

## Linguistic innovation, political centralization and economic integration in the Kongo kingdom

### Reconstructing the spread of prefix reduction

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1. On the syllabicity of the nasal prefix of noun classes 1, 3 and 4  
(as well as OC<sub>1</sub>)

[Supplement to §3]

The nasal prefixes of noun classes 1, 3 and 4 manifest morphophonological behavior that differs from the non-syllabic nasal prefixes of noun classes 9/10 and 1SG. In contrast to the latter, they never exert progressive assimilation on the following consonant.

It is a common Bantu feature, for instance, that the nominal prefixes of classes 9/10 trigger the fortification of the following liquid. This is especially evident for nouns having their singular in class 11 and their plural in class 10, as shown by the Kiyombe examples in (i.a) (De Grauwe 2009: 63). The stem-initial liquid following *lu-* in the singular is turned into an alveolar stop when preceded by the nasal prefix in the plural form. As shown in (i.b), this is not the case when a nasal prefix of classes 3 and 4 precedes (De Grauwe 2009: 85).

|    |    |                     |                   |  |
|----|----|---------------------|-------------------|--|
| i. | a. | Class 11 (singular) | Class 10 (plural) | (KIYOMBE)                                      |
|    |    | <i>lulévo</i>       | <i>ndévo</i>      | “(hair of) beard/beards”                       |
|    |    | <i>lulémbé</i>      | <i>ndémbé</i>     | “leaf(s), twig(s)”                             |
|    |    | <i>lulúúngú</i>     | <i>ndúúngú</i>    | “victory/-ies”                                 |
|    | b. | Class 3 (singular)  | Class 4 (plural)  |  |
|    |    | <i>nlaángu</i>      | <i>nlaángu</i>    | “river(s), water(s)”                           |
|    |    | <i>nloóngo</i>      | <i>nloóngo</i>    | “taboo(s), prescription(s),<br>prohibition(s)” |
|    |    | <i>nlááki</i>       | <i>nlááki</i>     | “flame(s)”                                     |

A similar pattern is observed after object concords of class 1 as opposed to 1SG subject and object concords. In Cilinji, as shown in (ii.a), liquid fortification triggered by non-syllabic nasal prefixes results in the doubly-articulated *dr* consonant, i.e. a “prenasalized (alveolar) stop with trilled release” (Ladefoged & Maddieson 1996: 131). This does not happen after the syllabic nasal object concord of class 1, as shown in (ii.b).

- ii. a. *Undrambilila loso.* (CILINJI)  
 u-N-lamb-il-a loso  
 SC<sub>1</sub>-OC<sub>1SG</sub>-COOK-APPL-FV NP<sub>11</sub>.rice  
 “She/he cooks me some rice.”
- b. *Uṅlambilila loso.*  
 u-ṅ-lamb-il-a loso  
 SC<sub>1</sub>-OC<sub>1</sub>-COOK-APPL-FV NP<sub>11</sub>.rice  
 “She/he cooks him/her some rice.” (KongoKing (KK) fieldwork 2012)

Aspiration is another assimilatory effect exerted by non-syllabic nasal prefixes on following voiceless stops. It commonly occurs in Bantu, including several Kikongo varieties (Kerremans 1980). The Ciwoyo data in (iii) not only show that the nasal prefix of noun class 9 can be optionally omitted in front of an aspirated unvoiced stop (*nthúmbu* vs. *thúmbu*), but also that the non-syllabic nasal object concord of 1SG triggers aspiration (iii.a), unlike the syllabic nasal object concord of class 1 (iii.b).

- iii. a. *Docteur nthúmbu kanthobwéla.* (CIWOYO)  
 docteur N-tumbu ka-N-tobol-il-izi  
 doctor NP<sub>9</sub>-needle SC<sub>1</sub>-OC<sub>1SG</sub>-PIERCE-APPL-HOD.PST  
 “The doctor gave me an injection.”
- b. *Thúmbú baṅtobwéla ka docteur.<sup>1</sup>*  
 N-tumbu ba-ṅ-tobol-il-izi ka docteur  
 NP<sub>9</sub>-needle SC<sub>2</sub>-OC<sub>1</sub>-PIERCE-APPL- HOD.PST by doctor  
 “She/he was given an injection by the doctor.” (KK fieldwork 2012)

The affrication of prenasalized fricatives occurs in the same morphological contexts as the aspiration of prenasalized unvoiced stops and is also widespread in Kikongo. It is regularly observed following non-syllabic nasal prefixes of noun

1. In this example, the so-called ‘ba-passive’ is used. Active sentences with an ‘impersonal’ 3PL subject are cross-linguistically a common functional equivalent of a prototypical passive (Keenan & Dryer 2007: 329; Siewierska 2010).

classes 9/10 and of 1SG, but never observed following syllabic nasal prefixes of classes 1, 3, and 4. It turns the fricatives [f], [v], [s], and [z] into respectively [pf], [bv], [ts] and [dz], whether or not with maintenance of the preceding nasal. The Kinkanu data in (iv.a) and (iv.b) illustrate affrication triggered by respectively the subject and object concords of the 1SG, which no longer appear on the surface. This does not happen following a nasal object concord of class 1, as shown in (iv.c). We do observe here compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel belonging to the *yi*- allomorph of the 1SG subject concord.

- iv. a. *Tsákwele.* (KINKANU)  
 N-sakul-idi  
 SC<sub>1SG</sub>-weed-PRF  
 “I have weeded.”
- b. *Wútsákúlwéla.*  
 wu-N-sakul-il-idi  
 SC<sub>1</sub>-OC<sub>1SG</sub>-weed-APPL-PRF  
 “He/she has weeded for me.”
- c. *Yímsákúlwéla.*  
 yi-N<sub>1</sub>-sakul-il-idi  
 SC<sub>1SG</sub>-OC<sub>1</sub>-weed-APPL-PRF  
 “I have weeded for him/her.” (KK fieldwork 2012)

Finally, the syllabicity of the nasal prefixes of classes 1, 3 and 4 can be inferred from the fact that they do not trigger the creation of a NC cluster when followed by another nasal. The creation of such clusters is regular in Kikongo when a nasal-initial stem is preceded by a non-syllabic prefix of classes 9/10 or 1SG (Laman & Meinhof 1928–29: 27).<sup>2</sup> In (v.a) and (v.b), the succession of the 1SG subject or object concord and a stem-initial nasal results in the emergence of an NC cluster, which does not happen when the same stem-initial nasal is preceded by a class 1 object concord, as in (v.c).

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2. Herbert (1986:227) points out that this dissimilation rule is formally the reverse of the common Bantu sound change known as Meinhof’s Law or Rule (Meeussen 1962). This is true, except that in the case of Meinhof’s Rule, a NC cluster is only reduced to (N)N when it is followed by another NC cluster or a simple nasal. In Kikongo, a NN sequence can also be turned into NC when no nasal (complex) follows in the next syllable, as the Kimbata data in (v.a) show.

- v. a. *Monó mbetí mu nti.* (KIMBATA)  
 mono N-mat-idi mu n-ti  
 I SC<sub>1SG</sub>-climb-PRF LOC<sub>18</sub> NP<sub>3</sub>-tree  
 “I’ve climbed in the tree.”
- b. *Kátákúmbenga.*  
 ka-ta-ku-N-meng-a  
 SC<sub>1</sub>-PRS.PROG-LINK-OC<sub>1SG</sub>-hate-FV  
 “He/she hates me.”
- c. *Tútákúmmenga.*  
 tu-ta-ku-N-meng-a  
 SC<sub>1PL</sub>-PRS.PROG-LINK-OC<sub>1</sub>-hate-FV  
 “We hate him/her.” (KK fieldwork 2012)

From the preceding morphophonological data, it has become clear that the syllabic nasal prefixes of classes 1, 3 and 4 are still neatly distinct from the nasal prefixes of 1SG and of noun classes 9 and 10, which are not syllabic.

## 2. List of words heard in December 1601 at Cape Lopez and published in De Marees (1602)

[Supplement to §4.1]

[123b] Sommige woorden vanden Inwoonderen Caepe de Lopo Gonsalves.

Coopen, Siomba. Oliphants tanden, Manimomeeau. Yser, Pelingo. Lywaet, Monello. duytschenatie, Mondello. quaet, Broquo. goet, fino. gaet en wech, quando. laet hetsien, Mona. een Mes, Iaegua. een schoon vrouw, Mokendofino. Tinnewerck, Ensienni. begeeren, Quero. cleyn, Iango. laet comen, Biaka. eten, Coria. Cruyt, Petollo. een Schip, Longo. mogen, koquelle. eenen Coninck, Savepongo. groot, Poellie.

The translations of the 17th-century Dutch words are: Coopen “to buy”, Oliphants tanden “elephant teeth”, Yser “iron”, Lywaet “linen”, duytsche natie “Dutch nation”, quaet “evil”, goet “good”, gaet en wech “to go, leave”, laet het sien “let it see (i.e., show me)”, een Mes “a knife”, een schoon vrouw “a beautiful woman”, Tinnewerck “pewter”, begeeren “to desire”, cleyn “small”, laet comen “to arrive late”, eten “to eat”, Cruyt “herb; gun powder”, een Schip “a ship”, mogen “may, to be allowed”, eenen Coninck “a king”, groot “big”.

### 3. On how, in 1776, Descourvières and his *confrères* describe prefix syncope in classes 1, 3 and 4

[Supplement to §4.3]

In the *Essai d'une grammaire congo, suivant l'accent de Kakongo* (in Besançon, manuscript no. 523, from 1776), the noun class prefixes of classes 1, 3 and 4 are not properly identified. On pages 1 recto and 1 verso, the noun class system is introduced as follows:

*“On ne remarque pas de substantifs masculins ni féminins dans cette langue ; mais les substantifs y ont une distinction qui leur est propre et qui se partage en autant de genres ou classes particulieres ; Ce sont des articles propres a chaque genre. Il y a sept articles pour le singulier, savoir i, u, ki, li, lu, ku, bu, il y en a six pour le pluriel, qui sont i, bi, zi, ba, ma, tu.”*

What are called ‘articles’ here are actually noun prefixes. We easily recognize the Bantu noun prefixes of classes 2 (*ba-*), 5 (*li-*), 6 (*ma-*), 7 (*ki-*), 8 (*bi-*), 10 (*zi-*), 11 (*lu-*), 13 (*tu-*), 14 (*bu-*) and 15 (*ku-*) having a CV-structure (Katamba 2003). However, the vocalic ‘articles’ *u* (singular) and *i* (both singular and plural) are not proper noun prefixes, but rather ‘augment’ or ‘pre-prefixes’ (De Blois 1970). This augment is not inalienably part of the noun. It only surfaces in certain syntactic positions. In association with the noun classes of 1, 3, 4 and 9, the grammarian simply mistook the augments *i* and *u* for ‘articles’ (i.e. noun prefixes), because these noun classes have nasal prefixes instead of the canonical CV-shaped prefixes. He actually identified the existence of the *m-* prefixes of classes 1, 3 and 4 further on, on page 3 verso:

*“Mais outre leur article propre et même lorsque cet article n'est pas exprimé, les singuliers en u sont toujours précédés d'un m dont la prononciation est entière ou de mu. Les pluriels en i sont également précédés partout de mi, ou, tout au moins d'un m dont la prononciation est aussi entière. L'on croit que les mu et mi sont de véritables articles distingués des précédens qui ne sont employés que devant les substantifs.”*

The allomorphy between *m-/mu-* for classes 1 and 3 and *m-/mi-* for class 4 is described here without specification of the phonological conditioning. From this fragment, it is not entirely clear what is meant by *prononciation entière* or “full pronunciation”. However, to judge by a fragment that precedes on the same page, one can easily conclude that it refers to the syllabic nature of the nasal prefixes of classes 1, 3 and 4:

*“Il faut remarquer qu’on doit prononcer la plupart des substantifs pluriels qui ont zi pour article et la plupart des singuliers qui ont i, lorsqu’ils y sont joints, comme s’il y avait entre eux un n ou un m qui n’ont néanmoins qu’un son sourd comme dans les mots Latins, indulgentia, impotentia. C’est pourquoi on précède ces substantifs d’un n ou d’un m en les écrivant.”*

The nasal prefixes of classes 9 and 10 are described here. These are seemingly not ‘fully pronounced’, and visibly homorganic, since pronounced either *m* or *n*, in contrast to the nasal prefixes of classes 1, 3 and 4 which are always *m* and thus not homorganic.

#### 4. Koelle’s (1854) data

Early 19th-c. SOUTH KIKONGO – KIMBOMA (1811)

[Supplement to §4.5]

|     |                              |                 |
|-----|------------------------------|-----------------|
| vi. | <i>mbíika/bavíika</i> (1/2)  | “male slave(s)” |
|     | <i>mbíika nkééto</i> (1)     | “female slave”  |
|     | <i>ntóó/míntoo</i> (3/4)     | “head(s)”       |
|     | <i>ntí/mínti</i> (3/4)       | “tree(s)”       |
|     | <i>mvézi/mimvézi</i> (3/4)   | “bone(s)”       |
|     | <i>nzádi/mi[n]zádi</i> (3/4) | “thread(s)”     |

Early 19th-c. WEST KIKONGO – KAKONGO (1821)

[Supplement to §4.6]

|      |                                 |                 |
|------|---------------------------------|-----------------|
| vii. | <i>ndséento/badséento</i> (1/2) | “woman/-en”     |
|      | <i>mvíika/bavíika</i> (1/2)     | “male slave(s)” |
|      | <i>ntúú</i> (3)                 | “head”          |
|      | <i>mbéze</i> (3)                | “bone”          |
|      | <i>mtííma</i> (3)               | “chest”         |
|      | <i>ntíí/ntííz</i> (3/4)         | “tree(s)”       |

Early 19th-c. WEST KIKONGO – KIYOMBE (1833)

[Supplement to §4.6]

|       |                                  |                       |
|-------|----------------------------------|-----------------------|
| viii. | <i>nkééto/bakééto</i> (1/2)      | “woman/-en”           |
|       | <i>mpfíika</i> (1)               | “slave”               |
|       | <i>mpfíika nkééto</i> (1)        | “female slave”        |
|       | <i>mpfíioote/bafíioote</i> (1/2) | “black man/black men” |
|       | <i>ntú/míntu</i> (3/4)           | “head(s)”             |
|       | <i>nkáánda/minkáánda</i> (3/4)   | “skin(s)”             |
|       | <i>mpféeze/mimpféeze</i> (3/4)   | “bone(s)”             |
|       | <i>nti/mintí</i> (3/4)           | “tree(s)”             |

|                                |                          |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------|
| <i>ntííma/mintiima</i> (3/4)   | “chest(s)”               |
| <i>nlúúnga/minlúúnga</i> (3/4) | “armlet(s), bracelet(s)” |
| <i>mbása/mimbása</i> (3/4)     | “arrow(s)”               |
| <i>ndzíngu/mindzíngu</i> (3/4) | “war(s)”                 |
| <i>nzínga/minzínga</i> (3/4)   | “rope(s)”                |

## Early 19th-c. CENTRAL KIKONGO – KISUNDI (1842)

## [Supplement to §4.7]

|                                |                |
|--------------------------------|----------------|
| ix. <i>mvíika</i> (1)          | “male slave”   |
| <i>múúntu anjkéénto</i> (1)    | “female slave” |
| <i>nlééngi/minlééngi</i> (3/4) | “hair(s)”      |
| <i>ntí/mínti</i> (3/4)         | “tree(s)”      |
| <i>nlúúnga/minlúúnga</i> (3/4) | “earring(s)”   |
| <i>mbása/mimbása</i> (3/4)     | “arrow(s)”     |
| <i>nzééngu/minzééngu</i> (3/4) | “war(s)”       |

## Early 19th-c. EAST KIKONGO – KINTANDU (1839)

## [Supplement to §4.8]

|                                |                       |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------|
| x. <i>mvíika</i> (1)           | “male slave”          |
| <i>múúntu anjkéénto</i> (1)    | “female slave”        |
| <i>mfirooti/afrooti</i> (1/2)  | “black man/black men” |
| <i>ntú/míntu</i> (3/4)         | “head(s)”             |
| <i>ɲkáánda/miɲkáánda</i> (3/4) | “skin(s)”             |
| <i>ntí/mínti</i> (3/4)         | “tree(s)”             |
| <i>nzíngu/mi[n]zíngu</i> (3/4) | “war(s)”              |

## Early 19th-c. SOUTH KIKONGO – KIMBOMA (1811)

## [Supplement to §5.2]

|                                   |              |
|-----------------------------------|--------------|
| xi. <i>fúmu/yifúmu</i> (7/8)      | “belly/-ies” |
| <i>zínziini/yiizínziini</i> (7/8) | “heel(s)”    |
| <i>tádi/yítadi</i> (7/8)          | “axe(s)”     |

## Early 19th-c. WEST KIKONGO – KAKONGO (1821)

## [Supplement to §5.2]

|                                 |              |
|---------------------------------|--------------|
| xii. <i>ivúúmu/pfúúmu</i> (7/8) | “belly/-ies” |
|---------------------------------|--------------|

## Early 19th-c. WEST KIKONGO – KIYOMBE (1833)

## [Supplement to §5.2]

|                                    |              |
|------------------------------------|--------------|
| xiii. <i>pfúúmu/bipfúúmu</i> (7/8) | “belly/-ies” |
| <i>táándzi/bitáándzi</i> (7/8)     | “sword(s)”   |
| <i>tádi/bitádi</i> (7/8)           | “axe(s)”     |

Early 19th-c. CENTRAL KIKONGO – KISUNDI (1842)

[Supplement to §5.2]

- |      |                                  |                          |
|------|----------------------------------|--------------------------|
| xiv. | <i>fúmu/bifúmu</i> (7/8)         | “belly/-ies”             |
|      | <i>húsi/bihúsi</i> (7/8)         | “bone(s)”                |
|      | <i>zíngiini/bizíngiini</i> (7/8) | “heel(s)”                |
|      | <i>zááka/bizááka</i> (7/8)       | “armlet(s), bracelet(s)” |

Early 19th-c. EAST KIKONGO – KINTANDU (1839)

[Supplement to §5.2]

- |     |                                  |              |
|-----|----------------------------------|--------------|
| xv. | <i>pfúúmu/yipfúúmu</i> (7/8)     | “belly/-ies” |
|     | <i>wízi/yiwízi</i> (7/8)         | “bone(s)”    |
|     | <i>sééngéle/yisééngéle</i> (7/8) | “axe(s)”     |

## 5. Tuckey’s (1818) data

[Supplement to §4.6]

As shown in (xvi), Tuckey’s vocabulary includes several words belonging to the noun classes 1/2 and 3/4.

- | xvi. | <u>‘Malemba’</u> variety            | <u>‘Embomma’</u> variety      |
|------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
|      | <i>m’sanga</i> (3) “bead”           | <i>m’cheeno</i> (1) “king”    |
|      | <i>m’fiote</i> (1) “black”          | <i>m’cusa</i> (3) “law”       |
|      | <i>n’taoude</i> (1) “boy”           | <i>m’zanza</i> (3) “mountain” |
|      | <i>n’too</i> (3) “head”             | <i>m’noi</i> (3) “mouth”      |
|      | <i>n’cheema</i> (3) “heart”         |                               |
|      | <i>m’zanza</i> (3) “hill, mountain” |                               |
|      | <i>n’camba</i> (1) “interpreter”    |                               |
|      | <i>m’kela</i> (3) “tail”            |                               |
|      | <i>n’chee</i> (3) “tree”            |                               |

These data clearly show that *mu-* syncope did occur in both varieties. For the Malemba variety this confirms what the French missionaries had documented half a century earlier. However, as Tuckey (1818: 399) himself admits, “This Vocabulary I do not consider to be free from mistakes, which I cannot now find time to discover.” Indeed, his notation is not consistent enough to draw any firm conclusions on whether these syncopated nasal prefixes were homorganic or not. The few available data seem to indicate they were not in the Embomma variety, but how reliable is this if one knows that he noted several other cl. 1/2 and 3/4 nouns,



such as *chee* “tree” and *toadi* “boy”, without any prefix? In the Malemba variety, nouns like *n`camba* “interpreter” and *n`chee* “tree” suggest that the syncopated nasals had become homorganic since the time of Descourvières and his *confrères*. Nevertheless, nouns like *m`zanza* “hill, mountain” and *m`kela* “tail” suggest the opposite. Tuckey’s data thus confirm that *mu-* syncope had taken place in several West Kongo varieties, but are not coherent enough to make reliable judgments on the homorganicity of the resulting syllabic nasals.

## 6. On how Carrie (1888) distinguishes between the nasal prefixes of classes 3 and 4 and those of classes 9 and 10

[Supplement to §4.6]

*“Ces règles ne s’appliquent pas aux mots commençant par m mise pour n devant b et p comme mpu, bonnet; mbua, chien; mbota, étoile. Ces mots suivent les règles de ceux qui commencent par n. Ce sont à peu près tous ceux qui commencent par mb et mp.”* (Carrie 1888: 33).

## 7. Nasal prefix syncope for South Kikongo

[Supplement to §4.9]

Table i. South Kikongo word for “holy; sacred; fetish(es); charm(s)” (cl. 1/2)

| Phase | Kikongo  | Year | Source  | Reference                      |
|-------|--|------|---|--------------------------------|
| 1     | <i>muquissi/<br/>aquissi</i>                       | 1624 | Catechism   | (Bontinck & Ndembe Nsasi 1978) |
| 1     | <i>mokisses</i>                                    | 1626 | From a travel account written in English by Thomas Herbert, sailing past the Congo-Angola coast on May 8, 1626, and describing “deformed idolls” as <i>mokisses</i> . | (Herbert 1638: 9)              |
| 1     | <i>muquissi</i>                                    | 1650 | From a report written in Italian by the Capuchin Girolamo da Montesarchio (in Congo 1648–1668). [fol. 81 r.]  | (Piazza 1976: 106)             |
| 1 ⇔ 2 | <i>múquissi</i> (3 x)<br>⇒<br><i>mquissi</i> (1 x) | 1652 | Vocabularium Congense   | (Van Gheel 1652)               |

(Continued)

Table i. (Continued)

| Phase | Kikongo      | Year | Source   | Reference            |
|-------|--------------|------|--|----------------------|
| 3     | <i>nkisi</i> | 1653 | From a letter written in Spanish on the 6th of March 1653, by the Capuchin Serafino da Cortona, to the guardian of Seville, José de Granada. | (Jadin 1975: 1453)   |
| 3     | <i>nkisi</i> | 1698 | From a report written in Italian by the Capuchin Luca da Caltanissetta (in Congo 1690–1701). [fol. 51 v.]                                    | (Bontinck 1970: 111) |

Table ii. South Kikongo word for “head(s)” (cl. 3/4)

| Phase | Kikongo                                   | Year | Source  | Reference                      |
|-------|---|------|---|--------------------------------|
| 1     | <i>mutu/mitu</i>                          | 1624 | Catechism   | (Bontinck & Ndembe Nsasi 1978) |
| 1 ⇔ 2 | <i>mutu</i> (5 x)<br>⇔ <i>m'tu</i> (12 x) | 1652 | Vocabularium Congense   | (Van Gheel 1652)               |
| 3     | <i>ntu</i>                                | 1714 | From a letter written in Italian in August 1714, by the Capuchin Francesco da Troyna (in Congo 1705–1714), to Pope Clément XI. [fol. 442] | (Jadin 1961: 584)              |

## 8. On how Butaye (1910) describes the optional reduction of class 5 *di-* and class 7 *ki-* prefixes in Kintandu

[Supplement to §5.1]

*“au singulier les préfixes ki et di tombent devant certains substantifs ; devant d’autres ils s’expriment ou s’omettent à volonté. C’est l’usage régional qui décide. En haut-kikongo, on ne fait pas de faute en l’exprimant toujours. On dit également bien lumbu et kilumbu, jour ; tiba et ditiba, petite banane ; mais au pluriel bi et ma doivent toujours s’exprimer : Ex : bilumbu, matiba, bima.”* (Butaye 1910: 18).

## 9. On how, in 1776, Descourvières and his *confrères* describe prefix reduction in classes 7 and 15

[Supplement to §5.2]

On the recto of page 3 of the *Essai d’une grammaire congo, suivant l’accent de Kakongo* (in Besançon, manuscript no. 523, from 1776), reduction of the singular class 7 prefix is described as follows:

“mais il y a des substantifs qui ont *ki* pour article et qui n'en sont jamais précédés ... Singuliers en *ki* qui en sont toujours précédés : *kika*, un lit ; *ki-ula*, un crapaud ; *ksaba*, un jardin ; *ki-npandia*, un lézard ; *kélia*, de quoi manger, son pluriel en *bélia* ; Singuliers en *ki* qui n'en sont pas précédés : *leze ki-ame*, mon serviteur, *limbu ki-a fuluansa*, le pavillon des françois, *kuta ki-andi*, son cercueil. Ce *k* n'est point article du singulier *kuta* puisqu'on dit au pluriel *b'kuta*, des cercueils, ainsi c'est *ki kuta* au singulier et *b'kuta* au pluriel pour *bi-kuta*.”

The class 15 prefix of the infinitive is also subject to reduction under certain circumstances as reported on the recto of page 22:

“L'infinitif est ordinairement précédé de l'article *u* et s'il a un pronom personnel pour cas, ce pronom est exprimé immédiatement avant le verbe, et il est précédé de l'article *ku*. – Exemples – *Ba fuanukini u sala*. Ils doivent travailler. *u mangeri ku ba vulikila*, il a refusé de les écouter.”

The ‘article *u*’ is the so-called augment and not the noun prefix *ku-* whose presence on the surface is conditioned by factors which are either morphosyntactic, such as the presence of an object concord (the ‘personal pronoun’ *ba* in the example above) or phonological, such as the presence of a stem-initial vowel, as suggested by the following description on the verso of page 8:

“On exprime un peu différemment ces mêmes pronoms devant les verbes qui lorsqu'ils n'ont aucun de ces pronoms pour cas, commencent à l'infinitif par la syllabe *ku* suivie d'une voyelle, par exemple : devant *kuangilika*, divertir, *kuekama*, s'appuyer, *kuiaba*, dérober, *kuobika*, donner la main, *kuuvula*, s'informer, &c.”

## 10. On how Carrie (1888) compares the variety spoken by the Bakoce (Kakongo) with that of the Bavili (Loango)

[Supplement to §5.2]

“*ki* est toujours employé comme signe numérique. Il fait au pluriel *bi*. Il a pour relative singulier *ki* et pour relatif pluriel *bi*. Les Bavili emploient cette particule devant tous les mots qui, chez les Bakoce, prennent *i* et font leur pluriel en *ub*.” (Carrie 1888: 22).

The ‘particle *i*’ is not the prefix here, but the augment, just like *ub* is the augment *u* followed by the class 8 prefix *b-*, apparently with elision of the prefix vowel as was already the case a century earlier. Carrie (1888: 20) lists some of those nouns dropping the *ki-* or *ci-* prefix, i.e. *i teko ki* “vase” (pl. *u teko bi*), *i sanzu ki* “firewood” (pl. *u sanzu bi*) and adds:

“Les Bavili, devant ces mots, mettent *ki* au lieu de *i*, exemples, *ki teko ki*, *ki sanzu ki*, pluriel *bi teko bi*, *bi sanzu bi*.”

Carrie confirms once more the divergence between the varieties of Kakongo and Loango, still observable today on a larger scale between southern and northern West Kikongo varieties.

## Abbreviations

|                  |   |
|------------------|---|
| APPL             | applicative   |
| cl.              | class   |
| FV               | final vowel   |
| HOD              | hodiernal   |
| LINK             | linker (meaningless morpheme inserted for formal reasons) |
| LOC <sub>x</sub> | locative of class x                                       |
| N                | homorganic nasal  |
| NP <sub>x</sub>  | noun prefix of class x                                    |
| OC <sub>x</sub>  | object concord of class x                                 |
| PL               | plural  |
| PRF              | perfect   |
| PROG             | progressive   |
| PRS              | present   |
| PST              | past  |
| SC <sub>x</sub>  | subject concord of class x                                |
| SG               | singular  |
| x                | class or person (with SG = singular, and PL = plural)     |

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