The Status of Sango in Fact and Fiction

1

On the One-Hundredth Anniversary of its Conception

William J. Samarin

Introduction

Sango is one of the two official languages of the Central African Republic, the other being French. It acquired this role a few years ago, when André Kolingba was still president, a person whose native language is Yakoma, one of the several forms of Ngbandi, from which Sango is derived.² Before then, it was the nation's *langue nationale*, a role that was enshrined in the constitution at independence. Another fact, as revealed by the census of 1988, is that the percentage of Central Africans who know Sango is very high, but varying slightly from forty percent in the far east to ninety percent in some large towns or so-called *villes*; in the capital, as one might expect, almost everyone claims to know Sango; it would be embarrassing not to be able to do so.³ It is also a fact that in Bangui about forty-five percent of pre-school children (up to the age of about six) know no other language than Sango; they are therefore native speakers of this language (Samarin 1995).⁴

There are many other facts that can be cited without controversy. These, however, are not the subject of this work. Instead, I am concerned about some *alleged* facts: claims made about Sango that are contestable and that may indeed in some instances be false.

Questionable Historical Reconstructions

It is *not* a fact, for example, that Sango -- by whatever other name or names it may have had at one time -- was a *langue véhiculaire* (which is a synonym of *lingua franca*) *before* the arrival of Europeans at the end of the nineteenth century, despite this having been proposed by a French *colon* long ago (Bruehl 1918) and advocated by Diki-Kidiri (1977, 1979a, 1979b, 1981, 1982, 1985a, 1985b, 1985c, 1986, 1987a, 1987b, 1992). I have provided a great deal of information to discredit this claim, demonstrating that Sango arose as a new language (and in some ways a new *kind* of language), as the result of the immediate need that colonial interlopers had to communicate with the people already living along the banks of the Ubangi river. I refer not so much to the Europeans (Belgian, Scandinavian, Dutch, and French) but more to the Africans who were brought from different parts of the continent to help the whites in exploring, trading, and

taking possession of land and whatever else they wanted. These Africans spoke not simply different languages but also *typologically* different languages: Niger-Congo (West Atlantic, Kru, Kwa, Mande, and Benue-Congo [i.e., Bantu, from the west, south, and east]; Afro-Asiatic (Hausa), as well as smatterings of European languages, the most important of which was English, probably one or more varieties of Pidgin English.

Therefore, at the end of the nineteenth century the main river basins of central Africa were a potpourri of languages. The sudden increase in linguistic diversity led, I believe, to the rise of Kituba and Lingala (Samarin 1986c, 1990)⁵, and Sango (e.g., Samarin 1982a, 1982b, 1984a, 1984b, 1984/1985, 1985, 1988, 1989a, 1989b, 1998a).⁵

The questionable history of Sango proposed by Diki-Kidiri is linked to his understanding of what the language once was, is today, and how it developed. Unfortunately, his description or characterization of the language through its alleged stages is as difficult to comprehend as his history, due to lapses in clarity of argumentation.

It is a fact, to be sure, that Sango is a language, containing all the necessary structures or systems of language: phonology, morphology, lexical units, syntax, semantics, etc. I have treated Sango like a real language—a real *African* language—the moment I began to learn it in 1952 (Samarin 1953, 1967a, 1967b, 1970). It is not, nor ever has been, anything else, except for the first few years of its existence when, according to the kind of linguistics I practice, it was in the *jargon stage*, and then an *incipient pidgin* (which is nothing more than a pidgin in the process of coming into existence). It then evolved into a *stabilized pidgin*, possibly as early as around 1910, and almost certainly by the 1920s. (At that earlier date Father Calloc'h was already working on his grammar and dictionary [Calloc'h 1911].) But for most of its history, the French in their colony did not respect Sango, considering it even inferior to the preliterate African *dialectes*, as they frequently called all African languages. Since they never, to my knowledge, became competent in Sango or, except for a few missionaries, any African language, this must have been a prejudice they acquired from one another.

There has arisen some doubt, however, as to what *kind* of language Sango is. As the first person to study the language scientifically, I judged it to be a *pidgin* and called it that in one of my first publications on the language (Samarin 1958); earlier, I had only said that Sango was “simplified by the loss of most of its morphology and of the bulk of the original vocabulary” (Samarin 1955:261-262). After studying Sango for forty-five years I have discovered no reason to change my mind: Sango *is* a pidgin in origin. (The fact that it is the primary language of several thousand people now makes it also a *creole*, according to one of the well-known uses of this word.⁶ Diki-Kidiri, however, is of a different opinion; he does not consider Sango a pidgin, although to the best of my knowledge he has not in print said, “Le

sango n'est pas un pidgin", or words to that effect. Indeed, no one writing in French appears to have made such an assertion.⁷ On the contrary, according to French writers, Sango is today simply a language which was at one time a *langue véhiculaire*. An example is Gabriel Manessy, who refers to Sango as a vehicular language (1977:133; see also 1990:7, 1995:64) and a "parler véhiculaire" (1995:60fn), not as a pidgin (also Bouquiaux 1969).⁸

But let us review Diki-Kidiri's analysis. (The following, including commentary, is in my own words; for his, see Samarin 1998a). To make the linguistic history of Sango easier to follow I assign numbers to the different stages of its putative evolution.

Stage 1.

Somewhere along the banks of the Mbomu river, a language was once spoken, slightly different, but only in the usual ways, from other varieties in the Ngbandi group. It probably did not have a name, because language names in many cases came to Africa, as in other parts of the world, with colonization. The people who spoke this local variety of Ngbandi also did not have a so-called racial or tribal name, identifying themselves by a clan or lineage name.

Stage 2.

At some point in the nineteenth century, this language came to be used by its people first in dealing with the co-territorial Ngbugu and Nzakara. This did not mean that it was a vehicular language, however, because these two other groups did not use the language between themselves.⁹ If that had happened, the language would have become a lingua franca even as English is the world's lingua franca today.

Stage 3.

However, *because this language was used between different people, it changed slightly*, but no more than languages normally do when they come into contact. In other words, the most noticeable difference at first was probably in vocabulary, just as French words enter Arabic speech of people living in France. At this stage in its history the language was really the same as it was in Stage 1.

Stage 4.

The people who spoke this language were such successful traders along the Mbomu river that they descended it and entered the Ubangi, which flows westward, travelling about 800 km or more, "at least as far as Bangui" (Diki-Kidiri, personal communication, November 1996; cf.

Diki-Kidiri 1981:35).¹⁰ This accomplishment would have been heroic, because these Central African Phoenicians defied the challenge of the *Chutes Hannssens*, the rapids just north of Ouango. Moreover, they must have been so numerous, powerful, and skillful that they were able to intimidate their Ngbandi "cousins" (who quite early acquired from whites the names Sango and Yakoma) living along the banks of the Ubangi river. This account alleges that this people had dominated the trade in ivory, slaves, and iron in this river basin and traded with Sultan Bangassou on the banks of the Mbomu.¹¹ What is more surprising in this account of pre-colonial central Africa is the allegation that in paddling down the Ubangi river, these adventurous traders who had travelled right by their "cousins" not only traded further downriver with the Gbanziri-Buraka, the Ngbaka, and the Monzombo (people living just up- and downriver of Bangui) but even with the Banda who lived inland on both sides of the river, who were in general prevented from trading directly with those along the river. The "vehicular Dendi" designated as the trade language these people used is indeed called "langue de marché et d'échange" (Diki-Kidiri 1986:86). Crucial information about this trade is missing in Diki-Kidiri's version of Sango's history. A number of facts would help: for example, the frequency of the traders' visits, the length of their stay on the Ubangi before returning to the Mbomu, whether or not they set up villages, what kinds of contracts they drew up with local headmen, and the locations of the alleged markets. In other words, nothing is actually known of this particular alleged trade, which appears to be more a matter of oral tradition than scientific history.

Equally faulty is Morrill's history of Sango. While agreeing with Diki-Kidiri that there was a "vehicular variety of Ngbandi" (eschewing the term Dendi) in the precolonial period (Morrill 1997:166, and all other pages in this paragraph), he does not accept all his arguments and has his own, which I now number.¹² (1) "... Yakoma iron production placed them at the center of an extensive and well developed trade network." They in fact forged "the first currency of the region" of iron, "which were traded up and down the river and at a considerable distance into the interior." Their trade networks "fed Yakoma iron production," "carried Yakoma goods beyond the Ngbandi-speaking region," and "spread their language" (166); "before the arrival of Europeans into the region there existed vast kingdoms and complex trading networks" (50). (2) But the simplification of Ngbandi was due to slaves who "would have spoken a distinct foreigner variety" (166, 353). It was this form of Ngbandi that "contributed to the formation of a vehicular variety used in the Banda- and Nzakara-speaking region in the precolonial period" (167). The presence of a "considerable" number of slaves is assumed because "a great deal of labor" would have been needed for the "[l]arge-scale iron production" among the Yakoma (166, 353). (It would appear that although Morrill accepts Diki-Kidiri's vehicular Ngbandi (by whatever name), he imagines it an altered language, which Diki-Kidiri does not.)

This reconstruction of production and trade in the Ubangi river basin, itself the basis for a hypothesis of a linguistic nature, does not survive critical examination. A well-researched doctoral thesis (Zigba 1995) written by a Central African who learned Ngbandi for his field work and was directed by an anthropologist who has devoted his whole career to the study of this area supports my conclusions. Here are gleanings from his findings: (1) iron ore at shallow depths could be found here and there for “exploitation artisanale” (and in my research I learned of several places at the bend of the Ubangi river where iron was worked); (2) industrial exploitation, which would have required digging to greater depths, has never been documented; (3) it is doubtful that there were any specialists (e.g., a “maître-fondeur”) in the villages; (4) the units of production were based on kinship, alliances, and friendship on a local basis; (5) the riverine populations had absolutely no reserves of slaves, and not a single source mentions a Ngbandi campaign to acquire captives; (6) trade always took place with one’s immediate neighbors, no one going “d’un bout à l’autre du circuit d’échange (1995:147; 150, 163, 169, 225, 246).

As for currency, Morrill has failed to consider the dynamics of colonization on the local economy and the relations between all the indigenous peoples. Yakoma-forged iron was not used (or not as extensively) as money in the west until beads had lost their value (i.e., because of inflation). In 1891–1892 the French commander Victor Liotard, in carefully noting his expenditures, repeatedly cites beads. Iron is not mentioned until the expedition was in the east, among the Yakoma. There, after the French had set up a market, the Gbanziri and Sango, Liotard notes in his journal, were able to buy *kinja*, the local iron money.¹³ (Liotard also mentions that Bangui became the haven to which Yakoma came when fleeing those they had mistreated while serving under the French).¹⁴ Thus the picture Morrill limns of a center of iron production and forging, made possible by mining and lumbering activities, and undertaken by a large number of slaves, appears essentially a romantic neo-Ngbandi reconstruction if not historical revisionism.

Stage 5.

It is understandable that if this trade by these allegedly powerful people from the Mbomu river went on for a century or more, the local people would have learned some of their words. This much of language learning is what would be expected. The invaders, however, would probably not have done so (or done so to a significantly lesser degree), because, as is well known, people in a position of power do not commonly borrow more than a few words from their clients endowed with a role of less power. However, according to Didi-Kidiri, *by this time the language of the river traders had become a lingua franca*. This can only mean that it was not used only by A (identified as Dendi by Diki-Kidiri), the Mbomu traders as “*langue de contact*”,

but also between speakers of B and C, who had each learned it from A or had learned it from each other. Naturally, when the Gbanziri spoke to the Banda in A, it would not have been a perfect representation of it. But we have no evidence of what changes had taken place in the language. We cannot even guess. They would probably not have been really significant ones, because all these languages are related, being members of Joseph Greenberg's Eastern (now more often referred to as Ubangian) group. Moreover, change would have presumably been going on very slowly.

Stage 6.

The greatest changes took place when the language began to be used by the colonizers. Despite the impression lent by books and articles written by whites of the colonial period, European colonizers were few in number by comparison to all the Africans they brought with them into the Ubangi river basin. Nevertheless, according to Diki-Kidiri's account, this was when the lingua franca, allegedly first known as Dendi and then as Sango, underwent more changes. The changes, according to some, were deliberate on the part of the Sango, who simplified their language for the interlopers (Bouquiaux et al. 1978:21).¹⁵ But, according to Diki-Kidiri, the changes were not drastic ones.¹⁶ Of course, some of its vocabulary was changed (although no examples are provided by Diki-Kidiri) as well the syntax to a minor extent.

Fact or fiction? What can we believe in what has been only sketched out for us in different publications? Let us not here argue about any of the details of its history. *The only thing we would like to establish is whether or not Sango is a pidgin.*

The Real Sango

There are at least two reasons for affirming that Sango is a pidgin.¹⁷ The linguistic changes that have separated Sango from its once-closely related Ngbandi dialects are (1) drastic, and (2) they developed very quickly. The following brief exposés must suffice for the present purposes.

Rapid change

Rapid divergence

Although all languages change in ways that make them more and more unlike the ones that preceded them, they change slowly. Of course, the rate of change is not so steady that we can arrive at an equivalent to carbon dating: languages change at different rates, and they have in many instances probably changed at different rates at different periods of their histories. The rate of change is also variable with respect to different systems: phonology, morphology, etc. All things considered, nonetheless, languages do not usually become vastly different in one or even

two generations. The youngest child of all speech communities always speaks the same language (although not necessarily in the same way) as the eldest. These facts have become commonplace, for many of the principles of linguistic change were long ago established.

Sango, however, like other pidgins in existence today, came into being very quickly.¹⁸ They must be cited as exceptions when generalizations are made about normal language change. Certainly they are not "abnormal" languages, nor are their changes "abnormal"; the only fact affirmed at this point is that these languages -- at least those whose histories can be traced to the last century -- diverged from their lexifiers very quickly, although the degree to which they are different from other languages is a matter of current debate and discussion.

It is therefore of utmost importance to recognize the rapidity of Sango's emergence (within a short span of the lives of Central Africans!), to understand its significance, and to reflect on its consequences. In about 1890 along the Ubangi river there were native speakers of some variety of Ngbandi, who had spoken with others whose speech was slightly different from their own (i.e., other dialects of Ngbandi), and who had also heard about -- if not encountered -- others whose languages were entirely different (such Nzakara, Zande, and varieties of Banda). And right before their noses, so to speak, a new new *yángá* (as 'mouth' and 'language' came to called in the pidgin) came into existence before many of them had died. They most likely knew nothing of pidginization and pidgins. The argument here is that the *fact* of rapid divergence in Sango's history obligates a linguist to consider pidginization in its genesis.¹⁹

Drastic divergence

Pidginization is something that happens to language in different kinds of circumstances, one of them being the learning of another language, but perhaps usually only in adulthood (Samarin 1971).²⁰ All kinds of mistakes are made in the early stages of language learning, even when the circumstances are ideal for acquisition. A hundred years ago the circumstances along the Ubangi river were far from ideal for such regarding Ngbandi for the white and African colonizers. Moreover, it cannot be assumed that many of the Africans brought into the area by whites were even trying to learn a local language; i.e. aiming to talk it more or less like the native speakers. Verbal communication being their immediate need and goal, it can be justly assumed that they used whatever lexical resources and rules that seemed to work. (Even if they had the desire, they did not have the opportunity to do so, since they were moved about so frequently and many knew that they would be returning home after their contracts expired.) Wasn't it inevitable, therefore, that the *jargon* or *baragouin* or *charabaria* or *patois* (in French) resembled only superficially the language of the upper Ubangi basin?²¹ However, after an infinite number of extemporizations,

many of them repeated and imitated by others, *intention would have replaced chance*. Out of this process came into being a linguistic *product*: the new language, a pidgin: it became something that a person learned from others, not created personally.

The pidgin's drastic divergence from Ngbandi was inevitable, although the degree and nature of that divergence depended on many linguistic and nonlinguistic factors that constituted the circumstances. The Ngbandi experienced the differences and had to overcome them, a process that was *their* contribution to the creation of the new language.

Before proceeding, we should recognize the opposite view: that Sango is not nor ever has been a pidgin. As noted above, Diki-Kidiri has never made this assertion, but he appears to hold it; Morrill, on the other hand, declares it categorically: to classify Sango as a pidgin is an error, because "The *sine qua non* of what it means for a language to be a pidgin [elsewhere creoles are added] must be genetic discontinuity with any one natural language;" there has to be "a break in normal linguistic transmission" (1997:3, cf 10, 33, 35; 352). Therefore, to prove that Sango is not a pidgin Morrill has only to demonstrate that it is not a new language but simply another "distinct variety of Ngbandi." The evidence is never presented, but the claim is made again and again (1997:3, 34, 35; and all pagination in this paragraph). Without any review of the debate over whether or not pidgins can be or should be assigned a genetic classification, Morrill asserts that "it is an integral aspect of pidginization that the result of this process [i.e., a pidgin] is a new linguistic creation which may not be placed onto any existing family tree" (352). On the contrary, it can also be argued that Sango can be a pidgin *as well as* be closer to Ngbandi than to any other language.²² In any case, while he recognizes that changes have indeed taken place in Sango (350-351), he maintains that they have not severed it from Ngbandi's tree -- yet this thesis is never defended. Nonetheless, Morrill proposes "the recognition of vehicular languages as a distinctive linguistic category" (26), to which Sango is assigned, because "while it can be attached to a specific genetic stock, it does not represent 'normal' transmission" (35, cf 352, 353).

This proposal might appear somewhat eccentric in light of most pidgin and creole scholarship, but the explanation is found in Morrill's having adopted for his theoretical framework the work of Louis-Jean Calvet (1992), whose underlying notion is said to be, in Morrill's words, "that changes in the social function of a language may induce changes in grammatical form" (1997:350). However, Morrill ignores some of Calvet's opinions that could very well apply to Sango. The latter, for example, identifies a pidgin as a language *created* [italics in his text] to serve as a lingua franca, used by people who do not share the same vernacular ("langue grégaire"), "le plus souvent *composites* ..." A pidgin is therefore "*in vivo*, ce que l'espéranto est *in vitro*, un certain type de réponse à un besoin de communication dans des

conditions particulières,” citing Munukutuba (more commonly known among linguists as Kituba) as an example (1992:18; also 23; also 1986:299). A pidgin is therefore no one’s first language (1992:19).²³ The creative process itself is described in an earlier work (not cited by Morrill): pidginization is the “création d’une langue à partir de plusieurs langues naturelles” (Calvet 1974:114) because of the “refus pur et simple d’un groupe de parler la langue des autres groupes avec lesquels il entretient des relations commerciales,” citing Pidgin English [sic], based on Chinese syntax and English lexicon (1974:113). If this were applied to Sango, it would mean that the Ngbandi refused to speak to the foreigners in their own language. It would also mean that because Sango’s syntax and vocabulary are basically those of Ngbandi, Sango is not a created vehicular language -- therefore, not a pidgin. Of course, one is not obliged to adopt Calvet’s premise. Reasoning differently and historically, one arrives at a different conclusion.

That Sango is “genetically related in the normal sense of the term” to Ngbandi is Morrill’s conclusion, based, he says, on “correspondences in all areas of the grammar.” He believes that “It is [the] overwhelming similarity of basic vocabulary that provides the most conclusive linguistic evidence that Sango and Ngbandi both stem from the same linguistic source” (1997:217). (Here he is saying that the two languages are sibling descendants of an earlier language.) This conclusion is based on a study similar in purpose to my etymological analysis of Sango’s vocabulary, using M. Swadesh’s one-hundred-word list (Samarin 1961).²⁴ Because his method was very different, his conclusion is very different from mine. In any case, of the one-hundred “core vocabulary items” he finds only the word for ‘green’ missing in both Ngbandi and Sango and two others that were, he claims, borrowed before 1900 (Morrill 1997:214). This is an important discovery for him (since I claimed that the percentage of retention was lower), because if Sango were a pidgin, he believes, “one would expect to find from its very inception a heavily mixed vocabulary drawing lexical items from the numerous substrate languages present at that time” (1997:214).

The following observations constitute a brief critique:

(1) This is a self-imposed constraint: Sango’s vocabulary does not have to be heavily borrowed for it to be a pidgin. A study of Cameroon Pidgin using the two-hundred-word list confirms my hypothesis in finding that the borrowings in this pidgin constitute no more of its basic vocabulary than the borrowings in German, French, and Spanish (Gilman 1979). Therefore, that most of Sango’s vocabulary is clearly derived from Ngbandi is irrelevant to its being or not being a pidgin.

(2) The core or basic vocabulary used in this study are known to be the ones *last* borrowed in languages (Huttar 1996). Indeed, everyone recognizes that a pidgin has a *lexifier* language. In Sango's case, it would be Ngbandi.

(3) Morrill's findings and mine are not comparable, most importantly for spoken Sango. While I elicited words from rural speakers, he used published dictionaries exclusively, some of them influenced more or less by sources of Ngbandi ethnicity. (My study cautioned against a naive use of existing dictionaries [Samarin 1961:17].)²⁵ Since not all these dictionaries were based on words heard in actual use, some of the entries might not represent Sango in its popular form. For example, although I was not able in the 1950s to elicit words for *tongue* and *ashes*, I knew that they were in the Bible, having been elicited (I have reason to believe) from Yakoma-speaking assistants. Another reason for having found fewer Sango words to complete the list than Morrill did was that I was rigorous: for example, I did not accept *bé* for *heart*, knowing that this was a westerner's metaphorical calque -- the word really means 'liver' (as it does in Ngbandi [Lekens 1958:47a]).

Moreover, in the long view, Sango, as I know it, is different from every variety of Ngbandi in several profound ways. In the following overview the two languages are compared with respect to phonology, morphology, syntax, and lexicon.²⁶

Linguistic characteristics

Phonology

The phonology of Ngbandi, unlike other systems of the language, was largely retained. The phonologies of the two languages are, giving allowance for interpretation, virtually congruent. This fact does not, however, constitute evidence against Sango's being a pidgin; it is rather evidence that many generalizations about pidgins have been simplistic, although it has wisely been pointed out that in pidginization all systems are not necessarily affected, and those that are are not affected to the same degree (Thomason 1981). Linguistic and nonlinguistic facts, as in every case of language contact, can, if data are available, explain the results.

The explanation for Sango's full phonemic inventory -- unlike that of, for example, Fanakalo -- lies partly in the phonological systems of the languages whose speakers participated in the creation of Sango, many of whom were West African, and the languages spoken in Haut-Oubangui, some of whose speakers were quickly exposed to this new language. Finally, it lies in the fact that the Ngbandi of this territory (the Yakoma and Sango) repossessed their language. (Evidence for this argument will be presented in due course.) Simplification is most readily seen

in words that came from other languages; e.g. *nsinga* ‘cord, telegraph wire’ (in Lingala, but probably from an earlier source) > *síngà* ‘telegraph, telephone’.

Simplification in Sango is seen primarily in the use of its phonological inventory. (1) The number of words with nasalized vowels is very small in Sango. (2) The tonal characteristics of words have been simplified by reduction in the use of contour tones and in the sequencing of tones in words: e.g., mid-low has been replaced by high-low.²⁷ (3) Co-occurrence of vowels has been simplified by vowel harmony: i.e., mid vowels in a single word are either tense or lax, not both. (4) Tone changes in Ngbandi, whose rules have yet to be written, appear commonly: e.g., *álà* > *lâ* as in *télé lâ* ‘their bodies’ (body 3P) (Toronzoni [henceforth T] 1989:527), *nwó lâ* ‘overcome them’ but *nwô í* ‘overcome you (pl.)’ (T382, 383), *nà* > *nâ* ‘with.’²⁸ In Sango, on the other hand, only the forms with level tones are used. My explanation for the survival of Ngbandi phonology in Sango is that the Ngbandi reconstituted the originally ‘mispronounced’ words as they themselves spread the pidgin in the territory, something similar in consequence, but not in process, to decreolization. The Yakoma in Bangui continue to have an influence on Sango.²⁹

One aspect of Ngbandi’s phonology that was regularized in pidginization was the elimination of the use of floating tones in all but a very few words. Thus, in Sango (at least in the 1950s) the vowel of the pronoun *lò* was pronounced long, with rising pitch, before the word *mvèní*: *lò mvèní* ‘he himself/she herself’. In other cases, it would appear that what seems like a floating tone in Ngbandi is only the result of, for example, assimilation: thus, in a predicate, where the verb occurs with the subject marker *à-* one frequently finds in Lekens’ dictionary a tone mark: e.g., *s~ùmbù* (1958:65b). Here too, things became simpler (i.e., more regular) in Sango: that is, until very recently, when Ngbandi-like contractions were noted in the tape-recorded speech of young people in Bangui.

Morphology

The Ngbandi, however, could not reclaim the lingua franca to make it like their own language grammatically. Although they may have continued to pronounce words as if they were their own, speaking Sango with a Ngbandi accent, they had to follow the grammatical rules of the new language.

Ngbandi’s morphological grammar has virtually disappeared, making the grammar of Sango drastically simple when compared with the grammars of all the other Ubangian languages.³⁰ This is seen in the verbal system, in nominal derivation, and in possession. The details of the drastic changes in the grammar cannot be summarized in the space permitted in this chapter, but they can easily be seen in comparing what Benjamin Lekens (1955, 1958), Pascal Boyeldieu

(1982), Ngama-Nzombio Tra Ndele Toronzoni (1989), and Kola Kamanda (1989) have written on the language and what has been published on Sango.

The verb. The Ngbandi verbal system is especially complex. Boyeldieu describes three verbal categories: *positif*, *inachevé*, *volitif*. These, in turn, are complicated by differences between singular and plural. Only the first is illustrated here. (1) The Ngbandi could no longer use their language's complex verbal system to express tense, mood, and aspect. The following is only suggestive of what happened. In Ngbandi two aspects, the perfective (accomplished action) and imperfective (action not yet accomplished), are expressed entirely by tone. This is complicated by the fact that all verbs do not behave alike. For example, irrealis (as in what is translated as future in English and French) is realized in the second person singular with a high tone on the pronoun but low, mid, or high on a monosyllabic verb, depending arbitrarily on its classification. Therefore both the tones of the pronouns and of the verbs may change: e.g., *mbì hu lò* 'I saw him/her' vs. *lò hú yé* 'he/she saw thing(s)' (Lekens 1958:301a). With a preposed *ndó* (possibly a prefix, possibly a free form), whose tone will vary, the habitual or "intemporel" is expressed (T238). Sango has none of this, except for frozen forms like *ádè* (SUBJ+remain) 'it remains, not yet', where the prefixal subject-marker carries high instead of low tone: e.g., *ádè lò ga apè* ([he/she] remains 3S come NEG) 'he/she hasn't come yet'.³¹ The habitual marker was lost completely, except in the Protestant word for 'love' as both noun and verb: *ndòyé* (pronounced somewhat in that manner).³² Tense, mood, and aspect are in Sango expressed lexically, except for the use of the copula for irrealis. But the copula itself and therefore this use are foreign: innovations, in other words (Samarin 1986c). (2) They did not have available to them Ngbandi's means to produce new verbs with suffixes: e.g., the iterative in its various forms (e.g., *-là*, *-ngàrà* (T126), and the reciprocal *-ngbi*, *-ma* to derive verbs from ideophones (T235), and *-kà* (T145). Indeed, it is possible that synchronically some or all of these suffixes were no longer productive even in Ngbandi. In any case, in Sango, although a few words with these strings occur in the lexicon, there is no relationship between them and a base form. Thus, although some people may use the word *lèkèrè*, they do not distinguish it from *lèkè*. The two words mean nothing more than 'to repair', not with an iterative sense.³³

The noun. In Ngbandi, nouns can be derived from ideophones by reduplication with tone modification (T128-129, 176) and from verbs (a) by means of tone change (*nzi* 'to steal' > *nzi* 'theft') (T132-133, 168, 170, 175) and (b) by suffixation with *-ngo* (T172-174). Nouns are also derived by compounding (producing *substantifs composés*) (T177-189). In Sango only the nominalization of verbs is unrestrictedly productive: e.g., *gi* 'to look for' > *gingo* 'search'. While compounding has produced some words, the number is not as great as in Ngbandi. Indeed, the analysis of this aspect of Sango's grammar remains problematic. For example, since *yángá-dà*

and *yángá tí dà* (mouth of house) are synonymous, should the latter be considered a compound instead of a noun phrase? Toronzoni opts for the former (T187), but I (and Roulon 1972) for the latter.³⁴

The adjective. The nineteen Ngbandi monomorphemic adjectives (T219) are increased in number by derivation from verbs in two ways, reduplication of monosyllabic verbs (with tone change) and tone change with disyllabic verbs: e.g., *sé* ‘to be bitter’ > *sèsé* ‘bitter’ (T125); *vùlù* ‘to become ripe’ > *vùlu* ‘ripe’ (T127). Although these two words occur in Sango, other pairs do not -- further evidence that the process is not productive in Sango.

The numerals. Ngbandi has two sets of numerals: one for counting and another in attribution (T293). The latter are shortened forms of the other. Numeration in Sango, as one might expect in a pidgin, has only one paradigm, this consisting of the independent forms.

Syntax

Negation. Sentences in Ngbandi are negated with a preposed and a postposed clitic: *má* (or *tá*)... *ma*, as in standard French *ne ... pas* (T462, 529) or a simple postposed *ka* (T467). Sango uses only a postposed *apè* (*pepè* in published material).³⁵

Ngbandi:

- (1) *dema tá á-mu yé ma*
groaning NEG SUB-grab thing NEG
‘Groaning doesn’t do any good’

Sango:

- (2) *tòtò à-sàrà yé apè*
to cry SUB-do thing NEG
‘Crying doesn’t do any good’

Pluralization. In Ngbandi plurality with substantives (and in noun phrases) is signalled by the use of the prefix *á-*, in a few cases with a replative form of the noun: *ya* ‘wife’, *áwó* ‘wives’; *zò* ‘person’, *ázì* (or just *zì*) ‘persons’ (T210, 365). Sango continues to use the prefix, but makes no use of replative forms. With Ngbandi verbs, plurality, whether in the subject or object of a verb, is encoded with replatives (T235, 365, 514, 515): e.g., *sa* replaces *bi* when one person throws more than one spear and several people throw spears (T514). Even adjectives are differentiated for number: *kota* in the singular and *kokone* in the plural for ‘large’ (T365). All of these restrictions have been lost in Sango.

Possession. As in other Ubangian languages, Ngbandi distinguishes between alienable from inalienable nouns in possession. With the latter, possession is expressed simply by juxtaposition of nouns or nouns and pronouns, in some cases with obligatory tone change, as in the following: e.g., *tère mbi* ‘my body’ (body 1S), *téré lò* ‘his/her body’ (Lekens 1955:319a). With a semantically defined class of nouns, plus nominalized verbs, a difference in meaning is made with the use and non-use of the preposition: e.g., *dà Nzàpa* ‘church’ (house God) vs. *dà tí Pida* ‘Pida’s house’ (T363). With the latter either *tí* or *tE* are used, which are selected according to whether the determining noun is animate or not. In Sango all of these restrictions have been lost and *tí* is the only preposition used: e.g., *dà tí Nzàpa* ‘church.’

Native speakers of Ngbandi undoubtedly realized that saying *lì tí mbi* for ‘my head’ in the foreign (not *foreigner*) talk was not what one would ever say in their language: it would have been *lì mbi*. Put quite simply: the preposition could not be used with inalienable objects. In the last thirty years or so, however, the use of the preposition has changed considerably in Sango (Samarin 1993, 1995, 1997). One of the new realizations is the reduction of the preposition to a high tone, which is applied to the final vowel of the preceding word: *dà tí mbi* > *dà R mbi* (house of 1S) ‘my house’ (R = rising tone on preceding vowel replacing preposition *tí* ‘of’). In Ngbandi, however, the final tone depends on the phonological environment: *(ya) nga mbi* (belly mouth 1S) ‘my mouth’ vs. *(ya) ngá lò* ‘his mouth’ (Lekens 1958:651a).

Relativization. In Ngbandi two demonstratives are used in relative constructions, *ko* and *mE*, according to certain constraints that are not discussed here (T531). Neither of these has survived in Sango, which uses *só*, now a demonstrative but in Ngbandi, apparently, an adverb meaning ‘there, thus, in this manner.’³⁶ (2) The relative clause has been transformed and reduced to the use of an all-purpose *só*.

Ngbandi:

- (3) *zò m̀è mbì hu lò bíri làá*
 person REL 1S see 3S yesterday TOP
 ‘that’s the person I saw yesterday’ (Lekens 1958:596b)

Sango:

- (4) *zò só mbi bá bíri la*
 person that 1S see yesterday TOP³⁷

Subordination and complementation. Ngbandi has several subordinators that have been replaced in Sango: e.g., *se ... ko* ‘if ... then’ by *tòngà nà*; and *mE* ‘as’ by French *comme*, which,

however, may have entered the language only recently (T286). The loss of the complementizer (or *déclaratif*) *yá* (whose lexical meaning is ‘thus’) is especially remarkable, given the fact that it is obligatory after verbs of saying and is used in other constructions where saying is implied.

In Sango, however, the verb *tènè* ‘to say’ is followed by the cited discourse. (Even though the verb has been reduced in Bangui to *tè*, I have not yet found evidence of the grammaticalization of this verb as a complementizer.)³⁸

Ngbandi:

(5) *lò nè hé mbi yá*

3S say give 1S say

‘he said to me (that) ...’ (Lekens 1958:649a)

Sango:

(6) *lò tènè nà mbi à-tènè ...*

3S say PREP 1S SUBJ+say)

‘he said to me (that) ...’

Lexicon

The lexicon of Sango is very much reduced, as one would expect in a pidgin.³⁹ This fact is established in three ways.

(1) In using the 100-word list of allegedly change-resistant words established by Morris Swadesh for glottochronology, we found, as noted above, that there is a striking loss of Ngbandi words in Sango. And a reduction of 43.8 percent has been established in using the 500-word list prepared by Joseph E. Greenberg for Africa, when only 219 equivalents were obtained in 1969 in interviewing four persons in a Ngbaka village, one from each of four age groups (Roulon 1972:157).⁴⁰

(2) A more realistic but still somewhat arbitrary comparison of 150 monomorphemic Sango words under the letter ‘B’ with those in Ngbandi reveals the loss of about 94 percent of the vocabulary. The arbitrary restriction to only one part of the comparable lexicons was imposed by the size of the Ngbandi corpus (Lekens 1958, with 1,072 pages; Lekens 1955 was also used). Under ‘B’ 578 Ngbandi words were identified. To arrive at a similar comprehensive list of Sango was difficult. It required, first, the examination of eight dictionaries or word lists, dating from 1911 to 1995. This task required, in addition, having to make judgements about what could be accepted as a Sango word. (a) For example, the dictionaries of Bouquiaux et al. (1978) and SIL (1995) include words of Yakoma origin recently introduced, in my opinion, by an educated elite

that seeks to enrich Sango's vocabulary.⁴¹ Three nouns of attested Ngbandi origin were deleted because of their source. For example, the word for 'victory' (*bèndà*) occurs only in a small dictionary published by the Société Internationale de Linguistique (SIL) and prepared by Central Africans.⁴² (b) Moreover, many of these words occur only in a single source: e.g., 44 or 29.3 percent of the 150 words beginning with 'B' compiled by myself occur only in dictionaries prepared by members of Baptist Mid-Missions. Therefore, a more rigorous procedure than the one I have employed might result in a *greater* percentage of loss.

An analysis of the kinds of words found in these corpora is equally revealing of pidginization.⁴³ The *loss* of Ngbandi words in Sango, when classified by part of speech, reveals the following percentages: Connectives 100; Adverbs, 99; Adjectives, 98; Nouns, 93; Verbs, 92.

(3) In a corpus of tape-recorded extemporaneous speech of 37,217 words collected in 1962 (the only documentation of different words found in a large corpus until that which I began to collect in Bangui in 1988), there were only 489 irreducible lexical items that were not French in origin: in other words, excluding what might be considered compounds (Samarin 1966:188fn).⁴⁴ Even with such a corpus one is not certain that all words are widely used: some of my subjects might have used a word from their own languages for the nonce. (On this type of self-correction, see Samarin 1966.)

My view is that the total number of words in Sango is about one thousand, which was my estimate forty years ago (Samarin 1961) and that of Bouquiaux (1969:64, cited by Manessy 1977:145 and 1995:79 as "le vocabulaire usuel"). It has even been claimed that the average basic vocabulary necessary for someone to correctly use Sango is only a little more than two hundred words (Roulon 1972:157; cited by Manessy 1977:145).⁴⁵

In addition to this massive loss of vocabulary in Sango, many common Ngbandi function words were replaced or came to be used in a different manner. Of the many examples, here are only five.

(1) The use of the clitic *ngá* to signal a question requesting confirmation (in French, *est-ce que*) was lost in Sango, which uses an overall rise in pitch. Recently, however, people have begun using preposed *èsí* (from French *est-ce que*) for this purpose: Ngbandi *mò mú sà ngá* (2S receive meat INT); Sango (*èsí*) *mò wàrà nyàmà?* 'Did you get any meat?'

(2) The Ngbandi word *nà* 'who' (*ánà* in the plural) was replaced in Sango by *zò wà* (person who?) for 'who?'

(3) The simple Ngbandi *wà* ‘where?’ has been replaced by *nà ndò wà* (at place what?): Ngbandi *lò wà* (3S where?) (Lekens 1955); Sango, *lò kè nà ndò wà* (3S be at place what?) ‘where is he/she?’⁴⁶

(4) For ‘how?’ *sía* (T511) was replaced by the phrase *nà lége nyè* (at way/road what?). (5) The function of *nà* ‘with’ has changed so much that it affects the grammar of the language. While still being used with this meaning in Sango, it is also used as an all-purpose preposition. For example: (a) Benefactive after certain verbs: in Ngbandi the verb ‘give’ is not followed by a preposition, in Sango it is; (b) Locative after some verbs and in certain locutions: in Ngbandi ‘I went to the garden’ is expressed as *mbi gwè yaka* (1S go garden) (T502), but in Sango (as noted above) obligatorily as *mbi gwè nà yaka*; (c) In Sango, but not in Ngbandi, *nà* is used to connect clauses.⁴⁷

In this section I have been concerned with demonstrating only that Ngbandi’s lexicon has been drastically reduced in Sango. Nonetheless, Sango’s vocabulary remains predominantly Ngbandi in origin.

Conclusion

My argument for recognizing that Sango is a pidgin will most certainly be accepted by all those who understand what is generally meant by the word *pidgin*. It falls into a type of language characterized by being (a) new and (b) remarkably reduced by comparison with its source language (and with any other natural language, for that matter).⁴⁸ This is not to say that it meets all the definitions of pidgins (for there are many definitions and many kinds of alleged pidgins), and it certainly fails to have what are claimed to be typical features of pidgins in general. Note the fifteen inventoried recently in Table 1.

Table 1: General features of pidgin grammars according to Sebba (1997:39-40), checked against those of Pidgin Sango. Key: + = true of Sango, 0 = not true of Sango, NR = not relevant because the lexifier language Ngbandi (and some if not all of the related and co-territorial languages) already have this feature.

1. No definite or indefinite article	0
2. No copula	0
3. Tense, aspect, modality and negation marked externally to the verb	+
4. No complex sentences	0

5. No passive forms	NR
6. Very few or no inflections	0
7. Analytic constructions used to mark possessive	NR
8. Avoidance of "highly marked" sounds	0
9. Simple syllable structure	NR
10. Tone is not used to distinguish words	0
11. Preference for semantic transparency	NR
12. Small vocabulary	+
13. Very small inventory of prepositions or postpositions	NR
14. Preference for short words	NR
15. Derivational morphology is not well developed	NR

Even though these features are listed as comprehensive and illustrative, and not criterial, they barely diagnose Sango as a pidgin. There are only two plusses, and one of them has to be qualified. Thus, although it is true of Sango, as it is alleged of pidgins in general (Sebba 1997:39), that “Tense, aspect, modality, and negation [are] marked externally to the verb” (that is to say, they are signalled lexically and not morphologically, and presumably in contrast with the base language), the statement applies only with respect to negation in Sango, but since it is also external to the verb in Ngbandi the (+) is a qualified one.⁴⁹ As has been already noted, the other grammatical categories are expressed tonally in Ngbandi.

Although I make my claim about Sango’s being a pidgin for reasons both linguistic and nonlinguistic, I would be comfortable in doing so for *only one reason* in spite of the claim that “it is very difficult [note the qualification] to find a single feature which occurs in *all* [italics in the original] pidgins without exception” (Sebba 1997:97). That “single feature”, I believe, is an extremely reduced lexicon. Is there, really, any natural language in the world with only about one thousand words? It is conceivable, of course, that there be languages with about that many roots, but they would be languages with the grammaticalized means for producing an infinite number of ‘words.’⁵⁰

I do not propose that a small lexicon is the *only* characteristic of a pidgin, only that it is the most salient and implicationally the most important. It would, however, be only the third of a set of the characteristics, beginning as follows:

1. A pidgin is a language.
2. It is a lingua franca.⁵¹
3. It has a very reduced lexicon.

Put in another way, I would suggest that if linguistic features were weighted in a diagnostic test, a reduced lexicon would have the greatest weight.

NOTES

1. This paper was written in 1997. In 1887 Alphonse van Gele, in the name of Leopold II, King of the Belgians, arrived with a few whites and more numerous Africans at the headwaters of the Ubangi river, the birthplace of Sango (see map). The latter consisted of twelve Zanzibari, five Bangala, two Zulu, two 'boys' (that is, servants), and twenty-one 'natives', possibly so-called Bangala or conscripts from the Belgian pool of liberated captives (Samarin 1989a:147). For more information about van Gele see Cuypers (1960).

2. As some others before me, I will use Ngbandi as a cover-term for the language -- which consists, we are informed, of a cluster of mutually intelligible dialects (Boyeldieu 1982) -- except, when the need arises, for names of local varieties on the Ubangi and Mbomu rivers: e.g., Dendi, Yakoma, Sango.

3. This is not a rhetorically automatic qualification. The highest percentage of people who do not know Sango, or do not know it well, would in my opinion be found among Muslim immigrants from other African countries.

4. This conclusion, however, is based only on a sample of households. The percentages appear to be somewhat different for different parts of the city and for children with different ethnic histories. In other words, nativization in Sango is probably variable throughout the country.

5. Attributed to me is the claim that "Gbanziri was the *lingua franca* in the Ubangi bend before Sango emerged" (Pasch 1997:fn7). In the work cited (Samarin 1984/1985:341) all I had said was that in the small area where Gbanziri lived on the Ubangi river, to the east of Bangui, "their language *might* have served as the basis of some kind of *jargon*" and that it was "quite possible, and indeed quite likely, that Gbanziri was being *pidginized* by its foreign users, as was happening, we must assume, in the east in the dialects of [vernacular Sango]" (emphasis added here throughout). Indeed, one interpretation of a colonizer's memoir would document this event (see Samarin 1982b:413).

6. Although Sango is listed in Holm (1988) as one of the pidgins and creoles of the world (see map on pp. xvi-xvii), it is cited in the index as "restructured Sango." The index cites only one page for *restructuralization*, and for *restructuring* it advises the reader to see *creolization* and *pidginization*, which are not helpful for understanding this concept.

7. However, André Jacquot, one of the first French linguists to comment on Sango (Jacquot 1961), did refer to Sango as a pidgin, noting its “simplification” and “impoverishment” in personal communication (10 October 1959).

8. Manessy, however, would be willing to consider Sango a pidgin on sociolinguistic grounds (1977:132, cf. 130; 1995:57). This position is reinforced in the following, where, while acknowledging Sango’s use by people who (in my words) differed ethnolinguistically, Manessy & Wald (1984:69-70) say that Sango’s functions are not merely those of a contact language, because it has acquired prestige in being a language of wider communication and because of its use on the radio: “... les fonctions de cette langue ne se réduisent pas pour autant à celles d’un pidgin de contact: le prestige qu’acquiert cette langue dans l’ouverture d’un champ de communication plus large, son usage à la radio, sa place dans la vie publique depuis qu’elle est langue nationale (1964) et d’autres facteurs encore, rendent son acquisition pratiquement indispensable en milieu urbain et de plus en plus fréquente et désirable chez les ruraux.” Although these two scholars do admit that Sango issued from a contact language whose origins date “probablement” to the beginnings of colonization (ibid. 69fn), its linguistic nature is not specified. Manessy’s position is also ambiguous if not contradictory, because in the paper already cited he says that pidgins -- not excluding Sango -- will, among other languages, be used illustratively (Manessy 1977:132). Subsequently he recognizes certain pidginized features of Sango but explains their origin in language contact in an urban setting (1990:13, 15, 16, 18), apparently having been led to believe that the features he discusses arose first in Bangui. It is certainly true that a new variety of Sango is emerging in Bangui, the nation’s capital, but these changes have nothing to do with pidginization. Manessy finds that several changes that occur in urban varieties of vehicular languages are similar to those found in pidgins (1995:58, 59, 61, 63, 64, 65, 68, 75): e.g., analytical compounds, periphrasis, loss of inflection, simplification, “rendement maximal au moindre coût,” “principe d’économie,” loss of marked phonological features, phonological variation, open syllables, “univocité paradigmatique,” loss of grammatical markers, etc. (a view shared by Calvet 1992:14).

9. Cf. Pasch (1997:214, citing Diki-Kidiri 1982): “some variant of the Yakoma language is likely to have served as a vehicular language throughout the Ubangi bend ... they used Yakoma as a lingua franca”.

10. Morrill, however, alleges that Diki-Kidiri’s view is just the contrary: that in the precolonial period “the Sango and the Yakoma tribes did *not* predominate on the full length of the Mbomu and Ubangi Rivers” (1997:157, emphasis added).

11. The notebook in which A. Van Gele recorded his purchases of ivory contains nothing about the Dendi. See the Alphonse Vangele archives in the library of the Musée Royal de

l'Afrique Centrale, Tervuren, Belgium: B4, Booklet (8x14cm), inside cover 'Ivoire 1888' p. 1, "Carnet des achats d'ivoire. Rivière: Doua. 1er cahier."

12. Morrill claims to have "uncovered irrefutable evidence of Sango being spoken in Bangassou [on the Mbomu river] in April 1893" in words attributed to the sultan Bangassou by what the calendar would identify as a green-horn representative of the État Indépendent du Congo (1997:166; for lack of preparedness among these men see Samarin 1982b:414ff). By this time, I demur, given the aggressiveness of the Belgians in their pursuits, it would not be surprising at all that the emerging pidgin was spoken by some Africans at this site. After all, Alphonse van Gele, among others, had been active in this area. This ungrammatical concoction of words, however it was acquired and whatever may have been its communicative purpose, is surely no evidence of a stabilized language, as alleged (Morrill 1997:165). Moreover, this is not the first documentation of what might be the vehicular language: for others, and an earlier one, see Samarin (1982a).

13. Nowhere in my reading did I ever find a single reference to an indigenous market in the Ubangi river basin. The French, and undoubtedly the Belgians, had to set them up in order that their men might buy provisions on a regular basis. Zigba (1995) arrived at the same conclusion.

14. Paris, Archives Nationales Section Outre-Mer, Papiers Liotard 213 Mi [microfiche], 2, Journal 28 août 1891 au mai 1892 ("notes recopiées par la suite par un autre [...]"); 213 Mi 2(2), "Notes pour le rapport de fin de campagne (postérieur à 1894). For more on Liotard see Mazières (1982).

15. Without historical documentation the Sango are said to have been the first to enter into contact with Europeans, serving as canoers (Bouquiaux et al. 1978:20-21), an assertion developed by Pasch (1997:215). In fact, the history of the colonization of the region demonstrates otherwise (Samarin 1989a).

16. My work, on the other hand, has led to explanations of the way two important words entered Sango: *kè* (its common pronunciation, but commonly written *yèkè*) 'to be' and *nginzà* 'money', the first apparently from Kikongo and the latter from some as-yet unidentified west African language (Samarin 1986a, 1989b). With respect to the first, there remains the possibility that either the copula is derived from Swahili or that the innovation involved the convergence of Swahili and Kikongo.

17. For the time being, consensus in believing in the existence of a kind of language identified as pidgin is being assumed. Morrill also recognizes the existence of pidgins (personal communication), but denies that Sango is one of them.

18. Thornell (1997:30) rejects my argument for the emergence of Sango in about two decades on the grounds that this "period of time [roughly between 1887 and 1911] seems too short." On the origins of pidgins, however, it has been demonstrated that some have arisen in a couple of

decades. On Sranan, for example, see Voorhoeve (1964, 1971, 1973); on Chinook Jargon (a pidgin in spite of its name) see Samarin (1986b).

19. It seems necessary to be reminded of the distinction that must be drawn between pidginization as a *process* and a pidgin as a *product* (Samarin 1971).

20. I say “usually,” because I can document the important role children played as language teachers and servants for Europeans -- children who must have been involved, as adults were, in the creation of Sango.

21. The process described here is documented by one who was a member of a French expedition in Haut-Oubangui in 1892: “Nos hommes avaient peu à peu réuni quelques mots à l’aide desquels ils avaient constitué une sorte de patois, qui leur permettait jusqu’ici de se faire facilement comprendre par des indigènes” (Brunache 1894:206). This was probably Sango, for a lingua franca had already been recognized by whites. For a discussion of this text see Samarin (1985) and (1989c).

22. Long ago I characterized a pidgin as a language that “traces its lineage to at least one natural language” (1962:56).

23. Earlier (1986:299), in listing three kinds of lingua francas, Calvet includes “a language specifically created for communication purposes,” citing Munukutuba, but then, “and of course, Pidgins,” as if citing a different type of language but with no example. Calvet finds fault with my characterizing Sango as a creole in one of my early works (1992:10; see Samarin 1966); however, while my language could have been more explicit, my assessment of Sango’s status could have been found in other publications cited at that time.

24. On studying these words again, this time with Lekens (1958), which I did not have on the first occasion, I find sixty-four unarguable retentions of Ngbandi words in Sango, and these include four that are somewhat problematic: whereas Swadesh gives a word in a nominal or adjectival form (e.g., *full*), the equivalents in Ngbandi and Sango are verbs.

25. The politics of dictionaries in new nation-states is not negligible. With respect to Sango this is seen in one politically oriented survey of dictionaries (Pénel 1979).

26. It should be noted that the following observations are based on the language that both Diki-Kidiri and I learned in the rural areas, for I am writing about Pidgin Sango. I am also writing about the *language*, not a special variety being deliberately created and advocated in recent years, a variety being ‘engineered’ by the Central African élite (Samarin 1998b).

27. It should be noted that Sango is a tone language, tone having been marked in my publications on Sango. It is surprising, therefore, to find in a very recent publication that one of the characteristics of pidgins in general is that they do not use tone to distinguish words (Sebba 1997:39). Moreover, “Those pidgins that are known to have lexifiers which are tone languages are *not* tone languages themselves. This is true of ... Pidgin Sango (whose lexifier...is

tonal) ...” (Sebba 1997:48). And Sebba goes on to cite Bakker (1994:35) for having pointed out “that nearly all the speakers of Pidgin Sango speak tone languages natively [because, I might add, all languages of the Ubangian family are tonal as are the Bantu ones in the country] and Sango itself (the non-pidgin variety) is tonal” (the quotation marks enclose Sebba’s statement, and italics were added above). This statement seems to imply that the pidgin variety of Sango is *not* tonal. Bakker has been misinformed. Every vowel in Sango carries either a low, mid, or high tone -- contour tones being analyzed as occurring on sequences of vowels -- and in contracted forms in Bangui today even some consonants carry tone. Moreover, there are a number of minimal pairs distinguished by tone alone: e.g., *kwá* ‘death, corpse,’ *kwa* ‘hair,’ *kwà* ‘work [noun].’ These facts were published long ago and more recently in Walker & Samarin (1997). Moreover, given the fact that some of the people involved in the ‘creation’ of Sango spoke languages that are *not* tonal (such as those who spoke Swahili [although some of these may have had native languages that were tonal] and Wolof) and that others spoke languages that used tone in a different way (such as Bambara, spoken also in Senegal) or had only two levels of tone instead of three, it is remarkable that Sango’s lexical use of tone is so close to that of its source language.

28. Movement forward with the deletion of the preposition *tí* ‘of,’ incidentally, is one of the variants of this preposition in Bangui today: e.g., *tère tí lò* (body of 3s) > *tère lô* ‘his/her body.’ The social distribution of this variant in Sango is under study.

29. Although this observation has not yet been documented in print, see Samarin (1991). One possible influence of Ngbandi may be in the absence of the preposition *nà* in the speech of young people in Bangui, especially, if not always, with certain verbs (the matter is being studied). Here, for example, is one from a popular song: *lò du [nà] nzàlà* (3S sit [with] hunger) ‘he/she is hungry.’ This deletion occurs in Ngbandi, for Lekens observed that this was a word that was not infrequently deleted, its tone, however, moving to the preceding lengthened vowel (1958:618a; for an example see Lekens 1955:123a). In Sango there is no lengthening of the preceding vowel.

30. By contrast, Diki-Kidiri (1977:727) characterizes Sango as a language with an economical morphology (“une langue à morphologie économique”, which might better have been characterized as a “generously dis-endowed language”), typologically similar to Mande languages, like Bambara.

31. If tone is used grammatically, as Diki-Kidiri claims (1988), I believe that the speakers are of Ngbandi ethnicity and others who mimic them. I was participant in a conversation (in Sango) in which Diki-Kidiri told a Central African university student in France about this usage. With a surprised look she said, “I’ve never heard that.” In my huge corpus of tape-recorded extemporaneous speech collected in Bangui since 1988 a high tone on the third person singular pronoun or the verbal subject marker occur rarely. A count of their occurrence in the

transcriptions would confirm this impression. The grammatical function of tone is also asserted without exemplification by Roulon (1972:149). All examples in Sango are my own.

32. The missionaries were theologically motivated in wanting to make a distinction between *yé* ‘to want, desire, agree to, consent, prefer’ (their meanings in Ngbandi as well) and ‘to love,’ as in “Love your neighbor as yourself.”

33. I confess, however, that this is a conclusion based on observation, not on elicitation. I have not asked people who were not native speakers of Ngbandi to explain the difference in meaning between these two words, and I believe that the entry in Bouquiaux’s dictionary for the derived form is another instance of its bias toward a conscious reconstitution of Sango. In any case, since this appears to be the only iterative verb in the dictionary, it can very well be considered nothing more than a vestigial item.

34. These are similar to what Mühlhäusler calls “phrase level lexical items” (1995:112), illustrated in Tok Pisin by *man bilong kros* (< *man belong cross*) ‘a bad-tempered person’, typologically similar to Sango’s *zò tí ngònzò* (person of anger). Diki-Kidiri is therefore mistaken about the alleged productivity of the N + N construction with the ‘direct complement.’ From a corpus of 1,700 *tí*-phrases in extemporaneous speech from a good sample of Central Africans, I found twenty instances of the whole phrase *yángá (tí) dà* ‘mouth of house’. Although nineteen occurred without the preposition, it should be noted that the speakers were predominantly of Ngbandi ethnicity, others of Ngbaka ethnicity. In this latter population I have come to expect Ngbandi features. In any case, a thirteen-year-old girl of Ngbaka ethnicity used the phrase twice: once *without* the preposition and once with a reduced form of it: namely, the consonant *n* with high tone. (Others use the same form, and I have also found *m* used in the same way for the preposition.) The analysis of the variable {*tí*} in tape-recordings of persons of Ngbandi and of Gbaya ethnicity is now under way.

35. Although I once attributed this negative to a Bantu language, not knowing of the last-mentioned word in Ngbandi, I may have been mistaken. In any case, negation has been greatly simplified.

36. The study of *só* by comparison with its use in Ngbandi is under way. These glosses are based on translations of Ngbandi into French by an educated native-speaker of Yakoma and on translations into English of Lekens’ Flemish translations by native-speakers of Flemish.

37. What I have identified as a topicalizer is glossed by Lekens (in translation from Flemish) as ‘there is, there are.’ Its function in Sango, especially the Sango of Bangui, awaits study.

38. The parenthesized ‘that’ simply indicates its presence or absence in two kinds of discourse: indirect vs. direct. In the latter, both in Ngbandi and Sango a different pronoun is used. This is also true in Gbeya.

39. We expect a reduced lexicon because of what has been learned about all such new languages. It would serve no purpose to trace the history of statements with respect to pidgin vocabularies, but it should at least be noted that Reinecke discussed this topic sixty years ago (1937:139), where, in his typical and admirably cautious manner, he estimated “the number of [Chinook] Jargon words probably in general use at any one time and place at about 500.”

40. It is not clear how she interviewed the subjects, because she says “nous [meaning herself] n’avions pas de langue de communication” (Roulon 1972:139). Inquiries about a published form of Greenberg’s list proved futile.

41. Bouquiaux’s includes many words from the ethnic language (identified as *sango riverain*) with no declared justification. (One of the collaborators is of that ethnicity.) Second, it includes many neologisms, some of which are identified by an asterisk, some not. (The other collaborator has been active in enriching Sango with neologisms. See, for example, Diki-Kidiri (1982). This latter work is a bilingual text, with French on the even-numbered pages and Sango on the odd-numbered ones. It also includes Sango-French and French-Sango glossaries. For example, borrowing from Ngbandi, the author creates *piàlo* for ‘projet’ out of *pià* ‘égale, juste’ (ADJ/ADV) + *lo* ‘parole,’ neither of which occurs in Sango. Third, it is arguable whether some of these are really words or phrases, and whether they are possibly idiosyncratic (see Samarin 1980 for a review).

42. Like so many of these neologisms, this one is curious. In Ngbandi the word means ‘monstre’ and ‘énormité’ (Lekens 1955:188a; 1958:44b).

43. In this *b*-corpus of Ngbandi the number of adjectives, adverbs, and ideophones is 68, 11 percent of the total. In Sango the number is only six, 4 percent. Several years ago a specific study was undertaken with respect to the use of ideophones in Sango by taperecording extemporaneous descriptions of slides depicting the making of a clay pot with the coil method. Some of the subjects were Gbeya, who in Gbeya used, as was expected, a large number of them; those restricted to Sango did not have the vocabulary to be as precise. See Samarin (1979).

44. This same corpus was used in my research project for Taber’s dictionary (1965), with a number of words added from other sources in consultation with my Central African assistant Simon Nam-bo-zui-na. Another corpus of tape-recorded speech of 51,781 “running words” (apparently meaning word tokens) was recently obtained in the western part of the CAR (Thornell 1997:53), but we have not been informed of the number of word *types* in it.

45. In French: “On peut considérer que ce chiffre représente le vocabulaire de base moyen nécessaire pour qu’un individu manie correctement cette langue.” But this opinion is based, as has already been noted, on Greenberg’s 500-word list. Sango certainly has words that are not included in that list: e.g. *mè* (< Ngbandi *mé* ‘to beat’) ‘to mix flour and water into a dough’. It is surprising, therefore, to find it averred that the vocabulary of Sango and those of surrounding

Ubangian languages “are more similar in size,” apparently meaning that although Sango’s vocabulary is small by comparison with European vernaculars, it is not much different from that of other Ubangian languages (Thornell 1997:94). By attributing 6,000 entries to the Sango dictionary by Bouquiaux et al. (1978), she implies that Gbaya and Banda have about that many words. Whatever the size of Sango’s lexicon, it must certainly be less than those of other Ubangian languages (I have a collection of almost 6,000 ideophonic adverbs alone for Gbeya). Moreover, she would have found a rich vocabulary in the dictionary of a dialect of Gbaya similar to if not mutually intelligible with the one at Carnot where she did most of her work (Blanchard & Noss 1982; Noss 1981); the later and much more comprehensive dictionary of Ngbandi than the one cited (Lekens 1958) would also have been helpful in her analysis. (The small number of words in my corpus led Einar Haugen to wonder if Sango was a language at all! See Samarin 1966.)

46. In Sango *wà* is an interrogative, additional to and sometimes interchangeable with *nyè*: e.g., *zò wà* and *zò nyè* (person what?) ‘who?’

47. I suspect the influence of one or more Bantu languages -- possibly Swahili and what came to be known as Kituba -- in the expansion of the use of this preposition, *at the time of the origin of Sango*, but this topic is beyond the scope of the present paper.

48. The only attempt at devising a diagnostic tool for identifying a pidgin, based on a hypothesis suggested by Martin Joos, was the measure of hapax legomena in a language (Samarin 1971:120, followed by comment by H. A. Gleason, Jr.). I am not aware of its ever being criticized or approved. In any experiment, great rigor would have to be exercised in the selection of texts and great sophistication in the use of statistics. The paper just cited, incidentally, is where Gleason is also given the credit for having proposed the idea that “Pidginization should be seen as *any consistent reduction of the functions of language both in its grammar and its use*” (Samarin 1971:126, the words being mine and the italics in the original).

49. Moreover, characteristics attributed to pidgins are always (I dare to make that assertion) hedged with qualifications. For example, in a recent survey of pidginization and pidgins the following words and phrases occurred: *as a general rule, characteristically, fairly typical, generally, have a tendency, in all likelihood, in most cases, is likely to, may, might, often, rather, relatively, seem to, tend to, typically, usually*. They were needed, I will admit, in the kind of discourse that was being produced. But for how much longer, and for what reasons, will they be necessary? Until, I suspect, there are adequate descriptions of pidgins and until linguists familiarize themselves with more than one or two of them.

50. Although Mühlhäusler believes that circumlocution had a “vigorous presence in the early years” of Tok Pisin, he does not believe that they should be regarded as “full-fledged lexical items:” e.g., *marasin bilong stopim bel bilong karim pikinini* (medicine of stop belly of carry

child / medicine which prevents conception) for ‘contraceptive pill’ (Mühlhäusler 1985:68, 227, 228). In this same place, incidentally, he traces the history of the legendary circumlocution for piano.

51. It must be clearly understood that phantoms identified as *PCs* are outside the purview of this argument. We are only discussing pidgins that are lingua francas. For the reader who may not be acquainted with the abbreviation it must be explained that it stands for “pidgins-and-creoles,” as if spoken in one breath, as *ham-and-eggs* and *Fourth-of-July* in the United States. Of course, if the linguist is speaking seriously about pidgins, he or she might use the full phrase and probably say it slowly. In published material, on the other hand, one can find statements about *PCs* that really do not apply to pidgins in general. So common is the use of this abbreviation, that it has spawned *PC-ization* and other such neologisms in both English and French even though this purported portmanteau phenomenon has yet to be documented and argued. On lingua francas see Samarin (1987); see also Kahane & Kahane (1976).

REFERENCES

- Bakker, P. 1994. "Pidgins". In *Pidgins and Creoles: An Introduction*, J. Arends, P. Muysken, and N. Smith (eds), 25-40. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Blanchard, Y. (O.M.I.) and Noss, P.A. *Dictionnaire Gbaya-Français: Dialecte Yaayuwée*. Meiganga, Cameroon: Centre de Traduction Gbaya.
- Bouquiaux, L. 1969. "La Créolisation du Français par le Sango Véhiculaire, Phénomène Réciproque". In *Le français en France et hors de France. 1: Créoles et Contacts Africains*, 57-70. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.
- Bouquiaux, L., Kobozo, J.-M., and Diki-Kidiri, M. 1978. *Dictionnaire Sango-Français, Lexique Français-Sango*. (Langues et Civilisations à Tradition Orale, 29.) Paris: SELAF.
- Boyeldieu, P. 1982. "Structures sociales et particularismes linguistiques en pays de langue ‘Ngbandi’: Éléments pour une étude". In Boyeldieu and Diki-Kidiri, 13-80.
- Boyeldieu, P. and Diki-Kidiri, M. (eds) 1982. *Le Domaine Ngbandi*. Paris: SELAF.
- Bruel, G. 1918. *L’Afrique Équatoriale Française: Le Pays, les Habitants, la Colonisation, les Pouvoirs Publics*. Paris: Larose.
- Brunache, P. 1894. *Le Centre de l’Afrique: Autour du Tchad*. Paris: Ancienne Librairie Germer Baillière & Cie.
- Calloc’h, J. (Révérend Père, C.S.E.). 1911. *Vocabulaire Français-Sango et Sango-Français: Langue Commerciale de l’Oubangui-Chari, Précédé d’un Abrégé Grammatical*. Paris: Librairie Paul Geuthner.

- Calvet, L.-J. 1974. *Linguistique et Colonialisme: Petit Traité de Glottophagie*. Paris: Petite Bibliothèque Payot.
- Calvet, L.-J. 1986. "Trade function and lingua francas". In *The Fergusonian Impact: In Honor of Charles A. Ferguson on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday. Volume 2: Sociolinguistics and the Sociology of Language*, Fishman, J.A. Tabouret-Keller, A., Clyne, M., Krishnamurti, B. and Abdulaziz, M. (eds), 295-302. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Calvet, L.-J. 1992. "Ce que la linguistique doit aux études créoles". *Études Créoles* 15 (2) : 9-44.
- Crampel. 1891. Lettre de M. Crampel à M. Musy père. *Revue de Géographie* 29:141-143.
- Cuypers, J.-P. 1960. *Alphonse Vangele (1848-1939)*. Bruxelles: Académie Royale des Sciences d'Outre-Mer.
- De Mazières, A.-C. 1982. *La Marche au Nil de Victor Liotard: Histoire de l'Implantation Française dans le Haut-Oubangui 1891-1899*. Aix-en-Provence: Université de Provence.
- Diki-Kidiri, M. 1977. "Développement du sango pour l'expression du monde moderne: obstacles et possibilités". In *Les Relations entre les Langues Négro-africaines et la Langue Française*. Paris: Conseil International de la Langue Française (CILF). Pp. 717-728.
- Diki-Kidiri, M. 1979a. "L'émergence du sango comme langue nationale centrafricaine". *Recherche, Pédagogie et Culture*. Vol. 8, N° 43, *Langue, Individu, Société*, pp. 36-39.
- Diki-Kidiri, M. 1979b. "Créations lexicales spontanées en sango à partir d'emprunts au français". In *Contacts de Langues et Contacts de Cultures* 3, Caprille, J.-P. (ed.), 33-43. Paris: SELAF-ACCT.
- Diki-Kidiri, M. 1981. "L'expansion du sango en Centrafrique". In *L'Expansion des Langues Africaines: Peul, Sango, Kikongo, Ciluba, Swahili*, Caprille, J.-P. (ed.), 29-42. LACITO- Documents, Afrique 8, série 'Contacts de Langues et Contacts de Cultures'. Paris: SELAF.
- Diki-Kidiri, M. 1982. "Variations libres entre phonèmes en sango, langue nationale de R.C.A. Etude et mesures". In Boyeldieu and Diki-Kidiri, 81-103.
- Diki-Kidiri, M. 1985a. "Le sango entre l'oralité et l'écriture". In *Passage à la Lecture en Afrique*. AELIA (Association d'études linguistiques interculturelles africaines). Bulletin, Nu. 8, Décembre. Actes du colloque international sur le passage à la lecture en Afrique noire, 39-46. A.E.L.I.A., A.P.E.L.A., O.R.S.T.O.M., and Université de Bénin.
- Diki-Kidiri, M. 1985b. "Elaboration de terminologie scientifique dans une langue de tradition orale: le sango, langue nationale centrafricaine". *Discoss* 1:77-82.
- Diki-Kidiri, M. 1985c. "La création lexicale en sango". MS.
- Diki-Kidiri, M. 1986. "Le sango dans la formation de la nation centrafricaine". *Politique Africaine* 23:83-99.

- Diki-Kidiri, M. 1987a. "La situation du sango en République Centrafricaine". *Etudes de Linguistique Appliquée. Politiques Linguistiques (Etudes de cas)*, Boyer, H. and Dumont, P. (eds), 102-09.
- Diki-Kidiri, M. 1987b. "Le complétif direct et indirect en sango". In *La Maison du Chef et la Tête du Cabri: des Degrés de la Détermination Nominale dans les Langues d'Afrique Centrale*, Boyeldieu, P. (ed.), 113-25. Paris: LACITO, Département Langues et Parole en Afrique Centrale (LAPAC)/Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner.
- Diki-Kidiri, M. 1988. "Aspects, modes et temps en sango". In *Temps et Aspects*, Tersis, N. and Kihm, A. (eds), 117-24. Paris: Peeters & SELAF.
- Diki-Kidiri, M. 1992. "Le sango en Centrafrique aujourd'hui". *Université* (May): 23-4.
- Gilman, C. 1979. "Lexical loss in Cameroon Pidgin". *Anthropos* 74:174-180.
- Holm, J. 1988. *Pidgins and Creoles*, Vol. 1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Huttar, G. 1996. "'Basic vocabulary': light from creoles". Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society for Pidgin and Creole Linguistics.
- Hymes, D. 1971. (ed.) *Pidginization and Creolization of Languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Jacquot, A. 1961. "Notes sur la situation du sango à Bangui: Résultats d'un sondage". *A f r i c a* 31:158-166
- Kahane, H. and Kahane, R. 1976. "*Lingua franca*: the story of a term". *Romance P h i l o l o g y* 30:25- 41.
- Kamanda, K. 1989. "La conjugaison en ngbandi (langue non bantu)". *Annales Aequatoria* 10:181-199.
- Lekens, B. 1955. *Dictionnaire Ngbandi*. Anvers: Éditions de Sikkel.
- Lekens, B. 1958. *Ngbandi-Idioticon, II: Ngbandi en Frans-Nederlands*. Tervuren: Musée r o y a l du Congo belge.
- Manessy, G. (trans. by Albert Valdman). 1977. "Processes of pidginization in African languages". In *Pidgin and Creole Linguistics*, Valdman, A. (ed.), 129-49. B l o o m i n g t o n : Indiana University Press.
- Manessy, G. 1990. "Modes de structuration des parlers urbains". *Actes du Colloque International 'Des Langues et des Villes', Dakar, 15-17 December 1990*. Paris: Didier Érudition.
- Manessy, G. 1995. *Créoles, Pidgins, Variétés Véhiculaires: Procès et Genèse*. Paris: C N R S Éditions.
- Manessy, G. and Wald, P. 1984. *Le Français en Afrique Noire: Tel qu'on le parle, tel qu'on le dit*. Paris: Éditions L'Harmattan.

- Morrill, C.H. 1997. *Language, Culture, and Society in the Central African Republic: The Emergence and Development of Sango*. Ph.D. dissertation, Bloomington, Indiana University.
- Mühlhäusler, P. 1985. "Patterns of contact, mixture, creation and nativization: their contribution to a general theory of language". In *Developmental Mechanisms of Language*, Bailey, C.-J. N. and Harris, R. (eds), 51-87. Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- Mühlhäusler, P. 1995. "Morphological expansion in pidgin languages". In *The Development of Morphological Systematicity: A Cross-linguistic Perspective*, Pishwa, H. and Maroldt, K. (eds), 107-20. Tübingen: Gunter Narr.
- Musy, M. 1890-1891. Correspondance de M. Maurice Musy, chef de poste à Bangui (Congo français), massacré par les indigènes. *Revue de Géographie* 27:375-81, 455-57 (1890) ; 18:64-68, 130-33, 211-14, 291-94; 29:62-66 (1891).
- Noss, P.A. 1981. *Grammaire Gbaya, Dialecte Yaayuwee*. Meiganga, Cameroun: Centre de Traduction Gbaya.
- Pasch, H. 1997. "Sango". In *Contact Languages: A Wider Perspective*, Thomason, S.G. (ed.), 209-70. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Pénel, J.-D. 1979. "Idéologies et dictionnaires sango". *Sendayanga ti Laso/Linguistique Actuelle*. Bulletin de l'Institut de linguistique appliquée de Bangui. N° 1, État des recherches linguistiques en RCA. Pp. 32-41.
- Reinecke, J. 1937. *Marginal Languages: A Sociological Survey of the Creole Languages and Trade Jargons*. Yale University doctoral dissertation. (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilm International.)
- Roulon, P. 1972. "Étude du français et du sango parlés par les Ngbaka-Ma'Bo (République Centrafricaine)". *Éthnies* 2:133-165.
- Samarin, W. J. 1953. *Learning Sango: A Pedagogical Grammar*. Bozoum, C.A.R.: Mission Evangélique de l'Oubangui-Chari. Mimeographed.
- Samarin, W. J. 1955. "Sango, an African lingua franca". *Word* 11:254-267.
- Samarin, W. J. 1958. "The phonology of Pidgin Sango". *Word* 14:62-70.
- Samarin, W. J. 1961. "The vocabulary of Sango". *Word* 17:16-22
- Samarin, W. J. 1962. "Lingua francas, with special reference to Africa". In *Study of the Role of Second Languages in Asia, Africa, and Latin America*, Rice, F.A. (ed.), 54- 64. Washington, D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics.
- Samarin, W. J. 1966. "Self-annulling prestige factors among speakers of a creole language". In *Sociolinguistics: Proceedings of the UCLA Sociolinguistics Conference, 1964*, Bright, W. (ed.), 188-213. The Hague: Mouton.
- Samarin, W. J. 1967a. *A Grammar of Sango*. The Hague: Mouton.

- Samarin, W. J. 1967b. *Lessons in Sango. Volume 1: Basic Course in Sango*. Hartford, C T : Hartford Seminary Foundation.
- Samarin, W. J. 1970. *Sango, Langue de l'Afrique Centrale*. Leiden: E. J. Brill
- Samarin, W. J. 1971. "Salient and substantive pidginization". In Hymes, 117-40.
- Samarin, W. J. 1979. "Simplification, pidginization, and language change". In *Readings in Creole Studies*, Hancock, I.F. (ed.), 55-68. Ghent, Belgium: E. Story-Scientia.
- Samarin, W. J. 1980. Review of Bouquiaux, et al. 1978. *Journal of African Languages a n d Linguistics* 2:159-164.
- Samarin, W. J. 1982a. "Colonization and pidginization on the Ubangi river". *Journal of African Languages and Linguistics* 4:1-42.
- Samarin, W. J. 1982b. "Goals, roles, and language skills in colonizing central equatorial Africa". *Anthropological Linguistics* 224:410-422.
- Samarin, W. J. 1984a. "The linguistic world of field colonialism". *Language in Society* 13:435-453.
- Samarin, W. J. 1984b. "Bondjo ethnicity and colonial imagination". *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 18:345-365.
- Samarin, W. J. 1984/1985. "Communication by Ubangian water and word". *Sprache und Geschichte in Afrika* 6:309-373. See Samarin 1984c.
- Samarin, W. J. 1985. "Plurigenesis in pidginization". *Journal of Historical Linguistics and Philology* 2(1/2):100-119.
- Samarin, W. J. 1986a. "The source of Sango's 'be'". *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 1:205-223.
- Samarin, W. J. 1986b. "Chinook Jargon and pidgin historiography". *Revue Canadienne d'Anthropologie* 5:23-34.
- Samarin, W. J. 1986c. "Protestant Missions and the History of Lingala". *Journal of Religion in Africa* 16:139-163.
- Samarin, W. J. 1987. "Lingua franca". In *Sociolinguistics/Soziolinguistik* (Vol. 1), Ammon, U., Dittmar, N. and Mattheier, K.J. (eds.), 371-4. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Samarin, W. J. 1988. "Le comportement linguistique des colonisateurs dans le Haut C o n g o français". In *Dialoguer avec le Léopard? Pratiques, Savoirs et Actes du Peuple f a c e a u Politique en Afrique Noire Contemporaine*, Jewsiewicki, B. and Moniot, H. (eds), 49-73. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Samarin, W. J. 1989a. *The Black Man's Burden: African Colonial Labor on the Congo a n d Ubangi Rivers, 1880-1900*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press.
- Samarin, W. J. 1989b. "The colonial heritage of the Central African Republic: a linguistic perspective". *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 22:697-711.

- Samarin, W. J. 1989c. "Language in the colonization of central Africa". *Canadian Journal of African Studies/Revue canadienne des études africaines* 23:232-248.
- Samarin, W. J. 1990. "The origins of Kituba and Lingala". *Journal of African Languages and Linguistics* 12:47-77.
- Samarin, W. J. 1991. "An incipient ethnic model for urban Sango". *Anthropological Linguistics* 33:166- 182.
- Samarin, W. J. 1993. "Suffixation from phonological change in creolized Sango". Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society for Pidgin and Creole Languages.
- Samarin, W. J. 1995. "The urbanization and creolization of Sango". Paper presented at the Twenty-sixth Annual Meeting on African Languages, University of California at Los Angeles.
- Samarin, W. J. 1997. "The creolization of pidgin morphophonology". In *The Structure and Status of Pidgins and Creoles*, Spears, A.K. and Winford, D. (eds), 175-216. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Samarin, W. J. 1998a. "The creation and critique of a Central African myth". *Revue Française d'Histoire d'Outre-mer* 85, no⁰ 318:55-81.
- Samarin, W. J. 1998b. "External forces in remaking pidgin Sango". Paper presented at the conference 'La Coexistence des Langues dans l'Espace Francophone: Approche Macrosociolinguistique' in Rabat, Morocco.
- Sebba, M. 1997. *Contact Languages: Pidgins and Creoles*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Société internationale linguistique (alias Summer Institute of Linguistics) and Institut de Linguistique Appliqué. 1995. *Petit Dictionnaire Sango*. Bangui, Central African Republic.
- Taber, C.R. 1965. *A Dictionary of Sango*. (W. J. Samarin, project director). Hartford, Connecticut: Hartford Seminary Foundation.
- Thomason, S.G. 1981. Review of *The Genesis of Language*, ed. by Kenneth C. Hill. In *Studies in Second Language Acquisition* 3:237-249.
- Thornell, C. 1997. *The Sango Language and its Lexicon*. Lund: Lund University Press.
- Toronzoni N.-N. T. N. 1989. *Description du Ngbandi, Langue Oubanguienne du Nord-ouest du Zaïre*. Dissertation présentée en vue de l'obtention du grade de docteur en linguistique africaine, Bruxelles: Université libre de Bruxelles.
- Voorhoeve, J. 1964. "Creole languages and creolization". *Symposium on Multilingualism (Brazzaville, 1962)*, 233-42. London: Commission de Coopération Technique en Afrique.
- Voorhoeve, J. 1971. "Varieties of creole in Suriname: Church Creole and pagan cult languages". In Hymes, 305-15.

- Voorhoeve, J. 1973. "Historical and linguistic evidence in favor of relexification theory in the formation of Creoles". *Language in Society* 2:133-45.
- Walker, J. and Samarin, W.J. 1997. "Sango phonology". In *Phonologies of Asia and Africa (including the Caucasus)*, Vol. 2, Kaye, A.S. (ed). Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns. Pp. 861-880.
- Zigba, D.B. 1995. *Navigation et Échanges Commerciaux chez les Riverains du Bassin Supérieur de l'Oubangui (XIXe et XXe siècles)*. Thesis for docteur de l'université de Paris X, Nanterre.