# Classification of the Sara Kaba Languages John M. Keegan

Although there are many similarities between the Sara Languages and Sara Kaba languages such as Na, there are also major differences. There are a large number of features typical of the Sara Languages that do not apply to the Sara Kaba languages, and vice versa.

#### Phonological Differences

The phonology Sara Kaba languages is different from that of the Sara Languages in the following ways:

- unlike all the Sara Languages, there are no nasalized vowels as phonemes. In Na and Deme, phonetic nasalized vowels occur only next to nasalized consonants. In this regard Sara Kaba languages resemble Bagirmi and Kenga, which also have no nasalized vowels as phonemes.
- 2. Like Bagirmi and Kenga, but unlike the Sara languages, in the Sara Kaba languages the consonant /n/ is a phoneme, and contrasts clearly with /y/. It freely occurs in intervocalic position. In the Sara Proper languages, [n] occurs only in initial position, and next to a nasalized yowel.
- 3. In the Sara Kaba languages there is no weak vowel -. In the Sara Languages and Bagirmi, this sound is common.
- 4. In the Sara Kaba languages there is no schwa (ə), while many Sara Languages, as well as Bagirmi, do have this vowel.
- 5. In the Sara Kaba languages, 'e' contrasts with 'ε'. Thus, in Deme, ἐ̄ε̄ 'to drink' contrasts with è̄ē 'and, but' (Palayer 2006:204 and 201). The same is also true of Na and Kulfa, as well as with Kenga. In the Sara Languages and Bagirmi, this contrast does not exist at the phonemic level.

## **Morphological Differences**

While most of the personal pronouns in Sara Kaba are cognates with the pronouns found in the Sara Proper languages, there are a few interesting differences:

- The second person singular object pronoun is kī, vs. -ī in Sara Proper and Bagirmi.
- 2. The first and second person subject forms, jégè 'we (incl.)', dégè 'we (excl.)', and négè 'they' are different from the forms found in the Sara languages and Bagirmi.
- 3. The third person plural forms, subject, object and oblique, are all forms that do not exist in the Sara languages. Both languages differ from the forms found in Bagirmi.
- 4. Sara Kaba is novel in that it has a dual in addition to the inclusive and exclusive forms found in the Sara Languages.

## Syntactical Differences

- 1. Sara Kaba, like Bagirmi and Kenga, but unlike the Sara Proper languages, does not distinguish between alienable and inalienable nouns: thus we find bìyà má 'my father' and màgè má 'my field', whereas in the Sara Proper languages only inalienable nouns are immediately followed by another noun or possessive pronoun (e.g. bɔɔ̄-ḿ'my father' vs. ndɔɔ̄ lò-ḿ 'my field' in Mbay). One aspect of inalienable nouns is that they require a complement. In Sara Languages, for example, a word for a part of the human body must be followed by a complement that indicates the person to which it belongs. In Na, on the other hand, expressions using parts of the human body do not require this complement. This gives the languages a very distinct feel.
- 2. In Sara Kaba, the locative marker is not required in locative/temporal phrases. In all the Sara Languages, it is required. Compare the first sentence (Na) with the second (Mbay):

Bútù màā lòō má ré tògò kō. (Na) Grass in field my that got.big already. The grass in my field has already gotten big.

Mùu kàm kōŕ tí lò-m tògì wòy. (Mbay) Grass in field Loc. of-me got.big already. The grass in my field has already gotten big.

- 3. In Sara Proper languages, a large number of verbs are both transitive and intransitive. For example, tètì is both 'to break (intrans.)/be broken' and 'to break (trans.)' in many Sara Proper languages. In Sara Kaba, this distinction is more often handled by the morphology: verbs beginning with 'nd-' are intransitive (e.g. ndēkī 'to break (intrans.)/be broken') while transitive verbs begin with 't-' (tēkī 'to break (trans.)' in Na.
- 4. In the Sara Kaba languages, including Na, Deme and Kulfa, there exist two auxiliaries, nì and tì, used to indicate doubt, orders, indirect speech, etc. These do not exist in the Sara Languages nor in Bagirmi.
- 5. The rules for generating the numbers 30-100 are completely different in Na and Kulfa from the 'ten-based' system used in the Sara Languages and in Bagirmi.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In Bagirmi, Szobody (ND) has shown that the locative 'kī' is required in noun phrases which are definite, but not when they are indefinite.

## Lexical Differences

The vast majority of the core vocabulary of the Sara Proper languages are cognates. With the Sara Kaba languages, on the other hand, there are a substantial number of cases, probably the majority, where a Na or Deme word is not an easily identifiable cognate of any word used in Sara Proper.

	Kaba Nà	Sara Proper	<u>Bagirmi</u>
not, no	só	àĺ,àlé,àńg	èlí
child	mōnō	ngōn, ngō	ŋōnō
be good/bad	òrī/àsū	màj}/màjàĺ	
be big	òō	bò,bòý	ngòlò
be small	sákū	dūú, etc.	mbàsà
buttocks	mèy	gír,g <del>í</del> n,mbù <del>r</del>	jā-p <del>ī</del> lā
to speak	òtì	èl, èl, pà	d <del>í</del> gáà
speech	hàā	tà,nàj∓	làw
and, but	bī	nà, nè, etc.	
to hit	òpī	ìndà, <del>ì</del> ndà, etc.	mbálà
yesterday	njínjóò	tàgínè,tàgíbè	tébré
'boule'²ròkù	mù <b>r</b> ,m	ùrū,mbùr jùmù	
today	yàāré,yèē	bōk≨nè,bōnè,etc.	njāníkī
year	tànáà	6ā1	lūwā
yawn	náw	16,16ō	
with	rè,nè	k <del>ì</del> ,sè	dís,sè
be wide	àɓà	là, etc.	wàsē
where?	kílé	ďá	бã
which?	kòý	k <del>i</del> -rá	én-dā
what?	rèkí	ďí	dī
how?	njôkô	bàń,b <u>à</u> ý	kárkā-dī
to weep	káÿ	nō	nō
vomit	túrē	tōm, tōmbō, etc.	tōmō
song	lā <sub>.</sub>	pā	kā
wash	táà	tógō, etc.	njúgóò
wait	ákò	ngóō, ngéb∓, etc.	góđồ
crocodile	kíɓàlè	màr,mà	màrà
be tall	rōngō	ngāl	jàmò
be swollen	àgō	tí	
natte	bàkù	tūwā,ràgà, etc.	ràgà
ostrich	gà₩	bū, bùrùm, etc.	б <del></del>
owl	díìdíì	kòy, kòwē	gúmù
mohagany	β61ō	mbàgī,dīl,jīl	dēlū
bran	gìrà	binā,binā	b <del>ì</del> nà

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 $<sup>^{2}</sup>$  'Boule' is the most common food in Southern Chad, a sort of large hard dumpling served in a gourd and eaten with sauce.

pot	gírò	jб, etc.	d <del>ì</del> rùwà
words,speech	hàā	tàr,tà	làw
plow, plant	njàkā	ndòテ , ndòō , etc.	nápò
yawn	náw	16ō <b>,</b> 16	
be slimy	òmè	ndòl,15	

In many other cases, the words in Kaba Na are cognates, but still quite different from the word found in Sara Proper:

	<u>Kaba Nà</u>	<u>Sara Proper</u>	<u>Bagirmi</u>
bird	àlī	yèĪ,èĪ,etc.	γèlè
wrestling	mbìlè	mìlà, mùlà, etc.	tákà
weave	òyō	≟jō,òj∓	kìŗò
tongue	ndòlò	ndòn, etc.	njùlò
stomach	màkē	kàm,mè, etc.	ngālā
suck	òlì	ìl	
be dry	ndútù	tùtù, etc.	tùtù
hand	jīlī	jī	jī
head	jòō	dò	jò, dálà
bat	dòngì	dōw,dō	
bee	tàgì	tèjì,tòjì	kán-tèjè
shoulder	dāgī	bāg∓,dām,etc.	dām
pigeon	déè	dér,etc.	dérè
oil	б <del></del>	yìbī, yùbī, ùbū, etc.	6ù6ù
pestle	gòō	gòy	gòyò
moon	nōhē	nā, nāy	nāpō

There are also false cognates:

màndé	woman	mànd <del>ì</del>	be pretty
ròsò	be numerous	ròsì	to fill
ndò	to exist not	ndòō	poverty

These listings are by no means inclusive. The data suggests that Sara Kaba Na is no closer to the Sara Languages than is Bagirmi. Further, using merely lexical comparisons, it appears that a Bagirmi word is more likely to resemble a Sara word than is a Na word.

As a result of these major differences, a speaker of a Sara language does not understand Sara Kaba languages such as Na. On several occasions I have asked people from different Sara languages to listen to recordings of sentences from Na or Kulfa. They have been consistently unable to understand the sentence, and for most they don't even have an idea as to the topic of the conversation. When they listen to other Sara Proper languages, on the other hand, they will have at the very least a vague notion of what is being said, and often understand the sentences well.