

# The reconstruction of Baka-Mundu (Ubangi, Niger-Congo): On the historical comparison of grammatical features

## 1. Introduction

### 1.1. Background

- Representatives of this group are found in a wide area of central Africa north of the Equator, distributed with an east-west extension from Sudan to Gabon and Cameroon.
- The family has been called Ngbaka and more recently Ngbakaic in former research contributions.
  - The suggested alternative term Baka-Mundu contains information on geographical distribution as well as on important ethnological characteristics (pygmy/foragers vs. farmers).
- There is a traditional classificatory division into an eastern and a western branch (see Fig.1).

## Niger-Congo

### Ubangi

#### *Baka-Mundu*

##### *i. Western*

- a. Gbanziri-Boraka
- b. Ngbaka-Ma'bo<sup>1</sup>, Gilima
- c. Monzombo, Kpala, Yango
- d. Baka, Bomasa, Ngundi, Ngombe, Ganzi

##### *ii. Eastern*

- a. Mundu
- b. Mayogo, Bangba

Figure.1: Classification of Baka-Mundu (following Boyd 1989, Hammarström et al (eds) 2013).

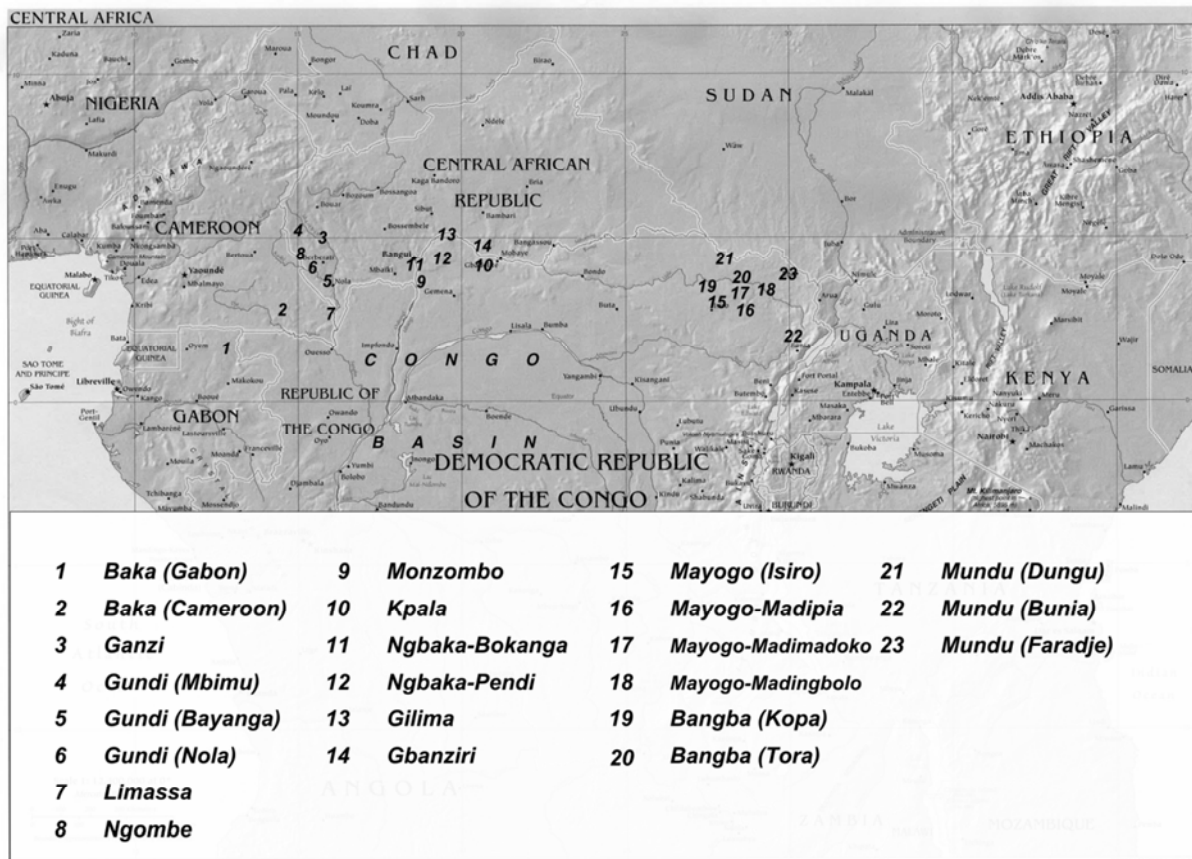
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<sup>1</sup> This variety is often referred to only as Ngbaka in the literature. This group may be confused with Ngbaka ISO 639-3: [ nga ] of the Gbaya group.

- The aim of this work is a detailed historical comparison of the Baka-Mundu languages at the lexical and grammatical level.

## 1.2. Material

- Initially the project deals with 'doculects' (variety per research contribution) to treat the data as unbiased as possible and to give a complete overview of all contributions.<sup>2</sup>
  - o On this basis, the corpus consists of 23 'doculects' (see Map 1 and Table 1 below).



Map 1: The doculects of Baka-Mundu.

<sup>2</sup> For example the literature distinguishes a Baka (Gabon) and a Baka (Cameroon). Despite the increased probability of an identical classificatory entry, such cases are first considered individually and treated separately.

Branch	Subbranch	Subgroup	Language	ISO	No. of speakers	Doculect	No.	Source: Lexicon	Source: Grammar	Subsistence	
Western	Baka-Gundi	Baka	Baka	bkc	43,200	1 (Gabon)	1	Paulin	Paulin	Forager/Pygmy  No evidence of forager/ Pygmy status	
		Ganzi	Ganzi	gnz	1,400 (1996)	2 (Cameroun) Ganzi	2 3	Brisson, Moniño < Brisson Ouzilleau (List II) <sup>3</sup>	<b>Kilian-Hatz, Djoupee</b> -		
	Gundi	Gundi	gdi	9,000 (1988)	1 (Mbimu)	4	Ouzilleau (List I)		-		
					2 (Bayanga)	5	Ouzilleau (List III)		-		
					3 (Nola)	6	Ouzilleau (List VII)		-		
	Limassa	Limassa	bme	few	Limassa	7	Ouzilleau (List VIII)		-		
					Ngombe	8	Boyeldieu&Cloaric-Heiss < Boyi		-		
	Monzombo	Monzombo	mój	12,600	Ngombe	9	Boyeldieu&Cloaric-Heiss / Monino < Thomas/ Bouquiaux.		<b>Boyi, Thomas</b>		
					Kpala	10	Boyeldieu&Cloaric-Heiss < Thomas		Ebanda		
	Bwaka	Ngbaka-Ma'bo	nbm	189,600	1 Bokanga	11	Boyeldieu&Cloaric-Heiss / Monino < Thomas		<b>Thomas</b>		
					2 Pendi	12	Boyeldieu&Cloaric-Heiss < Thomas		-		
	Gbanzili	Gilima	gix	12,000 (1984)	Gilima	13	Boyeldieu&Cloaric-Heiss < Thomas		-		
					Gbanziri	14	Boyeldieu&Cloaric-Heiss / Monino < Thomas/Bouquiaux		<b>Rombi &amp; Thomas</b>		
	Eastern	Mayogo-Bangba	Mayogo	100,000 (1991)	1 (Isiro)	15	Monino < Pasch		<b>Sawka</b>		
					2 Madiapia	16	Boone		Boone		
					3 Madimadoko	17	Boone		Boone		
					4 Madingbolo	18	Boone		Boone		
		Bangba	Bangba	bbe	11,000 (1993)	1 (Kopa)	19	Boone			Boone
						2 (Tore)	20	Boone			Boone
		Mundu	Mundu	muh	25,800	1 (Dungu,DRC)	21	Boone			Boone
						2 ( Bunia,DRC)	22	Monino < Pasch			-
						3 (Faradje)	23	Valleys			<b>Valleys, Jeffrey &amp; Polley</b>

Table 1: An overview of the doculects of Baka-Mundu.

<sup>3</sup> The source Ouzilleau (1911) features 11 short lexicon lists. The lists not considered here are of Bantu languages.

- This MA thesis treats the comparative analysis of the Baka-Mundu languages at the lexical and grammatical level.
  - Here the western branch is further divided into the subbranches Baka-Gundi vs. River(?).
  - The eastern branch is divided into Mayogo-Bangba and Mundu.
- This paper focuses on the presentation of grammatical categories.

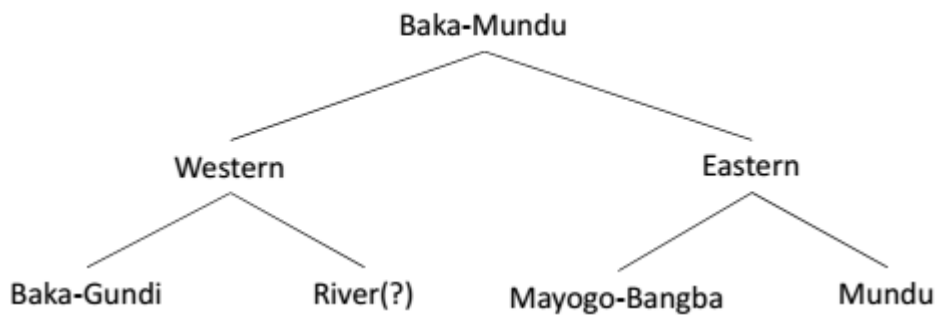


Figure 2: Baka-Mundu and its subbranches.

## 2. Typological features of the Baka-Mundu languages

### 2.1. General information

- Syllable structure: CV, CVV and CVCV(CV) in polysyllabic lexemes.
- Notable phonemes: Labial velars, implosives, pre-nasalized consonants
- ATR-bases vowel harmony is wide spread among Baka-Mundu languages.
- All languages are tonal languages with three tones (high, mid and low). Only Monzombo also shows a fourth (super high) tone.
  - Tone is both lexical and grammatical.
- The canonical sentence shows SVO structure.

### 2.2. Word order in the noun phrase

- **(Quality expressions) + N + (POSS/NUM/ATTR/QUANT/DEM/DET)**
  - All Baka-Mundu languages show a strong head-initial tendency.
  - Quality expressions exist in a nominal and in a verbal form (treated below), the latter of which is the only element that occurs before the head noun.

### 3. Analysis of grammatical categories

- The analysis of grammar on a more extensive level is limited to 6 better described doculects<sup>4</sup>, but these represent the assumed sub-branches sufficiently.

#### 3.1. Attributive constructions

- The Baka-Mundu languages show several nominal attributive constructions.
  - In all cases, the head is left, the modifying element is postposed.

##### 3.1.1. Juxtaposition

- Expressions of possession with inalienable meaning are expressed by simple juxtaposition of possessee and possessor.

(1) **Baka (Cameroon)**

wɔ-lè

woman-1S.POSS

'My wife' (Kilian-Hatz1995:19)

(2) **Monzombo**

nzò kpú

head snake

'Head of the snake' (Boyi1983:126)

(3) **Ngbaka-Bokanga**

mò vō

mouth person

'Mouth of the person' (Thomas1981:212)

(4) **Gbanziri**

búmē é

heart 3S.POSS

'His/her heart' (Rombi&Thomas2006:36)

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<sup>4</sup> A few categories are excluded (see e.g. 3.2. Plural marking)

(5) **Mayogo (Isiro)**

di nu

horn animal

*'Horn of the animal'* (Sawka2001:34)

(6) **Mundu (Faradje)**

yí dzàdzi

mother child

*'Mother of the child'* (Vallaey1991:35)

- The construction  $*[N_{\text{Head}} + N_{\text{Mod}}]$  can be reconstructed for Proto-Baka-Mundu.
  - o The probable function of this reconstruction is inalienable possession.

**3.1.2. [N + ?a + Attibut]**

- This construction is found in Baka, Ngbaka-Bokanga and Monzombo.

(7) **Baka (Cameroon)**

gbe a lè

village ATTR 1S.POSS

*'My village'* (Kilian-Hatz1995:20)

(8) **Ngbaka-Bokanga**

Nū ?ā bēlē ?ó

bird ATTR forest P

*'Birds of the forest'* (Thomas1963:177)

- In Monzombo the morpheme is suffixed to the possessed Element and assimilated to its final vowel.

(9a) **Monzombo**

- tité-é yāndèngà

- house-ATTR Pygmy

- *'House of the Pygmy'*

(9b)

gbá-á yé

village-ATTR 3S

*'His village'* (Boyi1983:262)

- All examined contexts can be semantically described as cases of alienable Possession.
- This construction is not found in the languages of the eastern branch.

- Alienable possession is indicated by the construction  $[N_{\text{Head}} + \text{gba} + N_{\text{Mod}}]$  in Mayogo and by  $[N_{\text{Head}} + \text{ka} + N_{\text{Mod}}]$  in Mundu.
- The construction  $*[N_{\text{Head}} + \text{?a} + N_{\text{Mod}}]$  can be reconstructed for Proto-Western-Baka-Mundu.
  - A probable function of this construction is alienable possession.

### 3.1.3. [N + na + Attribut]

- This construction exists in all examined varieties with the exception of Mundu.
  - Semantically this construction encodes a goal-oriented relation between possessor and possessee.

**(10) Baka (Cameroon)**

- gbié nà mbòmbò
- field ATTR corn
- ‘*Corn field*’ (Djoupee2002:77)

- (11)** ma ndé bèlà nà wósè  
 1S HABEO.NEG work ATTR woman  
 ‘*I have no work for women*’ (Kilian-Hatz1995:296)

**(12) Monzombo**

- bò nàá mbóngò
- bag ATTR money
- ‘*purse*’ (Boyi1983:274)

**(13) Ngbaka-Bokanga**

- nō ñā nā kákátā
- kettle 1S.POSS ATTR water
- ‘*My water kettle (kettle for water)*’ (Thomas1963:177)

**(14) Gbanziri**

- yā tō tīmā ná gbíē
- 1P.EX ? work ATTR field
- ‘*We do work on the field*’ (Rombi&Thomas2006:113)

(15) **Mayogo (Isiro)**

Abule, a ko ili gba obhukosi na o-bhosi-bhosi  
Abdule es is name ATTR twin ATTR P-RED-man.  
'Abdule, this is a name for male twins' (Sawka2001:66)

- In Baka-Gundi and in Mayogo-Bangba this construction is used in nominalized quality expressions.

(16) **Baka (Cameroon)**

si na ngbe-ngbe  
fish ATTR RED-be.big  
'Big fish' (Kilian-Hatz1995:19)

(17) **Mayogo (Isiro)**

engu na bu-bu  
chicken ATTR RED-be.white  
'A white chicken' (Sawka2001:37)

- The River(?) subbranch is an exception to this.

(18) **Monzombo**

bū nbgé-ngbé  
stomack RED-be.big  
'big stomach' (Boyi1983:233)

- A possible origin is the goal-oriented preposition **na**.
- The construction  $*[N_{\text{Head}} + na + N_{\text{Mod}}]$  can be reconstructed for Proto-Baka-Mundu.



### 3.1.4. [N + ka + Attribut]

- This construction is found in Ngbaka-Bokanga and Mundu.

**(19) Ngbaka-Bokanga**

ngóto k̄ā mòkònzī

doce ATTR chef

*'The dove of the chief'* (Thomas1963:175)

**(20) Mundu (Faradje)**

kàmbó ka iyè

house ATTR child (of father)

*'House of the child'* (Vallaey1991:123)

- A possible origin is the preposition **ka** = **of** (see Vallaey1991: 123).
- The construction  $*[N_{\text{Head}} + \text{ka} + N_{\text{Mod}}]$  can be reconstructed for Proto-Baka-Mundu, since it exists in members of both branches today.
  - All found examples show semantic instances of alienable possession.

### 3.2. Plural marking

Subbranch	#	Doculect	Plural marker	Example		Source	Position
Baka-Gundi	1	Baka (Gabon)	-o	kōβā-ō	Hacken	Paulin (2010)	Suffix
	2	Baka (Cameroon)	-o	là-o	Kinder	Brisson (2010)	
	3	Ganzi	-	-	-	-	
	4	Gundi (Mbimu)	-	-	-	-	
	5	Gundi (Bayanga)	-	-	-	-	
	6	Gundi (Nola)	-	-	-	-	
	7	Limassa	-	-	-	-	
	8	Ngombe	-	-	-	-	
River(?)	9	Monzombo	-o	sī-ō	Fische	Boyi (1983)	Suffix
	10	Kpala	-	-	-	-	
	11	Ngbaka-Bokanga	-o	nū-ō	Vögel	Thomas (1963)	
	12	Ngbaka-Pendi	-	-	-	-	
	13	Gilima	-	-	-	-	
	14	Gbanziri	-o	mbēbō-o	Weißer	Rombi&Thomas (2006)	
Mayogo-Bangba	15	Mayogo (Isiro)	o-	o-kpála	Personen	Sawka (2001)	Prefix
	16	Mayogo-Madipia	o-	o-kpála	Personen	Boone (1994)	
	17	Mayogo-Madimadoko	o-	o-bòngó	Kleider	Boone (1994)	
	18	Mayogo-Madingbolo	o-	o-bòngó	Kleider	Boone (1994)	
	19	Bangba (Kopa)	o-	o-bòngó	Kleider	Boone (1994)	
	20	Bangba (Tora)	o-	o-bòngó	Kleider	Boone (1994)	
Mundu	21	Mundu (Dungu)	wo-	wo-bòngó	Kleider	Boone (1994)	Prefix
	22	Mundu (Bayanga)	-	-	-	-	
	23	Mundu (Bunia)	(b)o-/(w)o-	wo-bòngó	Kleider	Vallaey (1991)	

Table 2: The plural marker in the Baka-Mundu languages.

- The plural is expressed by an affix (w)o/(b)o<sup>5</sup>. This is realized as a prefix in the eastern branch and as a suffix in the other varieties.
- In the eastern branch reduplication is also used for plural formation.

**(21) Mundu (Faradje)**

le-le

RED-foot

'feet' (Vallaey1991:18)

**(22) Mayogo (Isiro)**

o-kpá-'kpá

P-RED-leaf

'leaves' (Sawka2001: 56)

<sup>5</sup> (b)o is restricted to Mundu and might be an exceptional development here.

- In the Mayogo example the plural prefix is redundant and probably optional (Sawka2001:56).
- In the noun phrase plural is marked on the modifier.

(23) **Monzombo**

sī      nò.ō (< nì-ō)  
 fish    DEM.P  
 ‘these fish’ (Boyi1983:248)

(24) **Ngbaka-Bokanga**

béē    íá-ṛó  
 friends 1S.POSS-P  
 ‘my friends’ (Thomas1963:173)

(25) **Baka (Cameroon)**

ʔèè    a      lè-o      kè  
 thing GEN 1S.POSS-P DEM.PROX  
 ‘These are my things’ (Brisson in Kilian-Hatz1995:218)

(26) **Mayogo (Isiro)**

o-bili      lusa  
 P-be.black Topf  
 ‘black pots’ (Sawka2001:57)

- Varieties of the eastern branch furthermore show multiple plural marking (on the head noun and the modifying element).

(27) **Mundu (Faradje)**

wo-gàrà      wo-dzàdzi  
 P-other      P-child  
 ‘other children’ (Vallaey1991:19)

(28) **Mayogo (Isiro)**

o-ngbe-ngbe    o-bulu  
 P-RED-be.big    P-dog  
 ‘big dog’ (Sawka2001:58)<sup>6</sup>

- Proposed reconstruction: Plural marker **\*-(w)o** for Proto-Western-Baka-Mundu, **\*(w)o-** for Proto-Eastern-Baka-Mundu.
  - o The position of the affix is evidence for the split between the eastern and the western branch.

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<sup>6</sup> The difference between this example and (17) is not clear yet. According to Sawka (2001) reduplication here indicates plurality in addition to the plural marker.

- The plural marker was grammaticalized from the 3. person plural pronoun (cf. Kilian-Hatz1995: 92ff, Thomas 1963:77f). This path of grammaticalization is typologically very frequent.
  - o Therefore the plural marker is not to be reconstructed for Proto-Baka-Mundu.

### 3.3. Pronominal system

Subbranch	#	Doculect	1S	2S	3S	DU	1P.I	1P.E	2P	3P
Baka-Gundi	1	Baka (Gabon)	mā	mò	é	ā	ā-nì	ng-a	jì	wó
	2	Baka (Cameroon)	mā	ngā-mò	ʔé	ʔa	nì	ng-a	yì	wó
	3	Ganzi	ma	nga-mon	-	-	-	-	-	-
	4	Gundi (Mbimu)	-	nga-mo	-	-	-	-	-	-
	5	Gundi (Bayanga)	ng-a	(beka)	-	-	-	-	-	-
	6	Gundi (Nola)	(nga-le <sup>7</sup> )	(ngubeleke)	-	-	-	-	-	-
	7	Limassa	ma	(nga-ma)	ve-ve	-	-	-	-	-
	8	Ngombe	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
River(?)	9	Monzombo	mā	mù	ʔá/ʔé <sup>8</sup>	ʔí	ná	ʔā	ʔì	ʔò
	10	Kpala	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	11	Ngbaka-Bokanga	mā	mò	ʔé	ʔā	-	ʔāóò	ʔì	ʔó
	12	Ngbaka-Pendi	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	13	Gilima	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	14	Gbanziri	ma	mu	ʔǎ	-	-	ya	yi	ʔo/ʔanɔ
Mayogo-Bangba	15	Mayogo (Isiro)	-	mù	nù	-	-	-	yì	húò
	16	Mayogo-Madipia	ma	mu	ani	-	ni	ya	yi	uo
	17	Mayogo-Madimadoko	nga-ma <sup>9</sup>	nga-mu	nga-ani	-	nga-ni	nga-ʔa	nga-yi	nga-o
	18	Mayogo-Madingbolo	e-ma	e-mu	ng-ani	-	nga-ni	e-ʔa	e-yi	ng-uo
	19	Bangba (Kopa)	e-ra, e-ma	e-mu	e-ngu	-	e-ni	e-ʔa	e-yi	wuo
	20	Bangba (Tora)	e-ma	e-mu	e-ngu	-	e-ni	eya	e-yi	wuo
Mundu	21	Mundu (Dungu)	ra, ma	mu	ʔa/ʔe	-	nih	ʔa	yi	(e)wu
	22	Mundu (Bunia)	-	dé-mò	ngù	-	-	-	dì-í	wò
	23	Mundu (Faradje)	má	mò, mù	ó, á, é	-	(a)ni	-	yi	wó
Proto-Baka-Mundu			*ma	*mV <sub>[u,o]</sub>	*ʔa/*ʔe		*ni	*ʔa	*ʔi	*ʔV <sub>[u,o]</sub>

Table 3: The pronominal system of the Baka-Mundu languages.

<sup>7</sup> A comparison with Baka suggests that this is the object pronoun.

<sup>8</sup> The Monzombe makes a difference between animate and inanimate concepts in the 3S.

<sup>9</sup> According to Boone (1994: footnote 42), the native speakers of Madimadoko emphasized the importance of the morpheme /nga/ before pronouns and interrogatives. Sometimes there is the same morpheme in Madingbolo. Its function is unknown to date.

- A distinction between 1.P.E and 1.P.I exists in the Varieties of the Baka-Gundi subbranch as well as in the eastern branch.
  - The distinction is thus a probable feature of the Proto-language.
- The River(?) branch barely shows this feature. It may be in remission here.

### 3.4. Nominalization and the infinitive

#### 3.4.1. Nominalization of verbs/quality expressions

- Verbs are nominalized by means of reduplication.
  - Total and partial reduplication are used as mechanisms of word formation.
  - This can be shown for all varieties with the exception of Mundu.
- Quality expressions can be analyzed as stative verbs.
  - The attributive marker **na** is identical to the infinitive marker on verbs.
  - Other verbs are subject to the same nominalization process (cf. examples (29) and (31)). This is true only for the western branch of Baka-Mundu.

##### 3.4.1.1. Total reduplication

(29) Baka (Cameroon)

kpo	kpó-kpò
reject	RED-reject
'reject'	'rejection' (Djoupee2002:45)

(30)

ngbe	ngbe-ngbe
be.big	RED-be.big
'big'	'bigness'

(31) Monzombo

gó	gó-gó
leave	RED-leave
'leave'	'departure' (Thomas1971:114)

- (32)
- |         |                           |
|---------|---------------------------|
| ngi     | ngi-ngi                   |
| be.long | RED-be.long               |
| 'long'  | 'longness' (Boyi1983:126) |
- (33) **Ngbaka-Bokanga**
- |          |                              |
|----------|------------------------------|
| ndu      | ndu-ndu                      |
| be.short | RED- be.short                |
| 'short'  | 'shortness' (Thomas1963:125) |
- (34) **Mayogo (Isiro)**
- |        |                          |
|--------|--------------------------|
| ngbe   | ngbe-ngbe                |
| be.big | RED-be.big               |
| 'big'  | 'bigness' (Sawka2001:63) |

#### 3.4.1.2. *Partial reduplication*

- (35) **Baka (Cameroon)**
- |          |                          |
|----------|--------------------------|
| déké     | dè-déké                  |
| be.young | RED-be.young             |
| 'young'  | 'youth' (Djoupee2002:44) |
- (36) **Ngbaka-Bokanga**
- |        |                             |
|--------|-----------------------------|
| síti   | sí-síti                     |
| be.bad | RED-be.bad                  |
| 'bad'  | 'evil (n)' (Thomas1963:124) |
- (37) **Mayogo (Isiro)**
- |          |                            |
|----------|----------------------------|
| djedje   | dje-djedje                 |
| be.small | RED-be.small               |
| 'small'  | 'smallness' (Sawka2001:78) |

### 3.4.2. Infinitive

Subbranch	#	Doculect	Infinitive marking			
Baka-Gundi	1	Baka (Gabon)	nā	-	-	-
	2	Baka (Cameroon)	na	-	-	-
	3	Ganzi	-	-	-	-
	4	Gundi (Mbimu)	na (?)	-	-	-
	5	Gundi (Bayanga)	-	-	-	-
	6	Gundi (Nola)	-	-	ma (? <sup>10</sup> )	
	7	Limassa	-	-	-	-
	8	Ngombe	-	-	-	-
River(?)	9	Monzombo	-	-	-	Reduplication
	10	Kpala	-	-	-	-
	11	Ngbaka-Bokanga	-	-	-	Reduplication
	12	Ngbaka-Pendi	-	-	-	-
	13	Gilima	-	-	-	-
	14	Gbanziri	-	-	-	Reduplication
Mayogo-Bangba	15	Mayogo (Isiro)	-	-	-	-
	16	Mayogo-Madipia	na	-	-	-
	17	Mayogo-Madimadoko	na	-	ma	-
	18	Mayogo-Madingbolo	na	-	ma	-
	19	Bangba (Kopa)	na	-	ma	-
	20	Bangba (Tora)	na	-	ma	-
Mundu	21	Mundu (Dungu)	-	a	-	-
	22	Mundu (Bunia)	-	-	-	-
	23	Mundu (Faradje)	-	a	-	-

Table 4: Infinitive marking in the Baka-Mundu languages.

- The infinitive is marked directly before the verb.
- **ma** marks the infinitive in several Mayogo-Bangba varieties and seems to be an innovation here.
- **a** is reconstructable only for the Mundu subbranch.
- In Baka-Gundi and in the Mayogo-Bangba the infinitive is expressed by a morpheme **na**.

#### (38) Baka (Cameroon)

wó    à    tongòà    na    bebé  
 3P    IPFV    begin.PRES    INF    dance  
 ‘They begin to dance’ (Kilian-Hatz1995:306)

<sup>10</sup> Documented only very scarcely in Ouzilleau (1911).

(39) **Mayogo (Isiro)**

U a-kunda na-sia tia.  
3P PAST-like INF-get money  
'They want go get money' (Sawka2001:97)

- Proposed reconstruction for Proto-Baka-Mundu: \***na**
- A connection with the attributive marker (cf. 3.1.3.) is possible. Other than before verbs this morpheme occurs before nouns and nominalized quality expressions (discussed under 3.4.1.).
  - The goal-oriented preposition that grammaticalized into an attributive marker (cf. construction [N<sub>Head</sub> + na + N<sub>Mod</sub>]) seems to have further grammaticalized into an infinitive marker (construction [na + V]) in several varieties.
- The River(?) subbranch shows no infinitive marker but also uses reduplicated verb forms to mark infinitives.

(40) **Monzombo**

ngó gbō-tó-tò  
water PROG-RED-cook.  
'The water is in the state of boiling' (*l'eau est en train de bouillir*) (Thomas 1971:114)

(41) **Ngbaka-Bokanga**

ʔé té hò-hō yéē  
3S with RED-eat 3P  
'He/she is in the state of eating' (*il est en train de le manger*) (Thomas1981:218)

- Reduplication is used to form verbal nouns and other non-finite verb forms.
  - Reduplication as a strategy to mark the infinitive seems to be an exclusive innovation of the River(?) subbranch.



## 4. Summary and outlook

Proto-Baka-Mundu			
-Personal pronouns -Attributive construction: *[N <sub>Head</sub> + N <sub>Mod</sub> ] (Juxtaposition) -Attributive construction: *[N <sub>Head</sub> + na + N <sub>Mod</sub> ] -Attributive construction: *[N <sub>Head</sub> + ka + N <sub>Mod</sub> ] -Infinitive marker: *na -Formation of verbal nouns by reduplication.			
Proto-Western (Baka-Mundu)		Proto-Eastern (Baka-Mundu)	
-Attributive construction: *[N <sub>Head</sub> + ?a + N <sub>Mod</sub> ]		-Plural prefix: *(w)o-	
-Plural suffix: *(w)o			
Baka-Gundi	River(?)	Mayogo-Bangba	Mundu
	-Reduplikation marks infinitive verb forms.	-Infinitive marker: *ma	-Infinitive marker: *a

Table 5: Overview of reconstructed elements.

- Further topics to be considered for the reconstruction: Numerals, demonstratives, quantifiers, the verbal system and complex vs. simple nouns.

## 5. List of abbreviation

ATTR	Attributive
DEM	Demonstrative
DET	Determinative
DIST	Distal
DU	Dual
E	Exclusive
I	Inclusive
INF	Infinitive
INTERROG	Interrogative
IPFV	Imperfective
P	Plural
PAST	Past tense
POSS	Possessive

PRES	Present tense
PROG	Progressive
PROX	Proximal
RED	Reduplication
S	Singular

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