



# 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 Philippson 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

H.16h from Bantu H.16, Congo cluster (Guthrie 1971 updated by Nurse and Philippson 2006:647).

### 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 reporter suffixes before the final vowel (FV) of the infinitive. Let us consider:

(1) *vángà* → *to do*      *váng-w-à*      *be done*  
*sála*      *to work, help,*      *sál-asyan-à*      *to help each other,*  
*mutually.*

*zola*      *to love*      *kù-kì-zól-à/ki-zól-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

-an-, -asan-, -azian-	Reciprocal
ki-	Reflexive
-uk-, -ok-	Middle
-ik-, -ek-, -uk -	Stative

The table above displays six main verb extensions and seven allomorphs derived from phonological process. In other words, the reciprocal -an-, -asan- exhibits -aszyan- as its allomorph due to phonological conditions. Likewise, the middle -uk- , displays -ok- has its allomorph owing to phonological conditions. The stative -ik- exhibits -ek- , -uk- . So, coming to the passive, two allomorphs or two passive extensions have been reconstructed so far: -o- that occurs after the C and -ibw- that occurs after the vowel (V) (Stappers 1969). In our field work we found that Kizombo still retains the suffix -u- for the passive voice as allomorph in which occurs the assimilation of the basic form -w- well known in Bantu literature. This suffix -u- occurs in the last slot releasing the final vowel (FV) -a. Nevertheless, nowadays it is noted that in Kizombo both the suffix -w- as the suffix-u- undergo a another allophonic variation in -o. It is an allophone of free variation frequent in Kizombo. We can see this in the sentences below:

(3) a. e nkosi vondelwa: *The lion was killed*  
b. e nkòsi vòndèlù: *The lion was killed*  
c. e nkòsi vòndèlò: *The lion was killed*

Hence, the passive exhibits two others extensions or allomorphs -ew- and -iw- derived from phonological process of monosyllabic verbs like tá "beat" from which derives t-éw-à "to be beaten" and dyà "eat" from which derives d-iw-â "to be eaten".

### 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



The house is being built by Sebastia

-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 nsúsù  
1-child 3SG-OM1-scratch-PERF LOC 9chicken  
*The child was scratched by chicken*  
b. e Kalu dī-súkuk-idi  
AUG 5car 5-wash-PERF  
*The car was washed*  
c. e mpúkù a-m-bák-idi ku nisi  
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

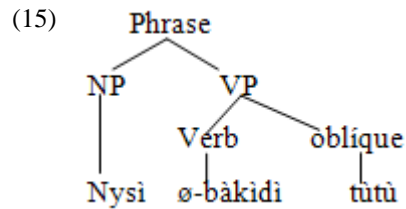
- (14) a. Nisi bák-idi tûtù  
cat catch-PER 10mouse  
*The cat caught the mouse*  
b. tûtù di-bak-il-u kwa nysi  
mouse 5-catch-PERF-PASS by cat  
*The mouse was caught by cat*

#### 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.

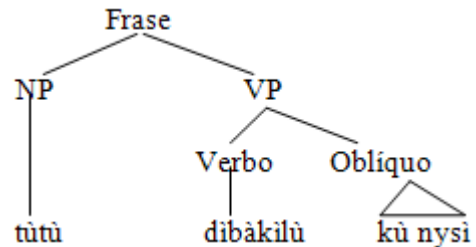
However, the study of verbal voice involves addressing the semantic functions that form a heterogeneous group. In this embodiment some perform the functions of the agent and others patient who are recipients of the central inherent meaning of the predicate. Thus, they constitute the semantic rationality 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. Givón (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:



*The cat caught the mouse*

Converted into passive sentence the scheme would be:



*The mouse was caught by cat*

In (15) the cat is the agent and the mouse the patient.

In terms of valency decreasing we can say:

- (23) Tûtù dī-bák-il-ù  
mouse 5-catch-PERF-PASS  
*The mouse was caught [by cat]*

#### 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.

- (16) a. Kyala súmb-i-idi mw-àna velo  
Kyala buy-APPL-PST 1-child bike  
*Kyala bought a bike for child*  
b. mw-àna súmb-il-u velo  
1-child buy-APPL-PASS PERF bike  
*Child was bought the velo*  
c. velo yi-sumb-il-u mw-ana  
bike 8-buy-APPL-PASS PERF child  
*The bike was bought for child*

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. Mbûzi 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 committative construction.

- (18) a. Mkángó ndí kálúlu ?-ku-páts-án-á mphâso. (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 mphâso ndí kálúlu. (Mchombo)  
3-lion 3SM-pres-give- recip-fv 10-gifts with 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. sála *to help* sal-azyan-a *help each other (mutually)*

Schadeberg (Nurse and Phillipson 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:

a) - 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 → N1 V N2 and N2 V N1 [each other]. In Kizombo will be translated into: N1 and N2 -an-VF → N1 V N2 and N2.V N1 [each other] So, this formula reveals what is called restricted reciprocal voice (Creissels 2006b.: 30).

- (21) a. Mäsälà yé Kilèndà ø-èlà mòn-àn-à kùnà bàsi  
Masala e Kilenda 3PL-AUX meet -RECIP-FV LOC 5fam  
*Masala and Kilenda went to meet in the farm [ each other]*  
*Masala and Kilenda went to meet each other in the farm.*  
b. Mäfütà yé Nkòsi kù Berlin à-záy-àn-ènè  
Mafuta and Nkosi LOC Berlin 3PL-know -RECIP-PERF  
*Mafuta and Nkosi know in Berlin [each other]*  
*Mafuta and Nkosi know each other in Berlin*  
c. Luvumbu ye Kisita a-fib-an-ene  
Luvumbu and Kisita 3PL-kiss -RECIP-PERF  
*Luvumbu and Kisita kissed [each other]*  
*Luvumbu e Kisita kissed each other*

Normally, the restricted reciprocal entails two participants. For example, in (21b) means that each of the two members of the group reacts in such a way that both met at the same time: Mafuta met Nkosi and Nkosi also met Mafuta. The relationship is restrict assuming each one the two roles of agent and patient.

b) - The verb is preceded by a NP in the plural followed by an auxiliary.

- (22) a. è mbwà z-ètù vónd-àn-à  
AUG 10dog 10-AUX kill-RECIP-FV  
*The dogs are killing themselves [one another, each other, mutually].*  
b. è mà-kàlù mà-tút-àn-ènè  
AUG 6-car s 6-collide-RECIP-PERF  
*The cars collided up [each other, one another, mutually].*

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:

- (23) a. Yákòbò , Yóbì yé mòndò tù-zól-àn-àng-à  
James , Job and I 1PL-love -RECIP-DUR-VF  
*James, Job and I, we love each other [mutually].*  
b. e mì-nkwikisi mù káy-àzyàn-à è-nà  
AUG 4believes LOC embrace -RECIP-FV 3PL-AUX  
*The believes are embracing each others [themselves mutually]*

In (23a) come up the durative marker or morpheme which semantically indicates that the relationship between the actants is permanent and customary.

### Argument Structure and Semantic Functions

Therefore, semantic functions are relations of meaning expressed by syntactic functions themselves. The semantic functions specify the roles that the referents of terms involved play in the situation designated by the predication in which these terms occur. Reciprocal verbs require more than one agent and

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. Yòwàni yé Madiyà 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.*  
b. Yòwàni yé Madiyà 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. Lùkà yé Luisa à-kwél-àn-èn-èn mùnà ò-bùndù vâ ndòsè yâ mbàngì zâ-yìngì  
Lucas e Luisa 3PL-marry -REC -PERF LOC 5-church  
LOC face of 9witnesses 10 several  
*Lucas and Luisa married [each other] in the church in front of several witnesses*  
b. Lùkà yé Luisa à-kwél-àn-èn-èn mùnà ò-bùndù  
Lucas and Luisa 3PL-marry-RECIP-PERF LOC 5-church  
*O Lucas and Luisa married [each other] in the church.*  
c. Lùkà ye Luisa à-kwél-àn-èn-èn  
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 two clauses of type N1 and N2 V themselves → N1 V himself with N2 / N2 V himself with N1, that can be represented in Kizombo as follow: N1 V -an- yé N2 / N2 V -an- yé N1. Consider:

- (26) a. Luka ø-kwél-àn-èn-èn 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-èn-èn yé Luka  
Luisa 3SG-marry-RECIP-PERF with Lucas  
*Luisa married with Lucas.*  
b. Luisa ø-kwél-èlè  
Luisa 3SG-marry -REC-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:

- (28) Chichewa: Mkóngó u-na-dzí-súpúl-a.  
3-lion 3SM-pst-reflex-bruise-fv  
*The lion bruised itself.*  
Swahili: Mvuvi a-li-ji-kat-a.  
1-fisherman 1SM-pst-reflex-cut-vf  
*The fisherman cut himself.*  
Xhosa: Umntwana u-ya-zi-hlmb-a.  
1-child 1SM-pres-reflex-wash-fv  
*The child washes himself.*

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-mêmes, ils / elles-mêmes. Then consider the following:

- (29) zola to love kù-kì-zól-à/ ki-zola love myself, yourself, etc  
lwékà to injure kù-ki-lwék-a/ki-lweka injure myself, yourself, etc.  
vóndà to kill kù-ki-vónd-à/kivonda kill myself, yourself, etc.f

According to Mbiavanga (2008:124), in Kikongo the reflexive has a similar effect to that of the reciprocal, passive and stative. They bind the theme to subject creating co-referentiality, as such, will be treated like these affixes. Let us take illustrations:

- (30) a. Lutetu ù-ki-lwék-èlè  
Lutetu 1SM-REFL-injure-PERF  
*O 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-kì-lwék ele 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.



**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 nlele 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).

(32) a. báka to tear, to rend bákamato tear, to be or become rent, to get torn

b. ziwula to open ziwuka to be or become open

c. wútà to give birth wùt-ùk-à to be or become born

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 Portuguese. 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. ndyóyò mw-àná mazono ka-wut-uk-idi  
DEM 1-bébé MOD MS-birth-MV-PERF

Litt: *This child he born himself yesterday*  
*This baby was born yesterday*

b. e kinzò kî-tél-òk-èlè và tiyà

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 nzò-yi-món-ek-ene

AUG 9casa 9-see-MID-PERF

*The house was seen / The house appeared*

b. e mà-dyà mà-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, (Bednářová 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.

(35) móna	to see	món-ek-a	be seen
bindawá	to lock	bind-ik-a	be closed
wúta	to born	wut-uk-a	be born

Consider the following sentence:

(36) mwana mon-ek-ene

1child see-STA-PERF

*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 morpholexical 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 (Mchomb 2004.:94 Apud Baker 1880:400). . The stative expresses the result of an action or of a previous process and confined there. But this action is not finished, therefore has a durational sense.

(37). a. tata ù-nà ù-lám-b-alal-a vànà kyàndù

1father 3SG-be 3SG-lie-EST-VF LOC 7mat

*The father is lying on the mat*

b. mw-ana ù-díng-alal- à kè-nà

1-child 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 that in 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, kyàndù "mat", takes semantically 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 -asyan-, azyan- that are mesoclisal 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: ...Vàvâ à-lwák-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-kì-káys-à

3SG-REFL-abraçar-FV

*They embraced each other*

We have here an uncommon reciprocal in kizombo that we are going to discuss below. 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 bejaram-se "Luvumbu and Kisita kissed each other", Eles abraçaram-se "they embraced each other", etc, that we will re-analyze here, their responses were:

(40) 1. *O Luvumbu e a Kisita bejaram-se*

a) bejaram-se: à-fib-ànènè (reciprocal)

b) bejaram-se: à-yì-fibidì (reciprocal reflexivity)

c) bejaram-se: à-ki-fibidi (reciprocal reflexivity)

(41) 2. *Eles abraçaram-se*

a) abraçaram-se: à-yì-káyìsì (reciprocal reflexivity)

b) abraçaram-se: à-kì-káyìsì (reciprocal reflexivity)

(42) 3. *Nós combatemo-nos sem causa*

a) combatemo-nos: tù-kì-nwán-isì (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 REFL 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.

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