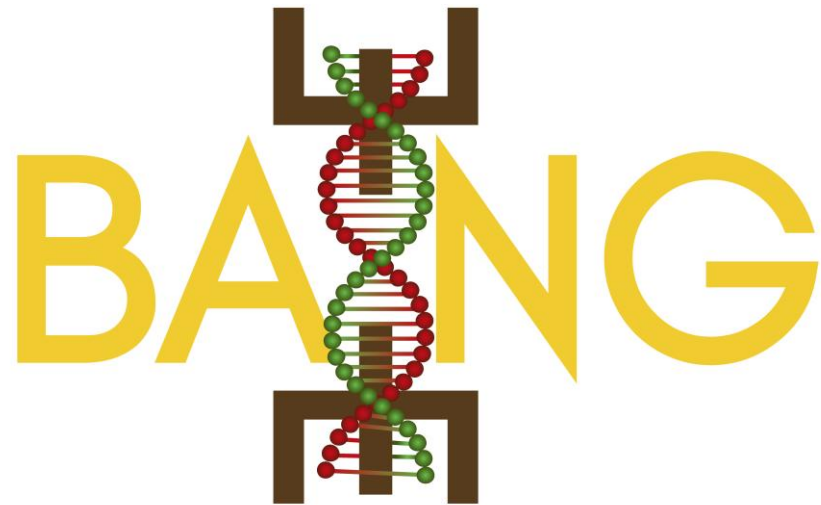


Dogon: Evidence of Niger-Congo affiliation

Abbie Hantgan, Vadim Diachkov, Promise Dodzi Kpoglu, Lora Litvinova,
Aurore Montébran & Fabian Zuk (ERC / LLACAN, CNRS)



Comparative Niger-Congo Workshop, LLACAN, Villejuif, May 22-23, 2025

Introduction

- 24 documented languages (Moran, Forkel, & Heath 2016)
- Constitutes its own family [Glottolog 5.1]
(Hammarström, Forkel, Haspelmath & Bank 2024)
- Debated position in Niger-Congo
 - “Promising members” (Güldemann 2018: 234)
 - “Excluded” (Hepburn-Gray 2020: 7)
- Lexical correspondences ✓ Syntactic structures X

On the value of evidence for genealogy

- Regularity beyond the realm of chance occurrence is the key to linguistic genealogy. Generally declined as:
 - Shared morphological paradigms (system-status)
 - Shared innovations (most often phonological because these are the best understood)
- Lexical correspondences (*subject to borrowing*)
- Typological Similarities (*subject to calquing*)

Outline of the talk

- Lexical evidence for Niger-Congo affiliation
 - Pronouns
 - Lexical cognates
 - The problem of noun classes
- Syntax: the case of radical word order change
 - Dogon and typology of word orders in Africa
 - Dogon perfectives
 - Verb chaining: syntactic restructuring?

- Lexical evidence for Niger-Congo affiliation
 - Pronouns
 - Lexical cognates
 - The problem of noun classes
- Syntax: the case of radical word order change
 - Dogon and typology of word orders in Africa
 - Dogon perfectives
 - Verb chaining: syntactic restructuring?

Niger-Congo Pronominal Evidence

- “Generally assumed to be very reliable diagnostic markers” (Güldemann 2018: 111)
 - Though subject to universal trends, e.g. presence of nasals (cf. Nichols 1996), and increased atrophy/irregular developments due to frequency (cf. Gordon 1995; Rhodes 1997; Nichols and Peterson 1996; Nichols 2001).
- Growing literature on pronouns in Niger-Congo:
 - Westermann (1927); Mukarovsky (1976/7) ; Babaev (2008, 2010a, 2010b, 2012; 2013) ; Ibrizimow and Segerer (2004) ; Pozdniakov, Vydrin, and Zheltov (2010); Pozdniakov and Segerer (2004a), Pozdniakov (2010), and Segerer (2010b); Güldemann (2018; 2017; 2011b)

Pronominal evidence

- Two recent proposal for the pronouns of Proto-Niger-Congo

Source		1Sg	2Sg		1Pl	2Pl
Babaev (2012)		*mi	*wU		*tI~*tU	*nI~*nU
Güldemann (2017)		*mV ^{front}	*mV ^{back}		*TV ^{close}	*NV ^{close}

Dogon Pronominal evidence

1Sg pronoun across the Dogon languages

Tiranige	Bunoge	Penange	Mombo
mì	mì	mí	mí:

Bondu So	Dogul Dom
mí	mí

Jamsay	Toro Tegu	Togo Kan	Tomo Kan
mí	mí	ĩ/má	mí, ñ

Tebul Ure	Yanda Dom
mí	mí

Tommo So	Donno So	Yorno So
mí	mí	mú

Bankan Tey	Ben Tey	Nanga
í	í	ĩ:

- Nangan Block shows reduction to a front vowel.
- So does Tomo Kan where subject *ĩ* and object *má* coexist.
- Tomo Kan also shows reduced *ñ* as a subject pronoun and conservative *mí* as an object pronoun
- Yorno show shows assimilation of the vowel to the preceeding /m/.

Dogon Pronominal evidence

1Sg pronoun across the Dogon languages

Tiranige	Bunoge	Penange	Mombo	Bondu So	Dogul Dom
mì	mì	mí	mí:	mí	mí
Jamsay	Toro Tegu	Togo Kan	Tomo Kan	Tebul Ure	Yanda Dom
mí	mí	ĩ/má	mí, ñ	mí	mí
Tommo So	Donno So	Yorno So		Bankan Tey	Ben Tey
mí	mí	mú		í	í
					Nanga
					ĩ:

We can straight-forwardly reconstruct Proto-Dogon ***mí**.

When extenuating circumstances are taken into consideration, we can more cautiously, but with a high degree of confidence reconstruct Pre-

Proto-Dogon ***mí**

*m	Gloss	Tommo So	Jamsay	Najamba	Yanda Dom
a.	‘1Sg Pro’	mí	mí	mí	mí
b.	‘resin’	móy	mũn	-	-
c.	‘laughter’	mómú	mów̃	màndú	màndù
d.	‘raise livestock’	màŋá	màŋá	màŋgî	mǎŋ
e.	‘semen’	mánì	-	mánì:	-
f.	‘Mossi person’	mò̀̀̀sú	mùñú-n	mò:sí	mùzù
g.	‘sew’	mènέ	mìnέ ájára	-	-
h.	‘milk _N ’	ém	êṃ	ém̀̀̀:	émé

*i	Gloss	Bankan Tey	Nanga	Tommo So	Jamsay
a.	‘horn’	kíyà	kírâ	kélé	círé
b.	‘lower head’	síndé	símbíré	tímíré	símínjé
c.	‘water’	nî:	nî:	díí	nî:
d.	‘baobab fruit’	tî:r ^{na} :	tìŋìr ^{na} -nàr ^{na}	-	tìŋìr ^{na} é
e.	‘tooth’	ŋìr ^{na} é	ìné	ìnú	ìr ^{na} é
f.	‘palm’	sǐm	sî: ⁿ	sím	sím
g.	‘shade’	kìndô:	kìndê	kìndíyé	cǐn
h.	‘face’	gìrè nûm	gìrè-nǝ:	gìrè m̀bùlò	jire par ^{na}
i.	‘worm’	sìsî-m	tì:njî	-	⁹ sù-sǔm

Dogon Pronominal evidence

2Sg pronoun across the Dogon languages

Tiranige	Bunoge	Penange	Mombo
ò	ò	ó	ó:

Bondu So	Dogul Dom
ó	ó

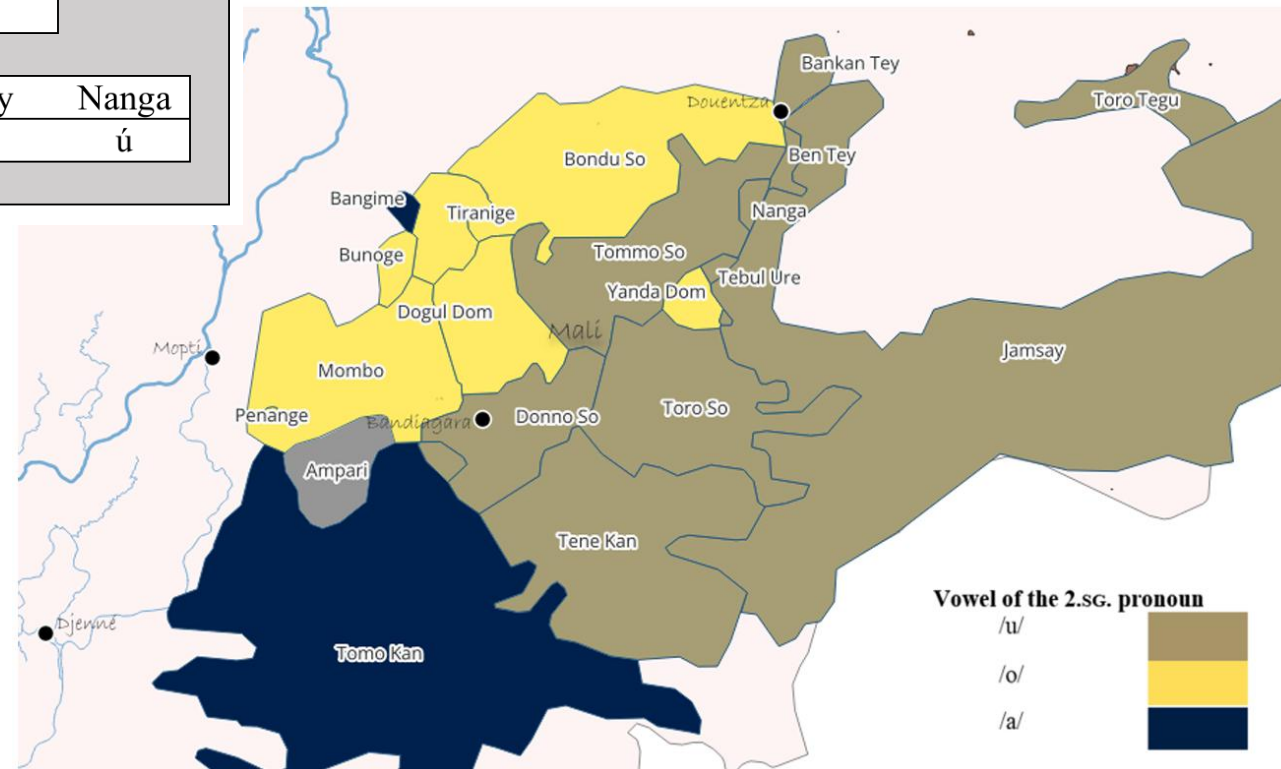
Jamsay	Toro Tegu	Togo Kan	Tomo Kan
ú	ú	ú	á

Tebul Ure	Yanda Dom
ú	ó

Tommo So	Donno So	Yorno So
ú	ú	ú

Bankan Tey	Ben Tey	Nanga
ú	ú	ú

- Which vowel quality should be reconstructed?
- Clear areal patterning of the vowel's evolution



Map 1 : Vowel of the 2Sg Pronoun (from Zuk accepted)

Dogon Pronominal evidence

2Sg pronoun across the Dogon languages

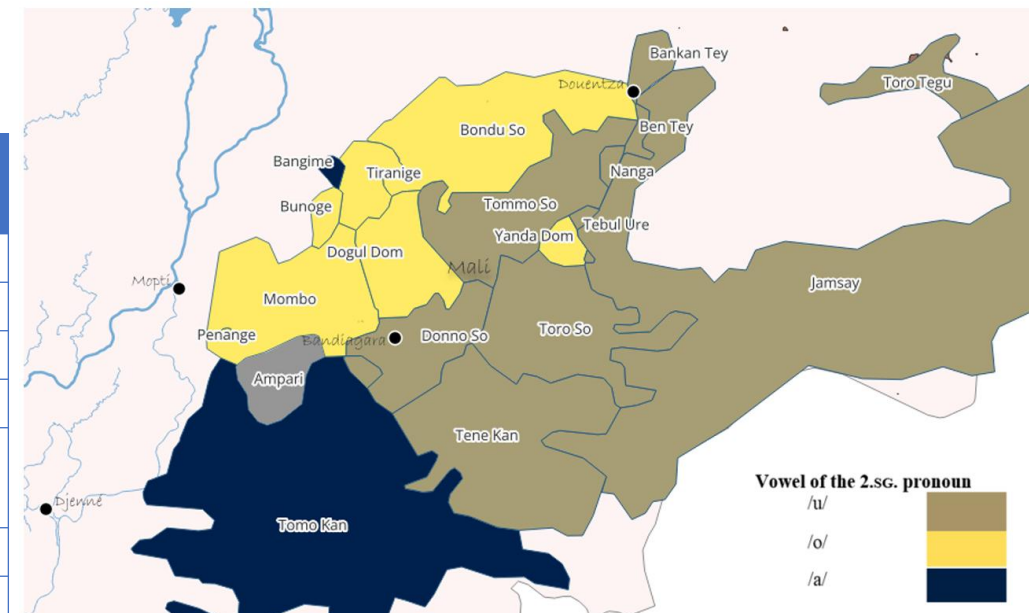
Tiranige	Bunoge	Penange	Mombo	Bondu So	Dogul Dom
ò	ò	ó	ó:	ó	ó

Jamsay	Toro Tegu	Togo Kan	Tomo Kan	Tebul Ure	Yanda Dom
ú	ú	ú	á	ú	ó

Tommo So	Donno So	Yorno So	Bankan Tey	Ben Tey	Nanga
ú	ú	ú	ú	ú	ú

We can reconstruct Proto-Dogon ***Ú**, underspecified (high-ish) back vowel.

(4) *U	Gloss	Bankan Tey	Nanga	Tommo So	Jamsay	Yanda Dom	Mombo
a.	'2SG PRO'	ú	ú	ú	ú	ó	ó:
b.	'3SG ANIM PRO'	-	-	wó	wó	-	-
c.	'3SG INANIM PRO'	kú	kú	kó	kó	kó	-
d.	'head'	kû:	kû:	kú:	kú: ⁿ	kó:	kó:
e.	'person' pre-harmony	nù	nũ:	*ńdǎ	*ínó	nò	ńdá
f.	'raise animal'	kúyé	kúyó	kóé	kó:	-	kwé:
g.	'boil'	úyó	úyó	-	ógó	-	-



Map 1 : Vowel of the 2Sg Pronoun (from Zuk *accepted*)¹

Dogon Pronominal evidence

2Sg pronoun across the Dogon languages

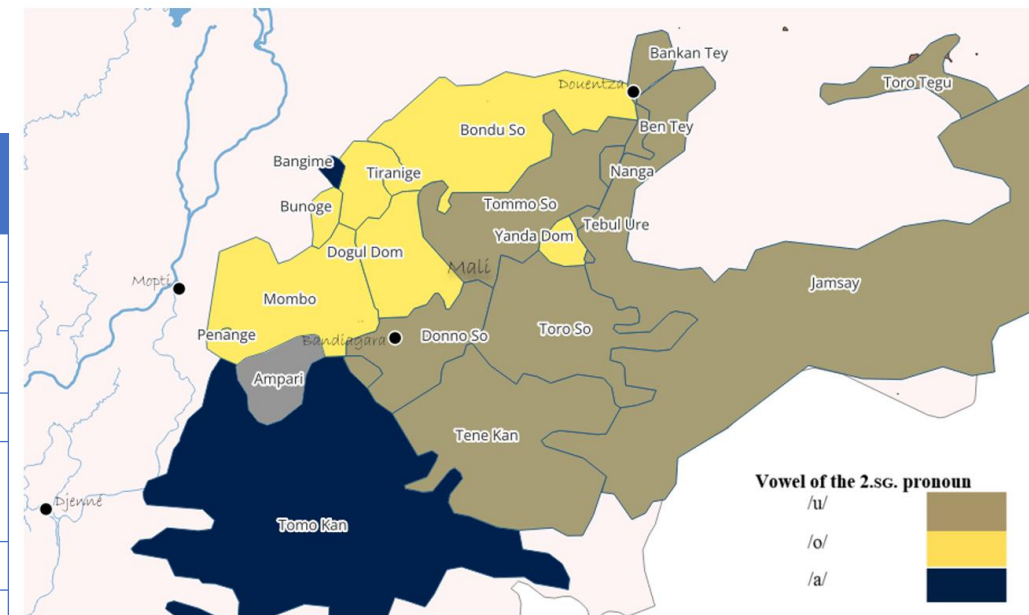
Tiranige	Bunoge	Penange	Mombo	Bondu So	Dogul Dom
ò	ò	ó	ó:	ó	ó

Jamsay	Toro Tegu	Togo Kan	Tomo Kan	Tebul Ure	Yanda Dom
ú	ú	ú	á	ú	ó

Tommo So	Donno So	Yorno So	Bankan Tey	Ben Tey	Nanga
ú	ú	ú	ú	ú	ú

We can reconstruct Proto-Dogon $*\acute{U}$, underspecified (high-ish) back vowel.

(4) $*U$	Gloss	Bankan Tey	Nanga	Tommo So	Jamsay	Yanda Dom	Mombo
a.	'2SG PRO'	ú	ú	ú	ú	ó	ó:
b.	'3SG ANIM PRO'	-	-	wó	wó	-	-
c.	'3SG INANIM PRO'	kú	kú	kó	kó	kó	-
d.	'head'	kû:	kû:	kú:	kú: ⁿ	kó:	kó:
e.	'person' pre-harmony	nù	nũ:	*ńdó	*ínó	nò	ńdá
f.	'raise animal'	kúyé	kúyó	kóé	kó:	-	kwé:
g.	'boil'	úyó	úyó	-	ógó	-	-



Map 1 : Vowel of the 2Sg Pronoun (from Zuk *accepted*)²

Dogon Pronominal evidence

2Sg pronoun across the Dogon languages

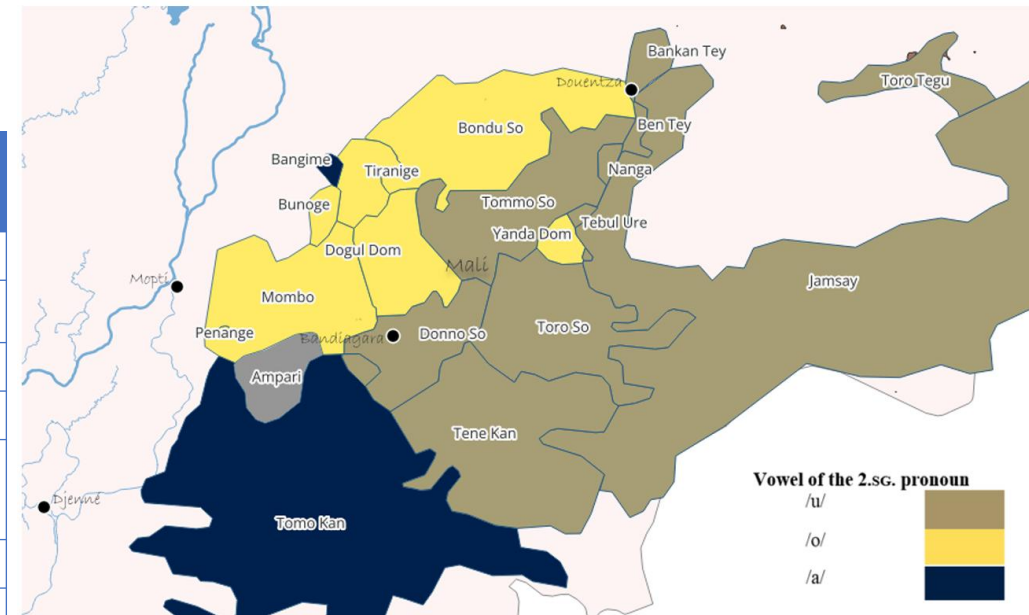
Tiranige	Bunoge	Penange	Mombo	Bondu So	Dogul Dom
ò	ò	ó	ó:	ó	ó

Jamsay	Toro Tegu	Togo Kan	Tomo Kan	Tebul Ure	Yanda Dom
ú	ú	ú	á	ú	ó

Tommo So	Donno So	Yorno So	Bankan Tey	Ben Tey	Nanga
ú	ú	ú	ú	ú	ú

We can reconstruct Proto-Dogon $*\acute{U}$, underspecified (high-ish) back vowel.

(4) $*U$	Gloss	Bankan Tey	Nanga	Tommo So	Jamsay	Yanda Dom	Mombo
a.	'2SG PRO'	ú	ú	ú	ú	ó	ó:
b.	'3SG ANIM PRO'	-	-	wó	wó	-	-
c.	'3SG INANIM PRO'	kú	kú	kó	kó	kó	-
d.	'head'	kû:	kû:	kú:	kú: ⁿ	kó:	kó:
e.	'person' pre-harmony	nù	nũ:	*ńdó	*ínó	nò	ńdá
f.	'raise animal'	kúyé	kúyó	kóé	kó:	-	kwé:
g.	'boil'	úyó	úyó	-	ógó	-	-



Map 1 : Vowel of the 2Sg Pronoun (from Zuk *accepted*)³

Dogon Pronominal evidence

2Sg pronoun across the Dogon languages

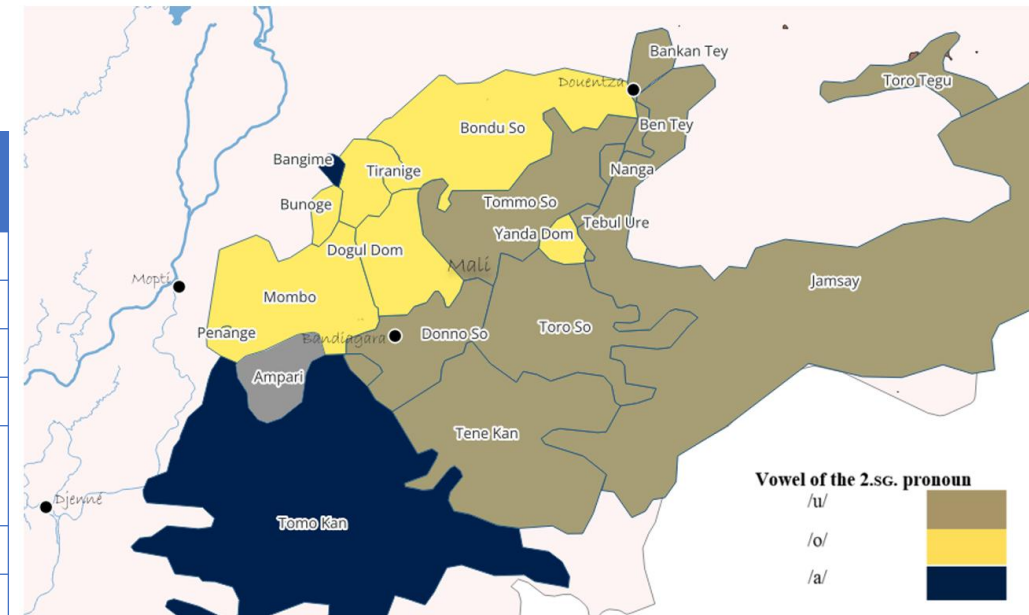
Tiranige	Bunoge	Penange	Mombo	Bondu So	Dogul Dom
ò	ò	ó	ó:	ó	ó

Jamsay	Toro Tegu	Togo Kan	Tomo Kan	Tebul Ure	Yanda Dom
ú	ú	ú	á	ú	ó

Tommo So	Donno So	Yorno So	Bankan Tey	Ben Tey	Nanga
ú	ú	ú	ú	ú	ú

Like 2Sg ***u-** in Bantu, Proto-Dogon ***Ú**, implies a reduction from earlier ***wu** (Babaev 2012) or ***mu** (Guldemann 2017).

(4) *U	Gloss	Bankan Tey	Nanga	Tommo So	Jamsay	Yanda Dom	Mombo
a.	'2SG PRO'	ú	ú	ú	ú	ó	ó:
b.	'3SG ANIM PRO'	-	-	wó	wó	-	-
c.	'3SG INANIM PRO'	kú	kú	kó	kó	kó	-
d.	'head'	kû:	kû:	kú:	kú: ⁿ	kó:	kó:
e.	'person' pre-harmony	nù	nũ:	*ńdǎ	*ínó	nò	ńdá
f.	'raise animal'	kúyé	kúyó	kóé	kó:	-	kwé:
g.	'boil'	úyó	úyó	-	ógó	-	-



Map 1 : Vowel of the 2Sg Pronoun (from Zuk *accepted*)⁴

Dogon Pronominal evidence

3PL pronoun across the Dogon languages

Tiranige	Bunoge	Penange	Mombo
t̥e	àjá	ŋké	kê:

Jamsay	Toro Tegu	Togo Kan	Tomo Kan
bé	bé	bé	bó

Tommo So	Donno So	Yorno So
bé	bé	bé

Bondu So	Dogul Dom
bé	bé

Tebul Ure	Yanda Dom
bú	bó

Bankan Tey	Ben Tey	Nanga
bú	bû:	bû:

Within Dogon, two distinct ANIMATE 3PL pronouns can be reconstructed ***bé** and ***bú** which likely point to internal genealogical classifications.

Note the West Dogon languages employ entirely separate morphemes for 3PL, perhaps going back to inanimate ***ke**.

Dogon Pronominal evidence

3PL pronoun across the Dogon languages

Tiranige	Bunoge	Penange	Mombo
-	-	-	-

Jamsay	Toro Tegu	Togo Kan	Tomo Kan
bé	bé	bé	bó

Tommo So	Donno So	Yorno So
bé	bé	bé

Bondu So	Dogul Dom
bé	bé

Tebul Ure	Yanda Dom
bú	bó

Bankan Tey	Ben Tey	Nanga
bú	bû:	bû:

Within Dogon, two distinct ANIMATE 3PL pronouns can be reconstructed ***bé** and ***bú** which likely point to internal geanealogical classifications.

Open Question:

- Can both ***bé** and ***bú** be derived through phonological means from an earlier ***bá** (cf. Bantu Class 2)?
- Alternatively, can we reconstruct three deictic distances: ***bé** 'them here', ***bú** 'them there', ***bá** 'them yonder'?

Lexical evidence

	‘person’	‘tongue’	‘two’	‘three’	‘four’	‘five’
Proto Bantu (Meeussen 1967; 1980)	*mu-ntu	*du-dímj	*-bV.di	*-tá.tu	*-na.i	*-táa.no
Proto Cross River: Upper Dimmendaal (1978)	*ò- nètO	*- díBĩ	*-ppán-	*ttá.DN	*-nà.(ŋ)i	*tá.ñ(ò)
Proto-Niger-Congo (Güldemann 2018)			*Ri	* ta(C)	* na(C)	* nU
Proto Niger-Congo Pozdniakov (2012)			*di	*tath	*na(h)i	*tan
Proto-Oti-Volta (Eddyshaw 2024)	*nìt-wà	*lém-	*-dɪ	*-təɣ	*-na-sɪ	*nù
Dogon (Zuk <i>submitted; in prep</i>)	*nɪtO	*liːmbi-dɛ	*lɛj	*taːndu	*naj	*numo

- Lexical evidence for Niger-Congo affiliation
 - Pronouns
 - Lexical cognates
 - The problem of noun classes
- Syntax: the case of radical word order change
 - Dogon and typology of word orders in Africa
 - Dogon perfectives
 - Verb chaining: syntactic restructuring?

The problem of noun classes

- Noun classification is considered a “hallmark” of typical Niger-Congo languages.
- Furthermore, this noun classification is typically expressed in marking on both the noun and through nominal agreement on the adjectives, verbs, etc. “instantiating a canonical, though distinct, type of gender system” (Güldemann 2018: 123; cf. Corbett 1991).
 - overt
 - conflate gender & number
- Dogon does not provide any solid evidence of the existence of earlier noun-classes.

- Lexical evidence for Niger-Congo affiliation
 - Pronouns
 - Lexical cognates
 - The problem of noun classes
- **Syntax: the case of radical word order change**
 - Dogon and typology of word orders in Africa
 - Dogon perfectives
 - Verb chaining: syntactic restructuring?

- Lexical evidence for Niger-Congo affiliation
 - Pronouns
 - Lexical cognates
 - The problem of noun classes
- Syntax: the case of radical word order change
 - Dogon and typology of word orders in Africa
 - Dogon perfectives
 - Verb chaining: syntactic restructuring?

Dogon and typology of word orders in Africa

- Dogon languages are known to be consistently head-final languages, unlike most languages of sub-Saharan Africa (Heine 1975)
- In this respect, they stand out against Niger-Congo (Güldemann 2018)

Dogon and typology of word orders in Africa

- **Clausal cartographies:** some basic typological parameters coupled with clausal templates
- Dogon:
$$C_{\text{SBRD}} [S \quad O \quad V_1 \dots V_n \quad \text{Asp} \quad \text{Neg}]$$
- Obviously, some deviations from this template are observed across the family (e. g., there are languages where subordinate clauses follow the head verb of the main clause)

Dogon and typology of word orders in Africa

subordinate clauses

- (1) [ɲɛʔⁿɛ wé yĩ-yé: mɛ] ɲ jèndè lwèrè-só
person PL go-PFV.3PL CNS 1SG sleeping sleep-FUT
'If the people go away, I will take a sleep'.

verbal forms

- (2) ɲ ójó héⁿ ʔwá=-wò-lò
1SG thing any see-IPFV.HUM-NEG
'I can see nothing'.

Dogon and typology of word orders in Africa

chaining

- (1) bà:l-è: mónn-è: kó é
turn.PFV-CH come.back.PFV-CH NONH catch.PFV
'He went out and came back to him by that [road]'.
TAM

- (2) cùgó kwè kólló só:rî-só:rî gòʔòrò-s-é
DEM calabash worn.out string.PFV-RDP attach-FUT-3PL
'They string old calabashes'.

- Lexical evidence for Niger-Congo affiliation
 - Pronouns
 - Lexical cognates
 - The problem of noun classes
- Syntax: the case of radical word order change
 - Dogon and typology of word orders in Africa
 - Dogon perfectives
 - Verb chaining: syntactic restructuring?

Dogon perfectives

- Dogon perfectives: *e (realized as /e/ or /i/)

TOMO KAN

initial stems

sá 'answer'

lú 'return'

céndé 'listen'

wúló 'get up'

súgó 'descend'

gúló 'dig'

kúʔújó 'put aside'

E-stems (= Perfectives)

s-é

lw-î

cénd-î

wúl-î

súg-é

gúl-é

kúʔúj-î

Dogon perfectives

- **Possible cognates:** Gur E/I-perfectives

NATIORO

Perfective

Imperfective

pwá 'bring up'

pwā-w̄

bīlā 'put on'

bīlā-w̄

sw-é: 'leave'

sò-w̄

wōl-ī 'eat'

wòlò-w̄

fál-ī 'scrape'

fālā-w̄

wūs-ī 'get up'

wùsù-w̄

- Front vowels (*i) as perfective markers in Proto-Atlantic (Montébran 2021)

- Lexical evidence for Niger-Congo affiliation
 - Pronouns
 - Lexical cognates
 - The problem of noun classes
- Syntax: the case of radical word order change
 - Dogon and typology of word orders in Africa
 - Dogon perfectives
 - Verb chaining: syntactic restructuring?

Verb chaining

- **Auxiliation:** in Mande languages, S-(AUX)-O-V sequences were reanalyzed (Claudi 1994; Kastenholz 2003; Nikitina 2011), AUXs were lost in some languages
- OV sequences were nominalized verbs
- The reanalysis gave rise to constructions where V gained verbal properties
- **Problem:** We are not aware of any traces of auxiliaries in Dogon

Verb chaining

- Non-final Dogon verbs are **adverbialized** forms, they cannot be used on their own

(1) sàtá ^Hdéŋî-yé : há kùbá ^Hsá:r-é:
S. sit.down.PFV-**CH** REFL leg stretch.PFV-CH

kwínî jùrò=-wó

cotton spin-IPFV.HUM

‘Sata sat down and stretched her legs to spin the cotton’.

(2) jà^L hú:kò ^Hhóʔⁿó ^{H^L}gúŋgò =: péjé mè ɲè=: [↑]mé
dayall DEM fonio lift=**IPFV.CVB** pound.PFVCNS eat.PFV CNS

‘Every day he [= Hare] takes some fonio, pounds it and eats it...’

Verb chaining

- Dogon-style chaining has nothing to do with Niger-Congo polypredication

S V₁ O [V₂ O]

S V₁ O [O V₂] (nominalized predicates)

S AUX O V₁ [O V₂] (Mande)

Verb chaining

- Chain constructions → clause-final TAM (except for simple perfectives)

Imperfective

<i>sá</i>	‘answer’	<i>sá=-wó</i>	<i>wó</i> ‘be.HUM’
-----------	----------	---------------	--------------------

Future

<i>kàmbá</i>	‘throw’	<i>kàmbà-só</i>	<i>só</i> ‘be inside’
--------------	---------	-----------------	-----------------------

Negative

<i>kàmba</i>	‘throw’	<i>kàmbá-lò</i>	<i>ló</i> ‘be absent’
--------------	---------	-----------------	-----------------------

- gó* ‘NEG’ in Jamsay ← ‘exit’ (Heath, p. c.), *-tĩ* (telicizer) ← ‘send’ etc.
- The template is always preserved!

Verb chaining

- Are there any traces of right-branching structures?
- Non-final chained verbs in Dogon – some of them are homophonous with 3PL perfectives (“subordinate perfectives”)

TOMO KAN

(1) *lú* ‘enter.PFV’ *lwî-yè:* ‘enter-PFV.3PL’

(2) *kò* ^H*bíndá* *lwî-yè:* *myà:n*

DEM interior enter.PFV-CH lie

‘He went in to sleep in it’.

Verb chaining

- Could true perfectives have been reanalyzed as chained (perfective) converbs?
- ...or converbs just head finite clauses?
- Possible reanalysis:

S	O	V ₁ -TAM	V ₂	→
S	O	V ₁ -CONV	V ₂	→
S	O	V ₁ -CONV	V ₂ V ₃ ...	→
S	O	V ₁ -CONV	V ₂ -TAM-NEG	

Verb chaining

- **The main problem:**

There is no explanation for how the position of the direct object changed to pre-verbal

Conclusion

- Dogon internal comparison leads to the reconstruction of 1Sg *mí, 2Sg *u, 3Pl *bú.
- However looking beyond Dogon, into N-C, comparative evidence suggests that:
 - In 1Sg, the vowel may be distinct from canonical *i; we suggest Pre-Dogon *mí
 - If the reconstruction of 2Sg *wú in N-C is correct, the evidence suggests the change of /wu/ → /u/ in Pre- or Proto- Dogon, as has been suggested for other N-C groups, including Bantu.

Conclusion

- The Dogon pronominal paradigms and lexical evidence strongly support the inclusion of the Dogon languages within Niger-Congo.
- However, the syntax—though distinctly Dogon—does not so much undermine its position within Niger-Congo, but instead broadens the horizons of what may represent “typical” or “standard” Niger-Congo Syntax, providing, we believe, a counter balance to the “exceptional role accorded to a single subgroup, namely Bantu” (Güldemann 2018: 109; cf. Stewart 1976:3-4).

Selected References

Babaev, Kirill B. 2013. *Proto-Niger-Congo. Personal Pronouns* <Нигеро-конголезский праязык: личные местоимения: монография> (Studia Philologica). Москва: Языки славянской культуры (ЯСК). **Bastin**, Yvonne, A. **Coupez**, Thilo **Schadeberg**, L. **Strappers**, E. **Mumba** & Achille Emile **Meeussen** (eds.). 2002. *Bantu Lexical Reconstructions 3/ Reconstructions lexicales bantoues 3*. Tervuren: Royal Museum for Central Africa. https://www.africamuseum.be/nl/research/discover/human_sciences/culture_society/blr. **Dimmendaal**, Gerrit J. 2011. *Historical Linguistics and the Comparative Study of African Languages*. z.161. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company. **Dimmendaal**, Gerrit Jan. 1978. *The consonants of proto-Upper Cross and their implications for the classification of the Upper Cross languages*. Leiden: Department of African Languages, State University of Leiden. **Eddyshaw**, David. 2024. Toward Proto-Oti-Volta. <https://zenodo.org/records/8102938>. (26 October, 2023). **Güldemann**, Tom. 2017. A shared pronominal canon in the Macro-Sudan belt: typological, areal and genealogical perspectives. In Rajia Kramer & Roland Kießling (eds.), *Mechthildian approaches to Afrikanistik: advances in language based research in Africa, Festschrift für Mechthild Reh*, 101–146. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag. **Güldemann**, Tom (ed.). 2018a. *The Languages and Linguistics of Africa*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110421668>. **Güldemann**, Tom. 2018b. Historical linguistics and genealogical language classification in Africa. In *The Languages and Linguistics of Africa*, 58–444. De Gruyter Mouton. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110421668-002>. Moran, Steven; Forkel, Robert & **Heath**, Jeffrey (eds.) 2016. Dogon and Bangime Linguistics. Jena: Max Planck Institute for the Science of Human History. (Available online at <http://dogonlanguages.info>) **Ibriszimow**, Dymitr & Guillaume **Seegerer**. 2004. *Systèmes de marques personnelles en Afrique*. Peeters. **Meeussen**, Achille Emile. 1967. Bantu grammatical reconstructions. *Africana Linguistica*. Persée - Portail des revues scientifiques en SHS 3(1). 79–121. <https://doi.org/10.3406/aflin.1967.873>. **Montébran**, Aurore. 2021. *Typologie de la négation dans les langues atlantiques*. Sciences de l'Homme et Société. Inalco, Thèse de doctorat. **Mukarovsky**, Hans G. 1976. *A Study of Western Nigritic*. Institut für Ägyptologie und Afrikanistik der Universität Wien. **Nichols**, Johanna. 1996. The Comparative Method as Heuristic. In Mark Durie Malcolm Ross (ed.), *The Comparative Method Reviewed: Regularity and Irregularity in Language Change*, 0. Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780195066074.003.0002>. **Pozdniakov**, Konstantin. 2018. *The numeral system of Proto-Niger-Congo*. Language Science Press. <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.1311704>. **Seegerer**, Guillaume. 2010. Qui se ressemble s'assemble. In, 144. St Petersburg University Press. <https://shs.hal.science/halshs-00554912>. (22 May, 2025). **Seegerer**, Guillaume & Konstantin **Pozdniakov**. 2004. Reconstruction des pronoms atlantiques et typologie des systèmes pronominaux. In, 151. Peeters. <https://shs.hal.science/halshs-00255878>. (26 January, 2025). **Stewart**, John M. 1976. Towards Volta–Congo reconstruction: a comparative study of some languages of Black-Africa. Presented at the Inaugural speech, Leiden University, Leiden. **Westermann**, Diedrich Herman. 1927. Laut, Ton und Sinn in westafrikanischen Sudansprachen. In *Festschrift Meinhof*, 315–328. Hamburg: L. Friederichsen. **Zuk**, Fabian. 2025. Inherited pronominal morphemes in Dogon. In. University of Minnesota - Twin Cities Minneapolis, Minnesota, USA. <https://hal.science/hal-05071498v1>. **Zuk**, Fabian. *soumis*. Reconstructing Dogon Personal Pronouns. *Folia Linguistica Historica*. **Zuk**, Fabian. Under Review. Proto-Dogon 'person' and other core vocabulary reveal historical metathesis of NiCV Niger-Congo etyma.