

Verbal morphology and predicates in Limassa

Dissertation Project: A Documentation of Limassa

Benedikt Winkhart

0 Structure of thesis

1 Introduction

2 The sound system

3 Parts of speech

4 Nominal domain

5 Verbal domain

5.1 Verbal morphology

5.2 Simple predicate

5.3 Complex predicate

5.4 Simple verbal clauses

6 Clause linkage

Appendix I: Texts

Appendix II: Vocabulary

1 Introduction

+ Limassa (ISO: bme) is an endangered language spoken mainly in Bomassa and Kabo in the northern Republic of the Congo (see Map. 1)

-Otherwise surrounded mostly by wildlife conservation parks as well as logging areas

+ previously only very scarcely researched

-Linguistic data available – three short word lists, two of which older than a century:

Ouzilleau (1911: 90, VIII), Bruel (Bruel 1910: 124f), and Klieman (1997: 290)

-Mostly basic vocabulary, no substantial linguistic information on grammar available

Niger-Congo > UBANGI > Mundu-Baka

Western Baka-Gundi Baka pygmy complex (Baka, Ganzi, Ngombe)

Limassa

Ngundi

River

Monzombo (Monzombo, Kpala, Yango)

Bwaka (Ngbaka-Ma'bo, Gilima)

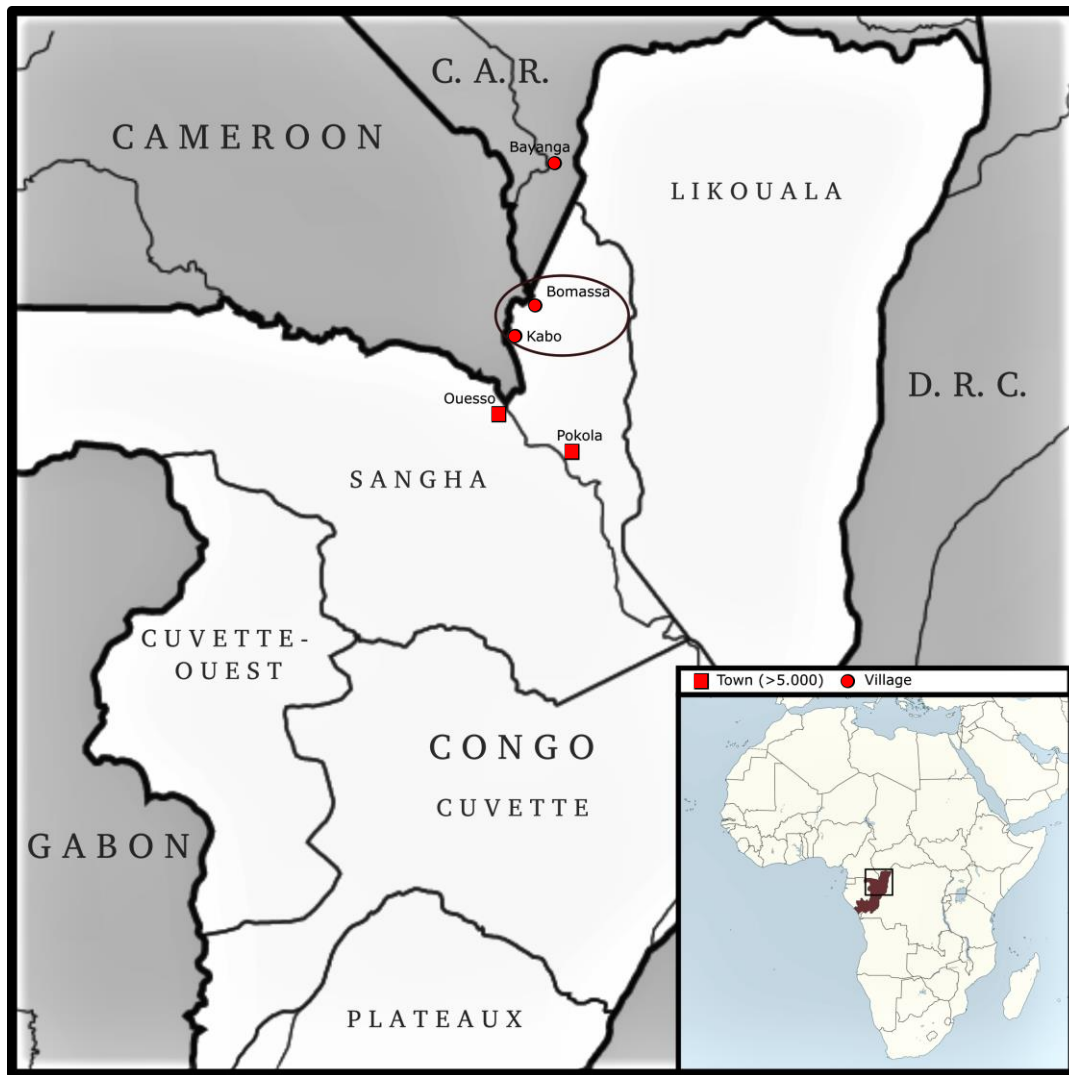
Gbanzili (Gbanziri, Buraka)

Eastern Mayogo-Bangba Mayogo, Bangba

Mundu

Mundu

Figure 1: Mundu-Baka Classification



Map 1: Geographic distribution of Limassa

2 Verbal morphology

- + Limassa is an isolating language – only little bound verbal morphology exists
- + additionally, a number of free morphemes that are relevant to the verbal domain / the formation of predicates exist
- some of these particles precede the verb directly
- certain particles occur strictly in clause-final position

2.1 Bound verbal morphology

- + two affixes
- one tempus category – past tense – expressed through a suffix *-é*
- one derivational prefix, *wa-*, takes nouns and verbs as a host (not further treated here)
- + reduplication
- only applies to CV-type verbs

2.1.1 Suffix -é

- + tempus suffix marking past tense
- minimal clause structure = SUB - V-é - (OBJ)
- + allomorphs -é/-lé alternate depending on syllable structure of verb (-lé after vowel sequence)
- tense marker replaces final vowel in (CV).CV.LV type verbs

2.1.2 Prefix wa-

- + derivational prefix with the function of making agent nouns (agentiviser)
- takes verbs (but also nouns and property lexemes) as hosts

(1) ¹	verb	agent noun
a.	na zɪ́ ‘to steal’	wa-zɪ́ ‘thief’
b.	na gbɔ̀ɔ̀ ‘to destroy’	wa-gbɔ̀ɔ̀ ‘destroyer’
c.	na lu ‘to plant’	wa-lu ‘planter, gardener’

(2)	mɔ̀ɔ̀sɛ = o	na	Ngolio	wo	wa-kpɪ̀li	nzɛ́nzɛ
	man = PL	PROP	PN	3PL	AGNT-throw	fish.hook
	‘The men of Ngolio are fishermen.’					

- + Limassa tends towards compounding as means of word formation – derivations are few
- typologically typical for isolating languages (Aikhenvald 2007: 9)

2.1.3 Reduplication

- + occurs depending on syllable structure of verb, i.e. only monomoraic roots are reduplicated = phonological copying (Inkelas & Zoll 2005: 2)
- + function: mainly used to mark a verbal noun form and imperative of monomoraic verbs
- i.e. occurs when monomoraic verb appears in isolation
- + “empty morph with purely phonological purpose” (Inkelas & Zoll 2005: 33)
- phonotactic minimality requirements on verbs: well-formed with at least two morae

(3)	
a.	zɛ-zɛ ‘to hear’ dú-dú ‘to return’
b.	sínyua ‘to read’ tólima ‘to float’

¹ All Limassa data was collected between 2016 and 2019 in the Sangha region (Republic of Congo).

+ functions also as verbal noun form of monomoraic verbs

-construction type: possessive [N + **na** + N]

(4)

a. kala na **nuà**
 iron PROP close
 ‘doorlock’ (Lit. ‘iron for closing’)

b. ʔe na **mu-mu**
 thing PROP RED-see
 ‘glasses’ (Lit. ‘thing for seeing’)

2.2 Free verbal morphology

+ certain TAM categories are expressed by a separate unbound morphemes that can be classified as particles

-invariable

-grammatical function

-express information relevant to the concepts TAM, NEG or INF

-does not fit other parts of speech of Limassa

+ two different groups: 1) preverbal particles and 2) clause final particles

2.2.1 Preverbal TAM particles

+ TAM marking elements that precede the main verb

-minimal clause structure = SUB - **TAM-particle** - V - (OBJ)

+ cannot be traced back to verbal origin

a. Perfective aspect: à ‘PRFV’ (vanishing)

+ minimal clause structure = SUB - **à** - V - (OBJ)

-The marker merges with the subject, resulting in altered pronouns in the 3SG (ʔé to ʔá) and 3PL (wó to wá).

-not traceable outside 3rd person pronouns (conclusion backed by comparative data)

b. Obligative mood: ngɔ ‘OBL’

+ minimal clause structure = SUB - **ngɔ** - V - (OBJ)

-co-occurs only with present tense

c. Future tense: na ‘FUT’

+ minimal clause structure = SUB - **na** - V - (OBJ)

2.2.2 Infinitive

- + infinitive marker **na** is also a particle – preceding the infinite verb form (root)
- + likely grammaticalised from purpose preposition **na** > attributive/property marker > INF
- widely attested path of grammaticalisation (cf. Kuteva et al. 2019: 351)
- no indication of connection with homophonous FUT marker **na**

- (5) **INF** **V**
- a. na gɔ ‘to go’
- b. na kɔɔ ‘to arrive’
- c. na ngóma ‘to speak’
- d. na kótiba ‘to cough’

2.2.3 Tempus marker ʔɔɔ

- + function: encodes distant past (and possibly a habitual aspect)
- + occurs in simple and complex predicates
- no additional semantic main verb in simple predicate – copula-like constructions

- (6) Bomassa ʔé ʔɔɔ gbá na gbíé
- PN 3SG DIST.PST village PROP field
- ‘Bomassa used to be a village with fields.’

- + can occur in complex construction of the type [**ʔɔɔ** + **na** + **V**]
- precedes non-finite semantic main verb in complex predicates

- (7) ní ngao ʔɔɔ na mɛ̀ɛ bela na gbíé
- mother 1PL.I DIST.PST INF do work PROP field
- ‘Our mothers used to do work on the fields.’

- (8) nga ʔɔɔ nè nga ʔɔɔ na zo
- 1PL DIST.PST here 1PL DIST.PST INF eat
- ‘We were here, we were eating food.’

- + majority of examples have “habitual” component of meaning
- + not an auxiliary by definition?
- an auxiliary is “[...] a functional verbal element [...] that contributes some kind of obligatory verbal semantic feature to the construction” (Anderson 2011: 821)
- ʔɔɔ is not verbal – goes back to a former adverb (see below)
- BUT does contribute semantic feature of tense to construction
- possibly a copula encoding past context – BUT no other overt copula in Limassa

Historical comparative background information

- + ʔḁḁ is the only marker of this type in Limassa
- it exists also in the closely related Baka, where it was further grammaticalised into bound morphology marking tense – suffix encoding distant past **-o** (Brisson & Boursier 1979: 379; Kilian-Hatz 1995: 209), marked for high tone (-ó) by Djoupee (2017: 213)
- no evidence of **-o** in Limassa
- + marker for recent past tense **-é** also exists in Baka, that has presumably been grammaticalised from the tempus marker **wɛɛ** (Brisson & Boursier 1979: 481; Kilian-Hatz 1995: 210ff) – counterpart to ʔḁḁ

	Remote past		Distant past	
	Limassa	Baka	Limassa	Baka
adverb		wɛɛ		ʔḁḁ
tempus marker	-	wɛɛ	ʔḁḁ	ʔḁḁ
grammaticalised tense suffix	-é	-é	-	-o

Table 1: Historical distribution of wɛɛ and ʔḁḁ

- + conclusion for Limassa:
- retained the tempus marker ʔḁḁ but does not develop distant past suffix **-o**
- lost the tempus marker **wɛɛ** but develops past tense suffix **-é**

2.2.4 Clause final particles

- + all express types of negation
- additionally, in some cases an aspect or mood category is encoded

a. prohibitive mood: á ‘PROH’

- in terms of function, á is also a negation particle
- minimal clause structure = SUB - (TAM-particle) - V - (OBJ) - á

b. imperfective negation: so ‘IPRFV:NEG’?

- best translated as ‘not yet, still not’
- minimal clause structure = SUB - (TAM-particle) - V - (OBJ) - so

c. permissive negation (mood): ɓele ‘PERM’?

- minimal clause structure = SUB - (TAM-particle) - V - (OBJ) - ɓele

d. negation de ‘NEG’

- + remaining NEG-particles **de** is the default negation
- minimal clause structure = SUB - (TAM-particle) - V - (OBJ) - NEG

3 Simple predicates

- + simple verbal predicates is defined as consisting of a finite main verb
- differentiation between basic simple predicate and expanded simple predicate
- + simple predicates occur more often than complex predicates

+ plain full verb form = root

-“A root is the base form of a word which cannot be further analysed without total loss of identity.” (Crystal 2008: 419)

-morphology: not further divisible, can take affixes, can be reduplicated

-colour of final vowel can change in specific morphological contexts

-semantics: carries core component of meaning

3.1 Basic simple predicate

- + describes predicates, where the verbal root are not altered in any way by morphology
- minimal clause structure = SUB - V - (OBJ)

3.1.1 Present tense

- + form: the finite verb in the present tense is identical to the respective verb root

(9) wó gɔ ʔà gbíé
 3PL go LOC field
 ‘They go to the field.’

(10) nga síá lé
 1PL.I watch 3SG.OBJ
 ‘We watch it.’

- + 3SG and 3PL pronominal forms always have to be overt
- follow the nominal subject, when given

(11) mbongo ʔá zo kpa-ḡàlà = ó
 Bongo 3SG eat hand-manioc = PL
 ‘The Bongo antelope eats the manioc leaves’

3.1.2 Imperative mood

- + SG encoded by plain verb root
- reduplicated root in the case of monomoraic verbs – technically expanded predicate
- + PL encoded by 2PL pronoun ʔi followed by verb stem

- (12) **SG** **PL**
- a. gɔ-gɔ ʔi gɔ ‘to go’
- b. dolo ʔi dolo ‘to stay’
- c. mɛ(l)ɛ ʔi mɛ(l)ɛ ‘to do’

- (13) **zá-zá** gbà-sí yéé wonì
- RED-take bundle-fish PROX this
- ‘Take this bundle of fish there!’

- (14) **ʔí** **ʔíta** na kubwa mù-télé mé-bo
- 2PL push INF open mouth-house spirit-person
- ‘push to open the door, uncle.’

3.2 Expanded simple predicate

+ expanded predicates are morphologically or morphosyntactically more complex

-may consisting of: 1) preverbal particles + full verb

2) full verb + inflectional morphology

3) full verb + clause-final particle

+ no other lexical predication element stands besides full main verb

3.2.1 Past tense

-the past tense verb is formed with the verbal root + past tense suffix -é

μ	Syllable structure	Citation form	PST form	English	Marking
1	CV	yi-yi	yi-é	to ask	always overt
2	CV ₁ V ₁	maà	maà-lé	to meet	
	CV ₁ V ₂	gbìè	gbìè-lé	to pull	
	CV.LV	kɔlɔ	kɔl-é	to arrive	
3	CV.CV	tápá	tápá-é	to enter	sometimes omitted, high tone instead
	CV.CV ₁ V ₂	ɓulua	ɓulua-lé	to mix	
	CV.CV.CV	kótiba	kótiba-é	to cough	always overt
	CV.VC.LV	wósolo	wósol-é	to stand	

Table 2: Past tense verb forms

+ CV and CV.CV type verbs receive suffix -é

- (15) ʔé **kpí-é**
- 3SG die-PST
- ‘he died’

- (16) bo=o tout wó lezi-é ʔà gbá
 person=PL all 3PL quit-PST LOC village
 ‘All people quit the village.’

+ only exception: CV verb (tɔ ‘to give’) where suffix -é merges with root-final vowel

-question of glossing: segmenting with hyphen suggests stem instead of root

-root by definition: cannot be broken up into smaller elements without total loss of identity

- (17) ma t-é pe mu ngo
 1SG give-PST for 2SG.OBJ water
 ‘I gave you water.’

+ occasional cases of CV.CV verbs where suffix -é merges with root-final vowel

- (18) ma ngóm-é
 1SG speak-PST
 ‘I spoke’

+ verbs of the type (CV).CV.LV (/l/ in medial position) always merge root-final vowel with suffix -é

- (19) wó kɔl-é nè
 3PL arrive-PST here
 ‘They arrived here.’

+ verbs roots that end in V-sequences (CV₁V₁, CV₁V₂) in general take the suffix version -lé

- (20) ʔé paà-lé bɔ̀ngɔ
 3SG hang.up-PST shirt
 ‘He/she hung up my shirt.’

+ bi- and polysyllabic roots, such as CV.CV, CV.CVV, and CV.CV.CV sometimes occur without past tense suffix -é instead a root-final high tone is realised

- (21) ʔé káluá kpa-ɓàlà
 3SG tear.apart-PST hand-manioc
 ‘He rote apart the manioc leaf.’

-(CV).VC.LV type roots are never affected in this way – suffix always overt

3.2.2 Future tense

+ encoded by preverbal marker **na** + V (no element can come between the two)

- (22) ma **na** gɔ
 1SG FUT go
 'I will go.'

+ future tense is often supported through temporal adverbs

- (23) wó **na** si télé **ebiye**
 3PL FUT build house tomorrow
 'They will build a house tomorrow.'

+ when a temporal adverb expressing a future time is used, the future tense marker can be omitted, leaving the present tense predicate

- (24) ma gɔ **ebiye**
 1SG go tomorrow
 'I will go tomorrow.'

3.2.3 Perfective aspect

+ encountered extremely rarely in Limassa – feature on decline (vivid in Baka +)

-mostly used in narrative contexts

-mostly found in 3SG and fewer 3PL forms

- (25) lààndɛ ʔá za kpáze lé gbà sí
 child 3SG.PRFV take path with bundle fish
 'The child takes on the path with the bundle of fish.'

- (26) wá tɛkɛ ʔé na zoò
 3PL.PRFV sell thing PROP good
 'They sell a good thing.'

3.2.4 Obligative mood

+ encoded in pre-verbal morpheme **ngo**

- (27) mo **ngo** nyí á
 2SG OBL know REF
 'You should know that.'

- (28) ʔi ngo sía bó na sítí = o
 2PL OBL watch person PROP bad = PL
 ‘You have to be aware of bad people!’

3.2.5 Prohibitive mood

+ expressed by clause-final negation particle **á**

- (29) ʔi zo á
 2PL eat PROH
 ‘You may not eat.’

+ objects follow the verb and thus stand between main verb and verbal particle

- (30) ʔi kónó bela wanì ʔà toto á
 2PL cut work that LOC middle PROH
 ‘You may not cut that work in the middle.’

3.2.6 Imperfective negation

+ expressed by clause-final negation particle **so**

-semantics suggest aspectual component of meaning

- (31) wó dɔ so
 3PL come IPRFV:NEG
 ‘They are not coming yet.’

- (32) nga mu ʔé na sítí so
 1PL.E see thing PROP bad IPRFV:NEG
 ‘We haven't seen anything bad, yet.’

3.2.7 Permissive negation

+ expressed by clause-final negation particle **bele**

- (33) yà wó zo kakao bele
 elephant 3PL eat cocoa PERM?
 ‘The elephant must not eat the cocoa.’

+ permissive: ‘PERM’ or other label?

-not all examples are straight forward interpretable as permissive – possibly more clear-cut function loosened due to state of language decay (?)

- (34) ʔé wéle só wanì **bele**
 3SG hold animal that PERM
 ‘It couldn’t hold that animal.’

3.2.8 Simple negation

+ default negation without further change to verbal meaning is encoded by clause-final **de**

- (35) mo zo ʔà kpáze **de**
 2SG eat LOC path NEG
 ‘You do not eat on the road.’

+ negates verbal as well as non-verbal clauses

-zero-copula constructions occur only with negation **de**

- (36) lè-móóse ʔé ngbe-ngbe **de**
 Child-man 3SG RED-big NEG
 ‘The boy is not big.’

- (37) ma lé zo **de**
 1SG with food NEG
 ‘I do not have food.’

3.3 Simple non-verbal predicates

+ Limassa has no verbs ‘to be’ or ‘to have’

+ a **zero copula** links subject and complement directly

-such clauses are non-verbal (non-verbal but nominal or prepositional predicate)

- (38) móóse yée wonì ʔé wa-mbù
 man PROX this 3SG AGNT-magic
 ‘This man is a sorcerer.’

- (39) Bosi ʔé ʔà bu *jardin*
 PN 3SG LOC in garden
 ‘Bosi is in the garden.’

+ only **de** can be used as negation in zero copula constructions

- (40) ʔé ngbe-ngbe de
 3SG RED-big NEG
 ‘He is not big.’

- (41) zo ʔé sí tí de
 food 3SG bad NEG
 ‘The food is not bad.’

+ the above structure restricted to express present tense

-use of distant past marker ʔòò to express same content in past tense – takes position of default simple predicate in clause

- (42) nga ʔòò zò ʔà Ngolio
 1PL.I DIST.PST there LOC PN
 ‘We were there in Ngolio (long ago).’

4 Complex predicates

+ definition: “[...] *any construction in which two or more predicational elements each contribute to a joint predication.*” (Butt 2010: 50)

-predicational elements can be nouns and verbs

+ different complex predicate structures exist in Limassa

+ no serialisation of verbs

4.1 Auxiliary verb constructions

+ minimal clause structure = SUB - AUX - INF - V - (OBJ)

+ auxiliary verb: “[...] *an element on the full-lexical-verb-to-bound-functional-element grammaticalisation chain that performs some more or less definable grammatical function*” (Anderson 2011: 797)

-auxiliary verbs in Limassa are far on the “full-lexical-verb”-end of the spectrum

+ e.g. ɡɔ ‘to go’, ɗɔ ‘to come’ kɔɓ ‘to arrive’ and ʔità ‘to begin, to push’, tɔ́ŋɡa ‘to begin’

-add mood or Aktionsart component to the verbal semantics – e.g. inchoative, completive

- (43) mo ɡɔ na ngàndà
 2SG go INF gather
 ‘You go gathering.’

- (44) mo bɔ̀tɔ̀ mbe après mo dɔ na bɔ̀tɔ̀ tôle
 2SG remove ash after 2SG come INF remove tray
 ‘You remove the ash and then you come to remove the tray.’

- (45) wó tɔ́nga na ngóma lé mɔ́ɔ́se wanì
 3PL begin INF speak with man that
 ‘They start to talk to that man.’

+ some further verbs are used in auxiliary position in rare instances

-e.g. **ni** ‘to know’, **lɛɛ** ‘to try’, **dolo** ‘to stay’, **mbé** ‘to finish’ and **ye** ‘to want’

- (46) mo lɛɛ na zo ʔà kpáze
 2SG try INF eat LOC path
 ‘You try to eat on the road.’

- (47) nga dóló na dè soa gbíé na kɔ̀lóló
 1PL stay INF weed only field PROP empty
 ‘We always just cut an empty field.’

+ TAM-categories can be marked on the auxiliary verb of the construction

- (48) nga kɔ̀l-é na zo déjà kpa-bàlà
 1PL.I arrive-PST INF eat already hand-manioc
 ‘We started eating the cassava leaf already.’

+ monomoraic verbs are sometimes reduplicated in non-finite form (cf. 48 and 49)

-not fully clear, yet – but seems semantically identical (speakers: more clearly expresses)

- (49) ma ʔità na dú-dú
 1SG begin INF RED-return
 ‘I start to go back.’

4.2 Defective verbs

+ one possible candidate in Limassa: **kóá** ‘be able, can’

-does not occur as full lexical verb

+ “[...] distinguishable from the class of ‘auxiliaries’ by some subset of (often language specific) morphosyntactic properties.” (Anderson 2011: 814)

+ does not take any other TAM marking (as do auxiliary verbs, cf. (48) above)

- (50) sɔ wani=ó wo kóá na gbɔɔ ná bele
 animal that=PL 3PL be.able INF destroy REF NEG
 ‘Those animals cannot destroy it.’

- (51) ʔi kóá na mɛɛ yɛɛ ná
 2PL be.able INF do PROX REF
 ‘You can do this.’

- (52) nga kóá na ngóma
 1PL.I be.able INF say
 ‘We can say.’

4.3 Tempus marker ʔɔɔ in auxiliary position

+ the marker ʔɔɔ appears in the same position as auxiliaries and defective verbs in complex predicate constructions

- (53) nè ʔà Ngolio ko gbié ʔé ʔɔɔ na dóló
 here LOC PN true field 3SG DIST.PST INF stay
 ‘Here in Ngolio, real fields were there.’

- (54) nga ʔɔɔ nè nga ʔɔɔ na zo bálá
 1PL.I DIST.PST here 1PL.I DIST.PST INF eat manioc
 ‘We used to be here, we used to eat manioc.’

4.4 Light verb constructions

+ minimal clause structure = SUB - **LIGHT V** - (OBJ) - N_{complement}

-construction consists of light verb, adding little semantic content to the predicate, and a lexical stem of some part of speech (Anderson 2011: 811)

+ light verb: verbal element with very general/unspecific meaning

-does not function effectively as predicate without complement (noun or property lexeme)

+ light verbs in Limassa: **mɛlɛ/mɛɛ** ‘to do’, **tɔ** ‘to give’

- (55) bo woni wó mɛɛ bela
 person this 3PL do work
 ‘These people work.’

- (56) wó té pɛ mbote
 3PL give.PST for.3SG:POSS greeting
 ‘They greeted him.’

- (57) ʔá té pɛ nga *ma*kanisi wonì
 3SG.PRFV give.PST for.3SG:POSS 1PL.E thinking this
 ‘It gave us this idea.’

+ objects can come between light verb and complement

- (58) mo *me*lè lé wóse *sí*tí á
 2SG do with woman bad PROH
 ‘You do not hurt the woman!’

+ light verb constructions can be part of an auxiliary verb construction

- (59) wó gɔ-é na *me*lè *mo*luá lé bíde
 3PL go-PST INF do fishing with two
 ‘They went out to fish twice.’

5 Summary

+ Simple predicates = one lexical element

-basic vs. expanded simple predicates

-encode all TAM categories

+ complex predicates

-auxiliary verb constructions and light verb constructions as frequent strategies

-distant past marker ʔòò occurs frequently – not conclusively clarified

-one defective verb *kó*a

+ complex predicates are much less frequent than simple predicates

-Limassa otherwise makes use of bi-clausal structures to express complex verbal action (60)

-similar to the encoding of bi-clausal events with different subjects (61)

- (60) *ma* yé *pe* *ma* *ma*na pe ngamo yéé wonì
 1SG want CONN 1SG show for 2SG.OBJ PROX this
 ‘I want to show you this.’

- (61) *nga* yé *pe* *mo* ngóma
 1PL.E want that 2SG say
 ‘We want you to speak.’

SUB	PART_V	AUX	INF	RED	main V	suffix	COMP	CL_PART	function	type
(+)				+	only CV		(+)		IMP	BS
+					+		(+)		PRS	
+					+	-é	(+)		PST	ES
+	na				+		(+)		FUT	
+	à				+		(+)		PRFV	
+	ngɔ				+		(+)		OBL	
+					+		(+)	á	PROH	
+					+		(+)	so	IPRFV	
+					+		(+)	bele	PERM?	
+					+		(+)	de	NEG	
+		+	+	(+)	+		(+)		AUX	C
+		kóá	+		+		(+)		DEFEC	
+		ʔɔɔ	+		+		(+)		???	
+					+ light	(+)	+		LIGHT	

Predicate types: BS = basic simple, ES = expanded simple, C = complex

Table 3: Overview of presented predicates in clause structure

Abbreviations

AGNT	Agentiviser	PN	Proper name
DIST	Distal	POSS	Possessive
E	Exclusive	PRFV	Perfective
FUT	Future	PROH	Prohibitive
I	Inclusive	PROP	Property
INF	Infinitive	PROX	Proximal
IPRFV	Imperfective	PRS	Present
L	Lateral approximant	PST	Past
LOC	Locative	RED	Reduplication
NEG	Negative	SG	Singular
OBJ	Object	SUB	Subject
PERM	Permissive	TAM	Tense-aspect-mood
PL	Plural	V	Verb or vowel

Literature

- Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2007. Typological distinctions in word-formation. In Shopen, Timothy (ed.), *Language Typology and Syntactic Description: Volume 3: Grammatical Categories and the Lexicon*, 2nd ed., Vol. 3, 1–65. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511618437.001>
- Anderson, Gregory D. S. 2011. Auxiliary Verb Constructions (and Other Complex Predicate Types): A Functional–Constructional Overview. *Language and Linguistics Compass* 5(11). 795–828. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1749-818X.2011.00311.x>
- Brisson, Robert & Boursier, Daniel. 1979. *Petit dictionnaire Baka-Français*. Douala: Collège Libermann.
- Bruel, Georges. 1910. Les Populations de la Moyenne Sanga. *Revue d'ethnographie et de sociologie* 1(2). 3–32, 111–125.
- Butt, Miriam. 2010. The light verb jungle: still hacking away. In Amberber, Mengistu & Baker, Brett & Harvey, Mark (eds.), *Complex Predicates*, 1st ed., 48–78. Cambridge University Press. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511712234.004>
- Crystal, David. 2008. *Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics* 6. edition. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Djoupee, Bertille. 2017. *Description du baka, une langue oubanguienne du Cameroun*. Paris: INALCO dissertation.
- Inkelas, Sharon & Zoll, Cheryl. 2005. *Reduplication: Doubling in Morphology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511627712>
- Kilian-Hatz, Christa. 1995. *Das Baka: Grundzüge einer Grammatik aus der Grammatikalisierungsperspektive* Vol. 6, xviii 343. Köln: Institut für Afrikanistik, Universität zu Köln.
- Klieman, Kairn Anne. 1997. People of the western equatorial rainforest: a history of society and economy, from c.3000 BC to 1890. Univ. of California at Los Angeles (UCLA).
- Kuteva, Tania & Heine, Bernd & Hong, Bo & Long, Haiping & Narrog, Heiko & Rhee, Seongha. 2019. *World Lexicon of Grammaticalization* 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781316479704>
- Ouzilleau, F. 1911. Notes sur les langues des Pygmées de la Sanga: Suivies de vocabulaires. *Revue d'ethnographie et de sociologie* 2. 75–92.