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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 pro-
duced 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 (<Crio) 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 care-
fully 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 distinguish-
ing "country Sango," which is spoken by "country folk," from "town Sango,"
which is spoken by "town dwellers" or people who have traveled so ex-
tensively 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 [ɔ] instead of [t] before [i], using [ɔ] 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 de-
signed 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, gram-
matical 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 differ-
ences 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 Nambozouna 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. ekë 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 pûsu which can take the nominalizing suffix, i.e. pusûngô. 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 ë—and when a prefix or suffix occurs with such a word, it is hyphenated. E.g. a-poussé, phonetically [apûsu] '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 Centrafricaine who made it possible for me to obtain the valuable recordings of Sango used on Radio Centrafricaine. 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. Nambozouiana's principal contribution was the transcription of the tape-recorded texts. He is a 40-year-old man of Gbyeya 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 ti (5.64-5.65; 5.66), the post-posed sentence particle laâ (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 â- and the nominalizer -ng6 (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 unaanalysed 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:


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.

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### Abbreviations and symbols

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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:

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<td>b</td>
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<td>gb</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mb</td>
<td>nd</td>
<td>ng</td>
<td>ngb</td>
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<tr>
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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 [tŠ], 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 ngb) 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, kóndo 'chicken' is pronounced [kó.ndo] and not [kó.n.do]. The symbols ng and ngb are convenient representations of phonemes which are more accurately represented as ŋ and ŋmb. These phonemes are occasionally realized in the connectives tongana and ngbangati as phonetic [ŋ], i.e. a velar nasal, and [ŋm], i.e. a coarticulated velar-bilabial nasal. Those people who use no kp and gb naturally do not use ngb. 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 kóbe 'food' and fadê 'fast' whereas others use the simple plosive ones. But in the words b'ongl '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

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Pa</th>
<th>'to accuse'</th>
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<td>Pê</td>
<td>'to twist (rope)'</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tê</td>
<td>'to eat'</td>
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<tr>
<td>Té</td>
<td>'to meet'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta</td>
<td>'pot'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ká</td>
<td>'to sell'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kô</td>
<td>'to pluck'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pê</td>
<td>'to twist'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kó</td>
<td>'to germinate'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka</td>
<td>'then'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kpa</td>
<td>'to resemble'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kpê</td>
<td>'to be sour'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kpô</td>
<td>'quiet'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bi</td>
<td>'to throw'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bâa</td>
<td>'to see'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bi</td>
<td>'to throw'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dé</td>
<td>'cold'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Da</td>
<td>'house'</td>
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</table>
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 [p] 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 [dz]. The same is true for nz, which occurs as [nZ] and [ndZ]. 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. [hɔ] and [ʔɔ] '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 mvɛnɛ 'lie' and mvɛnɛ '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. mvɛnɛ tɛ mo
   'That's a lie!'
2. lo sâra mvɛnɛ
   '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

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<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Symbols</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<tr>
<td>fa</td>
<td>'to show'</td>
<td>wo</td>
<td>'to buy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sí</td>
<td>'to arrive'</td>
<td>zí</td>
<td>'to dig'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sá</td>
<td>'to pour'</td>
<td>zía</td>
<td>'to place'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>so</td>
<td>'to hurt'</td>
<td>zó</td>
<td>'to burn'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zi</td>
<td>'to dig'</td>
<td>nzí</td>
<td>'to steal'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zo</td>
<td>'to burn'</td>
<td>nzó</td>
<td>'corn'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ze</td>
<td>'leopard'</td>
<td>nze</td>
<td>'moon'</td>
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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:

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Symbols</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Symbols</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>ngólọ</td>
<td>'fish trap'</td>
<td>ngóro</td>
<td>'to surround'</td>
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<tr>
<td>mbulú</td>
<td>'powder'</td>
<td>mbúrú</td>
<td>'oil palm'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fúlu</td>
<td>'froth'</td>
<td>fúru</td>
<td>'mix with one's hands'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wala</td>
<td>'or else'</td>
<td>wara</td>
<td>'to find'</td>
</tr>
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</table>

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 apieo-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 \( \tilde{m} \). E.g. \( w\tilde{m} 'iron', y\tilde{m} 'what?' \) It is not unknown for \( w \) to occur as a segment approaching a voiced bilabial fricative (as recorded in a\( w^e 'finished' \) 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. \( i \ e \ e \)), three back vowels (\( u \ o \ o \)) 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 \( e \) 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. \( e \)) themselves and between the back vowels (\( u \ o \ o \)) 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 \( e \) (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 \( e \) 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, \( e \) and \( o \) 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 e of Gbanu is higher than the vowel e of Gbaya.) When nasalized, however, e and o 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>i</th>
<th>e</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bí</td>
<td>bé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kpí</td>
<td>kpé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zi</td>
<td>zé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>li</td>
<td>lé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bi</td>
<td>be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gi</td>
<td>ge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sindi</td>
<td>sengé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kiri</td>
<td>péré</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gigi</td>
<td>dede</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bírí</td>
<td>berá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diko</td>
<td>deko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hinga</td>
<td>kéké</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bé</td>
<td>bé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sé</td>
<td>sé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zé</td>
<td>ze</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>nzé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kéké</td>
<td>leke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kété</td>
<td>pste</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngéré</td>
<td>géré</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
mbéni 'some'
pérê 'grass'
lenge 'beads'
dede 'animal horn'
éré 'name'
kpé 'to flee'
lége 'path'
lélé 'donkey'
kú 'to wait'
ndû 'to touch'
lú 'to plant'
pupu 'wind'
burû 'dry season'
gûrû 'smoke'
ndûzû 'sky'
purû 'excrement'
yuru 'to flow'
kugbê 'leaf'
ngunzâ 'manioc leaves'
kúngbi 'to break'
lutfi kâ 'stand there!'
tô 'to dip up'
kô 'to germinate'
nzô 'corn'
kpô 'quiet'
sô 'to save'
bôndô 'mil'
kôngo 'mallet'
kôso 'to drag'
kpoto 'hat'
mbéti 'book'
tére 'body'
pêpe 'negative'
gene 'guest'
gbé 'underneath'
kôô 'all'
me 'breast'
menê 'to swallow'
kô 'to germinate'
ndô 'atop'
lo '3rd pers. sg.
pers. pron.'
pôpô 'amidst'
bólo 'to stone'
gólo 'to knock'
gôro 'certain variety of lion'
pôró 'skin'
yoró 'medicine'
kombâ 'guinea hen'
ngonda 'bush'
bôngbi 'to assemble'
lo tf kâ 'he fell there'
tô 'to cook by boiling'
kô 'to pluck'
zô 'to roast'
kpo 'to pierce'
sô 'to hurt'
bongô 'cloth'
kôngô 'rainbow'
kôôô 'certain seed'
kporô 'to boil'
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 [o] 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 o 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).
1.20. Nasalized vowels occur only as §, ɣ, ɭ, and ɭ. (There is no attested example of ɭ.) As has been pointed out, the nasalized vowels § and ɭ are phonetically lower than the oral counterparts (ε and ɔ). Nasalization of one degree or another also occurs following the nasal consonants (m n) in the speech of some people.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nasalized vowels</th>
<th>Oral vowels</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ɣ§ 'odor'</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɣɣ 'to smell'</td>
<td>ɣú 'to sew'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɣá 'to ponder'</td>
<td>há 'to weave'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɣà 'to pass'</td>
<td>háto 'hill'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɣɛ 'to refuse'</td>
<td>ɣɛ 'to be'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɣɛ 'iron'</td>
<td>ɣë 'all'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɣɣ 'what?'</td>
<td>ɣênè 'anus'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɣa 'animal'</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɣɣ 'to drink'</td>
<td>ɣj 'to be long'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 bâa 'see,' fâa 'cut,' zââ (otherwise zîa) 'put,' kîi 'spines,' and kûii '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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Normalized nouns</th>
<th>Other words</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dû</td>
<td>'hole'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gbâ</td>
<td>'bundle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gô</td>
<td>'neck'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hî</td>
<td>'nose'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kâ</td>
<td>'wound'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kpu</td>
<td>'mortar'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mf</td>
<td>'ear'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>më</td>
<td>'breast'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>andâa</td>
<td>'in other words'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bâa</td>
<td>'to see'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fâa</td>
<td>'to cut'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndarâa</td>
<td>'skill'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndôo</td>
<td>'pot-making clay'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngbii</td>
<td>'long time'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taâ</td>
<td>'true, real'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zââ</td>
<td>'to put'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngbâå</td>
<td>'slave'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngbâa</td>
<td>'buffalo'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>De</th>
<th>'to remain'</th>
<th>Dé</th>
<th>'to chop'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Me</td>
<td>'breast'</td>
<td>Mé</td>
<td>'ear'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngo</td>
<td>'drum'</td>
<td>Ngô</td>
<td>'canoe'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koa</td>
<td>'work'</td>
<td>Ko'à</td>
<td>'hair'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yingô</td>
<td>'spirit'</td>
<td>Yingô</td>
<td>'salt'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baba</td>
<td>'pride'</td>
<td>Babá</td>
<td>'father'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papa</td>
<td>'spoon'</td>
<td>Pápa</td>
<td>'sandal'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Könga</td>
<td>'prison'</td>
<td>Köngá</td>
<td>'hartebeest'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gonda</td>
<td>'to praise'</td>
<td>Gónda</td>
<td>'kind of medicine'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bata</td>
<td>'to keep'</td>
<td>Batá</td>
<td>'squirrel'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buba</td>
<td>'to ruin'</td>
<td>Búbá</td>
<td>'foolish'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kôro</td>
<td>'to pierce'</td>
<td>Kôrô</td>
<td>'cold (illness)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lenge</td>
<td>'beads'</td>
<td>Lengé</td>
<td>'certain dance'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lélé</td>
<td>'certain small antelope'</td>
<td>Lélé</td>
<td>'donkey'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mènè</td>
<td>'to swallow'</td>
<td>Mènè</td>
<td>'blood'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ndo</td>
<td>'place'</td>
<td>Ndô</td>
<td>'atop'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngânga</td>
<td>'certain fetish'</td>
<td>Ngânga</td>
<td>'bottle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngâsa</td>
<td>'goat'</td>
<td>Ngâsâ</td>
<td>'wild yam'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngbââ</td>
<td>'buffalo'</td>
<td>Ngbââ</td>
<td>'slave'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngôngâa</td>
<td>'seed grain'</td>
<td>Ngôngâa</td>
<td>'ritual defilement'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nze</td>
<td>'moon'</td>
<td>Nzè</td>
<td>'to get weary'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samba</td>
<td>'beer'</td>
<td>Sambá</td>
<td>'cc-wife'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sara</td>
<td>'forked pole'</td>
<td>Sâra</td>
<td>'itch (condition)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarâ</td>
<td>'name of tribe'</td>
<td>Sarâ</td>
<td>'to do'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tère</td>
<td>'spider'</td>
<td>Tèrè</td>
<td>'body'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To</td>
<td>'to send'</td>
<td>Tô</td>
<td>'to dip up'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uru</td>
<td>'to blow'</td>
<td>Úlu</td>
<td>'to jump'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wa</td>
<td>'inhabitant'</td>
<td>Wá</td>
<td>'fire'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yo</td>
<td>'to be long'</td>
<td>Yô</td>
<td>'to bear a load'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 tene 'to say' and tènè '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 Gbeya 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pupu</td>
<td>'wind'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taba</td>
<td>'sheep'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fini</td>
<td>'new'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fondo</td>
<td>'plantain'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fa</td>
<td>'to show'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>samba</td>
<td>'beer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tanga</td>
<td>'remainder'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sara</td>
<td>'forked pole'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kpoto</td>
<td>'hat'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Another example of tonal interference from Gbeya 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. **gôgoa** asâra ngangô na lo  'A buffalo hurt him badly.'
2. lo goe ndurû na **gôgoa** nî  '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 témé 'stone,' púrú and purú 'excrement,' dódó and dodó 'dance,' as well as gógó (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:

- kóli 'man'
- wále 'woman'
- ngágo 'spinach'
- ita 'sibling'
- o 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. <y'ama> ni 'the animal'
2. <y'ama> ñko 'one animal'
3. <y'ama> otá 'three animals'
4. kótá <y'ama> 'a big animal'
5. témé tí <y'ama> ni 'the matter of the animal'
6. <y'ama> a'ke na nδo wa 'Where is the animal?'
7. lo mú na mo <y'ama> awe 'He already gave you meat.'
8. só a'ke <y'ama> tí lo 'This is his meat.'
9. só <y'ama> tí lo 'This is his meat.'
10. <y'ama> tí lo a'ke míngi 'He has a lot of meat.'
11. <yama> laa si lo sara tené ni
   "He's talking about the meat.'
12. lo ese na <yama> mingi
   "He has a lot of meat.'
13. lo yi kété <yama> ni
   "He wants the small animal.'
14. lo <sara> awe
   "He did it already.'
15. ala goe ti <pika> lo
   'They went to hit him.'
16. lo <sara sârângô >
   "He's really working.'

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

High-High:
popó 'middle'
kiri 'return'
súmá 'dream'
yângá 'mouth'
lâró 'speed'
ndângé 'red pepper'
géré 'foot'
kongó 'rainbow'
fufú 'lung'
hôtô 'hill'
yîngô 'salt'
lôndô 'rise'
kôngbâ 'load'
bûbà 'foolish'
kéké 'tree'
sëngé 'without...

High-Low:
gbúru 'embroil'
fúta 'wages'
mângo 'mango'
lége 'road'
lîngbi 'be able'
yôro 'insert'
sko 'one'
gbânsi 'hinder'
króka 'hoe'
kúngó 'mallet'
bólo 'to stone'
góro 'surround'
ala 'they'
wóko 'weaken'
sâra 'do'
bôngbi 'gather'

Low-Low:
kono 'be big'
nginza 'money'
sara 'forked stick'
lenge 'necklace'
vara 'receive'
ulu 'jump'
awe 'all finished'
vene 'lie'

Low-High:
gunzâ 'manioc greens'
yró 'medicine'
fadé 'fast'
ukú 'five'
dambá 'tail'
tarâ 'grandmother'
vurú 'white'
lavú 'bee'
sisi 'thorn'
dede 'horn of animal'
kpaka 'scratch'
baba 'pride'
mene 'swallow'
lando 'plain'
yuru 'leak'
zonga 'curse'
yingó 'spirit'
mbunzú 'White Man'
gindí 'bow'
kulá 'vengeance'
sembé 'dish'
Nzapá 'god'
ponó 'suffering'
bozo 'bag'

Miscellaneous polysyllabic patterns:

High-high-high
kórónqó 'fan palm'
báságbó 'eland'
wátáká 'a lie'
ngbéréná 'brass bracelet'
báláwá 'shea nut or tree'

Low-high-low
bágara 'bovine animal'

Low-low-high
lukundú 'witch spirit'
makoró 'calumny'

Low-high-high
ndaveke 'syphilis'
mafuta 'oil'
yàngere 'sieve'
pendere 'young'
zaranga 'roan antelope'

dambéla 'walk'
mabóko 'hand'
lungúla 'remove'
kolóngó 'basin'
sumári 'a certain secret society'

Low-high-low
kusára 'work'
ndakóro 'plant used as washcloth'

High-low-high
kótará 'ancestor'
bákoyá 'baboon'
mérengé 'child'
bámára 'lion'
kógará 'father-in-law'
búburú 'dumb'
High-high-high-low
kékèreke

Low-low-low-low
kutukutu 'automobile'

High-low-high-low
másarágba 'rhinoceros'

High-high-low-low
kîrikiri 'crooked'
bírfbiri 'kind of beer'

Low-low-high-low
adorónu 'Hausa salt'
potopóto 'gruel'
Chapter 2

VARIATIONS

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 [təɡ] for [toŋgana] 'when' and [mb̥imbɾi] for [mbirimbɾi] '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 ʐ dʐ] 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. faasə for fadesə). 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 galâ (a)pe -A44
2. lo kē (a)pe
3. só bongô t(î) ála ma
4. mbi tene n(a) ála kôê -R9b
5. mô tot(o) ape -N80
6. yi s(ô) ake pîka í na ndo só .. -R6
7. ngbangatî téné só mô tene amû
   ngiá na mbi laá, mbi hê s(ô) ape? -C31
8. kôtârô nî ake nzon(i) ape -N80
9. s(ô) ake nzon(i) ape -R6
10. nzala tí kîringô na kôtârô
    asára mbi bîan(i) ape -N81
11. ála kêt g(á) ânde -R7b
12. âmbenî ake lônd(ô) ânde -R7d
13. ake pât(a) ôse -N78
14. tongana ála kon(o) awe -A49
15. lángô bâl(e) õkô na ôse -R7b

'He didn't go to the market.'
'He's not there.'
'Those are their clothes!'
'I told all of you.'
'Don't cry.'
'The thing which is hitting us here...'
'Isn't it because of what you said which gave me joy that I am laughing?'
'The village is not good.'
'That is not good.'
'I don't have any real desire to return home.'
'They will be coming later.'
'Others will be leaving later.'
'It's two patas (i.e. ten francs).'
'After they have grown up....'
'on the twelfth (day)'
2.20. Internal Changes

Internal changes involve single consonants and vowels or a vowel and a consonant. These word variations cannot 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>álala</td>
<td>'they'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bara</td>
<td>'to greet'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>li</td>
<td>'head'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nzala</td>
<td>'hunger'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngéré</td>
<td>'price'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sára</td>
<td>'to do'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sukúla</td>
<td>'to wash'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>galá</td>
<td>'market'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kóli</td>
<td>'man'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wále</td>
<td>'woman'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kobéla</td>
<td>'sickness'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mérengé</td>
<td>'child'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lége</td>
<td>'way'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mabóko</td>
<td>'hand'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
An alternation between h and w occurs before the vowel u. Only a very few words are involved: hû 'to breathe,' hûnzi 'to complete,' hûnda '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 yûnda lo] 'I ask him.' Here and elsewhere, it should be remembered, a glottal stop [?] 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:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{i} & \leftrightarrow & \text{u} \\
\uparrow & & \uparrow \\
\text{e} & \leftrightarrow & \text{o} \\
\downarrow & & \downarrow \\
\text{ɛ} & \leftrightarrow & \text{a} \\
\end{array}
\]

As one might deduce from these relationships, one can find a chain of alternations which includes the vowels i, e, ɛ, a, and o. But it would be erroneous to say that i alternates with o. 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.

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
i - e & & e - ɛ \\
dé & 'to name' & de & 'to remain' \\
bale & 'ten' & légé & 'way'
\end{array}
\]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Bantu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>to be able</td>
<td>mbéní</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to want</td>
<td>ngéré</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>name</td>
<td>pekó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>earth</td>
<td>veké</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to strike</td>
<td>kóté</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to pray</td>
<td>éré</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to grab</td>
<td>bôngbi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manioc</td>
<td>lóndó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>food</td>
<td>makunzi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sickness</td>
<td>ngunzá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man</td>
<td>ngonda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to count</td>
<td>lutí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quickly</td>
<td>kusára</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>some</td>
<td>má</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>price</td>
<td>omaná</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>back</td>
<td>apé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>small</td>
<td>sembé , sembé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to gather</td>
<td>to hear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sky</td>
<td>six</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manioc leaves</td>
<td>negative marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the bush</td>
<td>work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to arise</td>
<td>to arise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to arise</td>
<td>to gather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to do</td>
<td>to hear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ancestor</td>
<td>'oil'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>back</td>
<td>'six'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to gather'</td>
<td>'negative marker'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to count'</td>
<td>'to gather'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'quickly'</td>
<td>'negative marker'</td>
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<tr>
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<td>'negative marker'</td>
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<td>'negative marker'</td>
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<td>'to count'</td>
<td>'negative marker'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'quickly'</td>
<td>'negative marker'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

- mafuta, mafata, mafota
- pekó, pekó, pikó, pokó, pokó
- sambíla, sambúla, sambélá

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)
- sár(a)
- tar(á)
- dor(o)ko - doko
- mbímímbírí - mbímímbírí - mbímímbírí
- ndápéréré - ndápéré - ndápér - ndápré
- kót(ó)ró

- morning
- village
giri(ri)  'long time ago'
kí(r)i  'to return'
kír(i)kír(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

INTONATION

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 signalling 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 ape (ex. 2):

1. mo ke ngá kótôrô ape, mo gá têné ni asô mo, mo toto -À21
   'If you didn't happen to be in the village, you come and the news hurts you, and you cry.'

2. hînga ape, lo goe birî
   '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 tongasô pepe, lá kôê mo ke wara malade -As  'If you don't do it like this, you'll always be getting sick.'

2. tongana ayî ti sî na six heures et demie awe, sô ndo avokô awe, lo goe na kôli sô ... -F4  'When it was about six thirty, when it had already become dark, she went to this man...'

3. tongana lo sî kâ awe, âwâle sô kôê 'After he had arrived there, all these women came and arrived.'

4. lo te ngunzá nî kôê awe, mo goe mo mú na lo ngû -A11  'After he has eaten all the manioc greens, you go and give him water.'

5. mo leke kôê awe, fadesô mo gá mo túku mafuta na yà ta -A8  'After you have prepared it all, then you come and you pour oil into the pot.'

6. âla fâa lége nî awe, âla kë kiri tî âla kâ tî goe -I55  'When they had crossed the road, they kept on returning over there to go on.'

7. mo yî tî bâa ndo, mo zìa kpi -A8  'Just a little later, then you add the paste.'

8. adê érë tî lo, lo yî da ape -F7  'He called his name, but he didn't answer.'
3.10

9. só mbi sára kusára tí ni ake nzoní na ní tongasó -I39
(He said), since I was working for him, it was all right with him.

10. mbi tene, mbi gi këkë tí yóro da -A40
'I said that I am looking for a stick to stick into it.'

11. kôli só atñne wâle tí lo, lo leke kôngbá tí ní fadesó -F4
'This man told his wife to prepare his things now.'

12. na kôtôrô tí mbi, mbêní dôdô ake -A9
'In my country, there is a certain dance.'

13. nginza tí vo na y îngô, mbi wara apek ngá -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 mo kë sôngô 'How are you (lit. Are you all right)-fw Contrasted with the statements mo kë sôngô 'You are all
1. mbi tuku mbêni na lo↑-I9
2. mo vo awe↑-I9
3. mbi sâra ténè ti pémbé ti mbi sô kôë da↑-A9
4. ténè ti terrain ní↑-I55
5. lo sî lá wa sô\^a
6. ndâ ti tiri ní ake yê sô\^a
7. mo goe ti pete gozo ti mo lá wa sô\^a
8. kâ ti kâte ní amû awe\^a
9. mo kpa mbêni zo sî mbi sâra ténè na mo\^a
10. yorô ti ngaânga ti ála sô, azia da, fadé mo ngbá zo\^a

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 pêpê/ape (q.v. 8.12).

11. mbi mâ tongana mo mú kôli awe pêpê → -C8 'Haven't I heard that you've taken a man?'

12. fadê mbi kô bi lo na ngonda apê → -A4o 'Won't I throw it away?'

13. lá só mbi bâa kôli tî mo agoe na galâ avo yâma mbi bâa apê → -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 pêpê (= ape) 'negative marker' which can take stress on either or both syllables and the tone of which is also changed.

1. wâle tî lo nî a"yî mbi pêpê → -N81 'His wife did not like me.'

2. taâ têrê tî mbi a"vökô alîngbi apê → -N81 'My body was dirty beyond belief.'

3. mbi tene "vênê apê → -C8 'I didn't lie.'
4. "tongana yé. mú na mbi bière. 'What's up? Give me beer.'

5. mo éré àzo titene ála gà atoto 'You call people to come and
   lo "na mo -A21
   mourn him for you.'

6. mo sukula têrê ni "pe"pe -A8
7. lâ tongasô i na āmbunzô, î 'You don't wash it.'
   "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 com-
mon. These features seem to have no contrastive or expressive function.
Rather, they are imitative of certain intonational features of French.

1. Jésus abâa mbénî ngô òse na 'Jesus saw two boats at the
   yângâ tí ngô nî -R10
   edge of the lake.'
2. ...sî lo tene na lê, lo poussé '...so he told him to push the
   ngô nî kété na lê tí ngû -R10
   boat out into the water a
   bit.'
3. kîrîngô tí i lo só, tí bîngô 'We've just arrived from cast-
   gbânda lo só -R10
   ing nets.'
PART TWO: WORD CLASSES

Chapter 4

ADJUNCTIVES

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 kôê '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 kôê 'all' in the following clause can be taken with pommes de terre to mean 'all the potatoes' or with the verb yôro to mean 'also fry': lâ kôê mbi kô yôro na lo pommes de terre kôê. 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjunctive</th>
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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.

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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. kêté 'small,' kôtá 'large,' pendere 'young,' sêngé 'unimportant,' vokô 'black'). While all of them can apparently function substantively when followed by the post-noun adjunctive nî, 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 nî 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 mbê ngú 'the other side of the stream,' mbâge 'a side,' and mbénî 'some.' In fact, sionî 'bad' and nzonî 'good' act like the other adjunctives in being able to take the adjunctive nî. All of these adjunctives appear to follow the identificational verb eke 'to be' or the copulatively-used verbs gâ 'to come' and ngbâ '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.

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<tr>
<th>Ante-noun Adjunctive</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
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<td>bingbâ</td>
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<tr>
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<td>'some, a certain, a little'</td>
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<tr>
<td>ndurû</td>
<td>'short, close'</td>
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<tr>
<td>ngangô</td>
<td>'hard, terribly'</td>
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<tr>
<td>ngbérê</td>
<td>'old'</td>
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<tr>
<td>nzonî</td>
<td>'good, well'</td>
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<tr>
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<td>'young, nice'</td>
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<td>'unimportant, useless'</td>
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<tr>
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1. lo ke bingbá yama -F4
2. mo búbá mérangé -L175
3. ázo sô ake sára téné ti búbá -R3
4. me ke búbá mingi
5. mbênî da agbi na firî kótôrô -N79
6. agá apiâ li ti kété mérangé sô -N79
7. mbi kpo na âkêtre kété yama -A4o
8. mbi hingga français kété -I39
9. âla te kété kété kété -A50
10. angbá kété, âla poisonné mbi -N81
11. i yî ti hô kété... -N79
12. na pekô ni kété, wâle ti babá ti lo akûf -L16
13. mo mú na âla conseil kété si -L168
14. babá ti mbi ti kété
15. âla sâra kótâ wà da -A13
16. amú mbênî kótâ bongâ, bingbá bingbá, abi na sëse -R2
17. i sâra âkötâ lége -R2
18. tongana mbi commencé gâ kótâ kété kété awe... -N81
19. lá kótâ-kótâ lá
20. i girîsa France na kótâ ti lo pepê -R2
21. kôzo yî nî
22. tens na mbi kôzo(nî) -L3
23. kôzo nî kôs, mbi ke dîko érê ti ázo -R9b

'It's a brownish animal.'
'You stupid child.'
'These people are saying things.'
'You're very stupid.'
'A house burnt in the new village.'
'She came and hit this little girl's head.'
'I spear little animals with it.'
'I know French a little.'
'They ate a very little bit.'
'A little more and they would have poisoned me.'
'Having gone on just a little...' 'A little later and his father's wife died.'
'Give them a little advice.'

'my uncle (i.e. father's younger brother)'
'They made a big fire there.'
'He took a big cloth, a red one, and cast it on the ground.'
'We made large roads.'
'When I began to grow up a little....'
'mid-day, noon'
'We don't forget the greatness of France.'
'the first thing'
'Tell me first.'
'First of all I am going to read the names of the people.'
24. lo yâ kôzo nî sî lo te kpingba kôbe -A42
25. mbení mbakôro wâle ake -L186
26. âla ke sára na mbení yî ndé -A13
27. âla mú mbení mërengé âko -A9
28. âmbení wâle athinga ti leke yâ ti da ti âla pepe -A8
29. i fâa mbení kôtâ yâkâ -R6
30. amû na i nginga mbení pepe -R2
31. mbení, lo kë ti sára ngiâ na kôli nî -L162
32. âmbení avo kâráko -N78
33. mo tene ngâ gî ndurû tênë -R1
34. mo gâ ndurû na têrë ti da -C30
35. âla pîka lo ngangô -
36. ngangô ti lo ade -L186
37. lo lângô ti lo na ngbérê da -L27
38. âla sára nzoni yî pepe -R2
39. sô ake nzoni apei -R6
40. âla goe nzoni o -
41. asára koa nî nzoni apei -R3
42. nzoni, âla goe na Boali -R7d
43. mo fa na âla lége ti nzoni -A49
44. mbi gâ pendere kôli na Rafai -L39
45. âzo ti pendere mingi -F7
46. âla ke ti âla gî sêngë zo -R10
47. gî ngunzâ sêngë sî lo tô sô -A8
48. amû nginga ake buba sêngë sêngë -A8

"He drinks first then he eats hard food."
"There was an old woman."
"They used to make different things out of it."
"They take a child."
"Some women don't know how to fix the interior of their houses."
"We made a large garden."
"He doesn't give us money any more."
"Another one, she refuses to chat with her husband."
"Some buy peanuts."
"Say something short."
"Come close to the house."
"They hit him hard."
"He still has strength."
"He's living in the old house."
"They don't do good things."
"That's not good."
"Goodbye (i.e. go well)." 
"He didn't do the work well."
"You ought to go to Boali."
"You show them the right way."
"I became an adolescent boy at Rafai."
"people of very good looks"
"For their part, they were just ordinary people."
"Just plain manioc greens is what she cooks."
"He takes money and wastes it with no rhyme or reason."
'All I did was to deceive you.'
'You'll get everything all right without any trouble.'
'A certain bad disease is afflicting a few people.'
'He beat him terribly.'
'That's a very bad disease.'
'They look upon it as evil.'
'pus'
'When he had arrived at a remote road....'
'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.

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<td></td>
<td>vurú</td>
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<td>yongóro</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 sô 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 nî, numerals, and sô after which other examples are given. The complete list of Ap is the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kôê *</td>
<td>'all, completely'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>míngi *</td>
<td>'much, many, very'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndé †</td>
<td>'different, differently'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngá †</td>
<td>'also'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nî *</td>
<td>'determinant'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>numerals *</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5ko *</td>
<td>'one'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5ke *</td>
<td>'how many?'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sô *</td>
<td>'this'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tongasó †</td>
<td>'thus, thusly'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vanî</td>
<td>'the very'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wa</td>
<td>'what?'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y§ *</td>
<td>'what?'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.21. nî 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 nî 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 sô 'this'
which is deictic and demonstrative; both ni and sô 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 ni, and neither does it account for its omission where one might expect it. Sometimes a newly introduced noun is followed by ni 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 ni (ex. 5). Moreover, only the frequency of the use of mbéni + noun + ni is proof that the construction is standard, for one would not expect a construction with both the indefiniteness of mbéni and the specificity of ni, unless mbéni means 'a certain' as well as 'some.'

1. tongana ângaragé ni abâa yâma
   na ti ti âzo sô, na âla tenâ,  
mû na mbi yâma ni -A37

2. auto afâa mbéni mërengé ni ...  
mënê ni alîngbi na nôô ti  
leège ape -N79

3. asára kôtâ wâ da. na témé sô  
aêke témé sô wô aêke na yâ nî.  
na wô nî aêke si gigi. -A13

4. mo zía kpi. mo mú kôsô. kpi  
nî aêke kôsô. -A8

5. tongana lo sî na yôngôro lege,  
lo hûnda mërengé ti lo, lo tenê,  
mërengé ti mbi. na mërengé  
ayî da. lo hûnda lo, faâsô  
eke na kôtôrô nàdurû? na  
mërengé nî atenê na babà ti  
lo, babà, kôtôrô ade yôngôro  
mërengé ti lo nî na yâ gërê  
tî lo. -L17

When the ngaragé see an animal in the hands of these people, they say, "Give me the animal."

"An automobile had killed a child. ... The blood on the road was incredible."

"They make a huge fire there. And this stone is stone in which there is iron. And the iron comes out."

"You put sauce (in it). You take kôsô. The sauce is kôsô sauce."

"When he had come to a remote road, he asked his child, he said, "My child." And the child answered. He (i.e. the father) asked him, "Are we now close to a village?" And the child said to his father, "Father, the village is still a long way off." ... Now he dragged his child between his legs."
6. kôli tî ña tî mbi tî wâle nî, 'The husband of my sister, he
lo goe tî pîka dole, sî lo
pîka mbêni kôli dole nî, amû
lo afâa lo -L6

The husband of my sister went to hunt elephants, and
he shot an elephant, and it
took him and killed him.'

While the use of nî as a restrictive or anaphoric determinant with most
nouns is to some extent determined by the will of the speaker, its occur-
rence with other words is apparently determined linguistically. (a) There
are several nouns which have to do with time, place, or reason (i.e. cir-
cumstantial nouns) which take nî when they are followed by no other comple-
ments (ex. 7-23). (b) Unless the -ngô verbal nouns have some kind of com-
plement (q.v. 6.3o), they very often take nî (ex. 24-29). (c) Certain ad-
junctives, when they are used substantively, sometimes take nî (q.v.
10.3o).

nî with circumstantial nouns:

7. mo tûku na ndô bê nî -A8 'You pour it on top.'
8. mbêni kôbe tî yôro na gbê nî
  ake ape -A44 'There is no food to put
underneath (i.e. to mix
with it).'
9. mo mû mbanu, mo gâ na gbê nî
   -A29 'You take the cross-bow, you
come up underneath.'
10. âzo awara ngiâ na lá nî mingi
    -L27 'People were very happy on
that day.'
11. wângô sô, lá nî mo mû sô, anze
    na mbi mingi -R4d 'The advice you gave on that
day pleased me a great deal.'
12. mbi tambêla na li nî -R2 'I walked on top of it.'
13. na ndâ nî, âla mû mbêni âtêmê
    -A13 'After that, they take some
stones.'
14. ndâ nî sî mbi hûnda na mo -L168 '
That's why I ask you.'
15. fadesô mbi mâ ndâ nî awe -L27 '
Now I've heard the whole
thing.'
16. atûku na ndô nî -A8 'Pour it on top.'
17. kôngbâ tî mbunzû ahô ndô nî
    -L55 'The White Men's baggage was
heavier than anything.'
18. bale ñko na ndô nî ñko 'eleven'
19. lo yé ngú na pékó ní -A11  He drank water after it.
20. lo gá na pékó 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. wę ake na yá ní -A13  Iron is in it.

ni with nominalized verbs
24. mo ke na téné tí ténfngó ní míngi -R4c  'You have a lot of things to say.'
25. tongana mbi wara yí tí ténfngó ní -A4o  '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 vóngó ní -C30  'When you want to buy...'
28. ngéré ní ake wókóngó ní kété -R7d  'The price is somewhat low.'
29. kifingó ní na Bangui só ake ngangó míngi -N35  'Returning to Bangui here was difficult.'

As for the position of ni 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) ni 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" ni is not enough to admit an equally valid alternative.

ni followed by other adjunctives:
30. mo wara pendere bongó ní sò na ndo wa -C31  'Where did you get this nice dress?'
31. ála ke tane téné ní só gi na yángá sëngé sëngé -R2  'They are saying these things just with the mouth (i.e. there is no truth in what they say).'
32. Améfengé ní ká, ála ke na yoró -N81  'The young people over there, they have charms.'
33. gi kôli ni vanî asûru -L15 'It was just the husband himself who tore up (the paper).'
34. âla to mbêti ni kôê gi na direction sô -R7e 'Send all the letters just to the head office.'
35. lo kamâta mbêni bordelle ni 5ko na ndô ti wâle ti lo -L15 'He took a prostitute in addition to his wife.'
36. mo ke na nginza ni mingi -19 'You have a lot of money.'

nî following tî phrases:
37. âmbunzû tî Bangui nî, âla gâ mú na mbi nginza -I55 'The White Men from Bangui came and gave me money.'
38. kêté ita ti lo sô amû lége akârî. '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 ngâ kôbe tî mo nî -C30 'Keep your food.'
40. wâle tî lo nî ayî mbi pepe -N81 'His wife did not like me.'
41. éré tî dôdô nî laâ -A21 'That's the name of the dance.'
42. lo zia kêtê kêtê ita tî mbi 5ko na yâ tî da nî -N81 'He put one of my little sisters in the house.'
43. âla mú yorô tî kobéla nî -R4b 'They took medicine for the sickness.'
44. bilharzie nî tî wâle ake so âla -R4a 'The liver-fluke disease of women hurts them.'

4.20. When nî 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. 7.1g), pronouns are avoided after the connective tî 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, nî 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).

nǐ with the connective na:

1. álā mú kóá tí méręŋé nǐ, álā goe na nǐ -L17 'They took the corpse of the child and they went off with it.'

2. mbéñí omba tí mbi láá amú mbi, sí 'One of my aunts took me with her.' [nǐ refers to mbi 'me.'][

3. gi vin só mo bata na ní só vení mo ke 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 tì gîngô yoró na mbi, sí mbi soigné na ní ake pepe -L186 'There's no one to look for medicine for me to treat myself with it.'

5. mo kpaka téré tí mbi na ní -F7 'Scratch my body with it (i.e. the bark).'</nù

6. tongana mbi wara gozo ngá, mbi sára na ní, mbi té -A4o 'When I find manioc also, I prepare it with it (i.e. the knife), and I eat it.'

7. álā kpo lo bînî bînî, lo kóí na ní -A50 'They spear it completely and it dies from them (i.e. the wounds).'

nǐ with inanimate referents:

8. yá tí mbi asûku, akono tongana ballon, sí álā pompé ní -N81 'My abdomen swelled up and became as big as a balloon, as if they had pumped it.'

9. i lingbi tîtên i báá érê tí álā hío, tí dikó ní -R9b 'We can see your names right away to read them.'

10. koá koé, fadé álā 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 bâa ni kô tôrô tî Côtê- 
d'Azur -R2
'I saw the city of Côte-d'Azur.'
[translation of: 'J'ai eu à 
visiter la Côte-d'Azur."

When standing for animate objects ni is also used pronominally in in- 
direct 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), ni occurs wherever a pronoun 
would ordinarily occur. This use of ni is, however, not obligatory, and one 
will often find the ordinary pronouns in indirect discourse. It should 
also be added that some speakers use i for ni under this circumstance. It 
is, however, not very common.

ni in indirect discourse:

14. wâle só atene, ni sê na mbenî 
šê na yâ tî da tî ni -R9b
'This woman said, "I have one 
child in my house."'

15. lo tene, depuis mamâ tî ni aða 
ni sô, ni de ni bâa yâma tî 
sêse agbô kâmba na ndúzù 
pepe -L175
'He said, "Since the time my 
mother bore me, I haven't 
seen a terrestrial animal 
trapped in the sky.""

16. lo tene, fadesô wâle tî ni akâi, 
ni bâa ndo pepe -L17
'The spider said to him, "Can 
you hit me?"

17. terê atene na lo, mo língbi tî 
pîka ni? -L175
'This man said to his wife that 
she should get his things to- 
gether now.'

18. kôli só atene na wâle tî lo, lo 
leke kôngbâ tî ni fadesô 
-F4
'Spider told him to give him 
(i.e. the spider) his (i.e. 
spider's) dog.'

19. terê atene na lo, lo mú na ni 
mbo tî ni -F4

20. mbenî kôli tî Banana afâa mamâ 
tî lo, lo fâa me tî mamâ tî 
nì. -L17
'A man from Banana killed his 
mother. He cut off her 
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 ᵂko
2 ᵄe
3 otá
4 osiô
5 ukû
6 omaná
7 mbásámbárá
8 miombe
9 ngombáýà
10 bale ᵂko (i.e. 1 unit of ten)
20 bale ᵄe (i.e. 2 units of ten)
11 bale ᵂko na (ndô ní) ᵂko (i.e. 'ten and on top of it one')
21 bale ᵄe na (ndô ní) ᵂko
100 ngbangbu ( enctype='text/plain' )
1000 ngbangbu bale ᵂko (i.e. 100 x 10) or kutu
2000 ngbangbu bale ᵄe (i.e. 100 x 20)
1031 ngbangbu bale ᵂko na ndô ní bale otá na ᵂko

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 ᵄe 'two pata's.' One thousand francs is referred to either by sáki (from French 'sac') ᵂko or páta ngbangu ᵄe (i.e. unit of 5, 200 times). When a figure is not divisible by five, one adds the phrase franc (pronounced most
commonly farânga) ôko, etc. Prices for the general public are adjusted to the nearest pâta, but banks and large commercial enterprises naturally figure on the franc.

25f pâta ukû
335f pâta bale omanâ na ndô ni mbâsâmbâra (i.e. 67 pâta's)
1,565f sâki ôko na (pâta) ngbangbu ôko na ndô ni bale ôko
na otâ
1,566 sâki ôko na (pâta) ngbangu ôko na ndô ni bale ôko na
otâ na farânga ôko

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

The number ôko '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 ôko 'one day' (in the sense of 'on one occasion'), and lége ôko 'in the same way, together,' etc. (ex. 7-9).

1. yângâ ti mbi ake da ôko
   pepe -I9
   'I'm having nothing to do with that.'

2. tôrô ni ake na yá ti ngonda
   ôko pepe -A48
   'There are absolutely no ghosts in the bush.'

3. yi ti so i ôko ake pepe -R6
   'There's not one thing to hurt us.'

4. zo ti pika mbi ôko ake pepe -R6
   'There's no one to hit me.'

5. mbi hûnda gi Nzapâ ôko -N35
   'I'm praying just to God.'

6. i ti kôbe ôko -R2
   'We eat together.'

7. mbêni lá ôko lé ti lo ôse kôe
   ake so lo -L186
   'One day his two eyes hurt him.'

8. ÁBanda na ÁNzakara, ála ke lége
   ôko -I39
   'The Banda and the Nzakara are the same.'

9. i bôngbi na ála lége ôko -R2
   'We met with them.'

10. da ni agbi da ukû -N79
   'Five house burned there.'

11. ámbéni wâle sî ake na têrê ti
    lo ôse -R4a
    'He has two wives.'
4.23. The adjunctive sô, 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 yî sô '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 sô 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 sô with English or French relative pronouns. Such an error would certainly lead to incorrect uses of sô. (Instances of the interference of French relative pronouns in the speech of bilingual Central Africans are noted below.)

The relative use of sô is nothing more than a substantive construction which is followed by a modifying clause. The word sô 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 sô ahînga mbêti '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 sô 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 yçma sé mbi fâa 'the animal which I killed' can be related to mbi fâa yçma sô '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. yê 5ko sô afuti mé tî mbi -L27  
   'the one thing which interfered with my hearing'
2. âmbéni wâle sô amú kôli -L162  
   'some women who had taken husbands (i.e. been married)'
3. zo sô ayî tî fâa mbi -R3  
   'the person who wants to kill me'
4. i fâa mbéni kôtâ yâkâ sô ahq ndô nî -R6  
   'We made a garden which was really big.'
5. âla sô agâ retard -L27  
   'those who came late'
6. mbéni sô akpîngba -R96  
   'some which have become hard'
7. Pierre sô akc secretaire -R1  
   'Pierre who is secretary'
8. mbi sô, mbi ke marâ tî Zande -I39  
   'I who am of the Zande tribe'
9. ìta tî mbi sô lo ke...  
   'my brother who is...'
10. pêmbé tî mbi sô i bâa a-manquê sô -A9  
    'my teeth which you see are missing'
11. kusâra tí lo só lo éré mbi
    ngbanga ní tí sâra -L11
12. kóbo só zo ats -L27
13. yí tí mo só mo sâra kété amú
    kamêla na mbi mingi -C31
14. vin só mo bata na ní só -R9a
15. yáká só í sâra só -R6
16. mbi yí tí fa yí ndé ndé na mo
    só mo hûnda mbi da -L2
17. ní eke na kobéla só éré ní
    bilharzie -R4a
18. mbéné ngambe tí mbi só éré tí
    lo ake... -L7
19. zo só bë tí lo ayí, lo gá
    -A21
20. na pekó tí mo só mo goe -L11
21. mo eke sûku na lo ngbanga-
    ti tambéla só lo eke fatigué
    na pekó tí mo -A49
22. mbéné tëné ake só mbi hînga
    li tí mbi da pepe -L162
23. ndo só Nzapá afa na lo tí goe
da -A49
24. témé só wë ake na yâ ní -A13
25. l'heure só mbi de kété kété,
    bâbá tí mbi agoe... -N81
26. na lá ní só mbi goe na ní
    -N81

'his work which he called me
to do'
'food which a person eats'
The little thing you did made
me very much ashamed.'
'the wine in which you kept it'
'the garden which we made'
'I want to show you all the
different things about which
you asked me.'
'(He said) he had a disease which
was called liver-fluke disease.'
'one of my younger siblings
whose name is...'
'The person who wants to, let
him come.'
'after you left'
'You scold him because he tired
himself in following you.'
'a certain matter which I can't
understand'
'the place to which God
instructed him to go'
'stone in which there is iron'
'When I was still very young,
my father went...'
'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 asko kusâra ti wâle laâ -A15 'That's the work of women.'
2. só amú vundû na mbi mingi -L4 'That gives me a great deal of grief.'
3. só séngë -C31 'That's all right.'
4. só tongana yë -R4a 'How's that!'
5. só yë só? -C31 'What's that?'
6. só kôbe ti yákâ só asko na aû só? -R4 'Is that garden food which Uncle has?'
7. só, mbi yi ape -R6 'That, I don't want.'
8. só vëni si i kë -R2 'That's precisely what we reject.'
9. lége ti só angôro... -I55 'that particular road wound around...'
10. ake só? -I9 'Is it this?'
11. mbi wara só mo sâra -L27 'I received the one you did...'
12. mbi hînga ti mbi só ñko pëpe -R1 'For my part, I didn't know that at all.'
13. mbi yi só pëpe -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 ngbangati, tenêti, 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. i wara nginga ngbangati só i leke terrain -I55 'We received money because we prepared the airfield.'
2. lo hûnda i ngbangati só mbëni yi ake só bë ti lo mingi -R4a 'He asked us because something was troubling him greatly.'
3. mbi sâra yi só ngbangati só mbi ke zo vokë -R1 'I do this because I am a Black Man.'
4. lo goe zia álâ na kânga tenêti só zo akëî -L6 'He went and put them in prison because people had died.'
5. mbi díko Nzápá da tøntí 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 álalá kóé sågoe tí vóte
tongana só álalá vóte 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 re-
lation to the clause which immediately follows it, in which respect it dif-
fers 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 oc-
currence 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 sárá 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 mò ke goe tí sì na Bangassou,
   álalá ke fa tène 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 mò tøne awe, fadé i kíri i
   bi gbánda ní -R10
   'Since you've spoken, we'll go
   back and cast the nets.'

4. só babá tí mbi adú mbi, aéré
   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 só
   -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 laâ (q.v. 8.13, ex. 8, 9, 13, 17-20).

1. á-famille só ahé mbi só, mbi yí ála pepé -N35
' Relatives who make fun of me, I don't like them.'
2. bâa âsioni yí só ake passé na yá tí kótárê kó só -I44
'See the bad things which are taking place in all the towns.'
3. mérônge wâle só lé tì lo ambôko awe só, lo gà -F7
'The girl whose face was ulcerated, she came.'
4. ála má wângô só á-médecin ake mû na ála só -R4c
'Listen to the advice the doctors give to you.'
5. lo bâa âsusu só ála gbô míngi míngi só -R10
'He saw the fish which they caught in such great quantity.'
6. tёнé só Mamadu ake ténê só ake vene pepé -R1
'What Mamadu is saying is not a lie.'
7. lo veni sî lo pika lettre só na machine na mbi só -L27
'He typed this letter on a typewriter for me.'
8. ake kusâra ti Nzapá laâ sî mbi ngbá tí hû ponó da só -A44
'It's because of God's work that I am suffering as you see.'
9. ni laâ sî ála wara nginza pepé só -L7
'That's why they didn't get any money.'
10. só kôbe tî yákâ só ake na aû só? -F4
'Is that garden food which Uncle has there?'
11. só yğ só? -C31  
12. tongana yğ só -I9  
13. téné tá mbi ní laá só -R2  
14. mo fa só gi tfré séngé -C31  
15. lo ke hânda só mbi -C31  
16. gi ngunzá séngé sí lo tó só -A8  
17. ní laá sí mbi pensé bê ti mbi na âkusâra ti mbi sí mbi âke toto só -L186  
18. gi téné ní laá awe só -R4b  
19. kâli ti mo laá avo só -I9  
20. ní laá mbi ngbâ tá dutí só -A44

11. 'What's this?'  
12. 'What's the trouble?'  
13. 'That's my speech (i.e. that's what I have to say).'  
14. 'You're just showing off.'  
15. 'He's deceiving me.'  
16. 'It's just manioc greens which she prepares.'  
17. 'That's why I thought about my work and am crying here.'  
18. 'That's all there is to the affair.'  
19. 'It was your husband who bought it.'  
20. '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. lâ wa 'what day?'). Replacing wa by yğ does not appear to change the meaning, but such constructions with yğ 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 yî só 'give me that thing.'

1. lo ke gá lâ wa 'When is he coming?'  
2. mo hînga tî mo lâ wa 'The hell you know it!'  
3. mo wara pendere bongô só na ndo wa -C31 'Where did you get this pretty cloth?'  
4. mérêngé só âke zo wa -R9b 'Who is this child?'  
5. zo wa sî amû na mbi wa -L186 'Who gave it to me?'

4.25. Both yğ and wa, which have the meaning 'what?' occur as adjunctives of substantives, but because yğ 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: ngbangatî yğ or téné tî yğ 'why?'
4.20

and tongana y§ '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 y§. 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 y§ is that when it is used following a list of things, it takes on the meaning of 'anything, et cetera.'

1. y§ aso mo -L186
2. mo tena y§ -R1
3. mo ke pika na yá tí y§ -R9b
4. pási tí y§ sí mbi ṕe báa só -L186
5. mo vo míngi míngi tongasó tí sára na y§ -L186
6. tí mo y§ -I9
7. só y§ só -C31
8. ángunzâ, ágozo, y§. kóé akē.
   só kóé kóbe tí yáká. -R9b
9. tongana y§ só -I9
10. fädé ála sára tongana y§ -R6
11. mo gá citoyen tongana y§ -R6
12. mo ke tambéla tongana y§ sí bongó tí mo atoto -N80
13. mo tena akē tí mo tongana y§ -C29
14. mo dé éré tí lo ngbangati y§ -F7

'What's hurting you?'
'What did you say?'
'What do you pound (things) in?'
'What suffering am I seeing?'
'You buy a lot (of stamps) like this to do what (with them)?'
'What's yours (i.e. What do you want)?'
'What's this here?'
'Manioc greens, manioc, anything. All these exist. All of this is garden food.'
'What's the trouble here?'
'What in the world will they do?'
'How do you become a citizen?'
'How do you walk that your dress makes noise?'
'What you mean by saying it's yours?'
'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.

köé 'all'

1. yí köé agá sioní awe -A15
   'Everything has turned out bad.'
2. áwále só köé agá -F7
   'All those women came.'
3. Sango köé mbi má -N35
   'I understand Sango also.'
4. lé tí lo köé ambóko awe -F7
   'Her face was completely ulcerated.'
5. ála só köé alóndó -F7
   'All of them arose.'
6. lo köé lo eké goe -A49
   'He too is going.'
7. ála sambéla kéké, na témé, na pére, na nse köé, na lá, yí köé -A15
   'They prayed to trees, and rocks, and grass, the moon also, and the sun, everything.'
8. mo fáa yá tí oignon tí mo köé -A8
   'Cut up all of your onions.'
9. lo zía yâma só köé da -L175
   'He put all of this meat there.'
10. ála hínga ngá lo köé só -R7f
    'You know him all right.'
11. ndo avoké na ála köé -A51
    'Night came upon them completely.'
12. mo báa ándo wále tí mbi köé pepe? -R1
    'You've seen my wife before all right, haven't you?'
13. li tí ála agá köé bale 5kò -R10
    'All of them were ten in number.'
14. ála mú mbi köé ma -L171
    'Take me too!'
15. yáká tí mbi akânga köé awe -N35
    'My garden is all choked up.'
16. mo píka yá ni ngbíi köé -A8
    'You crush the insides a long time.'
17. awe köé
    'It's all over.'
18. nzó ake, káráké ake, sindi ake, mbi língbi díko ahûnzi pepe, ángunzá, ágozo yk. köé ake, só köé köbe 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.'
mingi 'much, many, very'

19. ábákoýá mingi aké fútí kóbe né -F4
   'Many baboons are ruining the harvest.'
20. áwále mingi aké ho -F7
   'A lot of women are going by.'
21. li ti ála mingi -R3
   'They were numerous.'
22. áwále kóë saára kóbe mingi mingi -F7
   'All the women made a lot of food.'
23. ála wara kúí da mingi -A48
   'Many of them found death there.'
24. ázo awara ngiá na lá né mingi -L27
   'People found a great deal of pleasure on that day.'
25. yáká ti kóbe aké mingi mingi -R9b
   'There are many food gardens.'
26. ngunzá né anzere mingi -A11
   'The manioc greens taste very good.'
27. kótôró ayo mingi -L17
   'The village is a long way off.'
28. mbi bara mo mingi -L5
   'I greet you warmly.'
29. mbi de mfrungé mingi ape? -L55
   'Wasn't I still a very young child?'
30. amú nzoní yí na i mingi -R2
   'Pe gave us many good things.'
31. anzere na bé ti ála mingi -A48
   'It pleased them very much.'
32. ábákoýá asi gigi mingi na yáká né -F4
   'A lot of baboons came into the garden.'
33. áyí ti vundú ati na ndó mbi na pekó né mingi -L7
   'Many misfortunes descended on me after that.'
34. téné ti mbi aké mingi pepe -A42
   'I don't have much to say.'
35. kárakó né a lé nzoní mingi -A11
   'The peanuts have borne very well.'

ndé 'different'

36. lé ti kóbe ndé ndé aké -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 koa ndé ase -L9
   'I haven't done a different kind of work.'
Many different bridges were ruined in the region of Bangui.'

'Our ways are different here.'

'He does it differently.'

'There, we've shown you the dates.'

'His wives also drank it.'

'The spider also had made a garden.'

'You also know how to read well.'

'I have also received a letter here.'

'The child's father also died.'

'There were men on both sides to eat their share.'

'Me too, I don't refuse.'

'And also, I give many thanks.'

'How many people want to come?'

'How many of them are there?'

'How much money did you send me?'

'What's the price?'

'How many came yesterday?'

'This kind of people, we don't want them in our villages.'

'At about this time of the day, the White Men and I, we went.'
if this kind of evil thought is in their hearts...'

'We did it like this long ago.'

'The work of women is like this.'

'We roasted it right over the fire like this for a long time.'

'They said girls don't go to school. So I was very angry.'

'They come and spear the elephant. So the elephant dies.'

'In this way he'll grow up nicely.'

'He said, "It wasn't like that."'

'That's just the way it is.'

'It's the Sango people who catch fish with nets.'

'It's precisely the earth which gives money to people.'

'It was the man who tore it.'

'It was he who knew the young man's name.'

'I alone am the one who is telling this story.'

'He got up, just himself.'

'That's precisely what we reject.'

'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 kířķírí 'crooked' following noun phrases can be construed as being in minor clause types. Only one word, mbířímbíří 'straight,' appears to function substantively. The words bíříí and bíaku 'truly' can also occur at the beginning of a clause (like tóngásó discussed above). The word fadé 'quickly' is identified with the form which marks the future tense (q.v. chp. 9). The word fadesô '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:

áně 'later, in the future'  hò  'quickly'
ánô 'already, in the past'  ká  'there, in that place'
bíakú 'indeed, truly'  kířķírí 'crooked'
bíříí 'indeed, truly'  kpíííkpííí 'intensely (of black)'
da  'here, there'  kpó  'quiet'
dongó yongó  'slimy'  mbířímbíří 'straight'
fadé  'quickly'  ngbii  'a while'
ğbá  'in vain'  tár  'intensely (of white)'
ğbándá  'at some future time'  yekeyeke  'slowly'
ge  '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 zůsůka, 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 bâa mbi ngbii. -L168 'He looked at me for a while.'
2. mo kânga yângâ ní akporo ngbii, awôko nzoní míngi -A11 'You put the lid on and it boils a while, and it's very nice and soft.'
3. mbi kono ngbii kôé sí mamá agá asára tɛ̀ŋ ni na pɛkɔ -N8 'I grew up completely and then Mother came and told me about it later.'
4. mbi sâra yi sô ngbangati sô mbi ke zo vokɔ. ngbii, mbɛnì lâ, mbi tɛŋe na lo... -R1 'I do this because I am an African. Some time passed, and then one day I said to him...'
5. mo dutí kpó jusqu'à -F7 'Keep on being quiet.'
6. i na lo i duti na ndo sô jusqu'à. -N35
7. il faut que lo goe jusqu'à, lo hûndzi. -R4d
8. akëk jusqu'à ngbii I55
9. mo sâra kôbè ngbii jusqu'à, midi alîngbi awe -A11
10. lo yï da ape, ah. jusqu'à, mërangë wâte sô, lé ti lo ambëko awe sô, lo gâ. -F7
11. lo yuru na lo dé ngâ na 2 l'heure ti bî jusqu'à 7 l'heure ti ndâpërérë. -L7

He and I sat here a long time.'
'He must keep on going until he finishes it.'
'They worked on it a long time.'
'You keep on preparing the food, and when it's noon....'
'He didn't answer and went on. This went on a long time, and then this girl whose face was ulcerated came.'
'He had diarrhea and he vomited too at two o'clock at night until seven o'clock in the morning.'

Other verbal adjunctives:

12. zângô yângâ ti mo sô. fadé
i bâa ndâ ni ânde.

13. fadé kóto ré ti Bangui akë konô
ânde -R2

14. âlë sâra ândo sióni yì míngi
na I -R2

15. mbi teò ândo na mo, wàle ti
mbi acë na hôpital -R1

16. âlë zía yì ti âla biakû
biakû -R10

17. kôli ni akë wàle sô bìanî
-L15

18. taâ ténë ti mo bìanî? -C8

19. na bìanî, mbi hînga sô -A15

20. yì akë da ape -C31

21. lo yì da -C31

22. mo tûku kpi ti kàrákô sô da
-A8

23. fadé lo kûf bìanî -L7

'Your sharp tongue! Some day we'll see the outcome of it.'
'The city of Bangui will be big in the future.'
'They did terrible things to us in the past.'
'I told you before that my wife was in the hospital.'
'They left their things once and for all.'
'The husband rejected his wife definitely.'
'Is what you say the real truth?'
'And indeed, I know this.'
'There's nothing to it.'
'He agrees.'
'You pour this peanut paste into it.'
'He will really die.'
4.40. Universal adjunctives

The universal adjunctives (Au) gi 'only' and taâ '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 te gi ngunza la koe -A44
   'I eat just manioc greens all the time.'

2. babá afáa gi yáka -A21
   'My father is just a cultivator of gardens (i.e. peasant).'  

3. gi babá ti mbi laa asára -A40
   'It was just my father who made it.'

4. ázo avó gi vóngó -L11
   'People just buy it (i.e. pay cash for it).'</n
5. aáré gi mo -A9
   'They call you specifically.'

6. gi i na lo laa koe -R1
   'It's just him and me all the time.'

7. ake gi handa lo -C34
   'He's leading him astray, that's all.'</n
8. mbi má gi na yánga ti mbéni zo
   'I heard it only from someone else.'

9. amá na lo gi na cuillère -A9
   'They gave it to him only by spoonfuls.'

10. vene ni gi ti mbi? -C29
    'Is the lie just mine?'

11. ake gi ngbangatí wále 3ko pepe
    -R4a
    'It's not just for women alone.'

12. ngó ni ake gi osio -A21
    'There were just four boats.'

13. wóngó ti laa sô, gi ni laa awe
    -R4b
    'The advice for today, that's all there is to it.'

14. téré ti lo koe ake gi sioní
    míngi -F7
    'Her whole body was entirely awful.'

15. mbi wara gi kété kété -A44
    'I received just a little.'

16. ázo adutí gi sengé -R6
    'People sit around just doing nothing.'

17. mbi lângó gi ká -N80
    'I lived just in that place.'

18. mo dutí gi tongasó -R6
    'You sit around just like this.'
4.42. The adjunctive taá 'real' has a range of meaning quite similar to that of gi '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. mò sára na mbi taá ténè -C31 'Tell me the truth.'
2. taá yángá tì mbi aké Zande -I39 'My real language is Zande.'
3. mbi ke taá saleté -N81 'I was really dirty.'
4. abuba taá fí bianí -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

CONNECTIVES

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, ngbangati, sí tenstí, tí, titéns, tongana, and wala. The requirements of the decimal system of outlining forced na and mais, on the one hand, and ngbangati and tenstí, 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Function</th>
<th>andáa</th>
<th>ka</th>
<th>mais</th>
<th>na</th>
<th>ngbangati</th>
<th>sí</th>
<th>tí</th>
<th>titéns</th>
<th>tongana</th>
<th>wala</th>
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<tr>
<td>noun - noun</td>
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<td>noun - verb</td>
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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 érë tì mo lá só pepe, kandáa mbéti tì mo ade na láge -R9b
   'If you don't hear your name today, this means that your letter is still on its way.'
2. zo só ayí tì fáa mbi, andáa lo yí tì fáa ázo só a-voté érë tì 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 tì píka lo, andáa lo kón 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 mbókó tì lo na ngú tì mbéti, tì gbóngó na lé tì 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: ...

... wâle tì mbi ake na kótóró, ka mbi na wâle tì 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 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. ngû tî mbi, tongana yà tî carte d'identité ka mo hînga -N35
   'My age, if [it is] on my identity card, then you'll know, [but I'm not sure it is].'

2. tongana adû i, ka i sâra nzonî yî mingi -R2
   'If it were us, then we would do many good things.'

3. ka, tongana adû âmbunzû pepe, ka l'heure sô mbi kûî tî 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. adû nî âla, ka âla lîngbi tîtên aî la sâra nzonî yî pepe -R2
   'If they were them, then they couldn't do good things.'

5. wàle ti mbi âke na kôtôrô, ka mbi na wàle ti mbi i causé -N35
   'If my wife were in the village, then I and my wife would talk.'

6. patron ti lo akë tî fûta lo awe? --- ëko 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 sukûla bongô na kôli sô ka mbi passâ ka mbi wara pendere bongô tongasô 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 hînga manièrê tî wàle âke ndê ndê ape? -C31
   'Sister, don't you know that the tricks of women are varied?'

9. ka íta gi nî laâ 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. na ákaká tí giriri kóli afáa yáká mais wále afáa yáká pepe. -A4
   'In the times of the elders, men made gardens, but women didn't make gardens.'

2. wále só adú na kóli só á-mé-rangé otá, mais ọko akúi. -L15
   'This woman bore that man three children, but one died.'

3. B. mo prié gí na Nzapá, awe. A. mais íta, lá kóó mbi ke prié. -C21
   'B. 'Just pray to God.' A. 'But friend, I always pray.'

4. ála tene, nginza ní sí ake ngangó na ála. mais yí só ake taá téné ní pepe. -L27
   'They say that getting money is hard for them. But this is not the truth.'
mais as a coordinating connective:

5. ála tene, î lingbi ti ça va na lége ti malade sô. mais éré ti malade ní aške monganga. -A48

6. na yâ ti juin sô, mbëni kôlî ti Banana 5kô aške. mais lo bâa ndo pepe. -L17

7. wële ti mbi aške na ngo ti nzê ukû. mais mbi diko Nzapâ da tenêtî sô afûti lá kôë. -L6

They said, we can become well by means of this fetish. And the name of this fetish is monganga.'

"In this month of June, there was a man from Banana. And he couldn't see.'

"My wife is five months pregnant. And I'm praying to God because it (the foetus) always perishes.'

mais introducing verbless predications:

8. mais yî 5ko, ita. -L4

9. mais tongana y§. -L5

10. mais gi na lége ti lékéngô kôbê. -A8

"But there's one thing, friend.'

"But what's the matter?'

"But the reason is just the manner of preparing food.'

mais followed by other conjunctions:

11. na ngonzo asâra mbi mìngi pepe, mais ngbangatì mbi ngbâ mënxengê. -A49

'And I wasn't very angry, because I was still a child.'

'The things they did were not right. But I'm telling you so that you can hear.'

'And we their children, we considered these things good.'

12. ñyì sô âla sàra sô aške lége ní pepe. mais sî mbi fa na mo ti mà si. -L2

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 ti-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) ni mingi -R9a  'It pleased him greatly.'
2. lo sâra (na) ti téné -R9b  'He spoke to us.'
3. mo kiri (na) ni na mbi -C29  'Come back with it to me.'
4. âla ki na mbi na la ti 20 juin -R2  'They waited for me on the 20th of June.'
5. ake kiri na 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 ti-verb phrases, 1 joins a ti-verb phrase and a ti-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 ti, the ti may be repeated with the second noun phrase (ex. 20-21), or it may be omitted (ex. 18-19). The ti 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 ti-verb phrase and a ti-noun phrase being joined by na is A34. 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 ti-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. 44, 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 tongasô and fadesô. 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 na lo i duti ti causé -A8 'You and he sat to chat.'
2. mbito agbó lo, na ála só kóé -R10 'Fear gripped him and them all.'
3. i na mo i ke dé ba na ndó ni ngá -C29 'You and I will swear over it also.'
4. mbi yí kótóró tì i na ála agá taá kótóró -R3 'I want my country and yours to become a real country.'
5. i na ála kóé, i eke íta na íta -R2 'We and they, all, are as brothers.'
6. ála éré i na mo kóé pepe? -R1 'Didn't they call me and you both?'
7. mbi bara o i na Madame nzoni -L1 'I greet you and Madame cordially.'
8. mais nzala ti ála si asára mbi na wále ti mbi -L2 'But it's a desire for you that is affecting me and my wife.'
9. lo na zo vokó agá bôngbi ūko -R2 'He and the Black Man came and met together.'
10. i óse na ãmfrángó ti mbi -N35 'we both and my children'
11. mo girísa lo na sambéla ti i na mamá ti Manya pẹpẹ -L7 'Don't forget her in the prayers of you and the mother of Manya.'
12. fadesó mo gá babá na mamá ti mbi aye -R1 'Now you have become my father and my mother.'
13. mbéní téné ti ngangó na téné ti pási ase da -R10 'Some hard things and some things of suffering were in it.'
14. âità tì i kòè, na âmbènì zo tì kòtòrò mingi -A50
15. mo fa tèrè tì mo na kòbe tì mo -C31
16. Ngongo René Claude, só mbi sàra kusâra tì contrôleur du travail, na Pascal só ake secrétaire tì direction du travail -R1
17. lo tere, na mbèni yâma só adé èré tì lo na yângâ tì Sango, atene, kpîkara -L175
18. histoire tì babá na mamá tì mbi -A42
19. mamá tì Manya na Ramona -L27
20. kòtòrò tì âmrunzù na tì ázo vokó ngá -R1
21. mariage tì bureau na tì mission -L7
22. mbi ýôro ýôrôngô na oignon na tomate -C31
23. lo eke na babá na mamá pepe -R1
24. mbi tene nì na lo kòè, lé na lé -R2
25. ake sàra ngû na ngû? -L27
26. i ázo tì sése kòè, na mbi aussì -R3
27. amû na mo bara o tì lo, na madame na amérengê kòè -L27
28. mbi bara o mo mingi na â-famille kòè ngá -L5

'all our relatives, and many other people of the village'
'You show off your body and your food.'
'Ngongo René Claude, who did the work of a labor inspector, and Pascal, who was the secretary of the labor department'
'he, the spider, and another animal whose name in Sango is kpîkara'
'a story of my father and mother'
'the mother of Manya and Ramona'
'the country of White Men and of Black Men also'
'civil and religious marriage (lit. marriage of the office and of the mission)'
'I fried it with onions and tomatoes.'
'He doesn't have a father or a mother.'
'I told it all to him, face to face.'
'Do they do it every year (lit. year with year),'
'we the people of the whole land, and I also'
'He gives you his greetings, and Madame and the children also.'
'I greet you cordially, and the whole family as well.'
29. Ála sambéla kéké, na témé, na peré, na nze koé, na là -A15
30. yáká tí nzé, na tí lósó, na tí ananas -R6
31. bara o tí mbi na wále tí mbi na áwa má bé tí Bogira koé -L2
32. mbi bara o áwa má bé, á-membre, á-chrétien na pasteur koé -L15
33. akes Pierre na André, Jacques na Jean -R10
34. nginza tí goe na ní na wále tí mo, na tí baptême tí mo ngá -R1
35. tí má yángá tí mamá tí mo, na tí má yángá tí babá tí mo -A42
36. tí attaqué áita tí lo na tí kamáta ála -L139
37. lángó bale sko na òse -R4d
38. ngú bale sko na ukú na otá -A21
39. lo eke toto, na tens -L186
40. kóli só akamáta wále tí lo, na agá na Fort Archambault -L15
41. Ála eke ázo só akes dí sumári, na ála mú mbéni kété kóbe tí goe na ní -A48
42. tongasó, kóli só anú woga só awe, na lo fáá kánba na gó tí woga awe -F4

'They worshipped trees, and stones, and grass, and the moon, also, and the sun.'
'the fields of corn, and of rice, and of pineapples'
'the greetings of me and my wife and all the believers of Bogira'
'I greet the believers, the members, the christians and all the pastors.'
'It was Peter and Andrew, James and John.'
'money to take to your wife, and for your baptism also'
'to obey your mother, and to obey your father'
'to attack his relatives and to capture them'
'twelve days (i.e. one ten and two)'
eighteen years (ten and five and three)'
'He's crying, and says...
'This man took his wife, and came to Fort Archambault.'
'They were those people who danced the sumári, and they took some bits of food to take away.'
'And so, this man took this small animal and he cut the cord off the neck of the animal.'
43. mbi wara yingò tí zia da, na mbi wara mbéni kpi tí zia da -A44
'I found some salt to put into it, and I found some paste to put into it.'
44. wë ake na yá ní, na wë ní ake sí gigi -A13
'There is iron in it, and the iron comes out.'
45. âzo só akirí agá na yá tí kótórò tí lo awe, na âzo ní a-commencé tí hú mingi -I39
'when these people had turned and entered into his village, and they began to prosper greatly...'
46. mbi sâra 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 Amériké 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, ake sâra mbéni yí tongasó encore ape, na ála girísa lége tí wë tí ála kôé awe -A13
'And so now, our ancestors don't do anything like this any more, and they (i.e. people) have entirely forgotten the way of iron.'
49. lo húnda méréngé tí lo, lo tene, méréngé tí mbi, na méréngé ayí da -L17
'He asked his child, saying, "My child." And the child responded.'
50. i commencé tí sâra yí só, na âzo ake gá na téré ní -A48
'We began to do this thing, and people were coming near.'
51. lo kë kôbe tí ála, na só ahq -F7
'He refused their food, and these passed on.'
52. âmbéni ake pikà ngo, na âmbéni ake fàa 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 wâle só kôé awe, na âpendere wâle só mingi mingi, ála sâra kôbe -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 katërò fadesô -A8

56. mais tongana ángaragé ní abáa yóma na ti tí âzo sô, na ála tene, mú na mbi yóma ní -A37

57. mbi sára école ngbii, na tongana l'heure sô i sára kóé -N81

58. mais na i ámérongé tí yá tí ála, i báa yí sô tongana yí tí mbiérímbiri -A48

59. et na mbi báa na lé tí mbi -L17

60. na, fadesô, i wara mbéni nzoní yí -A42

61. tongasô na amú atûku na yá ní -A8

'When the mothers had gone into the bush to get caterpillars, and had finished getting the caterpillars, they came then to the village.'

'But when the ngaragé initiates saw the meat in the hand of this man, then they said, "Give me the meat."'

'I went to school for a while, and when the time came when we had finished...'

'But as for us, the children of their bowels, we considered this as a right thing.'

'And I saw with my own eyes...'

'And now we have received a certain good thing.'

'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 lâ '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 pekô ti, 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:

bê 'middle,' na bê ni 'at the center of' (ex. 1)
devant (<Fr.), na devant 'in front of' (ex. 2)
gbê 'underpart,' na gbê ni 'underneath' (ex. 3)
gigli 'outside,' na gigi 'outside' (ex. 4)
lé 'face,' na lé ni 'on the surface of' (ex. 5)
li 'head,' na li ni 'on top of' (ex. 6-8)
mbâge 'side,' na mbâge ni 'beside' (ex. 9-10)
ndó 'top,' na ndó ni 'on top of' (ex. 11-12)
ndo 'place,' na ndo sô 'here' (ex. 13-14)
ndûzû 'sky,' na ndûzû 'up' (ex. 15-16)
pekô 'back,' na pekô ti 'behind' (ex. 17-20)
pôpô 'middle,' na pôpô ni 'in the middle, in between' (ex. 21)
sése 'ground,' na sése 'down' (ex. 22-23)
téré 'body,' na téré ni 'beside' (ex. 24-25)
yâ 'belly,' na yâ ni 'inside' (ex. 26-29)
yângâ 'mouth,' na yângâ ni '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), kôtôrô 'village' (ex. 32), légê '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).
They put the drum into the middle of it.'
'We put it before our fetish.'
'I found it under my hand.'
'They're waiting for me outside.'
'Push your boat out on the surface of the water.'
'I walked in front.'
'They have passed judgment on him already.'
'He went and said very bad things about you.'
'They are completely candid towards Black People.'
'Put some of the meat aside.'
'You and I, we'll swear on it also.'
'It's because he has dwelt on the earth a long time.'
'My work is here.'
'He came to my place.'
'Write at the top.'
'They are flying in the air.'
'Your letters remain behind.'
'You've just been staying behind the cash box.'
'You follow him.'
'the headman who is after the chief'
'They went among those elephants.'
'Will you knock me down?'
23. mo zía na sése -R9a 'Put it aside (i.e. on the ground).'
24. ake dutí na téré tí mo -R1 'He remained beside you.'
25. mo gá ndurû na téré da -C30 'Come close beside the house.'
26. agá tuku 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. wć ake na yá ní -A13 'There's iron in it.'
29. lo lungûla ngunzâ só na yá tí ngú só -A8 'She removed these greens from the water.'
30. lo bôngbi ála na yángá tí ngú -R10 'He gathered them beside (i.e. at the edge of) the water.'
31. ake fa na ëmérëngë na da -A49 'They showed the children in the house.'
32. wâle tí mbi ake na kótoró pepe -A35 'My wife wasn't in the village.'
33. hînga pepe, â-poster asûru na lége -L3 'Who knows, perhaps the postal clerks tore it up on the way.'
34. fadâ lo ngbâ na ngonda bîanî -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 apè -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 êke na l'école -A44 'I'm in school.'
41. mo báa na mbétî 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,' téné 'say,' fa 'show,' sàra '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 lingbi '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 na ndao -A40
   'I gave it to the blacksmith.'
2. mbi tâne na mð -R6
   'I tell it to you.'
3. âla fa lége tì voté na ämbení zo tì sése -R3
   'You've showed the way to vote to the other people of the earth.'
4. mbi sâra koa na lo -R1
   'I've worked for him.'
5. mœ eké sâra na âla ngangö téne -A49
   'You're telling them hard sayings.'
6. lo gâ tì hûnda na mbi. ngingza tì nze -R1
   'He came to ask of me the wages for the month.'
7. âla ke toka mbétfi na i -R9a
   'You're sending letters to us.'
8. bë tì mbi aso na patron tì mbi mingi -R1
   'I'm much aggrieved at my boss.'
9. mœ eké sûku na lo -A49
   'You become very angry with him.'
10. alingbi na lo pepe -R2
    'It wasn't enough for him.'
11. anzere na bë tì mbi mingi -R2
    'It pleases me very much.'
12. fadé mbi bëa yi tì kiri na question tì mœ -L11
    'I'll find something to answer your question.'
13. lo sûru na mbi fondo ñko -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 pekd '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 nì 'afterwards' (ex. 1), and yâ 'belly,' na yâ tì '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 kúi 'sunset' (ex. 10), and miscellaneous nouns (ex. 11).

1. âmbéní zo só agá na ndá ní -L27
   'the other people who came afterwards...'
2. lo gá na pekó ní -R7
   'She came afterwards.'
3. ahó fadé na pekó tì midi só -R7a
   'They left quickly after noon today.'
4. fadé i báa na yá tì nze só -C29
   'We'll see during this month.'
5. mo mú na lo na ndápéréré só -R4a
   'You gave it to him this morning.'
6. mo te na bí -A8
   'You eat at night.'
7. âni má gó tì mo na lá ní -L27
   'We heard your voice on that day.'
8. mbi eke érê ála da, na lá tì dimanche, na 5 avril -R3
   'I'm calling you to it, on Sunday, on April 5.'
9. mbi lôndó na Nice na mercredi, na 8 heures ti ndápéréré -R2
   'I left Nice on Wednesday, at eight in the morning.'
10. mo vo rognon ní na lá kúi -R9a
    'You buy the kidneys in the evening.'
11. mbi sì na 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:

bongó ake na tì lo
'bongó ake na lo
lo eke na bongó
bongó ake na téré tì lo
'The garment is his.'
'He has a garment.'
'He has a garment.'
'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 nérêngé tì kóli? -R4
   'Do you have a son?'
2. lo eke na ngû bale otá na ndó
   ní miombe -R7f
   'He's thirty-eight years old (lit. he has 38 years).'
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 nǐ), 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 sǐ na ngiâ 'I'm full of joy,' which is included here, is, according to Mr. Nambozouina, a Europeanism. Standard Sango would reverse the order and say ngiâ así bê 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 sâra wç na ngâfô '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 eks kâ na mbéní ita tí mbi
   'I was over there with a certain brother of mine.'
2. mbi yí mo gâ na ní
   'I want you to bring it.'
3. mbi ke mú na mo nginza 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 bútá na koa tí mbi pepe -R3
'I can't act foolishly with my work.'

5. lo dutí na De Gaulle sengé pepe -R7a
'He didn't stay with De Gaulle for nothing.'

6. mbi lángó na íta tí mbi -I9
'I lived (lit. slept) with my brother.'

7. i bôngbi na álá lége 5ko -R2
'We assembled together with them.'

8. mbi ke ngbá gí na ngbéré bongó tøngasso -C31
'I just remain with old clothes like this.'

9. báa mbi na ngiá na yángá tí álá -R6
'...see me with joy in their mouths'

10. maná tí mbi adutí gí na vundú -N81
'My mother remained in great grief.'

11. ázo, álá sára yáká tí coton na ngú sò na lége ní -L27
'People are making cotton fields this year in the right way.'

12. ÆSango vení ake fáa susu na gbánda -I39
'It's the Sango who kill fish with nets.'

13. mo kpaka tèrè tí mbi na ní -F7
'Scratch my back with it.'

14. abáá i na lé pepe -R6
'They didn't see us with (their) eyes.'

15. lo goe gbó kpóka tí yáká na matóko tí lo -A49
'He went and grabbed the garden hoe with his hand.'

16. mbi tene na álá na èrè tí ázo tí álá kòé -R2
'I say to you, in the name of all your people...'

17. mo eke d'accord na mbi na téné sò? -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 nginza tí vo na yí sò pepe -A44
'It isn't enough money to buy this thing with.'
20. mbi fáa na yáma na kótóró
   -A4o
   'I kill animals with it in the village (lit. I kill with animals).'

21. âla sára i na búbá zo tí ála
   pêpe -R2
   'They don't make us into their fools.'

22. mamá tí mbi asára na mbi na
   méréngé -A49
   'My mother did it to me as a child.'

23. Âmbéni ayâ na du thè -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 pre-
viously 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 sen-
tence (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), sub-
ject (ex. 12), and so forth. Among the time phrases, na ndá ní and na pêkô
nì are frequently used (10/85 and 40/85 occurrences respectively). In a
number of instances, these phrases are reinforced by such adjunctives as
tongásô and fadesô.

1. Juif ñko na pôpô tí apôtre -R1o  'one Jew among the apostles'
2. Êzo tí mbi kóê lo sô na têrê tí
   -R6
   'All my people (are) these beside me.'
3. gi na yâ nze tí avril 1958 -L15
   'just during the month of April 1958'
4. Ála kóê gi na kobêla tí bilharzie
   -R4a
   'They all (have) the liver
   fluke disease.'
5. gi kusâra na nginza sf atambéla
   -R1
   'It's just work for money which
   goes.'
6. na kótóró ti mbi ámbëni mingi
   ahînga ti tó ngunzá pepe -A8
   'In my village, many don't know
   how to cook greens.'

7. na pôpô ti âni, âwâle ti Manza
   asâra ta encore pepe -A13
   'Among us, the Manza women
don't make pots any more.'

8. na pekô ni, â-député aseâ voté
gouvernement -R3
   'Afterwards, the deputies will
choose a government.'

9. na ndâ ni, tongana mbakôro wâle
   sô afa édë ti kôli sô -F7
   'afterwards, when the old woman
told the name of this man...'  

10. na lége ti mâ bë âni eke ndurû
    lâ kôë -L27
    'Through faith we are always
    close.'

11. na édë ti gouvernement ti France,
    'in the name of the government
    of France, I tell you all...'
    mbi tene âla kôë -R2

12. eh bien fadesô na lége ti tôngô
    ti wâle, na Bangui ndo sô,...
    -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 . . . . . . . . 223
Total for coordinating uses . . . . . . 450

Subordinating:

in verb phrases . . . . . . . . 1951
in non-verbal constructions . . . 36
in pre-clause constructions . . . 156
Total for subordinating uses . . . . . . 2143

Grand Total, all uses . . . . . . . 2593
Table 2. Frequency of different types of noun phrase + na + noun phrase.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pronoun + na + pronoun</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pronoun + na + pronoun kôé</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pronoun + na + pronoun só kôé</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pronoun + na + noun phrase</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pronoun phrase + na + noun phrase</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noun phrase + na + pronoun</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noun phrase + na + noun phrase</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Series of noun phrases, na each time:
- 2 occurrences of na: 15
- 3 occurrences of na: 1
- 4 occurrences of na: 1

Series of noun phrases, na not present each time: 7

Total occurrences of na joining noun phrases: 192

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>simple na</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na tongana</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>et/mais na</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na + preposed adjunctive</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>preposed adjunctive + na</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total occurrences of clause + na + clause: 223

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>locative</td>
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<tr>
<td>manner</td>
<td>47</td>
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<tr>
<td>beneficiary</td>
<td>461</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>means</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>temporal</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>subject</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>possessive</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>end goal</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>accompaniment</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miscellaneous</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total na phrase verb complements: 1951
Table 5. Frequency of different prepositional expressions of location.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expression</th>
<th>Occurrences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bé</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>devant</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gbé</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gigi</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lé</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>li</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbage</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndó</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndo</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndůzú</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peko</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pópó</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sése</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>téré</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yâ</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yángá</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total occurrences: 406

Table 6. Frequency of beneficiary complements following the verb:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Complement</th>
<th>Occurrences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mú</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tene</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fa</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sára</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>húnda</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to, toka, etc</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intransitive verb</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miscellaneous</td>
<td>58</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Total occurrences of beneficiary complement: 461

Table 7. Frequency of different types of temporal complements.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Complement</th>
<th>Occurrences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ndá</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>peko</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yâ</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phrase: lúkü, etc.</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>date, day of week</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hour</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>name of period of time</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miscellaneous</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total of temporal na phrases: 172

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Complement</th>
<th>Occurrences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ské</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gá</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goe</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sára</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dutí</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lángó</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bôngbi</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miscellaneous</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total of complements of accompaniment: 153

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Occurrences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>locative</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>temporal</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>possessive</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>end goal</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total in non-verbal constructions: 36
5.30 Kinds of na phrases in pre-clausal constructions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>locative</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>means</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>temporal</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>subject</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>156</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 vo ngombe ngbangatí lo goe fása nayama would mean 'He bought a gun to go and shoot animals with it' but lo vo ngombe ngbangatí lo fása 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ſmgbanga</th>
<th>ſmgbā</th>
<th>ſmgba</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mbanga, mbaq(a)</td>
<td>mbq(a)</td>
<td>mba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manq(a)</td>
<td>maq(a)</td>
<td>maq</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 sólo sée 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 títanç lo báa nío na yá tí lé tí zo vokó, kaméla amú lo, ngbangatí sioní yí só giriri lo kẹ sára na zo vokó. '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 Black Man long ago (R2).'

ngbangatí with noun phrases (38/103 occurrences):

1. yí só zo afáa tèré míngi ape ngbangatí yí tongasó ape? -N35
   'Things over which people kill each other a lot about, aren't they things like these?'

2. akè 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. akè ngbangatí France vení sí fadesó sése tí i aduti kpó -R2
   'It is because of France that our country now is in peace.'

5. mbi língbi tí kẹ ả-famille tí mbi kóé ngbangatí só pepe -N35
   'I can't reject my relatives over this.'

6. mo dé éré tí lo ngbangatí yó -F7
   'Why did you call his name?'

7. mo hûnda mbi tongasó ngbangatí yó -C30
   'Why do you ask me in this way?'

ngbangatí with verb phrases (2/103 occurrences):

8. i gá na nío só gi 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. i fono encore ngbangatí gi dole -I55
   'We marched again to look for elephants.'
ngbangatí with clauses (43/103 occurrences):

10. mbi zia yi só kòô ngbangatí koa tí mbunzú aso zo mîngi -R6

11. sioní yi só ahùnzi awe, ngbangatí i vënî, i ke na yâ tí kôtôrô tî i -R2

12. lo ke sâra pendere yi mîngi ngbangatí lá só lo ke na ngû bale otá na ndó ní miombe -R7f

13. ake téné tí ngiá pepe, ngbangatí, 'It's not funny because when tongana mo zo, mo bâa kòâ na lé tî mo, mo lîngbi títene mo ngbá pepe -R4b

14. fadesô atûku álâ da ayôro álâ nzoní, ngbangatí álâ fû. -A8

15. fadé aks éré álâ ândé...ngbangatí 'They'll be calling them álâ gá tí sâra examen tî álâ -R7b

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

16. mbi mú na mo merci mîngi monsieur, ngbangatí téné só mo gá mo wara mbi lá só -N35

17. mbi sâra yi só ngbangatí só mbi ke zo wôkô -R1

18. mbi mâ Sangô, mbi mâ mbîrîmbîri ape, ngbangatí só mbi goe na écôle -A21

ngbangatí introducing sentences (included in 43 clauses):

19. lo yi kékêrêke, mbi ke kîrî na koa. ngbangatí mbi ke babà tî mèrêngé fadesô. -R1

'I left all of this because White Man's work hurts one much.'

'All bad things have vanished because we are in our own country.'

'He's going to do a lot of nice things because today he's thirty-eight years old.'

'I thank you very much sir, because you came and met me today.'

'I do this because I am a Black Man.'

'I understand Sango (but I don't understand it well), because I went to school.'

'If he wants, tomorrow I'll come to work. Because I am the father of a child now.'
20. congé só ake tí múngó repos
na zo tí kusará, títenë
ngangó tí lo agá da,
ngbangatí lo ke kóké pepe. -R1
'This vacation is to give rest
to a workman so that his
strength will be renewed.
Because he is no tree.'

21. tongana ála báa mo ke na nginza
ape, ála yí da pepe. ngbangatí
wâle a-dépensê nginza míngi.
-19
'When they see that you have
not much money, they don't
want to. Because women
spend a lot of money.'

22. B. mo ke hé gi ngiá na lé
tí lo. só sârângó yí tí yë.
ita, ngbangatí ténë só mo tene
amú ngiá na mbi laâ mbi hé
só ape? -C31
B. 'You are laughing in his
presence. What kind of a
business is this? A...Isn't it
because what you said made
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
tablulation of percentage of frequencies is given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Introducing noun phrases</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introducing verb phrases (purposive)</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introducing clauses, reason</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introducing clauses, purpose</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interrogative (nete yi + clause)</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interrogative (nete yë + clause)</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

The same reasons as are adduced for ngbangatí make it inadvisable to
consider nete as being the head noun téné and the connective tî. These are,
briefly: the frequent presence of pause between tnetí and the preceding
verb phrase, and the fact that it would make tî 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 téné are not high as they are with the noun téné. The above-mentioned pause occurs before tenêtí 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 tenêtí, but there is pause immediately after it, while in one case there is pause both before and after.

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

Examples given below as are follows: tenêtí 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 tenêtí (ex. 15-16), introducing clauses with purposive force, including the one with tenêtí téné (ex. 17-18), and introducing interrogative expressions, with yê (ex. 19-21).

1. i kângbi tenêtí á-famille \textendash As0 'We divided it for the family.'
2. yi fadesó ngangó míngi tenêtí nginza \textendash L2 'Things (are) tough right now as far as money is concerned.'
3. zo ate tenêtí nzala \textendash L2 'People eat out of hunger.'
4. mbi má merci na Nzapá tenêtí bé nzoní só lo sára na wâle tí mbi \textendash L7 'I thank God for the kindness which he showed to my wife.'
5. lo toto tenêtí mo lá kóé \textendash L27 'He cries for you all the time.'
6. bê tí mbi aso tenêtí mo lá na lá \textendash L2 'My liver hurts for you every day.'
7. lo éré na kóbe tenêtí téngó ni \textendash L17 'He begged for food to eat.'
8. i vo na nginza, tenêtí payé l'impôt \textendash As0 'We sell it for money, in order to pay taxes.'
9. tenêtí i sára kóbe na lége ní pêpe, ní laá sî i ke wara malade míngi \textendash A8 'Because we don't prepare food in the right way, that's why we get many illnesses.'
10. merci mìngi ténténì, mbunzù
asì na kótró awe -A15

11. woga akpè tì lo bìání awe,
ténténì lo èkè yàma -F4

12. lo téntë mbi kù lo téntë fádë
lo bàà mbi -L7

13. mo téntë ngá gi ndérù téñë, ténténì
âmbéni zo mìngi aks kù mbi na
gìgì -R1

14. ténténì tongana yì akë, lo fa
na mbi, bàà, sò lo, pepe -L2

15. mbi téntë merci mìngi na Nzapà
ténténì sò, mbi sì na gbë nì
pepe -A15

16. agoe zìa ála na kàngà, ténténì sò
zo akúi tongasò -L6

17. mbi sàra mbëti sò na ì ténténì
ì mà na téñë tì mbi -L1

18. akës ngbangatì nginza. ténténì
tënsì mo warà nginza mìngì, mo
hûnda â-famille tí mò. -I9

19. mbi téntë merci mìngi na Nzapà
ténténì yë? -A15

20. ténténì yë? mo gá tì vóngó kòbe
na galá -C30

21. ì mú mbëni, ì mú na makunzi,
ténténì yë? lo venì sì a-
commandé kótró. -A50

5.50. sì

5.51. The connective sì 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 si by ndá ní or na pekó ní which are equivalent constructions for 'later' and 'after that.' Moreover, some of the clauses preceding si can be reduced to subordinate status by adding tongana 'when' (q.v. 5.81) and leaving out the si. Again, some occurrences of si can be replaced by na or entirely left out with no apparent change in meaning. The various other translations of si (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).

si introducing sentences:

1. lo tene, mbi eke servir mo pepe. si mbéné kóli na pekó tì mbi atene, mais mo servir madame sô. -L168
   "He said, "I'm not serving you." So a man behind me said (to him), "But serve this lady.""

2. A wângô sô lá ní mo mû sô anzere na mbi míngi. B. oui. A. si mbi tene ... -R4d
   A. 'That exhortation you gave the other day, I liked it very much.' B. 'Yes.'
   A. 'So I say ...'

si with past time clauses:

3. yâ tì mbi asúku, akonò tongana ballon, sí ála pompé ní -N81
   'My abdomen swelled and grew as big as a balloon, which they pumped up.'

4. agâ a-commencé píka mérangé wâle só awé, sí mérangé wâle só atene ... -N79
   'She came and began to hit this girl, and this girl said ...'

5. abâa pâsi míngi na yâ tì ngu bale 'It suffered much for forty osió, sí lo gá kótâ -R2 years and then became great.'
6. nî yî tî gâ tî sâra kôô rô tî nî na Bambari na nđo sô, sî amû mbi kâ, sî i na lo i gâ na Bambari na nđo sô, sî mbi commencé tî sâra kusâra tî lo. -I39

7. mbi venî mbi wara sî mbi éré mô -C29

8. mô mú rognon sô mô préparé nî na vin na l'ail sî alângô -R9a

9. lo goe tî pîka dole, sî lo pîka mbëni kôli dole nî, amû lo, afâa lo -Lô

sî with present time clauses:

10. y§ aso mo sî mo eke toto tongasô. -L186

11. tongana mô wara nginza nî mingi âpe, sî mo kê mû wâle na yâ nî, nginza tî mô ahûnzi awe -I9

12. zo tî gingô yôrô na mbi sî mbi soigné na nî akek pepê, nî laâ sî mbi pensé bê tî mbi na âkusâra tî mbi, sî mbi eke toto sô. -L186

13. âla yî âla kê na bureau tî mbi, sî tongana têné âke, mbi kê na nđo sô tî fângô ngbanga -R1

14. i zía kpi tî sinđi na ndô nî, na kârákô, sî i kê tê na nî -A8

'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.'

'I'm the one who found it and called you.'

'You take the kidneys which you have prepared in wine and garlic and which stood (a while).'

'He went to shoot an elephant, and he shot a male elephant, and it seized him and killed him.'

'What is hurting you that you cry like this?'

'If you don't earn much money and you take a wife on top of everything, your money is finished.'

'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.'

'They want you to be in my office, so that if there should be trouble, I am here to settle it.'

'We put sesame paste on it, and peanuts, and we eat it with this.'
15. ake ngbangatî France veni sì fadesô sése tî i aduti kpô
   -R2
16. â-bon nî angbâ, sì monsieur ade tî hûnda ngbanga nî lâ köé
   -L11

'sì with future time clauses:

17. tene na mbi kôzo, sì fadé mbi bâa mô tongâna mô sî ânde na Bangui -L3
18. wângô tî ndâpéréré ake wara kâ l'heure mingi mingi sî fadé î lîngbi tîtêne i pîka na mô disque pepe -R4a
19. î yi tîtêne i sâra kôtâ yâkâ tî avion, sî fadé â-avion mingi a-îîngbi tîtêne agá -R2
20. il faut î sâra mbêni kôtâ yâkâ tîtêne i lû yi da sî î wara nginza tî i -R6
21. mbi yi tî sâra réponse tî mô, na mô sâra tî mbi na mbi, sî fadé ake nзонî mingi -L4
22. âla ke commencé ânde na lângô bale 5kô na ôse, ake sî ânde na lângô bale 5kô na osîô, sî concours ni aye -R7b

21. ake ngbangatî France veni sì fadesô sése tî i aduti kpô
   -R2

'It is because of France alone that now our country is peaceful.'
'The debts remain and Monsieur continues to ask about them all the time.'

'Tell me in advance, and then I'll see you when you arrive in Bangui.'
"'Wango ti ndaperere" doesn't have a lot of time for us to be able to play you a record.'
'We want to build a large airfield so that many airplanes will be able to come.'
'We must make large gardens and plant things in them so that we will receive our money.'
'I want to answer your letter, and you answer mine, and then it will be nice.'
'They'll be beginning on the 12th, going to the 14th, and then the competitive examination will be over.'

5.52. The connective sì 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 sì in this construction is not obligatory.

'sì following pre-clausal subject construction:

1. sô veni sì ake nзонî -R2

'This is what is good.'
'He's the one who governs the town.'
'It is France which was good to us.'
'All the people around Bangui have placed their confidence in me.'
'Who was it that gave it to me?'
'Is this garden-food which Uncle has?'
'We don't see you because of Madame's illness which is giving her much trouble and for which you returned.'
'It was the doctors who gave it this name like this.'
'Jesus revealed all things only to him.'
'It's this which we reject.'
'But there's one thing. They don't find money to save with me to (permit me to) send it to you.'
'The person who wants to kill me wants to kill the Central African Republic.'
'All the African inspectors spoke about this matter at Brazzaville.'
'Yesterday Madame gave me the clothes.'
'Come at seven o'clock.'
16. Kózonì sí mbì sàra tènì na ìlà, mbi yì ... -R9b
'Before I tell you, I want to ...'

17. Kózonì sí lo mù ìlà tí gá apòòtre, lo goe lo ìko na li tí hótó -R10
'Before He chose them to become apostles, He went alone to the top of a hill.'

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 (fadê mbi hìnga) '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 sx can very often be left untranslated. Otherwise it can be translated 'then' or 'first'.

1. só taá ténè, wala vene? fa na mbi sx. -L27 'Is that the truth or a lie? Tell me.'
2. zía lo goe tí ká makala sx -I9 'Let her go to sell makala.'
3. ála má mbi sx -R1 'Now listen to me.'
4. mo língbi tí zía ngá, i há téré tí i kété sx ap? -C31 'Can't you let us rest a little?'
5. tongana zo agá na mo, alíngbi mo hingga lé tí lo sx -F4 'When a person comes to you, you 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 kámba kété kété na g5 tí
   woga só -F4
   'He tied a very small cord to the neck of the antelope.'

2. alungulá lé tí kóli na wále
   kóé -A42
   'It opens the eyes of men and women both.'

3. bé tí zo a-changé -R10
   'The liver of people changes.'

4. ála ke sambéla kótá li tí
   hótš -A48
   'They worshipped the tops (lit. the heads) of hills.'

5. avoká tongana píndírfí tí wá
   -R2
   'It's black like the coals of fire.'

6. mbi ke díko fadesó éré tí àzo
   só -R9b
   'I'm reading now the names of these people.'

7. mó hínga bé tí lo -F4
   'You know his liver (i.e. him).' 

8. adé éré tí mbi pepse -F7
   'She doesn't say my name.'
9. kôngbâ ti mbunzû ni ahj ndô ni -I55
10. mbi goe na da ti kôli ape -C8
11. âke passé míngi na kóstôrâ ti ázo vokâ -R1
12. âla zia yi ti âla kôé -R10
13. goe na kóstôrâ ti mbi -A40
14. mariage ti âla âke encore pepe -L15
15. par jour ti âla âke ndê, ti i âke ndê sô ndê -I55
16. babâ ti mérêngé ni akôôngâ -L17
17. mamâ ti Vote abara mo -L27
18. mbi ekê fadesô. makunzi ti â-fonctionnaire -R3
19. kôli ti lo amû nginza -L162
20. kôtarâ ti âni afa na âni -F7

'The belongings of this White Man were more than enough.'
'I haven't gone to a man's house.'
'It's going around a great deal in the country of the Black People.'
'They left all their possessions.'
'...go to my village.'
'Their marriage is no more.'
'Their daily rate is different, and ours is different here.'
'The father of the child died also.'
'The mother of Vote (personal name) greets you.'
'I am now the chief of the civil servants.'
'Her husband took money.'
'Our ancestors showed us...'

5.61.12. A second semantic category within the noun + ti + noun type of construction is what may be called the "equational construction," in which ti joins nouns which are semantically equivalent. Here one might overtranslate ti 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:
méraŋgé tì wàle sò '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. nse tì novembre sò -L27 'this month of November'
2. āmbenì adù méraŋgé tì wàle -L17 'Others bore girl children.'
3. kótôrô tì Republique Centrafricaine -R4a 'the country of Central African Republic'
4. na yángá tì Sango laá -A44 'That's in the Sango language.'
5. kôli tì ita tì mbi tì wàle nì '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:

mabôko tì wàle '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. abâa pendere tî ngû  
2. mo fa maniêre tî koa nî  
3. â-microbe tî bilharzie  
4. ake têned tî ngaî pépe  
5. âyî tî vundû atî na ndô mbi  
6. mbi ska (...) zo tî péché  
7. yâkâ tî café  
8. malade tî aû tî mbi  
9. mo mà têned tî koa tî lo  
10. só ake kusâra tî áwâle laâ  
11. mbi sára têned tî yângâ tî mbi  
12. mbi wara lettre tî mo awe  
13. âla girîsa lége tî wî tî âla awe  

'They see the beauty of the water.'
'Show the manner of this work.'
The microbes of the liver-fluke disease.
'It's not a joyful thing.'
'Things of grief have fallen on me.'
'I am a man of sin.'
The coffee plantation.
'the sickness of my uncle'
'You've heard the news about his death.'
'That's the work of women there.'
'I say the things of my mouth (i.e. I speak for myself).' 'I've received your letter.'
'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 tî 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 tî Bangui 'a man of Bangui'
kôbe na lâ kûî 'food in the evening' vs.
kôbe tî lâ kûî '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 tî phrase remains related to the noun. Locative tî phrases are illustrated below (ex. 1-3), as well as temporal phrases (ex. 4-5).
5.60

1. lo fâa kôngbâ tî yâ tî da kîrîkiri -L162
   'He smashed all the furnishings of the inside of the house
every which way.'

2. âla fâ lêge tî votë na âmbení zo tî sése -R3
   'You've shown the way to vote to the other people of the earth.'

3. âwâle tî Bangui -N78
   'the women of Bangui.'

4. na jeudi tî pekô -R7d
   'on next Thursday'

5. huit heures tî ndâpérérê -R2
   'eight o'clock in the morning'

5.61.15. The remaining four categories of noun-tî-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, tî 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 tî to a complement designating an activity, an institution, etc. (ex. 4-5).

(c) There is what may be called the "destinative," in which tî 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. téné tî politique -R2
   'the matter concerning politics'

2. téné tî ndi tî mo -R1
   'the story of your theft'

3. évangile tî lâ ni só Jésus asi gigi -R10
   'the gospel about that day when Jesus went out'

4. zo tî lengé nî apîka li tî mo -A9
   'The man attached to the lengé
dance hit your head.'

5. â-église tî ã amû na mo -L27
   'our churches give you...'

6. asek sâra koa tî nginza -L162
   'They are doing work for money.'

7. nginza tî mërengë tî lo -R1
   'money for his child'

8. lâ tî kôta bôngbi -R1
   'the day for the big gathering.'

9. nzala tî álâ sî asâra mbi -L2
   'Hunger for you is troubling me.'

10. avo ngunzâ tî pâta osiô -A8
    'She bought twenty francs' worth
    of greens.'

11. âla kû tanga tî téné kôé -R7f
    'Wait for all the rest of the
    story.'
5.61.16. There is a category of noun + ti + 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)
- ndô 'top' (ex. 10-11)
- ndo 'place' (ex. 12)
- pêkô 'back' (ex. 13-14)
- pópô 'middle' (ex. 15)
- téré 'body' (ex. 16-17)
- yá 'belly' (ex. 18-19)
- yângâ '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. ï zìa na devant ti yoró ti î
   -A37
   'We place it before our medicine.'

2. mbi sì gígí na gbé ti kéké nî
   -A15
   'I've come out from under the tree.'

3. ñ-fonctionnaire aże na gbé ti
   mbi -R3
   'The civil servants are under me (i.e. my authority).'

4. bi ngô ti mî na lé ti ngû -R10
   'Thrust out your boat upon the surface of water.'

5. mbi aże tene (...) na lé ti álala
   -R3
   'I'm speaking before you all.'

6. aže wara nî gî na lége ti ngû
   -R4a
   'We get it only by means of water.'

7. álala fâa ngbangâ nî na li ti
   Ngandawai aye -L27
   'They've passed judgment on Ngandawei.'
5.60

8. mo ké dē kôngô na li tî  lo  -A49  'You yell at him.'
9. bî tî âla avurû na mbâge tî âzo vokô  -R2  'Their liver is white (i.e. they are candid) towards Black People.'
10. mo goe zîa na ndô tî table  -A11  'You go put it on top of the table.'
11. ahô ndô tî mbi  -N81  'It overcame me (lit. it passed over me).'
12. lo zîa yâmû só kôé na ndô tî camarade tî lo  -L175  'He put all this meat at the place of his buddy.'
13. agôe na pekô tî kôli  -A42  'They followed the man.'
14. i tomba pekô tî âla  -L55  'We chased after them.'
15. âla goe na pôpô tî âdole só  -A51  'They went among these elephants.'
16. agâ na têrê tî dôô ni  -A21  'They came beside the dance.'
17. ake zîa na têrê tî mbi  -R3  'You've put it beside me.'
18. âla kânga lo ñgâ na yà tî nzê  -L17  'They imprisoned him also within a month.'
19. mbi ake na yà tî écôle  -A44  'I'm in school.'
20. i sâra na yângâ tî ngaragé  -A37  'We did it alongside the ngaragé place.'

5.61.20. A tî-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 tî-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 kôbe kôé ake na galà ndô só gi tî mo?  -C30  'Do you think all the food in the market here is yours?'
2. lo vo tî vingt francs  -A8  'She bought twenty francs' worth.'
3. lo lángô tî lo na da  -L27  'As for him, he sleeps in the house.'
5.61.3o. A ti-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 ti-noun phrase enters into non-verbal constructions (q.v. chp. 14). As with other uses of such connective phrases (q.v. 10.4o), in every case these phrases are used substantively.

1. ti ākāli akē so āla míngi pepe
   -R4a
   'Men's doesn't hurt them much.'
2. gi ti āwâle laā aso āla míngi só
   -R4a
   'It's just the women's that hurts a lot.'
3. ti lá só, i ekz bāa
   -L175
   'As for today's, we'll see.'
4. mais ti kôtôrô ti mbi, i zîa
   kpi ti sindi
   -A8
   'But (according to the way of) my village, we put in sesame paste.'
5. ērē ti āla avû, tongana ti
   āmbênî zo pepe
   -R10
   'Their names weren't beautiful like those of other people.'
6. ti taâ kôtôrô ti mbi laā
   -A8
   'That's (the way) of my real village.'

5.62. Much less frequently (59 examples), ti 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 nzôni 'good' or mbirîmbîrî 'straight,' or else it is a time word such as fadesô '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 ti-adjunctive follows a verb, one expresses interrogation, and
the other time (ex. 10-11). In all seven of the cases in which the ti-
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 yi ti nzoni na méréngé
   ti mo -A49
   'You teach good things to your
   children.'

2. ndo ti nzoni ké té Nzapá -F4
   'the perfect place of God' (a
   Protestant religious expres-
sion)

3. âzo ti sioní -L17
   'evil people'

4. yi ti giriri -A15
   'the things of long ago'

5. lége ti só -I55
   'the way of this... (i.e. this
   way)'

6. só manière ti yë -L162
   'What sort of doings is this?'

7. mo yì ti vo timbre ti 5ke -L168
   'You want to buy stamps worth
   how much?'

8. só sârângó yi ti yë -C31
   'What kind of goings-on is that?'

9. mbéní ti saleté ake sì gigi
   -A13
   'Another dirty one was coming
   out.'

10. mo ké pika na yá ti yë -R9b
    'What do you pound it inside?'

11. ahj ti giriri -R3
    'It surpasses that of long ago.'

12. ti fadesô, terrain ni ahünzi
    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 ti 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 con-
struction 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 gingó susu sengé -R10 'just a fisherman (lit. a man to hunt fish)'
2. mo eke na t'ne tí ténéngó ní míngi -R4c 'You have a lot of things to say.'
3. magasin tí kángó ákôngbá tí mo -R3 'the store to sell your goods'
4. l'heure tí kiringó tí 1 -N8o 'the time of our return'
5. kózo tí hńngó tí lo na Israel -R7a 'before his departure for Israel'
6. goe tí t'ngó kóbe na kóli tí ála tí ténéngó 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 -L75 'They made their cords (i.e. snares) to kill animals with.'
9. fadé lo zía mabóko tí lo na ngú tí mbéti, tí gbónkó na ló 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. congó só ake 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 kiringó ní na Bangui só, ake ngangó míngi -N35 'But as for returning to Bangui, that was very hard.'
5.64. The connective ti marks verb phrases which function as modifiers of nouns or as complements in other verb phrases.

5.64.10. As complements of noun phrases, ti-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. yi ti so i ọko ake pepe -R6 'There's not a single thing to hurt us.'
2. âzo ti sâra wô, álaleke wô mbeni encore pepe -A13 'People who work with iron, they don't fix iron any more.'
3. mbeni yi ti te na pekô ni ase ake ape -A44 'There's nothing to eat after it.'
4. ... kâmba ọko ti kânga na ngbundâ -L7 '... one rope with which to tie around his waist...'
5. nginza ti vo na yîngô, mbi wara ape ngá -A44 'I also don't have money with which to buy salt.'
6. mbi sâra koa ti passe bongô -I9 'I did the work of ironing clothes.'
7. légé ti fonô na camion ase ango -L7 'Traveling by truck is difficult.'
8. lo hînga légé ti tó ngú -A49 'She knows how to draw water.'
9. lâ ti vote ase la ti tiri pepe -R3 'Voting day is not a day to fight.'

5.64.20. As complements in verb phrases, the ti-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 ti 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 ti-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
The better understanding of titi 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 titi 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 titi phrase, it is probably a semantic one. There are some, however, which take a titi phrase more often than other verbs. These are gâ 'to come,' goe 'to go,' hînga 'to know,' commencé 'to begin,' de 'to remain, continue,' língbi 'to be able,' ngbá 'to remain, continue,' and yi 'to want.' Even the verb eke 'to be' can take a titi phrase complement, with or without other complements (ex. 24-27).

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

1. mbi de titi mú kòli ape -C6 'I haven't got married yet.'
2. mbi gâ titi te kôbe -R1 'I come to eat.'
3. i eke goe titi voté á-député titi -R3 'We are going to elect our deputies.'
4. zîa lo goe titi kà makala si -I9 'Let her go sell makala.'
5. âmbení wàle ahînga titi lèkè yá titi da titi ála pepe -A8 'Some women don't know how to fix the inside of their houses.'
6. mbi kç titi fûtà lo awe -R1 'I have refused to pay him.'
7. i commencé titi lù yi da awe -R6 'We have begun to plant things there.'
8. ála língbi titi báa yi só mo sára na ála -A49 'They can see what you do for them.'
9. mbi ngbá titi kù -L27 'I continue to wait.'
10. zo só ayí titi fàa mbi -R3 'the person who wants to kill me'
11. ála yi titi goe na kòtòrò titi ála -A37 'They want to go to their village.'

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

12. ála mú mbéni kétè kôbe titi goe na ní -A48 'They obtained a little food to take it (along).'
13. zo ahânda mo sèngé titi fúti ngînza 'Isn't the person tricking you for titi mo ape?' -C31 'no reason to waste your money.'
I call on you all to come to vote.'

'He sat in the boat to speak to the people.'

'I'm telling you so you can hear.'

'Mothers go into the forest to get caterpillars.'

'I'm giving you money to take it to your wife.'

'I send you this letter to ask you about this affair.'

'They killed very many chickens of theirs to eat.'

'I ask for an explanation of this matter of Cécile so as to hear the answer.'

'He's just about dead.'

'Some left today to go to Paris.'

'I'm happy to tell you the news.'

'The work of government employees is to do the work of diplomacy.'

'There were men beside it also to eat theirs.'

'It's your responsibility to make beer.'

5.64.30. The dual function of ti 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 ti phrase. Thus, the sequence of words lége ti 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 tî goe na galâ aks apē. 'There's no way of going to the market.'

2. mbi mû lége tî goe na galâ. '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 azo tî gi mérangé sô. 'He sent people to (i.e. for the purpose of) hunt for the child.' -L17

2. lo sâra kâmba tî mú yâma tî sése. 'He made a snare with which to catch terrestrial animals.' -L175

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

3. akânga gbânda, tî fâa yâma. 'He tied up the net, for the purpose of killing animals.' -A50

4. i kôô, i sâra koa, tî leke sése tî babâ tî i. 'All of us are working so as to improve the land of our fathers.' -R3

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1. Condensed table of all constructions.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tî + noun phrases:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noun + tî + noun .................................. 1862</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prepositional expressions ..................... 318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verb + tî + noun .................................. 72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nothing + tî + noun ................................ 29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total uses of tî + noun phrases ............... 2281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tî + adjunctive phrases:</td>
</tr>
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<td>noun + tî + adjunctive .......................... 48</td>
</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>adjunctive + tî + adjunctive ................... 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verb + tî + adjunctive .......................... 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nothing + tî + adjunctive ....................... 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total uses of tî + adjunctive phrases .......... 59</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ti + nominalized verb phrases:
- noun + ti + nominalized verb ... 29
- adjunct. + ti + nom. verb .... 1
- nom. verb + ti + nom. verb .... 3
- verb + ti + nominalized verb ... 35
- prepositional expressions .... 5
- nothing + ti + nom. verb .... 1
Total uses of ti + nominalized verb phrases ... 74

ti + verb phrases:
- noun + ti + verb .... 33
- verb + ti + verb .... 498
Total uses of ti + verb phrases .... 531
Grand total of all uses of ti .... 2945

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

<table>
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<th></th>
<th>noun head</th>
<th>verb head</th>
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</thead>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adjunctive</td>
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<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2945</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Kind of complement</th>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>possession</td>
<td>264</td>
<td>821</td>
<td>1025</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>equation</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>attribution</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>topical</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>relational</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>destinative</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quantitative</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>locative</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>temporal</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prepositional expressions</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>1133</td>
<td>1047</td>
<td>2180</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4. Kinds of possessive complements.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Complement</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A is part of B</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A possesses B</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A is related to B</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5. Kinds of attributive complements.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Complement</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A is a trait of B</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B is a trait of A</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A affects B</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B effects A</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6. Frequency of prepositional expressions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prepositional Expression</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>devant</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gbé</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lé</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lége</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>li</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbáge</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndô</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total prepositional expressions</td>
<td>318</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Phrase</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>copulative complement</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>modifying complement</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>object</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>subject intensifier</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na phrase</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total verb + té + noun phrases</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Phrase</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>attributive</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>demonstrative</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>temporal</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>interrogative</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total noun + té + adjunctive phrases</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
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</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Phrase</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>subjective</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>attributive</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>objective</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miscellaneous</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>complement</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total noun + té + verb phrases</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 10. Kinds of verb + tä + verb phrases, tabulated according to the first verb.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bôngbi</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>commenced</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gá</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goe</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hinga</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lingbi</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lónđó</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngbá</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yi</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éke</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total of verb + tä + verb phrases ... 315
Total of verb + complement(s) + tä + verb ... 183
Total of tä-verb phrases in verb phrases ... 531

5.70. titene

The connective titene is, by comparison with na and tä, 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 titene 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 titene is to join a clause to a preceding clause (i.e. in complex sentences); in only a few instances does titene occur elsewhere, i.e. standing at the beginning of a sentence or before a non-verbal construction within a single sentence. The clauses that titene 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 titene, most often following it, but again sometimes preceding it or even both preceding and following it. When the pause precedes titene, 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 tä plus the verb tene 'to say.' Attempts to make titene the same as the construction tä 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 titene are identical in meaning with either (a) sentences with hypotactically related clauses, (b) with sentences where the second clause is introduced by the connective si, or (c) with sentences where a verb phrase is introduced by the connective ti. E.g.

a) mbi de titene mbi gâ wâle apè = mbi de mbi gâ wâle apè
'I haven't become a woman yet' N8o

b) mo kë titene álá sûrú li tí maboko tí mo = mo kë sí álá sûrú li tí maboko tí mo
'You refuse to let them cut your finger' Râb

c) álá yî titene asára koa nzonî pèpè = álá yî tí sára koa nzonî pèpè
'They don't want to work well' R2

Because there are so many examples of the second type and because titene 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 titene can follow, a short list of verbs frequently occurs in the first clause. They are: de 'to remain,' eke 'to be,' goe 'to go,' hinga 'to know,' hûnda 'to ask,' commencë 'to begin,' lingbi 'to be able,' and yî 'to want.' Note that whenever eke na indicates possession (ex. 23-24) the following clause is negative.

1. lo goe titene lo bâa kôtôrî
   ní kâ -R7a
   'He went to see the country over there.'

2. i yî titene i sára kôtâ yákî tí
   avion -R2
   'We want to make a great airport.'
3. mbi hingga zo ká títene mbi to éré tí lo pepe -L3
4. (kótóró ní) ahingga mbi títene mbi dutí ká ape -N8o
5. i commencé títene i doroko dole ní -L55
6. mbi húnda na álá kóé títene álá sára mbéti tí álá -R9b
7. kobéla ní alíngbi títene a-qa va pepe -R4c
8. álá língbi títene álá kírí na pekó ape -R9b
9. fade lo língbi títene kamélá amú lo -R2
10. lóso, nzó, ananas angbá títene i lú yi da mingi -R6
11. ní laá i mú wángó na ázu ní mingi títene álá manqué pepe -R4b
12. álá ke mú ázáza títene aso na í -R2
13. il faut i sára mbéni kótá yáká títene i lú yi da -R6
14. mo éré ázo títene álá gá -A21
15. ní laá si ní ngbá na lo kêté títene ní hú na Israel -R7a
16. kobéla tí álá alíngbi títene adutí encore pepe títene kobéla ní akpé. -R4c
17. mbi húnzi téné títene mbi tene na álá awe -R6

'I don't know anyone there whose name I could send.'
'The town doesn't appeal (lit. doesn't know me) to me for me to stay there.'
'We began to butcher the elephant.'
'I ask you all to write letters.'
'The sickness couldn't get well.'
'They can't go back.'
'Shame will be able to seize him.'
'Rice, millet, and pineapples remain so that we will plant a lot of things in it.'
'That's why we encourage everyone strongly not to miss.'
'They used to take switches to hurt us with.'
'We must make a great field to plant things in.'
'You call the people so that they may come.'
'That's why he stayed with him a little before going on to Israel.'
'Their sickness may not remain any more, but the sickness may go away.'
'I've finished up the affair, I've told [it] to you.'
18. ãzo mingi aéré mbi tîten e mbi
goe mbi te kôbe na place ti
âla, tîten e na âla kôê e
bôngbi têrê, ti yê samba lége
5ko -R2
19. ake tîten e sâra koa tongasô
hio hio pepe -R2
20. tongana mo mâ érê ti mo ape, ake
tîten e bê ti mo sî asâra
mbânâ na nî pepe -R9b
21. infirmier ake na âla tîten
ekôêla ti âla alingbi tîten
adutí encore pepe -R4c
22. ake nzoni tîten France amû na
i nginza lâ kôê lâ kôê
tongasô pepe -R2
23. mbi ke na droit tîten mbi goe
mbi bâa Bangui ape -I55
24. mbi ke na mbêni koa tîten mbi
goe na Bangui tî sâra ape -I55
25. tongana lo pîka mo, tongana mo
ke ngangô mo pîka lo. tîten
tongana nî gâ na kôtôrô ti
sâra tere na yàngâ ti
commandement, commandement
akê lége nî awe. -A37
26. koa ti lo só akê ngangô mingi.
tîten mbi fa na âla kôta koa
ti inspecteur só nzoni. -R1

'Many people invited me to go
eat food at their place, so
that they and I might assemble,
to drink wine together.'

'It's not as if we could do a
job like this in a great hurry.'

'If you don't hear your name,
don't let your liver get up-
set about it.'

'They don't have a nurse so that
their sicknesses may go away.'

'It isn't good for France to give
us money forever like this.'

'I don't have the right to go
see Bangui.'

'I don't have a job to go do in
Bangui.'

'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.'

'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. Be-
cause of the semantic differences, these two uses are discussed in two sep-
ate 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 tongasö '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. 5.4o), 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) tongana

tonga(na) tôngana, tônga, tônga

tôngana tônga tônga tônga

dôngana

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.

tonga(na) occurs with clauses marked for completed action (q.v. 9.3o) and for continued action (q.v. 9.3o), but there is no attested example of tongana occurring in a clause marked for future time by fadé (q.v. 9.1o). 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 tî mbi pepe, mbi tê kôbe tî lo ape -F7
2. tongana mo yi tî tê na gozo, mo tê -A8
3. tongana mbi tê ngunzá, mbi tê mbénf yi da -A44
4. tongana midi alîngbi, kôli tî lo agá tî tê -A8
5. tongana lo sî awe, lo bâa kôtâ yama tî mërcê sô -L175
6. tongana lo pîka zuru kôc awe, lo më kôbe -A42
7. nzonî, tongana mo yi tî tô na vin sô, mo goe ... -R9a
8. giriri tongana mbi ngbâ kété masia, mbi yi tî goe l'école -A49
9. na kôtôrô tî mbi, tongana âmamâ agoe na ngonda tî mû makongô... -A8
10. tongana lá sô mo gwe mo éré ngû sí mo fâa susu ape ... -R9b
11. mbi eke da tongana mo tên sô -L27
12. fadé mbi bâa mo tongana mo sî ânde na Bangui -L3

If this person doesn't call my name, I won't eat his food.'
'If you want to eat it with manioc, you (can) eat it (this way).'
'When I eat manioc-leaves, I eat something else with it.'
'When it's noon, her husband comes to eat.'
'When he had arrived, he saw this child's big animal.'
'After she has pounded all the mil, she mixes the dough.'
'It's a good idea, when you want to cook with this wine, for you to go ...'
'A long time ago, when I was still a young girl, I wanted to go to school.'
'In my village, when mothers go to the forest to collect caterpillars....'
'If today you should go and dip water (for catching fish) and should not catch any fish....'
'I was there when you said that.'
'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. tî 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. ï øe tongana turugu -R3
2. gângô tî mérangé tî Nzapâ aâkè
   tongana mbéni finî yî sî âzo
   kôé ayî tî gâ tî bâa lo -R10
3. âla bôngbi tongana 245 -L2
4. yà tî mbi asûku, akono tongana
   ballon -N81
5. mô gâ tongana moniteur -R7e
6. li tî mérangé nî a-tourné
   tongana kobéla tî ngbâlo -L27
7. bê tî âla avokô tongana pîndiri
   tî wà -R2
8. kobéla asâra lo tongana ti
   giriri pepe -L27
9. mbi ke sâra téné tongana
   mérangé -R1
10. fâde mérangé ti mô aâks sionî
   tongana mô -L17
11. lo de ngangô tongana mérangé sô
    ade na ngangô tî lo kôé -R10
12. âla bâa ï tongana yâna pepe -R2
13. lo mú âla tongana âîta tî lo
    -R10
14. ï sâra âkôtô lége tongana lége
    tî train -R2
15. mô fa na âla lége tî nzonî, âla
    bâa tongana nzonî yî -A49

'We are like soldiers.'
'The coming of the child of God is like a brand new thing which all people want to come to see.'
'About 245 of them gathered.'
'My belly swelled up, it became big like a balloon.'
'You will become like an instructor.'
'The head of the child turned just like the sickness of apoplexy.'
'Their livers are black like coals of fire.'
'Sickness is not bothering them as formerly.'
'I'm talking like a child.'
'Your child will be bad like you.'
'He remained strong like a youth who retains all his strength.'
'They don't consider us animals.'
'He took them as his brothers.'
'We'll make a great road like the road for a train.'
'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 yorô ni l'heure só tongana afa na mo  [R4c]
   You take the medicine at this time, just as they have shown you.'

2. mbi yi ála kóe agoe ti votê tongana só ála votê kózo ni  [R3]
   'I want all of you to go vote just as you voted before.'

3. il faut asâra koa na ngangô tongana só gouvernement   [R6]
   'They must do the work vigorously just as the government says.'

5.82.30. Two set phrases in which tongana occurs are lége ŝkô tongana 'as, in the same way, along with, etc.' and tongana y§ 'how?' Like tongana só, lége ŝkô 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 ŝkô can be supplied). Moreover, although it is given the simple gloss 'how?' its translation varies considerably with the context. Where there is the verb sâra '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 sâra yi ni lége ŝkô tongana mérenê 'He did the thing just like a child.'

2. âwâle afâa yákâ lége ŝkô tongana akôli afâa yákâ 'Women make gardens just like men make gardens.'

3. mo gâ citoyen tongana y§  [R6]
   'How did you become a citizen?'

4. mo pense tongana y§  [R1]
   'What do you think?'

5. mo kê tongana y§  [R1]
   'How can you refuse?'

6. mo tene ake ti mo tongana y§  [C29]
   'Why did you say it was yours?'

7. mbi wara mbéni nouvelle ti ála pepe fadesô tenêti nze otá tongana y§  [L5]
   'How come I haven't received any news from you now for three months?'
8. tere atene, sadé ni sara tongana... 'Spider said, "What'll we do?"

9. kusara ti mbi tongana yẹ... 'How is the work?'

10. tongana yẹ só... 'How's that?'

5.82.40. Occurrences of tongana initial in a clause (except for tongana yẹ 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 ti mo, tongana Ramona, lo qa... 'And as for yours, like Ramona, is she well?'

2. tongana ti ála, áita ti mbi... 'Now as for you, my brothers the Central Africans...'

3. tongana lā kọ̣ọ̣, ála má musique... 'Just like every day, listen to 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.

5.94. 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 ti (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 nzní wala nzní pẹ̀ṣ -L2... 'Is that good or not good?'

2. ála bôngbi na dimanche 100, wala... 'They meet on Sunday, a hundred, or two hundred, or ninety.'
3. li tî álâ mingi, wala bale otá, wala bale osio, wala bale ukú kôé -R3

4. ake mú na mo, wala quinine, wala piqûre -R4d

5. âmbunzû só ake ge na République Centrafricaine, wala só ake na Afrique -R2

6. na République Centrafricaine wala na Bangui -R2

7. lo mú mbéni nginza tî kôbe tî vo na bière, wala tî goe tî bâa mbadi, wala tî vo na mbéni yî tî lo -L162

8. atene, só ake ngangô, wala só venî ake ngangô ape -R9b

9. âla goe tî sukûla bongô na yâ tî ngû wala âla goe tî sâra âgozo tî âla na yâ tî ngû -R4a

10. mo goe mbéni ndo, wala mo ekâ da bianî? -L5

11. mo ke mú yorô ni ngbii, wala docteur atene, mo mú piqûre bale 5ko na òse -R4d

12. mingi ake goe, wala tî bângô yî tongana ngû tî Gbutu só ake tî na ngangô só -R2

13. mo lîngbi titene mo kê lége tî goe tî ërëngô ngû pepe, wala hingga ape, na mbéni devinette tî pëkô ânde, fadé âla ke wara -R9b
14. tongana mérenge tì mbi ekë da, fadé ála goe écôle, wala mérenge wâlé këss, fadé lo goe gi na écôle -A49

15. mbi tê kôbe na place tì álâ wala na ndo tì álâ [an obvious substitution of a Sango for a French word] -R2

When I have children, they will go to school. Even girls also, they will just go to school.'

'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

Nouns

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

1. They can be pluralized by the prefixation of â- (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. 4.10).
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 â-, 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'
káli kándo 'rooster' (lit. 'man chicken')
méréngé wále 'daughter, girl' (lit. 'child female')
yá da 'inside the house' (lit. 'belly house')
mbéti nginza 'pay record, any paper on which money matters are recorded'
párá kándo 'chicken egg'

6.3o. -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 verb phrases, but no further analysis is made of them.
Verbs nominalized by -ngô have the tone of the suffix, i.e. high. Polysyllabic words likewise have all high tones, but verbs with final identical vowels (e.g. bâa 'to see') lose the final vowel with the suffixation (bângô '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. wôko 'to be soft' > wôkôngô 'softness,' sukûla 'to wash' > sukûlângô '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 -ngô. Both the vowels o and a occur (with the latter apparently occurring more frequently), sometimes interchangeably, sometimes in harmony with the vowel of the stem (o with o and e, a elsewhere), and sometimes consistently one or the other (e.g. as in the speech of one town adolescent who said tôngô 'drawing water' and tôngô '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 -ngô 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 -ngô 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).

1. ála sâra kâmba tí ála tí fângô na yâma -L175
   'They made themselves snares with which to kill animals.'
2. kôbe tí tôngô tí Bata so askë ngunzâ -A44
   'Food for eating (here at this village of) Bata is manioc greens.'
3. mbi eke tì mbi gi zo tì gìnó ásusú sèngé -R10
'I'm just an ordinary fisherman.'
4. zo tì gìnó yoró na mbi, sì mbi soigné na nì, ake pêpe -L186
'There is nobody to look for medicine for me with which I can treat myself.'
5. mo ke na tènè tì tènèngô nì míngi ape?
'You have much to say, don't you?'
6. l'heure tì kirìngô tì i alìngbi awe -N8o
'It's time for us to go.'
7. na pêkô tì bàngô nì ... -L175
'And having looked ...'
8. fadé mo sàra bë nzoní na sìngô tì mo na sése tì RCA -L1
'You will be kind on your arrival in the country of the Central African Republic.'
9. só tàngô yì tì àwále laa -A11
'That's cooking things of women (i.e. how women cook things).'
10. mbi yì tì mbi gìnó tènè pêpe -C30
'I don't like looking-for-trouble.'
11. vôngô yì na mbi agá fângô tèrè? -C30
'Buying things from me has become a cause for showing off?'
12. mbi ke mú wângô na ázo -R4b
'I'm giving advice to people.'
13. pémbé tì mo angbá na kàngângô nì -A9
'Your teeth are still shut.'
14. ...tongana gângô tì mo veni -L27
'...like your own coming...'
15. lo ngbá’fì fângô yákà -L186
'He continues to make gardens.'
16. mbi hìnga tì sârángô nì na Sango ngà -I39
'I know how to do it (i.e. read) in Sango also.'
17. mo língbi tì kà tì fútângô lo pêpe -R1
'You can't refuse to pay him.'
18. congé sò ake tì múngô repos na zo tì kusâra -R1
'This vacation is for the purpose of giving rest to workmen.'
19. mo gâ tì vôngô kôbe na galâ -C30
'You come to buy food in the market.'
20. lo kà na congé otá tì múngô nì -R1
'He has three vacations to take.'
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 -ngô 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 vôngô pepê -A40 'I didn't buy it (because someone gave it to me).'
24. töré tí mo azá zàngô -R7e 'Your body shines brightly (i.e. is in very good health).'
25. dole ni akpé kpénô -I55 'The elephants really ran away.'
26. âmeréngô tí kóli asi singô na ndo só -R6 'Boys just filled this place up.'
27. mbi yóro yórmô na oignon na tomate kôé -C31 'I fried it with onions and tomatoes.'
28. mo tô na yá tí ngú tôngô -A8 'You cook it in water.'
29. âzo avo gi vôngô -L41 'People just buy it (i.e. they don't subscribe to the paper).'
30. mbi hô tí mbi hôngô -N80 'I went on my way.'

6.40. Pluralization

Plurality in the nouns is marked by the prefix â-, 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. ni laâ si mbi têne âla kôé, ákólì, na áwâle... -R2
   'This is why I tell all of you, men and women....'
2. ázo tí lo ayi lo míngi -I39
   'His people liked him much.'
3. i'bôngbi'téré na á-français -R2
   'We unite with the French.'
4. áSango vêni ake fâa susu na gbànda -I39
   'The Sango people are the ones who kill fish with nets.'
5. i goe wara ádole -I55
   'We went and found elephants.'
6. mbi língbi tí kë á-famille...
   'I can't reject my relatives.'
7. mo hînga 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 vundû atí na ndô mbi...
   'Many grievous things fell on me.'
10. lo fâa âkôngbá tí yâ tí da -L162
    'He destroyed the interior furnishings of the house.'
11. na yâ tî á-bar ñko ñko -R7f
12. ángunzá, gozo, yṣ. kôe
   ake, só kôe kôbe tî yákâ.
   -R9b
13. vacciné mabôko tî ázo -R4b
14. mo má gô tî ámakáko nî -A29
15. goe tî sûru ndô tî ámadôko tî
   ázo só -R4b
16. ála kû tanga tî têné kôe...na
   yângâ tî âmbunzû -R7f
17. ála goe na pópó tî âdôle só
   -A50

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 yṣ '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 yṣ has the meaning 'whatever things, any other things, so forth' and comes at the end of a list of things.

18. âtênêngô têné tî î -R2
19. âwòkôngô nî
20. ângunzapa ake gâ na ála kâ
   -I55
21. âmbêni aô miréngê tî wâle -I47
22. âmbêni míngi ahînga tî tó
   ngunzá pepe -A8
23. lo mú âmbêni -R10
24. fadé mo wara âdôle, ágăgă,
   âtâgba, âyṣ.

'our talking'
'the soft ones'
'Ngunzapa and the others are coming over there.'
'Some bore daughters.'
'Many don't know how to cook manioc leaves.'
'He took some.'
'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):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{á + Adj. + N} \\
\text{á + Adj. + á + N} \\
\text{á + Adj. + Adj. + N} \\
\text{Adj. + á + N} \\
\text{á + Adj. + á + Adj. + N}
\end{align*}
\]

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 béní áfíní 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 yáma -A4o  'I stab small animals with it.'
28. ákózo zo -R10  'the first people'
29. ámbéni zo míngi aké ndó só -R2  'Many people are here.'
30. ápendere wále só míngi míngi,  'All these many girls prepared food.'
    álá sára kóbe -F7  'some of our ancestors'
31. ámbéni kótará tí ánì  'He comes with some of his friends.'
32. agá na mbéní á-camarade tí lo -A8  'plates and small spoons'
33. ásembé na ákété kété ápapa -R7d  'He asked some women.'
34. lo hunda ámbéni áwále -R4a  'There are many small articles.'
35. ámbéni ákété kété kóngbá aké míngi -R7d  'There are many nice things there.'
36. ámbéni ápendere yí míngi aké ká  
    -R7d
Chapter 7

PRONOUNS

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 álá.

Some variant pronunciations of Sango pronouns

1s mbi: mbe, mbé, mi
2s mo: me, ma, mq, [m]
3s lo: lu, ro, [l]
1p í: é
2/3p álá: 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 âni for 'first person plural' but use í for 'second person' as do the Catholics. The use of ãni 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 álá. There is therefore a generalized and widespread use of álá 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), álá (or the 'second person' í) 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 álá are occasionally used for inanimate objects, this use is obviously quite unusual except for lo so 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: tépé ní kopela 'the subject of the sickness': tépé ní 'the subject of it, the subject.'

lé tí ká ní ake kôtâ ní,  'The surface of the wound was
nì laâ sì lé ní amá fadé large, and that's why the
pepé. 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 álá) 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 tépé 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 bongâ tí ní na lo.  'He wanted to give his (i.e. his own) clothing to him (i.e. another person).'
3. lo tênc, mbi o, nî eke goe na galâ. 'He said, "Say there, I'm going to the market."'

7.13. The plural pronouns—î commonly and âla 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 î na mo, î dé bâ da -C29 'You and I will take an oath about it.'
2. î na lo, î gâ na Bambari -I39 'He and I, we came to Bambari.'
3. î na mamâ, î gâ -N8o 'Mother and I, we came.'
4. mbi yî kôtôrô tî î na âla ãgâ taâ kôtôrô -R3 'I want your village and mine (i.e. our village) to become a real village.'
5. mbi na lo, âni goe -L11 'He and I, we went.'
6. lo na âla ake sâra kusâra -R1o '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. mû na mbi zo sô 'Give me that thing' (instead of using yî '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 sô, 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 sô (which is grammatically possible) changes the meaning. Moreover, while similar in meaning to a construction with laâ (q.v. 8.13), it is both semantically and grammatically different. For example, koa tî mbi laâ means 'That's my work (which I've just described). But koa tî mbi lo sô can mean that as well as 'This is my work (which I'm now going to describe).'
1. angbá fadesó gi yáká tí nzó, na tí lọso, na tí ananas. lo só ade. -R6

'There remain now just mil gardens, and rice gardens, and pineapple gardens. That is what remains.'

2. téné só mbi yi tí tene na ála, lo só -R6

'The subject about which I want to talk to you is the following.'

3. ẹrẹ tí ála só lo mú ála lo só -R10

'The names of those whom he selected are the following.'

4. kíríngó tí i lo só, tí bingó gbánda, lo só -R10

'We came back for this reason, to cast nets (i.e. to go fishing), that's why.'

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.
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 ti 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 ubiquitously 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 si and laâ (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 ti mbi só si avo -19 'It was this husband of mine who bought it.'
2. só kóbe ti yákâ só aske na só só? -F4 'Is this food from the garden which Uncle has here?'
3. só veni si aske nzoni -R2 'That is what's good.'
4. France veni si ake bata i fadesé -R2

'It is France which is taking care of us now.'

5. gi lo si ake kiri na téné -R10

'It was only he who kept talking back.'

6. gi babá ti mbi laá asára -A40

'It was just my father who made it.'

7. kóli ti 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 ni tongasó na mbení place ti 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, akpóro ngbii, awóko nzóni 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 même ngú, amú na lo gi na cuillère -A9

'Even water, they give it to him just with a spoon.'

12. lo píka mbení kóli dole ní amú lo afáa lo -L6

'He shot a male elephant and it took him and killed him.'

13. ála gbó susu, asi ngó bóse -R10

'They caught fish which filled two canoes.'

14. mo sára koa ti lo lá só, agá nzóni apé, 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 ake nzóni míngi -L4

'It will be very good.'

16. na kótórú ti í na Gbanu ake tongasó -A48

'In our villages among the Gbanu it's like this.'

17. éré ti mbi ngá gi zo wa. adé ngá éré ti mbi zo wa. -C31

'My name is also just "Who?" people just call me "Who?"'
18. tongana gouvernement agá abáa, anzérc na lé tì lo \(-\text{R}6\)
   'When the government comes and sees, it is pleased with it.'
19. ake tongasó vení sî álá ke sâra rogonn tì yámna na vin \(-\text{R}9a\)
   'It is just like this that you prepare animal kidneys in wine.'
20. i ke dé bá da ngá. a-manqué pêpe. \(\text{C-29}\)
   'We are going to take an oath over it. There's no escaping that.'
21. lo dutí na lá tì vingt, así na vingt-trois. \(-\text{R}7a\)
   'He remains from the twentieth to the twenty-third.'
22. fadé mbi sâra agá kâ \(-\text{F7}\)
   'If I do it, it will turn into a sore.'
23. mbi língbi dîko ahúnzi pêpe \(-\text{R}9b\)
   'I can't read all of it to 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 téne '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), hâ 'to surpass' which follows another clause to indicate superlative degree (ex. 34-38), ngbâ '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 nzoni 'is good' and eke téne 'is affair' which indicate counsel or obligation (ex. 42-45).

24. mbi má atene, mo mú kôli kâ \(-\text{C8}\)
   'I understand that you got married there.'
25. lo hînga atene, nî eke wâle
   'She knows that she is a woman.'
26. tongana afa na mo atene, mo eke mú yorô sô \(-\text{R}4\) \(\text{d}\)
   'When they tell you to take this medicine.'
'Some are telling me that it is a pot.'
'
'He sent word saying that today he was going to make....'
'He sent word saying that today he was going to make....'
'Some wives don't want their husbands to roam around.'
'We call it by the name rôngó.'
'They beat me up something terrible.'
'They have an awful lot of charms.'
'It made an awful lot of noise.'
'We like it very much.'
'There was more suffering than before.'
'They caught a great quantity of fish.'
'You do more work than any other woman in all this village.'
'Won't I be getting more clothes than you over there in heaven?'
'A little more and they would have poisoned me.'
'I haven't yet eaten anything of it.'
'They have not yet done something similar to any of my colleagues of other places.'
'We ought to wake you up.'
'You ought to pay attention to your body too.'
'It is not advisable to say that France should always give us money like this.'
45. ake téne tì mo tì 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 téné 'to say': 5, 16, 17.

E. a- in alíngbi ape intensification: 36, 40, 63.

F. a- with verbs in narrative sequence: 14, 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.

âîta, na école ti Bangui, [li tì a]7kë crapule mingi. 'Friends, at school in Bangui, girls are treacherous.

na mbéné là, [mbéné fini fille nì a]2 One day, a new girl arose and londô, [a]3gâ na école ménagère. came to Ecole Ménagère.

na [mbéné camarade tì mbi nì a]4toka And one of my friends sent kété ita tì lo [a]5téné, [a]6 goe [a]7dô géré tì lo. tongana [lo] word to her younger sister, saying, "Go and kick her yì tì pika lo, fadé [í] gâ [í] foot. If she wants to hit pika lo.
you, I'll come and hit her.
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 departed 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?"
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.

andáa [mbéni da a]⁵¹gbî na fini kótórò.
[da nî a]⁵²gbî da ukú.

fadesò [ville de Bangui nî a]⁵³mù lége, [a]⁵⁴goe.

[a]⁵⁵goe [a]⁵⁶mingo áda só ngbii.


[a]⁶⁰yî,mingô mbéni, [mbéni a]⁶¹gbî na mbâge.
[da nî a]⁶²gbî ká [a]⁶³lingbi apè.

[a]⁶⁴mù Ville de Bangui otá, sí [a]⁶⁵goe [a]⁶⁶mingo da nî ngbii.

[a]⁶⁷mingo da nî kóé awe, sí [Ville de Bangui nî a]⁶⁸mù lége
[a]⁶⁹kîñ.

na tongasò, [mbî] mû lége, [mbî] goe na kótórò.

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 burning 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.'
Chapter 7

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, pepe, and laâ, which are treated in that order in the following sections. The first three constitute a class separate from laâ for the reason that whereas they can occur in any independent verbal clause, laâ 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. mo diminuè na mbi ngâ ngéré
   ní ma. -C30
   'Reduce the price for me!'

2. Sango kôé mbi má na kótôrô ti
   ì na l'Oubangui ma -A35
   'I learned Sango here in our country, in Ubangi-Shari.'

3. mbi zía mbéni yî da sí ma. -A44
   'Of course, I put something in it then (I eat it).'

4. mbi ke sukûla bongô na kôli só,
   ka mbi passé, ka mbi wara
   pendere bongô tongasô apè ma.
   -C31
   'I wash clothes for this man (i.e. my husband) and iron them, but I don't receive nice clothes like these!'
5. nî laá ma. -Råc
6. tongasó ma?
7. áita tí mbi, ála hê pémbé tí
    mbi ape o. -A9
8. só séngê o. mo pensé ape o.
    -C31
9. íta o. fadé mbi wara tí mbi
    pendere bongô na ndo wa o.
    -C31
10. bala o.
11. lo têne, mbi o, fadé ni goe
    na galâ.


8.12.1. The negative marker pepe occurs in several forms. Those which
do not seem to be correlated with intonational features are, in addition to
pepe, epé 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 occa-
sions: 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).

8.12.2. 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 sen-
tence 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 oc-
currence of various types of words and constructions after the negative marker.

1. ni laá sí ála wara nginza pepe só -L7
   'That's the reason why they didn't receive money.'

2. ála hé pémbé tí mbi apé o -A9
   'Now don't make fun of my teeth.'

3. bé tí lo ayí mo apé laá -C3
   'It's because he doesn't love you.'

4. mbi wara bongó apé ma -C3
   'I don't receive clothes.'

5. tongana mbi wara réponse pepe na
   ámbéti kóé só mbi to na mo...
   'When I didn't receive answers to the letters I had sent you...'

6. mbi wara mbení nouvelle tí ála
   pepe fadesó tenéti nze otá
   tongana yé -L5
   'Why is it that I haven't heard from you now for three months?'

7. lo mú na mbi nginza apé ngbangatí 'Why didn't he give me money?'
   yé

8. yi tí hö mo ñko aske apé na sése 'You mean that there is not one
   só? 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. gi ni laá apé? -C3
   'Just that, isn't it?'

2. só sëngé apé -C3
   'That's not all right.'

3. tongasó pepe, ka mbi mú
   'If it weren't for that, I would have taken it.'
4. I wóko nga awe ape? -C31
5. mbi má, mbi tene mo mú kóli mo
goè na da tì kóli awe ape? -C8
6. pepe, fadé mbéní zo agá na
manièrè -F4
7. ake ti bata ñzo ti kusára
tongana kapita? pepe. -R1
8. na lângô míngi pepe, babá ti
mérengé ní akúì nga -L17
9. mbéní ayí ti sára ménage ti lo
pepe, tì occupé na koa pepe
-L162

'Aren't we also tired already?'

'Didn't I hear that you had taken
a husband and had gone to his
house already?'

'If not, then someone will come
with deceit.'

'(Is his work) to oversee work-
men like a foreman? No.'

'Not many days later, the child's
father also died.'

'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" con-
structions (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 ti-verb phrase complements (q.v. 11.14) which are inter-
esting because they sometimes pose, at least theoretically, problems in am-
biguity (discussed below).

The negative marker also occurs in certain locutions, such as 5ko pepe
'not at all' (q.v. 4.22), hingga pepe 'perhaps' (q.v. 15.21.12a), and alingbi
pepe 'very much' (q.v. 15.21.11b).

10. zo tì gíngó yóró na mbi, sì
mbi sòigné na nì, ake pepe.
-L186

'I have no one to get the
medicine for me for treating
myself with it.'

11. tènè sò Mamadu ake tènè sò ake
vene pepe. -R1

'What Mamadu is saying is not
a lie.'

12. amú na lo kóbé míngi pepe. -A9

'He did not give him much food.'

13. kobéla asára lo tongana tì
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. Î ke wara ti i nginza mingi mingi 'We don't get a lot of money tongana âzo ti Bangui âpe. -L55
16. mbéni tènè ake só mbi hînga li tî mbi da pepe. -L162
17. zo só bê ti lo ayí âpe, lo ngbâ yî ti lo. -A21
18. gi na lége ti kôbe só mo leke nzonî âpe. -A8
19. madame ayí pepe, lo lutî ndo avokô lo da. -L168
20. pekô nî ayí âpe, lo ti awe. -A29
21. tongana mo te âpe, mo kiri nî na mbi. -C30
22. lo tene, nî goe na kôtîrô ti Israel sèngè pepe. -R7a
23. mamá atene mo toto âpe. -N8o
24. âni hînga mbéni yî 5ko ti sâra ngbangâ nî pepe. -L4
25. mbi de ti mú kôli âpe. -C8
26. mbi língbi ti dîko só angbâ na lége ti gângô nî pepe. -R9b
27. mbi wara mbéni yama ti te na pekô nî âpe. -A44
28. mbi yî ti goe na lo encore pepe. -N8o

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

1. mbi hînga |ake ngangô. 'I know that it is hard.'
2. mbi hînga |ake ngangô pepe. 'I know that it is not hard.'
3. mbi hînga |a:s ngangô pepe.
   'I don't know that it is hard.'

4. mbi hînga |a:s ngangô 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 hînga lo gâ bîrî 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 gâ bîrî, mbi hînga 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 kôli ape. -C8   'I haven't yet taken a husband.'
2. ni de ni bâa yçma ti sése agbô
   kômba na ndâzû pepe. -L75   '(He said), "I haven't yet
   seen a terrestrial animal
   trapped in the sky."'
3. mbi língbi titéns, mbi dîkô
   ahûnzi pepe. -R9b   'I can't say that I have listed
   everything completely.'
4. mbi hînga zo kâ titéns, mbi to
   éré ti lo pepe. -L3   'I don't know any one there
   whose name I can send.'
5. docteur adé éré ni, mbi mà
   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 hînga manière ti wâle ake
   ndé ndé ape? -C31   'Don't you know that the wiles
   of women are varied?'
7. i kë na moyen titéns, i fâa dole
   ni ti goe na ni, ake ape. -I55   'We had no way of cutting up the
   elephant to take it away.'

6.13. The sentence particle laâ 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 laâ parallels that of titene (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 laâ 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 laâ (ex. 13-19). Finally, it may be the adjunctive ni (q.v. 4.21), in which case the referent is in the preceding discourse (ex. 20-25). The ni 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 pepe (ex. 26), or by the adjunctives só (ex. 27), tongasô (ex. 28) and mbirimbiri (ex. 4), or by awe (ex. 29).

The entire laâ 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. 30-31). 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. gi koa tí mbi laâ ake pika
   mbi -R6
   'It's just my work that beats me.'

2. kóli tí mo laâ avo só -I9
   'It's your husband who bought this.'

3. vene laâ mo ke tene só -C8
   'It's a lie you are telling there.'

4. taâ téné laâ mbirimbiri, mbi tene só -C8
   'It's the truth, straight, which I am telling.'

5. mais, yi ni laâ, mbi de mërengé -N81
   'But the thing of it was, I was still a child.'

6. ndâ ni laâ, si mbi tene na ála giriri, á-fonctionnaire akû koa tí ála -R3
   'This is the reason why I said civil servants should wait for their jobs.'
7. gi ti áwále laá aso ála mingi sô -R4a
8. tensti sióni ti mo laá, si fûta
ni agá na mo -L17
9. tî Bangui laá -A8
10. lo laá akirí asára kótá yî
-Î175
11. mbi laá mbi ke gâ na pekô tí mo
-C30
12. mo âko laá, mo ke yî? -19
13. aeké téné ni laá si mbi tene ála
kôë -R2
14. aeké kusâra tî Nzapá laá, si
mbi ngbá tî hú ponô da só -A44
15. mbi ngbá mërenfl, mbi goe na
école laá, mbi mà Sango bien
-A21
16. nginza aeké na lo ape laá lo
sâra mo tongasô -C31
17. só aeké kusâra tî áwále laá -A8
18. peut-être bê tî lo ayî mo ape
laá -C31
19. gi téné só lá só mbi yî titëne
fa na âzo ni laá -R4c
20. nî laá ake li na gërë tî
áwále -R4a
21. nî laá, ála to na i mbëti ge
-R7b
22. nî laá mbi hînga ndâ nî -N81
23. mais nî laá Bangui ayo mingi
-Î55
24. nî laá sî mbi yî mbëni nginza
këtë -R4

'It's just that of women that hurts them so much.'
'It's because of your evil that retribution has come to you.'
'That's what pertains to Bangui.'
'It's he who is turning and doing a great thing.'
'It's I who am coming after you.'
'You by yourself, will you drink it?'
'It is this thing which I told you all.'
'It's the work of God in which I am still suffering this way.'
'When I was a child, I went to school, and that is why I understand Sango well.'
'Because he has no money, that's why he's treated you like this.'
'That's the work of women.'
'Perhaps it's because his liver doesn't love you.'
'It's just this thing which today I want, as it were, to show the people.'
'That's why it gets into the legs of women.'
'That's why they sent us this paper.'
'That's why I understand it.'
'But this is the problem, that Bangui is so far.'
'That's why I want a little money.'
25. §§ ni laá ma -R4c
26. só lángó tí koa laá ape? -N35
27. téné tí mbi ni laá só -R2
28. yi ni laá tongasó -R4c
29. koa ni laá awe -C31
30. gi téné ni laá -R4d
31. só lége ni laá -A8

"Sure, that's just it."
"Isn't that the time for work there?"
"That's what I have to say right there."
"That's the way it is, like that."
"That's all the work there is."
"That's the issue right there."
"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 fô, ifô or ilfô) 'it is necessary that....', il ne faut pas 'it is necessary that....not,' pourquoi (pronounced as pûkwa or pûrkwa) 'why?' and est-ce que (pronounced as eski) '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 gbâ, 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, i língi
tí dutí place ıyla ti sára
téné ape? -L171
"Can't we sit in one place and talk?"
2. pourquoi mo tene mbi wara pépé.
-C29
"Why do you say that I didn't find it?"
3. il faut mbi goe na ngonda encore
-N35
"I must go into the bush again."
4. faut pas que mo zia lége ti
dimanche ıyla só, mo sára gi
lángó ñse, mo kiri na pékó
pépé. -R4c
"You must not renounce this (taking of medicine) for one week, and just do it for two days, and then come back to it later."
5. mo zo ni, mo hînga tí kpé ló ré
ape, gbá mo ñ kpé. -R4b
"You there, you may not know how to run fast, but nevertheless you'll run for sure."
Chapter 9

VERBS

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 tì. 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 ti-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 gâ '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 bâa magasin -R1
   'Kamara, go and look at the storeroom.'
2. mbi kpé, mbi goe làngó na da tí mbéni zo ni -N81
   'I ran away, I went and slept in the house of a certain person.'
3. i goe wara âdole -I55
   'We went and found elephants.'
4. tongana mo yi, mo goe kú mbi -C30
   'If you want, go and wait for me.'
5. i goe sára ngú mingi 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. âla gá sára koa na yá tí kótó ró ti i -R7d
   'They came and worked in our villages.'
8. âmbunzú tí Bangui ní, ála gá mú na mbi nginza -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 incompletely or habitual action. Even without the marker of
completed action (viz. awe) the clause lo tê kôbe 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 kê tê kôbe '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 incompleted 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 tê 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 [mamâyke gwe] for what is normalized as mamâ 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 tê lo 'it's his' and eke tê lo (a variant pronunciation of akê tê 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. âkëtê këtê â-microbe tê bilharzie 'Very small liver fluke germs ni ake na yà tê ngú sô. ni laâ ake li na gërë tê âwâle. -R4a are in this water. That's the reason why they enter the legs of women.'

2. âla goe tê sàra âgôzo tê âla na yà tê ngú, na place sô ngú sô ake sco pepe -R4a 'They go to fix their manioc in water, at a place where the water is not flowing.'
"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.'

'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.'

'As for my home, we put sesame paste on it, and peanut (i.e. paste), and then we eat it with them.'

'That's the reason why you should listen to the advice which doctors give you.'

'He changes clothes all the time. But I, the wife, I don't change clothes. People look at me. I'm very much embarrassed.'

'Some go at six o'clock. They go and buy their things (i.e. for resale). They sell it.'

'B- 'I haven't yet gone to my fiancé's house.' A- 'It's just lies you're telling.'

'It's just in this manner that one prepares the kidneys of animals in wine.'

'Spider went and sat down at the edge of this food garden of his and began to eat.'
12. tongana ála wara ressort ti kutukutu só ake hàa, ála sára na ngårô -A13
13. fadé mbi ke wara bongà kà na yâyû ahù mo ape? -C31
14. tongana mbi hàa lo, fadé mbi ke bi lo na ngonda ape? -A40
15. tongana mo sâra tongaso pepe, là kôé mo èke wara malade -A8
16. aто kòa na í mbètì ge, atene, là só, lo ke sâra kótà matânga -R7f
17. fadesô, ì èke sâra calcul ti nginza ti lo -R1
18. fadesô, mbi ke mú ânde na lo congé -R1
19. là kôé yâkâ tì kòli só, âbákoyá mingi aèke fùti kôbe ni. âmérengé tì lo ake tomba gbà. -F4
20. lo na zo vokâ agà bôngbi 5ko. ála ke tì kôbe 5ko, ála ke yì samba 5ko. -R2
21. depuis ngû bale 5ko na èse ála èke voté là kôé -R3
22. àwâle só aèke leke ta, fadesô ála zìa lége tì leke ta awe -A13

'When they find an automobile spring which has broken, they make a hoe out of it.'
'Won't I get more clothes than you up there in heaven?'
'After I kill it (i.e. lizard), won't I throw it into the bush?'
'If you don't do it like this, you'll get sick all the time.'
'He sent word here to us in a letter saying that today he was going to make a big party.'
'Now let's figure up his money.'
'Now I'll give him a vacation from now on.'
'All the time, this garden of his, baboons in great numbers ruined its harvest. His children chased them away to no avail.'
'He and the African came and met. They ate together, they drank beer together.'
'For twelve years you have been voting regularly.'
'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. 4.3c) such as fadesô (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 gâ fadesô : awe fadesô
   'He has come now.' : 'It is finished now.'

 lo gâ anînga aps : lo gâ 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 fadesô -L175
2. asi na lângô bale 5kô na osiô sì awe -R7b
3. téné tî mbi awe -A4o
4. gi nî lasâ awe? -R4b
5. jusqu'â tongana l'heure tî yâkâ awe, âni kîrî na kótôrî -A15

   'It's finished now.'
   'It came to the fourteenth day, and then it was over.'
   'My words are done.'
   'Is that all there is to it?'
   'Then when the time for making gardens is over, we go back to the village.'
6. tongana âni törô lengé awe, (...) na l'heure tî deux heures awe, âni bôngbi tî dô lengé -A9

7. tongana âni goe na pêkô tî têné ti Nzapá yongôro mingi, âni girisa âmbênì têné ni awe -F7

'The lengé set up and (when) two o'clock has fully come, we gather to dance the lengé.'

When we have followed the affair of God for a long time, we have 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 eke, 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 mérêngé tî mo akê sára koa só, mbênì lâ əkə, patron tî lo akê tî fûta lo awe? -R1

'Well, since your son has been working at this job, has his boss ever once refused to pay him?'

10. mais pasteur i wóko ngá awe ape? -C31

'But pastor, aren't we completely worn out also?'
11. mbi má mbi tene mo mú kóli, mo goe na da ti kóli awe apê? -C8
12. mo prié gi Nzapá awe -C31
13. na âni hinga ake yi ti mbito mingi, tongana álá girísa yi ti kóti ré awe -A13
14. tongana i zí a lait da awe, ake pâta óse -N78
15. tongana agoe s'í ká awe, bon, lo lóndó, atene, tongana zo sô adé ére ti mbi, fadé mbi te kóbe ti lo -F7
16. tongana mo lóndó na koa ní mo gá awe, mo sukúla ngú, mo yú bongô ti mo, fadesô, mo pîka kate ti mo, atene, mbi êké kóli -R6
17. tongana mo tourné kété alingbi na ní awe, mo zí a na sése -A8
18. na kóti ré ti mbi, tongana ámamá agoe na ngonda ti mú makongô, na álá mú makongô kôé awe, agá sí na kóti ré fadesô, azía álá na yá ti sakpá -A8
19. mais sô Jésus ate téné awe, lo dé kité ní pepe -R10
20. bon, sô mamá alóndó na Bangui agá sî na ndo sô mbi bâa lé ti lo awe sô, mbi mú pardon mîngi na Nzapá -N35

'Haven't I already heard that you've taken a husband and gone to his house?'
'Pray only to God, that's enough.'
'And we know it is a matter of great fear, when they have forgotten the ways of the village.'
'When we have put milk into it, (the price) is ten francs.'
'When he had arrived there, he got up and said, if anyone says my name, I'll eat her food.'
'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.'
'When you have stirred it a little, sufficiently for it, you put it on the ground.'
'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.'
'But since Jesus had said it, he did not object to it.'
'Now, because mother left Bangui and came and arrived here and I have seen her face, I give thanks to God.'
21. やちのために腹が、diminué awe, mamá agá amá mbi -N81
   'When my abdomen had become less swollen, my mother came and took me.'

22. tere amá tongasó awe, lo kpé ti lo bíaní -L175
   'When spider had heard this, he ran away.'

23. agá pika li tí kétó mérengé sô awe, kótá ita tí mérengé wâle ní alondó kâ -N79
   'When they had finished hitting the head of this little child, the sibling of this girl rose up there.'

24. eh bien, lo té ngunzá ní kôé awe, '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-clusial 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 si, fadesó, and fadé (ex. 37-43).

25. mbi mä awe, monsieur l'inspecteur -R1
   'I've understood, Mr. inspector.'

26. ngunzá tî Bata sî mbi zà awe -A44
   'These manioc leaves at Bata, I've given them up.'

27. mo tene vens awe laâ -C8
   'You have told a lie there.'

28. mbi ké tî fûta lo awe -F4
   'I've refused to pay him.'

29. prié gî Nzapâ awe -C51
   'Pray only to God, that's all.'

30. fadesó mbi ça va awe -N35
   'Now I've recovered completely.'

31. depuis sô, andáa, oignon abe awe -A8
   'In the meantime, however, the onions have finished browning.'

32. na lo fâa kâmba na gô tî 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 tî kárâkó awe -R6
   'Already, I have planted my peanut garden.'
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 sô "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. wâle tí mbi só agoe na kótór, awara mérangé awe -R1
45. mbi ṃá téṇé ḳộ só mo tene na mbi só awe -L4
46. na l'heure só babá tí mbi asára ká lângó míngi awe, mamá tí mbi, amú mbi akpé -N81
47. jusqu'à, mérangé wâle só, lé ti lo ambôko awe só, lo gâ -F7
48. bianí, só mbi gâ na lo, babá na mamá, akúí awe -R1
49. agá a-commencé píka mérangé tí wâle só awe -N79
50. mo goe na galâ, mo vo ngunzá, mo fâa ngunzá ní awe -A11
51. i sâra koa tí i, agá nzoní awe -R6
52. kói así gígi awe, ála zíá lóró da, akpé na wâle bianí awe -F4

'My wife, who went to the village, has had a child.'
'I've understood the whole message which you sent me.'
'At the time when my father had already been gone for many days, my mother took me and ran away.'
'Until the girl whose face was ulcerated, she came.'
'Indeed, at that time when I went to him, (my) father and mother were already dead.'
'They had come and begun to beat this girl.'
'You have gone to the market, you have bought manioc greens, you have cut up the manioc greens.'
'We have done our work, it came out very well.
'When the man had come out, they put some speed into it, he ran away with the woman.'
53. lá só mbi te awe, mbi te gí na
yângá tì mbi -A44
'Today I have already eaten, I've eaten only sauce (lit. with my mouth).'  
54. mais bë tì mbi aso nga awe, mbi
yì tì mbi gingôlo ape -C30
'But my liver has been hurt, I don't like provocation.'  
55. mo sâra kôbe ngbii, jusk'â, midi
alingbi awe, mo gá mo mú sembè -A11
'You prepare food for a while, until noon has fully come, (then) you up and take the dish.'  
56. âni kû jusk'â lo dú awe na
l'hôpital tì Bossangoa na le
22 mars 1961, si âni kiri nà
kôtôró -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 si gígi, lo tì na sése, allé,
lo gá pendere wâle awe -F7
'She came out, she fell on the ground, and behold, she had become a beautiful woman.'
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 ti is followed by a substantive or verb phrase. In the following paragraphs examples of such phrases are enclosed within braces { }.

10.10. Noun phrases

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 ni (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 kóe (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. {mbunzû}  alondô ti goe na Bangassou  -I55
   'The White Man arose to go to Bangassou.'
2. mbi zía (ngú) da -A15
   'I put water into it.'
3. ake (təné ni) laa -R2
   'That's the issue right there.'
4. (da ni) agbi da ukú -N79
   'The houses burned there (were) five.'
5. lo gá (pendere wále) awe -F7
   'She had become a beautiful woman.'
6. ála ake ti álá (gi sëngé zo) -R10
   'As for them, they were just ordinary people.'
7. ake na (yongró lége) -R9b
   'They are on a far-off road.'
10.12. Another broad class of noun phrases consists of a noun followed by a phrase comprising **ti** and a noun, a pronoun, or an adjunctive (ex. 1-7). The **ti** phrase involved may, as is shown elsewhere (q.v. 5.6.1.10), 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 **ti** may be omitted without change of sense (ex. 8-11). It is the fact that **ti** 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 ti tére) aso mingi** -L175  'The liver of the spider hurt very much (i.e. spider was angry).'

'This child, I didn't know him beforehand.'
'This man wanted to sit down.'
'Men also catch the liver-fluke disease.'
'All of the women didn't know his name.'
'All these things, you pound them in the mortar.'
'She went to see this old woman.'
'The thing which I said is like that.'
'the matter of politics which is here in our country'
'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.'
2. mo goe na {da tí kôli} awe ase? -C8
3. mbi skë (babâ tí mërengë)
   fadësô -R1
4. tênë tí mo tí má yângâ tí
   (mamâ tí mo) -A42
5. ñi hânda lo téngë (sëse tí í)
   -R10
6. mo mú (yîngë tí basânze) -A8
7. ake sarâ (tênë tí bûbâ) -R3
8. (mtëni mërengë kôli) ahì na
   lége -L186
9. lo bâa áni ndé na {lë lo} -L2
10. (gí ngumzà sëngë), (kugbë
    sëngë) -A8
11. asi gîgî na {lâ kôtà} -
    
10.13. A noun phrase may consist of a noun with tí and a verb follow-
    ing (ex. 1-2). There are also some phrases consisting of two nouns juxta-
    posed 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 follow-
    ing 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 (lëge tí goe na galâ)
   -A15
2. {zo tí pikà mbi ñko} ase pepe
   -R6
3. fadë mo wara (mërengë tí mbi
   Wanzaka Louise) -L4
4. (sàn go na sàn banda na ñn扎kara),
   ala ñkë lége ñko -I39
   
\textbf{'Haven't you gone to thè house
of a man?'}
\textbf{'I'm the father of a child now.'}
\textbf{'It's up to you to obey your
mother.'}
\textbf{'We pray to him for our country.'}
\textbf{'You take homemade salt.'}
\textbf{'They are talking foolish talk.'}
\textbf{'A certain male child passed by
on the path.'}
\textbf{'He sees us differently with
his eyes.'}
\textbf{'Just greens alone, just leaves
alone.'}
\textbf{'He went out at noon.'}

\textbf{\textit{I took the path to go to the
market.'}}
\textbf{\textit{There isn't a single person
to beat me.'}}
\textbf{\textit{You'll find my child Wanzaka
Louise.'}}
\textbf{\textit{The Sango, and the Banda, and
the Nzakara, they're all alike.'}}
5. mo sára koa ahṣ ( ámbéni wále na kótôrô só kóé) -C3
   'You work much more than all the other women in this village.'

6. (gí kusára, na nginza) sì atambéla -R
   '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 koa ní só mo ksára só mo wara na yí tongasó) na mbi ape? -C31
   'Won't you show me the way of your work which you do so as to get things like this?'

9. lo kóé ake na (yí tí yá tí ngú só, só ake dôngó yôngôro tongana tîrê 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 -ngô (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. {sárángô ngiâ na yá da ká} ake nzoní ape
   'Fooling around in the house there isn't good.'

2. {síngô tí mó na Dakar}, fádê mó 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
Several adjunctives, among them veni '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 bingbâ yâma -F4
2. lo zìa (mbi) na magasin tí lo -I39
3. {ála só} adútì tongana ìta -R2
4. mbi yì, {ála kòé}, agoe tí votè -R3
5. {ála só kòé} alòndò na vundû -F7
6. {ála só tí zo só} agirísa awe
7. {lo só tí ngangó venì} alìngbi na mbi
8. mo eke {lo só alìngbi tí sàra yì kòé} -R10
9. {mbi venì}, mbi eke mú na ála koa -R3
10. {gì mo 3kɔ} mo yì? -I9
11. {ì ngá}, ì hò na vacances -L15
12. {ì na lo} ì goe -N80
13. {ì na mamà}, ì gá -N80
14. {mo na ìmèrèngè tí mo}, mèmè akúì nzála -R6
15. {mo zo só, mo kó tì tìne ála sùru li tì mabo ko tí mo} -R4b

'He was a reddish animal.'
'He left me in his store.'
'These remained like brothers.'
'I want all of you to go vote.'
'All of these arose in resentment.'
'Those of this man have been lost.'
'It's the strong one that will suffice for me.'
'You're the one who can do everything.'
'It's I myself who give them work.'
'You by yourself, you'll drink it?'
'We also, we went on vacation.'
'She and I, we went.'
'I and mother, we came.'
'You and your children, you even die of hunger.'
'you, the person who refuses to let them cut the tip of your finger'
16. (ála á-diacre tí Bangayanga) ahinga pepe -L27

'They the deacons of Bangayanga 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 ni (ex. 2), which may in turn be followed by só (ex. 3), or by an adjunctive such as kôé (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 míngo (mbení), (mbení)
   
   agbí na mbáge -N79

   'They wanted to extinguish some, others caught fire nearby.'

2. (sioní ni) laá -R2

   'The evil (thing) is this.'

3. (otá ní só), lo commenced tí quitté compagne tí lo -I39

   'The third (year) he began to leave his spouse.'

4. (ámbení kôé) ahô tí ála

   'All the rest left.'

5. (ámbení só bê tí ála avôkô),
   
   akê da míngi -R2

   'There are many others, whose livers are black.'

6. abáa (pendere tí ngû) -R2

   'They see the beauty of the water.'

7. (ngangô tí lo) ade ahunzi pepe -L186

   'His strength was not yet exhausted.'

8. i girîsa (France na kóta tí lo) pepe -R2

   'We won't forget France and her greatness.'

9. (mbení tí saleté) akê sí gigi -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 yi 'thing' or têné '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),
10.40

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

1. (ti ázo kóé só), amú nginza na nzè -R1
   'As for all these people, they get money by the month.'
2. (ti taá kótóró tí mbi) laá -A8
   'This is that of my real village.'
3. fadesó, (ti í na yângá tí kótóró) 'Now, ours in the language of the country is all over.'
4. (ti ála), aeke lángó miombe -R1
   'Theirs is eight days.'
5. agá sioní, ah' (ti giriri) -R3
   'It became bad, surpassing that of former times.'
6. (ti sára só) aske nzoní apè -R1
   '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 (nzí tí mo) -R1
   'the fact about your theft'
2. (toto ní) ade na yângá tí lo -L186
   'The crying remained in his mouth (i.e. he continued to cry).'
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 ti, 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 sko 'to be,' gâ '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 londô lo kpê 'He got up, he ran.'

1. mbi te alingbi na mbi ape -A44
2. i goe i lângô kâ -N80
3. bê ti ni aso, sí ni pîka lo -N79
4. mbi de mbi sára pepe -I39
5. babá ti mbi, na mamá ti mbi, kôe akûi awe -R1
6. mo mâ awe Albert? -R4d
7. zîa mbîné na wá, i ke te -I55
8. gi ngû só aske na wá, aske kporo -A8
9. âmbéni avo, âmbéni ask gâ -N78
10. agá mú, agá zîa da -A8
11. koa só zo kôe zo agoe sára, ahûnda ngînza -R1
12. na ngû só, mbi yi, âla kôe, agoe ti voté, tongana só, âla voté kózo nî -R3

'I ate, it wasn't enough for me.'
'We went and slept there.'
'Her liver hurt, so she hit her.'
'I still haven't done it (lit. I remain, I have not done it).'
'My father and my mother, both have died.'
'Did you hear, Albert?'
'Put some on the fire, we'll be eating.'
'Only the water which is on the fire is boiling.'
'Some bought, some were coming.'
'They came and took, they came and put it in.'
'The work which all men go to do, requires payment.'
'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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Construction type</th>
<th>Serves as</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SP</td>
<td>O, CC, SI (restrictions to be described), VI (only nominalized verbs), MC (both noun phrases and connective phrases)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AV</td>
<td>MC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>O, CC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cl</td>
<td>O, CC</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The functions or phrase-slots are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Is served by</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>SP, A, Cl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CC</td>
<td>SP, A, Cl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MC</td>
<td>SP, AV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SI</td>
<td>SP (yí ti + pronoun, or simply ti + pronoun)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>SP (nominalized verbs)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The correspondences between these two sets of entities are as follows:
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 ahânda | zo | :sí zo
2. ati na hânda -F4
3. mbi wara | nginza | ape -A44
4. et puis ahé | bié |, acommencé tì sâra | ngiá | tì hé bié | -A21
5. mbi bâa | yì. tì kîrî na question tì mo só mo hûnda na mbi | -L11
6. mo mú | rognon só mo préparé nî na vin na l'ai l alângô só | -R9a
7. mbi wara | ëta tì mbi tì wâle, na ëta tì mbi tì kôli | -N8o
8. mbêni ëta ake gî hânda | lo | -C31
9. tàtko tè pe ake sò | ti álà, zo ti Athènes, na tì Rome | -R10
10. mo yì ti vo | yê -I9
11. abâa | pendere tì ngû | -R2
12. ëta, nî laâ mbi ke tene | só | ape -C31
13. mo tene | mbi ke citoyen | -R6
14. mbi hûnda | tene tì yê mbi wara mbêti tì álà só pêpe | -L6
15. mbi bâa | ëzo tì France asâra nzoni mingi | -R2
16. mbi pensé | ayo mingi | -L75
17. mbi hînga | kusâra tì mbi ake tì fangô ngbanga | -R1

'Hunger tricks a man, so that he falls into temptation.'
'I haven't received any money.'
'And then they sang songs, they began to play, to sing songs.'
'I see the answer to return to your question which you asked of me.'
'Take the kidneys which you have prepared with wine and with garlic and which have stood.'
'I have found my sister and my brother.'
'Another sister is just enticing him.'
'Their word will surpass that of the people of Athens and of Rome.'
'What do you want to buy?'
'They see the beauty of the water.'
'Sister, it's for this reason that I didn't say this.'
'You say, "I am a citizen."'
'I ask, "Why haven't I received a letter from you?"'
'I see that the people of France have done much good.'
'I think it is very far.'
'I know that my job is to judge cases.'
I want you to come with it.

Let a lot of baboons come out into the garden first.

Are they paying your son well?

I put water into it.

Father did work there first.

They will be finding many things in it.

They will be calling you later on a day in July.

The work of politics, I am calling you to it on Sunday, on April 5.

You will find him there in the tree there.

My brothers, we greet you all on this Sunday today.

They began to take these things in this way to make their medicines.

The watchman caught me there every day.

For what reason are you showing off in this way?

I greet you cordially and all the family also.

He cut the cord from the neck of the antelope.

You will call us for an elementary school to have fun with us.
33. mo sâra | tî mbi | na mbi | -L4
34. âla yû | pôrô tî âla | na gîrê
tî âla | nzonî | -R3
35. âla ke tene | têné ni sô | gî
na yângâ | sêngê | -R2
36. i ñô | lo | gî na ndô tî wá |
tongasô | ngbii | -I55
37. mo commencé tî kà | yângâ tî
dni | na ázo | kâ | na
Amérique | na â-â-méridcain | -L27
38. mbi tène | nî | na lo | kôé |
lé na lé | -R2
39. âla kû | tanga tî téné | kôé |
na sept-heures-et-demi | na
yângâ tî âmbunzû | -R7f
40. âla to | mbétî | na direction
tî jeunesse-sports | na Bangui | 
gê | -R7e
41. même i gâ na ndo sô gî ngbangâtî
gâa, tî sâra | têné | na âla |
na yâ tô radio | là sô | -R6
42. alingbi tî tô | ngû | na lo |
na kûtôrô | tî sukûla | -A42
43. mbi hûnda | ndâ tî téné sô | na
Cécile Simba | tî mâ réponse
nî | -L171
44. mbi mû | merci | na Nzapa |
tenstî bê nzonî sô lo sâra
na wâle tî mbi so mingi
mingi | -L7
45. ngiâ aii | bê tô ázo | na là
nî sô | tenstî mî | tongana
gângô tî mî venî | -L27
'You make mine for me.'
'Put your shoes on your feet.'
'They're just saying this with
their mouths.'
'We roasted it on top of the
fire in this way for a long
time.'
'You have begun to teach our
language to the people over
there in America, to the
Americans.'
'I told it to him entirely,
face to face.'
'Wait for the rest of the story
at seven thirty in the language
of the White People.'
'Send letters to the head office
of youth and sports in Bangui
here.'
'We've come here just to see, and
to talk with you by radio
today.'
'You must fetch water for him to
the village to wash up.'
'I'm asking the meaning of this
affair of Cécile Simba to hear
the answer to it.'
'I give thanks to God because of
the very great goodness which
He has showed to my wife.'
'Joy filled the hearts (lit.
livers) of the people on that
day because of you, just as if
you had come.'
We fastened the nets to kill animals.

We saw him to chat with him because he is the president of the community.

'I cannot reject my entire family just because of this.'

'You mentioned his name for what reason?'

'How could you ever reject him just on account of clothes?'

'You have found me today.'

'They took something like the thing with which medicine is made.'

'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), gâ 'become' (ex. 72-77), dutí 'stay' (ex. 78-79), ngbâ 'remain' (ex. 80-81), and de 'remain' (ex. 82), which may be classified as copulative verbs, may take copulative complements. The verb lingbi 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).
59. Pierre aské | zo ti lé ti ngú, zo ti gingó ñausu | giriri | -R10

60. ngó ní aské | gi osió | -A21
61. téné ní aské | nzoni | pepe -L2
62. aské | ti mo | pepe -C29
63. koa ti lo aské | ti leke ngbanga ti ñzo ti kusára na ambunzû | -R1
64. aské | lo lângó na ndó ti sése míngi | laâ | -R7f
65. mbi eke | babá ti mîngé | fadesô | -R1
66. aské | kóli ti gingó mbi | lâ wa | -C31

67. mo eke | Yakoma | ti tê mbûrû | pepe -A8
68. aské | nzoni | míngi | na mbi | -A42
69. mbi eke | yongóro | na mo | -L27
70. yí aské | míngi | ti sâra | -L11
71. aské | nzoni | i sâra yí míngi na yá ti kótîrô ti î | -R2
72. lo commencé ti ñà | zo | awe | -A49
73. koko ní agá | ngangó | awe | -A8
74. mo ñà | citoyen | tongana yë | -R6
75. mbi ñà | pendere kóli | na Rafai | -I39

'Peter was previously a man of the water, a man who caught fish.'
'The boats were just four.'
The affair is not good.'
'It's not yours.'
'His work is to fix up the troubles of working men with White Men.'
'It's (because) he sleeps so much on the ground, that's why.'
'I am the father of a child now.'
'He is a man to seek for me what day (i.e. It's ridiculous to think that ...)!' 'You're not a Yakoma, to eat palm nuts!'
'It very good for me.'
'I am far away from you.'
'There are many things to do.'
'It's good that we do many things in our country.'
'He had already begun to become a person.'
'The koko leaves have already become tough.'
'In what way do you become a citizen?'
'I became an adolescent at Rafai.'
14.12. 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, ngbangati, and tongana (ex. 32-38). It may be a noun phrase, expressing time when the head noun is lá 'day' or ngu '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. tenetí yë mbi teng | tongaseô? | -L27
   'Why did I speak in this way?'

2. ãzo ni acommencô tî hû | mingi | -I39
   'The people began to prosper greatly.'

3. Nzapâ afa na lo tî goe | da | -A49
   'God instructed him to go there.'

4. fadé mó mâ | nzoni | -I39
   'You will hear well.'

5. anghâ | kété, | âla poisonné mbi -N81
   'A little more, and they would have poisoned me.'

6. mbi pensé tî sî | fadesô | -R9b
   'I'm planning to arrive now.'

7. na ndâ ni lo dutî | kâ | -F7
   'In the end he remained there.'

8. mó kû mbi mó ke pâ | ngâ | -C30
   'Wait for me, I'm coming also.'

9. lo na zo vokô ârá bôngbi | 5kô | -R2
   'He and the Black Men came and gathered together.'

10. lo te | kôé | -L17
   'He ate (it) completely.'

11. mó leke | kôé | awe -A8
   'You have completely finished fixing it.'

12. lo ke lángô | da | sengê | -R1
   'He is sleeping there free.'

13. mó goe | kâ | doucement
   'You go there very quietly.'

14. mó tûku | da | ngbii | kôé |
   -A11
   'You pour (it) in, until it is all in (lit. a long time, complete).'
We know well here, in the Central African Republic, they are teaching us to read.'

'The elephant was walking in this way in the evening.'

'I was there with a certain brother of mine, there in the bush, for a long time.'

'I was also crying beside it today.'

'Now, I'm going to give him later a vacation.'

'A "sab'a" is a kind of tool which is made in such a way as to grab the iron out of the fire.'

'It becomes altogether like the body of the letter.'

'For what reason did you ask in this way?'

'They will later become new men.'

'There remain now only the fields of corn, of rice, and of pineapples.'

'It will become later a great country, like those others which are already called Israel, and Germany, and the USSR.'

'He will become later another man like this in the midst of his men.'
11.10

27. ake mú | ânde | mërengé tî
kôli bale ôtâ, | mërengé
tî wâle bale 5ko | -R7e

28. mbi wara | ngá | mbéni mbéti |
eg | -R7f

29. kô ake tomba | kâ | zo |
tômbângó | -R4b

30. mbi lingbi tî sâra | tongasô |
5ko | na mërengé tî mbi |
pepe -A49

31. âla kôé ake | kâ | na Nice, |
tongana tî ndo só, na
République Centrafricaine wala
na Bangui kôtâ kótôrô tî î | -R2

32. ahûnda | tentî crédit | -R6

33. ake | ngbangatî wâle | 5ko |
pepe -R4a

34. Monsieur S. ade tî hûnda |
ngbanga nî | lá kôé | -L11

35. li tî mërengé a-tourné | tongana
kôbâla tî ngbâlo | -L27

36. i ake | tongana turûgu |
fadesô | -R3

37. éré tî âla ahû | tongana tî
âmbëni zo | pepe -R10

38. mbi ke sâra | tongana yê |
fadesô | -R1

39. mbi wara mbéni yî da, mbi tê |
lá kôé lá kôé | -A44

40. mbi gâ | lá só | -R3

41. ake sâra | ngû na ngû? | -L27

42. ake | lá kôé | téné tî
nzéréngó na bé tî âla |
pepe -R10

'They will be taking later thirty boys and ten girls.'
'I've received also another letter here.'
'Death is really driving people away over there.'
'I could not do this to my child at all.'
'They are all there, in Nice,
just like here, in the Central African Republic or in Bangui
our big city.'

'He asks for credit.'
'It's not just for women.'
'Mr. S. is still asking for it
every day.'
'The head of the child turned,
as with the sickness apoplexy.'
'We are like soldiers now.'
'Their names were not beautiful
like those of other people.'
'What shall I do now?'
'If I find something else there,
I always eat it.'
'I came today.'
'Do they do (this) every year?'
'It isn't every day something
which pleases their liver.'
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. **kôzo só mbi sêk** | na l'hôpital | 'First of all I was in the hospital.'
    -N35
2. **amú lé tî wà mingi mingi azûa** | na ndô nî | 'They took very many coals and put (them) on top of it.'
    -A8
3. **lo dûtî** | na lí tî kôkê | tongasô | 'He is sitting in the top of the tree like this.'
    -A29
4. **í têne** | na lé tî álâ | kôô |
    (na) ndô só, | âmbunzû só asekge na République Centrafricaine,
    (...) i yi ñko gî tîtêne, álâm
    lekt kôatório na í awe | 'We say before all of you here,
    -R2
    White Men who are here in the Central African Republic,...
    "We just want you to build up the country with us."'
5. **álâ gâ** | na têrê nî | mingi
    mingi, | tî gâ tî sàra têné | 'They came beside it in great numbers to come to talk.'
    -A48
6. **mbi goe làngô** | na da tî mbéni
    zo nî | na mbâge tî gbê nî |
    kâ | 'I went and slept in the house
    -N81
    of someone else over there on the lower side.'
7. **mbi sî** | na Bambari | na ndo
    só, | na le 4 janvier 1941 | 'I arrived in Bambari here on
    -I39
    January 4, 1941.'
8. **mô pensé kôbe kô ôsek** | na
galâ | (na) ndo só | gi tî
    mó? | 'Do you think that all the food
    -C30
    is in the market here only for you?'
9. **lo kîrî** | na kôatório | tî mú
    mérendê só | 'He returned to the village to take this child.'
    -L175
10. **mô gâ** | na marché | tî vo
   kôbe | lá wa | 'You came to the market to buy food what day?' ('what day'
    -C30
    expresses strong skepticism.)
11. **i na lo í dûtî** | na ndô só |
    jusqu'â, l'heure só lo bâa
    kôa tî mbi, mbi bâa kôa tî
    lo | 'She and I will remain here,
    -N35
    until the time when she sees
    my death, (or) I see her
    death.'
You cook it in water.

We will see this month.

I have the disease that is called schistosomiasis, those tiny little bugs.

My people are rejoicing greatly on account of the Trumpet (a magazine) which they have received.

He is with his brother in the village (doing) nothing, and with his wife also.

They took a little food to go with it into the bush to eat.

I don't have very many things to say.

He begged for food for eating.

This God has given to us.

'Come on and reduce the price for me, now.'

'Water, they gave him only in a spoon.'

'They did us here a great deal of harm.'

'I'm telling you, in the presence of you all, the government is in my hands.'

'You scolded him severely, because of the way he tires himself out following after you.'
26. biá só anzere | na mbi | lá kôé | -A42

'’This song is pleasing to me always.'

27. mbi tene | na álá kôé, | fadesô, álá só aeké ge | -R2

'I tell you all, "Now these are here."'

28. zo wa só avo | na mo | pendere bongó ní só | -C31

'Who was it that bought for you these beautiful clothes?'

29. mbi mú | na mo | merci | mîngi | -C30

'I give you many thanks.'

30. apîka | na álá | mbéni pendere biá ñko, | tî mú ngaídá na bë tî álá | -R9b

'We will play for you another beautiful song, to give joy to your livers.'

31. álá mú | na lo | éré só | na lo | tongasô | -L7

'They gave him this name to him in this way.'

32. lo ke mú | na mo | nginza | tî bata na lo | -R1

'He's giving you money to keep him.'

33. álá tene | na nzoní bë | yí só alîngbi na pôpô tî álá | ñko, pepe -R1

'You haven't said at all in good faith that which is fitting between you.'

34. álá sâra | na ngâfô | -A13

'They made (it) into hoes.'

35. mo wara | na yí | tongasô | na mbi | ape -C30

'You haven't found a thing like this for me.'

11.14. A phrase consisting of tî 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 tî 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 titene (q.v. 5.70), which is semantically equivalent to tî + verb. A number of examples are given below (ex. 1-14). The phrase in which tî governs the nominalized verb (q.v. 6.30) has, in a verb phrase, the same function as the tî-verb phrase. Examples are given belcw (ex. 15-17). Finally, a verb introduced by ngbangatî or tenstî (q.v. 5.40) also has basically the same force, except that the purposive idea is more explicit (ex. 18-19).
1. mbi lîngbi | tí kë mo fadesô | pepe -L27
'I can't reject you now.'

2. mbi yî | tí goe l'êcole | -A49
'I wanted to go to school.'

3. mbi kë | tí fûta lo | awe -R1
'I've refused to pay him.'

4. kôli nî a-obligê | tí sâra bon | -L162
'The husband is forced to incur debts.'

5. âla gâ | tí wara mbi | -N35
'They came to find me.'

6. âni goe | tí tô ngû | -A15
'We went to fetch water.'

7. lo commencê | tí dë këkë | -L175
'He began to chop the tree.'

8. lo lôndô | tí goe na berâ | -I39
'He arose to go to war.'

9. âla bâa mënî só angbâ | tí yuru na hî tí mërengë nî | -L17
'They saw the blood which continued to run from the nose of the child.'

10. mbi de | tí hîngâ âîta tí mbi mërengë kâ | ape -N80
'I still didn't know my sisters, the other children, there.'

11. mbi hînga | tí tô ngunzâ | pepe -A8
'I don't know how to cook greens.'

12. tongana mbi wara nginza mingi, só ake lîngbi | tí te kôbe, | na tí sâra yî tí âwâle | -I9
'When I get a lot of money, that will be enough to eat food, and to do the work of women.'

13. lo kë | tí sâra ngià na kôli nî ngbangâtî dimanche ôse, wala nze ôko | -L162
'She refuses to chat with her husband for two weeks or a month.'

14. fadesô, i ngbâ tí débrouillé | tí fàa gi ndembu, | tí gi gi âwôtoro nî, | tí wara na nginza | -I55
'Right now, we're still making out, just to cut rubber, to hunt for bees, to get some money.'

15. alîngbi tí kë | tí fûtângô lo | lá ôko | pepe -R1
'You can't ever refuse to pay him.'

16. lo ngbâ | tí fângô yàkà | tí tôngô ngû, | tí balsayê yà da, | tí sârângô kôbe | -L186
'She still continues to work a garden, to fetch water, to sweep inside her house, to prepare food.'
17. tenêti yë mo gé | ti vôngô kôbë na galâ | -C3o
18. i gé | na ndo só | gi ngangatî bâa | -R6
19. i vo | na nginza, | tenêti payé l'impôt | -A50

"Why did you come to buy food at the market?"
"We've come here just to see."
"We sell it for money, to pay 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 yì tì + pronoun 'thing of + pronoun' (ex. 1-2), or more usually simply of tì + 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 âko 'he alone' in the verb phrase as a sort of subject intensifier (ex. 15).

1. lo goë | yì tì lo | na galà
2. lo ngbâ | yì tì lo | -A2
3. âzo tì. France abâa | tì âla | -R2
4. mbi yì | tì mbi | pepe -C3o
5. woga akpé | tì lo | bían | awe -F4
6. âla ke kiri | tì âla | kâ | ti goë -I55
7. mbi ke ngbâ | tì mbi | na yì tì ngonda | -I55
8. mbi dutï | tì mbi | ndo só | tì lângô ndo só | jusqu'â, | na lâ tì kô tì mbi | -I55
9. âla só ahînga | tì âla | tì dîko mbêti | pepe -R10
10. mbi Âke | tì mbi | zo tì péché, zo tì mawa | -R10
11. mbi hô | tì mbi | hôngô | -N80
12. mbi yì | tì mbi | gingô têné | pepe -C3o

"As for him, he went to market."
"As for him, he stayed."
"The people of France themselves saw."
"As for me, I don't want it."
"The antelope definitely had run away."
"As for them, they went back there to go."
"As for me, I am remaining in the bush."
"As for me, I'm staying here, to live here for a long time, until the day of my death."
"As for them, they didn't know how to read."
"As for me, I am a man of sin, a man of suffering."
"As for me, I passed on."
"As for me, I don't like picking a quarrel."
13. fadé mbi were | ti mbi | ‘Where will I find beautiful
pendere bongô | na ndo wà o | clothes?’
-C31

14. i sék were | ti i | mginza mingi
mgingi | tongana ãzo ti Bangui | ‘We aren’t getting a whole lot
apt - I55

15. lo goe | lo 5ko | na li ti
hötś | -R10
‘He went by himself to the top
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 yo | vôngô | pepe - A40
‘I didn’t buy it.’

2. téré ti mo azâ | zångô | -Re
‘Your body is really shining
(i.e. in good health).’

3. âmëregé ti koli asi | singô |
na ndo sô | -R6
‘The boys have arrived here.’

4. mbi ýóra | ýóragô | na oignon
na tomate | kôe | -C31
‘I fried (it) with onions and
tomatoes also.’

5. lo báa | bângô | li ti ni? |
-L175
‘Did he see its head?’

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 ti, but
ngbangatí occurs twice in the corpus and tenêtí once), they serve as comple-
ments 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: ti-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 lángó ká -N80
   'We went and slept there.'
2. mbi de mbi sára pepe -I39
   'I still haven't done it.'
3. ñambéni avo, ñambéni ake gá -N78
   'As some bought, others were coming.'
4. gá í goe -N80
   'Come, let's go.'
5. mbi lingbi tí sára tongasó ško
   na márengé tí mbi pepe -A49
   'I couldn't do this at all to my child.'
6. fadesó, í ngába tí débrouillé tí
   fáa gi ndembu, tí gi gi
   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 gi ngbangatí háa
   -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 pike mbi ško ake pepe
    -R6
    'There's not a man to hit me.'
11. í wara place tí lángó -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. koa tí lo ake tí leke ngbanga
    tí ázo tí kusára na ñambunzú
    -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.**

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Complement</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per cent of total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>no complement</td>
<td>1329</td>
<td>21.2 per cent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>object</td>
<td>2302</td>
<td>36.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>copulative complement</td>
<td>465</td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>modifier complement</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>substantive phrase</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adjunctive</td>
<td>399</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na phrase</td>
<td>1213</td>
<td>19.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tí-verb phrase</td>
<td>305</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>subject intensifier</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verb intensifier</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>títeis clause</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6244</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>first compl.</th>
<th>O</th>
<th>CC</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>Av</th>
<th>MC</th>
<th>SP</th>
<th>naP</th>
<th>tiV</th>
<th>SI</th>
<th>VI</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>none</td>
<td>1408</td>
<td>357</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>722</td>
<td>304</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>57.0</td>
<td>3090</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>object</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>copulative complement</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adjunctive</td>
<td>414</td>
<td>18.0</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>676</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>modifier compl.</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>subst. phrase</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na phrase</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>12.8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>540</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ti-verb</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>1213</td>
<td>305</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4810</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>subject intensifier</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verb intensifier</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Totals: 2302 465 399 66 1213 305 46 14 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. \( V + O + Av + \)
   \( naP \)
   \( naP \)
   \( MC \)
   \( Av \)
   \( tiV \)
   \( MC \)
   \( O \)
   \( Av \)

2. \( V + O + naP + \)
   \( Av \)
   \( Av \)
   \( naP \)
   \( tiV \sim titene Ce \)
   \( MC \)
   \( Av \)
   \( MC \)
   \( tiV \)

3. \( V + O + tiV + \)
   \( MC \) (only 1 occurrence)

4. \( V + O + MC + \)
   \( Av \)
   \( tiV \)
   \( MC \)
   \( naP \)

5. \( V + CC + MC \)
   + \( naP + \)
   \( Av \)
   \( naP \)
   + \( Av + \)
   \( MC \)
   \( na \)
   + \( tiV \)

6. \( eke + CC (nzoni) + CC (clause) \)

7. \( V + VI + O + \)
   \( Av \)
   \( Av \)
   \( MCc \)
   \( naP \)
   + \( naP \)
   \( Av \)

8. \( V + SI + Av + \)
   \( tiV \)
   + \( naP + \)
   \( tiV \)
   \( tiV \)
   \( titene \)
   \( Cl \)
   + \( CC + \)
   \( Av \)
   + \( VI \)
9. \( V + Av + Av + Av \)
   \( naP \)
   \( tvV \)
   \( O \)

10. \( V + Av + naP + Av \)
    \( tvV \)
    \( naP \)
    \( Av \)

11. \( V + Av + tvV \)

12. \( V + Av + CC + Av \)

13. \( V + Av + O + Av \)
    \( tvV \)
    \( naP \)
    \( Av \)

14. \( V + naP + Av + na \)
    \( tv (to 4 times) \)
    \( titze CL \)
    \( MC \)
    \( O \)

15. \( V + naP + naP + Av \)
    \( Av \)
    \( naP \)
    \( Voc \)
    \( MC \)

16. \( V + naP + tvV \)

17. \( V + naP + MC + Av \)
    \( Av \)

18. \( V + naP + O + Av \)
    \( tvV \)
    \( naP \)
    \( Av \)

19. \( V + naP + VI \)

20. \( V + tvV + MC \) (only 1 example)

21. \( V + MC + Av \)
    \( MC \)
    \( CC \)
    \( naP \)
    \( tvV \)
Chapter 12

PRE-CLAUSAL CONSTRUCTIONS

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 laâ (q.v. 8.13) or sî (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 sô 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 laâ 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.

lâ kôé | mbi bâa lo na galâ. } 'I always see him at the market.'
mbi bâa lo na galâ | lâ kôé.

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 kôtôrô tî î, i eke goe na gbânda (not: i eke goe na gbânda na kôtôrô tî î) -A50

2. na Bangui, mbéni wále sí a-civilisé awe -A8 (not: mbéni wále sí a-civilisé na Bangui awe)

'Where I come from (lit. in my village), we go hunting with nets (not: we go hunting with nets in our village).'

'In Bangui, some women have become civilized (i.e. one will find cultured women in Bangui [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 álã). 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 ëke tî mbi na kôli œp. -L77
   'Me, I don't have a husband.'

2. mbi ngâ, mbi kë œp. -C30
   'Me too, I don't refuse.'

3. mbi vëni, mbi ërë mô kôzo nî da. -C29
   'It was I who called you there first.'

4. gi mô 5kô, mô yê? -l9
   'Are you drinking it alone?'

5. mbi sô mbi sâra tînë sô, mbi hînga lége tî sâra ta œpë. -A15
   'I who am saying this, I don't know how to make pots.'

6. i na lo, i gâ na Bambari na ndo sô. -I39
   'He and I, we came to Bambari here.'

7. Âmamâ tî mbi, na Âbabá tî mbi, ìlã tëne, mërengë wâle asâra l'ëcole œpë. -A49
   'My aunts and my uncles, they said that girls don't go to school.'

8. mbelni mërengë wâle, lo gâ na pekô nî. -F7
   'A certain girl, she came later.'

9. tere ngâ, lo fâa yâkâ awe. -F4
   'The spider also, he had made a garden.'

10. Âmërengë nî kâ, álã ke na yorô, alîngbi œp. -N84
    '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 kóòs, lo eke 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 yíngò, mbi wara
apc ngá. -A44  'Neither do I have the money with which to buy salt.'
2. quand même ngú, amú na lo gi na
cuillère. -A9  'And when it comes to water, they give it to him in a spoon.'
3. yi kóò só mamá tí mo atene na
mo tí goe tí sára, ake nzoní,
mo goe mo sára. -A42  'Everything which your mother tells you to go to do, you should go and do it.'
4. histoire tí giriri, mbi de mbi
hínga só kóò só mbi sára tènè
tí vene pepe. -139  'As for stories of long ago, I don't yet know all these to keep from lying.'
5. mbéní aù tí mbi ní, ála affecté
lo na Mbaiki. -N81  'One of my uncles, they assigned him to Mbaiki.'
6. tènè só lo goe tí sí ká na
kóòsó tí lo tènè, mbi hínga
tènè ní? -A49  'Do you know what he is going home to talk about?'
7. zángó yángá tí mò só, fadé i báa
ndá ní ánde.  'Your sharp tongue, we'll see 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, mbéni dôdô 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, ámbéni mingi ahingga tí tó ngunzá pepe. -A8
   'In my part of the country, many don't know how to prepare manioc greens.'

4. na yángá tí Káŋz, ake goigida. -A44
   'In the Káŋz 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:

    fadesô  'now'
giriri    'long ago, formerly'
kózo ní  'first'
lá käé   'always'
lá kút    'evening'
lá bko    'one day'
lá só     'today'
mbéni lá  'some day, once'
l'heure    'time'
a ndé ní  'later'
a pékó ní  'later'
a ndápéréré  'in the morning'
a bì      'at night'

In many sentences the first one, fadesô, has very little specific temporal meaning. Rather, like tongasô (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 -ngô 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 eks sâra koa ti yáká ti café tí mbi. -N35
   "Now I'm working in my coffee plantation.'
2. fadesó, lo mú mbi lo zía mbi na magasin tí lo. -R1
   'So he took me and put me in his warehouse.'
3. giriri só, mbi sâra koa na mbunzú travaux. -N35
   'Long ago, I worked for a White Man representing Public Works.'
4. kózo ní, mbi sâra kusâra tí gérant. -I39
   'First of all, I worked as a store-keeper.'
5. lá kóé, mbi te gi ngunzá. -A44
   'I always eat only manioc greens.'
6. na lá kúí, lá tongasó, i na ámbunzú, i goe. -I55
   'At evening, when the sun was like this, the White Men and I, we went.'
7. lá ọko, mbi tó ngunzá lége otá. -A44
   'On one day, I prepare manioc greens three times.'
8. lá só, mbi báa kóli tí mo agoe na galá avo yama, mbi báa apeg? -A44
   'Today, didn't I see your husband go to the market and buy meat?'
9. mbéni lá, fade àla sâra téné na mo ngangó mingi. -A49
   'One day they will speak very harshly to you.'
10. na l'heure tí deux heures, i sâra koa na ámamá tí i ngbii. -A9
    'At two o'clock, we work for our mothers a long time.'
11. na ná dé ní, méngé wále só agá. -F7
    'Later, this girl came.'
12. na pêkó ní, mbi gá ge. -I9
    'Later, I came here.'
13. na ndápééré, mbi mú lége tí goe na galá. -A15
    'In the mornings, I take to the road to go to market.'
14. gàngó só mo gá ndó só só, mbi sâra mbéni sioní yi na mo só mo goe mo kë tí to na mbi mbéti só?
    'When you came here, did I do something wrong to you which made you refuse to send me letters?'
15. singó tì mò na Dakar, fadé mò gi 'When you arrive in Dakar, try lége tì sì na camp tì to get to the military camp, á-militaire, si mò hûnda and ask about him.' tenstì 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 tì (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. nginza tì Bangui, par jour tì ála 'Bangui wages, their daily ake ndé, tì ñ ake ndo sò ndé. salary is different, ours here is different.' -I55

2. ngû tì mbi, tongana yá tì carte d'identité, ka mò hînga. -N35 'My age, if (you could see) the inside of an identity card, then you'd know.'

3. lâ kôë, yâkâ tì kóli sò, ábakoyá mingi ake fûti kôbe ní. -F4 'Always, this man's garden, the baboons are ruining the food (in this garden).'

4. fadesô, mèrengé tì wâle sò, bé tì lo aso. -N79 'Now, this girl, she was angry.'

5. na tì dôðô sò, tongana ála sâra dôðô, i sâra na yângâ tì ngaragé. -A37 'And as for this dance, when they dance, we do it in the ngaragé language.'

6. tì ñ, álal ke goe tì éré kongo. -I39 'As for us, they (i.e. the women) go to drain a stream.'

7. tì fadesô, wâle a-commencé tì fâa yâkâ lége 5ko tongana kóli. -A42 'Nowadays, women are beginning to prepare gardens along with men.'

8. tôngó ní, fadé mbi to sëngé. -A42 '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 biakû and bîanf 'truly,' nga 'also,' mbênî '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 fade 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 hînga só. -A15
   'Indeed, I know this.'
2. na ngâ, mbi tene merci mingi na
   Monsieur. -A15
   'And also, I say many thanks to Monsieur.'
3. mbéni, tongana mo yi ti goe na
   yâkâ, mo goe ti fâa yâkâ, lo
   ke merdê mo na lége ti fângô
   yâkâ. -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 kège lo pepe. -N80
   'So I don't reject him.'
5. tongasó, fade î dé bâ 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, lâ kôé,
   mbi tô gi ngunzâ. -A44
   'Here, as for this (village of) Bata, I always prepare just
   manioc greens.'
2. wâle só ake léke ta, fadesô,
   âla zîa lége ti léke ta awe.
   -A13
   'The women who used to make pots,
   now, they've given up making pots.'
3. tongasô, na âmbéni zo, âla tene,
   mbéni yi ake na téré ti
   nganga ngâ. -A48
   'So some people, they said that
   there was something beside the
   nganga (fetish).'
4. giriri só, babá ti î, âla sâra
   ngaragé. -A37
   'A long time ago, our fore-
   fathers, they took to
   ngaragé.'
Chapter 13

SUBJECTIVAL CONSTRUCTIONS

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 ti, 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 onlyadjunctives but whole modifying clauses, one or more connective phrases with ti, 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 yi ti + pronoun or ti + 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 álå.

1. tongana (mbi) kono awe, (mbi) 'When I had grown up, I saw that báa yi só ake sótá yi -A49 this was a big thing.'
2. fadé (âla) tenez (mbi) sëke zo 
  tî bûbâ -R3
3. fadesô, (mo) gâ babâ na mamâ tî 
  mbi awe -R1
4. fadesô ngâ, (mo) mú nginza na lo, 
  na ndô tî bulletin de paye 
  -Rî
5. tôngasô, term atene lo, (lo) mú 
  na nî gî mbo tî nî -F4
6. mèrengé só (lo) sâra têné nî 
  aèke kpu -R9b
7. fadesô, (âni) mú kpôka tî goe na 
  yâkâ, tî sâra yâkâ -A15
8. jüsqua (î) goe (î) wara place 
  tî lângô, (î) lângô da -I55
9. tôngana (âla) yô kôë awe, (âla) 
  lôndô açoë -N7s
10. na ngû só, (mbi) yî, âla kôë, 
    açoë tî voté, tôngana só, 
    (âla) voté kôzo nî -R3
11. aa, Mamadu, (âla) érê i na mo 
    kôë pëpë? -R1
12. (âla kôë) ayî tî má lo -R10
13. mbi pensë, tôngana ã-docteur 
    wala aço tî sûrfôgô li tî 
    mabôko só aço na yâ tî 
    kôtôrî, nzônî, (âla kôë) 
    abôngbi têrë tî âla -R4b
14. allë, (âla só kôë) alôndô na 
    vundû -F7
15. mais tôngana (âla ûse) agâ 
    sîni awe, yî kôë agâ sîni 
    awe -A15

'They will say that I am a 
foolish man.'

'Now, you have become my father 
and my mother.'

'Now, you give him money, beyond 
the pay bulletin.' (with im-
perative verb)

'And so, spider said to him 
(that) he should give him 
just his dog.'

'The "child" about which he was 
speaking was a mortar.'

'Then, we take hoes to go to the 
garden, to make the garden.'

'Until we go, we find a place 
to sleep, and we sleep there.'

'When they had finished drink-
ing, they arose and went.'

'This year, I want all of you to 
go to vote just as you voted 
formerly.' (2nd person plural)

'Ah, Mamadu, didn't they call 
you and me (lit. us and you) 
both?' (3rd person plural)

'They all wanted to hear him.'

'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.'

'Then all of them rose in re-
sentment.'

'But when those two had become 
bad, everything had become 
bad.'
16. ni laâ, mbi tené na âla kôô, fadesô, (âla sô) ake ge. 'Because of this, I told them all, now, here are these.'
17. lo bêni âfini zo sô, lo mú âla tongana âita ti lo, sô fade, (lo na âla,) ake sâra kusâra. 'He blessed those new people, he took them as his brothers, who soon, he and they would work.'
18. (âla na âzo ti diplomate tí Â-français ) ake bôngbi li ti âla, ti goe ti mú yângâ ti f français, na téné tí République Centrafricaine, ti goe ti tené na âzo ti mbêni kôtorô. '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. âla tené (âla â-diacre ti Bangayanga) ahânga pepe. '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 sô (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 -ngô 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 -ngô serves as a subject.

1. (mamâ) agâ amû mbi akiri na kôtorô tí aû tí lo. 'Mother came and took me and went back to her uncle's village.'
2. mais tongana (zo) ayí mo aye alîngbi tí hûnda kôbe tí mo tí vo? 'But if a person doesn't like you, could he ask food from you to buy?'
'Good, (there) is no problem, but I can't reject the whole family because of this.'

'The apostles were what men?'

'And the men were also on the sides to eat also.'

'Radio Bangui is telling you the affair of God on Sunday.'

'It's because of this that my liver hurt, I came and took all those labor papers, I put them in the house.'

'Because hunger for you is killing me.'

'Your husband must love you a great deal then.'

'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.'

'Didn't you know that the wiles of women are varied?'

'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.'

'And her sister came back and began to scratch her.'

'The strength of the medicine goes and overcomes the strength of your body, and can even kill you.'
15. yî sô kôê, (la loi ti kusâra venî) afa nî -R1
16. nzonî titene, ì ngâ, i gî lége, i leke kôtôrî ti i, nginza ti kôtôrî ti i agâ mingi -R2
17. mbi tene mamá, mbi tene, (wâle ti aû ti mbi nî) ayî mbi pepe -N81
18. tongana (l'heure ti kîrîngô ti i) alîngbi awe, i gâ i làngô -N80
19. tongana (mará ti têné tongasô ti sionî) ake na bê ti âla, âla tene têné nî mbéné pepe -R2
20. fadesô, (babá ti mbi ti kêtê) atene na mbi, wâle ti mbi sô agoe na kôtôrî, awara méréngé awe -R1
21. (zo ti hînga mbëti mingî) ake da pepe -R10
22. lá nî, (wâle só) atene, nî ëke na mbéné méréngé sko na yâ ti da ti nî -R9b
23. parce que tongana (kobêla só) ake ti sionî mingî, ake sâra mawa mingî et puis, ake minga ti fâa zo pepe -R4b
24. (gbânda só, âla bi, si agbô susu,) ahî ndô nî, ake kôtâ kusâra só èglise ake sâra ânde -R10

'All these things, the labor law itself shows them.'
'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.'
'I said to mother, I said, this wife of my uncle doesn't like me.'
'When the time for our return was fully come, we came and slept.'
'If this kind of evil affair is in their liver, let them no longer say this thing.'
'Now, my little father has told me that my wife, who went to the village, has had a child.'
'People of much book learning (lit. people to know books) were not there.'
'That day, that woman said she had a certain child inside her house.'
'Because when this disease is of the very bad (kind), it causes much suffering, and also, it doesn't delay in killing people.'
'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. (pémé tí mbi só i báa
    a-manqué só,) ake sengé
    pepe -A9
26. (yáká só i sára só,) ake yáká
    tí búbá apé -R6
27. ngbangatí, ( ámbéni mbunzú ní,
    tí vurú póró tí têrê ake da
    só) agî gi lége titenê, asára
    sioní yî 5ko -R2
28. (vôngô yî na mbi) agâ fângô
    têrê? -C30
29. mais (gângô tí mbi na Bangui)
    ake tí gi place tí lângô
    -L7
30. (tiri na yá tí galá) ake tiri
    tí zo tí goigôi -C30

'My teeth which you see are missing are not (that way) for
nothing.'
'The garden which we are making, is not a foolish garden.'
'Because, some of the White Men, (men) of white skin are there
also, (they) seek only for a
way to do an evil thing.'
'Has buying things from me become
(an occasion for) showing off?'
'But my coming to Bangui was to
find a place to sleep.'
'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 ãala ake ndé,
    (tí i) ake ndo só ndé -L55
    'And then the money of Bangui,
their daily wages, are different, (and) ours are different.'
2. mais (gi tí wâle só amá na bê
    pepe veni) aso mbi -L16
    'But it's only that of those
women who have not believed
that hurts me.'
3. (tí báa kôtá yî na ndô sëse só)
    ahj kôbe tí yî lá kôe mbi eke
    te -C31
    'To see great things all over
the earth surpasses any food
which I ever ate.'
4. (tí sára koa na mbunzú) aso zo
    míngi -R6
    'To work for White Men hurts
people a lot.'
5. (mingi) ake goe, wala ti bângô yî tongana ngû ti Gbutu só ake ti na ngangô só -R2

6. (kôé) ake -R9b

7. (âmbenî) ake te ne na mbi, atene ake ta -R9b

8. (mbenî) alû gi 5ko -R6

9. âmèréngé tî kîtôrô tî i só,
   (âmbenî) alôndô lâ só ti goe na Paris -R7d

10. mais âmèni mingî, na kîtôrô tî mbi (âmèni mingî) ahinga tî tó ngunzâ pepe -A8

11. wâle só adû na kôli só
    âmèréngé otâ, mais (5ko)
    akîri na tî tî Eternel Nzâpâ -L15

12. (sô) ake kusâra tî âwâlê laâ -A15

13. ou bien ake fonctionnaire, ou
    bien ake commis de bureau,
    tî gâ tî hânda mbi, atene fadé i fâa mo, (sô kôé) ake séngé -R3

14. (sô venî) ake fâ na mbi lége tî fângô ngbanga tî âla só -R1

15. (lo hînga atene ni ake wâle, só
    ake saâra koa tî da tî kôli tî lo nzoni,) ake -A8

16. kôbe só ake lôndô na yàkâ, agâ,
    mîrèngé só, (mbéni só lo wara
    lo tîngbi atene, ake ngangô)
    ake pepe -R9b

'Many are going, perhaps to see something like the water of Gbutu which falls with great force.'

'All are there.'

'Some are saying to me, they say it is a pot.'

'Some planted only one.'

'The young people of our country, some have taken off today to go to Paris.'

'But many, in my village, many don't know how to boil manioc greens.'

'This woman bore to this man three children, but one re-
turned to the arms of the Eternal God.'

'That is the work of women right there.'

'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.'

'This very thing is showing me how to decide your case.'

'She knew and she said she was a woman who was doing the
work of her husband's house well, (this) is so.'

'(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-VERBAL SENTENCES

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 ti, but in questions with tongana, tenstí, and ngbangati). Some of the noun phrase sentence-fractions function identificationally: i.e. the meaning is 'there is' or something like it.

*1. kusára ti gérant? -139
   'The work of a shopkeeper?'

*2. mbi 5ko. -19
   '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 fadesô 'now' and tongasô '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 ŝko, na mbénî babâ ti mbi. -A21

4. mbénî vieille wâle. téřé ti lo kôê akz gi siôni mingi. -F7

5. yi ŝko tongana zo agá na m3, alîngbi m3 hînga lé ti lo sî.
    -F4

6. taâ têink ti mo? -C8

*7. gi na ndo sô. -A21

8. gi na lége ti kôbe só mo leke znzonî apz. -A8

*9. ka ti mbi nî? -I9

10. mo yi tî mo bière? tî glácê? -I9

*11. tî fâa na yákâ. -A13

12. tenêtî yş. -A15

13. tongana yş sô. -I9

14. gi tongasô. -A44

One year, with one of my uncles.'

'There was an old woman. Her body was all in a very bad condition.'

'There's just one thing. When someone comes to you, you must recognize him.'

'Are you telling the truth?' (lit. 'your truth')

'Right here.'

'Just from the poor way you prepared food.'

'What about mine!' /'As for you, do you want beer? A cold one?'

'To make a garden with it.'

'Why?'

'What's the trouble here?'

'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 pêpe 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 laâ, the meaning of which is 'that's the....' A complete discussion of laâ 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. koa ti mbi | lo só. -I41
2. ndâ ti mariés ní | lo só. -C31
3. kôbe kôë ake na galá ndo só |
  gi ti mo? -C30
4. têné ti mo | ti mà yângâ ti
  mamâ ti mo, na ti mà yângâ
  ti babâ ti mo. -A42
5. ti mo | yê. -19
6. mariés ní | gi ƙo ave. -C31
7. ngéré ní | ƙe ƙe. -C30
8. vene ní | gi ti mbi? -C29
9. só | séngë. -C31
10. só | yê só? -C31
11. vene | pepe. -C29
12. kôli ti mo | ape? -C31
13. koa ní | ape? -C31
14. éré ti dôdô ní | laâ. -A21
15. yí ƙo, gi Nzapá. -N35
16. gi só mbi mà, têné ti Nzapá.
   -A15
17. âla kôë, gi na kobéla ti
   bilharzie. -R4a

'That's my work.'
'That's the point of marriage.'
'All the food which is here in
the market, is it just yours?'
'It's your responsibility to
obey your mother and your
father.'
'What's yours?'
'There's just one marriage.'
'What's the price?'
'The lie is mine?'
'That's all right.'
'What's this?'
'It's not a lie.'
'Isn't he your husband?'
'Isn't it because of work?'
'That's the name of the dance.'
'There's just one thing, just
God.'
'There's just one thing I hear,
it's the word of God.'
'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 gâ 'to come,' goe 'to go,' kirî 'to return,' and lôndô 'to arise' (q.v. 9.22). Also occurring sequentially are the verbs de 'to remain,' mü 'to take,' and tenê 'to say.' The first three verbs of motion (i.e. gâ, goe, kirî) do not necessarily indicate real motion. The verbs gâ 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: yâ tî mbi ni agâ 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 kiri 'to return,' on the other hand, requires some translation such as 'again' or 'as for....'

Certain verbs of cognition (e.g. hinga 'to know,' pensé 'to think'), perception (bâa 'to see,' mâ 'to hear'), and vocalization (e.g. éré 'to name,' hûnda '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 hinga atene, lo ke gâ. 'I know that he is coming.'

14. likongô só agá akpà dole -A51
2. i gâ i si na marché. -N81
3. nì laâ i gâ i lângô na ní na Bangui ngbii. -N81
4. âmêrëngë agá mingi ahé biá. -A21
5. lo gâ na kûtërë. lo gâ atên, nì yi mbëni zo ti gâ na lo. -I9
6. gângô só mo gâ na ndo só só, mbi sâra mbëni sionî yi na mo sì mo goe mo kë ti to na mbi mbëtî.
7. goe mo vo mafuta ti bálawá. -A11
8. mo goe zïa na ndô ti table. -A11
9. mbi goe mbi dutî kâ. -I55
10. i na lo i goe. i goe i lângô kà. -N80
11. tongana lo venî lo goe lo má mbo só -F4
12. i kiri i tene mo kôë -R4a
13. mo kiri mo fa papa na lë ti mbunzû só. -C31
14. kôli ti mo alôndô kà na kàa, agá -A11

'this spear comes and spears the elephant!' 'We came and arrived at the market.' 'That's why we came and stayed in Bangui a long time.' 'Children came in large numbers and sang.' 'He came to the village. He came and said, "I want someone to go with him."' 'When you came here, did I do something bad to you that you went and refused to send me letters?' 'Go and buy shea butter.' 'Go and put it on the table.' 'I went and stayed there.' 'He and I went. We went and stayed there.' 'when he himself, he goes and gets this dog' 'we come back and tell you again' 'for your part, you reveal trouble to the White Man' 'Your husband leaves work over there and comes.'
15. mbéni finí fille ní alôndô
      agá na école ménagère -N79
16. amú mbi apika mbi alíngbi
      apê. -N81
17. amú kpi tì sindi só, atûku
      na ndô ní. -A8
18. ála mú têmê, ála bi na mbi.
      -N80
19. mbi mú caisse ní, mbi goe na
      pêkô tì âmbunzû. -I55
20. kêtê íta tì lo só amú lége
      akîrî. -N79
21. íta, mú na mbi tanga ní, mbi
      yî. -I9
22. mo mú na lo ngû lo sukûla lê
      tì lo. -C31
23. mbi de mbi mú kôli apê. -C8
24. ngangô tì lo ade ahûnzi pepe.
      -L486
25. tongasô, tere atambéla ngbii,
      âsí na yáká tì kôli só, atne,
      mon vieux, só kôbe tì yáká sì
      ake na aû só? -Fâ
26. mbunzu akpé agoe doucement,
      apîka lo -I55
27. î goe î wara place tì lângô,
      î lângô da. -I55
28. mo goe mo mú lo na sése ní mo
      kirî na katôrî ní. -A29
29. lo hînga atene mbi faa yàma
      mingi.
30. mbéni camarade tì mbi nì atoka
      kêtê íta tì lo atene, agoe
      adô gérê tì lo. -N79

'A certain new girl came to Home
Making School.'
'She took me and beat me ter-
ribly.'
'She takes this sesame paste and
dumps it on top of it.'
'They took stones and threw them
at me.'
'I took the box and followed the
White Men.'
'Her younger sister took to the
road and returned.'
'Friend, give me the rest to
drink.'
'Give him water so that he can
wash his face.'
'I haven't yet taken a husband.'
'His strength is not yet gone.'

'So spider traveled a long time
and arrived at this man's
garden and said, "Wow, is this
a food-garden which Uncle has?"'
'The White Man ran and went
quietly and shot him.'
'We went and found a place to
sleep and we slept there.'
'You go and pick it off the
ground and return with it to
the village.'
'He knows that I have killed
many animals.'
'A friend of mine sent her
younger sister saying, "Go and
step on her foot."'
31. mbi pense, mbi tene, hînga pepe, á-postier asûru na lége. -L3
   'I thought that perhaps the post-
   men tore it up on its way.'
32. âla yi tî gonda têrê tî âla,
   âla tenê, taâ memé tî mbi ake
   zo tî sauvage pepe. -A49
   'They like to brag saying, "My
   own mother is not a savage."'
33. lâ sô mbi bâa kôli tî mo acoe
   na galâ avo yama, mbi bâa
   ake? -A44
   'Today didn't I see your husband
   go to the market and buy
   meat?'
34. ndâ adé yâ tî mbi aco. -A8
   'Morning comes and my stomach
   hurts.'
35. têrê tî mbênî zo tî mco aco lo
   ngbii, lo kôî awe. -A21
   'One of your relatives is sick a
   long time and he dies.'
36. par jour tî âla ake ndê, tî i
   ake ndo sô ndê. -I55
   'Their daily wages are different,
   and ours here are different.'
37. mo sukûla têrê ni pepe, angba
   saleté séngé séngé. -A8
   'You don't wash it, and it re-
   mains dirty.'
38. giriri mbi duti na mawa, âla
   bâa mbi tongana zo tî bûbâ.
   -N35
   'Long ago I was in great trouble,
   but they considered me a fool.'
39. mbi sâra yáká tî mbi, ade mbi
   te mbênî yî ni ake? -N35
   'I made my garden, but I haven't
   yet eaten anything from it.'
40. î tomba pekô tî âla ngbii, âla
   kpê awe. -I55
   'We chased them a long time,
   but they had already fled.'

15.21.11b. Additive clauses are those which, immediately following an-
other clause, do not indicate a separate action which is simultaneous or sub-
sequent to the one just mentioned, but rather complement that action, supply-
ing 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 hû '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 per-
haps not additive but simply sequential. For an anomalous use of ake pepe
see 8.12.40, ex. 7.

The verb hû 'to surpass' is used to indicate intensity, superlative
degree, etc. (ex. 1-4). If it is followed by no specific object, it often
takes ndô nî (i.e. 'surpasses the top of it').
The verb lîngbi '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 lîngbi can be either in the affirmative or the negative. The simple negative clause a-lîngbi pepe 'there is no equal' is, on the other hand, used as a superlative, very much like a-hô ndô nî (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.

1. bilharzie nî tî âwâle aké so
   âla ahê ndô nî. -R4a
2. sô séngê yi ahê yi kôê. -C31
3. fadê mbi ke wara bongô kâ na
   yâyô ahê mo apè? -C31
4. mo sâra koa ahê ãmînî wàle na
   kôfôkô sô kôê -C31
5. tongana mo tourné kôtô alîngbi
   na nî awe -A8
6. mbi yi kôfôkô tî f na âla agâ
   taâ kôfôkô, agâ ngangô alîngbi
   na ãmînî kôtôkô tî sëse -R2

7. mërenge sô, lo lîngbi tî tê
   alîngbi na lo apè -A44
8. âla pîka lo, alîngbi apè. -N79
9. da nî agbi kâ alîngbi apè. -N79
10. taâ têrê tî mbi avokô alîngbi
    apè. -N81
11. mërenge nî kâ, âla ke na yorô,
    alîngbi apè. -N81
12. mo zia ngû na wà, a-chauffê.
    -A8
13. fadê mbi sâra agâ kâ. -F7

'The liver fluke disease of women hurts them terribly.'
'That's a most worthless thing.'
'Won't I be getting more clothes than you there in heaven?'
'You do more work than all the women in this village.'
'After you've stirred it enough....'
'I want our country to become a real country, to become strong like the other countries of the earth.'
'This child can't eat enough to satisfy himself.'
'They beat her up terribly.'
'Many houses burned up over there.'
'My body was terribly dirty.'
'The kids over there have an awful lot of charms.'
'You put the water on the fire to heat.'
'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 laâ (q.v. 8.13), or contain hinga pepe 'don't know,' yi ti 'want to,' adu 'is,' or aeke nzoni '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. {asi na têrê ti dôdô ni awe}, amû ngo. -A21
   'When they've come to the dance site, they take the drums.'

2. {i fâa yâma awe}, i mú mbêni, i mú na makunzi -A50
   'When we have killed some animals, we take some meat and give it to the chief.'

3. {i gâ i sâra lângô mingi ape}, mbêni aû ti mbi ni, ála afecté lo na Mbaiki. -N81
   'We came and hadn't spent many days when one of my uncles, they assigned him to Mbaiki.'

4. {mo goe mo vo makongô awe}, mo gâ mo tôku na yá ti sembê -A8
   'After you've gone and bought some caterpillars, you come and put them in a dish.'
5. (lo te ngunzâ ní kôé awe), mo goe mo mú na lo ngû, lo sukûla mabôko tì lo kôé, lo yô ngû na pekó ní. -A11

6. (mo fa na âla lége tì nzoni), âla bâa tongana nzoni yí. -A49

7. (mo ts), fadé mo língbi tì wara malade tì yâ pepe. -A8

8. (lo eke mërënë wâle, wala mërënë kïli), fadé babá ní afa na lo koa tì da. -A49

9. (mo yî), mbi ke gà, ita. -C30

10. (mo mú lo), lo língbi tì kírì na babá tì lo ape. -I9

11. (mbi wara yâma), mbi ts. -A44

12. (atene tì tô ngû), ake nzoni mo goe mo tô ngû. -A42

13. (atu ni âla), ka âla língbi títene âla sâra nzoni yí pepe -R2

14. (atu títene wâle tì mbi ake na kótàrî), ka mbi na wâle tì mbi i cause títene i ke sâra mo téné só mbîrimbî -N35

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.'

If you teach them the right way to do things, they will consider it good.'

If you eat it, you won't be able to get a stomach disease.'

If it's a daughter or a son, the father will teach it the work of the house.'

If you want, I'm coming, Sister.'

When you take her (in marriage), she can't return to her father.'

When I get meat, I eat it.'

If she tells you to draw water, you should go and draw water.'

If it were them, they wouldn't be able to do good things.'

If my wife were in the village, my wife and I would be able to chat to tell you about these things thoroughly.'

Perhaps you don't do the work aye. -C31 right.'

The remaining clauses are best taken up separately, for each one, because of its semantic content, has a special use.

The abbreviated clause hînga pepe (abbreviated, because it can, although rarely does, have a subject) introduces doubt in a sentence (ex. 15-16).
The word pepe or ake is always said with a raised (not high) and sustained pitch with the last vowel being slightly lengthened.
16. {hingga pepe}, â-postier asûru na lége -L3

A clause ending with laâ (q.v. 8.13) gives the reason for the following clause.

17. {mbi ngba mérægë, mbi goe na l'école laâ}, mbi mâ Sango bien -A21

18. {bë tí lo ayí mò apè laâ}, ake sàra mò sàna só. -C31

19. {hingga apè, nginza ake na lo apè laâ}, lo sàra mò tongasó. -C31

The reason that I understand Sango well is that when I was a child I went to school.'

'The reason that he's making you suffer like this is that he does not like you.'

'Perhaps the reason that he's treating you like this is that he has no money.'

The clause ake nzoni '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 nzoni} mò zia âla kózo ní na l'école -A49

21. {nì laâ ake nzoni}, âla mâ wângô só -R4c

22. yi kòe só mamá tí mò atene na mò tí goe tí sàra, (ake nzoni), mò goe mò sàra. -A42

23. {ake nzoni} mò gá mò píka lé tí mbi sì mbi hingga mbi tene mò ke mérægë tí wâle. -C30

24. {ake nzoni} mò tene na lo apè. '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 tene 'to say' is involved. In a sentence such as lo tene na ñla, ni èkè 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 incompleted 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 tene 'to say' is not the only verb which acts in this way. There are also the following:

báa 'to see' 

hìnga 'to know' 

hûnda 'to ask'

má 'to hear, understand'

25. mo báa lo dutí na li to kéké

26. ñla báa, mo ke na nginza míngi

27. i hìnga ake yí to mbito míngi

28. lo hûnda lo, tará, yá aso mo sí

29. mbi má tongana mo mú kóli ape?

30. mo pensé kóbe kóe ake na galá

31. kóli só atène wàle to lo, lo

32. atène aú, mú na mbi mbo to

33. mbi yí ñla ngbá na ndo so

pensé 'to think' 
yí 'to want' 
zìa 'to place, let'

'Look at him sitting at the top of the tree.'

'They see that you don't have much money.'

'We know that it is a terrible thing.'

'He asked her, "Grandmother, what is hurting you that you cry in this manner?"'

'Haven't I heard that you took a husband?'

'Do you think that all the food which is here in the market is yours?'

'This man told his wife to prepare his baggage.'

'He said, "Uncle, give me my dog."'

'I don't want them to remain here.'
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 zia 'to let' and yi '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) mo mú kôli ká, 'Haven't I heard that you took mo goe na da ti kôli awe aps? a husband and have gone to -Ca the man's house?
37. mbi tene na álá, (mbi tene), mbi 'I told them, "I don't want yi ti mbi aps. to."'
38. fadé álá gá ti hûnda mbi 'They will come to ask me what (atene), yi 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.
1. tongana lo píka zuru kôé awe, lo mé kôbe, lo mú mbêni, agoe na pós kô tí kóli. -A42
2. même mo mú têré tí i kôé, i lángó na da tí lengé ni ñó. -A9
3. même mo gå na milieu tí dole tongasó, dole abáa lo pëpë. -A51
4. quand même mbi yû ape téné ake ape. -C31
5. só lo gå bírí, mbi hîngâ ape.

"After she has pounded the mil, she prepares the meal and takes some and goes to her husband."

"Even if you should take all of us together (i.e. here in the room), we would sleep in the lengé house together."

"Even if you should come amongst the elephants in this way, the elephants don't see him (i.e. you)."

"Even if I don't wear (any clothes), that's all right."

"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,' ngbangatî 'because,' ka 'then,' sí 'then,' tenetî 'because,' titene '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 kôî na deux heures, et puis mbi sí da ape, fadé ake sàra tongana yò. -N35
2. mbi dîko mbêtí na Sango, mais agbó yàngâ tí mbi mbîrimbîrí ape. -A21
3. tongasó, kôî só amû woga só awe, na lo fàa kàmba na gô tí woga awe. -F4
4. lo yî mbi ngbangatî mbi sàra koa tí lo mingi ape? -C31

"If I should die at two o'clock and not arrive there, then what's going to happen?"

"I read in Sango but I don't do it well."

"So this man took the antelope and cut the rope from off the antelope's neck."

"He likes me because I do a lot of work for him, don't you know?"
5. mbito tî kâ amâ mbi 5ko pepe, parce que mbi 5kë zo tî kâ. -R3

6. tarâ, yê assa mo sû mo 5kë toto tongasô. -L186

7. mo érê âzo, tîtêne âla gâ, atoto lo na mo. -A21

'I am not at all afraid of death, because I am a person of death (i.e. liable to death).'

'Grandmother, what is hurting you that you cry like this?'

'You call people to lament him 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 preposed 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 laâ (ex. 10). For a full description of this important word laâ see 8.13. Other types of non-verbal material are illustrated by ex. 11-20.

1. àita tî mbi, âla hé pâmbe tî mbi apë o. -A9

2. Fiowasa, mo mû kâli awe? -C8

3. ?âmô, mbi de mbi mû kâli apë. -C8

4. oui, mbi gâ pendere kâli na Rafai. -I39

5. mbi ke gâ, ìta. -C30

6. tenêî yê mo gâ tî vôngô kôbe na galâ. -C30

7. tenêî yê sû lo sâra têñë na mo tongasô.

'My friends, please don't make fun of my teeth!'

'Fiowasa, have you taken a husband?'

'No, I haven't yet taken a husband.'

'Yes, I became an adolescent boy at Rafai.'

'I'm coming, friend.'

'Why do you come to buy food in the market?'

'Why did he talk to you like that?'
8. mo tene ake tí mo tongana yë.  
   -C29
9. gi âwâle sí azia ála na kobêla  
   ti bilharzie ngbangatí yë.  
   -R4a
10. só ake kusâra tí âwâle laâ.  
    -A15
11. só tongana yë sí tí âkóli ake  
     só ála mingi pepe. -R4a
12. só kôbe tí yákâ sí ake na  
     aú só? -F4
13. tongasó aep, mo língbi tí wara  
     yëma na yá tí mo. -A6
14. mbunzû akpê aego doucement,  
     apîka lo. mauser ôse, dole  
     ake na sése. -155
15. mais yi 5ko, mbi wara mbéni  
    yëma tí te na pekó ní aeps.  
    -A44
16. âkóli ayi tí göe, payéngô ní tí  
     li na yá ní, pâta bale osío.  
     -R7f
17. wâle aego tí payé tí li, pâta  
     bale ôse. -R7f
18. na kôtôrô tí mbi, mbéni ãôô  
     aekó, éré ní lengé. -A9
19. merci mingi tennî mbunzû asi  
     na kôtôrô awe. -A15
20. nzonî i wara kôtá yákâ tí  
     avion na ndo só. -R2

'How is it that you say that it is yours?'

'Why is it that they place only women (in the hospital) because of liver fluke disease?'

'That's the work of women.'

'How is it that the men's (liver fluke disease) does not hurt them much?'

'Is this garden food which Uncle has?'

'If not done in this way, you can get worms in your stomach.'

'The White Man ran and went quietly and shot him. Two shots with the big rifle and the elephant was on the ground.'

'But there's just one thing, and that's that I can't get any meat to eat with it.'

'If a man wants to go, the price for entering is 200 francs.'

'If a woman goes to pay, it's 100 francs.'

'In my part of the country, there's a certain dance, the name of which is lengé.'

'Many thanks because the White Man has arrived in the country.'

'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 ç). 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 ay leds. 'No one is drinking.'
mbéni zo ay leds. 'Isn't anyone going to drink?'
mbéni zo ay leds. 'You mean to say no one is going to drink?'
mbéni zo ay leds. 'Isn't someone drinking?'
1. mo pensé kôbe  kôé ake na galá ndo só  gi tî mo? -C3o
2. mo më awe? -R4a
3. mo yî tî mo bière? -I9
4. mbi sâra têné tî pêmbé tî mbi só kôé da? -A9
5. mais ka tî mbi ni? -I9
6. bê tî mbi ayî tî vo kôbe ni aps? -C3o
7. awe aps? -C31
8. mbi mâ âla tene âla ke mâ kôli gi na kété yorô tî bata têrê aps? -C31
9. kôli tî mbi aps? -C31
10. yî tî mo só mo sâra kété amû kamêla na mbi mínji, ç? -C31

'Do you think that all the food here in the market is yours?'
'Did you hear?'
'As for you, do you want beer?'
'Do you want me to tell all about my teeth in it (i.e. tape recorder)?'
'But what about mine?'
'Don't I want to buy the food?'
'Isn't it all (i.e. can't you see that it's all) finished?'
'Haven't I heard say that they get husbands with little body charms?'
'Isn't that my husband?'
'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 yç 'what?' (q.v. 4.25), wa 'what?' (q.v. 4.24), 5ke 'how much?' (q.v. 4.26), and some French borrowings (e.g. est-ce que [esk'], 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 yç and wa occur in a few conventionalized interrogative locutions: ngbangatí yç and tenetí yç 'why?' tongana yç 'how?' lá wa 'when?' zo wa 'who?' and na ndo wa 'where?'

11. só sârângô yî tî yç. -C31

'What kind of business is this?'
12. ye aso mo si mo ek toto togasó. 'What hurts you that you cry like this?'

13. tenetí ye mo ga tí vógó kóbe na galá. 'Why do you come to buy food in the market?'

14. mo ke tambéla tongana ye sí bongó ti mo atoto. 'How do you walk so that your clothes make noise?'

15. ngéré ni ñká. 'What's the price?'

16. mo lingbi tí kë lo ngbangatí bongó lá wa. 'When can you reject him over clothes (i.e. Can you possibly reject him over clothes)?'

17. zo wa sì amú na mbi wa. 'Who gave it to me?'

18. mo wara pendere bongó só na nô wa. 'Where did you get this nice dress?'

19. gendarme a-commandé li ti sârângó samba wala a-commandé li ti kângó koko. 'Does a policeman supervise the making of beer or the selling of koko?'

20. tongana mo te ngunzá, mo te susu, mélangó na ni wala. 'When you eat manioc greens, 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). Per-
haps 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. vokɔ vokɔ '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 kótàrɔ tí mbi,
   Mangkanzi. -A40

2. gi kótà gbía, (fuwa tí i, só
   atene, Bangasu), lo vení sí
   a-commencé berá tí sára na
   lâ ni ká. -I39

3. fadé na pekó ní, mbi eke má
   âmbéni fonctionnaire, li tí
   ála míngi, wala bale otá,
   wala bale osio, wala bale
   ukú kóe, mbi hínga pepe, tí
   to ála na mbéni kótàrɔ. -R3

4. mbi má Sango, mbi má mbírímbíri
   ape, ngbangatí só mbi goe na
   l'école. -A21

5. mo vo káráko, kpi tí káráko.
   -A8

6. ála mú mbéni semble tí i,
   indigène só. -I39

7. mbi sára koa tí passé bongó,
   na l'hôpital. -I9

'I heard it in my village,
Mangkanzi.'

'The principal chief, our fuwa,
that is, Bangasu, he's the
one who began wars at that
time.'

'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.'

'I know Sango (although I don't
know it well) because I went
to school.'

'You buy peanuts, rather,
peanut paste.'

'They took one of our pots, a
native one that is.'

'I worked ironing clothes, in
a hospital.'
PART FOUR: TEXTS

Chapter 17

ANALYSED TEXT

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,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 nzoni laâ, sí mbi êke ndo só does not seem to be in construction with anything else. The construction nzoni laâ '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 yi 'to want.' The clause sí mbi êke ndo só is perhaps intercalated, but if nzoni laâ 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 (N81)

1 na l'heure só mbi de kétè kétè, | babá tì mbi agoe na Fort Archambault. 2 mamá tì mbi, na kétè òta tì mbi, i na álà | i ngbá na Banguí. 3 na l'heure só babá tì mbi asára ká lângó míngi awe, | mamá tì mbi, amú mbi | akpè, | agoe na ní na Damara, na kótôró tì átará tì mbi. 4 na lo zìa kétè kétè òta tì mbi òko, na yá tì da ní. 5 na tongana babá tì mbi amá tènè só owe, | amú lége, | agá. 6 fadèsò, | amú lége, | agoe na pèkò tì mamá tì mbi ká. 7 agoe, | amú i, | agá na ní.

8 i gá | i sára lângó míngi apé, | mbéni aú tì mbi ní, | álà affecté lo na Mbaiki. 9 na fadèsò, | lo tènè na mamá, | nzóni laà, | sí mbi eke n도 só, | ní yí tì mú mbi tì goe na ní. 10 na
fadesó, | lo mú mbi, | lo goe na ní na Mbaiki ká. "11 goe sára ká lángó míngi ape, | wále tí lo así na pekó tí i. "12 na wále tí lo ní, ake na méréngé ngá aussu tongana mbi. 13 mais wále tí lo ní, ayí mbi pepe. 14 mbi eke taá saleté. 15 ngusu ali téré tí mbi kírikiri. 16 téré tí mbi avokó. 17 mbi dutí ngbii, | nzala ahj ndô tí mbi. 18 mbi goe na pekó tí école ní. 19 mbi goe | mbi nzi bulée tí sentinelle, | mbi te. 20 na sentinelle agbó mbi da lá kóé. 21 mbi ke sára ndá tí téné ní na sentinelle. 22 sentinelle laá | eke sára téné na mbi apr. 23 lá kóé, | tongana nzala ahj ndô tí mbi, | mbi goe, | mbi éré na lo. 24 lo sûrú na mbi fondo skó. 25 mbi gá | mbi zó | mbi te. 26 taá téré tí mbi avokó | alíngbi pepe.

27 quand 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 mbétí, | mbi toka na mamá na Bangui ge. 28 mbi tene mamá, | mbi tene, | wále tí aú tí mbi ní, ayí mbi pepe. 29 mbi báa pásí | alíngbi pepe. 30 il faut mamá agoe na pekó tí mbi, | agoe, | amá mbi | agá na ní. 31 na mamá acára pekó ní, | acára réponse tí mbétí ní. 32 ato kóa. her to go with her. "33 So then he took me, and he brought me to Mbaiki there. "34 We went and hadn't spent many days there, when his wife followed us. 12 Now his wife had children also, like me. 13 But his wife didn't like me. 14 I was really filthy.

15 Chiggers were all over my body. 16 My body was black. 17 After I stayed a long time, hunger overcame me. 18 I went in back of the school. 19 I went and stole the watchman's bananas, and I ate (them). 20 And the watchman caught me there all the time. 21 I explained the whole thing to the watchman. 22 So the watchman didn't say anything to me. 23 Every day, when hunger got the best of me, I went and begged from the watchman. 24 He divided one plantain with me. 25 I came and roasted and ate it. 26 My body was black beyond belief.

27 Even 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. 28 I said, "Mother," I said, "My uncle's wife doesn't like me. 29 I've seen more than enough suffering. 30 My mother must come after me and go and take me and return with me." 31 And my mother wrote back, she answered the letter. 32 She sent word.
Now the wife of my uncle heard about it. She took me and beat me very badly. So now I ran away. I went and stayed in the house of a certain person over there on the lower side. Afterwards, it wasn't too long after, my mother took to the road and came after me. She came and took me and returned with me. And now I, and Mother, and Father, and all my siblings, we went to Fort Archambault, to the place where Father had worked before. We went and spent many years there. We stayed three years, and I continued to go to school regularly. We lived there.

The children there, they had more charms! A little more, and they would have poisoned me. My stomach swelled and grew big like a balloon, as if they had pumped it up. Now my mother was full of grief. She cried a great deal. She took me to the doctor. The doctor treated me to no avail. Mother came and took me and returned to the village of her uncle, in Bossangoa. We went there. Her uncle made medicine for a while. When my stomach had finally got smaller again, Mother came and took me. And Father also said that he didn't want to stay in Fort Archambault. They took me and returned with me to Bangui. That's
ti kiríngó na Fort Archambault an-
sára mbi biání ape. 59 i ngbá gi
na Bangui. 60 mbi sára école ngbii.

61 na tongana, l'heure só i sára
kóé, l tongana mbi kono, l fadé yí só
kóé, l fadé mbi hînga. 62 mais, yí ní
laá, l mbi de mérengè, l mbi hînga kóé
apt. 63 mbi kono ngbii kóé l sí mamá
agá sára téné ní na pêkô. 64 ni laá
mbi hînga ndá ní.

why we came and lived in Bangui a
long time. 57 We came and spent many
years in Bangui. 58 That's why I
have no real desire to return to
Fort Archambault. 59 We just stay
in Bangui. 60 I went to school a
long time.

61 But when we did all that, if I
had been grown up, all those things,
I would have understood them. 62 But
the thing of it was, I was still a
child, and I didn't understand it
all. 63 After I had finished grow-
ing, then Mother came and told me
afterwards. 64 That's how I know
about it.
Chapter 18

READINGS

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 Hélène, 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 (An). 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 Wikç André, 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 Samar in 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 (C34). 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 Wiko 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 Mamba, 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)

1'na kótóró ti mbi, tongana ámaná agoe na ngonda ti mú makongó, na ála mú makongó kọ'é awe, agá sì na kótóró fadesó. 2azía ála na yá ti sakpá. 3alungúla lé ti wá, agá tûku na ndô ti makongó só na yá ti sakpá. 4amú lé ti wá míngi míngi azía na ndô ni, na kọ'd ti álá só ōko ōko kọ'é agbi. 5sì mamá agá tûku álá na yá ti ta. 6azía ngú da, asukúla.

1In my village, when the mothers used to go into the bush to get caterpillars, 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 caterpillars 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.
Next, she put a pot on the fire. Now she dumped them in and fried them well, to prevent their rotting. So when she had well prepared them all, she came and put them next into a pot. She pounded sesame paste with home-made village salt, and came and put it (i.e. this mixture) in. She took this sesame paste, and dumped it on top. Now she stirred manioc into it and put it on the ground.

She gave us children ours. The 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.

But 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. If there is a child serving you, you call the child now. And 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. When this is done, you combine them with koko leaves. You put fat on the fire. The fat boils. And thus you prepare all the caterpillars, you scrape off all the hairs from their bodies well to prevent their catching in your throat.
When this is all done, and you have finished fixing them, you pour fat into a pot. (23) You're not a Yakoma to eat palm oil! (24) And now, you come and take this oil which you have just put into the pot, you cover it. (25) Now you come and cut up all your onions. (26) If there is a can of tomatoes, you take it and dump it in. (27) You make it very good. (28) Now you come and take all your koko leaves, you put them with the caterpillars.

Then you put water on the fire to heat. (30) You pour the caterpillars into it. (31) Now you get them all ready, you wash them very clean. (32) You come and put them into the oil. (33) In the meantime, it turns out that the onions are done. (34) You pour the caterpillars into them. (35) When it is time to put water in, you put water in. (36) Now a little while later, you put in paste. (37) You take kôsô gourd seeds, the paste is (of) gourd seeds, you take and put it in at this time.

Well, later on, when the kôsô 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 koko leaves, you put them on top of it (i.e. the mixture). (39) Now you stir it, and you put it on the ground.
wà jusqu'à, fadé koko ni agá ngangó awe. 41 tongana mo tourné kété alingbi na ní awe, mo zía na sése.

42 fadesó tongana mo yi ti te na fondo, mo te. 43 tongana mo yi ti te na gozo, mo te. 44 só ase dépend mo. 45 só lége ní laá, makongó só na ndo só laá, na Bangui laá mbi fa só.

46 mais ti kôtóró ti mbi, i zía kpi ti sindi na ndó ní, na kárákó, si i ke te na ní. 47 ti Bangui laá. 48 ase dépend mo. 49 eh bien fadesó na lége ti tôngó ti wâle, na Bangui ndo só, mingi ámbení wâle ahinga ti tôngó lége ti ngunzá. 50 mingi ámbení ahinga ti tó pepe. 51 ase bi adorónu da, na ake pikó veke azía da si ake te na ní. 52 mais, na Bangui, mbéni wâle si a-civilisé awe. 53 lo hinga atene ní rke wâle, só ase saara koa ti da ti kóli ti lo nzoní, ase. 54 lo gá awo ngunzá ti páta osió. 55 só a-dépend lo. 56 tongana lo vo ti vingt francs, alingbi lo.

40 If you leave it on the fire for a long time, then the koko leaves will get tough. 41 When you have stirred it a little, but enough, you put it on the ground.

42 Now if you want to eat it with plantains, you do. 43 If you want to eat it with manioc, you do. 44 That depends on you. 45 That's the way, that's caterpillars here, in Bangui, that I've just described.

46 But in my village, we put sesame paste on top of it, and peanuts, and then we eat them together. 47 This is Bangui's way. 48 It's to put oil and koko leaves and onions, to put it all in, and so you prepare it well and you eat it. 49 But now as concerns the way women cook here in Bangui, many women know how to cook greens. 50 Many others don't know how to cook (them). 51 You put in Hausa salt, and you pound okra and you put it in, and so you eat them together. 52 But in Bangui, some women have become civilized. 53 There is one, she knows that she is a woman who does all the work of her husband's house well. 54 She goes and buys manioc greens worth twenty francs. 55 That depends on her. 56 If she buys twenty francs' worth, that suffices her.
So then when she has bought it, she comes and cuts up the manioc greens and throws away the stems. Then she takes water and puts it on the fire in a pot. It boils. She takes the greens, while they are still leaves, dumps them into the water and stirs and stirs. That is to say, she doesn't do it over the fire. The water alone has been on the fire and has been boiling. And so she takes and dumps them in. When she has stirred them thoroughly, next she comes and removes the greens from the water and puts them into a sieve.

When 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. Then she pours them into oil next, and cooks them well. At noon, her husband comes to eat, and looks to see if there is any meat in it. But there isn't any meat. It's just greens, just plain leaves, that she has cooked. But 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.
So her husband will leave his job and come, bringing some friends with him to eat. They will say, "Surely, this lady knows how to keep house well." That's manioc greens in Bangui.

But in the village, as in my village of Bouca, you go cut greens in the bush. Now you come and take firewood 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. You don't wash it (i.e. the mortar), it just remains dirty and unwashed. 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. You take peanut paste besides and dump it in, and you take okra and put it in. That's the way in my own village.

And so you mix it like that, you put it on the ground and eat it. At night, you're sleeping. You complain a lot of your stomach. Why? Because you don't know how to fix it. Hygiene says you should prepare things well, you should cook food properly, before eating. If not, you can get parasites inside your belly. But many, in my village many don't know how to prepare greens.
mème na Bangui fadesô kóé na ndo sô, ámbéni wâle ahînga ti leke yá ti da tî âla pepe, na hînga tî tó ngunzâ pepe. mais lége sô ñta, finí ngunzâ sô fadesô asî, goe vo ngunzâ tî mo na galâ. mo gâ zîa na ngû na wâ ake kpôro. mo tûku ngunzâ tî mo na yá ni, mo leke propre. mo te, fade mo lingbi tî wara malade tî yá pepe. tenêtî i sâra kôbe na lége nî pepe. ni laâ sî i ke wara malade mingi, sî i toto yá tî i, ndá adé goe l'hôpital, malade tî yá, malade tî yá. mais gi na lége tî lékêngô kôbe.

na ngû mo tó na yá ti ngû tôngô, mo tûku na yá ti filtre, sî mo yî nzoni. na tongana mo sâra tongasô pepe, lâ kôé mo eke wara malade. ndá adé yá tî mbi aso. ndá adé kóli tî mo amû nginza ake bubá sëngé sëngé na yá tî ngonda. mais, gi na lége tî kôbe sô mo leke nzoni ase.

Even in Bangui now, right here also, many women don’t know how to keep house, and they don’t know how to cook greens. But sister, the way these new greens are nowadays, you go buy your greens in the market. You come and put water on the fire, and it boils. You dump your greens into it, and you make them clean. When you eat, you won’t get stomach diseases. It’s because we don’t make food in the right way. That is why we get so many sicknesses, and we complain of our stomachs, and in the early morning go to the hospital, (saying), "Stomach sickness, stomach sickness!" But it’s just on account of the way we fix food.

And as for water, when you get it from the river, pour it into a filter, so that you may drink it properly. But if you don’t do this, you will always be getting sick. In the early morning, "My stomach hurts." In the early morning, your husband takes money and wastes it for nothing. All because you don’t fix food right.

**Cooking Greens (A11)**

So you go to the market, and you find and buy some greens. When you’ve gone to the market and bought greens, and cut up the greens, you buy peanuts, (or rather) peanut paste. It’s very tasty with them. So you come, and
mo yôro kôé. mo piká yá ní ngbii kôé. goe mo vo mafuta tí báláwá. mo tûku da, mo tî na ní ngbii kôé. tongasó, mo zìa kpi tí kárákó só, mo ne, ngbii. kárákó ní ari nzoni míngi. mo tûku kpi tí kárákó só da. tongasó, mo pika veké, mo zìa da. mo kânga yângá ní, akporo ngbii, awóko nzoni míngi. eh bien tongasó, mo mú mo zìa na sése.

14 mo sâra kôbe ngbii, jusqu'â. 15 midi a-lingbi awe, mo gá mo mú sembé, mo tûku da, ngbii, kôé. 16 mo goe zìa na ndô tí table. 17 mo leke na nzoni. 18 ngunzâ ní aske nzoni. 19 tongana mo yì da, tîtene, mo zìa bâgara da, tî tî na ní, só aske nzoni. 20 mo mú mo zìa na ndô tí table. 21 l'heure tí midi a-lingbi awe, tongasó kôli tí mo alônìb ká na kaa, agá. 22 a-commencé tí dutí na yângá tí ngunzá só tí têngó ní. 23 eh bien, lo tè ngunzá ní kôé awe, mo goe mo mú na lo ngú, lo sukûla mabóko tî lo kôé, lo yâ ngú na péko ní. 24 ngunzá ní anzere míngi. 25 só tôngó yì tí áwále laâ.

you cut up the greens until they're finished, (then) you fry them. You pound them a while until they're done. You go buy some shea butter. You dump it in, and you cook it together for a while until it's done. Then you put in the peanut paste, which you've thoroughly crushed for a while. The peanuts are very well crushed. So then you put in these peanuts. So then you pound okra and put it in. You cover it (i.e. the pot), and it boils a while, until it (i.e. the food) is good and soft. So then you take and put it on the ground.

16 You spend some time fixing the food. 15 When noon has come, you take a dish, and you put (the food) in it, until it's all ready. 16 You go put it on the table. 17 You fix it nicely. The greens are very good. 19 If you wish, you may put some beef into it, to cook with it, and that's very good. 20 You take it and put it on the table. 21 When noon has fully come, then your husband leaves work and comes. 22 He begins to sit before these greens to eat them. 23 Then when he has finished eating the greens, you go get him some water, he washes his hands, and afterwards drinks some water. The greens are very tasty. 25 That's the way women cook food.
Formerly, our ancestors used to make a great pile of mud like that (making a gesture) until it was high in the air.

Afterwards, they took certain stones.

When they had taken certain stones like this, and had made charcoal, they combined them. And so they made a great fire in it.

Now these stones were stones in which there was iron.

The iron used to come down, and some impurities used to come out through another small hole.

Afterwards, they kept up the fire, until the iron had finished coming down to the ground.

They began at seven o'clock, until, when it was morning, the iron had finished coming.

All its impurities had finished coming out, and the real iron was there.

And 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.

And thus they divided it up and made it into hoes.

But now, among us, since the White Man has come, they have given up this way.

And so now, our elders aren't making things like this any more, and they have forgotten their way with iron entirely.

Now we know it is a fearful thing when men have forgotten the things of the village.
kôtôrô awe. 15 na pópô tí âni, âni bâa, ake tongasô, âla girîsa yi tí kôtôrô awe. 16 na áwâle só ake lekx ta, fadesô âla zia lége tí leke ta awe. 17 âla sâra ta encore pepe. 18 na pópô tí âni, âwâle tí Manza asâra ta encore pepe. 19 âzo tí sâra wê âla leke wê mbéni encore pepe. 20 tongasô, âla ke kú tí wara, tongana âla wara ressort tí kutukutu só ake fâa âla sâra na ngâfô, âla ke sâra na mbéni yi ndé, mais âla sâra goigói fadesô mingi. 21 na âni hînga yi tí kôtôrô tí âni ake diminué awe. 22 na lége tí âkôtarâ tí âni fadesô, a-diminué awe.


we realize that it's like that, that they have forgotten the things of the village. 16 And those women who used to make pots, now they have given up making pots. 17 They don't make pots any more. 18 Among us Manza women, we don't make pots any more. 19 Iron workers don't work with iron any more. 20 So 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. 21 And we realize that the things of our village have diminished. 22 And the ways of our ancestors have diminished by now.

23 What is a "ngâfô?"
24 A "ngâfô" is a hoe.
25 To make a garden with?
26 To make a garden with. 27 Now in my language, its name is "wara." 28 But "ngâfô" is in the Banda language.
29 What is a "sab'a?"
30 A "sab'a" is a certain iron tool which they make like this to grab the iron from out of the fire.

Hunting with Nets (A5o)

1 na kôtôrô tí i i ake goe na gbândâ. 2 kôtôrô tí i i ake Gbogbondo. 3 babâ tí mbi ake Sekolo. 4 i ke goe na gbândâ, na âmèresègê

1 In our part of the country we go out with nets. 2 Our village is Gbogbondo. 3 My father is Sekolo. 4 We go out with nets, with many children, all our
mëni, ëtá tì ëkô, na ëmbëni zo tì kôtorò mëni. a i na ëla kô i ëtò na gbanda. akânga gbanda tì fàa yama. tongana tì fàa yama awe, i gâ place tì bâla ni. më yama só, i kângbi, tenëti ë-famille. ëla tè këtë këtë just qu'â alingbi, alingbi ëla. ë i mû tanga ni, tongana tanga ni angbà, i vo na nginza, tenëti payè l'impôt tì gouvèrment. æke tongasô, só i ke sàra na kôtôrò tì i na Gbogbondo.

Oh yes, there's one more little thing. When there's a chief in the village, when we've killed an animal, we take some (meat) and give it to the chief. Why? (just because) it's he who commands the village. And the headmen, the first headmen who come just after the chief, we take some of the meat and give it to them. Why? Just because he commands the village, so that we give some to them.

We 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. Yes, and some people even have babies out by the nets. After a while, some of the children sit up completely just like this one of Ngumape's. It's like that out our way.
Women Discuss Clothes (C31)

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 wiles 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.
mo mû chapeau na li tì lo.
mo mû na lo ngû lo sukûla lâ tì lo. koa ni laâ awe.
A. 27 mais ita, là kôé mbi ke sâra na lo tongasô. ndo ka mbi balayé. (...) 29 mais kôli só ayî mbi mbîfûmbîfû ape.
B. 30 o i hînga ngá yî ni ape. peut-être bê tî lo ayî mo ape laâ.
A. 32 mais ita, mbi mà âla tenê âla ke mû kôlî gi na kêtê yoró tî bata têrê ape?
B. 30 ita, zo ahânda mo ape. yorô ake sêngê. sî zo ahânda mo sêngê tî foutu nginza tî mo ape?
A. 36 mais ita, mo hânda mbi ape mo sâra na mbi taâ tênê fadé mbi kôë mbi dêmerdê na lége tî yi tongasô mbi wara ngá bongô mbi yû ma.
B. 37 jamais, gi koa tî da tî kôlî âko awe.
A. 38 mais ita, mo bâa âko bongô só avurû na têrê tî mbi, mbi yî tî goe na marchê, kamëla ake sâra mbi mingi ape?
B. 39 o hînga ape, nginza ake na lo ape laâ lo sâra mo tongasô.
40 mo prié gi na Nzapá awe.
A. 41 mais ita, là kôé mbi ke prié. quand même nginza ni ake da, lo vo na mbi bongô ape. 43 fadé mbi sâra tongana yû.
B. 37 Never, it's just the work of the husband's house, that's all.
A. 38 But 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. 39 It 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. 41 But sister, I'm always praying. Even though there is money, he doesn't buy me any clothes. 43 What'll I do?
B. 44 so sengé. 45 mo lingbi tî kô lî ngbangatî bongô lâ wa. 46 kôli tî mî apei?
A. 47 mais îta, lo ke changé bongô lâ kôê lâ koê. 48 mais mbi wâle nî mbi changé bongô apei. 49 âzo ake bâa mbi. 50 kaméla ake sâra mbi mingi. 51 fadé mbi kîri na lo mbêni lâ apei.
B. 52 sô sengé o.
A. 53 sô sengé apei. 54 mbi bâa yî da mingi. 55 lâ koê lo ke yû finî bongô. 56 mais mbi ke ngbâ gi na ngbéré bongô tongasô. 57 sô ake yî ti kaméla apei?
B. 58 sô sengé. 59 priê gi Nzapâ awei. 60 yî ake da apei.
A. 61 mais îta, mbi priê. 62 tongana mabôko tî lo ayî da apei, fadé a-sâra tongana yô.
B. 63 peut-être bê tî lo ayî mî apei laâ ake sâra mî sânà sô.

A. 64 mais îta, fadé mbi sâra marrage ëse. 65 mbi lingbi tî yî lo encore mbêni apei.
B. 66 sô sengé. 67 marrage nî gî içko awei.
A. 68 mais îta, ndâ tî marrage nî lo sô. 69 mbi leke yî koê. 70 mbi leke pendere kôbe. 71 mbi yôro yôrôngô na oignon na tomate koê. 72 lâ koê mbi ke yôro na lo pomme de terre koê. 73 mais lo te yî tî mbi gi na mbânà sengé.

B. 44 That's nothing. 45 You can't reject him just over clothes! 46 Isn't he your husband?
A. 47 But sister, he's always changing his clothes. 48 But I, (his) wife, I don't get to change clothes. 49 People stare at me. 50 I'm very much embarrassed. 51 I won't return to him any more.
B. 52 That's nothing!
A. 53 That's not nothing. 54 I see a lot in it. 55 He's always wearing new clothes. 56 But I just remain in old clothes like this. 57 Isn't that an embarrassing thing?
B. 58 That's nothing. 59 Just pray to God. There's nothing to it.
A. 61 But sister, I pray. 62 If he doesn't agree, what can be done?
B. 63 Perhaps his liver doesn't love you, and that's why he's causing you such suffering.
A. 64 But sister, I'll go get married again. 65 I can't love him any longer.
B. 66 That's nothing. 67 There can be only one marriage.
A. 68 But sister, this is the end of the marriage. 69 I fix everything. 70 I fix wonderful food. 71 I fry it with onions and tomatoes and all. 72 I always fry potatoes and all for him. 73 But he just eats my food without any appreciation.
A. 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?
B. 77but no sister is enticing him! 78he's just cheating me.
A. 79but sister, you're talking, but how come you went and acted so proud before God's white man like this?
B. 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.
A. 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. mais téné ni laâ mò ke tene só. mais mbi bâa fângô baba ahô ndô bè ni aps? ëta.
A. ëta, baba ake aps, gò tînene tî mbi lá kôê laâ.
B. (...) téné tî mò kôê gi leks gö tî mò tî dêngë na gò tî mò na mbâge tongasô. ëta, ngbangatî pendere bongô sì mò ke fa só.

A. ëta, mbi sì mbi tene kôlî tî mò avo na mò bongô aps sì mò ke zîá bè na ndô tî bongô tî mbi wa.
B. mais ëta, lá kôê mbi ke yû chiffon. ëre tî mbi ngâ gi zo wa. adê ngâ ëre tî mbi zo wa. adê ngâ mò zo yê asc mbi yê.

A. ka ëta, gî nî laâ aps.
B. tî bâa kôtá yî na ndô sêse sô ahô kôê tî yê. lâ kôê mbi ke te. quand même mbi yû aps, téné ake aps.
A. ëta, sô sêngê yî ahô yî kôê.
B. But isn't that what you've been saying? But don't I see pride beyond measure, sister?
A. Sister, there's no pride, that's my ordinary voice there.
B. (...)
A. But 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. Sister, don't I cry much for clothes with you? I'm not about to become your servant. But I also have just this rag of mine all the time.
A. Jean also agrees (i.e. with me).
B. Sister, don't I cry much for clothes with you? I'm not about to become your servant. But I also have just this rag of mine all the time.
A. But 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. Sister, don't I cry much for clothes with you? I'm not about to become your servant. But I also have just this rag of mine all the time.
A. But 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. Sister, don't I cry much for clothes with you? I'm not about to become your servant. But I also have just this rag of mine all the time.
A. But 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. Sister, don't I cry much for clothes with you? I'm not about to become your servant. But I also have just this rag of mine all the time.
A. But 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. Sister, don't I cry much for clothes with you? I'm not about to become your servant. But I also have just this rag of mine all the time.

A. But sister, that's not it at all.
B. To see great things on the earth, how does that surpass food? I eat every day. Even if I don't wear (clothes), that's nothing.
A. Sister, that's the most insignificant thing of all.
B. **117** B. *If I search my heart according to the love of God, won't I receive clothes over there in heaven more than you, sister?* **118** Go on and wear your things.

A. **119** That's nothing! **120** Think nothing of it.

**Spider and the Field (F4)**

1tongaso, asi na l'heure ti nzala.
2mbéni koli 5ko, lo faa yáká ti gbáanza ti lo mingi.
3lo lú kawai na yá ni mingi.
4lé ti kôbe ndé ndé ake.
5tongaso, tongana lo lú aye, mo tere mo tambéla ngbii, mo goe mo sí, mo báa yáká ti lo.

6tere atambéla yángá ni, jusqu'à.
7tere ngá lo faa yáká aye.
8mais kôbe ti yáká ti lo ni, sése ni ake nzoní pepe, álé pepe.
9mais lâ kôé, tongana ngú Nzapá ake kânga yángá ti ála.

10tongaso, tere atambéla ngbii, asi na yáká ti koli só, atene mon vieux, só kôbe ti yáká sí ake na aú só.
11tongaso, tere atene fadé ni sâra tongana yé, ngbangatí yáká ti lo só.
12ni eke ti ni na kôbe pepe só.
13tongaso, tere atene, fadé mbi kírí na kóstór, mbi sâra mbéni manière ti báa.

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1B. **117** tongana mbi gi bé ti mbi na légé ti ndoé ti Nzapá, fadé mbi ke wara bongó ká na yáyú ahj mo ape? ñta. **118** yú yí ti mo.

A. **119** só séngé o. **120** mo pensé ape o.
Spider returned to the village, he walked a long time. He chased a small antelope, he caught a certain animal which is in the bush and whose name is woga. It's a reddish animal. He caught him there. He came and took an old-fashioned brass bell, which they used to fasten to a dog, and fastened it to the antelope. He gave a name (in the Ngbaka-Manza language) to the antelope and said, "The name of this dog is 'Chase-and-not-return.'" So he took this antelope, he kept it by the house.

And 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?" Because the baboons webe always destroying the food in this man's field. His children chased them to no avail. So when the man heard this he turned and went over there with spider. Spider said to him, "I have a dog. If you yourself go and take this dog, he will chase the animals from around your field mightily."

And so he fastened a little cord about the neck of this antelope and gave it to him. He said to him, "The dog can stay with you three days. But I think after two days, I'll go get him."
And so this man took the antelope and went away with it. He (had) said to him, "If you keep him quiet until the animals have come out to eat the food, he'll chase them." But when the man went and arrived in the village, the children were trying to chase the baboons from the field. The man said, "No, Uncle Spider said not (to do it) like that. Let the baboons come out in great numbers into the field first." And 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. But if you don't watch out, he'll remain permanently in the bush."

And so this man took this antelope, and cut the cord from its neck. He began to urge on this antelope. He said, "Sick 'em, Chase-and-not return, sick 'em, Chase-and-not-return, sick 'em, Chase-and-not-return." Well, the antelope took off, crossed the field and went away and entered into the bush. And so the man called after it to no avail. The antelope had completely run away. Because he was an animal. Well, spider waited just one day after leaving it. Spider went. He said, "Uncle, give me back my dog."
He said, "Yes the dog chased away the baboons. But I called him back absolutely to no avail. He didn't come back." Spider said to him, "There, I told you beforehand that he didn't know your command. I said, 'This dog's name is Chase-and-not-return.' But if you do something foolish, he'll stay in the bush."

And so spider said to him, "Just give me my dog." The man tried to delay, but there wasn't any way. There just wasn't any way. And the man said to his wife, "You pack my belongings now." When the man had gone out, they hurried and he ran away completely with his wife. And so spider went and sat at the edge of this field of food, in his place, and ate. This was the end of the famine, like that.

But you'll see in the book of Matthew, in chapter seven. The verse is fifteen, through to the end of sixteen. It says, "If someone tries to approach you, it's good for you to know his liver first, because there are many false prophets."

And so, that's the end of the story. Hunger (or lust) tricks men so that men fall into temptation. Just one more thing. When a man approaches you, you must know his face. If not, some man will come with guile, saying he is a real man of God. He will deceive
The Young Man, the Young Girls, and the Old Woman (F7)

Formerly our fathers told us (a story).

There was a certain young man, whose name was Serekunga. He was in heaven, and he came to earth, and he was in various places. All of the women (i.e. girls) didn't know his name yet. So, when he sent word to a certain village, they all, all the girls, made a huge quantity of food, and went. When they had gone and arrived there, well, he arose and said, "If anyone can say my name, I'll eat her food. But, if someone doesn't say my name, I'll not eat her food." And so those girls who came, they just called him Serekunga. They didn't know his real name. And so he refused their food. And these passed on. He refused their food, and these passed on. And he refused their food, and these passed on, (it went on like this) for quite a while.

(There was) a certain old woman. Her whole body was very awful. People didn't dare touch it. Her whole body was covered with that stuff from out of the water which is very slimy like the bodies of (scaleless) fish. Now she herself knew the name of this young man. And so many girls passed. And

mbéni vieille wâle. 15 téré ti lo kôe akek gi siong mingi. 16alingbi zo a-touché pepe. 17 na téré ti lo kôe akek na yi ti yâ ti ngú só, só akek dongó yongóro tongana téré ti susu. 18 na lo veni ahingga éré ti pendere kâli só. 19 na áwále mingi akek hê. 20 tongasó, tongana wâle só

you until you lose your kingdom in the wonderful place of God.
As she was washing, she called them. She said, "Come, grandchild. Come scratch my back." But she refused. "I don't want to. You're very dirty." And so they passed on. They passed on for a long time.

A certain girl came afterwards. Her face was all ulcerated. And she (i.e. the old woman) said, "Grandchild, come scratch my back." Then this girl came. She (i.e. the old woman) said, "Take this snail shell and scratch my back with it." But she (i.e. the girl) said, "No, grandmother, if I do, I'll make it into a sore." And she refused. So, 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.

Afterwards, 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.' Then you will hear his name. And so then he will eat your food." Afterwards, when she got there, all those girls came and arrived. Afterwards, she sat there. She arrived there. Afterwards, as she sat there, another one came, and said his name.
agá, adé éré ti lo. 43 lo yi da pepe lo hî. 44 adé éré ti lo. 45 lo yi da aps, ahî. 46 jusqu'à.

47 mërengë wâle só, lê ti lo ambôko awe só, lo gá. 48 na ndâ nî, lo gá lo dé éré ti lo. 49 na âla só, [a]tî na sése. 50 âzo ti pendere míngi, âla ti na sése. 51 atene, tongana mbi, só mbi eke pendere míngi, mbi dé éré ti lo. 52 mais mo só, só lé ti mo ambôko kôé, mo dé éré ti lo ngbangati yî. 53 allé, âla só kôé alôndô na vundû. 54 na mërengë wâle só angbâ na tîré ti lo ndo só.

55 eh bien ndâ nî, kôtà mamá só, angbâ na pekô ti lo, amû mërengë wâle só, amû kôtà ta, afâa yama ti lo ngbii, azìa lo na yâ nî. 56 na ndâ nî akporo lo, jusqu'à. 57 lo kporo na yâ ti ta só ngbii. 58 kâsa ti lo kôé akes na yâ ti ta só. 59 ndâ nî lo kporo ngbii. 60 allé, lo sí gigì, lo ti na sése. 61 allé, lo gá pendere wâle aye.

62 tongasô, ake mbêni tere só, kôtarâ ti âni afa na âni. 63 mais, tongana âni goe na pekô ti tênk ti Nzâpâ yongóro míngi, âni girîsa Âmbêni tênk nî aye.

respond, and she passed on. 44 They said his name. 45 As he didn't respond, they passed on. 46 (This went on) a long time.

47 This girl whose face was all ulcerated, she came. 48 Afterwards, she came and said his name. 49 And they all fell to the ground. 50 The very beautiful ones, (i.e. the girls) they fell to the ground. 51 They said, "If only I, who am very beautiful, had named him! 52 But you, whose face is all ulcerated, why did you say his name?" 53 Immediately, they all left in resentment. 54 And this girl remained there beside him.

55 Well 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. 56 Then she boiled her for a while. 57 She boiled inside the pot for a while. 58 Her juice was also inside the pot. 59 Then she continued boiling. 60 Suddenly, she emerged, and she fell to the ground. 61 Suddenly, she had become a beautiful girl.

62 And so, this is a fable which our ancestors told us. 63 But when we've followed the word of God for a long time, we've forgotten some of these things.
(...)

1. sô, i commencé koa tì terrain sô, mbi de mërëngë mingi ape. 2. i commencé koa tì terrain nî na cinquante-huit. 3. bon, âzo nî, mbunzû nî agâ ndô sô tì leke terrain nî, aleke jusqu'à ngbii. 4. terrain nî a-diminué awe, mbunzû alôndô tì goe na Bangassou. 5. et puis i wara nginza nî, ngbangatî sô tì leke terrain. 6. tì fadesô, terrain nî ahûnzi awe, i ke bâa nginza encore. 7. tongasô, i wara nginza nî kôzo nî na koa tì terrain. 8. et puis fadesô, i ngbâ tì débrouillé tì fâa gi ndembû, tì gi gi âwôtoro, tì wara na nginza.

9. mais fadesô, i ngbâ sèngê awe. 10. ambunzû tì Bangui nî, âla gâ mû na mbi nginza. 11. et puis, nginza tì Bangui nî, par jour tì âla ake ndê, tì i ake ndô sô ndê. 12. mais i ke wara tì i nginza mingi mingi tongana âzo tì Bangui ape. 13. mais nî laâ Bangui ayo mingi. 14. mbi sô, mbi eke marâ tì Zande, mbi eke na droit titene, mbi goe mbi bâa Bangui ape. 15. tongana mbi wara service sî mbi goe na Bangui. 16. mais sô, mbi dutî tì mbi ndô sô tì lângô ndô sô jusqu'à, na lâ tì kôà tì mbi, ngbangatî, mbi eke na

When we began work on the airfield, I wasn't too young. 2. We began work on the airfield in fifty-eight. 3. Well, the people, the White Man came here to make the airfield, and they worked on it for a long time. 4. When the field was completed, the White Man left to go to Bangassou. 5. Then we got the money, because we built the field. 6. Right now the field is finished, but we're still seeing the money. 7. So we received the money at first from the work on the airfield. 8. Now we're still making out, cutting rubber, and hunting bees, to get money.

9. But now we remain (lit. we have remained) out of work. 10. White Men from Bangui came and gave me money. 11. And money in Bangui, their daily wage, is different, and ours here is different. 12. But as for us, we don't get a whole lot of money like the people of Bangui. 13. But the thing of it is, Bangui is so far away. 14. I here, who am of the Zande tribe, I don't have the occasion to go to see Bangui. 15. If I get a job, then I'll go to Bangui. 16. This 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.
Imbéni koa, títene, mbi goe na Bangui ti sára ape. Mbi eke na nginzá títene, mbi goe na Bangui, mbi te yí na yángá ní ape. (...) 


And then the White Men we had gone with, this other White Man went and shot a what-you-call-it, a wild pig. He shot it with a pistol. And then we roasted it over a fire like that for a while. We ate it all up.

And then we began to hike around again, to hunt elephants. We went on. We crossed over a large river, the river(where there is) a ferry, over there in front. And then we continued to
wara âdole. 41 I tomba pêkô tî ala ngbii, ala kpê awe. 42 et puis, î
goé jusqu'â, î faa mbêní ngû, î
goé wara ângbâa. 43 ângbâa atomba î. 44 bôa kótâ caisse sô mbi bi na
sése. 45 mbi monté na ndûzû. 46 mbi
goé, mbi dutî kâ. 47 âbâgara nî agâ
tî kpê na gbé tî mbi ge. 48 et puis
mbi kiri encore na sése. 49 mbi mú
caisse nî, mbi goé na pêkô tî
âmbunzû nî.

50 î goé jusqu'â. 51 âmbunzû nî agoe
wara dole. 52 dole nî akpê kpêngô. 53 î faa ngû encore. 54 î na âla, î
faa ngû kôê. 55 jusqu'â, î goé î
wara place tî lângô, î lângô da, jusqu'â. 56 na lá kûf, là tongasô, î na âmbunzû, î goe. 57 î yi tî bâa
ndo, dole nî ake tambéla tongasô
na lá kûf, jusqu'â, ali na yâ tî
gbakô nî. 58 mbunzû akpê agoe
doucement, apîka lo. 59 mauser ôse,
dole ake na sése. 60 et puis, î
ek na moyen titene, î faa dole
nî, tî goé na nî, ake apê. 61
jusqu'â, î commence titene, î
doroko dole nî, tî faa, sûrû yâ tî
lo sô, zia mbênî yama nî na mbâge,
zia mbênî yama nî na mbâge. 62 î
partagé ayá nî kôê, î bi na ngonda. 63
zia mbênî na wâ, î ke te. 64
kôngbâ tî mbunzû nî ahô ndô nî.
65 î eke moyen titene, î mú yama
walk in a circle. 40 We went and found
elephants. 41 We followed them for a
while, until they had run away. 42 Then
we went on for a while, and crossed an-
other river, and went and found buffalo.
43 The buffalo chased us. 44 Look, that
huge crate, I just threw it on the
ground. 45 I climbed high. 46 I went and
sat there. 47 The buffalo came and ran
under me there. 48 Then I came back to
the ground again. 49 I picked up the
crate, and I followed the White Men.

50 We went on for a while. 51 The White
Men went and found an elephant. 52 The
elephant ran away. 53 We crossed the
river again. 54 We all crossed the river.
55 After a while, we went and found a
place to lie down, and we lay down there
for a while. 56 In the evening, when the
sun was like this (making gesture), the
White Men and I went away. 57 In just a
little while, the elephant was walking
like this in the evening, for a while,
and then entered into the gallery forest.
58 The White Man ran up quietly and shot
it. 59 Two rifle shots, and the elephant
was on the ground. 60 Then we had no way,
after killing the elephant, to carry it
away. 61 After 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.
62 We divided out all the insides, and
threw them into the bush. 63 We put some
Personal Greetings (L3)

1 I greet you and all your family. 2 The big news of which you spoke had reached Bellevue first, so that I didn't hear it. 3 I heard it only through a certain person of the village. 4 But I didn't hear it all. 5 We thought you were coming to stay, but you were going to return. 6 You will be kind upon your arrival in the land of the Central African Republic, so that I may have a way of seeing you. 7 Because hunger for you is killing me. 8 When 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." 9 But you must send me an answer quickly. 10 Upon your arrival in Dakar, try to get to the military camp, so as to ask about Jean. 11 But I don't know anyone whose name I could send you. 12 I'm still communing every day with Jesus. 13 Let me know beforehand, so that I can see you when you arrive later on in Bangui. 14 The church in the village greets you. 15 My family greets you.
Buying and Selling in the Market (N78)

The women of Bangui, some are sellers of lettuce, and sellers of coffee, and some are buyers of their wares in the morning. They go. Some go at five thirty. Some go at six o'clock. They go and buy their things. They sell their things. And then, those people who remain in the village, they just remain. When they have washed up, they leave at seven. They go to buy the food. While some buy, others are coming. Others are returning to the village. When they have gone, the sellers, they remain. When eleven thirty has fully come, and they have blown the thing (i.e. the siren), everyone returns to the village.

The women of Bangui, when they have gone to the market, some buy peanuts. The people who buy fritters and bread, some come to drink coffee with these. Some drink tea with them. When we put milk in it, it's ten francs. They drink it with them (i.e. the bread or fritters). When they have finished drinking, they get up and leave. They pick up their goods. They go to the village, to go prepare food for their husbands to eat at noon.
Childhood Experiences (N8o)

"One day, my mother said, "I want to go to Bossangoa." I said, "Mother, I want to go with you, so as to see my village." Mother and I up and went. Mother took me. I was still very small. I still had not become a woman. I went.

I went and arrived in the town of Bossangoa. I went and cried and said, "I don't like it! I want to go back to Bangui." This town is no good. I don't know any of my child relatives here. I want to go back!" Mother said, "Don't cry. Go to sleep. You and your uncle, you'll have fun."

I refused. I took off and ran away, and I went to my father, over there by the river. I went and lived with him. I found my sister and my brother. I played with them. I lived there. I rejected my mother's place (i.e. her home town). I didn't want to go with her any more. I lived with my father's family.

So then I went on account of my uncle's illness. His body hurt very much. He was about to die. My mother went to go. She said, "My child, let's go. You'll see your uncle. He's about to die. Come, let's go, you'll see
goe, mo bâa lo. 34 tongasô, mbi kë lo pepe. 35 mbi lôndô na mamá. 36 i na lo i goe. 37 i goe i lângô kâ.

38 tongana aû tì mbi akûi aye, 1 mû lége i kiri. 39 i gâ i si na marché. 40 mbi lângô na mbâge tì mamá tì mbi kâ. 41 mbi yi tì gâ na marché. 42 ñâméreu tì wâle tì Bossangoa, âla gi yângâ tì mbi. 43 âla zonga mbi. 44 mbi sàra ténê pepe. 45 mbi hó yi tì mbi hîngô. 46 mbi hê ngîa. 47 âla mû ténê, âla bi na mbi. 48 mbi hó hîngô. 49 mbi goe, mbi si na marché. 50 âla tene o, bongô tì mo atoto mingî. 51 mo ke tambêla tongana yë, si bongô tì mo atoto. 52 mbi hó tì mbi hîngô. 53 fadesô mbi gâ mbi vo yi na marché. 54 mbi kiri. 55 tongana l'heure tì kîrîngô alîngbi aye, i gâ i lângô. 56 mbêni autocar aqá. 57 i gâ i mû lége, i gâ na Bangui.

58 tongasô, bi tì mbi ake nzonì titene, mbi kiri yi tì mbi na Bangui, titene mbi dutî da. 59 tenetî nô ni ká sô, ade titene, anzerê na bë tì mbi ape. 60 ake kôôrô tì mbi mais, ade titene, ahhinga mbi titene, mbi dutî kà ape. 61 si mbi gâ na Bangui aye, bi tì mbi agâ nzonì. 62 mbi gâ, mbi dutî. 63 fadesô, mbi de titene, mbi bâa kôôrô tì mbi nì encore ape. 64 him." 34 So I didn't refuse her. 35 I left with Mother. 36 She and I went. 37 We went and stayed there.

38 When my uncle had died, we took to the road and returned. 39 We came and arrived at a market. 40 I stayed with my mother's family there. 41 I wanted to go to the market. 42 The girls of Bossangoa, they teased me. 43 They cursed me. 44 I didn't say a word. 45 I just went on my way. 46 I laughed. 47 They took stones and threw them at me. 48 I went on my way. 49 I went and arrived at the market.

50 They said, "Oh, your dress is making a lot of noise. 51 How are you walking, so that your dress is making noise?" 52 I just went on my way. 53 Now I arrived and bought something at the market. 54 I returned. 55 When it was time to go back, we came and stayed. 56 A bus came. 57 We took to the road and returned to Bangui.

58 And so my liver was glad because I had come back to Bangui, to live there. 59 Because that place over there doesn't please me. 60 It's my village, but it didn't appeal to me, and I don't want to live there. 61 So when I had come to Bangui, I was happy again. 62 I came, and I stayed. 63 Now I don't intend to see my village any more. 64 I've forgotten it. 65 Because I went as a very small (child). 66 If I should go now, I
agirisa mbi awe. 65 ngbangatí mbi
goe kéte kéte. 66 tongana mbi goe
fadesó, fadé mbi hínga ndo mais,
mbi ke hínga ndo encore mbirimbiri
pepe.

The Liver Fluke Disease (R4a)

'ndo só lá só na ndàpèrèré só, mbi
wará mbéti ti madame ... Dannzapa
na l’hôpital ti Bria. 2 lo tene, ni
hûnda i ngbangatí só mbéni yi ake
so bë ti ni míngi. 3 ni ake na
kobèla só ëre ni bilharzie. 4 mbéni
ákété kéte y§ma só. 5 mo hínga ëre
ni ape? 6 ë, bilharzie. 7 bon,
fadesó, bilharzie ní ake so ni míngi. 8 ni bâa ni tene, akòli kôé
ake wara bilharzie. 9 wâle kôé a-
wará bilharzie. 10 mais bilharzie ní
tí wâle ake so âla aëh ndô ni.
11 et puis, míngi ti àzo só ngá ake
wara bilharzie gi wâle. 12 mais só
tongana y§, si ti âkôli ake so âla
míngi pepe. 13 gi ti âwâle laa asc
âla míngi só. 14 ni laa, si lo tene,
ni hûnda ndâ ni mbirimbiri
ngbangatí só, na l’hôpital ti Bria,
lo goe lo sí kâ. 15 docteur azía lo
na l’hôpital atene, lo lângô kâ,
si fadé âla kâi na kobèla ti lo ní.

"Right here this morning, I've received
a letter from Mrs. Dannzapa in the
Hospital at Bria. 2 She says, "I'm
asking you because something is
hurting my liver greatly. 3 I have
the disease called liver flukes. 4 It
is certain very small animals." (5 Do
you know the name of it? 6 —That's
right, liver flukes.) 7 Well now, the
liver flukes are hurting me very much.
8 I thought that men also got liver
flukes. 9 Women also got liver flukes.
10 But the liver flukes of women hurt
them much more. 11 And then, many of
those also who get liver flukes are
just women. 12 Now how is this, that
men's don't hurt them very much? 13 It's
only women's that hurt them so much."
14 That's why she says, "I'm asking for
the right explanation, because in the
hospital at Bria, I went and arrived
there. 15 The doctor put me in the
hospital and said I should stay there,
until they cured me of my sickness.

16 Staying there, I asked some other
women who were near me also, three
other women. 17 These other women said,
'Oh, we all have just liver flukes.'

'So I asked, 'How’s that?' 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?'

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. 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.

When this woman says that she sees it only in women, that's not entirely true, because men also get this liver fluke disease. 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. If you don't go into the water, you can't catch the liver fluke disease. Because of this, perhaps women, always, they go to wash clothes, or else they go to leech their manioc in the water,
na ya ti ngú wala ñla goe ti sâra ágozo ti ála na yá ti ngú, na place só ngú ake soa pepe. 26 ngú ni asoa gi na place ñko, ake na saletè. 27 akétè kétè á-microbe ti bilharzie ní ake na yá ti ngú só. 28 ni laa ake li na géré ti awale, tenèt ake na manièrê tongasó. 29 mais, bilharzie ake kóbëla só alîngbi ti sâra wâle, asâra kôli, asâra mërengé kóê. 30 ake gi ngbangati wâle ñko pepe. 31 mo mà awe? Albert.

32 mm, mbi mà só awe. 33 mbi pensé madame (...) Dannzapa na l’hôpital ti Bria, lo mà só, wângô só mo mú na lo na ndâpërérê só awe. 34 fadé bë ti lo agá na ngiâ. 35 i kiri i tenè mo kôê, madame (...) Dannzapa, i wara lége titene, i pîka na mo disque ti mo, só mo hûnda na ndâpërérê só pepe, ngbangatì, mo hîngâ kôê wângô ti ndâpërérê ake wara kà l’heure mingi mingi si fadé i lingbi titene i pîka na mo disque pepe.

**Announcing a Show (R7f)**

1 mbi wara ngá mbétì ge. 2 kôli só ake sâra magie lá kôê na yá ti á-bar ñko ñko, ãla hîngâ ngá lo kôê só, ato koa na i mbétì ge, atene lá só, lo ke sâra kótà matânga na Rex. 3 matânga só ngbangatì só, lá places where the water isn't flowing.

26 When the water flows in only one place, it is dirty. 27 Those little liver fluke germs are in this kind of water.

28 That's why they get into women's legs, because they are tricky like that.

29 But the liver fluke disease is a sickness that can attack women, it attacks men, it attacks children also.

30 It isn't only for women. 31 Do you understand, Albert?

32 Yes, I've understood. 33 I think Mrs. Dannzapa in the hospital at Bria has heard this, this advice which you have given her this morning. 34 She will be glad again. 35 Again 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.

I've also received a letter here. The 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. This celebration is because today
sô, lo sâra ngû bale otá na ndô ni miombe na ndô ti sése. 4ni laâ, lo ** ke sâra matânga sô lá sô na Rex, tîtenz, lo sks sâra pendere â-magie tî lo ni mingi, ngbangatî lá sô, lo lângô ngû bale otá na ndô ni miombe, na ndô ti sése sô. 5ask; lo lângô na ndô ti sése mingi laâ. 6ni laâ lo ke sâra matânga ni lá sô. 7lo tene, kôli ayî ti goe, payê-ngô ni ti li na yá nî, pâta bale osiô. 8wâle agoe ti payê ti li, pâta bale óse. 9lá sô na Rex, lo ke sâra pendere yi mingi. 10lo hûnda na â-client tî lo sô, agoe kâ ti bângô yi tî lo, sô lo ke sâra kâ sô, kôé tîtenz, âla goe lá sô lá sô. 11lo ke sâra pendere yi mingi, ngbangatî lá sô, lo sks na ngû bale otá na ndô ni miombe.

7Fadesô, tî i na yângâ tî kôtôrô ahûnzi tî lo awe. 13mbi hûnda na âzo tî Bangui kôê, âla kû tanga tî tînê kôê, na sept heures et demie, na yângâ tî âmbunzû. 14Plassy Lamine, na Pauline Mbamba abara âla mingi.

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)

1Àita tî mbi, i bara âla kôê na dimanche sô lá sô. 2Âla hînga lá kôê i ke zîngo âla gi na musique.

14My brothers, we greet you all on this Sunday today. 2You know that every day we waken you with music. 3Why (do we
ngbangatî yê. 4 álâ ke toka mbêî na â ndo só. 5 na pekô ni, î eke sâra na ála pekô ni, ála tene, ála má pepe. 6 ndá ni só venî si î eke tene, aeke nzonî i zingo ála na musique. 7 tongaso ála lîngbi titene álà dutî na têrê tî radio tî álà, si álà má pekô tî mbêî tî álà só álà hûnda na i na ndo só. 8 tongana lá kôê, álà má musique.

7 tongaso mbêî lá mbi goe tî te encore mbêî marâ tî kôbe ni, álà dê ëré ni rognon tî yêma, na vin. 10 álà sâra ni taá ni na vin na anzerê mingi. 11 mais mbi yi tî hînga, comment, só álâ ke sâra ** na yi só.

12 nzonî tongana mo yi tî tô ni na vin só, mo goe mo vo rognon ni na lá kûî. 13 mo gâ na rognon ni mo fâa yà tî rognon ni kôê, mo sukûla ni nzonî, mo zîa na yà tî sëmbé. 14 mo mú l'ail kêtê, mo fâa l'ail da. 15 mo mú vin ni verre 5ko, mo tûku ni da. 16 mo zîa, alângô na ni. 17 tongana mo eke na frigidaire, mo zîa ni da. 18 mais tongana frigidaire eke ape, mo zîa ngâ na ni tongaso na mbêî place tî dê, alângô. 19 bon, ndá adé, tongana mo gâ tî tôngô ni só, mo mú ta ni mo zîa na wá. 20 mo zîa mafuta da. 21 tongana mafuta ni a-chauffé awe,

say this)? 4 You regularly send letters to us here. 5 Then later on, when we do as you ask, you say you didn't hear it. 6 That's why we say, it's good for us to waken you with music. 7 So you should sit by your radios, to hear the response to your letters (in) which you make requests to us here. 8 As every day, listen to music.

9 So now one day I went to eat a different kind of food, which they call animal kidneys in wine. 10 They really prepare it with wine, and it's delicious. 11 Now I want to know how they can do this thing.

12 You should, if you want to cook it with wine, go buy the kidneys in the evening. 13 Take the kidneys and cut them all up, you wash them well, and you put them into a dish. 15 You take a little garlic, and cut up the garlic in it. 15 Take wine, one glassful, and pour it in. 16 Let them sit in it (i.e. the wine). 17 If you have a refrigerator, put it in it. 18 But if you don't have a refrigerator, put it just like that in a cool place, and let it sit. 19 Now, early in the morning, when you go to cook it, take a pot and put it on the fire. 20 Put oil into it. 21 When the oil is hot, cut up onions into it.
Fry the onions for a while. When 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. Come take one spoonful of flour, like this, and stir it in for a while. When 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. Now then it boils together for a while. When you see that it has thickened, you take it and put it aside (lit. on the ground). You put salt into it, and you take it and put it aside. It's like that that they prepare animal kidneys with wine. If you do it like this, you will see that it is delicious. But be careful not to put in any other wine, you should cook it in just the wine in which you kept it. If you put more wine in, the food will be sour and will not be good.
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 mo (1061), the verb eke (1058), the pronouns lo (1006) and álá (904), and the adjunctive ní (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:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Count</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sango words</td>
<td>33,743</td>
<td>91.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French words, all kinds</td>
<td>2,386</td>
<td>6.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proper names, etc.</td>
<td>629</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>36,858</td>
<td><strong>100.0%</strong></td>
</tr>
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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.
# Sango Lexicon

## A
- á- M 636: noun plural marker
- a- M 2132: subject marker
- adorónu N 2: Hausa salt
- 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
- asa V: to dig with hands
- áta N 3: grandparent, grandchild
- àu N 12: uncle
- awe see we

## B
- bá N 4: oath
- ba V: to bend
- báa V 208: to see
- babá N 5: father
- baba N 4: pride
- bágara N 2: bovine animal
- bákoyá N 5: baboon
- bála N 7: camping place
- báláwa 1: shea nut
- bale N 55: ten
- bámárá N 1: lion
- bángá N: rubber
- bara V,N 30: to greet, greeting
- báságbó N: land
- basánze N 3: rustic, wild
- batá N 7: squirrel (non-climbing)
- bata V 19: to keep

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sango</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bê N 3:</td>
<td>middle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be V 4:</td>
<td>to be ripe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be V:</td>
<td>to annoy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bebé N:</td>
<td>roofing grass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>békpa N:</td>
<td>thunder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>berá N 6:</td>
<td>war</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bê N 95:</td>
<td>liver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bí N 4:</td>
<td>night</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bi V 26:</td>
<td>to throw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bíá N 15:</td>
<td>song</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bíaká Av 2:</td>
<td>truly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bíání Av 27:</td>
<td>truly</td>
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<tr>
<td>bingbá Aa 3:</td>
<td>red</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bíngó N 1:</td>
<td>night</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bíó N:</td>
<td>bone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bírí N 1:</td>
<td>yesterday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bíríbíri N:</td>
<td>kind of beer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bóló V:</td>
<td>to throw stones at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bóró N:</td>
<td>mil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bógbi V 34:</td>
<td>to gather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bozó N:</td>
<td>carrying bag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bongó N 38:</td>
<td>cloth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>búbá Aa 17:</td>
<td>foolish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buba V 4:</td>
<td>to ruin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>búbúrú N:</td>
<td>dumb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bulée N 1:</td>
<td>banana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>burú N 1:</td>
<td>dry season</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## B'
- b'anda V 1: to ponder

## D
- da N 57: house
- da Av 122: there
da (bé) V 1: to remind
dambá N: tail
dâra V 1: to sick on (as a dog)
dawôlô 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
dêngê V 1: to lean to one side
diko V 23: to read
dole N 27: elephant
dô N: ax
dô V 13: to shake
dôdô N 10: a dance
dola N 1: moth
dôngô 1: ?
dôngô yongôro A 1: slimy
dôroko V 2: to butcher
dô N 4: hole
dô 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

Fa V 81: to show
fâa V 102: to cut
fadé Av 187: quickly
fadesô Av 189: now
fô N: odor
fini N, Aa 13: life, new
finôo N 2: suffering
fômbá N 1: comrade
fondo N 2: plantain
fônô V 5: to wander
fô V 1: to give (food)
fô V: to sew
fû V 1: to smell
fûfû N: lung
fûku N: flour
fûlu N: froth
fûru V: to mix
fûta V, N 18: to pay, salary

gâ V 133: 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 (ngû) V: beat (water)
gbakô N 1: gallery forest
gbândô C 2: later
gbândô N 20: net
gbânza N 1: corn
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gbánzi V 1:</th>
<th>to prevent</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gbara būba N:</td>
<td>frying pan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gbọ N 15:</td>
<td>bottom part</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gbí V 7:</td>
<td>to catch fire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gbíá N 1:</td>
<td>king</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gbikí N 1:</td>
<td>perspiration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gbíma ndako N:</td>
<td>a challenge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gbọ V 29:</td>
<td>to seize</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gbọto V 5:</td>
<td>to pull</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gbudu N:</td>
<td>a spinach-like vegetable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gbugburu V 1:</td>
<td>to stir up in disorderly way</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ge Av 31:</td>
<td>here</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gene N 2:</td>
<td>stranger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>géré N 15:</td>
<td>leg, foot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gi V 51:</td>
<td>to seek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gi Au 196:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gígí N 31:</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gindí N:</td>
<td>bow (weapon)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>giriri N 35:</td>
<td>formerly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>girísa F 20:</td>
<td>to lose, forget</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>goe V 313:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gọlo V:</td>
<td>to rap (as on door)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gọnda V 7:</td>
<td>to praise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gonda N 1:</td>
<td>a certain poison</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goigóí N 3:</td>
<td>laziness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gọ N 10:</td>
<td>neck, throat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gọ N:</td>
<td>birth pains</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gọgọ N:</td>
<td>buffalo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gogoro N:</td>
<td>granary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gozo N 13:</td>
<td>manioc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gugū N:</td>
<td>mushroom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gugūrũ N:</td>
<td>small fish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gũrũ N:</td>
<td>smoke, steam</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

| há V: | to pull out (as a knife) |
| há V: | to weave |
| hạ V 2: | to ponder |
| háa V: | to measure |
| hända V 16: | to entice, deceive |
| háráge N: | a certain liquor |
| hé V 18: | to laugh, sing |
| ḣẹ I 1: | seeking agreement |
| híga V 127: | to know |
| híc Av 9: | quickly |
| hónde V 2: | to hide |
| ḣọ V 59: | to pass |
| ḣọ N: | nose |
| họtọ N 3: | hill |
| hú V 4: | to spread |
| hú V 2: | to breathe |
| hünda V 67: | to ask |
| húnzì V 20: | to make disappear |

---

| I Pr 548: | we, us; you (pl.) |
| ṭa V, N: | to blow (as wind), air |
| ṭọ N: | urine |
| isoró N 2: | tale |
| ìtọ N 147: | sibling |

---

| ké V 16: | to sell |
| ké Av 100: | there |
| ké 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
kánja V,N 24: to shut, prison
kángba N: old man
kángbi V 2: to separate
kángú N: gourd
kanguya N 1: palm wine
kara V 1: to frustrate, overcome
kárákó 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
kélé N: penis
kété Aa 95: small
ké see ké
ké V 25: to refuse
kíi N 2: thorn
kinda V 2: to knock down
kírí V 84: to return
kíríkíriri Ap 7: crooked
kíseí N: beads
kité N 1: objection
kó V 1: to germinate
ko V 4: to alight
kóbe N 79: food
kóbóla N 52: sickness
kóbó Ap 400: all, entirely
kógará N: father-in-law
kóló N: giraffe
kolóngo N 1: basin
kombá N: guinea fowl
kóngbá N 17: load, possessions
kóngo N: mallet
kórí N: cushion
korógó 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
kó N 1: hair
kó N 17: dead body
kóa N 135: work
kóa N 7: message
kódá N: debt
koko N 11: a certain kind of edible leaves
kokora N 4: arrow
kóó 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
kštôrô $205$: village
kóya $2$: child of mother's brother
kpa $2$: to resemble
kpáá Av: out of the blue
kpaka $5$: to scrape
kpé $36$: to run
kpí $1$: to be sour
kpí $10$: paste (as of peanuts)
kpíngba $4$: to be hard
kpíkara $17$: human-like legendary character
kpítkíptí Av: dark black
kpó Av $6$: quiet
kpókpó $N$: pipe (for smoking)
kpoto $1$: hat
kpo $7$: to pierce
kpóka $3$: hoe
kpóro $10$: to boil
kpu $11$: mortar for grinding food
kú $18$: to wait
kugbê $3$: leaf
kúí $36$: to die, death, dead body of animal
kulá $N$: vengeance
kúma $N$: python
kunde $N$: guitar
kúngbi $V$: to smash up
kúrâ $V$: to be dry
kusára $56$: work
kutu $N$: thousand
kutukutu $N$: automobile

lágô $V,N$: to sleep, sleep, day
lavá $N$: bee
lé $N$: eye, face
lé $N$: glowing coal
lé, N, V $2$: fruit, seed, to bear fruit
lége $N$: road
lekpa $N$: small antelope
lele $N$: small animal
lélé $N$: donkey
lenda $V$: to enter
léngô $N$: a certain dance
lengé $N$: necklace
léke $V$: to prepare, repair
li $V$: to enter
li $N$: head
likongô $N$: spear
língbi $V$: to be enough, be fitting
lo Pr 1006: he, she, him, her
lóndô $V$: to get up
lósrô $N$: speed
lósó $N$: rice
lú $V$: to plant, bury
lúndô $N$: spirit of witchcraft
lungúla $V$: to remove
lutí $V$: to stand up

má $V$: to hear
ma Pa $13$: emphasis
mabóko $N$: hand
mafuta $N$: oil, fat
mâ $V$: to grow
makáko $N$: monkey
makala $N$: fritter
makongô $N$: caterpillar
makorô $N$: calumny
makunzi N 4: chief
mamâ N 67: mother
manda V 1: to learn, study
mânga N 1: tobacco
mângo N: mango
mâpa N 1: bread
marâ N 15: tribe, kind
másarâgba N: rhinoceros
masia N 3: young girl before marriage
matânga N 4: celebration
mawa N 5: suffering
mbâ N 10: fellow, comrade
mbâdi N 1: divination
mbâge N 23: side
mbakôro N 4: old person
mbamba N: oyster
mbânâ N 3: indifference, carelessness
mbângbâ N: cheek
mbânubâ N: crossbow
mbârâwârâ N: large lizard
mbâsâmbârâ Ap 3: seven
mbé (ngú) N: other side (of river)
mbengé N: wild pig
mbéni Aa 317: certain, other
mbští N 78: paper, book
mbi Pr 1579: I, me
mbínda N: cloud
mbírímblrí Av 27: straight, right
mbito N 15: fear
mbo N 8: dog
mbôko V 3: to bruise
mbúlú N: powder
mbunzâ N 46: white man
mbúrú N 1: oil palm
mé V 2: to prepare food
mé N 3: ear
mé (ngó) V 1: to conceive
me N 2: breast
méné N 5: blood
mene V 1: to swallow
méngá N: tongue
mérêngá N 183: child
míngi Ap 314: much
mîng N 5: to extinguish
mîombe Ap 4: eight
mm I 4: agreement
monganga N 3: medicine man
mûm Pr 1061: you (sing.)
mû V 370: to take
mêm I: disagreement
mbanu N 2: crossbow
mbâsâmbârâ Ap 3: seven
ndâ N 45: end
ndakôro N: kind of plant, used as washcloth
ndarâa N 3: wisdom
ndarângba N: hare
ndângâ N: syphilis
ndém N 1: different
ndé Ap 27: different
ndako N 1: friend
ndembú N 1: rubber
ndeke N 1: bird
ndiá N 1: law
ndo N 54: top, atop
ndo N 126: place
ndoé N 8: person with same name
ndôndô (li) N: brain
ndôngé N: red pepper
ndôo N: clay for making pots
ndôkô N: flower
ndú V 1: to touch
ndurû Aa 11: short
ndûzû N 13: sky
ne V 2: to be heavy, crush completely
neka V: to crush completely
ngâ Ap 119: also
ngaânga N: fetish
ngâfô N: hoe
ngâgo N: spinach
ngambe N 2: younger brother
ngângâ N: bottle
nganga N 2: a certain medicine
ngangô N 49: strong, strength
ngarâgê N 6: a certain secret society
ngásâ N: goat
ngásá N: wild yam
ngbá V 64: to remain
ngbáa N: slave
ngbáa N 2: buffalo
ngbagba N: jaw
ngbâgo N: alcohol
ngbálo N 1: apoplexy
ngbangô N 16: judgment
ngbangatî C 102: because
ngbangbu N 2: hundred
ngbâti N 1: certain kind of medicine
ngbérê Aa 4: old
ngbérénâ N 1: coiled brass bracelet
ngbii Aa 49: for a while
ngbókô N: sugar cane
ngbundâ N 1: hips
ngbûru V: to enmesh, embroil
ngeki (lé) N: eye brow
ngârê N 4: price, value
ngê V: to become thin
ngânîngâlé Av: manner of shining or glittering
ngiá N 14: joy, amiability
ngindí N: rat trap
nginza N 85: money
-ngô M 141: nominalizer
ngôi N 1: season
ngombe N 1: gun
ngonga N 23: bush
ngângâ N: ritual defilement
ngongoa N 1: seed grain
ngonzo N 6: anger
ngôro N: maneless lion
ngô N 13: boat
ngô N 7: drum
ngô N 5: foetus
ngâlo N: fish trap
ngâlo 1: ?
ngîro V 2: to surround
ngû N 122: water, river
ngû N 122: water, river
ngui N: kind of tuber
ngui N 1: kind of monkey
ngundé N: crocodile
ngunzâ N 43: greens
ngusú N 1: chigger
nî Ap 900: the one
nî V: to lower (as clouds)
nîngâ V 2: to be long
nzá N: horn of animal
nzala N 10: hunger
Nzapâ N 61: god
nzére (yi) 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: ?
nzerë V 17: to please, to taste good
nzì N/V 9: theft, stealth, to steal
nzò 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
ọse Ap 59: two
osió Ap 18: four
otá Ap 36: three

-o-
ọko Ap 3: how many
ọko Ap 212: one

-F-
pâ V: to accuse on suspicion
pandé N: pattern, model
pàpa N: sandal
papa N 2: spoon
papa V, N 5: to quarrel, a quarrel
pàrâ N: egg

-pâsi N 8: suffering
pâta N 7: unit of five-francs
pé (kâmba) V: to twist (rope)
pendere Aa 23: young, beautiful
péré N 4: grass
pékó N 111: back
pèmbé N 8: tooth
pepe - ape Pa 612: not
pete V: to pound, crush
pìka V 64: to hit, beat
pìndíri 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-
sâ V: to pour
sáì N: yeast for brewing
sakpá N 2: basket
sambá N: co-wife
samba N 9: beer
sambëla V 12: to pray, worship
sànâ N 1: suffering
sanduku N: box
sànzô N 1: a boil
sårâ N: itch
sâra V 515: to do, make
sara N: forked stick
tâgba N: kind of antelope: kob
sé V: to be bitter
tâmâlala V 17: to walk
seko N: chimpanzee
tanga N 9: remainder
sëndâ N: sole of foot	tangé N 1: bed
sëngé Aa 74: for nothing, with nothing
tarâ N 4: grandmother
sepâla V 1: to praise
sara V 5: to try
sé N 80: earth, land
té V 1: to meet
sé V: to recline
té v 88: to eat
sembé N 6: dish
témé N 4: stone
sí V 102: to arrive
têné N 256: word, speech, affair
sí V 5: to fill
tene V 391: to talk
sí C 370: so that, next
tenêtí C 88: because
sindingâ N: wild dog
térê N 91: body
sidi N 4: sesame
tere N 38: spider; mythical character
sioní Aa 44: bad, evil
ti V 17: to fall
sisi N: thorn
ti N 6: arm
so V: to save
tikó V: to cough
sonzo N: wild dog
tingbi V 2: to join
tó V 30: to hurt
tiri V 17: to fight
só Ap 1276: this
títentí C 237: that is to say
do V 14: to dip up
to V 44: to send
tinga V 16: to chase
só Ap 1216: this
tokâ V, N 12: to send message, message
tongâna C 387: when
sindi N 4: sesame
tó N 6: arm
sóko N: rust
tó V 45: to send
sósó V: to defecate
tokâ V,N 12: to send message, message
sósó N: wild dog
tôtë V 3: to swell up
tûku V 16: to chase
to V 26: to cry
tônku V 17: to wash
tô V 25: to cook
tônku V 27: to pour, dump
tongâna C 387: when
tônku N 1: spirit of dead ancestor
tônku V 27: to pour, dump
tönu N: lead or tin (metal)
tôrô N 1: spirit of dead ancestor
tôrô N 1: spirit of dead ancestor
tongâna C 387: when
-
-t-
tarâ N 4: grandmother
ta N 23: pot
tarâ N 4: grandmother
taâ Au 43: true
tara V 5: to try
taba N: sheep
-U-
uga 1: ?
ukû Ap 16: five
ðlu V 1: to blow (as horn)
uru V 1: to jump, fly

-V-
veké N 3: okra
vení N 27: lie
vení Ap 53: self
vo V 55: to buy
vokô Aa 22: black
vôro V: to beseech
vû V 1: to be surpassingly beautiful
vu V: to be black
vundû N 5: resentment
vûrû Aa 4: white

-W-
wâ N 22: fire, heat
wa N 17: inhabitant
wa V 15: to warn
wa Ap 19: interrogative
wala C 58: or else
wâle N 188: 'woman, female'
wara V 162: to find
wâtákâ N 3: lie
we V 258: to be finished
wâ N 44: iron
woga N 12: small antelope
wôgarâ N: daughter-in-law
wôtoro N 1: bee
wôko V 4: to soften, weaken
wû see hû

-Y-
yâ N 185: belly
yâ V: to raise up
yâkâ N 70: garden field
yâma N 67: animal, meat
yângâ N 68: mouth, language
yâq N: cat
yâyû N 2: sky
yekeyeke Av 1: slowly
yé Ap 72: interrogative
yékpâ N: lightning
yénê N: anus
yêngere V,N 3: to sift, sieve
yi N 235: thing
yí V 2-5: to want, like, love
yîngó N 5: salt
yîngó N 1: spirit of living person
yorô N 43: medicine
yô V 3: to bear load
yô (yí) V: to beg
yo V 9: to be long, be far
yô V 23: to drink
yongôro Ap 9: long
yôro V 8: to fry food
yôro V 4: to thrust, insert
yû V 9: to wear
yuru V 4: to leak, seep out

-Z-
zâ V 4: to be keen, be bright
zaranga N: roan antelope
zaza N 1: switch made of twig
zé V 2: to promise
ze N: leopard
zembe N 4: knife
zí V 3: to untie
zí V 2: to dig
zia V 148: to put
zingo V 4: to awaken
zo N 374: person
zonga V, N 2: curse
zô V 6: to burn
zúku V: to bow, kneel
zuru N 2: mil

-Č-
čá? I 3: sick 'em
# Chapter 20

**FRENCH LEXICON**

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**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'

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**B**—

- bac 'a ferry'
- balayé 'to sweep'
- ballon 'football, balloon'
- bambou 'bamboo'
- banc 'mixing board'
- baptême 'baptism'
- bar 'bar, tavern'
- bêni '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'

diminué 'to diminish'
diplomate 'diplomat'
diplomatie 'diplomacy'
directeur 'director'
direction 'head office'
disque 'a record (music)'
docteur 'physician'
doucement 'slowly, softly'
droit 'a right'

-É-
école 'school'
économie 'economics'
écrit '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'
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Text</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>295</td>
<td>fûtis see foutu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-G-</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gendarme 'military policeman'</td>
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<td></td>
<td>gérant 'manager of business'</td>
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<td></td>
<td>glacé 'very cold (of drinks)'</td>
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<td></td>
<td>gouvernement 'government, authority'</td>
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<td></td>
<td>grandes endémies 'great endemic diseases'</td>
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<td>-H-</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>heure 'hour, time'</td>
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<td>histoire 'story'</td>
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<td>hôpital 'hospital'</td>
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<td></td>
<td>huile 'oil'</td>
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<td>hygiène 'hygiene'</td>
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<td>-I-</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>il faut 'it is necessary'</td>
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<td></td>
<td>indigène 'native'</td>
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<td></td>
<td>infirmier 'male nurse'</td>
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<td>impôt 'tax'</td>
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<td>inspecteur 'inspector'</td>
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<td>instituteur 'school teacher'</td>
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<td>-J-</td>
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<td></td>
<td>jamais 'never'</td>
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<td>jeunesse 'youth (organization)'</td>
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<td>jusqu'à 'for a while'</td>
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<td>juste 'properly, correctly'</td>
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<td>-L-</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lait 'milk'</td>
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<td>lettre 'letter'</td>
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<td>loi 'law'</td>
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<td>-M-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>maçon 'mason'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>madame 'lady, Mrs.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>magasin 'store, storehouse'</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>magie 'magic'</td>
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<td></td>
<td>mais 'but, and'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>manière 'manner, skill, cunning'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>manqué 'to miss, to fail, to lack'</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>malade 'illness'</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>marché 'market'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>marché 'to progress'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mariage 'marriage, spouse'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mauser 'big rifle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>médecin 'physician'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mélangé 'to mix'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>membre 'member (of church)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>même 'even, even if'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ménage 'housework'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ménagère 'home economics (school)'</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>menuisier 'cabinet-maker'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>merci 'thanks'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>merdé 'to annoy, to pester'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>microbe 'microbe'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>midi 'noon'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>milieu 'middle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>militaire 'military'</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>ministre 'minister'</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>mission 'mission'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mobilisé 'mobilized'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>moitié 'half-way'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>moniteur 'instructor'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>monsieur 'gentleman, Mr.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>monté 'to climb, go high'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mon vieux 'wow!'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>musique 'music'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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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

INDEX OF EXAMPLES

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."

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A13

A15

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