

ISSN 2414-2565

CAHIERS DU GReMS

Revue annuelle du Groupe de Recherches
en Morphosyntaxe et Sémantique



N°06 Décembre 2021

CAHIERS DU GReMS

**Revue annuelle du Groupe de Recherches
en Morphosyntaxe et Sémantique**

N°06 décembre 2021

Cahiers du GReMS

Revue du Groupe de Recherches en Morphosyntaxe et Sémantique

Université Marien Ngouabi

Faculté des Lettres, Arts et des Sciences humaines

BP : 2642- Brazzaville (Congo)

Courriel : *cahiersdugrems@gmail.com*

Directeur de publication : Édouard Ngamountsika, Professeur Titulaire

Rédacteur en chef : Etienne Bellarmin Iloki, MC, *Chef de parcours de Langue et Littérature françaises*

Comité scientifique : Pr Abolou Camille Roger, Université de Bouaké, Pr Abou Napon, Université de Ouagadougou, Pr Benzitoun Christophe, Université de Lorraine, Pr Frey Claude, Université Paris III, Pr Ndongo-Ibara Yvon Pierre, Université Marien Ngouabi, Pr Lefeuvre Florence, Université Paris III, Pr Ibrahim Diakhoumpa, Université Gaston Berger, Pr Irié Bi Gohy Mathias, Université de Bouaké, Pr Mbanga Anatole, Université Marien Ngouabi, Pr Massoumou Omer, Université Marien Ngouabi, Pr Makosso Jean-Félix, Université Marien Ngouabi, Pr Ngassaki Basile Marius, Université Marien Ngouabi, Pr Moussa Daff, Cheikh Anta Diop, Pr Moussirou Mouyama Auguste, Université Omer Bongo, Pr Noumssi Gérard, Université de Yaoundé I, Université de Bouaké, Pr Siouffi Gilles, Université Paris IV, Sorbonne, Pr Rosier Laurence, ULB , Pr Peter Blumenthal, Université de Cologne, André Thibault, Université Paris IV .

Comité de lecture : Germain Eb'aa, Bellarmin Iloki, Nombo Augustin, Albert Gandonou, Jean-Aimé Pambou, Loussakoumounou Alain Fernand, Jean-Alexis Mfoutou (Rouen), Eloundou Eloundou Venant.

Comité de rédaction : Elongo Arsène, Marc Cheymol, Fernand Otsiema Guellely, Lionnel Kindziala - Kindziala, Alain Ferdinand Raoul Loussakoumounou, Moukougou Sidoine Romaric, Gombé - Apondza Guy Roger Cyriac, Odjola Régine.

Couverture : Sculpture en bronze de Rémy Mongo-Etsion

Publié par le *Parcours Langue et littérature françaises*

ISSN 2414-2565

Avis aux auteurs

Feuille de styles

La structure d'un article scientifique en lettres et sciences humaines se présente comme suit :

Pour un article qui est une contribution théorique et fondamentale : Titre, Prénom et Nom de l'auteur, Institution d'attache, adresse électronique, Résumé en Français, Mots clés, Abstract, Key words, Introduction (justification du thème, problématique, hypothèses/objectifs scientifiques, approche), Développement articulé, Conclusion, Bibliographie.

- Pour un article qui résulte d'une recherche de terrain : Titre, Prénom et Nom de l'auteur, Institution d'attache, adresse électronique, Résumé en Français, Mots clés, Abstract, Key words, Introduction, Méthodologie, Résultats et Discussion, Conclusion, Bibliographie.

Les articulations d'un article, à l'exception de l'introduction, de la conclusion, de la bibliographie, doivent être titrées, et numérotées par des chiffres (exemples : 1. ; 1.1. ; 1.2 ; 2. ; 2.2. ; 2.2.1 ; 2.2.2. ; 3. ; etc.).

3.4. Les passages cités sont présentés en romain et entre guillemets. Lorsque la phrase citant et la citation dépassent trois lignes, il faut aller à la ligne, pour présenter la citation (interligne 1) en romain et en retrait, en diminuant la taille de police d'un point.

3.5. Les références de citation sont intégrées au texte citant, selon les cas, de la façon suivante :

- (Initiale (s) du Prénom ou des Prénoms de l'auteur. Nom de l'Auteur, année de publication, pages citées) ;
- Initiale (s) du Prénom ou des Prénoms de l'auteur. Nom de l'Auteur (année de publication, pages citées).
- Exemples :
- En effet, le but poursuivi par M. Ascher (1998, p. 223), est « d'élargir l'histoire des mathématiques de telle sorte qu'elle acquière une perspective multiculturelle et globale (...), d'accroître le domaine des mathématiques : alors qu'elle s'est pour l'essentiel occupé du groupe professionnel occidental que l'on appelle les mathématiciens (...) ».
- Pour dire plus amplement ce qu'est cette capacité de la société civile, qui dans son déploiement effectif, atteste qu'elle peut porter le développement et l'histoire, S. B. Diagne (1991, p. 2) écrit :

Qu'on ne s'y trompe pas : de toute manière, les populations ont toujours su opposer à la philosophie de l'encadrement et à son volontarisme leurs propres stratégies de contournements. Celles-là, par exemple, sont lisibles dans le dynamisme, ou à tout le moins, dans la créativité dont sait preuve ce que l'on désigne sous le nom de secteur informel et à qui il faudra donner l'appellation positive d'économie populaire.

- Le philosophe ivoirien a raison, dans une certaine mesure, de lire, dans ce choc déstabilisateur, le processus du sous-développement. Ainsi qu'il le dit :

le processus du sous-développement résultant de ce choc est vécu concrètement par les populations concernées comme une crise globale : crise socio-économique (exploitation brutale, chômage permanent, exode accéléré et douloureux), mais aussi crise socio-culturelle et de civilisation traduisant une impréparation socio-historique et une inadaptation des cultures et des comportements humains aux formes de vie imposées par les technologies étrangères. (S. Diakité, 1985, p. 105).

3.6. Les sources historiques, les références d'informations orales et les notes explicatives sont numérotées en série continue et présentées en bas de page.

3.7. Les divers éléments d'une référence bibliographique sont présentés comme suit :

NOM et Prénom (s) de l'auteur, Année de publication, *Zone titre*, Lieu de publication, Zone Éditeur, pages (p.) occupées par l'article dans la revue ou l'ouvrage collectif. Dans la zone titre, le titre d'un article est présenté en romain et entre guillemets, celui d'un ouvrage, d'un mémoire ou d'une thèse, d'un rapport, d'une revue ou d'un journal est présenté en italique. Dans la zone Éditeur, on indique la Maison d'édition (pour un ouvrage), le Nom et le numéro/volume de la revue (pour un article). Au cas où un ouvrage est une traduction et/ou une réédition, il faut préciser après le titre le nom du traducteur et/ou l'édition (ex : 2^{nde} éd.).

SOMMAIRE**MPANDI OLETA Lucrès Destin et MBANGA Anatole**

Néologisme et subjectivation du discours dans la presse écrite congolaise.....9

TRAORÉ SidikiLes discordances temporelles dans la prose burkinabè écrite :
cas de la nouvelle « lune de miel » de William Aristide Nassidia Combary.....23**DAKOURY Koudou David et ASSEKA Tchoman François**Le langage verbal dans *Fin de partie* de Samuel Beckett :
dynamisme et manifestations.....35**ITOUA Joseph et LONI Eric**L'importance du matériel didactique dans
l'enseignement/apprentissage de l'histoire.....47**MABIALA MANTSELE-MOUANDA Fredoni et Edouard NGAMOUNSIKA**

Analyse du complément d'objet indirect en contexte scolaire congolais 55

NTONDELE ORCI GRACE et NDONGO IBARA YVON-PIERREA cross linguistic variation between kisuundi kya Mayama (K.K.M)
and kikoongo kya nseke (K.K.N).....67**KOUASSI Kouakou Roland et KEI Joachim**Procédés d'énumération et esthétique satirique
dans *D'Éclairs et de foudres* de Jean-Marie Adiaffi 83**Latte Jacques SYMPHOR***Zakwato pour que ma terre ne dorme plus jamais* d'Azo Vauguy :
une écriture poétique de l'hybridation.....97**AMANI-ALLABA Angèle Sébastienne**L'intercompréhension entre l'Abidji et l'Akye : pour une didactique des langues à
travers l'adjectif.....109**GOGBEU Mamadou**Les techniques narratives dans « *Les nouveaux contes d'Amadou Koumba* »
de Birago Diop : types et fonctions.....119**KOUASSI Pri Michel**Le démonstratif, facteur d'énonciation historique et /ou discursive
dans *D'éclairs et de foudres* de Jean-Marie ADIAFFI 131**MOUSSOUNDA IBOUANGA Firmin**

Les surnoms à Mouilla : Étude de sociolinguistique urbaine.....139

Varia**EKONDI Fulbert,**

Les problèmes de la notation en lecture en classe de cm2 dans la circonscription
scolaire de Ouenzé 1 Brazzaville.....151

MBELE Jean Didier

La représentation sociale et cognitive des enseignants bénévoles chez les parents
d'élèves de Brazzaville.....167

Thèses et mémoires de Master soutenus en 2021.....179

A CROSS LINGUISTIC VARIATION BETWEEN KISUUNDI KYA MAYAMA (K.K.M) AND KIKOONGO KYA NSEKE (K.K.N).

Orci Grace Ntondele et Yvon-Pierre Ndongo Ibara

Faculté des lettres, arts et sciences humaines
Centre de Recherches en Linguistique et Langues Orales (CERELLO)
Université Marien Ngouabi
Email: ndongo_ibara2002@yahoo.fr

Abstract: *This contribution compares the phonematic systems of Kisuundi kya Mayama and Kinseke, two Koongo language varieties, with a particular attention to their intelligibility. Accordingly, it comes out of discussion that both Kisuundi kya Mayama and Kinseke attest twenty-one similar consonant phonemes, where four /ɾ, s, z, d/ get to allophonize in Kisuundi kya Mayama and three /ɾ, s, z/ in Kinseke, and five vowels. So being, phonological processes like prenasalization, palatalization, palatoalveolarization, apicoalveolarization, incrementization, decrementization and long distance assimilation appearing as stable phonological assimilatory processes in the two language varieties. Finally, it issues from the discussion that the two language varieties share intelligibly a percentage of 69,80% making them more endo-exogenous than exo-endogenous.*

Keywords: *Phonematic comparison, Kisuundi kya Mayama, Kikoongo kya Nseke*

Résumé : *Cette contribution compare les systèmes phonématiques de Kisuundi kya Mayama et de Kinseke, deux variétés Koongo, avec une attention particulière sur leur intelligibilité. Conséquemment, il ressort de la discussion que les deux variétés attestent vingt et une consonnes similaires et quatre voyelles, dont quatre /ɾ, s, z, d/ s'allophonisent en Kisuundi kya Mayama et trois /ɾ, s, z/ en Kinseke. Ce faisant, les processus phonologiques tels la prenasalization, la palatalization, la palatoalveolarization, l'apicoalveolarization, l'incrementization, la decrementization et l'assimilation à longue distance apparent comme d'assimilations phonologiques stables dans les deux variétés. Enfin, les deux variétés se partagent un pourcentage d'intelligibilité allant à 69,80%, faisant d'elles plus endo-exogène qu'exo-endogène.*

Mots-clés : *Comparaison phonématique, Kisuundi kya Mayama, Kikoongo kya Nseke*

Introduction

This article provides a comparative analysis of the sound patterns of Kisuundi kya Mayama and Kinseke, two of the several koongo dialects not yet codified spoken in the Southern part of the Republic of Congo, particularly in the Pool region. In fact, neither Laman (1936, 1953), Bastin (1936), Guthrie (1953), nor Jacquot (1974) and Maho (2009) mention these two dialects. But, Soret (1959), dealing with the history of Congo Brazzaville, points out a Koongo tribe named Nseke. Similarly, Bagamboula (1992), making a geolinguistic description of Koongo language dialects spoken in the Pool region, quotes Kisuundi kya Mayama and Kinseke among the thirteen (13) dialects identified. Going from the non-existence of Kisuundi kya Mayama and Kinseke to their existence raises an awakening of the linguistic spirit. In this respect, my task is to carry out

a study on these two Koongo language dialects. In so doing, this study aims at answering the following questions:

- (1) What are the different phonemes attested in Kisuundi kya Mayama and Kinseke?
- (2) Are there any phonemic similarities and/or dissimilarities between the two language varieties?
- (3) Are Kisuundi kya Mayama and Kinseke two different dialects or two varieties of one language?

This study falls in the field of dialectology, a linguistic discipline that concerns with dialect components based on sounds, words and grammars. Accordingly, Chambers and Trudgill (1998) refers to it as: *‘The study of how sounds, words and grammatical forms vary from one dialect to the other within a single language’*

It is claimed in ALAC (1987. 40- 45) that the intelligibility is total between Koongo language varieties. But, following Bangamboula (1992.63): *‘two language varieties share a total intelligibility when their percentage of intelligibility is not less than 100%’*.

She also argues that less than 75% we do not talk about language varieties but rather two distinct languages or dialect (Bangamboula, 1992. 63).

This implies that a comparative study, in this work, aims at parallelizing methodically the different lexical components of the two languages under discussion, and involving a considerable description of the characteristics of each language to show how similar, proximate or dissimilar they are one from another.

1-Context

Many reasons are responsible for writing this study, the most important being the lack of comparative works on Kikoongo language dialects.

It is true that, from Bentley (1882), Laman (1922) up to now, several studies have been carried on Koongo language varieties. Yet, none of these studies except Mabiala’s (1999) compare Koongo language varieties. It is then necessary to initiate such a study in order to understand their functioning and identify a variety among many others which would serve as a lingua franca;

Next, the two language varieties seem historically different, but phonologically quasi alike. I realize this present comparative study on the two dialects to light up these two intuitions;

Furthermore, dialectology, throughought its dialectometrical approach, appears very interesting to me. From this study, I want to calculate the distance of proximity between the two language varieties under discussion;

Last, the words of Boucquiaux and Jacqueline Thomas, and Samba Philippe down given explain also the choice of our topic. *‘La première opération dans l’étude d’une langue est pour nous l’établissement de la phonologie.’*¹ (Boucquiaux and Jacqueline Thomas (1976.149)

‘The present study is concerned with the Koongo language group classified H16 by Guthrie. It includes a number of dialects which are morphologically and syntactically similar but phonologically different each and other.’ Samba Philippe (1989.7)

In fact, all these reasons together have motivated the choice of our topic

2- Linguistic Classification of Koongo Languages and Dialects

This present section concerns the linguistic classification of Koongo Languages and dialects spoken in Congo (Brazzaville). It includes five (5) language groups, twelve (12) main dialects, and nineteen (21) sub-dialects considered as **terminal dialects** (Ntondele, 2019. 3) which he refers to as : *‘dialects which have no varieties to dominate’* (Ibid).

The chart (1) below taken from Ntondele’s (2019.12) inventorizes the different and speakable Koongo languages and dialects.

(1)

Language groups	Main dialects	Sub-dialects	Author(s)
1) Kibeembe H11	Kibeembe H11a	Kibeembe kya Musitu	Nsayi Bernard (1984), M. Paul, Gari F. Simons and al (2016),
		Kiyadi	
	Kikeenge H11b	Kibeembe kya Nseke	
2) Kivili H12	Kivili H12a	Kivili ki loango	Michel Pambou(1984), M. Paul, GariF.Simons and al (2016),
		Kivili ki Moongo	
		Kivili ki Yoombe	
		Kivili ki Waanda	
	KiyoombeH12b	Kotsi, Lindzi, Woyo	
		Mbala or Mumbala	
		Kivungunya or Kiyoombe Classique	
		Kiyoombi	
3)Kuni H13	Kuni H13a	-//-	André Jacquot (1976), M. Paul, Gari F. Simons and al (2016), Mabiala (1999)
	Kisuundi(kya Kimongo)H13b	<u>Kisuundi kya Kakamoeka and Kisuundi kya Londela kayes</u>	
	Kinyaanga H13c	-//-	
4) KikoongoH16	Kikoongo H16g	Kikoongo Nseke	Solange(1992), M. Paul, Gari F. Simons and al (2016)
		Kikoongo Ntatu	
	Kilaadi H16f	Kilaadi kya Kinkala	
		Kilaadi Biiza	
	Kisuundi H16i	Kifuumbu	
		Kisuundi kya Mayama	
	Kigaangala H16j	Kisuundi kya Nkeleke	
		Kisuundi kya Ngwaadi	
		Kigaangala kya Kikembo, Kigaangala kya Kingouala	
5) Kidoondo H17	Kidoondo H17a	-//-	Guthrie (1967)
	Kikaamba H17b	- //-	

It is obvious from this chart that this paper compares one sub-dialect from Kisuundi H16i, in the one hand, and that from Kikoongo H16g, in the other hand, within the language group Kikoongo H16.

3. Phonemic systems

This section, the object of our paper, compares the different phonological features, of the two language varieties under discussion, so that to limelight their possible similarity and dissimilarity. Going from Proto-bantu, this work contrasts the different phonemic behaviors based on their phonetic changes in order to elaborate the hypothesis after which Kisuundi kya Mayama and Kikoongo kya Nseke are two varieties of the same language or whether they are two different languages or dialects. Accordingly, two phonemic classes are worthy of attention so that we explain the different phonological alternations occurring in the two language varieties notably consonantal and vocalic phonemes.

3-1-The phonemic system of Kisuundi kya Mayama and Kikoongo kya Nseke

This section is dedicated to the presentation of the consonantal and vocalic phonemes attested in the two language varieties under discussion.

3-1-1-Consonantal system

Kisuundi kya Mayama and Kikoongo kya Nseke attest the following consonantal system.

(2)	Place of articulation					
Manner of articulation	Bilabials	Labio-dentals	alveolars	palatal s	Palato-alveolars	velars
Plosive	p b		t d			K
Nasals	m		n	ɲ		*ɳ
fricatives		f v	s z		ʃ ʒ	x
affricates		pf bv			ts dz	
Lateral			l			
Approximants	w			j		

It can be written from the chart up given that Kisuundi kya Mayama attests a system of twenty-two consonants while Kikoongo kya Nseke has a system of twenty-one consonants.

The *ɳ represents the consonantal phoneme not attested in Kikoongo Kya Nseke but attested in Kisuundi kya Mayama. Indeed, the two words in which it is attested in Kisuundi kya Mayama are realized differently in Kikoongo kya Nseke. Let us consider examples in:

(1) Proto-bantu	K.K.M	K.K.N	English
púngú	muɲaɲa	ngoni-ngoni	crow
juman	ɲaɲa	mpasi	quarrel

This regarding Mouss and Breedveld 1986's dialectological method applied by Ntondele (2019.8), which consists of assigning marks to words according to their degree of similarity: the mark 04 when there is no difference, 03 when there is one difference, 02 with two differences, 01 with three differences, 00 with no resemblance or more than 04 differences, would be marked as follows:

(3)

Proto-bantu	English	K.K.M	K.K.N	Mark
Púngú	Crow	muɲaɲa	ngoni-ngoni	00
juman	quarrel	ɲaɲa	mpasi	00

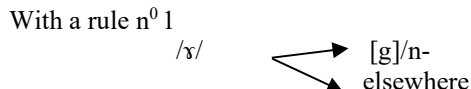
Complex consonants represented in the two language varieties as processed consonants, consonants which always occur as already influenced by a process, are not considered in the chart (2) since there are presented in the chart (4) and discussed. Accordingly, the chart n⁰³ represents the summary of the different consonantal phonemes to which can be added some other values.

(4)																						
Consonants	P	b	T	d	k	ɾ	f	v	n	s	z	ɲ	ɳ	t s	d z	m	j	l	ʒ	p f	bv	w
Prenasalize d	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-
Labialized	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	-
Palatalized	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-
Prenasalize d palatalized	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
Prenasalize d labialized	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-

Indeed, in Kisuundi and Kinseke, the phonemes /p, b, t, d, k, f, v, s, z, ts, dz, pf, and mbv/ allow nasals to occur before them /-C/. Consonants, in the chart (4), with the value (+) in the raw of prenasalized are those allowing such a combination, and this is referred to as **prenasalisation**- a phonological operation whereby a nasal phoneme is added before a non-nasal, a non-approximant, a non-palatal, and a non-palatoalveolar. With bilabials a nasal added is /m/, and /n/ elsewhere. The phoneme /ɣ/ becomes /g/ when it is preceded by a nasal. Let us consider

(2) K&K	English
gala /ɣala/	sharpen
ngala /ngala/	blame (v)
gela /ɣela/	enthousiasm (v)
ngela /ngela/	money

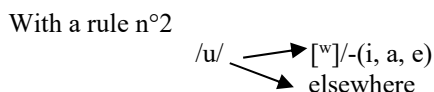
It results from the data (2) that /ɣ/ is realized /g/ when preceded by /n/.



Next, labialized consonants (C^w) in Kisuundi kya Mayama and Kikoongo kya Nseke represent the consonants bearing the labial /^w/, respectively /p, b, t, d, k, f, v, s, z, n, m, l, pf, and bv/. The process can also be regarded as **labialization**. Let us consider:

(3) K&K	English
luik/l ^w ika/	dress someone
muana/m ^w ana/	child
kuela /k ^w ela/	mary

It appears in (3) that, in Kisuundi kya Mayama and Kikoongo kya Nseke, consonants are labialized when they are followed by /u/ in VV, where /u/ is followed whether by /i, a/ or /e/



As regards palatalized consonants, K&K attest thirteen (13) consonants which can bear a palatal value (i), namely /p, b, t, d, k, f, v, s, z, m, n, l, and pf/. Such a process can be regarded as **palatalization**, an assimilatory phonological process in which in, this case, a consonant bear a palatal value. As in

(4)	K&K	English
	bieka /b ^h eka/	baptize
	dia /d ^h a/	eat
	kiula /t ^h ula/	toad
	biole/b ^h ole/	two

it comes out from the data () that in K&K when a palatalisable consonant is followed by a front vowel /i/ in VV.

Therefore, **prenasalized-palatalized** consonants are consonants that bear a nasal and palatal value at the same time (Nc^j). K&K attest the following prenasalized-palatalisable consonants /p, b, t, d, k, x, f, v, s, z, and pf/. Let us consider some illustrations in:

(5)	K&K	English
	/mpyéma/ [mp ^j éma]	cemetery
	/mbyénga/ [mbjénga]	glass bottles
	/ntyétyé/ [nt ^j étyé]	sparrow
	/ndyatulú/ [nd ^j átulú]	behaviour
	/nkyeló/ [t ^j éló]	manner of picking
	/mungyéngyé/ [mun ^j g ^j éng ^j é]	bittersweet fruit
	/mvyá/ [mv ^j á]	penis
	/nsyéólómókónó/ [n ^j yéólómókónó]	manner of sliding
	/nzyétóló/ [nz ^j étóló]	spiritual trip
	/mpfyétóló/ [mp ^f étyóló]	trouble

It emerges from (5) that the two language varieties attest eleven ‘nc^j’ namely mpy, mby, nty, ndy, nky, ngy, mfy, mv, nsy, nzy, and mpfy.

3-1-2-Vocalic system

(5)	Tongue raising part and lip		
Degree of raising	Front unrounded	Back unrounded	Back rounded
High ↓	i ii		u uu
Mid	e ee		o oo
Low		a aa	

4-Phonematic Comparison

This section discusses the different phonological variations between Kisuundi kya Mayama and Kikoongo kya Nseke, based on Proto-Bantu. It considers consonantal and phonological processes.

4-1-Consonantal Processes

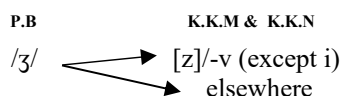
Some consonants depending on their occurrence are not realized in the same way from proto-bantu to K.K.M & K.K.N. Let us consider the realisation of proto-bantu voiced fricative palato-alveolar phoneme /ʒ/ in Kisuundi kya Mayama and Kikoongo kya Nseke.

The distribution of the proto-bantu phoneme /ʒ/ in K.K.M & K.K.N

	Proto-bantu	K.K.M	K.K.N	English
	jaab /ʒaab/	ku-zaab-a	zaab-a	Know
(6.a)	jó /ʒó/	n-zo	n-zo	House
	jenje /ʒenje/	n-zenze	n-zenze	Cricket
	juudi /ʒuudi/	ma-zuzi [mazuʒi]	ma-zuzi	The day before yesterday

It appears from the data in (6.a) that the P.B voiced fricative palato-alveolar phoneme /ʒ/ changes into the voiced fricative alveolar /z/ in Kisuundi kya Mayama and Kinseke. Indeed, it occurs as follows: the P.B voiced fricative palato-alveolar /ʒ/ loses its palatal value for the alveolar one. That is, the blade of the tongue falls to the advantage of the apex of the tongue. Such an **articulatory assimilation**, ‘a phonological process occurring when articulatory features of some segments change under the influence of articulatory gestures of other segments’ (Pavlik, 2009.10), leads to another phonological process which can be regarded as **decrementization**, ‘the process during which the size of the aperture of the assimilee decreases under the influence of its assimilator’ (Pavlik, 2009. 16).

With a rule n°3



When followed by /i/, depending on the degree of the tone borne, the P.B voiced fricative palato-alveolar phoneme /ʒ/ changes into some other assimilants but [z] in Kisuundi kya Mayama and Kikoongo kya Nseke. Let us consider illustrations in (6-b).

	Proto-bantu	K.K.M	K.K.N	alternations	English
(6.b)	jicò /ʒisò/	di-isu	di-isu	Ø / /	eye
	jínò	di-inu	di-inu		tooth
	jìkò	ziku /ʒiku/	ziku /ʒiku/	/ʒ/	county
	Jíngà	menga	menga	/ m /	blood
	Jimà	nima	nima		
	Jin	ku-yina	yina	/j/	dislike
	jítUK	ku-yituk-u	yituk-u		

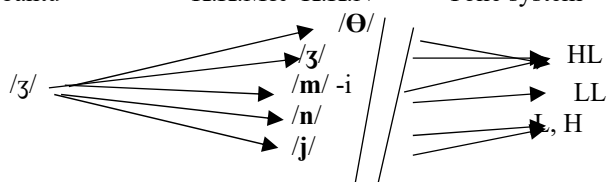
It results from the data in (6.b) that the P.B voiced fricative palato-alveolar phoneme /ʒ/ alternates into five assimilants /Ø, ʒ, m, n, and j/, respectively. Such phonemic alternations can be regarded as **Deletion** and **consonantal alternation**. That is, the proto-bantu /ʒ/ is whether deleted, maintained, or alternated in high-low (HL) or alternated in low- high (LH), low, and high tone systems when it is followed by /i/.

With the rule n°4

Proto bantu

K.K.M & K.K.N

Tone system

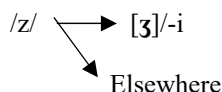


As the proto-bantu /ʒ/, the voiced plosive alveolar phoneme /d/ is also subject in:

(7)	P.B	K.K.M	K.K.N	English
	Kadi	mu-kazi [mukaʒi]	n-kazi [nkaʒi]	wife
	diik	ku-ziik-a [kuʒiika]	ziik-a [ʒiika]	bury
	budi	m-bizi [mbiʒi]	mbizi [mbiʒi]	fish
	bàdi	m-bazi [mbaʒi]	m-bazi [mbaʒi]	tomorrow

It emerges from (7) that the P.B voiced alveolar plosive /d/ becomes the voiced alveolar fricative /z/ realized as [ʒ], in both K.K.M & K.K.N, when occurring before /i/. In fact, the voiced alveolar plosive phoneme /d/ loses its plosion for the friction. The process can be regarded as **incrementization**. Pavlik (2009.16) refers to it as ‘*a type of assimilation that causes the size of the aperture of the assimilee to increase under the influence of the neighbouring segment*’. Due to the palatal characteristic added to the voiced alveolar fricative ones, assimilant, the sound resulting from the assimilation, becomes the voiced palatoalveolar fricative [ʒ] regarded then as **palatoalveolarization**, a phonological process in which a coronal consonant, in this case, alternates with palatoalveolar consonants before /i/, and sometimes front vowels as well.

With a rule n°5



It can finally be said from (6a and 6b) that the attestation of the phoneme /z/ in both Kisuundi kya Mayama and Kikoongo kya Nseke depends on the Proto-Bantu occurrence of [ʒ] and [d]. Such an assimilation, due to the already assimilated form of the phoneme /z/ appearing in both K.K.M & K.K.N, on degree of stability, is regarded as **stable (fixed) assimilation**, and as **opaque (non-transparent) assimilation** since we cannot tell what the original form and pronunciation of /z/ was without studying it (cf. Pavlik, 2009.6)

The chart 06 below summarizes the origin of /z/ in K.K.M & K.K.N from Proto-Bantu

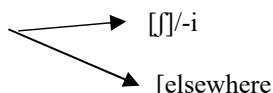


In addition to the K & K /z /, /s/ is also a result of an allophonization of the proto-bantu /c/. Let us consider the data in:

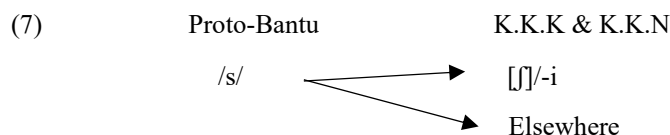
	P.B	K.K.M	K.K.N	English
8-	cong	ku-song-a	song-a	show
a	pácá	di-pasa	di-pasa	Twin
	cék	ku-ség-a	Séga	laugh
	ciik	ku-siik-a [kuʃiika]	siik-a [ʃiika]	honour
8-	cìng	mu-sing-a [muʃinga]	mu-sing-a [m-ʃinga]	string
b	Cí	n-si [nʃi]	n-si	country

It is obvious from the data (8-a) that the proto-bantu voiceless alveolar fricative /s/ written as ‘c’ appears in an already assimilated form ‘s’, in both Kisuundi kya Mayama and Kikoongo kya Nseke, regarded as stable assimilation. Otherwise, in (8-b) the proto-bantu voiceless alveolar fricative /s/ is palatoalveolarized when it occurs in the environment of /i/. That is, the palatoalveolar characteristic of the assimilator /i/ is transferred partially to the assimilee /s/ resulting in the assimilant [ʃ].

With a rule n°6
/s/



The chart 07 below summarises the distribution of the proto-bantu /s/ in K.K.K & K.K.N

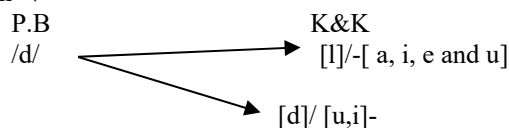


Another Kisuundi kya Mayama and Kinseke consonantal phoneme that needs a particular attention is the lateral /l/. Let us consider its distribution in the following data:

(9) P.B	K.K.M	K.K.N	English
a) cáda	ku-kal-a	kal-a	refuse
bid	ku-bil-a	bil-a	boil up
dob	ku-lob-a	lob-a	fish
kud	ku-kul-a	kul-a	grow up
dedem	ku-lelem-a	lelem-a	be suspended
b) dum	ku-dum-a	dum-a	roar
diam	ku-diam-a	diam-a	sink

It appears from the data in (9-a) that the voiced lateral alveolar phoneme /l/, in Kisuundi kya Mayama and Kinseke, is the allophone of the phoneme /d/ in proto-bantu when preceded by /a, i, e and u/ and when followed by /o/. Otherwise, when followed by /u/ and when palatalized, /d/ is not subject to any allophonization as in (9-b).

With the rule n° 7



The chart 08 characterizes the distribution of the proto-bantu phoneme /d/ in Kisuundi kya Mayama and Kikoongo Kya Nseke.

(08)

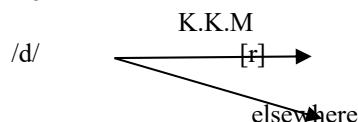


Important to realize, when the voiced plosive alveolar phoneme /d/ is entirely attested as a phoneme in Kisuundi kya Mayama and Kikoongo kya Nseke can allow a stable assimilation or a variable assimilation, as it can be illustrated in:

10)	P.B	K.K.M	K.K.N	English
a)	tadé	di-tadi /ditari/	di-tadi	stone
	tedIK	ku-tedik-a /kuterika/	tedik-a	boil
b)	dum	ku-dum-a	dum-a	roar
	did	ku-dil-a	dil-a	cry

it comes out from the data in (10-a) that the phoneme /d/ is realized as [r] when it occurs in the first syllables from the right followed by /i/, in Kisuundi kya Mayama. This can be referred to as **apicoalveolarization**, a phonological process which occurs when the apicoalveolar characteristics of the assimilator are transferred to the assimilee, (cf: Ntondele, 2019.55). Therefore, in (10-b) it appears that /d/ remains [d] whether before /i/ when occurring in the first syllable from the left in Kisuundi kya Mayama and Kikoongo kya Nseke, and when occurring before /u/.

With the rule n°8



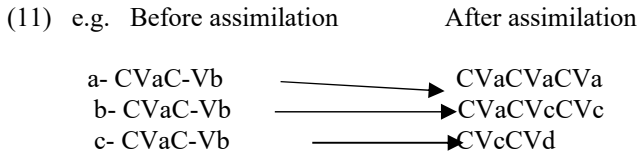
4.2. Vocalic Processes

This section discusses the different vocalic operations taking place in Kisuundi kya Mayama and Kikoongo kya Nseke. It concerns mostly with long distance assimilation (harmony) and vowel alternation.

4.2.1. Long distance assimilation

Long distance assimilation or vowel harmony is a phonological assimilatory process whereby vowels assimilate at long distance (Gussenhoven and Jacobs, 2011. 202). It can be possible between prefixes and suffixes or between roots and suffixes (Samba 1989). Among these two vowel harmony processes, Kisuundi kya Mayama and Kinseke use roots and suffixes vowel harmony. Also referred to as “root-controlled vowel harmony, it is an assimilatory process in

which root vowels trigger suffix vowels to assimilate and become metaphorically in harmony. Thus, in Kisuundi kya Mayama and Kinseke, triggers -vowels that cause harmony- lie within the root of the word while targets-vowels that assimilate-lie within the suffix. The diagram below illustrates a vowel harmony case in the language varieties:



In the diagram above, ‘Va’ causes the following ‘Vb’ to assimilate and become the same type of vowel, in 11-b) ‘Va’ targets and triggers ‘Vc’ which always a front vowel, and in (11-c) ‘Va’ alters and triggers ‘Vd’.

In fact, since it appears that Kisuundi kya Mayama and Kinseke have two types of vowels namely **back vowels** (u, o, and a) and **front vowels** (i and e), the root vowel can then either be back or front while the suffixal vowel is always front. When the root vowel is front, the suffixal vowel remains front. This can illustrated as follows:

(12) e.g.	Root	past tenses	gloss
	/-wind-a/ (hit)	ngwind- idí	I have hitted
	/-luk-á/ (vomit)	luk+ idí+ki	he/she had vomited
	/-nam-a/	nam- ini	it has burnt
	/-nam-a/	nam- ini+ki	it had burnt
	/-man-á/ (finish)	men+ ní	he have finished
	/-man-á/ (finish)	men+ ní +ki	he had finished
	/-nen-á/ (defecate)	nen+ ené+ké	I had defecated
	/-kel-á/ (shell)	nkel+ elé	I have shelled
	/-los-á/ (throw)	los+ elé +ké	he had thrown

It appears from (12) that the past tenses suffix have two forms ‘**iCi or ØCi**’ and ‘**eCe**’, and past1 +**ki or ke**. The ‘**iCi or ØCi**’ form appears after the root with the back vowels (u, o or a) and after the root with the front vowel /i/, the form (**eCe**) emerges after the root with the back vowel /o/ and the front vowel (e). Some ‘**ØCi**’ forms require the alternation of back-root vowel into front. In the latter, past1+**ki** occurs when the ‘**iCi or ØCi**’ principle is applied, while past1+**ke** emerges when ‘**eCe**’ principle is required.

In other words, the root back vowels (u and a) and the root front vowel /i/ harmonize with the front vowel ‘i’ while the root back vowel /o/ and the root front vowel /e/ harmonize with ‘e’. The front vowel /e/ can also target ‘i’ as described in (12). Furthermore, when the root vowel is the back rounded mid vowel /o/ the suffixal vowel can be the copy of that vowel. Then, the back vowel /o/ can harmonize with /o/ as in:

(13) e.g.	Root	Present/Past tenses	Gloss
	/-zol-á/o (like)	nzol+ olo (present)	‘I like’
	/-zol+á/o (like)	nzol+ olo+ko (present+past)	‘I liked’

It emerges from (13) that the present form ‘**olo**’ appears after the root with the back vowel /o/ as well as the past form ‘**olo+ko**’. In other words, the back vowel ‘o’ harmonizes with /o/.

Accordingly, three types of ‘root-suffix vowel harmony’ can be labelled in Kisuundi kya Mayama and Kikoongo kya Nseke: **front vowel harmony**, a phonological assimilatory process in which front vowels harmonize with front vowels-appearing to be as a copy of a root front vowel as in the diagram (11) - **back-front vowel harmony**, an assimilatory process in which the harmony

between vowels involves back triggers and front targets, and **back vowel harmony**, a process whereby a back rounded mid vowel is copied in a suffix, as in (13).

Chart eleven (8) below summarizes vowel harmony in Kisuundi kya Mayama and Kinseke (9)

Values	Triggers	Targets	Processes
Front vowels	e	e	front vowel harmony
	i	i	
Back vowels	a, u		Back-front vowel harmony
	o	o	Back vowel harmony

4.2.2. Vowel alternation

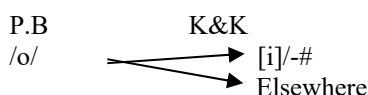
In the two language varieties some vowels change going from proto-bantu. In this case, two vowel alternation operations are possible: tongue shifting position and tongue shifting degree. The former concerns the alternation of the tongue position. The latter, otherwise, occurs when the degree of the tongue raising changes.

- Tongue shifting position
back-round > front-unround (o > i)

(14) P.B	K.K.M	K.K.N	English
jico	di-isu	di-isu	eye
jiko	ziku	ziku	fireplace
dob	ku-lob-a	lob-a	fish

It comes out from the data in (14) that the proto-bantu back-rounded high-vowel /o/ alters into /i/ in Kisuundi kya Mayama and Kinseke when it occurs in the final position.

With a rule n°9

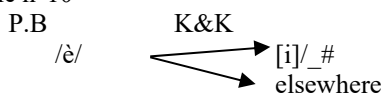


- Tongue shifting degree
mid > high (e > i)

(15) P.B	K.K.M	K.K.N	English
a) tadè	tadi	tadi	stone
b) dédé	mu-lélé	ŋ-lélé	cloth
c) gèmbua	ngembo	ngembo	fruit-bat
d) téétè	ki-tiiti	tiiti	grass

it appears from the data in (15-a and-c) that the proto-bantu font-mid vowel /e/ becomes /i/ in Kisuundi kya Mayama and Kikongo kya Nseke when it occurs in final position with a low tone.

With the rule n°10



4.3. Percentage of Proximity (PPR)

This sub-section provides the percentage of proximity between Kisuundi kya Mayama and Kinseke. To do so, the following elements are required:

- Number of words in the list (NW) = 1700 words
- Maximal Mark (MM) = 4
- Number of Varieties/ Languages to compare (NVC) = 2
- Number of Comparisons (NC) = NVC-1 (2-1=1)
- Maximal Number of Marks (MNM) = NW×NM (1700 × 4= 6800)
- Maximal Percentage (MP)= MNM × 100/ MNM= 100%

$$(6800 \times 100/6800 = 100)$$



➤ Sum of Value (SV)

The chart (09) below bears the total of marks obtained from the comparison following elements presented in the example (1) and the chart (03)

(10)	Kisuundi kya Mayama
Kinseke	4747

➤ Percentage of Proximity (PPR)

Knowing that $PPR = SV \times MP / MNM \rightarrow 4747 \times 100 / 6800 = 69,80882352$

(11)	Kisuundi kya Mayama
Kinseke	69, 80

Conclusion

This paper concerned with the phonematic comparison of Kisuundi kya Mayama and Kinseke. Since these two language varieties have neither been subject to an authentic linguistic analysis in general nor to that of a phonology in particular, did we wonder what could be their different phonematic systems, and whether there could exist any phonemic similarities and dissimilarities or whether they were two different dialects or two varieties of the same language. From these preoccupations, we focused our study on phonematic comparison, first, and on that concerning their intelligibility, last.

As regards the analysis based on phonematic comparison, related to consonants, it results that Kisuundi kya Mayama attests a system of twenty-two (22) consonants where Kikoongo kya Nseke has twenty-one (21), as it does not attest the voiced nasal velar phoneme /ŋ/.

Furthermore, based on the twenty-one (21) similar consonants, the two language varieties allow thirteen (13) prenasalized consonants (nC), fourteen labialized consonants (C^w), and thirteen palatalized consonants (C^j).

Next, it appears that four (4) phonemes namely /x, z, s, and d/, themselves allomorphs of /k/, /d/j/, /c/, /d / respectively in Proto-bantu, change whether in both Kisuundi kya mayama and Kinseke or in one of them before certain assimilators, with the most productive being the phoneme /i/.

Related to vowels, the two language varieties attest a system of five vowels subject to become long ones. It comes out from this category that the phoneme /i/ in the two language varieties is also the allomorph of the proto-bantu /è/ and /o/.

Moreover, as regards vocalic assimilation, both Kisuundi kya Mayama and Kinseke attests: front vowel harmony, back-front vowel harmony, and back vowel harmony.

Having a look on phonological processes occurring in both consonants and vowels, it relevant to know that they already appear as stable assimilations.

Based on their intelligibility, it results that the two language varieties attest eight-hundred-ninety-three (893) different words among which thirteen (13) sound words with one difference scored /3/, seven hundred-thirty-three (732) sound words with two differences scored /2/, sixteen (16) sound words with three distinctions scored /1/ and one-hundred-thirty-two sounds scored /0/. Depended on proximity parameter, both Kisuundi kya Mayama and Kinseke have 69,80%.

Finally, it can be ascertain that Kisuundi kya Mayama and Kikoongo kya Nseke are endo-exogeneous. i.e, they are genetically and historically inter-dependent but lexically and phonemically inter-independent. As Ndongo-Ibara (2018:14) states : '*l'intercompréhension a des valeurs endogènes et exogènes au sein d'une langue. Cela se justifie linguistiquement d'une part et géographiquement d'autre part*'.

All together, it can be concluded that Kisuundi kya Mayama and Kinseke belong to the same language group, Kikoongo H₁₆, but to different (mother) language, Kisuundi H_{16i} and Kikoongo H_{16g}, respectively, i.e they are two different dialects within the same language group.

Bibliographical References :

- Atlas Linguistique de l'Afrique Centrale. Equipe Nationale du Congo. (1987): *Atlas linguistique du Congo*. ACCT- Cerdotola.
- Bastin, Y.A. Coupez, E. at al. (2002). Bantu Lexical Reconstruction 3. Tervuren; Royal Museum for Central Africa. Online data base : linguistics. Africamuseum.bel/blr3.html.
- Bagamboula Solange Elise (1992). Les dialectes Koongo de la Région du Pool; description géolinguistique et mesures de l'intelligibilité. Mémoire pour l'obtention de la Maîtrise de Linguistique. Université Marien Ngouabi, Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines ; Département de Linguistique et Langues Congolaises, Brazzaville, CELCO.
- Bentley, W. H. (1887). *Dictionnaire and Grammar of the Kongo Language as spoken at San Salvador, the Ancient Capital of the old Kongo Empire*, West Africa. London. Baptist Missionary Society and Trubner & Co.
- Bouquiaux , Luc et Tomas, Jacqueline. (1976). *Enquête et Description des Langues à tradition orale: L'enquête de terrain et l'analyse grammaticale*. Paris, 05 rue de Marseille, 2^e édition revue et augmentée, Sela.
- Gussenhoven, Carlos, Haïke, Jacobs. (2011). *Understanding Phonology*. Great Britain: Hodder Education, Third Edition.
- Jacquot, André, (1964). Lari ou Laadi ? Un problème de transcription. BIRSC.
- Jacquot, André, (1965). Précisions sur l'inventaire des langues Teke du Congo. Cahiers d'études africaines ; Brazzaville ; O.R.S.T.O.M.
- Laman, K.-E. (1936) *Dictionnaire kikongo-français avec une carte phonétique décrivant les dialectes les plus importants de la langue dite Kikongo*.-T.II. Bruxelles : Librairie Falk Fils
- Laman, K.-E. (1953). *The Kongo I*. Uppsala, Almqvist & Wiksells.
- Madalyn, B. Danelson (2014). Bogans and Boundaries: A perceptual dialectology of Australian

5Intercomprehension entertains endogenous and exogenous values within a language. This can be justified linguistically on the one hand and geographically on the other hand. (my translation)

Another raiseable issue is that concerning Kifuumbu. In fact, Bagamboula (1992) refers to it as a Kisuundi dialect influenced by Kilaadi, Soret (1956) identifies a Laadi sub-tribe names Bafuumbu, making it a Laadi language variety, Jacquot (1965) otherwise looks at it as a Teke language variety. To solve such a problem, a comparative analysis on these language varieties is required

- English. Undergraduate Honor Thesis. NYU department of linguistics.
- Maho, J. F. 2009. NUGL Online: The Online Version of the New Updated Guthrie List, a Referential Classification of the Bantu Language.
- Mous, Maarten, and Anneke, Breedveld. (1986). *A dialectometrical study of some Bantu Languages* (A40-A60). Cameroon. In guarisma, Glodys and Mohlig Wilhelm, La Methode.
- Ndong, Ibara, Yvon Pierre. (2018). *Problématique de la Terminologie et de la Classification des Langues Bantoues : Cas du Koyo et d'Embosi du Groupe C20*. Université Marien Ngouabi ; Humanités Gabonaise-Numéro 08-ISSN : 2223-8433.
- Nguimbi Mabiala J. N. (1999). *Phonologie Comparative et Historique du Kongo*. Lyon, Université Lumière Lyon2, doctoral Thesis.
- Ntondele, Orci-Grace (2019). *A Phonological Comparison between Kisuundi kya Mayama and Kinseke*. Mémoire pour l'obtention du diplôme de Master Recherche, Université Marien Ngouabi ; Faculté des Lettres, Arts et des Sciences Humaines.
- Pavlik, Radoslav, (2009). *A Typology of Assimilation*. Department of English Language and Literature, Faculty of Education. SKASE Journal of Theoretical Linguistics. Slovakia.
- Samba, Philippe (1989). *Tone system of Kikoongo*. Phd dissertation.
- Solange, E. B. (1992). Les dialectes Koongo de la Région du Pool ; description géolinguistique et mesures de l'intelligibilité. Mémoire pour l'obtention de la Maitrise de Linguistique. Université Marien Ngouabi ; Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines ; Département de Linguistique et Langues Congolaises, Brazzaville, CELCO.
- Soret, Marcel (1959). *Histoire du Congo, Capital Brazzaville*. Paris: Bernard Levrault; Collection publiée sous la direction d'Hubert Deschamps.