The Verbal Voice in Kizombo through Valency Decreasing Devices

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**ABSTRACT**
This article focuses upon the verbal voice in Kizombo (H.16h), also known in Bantu literature as verbal derivation. The voice is a grammatical category which allows speakers to elaborate strategies to connect the sets of themes roles and the grammatical relations. We discuss the extensions that decrease the valency: passive, reciprocal, reflexive, stative and the middle one. The goal is to understand and explain how Kizombo allows the opposition between the active and the passive; how reciprocal and reflexive are expressed in Kizombo by describing the participants in the event. In the grammatical theory, reciprocal and reflexive are discussed under the theory of bound anaphora, while Bantu languages studies claim that reflexivization was a process that reduces the structure of arguments and thus, deserves an independent treatment (Cf. Chomsky 1981, Nurse and Philipppson 2006: 76; Mchombo 2004:102 seq., Mchombo 2004:102 Apud Matsinde 1994). What is the rationality of describing them together? Through description, we discuss the extensions one by one and the opposition between active and passive occurs by grammatical and semantic functions of participants. As for the reciprocal and reflexive, their extensions were distinctly well established. It was possible to see that these extensions reduces de valency.

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Introduction
Name of de dialect
Kizombo. Belongs to Kikongo language.

Name of the people
Bazombo - Among Bakongo or Akongo.

Classification

Spoken in
Makela do Zombo, municipality of Wige province in northern part of Angola with a certain extension to the Southeast Kongo - DRC (H (Hazel 1973:1).

Number of speakers: 555,560 from provincial statistics office.

The Verbal Derivation In Kizombo
As concept, the derivation is an extension of an idea to pass to another. Moreover, is an operation which shift the content of a word to another keeping the radical. Therefore, the derived form is a communicational unit in which the verb undergoes a change from the infinitive. The radical encodes a number of casual functions of participants. As for the reciprocal and reflexive, their extensions were distinctly well established. It was possible to see that these extensions reduces de valency.

(1) vângâ → to do vâng-w-à be done
sâlà to work, help, sâl-asyan-à to help each other, mutually.

zola to love kü-ki-zôl-à/ki-zôl-à love myself, yourself, etc

Therefore, above we are displayed respectively three derivations: -w- of passive, -asyan- of reciprocal and ki- of reflexive. Observing the examples given, it is undisputed that the Bantu languages typically have a rich variety of derivative morphemes, known as verbal extensions, which can be suffixed to the verbal root. However, the suffixation of one or more extensions to the verb stem modifies the syntactic frame associated with the verb. But before we get into a deep discussion about the structure of arguments, we would like to see the main derivations in Kizombo related to valency decreasing.

(2) -w-, -u-, -ew-, -iw- Passive

Valency Decreasing Extensions
From the point of view of valence, the number and the roles of the participants in the event described by the verb is vulnerable to changes. It is a natural operation of adjusting the valence in which is noted the reshaping of semantic functions which have the effect of promoting or demoting (relegation) of a
participant or a combination of both. The promotion consists to treat as a syntactic term nuclear one participant which otherwise would not have this status. In other words, is the case that a participant becomes the subject of the sentence when would be the object. While the demotion, also known as downplay, is the relative lose of the status of the syntactic term nuclear or change of status of subject to the object of the sentence (Creissels 2006b: 8; Payne 2002: 169.). This can occur syntactically affecting the number of arguments of the predicate both for more (valence increasing) or both for less (valency decreasing). For instance, the passive voice in English, when applied to a transitive verb is an operation that assigns to the patient the role of the subject and to the agent the role of an oblique. While in the operation of transitive verbs, the normal relations would be that the agent is the subject and the patient is the object. So, in terms of valence, this exchange of roles is an adjustment of relations between grammatical relations and semantic roles. Payne (2002:168) on who our argument is inspired, offer us the following example:

a. Active
Orna backed these cookies
AGENT = subject
PATIENT = object
b. Passive
These cookies were backed by Orna
AGENT = oblique
PATIENT = object

Incidentally, Payne (2002: 172) says:

Languages typically have various ways of adjusting, i.e. increasing, decreasing or rearranging the syntactic valence of clauses. The semantic/pragmatic (i.e. conceptual) effect of increasing syntactic valence can be characterized most generally as upgrading a peripheral participant to center stage, whereas the effect of decreasing valence is to downplay a normally center-stage participant to peripheral status, or eliminating it from the scene altogether. Furthermore, the participants brought onto or taken off center stage can be controllers, i.e. agents or patient-like participants, affected or patient-like participants or they may be recipients, instruments, or benefactees.

Thus, we can identify among those extensions that decrease the valence the passive, reciprocal, reflexive, middle and stative.

Passive (Pass)

As we said above (2), the passive that is very well known in Bantu languages display four main forms: -w-, -u-, -ew- and -iw-. The canonical form of passive construction is a lexical process of structure of arguments and the grammatical functions. Thus, of verbal derivation which affects the relation between the levels Bantu languages display four main forms: -w-, -u-, -ew- and -iw- allophonic variations which we will discuss later.

The scheme may be AG + Verb + PAT + others. The canonical form of passive construction is a lexical process of structure of arguments and the grammatical functions. Thus, of verbal derivation which affects the relation between the levels

Now, the kizömbo displays some particularities in the expression of passive that can be regulated as follows:

1. Assimilation: If the first syllable of the radical has as vowel -a-, -i-, -u- or C(-a-, -i-, -u-) CV the passive is obtained by -u enclitic suffix (Lumwam 1973:211, Dereau 1955: 59).

(6) váka dig vaku be dug
dyá eat diúi be eaten
vuba baptize vůbu be baptized

Summarizing we have: C(a, i, u) CV → C (a, i, u) Cu or C(a, i, u) Co

This rule applies to:
1. Derived forms that end in -ana-, -alal-, -ulul-. Like:
   (7) lâmbululâ to re-cook lâmbululû be cooked
   dingâlâlâ to shut up dingâlesû be silent
   kônânânà to bowing kônânêsû be bent

2. To past passive whose final syllable ends with a vowel -i:
   (8) → kûnûni sowed kûnûnû was sowed
   tinûni denied tûnûnû was denied
   sâdíđi worked sâdílû was worked

3. To the past passive whose final syllable ends in -u suffering an allographic variation in Kizomboko:
   (9) vûndêlû → vûndêlô is / was killed
   lwékêlû → lwékêlô is / was injured
   zôlêlû → zôlêlô is / was loved
   sônkênûnû → sônkênô is / was written

It should be noted that in its passive form, and this for all tenses and persons, the verbs are conjugated employing the proclisis prefixes of pronouns whose tone is indeed crucial to the tense. Exception makes the future.

(10) yi-zôlwà I am loved
yi-zólwà I was loved
û-zólwà you are loved
kà-zôlwà he was loved
tû-zólwà we are loved
tû-zólwà we were loved
lû-zólwà you are loved
tû-zólwà we are loved

-Analytic or peripheral Aspect : In his study of the passivization in the the Bantu languages and beyond, Givón (1979) notes that the main function of the analytic passive construction is the promotion of a non-topical agent. However, it is recognized that the operation of transitive meaning requires, in some cases, a marker that indicates the opposition in regard to the active voice. For this case, kizomboko has two procedures:

1. The passive periphrasis is formulated preceding to infinitive of passive the diathesis marker from the locative noun class prefix of 18, mu-, which precedes the participle, followed by the auxiliary to be, plus an expansion introduced by the particle ku, that is the shortcut of very well known kwá that in turn is followed by the nominal. It is noteworthy that, replacing the preposition like by or for in the sentence, however, the particle kwá is not an exclusive prerogative of the PV, also, it is used in the formulation of various statements in others extensions or voices.

   (11) a. e dy-àmbù mú tâlû di-nà kû sôbà
   AUG 5-problem LOC resolve-PASS 5-AUX LOC 5soba
   The problem is being solved by soba (chef of the village)

2. Use the auxiliary kàla " to be " followed by the participle of the main verb plus the particle kwa or its shortcut ku.

(12) b. nzô é-na-yô-túng-à kû Ndombasi
9cas 3SG-be IS9 build-FV LOC Ndombasi
The house is being built by Sebastiao.

-Lexical Aspect: Unlike periphrastic, lexical passive occurs without recourse to auxiliary. It is, as said Payne (2002:204), any sentence headed by a verb that is inherently passive in character. (13) a. mw-ana-a-n-kwàt-idi kwa nsùsù

child 3SG-OM1-scratch-PERF LOC 9chicken

The child was scratched by chicken

b. e Kalu di-sùkùk-idi

AUG 5car 5-wash-PERF

The car was washed

c. e mpùkù a-m-bák-idi ku nìsí

AUG 9mouse 9-OM9-catch-PERF LOC 9cat

The mouse was caught by cat

Sentences (13a) and (13c) are responses of our informants as variants of the canonical PV phrases in Portuguese such as: A galinha arranhou a criança the chicken scratched the child and O gato apanhou o rato the cat caught the mouse. This is the topicalization in which the referent of the subject is already established as a topic of discourse.

(14) a. Nisi bák-ìdì tutù

cat catch-PERF 10mouse

The cat caught the mouse

b. tutù di-bák-il-ù kwa nìsí

mouse 5-catch-PERF-PASS by cat

The mouse was caught by cat

Thematic Roles

Creissels (2002:169) says that syntactically, each nominal constituent assumes in the construction of a verb a certain semantic role and presents formal characteristics which may distinguish it from other nominal constituents that participate in the construction of the same verb with different semantic functions.

However, the study of verbal voice involves addressing the semantic functions that form a heterogeneous group. In this embodiment some perform the functions of the agent and others patient who are recipients of the central inherent meaning of the predicate. Thus, they constitute the semantic rationality of the corresponding verb that can appear at the structural level in the form of a set of locations of the valence regulated by this verb. Others, being additions to the event, known in Portuguese grammar as termos assessórios “assessory terms” execute the semantic functions which are assigned to them as an instrument, beneficiary, commutative, experiencer, causer, to name only these, and they are not inherent to the central meaning of the predicate. At the structural level, they are not governed by the valence because they are in a certain way, adjuncts (Lehmann 2006:2). Anyway, semantic or thematic function has to do with the notional role played by an argument of the verb in the sentence.

Regarding the function, the passive voice as well as the reciprocal, reflexive, stative and middle voices reduce de valence. Givon (2001b: 122) in particular, states that the passive agent is extremely non-topic (deleted, downplayed) for the patient is the only topical argument in the sentence. Therefore, considering the above, we think Kizombo is no exception. However, whenever can, it expresses its thought in expedient way like in many other languages. So, the passive suppresses the agent of the active sentence converting the theme into the subject of the passive. In this way, the passive morpheme converts transitive verbs into the intransitive verbs by promoting the object to subject and demoting the subject to oblique NP or zero realization, as in (20) above whose tree is shown below:

(15) Phrase

NP

Verb

NP

Oblique

Ynsi

bökidi
tutù

The cat caught the mouse

Converted into passive sentence the scheme would be:

(16) a. Kyala súmb-i-idi mw-ànà velo

Kyala buy-APPL-PST 1-child bike

b. mw-ànà súmb-il-ù velo

1-child buy-APPL-PASS PERF bike

c. vlo yi-súmb-il-ù mw-ana

bike 8-buy-APPL-PASS PERF child

The bike was bought for child

Subjectivisation

In short, subjectivisation refers to the process of converting the object into the subject position via passivization. Subjectivisation of the object was used as criterion for determining objecthood in Bantu languages. In Kizombo, an object linked to a theme or to a beneficiary may become the subject of a passive construction. Therefore, for Kizombo both, the object 1 and the object 2, can become subject. Let us consider.

Subjectivisation is one of the criterion used as well to classify languages as symmetrical and asymmetrical. Symmetrical languages are those that allow both, patient and beneficiary to be passivised. While asymmetrical are those languages which do not allow the passivisation of patient and beneficiary (Kalk 2001:98; Bresnan & Moshi 1993:50, Woolford 1993:1). So, Kizombo is a symmetrical language as we see above in (24).

Reciprocal (Recip)

The separate study between reciprocal and reflexive has raised some questions within the bantuists. Mchombo (2006: 102 seq) states that actually the separate discussion of these extensions may seem somewhat artificial because in the recent work of grammatical theory, both extensions have been treated together under the theory of anaphora bound. So, the reflexive is studied separately for there exist studies in Bantu languages in which reflexivization is claimed as being a process that reduces the arguments structure. The obvious difference between reflexive and reciprocal in Bantu lies in its distribution (Mchombo: Id.: loc.cit). For example, in Chichewa and in many Bantu languages, the reciprocal is marked by the suffix-an-. The verb appears with a NP in the plural. This is done either with a NP subject that denotes a group or having a coordinated position.
of the subject structure. Consider this example of Chichewa from Mchombo:

(17) a. Mikángó i-ku-phwány-an-a
   4-lions 4SM-pres-smash-recip-fv
   Lions are smashing one another
b. Mbúzi ndí nkhôsa zi-ku-mény-an-a
   10-goats and 10-sheep 10SM-pres-hut-recip-fv
   Goats and sheep are hitting each other

Cases that involve coordinated NPs usually introduce some problems because of nominal classification system that characterizes the Bantu languages. In short, the structure of coordinated NP in the subject position must have a marker of the appropriate subject. A similar problem arises when there is a coordinate structure with a function of topic for which an MO must be linked through anaphora link structure. In the above examples, the problem was minimized because the coordinated names were drawn in the same class. There are difficulties when names are drawn from different gender classes with different characteristic numbers and there is no simple strategy whereby a single MS for the coordinated structure can be determined (Mchombo Id.:103 Apud Corbett e Mtenje 1987; Marten 1999; Reynolds e Eastman 1987; Mchombo e Ngunga 1994). In this case, the strategy adopted is extraposition of everything, but the first set, therefore, determines the shape of the SM. This produces a version of a constitutive construction.

(18) a. Mkángó ndí kálúlu ?-ku-páts-án-á mphâtso ndí kálúlu. (Mchombo)
   3-lion and 1a-hare ?-pres-give-recip-fv 10-gifts
   The lion and the hare are giving each other gifts.
b. Mkángó u-ku-páts-án-á mphâtso ndí kálúlu. (Mchombo)
   3-lion 3SM-pres-give-recip-fv 1a-hare
   The lion and the hare are giving each other gifts.

In the book of Bantu languages edited by Nurse and Philippson 2006: 76, Schadeberg asserts that the most productive use and meaning of the associative extension -an- is reciprocal. In reciprocal events are considered two or several participants who interact in a certain way in which each member plays sometimes the role A sometimes the role B in the same event. It is an event carried out mutually. In Kizombo the reciprocal is uttered with extension - an- with the morph -azyan- or –asian- as we have seen before. So, consider:

(19) a. mona to see mon-an-a see each other
b. sâla to help sal-azyan-a help each other (mutually)

Schadeberg (Nurse and Philippson 2006. 76) find that in most languages of Angola (zones H, K, R), the reciprocal use of -an- is more or less obsolete; its function has been taken over by the reflexive object concord. Indeed, nowadays the reciprocal and the reflexive tend to merge in Kikongo in general and in Kizombo in particular. Some speakers have difficulty to distinguish one from the other. But the distinction between both extensions is still alive as we consider, for instance, some of the sentences below from our informants in Kizombo:

(20) a. a-wiz-an-ene
   3PL-agree-PERF
   They agreed each other
b. tu-bimb-an-ene
   1PL-hug-RECIP-PERF
   We hug each other

Observing these two sentences, we note that as the syntactic and semantic functions, contrary to passive, the reciprocal binds the object NP to the subject creating the meaning of something done mutually between the participants of event.

**Type of Reciprocity**

A typical sentence expresses the reciprocal notion in which two participants act equally on one another. However, both are equally, agent and patient. Now this traditional understandability of reciprocal allows us to discern some distinctions within it that deserves to be discussed here as well as their main characteristics.

1 Restricted: It is the prototypical form of reciprocal voice and it is characterized in two ways:

- The verb appears with a NP that denotes a subject group who happens simultaneously in the positions of subject and object or the agent and the patient. Thus, its formula would be: N1 and N2 V -themselves \( \rightarrow \) N1 V N2 and N2 V N1 [each other]. In Kizombo will be translated into: N1 and N2 -an-VF \( \rightarrow \) N1 V N2 and N2.V N1 [each other] So, this formula reveals what is called restricted reciprocal voice (Creissels 2006b.: 30).

2. Extensive: Also known as cooperative. Therefore, the extensive reciprocal involves more than two participants. It is about a plural subject that expresses a situation of confusion of syntactic and semantic functions among the members of the group to which the subject refers. Therefore, it becomes difficult to establish who among the members of the group assumes one and other role (Creissels 2006b: 30). Let's see how the phrase would be:

(21) a. Masâlâ yê Kilênda o-êla mûn-an-å kûnâ bâsi
   Masala e Kilenda 3PL-AUX meet -RECIP-FV LOC 5fam
   Masala and Kilenda went to meet each other in the farm.
b. Mafuta yê Nkôsi ë Berlin à-zây-an-ëne
   Mafuta and Nkosi LOC Berlin 3PL-know -RECIP-PERF
   Mafuta and Nkosi know each other in Berlin.

10-goats and 10-sheep 10SM-pres-hut-recip-fv

(22) a. è mbwà z-êti vûnd-an-å
   AUG 10dog 10-AUX kill-RECIP-FV
   The dogs are killing themselves [one another, each other, mutually].
b. è mâ-kâlù mâ-tît-an-ène
   AUG 6-car s 6-collide-RECIP-PERF
   The cars collided up [each other, one another, mutually].

2006b.: 30).
the agents are both patients of their mutual action. For this reason, the structure of arguments of a transitive phrase is formed by actants which act equally over each other and sharing the same functions. Thus, this kind of operations demote the semantic valence of transitive sentence specifying that there are two separate entities involved running two similar semantic functions.

(24) a. Yówání yé Mádíyà à-záy-àn-èn-à kùnà Berlin
   John and Mary 3PL-know -RECIP-PERF-FV LOC Berlin
   John and Mary know each other in Luanda.
   yówání yé Mádíyà à-záy-àn-èn-à
   John and Mary 3PL-know -RECIP-PERF-FV
   John and Mary know each other.

   In the examples above John and Mary, both are listed as co-referential agents and patients. However, each in turn executes the two semantic roles of agent and patient. By knowing Mary, John is the agent and Mary patient. By knowing John, Mary acts in turn as agent and John becomes patient. But as this knowledge occurs simultaneously, that is, in the same instant that John met Mary, also Mary met John, however, the agent and the patient are associated.

   As the operation of demoting the semantic valence of transitive sentences, visualize the following examples:

   (25) a. Lúkà yé Luisa à-kwél-àn-ènè mùnà dì-bùndù và ndòsè
      Lucas and Luisa 3SG-marry -RECIP-PERF-FV LOC church and several
      Lucas e Luisa 3PL-marry -RECIP-PERF-FV LOC church
      Lucas and Luisa married [each other ] in the church in front of several witnesses
   b. Lúkà yé Luisa à-kwél-àn-ènè múnà dì-bùndù
      Lucas and Luisa 3PL-marry -RECIP-PERF LOC church
      O Lucas and Luisa married [each other ] in the church.
   c. Lúkà yé Luisa à-kwél-àn-ènè
      Lucas and Luisa 3PL-marry -RECIP-PERF
      Lucas and Luisa married [each other ]

   In the preceding examples, the structure of arguments presents a group subject who succeeds in the role of agent and patient followed by a direct object (in the church) that assumes the locative role and the indirect object (several witnesses) that is in the condition of oblique. At last, therefore (25a), the presence of a coordinative particle joining the two independents terms, Lucas and Luisa, establishing between themselves a relationship of addition, foreshadowed that the statement (25) is an addition of several witnesses.

   For reflexive are recognized the role of subject (agent) and the object (patient). Incidentally, at the beginning of this section we said that the subject and the object are the same entity. So is also the agent and the patient.

   (26) a. Luka ø-kwél-àn-ènè yé Luisa
      Lucas 3SG-marry -PERF with Luisa
      Lucas married with Luisa.
   b. Luka ø-kwél-èlè
      Lucas 3SG-marry -PERF
      Lucas married.
   (27) a. Luisa ø-kwél-àn-ènè é Luka
      Luisa 3SG-marry-RECIP-PERF with Lucas
      Luisa married with Lucas.
   b. Luisa ø-kwél-èlè
      Luisa 3SG-marry -PERF
      Luisa married.

   The RECIP is called associative as well. In (26a) and (27a) the particle yé “with”, describes events in which the two NPs are associated to perform the action. Thus, semantically the NPs Luisa and Lucas in both utterances are associated of the agent and consequently assume the associative function. Luisa is associated of Lucas in (26a) and Lucas is associated of Luisa in (27a).

   Reflexive (REFL)

   The reflexive prototype lies in the fact that the subject performs the action on itself by assuming two different syntactic roles of agent and patient. Mchombo (Ibid.103) states that in many Bantu languages, the reflexivization is marked by a morpheme prefixed to the verb root in the opening (slot) allocated to the object, known as OM in the Bantu linguistic. Before coming back to Kizombo, a synoptic overview of African languages shows that the reflexive morpheme in Chichewa is -dzi-, in Swahili is -ji- and in Xhosa is -zi-.. Consider the following sentences:

      3-lion 3SM-pst-reflex-bruise-fv
      The lion bruised itself.
      Yòwànì yé   Màdìyà à-záy-àn-èn-à kùnà Berlin
      John and Mary 3PL-know -RECIP-PERF-FV LOC Berlin
      John and Mary know each other in Luanda.
      Yòwànì yé   Màdìyà à-záy-àn-èn-à
      John and Mary 3PL-know -RECIP-PERF-FV
      John and Mary know each other.
      "Fill sorry yourself"

   As already indicated above in (2), the morpheme of reflexive in Kizombo is - ki. As for its position in verb structure, often the reflexive morpheme precedes verbal root (VR). This morpheme is seen as an infix since in Kikongo it comes after the prefix ku- of infinitive form as we shall see below. Therefore, the semantic content of the morph -ki is similar to English: oneself, itself, themselves, they own or in French soi-même, lui-même, eux-memes, ils / elles-memes. Then consider the following:

   (29) zola to love kù-ki-zól-à/ ki-zola love myself, yourself, etc
      to injure kù-ki-lwék-a/ki-lweka injure myself, yourself, etc.
     -fill yourself vóndà to kill kù-ki-vónd-à/ki-vondà kill myself, yourself, etc.
      kù-ki-lwék-èlè/ki-lwék-èlè
      Lucas 3SG-marry -PERF with Luisa
      Lucas married with Luisa.
      For reflexive is recognized the role of subject (agent) and the object (patient). Indeed, at the beginning of this section we said that the subject and the object are the same entity. So is also the agent and the patient.

   Consider:

   (30) a. Lutetu ù-ki-lwék-èlè
      O Lutetu injured herself
      Lutetu injured herself
      b. ku-ki-mw-èn-à nkèndà
      INF-REFL-see-FV 9sorry
      Fill sorry yourself

   Semantic Roles

   For reflexive are recognized the role of subject (agent) and the object (patient). Incidentally, at the beginning of this section we said that the subject and the object are the same entity. So is also the agent and the patient.

   (31) a. Mayamba u-ki-lwék elé yé Mbele
      Mayamba 3SG-REFL-hurt-PERF with 9knife
      Mayamba wounded with knife [herself]
      This sentence identifies Mayamba as agent and patient of the action of the being wounded by the knife. We recall that the reflexive subscribes itself between transitive operations that demote the verbal valency. In the sentence above the oblique NP (knife), is related to the antecedent by a preposition yé “with” that completes its meaning. Its semantic function or role is instrument.

   kù-kì-kù-kì-vónd-à/ki-vondà kill myself, yourself, etc.
   "Fill sorry yourself"

   a. Mayamba u-ki-lwék elé yé Mbele
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   kù-kì-vónd-à/ki-vondà kill myself, yourself, etc.
   "Fill sorry yourself"
Middle (MID)

There is a third voice to nearly all Kongo verbs, which is neither active, transitive nor passive, but between the two, since it conveys the idea of action without the need of an object to complete the idea; as o dele ubakuka: the cloth tears. At the same time it expresses the idea of an active condition, or state, which is attributed to the subject itself, and is not regarded as being suffered or caused by anything exterior to the subject. It is therefore neither active transitive nor passive; but possessing an idea half way between the two, has been called by grammarians the Middle voice. A verb in that voice, or of that nature or form, is Active Intransitive. (Bentley 1936:621).

However, the middle voice that Laman (1936: LV) calls neutral passive, however, also denotes a relatively intermediate state between reflexive and passive voices in Kizombo language. However, it resembles, in semantic terms, with the pronominal form of the type queixar-se and suicidar-se in Português. However, the semantic content of the middle voice calls attention to the actant that performs the action or who bears the action. Therefore, it is expressed by suffixation of extensions: - uk- or -ok- whose morphological structure is displayed by the following formula: radical -uk- + / + -ok- vf suffix. Here are some examples:

(33) a. ndyöö mw-ànå mazono ka-wut-uk-idi
DEM 1-bbé MOD MS-birth-MV-PERF
Litt: This child he born himself yesterday

b. e kinzö k-lél-ôk-êlè vâ tyâ
AUG pot 7-withdraw-MID-PERF LOC fire
The pot it is taken from the fire (who removed it? Itself?)

Middle And Verbal Intransitivity

It is understood that an intransitive verb denotes a state or action without reference to an object. This means that an intransitive situation is a property, a state or another situation involving a single participant. That is why it is called Monovalent. The MID describes situations or states where the subject is the only nominal argument or clausal argument. So we say in kizombo:

(34) a. e nzö-ôô-n-môn-ek-ene
AUG 9casa 9-see-MID-PERF
The house was seen / The house appeared

b. e mâ-dyâ mâ-fwas-uk-idi
AUG 6-food-spoil MID-PERF
The food is spoiled

Stative (STAT)

Previous studies show difficulty in defining exactly this kind of verbal derivation which is given various names such as neuter passive (Laman 1935), stative (Guthrie 1962), neuter stative (Matsinhe 1994), potential (Ngunga 200 Apud Sanderson 1954 and Whiteley 1966), factitive/causative Diarra (1990), neuter passive, quasi-passive, positional (Mchombo 2004, 95 Apud Satyo 1985), passive of being (Spanish Real Academy-RAE), descriptive passive, periphrastic, (Bednárová 2006:22). In all this discussion Mchombo says:

The difference between the stative and the passive is not merely confined to the potential for expressing the subject of the transitive construction; there are differences that are more semantic in nature. The stative, unlike the passive, appears to have as part of its core meaning certain qualities or a state inherent to, or acquired through, its subject. It also seems to have the semantics of the subject’s entering a particular state or condition, but such that there is no implication of agency responsible for such a state or condition.

For our paper, we use the term stative as umbrella to cover the range of meanings transmitted in the literature by all these linguists. In all these studies there is a common denominator because the stative has the same morphological shape and causes the same effect in all transitive roots to which it is attached (Mbiavanga 2008.: 126 Apud Ngunga 2000:186).

As indicated in (2) above, the stative extension is -ik- with its allomorph -ek- as the result of phonological conditions. This extension is the least productive in Kizombo.

Consider the following sentence:

(35) môna to see môn-ek-â be seen
bindawâ to lock bind-ik-â be closed
wûta to born wüt-uk-â be born

Child is found

Syntactic and Semantic Roles

In the same work edited by Nurse and Phillipson already quoted above, Schadeberg clarifies that once grammaticalized, the stative is usually used with a syntactic sense which is not typically associated with this extension. But it should be emphasized that the stative implies an intransitive construction in which the subject NP, is associated with the thematic role of patient / theme. In this case, the stative occurs in parallel with the passive construction whose the only argument is the patient / theme. However, both constructs result from the morphophrase laws that eliminate one NP, in this case the agent, to associate an NP that assumes the role of the patient / theme with the subject function. Further, the affinity between these two processes is underlined by Baker cited by Mchombo, to observe: it is well known that passive functions cross-linguistically to make sentences less agentive and more stative (Mchombo 2004:94 Apud Baker 1880:400). The stative expresses the result of an action or of a process and of a previous and confined there. But this action is not finished, therefore has a durational sense.

(37) a. tata ù-nà ù-lâmb-alâl-a vànà kyândù
1father 3SG-be 3SG-lie-EST-VF LOC 7mat
The father is lying on the mat

b. mw-ana ù-dìng-alâl-à k-kà
1child 3SG-shut EST-FV-3SG-be
The child is quiet

The two sentences above, demonstrate that this is not an action performed by another entity that is not the subject itself in that semantic terms is the patient / theme, which is the entity that is in a certain state: lying in (37a) and quiet in (37b). In (37a) the direct object, kyândù "mat", takes semiantically locative role.

Reciprocal Reflexivity

The study o verbal extensions in Kizombo shows that the reciprocal voice is expressed by the canonic morphemes -an-, -asan-, with contextual variations in -asayan-, azyan- that are mesoclisis suffixes placed between the root and the final vowel . While the reflexive voice is expressed by the prefix ki- which is a proclisis particle that precede the radical of the verb. What we denominate here reciprocal reflexivity is a new aspect of discourse in Kizombo that comes from the contact of languages. We have observed that actually exists a discourse conditioning of employment of reciprocal constructions in detriment of the reflexive one. This conditioning treatment of reciprocal through reflexive dictates a new semantic content sometimes hard to
realize. The speech presents a reflexive face but the underlying semantic content is reciprocal. This semantic and discursive shift in Kizombo results certainly from the influence of the Portuguese, since the notions for the expression of this voice are closer between the two languages, considering its colonial past. In other words, the bilingualism Portuguese-Kizombo keep away what is classic in Bantu because of the close relationship between the two languages. Let’s consider the following examples:

(38) Text: ...Vàvà à-lwk-à akikaysa, ibòsi à-yántik-a tál-a nsamu ...
quando 3PL-chegar-VF 3PL-REFL-abraçar-VF depois
3PL-iniciar-VF olhar-VF problema

When they arrived they embraced each other, then they began to solve the problem ...

(39) à-ki-káys-à
3SG-REFL-abraçar-FV

They embraced each other

We have here an uncommon reciprocal in Kizombo that we are going to discuss bellow. So we notice a relatively frequent use of these reciprocal reflexivity constructions that maybe the speakers are unaware that it is a mistake from the grammatical point of view. But the biggest explanation is the historical context of colonial past. The consequence is that it follows the gradual disappearance of the morpheme -an- of reciprocal replacing it with the morpheme ki- of reflexive to express the reciprocal act.

In the previous chapter we emphasize this fact showing that Kizombo is vulnerable to influences not only from neighboring dialects and Portuguese but also from neighboring languages, such as French and Lingala, because of its proximity to the Democratic Republic of Congo - DRC with whom it shares a long border and trade. Alias in this area, the boundary line between the two countries is only a legal issue but in practice the people is the same, they are all Bakongo, have the same habits and customs, speak the same language differing only in dialects, finally, have the same culture. Therefore, this new development of reflexive affecting the reciprocal was seen during our field work from our interviews and the discussions we had with our informants about the reflexive and reciprocal voice. To questions like, Luvumbu e Kisita beijaram-se "Luvumbu and Kisita kissed each other", Eleș abraçaram-se "they embraced each other", etc, that we will re-analyze here, their responses were:

(40) 1. O Luvumbu e a Kisita beijaram-se
a) beijaram-se: à-fib-anènè (reciprocal)
b) beijaram-se: à-yì-fibìdì (reciprocal reflexivity)
c) beijaram-se: à-ki-fibidi (reciprocal reflexivity)
(41) 2. Eleș abraçaram-se
a) abraçaram-se: à-yì-káysîsi (reciprocal reflexivity)
b) abraçaram-se: à-ki-káysì (reciprocal reflexivity)
(42) 3. Nós combatemo-nos sem causa
a) combatemo-nos: tükì-mwán-isi (reflexa ou recíproca? )

Looking closely at these examples, the distinction between the two voices is subject to semantic and discursive aspect of context. With the exception of (40a), the remaining analyzes show that:

1. In (40b) and (41a) exist the strong influence of neighboring dialects like kisikongo kisolongo and kinkanu.
2. In (40c) and (41b) stands the influence of bilingualism Portuguese-Kizombo and
3. In (42). the use of the personal pronoun tu- "we", which is semantically inclusive, leaves the question open, because, looking at the previous examples, this pronoun allows us to express reserves about the sense of the utterance. It is not clear whether it is a self action of the agent, that is, an action done by the agent against himself or is an action between different entities fighting each other . For this reason, only the context can allow us to determine its real sense. But we must take a great note about this discursive and semantic aspect that determines the employment of reciprocal in Kizombo. So, here is the harbinger of obsolete of reciprocal giving its precious place to the reflective in Kizombo. Although no examples is given, remember that this is the observation made by Schadeberg on Nurse and Phillipson (2006 : 76) already mentioned in this paper (cf 2.2.3.) that in most language of Angola (zones H, K, R) using the reciprocal -an- is more or less obsolete, its function was taken over by Concord of reflexive object. However, this does not mean that the extension of reciprocal -an- is no longer used. It still exists and is used distinctly within this confusion by those who, let us say, are unshaken by external influences. One of them was our informant from whom we received good and valuable input on this discussion.

Conclusion
The main focus of this article is the analysis of the verbal voice according to decreasing valence devices. It was observed that these affixes constitute a significant subgroup for this operations. They are involved in the construction of the argument structure of double object in different voices allowing the operation of demoting or elimination of one of the arguments of sentence. However, throughout this exercise, the root of the verb is the domain of significant linguistic process because it is that affixes operate. Among them all, the PV proved to be model, however, it is noticed that the lowering of the agent, that others call de-thematization, occurs with the displacement of the agent from its position of theme, which the most recurrent consequence is its suppression.

In REC, one or other of the two associated entities is vulnerable to demotion or elimination.

In REFJ justifies its separate treatment from the REC under morphological point of view as semantic. Here occurs the operation of elimination of NP oblique.

The MV, like the passive and reflexive, reveals that it is susceptible to eliminate all accessories of NP.

Finally, the EST is another operation that beforehand eliminates the NP agent associating a NP who assumes the role of patient /theme with the syntactic function of subject.

Reference List


