrase as a sort of subject intensifier (ex. 15).

1. lo goe | yí tí lo | na galá 'As for him, he went to market.'
2. lo ngbá | yí tí lo | -A21 'As for him, he stayed.'
3. ázo tí France abáa | tí ála | 'The people of France them-
-R2 selves saw.'
4. mbi yí | tí mbi | pepe -C3o 'As for me, I don't want it.'
5. woga akpé | tí lo | bíaní | 'The antelope definitely had
awe -F4 run away.'
6. ála ke kirí | tí ála | ká | 'As for them, they went back
tí goe -I55 there to go.'
7. mbi ke ngbá | tí mbi | na yí 'As for me, I am remaining in
tí ngonda | -I55 the bush.'
8. mbi dutí | tí mbi | ndo só | 'As for me, I'm staying here,
tí lángó ndo só | jusqu'à, | to live here for a long time,
na lá tí kǎá tí mbi | -I55 until the day of my death.'
9. ála só ahinga | tí ála | tí díko 'As for them, they didn't know
mbétí | pepe -R1o how to read.'
10. mbi eke | tí mbi | zo tí péché, 'As for me, I am a man of sin,
zo tí mawa | -R1o a man of suffering.'
11. mbi hǒ | tí mbi | hǒngó | -N8o 'As for me, I passed on.'
12. mbi yí | tí mbi | gǐngó 'As for me, I don't like
téné | pepe -C3o picking a quarrel.'

13. fadé mbi wara | tí mbi | 'Where will I find beautiful
pendere bongó | na ndo wá o | clothes?'
-C31
14. í éke wara | tí í | ngingza míngi 'We aren't getting a whole lot
míngi | tongana ázo tí Bangui | of money like the people of
ape -I55 Bangui.'
15. lo goe | lo óko | na li tí 'He went by himself to the top
hótó | -R10 of a hill.'

11.16. The verb intensifier is nothing more than the nominalized form of a verb used in a verb phrase to reinforce the verb (q.v. chp. 9). It implies either a simple intensification of the action, or an exclusion of any other possible action, as if to say 'he did this, and not something else.' Finally, it is possible in some cases to discern an idea of process or duration in the action. Several examples are given below.

1. mbi vo | wóngó | pepe -A4o 'I didn't buy it.'
2. téré tí mo azá | zángó | -R7e 'Your body is really shining
(i.e. in good health).'
3. ámérangé tí kóli así | singó | 'The boys have arrived here.'
na ndo só | -R6
4. mbi yóro | yóróngó | na oignon 'I fried (it) with onions and
na tomate | kóé | -C31 tomatoes also.'
5. lo báa | bángó | lí tí ní? | 'Did he see its head?'
-L175

11.20. Functions

As regards their functions, verb phrases are of two basic types. When they are not introduced by a connective, they serve as the predicate of a clause. In this use, there is almost always an expressed subject, if only a-, but in certain "imperative" occurrences there is no expressed subject. This use is illustrated in a number of examples (ex. 1-4).

When they are introduced by a connective (almost invariably tí, but ngbangatí occurs twice in the corpus and tenatí once), they serve as complements in either a verb phrase (ex. 5-9) or in a noun phrase (ex. 10-11). In some instances (ex. 11-12), the relationship is ambiguous: tí-verb might be construed as a complement of either the immediately preceding noun,

or of the verb of which the noun is a complement.

In a verb phrase, a *tí*-verb phrase or a verb phrase introduced by another connective (ex. 5-8) may serve as a modifying complement, expressing purpose, reason, etc., or as a copulative complement (ex. 13). In a substantive phrase (q.v. 10.13), a *tí*-verb phrase serves as a qualifying or specifying complement. There is further discussion under *tí* (q.v. 5.64.10).

1. *í goe í lánɡó ká* -N80 'We went and slept there.'
2. *mbi de mbi sára pepe* -I39 'I still haven't done it.'
3. *áméńí avo, áméńí ake gá* -N78 'As some bought, others were coming.'
4. *gá í goe* -N80 'Come, let's go.'
5. *mbi língbi tí sára tongasó óko na méréngé tí mbi pepe* -A49 'I couldn't do this at all to my child.'
6. *fadesó, í ngbá tí débrouillé tí fáa gí ndembu, tí gí gí áwótoro ní, tí wara na nginza* -I55 'Now we're still managing to cut rubber, to look for bees, in order to obtain money.'
7. *í gá na ndo só gí ngbangatí báa* -R6 'We came here just to see.'
8. *í vo na nginza, tenetí payé l'impôt* -A50 'We sell it for money, in order to pay taxes.'
9. *mbi mú lége tí goe na galá* -A15 'I took the path to go to market.'
10. *zo tí píka mbi óko ake pepe* -R6 'There's not a man to hit me.'
11. *í wara place tí lánɡó* -I55 'We found a place to sleep.'
12. *ála goe leke kótá kéké tí sambéla* -A15 'They went and prepared a great prayer stick' or 'They went and prepared a great stick in order to pray.'
13. *kpa tí lo ake tí leke ngbanga tí ázo tí kusára na ámbunzú* -R1 'His job is to fix up the troubles of workingmen with White Men.'

11.30. Tables of frequency

The following tables show the frequency of different kinds of verb phrases.

Table 1. Length of verb phrases.

<u>Length</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per cent of total</u>
unmodified verbs including compounds	825	13.1
verb + 1 complement	3202	51.5
verb + 2 complements	1285	20.5
verb + 3 or more complements	428	6.8
first element of compound verbs	504	8.1
	<hr/> 6244	<hr/> 100.0

Table 2. Frequency of various first complements. The first figure includes the first element of compound verbs.

no complement	1329	21.2 per cent
object	2302	36.9
copulative complement	465	7.4
modifier complement:		
substantive phrase	66	1.1
adjunctive	399	6.4
na phrase	1213	19.5
tí-verb phrase	305	4.9
subject intensifier	46	0.7
verb intensifier	14	0.2
títene clause	105	1.7
	<hr/> 6244	<hr/> 100.0

Table 3. Frequency of second complements, according to the first complement they follow. To find the frequency of each second complement, according to the first complement it follows, read vertically under the desired first complement. The percentages (lower figure) are computed on the basis of the total given at the bottom of each column.

first compl. second complement	O	CC	A Av	MC SP	naP	tíV	SI	VI	Totals
none	1408 61.2	357 23.2	227 56.8	47 71.2	722 59.5	304 99.9	17 37.0	8 57.0	3090
object	4 0.2	0	51 12.8	5 7.7	175 14.4	0	10 21.7	1 7.1	246
copulative complement	0	0	9 2.3	1 1.6	0	0	3 6.5	0	13
adjunctive	414 18.0	65 14.0	42 10.5	7 10.2	142 11.7	0	6 13.0	0	676
modifier compl. subst. phrase	57 2.4	13 2.8	11 2.8	1 1.6	19 1.6	1 0.1	0	0	102
na phrase	349 15.2	19 4.1	51 12.8	4 6.1	104 8.6	0	8 17.4	5 35.9	540
tí-verb	70 3.0	11 2.3	8 2.0	1 1.6	50 4.1	0	1 2.2	0	141
subject intensifier	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
verb intensifier	0	0	0	0	1 0.1	0	1 2.2	0	2
Totals	2302 100.0	465 100.0	399 100.0	66 100.0	1213 100.0	305 100.0	46 100.0	14 100.0	4810

11.40. Tables of possibility of occurrence

The following charts represent possibility of occurrence, with no indication of relative frequency, beyond the second complement. Each successive column represents a further possible slot, with the possible fillers indicated.

1. V + O + Av + Av
naP naP
MC
Av
tíV
MC
O AV
2. V + O + naP + Av AV
naP naP
tíV ~ títene Ce
MC
naP Av
MC
tíV
tíV
MC
3. V + O + tíV + MC (only 1 occurrence)
4. V + O + MC + Av AV
tíV
MC
naP
5. V + CC + MC
+ naP + Av
naP
+ AV + MC
na
+ tíV
6. eke + CC (nzoni) + CC (clause)
7. V + VI + O + Av AV
MCC
naP
+ naP Av
8. V + SI + Av + tíV
+ naP + tíV
títene Cl
+ tíV
+ CC + Av
+ VI

9. V + Av + Av + Av
naP
tíV
O
10. V + Av + naP + Av naP
tíV
naP Av
MC
O
11. V + Av + tíV
12. V + Av + CC + Av
13. V + Av + O + Av naP
VI
naP Av
tíV
14. V + naP + Av + na O
tí (to 4 times)
títene Cl
MC
O
15. V + naP + naP + Av Av
naP naP Av
Voc MC
Av
tín
tíV tíV
MC
O
16. V + naP + tíV
17. V + naP + MC + Av Av
18. V + naP + O + Av tíV
naP Av
tíV naP
naP
19. V + naP + VI
20. V + tíV + MC (only 1 example)
21. V + MC + Av
MC
CC
naP
tíV

Chapter 12

P R E - C L A U S A L C O N S T R U C T I O N S

Preceding the nuclear part of a clause (i.e. its subject and predicate) quite commonly occurs a construction (and uncommonly more than one such construction) which has one of several relationships to the clause. Those constructions which are most easily identified topically fall under the headings subject, object, and "circumstantial" complements (e.g. time, place, consequence, manner, and reason). The remaining ones are best identified lexically. The word "construction" applies to all the pre-clausal elements as a class, but they can consist of single words or phrases or more than one construction in a paratactic sequence. Functioning as pre-clausal constructions are substantive phrases, connective phrases, and certain adjunctives.

12.10. Relationship

The relationship borne to the clause is sometimes appositional (as with subjectival elements), sometimes anticipatory (as with objectival elements which are in one fashion or other repeated in the verb phrase), or simply introductory. Syntactically, the pre-clausal element is related to the clause conjunctively, usually with *laá* (q.v. 8.13) or *sí* (q.v. 5.50), or disjunctively. Phonologically, it is related to what follows by the occurrence of a pause which separates the two constituents, i.e. the pre-clause element and the clause nucleus. This pause is marked by a comma in the examples. No other mark is therefore needed to identify them in the following paragraphs. Since many examples of the conjunctive occurrences of pre-clausal constructions have already been given above, this section is devoted exclusively to the disjunctive occurrences. (For a construction resembling these pre-clausal ones, one should again consult 4.23.10 where noun phrases made with *só* and a clause are discussed.) Not considered as pre-clausal, but rather as non-verbal minor-clause types are interjections and constructions used in direct address.

12.20. Function

The function of these pre-clausal constructions is not easily summarized. For those constructions that this initial position is obligatory, there is no problem. One has only to say that such and such a construction must, in a given kind of sentence, occur preceding the nucleus of the clause. There may very well be such constructions, but we have not yet identified them. Since this grammar was arrived at almost exclusively inductively--and not experimentally (i.e. by testing various alternatives with an informant)--we can not say much either about limitations of distribution or about differences in meaning which are correlated with differences in position. It would be methodologically quite simple to get such information, and in a more complete grammar--or language lessons--this information would be important.

Where occurrence preceding the clause or within the clause is optional, one suspects stylistic differences. Perhaps the word "emphasis" best characterizes many of the pre-clausal occurrences, especially when these are joined to the clause by *laá* and *sí*, but precisely what this "emphasis" amounts to and when in fact it is operative are questions oftentimes difficult to answer. As far as I can tell the following two sentences are identical in meaning. If there is a difference in stylistic meaning, I do not know what it is.

lá kóé | mbi báa lo na galá. } 'I always see him at the market.'
mbi báa lo na galá | lá kóé.

Undoubtedly some pre-clausal constructions which can also occur in the verb phrase can be explained by saying that a long, clumsy, or ambiguous verb phrase is broken up by pre-posing one of its constituents to the whole clause. The following sentences may illustrate such a splitting-up:

1. na kótóró tí í, í eke goe na 'Where I come from (lit. in my
gbánda (not: í eke goe na village), we go hunting with
gbánda na kótóró tí í) -A50 nets (not: we go hunting with
nets in our village).'
2. na Bangui, mbéni wále sí 'In Bangui, some women have be-
a-civilisé awe -A8 (not: come civilized (i.e. one will
mbéni wále sí a-civilisé na find cultured women in Bangui
Bangui awe) [not: some women have become
civilized while living in Bangui]).'

12.30. Types

12.31. Subject elements are either simple personal pronouns, personal pronoun phrases (consisting of either a pronoun and an adjunctive or pronouns in a coordinate construction), nouns, or noun phrases. In every case the pre-clausal element is followed by the true subject of the clause nucleus which is always a personal pronoun. The identification of the element as pre-clausal is, in fact, made on the observation that the subject marker *a-* (q.v. 7.20) does not occur. Nouns and noun phrases (ex. 7-10) are followed by the singular or plural third person pronouns (i.e. *lo* or *ála*). Noun and pronoun coordinate phrases (ex. 6-7) are also followed by the recapitulating use of the plural pronouns (q.v. 7.13). Where a pronoun is repeated in the subject of the nucleus and where a personal pronoun is used instead of *a-* as the subject, one suspects that the function of the pre-clausal construction is emphasis.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. mbi, mbi eke tí mbi na kóli
ape. -L171 | 'Me, I don't have a husband.' |
| 2. mbi ngá, mbi kg ape. -C30 | 'Me too, I don't refuse.' |
| 3. mbi vení, mbi éré mo kózo ní
da. -C29 | 'It was I who called you there
first.' |
| 4. gí mo óko, mo yó? -I9 | 'Are you drinking it alone?' |
| 5. mbi só mbi sára téné só, mbi
hínga lége tí sára ta pepe.
-A15 | 'I who am saying this, I don't
know how to make pots.' |
| 6. í na lo, í gá na Bambari na
ndo só. -I39 | 'He and I, we came to Bambari
here.' |
| 7. ámamá tí mbi, na ábabá tí mbi,
ála tene, mérengé wále asára
l'école pepe. -A49 | 'My aunts and my uncles, they
said that girls don't go to
school.' |
| 8. mbéni mérengé wále, lo gá na
pekó ní. -F7 | 'A certain girl, she came later.' |
| 9. tere ngá, lo fáa yáká awe. -F4 | 'The spider also, he had made
a garden.' |
| 10. ámérengé ní ká, ála ke na yoró,
alíngbi ape. -N81 | 'They young people over there,
they have an awful lot of
charms.' |

11. mo vení, mo nzí. -C29 'You're the one who stole it.'
 12. lo kóé, lo éke goe na gozo. -A49 'She also, she took manioc.'

12.32. Object elements are no different in constituency from those which occur in the verb phrase, where they would be either the direct object of the verb (q.v. 11.11) or the object of the connective na (q.v. 5.32.20). It should be remembered that a phrase with na marks manner, instrument, material, etc. Worthy of note is the fact that a constituent of a tí phrase (q.v. 5.61) never occurs as a pre-clausal element.

A pre-clausal object construction can either be the only marked object in a sentence (ex. 1-3) or be paired in some way with an explicitly marked object in the verb phrase itself (ex. 4-7, with relevant elements underlined).

1. nginza tí vo na yíngó, mbi wara 'Neither do I have the money
ape ngá. -A44 with which to buy salt.'
 2. quand même ngú, amú na lo gí na 'And when it comes to water,
cuillère. -A9 they give it to him in a
spoon.'
 3. yí kóé só mamá tí mo atene na 'Everything which your mother
mo tí goe tí sára, ake nzoní, tells you to go to do, you
mo goe mo sára. -A42 should go and do it.'
 4. histoire tí giriri, mbi de mbi 'As for stories of long ago,
hínga só kóé sí mbi sára téné I don't yet know all these
tí vene pepe. -I39 to keep from lying.'
 5. mbéni aú tí mbi ní, ála affecté 'One of my uncles, they as-
lo na Mbaiki. -N81 signed him to Mbaiki.'
 6. téné só lo goe tí sí ká na 'Do you know what he is going
kótóró tí lo tí tene, mo hínga home to talk about?'
téné ní? -A49
 7. zángó yángá tí mo só, fadé í báa 'Your sharp tongue, we'll see
ndá ní ánde. about it later.'

12.33. Locative elements in our corpus consist entirely of phrases with the connective na. Included under this heading are extensions of the locative category (ex. 4), but instrumentality and its related categories are never found in this position.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. na kótóró tí mbi, mbéńí dódó
aske, éré ní lengé. -A9 | 'In my part of the country,
there's a certain dance whose
name is lengé.' |
| 2. na pópó tí í, áwále tí Manza
asára ta encore pepe. -A13 | 'Among us, Manza women no longer
make pots.' |
| 3. na kótóró tí mbi, ámbéńí míngi
ahínga tí tó ngunzá pepe. -A8 | 'In my part of the country, many
don't know how to prepare
manioc greens.' |
| 4. na yángá tí Kàrę, aske goigida.
-A44 | 'In the Kàrę language, it's
(called) goigida.' |

12.34. Temporal elements consist of numerous words and expressions having to do with time or sequence (but not speed of the action indicated in the clause). The lexically-identified ones which occurred in our corpus are the following:

fadesó	'now'
giriri	'long ago, formerly'
kózo ní	'first'
lá kóé	'always'
lá kúí	'evening'
lá óko	'one day'
lá só	'today'
mbéńí lá	'some day, once'
l'heure	'time'
na ndá ní	'later'
na pekó ní	'later'
na ndápéréré	'in the morning'
na bí	'at night'

In many sentences the first one, *fadesó*, has very little specific temporal meaning. Rather, like *tongasó* (q.v. 12.36), it functions as a kind of ubiquitous connective or relator, relating the sentence in which it occurs with what precedes.

Nominalized verb phrases can also function as temporal pre-clause constructions (ex. 14-15). This is accomplished by adding the suffix *-ngó* to a verb. The meaning of such a construction is something like 'when' or

'upon' plus a participle. Only two examples occurred in the corpus, but it is my impression that it is by no means a rare one.

1. fadesó mbi eke sára kpa tí yáká 'Now I'm working in my coffee
tí café tí mbi. -N35 plantation.'
2. fadesó, lo mú mbi lo zía mbi na 'So he took me and put me in
magasin tí lo. -R1 his warehouse.'
3. giriri só, mbi sára kpa na 'Long ago, I worked for a White
mbunzú travaux. -N35 Man representing Public Works.'
4. kózo ní, mbi sára kusára tí 'First of all, I worked as a
gérant. -I39 store-keeper.'
5. lá kóé, mbi te gi ngunzá. -A44 'I always eat only manioc greens.'
6. na lá kúi, lá tongasó, í na 'At evening, when the sun was
ámunzú, í goe. -I55 like this, the White Men and
I, we went.'
7. lá óko, mbi tó ngunzá lége otá. 'On one day, I prepare manioc
-A44 greens three times.'
8. lá só, mbi báa kfi tí mo agoe 'Today, didn't I see your
na galá avo yama, mbi báa ape? husband go to the market and
-A44 buy meat?'
9. mbéni lá, fadé ála sára téné na 'One day they will speak very
mo ngangó míngi. -A49 harshly to you.'
10. na l'heure tí deux heures, í 'At two o'clock, we work for our
sára kpa na ámamá tí í ngbii. mothers a long time.'
-A9
11. na ndá ní, mérengé wále só agá. 'Later, this girl came.'
-F7
12. na pekó ní, mbi gá ge. -I9 'Later, I came here.'
13. na ndápéréré, mbi mú lége tí 'In the mornings, I take to
goe na galá. -A15 the road to go to market.'
14. gángó só mo gá ndo só só, mbi 'When you came here, did I do
sára mbéni sioní yí na mo sí something wrong to you which
mo goe mo kẹ tí to na mbi made you refuse to send me
mbéti só? letters?'

15. sɪngó tí mɔ na Dakar, fadé mɔ gí 'When you arrive in Dakar, try
lége tí sí na camp tí to get to the military camp,
á-militaire, si mɔ húnda and ask about him.'
tenetí lo. -L3

12.35. Topical elements simply introduce the general topic or concern of the sentence. They consist either of noun phrases, which seem to have only a casual syntactic relationship to the clause nucleus (ex. 1-4), or of a phrase with the connective tí (ex. 5-7). This latter construction can consistently be translated 'as for.....' Almost any verb of the clause nucleus can be nominalized and used pre-clausally (ex. 8). Its function is no different from other topically-used noun phrases.

1. ngingza tí Bangui, par jour tí ála 'Bangui wages, their daily
akɛ ndé, tí í akɛ ndo só ndé. salary is different, ours
-I55 here is different.'
2. ngú tí mbi, tongana yá tí carte 'My age, if (you could see) the
d'identité, ka mɔ hínga. -N35 inside of an identity card,
then you'd know.'
3. lá kóé, yáká tí kóli só, 'Always, this man's garden,
ábakoyá míngi akɛ fúti the baboons are ruining the
kóbe ní. -F4 food (in this garden).'
4. fadesó, méréngé tí wále só, bé 'Now, this girl, she was
tí lo asɔ. -N79 angry.'
5. na tí dódó só, tongana ála sára 'And as for this dance, when
dódó, í sára na yángá tí they dance, we do it in the
ngaragé. -A37 ngaragé language.'
6. tí í, ála kɛ goe tí éré kongo. 'As for us, they (i.e. the
-I39 women) go to drain a stream.'
7. tí fadesó, wále a-commencé tí 'Nowadays, women are beginning
fáa yáká lége ókɔ tongana to prepare gardens along with
kóli. -A42 men.'
8. tóngó ní, fadé mbi to séngé. 'As for sending it, I'll send
it without any trouble.'

12.36. Adjunctival elements are just what they are called: adjunctives used in pre-clause position. Not all of them are so used, of course; only bíakú and bíaní 'truly,' ngá 'also,' mbéni 'in addition, moreover,' and

tongasó 'thus' (q.v. 4.30, 4.40, 4.20 respectively). The last one does not appear to have the same meaning in this position that it has in the verb phrase. Much more frequent than the meaning 'in this manner, as a result of this action' is its function as an inter-sentence correlative. As such its meaning is similar to a weak 'so.' (Whereas fadé occurs preposed to the clause nucleus, it is not considered a pre-clause element because as a marker of future time it is never separated from its clause by a pause. See 9.10.)

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. bíaní, mbi hínga só. -A15 | 'Indeed, I know this.' |
| 2. na ngá, mbi tene merci mingi na Monsieur. -A15 | 'And also, I say many thanks to Monsieur.' |
| 3. mbéni, tongana mo yí tí goe na yáká, mo goe tí fáa yáká, lo ke merdé mo na lége tí fángó yáká. -A49 | 'Also, when you want to go to the garden, you go to prepare the garden, and he bothers you during the preparation of the garden.' |
| 4. tongasó, mbi ke lo pepe. -N80 | 'So I don't reject him.' |
| 5. tongasó, fadé í dé bá da. -C30 | 'All right, we'll take an oath on it.' |

12.37. Here follow a few examples of sentences which contain more than one pre-clause construction.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. na ndo só, tí Bata só, lá kóé, mbi tó gí ngunzá. -A44 | 'Here, as for this (village of) Bata, I always prepare just manioc greens.' |
| 2. wále só ake laka ta, fadesó, ála zía lége tí laka ta awe. -A13 | 'The women who used to make pots, now, they've given up making pots.' |
| 3. tongasó, na ámbéni zo, ála tene, mbéni yí ake na téré tí nganga ngá. -A48 | 'So some people, they said that there was something beside the nganga (fetish).' |
| 4. giriri só, babá tí í, ála sára ngaragé. -A37 | 'A long time ago, our forefathers, they took to ngaragé.' |

S U B J E C T I V A L C O N S T R U C T I O N S

The subject is a slot or position in the clause whose grammatical meaning is roughly 'doer of the action.' Thus the subject is not a kind of entity, but merely a position in which various entities may appear, and which adds its grammatical meaning to their lexical meaning.

In the clause, the subject slot occupies the position immediately preceding the predicate. The constructions which may occur in the subject slot are pronoun phrases, noun phrases, connective phrases with *tí*, and adjunctive phrases. These have been subsumed under substantive phrases (q.v. chp. 10). Clauses may also serve as subjects. The pronoun phrases and noun phrases may be quite complex, including not only adjunctives but whole modifying clauses, one or more connective phrases with *tí*, and so on. When the subject is unusually long, there is frequently a pause between subject and predicate. With all subjects except simple pronouns, the subject marker *a-* is obligatory (q.v. 7.20). The subject marker also occurs in a few examples with *mbi*, *lo*, and *ála*, but these must be considered anomalous, as they are so few and occur only in the speech of a few individuals whose usage is non-standard in other respects also. In the examples which will follow the descriptive paragraphs, the subjects will be enclosed in braces { }.

13.10. Pronoun subjects

Pronoun subjects only may be preceded by pre-clausal anticipations (q.v. 12.31). The subject may also be semantically reinforced by a phrase *yí tí* + pronoun or *tí* + pronoun, which usually occurs in the verb phrase (q.v. 11.15), but in a few cases occurs in the pre-clausal slot. Pronoun subjects are almost always simple pronouns (ex. 1-11). A few instances occur of pronoun + adjunctive forms (ex. 12-15) and pronoun + *só* forms (ex. 16), of pronoun joined to pronoun or noun by *na* (ex. 17-18), and of a noun in apposition to a pronoun subject (ex. 19). These occur almost entirely in radio texts, and involve primarily the pronoun *ála*.

- | | |
|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. tongana {mbi} kəno awe, {mbi} | 'When I had grown up, I saw that |
| báa yí só aəke kótá yí -A49 | this was a big thing.' |

2. fadé (ála) tene (mbi) eke zo
tí búbá -R3 'They will say that I am a
foolish man.'
3. fadesó, (mò) gá babá na mamá tí
mbi awe -R1 'Now, you have become my father
and my mother.'
4. fadesó ngá, (mò) mú ngingza na lo,
na ndó tí bulletin de paye
-R1 'Now, you give him money, beyond
the pay bulletin.' (with im-
perative verb)
5. tongasó, tere atene lo, (lo) mú
na ní gí mbo tí ní -F4 'And so, spider said to him
(that) he should give him
just his dog.'
6. mérengé só (lo) sára téné ní
aake kpu -R9b 'The "child" about which he was
speaking was a mortar.'
7. fadesó, (áni) mú kpóka tí goe na
yáká, tí sára yáká -A15 'Then, we take hoes to go to the
garden, to make the garden.'
8. jusqu'à (í) goe (í) wara place
tí lánzó, (í) lánzó da -I55 'Until we go, we find a place
to sleep, and we sleep there.'
9. tongana (ála) yó kóé awe, (ála)
lónzó agoe -N78 'When they had finished drink-
ing, they arose and went.'
10. na ngú só, (mbi) yí, ála kóé,
agoe tí voté, tongana só,
(ála) voté kózo ní -R3 'This year, I want all of you to
go to vote just as you voted
formerly.' (2nd person plural)
11. aa, Mamadu, (ála) éré í na mò
kóé pepe? -R1 'Ah, Mamadu, didn't they call
you and me (lit. us and you)
both?' (3rd person plural)
12. (ála kóé) ayí tí má lo -R10 'They all wanted to hear him.'
13. mbi pensé, tongana á-docteur
wala ázo tí súrúngó lí tí
mabóko só agoe na yá tí
kótóró, nzoní, (ála kóé)
abóngbi téré tí ála -R4b 'I think, when the doctors or
the people who prick the tips
of fingers go into a village,
(it is) good that you all
assemble yourselves.'
14. allé, (ála só kóé) alónzó na
vundú -F7 'Then all of them rose in re-
sentment.'
15. mais tongana (ála óse) agá
sioní awe, yí kóé agá sioní
awe -A15 'But when those two had become
bad, everything had become
bad.'

16. ní laá, mbi tene na ála kóé,
fadesó, {ála só} ake ge -R2 'Because of this, I told them
all, now, here are these.'
17. lo béni áfiní zo só, lo mú ála
tongana áíta tí lo, só fadé,
{lo na ála,} aeke sára kusára
-R10 'He blessed those new people, he
took them as his brothers, who
soon, he and they would work.'
18. {ála na ázo tí diplomate tí
á-français } aeke bǒngbi li tí
ála, tí goe tí mú yángá tí í
français, na téné tí République
Centrafricaine, tí goe tí tene
na ázo tí mbéni kǎtǎró -R3 'They and people of the French
diplomats have combined their
heads to go represent us
French, and the affair of the
Central African Republic, to
go tell it to people of other
villages.'
19. ála tene {ála á-diacre tí
Bangayanga} ahínga pepe -L27 'They said they, the deacons of
Bangayanga, didn't know.'

13.20. Noun phrase subjects

Noun phrase subjects may consist of simple nouns, either singular (ex. 1-3) or plural (ex. 4-5), or of a noun-noun construction (ex. 6), or of a noun and a tí phrase (ex. 7-20). In this latter case, there may be up to two successive tí phrases (ex. 17-20), in which case the object of the second tí is usually a pronoun. Some are pronouns and tí-verb phrases (ex. 21). The phrase may consist of a noun and só (ex. 22-23), or of a noun and a relative construction (q.v. 4.23.10), as shown below (ex. 24-26). There may even be combinations of these, in which case the phrase may be very long (ex. 27). Nouns formed of verb and nominalizing suffix -ngó can serve as subjects, in which case they may still be followed by the kind of complements (e.g. objects) which are appropriate to verbs (ex. 28-29). One instance (ex. 30) occurs in which a verb without -ngó serves as a subject.

1. {mamá} agá amú mbi akírí na
kǎtǎró tí aú tí lo -N81 'Mother came and took me and
went back to her uncle's
village.'
2. mais tongana {zo} ayí mǎ ape
alíngbi tí húnda kóbe tí mǎ
tí vǎ? -C30 'But if a person doesn't like
you, could he ask food from
you to buy?'

3. bon, {téné} aeke ape, mais mbi
língbi tí kꝛ á-famille kóé
ngbangatí só pepe -N35 'Good, (there) is no problem, but
I can't reject the whole family
because of this.'
4. {á-apôtre} aeke zo wa? -R10 'The apostles were what men?'
5. na {ákóli} aeke na mbáge aussi
tí te tí ála ngá -A8 'And the men were also on the
sides to eat also.'
6. {radio Bangui } aeke tene na í
téné tí Nzapá na lá tí
dimanche -R10 'Radio Bangui is telling you the
affair of God on Sunday.'
7. ní laá {bé tí mbi} aso, mbi
gá mbi mú mbéti tí kɔa só
kóé mbi zía na da -N35 'It's because of this that my
liver hurt, I came and took
all those labor papers, I put
them in the house.'
8. tenetí {nzala tí mo} aeke fáa
mbi -L3 'Because hunger for you is kill-
ing me.'
9. {kóli tí mo só} ayí mo míngi ma
-C31 'Your husband must love you a
great deal then.'
10. mais peut-être sí tongana lo
báa {íta tí lo wále} aeke na ní
míngi, í tene lá kóé que kobéla
ti bilharzie só aeke wara ní
gí na lége tí ngú -R4a 'But perhaps it's because she
saw her sister women had it a
great deal, we always say that
the disease schistozomiasis
catches us only through water.'
11. ka mo hinga {manière tí wále}
aeke ndé ndé ape? -C31 'Didn't you know that the wiles
of women are varied?'
12. mo hinga kóé {wángó tí
ndápéréré} aeke wara ká
l'heure míngi míngi sí fadé
í língbi titene í píka na mo
disque pepe -R4a 'You know well that "Counsels in
the Morning" doesn't get a
great deal of time to be able
to play a record for you.'
13. na {íta tí lo ní} akírí agá koto
lo -N79 'And her sister came back and be-
gan to scratch her.'
14. {ngangó tí yoró ní} agoe ahꝛ
ngangó tí téré tí mo, alíngbi
titene, afáa mo -R4c 'The strength of the medicine
goes and overcomes the strength
of your body, and can even kill
you.'

15. yí só kóé, {la loi ti kusára
veni} afa ní -R1 'All these things, the labor
law itself shows them.'
16. nzoni titene, í ngá, í gí
lége, í leke kótóró tí í,
nginza tí kótóró tí í agá
míngi -R2 'It is good that we also, we
look for a way, that we fix
up our country, that the money
of our country should become
abundant.'
17. mbi tene mamá, mbi tene, {wále
tí aú tí mbi ní.} ayí mbi
pepe -N81 'I said to mother, I said, this
wife of my uncle doesn't like
me.'
18. tongana {l'heure tí kíringó tí
í} alíngbi awe, í gá í lánzó
-N80 'When the time for our return
was fully come, we came and
slept.'
19. tongana {mará tí téné tongasó
tí sioní} aake na bé tí ála,
ála tene téné ní mbéni pepe
-R2 'If this kind of evil affair is
in their liver, let them no
longer say this thing.'
20. fadesó, {babá tí mbi tí kété}
atene na mbi, wále tí mbi só
agoe na kótóró, awara méréngé
awe -R1 'Now, my little father has told
me that my wife, who went to
the village, has had a child.'
21. {zo tí hinga mbéti míngi} aake
da pepe -R10 'People of much book learning
(lit. people to know books)
were not there.'
22. lá ní, {wále só} atene, ní eke
na mbéni méréngé óko na yá tí
da tí ní -R9b 'That day, that woman said she
had a certain child inside
her house.'
23. parce que tongana (kobéla só)
aake tí sioní míngi, aake sára
mawa míngi et puis, aake nínga
tí fáa zo pepe -R4b 'Because when this disease is of
the very bad (kind), it causes
much suffering, and also, it
doesn't delay in killing people.'
24. {gbánda só, ála bi, sí agbó
susu,} ahú ndó ní, aake kótá
kusára só église aake sára
ánde -R10 'The net which they cast, so that
it caught a huge number of fish,
is the great work which the
church is doing right now.'

25. {pémbé tí mbi só í báa
a-manqué só,} aeke séngé
pepe -A9 'My teeth which you see are miss-
ing are not (that way) for
nothing.'
26. {yáká só í sára só,} aeke yáká
tí búbá ape -R6 'The garden which we are making,
is not a foolish garden.'
27. ngbangatí, {ámbení mbunzú ní,
tí vurú póró tí téré aeke da
só} agí gí lége títene, asára
sioní yí óko -R2 'Because, some of the White Men,
(men) of white skin are there
also, (they) seek only for a
way to do an evil thing.'
28. {vóngó yí na mbi} agá fángó
téré? -C30 'Has buying things from me become
(an occasion for) showing off?'
29. mais {gángó tí mbi na Bangui}
aeke tí gí place tí lángó
-L7 'But my coming to Bangui was to
find a place to sleep.'
30. {tiri na yá tí galá} aeke tiri
tí zo tí goigói -C30 'Fighting inside the market is
the fighting of a lazy person.'

13.30. Remainder

The remaining kinds of subjectival constructions include connective phrases with tí (q.v. 5.61.30) which also function as substantive phrases (q.v. 10.12), and so can be the subject of a verb (ex. 1-4). Also included are adjunctives (ex. 5-14), especially só (ex. 12-14). Finally, in a few instances (ex. 15-16) a sentence serves as the subject of eke.

1. et puis nginza tí Bangui ní,
par jour tí ála aeke ndé,
{tí í} aeke ndo só ndé -I55 'And then the money of Bangui,
their daily wages, are differ-
ent, (and) ours are differ-
ent.'
2. mais {gí tí wále só amá na bé
pepe vení} aso mbi -L16 'But it's only that of those
women who have not believed
that hurts me.'
3. {tí báa kótá yí na ndó sése só}
ahj kóbe tí yę lá kóé mbi eke
te -C31 'To see great things all over
the earth surpasses any food
which I ever ate.'
4. {tí sára kpa na mbunzú} aso zo
míngi -R6 'To work for White Men hurts
people a lot.'

5. {míngi} aεke goe, wala tí bángó
yí tongana ngú tí Gbutu só
aεke tí na ngangó só -R2 'Many are going, perhaps to see
something like the water of
Gbutu which falls with great
force.'
6. {kóé} aεke -R9b 'All are there.'
7. {ámbéni} aεke tene na mbi, atene
aεke ta -R9b 'Some are saying to me, they say
it is a pot.'
8. {mbéni} alú gí óko -R6 'Some planted only one.'
9. ámérangé tí kótóró tí í só,
{ámbéni} alóndó lá só tí goe
na Paris -R7d 'The young people of our country,
some have taken off today to
go to Paris.'
10. mais ámbéni míngi, na kótóró tí
mbi {ámbéni míngi} ahínga tí
tó ngunzá pepe -A8 'But many, in my village, many
don't know how to boil manioc
greens.'
11. wále só adú na kóli só
ámérangé otá, mais {óko}
akírí na tí tí Eternel Nzapá
-L15 'This woman bore to this man
three children, but one re-
turned to the arms of the
Eternal God.'
12. {só} aεke kusára tí áwále laá
-A15 'That is the work of women
right there.'
13. ou bien aεke fonctionnaire, ou
bien aεke commis de bureau,
tí gá tí hánda mbi, atene fadé
í fáa mo, {só kóé} aεke séngé
-R3 'It's either civil servants, or
else it's office boys, to come
and test me, they say, "We
will kill you"; all that is
nothing.'
14. {só vení} aεke fa na mbi lége tí
fángó ngbanga tí ála só -R1 'This very thing is showing me
how to decide your case.'
15. {lo hínga atene ní eke wále, só
aεke sára kpa tí da tí kóli
tí lo nzoní,} aεke -A8 'She knew and she said she was
a woman who was doing the
work of her husband's house
well, (this) is so.'
16. kóbe só aεke lóndó na yáká, agá,
mérangé só, {mbéni só lo wara
lo tígbi atene, aεke ngangó}
aεke pepe -R9b '(Of) food which comes from a
garden, this child, some which
he finds and appropriates, and
then says, "It's hard": it
isn't so.'

Chapter 14

NON - V E R B A L S E N T E N C E S

Non-verbal sentences,¹ as their name indicates, contain no verb. Instead, they are made up of any of the constituents of clauses except final particles; among these only *pepe* is used occasionally as a predication.

¹The corpus on which the analysis of sentence structure is based consists of approximately 1641 sentences (Anecdotes 542, Conversations 250, Fables 135, Interviews 243, Letters 45, Narratives 280, Radio (148) from 36 different texts (in which there are approximately 17,844 words). The choice of these texts was determined in part by a desire to have a fairly representative sample of spoken Sango and in part by what was available in the files at the time when the analysis was made.

The number of sentences analysed is approximate in more than one sense. The real problem here is the determination of what a "sentence" is. In a written language (i.e. in a written sample of a language with a tradition of writing) the identity of a sentence is easier than it is in spoken, especially extemporaneous, language. In the latter informal speech one tends to find clauses strung along, fused, and intercalated in ways which are very different from those which characterize the written texts, even informal, of the same language. English, much to the dismay of school teachers, is no exception.

These observations are made to indicate that it is very unlikely that the syntax of Sango is "worse" than that of a similar text from a person with an equivalent education. Moreover, since Sango is a lingua-franca, it undoubtedly has no stylistic traditions, no standards of eloquence. In a certain sense it is true that the people "just talk." But all "talk" has some kind of structure or else it would not be a realization of language. It is the purpose of chapters 14 and 15 to describe the syntactic aspects of this talk.

This is not to say that all samples of Sango are equally good. Even though I am no native speaker of the language, I think that I am, as a result of extensive exposure to the language and intensive study of its structure, somewhat qualified to judge certain texts in some way better than others. The better ones I should say are more amenable to description. An example of bad syntax is sentence 35 in text R4a (q.v. chp. 18). The only feature which seems to require that these strings of clauses be united as a single "sentence" is the fact that they are preceded and followed by terminal pause. The internal structure is almost beyond description. Much of the radio texts are of this type. On the other hand, I judge that C31 and N81 are fairly good examples of conversational and narrative texts.

In the identification of sentences, therefore, we have used as criteria both intonation, structural cues, and sense. Intonation is not always helpful, of course, for a person can use a terminal pause and then decide to

By definition any normally produced utterance (i.e. anything except fragments produced by hesitation phenomena such as stammering and groping for words) can function as a sentence. A single interjection, a name or title used in direct address, a fraction of a sentence--any of these can constitute non-verbal sentences. Of more interest, however, are those non-verbal sentences which are true constructions because they consist of two elements having a specific relationship to each other. These are discussed more fully below.

14.10. Sentence fractions

Sentence-fractions occur most frequently in our corpus following a question; they are identified in the examples by an asterisk. When they occur in connected discourse, it is sometimes difficult to tell whether they are in fact sentences or simply appendages of a preceding sentence. In extemporaneous speech one naturally expects to find examples of false starts and afterthoughts. Occurring as non-verbal sentences are the following kinds of sentence fractions: noun phrases, adjunctives, and connective phrases (especially *na* and *tí*, but in questions with *tongana*, *tenetí*, and *ngbangatí*). Some of the noun phrase sentence-fractions function identificationally: i.e. the meaning is 'there is' or something like it.

*1. kusára tí gérant? -I39

'The work of a shopkeeper?'

*2. mbi íko. -I9

'Just me.' (Q: Isn't anyone else going to drink?)

add something to the preceding construction. Then again he may use a non-terminal pause and then decide to end it there instead of continuing. Structural cues are such things as the placement of sentence particles (q.v. chp. 8), the occurrence of pre-clausal elements and connectives, etc. For example, the use of *fadesó* 'now' and *tongasó* 'thus' is quite similar to 'well' in English at the beginning of a sentence: they serve to introduce a whole new construction.

All that has been said concerned the identification of sentences in connected discourse. It should be remembered, however, that the problems are far less grave for isolated utterances. In any case, the implication of this study is that the patterns of sentence construction here described will be characteristic of most utterances. Said in isolation after sufficient consideration they deserve the name of "sentence."

- | | |
|--|--|
| *3. ngú ́ko, na mbéni babá tí
mbi. -A21 | 'One year, with one of my uncles.' |
| 4. mbéni vieille wále. téré
tí lo kóé aké gí sioní
míngi. -F7 | 'There was an old woman. Her body
was all in a very bad condi-
tion.' |
| 5. yí ́ko. tongana zo agá na mo,
alíngbi mo hínga lé tí lo sí.
-F4 | 'There's just one thing. When
someone comes to you, you must
recognize him.' |
| 6. taá téné tí mo? -C8 | 'Are you telling the truth?
(lit. 'your truth') |
| *7. gí na ndo só. -A21 | 'Right here.' |
| 8. gí na lége tí kóbe só mo leke
nzoní ape. -A8 | 'Just from the poor way you pre-
pared food.' |
| *9. ka tí mbi ní? -I9 | 'What about mine!' |
| 10. mo yí tí mo bière? tí glacé?
-I9 | 'As for you, do you want beer?
A cold one?' |
| *11. tí fáa na yáká. -A13 | 'To make a garden with it.' |
| 12. tenetí yé. -A15 | 'Why?' |
| 13. tongana yé só. -I9 | 'What's the trouble here?' |
| 14. gí tongasó. -A44 | 'That's just how it is.' |

14.20. Constructions

The non-verbal sentences which consist of two elements in construction are all either identificational or equational. They exist in three types. In the first type the two elements are substantive phrases, i.e. syntactic elements which could function as the subject of a verbal sentence. In the second type a syntactic element is followed by pepe with either a statement or question intonation (q.v. 3.11), the whole meaning of which is 'is....not' or 'isn't it so that....?' In the final type a sentence fraction is followed by laá, the meaning of which is 'that's the....' A complete discussion of laá occurs in 8.13. Finally, it should be noted that two identificational constructions may follow in a series (ex. 17).

In the following examples a comma or a vertical bar separates the constituents, depending on whether there is, or there is not, a pause.

1. kɔa tí mbi | lo só. -I41 'That's my work.'
2. ndá tí marriage ní | lo só. -C31 'That's the point of marriage.'
3. kóbe kóé ake na galá ndo só |
gí tí mɔ? -C30 'All the food which is here in
the market, is it just yours?'
4. téné tí mɔ | tí má yángá tí
mamá tí mɔ, na tí má yángá
tí babá tí mɔ. -A42 'It's your responsibility to
obey your mother and your
father.'
5. tí mɔ | yɛ. -I9 'What's yours?'
6. marriage ní | gí óko awe. -C31 'There's just one marriage.'
7. ngéré ní | óke óke. -C30 'What's the price?'
8. vene ní | gí tí mbi? -C29 'The lie is mine?'
9. só | séngé. -C31 'That's all right.'
10. só | yɛ só? -C31 'What's this?'
11. vene | pepe. -C29 'It's not a lie.'
12. kóli tí mɔ | ape? -C31 'Isn't he your husband?'
13. kɔa ní | ape? -C31 'Isn't it because of work?'
14. éré tí dódó ní | laá. -A21 'That's the name of the dance.'
15. yí óko, gí Nzapá. -N35 'There's just one thing, just
God.'
16. gí só mbi má, téné tí Nzapá.
-A15 'There's just one thing I hear,
it's the word of God.'
17. ála kóé, gí na kobéla tí
bilharzie. -R4a 'All of them have liver-fluke
disease.'

Chapter 15

VERBAL SENTENCES

15.10. Simple sentences

Simple verbal sentences consist of a clause nucleus (i.e. a subject and a predicate) and may also include pre-clausal constructions (q.v. chp. 12) and sentence particles (q.v. chp. 8). Pre-clausal constructions seem to occur only when there is a marked grammatical subject. Even though the subject is listed as one of the constituents of a simple sentence, there are occasions when a substantive phrase subject can be missing (q.v. 7.20).

Some simple sentences are also introduced by one of the connectives, but another division of the sequences of clauses might have made these included rather than independent ones. Here again is raised the question as to what exactly constitutes a sentence.

As one might expect, some sentences are long and others short. The difference between sentences of various sizes is a function of the size of the constituents and of the relation that the sentences bear to those around them. Little more can be said about this relationship at present. But if less equivocal conclusions could be achieved for the determination of sentences, it would indeed be interesting to describe the inter-sentence relationships in this language. Some of these, one suspects, would be grammatically determined and others would be stylistic.

15.20. Complex sentences

Complex sentences consist of verbal and non-verbal clauses in various combinations: i.e. a verbal clause can be preceded or followed by another verbal or non-verbal clause. Any of these verbal clauses can be either simple or complex, and in the following discussion no distinction is made. In fact, no complete inventory of all the possible combinations has been attempted. The brief investigation of the possibilities reveals that a complete description would be only an elaboration in detail of the analysis presented in this chapter. Some of the results of this investigation, however, are included in the analysis of a sample text (q.v. chp. 17). The

following description therefore treats only of (1) verbal clause + verbal clause, (2) non-verbal + verbal clause, and (3) verbal clause + non-verbal clause.

15.21. Two verbal clauses are joined either disjunctively or conjunctively.

15.21.10. The disjunctive clauses are again sub-divided according to whether or not the clauses are in coordinate or subordinate relationship to each other. This relationship is determined less by linguistic criteria than semantic ones. Although coordinate clauses are very often joined with no significant junctural features whereas subordinate ones are joined by non-terminal pause (q.v. 3.12), I must admit that my decisions were sometimes quite subjective. Nevertheless, once the coordinate clauses are discussed, it will be seen that the other group, if not truly subordinate, in fact constitutes a separate class.

15.21.11. Coordinate clauses are either sequential or additive.

15.21.11a. The term "sequential" is meant to cover not only those cases where clauses are truly sequential in time but also those cases where simultaneous action is implied. A few examples of opposition are included here (ex. 38-40) because they are doubtful: i.e. one can supply either 'and' or 'but' in the translation. Most of the examples of sequential coordinate clauses involve a limited number of verbs, mostly verbs of motion, all of the subjects of which are the same. These verbs are *gá* 'to come,' *goe* 'to go,' *kirí* 'to return,' and *lón dó* 'to arise' (q.v. 9.22). Also occurring sequentially are the verbs *de* 'to remain,' *mú* 'to take,' and *tene* 'to say.' The first three verbs of motion (i.e. *gá*, *goe*, *kirí*) do not necessarily indicate real motion. The verbs *gá* and *goe* might perhaps be described as functioning as "auxiliary" verbs, for they seem to prevent one's taking the following verb aoristically. For example, in the analysed text (q.v. chp. 17) sentence 53 has the following complex clause: *yá tí mbi ní agá a-diminué awe* 'My abdomen came and receded.' That is, as a result of taking a treatment the abdomen, which had become inflated because of liver fluke disease, had been restored to normal size. The verb *diminué* (<French) by itself would imply some other thought. While these observations obviously lack precision, I nevertheless feel that the data warrant a tentative

exploration albeit at this date a subjective one. The verb *kírí* 'to return,' on the other hand, requires some translation such as 'again' or 'as for....'

Certain verbs of cognition (e.g. *hínga* 'to know,' *pensé* 'to think'), perception (*báa* 'to see,' *má* 'to hear'), and vocalization (e.g. *éré* 'to name,' *húnda* 'to ask') are also quite frequently followed by the verb *tene* 'to say' which is used to introduce the object of those verbs (q.v. 11.11 and 15.21.12a). For example: *mbi hínga atene, lo ke gá.* 'I know that he is coming.'

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. <i>likongó só agá akpa dole -A51</i> | 'this spear comes and spears the elephant' |
| 2. <i>í gá í sí na marché. -N81</i> | 'We came and arrived at the market.' |
| 3. <i>ní laá í gá í lángó na ní na Bangui ngbii. -N81</i> | 'That's why we came and stayed in Bangui a long time.' |
| 4. <i>ámérenyé agá míngi ahé biá. -A21</i> | 'Children came in large numbers and sang.' |
| 5. <i>lo gá na kstóró. lo gá atene, ní yí mbéni zo tí gá na lo. -I9</i> | 'He came to the village. He came and said, "I want someone to go with him."' |
| 6. <i>gángó só mɔ gá na ndo só só, mbi sára mbéni sioní yí na mɔ sí mɔ goe mɔ kɛ tí to na mbi mbéti.</i> | 'When you came here, did I do something bad to you that you went and refused to send me letters?' |
| 7. <i>goe mɔ vɔ mafuta tí báláwá. -A11</i> | 'Go and buy shea butter.' |
| 8. <i>mɔ goe zía na ndó tí table. -A11</i> | 'Go and put it on the table.' |
| 9. <i>mbi goe mbi dutí ká. -I55</i> | 'I went and stayed there.' |
| 10. <i>í na lo í goe. í goe í lángó ká. -N80</i> | 'He and I went. We went and stayed there.' |
| 11. <i>tongana lo vení lo goe lo mú mbo só -F4</i> | 'when he himself, he goes and gets this dog' |
| 12. <i>í kírí í tene mɔ kóé -R4a</i> | 'we come back and tell you again' |
| 13. <i>mɔ kírí mɔ fa papa na lé tí mbunzú só. -C31</i> | 'for your part, you reveal trouble to the White Man' |
| 14. <i>kóli tí mɔ alóndó ká na kpa, agá -A11</i> | 'Your husband leaves work over there and comes.' |

15. mbéni finí fille ní alóndó
agá na école ménagère -N79
'A certain new girl came to Home
Making School.'
16. amú mbi apíka mbi alíngbi
ape. -N81
'She took me and beat me ter-
ribly.'
17. amú kpi tí sindi só, atúku
na ndó ní. -A8
'She takes this sesame paste and
dumps it on top of it.'
18. ála mú témé, ála bi na mbi.
-N80
'They took stones and threw them
at me.'
19. mbi mú caisse ní, mbi goe na
pekó tí ámbunzú. -I55
'I took the box and followed the
White Men.'
20. kété ita tí lo só amú lége
akirí. -N79
'Her younger sister took to the
road and returned.'
21. ita, mú na mbi tanga ní, mbi
yó. -I9
'Friend, give me the rest to
drink.'
22. mo mú na lo ngú lo sukúla lé
tí lo. -C31
'Give him water so that he can
wash his face.'
23. mbi de mbi mú kóli ape. -C8
'I haven't yet taken a husband.'
24. ngangó tí lo ade ahúnzi pepe.
-L186
'His strength is not yet gone.'
25. tongasó, tere atambéla ngbii,
así na yáká tí kóli só, atene,
mon vieux, só kóbe tí yáká sí
aake na aú só? -F4
'So spider traveled a long time
and arrived at this man's
garden and said, "Wow, is this
a food-garden which Uncle has?"'
26. mbunzú akpé agoe doucement,
apíka lo -I55
'The White Man ran and went
quietly and shot him.'
27. í goe í wara place tí lángó,
í lángó da. -I55
'We went and found a place to
sleep and we slept there.'
28. mo goe mo mú lo na sése ní mo
kirí na kótóró ní. -A29
'You go and pick it off the
ground and return with it to
the village.'
29. lo hinga atene mbi fáa yama
míngi.
'He knows that I have killed
many animals.'
30. mbéni camarade tí mbi ní atoka
kété ita tí lo atene, agoe
adó géré tí lo. -N79
'A friend of mine sent her
younger sister saying, "Go and
step on her foot."'

31. mbi pensé, mbi tene, hínga pepe, 'I thought that perhaps the post-
 á-postier asúru na lége. -L3 men tore it up on its way.'
32. ála yí tí gonda téré tí ála, 'They like to brag saying, "My
 ála tene, taá mamá tí mbi aeka own mother is not a savage."
 zo tí sauvage pepe. -A49
33. lá só mbi báa kóli tí mọ agoe 'Today didn't I see your husband
 na galá avo yama, mbi báa go to the market and buy
 ape? -A44 meat?'
34. ndá adé yá tí mbi aso. -A8 'Morning comes and my stomach
 hurts.'
35. téré tí mbéni zo tí mọ aso lo 'One of your relatives is sick a
 ngbii, lo kúí awe. -A21 long time and he dies.'
36. par jour tí ála ake ndé, tí í 'Their daily wages are different,
 ake ndo só ndé. -I55 and ours here are different.'
37. mọ sukúla téré ní pepe, angbá 'You don't wash it, and it re-
 saleté séngé séngé. -A8 mains dirty.'
38. giriri mbi dutí na mawa, ála 'Long ago I was in great trouble,
 báa mbi tongana zo tí búbá. but they considered me a fool.'
 -N35
39. mbi sára yáká tí mbi, ade mbi 'I made my garden, but I haven't
 te mbéni yí ní ape. -N35 yet eaten anything from it.'
40. í tomba pekó tí ála ngbii, ála 'We chased them a long time,
 kpé awe. -I55 but they had already fled.'

15.21.11b. Additive clauses are those which, immediately following another clause, do not indicate a separate action which is simultaneous or subsequent to the one just mentioned, but rather complement that action, supplying more information about it. For the sake of convenience they might even be called "adverbial clauses." The clearest examples of additive clauses involve the verbs *h̄j* 'to surpass,' *lingbi* 'to be able,' and *we* 'to be finished,' which are more fully taken up below. Other coordinate clauses (ex. 12-13) are perhaps not additive but simply sequential. For an anomalous use of *ake pepe* see 8.12.40, ex. 7.

The verb *h̄j* 'to surpass' is used to indicate intensity, superlative degree, etc. (ex. 1-4). If it is followed by no specific object, it often takes *ndó ní* (i.e. 'surpasses the top of it').

The verb *língbi* 'to be able, to be equal' is used in the affirmative to indicate adequacy, equality, or similarity (ex. 5-7). It can occur without a complement or with a *na* phrase which indicates the object with which the comparison is made. The "adequacy" use of *língbi* can be either in the affirmative or the negative. The simple negative clause *alíngbi pape* 'there is no equal' is, on the other hand, used as a superlative, very much like *ahǎ ndó ní* (ex. 8-11).

The verb *we* 'to be finished' indicates both perfective action and sufficiency. No examples are provided here because it was carefully treated in 9.30.

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|--|---|
| 1. bilharzie ní tí áwále ake so
ála ahǎ ndó ní. -R4a | 'The liver fluke disease of
women hurts them terribly.' |
| 2. só séngé yí ahǎ yí kóé. -C31 | 'That's a most worthless thing.' |
| 3. fadé mbi ke wara bongó ká na
yáyú ahǎ mo ape? -C31 | 'Won't I be getting more clothes
than you there in heaven?' |
| 4. mo sára koa ahǎ ámbení wále na
kótóró só kóé -C31 | 'You do more work than all the
women in this village.' |
| 5. tongana mo tourné kété alíngbi
na ní awe -A8 | 'After you've stirred it
enough....' |
| 6. mbi yí kótóró tí í na ála agá
taá kótóró, agá ngangó alíngbi
na ámbení kótóró tí sése -R2 | 'I want our country to become a
real country, to become strong
like the other countries of
the earth.' |
| 7. mérengé só, lo língbi tí te
alíngbi na lo ape -A44 | 'This child can't eat enough to
satisfy himself.' |
| 8. ála píka lo, alíngbi ape. -N79 | 'They beat her up terribly.' |
| 9. da ní agbí ká alíngbi ape. -N79 | 'Many houses burned up over there.' |
| 10. taá téré tí mbi avokó alíngbi
ape. -N81 | 'My body was terribly dirty.' |
| 11. ámérengé ní ká, ála ke na yoró,
alíngbi ape. -N81 | 'The kids over there have an
awful lot of charms.' |
| 12. mo zía ngú na wá, a-chauffé.
-A8 | 'You put the water on the fire
to heat.' |
| 13. fadé mbi sára agá ká. -F7 | 'I'll make a sore out of it.' |

15.21.12. Subordinate clauses are marked intonationally or lexically, or both. They shall be distinguished by the terms "lexically marked" and "non-lexically marked." In either case, the subordinate clauses precede the major clause. Another class of sentences where the second clause rather than the first may be considered as being in a subordinate position is discussed below. The intonational features which mark the relationship between the clauses is, as has been pointed out in 3.12, sometimes a rising tonal glide, sometimes a level of pitch which never occurs at the end of a sentence (like what is called in English a "sustained pitch"), and almost always a slight pause. All of these features are subsumed under and indicated by the comma.

15.21.12a. Non-lexically marked subordinate clauses can generally be identified by their lexical content. They end with *awe*, or *laá* (q.v. 8.13), or contain *hínga pɛpɛ* 'don't know,' *yí tí* 'want to,' *adu* 'is,' or *aɛkɛ nzoní* 'it is good.' The remaining ones can not be so identified, but it is precisely these which have the same meaning they would have if marked by *tongana* (q.v. 5.81 and below). Each of these different kinds of subordinate clauses is now taken up in turn.

Some non-lexically marked clauses (included within braces) seem to have the same function they would have if marked by *tongana*, i.e. they can be translated by using words such as 'when, if, after' and the like. They can contain the perfective marker *awe* or not (ex. 1-5 and 6-14 respectively).

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. { <i>así na téré tí dódó ní awe</i> },
<i>amú ngo</i> . -A21 | 'When they've come to the dance site, they take the drums.' |
| 2. { <i>í fáa yama awe</i> }, <i>í mú mbéní, í mú na makunzi</i> -A50 | 'When we have killed some animals, we take some meat and give it to the chief.' |
| 3. { <i>í gá í sára lángó míngi ape</i> },
<i>mbéní aú tí mbi ní, ála affecté lo na Mbaiki</i> . -N81 | 'We came and hadn't spent many days when one of my uncles, they assigned him to Mbaiki.' |
| 4. { <i>mɔ goe mɔ vɔ makongó awe</i> }, <i>mɔ gá mɔ túku na yá tí sembé</i> -A8 | 'After you've gone and bought some caterpillars, you come and put them in a dish.' |

5. {lo te ngunzá ní kóé awe}, mɔ goe mɔ mú na lo ngú, lo sukúla mabókò tí lo kóé, lo yǎ ngú na pekó ní. -A11 'After he's eaten all the manioc greens, you go and give him water, and after he's washed his hands, he then drinks water.'
6. {mɔ fa na ála lége tí nzoní}, ála báa tongana nzoní yí. -A49 'If you teach them the right way to do things, they will consider it good.'
7. {mɔ te}, fadé mɔ língbi tí wara malade tí yá pepe. -A8 'If you eat it, you won't be able to get a stomach disease.'
8. {lo eke mérengé wáale, wala mérengé kíli}, fadé babá ní afa na lo kɔa tí da. -A49 'If it's a daughter or a son, the father will teach it the work of the house.'
9. {mɔ yí}, mbi ke gá, ita. -C30 'If you want, I'm coming, Sister.'
10. {mɔ mú lo}, lo língbi tí kíri na babá tí lo ape. -I9 'When you take her (in marriage), she can't return to her father.'
11. {mbi wara yama}, mbi te. -A44 'When I get meat, I eat it.'
12. {atene tí tó ngú}, ake nzoní mɔ goe mɔ tó ngú. -A42 'If she tells you to draw water, you should go and draw water.'
13. {adu ní ála}, ka ála língbi títene ála sára nzoní yí pepe -R2 'If it were them, they wouldn't be able to do good things.'
14. {adu títene wáale tí mbi ake na kótóró}, ka mbi na wáale tí mbi í causé títene í ke sára mɔ téné só mbírímírí -N35 'If my wife were in the village, my wife and I would be able to chat to tell you about these things thoroughly.'

The remaining clauses are best taken up separately, for each one, because of its semantic content, has a special use.

The abbreviated clause *hinga pepe* (abbreviated, because it can, although rarely does, have a subject) introduces doubt in a sentence (ex. 15-16). The word *pepe* or *ape* is always said with a raised (not high) and sustained pitch with the last vowel being slightly lengthened.

15. {hinga ape}, mɔ sára kɔa ní juste ape. -C31 'Perhaps you don't do the work right.'

16. {hínga pepe}, á-postier asúru 'Perhaps the postmen tore it up
na lége -L3 on its way.'

A clause ending with laá (q.v. 8.13) gives the reason for the following clause.

17. {mbi ngbá méréngé, mbi goe na 'The reason that I understand
l'école laá}, mbi má Sango Sango well is that when I was
bien -A21 a child I went to school.'
18. {bé tí lo ayí mọ ape laá}, ake 'The reason that he's making you
sára mọ sáná só. -C31 suffer like this is that he
does not like you.'
19. {hínga ape, nginza ake na lo 'Perhaps the reason that he's
ape laá}, lo sára mọ tongasó. treating you like this is
-C31 that he has no money.'

The clause ake nzoní 'it is good' suggests counsel or polite obligation (ex. 20-24). Explicit obligation is expressed by ake ngbanga tí followed by a complete clause.

20. {ake nzoní} mọ zía ála kózo ní 'You should put them first in
na l'école -A49 school.'
21. {ní laá ake nzoní}, ála má 'That's why you should listen
wángó só -R4c to this advice.'
22. yí kóé só mamá tí mọ atene na 'Everything your mother tells
mọ tí goe tí sára, {ake nzoní}, you to go to do, you should
mọ goe mọ sára. -A42 go and do it.'
23. {ake nzoní} mọ gá mọ pika lé tí 'You should come and slap my face
mbi sí mbi hínga mbi tene mọ so that I can know that you
ke méréngé tí wále. -C30 are a girl.'
24. {ake nzoní} mọ tene na lo ape. 'You shouldn't tell him.'

A certain number of verbs are followed by clauses which can be considered to have a status subordinate to the main clause. It is possible, however, to look upon these clauses as being objectival in the verb phrase, and this is how they were described in 11.11. The difference in analysis results in having, on the one hand, a simple sentence in which there is a whole clause as object, and, on the other hand, a complex sentence which consists of a major and a subordinate clause. The analysis which results in a simple

sentence seems to be required at least for some sentences where the verb tense 'to say' is involved. In a sentence such as *lo tense na ála, ní eke na nzala*. 'He told them that he was hungry.' or 'He told them, "I'm hungry."' one can find at the point marked by comma those features which accompany an incompleting sentence. Moreover, the second clause 'I'm hungry' occurs in the spot where one expects an object in a sentence where there is also a beneficiary na phrase (q.v. 11.13).

The verb tense 'to say' is not the only verb which acts in this way. There are also the following:

báa	'to see'	pensé	'to think'
hínga	'to know'	yí	'to want'
húnda	'to ask'	zía	'to place, let'
má	'to hear, understand'		
25. mɔ báa lo dutí na li tí kéké -A29		'Look at him sitting at the top of the tree.'	
26. ála báa, mɔ ke na nginza míngi ape -I9		'They see that you don't have much money.'	
27. í hínga ake yí tí mbito míngi -A13		'We know that it is a terrible thing.'	
28. lo húnda lo, tará, yɛ aso mɔ sí mɔ eke toto tongasó. -L186		'He asked her, "Grandmother, what is hurting you that you cry in this manner?"'	
29. mbi má tongana mɔ mú kóli ape? -C8		'Haven't I heard that you took a husband?'	
30. mɔ pensé kóbe kóé ake na galá ndo só gí tí mɔ? -C30		'Do you think that all the food which is here in the market is yours?'	
31. kóli só atene wále tí lo, lo leke kóngbá tí ní fadesó. -F4		'This man told his wife to pre- pare his baggage.'	
32. atene aú, mú na mbi mbo tí mbi. -F4		'He said, "Uncle, give me my dog."'	
33. mbi yí ála ngbá na ndo so pepe.		'I don't want them to remain here.'	

34. zía bē tí mō anzé na kusára 'Don't let your heart get weary
ní peps. in the work.'
35. í tene lá kóé que kobéla tí 'We always say that liver fluke
bilharzie só ake wara ní gí disease afflicts her through
na lége tí ngú. -R4a water.'

Occasionally these clauses are introduced by some connecting word, a practice which, in the case of que, is obviously due to the influence of French (ex. 35). In the case of tongana (ex. 29) the evidence is not quite so clear, because a native word is used in what appears to be an unusual manner. Because it was used by a bilingual in French, I should say that this is evidence for loan translation. Other than these few instances of que and tongana, there are, of course, no conjunctive means of joining the clauses under discussion. But there is what one might call a functional equivalent. All the verbs except zía 'to let' and yí 'to want' can be followed by atene which introduces the following clause. The similarities between ex. 36 and ex. 29 above should be noted. Both are the utterances of a single speaker in the same text.

36. mbi má, {atene} mō mú kóli ká, 'Haven't I heard that you took
mō goe na da tí kóli awe ape? a husband and have gone to
-Ca the man's house?'
37. mbi tene na ála, {mbi tene}, mbi 'I told them, "I don't want
yí tí mbi ape. to."'
38. fadé ála gá tí húnda mbi 'They will come to ask me what
{atene}, yí laá awara mbi só. happened to me.'
- N35

15.21.12b. Lexically marked subordinate clauses occur before the main clause and are introduced by tongana, quand même (or simply même), and só. Since tongana and só were extensively treated in 5.81 and 4.23.40, no further discussion is required here. The meaning of quand même is 'even if' and differs from tongana in being more emphatic. There are, however, sentences to which quand même appears to add no meaning, but this is what one might expect from people who were learning a new word, especially one from a language they did not know.

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|---|--|
| 1. tongana lo píka zuru kóé
awe, lo mé kóbe, lo mú
mbéni, agoe na pekó tí
kóli. -A42 | 'After she has pounded the mil,
she prepares the meal and
takes some and goes to her
husband.' |
| 2. mème mɔ mú téré tí í kóé, í
lángó na da tí lengé ní ókɔ.
-A9 | 'Even if you should take all of
us together (i.e. here in the
room), we would sleep in the
lengé house together.' |
| 3. mème mɔ gá na milieu tí dole
tongasó, dole abáa lo pɛpɛ.
-A51 | 'Even if you should come amongst
the elephants in this way, the
elephants don't see him (i.e.
you).' |
| 4. quand mème mbi yú ape téné ake
ape. -C31 | 'Even if I don't wear (any
clothes), that's all right.' |
| 5. só lo gá bírí, mbi hínga ape. | 'I didn't know anything of his
arriving yesterday.' |

15.21.20. Clauses are joined conjunctively by the use of the following connectives: na 'and,' ngbangatí 'because,' ka 'then,' sí 'then,' tənətí 'because,' títene 'so that,' tongana 'as,' and wala 'or' in addition to the French loans mais 'and, but,' et puis 'and then,' and parce que 'because.' Since all of these were discussed and illustrated in chap. 5, the following examples are necessarily brief.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. tongana mbi kúí na deux heures,
<u>et puis</u> mbi sí da ape, fadé
ake sára tongana yɛ. -N35 | 'If I should die at two o'clock
and not arrive there, then
what's going to happen?' |
| 2. mbi díkɔ mbéti na Sango, <u>mais</u>
agbó yángá tí mbi mbírímbírí
ape. -A21 | 'I read in Sango but I don't
do it well.' |
| 3. tongasó, kóli só amú woga só awe,
<u>na</u> lo fáa kamba na gó tí woga
awe. -F4 | 'So this man took the antelope
and cut the rope from off the
antelope's neck.' |
| 4. lo yí mbi <u>ngbangatí</u> mbi sára
kɔa tí lo míngi ape? -C31 | 'He likes me because I do a lot
of work for him, don't you
know?' |

5. mbito tí kǎá amú mbi ǎkǎ pepɛ, 'I am not at all afraid of death,
parce que mbi eke zo tí kǎá. because I am a person of death
 -R3 (i.e. liable to death).'
6. tará, yɛ asɔ mǎ sí mǎ eke toto 'Grandmother, what is hurting you
 tongasó. -L186 that you cry like this?'
7. mǎ éré ázo, títɛng ála gǎ, atoto 'You call people to lament him
 lo na mǎ. -A21 for you.'

15.22. The joining of non-verbal with verbal clauses is much less frequent than is the joining of two verbal clauses. Moreover, because of their infrequency and because of the difficulties met in determining exactly what constitutes a sentence (already discussed at the beginning of this chapter), there is little that one can say unequivocally about such sentences. If, for example, words and phrases used in direct address or interjectional material (ex. 1-2, 5 and 3-4) are considered as being in construction with a verbal clause, they constitute one of the frequent non-verbal elements, either pre-posed or post-posed (in both cases disjunctive). For at least some utterances, however, there seems good reason to describe them as separate sentences.

Two frequently-occurring types of non-verbal constructions are interrogative material which is pre-posed (disjunctively or conjunctively) or post-posed (only disjunctively, ex. 6-9) and the word laá (ex. 10). For a full description of this important word laá see 8.13. Other types of non-verbal material are illustrated by ex. 11-20.

1. áíta tí mbi, ála hé pémbé tí 'My friends, please don't make
 mbi ape o. -A9 fun of my teeth!'
2. Fiowasa, mǎ mú kǎli awe? -C8 'Fiowasa, have you taken a
 husband?'
3. ʔmʔm, mbi de mbi mú kǎli ape. 'No, I haven't yet taken a
 -C8 husband.'
4. oui, mbi gǎ pendere kǎli na 'Yes, I became an adolescent boy
 Rafai. -I39 at Rafai.'
5. mbi ke gǎ, íta. -C30 'I'm coming, friend.'
6. tenetí yɛ mǎ gǎ tí vǎngó kóbe 'Why do you come to buy food in
 na galá. -C30 the market?'
7. tenetí yɛ sí lo sára téné na 'Why did he talk to you like
 mǎ tongasó. that?'

8. mɔ tɛnɛ akɛ tɪ mɔ tɔngana yɛ.
-C29 'How is it that you say that it is yours?'
9. gɪ áwále sí azía ála na kobéla
tɪ bilharzie nɔngangati yɛ.
-R4a 'Why is it that they place only women (in the hospital) because of liver fluke disease?'
10. só akɛ kusára tɪ áwále laá.
-A15 'That's the work of women.'
11. só tɔngana yɛ sí tɪ ákólɪ akɛ
sɔ̃ ála míngi pepɛ. -R4a 'How is it that the men's (liver fluke disease) does not hurt them much?'
12. só kóbe tɪ yáká sí akɛ na
aú só? -F4 'Is this garden food which Uncle has?'
13. tɔngasó apɛ, mɔ língbi tɪ wara
yama na yá tɪ mɔ. -A8 'If not done in this way, you can get worms in your stomach.'
14. mbunzú akpé agoe doucement,
apíka lo. mauser óse, dole
akɛ na sése. -I55 'The White Man ran and went quietly and shot him. Two shots with the big rifle and the elephant was on the ground.'
15. mais yí áko, mbi wara mbéni
yama tɪ tɛ na pekó ní apɛ.
-A44 'But there's just one thing, and that's that I can't get any meat to eat with it.'
16. kólɪ ayí tɪ goe, payéngó ní tɪ
li na yá ní, páta bale osió.
-R7f 'If a man wants to go, the price for entering is 200 francs.'
17. wále agoe tɪ payé tɪ li, páta
bale óse. -R7f 'If a woman goes to pay, it's 100 francs.'
18. na kótóró tɪ mbi, mbéni dódó
akɛ, éré ní lengé. -A9 'In my part of the country, there's a certain dance, the name of which is lengé.'
19. merci míngi tenetɪ mbunzú asɪ
na kótóró awe. -A15 'Many thanks because the White Man has arrived in the country.'
20. nzoní í wara kótá yáká tɪ
avion na ndo só. -R2 'It would be a good thing if we had a large airfield here.'

Chapter 16

QUESTIONS AND PROCESSES

16.10. Questions

Questions are distinguished from statements by the presence of an interrogative word or intonational contour or both. The interrogative words will presently be discussed, but the intonational contours were described phonologically in 3.11.

Any sentence, verbal or non-verbal, which occurs with the statement intonational contour can be changed into a question by replacing that contour with an interrogative one or by adding a lexically empty function word at the end of the sentence which carries the contour (i.e. usually ξ). Precisely how many different kinds of interrogative contours it can take has not yet been determined.

In practice not every kind of sentence is found interrogatively marked by intonation. Questions are usually of the class described as simple sentences (q.v. 15.10), and if complex, then nevertheless with fewer constituents than is possible in statements (i.e. the sentences are shorter). No other restriction than this one applies to negative questions, but negative questions must be distinguished on the basis of at least three kinds of contours. Two of these have the meaning which for the sake of convenience is here glossed as 'is it true that....not' (i.e. asking for a confirmation of a negative statement). The contour which starts low and rises to very high seems to indicate incredulity. The one which starts high and falls with stress seems to indicate insistence. The third contour has a very different meaning: i.e. 'isn't it so that....?'

The following four sentences indicate the contrasts which can occur with different intonational contours.

mbéni zo ayǎ ape.	'No one is drinking.'
mbéni zo ayǎ ape.↗	'Isn't anyone going to drink?'
mbéni zo ayǎ ape.↘	'You mean to say no one is going to drink?'
mbéni zo ayǎ ape.↗	'Isn't someone drinking?'

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. mɔ pensé kóbe kóé akɛ na galá
ndo só gí tí mɔ? -C30 | 'Do you think that all the food
here in the market is yours?' |
| 2. mɔ má awe? -R4a | 'Did you hear?' |
| 3. mɔ yí tí mɔ bière? -I9 | 'As for you, do you want beer?' |
| 4. mbi sára téné tí pémbé tí mbi
só kóé da? -A9 | 'Do you want me to tell all
about my teeth in it (i.e.
tape recorder)?' |
| 5. mais ka tí mbi ní? -I9 | 'But what about mine?' |
| 6. bé tí mbi ayí tí vɔ kóbe ní
ape? -C30 | 'Don't I want to buy the food?' |
| 7. awe ape? -C31 | 'Isn't it all (i.e. can't you
see that it's all) finished?' |
| 8. mbi má ála tene ála ke mú
kóli gí na kété yoró tí
bata téré ape? -C31 | 'Haven't I heard say that they
get husbands with little body
charms?' |
| 9. kóli tí mbi ape? -C31 | 'Isn't that my husband?' |
| 10. yí tí mɔ só mɔ sára kété amú
kaméla na mbi míngi, ɛ? -C31 | 'The little thing you did gave
me a great deal of shame,
don't you know?' |

Sentences which contain interrogative words are not generally accompanied by a question contour. More precisely, the presence of an interrogative word marks a question (as well as introducing a semantic factor), and a question contour, when it occurs, adds some overtones. The difference is somewhat like 'Why did he....?' and 'Would you say again why he....?' These words are *yɛ* 'what?' (q.v. 4.25), *wa* 'what?' (q.v. 4.24), *ɛke* 'how much?' (q.v. 4.26), and some French borrowings (e.g. *est-ce que* [ɛskí], *pourquoi*, *quoi*). The connective *wala* 'or' occurs in some sentences which are obviously (i.e. from the context) questions although no contour marks them as such. In these sentences it occurs between two alternative constructions or at the very end of a sentence where one would expect the second clause to occur. It should be remembered that *yɛ* and *wa* occur in a few conventionalized interrogative locutions: *ngbangatí yɛ* and *tenetí yɛ* 'why?' *tongana yɛ* 'how?' *lá wa* 'when?' *zo wa* 'who?' and *na ndo wa* 'where?'

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 11. só sárángó yí tí <u>yɛ</u> . -C31 | 'What kind of business is this?' |
|---------------------------------------|----------------------------------|

12. yε aso mo sí mo eke toto tongasó. 'What hurts you that you cry
-L186 like this?'
13. tenetí yε mo gá tí vóngó kóbe 'Why do you come to buy food in
na galá. -C30 the market?'
14. mo ke tambéla tongana yε sí 'How do you walk so that your
bongó tí mo atoto. -N80 clothes make noise?'
15. ngéré ní óke. -C30 'What's the price?'
16. mo língbi tí kε lo ngbangatí 'When can you reject him over
bongó lá wa. -C31 clothes. (i.e. Can you
possibly reject him over
clothes)?'
17. zo wa sí amú na mbi wa. -L186 'Who gave it to me?'
18. mo wara pendere bongó só 'Where did you get this nice
na ndo wa. -C31 dress?'
19. gendarme a-commandé li tí 'Does a policeman supervise
sárángó samba wala a-commandé the making of beer or the
li ti kángó kókó. -C30 selling of kókó?'
20. tongana mo te ngunzá, mo te 'When you eat manioc greens,
susu, mélangé na ni wala. -A44 do you eat fish, mixing them
with it, or what?'

16.20. Processes

The processes which characterize the construction of sentences are for the sake of convenience identified as addition, apposition, intercalation, repetition, and subordination. The last one is ignored here because it is amply illustrated in the discussion of complex clauses (q.v. 15.21.12).

Addition covers those constructions which are found at the ends of sentences where they seem to occur as afterthoughts or by way of explanation (ex. 5-7). Sentences with this kind of added elements are therefore not "typical" sentences.

Apposition covers those constructions which consist of functionally equal elements having an appositive relationship to each other (ex. 1-2). Very few occurred in the corpus, and it is my impression that this process is not frequently used in the language in general.

Intercalation--the insertion of a construction within a sentence (as is done parenthetically)--is likewise of infrequent occurrence (ex. 3-4). Perhaps intercalation differs from addition only by the position in the sentence, the one occurring within a sentence and the other at the end.

Repetition has a stylistic function which the others do not have. The process itself indicates intensity (e.g. *vokó vokó* 'very black'), continual action (agoe agoe 'he went on and on'), distribution (e.g. *mú otá otá* 'take them by threes'), and the like. It most frequently occurs with some of the adjunctives.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. mbi má na yá tí kótóró tí mbi,
Mangkanzi. -A40 | 'I heard it in my village,
Mangkanzi.' |
| 2. gí kótá gbíá, (fuwa tí í, só
atens, Bangasu), lo vení sí
a-commencé berá tí sára na
lá ní ká. -I39 | 'The principal chief, our fuwa,
that is, Bangasu, he's the
one who began wars at that
time.' |
| 3. fadé na pekó ní, mbi eke mú
ámbéni fonctionnaire, li tí
ála míngi, wala bale otá,
wala bale osió, wala bale
ukú kóé, mbi hínga pepe, tí
to ála na mbéni kótóró. -R3 | 'Later, I will take some civil
servants (many of them--
thirty or forty or even
fifty, I don't know) to
send them to other
countries.' |
| 4. mbi má Sango, mbi má mbírímbíri
ape, ngbangatí só mbi goe na
l'école. -A21 | 'I know Sango (although I don't
know it well) because I went
to school.' |
| 5. mo vo kárakó, kpí tí kárakó.
-A8 | 'You buy peanuts, rather,
peanut paste.' |
| 6. ála mú mbéni sembé tí í,
indigène só. -I39 | 'They took one of our pots, a
native one that is.' |
| 7. mbi sára koa tí passé bongó,
na l'hôpital. -I9 | 'I worked ironing clothes, in
a hospital.' |

PART FOUR: TEXTS

Chapter 17

A N A L Y S E D T E X T

The distribution of various types of syntactic constructions in a continuous narrative is illustrated by text N81, "A Mistreated Child." The speaker is Martine Bafio, an adolescent girl, born of Gbeya parents but a native speaker of Sango with practically no knowledge of her parents' language. Born and resident in Bangui, she has traveled extensively with her father who was in the national militia. Her religion is Protestant, but all of her education has been in the official schools in the French language. At the time of this recording she was in secondary school.

The location and frequencies of these constructions and sentences are indicated in the following tabulations. The symbols are to be interpreted in the following way:

NV	= non-verbal clause
C	= verbal clause
hyphen	= conjunctive union
comma	= disjunctive union
parenthesis	= complex clause
c	= subordinate clause

In the text, the vertical bar | is used to separate constructions to facilitate their identification. The comma is retained in the text to indicate non-terminal pause.

A. Sentences with pre-clausal constructions (13): 1, 2, 3, 6, 9, 10, 22, 23, 35, 37, 39, 43, 46.

B. Simple sentences (29):

Introduced with a connective (11): 4, 9, 10, 12, 13, 20, 31, 33, 35, 46, 54.

Introduced with no connective (18): 1, 2, 14, 15, 16, 18, 21, 22, 24, 32, 36, 42, 48, 49, 51, 52, 59, 60.

C. Complex sentences (35):

Non-verbal + verbal (3):

NV, C	64
NV-C	58
NV,(C,C)	56

Verbal clause + verbal clause joined conjunctively (3):

C-C	41, 63
(C,C)-C	45

Verbal clause + verbal clause joined disjunctively (20):

C,C	6, 7, 17, 26, 28, 29, 39, 40, 43, 44, 47, 55, 57.
C,C,C	3, 19, 25, 38, 50.
C,(C,C,C)	30
C,(C,C)	34

Subordinate clause + main clause (9):

sC,C	11
s(C,C),C	8
sC,(C,C)	5, 23, 27, 37
s(NV,C),C	62
s(C,C),(C,C)	53
s(sC,sC),C	61

D. Compound verb phrases (4): 11, 27, 36, 63 (compare with some very similar sequential clauses in 8 and 57).

A few observations about some sentences which pose problems in analysis are appropriate. Sentences 8, 11, and 37 might be described as consisting of sequential clauses rather than of an initial subordinate clause followed by a main clause. In sentence 9 the construction *nzoní laá, sí mbi eke ndo só* does not seem to be in construction with anything else. The construction *nzoní laá* 'it's good' can, of course, be followed by a clause (q.v. 15.21.12a), but hardly, I should imagine, by one which contains the verb *yí* 'to want.' The clause *sí mbi eke ndo só* is perhaps intercalated, but if *nzoní laá* is edited out and if *sí* is taken to be *só* (q.v. 15.21.12b), then it could be in construction with the following clause: i.e. 'Since you are here, I want to....' In any case there is a problem with *sí*, for this is hardly the place for the connective *sí*. Perhaps it is the French conjunction *si* 'if.' Sentence

27 seems to be poorly constructed: the first clause does not seem to be in construction with any other one; the second and third clauses may be constituents of a single complex clause, but it is my opinion that the third one is a correction or amplification of the second one. Sentence 31 is classified as C,C but it is possible that the second clause is a type of correction of the first, i.e. changing a Sango idiom for a French one. Sentence 32 is classified as a simple sentence, but it could also be looked upon as a constituent of a complex sentence which includes the material in what is classified as sentence 31. In sentence 61 there is no justification for two occurrences of fadé which marks future time. Since fadé occurs before the subject of a verb, yí só was probably first intended to be the subject, but at this point the sentence was restructured, necessitating the reintroduction of fadé.

A Mistreated Child (Ns1)

¹na l'heure só mbi de kété kété, |
babá tí mbi agoe na Fort Archambault.
²mamá tí mbi, na kété ita tí mbi, í na ála | í ngbá na Bangui.
³na l'heure só babá tí mbi asára ká lángó míngi awe, | mamá tí mbi, amú mbi | akpé, | agoe na ní na Damara, na kótóró tí átará tí mbi. ⁴na lo zia kété kété ita tí mbi óko, na yá tí da ní. ⁵na tongana babá tí mbi amá téné só awe, | amú lége, | agá. ⁶fadesó, | amú lége, | agoe na pekó tí mamá tí mbi ká. ⁷agoe, | amú í, | agá na ní.

⁸í gá | í sára lángó míngi ape, | mbéni aú tí mbi ní, | ála affecté lo na Mbaiki. ⁹na fadesó, | lo tene na mamá, | nzoni laá, | sí mbi eke ndo só, | ní yí tí mú mbi tí goe na ní. ¹⁰na

¹When I was still very small, my father went to Fort Archambault. ²My mother and my little sibling and I, we stayed in Bangui. ³When my father had been there many days (i.e. a long time), my mother took me and ran away with me to Damara, to the village of my ancestors. ⁴But she left one of my little siblings in the house. ⁵Now when my father heard about it, he took to the road and came back. ⁶Then he took to the road and followed my mother over there. ⁷He went and took us and brought us back.

⁸We came and had not spent many days when one of my uncles was appointed to Mbaiki. ⁹Then he said to Mother, "It would be good if I (i.e. the child) were here, I want to take

fadesó, | lo mú mbi, | lo goe na ní na Mbaiki ká. ¹¹í goe sára ká lángó míngi ape, | wále tí lo así na pekó tí í. ¹²na wále tí lo ní, ake na mérengé ngá aussi tongana mbi. ¹³mais wále tí lo ní, ayí mbi pepe. ¹⁴mbi eke taá saleté. ¹⁵ngusú ali téré tí mbi kíríkiri. ¹⁶téré tí mbi avokó. ¹⁷mbi dutí ngbii, | nzala ahó ndó tí mbi. ¹⁸mbi goe na pekó tí école ní. ¹⁹mbi goe | mbi nzí bulée tí sentinelle, | mbi te. ²⁰na sentinelle agbó mbi da lá kóé. ²¹mbi ke sára ndá tí téné ní na sentinelle. ²²sentinelle laá | ake sára téné na mbi ape. ²³lá kóé, | tongana nzala ahó ndó tí mbi, | mbi goe, | mbi éré na lo. ²⁴lo sùru na mbi fondo óko. ²⁵mbi gá | mbi zó | mbi te. ²⁶taá téré tí mbi avokó | alíngbi pepe.

²⁷quand même mbi ngbá [tí] sárángó école, | na tongana l'heure só mbi commencé gá kótá kété kété awe, | lé tí mbi a-commencé kpíngba awe, | mbi sára mbéti, | mbi toka na mamá na Bangui ge. ²⁸mbi tene mamá, | mbi tene, | wále tí aú tí mbi ní, ayí mbi pepe. ²⁹mbi báa pási | alíngbi pepe. ³⁰il faut mamá agoe na pekó tí mbi, | agoe, | amú mbi | agá na ní. ³¹na mamá asára pekó ní, | asára réponse tí mbéti ní. ³²ato kóá.

her to go with her. ¹⁰So then he took me, and he brought me to Mbaiki there. ¹¹We went and hadn't spent many days there, when his wife followed us. ¹²Now his wife had children also, like me. ¹³But his wife didn't like me. ¹⁴I was really filthy. ¹⁵Chiggers were all over my body. ¹⁶My body was black. ¹⁷After I stayed a long time, hunger overcame me. ¹⁸I went in back of the school. ¹⁹I went and stole the watchman's bananas, and I ate (them). ²⁰And the watchman caught me there all the time. ²¹I explained the whole thing to the watchman. ²²So the watchman didn't say anything to me. ²³Every day, when hunger got the best of me, I went and begged from the watchman. ²⁴He divided one plantain with me. ²⁵I came and roasted and ate it. ²⁶My body was black beyond belief.

²⁷Even so I still went to school, and when the time came when I began to grow big, and I began to understand (lit. my face hardened), I wrote a letter and sent it to Mother in Bangui here. ²⁸I said, "Mother," I said, "My uncle's wife doesn't like me. ²⁹I've seen more than enough suffering. ³⁰My mother must come after me and go and take me and return with me." ³¹And my mother wrote back, she answered the letter. ³²She sent word.

³³na wále tí aú tí mbi ní amá téné ní só. ³⁴amú mbi, | apíka mbi, | alíngbi ape. ³⁵na fadesó | mbi kpé. ³⁶mbi goe lánzó na da tí mbéni zo ní na mbáge tí gbé ní ká. ³⁷na pekó ní, | ayí tí sára lánzó míngi ape, | mamá tí mbi ní amú lége, | agá na pekó tí mbi. ³⁸agá amú mbi, agá na ní. ³⁹na fadesó, | mbi, na mamá, na babá, na ita tí mbi ní kóé, | í mú lége, | í goe na Fort Archambault, na place só babá asára kpa da kózo. ⁴⁰í goe | í sára ngú míngi ká. ⁴¹í sára ngú otá, | na mbi ngbá tí sára-ngó école lá kóé. ⁴²í dutí ká.

⁴³ámfréngé ní ká, | ála eke na yoró, | alíngbi ape. ⁴⁴angbá kété, | ála poisonné mbi. ⁴⁵yá tí mbi asúku, | akono tongana ballon, | sí ála pompé ní. ⁴⁶na fadesó, | mamá tí mbi adutí gí na vundú. ⁴⁷atoto | alíngbi ape. ⁴⁸agee na mbi na docteur. ⁴⁹docteur a-soigné mbi gbá. ⁵⁰mamá agá | amú mbi | akírí na kótóró tí aú tí lo, na Bossangoa. ⁵¹í goe ká. ⁵²aú tí lo ní asára yoró ní ngbii. ⁵³yá tí mbi ní agá, | a-diminué awe, | mamá agá | amú mbi. ⁵⁴na babá kóé atenzé, | ní yí tí ngbá na Fort Archambault ape. ⁵⁵amú mbi, | akírí na mbi na Bangui. ⁵⁶ní laá | í gá | í lánzó na ní na Bangui ngbii. ⁵⁷í gá | í sára ngú míngi na Bangui. ⁵⁸ní laá | sí nzala

³³Now the wife of my uncle heard about it. ³⁴She took me and beat me very badly. ³⁵So now I ran away. ³⁶I went and stayed in the house of a certain person over there on the lower side. ³⁷Afterwards, it wasn't too long after, my mother took to the road and came after me. ³⁸She came and took me and returned with me. ³⁹And now I, and Mother, and Father, and all my siblings, we went to Fort Archambault, to the place where Father had worked before. ⁴⁰We went and spent many years there. ⁴¹We stayed three years, and I continued to go to school regularly. ⁴²We lived there.

⁴³The children there, they had more charms! ⁴⁴A little more, and they would have poisoned me. ⁴⁵My stomach swelled and grew big like a balloon, as if they had pumped it up. ⁴⁶Now my mother was full of grief. ⁴⁷She cried a great deal. ⁴⁸She took me to the doctor. ⁴⁹The doctor treated me to no avail. ⁵⁰Mother came and took me and returned to the village of her uncle, in Bossangoa. ⁵¹We went there. ⁵²Her uncle made medicine for a while. ⁵³When my stomach had finally got smaller again, Mother came and took me. ⁵⁴And Father also said that he didn't want to stay in Fort Archambault. ⁵⁵They took me and returned with me to Bangui. ⁵⁶That's

tí kiringó na Fort Archambault a-
sára mbi bíaní ape. ⁵⁹í ngbá gí
na Bangui. ⁶⁰mbi sára école ngbii.

⁶¹na tongana, l'heure só í sára
kóé, | tongana mbi kono, | fadé yí só
kóé, | fadé mbi hinga. ⁶²mais, yí ní
laá, | mbi de mérengé, | mbi hinga kóé
ape. ⁶³mbi kono ngbii kóé | sí mamá
agá sára téné ní na pekó. ⁶⁴ní laá
mbi hinga ndá ní.

why we came and lived in Bangui a
long time. ⁵⁷We came and spent many
years in Bangui. ⁵⁸That's why I
have no real desire to return to
Fort Archambault. ⁵⁹We just stay
in Bangui. ⁶⁰I went to school a
long time.

⁶¹But when we did all that, if I
had been grown up, all those things,
I would have understood them. ⁶²But
the thing of it was, I was still a
child, and I didn't understand it
all. ⁶³After I had finished grow-
ing, then Mother came and told me
afterwards. ⁶⁴That's how I know
about it.

Chapter 18

R E A D I N G S

The texts which follow have been selected from the corpus in such a way as to be as representative as possible. In other words, they represent a wide variety of speakers as well as of types of speech. The variables which have been considered in making the selection, as regards speakers, include sex, age, native language, religious background, and degree of sophistication. The last is, obviously, a rather subjective criterion, but included in it are such matters as amount and kind of education, amount of travel, opportunities for employment bringing close contact with Whites, living in the city, and so forth. As for the kinds of texts included, there are ethnographic notes, (A texts), a conversation, fables, the more sequential portions of an interview, narratives of childhood memories, and selections from radio programs. One brief letter has been included to illustrate one direction in which written style may possibly develop. Following is a brief sketch of each informant.

Cooking Caterpillars (A8). The informant was Ibouka H el ene, an adult married woman, a native speaker of Banda, born at Bouca, a Protestant, with extensive travel experience, an inhabitant of Bangui, with a knowledge of reading and writing in Sango.

Cooking Greens (A11). The informant is Susanne Yada, an adult married woman, a native speaker of Ngbaka-Manza, born at Damara, a Protestant, also widely traveled and a resident of Bangui, with a knowledge of reading and writing in Sango.

Old-Time Iron-Working (A13). The informant is Wik  Andr e, an elderly man, a native speaker of Manza, born at Fort Crampel, employed by Protestant missionaries for many years as a kitchen helper, with a knowledge of reading in Sango. It should be noted that sentences 23, 35, and 29 are questions asked by Samarin of the informant.

Hunting With Nets (A50). The informant is Kadi, an adult man, a native speaker of Isungu, born at Mbaiki, employed as a carpenter, a Catholic knowing how to read and write French moderately well.

Women Discuss Clothes (C31). The informants are A. an adult woman, a native speaker of Ali, resident at Mbaiki, a Protestant, with a wide experience of the world and a knowledge of reading in Sango; and B. an adult woman, a native speaker of Manza, resident at Mbaiki, a Protestant, with a wide experience of the world and a knowledge of reading in Sango.

Spider and the Field (F4). The informant is Gabriel Gari, an adult man, a native speaker of Ngbaka-Manza, born at Dama near Bouca, resident at Bouca, a Protestant catechist with a basic literacy education in Sango.

The Young Man, the Young Girls, and the Old Woman (F7). The informant is Wikq André, the same as for A13 above.

Building an Airfield and Hunting Elephants (I55). The informant is Ngunzapa, a young married man, a native speaker of Zande, born at Mboki near Obo, resident in his home village, with a certain experience in traveling and in employment with White Men.

Personal Greetings (L3). The writer is Gounté Gédéon, an adult man, a native speaker of Gbeya, born and resident in a village 25 kilometers west of Bossangoa, a Protestant catechist, blind but literate in Braille in his native language and Sango. The letter was dictated.

Buying and Selling in the Market (N78). The informant is Suzanne Baye, an adolescent girl, daughter of a French father and a Gbeya mother and a native speaker of Creole Sango, born and resident in Bangui, a Protestant with a secondary education in French.

A School Day (N79). See 7.22 for text, and chp. 17 for data about the informant.

Childhood Experiences (N80). The informant is Suzanne Baye, as for N78 above.

The Liver Fluke Disease (R4a). Both speakers are radio announcers, well educated in French. The one who introduces the questions (sentences 1 to 19) and who closes the program (sentences 32 to 35) is Albert Jeune, while the one who presents the answers (sentences 20 to 31) is Gaston Ngerezange. Both are adult men, whose native language and place of birth are unknown to us, and both are Catholics.

Announcing a Show (R7f). The informant is Pauline Mbamba, an adult woman, native language and place of birth unknown, well educated in French and a professional radio announcer, and a Catholic.

Recipe: Kidneys with Wine (R9a). There are again two speakers. The one who introduces the program (sentences 1 to 11) is Léon Théophile Zouma, an adult man, native language and place of birth unknown, well educated in French, a professional radio announcer, and a Catholic. The other (sentences 12 through to the end) is Cécile Simba, an adult woman, native language and place of birth unknown, well educated in French, a professional radio announcer and a Catholic.

A few typographical conventions have been used in the Sango text of the selections:

(...) indicates material purposely omitted, either because it was of no interest or because it contained too many anomalies.

[] indicates editorial insertions, where a word is obviously missing.

... indicates material that was unintelligible on the tape.

** indicates editorial emendations of words; some pauses have been tidied up, but without being indicated.

Material in parentheses in the translation is added for intelligibility.

Cooking Caterpillars (A8)

¹na kótóró tí mbi, tongana ámamá
 agoe na ngonda tí mú makongó, na
 ála mú makongó kóé awe, agá sí na
 kótóró fadesó. ²azía ála na yá
 tí sakpá. ³alungúla lé tí wá,
 agá túku na ndó tí makongó só
 na yá tí sakpá. ⁴amú lé tí wá
 míngi míngi azía na ndó ní, na
 kóá tí ála só ́ko ́ko kóé agbí.
⁵sí mamá agá túku ála na yá tí ta.
⁶azía ngú da, asukúla.

¹In my village, when the mothers used
 to go into the bush to get cater-
 pillars, and when they had finished
 gathering them, they would go into
 the village. ²They put them into a
 basket. ³They took live coals and
 dumped them on top of the cater-
 pillars in the basket. ⁴They took
 lots of coals and put them on top
 of them, and every single one of
 their (i.e. the caterpillars') hairs
 burned. ⁵Then mother went and dumped
 them into a pot. ⁶She put water in
 and washed them.

⁷encore, azia ta na wa. ⁸fadesó atúku ála da ayóro ála nzoní, ngbangatí ála fí. ⁹tongasó ála leke ála kóé nzoní awe, agá zía ála fadesó na yá tí ta. ¹⁰apíka kpi tí sindi na yíngó tí kótóró tí basánze, agá mú, agá zía da. ¹¹amú kpi tí sindi só, atúku na ndó ní. ¹²fadesó amé gozo da azia na sése.

¹³afú tí í áméréngé. ¹⁴áméréngé aeke na mbáge tí te, na ákótá zo aeke na mbáge aussi tí te ngá, na ákóli aeke na mbáge aussi tí te tí ála ngá.

¹⁵eh bien tí fadesó na Bangui ndo só, mo goe mo vo makongó awe, mo gá mo túku na yá tí sembé, mo mú kété kété zembe. ¹⁶tongana mérengé aeke na gbé tí mo, eh bien mo éré mérengé fadesó.

¹⁷na tongana mbéni camarade tí mo agá na mo, mo na lo í dutí tí causé, fadesó ita tí mo só amú zembe ngá, ála lungúla kii ní só na téré ní só, alungúla óko óko kóé. ¹⁸tongasó sí mo bóngbi na koko lége óko. ¹⁹mo zía mafuta na wa. ²⁰mafuta ake kporo.

²¹na tongasó, mo leke makongó só kóé, mo kpaka kii ní só na téré tí ála nzoní ngbangatí agbó gó tí mo.

⁷Next, she put a pot on the fire. ⁸Now she dumped them in and fried them well, to prevent their rotting. ⁹So when she had well prepared them all, she came and put them next into a pot. ¹⁰She pounded sesame paste with home-made village salt, and came and put it (i.e. this mixture) in. ¹¹She took this sesame paste, and dumped it on top. ¹²Now she stirred manioc into it and put it on the ground.

¹³She gave us children ours. ¹⁴The children were to one side to eat, and the older people were also along one side to eat too, and the men were also along one side to eat theirs too.

¹⁵But now here in Bangui, when you have gone and bought caterpillars, you come and dump them into a dish, and you take a little knife. ¹⁶If there is a child serving you, you call the child now. ¹⁷And if a friend of yours comes and you and she sit to chat, now this friend also takes a knife, and you all remove the prickly hairs that are on their bodies, you remove each and every one. ¹⁸When this is done, you combine them with koko leaves. ¹⁹You put fat on the fire. ²⁰The fat boils. ²¹And thus you prepare all the caterpillars, you scrape off all the hairs from their bodies well to prevent their catching in your throat.

²²tongasó kóé awe, mo leke kóé
awe, fadesó mo gá mo túku mafuta
na yá ta, (...). ²³mo eke Yakoma
tí te mbúru pepe. ²⁴eh bien
fadesó, mo gá fadesó, mo mú
l'huile só mo zía na yá ta fadesó
nzoní, mo kánga yángá ní. ²⁵eh
bien, mo gá, mo fáa yá tí oignon
tí mo kóé. ²⁶tongana boíte tí
tomate aeke, mo túku da. ²⁷mo
leke nzoní kóé. ²⁸fadesó mo gá
mo mú kóko tí mo kóé, mo zía na
makongó só.

²⁹allé mo zía ngú na wá, chauffé.
³⁰mo túku makongó só na yá ní.
³¹fadesó mo gá mo leke kóé mo
sukúla propre. ³²mo gá mo zía
na yá tí mafuta. ³³depuis só,
andáa, oignon abe awe. ³⁴mo túku
makongó só na yá ní. ³⁵tongana
alíngbi na l'heure tí túku ngú
da, mo zía ngú da. ³⁶fadesó na
pekó ní mo yí tí báa ndo, mo zía
kpí. ³⁷mo mú kósó, kpí ní aeke
kósó, mo mú mo zía da fadesó.

³⁸eh bien na pekó ní, tongana kósó
só akporo kété, alíngbi na
l'heure ní mafuta ní a-commencé
sí gígí kóé, eh bien mo gá mo mú
kóko fadesó, mo túku na ndó bé ní.
³⁹allé mo gá mo tourné fadesó, mo
zía na sése. ⁴⁰tongana mo zía na

²²When this is all done, and you have
finished fixing them, you pour fat into
a pot. (²³You're not a Yakoma to eat
palm oil!) ²⁴And now, you come and take
this oil which you have just put into
the pot, you cover it. ²⁵Now you come
and cut up all your onions. ²⁶If there
is a can of tomatoes, you take it and
dump it in. ²⁷You make it very good.
²⁸Now you come and take all your kóko
leaves, you put them with the cater-
pillars.

²⁹Then you put water on the fire to
heat. ³⁰You pour the caterpillars into
it. ³¹Now you get them all ready, you
wash them very clean. ³²You come and
put them into the oil. ³³In the mean-
time, it turns out that the onions are
done. ³⁴You pour the caterpillars into
them. ³⁵When it is time to put water in,
you put water in. ³⁶Now a little while
later, you put in paste. ³⁷You take
kósó gourd seeds, the paste is (of)
gourd seeds, you take and put it in
at this time.

³⁸Well, later on, when the kósó gourd
seeds have boiled a little, at that
time when the oil (from the seeds) has
begun to come to the top, then you
take kóko leaves, you put them on top
of it (i.e. the mixture). ³⁹Now you
stir it, and you put it on the ground.

wá jusqu'à, fadé koko ní agá
ngangó awe. ⁴¹tongana mo tourné
kété alíngbi na ní awe, mo zía
na sése.

⁴²fadesó tongana mo yí tí te na
fondo, mo te. ⁴³tongana mo yí tí
te na gozo, mo te. ⁴⁴só aske
dépend mo. ⁴⁵só lége ní laá,
makongó só na ndo só laá, na
Bangui laá mbi fa só.

⁴⁶mais tí kótóró tí mbi, í zía
kpí tí sindi na ndó ní, na
kárakó, sí í ke te na ní. ⁴⁷tí
Bangui laá. ⁴⁸ake tí zía mafuta
na koko na oignon, kóé tí zía da,
sí mo leke nzoní mo te. ⁴⁹eh bien
fadesó na lége tí tóngó tí wále,
na Bangui ndo só, míngi ámbéni
wále ahínga tí tóngó lége tí
ngunzá. ⁵⁰míngi ámbéni ahínga
tí tó pepe. ⁵¹ake bi adorónu da,
na ake píka veké azía da sí ake
te na ní. ⁵²mais, na Bangui, mbéni
wále sí a-civilisé awe. ⁵³lo
hínga atene ní eke wále, só aske
sára koa tí da tí kóli tí lo
nzoní, ake. ⁵⁴lo gá avo ngunzá
tí páta osió. ⁵⁵só a-dépend lo.
⁵⁶tongana lo vo tí vingt francs,
alíngbi lo.

⁴⁰If you leave it on the fire for a
long time, then the koko leaves will
get tough. ⁴¹When you have stirred it
a little, but enough, you put it on
the ground.

⁴²Now if you want to eat it with
plantains, you do. ⁴³If you want to
eat it with manioc, you do. ⁴⁴That
depends on you. ⁴⁵That's the way,
that's caterpillars here, in Bangui,
that I've just described.

⁴⁶But in my village, we put sesame
paste on top of it, and peanuts, and
then we eat them together. ⁴⁷This is
Bangui's way. ⁴⁸It's to put oil and
koko leaves and onions, to put it all
in, and so you prepare it well and you
eat it. ⁴⁹But now as concerns the way
women cook here in Bangui, many women
know how to cook greens. ⁵⁰Many others
don't know how to cook (them). ⁵¹You
put in Hausa salt, and you pound okra
and you put it in, and so you eat them
together. ⁵²But in Bangui, some women
have become civilized. ⁵³There is one,
she knows that she is a woman who
does all the work of her husband's
house well. ⁵⁴She goes and buys manioc
greens worth twenty francs. ⁵⁵That
depends on her. ⁵⁶If she buys twenty
francs' worth, that suffices her.

⁵⁷eh bien tongasó, avo kóé agá,
afáa ngunzá ní kóé, abi kéké ní
na sése. ⁵⁸eh bien amú ngú azía
na wá na ta. ⁵⁹aéke kporo. ⁶⁰lo
mú ngunzá só, na kugbé ní, agá
túku na yá tí ngú só a-tourné
a-tourné. ⁶¹títene asára na wá
pepe. ⁶²gí ngú só aéke na wá,
aéke kporo. ⁶³tongasó na amú
atúku na yá ní. ⁶⁴atourné kóé
awe, fadesó lo gá lo lungúla
ngunzá só, na yá tí ngú só,
azía na yá tí yengere.

⁶⁵tongana ngú só kóé ayuru da
awe, lo mú banc azía na sése allé
atúku na ndó bé ní, abóngbi lége
óko na oignon, adé a-écrasé yá ní
nzoní. ⁶⁶eh bien agá túku na yá
tí mafuta fadesó, ató nzoní.
⁶⁷tongana midi alíngbi, kóli tí
lo agá tí te, lo báa tongana yama
aéke na yá ní. ⁶⁸andáa yama aéke
ape. ⁶⁹taá gí ngunzá séngé,
kugbé séngé, sí lo tó só. ⁷⁰mais
wále ní aéke wále tí ndaráa, na
lo hínga tí sárángó kpa tí kóli
tí lo, títene asára na mabóko óse
pepe, na bé óko.

⁵⁷So then when she has bought it, she
comes and cuts up the manioc greens
and throws away the stems. ⁵⁸Then she
takes water and puts it on the fire
in a pot. ⁵⁹It boils. ⁶⁰She takes the
greens, while they are still leaves,
dumps them into the water and stirs
and stirs. ⁶¹That is to say, she
doesn't do it over the fire. ⁶²The
water alone has been on the fire and
has been boiling. ⁶³And so she takes
and dumps them in. ⁶⁴When she has
stirred them thoroughly, next she
comes and removes the greens from
the water and puts them into a sieve.

⁶⁵When the water has entirely drained
away, she takes a mixing board (Fr.
'bench') and puts it on the ground
and pours them (i.e. the greens)
on top of it, mixes them with onions,
and crushes them well. ⁶⁶Then she
pours them into oil next, and cooks
them well. ⁶⁷At noon, her husband
comes to eat, and looks to see if
there is any meat in it. ⁶⁸But there
isn't any meat. ⁶⁹It's just greens,
just plain leaves, that she has
cooked. ⁷⁰But she is a smart woman,
and she knows how to do her husband's
work, that is, she doesn't do it
half-heartedly (lit. with two hands),
but whole-heartedly.

⁷¹ sí fadé kóli tí lo alóndó ká
na kpa agá, agá na mbéni á-
camarade tí lo sí ála te. ⁷²a-
tane, oui, madame só ahínga tí
leke yá da tí lo nzoní. ⁷³ngunzá
tí Bangui laá.

⁷⁴ mais tí kótóró, tongana tí
kótóró tí mbi, na Bouca, fadesó,
mo goe mo fáa ngunzá na ngonda.
⁷⁵ mo gá fadesó, mo mú kéké tí wá
mo bóngbi, mo zía ta tí basánze
na wá, mo tourné ngunzá só kóé na
kéké tí gozo, mo zía na yá tí
kpu. ⁷⁶ mo sukúla téré ní pepe,
angbá saleté séngé séngé. ⁷⁷ mo
pika ngbii kóé mo bi adorónu da,
na mo mú yíngó tí basánze encore,
mo túku da. ⁷⁸ mo mú kpi tí kárakó
encore mo túku da, mo mú veké. mo
zía da. ⁷⁹ tí taá kótóró tí mbi
laá.

⁸⁰ eh bien mo mélangé tongasó mo
zía na sése mo te. ⁸¹ na bí, mo ke
lángó. ⁸² mo toto yá tí mo, míngi.
⁸³ tenetí yé? ⁸⁴ tenetí mo hínga
tí leke pepe. ⁸⁵ hygiène atane mo
leke yí nzoní mo tó kóbe nzoní
propre, sí mo te. ⁸⁶ tongasó ape,
mo língbi tí wara yama na yá tí
mo (...). ** ⁸⁷ mais ámbéni míngi, na
kótóró tí mbi ámbéni míngi ahínga
tí tó ngunzá pepe.

⁷¹ So her husband will leave his job
and come, bringing some friends with
him to eat. ⁷² They will say, "Surely,
this lady knows how to keep house
well." ⁷³ That's manioc greens in
Bangui.

⁷⁴ But in the village, as in my village
of Bouca, you go cut greens in the
bush. ⁷⁵ Now you come and take fire-
wood and gather it, you put a rustic
pot on the fire, you stir all the
greens with the manioc stick, you put
them in the mortar. ⁷⁶ You don't wash
it (i.e. the mortar), it just remains
dirty and unwashed. ⁷⁷ You pound (the
greens) for a good while, you throw
in some Hausa salt, and you take some
bush salt also and pour it in. ⁷⁸ You
take peanut paste besides and dump it
in, and you take okra and put it in.
⁷⁹ That's the way in my own village.

⁸⁰ And so you mix it like that, you put
it on the ground and eat it. ⁸¹ At night,
you're sleeping. ⁸² You complain a lot
of your stomach. ⁸³ Why? ⁸⁴ Because you
don't know how to fix it. ⁸⁵ Hygiene
says you should prepare things well,
you should cook food properly, before
eating. ⁸⁶ If not, you can get parasites
inside your belly. ⁸⁷ But many, in my
village many don't know how to pre-
pare greens.

⁸⁸même na Bangui fadesó kóé na ndo só, ámbení wále ahinga tí leke yá tí da tí ála pepe, na hinga tí tó ngunzá pepe. ⁸⁹mais lége só ita, finí ngunzá só fadesó así, goe vo ngunzá tí mo na galá. ⁹⁰mo gá zía na ngú na wá ake kporo. ⁹¹mo túku ngunzá tí mo na yá ní, mo leke propre. ⁹²mo te, fadé mo língbi tí wara malade tí yá pepe. ⁹³tenetí í sára kóbe na lége ní pepe. ⁹⁴ní laá sí í ke wara malade míngi, sí í toto yá tí í, ndá adé goe l'hôpital, malade tí yá, malade tí yá. ⁹⁵mais gí na lége tí lékengó kóbe.

⁹⁶na ngú mo tó na yá tí ngú tóngó, mo túku na yá tí filtre, sí mo yó nzoní. ⁹⁷na tongana mo sára tongasó pepe, lá kóé mo eke wara malade. ⁹⁸ndá adé yá tí mbi aso. ⁹⁹ndá adé kóli tí mo amú nginza ake buba séngé séngé na yá tí ngonda. ¹⁰⁰mais, gí na lége tí kóbe só mo leke nzoní ape.

⁸⁸Even in Bangui now, right here also, many women don't know how to keep house, and they don't know how to cook greens. ⁸⁹But sister, the way these new greens are nowadays, you go buy your greens in the market. ⁹⁰You come and put water on the fire, and it boils. ⁹¹You dump your greens into it, and you make them clean. ⁹²When you eat, you won't get stomach diseases. ⁹³It's because we don't make food in the right way. ⁹⁴That is why we get so many sicknesses, and why we complain of our stomachs, and in the early morning go to the hospital, (saying), "Stomach sickness, stomach sickness!" ⁹⁵But it's just on account of the way we fix food.

⁹⁶And as for water, when you get it from the river, pour it into a filter, so that you may drink it properly. ⁹⁷But if you don't do this, you will always be getting sick. ⁹⁸In the early morning, "My stomach hurts." ⁹⁹In the early morning, your husband takes money and wastes it for nothing. ¹⁰⁰All because you don't fix food right.

Cooking Greens (A11)

¹tongasó, mo goe na galá, mo wara ngunzá, mo vo. ²mo goe na galá, mo vo ngunzá, mo fáa ngunzá ní awe, mo vo kárakó, kpi tí kárakó. ³anzere na ní míngi. ⁴tongasó, mo gá, mo fáa ngunzá ní ngbii kóé,

¹So you go to the market, and you find and buy some greens. ²When you've gone to the market and bought greens, and cut up the greens, you buy peanuts, (or rather) peanut paste. ³It's very tasty with them. ⁴So you come, and

mo yóro kóé. ⁵mo píka yá ní ngbii kóé. ⁶goe mo vo mafuta tí báláwá. ⁷mo túku da, mo tó na ní ngbii kóé. ⁸tongasó, mo zía kpí tí kárákó só, mo ne, ngbii. ⁹kárákó ní ari nzoní míngi. ¹⁰mo túku kpí tí kárákó só da. ¹¹tongasó, mo píka veké, mo zía da. ¹²mo kánga yángá ní, akporo ngbii, awóko nzoní míngi. ¹³eh bien tongasó, mo mú mo zía na sése.

¹⁴mo sára kóbe ngbii, jusqu'à. ¹⁵midi a-língbi awe, mo gá mo mú sembé, mo túku da, ngbii, kóé. ¹⁶mo goe zía na ndó tí table. ¹⁷mo leke na nzoní. ¹⁸ngunzá ní aeke nzoní. ¹⁹tongana mo yí da, titene, mo zía bágara da, tí tó na ní, só aeke nzoní. ²⁰mo mú mo zía na ndó tí table. ²¹l'heure tí midi alíngbi awe, tongasó kóli tí mo alóndó ká na kpa, agá. ²²a-commencé tí dutí na yángá tí ngunzá só tí têngó ní. ²³eh bien, lo te ngunzá ní kóé awe, mo goe mo mú na lo ngú, lo sukúla mabóko tí lo kóé, lo yé ngú na pekó ní. ²⁴ngunzá ní anzere míngi. ²⁵só tóngó yí tí áwále laá.

you cut up the greens until they're finished, (then) you fry them. ⁵You pound them a while until they're done. ⁶You go buy some shea butter. ⁷You dump it in, and you cook it together for a while until it's done. ⁸Then you put in the peanut paste, which you've thoroughly crushed for a while. ⁹The peanuts are very well crushed. ¹⁰You put in these peanuts. ¹¹So then you pound okra and put it in. ¹²You cover it (i.e. the pot), and it boils a while, until it (i.e. the food) is good and soft. ¹³So then you take and put it on the ground.

¹⁴You spend some time fixing the food. ¹⁵When noon has come, you take a dish, and you put (the food) in it, until it's all ready. ¹⁶You go put it on the table. ¹⁷You fix it nicely. ¹⁸The greens are very good. ¹⁹If you wish, you may put some beef into it, to cook with it, and that's very good. ²⁰You take it and put it on the table. ²¹When noon has fully come, then your husband leaves work and comes. ²²He begins to sit before these greens to eat them. ²³Then when he has finished eating the greens, you go get him some water, he washes his hands, and afterwards drinks some water. ²⁴The greens are very tasty. ²⁵That's the way women cook food.

Old-Time Iron-Working (A13)

¹kózo ní, ákótará tí áni asára kótá potopóto tongasó jusqu'à, [a]-monté na ndúzú. ²na ndá ní, ála mú mbéni átémé. ³amú mbéni témé tongasó, ála zó á-charbon, abóngbi ála lége óko. ⁴tongasó, asára kótá wá da. ⁵na témé só, aske témé só, wé aske na yá ní. ⁶wé ní aske descend na sése, aske gá tí lo, na mbéni [yí] tí saleté aske sí gígí na mbéni kété dú.

⁷na ndá ní, ála sára na wá, jusqu'à tongana wé ní agá dutí na sése awe. ⁸a-commencé na sept heures, jusqu'à, tongana aske ndápéréré, wé só agá, ahúnzi awe. ⁹purú tí lo kóé así gígí kóé awe, na taá wé ní aske.

¹⁰tongasó ála mú mbéni wé só, ála sára éré [ní] sab'a, ála mú na gígí, na ála fáa yá ní. ¹¹tongasó ála kángbi, ála sára na ngáfó.

¹²na fadesó, na pópó tí áni, tongana mbunzú agá awe, ála zía lége ní awe. ¹³tongasó, kótará tí áni fadesó, ake sára mbéni yí tongasó encore apt, na ála girísa lége tí wé tí ála kóé awe.

¹⁴na áni hinga aske yí tí mbito míngi, tongana ála girísa yí tí

¹Formerly, our ancestors used to make a great pile of mud like that (making a gesture) until it was high in the air.

²Afterwards, they took certain stones.

³When they had taken certain stones like this, and had made charcoal, they combined them. ⁴And so they made a great fire in it. ⁵Now these stones were stones in which there was iron. ⁶The iron used to come down, and some impurities used to come out through another small hole.

⁷Afterwards, they kept up the fire, until the iron had finished coming down to the ground. ⁸They began at seven o'clock, until, when it was morning, the iron had finished coming.

⁹All its impurities had finished coming out, and the real iron was there.

¹⁰And so they took a certain tool, which they called sab'a (i.e. tongs), and they took it out (with the tongs) and divided it. ¹¹And thus they divided it up and made it into hoes.

¹²But now, among us, since the White Man has come, they have given up this way. ¹³And so now, our elders aren't making things like this any more, and they have forgotten their way with iron entirely. ¹⁴Now we know it is a fearful thing when men have forgotten the things of the village. ¹⁵Among us,

kótóró awe. ¹⁵na pópó tí áni, áni baa, aake tongasó, ála girísa yí tí kótóró awe. ¹⁶na áwále só aake leke ta, fadesó ála zía lége tí leke ta awe. ¹⁷ála sára ta encore pepe. ¹⁸na pópó tí áni, áwále tí Manza asára ta encore pepe. ¹⁹ázo tí sára wé ála leke wé mbéni encore pepe. ²⁰tongasó, ála ke kú tí wara, tongana ála wara ressort tí kutukutu só aake fáa ála sára na ngáfó, ála ke sára na mbéni yí ndé, mais ála sára goigói fadesó míngi. ²¹na áni hínga yí tí kótóró tí áni aake diminué awe. ²²na lége tí ákótará tí áni fadesó, a-diminué awe.

²³ngáfó aake yé?

²⁴ngáfó aake kpóka.

²⁵tí fáa na yáká?

²⁶tí fáa na yáká. ²⁷tongasó, na yángá tí mbi, éré [ní] wara.

²⁸mais ngáfó aake yángá tí Banda.

²⁹sab'a aake yé?

³⁰sab'a aake mbéni wé só aleke tongasó, tí gbó na wé na lé tí wá.

we realize that it's like that, that they have forgotten the things of the village. ¹⁶And those women who used to make pots, now they have given up making pots. ¹⁷They don't make pots any more. ¹⁸Among us Manza women, we don't make pots any more. ¹⁹Iron workers don't work with iron any more. ²⁰So they wait to see if they can find a broken car spring from which they may make hoes, from which they can make other things, for they are very lazy now. ²¹And we realize that the things of our village have diminished. ²²And the ways of our ancestors have diminished by now.

²³What is a "ngáfó?"

²⁴A "ngáfó" is a hoe.

²⁵To make a garden with?

²⁶To make a garden with. ²⁷Now in my language, its name is "wara." ²⁸But "ngáfó" is in the Banda language.

²⁹What is a "sab'a?"

³⁰A "sab'a" is a certain iron tool which they make like this to grab the iron from out of the fire.

Hunting with Nets (A50)

¹na kótóró tí í í eke goe na gbánda. ²kótóró tí í aake Gbogbondo. ³babá tí mbi aake Sekolo. ⁴í ke goe na gbánda, na áméréngé

¹In our part of the country we go out with nets. ²Our village is Gbogbondo. ³My father is Sekolo. ⁴We go out with nets, with many children, all our

míngi, áíta tí í kóé, na ámbení zo tí kótóró míngi. ⁵í na ála kóé i goe na gbánda. ⁶akánga gbánda tí fáa yama. ⁷tongana í fáa yama awe, í gá place tí bála ní. ⁸í mú yama só, í kángbi, tenetí á-famille. ⁹ála te kété kété kété jusqu'à alíngbi, alíngbi ála. ¹⁰í mú tanga ní, tongana tanga ní angbá, í vo na nginza, tenetí payé l'impôt tí gouvernement. ¹¹aéke tongasó, só í ke sára na kótóró tí í na Gbogbondo.

¹²éé mbéni téné ní aéke kété.

¹³tongana makunzi tí kótóró tí í, í fáa yama awe, í mú mbéni, í mú na makunzi. ¹⁴tenetí yé. ¹⁵lo vení sí a-commandé kótóró. ¹⁶na kapita só, premier kapita só aéke na pekó tí makunzi, í mú mbéni yama, í mú na ála. ¹⁷tenetí yé. ¹⁸lo sí a-commandé kótóró sí í mú na ála.

¹⁹í eke goe sára mbéni lángó, ou bien nze óse kóé, mbéni nze otá na gbánda, mbéni nze otá na gbánda. ²⁰oui, ámbení zo aéke dú áméréngé gí na gbánda.

²¹jusqu'à mbéni méréngé aduti kóé tongana tí Ngumape só kóé.

²²na mbáge tí í aéke tongasó.

brothers, and many other villagers.

⁵We all go out with nets together.

⁶We set up the nets, to kill animals.

⁷When we've killed an animal, we come to the camping place. ⁸We take the

animal, we divide it up, for the (various) families. ⁹They eat little by

little until they've had enough, enough for them. ¹⁰We take what's left, if

there is any left over, and we sell it for money to pay the government's

taxes. ¹¹It's like this that we do it in our village of Gbogbondo.

¹²Oh yes, there's one more little thing.

¹³When there's a chief in the village, when we've killed an animal, we take some (meat) and give it to the chief.

¹⁴Why? ¹⁵(just because) it's he who commands the village. ¹⁶And the headmen, the first headmen who come just after the chief, we take some of the meat and give it to them. ¹⁷Why? ¹⁸Just because he commands the village, so that we give some to them.

¹⁹We go out for a number of days, perhaps two full months, other times three months with the nets, other times three full months with the nets. ²⁰Yes, and some people even have babies out by the nets. ²¹After a while, some of the children sit up completely just like this one of Ngumape's. ²²It's like that out our way.

Women Discuss Clothes (C31)

A. ¹íta. ²bara o.

B. ³bara míngi o.

A. ⁴íta. ⁵mo wara pendere bongó ní só na ndo wa.

B. ⁶íta, mbi wara na Moura-Gouveia o.

A. ⁷íta. ⁸zo wasó avo na mo pendere bongó ní só.

B. ⁹íta. ¹⁰kóli tí mbi ape?

A. ¹¹íta. ¹²kóli tí mo só ayí mo míngi ma.

B. ¹³lo yí mbi ngbangatí mbi sára kóa tí lo míngi ape?

A. ¹⁴mais íta, mo sára kóa ahú ámbení wále na kótóró só kóe sí mo wara pendere bongó só?

B. ¹⁵íta. ¹⁶ka mo hinga manière tí wále aske ndé ndé ape?

A. ¹⁷íta o, fadé mbi wara tí mbi pendere bongó na ndo wa o.

B. ¹⁸o íta, tongana mo sára kóa tí kóli tí mo nzoni, fadé mo wara ngá kóe séngé.

A. ¹⁹mais íta, mbi ke sukúla bongó na kóli só, ka mbi passé, ka mbi wara pendere bongó tongasó ape ma.

B. ²⁰o íta hinga ape, mo sára kóa ní juste ape.

A. ²¹mais íta, mo fa manière tí kóa ní só mo ke sára sí mo wara na yí tongasó na mbi ape?

B. ²²íta, kóa ní ape. ²³lo lóndó na kóa na midi agá mo embrassé lo.

A. ¹Sister. ²Hello.

B. ³A cordial hello.

A. ⁴Sister. ⁵Where did you get those beautiful clothes?

B. ⁶Sister, I got them at Moura-Gouveia.

A. ⁷Sister. ⁸Who bought you these beautiful clothes?

B. ⁹Sister. ¹⁰Wasn't it my husband?

A. ¹¹Sister. ¹²Your husband must love you a lot.

B. ¹³Doesn't he love me because I do a lot of work for him?

A. ¹⁴But sister, do you do so much more work than all the other women of the village, to get these beautiful clothes?

B. ¹⁵Sister. ¹⁶Don't you know that the wives of women are many?

A. ¹⁷But sister, where will I get beautiful clothes?

B. ¹⁸Oh sister, if you do your husband's work well, you'll get some also without any trouble.

A. ¹⁹But sister, I wash this man's clothes, and I iron, and I still don't get any beautiful clothes like this.

B. ²⁰Oh, sister, it might be that you don't do the work very well.

A. ²¹Then sister won't you show me the way you do your work so as to get things like this?

B. ²²Sister, it's not the work. ²³When he leaves work at noon, come kiss him.

²⁴mo mú chapeau na li tí lo.

²⁵mo mú na lo ngú lo sukúla lé tí lo. ²⁶koa ní laá awe.

A. ²⁷mais íta, lá kóé mbi ke sára na lo tongasó. ²⁸ndo ka mbi balayé. (...) ²⁹mais kóli só ayí mbi mbírímbírí ape.

B. ³⁰o í hinga ngá yí ní ape.

³¹peut-être bǐ tí lo ayí mo ape laá.

A. ³²mais íta, mbi má ála tene ála ke mú kóli gí na kété yoró tí bata téré ape?

B. ³³o íta, zo ahánda mo ape. ³⁴yoró aeke séngé. ³⁵sí zo ahánda mo séngé tí foutu ngingza tí mo ape?

A. ³⁶mais íta, mo hánda mbi ape mo sára na mbi taá téné fadé mbi kóé mbi démerdé na lége tí yí tongasó mbi wara ngá bongó mbi yú ma.

B. ³⁷jamais, gí koa tí da tí kóli óko awe.

A. ³⁸mais íta, mo báa óko bongó só avurú na téré tí mbi, mbi yí tí goe na marché, kaméla ake sára mbi míngi ape?

B. ³⁹o hinga ape, ngingza aeke na lo ape laá lo sára mo tongasó.

⁴⁰mo prié gí na Nzapá awe.

A. ⁴¹mais íta, lá kóé mbi ke prié.

⁴²quand même ngingza ní aeke da, lo vo na mbi bongó ape. ⁴³fadé mbi sára tongana yé.

²⁴Take his hat from his head.

²⁵Give him water to wash his face.

²⁶That's all the work there is to it.

A. ²⁷But sister, I always do this for him. ²⁸Like sweeping, I sweep the place.

²⁹But this man doesn't love me the right way.

B. ³⁰Oh, we don't understand the thing.

³¹Perhaps it's because his liver doesn't like you.

A. ³²But sister, I've heard it said that they catch a man just with some little good luck charm, isn't that so?

B. ³³Oh sister, don't let people gull you. ³⁴Charms are nothing. ³⁵Aren't people just tricking you to waste your money?

A. ³⁶But sister, don't tease me, tell me the truth so I too can manage in the same way and get clothes to wear.

B. ³⁷Never, it's just the work of the husband's house, that's all.

A. ³⁸But sister, just look at this one dress which is faded on me so that when I want to go to the market, don't I get completely embarrassed?

B. ³⁹It just might be that he doesn't have any money, and that's why he treats you like this. Just pray to God, that's all.

A. ⁴¹But sister, I'm always praying.

⁴²Even though there is money, he doesn't buy me any clothes. ⁴³What'll I do?

B. ⁴⁴só séngé. ⁴⁵mo língbi tí kẹ lo ngbangatí bongó lá wa. ⁴⁶kóli tí mo ape?

A. ⁴⁷mais ita, lo ke changé bongó lá kóé lá kóé. ⁴⁸mais mbi wále ní mbi changé bongó ape. ⁴⁹ázo ake báa mbi. ⁵⁰kaméla ake sára mbi míngi. ⁵¹fadé mbi kíri na lo mbéni lá ape.

B. ⁵²só séngé o.

A. ⁵³só séngé ape. ⁵⁴mbi báa yí da míngi. ⁵⁵lá kóé lo ke yú finí bongó. ⁵⁶mais mbi ke ngbá gí na ngbéré bongó tongasó. ⁵⁷só aeke yí tí kaméla ape?

B. ⁵⁸só séngé. ⁵⁹prié gí Nzapá awe. ⁶⁰yí aeke da ape.

A. ⁶¹mais ita, mbi prié. ⁶²tongana mabóko tí lo ayí da ape, fadé a-sára tongana yẹ.

B. ⁶³peut-être bé tí lo ayí mo ape laá ake sára mo sáná só.

A. ⁶⁴mais ita, fadé mbi sára mariage óse. ⁶⁵mbi língbi tí yí lo encore mbéni ape.

B. ⁶⁶só séngé. ⁶⁷mariage ní gí óko awe.

A. ⁶⁸mais ita, ndá tí mariage ní lo só. ⁶⁹mbi leke yí kóé. ⁷⁰mbi leke pendere kóbe. ⁷¹mbi yóro yóróngó na oignon na tomate kóé. ⁷²lá kóé mbi ke yóro na lo pomme de terre kóé. ⁷³mais lo te yí tí mbi gí na mbáná séngé.

B. ⁴⁴That's nothing. ⁴⁵You can't reject him just over clothes! ⁴⁶Isn't he your husband?

A. ⁴⁷But sister, he's always changing his clothes. ⁴⁸But I, (his) wife, I don't get to change clothes. ⁴⁹People stare at me. ⁵⁰I'm very much embarrassed. ⁵¹I won't return to him any more.

B. ⁵²That's nothing!

A. ⁵³That's not nothing. ⁵⁴I see a lot in it. ⁵⁵He's always wearing new clothes. ⁵⁶But I just remain in old clothes like this. ⁵⁷Isn't that an embarrassing thing?

B. ⁵⁸That's nothing. ⁵⁹Just pray to God. ⁶⁰There's nothing to it.

A. ⁶¹But sister, I pray. ⁶²If he doesn't agree, what can be done?

B. ⁶³Perhaps his liver doesn't love you, and that's why he's causing you such suffering.

A. ⁶⁴But sister, I'll go get married again. ⁶⁵I can't love him any longer.

B. ⁶⁶That's nothing. ⁶⁷There can be only one marriage.

A. ⁶⁸But sister, this is the end of the marriage. ⁶⁹I fix everything. ⁷⁰I fix wonderful food. ⁷¹I fry it with onions and tomatoes and all. ⁷²I always fry potatoes and all for him. ⁷³But he just eats my food without any appreciation.

B. ⁷⁴íta lo yí mo ape. ⁷⁵peut-être lo ke sára tongasó lo eke na mbéni íta ake gí hánda lo. ⁷⁶mo hinga áwa tí Bangui ape?

A. ⁷⁷mais íta hánda lo ape. ⁷⁸lo ke hánda só mbi.

B. ⁷⁹mais íta mo sára téné mais mo kírí mo fáa baba na lé tí mbunzú tí Nzapá só tongana yę.

A. ⁸⁰íta só aake mbunzú tí í na mo kóé. ⁸¹aake babá tí í na mo kóé. ⁸²baba tí yę sí mbi fa na lé tí lo. ⁸³aake kóli tí gíngó mbi lá wa.

B. ⁸⁴he mais íta só baba tí mo ake sára ape? ⁸⁵lo ke fa na mo títene mo fa na í téné. ⁸⁶mo kírí mo hé gí ngiá na lé tí lo. ⁸⁷só sárángó yí tí yę.

A. ⁸⁸íta ngbangatí téné só mo tene amú ngiá na mbi laá mbi hé só ape?

B. ⁸⁹mais íta yí tí mo só mo sára kété amú kaméla na mbi míngi ę.

A. ⁹⁰ęę íta kaméla aake ape. ⁹¹só séngé.

B. ⁹²a mo wóko ngá bé tí mo. ⁹³mo sára ngá téné na pasteur mbíri-mbíri ma. ⁹⁴íta só yę só?

A. ⁹⁵íta, ní laá mbi ke tene só ape? (...).

B. ⁷⁴Sister, he doesn't love you. ⁷⁵Perhaps he's doing this because some sister is enticing him. ⁷⁶Don't you know these people of Bangui?

A. ⁷⁷But no sister is enticing him! ⁷⁸He's just cheating me.

B. ⁷⁹But sister, you're talking, but how come you went and acted so proud before God's White Man like this?

A. ⁸⁰Sister, isn't he your White Man and mine? ⁸¹He's my father and yours too. ⁸²What pride is it that I've shown before him? ⁸³He's not a man to try and take advantage of me!

B. ⁸⁴Wait a bit, sister, isn't that your pride showing there? ⁸⁵He tells you things so you will talk to him. ⁸⁶Then you turn around and laugh in his face. ⁸⁷What kind of carrying on is that?

A. ⁸⁸Sister, wasn't it because what you said amused me that I laughed?

B. ⁸⁹But sister, this thing which you're doing is making me very much ashamed.

A. ⁹⁰Eh, sister, there's no shame. ⁹¹That's nothing.

B. ⁹²Oh, get off your high horse (lit. soften your liver). ⁹³Talk sense to the pastor. ⁹⁴Sister, what in the world is this?

A. ⁹⁵Sister, isn't that what I've been saying? (...)

- B. ⁹⁶mais téné ní laá mo ke tene só. ⁹⁷mais mbi báa fángó baba ahọ ndó bé ní ape? íta.
- A. ⁹⁸íta, baba aeke ape, gó títene tí mbi lá kóé laá.
- B. (...) ⁹⁹téné tí mo kóé gí leke gó tí mo tí déngé na gó tí mo na mbáge tongasó. ¹⁰⁰íta, ngbangatí pendere bongó sí mo ke fa só.
- A. ¹⁰¹ka íta, mbi sí mbi tene kóli tí mo avo na mo bongó ape sí mo ke zía bé na ndó tí bongó tí mbi wa.
- B. ¹⁰²íta, mbi toto ngá míngi bongó na mo ape? ¹⁰³mbi língbi tí sára boy na mo ape. ¹⁰⁴mais mbi ke ngá gí [na] chiffon tí mbi só lá kóé.
- A. ¹⁰⁵Jean ngá ayí kóé. ¹⁰⁶aeke ngá. mo dutí.
- B. ¹⁰⁸mais íta, lá kóé mbi ke yú chiffon. ¹⁰⁹éré tí mbi ngá gí zo wa. ¹¹⁰adé ngá éré tí mbi zo wa. ¹¹¹adé ngá mo zo yẹ aso mbi yẹ.
- A. ¹¹²ka íta, gí ní laá ape.
- B. ¹¹³tí báa kótá yí na ndó sése só ahọ kóbe tí yẹ. ¹¹⁴lá kóé mbi ke te. ¹¹⁵quand même mbi yú ape, téné aeke ape.
- A. ¹¹⁶íta, só séngé yí ahọ yí kóé.

- B. ⁹⁶But isn't that what you've been saying? ⁹⁷But don't I see pride beyond measure, sister?
- A. ⁹⁸Sister, there's no pride, that's my ordinary voice there.
- B. (...) ⁹⁹All your talk is just to alter your voice with your neck bent to one side like this (i.e. to whine cajolingly). ¹⁰⁰Sister, it's on account of beautiful clothes that you're showing off like this.
- A. ¹⁰¹But sister, wasn't it I who said your husband bought you clothes, and how is it that you're expressing envy of my clothes?
- B. ¹⁰²Sister, don't I cry much for clothes with you? ¹⁰³I'm not about to become your servant. ¹⁰⁴But I also have just this rag of mine all the time.
- A. ¹⁰⁵Jean also agrees (i.e. with me). ¹⁰⁶He's here. ¹⁰⁷Sit down.
- B. ¹⁰⁸But sister, I always wear rags. ¹⁰⁹My name is just "Who's that?" ¹¹⁰They just call me "Who's that?" ¹¹¹If they call you also "Who's that?" how can that bother me?
- A. ¹¹²But sister, that's not it at all.
- B. ¹¹³To see great things on the earth, how does that surpass food? ¹¹⁴I eat every day. ¹¹⁵Even if I don't wear (clothes), that's nothing.
- A. ¹¹⁶Sister, that's the most insignificant thing of all.

B. ¹¹⁷tongana mbi gí bé tí mbi na légé tí ndoé tí Nzapá, fadé mbi ke wara bongó ká na yáyú ahó mo ape? íta. ¹¹⁸yú yí tí mo.

A. ¹¹⁹só séngé o. ¹²⁰mo pensé ape o.

B. ¹¹⁷If I search my heart according to the love of God, won't I receive clothes over there in heaven more than you, sister? ¹¹⁸Go on and wear your things.

A. ¹¹⁹That's nothing! ¹²⁰Think nothing of it.

Spider and the Field (F4)

¹tongasó, así na l'heure tí nzala. ²mbéni kóli óko, lo fáa yáká tí gbánza tí lo míngi. ³lo lú kawai na yá ní míngi. ⁴lé tí kóbe ndé ndé aeke. ⁵tongasó, tongana lo lú awe, mo tere mo tambéla ngbii, mo goe mo sí, mo báa yáká tí lo. ⁶tere atambéla yángá ní, jusqu'à. ⁷tere ngá lo fáa yáká awe. ⁸mais kóbe tí yáká tí lo ní, sése ní aske nzoní pepe, alé pepe. ⁹mais lá kóé, tongana ngú Nzapá ake kánga yángá tí ála.

¹⁰tongasó, tere atambéla ngbii, así na yáká tí kóli só, atene mon vieux, só kóbe tí yáká sí aeke na aú só. ¹¹tongasó, tere atene fadé ní sára tongana ye, ngbangati yáká tí lo só. ¹²ní eke tí ní na kóbe pepe só. ¹³tongasó, tere atene, fadé mbi kírí na kótóró, mbi sára mbéni manière tí báa.

¹So there came a time of famine. ²A certain man made himself a great corn field. ³He planted a lot of squash in the midst of it. ⁴Many kinds of food seeds were in it. ⁵So, when he had planted, you spider you walked a while, until you came, and you arrived, and you saw his field. ⁶Spider walked along the edge for a while. ⁷Spider also had made a field. ⁸But (as for) food in his garden, the soil wasn't good, it didn't bear. ⁹Now every day, the rain prevented their eating (lit. shut their mouths).

¹⁰And so spider continued walking, and came to this man's field, and said, "Wow, is that ever some food garden that Uncle has there!" ¹¹So spider said, "What will I do about this field of his?" ¹²Since I don't have any food." ¹³And so spider said, "I'll return to the village and pull some trick to see."

¹⁴tere akírí na kótóró, agoe
jusqu'à. ¹⁵atomba woga, amú
mbéní yama só, éré tí lo aeke na
ngonda, aeke woga. ¹⁶lo eke bingbá
yama. ¹⁷amú lo ká awe. ¹⁸agá amu
ngbéréna tí ákótá zo só ála ke du
na téré tí mbo só, adu na téré tí
woga awe. ¹⁹azía éré na ndó tí
woga só atene, éré tí mbo ní só,
ndaka-si-d'ou-na. ²⁰tongasó, lo mú
woga só, lo bata na téré tí da.

²¹na tongana ayí tí sí na six
heures et demie, só ndo avokó awe,
lo goe na kóli só, lo tene aú,
fadé mo goe na mbi ká, í sára ngiá
pepe? ²²tenetí lá kóé yáká tí
kóli só, ábákoyá míngi aeke foutu
kóbe ní. ²³ámérenge tí lo ake
tomba gbá. ²⁴tongasó, kóli só amá
tongasó akírí, agoe na tere ká.
²⁵tere atene, lo, mbo aeke na ní.
²⁶tongana lo vení lo goe, lo mú
mbo só, fadé atomba áyama na yángá
tí yáká tí lo míngi.

²⁷Tongasó, adu kamba kété kété na
gó tí woga só, amú na lo. ²⁸atene
lo fadé mbo ní alángó na lo lánzó
otá. ²⁹mais ní pensé, fadé asára
lángó óse, ní goe tí múngó ní.

¹⁴Spider returned to the village, he
walked a long time. ¹⁵He chased a small
antelope, he caught a certain animal
which is in the bush and whose name is
woga. ¹⁶It's a reddish animal. ¹⁷He
caught him there. ¹⁸He came and took
an old-fashioned brass bell, which they
used to fasten to a dog, and fastened
it to the antelope. ¹⁹He gave a name
(in the Ngbaka-Manza language) to the
antelope and said, "The name of this
dog is 'Chase-and-not-return.'" ²⁰So
he took this antelope, he kept it by
the house.

²¹And when it was about six thirty,
when it had become dark, he went to the
man and said, "Uncle, won't you go
with me over there to chat?" ²²Because
the baboons were always destroying the
food in this man's field. ²³His children
chased them to no avail. ²⁴So when the
man heard this he turned and went over
there with spider. ²⁵Spider said to
him, "I have a dog. ²⁶If you yourself
go and take this dog, he will chase
the animals from around your field
mightily."

²⁷And so he fastened a little cord
about the neck of this antelope and
gave it to him. ²⁸He said to him,
"The dog can stay with you three days.
²⁹But I think after two days, I'll
go get him."

³⁰tongasó kóli só amú woga agoe na ní. ³¹atene lo, tongana lo zía kpó áyama ní así gígí tí te kóbe ní awe sí, fadé lo tomba ála. ³²mais tongana kóli agoe sí na kótóró, áméréngé ní ayí tí tomba ábákoyá só na yáká ní. ³³kóli atene, non, aú tere atene tongasó pepe. ³⁴mo zía ábákoyá ní así gígí míngi na yáká ní sí. ³⁵tongasó, tongana ábákoyá así gígí kóé awe, kózo ní tere atene na lo, mbo só, tongana lo wara yama awe, fadé lo fáa ngongoa tí yama ní kóé ahúnzi. ³⁶na tongana lo sára attention pepe, fadé lo ngbá na ngonda bíaní.

³⁷tongasó, kóli só amú woga só awe, na lo fáa kamba na gó tí woga awe. ³⁸a-commencé dára woga só. ³⁹atene, ča? ndaka-si-d'oŋ-na, ča? ndaka-si-d'oŋ-na, ča? ndaka-si-d'oŋ-na. ⁴⁰Bon, woga ahó tí lo bíaní, afáa yá tí yáká ahó tí lo, ali ngonda ká awe. ⁴¹tongasó kóli só aéré ndo na pekó tí lo gbá. ⁴²woga akpé tí lo bíaní awe. ⁴³tenetí lo eke yama.

⁴⁴bon, tere adutí na pekó tí lo gí lángó ško séngé. ⁴⁵tere agoe. ⁴⁶atene aú, mú na mbi mbo tí mbi.

³⁰And so this man took the antelope and went away with it. ³¹He (had) said to him, "If you keep him quiet until the animals have come out to eat the food, he'll chase them." ³²But when the man went and arrived in the village, the children were trying to chase the baboons from the field. ³³The man said, "No, Uncle Spider said not (to do it) like that. ³⁴Let the baboons come out in great numbers into the field first." ³⁵And so, when the baboons had all come out--first of all, spider had said to him, "This dog, when he's found animals, he'll destroy the seed (i.e. descendants) of the animals entirely, until there are no more. ³⁶But if you don't watch out, he'll remain permanently in the bush."

³⁷And so this man took this antelope, and cut the cord from its neck. ³⁸He began to urge on this antelope. ³⁹He said, "Sick 'em, Chase-and-not return, sick 'em, Chase-and-not-return, sick 'em, Chase-and-not-return." ⁴⁰Well, the antelope took off, crossed the field and went away and entered into the bush. ⁴¹And so the man called after it to no avail. ⁴²The antelope had completely run away. ⁴³Because he was an animal.

⁴⁴Well, spider waited just one day after leaving it. ⁴⁵Spider went. ⁴⁶He said, "Uncle, give me back my dog."

⁴⁷lo tene oui, mbo ní atomba ábákoyá ní. ⁴⁸mais, mbi éré lo gbá gbá gbá. ⁴⁹lo kírí pepe. ⁵⁰tere atene lo, voilà mbi tene na lo awe, ní hinga yángá tí ní pepe. ⁵¹ní tene, mbo só éré tí lo ndakasí-d'on-na. ⁵²mais tongana lo sára búbá, fadé lo ngbá na ngonda.

⁵³tongasó, tere atene lo, lo mú na ní gí mbo tí ní. ⁵⁴kóli só ayí tí dutí, manière aake pepe. ⁵⁵manière aake pepe. ⁵⁶na kóli só atene wále tí lo, lo lẹke kóngbá tí ní fadesó. ⁵⁷kóli así gígí awe, ála zía lóró da, akpé na wále bíaní awe. ⁵⁸tongasó, tere agoe dutí na yángá tí yáká tí kóbe só, na place tí lo, ake te. ⁵⁹tongasó aake ndá tí nzala aake tongasó.

⁶⁰mais fadé mo báa na mbéti tí Matthieu ká, chapitre sept ká. ⁶¹verset aake bale óko na ukú, jusqu'à ndá tí seize. ⁶²atene, tongana zo ayí tí gá na mo, aake nzoní mo hinga bé tí lo sí, tenetí prophète tí wátáká míngi aake. ⁶³tongasó, aake ndá tí téné só. ⁶⁴nzala ahánda zo sí zo atí na hánda. ⁶⁵mais yí óko. ⁶⁶tongana zo agá na mo, alíngbi mo hinga lé tí lo sí. ⁶⁷pepe, fadé mbéni zo agá na manière, atene ní eke taá zo tí

⁴⁷He said, "Yes the dog chased away the baboons. ⁴⁸But I called him back absolutely to no avail. ⁴⁹He didn't come back." ⁵⁰Spider said to him, "There, I told you beforehand that he didn't know your command. ⁵¹I said, 'This dog's name is Chase-and-not-return.' ⁵²But if you do something foolish, he'll stay in the bush."

⁵³And so spider said to him, "Just give me my dog." ⁵⁴The man tried to delay, but there wasn't any way. ⁵⁵There just wasn't any way. ⁵⁶And the man said to his wife, "You pack my belongings now." ⁵⁷When the man had gone out, they hurried and he ran away completely with his wife. ⁵⁸And so spider went and sat at the edge of this field of food, in his place, and ate. ⁵⁹This was the end of the famine, like that.

⁶⁰But you'll see in the book of Matthew, in chapter seven. ⁶¹The verse is fifteen, through to the end of sixteen. ⁶²It says, "If someone tries to approach you, it's good for you to know his liver first, because there are many false prophets." ⁶³And so, that's the end of the story. ⁶⁴Hunger (or lust) tricks men so that men fall into temptation. ⁶⁵Just one more thing. ⁶⁶When a man approaches you, you must know his face. ⁶⁷If not, some man will come with guile, saying he is a real man of God. ⁶⁸He will deceive

Nzapá. ^{6a}lo hánda mo jusqu'á, mo girísa royaume tí mo, na ndo tí nzoní kóé tí Nzapá.

you until you lose your kingdom in the wonderful place of God.

The Young Man, the Young Girls, and the Old Woman (F7)

¹kózo ní ábabá tí áni atene na áni. ²mbéni pendere kóli óko, éré tí lo Serekunga. ³lo eke na ndúzú, na lo gá na sése, na lo eke na mbéni ndo. ⁴áwále kóé, ade ahínga éré tí lo pepe. ⁵tongasó, tongana lo to kóa na mbéni kótóró, ála kóé, áwále kóé, asára kóbe míngi míngi, ála goe. ⁶tongana agoe sí ká awe, bon, lo lóndó, atene, tongana zo só adé éré tí mbi, fadé mbi te kóbe tí lo. ⁷mais tongana zo só adé éré tí mbi pepe, mbi te kóbe tí lo ape. ⁸tongasó, áwále só agá, ála éré lo gi Serekunga. ⁹ála hínga taá éré tí lo pepe. ¹⁰tongasó, lo kẹ kóbe tí ála. ¹¹na só ahọ. ¹²lo kẹ kóbe tí ála, na só ahọ. ¹³na lo kẹ kóbe tí ála, na só ahọ, jusqu'á.

¹Formerly our fathers told us (a story). ²There was a certain young man, whose name was Serekunga. ³He was in heaven, and he came to earth, and he was in various places. ⁴All of the women (i.e. girls) didn't know his name yet. ⁵So, when he sent word to a certain village, they all, all the girls, made a huge quantity of food, and went. ⁶When they had gone and arrived there, well, he arose and said, "If anyone can say my name, I'll eat her food. ⁷But, if someone doesn't say my name, I'll not eat her food." ⁸And so those girls who came, they just called him Serekunga. ⁹They didn't know his real name. ¹⁰And so he refused their food. ¹¹And these passed on. ¹²He refused their food, and these passed on. ¹³And he refused their food, and these passed on, (it went on like this) for quite a while.

¹⁴mbéni vieille wále. ¹⁵téré tí lo kóé aeke gi sioní míngi. ¹⁶alíngbi zo a-touché pepe. ¹⁷na téré tí lo kóé aeke na yí tí yá tí ngú só, só aeke dongó yongóro tongana téré tí susu. ¹⁸na lo vení ahínga éré tí pendere kóli só. ¹⁹na áwále míngi ake họ. ²⁰tongasó, tongana wále só

¹⁴(There was) a certain old woman. ¹⁵Her whole body was very awful. ¹⁶People didn't dare touch it. ¹⁷Her whole body was covered with that stuff from out of the water which is very slimy like the bodies of (scaleless) fish. ¹⁸Now she herself knew the name of this young man. ¹⁹And so many girls passed. ²⁰And

aske sukúla ngú, le éré ála. ²¹
atene, gá áta. ²²gá kpaka pekó tí
mbi. ²³na lo ke. ²⁴mbi yí pepe.
²⁵mo eke saleté míngi. ²⁶na ála
hó. ²⁷ála hó, jusqu'à.

²⁸mbéni mérengé wále, lo gá na
pekó ní. ²⁹lé tí lo kóé ambóko
awe. ³⁰na lo tene, áta, mo gá mo
kpaka téré tí mbi. ³¹na ndá ní,
mérengé wále só agá. ³²lo tene,
lo mú póró tí kalá só, mo kpaka
téré tí mbi na ní. ³³na lo tene,
non, áta fadé mbi sára agá ká.
³⁴na lo ke. ³⁵tongasó, lo kpaka
pekó tí mbakóro wále só ngbii kóé
awe, eh bien, lo sukúla téré tí
wále só kóé awe, na ápendere wále
só míngi míngi, ála sára kóbe, ahó
na pekó tí pendere kóli só.

³⁶na ndá ní, tongana, mbakóro wále
só, afa éré tí kóli só na
mérengé wále só awe, na ndá ní, lo
tene, tongana mo sí ká, tongana ála
ke húnda, mo dutí kpó jusqu'à fadé
ála tene, Serekunga. ³⁷eh bien,
fadé mo má éré tí lo. ³⁸tongasó,
fadé lo te kóbe tí mo. ³⁹na ndá ní,
tongana lo sí ká awe, eh bien,
áwale só kóé, agá así. ⁴⁰na ndá ní,
lo dutí ká. ⁴¹lo sí ká awe. ⁴²na
ndá ní lo dutí ká, ná mbéni só

so, as this woman was washing, she called
them. ²¹She said, "Come, grandchild.
²²Come scratch my back." ²³But she re-
fused. ²⁴"I don't want to. ²⁵You're
very dirty." ²⁶And so they passed on.
²⁷They passed on for a long time.

²⁸A certain girl came afterwards. ²⁹Her
face was all ulcerated. ³⁰And she (i.e.
the old woman) said, "Grandchild, come
scratch my back." ³¹Then this girl came.
³²She (i.e. the old woman) said, "Take
this snail shell and scratch my back with
it." ³³But she (i.e. the girl) said,
"No, grandmother, if I do, I'll make it
into a sore." ³⁴And she refused. ³⁵So,
when she had scratched the back of this
old woman for a long time, and it was
all done, then she washed this old woman
all over, but all those many many young
girls who had made food, they had passed
on after that young man.

³⁶Afterwards, when the old woman had
told the name of this man to this girl,
afterwards, she said, "When you get
there, when they ask, be quiet until
they say, 'Serekunga.' ³⁷Then you will
hear his name. ³⁸And so then he will
eat your food." ³⁹Afterwards, when
she got there, all those girls came
and arrived. ⁴⁰Afterwards, she sat
there. ⁴¹She arrived there. ⁴²After-
wards, as she sat there, another one
came, and said his name. ⁴³He didn't

agá, adé éré tí lo. ⁴³lo yí da
pepe lo hq. ⁴⁴adé éré tí lo. ⁴⁵lo
yí da ape, ahq. ⁴⁶jusqu'à.

⁴⁷mérengé wáale só, lé tí lo ambóko
awe só, lo gá. ⁴⁸na ndá ní, lo gá
lo dé éré tí lo. ⁴⁹na ála só, [a]tí
na sése. ⁵⁰ázo tí pendere míngi,
ála tí na sése. ⁵¹atanz, tongana
mbi, só mbi eke pendere míngi, mbi
dé éré tí lo. ⁵²mais mo só, só lé
tí mo ambóko kóé, mo dé éré tí lo
ngbangatí yq. ⁵³allé, ála só kóé
alóndó na vundú. ⁵⁴na mérengé wáale
só angbá na téré tí lo ndo só.

⁵⁵eh bien ndá ní, kótá mamá só,
angbá na pekó tí lo, amú mérengé
wáale só, amú kótá ta, afáa yama tí
lo ngbii, azía lo na yá ní. ⁵⁶na
ndá ní akporo lo, jusqu'à. ⁵⁷lo
kporo na yá tí ta só ngbii. ⁵⁸kása
tí lo kóé aske na yá tí ta só. ⁵⁹
ndá ní lo kporo ngbii. ⁶⁰allé, lo
sí gígí, lo tí na sése. ⁶¹allé, lo
gá pendere wáale awe.

⁶²tongasó, aeke mbéni tere só,
kótará tí áni afa na áni. ⁶³mais,
tongana áni goe na pekó tí téné tí
Nzapá yongoro míngi, áni girisa
ámbéni téné ní awe.

respond, and she passed on. ⁴⁴They said
his name. ⁴⁵As he didn't respond, they
passed on. ⁴⁶(This went on) a long time.

⁴⁷This girl whose face was all ulcerated,
she came. ⁴⁸Afterwards, she came and
said his name. ⁴⁹And they all fell to
the ground. ⁵⁰The very beautiful ones,
(i.e. the girls) they fell to the
ground. ⁵¹They said, "If only I, who am
very beautiful, had named him! ⁵²But
you, whose face is all ulcerated, why
did you say his name?" ⁵³Immediately,
they all left in resentment. ⁵⁴And this
girl remained there beside him.

⁵⁵Well then afterwards, this old mother,
who had remained behind her, took the
girl, she took a large pot, and she cut
up her flesh and put her in. ⁵⁶Then she
boiled her for a while. ⁵⁷She boiled
inside the pot for a while. ⁵⁸Her juice
was also inside the pot. ⁵⁹Then she con-
tinued boiling. ⁶⁰Suddenly, she emerged,
and she fell to the ground. ⁶¹Suddenly,
she had become a beautiful girl.

⁶²And so, this is a fable which our
ancestors told us. ⁶³But when we've
followed the word of God for a long
time, we've forgotten some of these
things.

Building an Airfield and Hunting Elephants (I55)

(...) ¹só, í commencé kpa tí terrain só, mbi de méréngé míngi ape. ²í commencé kpa tí terrain ní na cinquante-huit. ³bon, ázo ní, mbunzú ní agá ndó só tí lèke terrain ní, alèke jusqu'à ngbii. ⁴terrain ní a-diminué awe, mbunzú alóndó tí goe na Bangassou. ⁵et puis í wara nginza ní, ngbangatí só í lèke terrain. ⁶tí fadesó, terrain ní ahúnzi awe, í ke báa nginza encore. ⁷tongasó, í wara nginza ní kózo ní na kpa tí terrain. ⁸et puis fadesó, í ngbá tí débrouillé tí fáa gí ndembú, tí gí gí áwótoro, tí wara na nginza.

⁹mais fadesó, í ngbá séngé awe. ¹⁰ambunzú tí Bangui ní, ála gá mú na mbi nginza. ¹¹et puis, nginza tí Bangui ní, par jour tí ála aèke ndé, tí í aèke ndo só ndé. ¹²mais í ke wara tí í nginza míngi míngi tongana ázo tí Bangui ape. ¹³mais ní laá Bangui ayo míngi. ¹⁴mbi só, mbi eke mará tí Zande, mbi eke na droit titens, mbi goe mbi báa Bangui ape. ¹⁵tongana mbi wara service sí mbi goe na Bangui. ¹⁶mais só, mbi dutí tí mbi ndo só tí lángó ndo só jusqu'à, na lá tí kśá tí mbi, ngbangatí, mbi eke na

¹When we began work on the airfield, I wasn't too young. ²We began work on the airfield in fifty-eight. ³Well, the people, the White Man came here to make the airfield, and they worked on it for a long time. ⁴When the field was completed, the White Man left to go to Bangassou. ⁵Then we got the money, because we built the field. ⁶Right now the field is finished, but we're still seeing the money. ⁷So we received the money at first from the work on the airfield. ⁸Now we're still making out, cutting rubber, and hunting bees, to get money.

⁹But now we remain (lit. we have remained) out of work. ¹⁰White Men from Bangui came and gave me money. ¹¹And money in Bangui, their daily wage, is different, and ours here is different. ¹²But as for us, we don't get a whole lot of money like the people of Bangui. ¹³But the thing of it is, Bangui is so far away. ¹⁴I here, who am of the Zande tribe, I don't have the occasion to go to see Bangui. ¹⁵If I get a job, then I'll go to Bangui. ¹⁶This way, I'll remain here to live here for a long time, until the day of my death, because I don't have any job to go do in Bangui.

mbéni kpa, titens, mbi goe na Bangui tí sára ape. ¹⁷mbi eke na nginzá titens, mbi goe na Bangui, mbi te yí na yángá ní ape. (...)

¹⁸l'heure ní só mbi de mérengé, í goe na ámbunzú tí dole. (...) ¹⁹í lóndó na ndo só na ámbunzú. ²⁰mo báa kótá caisse tongasó. ²¹caisse ní ane. ²²mbi yó caisse ní gbá. ²³akara mbi na yá tí ngonda. ²⁴ámbunzú ní atene, voilà í goe fáa lége só ká. ²⁵lége tí só angóro na ... tí Zima. ²⁶et puis, mbi ngbá. ²⁷ámbunzú, atene, tongana í goe sí ká ape. ²⁸et puis ála fáa lége ní awe, ála ke kírí tí ála ká, tí goe. ²⁹mais mbi, mbi ke ngbá tí mbi na yá tí ngonda. ³⁰mbi pensé téné ní gbá. ³¹mbi pensé téné ní gbá.

³²et puis, ámbunzú, í goe sí awe só, mbéni mbunzú, agoe píka, apíka yí so, cochon. ³³lo píka na pistolet. ³⁴et puis, í zó lo gí na ndó tí wá tongasó ngbii. ³⁵í mene lo kóé.

³⁶et puis, í commencé titens í fono encore, ngbangatí gí dole. ³⁷í goe. ³⁸mbéni kótá ngú só, ngú tí bac, í goe fáa na devant ká. ³⁹et puis, í ngóro ngbii. ⁴⁰í goe

¹⁷I don't have any money to go to Bangui and eat with it.
(Translation uncertain.)

¹⁸When I was still a child, we went with some elephant hunters. ¹⁹We left here with the White Men. ²⁰You should have seen the huge crate, like this (making gesture). ²¹The crate was very heavy. ²²I tried in vain to carry the crate. ²³It was too much for me in the bush. ²⁴The White Men said, "Look, we're going to cross that path over there. ²⁵The path which goes around ... of Zima." ²⁶So I stayed. ²⁷The White Men said, "When we're gone, don't go there." ²⁸And then when they had crossed the path, they were returning over there to go away. ²⁹But I, I stayed in the bush. ³⁰I puzzled over it in vain. ³¹I puzzled over it in vain.

³²And then the White Men we had gone with, this other White Man went and shot a what-you-call-it, a wild pig. ³³He shot it with a pistol. ³⁴And then we roasted it over a fire like that for a while. ³⁵We ate it all up.

³⁶And then we began to hike around again, to hunt elephants. ³⁷We went on. ³⁸We crossed over a large river, the river (where there is) a ferry, over there in front. ³⁹And then we continued to

wara ádole. ⁴¹í tomba pekó tí ála ngbii, ála kpé awe. ⁴²et puis, í goe jusqu'à, í fáa mbéni ngú, í goe wara ángbáa. ⁴³ángbáa atomba í. ⁴⁴báa kótá caisse só mbi bi na sése. ⁴⁵mbi monté na ndúzú. ⁴⁶mbi goe, mbi dutí ká. ⁴⁷ábágara ní agá tí kpé na gbé tí mbi ge. ⁴⁸et puis mbi kírí encore na sése. ⁴⁹mbi mú caisse ní, mbi goe na pekó tí ámbunzú ní.

⁵⁰í goe jusqu'à. ⁵¹ámbunzú ní agoe wara dole. ⁵²dole ní akpé kpéngó. ⁵³í fáa ngú encore. ⁵⁴í na ála, í fáa ngú kóó. ⁵⁵jusqu'à, í goe í wara place tí lángó, í lángó da, jusqu'à. ⁵⁶na lá kúí, lá tongasó, í na ámbunzú, í goe. ⁵⁷í yí tí báa ndo, dole ní ake tambéla tongasó na lá kúí, jusqu'à, ali na yá tí gbakó ní. ⁵⁸mbunzú akpé agoe doucement, apíka lo. ⁵⁹mauser óse, dole aeke na sése. ⁶⁰et puis, í eke na moyen titene, í fáa dole ní, tí goe na ní, aeke ape. ⁶¹jusqu'à, í commencé titene, í doroko dole ní, tí fáa, sùru yá tí lo só, zía mbéni yama ní na mbáge, zía mbéni yama ní na mbáge. ⁶²í partagé áyá ní kóó, í bi na ngonda. ⁶³zía mbéni na wá, í ke te. ⁶⁴kóngbá tí mbunzú ní ahú ndó ní. ⁶⁵í eke^{na} moyen titene, í mú yama

walk in a circle. ⁴⁰We went and found elephants. ⁴¹We followed them for a while, until they had run away. ⁴²Then we went on for a while, and crossed another river, and went and found buffalo. ⁴³The buffalo chased us. ⁴⁴Look, that huge crate, I just threw it on the ground. ⁴⁵I climbed high. ⁴⁶I went and sat there. ⁴⁷The buffalo came and ran under me there. ⁴⁸Then I came back to the ground again. ⁴⁹I picked up the crate, and I followed the White Men.

⁵⁰We went on for a while. ⁵¹The White Men went and found an elephant. ⁵²The elephant ran away. ⁵³We crossed the river again. ⁵⁴We all crossed the river. ⁵⁵After a while, we went and found a place to lie down, and we lay down there for a while. ⁵⁶In the evening, when the sun was like this (making gesture), the White Men and I went away. ⁵⁷In just a little while, the elephant was walking like this in the evening, for a while, and then entered into the gallery forest. ⁵⁸The White Man ran up quietly and shot it. ⁵⁹Two rifle shots, and the elephant was on the ground. ⁶⁰Then we had no way, after killing the elephant, to carry it away. ⁶¹After a while, we began to butcher the elephant, to cut it, to split its belly, to put some meat on one side, to put some meat on the other side. ⁶²We divided out all the insides, and threw them into the bush. ⁶³We put some

ni encore titene, tí yó na ndó tí
caisse só aake ape.

on the fire and ate it. ⁶⁴The White
Men's load was extremely heavy. ⁶⁵There
just wasn't any way of taking the meat
as well, to carry it in addition to the
crate.

Personal Greetings (L3)

¹mbi bara ** ála na á-famille kóé.
²kótá nouvelle só mo tene, téné ní
así na Bellevue kózo, sí mbi má tí
mbi pepe. ³mbi má gí na yángá tí
mbéni zo tí kótóró. ⁴mais mbi má
kóé ** pepe. ⁵i pensé i tene mo gá
títene mo, ngbá, sí mo yí tí kírí
só. ⁶fadé mo sára bé nzoní na síngó
tí mo na sése tí RCA, sí fadé mbi
wara lége tí baa mo. ⁷tenetí nzala
tí mo aake fáa mbi. ⁸tongana mbi
wara réponse pepe na ámbéti kóé só
mbi to na mo, mbi pensé, mbi tene,
hínga pepe, á-postier asúru na lége.
⁹mais il faut mo to na mbi réponse
vite ngá. ¹⁰síngó tí mo na Dakar,
fadé mo gí lége tí sí na camp tí
á-militaire, sí mo húnda tenetí Jean.
¹¹mais mbi hínga zo ká títene, mbi
to éré tí lo pepe. ¹²mbi eke sára
lá kóé bé óko na Jésus. ¹³tene na
mbi kózo, sí fadé mbi baa mo tongana
mo sí ánde na Bangui. ¹⁴église tí
kótóró abara ** ála. ¹⁵á-famille tí
mbi abara ála.

¹I greet you and all your family. ²The
big news of which you spoke had reached
Bellevue first, so that I didn't hear
it. ³I heard it only through a certain
person of the village. ⁴But I didn't
hear it all. ⁵We thought you were coming
to stay, but you were going to return.
⁶You will be kind upon your arrival in
the land of the Central African Re-
public, so that I may have a way of
seeing you. ⁷Because hunger for you is
killing me. ⁸When I didn't receive
answers to all the letters which I sent
you, I thought, "Who knows? perhaps
the postal clerks tore them up on the
way." ⁹But you must send me an answer
quickly. ¹⁰Upon your arrival in Dakar,
try to get to the military camp, so as
to ask about Jean. ¹¹But I don't know
anyone whose name I could send you.
¹²I'm still communing every day with
Jesus. ¹³Let me know beforehand, so
that I can see you when you arrive later
on in Bangui. ¹⁴The church in the vil-
lage greets you. ¹⁵My family greets
you.

Buying and Selling in the Market (N78)

¹áwále tí Bangui, ámbéni, ázo tí kángó á-salade, na ázo tí kángó café, na ázo tí goe tí vóngó áyí tí kángó yí tí ála na ndápéréré. ²ála ke goe. ³ámbéni ake goe na cinq heures et demie. ⁴ámbéni ake goe na six heures. ⁵ála goe, ála vo yí tí ála. ⁶ála ke ká ní. ⁷et puis ázo só adutí na kótóró, ála dutí. ⁸ála sukúla ngú awe, ála lóndó na sept heures. ⁹ála goe tí vóngó kóbe ní. ¹⁰ámbéni avo, ámbéni ake gá. ¹¹ámbéni ake goe na kótóró. ¹²tongana ála goe awe, ázo tí kángó yí, ála ngbá tí ála. ¹³tongana agá, sí na onze heures et demie awe, ála úlu yí awe, ázo kóé agoe na kótóró.

¹⁴áwále tí Bangui, tongana ála goe na marché awe, ámbéni avo kárakó. ¹⁵ázo tí vóngó makala na mápa, ámbéni agá tí yó na café. ¹⁶ámbéni ayó na du thé. ¹⁷tongana í zía lait da awe, aake páta óse. ¹⁸ála ke yó na ní. ¹⁹tongana ála yó kóé awe, ála lóndó agoe. ²⁰ála goe mú kóngbá tí ála. ²¹ála goe na kótóró, tí goe tí tóngó kóbe na kóli tí ála tí tóngó ní na midi.

¹The women of Bangui, some are sellers of lettuce, and sellers of coffee, and some are buyers of their wares in the morning. ²They go. ³Some go at five thirty. ⁴Some go at six o'clock. ⁵They go and buy their things. ⁶They sell their things. ⁷And then, those people who remain in the village, they just remain. ⁸When they have washed up, they leave at seven. ⁹They go to buy the food. ¹⁰While some buy, others are coming. ¹¹Others are returning to the village. ¹²When they have gone, the sellers, they remain. ¹³When eleven thirty has fully come, and they have blown the thing (i.e. the siren), everyone returns to the village.

¹⁴The women of Bangui, when they have gone to the market, some buy peanuts. ¹⁵The people who buy fritters and bread, some come to drink coffee with these. ¹⁶Some drink tea with them. ¹⁷When we put milk in it, it's ten francs. ¹⁸They drink it with them (i.e. the bread or fritters). ¹⁹When they have finished drinking, they get up and leave. ²⁰They pick up their goods. ²¹They go to the village, to go prepare food for their husbands to eat at noon.

Childhood Experiences (N80)

¹mbéni lá, mamá tí mbi atene, ní yí tí goe na Bossangoa. ²mbi tene, mamá mbi yí tí goe na mo títene mbi báa kótóró tí mbi. ³í na mamá, í gá, í goe. ⁴mamá amú mbi. ⁵mbi ngbá kété kété. ⁶mbi de títene, mbi gá wáale ape. ⁷mbi goe.

⁸mbi goe mbi sí na kótóró tí Bossangoa ní. ⁹mbi goe mbi toto mbi tene mbi yí ape. ¹⁰mbi yí tí kírí na Bangui. ¹¹kótóró ní aeke nzoní ape. ¹²mbi de tí hinga áita tí mbi mérengé ká ape. ¹³mbi yí tí kírí kíríngó. ¹⁴mamá atene mo toto ape. ¹⁵mo lángó. ¹⁶fadé mo na aú tí mo, mo sára ngiá. ¹⁷mbi kẹ. ¹⁸mbi mú lége, mbi kpé, mbi goe na babá tí mbi, na mbáge tí ngú ká. ¹⁹mbi goe mbi dutí na lo. ²⁰mbi wara ita tí mbi tí wáale, na ita tí mbi tí kóli. ²¹mbi sára ngiá na ála. ²²mbi lángó gí ká. ²³mbi kẹ place tí mamá tí mbi. ²⁴mbi yí tí goe na lo encore ape. ²⁵mbi lángó na ábabá tí mbi.

²⁶tongasó, mbi goe ngbangatí malade tí aú tí mbi. ²⁷téré tí lo aso míngi. ²⁸lo yí tí kúí. ²⁹mamá tí mbi agá tí goe. ³⁰atene, mérengé tí mbi, gá í goe. ³¹mo báa aú tí mo. ³²lo yí tí kúí. ³³gá mo

¹One day, my mother said, "I want to go to Bossangoa." ²I said, "Mother, I want to go with you, so as to see my village." ³Mother and I up and went. ⁴Mother took me. ⁵I was still very small. ⁶I still had not become a woman. ⁷I went.

⁸I went and arrived in the town of Bossangoa. ⁹I went and cried and said, "I don't like it!" ¹⁰I want to go back to Bangui. ¹¹This town is no good. ¹²I don't know any of my child relatives here. ¹³I want to go back!" ¹⁴Mother said, "Don't cry. ¹⁵Go to sleep. ¹⁶You and your uncle, you'll have fun." ¹⁷I refused. ¹⁸I took off and ran away, and I went to my father, over there by the river. ¹⁹I went and lived with him. ²⁰I found my sister and my brother. ²¹I played with them. ²²I lived there. ²³I rejected my mother's place (i.e. her home town). ²⁴I didn't want to go with her any more. ²⁵I lived with my father's family.

²⁶So then I went on account of my uncle's illness. ²⁷His body hurt very much. ²⁸He was about to die. ²⁹My mother went to go. ³⁰She said, "My child, let's go. ³¹You'll see your uncle. ³²He's about to die. ³³Come, let's go, you'll see

goe, mo baa lo. ³⁴tongasó, mbi kẹ
lo pepe. ³⁵mbi lóndó na mamá. ³⁶í
na lo í goe. ³⁷í goe í lángó ká.

³⁸tongana aú tí mbi akúí awe, í mú
lége í kírí. ³⁹í gá í sí na marché.
⁴⁰mbi lángó na mbáge tí mamá tí
mbi ká. ⁴¹mbi yí tí gá na marché.
⁴²ámérenge tí wále tí Bossangoa,
ála gí yángá tí mbi. ⁴³ála zonga
mbi. ⁴⁴mbi sára téné pepe. ⁴⁵mbi
họ yí tí mbi hòngó. ⁴⁶mbi hé ngiá.
⁴⁷ála mú témé, ála bi na mbi. ⁴⁸
mbi hòngó. ⁴⁹mbi goe, mbi sí na
marché. ⁵⁰ála tene o, bongó tí mo
atoto míngi. ⁵¹mo ke tambéla
tongana yẹ, sí bongó tí mo atoto.
⁵²mbi hòngó tí mbi hòngó. ⁵³fadesó
mbi gá mbi vo yí na marché. ⁵⁴mbi
kírí. ⁵⁵tongana l'heure tí kiringó
alíngbi awe, í gá í lángó. ⁵⁶mbéni
autocar agá. ⁵⁷í gá í mú lége, í
gá na Bangui.

⁵⁸tongasó, bé tí mbi aeke nzoní
títene, mbi kírí yí tí mbi na
Bangui, títene mbi dutí da. ⁵⁹
tenatí ndo ní ká só, ade títene,
anzere na bé tí mbi ape. ⁶⁰aeke
kótóró tí mbi mais, ade títene,
ahinga mbi títene, mbi dutí ká ape.
⁶¹sí mbi gá na Bangui awe, bé tí
mbi agá nzoní. ⁶²mbi gá, mbi dutí.
⁶³fadesó, mbi de títene, mbi baa
kótóró tí mbi ní encore ape. ⁶⁴

him." ³⁴So I didn't refuse her. ³⁵I
left with Mother. ³⁶She and I went.
³⁷We went and stayed there.

³⁸When my uncle had died, we took to
the road and returned. ³⁹We came and
arrived at a market. ⁴⁰I stayed with my
mother's family there. ⁴¹I wanted to go
to the market. ⁴²The girls of Bossangoa,
they teased me. ⁴³They cursed me. ⁴⁴I
didn't say a word. ⁴⁵I just went on my
way. ⁴⁶I laughed. ⁴⁷They took stones
and threw them at me. ⁴⁸I went on my way.
⁴⁹I went and arrived at the market.
⁵⁰They said, "Oh, your dress is making a
lot of noise. ⁵¹How are you walking, so
that your dress is making noise?" ⁵²I
just went on my way. ⁵³Now I arrived
and bought something at the market.
⁵⁴I returned. ⁵⁵When it was time to go
back, we came and stayed. ⁵⁶A bus came.
⁵⁷We took to the road and returned to
Bangui.

⁵⁸And so my liver was glad because I
had come back to Bangui, to live there.
⁵⁹Because that place over there doesn't
please me. ⁶⁰It's my village, but it
didn't appeal to me, and I don't want
to live there. ⁶¹So when I had come to
Bangui, I was happy again. ⁶²I came,
and I stayed. ⁶³Now I don't intend to
see my village any more. ⁶⁴I've for-
gotten it. ⁶⁵Because I went as a very
small (child). ⁶⁶If I should go now, I

agirísa mbi awe. ⁶⁵ngbangatí mbi
goe kété kété. ⁶⁶tongana mbi goe
fadesó, fadé mbi hinga ndo mais,
mbi ka hinga ndo encore mbírímbrí
pepe.

would know the place, but I don't know
the place very well any more.

The Liver Fluke Disease (R4a)

¹ndo só lá só na ndápéréré só, mbi
wara mbéti tí madame ... Dannzapa
na l'hôpital tí Bria. ²lo tene, ní
húnda í ngbangatí só mbéni yí ake
so bé tí ní míngi. ³ní ake na
kobéla só éré ní bilharzie. ⁴mbéni
ákété kété yama só. ⁵mo hinga éré
ní ape? ⁶eg, bilharzie. ⁷bon,
fadesó, bilharzie ní ake so ní
míngi. ⁸ní báa ní tene, akóli kóé
ake wara bilharzie. ⁹wále kóé a-
wara bilharzie. ¹⁰mais bilharzie ní
tí wále ake so ála ahó ndó ní.
¹¹et puis, míngi tí ázo só ngá ake
wara bilharzie gí wále. ¹²mais só
tongana yé, sí tí akóli ake so ála
míngi pepe. ¹³gí tí áwále laá aso
ála míngi só. ¹⁴ní laá, sí lo tene,
ní húnda ndá ní mbírímbrí
ngbangatí só, na l'hôpital tí Bria,
lo goe lo sí ká. ¹⁵docteur azía lo
na l'hôpital atene, lo lángó ká,
sí fadé ála kái na kobéla tí lo ní.

¹⁶lo lángó ká, lo húnda ámbéni á-
wále sí ake na téré tí lo aussi,
ámbéni wále otá. ¹⁷áwále ní atene,

¹Right here this morning, I've received
a letter from Mrs. Dannzapa in the
Hospital at Bria. ²She says, "I'm
asking you because something is
hurting my liver greatly. ³I have
the disease called liver flukes. ⁴It
is certain very small animals." (⁵Do
you know the name of it? ⁶--That's
right, liver flukes.) ⁷Well now, the
liver flukes are hurting me very much.
⁸I thought that men also got liver
flukes. ⁹Women also got liver flukes.
¹⁰But the liver flukes of women hurt
them much more. ¹¹And then, many of
those also who get liver flukes are
just women. ¹²Now how is this, that
men's don't hurt them very much? ¹³It's
only women's that hurt them so much."
¹⁴That's why she says, "I'm asking for
the right explanation, because in the
hospital at Bria, I went and arrived
there. ¹⁵The doctor put me in the
hospital and said I should stay there,
until they cured me of my sickness.

¹⁶Staying there, I asked some other
women who were near me also, three
other women. ¹⁷These other women said,

o ála kóé gí na kobéla tí bilharzie.

¹⁸ sí ní tene comment. ¹⁹ ní

báa mbéni kóli só ála zía lo ge na l'hôpital ngbangatí bilharzie ape, sí (...) gí áwále sí azía ála na kobéla tí bilharzie ngbangatí yę.

²⁰ oui, Albert, mo hínga, kobéla tí bilharzie só, fadesó na yá tí kótóró tí République Centrafricaine, d'abord í ke sára téné só míngi, que kobéla tí bilharzie aeke míngi.

²¹ service des grandes endémies aeke na proposition, aeke na projet, aeke tambéla ánde na yá tí kótóró só kóé, títene asára mbéni campagne contre bilharzie, parce que í báa que bilharzie só, aeke mbéni kobéla so aeke gí lége títene, así na yá tí kótóró míngi míngi.

²² tongana wále só, lo tene que lo báa gí na téré tí áwále, aeke pas tout-à-fait vrai, parce que ákóli kóé ake mú aussi kobéla tí bilharzie só. ²³ mais peut-être sí tongana lo báa íta tí lo wále aeke na ní míngi, í tene lá kóé que kobéla tí bilharzie só ake wara ní gí na lége tí ngú. ²⁴ tongana mo zo, mo goe na yá tí ngú pepe, mo língbi tí wara kobéla tí bilharzie pepe.

²⁵ ngbangatí só, peut-être áwále, lá kóé na ála goe tí sukúla bongó,

'Oh, we all have just liver flukes.'

¹⁸ So I asked, 'How's that?' ¹⁹ I don't see any men who have been put here into the hospital on account of liver flukes, so why is it that only women have the liver fluke disease?"

²⁰ Certainly, Albert, you know that this liver fluke disease--now in the Central African Republic, first of all we've said this many times, that there is a great deal of liver fluke disease.

²¹ The Service for Great Endemic Diseases has a proposal, a project, that they will circulate later on among all the villages, to launch a campaign against liver flukes, because we see that this liver fluke disease is a disease which is coming into villages a great deal.

²² When this woman says that she sees it only in women, that's not entirely true, because men also get this liver fluke disease. ²³ But perhaps, since she sees her sisters, the women, have it a lot, we can always say that the liver fluke disease is caught only through water. ²⁴ If you don't go into the water, you can't catch the liver fluke disease. ²⁵ Because of this, perhaps women, always, they go to wash clothes, or else they go to leech their manioc in the water, in

na yá tí ngú wala ála goe tí sára ágozo tí ála na yá tí ngú, na place só ngú ake soa pepe. ²⁶ngú ní asoa gí na place óko, aake na saleté. ²⁷ákété kété á-microbe tí bilharzie ní aake na yá tí ngú só. ²⁸ní láá ake lí na géré tí áwále, tenetí aake na manière tongasó. ²⁹mais, bilharzie aake kobéla só alíngbi tí sára wále, asára kóli, asára mérengé kóé. ³⁰aake gí ngbangatí wále óko pepe. ³¹mo má awe? Albert.

³²mm, mbi má só awe. ³³mbi pensé madame (...) Dannzapa na l'hôpital tí Bria, lo má só, wángó só mo mú na lo na ndápéréré só awe. ³⁴fadé bé tí lo agá na ngiá. ³⁵í kírí í tene mo kóé, madame (...) Dannzapa, í wara lége titene, í píka na mo disque tí mo, só mo húnda na ndápéréré só pepe, ngbangatí, mo hínga kóé wángó tí ndápéréré aake wara ká l'heure míngi míngi sí fadé í língbi titene í píka na mo disque pepe.

places where the water isn't flowing.

²⁶When the water flows in only one place, it is dirty. ²⁷Those little liver fluke germs are in this kind of water.

²⁸That's why they get into women's legs, because they are tricky like that.

²⁹But the liver fluke disease is a sickness that can attack women, it attacks men, it attacks children also.

³⁰It isn't only for women. ³¹Do you understand, Albert?

³²Yes, I've understood. ³³I think Mrs. Dannzapa in the hospital at Bria has heard this, this advice which you have given her this morning. ³⁴She will be glad again. ³⁵Again we tell you also, Mrs. Dannzapa, that we can't find a way of playing for you the record which you asked for this morning, because, as you well know, "Morning Advice" doesn't get a lot of time, so that we can't play a record for you.

Announcing a Show (R7f)

¹mbi wara ngá mbéti ge. ²kóli só ake sára magie lá kóé na yá tí á-bar óko óko, ála hínga ngá lo kóé só, ato kóe na í mbéti ge, atene lá só, lo ke sára kótá matánga na Rex. ³matánga só ngbangatí só, lá

¹I've also received a letter here. ²The man who is always doing magic in each of the bars, you all know him, has sent us a letter here, announcing that today he is putting on a big celebration at the Rex. ³This celebration is because today

só, lo sára ngú bale otá na ndó ní miombe na ndó tí sése. ⁴ní laá, lo ** ke sára matánga só lá só na Rex, títene, lo eke sára pendere á-magie tí lo ní míngi, ngbangatí lá só, lo lángó ngú bale otá na ndó ní miombe, na ndó tí sése só. ⁵aake lo lángó na ndó tí sése míngi laá. ⁶ní laá lo ke sára matánga ní lá só. ⁷lo tene, kóli ayí tí goe, payé-ngó ní tí li na yá ní, páta bale osió. ⁸wále agoe tí payé tí li, páta bale óse. ⁹lá só na Rex, lo ke sára pendere yí míngi. ¹⁰lo húnda na á-client tí lo só, agoe ká tí bángó yí tí lo, só lo ke sára ká só, kóé títene, ála goe lá só lá só. ¹¹lo ke sára pendere yí míngi, ngbangatí lá só, lo eke na ngú bale otá na ndó ní miombe.

¹²fadesó, tí í na yángá tí kótóró ahúnzi tí lo awe. ¹³mbi húnda na ázo tí Bangui kóé, ála kú tanga tí téné kóé, na sept heures et demie, na yángá tí ámbunzú. ¹⁴Plassy Lamine, na Pauline Mbamba abara ála míngi.

he has spent thirty-eight years on the earth. ⁴That's why he's having this celebration today, at the Rex, to do a lot of his beautiful magic, because today he has lived thirty-eight years on the earth. ⁵It's because he's lived on earth a long while. ⁶That's why he's having this celebration today. ⁷He says, if men want to enter, the price of admission is two hundred francs. ⁸Women will pay for admission one hundred francs. ⁹Today at the Rex, he's doing many beautiful things. ¹⁰He asks all his customers to go see all his things which he will be doing there, to go this very day. ¹¹He'll be doing many beautiful things, because today he is thirty-eight years old.

¹²Now our (broadcast) in the language of the country is over. ¹³I ask all the people of Bangui to wait to hear the rest of the things at seven-thirty, in the language of the White Man. ¹⁴Plassy Lamine and Pauline Mbamba greet you all cordially.

Recipe: Kidneys with Wine (R9a)

¹áita tí mbi, í bara ála kóé na dimanche só lá só. ²ála hinga lá kóé í ke zingo ála gí na musique.

¹My brothers, we greet you all on this Sunday today. ²You know that every day we waken you with music. ³Why (do we

³ngbangatí yę. ⁴ála ke toka mbéti na í ndo só. ⁵na pekó ní, í eke sára na ála pekó ní, ála tene, ála má pepe. ⁶ndá ní só vení sí í eke tene, aeke nzoni í zingo ála na musique. ⁷tongasó ála língbi títene ála dutí na téré tí radio tí ála, sí ála má pekó tí mbéti tí ála só ála húnda na í na ndo só. ⁸tongana lá kóé, ála má musique.

⁹tongasó mbéni lá mbi goe tí te encore mbéni mará tí kóbe ní, ála dé éré ní rognon tí yama, na vin. ¹⁰ála sára ní taá ní na vin na anzere míngi. ¹¹mais mbi yí tí hinga, comment, só ála ke sára ** na yí só.

¹²nzoni tongana mo yí tí tó ní na vin só, mo goe mo vo rognon ní na lá kúí. ¹³mo gá na rognon ní mo fáa yá tí rognon ní kóé, mo sukúla ní nzoni, mo zía na yá tí sembé. ¹⁴mo mú l'ail kété, mo fáa l'ail da. ¹⁵mo mú vin ní verre óko, mo túku ní da. ¹⁶mo zía, alángó na ní. ¹⁷tongana mo eke na frigidaire, mo zía ní da. ¹⁸mais tongana frigidaire aeke ape, mo zía ngá na ní tongasó na mbéni place tí dé, alángó. ¹⁹bon, ndá adé, tongana mo gá tí tóngó ní só, mo mú ta ní mo zía na wá. ²⁰mo zía mafuta da. ²¹tongana mafuta ní a-chauffé awe,

say this)? ⁴You regularly send letters to us here. ⁵Then later on, when we do as you ask, you say you didn't hear it. ⁶That's why we say, it's good for us to waken you with music. ⁷So you should sit by your radios, to hear the response to your letters (in) which you make requests to us here. ⁸As every day, listen to music.

⁹So now one day I went to eat a different kind of food, which they call animal kidneys in wine. ¹⁰They really prepare it with wine, and it's delicious. ¹¹Now I want to know how they can do this thing.

¹²You should, if you want to cook it with wine, go buy the kidneys in the evening. ¹³Take the kidneys and cut them all up, you wash them well, and you put them into a dish. ¹⁴You take a little garlic, and cut up the garlic in it. ¹⁵Take wine, one glassful, and pour it in. ¹⁶Let them sit in it (i.e. the wine). ¹⁷If you have a refrigerator, put it in it. ¹⁸But if you don't have a refrigerator, put it just like that in a cool place, and let it sit. ¹⁹Now, early in the morning, when you go to cook it, take a pot and put it on the fire. ²⁰Put oil into it. ²¹When the oil is hot, cut up onions into it.

mo fáa oignon da. ²¹mo yóro na
 oignon ní ngbii. ²²tongana mo báa
 (...) oignon ní a-commencé tí be
 awe, mo gá mo mú rognon só mo zía ní
 alángó na yá tí vin só mo préparé ní
 na l'ail só. ²³mo gá mo mú papa tí
 farine íko tongasó, mo tourné na
 ní ngbii. ²⁴tongana mo báa farine
 ní a-commencé tí be awe, mo gá mo
 mú rognon só mo préparé ní na vin
 na l'ail sí alángó, só mo gá mo
 túku ní da. ²⁵eh bien akporo na
 ní fadesó ngbii. ²⁶tongana mo báa,
 a-collé awe, mo mú ní mo zía na
 sése. ²⁷mo zía yíngó da, mo mú ní
 mo zía na sése. ²⁸ake tongasó
 vení sí ála ke sára rognon tí yama
 na vin. ²⁹tongana mo sára tongasó,
 só mo ke báa anzere ní míngi. ³⁰
 mais attention mo zía mbéni vin
 ndé da ape, gí vin só mo bata na
 ní só vení mo ke tǒ na ní. ³¹
 tongana mo ke zía mbéni vin da
 encore, kóbe ní ake kpí alíngbi
 titene anzere ape.

²¹Fry the onions for a while. ²²When
 you see that the onions have begun to
 brown, come take the kidneys which you
 left sit in the wine, which you prepared
 with garlic. ²³Come take one spoonful
 of flour, like this, and stir it in for
 a while. ²⁴When you see that the flour
 has begun to brown, you come and take
 the kidneys which you prepared with wine
 and garlic and which sat, and dump them
 in. ²⁵Now then it boils together for a
 while. ²⁶When you see that it has
 thickened, you take it and put it aside
 (lit. on the ground). ²⁷You put salt
 into it, and you take it and put it
 aside. ²⁸It's like that that they
 prepare animal kidneys with wine.
²⁹If you do it like this, you will
 see that it is delicious. ³⁰But be
 careful not to put in any other wine,
 you should cook it in just the wine in
 which you kept it. ³¹If you put more
 wine in, the food will be sour and
 will not be good.

PART FIVE: LEXICONS

Two lexicons are provided in this part of the grammar. The first, chapter 19, is a lexicon of Sango words and bound morphemes. In this list, 475 items whose frequencies are marked occur in the corpus a total of 33,743 times, for an average of over 71 occurrences per morpheme. Ten items occur 900 or more times each: the connectives *tí* (3055) and *na* (2602), the subject marker *a-* (2136), the pronoun *mbi* (1579), the adjunctive *só* (1216), the pronoun *mó* (1061), the verb *éke* (1058), the pronouns *lo* (1006) and *ála* (904), and the adjunctive *ni* (900). These words, with a total of 15,517 occurrences, make up over 42 per cent of the running text. A total of 91 words occur only once each. It will be noted that there is a discrepancy between the figures given here and those given in the grammar for a few items. This is because there were two files, the grammar file and the lexical file, and a few slips from the grammar file were apparently lost. Those words in the list which have no frequency are words which were elicited from Mr. Nambozouina or found in other sources in the course of phonological or other investigations.

The second lexicon is a list of the French words occurring in the examples and texts included in the grammar only. No attempt is made here to study the phenomenon of borrowing. The orthography is standard French throughout (with phonemic transcription of the Sango pronunciation if it is current and widely standardized), but the glosses reflect the Sango usage found in the corpus. Many of the nouns are said with the definite article (*le, la, l'*), either exclusively, as *la loi* 'the law,' or optionally, as *hôpital - l'hôpital* 'the hospital.' French numerals are used, especially in citing the time of day, counting sums of money, etc., but are not given in the list. All French items, including numerals, dates, distances, and similar expressions, account for 2,386 occurrences or 6.5 per cent of the corpus. Proper names, names of tribes, nations, and languages, and a few items of other foreign source occur 629 times or 1.9 per cent of the corpus. The frequencies may be summarized in tabular form as follows:

Sango words	33,743	91.6 per cent
French words, all kinds	2,386	6.5
Proper names, etc. . .	<u>629</u>	<u>1.9</u>
Total	36,858	100.0

In the Sango lexicon, the information given after the entry is to be read as follows: first is the class abbreviation, Aa: ante-noun adjunctive, Ap: post-noun adjunctive, Au: universal adjunctive, Av: verbal adjunctive, C: connective, I: interjection, M: bound morpheme, N: noun, Pa: sentence particle, Pr: pronoun, V: verb. Then comes the frequency, where applicable. What comes after the colon is the gloss or explanation.

Chapter 19

S A N G O L E X I C O N

-A-

- 1 á- M 636: noun plural marker
 || a- M 2132: subject marker
 aa I 10: disgust, surprise
 adorónu N 2: Hausa salt
 1 ála Pr 904: they, you (pl.)
 andáa ~ kandáa C 13: in other words
 ánde Av 40: later
 ándo Av 7: formerly
 áni Pr 90: we
 ape see pepe
 asa V: to dig with hands
 áta N 3: grandparent, grandchild
 || aú N 12: uncle
 awe see we

-B-

- bá N 4: oath
 ba V: to bend
 báa V 208: to see
 || babá N 51: father
 baba N 4: pride
 bágara N 2: bovine animal
 bákoyá N 5: baboon
 bála N 1: camping place
 báláwa 1: shea nut
 bale N 55: ten
 bámará N 1: lion
 bángá N: rubber
 bara V,N 30: to greet, greeting
 báságbó N: land
 basánze N 3: rustic, wild
 batá N 1: squirrel (non-climbing)
 bata V 19: to keep

- bé N 3: middle
 be V 4: to be ripe
 be V: to annoy
 bebé N: roofing grass
 békpá N: thunder
 berá N 6: war
 bé N 95: liver
 bí N 4: night
 bi V 26: to throw
 bíá N 15: song
 bíakú Av 2: truly
 bíaní Av 27: truly
 bingbá Aa 3: red
 bíngo N 1: night
 bíó N: bone
 bírí N 1: yesterday
 bíríbiri N: kind of beer
 bólo V: to throw stones at
 bóndó N: mil
 bóngbi V 34: to gather
 bozó N: carrying bag
 bongó N 38: cloth
 búbá Aa 17: foolish
 buba V 4: to ruin
 búburú N: dumb
 bulée N 1: banana
 burú N 1: dry season

-B'-

- b'anda V 1: to ponder
 b'ongó N: hyena

-D-

- da N 57: house
 da Av 122: there

da (bɛ́) V 1: to remind
 dambá N: tail
 dára V 1: to sick on (as a dog)
 dawóló N 1: a certain dance
 dé N 9: cold
 dé V 2: to chop
 dé V 22: to spit out
 de V 54: to remain
 dede N: horn of animal
 deko N: rat
 déma V 2: to carry on agitatedly
 dengbe N: small antelope
 dénge V 1: to lean to one side
 díko V 23: to read
 dole N 27: elephant
 dǒ N: ax
 dǒ V 13: to shake
 dǒdǒ N 10: a dance
 dola N 1: moth
 dongobe 1: ?
 dongó yongóro A 1: slimy
 doroko V 2: to butcher
 dú N 4: hole
 dú V 20: to give birth to
 du V 3: to tie
 du V 12: to be
 duma N 1: honey beer
 dutí V 79: to sit

-E-

éré N,V 132: a name, to call
 ɛɛ I 13: sudden understanding
 eke ~ ke V 1058: be

-F-

fa V 81: to show
 fáa V 102: to cut
 fadé Av 187: quickly
 fadesó Av 189: now
 fɛ́ N: odor
 finí N,Aa 13: life, new
 finóo N 2: suffering
 fombá N 1: comrade
 fondo N 2: plantain
 fonɔ V 5: to wander
 fú V 1: to give (food)
 fú V: to sew
 fú V 1: to smell
 fufú N: lung
 fuku N: flour
 fúlu N: froth
 fúru V: to mix
 fúta V,N 18: to pay, salary

-G-

gá V 313: to come
 galá N 13: market
 ganzá N: circumcision
 gbá N 1: bunch, bundle
 gbá C 1: nevertheless
 gbá Av 15: in vain
 gba V: to copulate
 gba (ngú) V: beat (water)
 gbakó N 1: gallery forest
 gbándá C 2: later
 gbánda N 20: net
 gbánza N 1: corn

gbánzi V 1: to prevent
 gbara búba N: frying pan
 gbě N 15: bottom part
 gbí V 7: to catch fire
 gbiá N 1: king
 gbikí N 1: perspiration
 gbíma ndoko N: a challenge
 gbó V 29: to seize
 gbóto V 5: to pull
 gbudu N: a spinach-like vegetable
 gbugburu V 1: to stir up in disorderly
 way
 ge Av 31: here
 gene N 2: stranger
 géré N 15: leg, foot
 gí V 51: to seek
 | gí Au 196: only
 gígí N 31: outside
 gindí N: bow (weapon)
 giriri N 35: formerly
 girísa F 20: to lose, forget
 ||| goe V 313: go
 gólo V: to rap (as on door)
 góna V 7: to praise
 gonda N 1: a certain poison
 goigói N 3: laziness
 gó N 10: neck, throat
 góá N: birth pains
 gógóá N: buffalo
 gogoro N: granary
 gozo N 13: manioc
 gugú N: mushroom
 gugúru N: small fish
 gúru N: smoke, steam

-H-

há V: to pull out (as a knife)
 há V: to weave
 hẹ V 2: to ponder
 háa V: to measure
 hánda V 16: to entice, deceive
 háráge N: a certain liquor
 hẹ V 18: to laugh, sing
 hẹ I 1: seeking agreement
 hínga V 127: to know
 hío Av 9: quickly
 hónde V 2: to hide
 hẹ V 59: to pass
 hẹ N: nose
 hótó N 3: hill
 hú V 4: to spread
 hú V 2: to breathe
 húná V 67: to ask
 húnzi V 20: to make disappear

-I-

í Pr 548: we, us; you (pl.)
 ía V,N: to blow (as wind), air
 íno N: urine
 isoró N 2: tale
 || ítā N 147: sibling

-K-

ká V 16: to sell
 || ká Av 100: there
 ká N 1: wound, sore
 ka C 16: if
 ka 1: ?
 kái V 9: to hush

- kái N: paddle
 kaká N 1: grandparent
 kalá N 1: snail
 kamáta V 14: to take
 kámba N 20: cord
 kaméla N 11: shame
 kandáa see andáa
 kángá N: hartebeest
 kánga V,N 24: to shut, prison
 kángba N: old man
 kángbi V 2: to separate
 kangú N: gourd
 kanguya N 1: palm wine
 kara V 1: to frustrate, overcome
 kárakó N 18: peanut
 kása N 1: sauce
 katá N: lizard
 kate N 4: chest
 kawai N 1: kind of squash
 ké (lé) V: to blink
 kéké N 20: tree, wood
 kékéréke N 3: tomorrow
 kéngé N: penis
 kété Aa 95: small
 ke see eke
 ke V 25: to refuse
 kii N 2: thorn
 kinda V 2: to knock down
 kirí V 84: to return
 kiríkiri Ap 7: crooked
 kisi N: beads
 kité N 1: objection
 kó V 1: to germinate
 ko V 4: to alight
 kóbe N 79: food
 kobéla N 52: sickness
 kóé Ap 400: all, entirely
 kógará N: father-in-law
 kólo N: giraffe
 kolóngo N 1: basin
 kombá N: guinea fowl
 kóngbá N 17: load, possessions
 kóngo N: mallet
 kóri N: cushion
 korogbó N: scrotum
 kóróngó N: fan palm
 kóso V: to drag
 kótá Aa 67: big
 kótará N 10: ancestor
 kózo Aa 54: first
 kó V: to pluck
 kóá N 1: hair
 kóá N 17: dead body
 koa N 135: work
 koa N 7: message
 kódá N: debt
 koko N 11: a certain kind of edible
 leaves
 kokora N 1: arrow
 kólí N 115: man, male animal
 kóndo N 2: chicken
 kóngba N: frog
 kóngó N: rainbow
 kóngó N 1: shout
 konó N: hippopotamus
 kono V 15: to be big
 kóró N: cold (disease)
 kóro V: to pierce
 kósó N 4: kind of edible cucurbit
 koto V 3: to scratch

- kótóró N 205: village
 kóya N 2: child of mother's brother
 kpa V 2: to resemble
 kpáá Av: out of the blue
 kpaka V 5: to scrape
 |kpé V 36: to run
 kpí V 1: to be sour
 kpí N 10: paste (as of peanuts)
 kpíngba V 4: to be hard
 kpíkara N 17: human-like legendary
 character
 kpítíkpítí Av: dark black
 kpó Av 6: quiet
 kpókpó N: pipe (for smoking)
 kpoto N 1: hat
 kpo V 7: to pierce
 kpóka N 3: hoe
 kporo V 10: to boil
 kpu N 11: mortar for grinding food
 kú V 18: to wait
 kugbé N 3: leaf
 \ kúí V, N 36: to die, death, dead body
 of animal
 kulá N: vengeance
 kúma N: python
 kunde N: guitar
 kúngbi V: to smash up
 kúrú V: to be dry
 kusára N 56: work
 kutu N: thousand
 kutukutu N 2: automobile
 -
 -L-
 lá N 198: sun, day
 laá Pa 106: right there
 lando N: grassy plain
 ||| lánzó V, N 68: to sleep, sleep, day
 lavú N: bee
 lé N 43: eye, face
 lé N 5: glowing coal
 lé N, V 2: fruit, seed, to bear fruit
 | lége N 151: road
 lekpa N: small antelope
 lele N: small animal
 lélé N: donkey
 lenda V: to enter
 lengé N 13: a certain dance
 lenge N: necklace
 leke V 45: to prepare, repair
 li V 7: to enter
 li N 45: head
 likongó N 6: spear
 língbi V 165: to be enough, be fitting
 3 | lo Pr 1006: he, she, him, her
 lóndó V 34: to get up
 lóró N 3: speed
 lóso N 2: rice
 lú V 13: to plant, bury
 lukundú N: spirit of witchcraft
 lungúla V 12: to remove
 lutí V 1: to stand up
 -
 -M-
 má V 121: to hear
 ma Pa 13: emphasis
 mabóko N 31: hand
 mafuta N 12: oil, fat
 máí V: to grow
 makáko N 5: monkey
 makala N 3: fritter
 makongó N 9: caterpillar
 makoró N: calumny

- makunzi N 4: chief
 2 mamá N 67: mother
 manda V 1: to learn, study
 mánga N 1: tobacco
 mángo N: mango
 mápa N 1: bread
 mará N 15: tribe, kind
 másarágba N: rhinoceros
 masía N 3: young girl before
 marriage
 matánga N 4: celebration
 mawa N 5: suffering
 mbá N 10: fellow, comrade
 mbadi N 1: divination
 mbáge N 23: side
 mbakóro N 4: old person
 mbamba N: oyster
 mbáná N 3: indifference, carelessness
 mbángbá N: cheek
 mbanu N 2: cross-bow
 mbáráwará N: large lizard
 mbásámbará Ap 3: seven
 mbé (ngú) N: other side (of river)
 mbengé N: wild pig
 mbéni Aa 317: certain, other
 mbéti N 78: paper, book
 10 ~~///~~ ~~///~~ mbi Pr 1579: I, me
 mbínda N: cloud
 mbírímbrí Av 27: straight, right
 mbito N 15: fear
 mbo N 8: dog
 mbóko V 3: to bruise
 mbúlú N: powder
 mbunzú N 46: white man
 mbúrú N 1: oil palm
 mé V 2: to prepare food
 mé N 3: ear
 mé (ngo) V 1: to conceive
 me N 2: breast
 méné N 5: blood
 mene V 1: to swallow
 méngá N: tongue
 mérengé N 183: child
 míngi Ap 314: much
 míngo V 5: to extinguish
 miombe Ap 4: eight
 mm I 4: agreement
 monganga N 3: medicine man
 || mo Pr 1061: you (sing.)
 | mú V 370: to take
 m?m I: disagreement
 -N-
 3 ~~///~~ na C 2602: and, with
 ndá N 45: end
 ndakóro N: kind of plant, used as
 washcloth
 ndao N 2: blacksmith
 ndápéréré N 23: morning
 ndaráa N 3: wisdom
 ndarangba N: hare
 ndaveke N: syphilis
 „ndé Ap 27: different
 ndeko N 1: friend
 ndembú N 1: rubber
 ndeke N 1: bird
 ndiá N 1: law
 ndó N 54: top, atop
 ndo N 126: place
 ndoé N 8: person with same name

- ndóndó (li) N: brain
 ndóngé N: red pepper
 ndóo N: clay for making pots
 ndókó N: flower
 ndú V 1: to touch
 ndurú Aa 11: short
 ndúzú N 13: sky
 ne V 2: to be heavy, crush completely
 neka V: to crush completely
 ngá Ap 119: also
 ngaánga N: fetish
 ngáfó N 4: hoe
 ngágõ N: spinach
 ngambe N 2: younger brother
 ngángá N: bottle
 nganga N 2: a certain medicine
 ngangó N 49: strong, strength
 ngaragé N 6: a certain secret society
 ngása N: goat
 ngásá N: wild yam
 ngbá V 64: to remain
 ngbáá N: slave
 ngbáa N 2: buffalo
 ngbagba N: jaw
 ngbágo N: alcohol
 ngbálo N 1: apoplexy
 ngbanga N 16: judgment
 ngbangatí C 102: because
 ngbangbu N 2: hundred
 ngbáti N 1: certain kind of medicine
 ngbééré Aa 4: old
 ngbééréná N 1: coiled brass bracelet
 ngbií Av 49: for a while
 ngbókó N: sugar cane
 ngbundá N 1: hips
 ngbúru V: to enmesh, embroil
 ngeki (lé) N: eye brow
 ngéré N 4: price, value
 nge V: to become thin
 ngéíngéílé Av: manner of shining or glittering
 ngiá N 44: joy, amiability
 ngindí N: rat trap
 nginza N 85: money
 -ngó M 141: nominalizer
 ngói N 1: season
 ngombe N 1: gun
 ngonda N 23: bush
 ngóngósá N: ritual defilement
 ngongoa N 1: seed grain
 ngonzo N 6: anger
 ngóro N: maneless lion
 ngó N 13: boat
 ngo N 7: drum
 ngo N 5: foetus
 ngóló N: fish trap
 ngolo 1: ?
 ngóro V 2: to surround
 ngú N 122: water, river
 ngui N: kind of tuber
 ngui N 1: kind of monkey
 ngundé N: crocodile
 ngunzá N 43: greens
 ngusú N 1: chigger
 ní Ap 900: the one
 ni V: to lower (as clouds)
 nínga V 2: to be long
 nzá N: horn of animal

nzala N 10: hunger
 Nzapá N 61: god
 nzére (yí) Aa: different kinds of
 things
 nzé V 1: to get weary
 nze N 31: moon, month
 nzené N: fingernail, claw
 nzénzé N: small kind of caterpillar
 nzenze 1: ?
 nzere V 17: to please, to taste good
 nzí N,V 9: theft, stealth, to steal
 nzó N 3: corn
 nzoní Aa 168: good

-O-

o I 17: surprise
 o Pa 29: politeness
 ole V 2: to dry
 omaná Ap 1: six
 omba N 1: aunt
 óse Ap 59: two
 osió Ap 18: four
 otá Ap 36: three

-O-

óke Ap 5: how many
 óko Ap 212: one

-P-

pá V: to accuse on suspicion
 pandé N: pattern, model
 pápa N: sandal
 papa N 2: spoon
 papa V, N 5: to quarrel, a quarrel
 párá N: egg

pási N 8: suffering
 páta N 7: unit of five-francs
 pé (kámba) V: to twist (rope)
 pendere Aa 23: young, beautiful
 péré N 4: grass
 pekó N 111: back
 pémbé N 8: tooth
 pepe ~ ape Pa 612: not
 pete V: to pound, crush
 píka V 64: to hit, beat
 píndírí N 1: burning embers, coal
 pitó N: foreskin
 pópó N 14: middle
 pópó N: ornamental scar on face
 póró N 6: skin
 ponó N 2: suffering
 potopóto N 2: mud, gruel
 pupu N: wind
 purú N 2: excrement

-R-

ri V 1: be thoroughly crushed

-S-

sá V: to pour
 sái N: yeast for brewing
 sakpá N 2: basket
 sambá N: co-wife
 samba N 9: beer
 sambéla V 12: to pray, worship
 sáná N 1: suffering
 sandúku N: box
 sánzó N 1: a boil
 sárá N: itch
 ||sára V 515: to do, make

- sara N: forked stick
 sé V: to be bitter
 seko N: chimpanzee
 séndá N: sole of foot
 séngé Aa 74: for nothing, with nothing
 sepála V 1: to praise
 sése N 80: earth, land
 sé V: to recline
 sembé N 6: dish
 sí V 102: to arrive
 sí V 5: to fill
 sí C 370: so that, next
 sindi N 4: sesame
 sioní Aa 44: bad, evil
 sisi N: thorn
 só Ap 1216: this
 so V: to save
 sónzó N: wild dog
 so V 30: to hurt
 sóá N: needle
 soa V 2: to flow
 sóko N: rust
 sósó V: to defecate
 súku V 3: to swell up
 sukúla V 17: to wash
 súmá N 1: dream
 sumári N 1: a certain secret society
 sungba V: to burst
 súru V 16: to split
 susu N 21: fish
 tágba N: kind of antelope: kob
 tambéla V 17: to walk
 tanga N 9: remainder
 tangé N 1: bed
 tará N 4: grandmother
 tara V 5: to try
 té V 1: to meet
 te v 88: to eat
 témé N 4: stone
 téné N 256: word, speech, affair
 tene V 391: to talk
 tenetí C 88: because
 téré N 91: body
 tere N 38: spider; mythical character
 tí V 17: to fall
 tí C 3055: of, to
 ti N 6: arm
 tíko V: to cough
 tíngbi V 2: to join
 tiri V 17: to fight
 titene C 237: that is to say
 tó V 11: to dip up
 to V 45: to send
 toka V,N 12: to send message, message
 tomba V 16: to chase
 tongana C 387: when
 tongasó Av 229: thus
 tóró V 1: ?
 toto V 26: to cry
 tó V 25: to cook
 tóró N 1: spirit of dead ancestor
 túku V 27: to pour, dump
 tungu N: lead or tin (metal)
 turúgu N: soldier
 turúngu N: navel

-T-

ta N 23: pot
 taá Au 43: true
 taba N: sheep

-U-

uga 1: ?
 ukú Ap 16: five
 úlu V 1: to blow (as horn)
 uru V 1: to jump, fly

-V-

veké N 3: okra
 vene N 27: lie
 vení N 1: owner
 vení Ap 53: self
 vɔ V 55: to buy
 vokó Aa 22: black
 vóro V: to beseech
 wú V 1: to be surpassingly beautiful
 vu V: to be black
 vundú N 5: resentment
 vurú Aa 4: white

-W-

wá N 22: fire, heat
 wa N 17: inhabitant
 wa V 15: to warn
 wa Ap 19: interrogative
 wala C 58: or else
 wálē N 188: 'woman, female'
 wara V 162: to find
 wátáká N 3: lie
 we V 258: to be finished
 wé N 14: iron
 woga N 12: small antelope
 wógará N: daughter-in-law
 wótoro N 1: bee
 wóko V 4: to soften, weaken
 wú see hú

wúnzi see húnzi
 wúrúwúrú N 1: noisy disorder

-Y-

yá N 185: belly
 yá V: to raise up
 yáká N 70: garden field
 yama N 67: animal, meat
 yángá N 68: mouth, language
 yáq N: cat
 yáyú N 2: sky
 yekeyeke Av 1: slowly
 yę Ap 72: interrogative
 yékpá N: lightning
 yené N: anus
 yengere V,N 3: to sift, sieve
 yí N 235: thing
 yí V 2-5: to want, like, love
 yíngó N 5: salt
 yingó N 1: spirit of living person
 yoró N 43: medicine
 yó V 3: to bear load
 yó (yí) V: to beg
 yɔ V 9: to be long, be far
 yó V 23: to drink
 yongóro Ap 9: long
 yóro V 8: to fry food
 yóro V 4: to thrust, insert
 yú V 9: to wear
 yuru V 4: to leak, seep out

-Z-

zá V 4: to be keen, be bright
 zaranga N: roan antelope

zaza N 1: switch made of twig

zě V 2: to promise

ze N: leopard

zembe N 4: knife

zí V 3: to untie

zí V 2: to dig

zía V 148: to put

zíngo V 4: to awaken

zo N 374: person

zonga V, N 2: curse

zś V 6: to burn

zúku V: to bow, kneel

zuru N 2: mil

-č-

čá? I 3: sick 'em

FRENCH LEXICON

-A-

affecté 'appoint'
 ail 'garlic'
 allé 'suddenly'
 ambassadeur 'ambassador'
 ananas 'pineapple'
 apôtre 'apostle'
 Assemblée Législative 'legislative
 assembly'
 attaqué 'to attack'
 attention 'attention, care'
 au secours 'emergency'
 aussi 'also'
 auto 'automobile'
 autocar 'bus'
 avion 'airplane'

-B-

bac 'a ferry'
 balayé 'to sweep'
 ballon 'football, balloon'
 bambou 'bamboo'
 banc 'mixing board'
 baptême 'baptism'
 bar 'bar, tavern'
 béni 'to bless'
 bien 'well'
 bière 'beer (imported)'
 bilharzie 'liver fluke disease'
 boîte 'a can, a box'
 bon 'debt'; 'well!'
 bordelle 'prostitute'

bulletin 'bulletin'
 bureau 'office'

-C-

café 'coffee'
 caisse 'crate, box'
 calcul 'calculation'
 camarade 'comrade'
 camion 'truck'
 campagne 'campaign'
 carte d'identité 'identity card'
 causé 'to chat'
 ça va 'to recover'
 cervelle 'brain'
 chaise 'chair'
 changé 'to change'
 chapeau 'hat'
 chapitre 'chapter'
 charbon 'charcoal'
 chauffé 'to heat'
 chauffeur 'chauffeur'
 chiffon 'rag'
 chrétien 'christian'
 citoyen 'citizen'
 civilisé 'to be civilized'
 client 'customer'
 cochon 'pig'
 collé 'to thicken'
 commandé 'to command'
 commandement 'authority'
 commencé 'begin'

comment 'interrogation of manner'
 commerçant 'merchant'
 commis de bureau 'office clerk'
 compagne 'wife'
 concours 'competitive examination'
 conférence 'conference'
 confiance 'confidence, trust'
 congé 'vacation'
 conseil 'council, counsel'
 contre 'against'
 contrôleur 'inspector'
 coton 'cotton'
 crapule 'treacherous'
 crédit 'credit'
 croisement 'crossroads'
 cuillère 'spoon'

-D-

d'abord 'first of all'
 d'accord 'in agreement'
 débrouillé 'to manage to do'
 déjà 'already'
 délégué 'representative'
 démerdé 'to make out'
 demi(e) 'half (hour)'
 dépend 'to depend'
 dépensé 'to spend'
 depuis 'since'
 député 'elected deputy'
 descend 'go down'
 désigné 'to appoint'
 devant 'front'
 devinette 'riddle'
 diacre 'deacon'
 dimanche 'Sunday'

diminué 'to diminish'
 diplomate 'diplomat'
 diplomatie 'diplomacy'
 directeur 'director'
 direction 'head office'
 disque 'a record (music)'
 docteur 'physician'
 doucement 'slowly, softly'
 droit 'a right'

-E-

école 'school'
 économie 'economics'
 écrasé 'to crush'
 église 'church'
 eh bien 'well then'
 embrassé 'to embrace, to kiss'
 encore 'still, yet, again'
 et 'and, then'
 et puis 'then'
 évangile 'gospel'
 évolué 'member of educated élite'
 examen 'examination'

-F-

famille 'family'
 farine 'flour'
 fatigué 'to tire out'
 fille 'girl'
 filtre 'filter'
 fonctionnaire 'civil servant'
 foutu /fûti/ 'to ruin'
 franc 'franc'
 français(e) 'French'
 frigidaire 'refrigerator'

fúti see foutu

-G-

gendarme 'military policeman'
 gérant 'manager of business'
 glacé 'very cold (of drinks)'
 gouvernement 'government, authority'
 grandes endémies 'great endemic
 diseases'

-H-

heure 'hour, time'
 histoire 'story'
 hôpital 'hospital'
 huile 'oil'
 hygiène 'hygiene'

-I-

il faut 'it is necessary'
 indigène 'native'
 infirmier 'male nurse'
 impôt 'tax'
 inspecteur 'inspector'
 instituteur 'school teacher'

-J-

jamais 'never'
 jeunesse 'youth (organization)'
 jusqu'à 'for a while'
 juste 'properly, correctly'

-L-

lait 'milk'
 lettre 'letter'
 loi 'law'

-M-

maçon 'mason'
 madame 'lady, Mrs.'
 magasin 'store, storehouse'
 magie 'magic'
 mais 'but, and'
 manière 'manner, skill, cunning'
 manqué 'to miss, to fail, to lack'
 malade 'illness'
 marché 'market'
 marché 'to progress'
 mariage 'marriage, spouse'
 mauser 'big rifle'
 médecin 'physician'
 mélange 'to mix'
 membre 'member (of church)'
 même 'even, even if'
 ménage 'housework'
 ménagère 'home economics (school)'
 menuisier 'cabinet-maker'
 merci 'thanks'
 merdé 'to annoy, to pester'
 microbe 'microbe'
 midi 'noon'
 milieu 'middle'
 militaire 'military'
 ministre 'minister'
 mission 'mission'
 mobilisé 'mobilized'
 moitié 'half-way'
 moniteur 'instructor'
 monsieur 'gentleman, Mr.'
 monté 'to climb, go high'
 mon vieux 'wow!'
 musique 'music'

-N-

nouvelle 'news, new'

-O-

obligé 'to oblige'

occupé 'to be busy'

oignon 'onion'

ou bien 'or else'

oui 'yes'

-P-

parce que 'because'

par jour 'daily wage'

partagé 'to divide'

passé 'to pass, to iron (clothes)'

pasteur 'pastor'

pas tout-à-fait 'not altogether'

patron 'boss'

paye 'pay'

payé 'to pay'

péché 'sin'

pensé 'to think'

peut-être 'perhaps'

piqûre 'injection'

pistolet 'pistol'

place 'place'

poisonné 'to poison'

police 'police'

politique 'politics'

pomme de terre 'potato'

pompé 'to pump'

poste 'post office'

postier 'postal clerk'

poussé 'to push, to move over'

préfecture 'regional administrative
headquarters'

préparé 'to prepare'

président 'president'

prié 'to pray'

projet 'project'

prophète 'prophet'

proposition 'proposal'

propre 'clean'

-Q-

quand même 'even if'

que 'that'

question 'question'

quinine 'pill, tablet'

quitté 'to leave'

-R-

radio 'radio'

réponse 'answer'

repos 'rest'

république 'republic'

ressort 'spring (of car)'

retard 'late'

rognon 'kidney (of animal)'

royaume 'kingdom'

-S-

sac /sâki/ 'thousand francs'

salade 'lettuce'

saleté 'dirty'

sauvage 'uncivilized'

secrétaire 'secretary'

semaine 'week'

sentinelle 'watchman'

service 'employment, service'

servir 'to serve'

signé 'to sign'
soigné 'to care for, to treat'
sport 'sport'

-T-

table 'table'
terrain 'airfield'
thé 'tea'
timbre 'postage stamp'
tomate 'tomato'
touché 'to touch'
tourné 'to turn, to stir'
train 'train'
travail 'work, job'
travaux 'public works department'

-V-

vacances 'vacation'
vacciné 'to vaccinate'
verre 'glass'
verset 'verse'
vieux, vieille 'old'
ville de Bangui 'fire truck'
vin 'wine'
vite 'quickly'
voilà 'there!'
vote 'vote'
voté 'to vote'
vrai 'true'

PART SIX: INDICES

I N D E X O F E X A M P L E S

In this index, all examples that are cited in the grammar (total: 1860) are listed according to the text from which they were selected. Under the number of each text, each set of parentheses encloses the references to all the examples from that text in a particular numbered section of the grammar. Thus, (5.61.15-4,9) would read, "chapter 5, section 61.15, examples 4 and 9."

A8

(3.12-1,5,7,14,16)(3.30-6)(4.10-28,47,48)(4.21.10-4,7,16)(4.23.50-16)(4.26-8,16,48)(4.30-22)(5.31-10)(5.32.10-1,55,61)(5.32.21-26,29)(5.32.23-6)(5.32.26-6,12)(5.41-14)(5.42-9)(5.51-14)(5.61.15-10)(5.61.20-2)(5.61.30-4,6)(5.64.20-5,17,26)(5.81-2,4,9)(6.30-28)(6.40-22,32)(7.21-25)(8.12.30-18)(8.13-9,17,31)(9.23-4,5,15)(9.30-17,18,31,39)(10.12-6,10)(10.40-2)(11-8,10)(11.11-27,67,73,81)(11.12-11)(11.13-2,12)(11.14-11)(12.20-2)(12.33-3)(13.20-5)(13.30-10,15)(14.10-8)(15.21.11a-17,34,37)(15.21.11b-5,12)(15.21.12a-4,7)(15.22-13)(16.20-5)

A9

(3.12-12)(3.20-3)(4.10-27)(4.23.10-10)(4.41-5,9)(5.61.15-4)(6.30-13)(7.21-11)(8.11-7)(8.12.20-2)(8.12.30-12)(9.30-6)(11.13-23)(12.32-2)(12.33-1)(13.20-25)(15.21.12b-2)(15.22-1,8)(16.10-4)

A11

(3.12-4)(4.21.10-19)(4.26-26,35)(4.30-2.9)(5.61.16-10)(6.30-9)(7.21-10)(9.30-24,40,50,55)(11.12-14)(15.21.11a-7,8,14)(15.21.12a-5)

A13

(4.10-15,26)(4.21.10-3,13,23)(4.23.10-24)(5.32.10-44,48)(5.32.21-28)(5.32.25-18)(5.32.26-7)(5.61.13-13)(5.62-9)(5.64.10-2)(9.23-12,22)(9.30-13)(10.30-9)(11.12-20)(11.13-35)(12.33-2)(12.37-2)(14.10-11)(15.21.12a-27)

A15

(4.21.10-22)(4.23.20-1)(4.26-1,7,50,60)(4.30-19)(5.32.10-29)(5.32.21-39)(5.42-10,15,19)(5.61.13-10)(5.61.16-2)(5.62-4)(9.30-5,41)(10.11-2)(10.13-1)(11.11-20)(11.13-21)(11.14-6)(11.20-9,12)(12.31-5)(12.36-1,2)(13.10-7,15)(13.30-12)(14.10-12)(14.20-16)(15.22-10,19)

A21

(3-1)(3.30-5)(4.21.10-41)(4.21.20-2)(4.23.10-19)(4.41-2,12)(5.32.10-38)(5.32.21-11,36)(5.41-18)(5.61.16-16)(5.70-14)(8.12.30-17)(8.13-15)(11.11-3,60,80)(11.15-2)(14.10-3,7)(14.20-14)(15.21.11a-4,35)(15.21.12a-1,17)(15.21.20-2,7)(16.20-4)

A29

(4.21.10-9)(5.32.10-19)(6.40-14)(8.12.30-20)(9.30-35)(10.13-7)(11.11-25)
 (11.12-13)(11.13-3)(15.21.11a-28)(15.21.12a-25)

A37

(3.12-15)(4.21.10-1)(5.32.10-56)(5.32.21-2)(5.61.16-1,20)(5.64.20-11)(5.70-25)
 (12.35-5)(12.37-4)

A40

(3.12-10)(3.20-12)(4.10-7)(4.21.10-25)(4.21.20-6)(4.41-3)(5.32.22-1)
 (5.32.25-20)(5.61.11-13)(6.30-23)(6.40-27)(7.21-6)(9.23-14)(9.30-3)
 (11.16-1)(16.20-1)

A42

(4.10-24)(4.26-34)(5.31-1)(5.32.10-18,35,60)(5.61.11-2)(5.61.16-13)
 (5.64.20-27)(5.81-6)(7.21-45)(10.11-14)(10.12-4)(11.11-42,68)(11.13-27)
 (12.32-3)(12.35-7)(14.20-4)(15.21.12a-12,22)(15.21.12b-1)

A44

(2.10-1,2)(3.20-13)(4.21.10-8)(4.23.50-8,20)(4.41-1,15)(5.32.10-43,46)
 (5.32.21-40)(5.32.25-19)(5.61.12-4)(5.61.16-19)(5.64.10-3,5)(5.81-3)(5.92-1)
 (6.30-2)(8.11-3)(8.12.30-27)(8.13-14)(9.30-26,53)(11-1)(11.11-2,55)(11.12-39)
 (12.32-1)(12.33-4)(12.34-5,7)(12.37-1)(14.10-14)(15.21.11a-33)(15.21.11b-7)
 (15.21.12a-11,25)(15.22-15)(16.10-20)

A48

(4.21.10-21)(4.22-2)(4.26-23,31)(5.31-5,13)(5.32.10-41,50,52,58)(5.61.11-4)
 (5.64.20-12,20)(7.21-16)(11.11-52)(11.13-5,17)(12.37-3)

A49

(2.10-14)(4.10-43,54)(4.23.10-21,23)(4.26-6,62)(5.31-11)(5.32.21-8,31)
 (5.32.22-5,9)(5.32.25-15,22)(5.61.16-8)(5.62-1)(5.63-11)(5.64.10-8)(5.64.20-8)
 (5.81-8)(5.82.10-15)(5.91-14)(11.11-58,72)(11.12-3,18,30)(11.13-26)(11.14-2)
 (11.20-5)(12.31-7,12)(12.32-6)(12.36-3)(13.10-1)(15.21.11a-32)(15.21.12a-6,8,20)

A50

(4.10-9)(4.21.20-7)(4.26-63)(5.32.10-14)(5.32.21-20)(5.42-1,8,21)(5.52-2)
 (5.64.30-3)(6.40-17)(11.11-46)(11.14-19)(11.20-8)(12.20-1)(15.21.12a-2)

A51

(4.26-11)(5.32.21-21)(5.32.24-4)(5.61.16-15)(15.21.11a-1)(15.21.12b-3)

C8

(3.20-11)(3.30-3)(4.30-18,40)(5.61.11-10)(5.64.20-1)(7.21-24)(8.12.30-5,14,25)
 (8.12.40-1)(8.13-3)(9.23-9)(9.30-11,27)(10.12-2)(14.10-6)(15.21.11a-23)
 (15.21.12a-29,36)(15.22-2,3)

C29

(4.25-13)(4.41-10)(5.32-3)(5.32.10-3)(5.32.21-11)(5.32.23-4)(5.32.25-2)(5.51-7)
 (5.82.30-6)(7.13-1)(7.21-20)(8.13-4)(8.20-2)(11.11-17,62)(11.13-13)(12.31-3,11)
 (14.20-8,11)(15.22-8)

C30

(4.10-34)(4.21.10-27,39)(4.26-49,54)(5.32.21-22,25)(5.41-7)(5.42-20)(5.61.13-2)
 (5.61.20-1)(6.30-10,11,19,21)(8.11-1)(8.12.30-21)(8.13-11)(9.22-4)(9.30-54)
 (11.12-8)(11.13-8,10,22,30,36)(11.14-17)(11.15-4,12)(12.31-2)(12.36-5)(13.20-28,
 30)(14.20-3,7)(15.21.12a-9,23,30)(15.22-5,6)(16.10-1,6,13,15,19)

C31

(2.10-7)(4.10-50)(4.21.10-30)(4.23.10-13)(4.23.20-3,5)(4.23.50-11,14,15)
 (4.24-3)(4.25-7)(4.30-20,21)(4.41-7)(4.42-1)(5.20-7,8,9)(5.31-3)(5.32.10-15,22)
 (5.32.25-8)(5.41-3,22)(5.53-4)(5.62-8)(5.64.20-13)(6.30-27)(6.40-7)(7.21-17,
 37,38)(8.11-4,8,9)(8.12.20-3,4)(8.12.30-1,2,4)(8.12.40-6)(8.13-16,18,29)
 (9.23-7,13)(9.30-10,12,29)(10.13-5,8)(11.11-7,11,29,50,66)(11.13-29)(11.15-13)
 (11.16-4)(13.20-2,9,11)(13.30-3)(14.20-2,6,9,10,12,13)(15.21.11a-13,22)
 (15.21.11b-2,3,4)(15.21.12a-15,18,19)(15.21.12b-4)(15.21.20-4)
 (16.10-4,7,8,9,10,11,16)

F4

(3.12-2,11)(4.10-1)(4.21.20-18,19)(4.23.20-6)(4.23.40-5)(4.23.50-10)
 (4.26-19,32,36,44)(5.32.10-42)(5.32.21-34,38,41)(5.32.24-3)(5.41-6)(5.42-11)
 (5.52-6)(5.53-5)(5.61.11-1,7)(5.62-2)(5.63-7)(5.82.30-8)(7.21-2)(8.12.30-6)
 (9.23-11,19)(9.30-28,32,52)(10.11-9)(10.20-1)(11.11-1,18,31,83)(11.15-5)
 (12.31-9)(12.35-3)(13.10-5)(14.10-5)(15.21.11a-11,25)(15.21.12a-31,32)
 (15.21.20-3)(15.22-12)

F7

(3.12-3,8)(4.10-45)(4.21.10-20)(4.21.20-5)(4.23.50-3)(4.25-14)(4.26-2,4,5,20,
 22,70)(4.30-5,10,30)(4.41-14)(5.32.10-51,53,54)(5.32.21-27)(5.32.23-2)
 (5.32.25-13)(5.32.26-9)(5.61.11-8,20)(5.81-1)(6.40-30)(7.21-22)(9.30-7,15,
 47,57)(10.11-5,11)(10.13-9)(10.20-5)(11.11-49,78)(11.12-7)(12.31-8)(12.34-11)
 (13.10-14)(14.10-4)(15.21.11b-13)

I9

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I41

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I55

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 (8.12.40-4)(10.14-2)(12.34-15)(13.20-8)(15.21.11a-31)(15.21.12a-16)

L4

(4.23.20-2)(5.31-8)(5.51-21)(5.61.13-12)(5.64.20-24)(5.82.40-1)(7.21-15)
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L6

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L7

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 (4.22-13)(4.23.10-25,26)(4.30-3,32)(4.42-3)(5.32.10-57)(5.32.21-37)(5.32.22-13)
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 (4.23.50-13)(4.26-30,56,58,73)(4.30-13,14,37,41)(4.42-4)(5.20-2,4)(5.32-4)
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 (5.61.14-5)(5.61.15-1)(5.61.16-9)(5.70-b,2,9,12,18,19,22)(5.82.10-7,12,14)
 (5.82.40-2)(5.91-5,6,12,15)(6.40-1,3,18,26,29)(7.21-3,4,35,41,44)(8.13-13,27)
 (9.23-20)(9.30-43)(10.11-3,15)(10.20-3)(10.30-2,5,6,8)(11.11-10,14,35,38,71,79)
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R3

(4.10-3,41)(4.23.10-3)(4.23.30-6)(4.26-21,37)(4.30-26)(5.10-2)(5.32.10-4,26)
 (5.32.22-3)(5.32.23-8)(5.32.25-4)(5.32.26-8)(5.52-4,12)(5.61.11-18)(5.61.14-2)
 (5.61.16-3,5,17)(5.62-11)(5.64.10-9)(5.64.20-3,10,14,25)(5.64.30-4)(5.82.10-1)
 (5.82.20-2)(5.91-3)(7.13-4)(8.13-6)(9.23-21)(9.30-42)(10.12-7)(10.20-9)
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R4b

(4.10-52,53)(4.21.10-43)(4.23.50-18)(4.41-13)(5.41-13)(5.61.13-4)(5.70-c)
 (6.30-12)(6.40-13,15)(8.20-5)(9.30-4)(10.20-15)(11.12-29)(13.10-13)(13.20-23)

R4c

(4.21.10-24)(4.23.50-4)(4.30-34)(5.63-2)(5.70-7,16,21)(5.82.20-1)(6.30-5)
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R4d

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R6

(2.10-6,9,16)(4.10-29,39)(4.22-3,4)(4.23.10-4,15)(4.23.20-7,13)(4.25-10,11)
 (4.41-16,18)(5.32.10-30)(5.32.21-14)(5.32.22-2)(5.32.25-9,14)(5.32.26-2)
 (5.41-8,10)(5.51-20)(5.64.10-1)(5.64.20-7)(5.70-10,13,17)(5.82.20-3)(6.30-26)
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R7b

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R7d

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R7e

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R7f

(4.26-10,46)(5.32.21-12)(5.32.24-2)(5.41-12)(5.61.15-11)(6.40-11,16)
 (7.21-28)(9.23-16)(10.40-3)(11.11-39,64)(11.12-28,43)(15.22-16,17)

R9a

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