CREOLIZING LAG IN CREOLE SANGO .......... William J. Samarin 3

QUELQUES FONCTIONS ET CARACTERISTIQUES STRUCTURELLES DU PIDGIN-ENGLISH CAMEROUNAIS .......... Carole de Feral 21

PROTO-CREOLE .......... Charles Gilman 36

LANGUE ET IDENTITE CULTURELLE EN DOMAINE FRANCO-CREOLOPHONE: Le Cas Antillais .......... Jean-Pierre Jardel 45

OBSERVATIONS ON TIME REFERENCE IN JAMAICAN AND GUYANESE CREOLES .......... Sallkoko S. Mufwene 54

ON THE RELATION OF ATLANTIC ENGLISH CREOLE PHONOLOGY TO SUBMERGED RHYME IN U.S. VERNACULAR BLACK ENGLISH, with Special Reference to Liberian English .......... Benj Wald 77

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN CREOLE LITERATURES ON MAURITIUS AND REUNION .......... James C. Armstrong 88

POLITICS AS TRAGEDY: Aimé Césaire's La Tragédie du roi Christophe in the Light of Albert Camus' L'Homme révolté .......... John Conteh-Morgan 98

POEMS

NINE POEMS BY AIME CESaire ... Translatore C. Eshleman and A. Smith 106

NARRATIVES


FICTION

SAVE WE SOULS .......... Susan R. Ruel 128

BOOK REVIEWS

Mules and Men by Zora Neale Hurston .......... Webster Smalley 134

Five Plays by Langston Hughes, ed. Webster Smalley .......... 136

Shuckin' and Jivin': Folklore from Contemporary Black America by Daryl Cumber Dance .......... Nellie Y. McKay 137

CONTRIBUTORS .......... 139

COVER

TRANSPLANTATION Artist Freida High-Vasikhongo see page .... 139

Sango does not seem to be taking the path of creolization that some people have mapped out for pidgins. This discrepancy has to be explained. If prognostications for depidginization (discussed below) do not apply to Sango, they cannot have universal applicability. If Sango constitutes a unique or special case, their validity is threatened. From a nonlinguistic point of view Sango is now certainly creolized. It is a creole, because it has native speakers. In fact, there is a second generation of creole speakers—preschool children (or older) for whom Sango is the first and primary language. They are to be found, for example, in families where husband and wife are from different ethnic backgrounds. Such 'mixed' marriages are not uncommon among the civil servants of the Central African Republic.

The existence of a population of native speakers is not the only reason why Sango should be on its way to depidginization. First, the number of speakers, including those for whom it is a second language, is very high. Whatever the population of the Central African Republic may be (estimates range from 1,250,000 to 2,250,000), only a tenth may be ignorant of the language. These would be young children and the very elderly in monolingual villages. Although this figure is just a guess, my visit to the country in 1972 convinced me of the impressive spread of the language both in geographic and demographic terms by comparison with the situation as I knew it between 1952 and 1962. Second, the Africanization of power and wealth in government and commerce since independence (1960) has led to a far greater range of functions for the language. There has emerged a detribalized, urban, 'international', and even sophisticated style of life that is Sango-phone as it is Francophone. (In Ottawa, for example, I recently heard Sango spoken by two members of the C.A.R. embassy who were taking a walk downtown.)

A third reason why Sango should look more like a natural language now is that it has had ample time to develop certain natural-language traits. Although the first grammatical description was not published until 1909 (see Brachiel), there is good reason to believe that it existed in the 1890s. The earliest date for a contact language in the Ubangi River basin may be July 31, 1896 when one of the missionaries at 'Sainte Famille' near Bangui wrote (as translated by myself), "I don't talk this barbarous riverine speech that enables you..."
The French did not establish their station at Bangui until 4
more complex aspectual system whose cost, moreover, is a cer-
tify on the categories of time and aspect and the
morphemes fade and yeke. We find that contrary to what we
are told to expect as part of the process of creolization (see below), the optional marker of futurity (fade) has not
become an obligatory one. We find instead the emergence of a
more complex aspectual system whose cost, moreover, is a cer-
tain amount of ambiguity. In the following exposition we
look first at the linguistic facts and then attempt an expla-
nation.

The Sango verb is invariable. Specifications about time
and aspect, as for other kinds of information, are made by
meanings of nouns, verbs, and adverbs. (In the following examples pika is a naturalized borrowing from some Bantu language.)

(a) Pika lo. 'Hit him/her.' (b) Ala pika lo. 'They hit him.'
(c) Ala pika lo awe. 'They have hit hit him.'
(d) Ala ke pika lo. 'They are hitting hit him.'
(e) Ala de ti pika lo. 'They are still hitting hit him.'
(f) Fade ala pika lo. 'They will hit hit him.'

In (c) awe, the regular and obligatory marker of the perfec-
tive, consists of the verb we 'to be finished' and the bound
subject marker a-. In (e) nga to 'to remain' can occur with the
same meaning as de. The construction itself—that is, verb +
(e) whose meaning is 'of' in noun phrases)—occurs with several
other verbs:

(g) Ala goe ti pika lo. 'They went (or go) to hit hit him.'
(h) Ala kumasi (Fr. 'They began (or, begin) to hit
'commencer') ti pika lo.

(i) Ala lingbi ti pika 'They are able to hit hit him.'

Fade as marker of futurity.

Fade is unambiguous as a marker of futurity. It is iden-
tical in form to the adverb meaning 'right now' or 'right away'.

As an adverb, therefore, its meaning has remained the same
as that in the source language (for which see Lekens' Ngbandi
Idiomaticity).

This function is noted in one of the earliest grammars
of vehicular Sango. Thus: "pour exprimer le futur, on fait
suivre ou précéder le verbe de l'adverbe ou de la locution
adverbiale de temps voulu" (Calloc'h 1911:17). The state-
ment is ambiguous, however, in that it allows one to infer
that fade can follow the verb. The examples suggest, on the
other hand, that the use is a different one. When fade and other
time complements: "nous viendrons tout à l'heure, fade a ga" and
"ils viendront pendant la nuit, ala ya na bi" ('they come
at night'). Eboé 1918 lists fade with the meaning 'bientôt'
but does not discuss the future at all. E. Kërux et San
Youen give nde (probably what we now know as ande, for which
see my own examples here, and which is elided to nde) as the
sign of the simple future (page 48). In discussing adverbs
however, they say that fade, translated again as 'bientôt',
est souvent précisé du -nde, marque d'un futur proche" (page
73). A sentence with fade on page 48 is translated with
"sans doute". From these few comments one might be led to
believe that early in this century fade had not yet emerged
as a systematic marker of futurity, a view that would not be
inconsistent with the presumed histories of Pidgin Sango.
But we must be cautious with our assertions because of the far from
adequate sources for our knowledge of emergent Pidgin Sango.

As a future marker fade always occurs first or early in
the sentence, always before the subject, and always as fade,
that is, neither doubled nor reduced to a simpler form. A
number of examples are given below. The adverb ('right now')
generally occurs in the verb phrase, following the verb, ei-
er as a single word or doubled. But it can also occur early
in the sentence, always before the subject and doubled. The
doubled form is sometimes reduced to fada (as with other
repeated forms: kete kete 'very small'). See sen-
tence 1.

1. Tongana mo sara mblo mingi si mo tene, o, ake
yil ti kul laa asi gigi na devant ti mo so, ake en
mo tourner yanga tinggi ti kilo na peko ti mo. Mo baa le ge ti turner taa keke na ya ti ngu ake ngango mingi. Fade fade lo lingbi ti hon mo.

When you do fear much then you say, oh, is thing
of death there arrive outside at front of you
there, is good. you turn mouth of canoe to re-
turn back of you, you see way to turn, real
big tree [referring to the canoe] in belly of
water is hard much. Right away it [the hippo-

tomatos] can surpass you.

If you should be afraid and you say that some-
thing terrible has appeared in front of you, you
should turn the canoe around [and return]. You
find that turning a very large log in the water
is very difficult. In no time at all it is able
to overcome you.

Because future fade occurs early in the sentence, it can
become separated from its predicate when there is embedding
(in properly constructed sentences) and also when the speaker
loses control of the sentence structure. This is one interpretation. One might also say that a somewhat freely moving fade reveals its adversal origin by this kind of behavior: in other words, it is no longer a real adverb but not quite a full-fledged verbal particle. Since this is one of the problems discussed in this analysis, we postpone further comment until later.

It will be observed (e.g., sentence 2) that although fade may appear more than once before its predicate, it does not appear with every predicate in a closely knit series of verbs (sentence 3).

2. Na l’heure so mbi eke na gouvernement, mbi yi ti sara buba na ni pepe, parce que tongana mbi sara buba na ni, fade alta ti mbi, fade amerenge ti mbi na kotoro koe ake he mbi, fade ala tene mbi eke zo ti buba.

(at hour this I am with government, I want to do foolishness with it not, because, if I do foolishness with it, siblings of me, fathers of me, mothers of me in villages all are ridicule me. they say I am person of foolishness)

‘When I have the government, I don’t want to do anything stupid with it, because if I should do anything stupid with it, my siblings, my male elders, my female elders, my “children” in every village will ridicule me. They will say that I am a fool.’ (R)

3. Tongaso, mbi tene na lo, fade mbi sara mbeni demande, mbi mu na lo, lo mu na mbunzu ti lo. Tongaso, mbi sara demande, mbi na mu mbunzu ti lo, mbi hunda ti sara koa na yaka ti cafe.

(thus I say to him, I do certain request, I give to him, he give to white-man of him. thus, I do request, I give to white-man of him, I ask to do work in garden of coffee)

‘So I told him that I would write out a request and give it to him so he could give it to his boss. So I wrote out the request, gave it to his boss, asking for work in the coffee plantation.’ (R)

Futurity is explicitly indicated by fade, but this is not the only way. Words or expressions with a future reference (tomorrow, later, next month, in a year, etc.) are sufficient for this purpose (see sentence 4). Another possibility is a construction consisting of eke be + verb. (Although the presence of a time word is sufficient, it is more common, I think, to find either fade or eke, or both, in a sentence.) These three are not mutually exclusive; any combination is possible. Our discussion, however, focuses on the relation between fade and the eke construction. (In the following discussion the latter expression will often be referred to simply as eke.)

4. Ngu ti peko so lo goe.

‘Water of back then he goe’ (L)

The verb eke as copula and auxiliary.

The simple use of eke is that of a copula (see sentences 2-3). As was pointed out in Samarin 1971:125, the word itself does not seem to be native to Sango’s source language, and in vernacular Sango no copula occurs in similar constructions. Work with a speaker of the vernacular, at Mobaye, in 1972 confirmed the original observations but failed to answer all my questions.

As an auxiliary, eke introduces the idea of continued, progressive, and habituative action (see sentences 5-6). The progressive use is noted by both Calloc’h (1911:17) and Eboué (1918:15). The verb can also be used—without fade or any expression with future meaning—to suggest futurity or anticipated action (see below).

5. I partager aya ni koe, i bi na ngonda. Zia mbeni na wa, i ke te.

(we divide bellies the all, we cast in bush. place some on fire, we are eat) ‘We divided all the insides and cast them away. (We) put some (meat) on the fire [to roast it] and began to eat.’

6. Mo oko laa, mo ke ny?

(you one there, you are drink) ‘Are you going to drink it by yourself?’

It can be argued that, given the meaning of incompleteness, progression, etc. for the eke, for the construction, the purported cases of futurity are the artifacts of the analyst’s imagination. Although there indeed are ambiguous cases (ambiguous for the analyst, that is), there is nonetheless ample evidence for establishing an eke future (or, in terms of an aspectual system, inceptive) construction. Sentences 7-8 illustrate such usage.


(I am go with you tomorrow to see) ‘All right, I’ll go with you tomorrow to see [the beach at the river].’

[B] Na tongana kekereke I goe si, mo koto mbi, mbi koe mbi koto mo.

(and when tomorrow we go arrive, you scratch me, I all I scratch you)

‘And when we get there tomorrow, I’ll scratch your back, and you scratch mine.’


(when I go wash finish, I go of me to mission) ‘After I’ve bathed, I’m going to church.’

[B] Na mbi koe, mbi goe na la mission nga kekereke.

(and I all, I go to the mission also tomorrow) ‘Me too, I’m going to church tomorrow also.’

[A] Tongana mbi goe ti mbi awe, mbi eke ga ti mbi na huit heures et deml.

(when I go of me finish, I am come of me at) ‘After I’ve gone, I’ll come at eight thirty.’


(I am turn of me at) ‘As for me, I’ll come back at nine o’clock.’ (C)
Fade versus eke.

If it is demonstrated that anticipated action (or simply futurity) is indicated by the eke construction, what is its relation to fade as a future marker? These two may be in competition in a grammar that has not yet become stable with respect to time and aspect. Or these two uses are complementary in some fashion. And in either case there may be social facts that must be accounted for.

Before we try to account for the apparent conflict between fade and eke as markers for futurity, we must consider the cases where both occur in the same sentence (e.g., 9-10). There is no problem, of course, if fade marks futurity and eke something like incompletely or continued action: fade atambela would mean 'he will go about', lo ke tambela 'he is going about', and fade lo ke tambela 'he will be going about'. I doubt that there is such clear and consistent contrast in Sango --at least at this point in its history. The next set of sentences, I think, proves this.

9. Mbi goe ti hunda bon ti cartouche la so na la marie, et puis, ala eke tene deux heures.
   (I go to ask permit of shell sun this at city hall, and then, they are say two o'clock, but two o'clock this all, this sleep of work not. Perhaps when I die at two o'clock, and then I arrive there not, do is how what?)
   'Today I went to the City Hall to get an authorization to buy [gun] shells, and they said [to come back at] two o'clock. But two o'clock, isn't this siesta time? And if I should die at two o'clock and don't arrive there, what's going to happen?' (N)

10. Tongana kobela asara mo, mo ngba na kotoro fade mo ke kul senge, si kobela asara azo si ala goe no l'hôpital.
    (when sickness does you, you remain in village, you are die easily, then sickness does people then they go to hospital)
    'If you are sick and stay in the village, you'll die just like that; that's why people go to the hospital when they're sick.' (F)

There is good reason to believe that fade and the eke construction are alternate ways of indicating future, anticipated, or intended action. Observe the following sentences (11-12) where very similar, sometimes almost identical, sentences differ with respect to their manner of encoding the information. There is no evidence that another semantic dimension differentiates them. The case is strengthened by two other kinds of data discussed below.

11. [A] Azo ate bada la wa.
    (people eat frog sun what?)
    'People don't eat frogs!' (B)

8. [A] Azo ate bada la wa.
    (people eat frog sun what?)
    'People don't eat frogs!' (B)

【B】 Mbi ke ke li lo na ngonda ape?
    (when I kill it, I cast it in bush not)
    'If I should kill one, wouldn't I throw it away?' (N)

Fade mo ke kul senge, si kobela asara azo si ala goe no l'hôpital.
    (people eat frog sun what?)
    'People don't eat frogs!' (F)

12. Mbi fade mo ke sara na ni tongana nye.
    (but I do with it how what)
    'What'll I do with it?' (C)

A preference for future with eke.

It has been established by now that although fade is an explicit marker of futurity, it seems to be in competition with an eke construction. This has been arrived at by induction, using a variety of kinds of texts. Since there was no way of controlling usage, it was not possible to use a statistical analysis to any good purpose. Raw scores of the number of occurrences of fade and eke as opposed to fade as markers for certain kinds of texts would not be too illuminating. (We can count the number of times a speaker does use one or the other, but we cannot predict when he ought to use either one or the other. This, incidentally, is one reason why so much recent sociolinguistic research is concerned with phonological variables. And although we have a certain amount of information about the sources of our texts, there is not enough of it and not of the right kind to justify a close statistical analysis. We have other kinds of texts, however, where we have better control over the data, because the Sango sentences are translations of French ones.

The first is a recording of a dramatization produced for Radio Bangui to inform Central Africans about the rights and responsibilities of employers and employees and the role of the "inspecteur du travail". The skit involves the mediation of the inspector with an employer and his employee. I have not only the recording of the radio broadcast but also the original French text and its Sango translation. My corpus of eighteen sentences demonstrates (a) the ways in which the future is expressed in Sango by comparison with the French and (b) the manner in which the recording varies from the script, in spite of the fact that the script was read over the air. All three performers were fluent speakers of Sango. The following tabulation reveals that in both the script and the recording the eke construction is preferred over both fade and fade eke. (There is a discrepancy of one in the totals because in sentence 13 the speaker repeated a sentence and, in modifying it, changed from ke to fade ke.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Script</th>
<th>Recording</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fade</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fade ke + verb</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ke + verb</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are six departures from the script (presumably extempo-
10

married couples, were never returned. I had also hoped to get two sets of data from the 8 informants—tape recorded and translated into Sango by Centralafricans in Ottawa and were mailed back to me. Questionnaires mailed out to others living in Montreal and Quebec City, in some cases married couples, were never returned. I had also hoped to get two sets of data from the 8 informants—tape recorded and written—but I did not succeed. The protocol was devised to help of people who might be more competent in French and Sango than I), I worked to create the sentences in two directions (but with the inevitable bias of my own language)—both from French to Sango and from Sango to French. In spite of the small number of responses to the protocol, the trend is clear. Indeed, it exceeded my expectations. (I had completed the analysis of these data before beginning the analysis of the radio skit just discussed.) In 6 of the 10 sentences where future time is clearly indicated in the French, the majority of informants preferred the eke construction (namely, numbers 5, 6, 9, 14, 23, 32). Of the remaining, in only sentence 4 is fade preferred by the majority. I have no explanation for this (but see below where fade is discussed again). In sentence 2 va vendre was frequently interpreted literally: e.g., lo goe ti ka 'he's on his way to sell'. In sentence 3 the responses are rather evenly distributed. Is this because the verb of the predicate can only be eke if one translates literally? ("eke eke is not possible in Sango.) Where the periphrastic construction was used, the main verb was some other one: e.g., lo ke si ande (he is arrive later) 'he'll arrive later'. What I had in mind in 10 was something like the English sentence we'll serve them something to drink as they arrive (that is, we won't wait until all the guests arrive). M. Diki-Kidiri (a Centralafrican trained in linguistics) says of the sentence: "[It] can make sense only in English and in the same time, if they come then the sentence should be corrected as follows: 'Quand ils arrivorent, nous leur offrirons une boisson'". For the corrected version he gives the following translation: Aka si awe, fade i mu (etc.) (they arrive finish, we give) 'After they've arrived, we'll give them...'. The other informants did not seem to have any trouble with this sentence, because all but one used either tongana aka ga (6 responses) or tongana aka si (8), where si means 'come' and si means 'arrive'. The exception not only used a rather bizarre kind of subordinating construction (which reflects. at this point as in others, his Protestant background) but also the continuative eke si. In Table 1 the total number of responses is given after the sentence number: it is sometime 15 instead of 16 because I had to disqualify one response. If the informant's response departs too far from the stimulus sentence, it is also disqualified (see, for example sentence 2). Parentheses set off clauses that are not relevant to the study.

Interpretation.

It has now been demonstrated that Sango does not have only one obligatory and explicit marker of futurity. In some contexts a periphrastic construction is equivalent to an apparently synonymous with the adverbially marked one. It appears, moreover, that the adverbial construction is losing ground to its competitor in spite of the fact that it is older, unambiguous, and efficient as a marker of futurity. We must conclude that Sango is not evolving in the way that one would expect. The claim is made that "when pidgins become creoles, the system of optional adverbs gives way to an obligatory tense marker next to the verb" (Labov, 29). Sankoff and Laberge (1973) support this assertion by a discussion of Tok Pisin (that is, New Guinea Pidgin English). From baimbai (derived from English by and by), definitely adverbial and relatively free in its syntactic behavior, there has emerged a kind of particle that is closely linked to a verb and that is reduced in form to unstressed bai or even by (something like the vowel in but).

Sankoff and Laberge imply that this kind of linguistic change illustrates what happens to a language when it is creolized (that is, when it acquires native speakers). They say imply because they make no such explicit statement. They clearly claim, however, to have found evidence for the assumption that a wider and more diversified range of language functions, such as one must certainly assume for native speakers, will result in regularized and obligatory grammatical categories with more complex surface realizations. Note the following statements:

A language universals perspective leads us to assume that information, ideas, or concepts can be transmitted with virtually any grammatical machinery. The question then
We hypothesized that native speakers in general tend to have little patience with or respect for a language with few grammatical categories, limited lexicon, virtually no morphophonemic rules, insufficient redundancy, and little opportunity for stylistic manoeuvre (Sankoff and Laberge, p.35).

A language used in a multiplicity of social and communicative contexts, and which carries much of the 'communicative load' for numbers of speakers will develop grammatical machinery appropriate to its needs. This grammatical machinery will probably be more extensive than that found in a language restricted to a very few communicative contexts that form a small part of any speaker's repertoire of communication situations and that is therefore marginal in terms of usage for all its speakers. ... The question is ...under what circumstances devices for expressing certain relationships (cognitive, logical, interactional, or whatever) are regularized as part of the grammar (Sankoff 1977:122).

I am trying to understand the way surface forms are constrained in fundamental ways by the purposes for which and the ways in which language is used as a vehicle of human (i.e., social) communication (Sankoff 1977:122).

These statements echo words expressed by Labov: ...

...we have objective evidence that pidgins do not provide all of the features which native speakers seem to demand in a language (Labov 1971:29).

Labov seems to suggest, as do Sankoff and Laberge, that obligatory tense marking is inevitable in the evolution of a pidgin toward a creole:

It is not at all obvious that a pidgin will develop obligatory tense markers when it becomes a native language. Yet this has happened in case after case (Labov 1971:29).

This is a reasonable view to take when one looks at stabilized grammars like those of Haitian Creole or Sranan. They do have obligatory marked verbal particles. And the description of bas of young, native speakers of Pisin does seem to be convincing. But I am not satisfied that we know enough about the Atlantic or Eur-African creoles to be fairly certain about their various stages of evolution.

Sankoff, I am happy to report, seems to have modified her position somewhat. Concluding her lecture on 'The genesis of language' at the University of Michigan in 1979, in which she had addressed herself specifically to the 'universalist' claims.

Table 1: Occurrences of fade and ke in Sango translations of sentences in French (excluding clauses within parentheses).
of Derek Bickerton (1977, but see also 1979), she said: "... one can speak of a grammatical category in the language only when some one strategy has regularized, crystallized, become obligatory and redundant. Though we have seen this happening in many respects. Tok Pisin grammar, the regularization strategy outweighs another remain to be clarified"; "the source and development of the syntactic features discussed/"must be attributed to an intricate combination of universal and particular influences..." (1979:47).

With respect to Sango, I would suggest that its evolution is not linear (unidirectional) in its very substantial and surface realizations. The 'obvious' or 'inevitable' optimization of fade has not occurred. One possible explanation for this fact is that becoming more important than time as a means of organizing experience linguistically. Such a development does not have to have a source in antecedent languages or in contemporary ones. There is no reason why it could not be an innovation in the strict sense of the term. The latter alternative becomes convincing when a linguistic development occurs among speakers without another strong model, that is, a second language. Such speakers might be those for whom a pidgin has become their first language. I do not have data from a large enough number of such Sango speakers to support this explanation. On the other hand, a historical explanation is convincing and more plausible than innovation when one finds that the first languages of all (or for some reason dominant, pace-setting) speakers are overwhelmingly aspectual. This would appear to be the case with Ubangian (known also as Adamawa-Eastern) languages of this area. However, I am not yet able to cite a coterminous language that uses a verb 'be' in a similar way. Gbeya, for example, uses du 'sit' and ne 'go' in constructions with continuous and inferential meaning (Samarin 1966:114, 140); 'be' is never used as an auxiliary although bo, which may have existential meaning, is (Samarin 1966:114).

More important is evidence from the source language. Ngbandi (a co-dialect with vernacular Sango in the dialect cluster consisting of Sango, Yakoma, and Ngbandi), for example, has the following aspectual categories: ordinary completive, remote past completive, ordinary continuous, historical continuous, anticipative, and subjunctive in addition to the imperative and infinitive. These are differentiated by the combination of various tone sets in both pronouns and verbs along with four (or three, depending on the analysis) different particles (Nelson 1952). The anticipatory aspect is closest in meaning to futurity and Nelson so translates it: is ena (he hear) 'he will hear'. But one of the three, formally distinguished ordinary continuousities may be similar to the eke continuousative of Pidgin Sango. It uses both na and ngo whereas the others use only ngo or ndo: thus, mbi na gwa ngo 'I am going'. (Nelson's orthographic conventions are slightly different from my own; however, there is any similarity to Pidgin Sango it is in the fact that Ngbandi also uses na (with low tone) as an identifying copula where Pidgin Sango uses eke. It is not clear to me if the tonal difference between the two is lexemic or if it is grammatical and predictable. The closest thing in Pidgin Sango to this construction is jbe (or ngba) na gango ni (he remain on coming). (I analyze forms like gango as nominalized verbs: e.g., mango ni eke ngangu 'hearing is difficult (as in the context meaning 'I can see his lips moving but I can't understand everything he's saying').

If the eke construction is an emergent one that issues from an aspectual system, it is not easy to demonstrate its social parameters. I did no sociolinguistic research with this particular problem in mind. I can therefore only make some general observations about the speakers who seem to favor fade or eke, based on my personal experience in the Central African Republic and on the biographical data obtained with all my tape-recorded material.

There is a greater incidence of fade among Protestants than any other group; and if my judgment is worth anything, I would say that among some Protestant speakers there is a tendency to misuse it. This is to be explained by two facts: that they still are (or when I was doing my research on Sango, were) more rural than urban and that their missionaries are (or were) almost exclusively Sango speaking whereas Catholic missionaries prefer using French to Sango. (There is very little difference in the incidence of fade in Catholic and Protestant versions of the Goepa that I compared, although even here the Protestant version surpassed the Catholic in the use of this word.) That Protestant missionaries, with their—'one might say—'mechanical' or 'automatic translation of futurity by fade, are imitated seems to be clear. Central Africans who receive religious training from missionaries speak more like them than other Central Africans. One of my sources for the corpus, for example, is a woman of 50 or more who has spoken Sango practically all her life and for whom Sango is without question the primary language, even more important in terms of daily use than Gbeya, her husband's language, Isungu, the local language, and Arl, her ethnic language—all of which she speaks fluently. She is sociable, vivacious, intelligent, and successful as a market woman. Her Sango, in my opinion, is as fluent and competent as any I have ever heard; besides, she speaks it with wit and imagination. But she uses fade more than I would expect from someone as urban and urbanized as she. The explanation is surely that she is the wife of an African minister and is a leader in her own right.

If Central Africans can be influenced by English-speaking missionaries in their use of fade, it can also happen with eke. In the following sentence (12) I see the interference of an English construction with be plus the past participle:

12. Tongana ala wara lasso [Fr. l'ossa] ti kutukutu so ake faa, a la sara na ngago. (when they find spring of automobile this is break, they make in hoe) 'When they find a broken automobile spring, they make a hoe out of it'.

The speaker is a 50-year old Manza who has worked many years for missionaries.

I would suggest that the eke construction is characteristic of the speech of detribalized and urbanized Central Africans. Among them its incidence is certainly higher than among the rural population. If it is a characteristic also of creole speakers, this is because they too are detribalized and urbanized. This would mean that it is more common among people who are really 'at home' in Sango, because they use it
exclusively or more frequently (and in more contexts) than another language they happen to know. It is worth noting that two of my subjects, both young mothers, tested for the translation of sentences in French were such speakers: one used fade only once (in sentence 4) and the other twice (sentences 4 and 10). See Table 1.

Although I cannot provide massive statistical support for what I have just said, I can point to the fact that a higher incidence of the eke construction is correlated with another feature of urban Sango: greater variation in the phonological shapes of words. The most common process is vowel elision: e.g., lang okoko for lango, oko oko (day one) 'each day'; mu nala me kekete ngu for mu na ala mbendi keke keke ngu (give to them some small water) 'give them a small amount of drink'; enala for tongana ala 'When they'; ake go kos abii for ake go kos ake zii (is come first of me) 'come before me'. (The last, highly deviant form, occurred in the speech of one of the creole speakers mentioned above. The word ezi survives only in an [i] quality of the consonant [5]). I have never found any such morphophonemic changes in the speech of people for whom Sango is secondary to a tribal language. It is certainly significant, therefore, that where eke is commonly used, there it also is phonetic changes: whereas ke is the most frequent form, one also finds very long vowel (e.g., the subject pronoun). Thus, the same speaker cited above also said mowin for mo ke goe (you are going). In other words, the kind of phonological changes we were supposed to find in grammaticalized adverbs are found in Sango, not in fade but in eke.

The present analysis, based on more data and some testing, goes beyond my original observations about the eke construction. What I said was the following: the eke construction can occur in sentences where futurity is certainly implied, but where it is not certain that continued action is suggested. The same uncertainty exists for those sentences where past time is unquestionable. More troublesome are the sentences where an explicitly marked incompleted or habitual action seems to be inappropriate. These latter sentences and the fact that they most often occur in the speech of the town folk (what I now call urban) lend themselves 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" (1967a:155-156).

The future of fade.

The present evidence suggests that fade continues to be an optional marker of futurity and that its use depends in part on the social identity of the speaker, being protected from phonetic 'erosion' both by its position in the sentence and its optionality. Although it appears to be synonymous with the eke construction in some instances, even in the speech of those for whom Sango is the first or dominant language, its usefulness in the language's future would appear to be assured by the fact that it can be used to complement the meaning of an aspectually oriented eke construction. A second reason is that there is syntactic complementarity as well. For example, although the eke construction can occur in a dependent clause, fade cannot.

13. tongana mo ke zii mbendi vin da encore, kobe ni ake kpi alingga titele anzer epe.

(When you are add some wine again, food is sour able to-say taste-good not)

If you should add some more wine to the food [that is being cooked], the food will become so sour that it won't taste good'.

Finally, fade lends itself to rhetorical manipulation, being stressed or repeated as is illustrated by sentence 8,12

NOTES.

1. The Sango discussed in this paper is the pidginized form of a vernacular with at least three labelled varieties: Sango, Ngbandi, and Yakoma. The home of the Sango people is said to be Mobaye in the Central African Republic. Pidgin Sango is officially considered the national language of this country, but it is not its official language. For other studies of Sango see References below. The most thorough history of the C.A.R. is that of Kalck; De Dampierre is also useful.

2. This paragraph is my most up-to-date statement about Sango history, based on research that began in 1970 and to which I dedicated the academic year of 1979-80. The research now includes an examination of the history of Bangala/Lingala (see Samarin 1980). At this moment I am inclined to believe that 'Sango' emerged during the period of intense contact between the local population and the very diverse African personnel of the Belgians.

3. Yeka, with a 'y' and 'e', is the standardized spelling for both Catholics and Protestants. The spoken forms of this verb 'to be' are more commonly ke and eke. Other, more reduced, forms are discussed below.

4. I have simplified the spelling of Sango in this paper, for example, not writing tone and not showing the contrast between e/e and o/o. Otherwise, the present spelling is the same as is found in Samarin 1967 and 1970. Other conventions are found in Bouquiaux et al. (reviewed by Samarin 1981). See also Diki-Kidiri 1977 and Samarin and Diki-Kidiri for other discussions about the writing of Sango. Contrary to my early observations (e.g., 1967:41), I am inclined to believe that there are more words with mid tone, at least among some speakers, than I once thought. In the examples that follow later in this paper I provide modified literal translations; these will be placed within parentheses. Some words will be omitted in the literal translations once their meaning is clear and there is little danger of ambiguity. French words will normally be given in their standard spelling. My translations have been checked by H. Harco Diki-Kidiri, a young colleague who continues to give generously of his time in our attempt to make correct observations about Sango.

5. Examples are drawn from (a) the corpus of about 37,000 words and afjixes drawn from 63 different texts used for Samarin 1967 (revised in 1963) and Taber 1965, and (b) from 32 more texts (consisting of about 55,000 words) also collected in 1962. I must repeat what I said long ago: the corpus represents a wide range of language usage, situations, and speakers. These include conversations between Central Africans (C), interviews conducted in Sango by Samarin or a Central African assistant (I), tales from traditional folklore (F), dis-
courses on topics of an anthropological (or cultural) nature (A), and narratives of other kinds (N), such as personal history or village events. (R) refers to Radio and (L) letters. [A] and [B] are designations of two people in conversation, not necessarily the same two persons in different examples. In selecting the Sango examples no attempt was made to represent the full range of texts at my disposal. It was more important that the examples make sense with as little context as possible. This was in the interest of space. Although some of the texts are in response to requests like "Tell me how children should be raised", they did not lead to the kind of unnatural behavior one finds in other societies. (For one thing, a 'recording session' is usually in a natural setting, often with other people taking part in the speech event.) It was easy to record interviews and to get individuals involved in conversations with each other. (That was in 1962.) People were a little more self-conscious with tape recorders in 1972, but I have not used any later recordings here.)

6. In either case eke is required in only the first of a series of closely linked sentences or clauses. Clause strings are typical of Sango as they are of Gbeya and presumably other Ubangian languages (and they are characteristic of some West African languages). For example: i eke vote na kete kete mbeti so zo oko oko ake ga amu ago zia na va ti caisse ti vote. (we are vote with small small piece of paper that each person will take and place in the ballot box). See also Samarin 1967:155, 208.

7. The French text is entitled "L'Inspecteur du Travail: un sketch concu et interprétée par des inspecteurs du travail africains, pour les Africains", produced by R. Gongo, recorded by J. Hibli on 6 July 1961, for the program called 'Magazine'. The recording is 11 minutes and 15 seconds in length. In the sentences cited below the Sango script version precedes that of the recording. I have changed the orthography of the script to follow my own and the spelling conventions. It is worth noting that although ke is regularly used in the recording, the script for the most part uses yeke, which is the written form both for Protestant and Catholic literature. I should like to express once again appreciation to the personnel of Radio Bangui for providing me in 1962 with both tape recordings and a collection of letters from the radio audience for my study of Sango.

8. I am indebted to His Excellence, the Honorable Mr. Sylvester Bangui, Ambassador from the Central African Republic to Canada, for making it possible for me to undertake this study in Ottawa. In April I am grateful also to colleagues and friends who provided me with translations of this same set of sentences in other pidgins and creoles. It was my original intention to make a comparative study of the data, but this will have to wait for another occasion.

9. I realize that Labov, cited above, denies the obviousness of this kind of development, but the thrust of his statement suggests its inevitability, and Sankoff and Laberge seem to have accepted this position.

10. I think ake naoni fade na tourner (is good future you turn) 'you ought to turn' (sentence 1) is an example of an incorrect use of fade. It is significant, therefore, that the speaker was from a village in the Kaba area where Sango in 1962 had not yet gained the importance it had in other areas. The recording was made at a Protes
cistant Bible school where he was a student.

11. The loss of k is found in at least one other word in Sango: kekeke, a variant of kekeke 'tomorrow'. I seem to recall instances of such variation in other coterritorial languages, but I can't cite the evidence. The weakening of eke as an auxiliary is mentioned in my first grammar of Sango (1967:156) where I said that "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...". However, it was not until 1966, when I spent several months in Bangui, the capital, that I began to realize the extent of elision in urban Sango.

12. This is a revised and updated version of a paper entitled "Historical, Epithetinal, and Inevitable Verbal Categories" prepared for the International Conference on Pidgins and Creoles held at the University of Hawaii in January 1975. The paper has been abbreviated in the number of examples provided; in the original there were 82. I am indebted to the American Philosophical Society and the International Studies Programme of the University of Toronto for grants that made it possible for me to continue my research on Sango in 1972-1973, but they are not responsible for anything I have said about the Central African Republic or its languages.

REFERENCES.

Bouquiaux, Luc

Brachiel, G. H.

Calloc'h, J.

Diki-Kidiri, Marcel

Ebobé, A. F.

Kalck, Pierre

Kêrux, E., et San-Youen

Labov, William
1971 "On the adequacy of natural languages I. The development of tense." (First draft, prepublication version).

Lekens, Benjamin