

ROMAN STOPA

PASSIVE VOICE ON THE BACKGROUND OF OTHER MORPHOLOGICAL PROCESSES IN AFRICAN LANGUAGES

I. a) Passive Voice does not belong to the early processes of language productivity. It requires some higher stage of psychic and culture to be objective, to go over to the object of an action as to the primordial factor of the happening, while the emotional point of view of primitive man directs his attention, after the predicate, first to the subject of the action, being the source of any change in the situation. Some similar attitude is proper to the egocentric psychic of the child that begins to use passive constructions rather very late (sometimes at the age of 4 years), generally at the age of $2\frac{1}{2}$ or even 3 years.

b) It will be of use to show the premises leading to this highly complicated process, and perhaps even to touch the fundamental circumstances, in which the rise of Passive and similar formes began to be something like an inevitable necessity. Therefore, we seem to be justified, when starting at an early point of language evolution and giving to the problem some deep and broad background, in the following we gradually restrain its reach to some similar constructions in African languages and finally concentrate our attention on the process and its equivalents themselves. Thus, at the very beginning we give, in a very succinct (tabular) form (Table I.), some outline of the origin of linguistic categories, such as Noun and Verb. As we have treated the matter more exhaustively in the study *The Origin of Human Speech in the Light of Anthropology and Comparative Linguistics* (see „Przegląd Antropologiczny“, v. XXII, Wrocław 1956, pp. 333—470, where an English Summary is added on pp. 464—466)¹, we many point to it for anyone who is more interested in the details.

¹ See also the review of this article by J. Schwidetzky in „Homo“, Band IX. Heft 2.

c) In Africa, where according to the last publications in Anthropology and Archeology man and speech originated, we find the most primitive form of speech in the languages of Bushmen. In these languages, however, the stage of linguistic evolution, in which there appears some difference in the function of Noun and Verb, has been reached already or it is in „*statu nascendi*“. The same is to be said about the next, the most closely related to Bushman, Group of African, viz. the Kwa Group of Sudanic. Therefore, in order to restrain our investigation to the Verb and Verbal Derivatives we do not continue depicting the rise of further linguistic categories, but we try to show the development of the Verb amongst other linguistic means.

II. As it cannot be done otherwise than showing the form and function of the Verb on the successive levels of language development, so we give an outline of the characteristic of the main 4 Groups of African languages dealing mainly with the Verb and its supplements.

1. In Africa we have to do, let us say roughly, with 5 language groups, viz. 1) The Hottentot-Bushman, 2) the Sudanic, 3) the Bantu, 4) the Hamitic and 5) the Semitic. Some africanists consider Nilotic as a separate group, but others assign it partly to the Sudanic and partly to Hamitic. We may follow the last ones, and even as to the above enumerated 5 groups we may add that there are good reasons to treat the 1st and the 2nd ones jointly¹ as well as the 4th and 5th ones; the two latter ones too display so many structural similarities that most authorities on the field of African languages speak of a Hamito-Semitic language family.

2. In this respect we should like to express even the opinion that in principle we share the views of Reinisch (and in some period those of Meinhof) who maintained that all African languages derive from a common language stock, forming in some way one developmental sequence of genetically related groups of languages. In order to facilitate the comparison we shall give the main features of the verbal processes in Hottentot-Bushman on one side and those of Sudanic (chiefly Kwa) on the other one.

¹ R. Stopa, *Bushman and Hottentot among the Isolating Languages of Africa*, „Rocznik Orientalistyczny“, v. XVII. Kraków 1953, pp. 351—371.

A) 1) MORPHOLOGICAL ELEMENTS

Formantia, particles are very scarce; their function is performed by:

a) meaningful words (mainly substantives or verbs):

- | | |
|---|--|
| N. <i>di</i> „to make“, particle for the Possessive Case | E. <i>vá</i> „to come“, particle for the Future Tense (K. <i>ba</i> „to come“) |
| K. <i>ti</i> „become, make“ (E. <i>di</i> „id“) | E. <i>ga</i> , particle for the Iterativum (N. <i>/gám-à</i> „twice“) |
| N. <i>gé, gó</i> „to see“, particles for building tenses | E. <i>tó</i> „to pass through“, as a preposition „through“ |
| N. <i>/kχá-b</i> „body, side“, <i>/kχa</i> „with“ | E. <i>tso</i> „to cross“, as a preposition „over“ |
| N. <i>!ná-b</i> „belly“, <i>!na</i> „in“ | E. <i>ná</i> „to give“, particle for the Dative Case, e. g. D. <i>nja ná-m</i> „wash give me = „wash for me“ |
| N. <i>χú</i> „leave“, <i>χu</i> „from“ | |
| N. <i>-ba</i> , the applicative form of the verb, e. g. | E. <i>tsó</i> „to take, from, with, through“, e. g. <i>étsó dōme yeyi ji afé</i> „he-took belly empty went home“ — „he went home without eating“ |
| N. <i>/á:bà te</i> „wash for me“, N ₁ <i>/k'ana:mi</i> „wash give me = wash for me“, cp. | |
| N. <i>mà</i> , C ₂ <i>má:</i> , N ₁ <i>na</i> „to give“ | |
| N. <i>nī</i> particule for the Future tense (D. <i>nī</i> „to be (something)“ | |

b) word combinations analysing the action, e. g.:

- | | |
|--|---|
| N. <i>tita nī si- !kχa /!óě-s !na</i> „I shall go-take the wood's interior“ — „I shall go to the wood“ | E. <i>m-á-yi dé a-vé me</i> „I- come-go reach wood interior“ |
| N. <i>tita nī !kχó-i ≠-nūi-//ná</i> „I shall take-it put (to)-fall“ = „I shall put it down“ | E. <i>m-á-tso-è dà di</i> „I-come-take-it put lay down“ = „I shall put it down“ |

- N. *tita ra !gǎ-//ga gje* „I take going- to-place“ = „I am about to go“
 E. *me-le yiyi gé* „I-take going (to) place“ = „I am about to go“
- N₁ *si xú na m ///gú* „go, dig (for) give me water“ = „give me water“
 E. *yi ku si vá ná m* „go, dig water, come, give me = give me water“

2. Word order in sentences

Generally the predicate follows the subject and precedes the object, though there are languages, mainly in the H.-B. Group, where the S(ubject) + O(bject) + P(redicate) order is prevalent, e. g.

- N. *//éib go mǔ kxóëb-à* „He did see man-this“ = „he saw the man“
 E. *é a-kpó nǔtsù-á* „he did-see man this“ = „he saw the man“

The SOP order appears in such sentences as:

- N. *tita ra omsa di* „I take house make“ = „I am making the house“
 E. *me-le dǎ wǎ-m* „I take work do-the interior“ = „I am doing the work“
- Au. */geki //an-si /ú:sa* „women hut-this build“
 Malinke- *a soo bugo* „he the horse struck“
- ≠ Kh. *kǎrlǎ ce !vǎũ /kx'a /hou* „jackal here hare kills dances“ — „jackal kills hare with rejoicing“.

The SOP order seems to be more primitive, because we find it in the language of gestures.

3. Reduplication as a structuralizing factor

a) plural by reduplication

Sometimes (in H.-B. and also in Sudanic) the plural is formed by reduplication or by adding a word meaning „group, child, people“, e. g.

- α) S₁ *!noa*, pl. *!noa !noa* „foot“
 (cp. E. *a-fo* „id“)
 Gě: *sane*, pl. *sǎdǎzi sǎdǎzi* „story“, cp. Hau. *'da:* pl. *dja, 'dja* „son“
- β) partial reduplication:
 S₁ *!nuntu*, pl. *!nu !nuntu* „ear“
 (cp. Hau. *kune:*, pl. *kunua, kunue:* „id“)
 T. *ekuw*, pl. *akuw-akuw* „heap“, cp. Hau. *za:ki*, pl. *za:ko:ki* „lion“, Hau. *hats'i*, pl. *hats'ai-ts'ai* „corn“
- γ) by a word meaning „people“
 T. *enǎ*, pl. *enǎnom* „mother“, -*nom* means „people“
 S₁ *//kǎ*, pl. *//kande* „brother“
 (in the *//n* Bushman language *de* means „men“)
 Gě: *ne*, pl. *nemei* „mother“, -*mei* is plural of *mo* „man“
- /Au. *tu* „mouth“ *tuke* „men“
 literally „mouth-people“ = „men“ (in S₁ *!k'e* or *!ke* means „people“, e. g. */xam ka !ke* „Bushmen“)
 Gě: *gbekě*, pl. *gbekě-bii* „child“, *bii* as a separate word means „children“
- N. *kxóë-b*, pl. *kxóë-gu* < **kxoe-//gu* „man“; *//gǔ-b* means „father“ cp. C₂ *kwe-ba*, pl. *kwe-kwa* „man“
 T. *afe*, pl. *afefo* „comrade“, *fo* means „person“; as a sign of plural it is used collectively, meaning „group of persons“
- N₂ *//go:* „man“
 T. *a-de*, pl. *nnewa* < **n-deba* „thing“, *ma* or *wa* < **ba*, „child“
- N. *kxóë-s*, pl. *kxóë-ti* „woman“
 in N₁ *tǐ* or *dǐ* means „female“.

4. No passive voice

Generally it is expressed by the active form with the subject „people“, „they“, „one“, e. g.

- N₂ *!gǎi !kxari hoga /e* or *!kú* „the tree shade found one“
 or „man“ = „the shade of a tree was found“
 E. *amesiámè lǎ wó* „everyone loved them“ = „they were loved by everyone“
- The same sentence in Nama:
haib dǎ sómi gje go ho-he

N₁ !ku means „man“, /e means „one“; with N. -he cp.
N₂ ha and Korana he „he“.

5) Structure of Sudanic + H.-B. and that of Bantu

Differences in construction of words, phrases and sentences between Sudanic and Bantu languages are the same as those between Hottentot-Bushman and Bantu:

Sudanic + H.-B.	Bantu
suffixes of locative, postpositions	prefixes of locative
suffixes of plural	plural prefixes
class suffixes (if any)	class prefixes
Possessor before the thing possessed; possessive pronoun before the noun. Word order in sentences SOP and SPO.	Possessor after the thing possessed; possessive pronoun after the noun. Word order in sentences SPO.

B) IN DELIVERING THE CHARACTERISTIC OF THE VERB IN BANTU WE FOLLOW ALICE WERNER¹

First of all, we may give an example of the Verb in a sentence:

ki-kombe/ ch-angu ki-me-vunjika; m-tu huyu a-me-ki-vunja
it-cup it-my it-finish-be broken; the-face this he-finish-it-
break i. e. My cup has been broken; this man has broken it.

The normal Bantu verb-stem is of two syllables and ends in *a*. There are a few monosyllables, probably very old roots. Verb-stems of more than two syllables are either borrowed or „Derived Forms“².

As shown in our specimen sentence, the verb, with its pronouns and tense-infix forms an indivisible unit. The stem (which does not vary, except in the Subjunctive and, sometimes, in the Per-

¹ *Structure and Relationship of African Languages*, London 1930, pp. 46—47.

² See below.

fect, and in the Present Negative) is never found alone, except in the Imperative. The Infinitive has the prefix *ku*, except in some of the Western languages, where this is lost, or replaced by *i*. The order of parts in the verb is thus:

Subject-Pronoun + Tense-Infix + Object-Pronoun (if any) + Stem.

The Subjunctive and (in some cases) an Indefinite Present have no tense-infix. There is a distinct Negative conjugation of the verb which, in the Indicative tenses, has a Negative particle prefixed to the Subject-Pronoun, and in the Subjunctive inserted after it. It sometimes (but not always) changes the final *a* in the Present to *i*.

Verbs have, in addition to the Passive, a number of „voices“ or Derived Forms, distinguished by suffixes and each of them fully conjugated as an independent verb. The chief of these are the Neuter-Passive (more or less corresponding to the Greek Middle), the Applied (or Prepositional), the Causative, the Intensive, the Reciprocal, the Reversive, the Stative and some others. Thus in Swahili we have *vunja*, „break“, with Passive *vunjwa*, Neuter-Passive *vunjika*, Causative *vunjisha*, Reciprocal *vunjana*. (Of course all verbs are not equally susceptible of all these modifications). These forms can be compounded with each other to any extent; and it is quite possible to have three or four suffixes attached to the same verb-stem.

C) HAMITIC VERB HAS MOSTLY THE FORM C + V + C (+ V)

There are feminine personal pronouns for the second and third persons singular, but no distinction of gender in the plural. In Shilha, however, all three persons are masculine and feminine in the plural, Somali has exclusive and inclusive forms for the first person plural: i. e. one word for „we“ if only the speaker and the person addressed are meant, but a different one if meaning „you and I and the others“.

This feature is not uncommon outside Africa, especially in the languages of Melanesia.

Verbs are often inflected to express a *locative* conception. We all know that the notion of space is more primitive than that of

time, and that of time than that of causation. As the object of the verb is that *towards* which the action is directed, this direction can be expressed by a particle meaning „motion towards“, i. e. motion towards the object, away from the subject. In the passive, this relation is reversed. We should expect „here“ and „hither“ to belong together, and likewise „there“ and „thither“, but the Hamitic, Bantu, and Sudanic languages have this in common, that they conceive motion with regard to the point from which it starts, not from the point at which it arrives; therefore, *hither* = distance, *thither* = nearness.

Thus the Swahili, says for „dismount“, „come down (from“ on top of the horse“ (*shuka juu ya farasi*), and nearer home, we have the French, *boire dans un verre*; English „drink out of a glass“, is, after all, perhaps, less logical. To us, would seem, causal relations are more important than those of space or time.

In Hausa, the vowel *i* expresses nearness, *u* distance; and this may be the reason why the Passive ends in *u*. But there seems to be some deep-lying association of this vowel with the Passive, which is not confined to the Hamitic family. On the one hand, we have, the Arabic: *qatala*, „he killed“, *qutla*, „he was killed“; on the other, the Bantu Passive suffix is *wa* (= *u* + *a*). Here we have given the opinion of Alice Werner, the eminent africanist, as to the character of the Passive *-u* in Hamitic and Semitic languages. We do not share these views, and we shall discuss the matter below.

Hausa has a further inflexion indicating that a verb is followed by an object: it then ends in *i*, otherwise in *a*, (cp. Bantu *pa* „give“: *pewa* < *pa-i-wa* „be given“ = give-it-somebody).

Hamitic verbs have a Causative (in Galla this closely resembles a Bantu Causative) and other derived forms, though they are not so numerous as in Bantu.

Some languages have two conjugations of verbs, distinguished as „strong“ and „weak“, i. e. with internal vowel shifting or not.

Tenses are formed by means of suffixes and prefixes.

III. Now let us go over to the formation of the Passive Voice in the three groups of African languages.

A) As to Hottentot-Bushman we may repeat the negative statement, used already, when giving some general features of the

Groups referring to the Verb: In principle, there is no Passive Voice.

However, there are Verbal Derivatives and even some substitutes of Passive Voice if not in Bushman, so at least in Hottentot, which can be attributed to Hamitic influence or to Hamitic component of Hottentot. Let us, first, quote the respective material and then try to explain it.

a) Thus, in Southern Bushman ($\neq$ Khomani) L. F. Maingard observes: „The $\neq$ khomani speaker remains true to his standpoint, which is again that of the primitive mind. He does not need a passive voice. If you ask him to say „I am killed by him“, he translates: *kwa* /*kχ'a* 'n: i. e. „he (man) kills me“.

In Northern Bushman (!*Kū*) we find the form with *ti* at the beginning of the sentence, which seems to be some impersonal locution and substitutes our Passive Voice. Besides, this Formative *ti* (*di*) means „thing, place“, and is to be confronted with Nama Suffix *-i* building the so-called genus commune. In Ful *i* „it“ is used as a Subject Pronoun for all the Non-Person Classes. Some examples of sentences with *ti* may follow now:

1) *ti* $\neq$ *ám* *mí* „somebody (lit. a thing) beats me“ or „I am beaten“;

2) *tí* *gò* — *sín* *gàsn* „one saw them“ (*gà-sn*), i. e. „the things“ („them“ = „persons“ would be *ha-sn*, because *ha*, *he* in Northern Bushman means „he“).

3) *tí* — *sín* *hà* „one-sees him“ or „he is seen“.

In Central Bushman (Naron), which is closely related to Hottentot, we have a substitute of Passive Voice similar to that of Hottentot:

tira *χau* „I cut“: *tira* *χau-e* „I am cut“.

In Hottentot the same sentence would be:

tita (*ra*) /*kào* „I cut“: *tita* (*ra*) /*kào-he* „I am cut (scratched).“

In the central dialect of Masarwa (Tati) Bushmen the sentence would sound:

tíra /*kau* „I cut“: *tíra* /*kau-(h)e* „I am cut“.

The Formative *he* does not exist in Nama as a separate word, but it exists in the Korana dialect of Hottentot:

Kor. *hē* „this“ (or *hè-hé* „this“) is the Demonstrative Pronoun and corresponds with Nama *ne* „this“.

The *h* sound is here like in Nama very weak and very often it is omitted; so *-he* becomes easily *-e* in Naron (and as it will be seen below in Songhai, which also underwent some Hamitic influence¹ as Naron did the Hottentot one).

Then some sort of a glide (or gliding sound) is added to the preceding vowel. Examples with *h*: Kor. *bē-hē* „to be taken away“ from *be* ‘to take away’; Kor. *kora-he* ‘to be scraped off’ from *kora* „to scrape off“. *sī-ba-he* „to be sent“ from *sī-ba* „to send to“.

Examples with dropped *h* in Korana:

/o-/ouē „to be dried“ from */o-/o* „to dry“; *thū-thūōē* „to be hurt“ from *thū-thū* „to hurt“; in sentences: *||χa-||χa-kχ’ao-b’ a-da hā-b χa ||na-|χa-e* „teacher our horse from fall-with“ i. e. „our teacher was thrown down by the horse“; *tsī !kχam-m-a kuru-|χa-ē* „and gruel make-with-he“ = and somebody makes gruel with (it)“ or „and gruel is made with (it)“.

It is interesting to observe here, in which circumstances Passive Voice arose and which the premises were that produced such an objectifying mental process. First of all it is worth noticing that it was with the Hamites, with Hamitic objectiveness in life and thought that objective means of expression came into existence. That is why we consider all true Passive forms, i. e. forms with Passive Formatives to derive from Hamitic source or under Hamitic influence. This is to be said of all African formation of Passive, that in Bantu as well as that in Sudanic (see below).

One of the basic premises for building Passive is to put the Object before the Predicate, as a rule, of course; because sporadic use cannot be of any value in forming new habits of grasping and arranging the elements of a situation. O(bject) + P(redicate) + S(ubject) is a rule for Hamitic just as it was for some older strata of Indoeuropean (cp. in Latin *agrum colit*, *agri-cola* or *agri-cola pater* „field-plough(s) father“). In conformity with this it was in Hamitic languages that suffixation of pronominal Subject began, and this linguistic habit — it was not of a steady, constant character, because OPS and SPO coexisted and still now coexist in many Hamitic languages, generally being used for special kinds of action

¹ Baumann-Thurnwald-Westermann, *Völkerkunde von Afrika*, Essen 1940, p. 15.

and time — constitutes the second basic premise for the rise of Passive Voice. All this can be illustrated in Korana. There we find word compounds the pattern of which is just the above mentioned word order OPS, e. g.

≠uri-kuru-kχ’aob „iron-work(ing)-man“, i. e. „the smith“; this can be translated in the way of Passive too, viz. „iron-(being) work(-ed)-(by) man“;

su-kuru-kχ’aos f. „pot-work-woman“, or „pot(s)-made-(by) woman“, i. e. „the potter“;

!hari-de-kχ’u-kχ’aob „village-s-run-man“; i. e. „slanderer“;

khoē-!gām-kχ’aob „people-kill(ing)-man“ or passively „people-(are) kill(-ed)-(by) man“, i. e. „murderer“. In Korana we find pronominal Subject following as well as preceding the Verb, and even we have sentences without any Subject (which in some languages, as we shall see below, produces impersonal expressions meaning Passive Voice).

Example of OSP:

!χobi-r na ≠ae „(a) pipe-I now smoke“, but, when the action (of smoking) should be stressed, one can say equally well *≠ae-r na !χobi* „smok(ing)-I now (a) pipe“ (PSO).

Further examples of PS:

mū-r na „see-I now“, i. e. „I see“;

|kχ’an na |ae-b-i „smoke(s) now the fire“.

In using SP the Subject can be stressed by repeating it in a pronominal form, e. g.

he haib bi na ham „this tree, it now smells“.

Examples of sentences without Subject (it is to be completed according to the situation):

||goe tsī ||’um „(they were) ly(ing) and sleep(ing)“;

≠nau re ko-a „(he) beat me finish(-ed)“;

≠nau na |gona „(he) beat(s) now children“ or „beaten are now children“.

In Nama the process of forming Passive Voice is very similar to that of Korana. One can say:

|genan gje gamate ra ||nora „flies here cows now tease“, i. e. „flies tease the cows“. The same sentence can be put into the Passive Voice:

gámati gje /genan xa ra //nora-he

„cows here flies by now tease-d (are)“, i. e.

„the cows are teased by the flies“.

At any rate we observe here one step of further evolution in comparison with Korana. While in Korana *//nora-he* „be teased“ we see an agglutinating process, because *hē* exists here as a separate word meaning „this, that, he“, in Nama *//nora-he* is already an inflected construction, because any connexion of the Suffix *-he* was lost at the moment, when out of two forms (doublets) *he:ne* „this“ used indiscriminately in Old Hottentot (or in Pre-Hamitic) *he* went out of use in Nama, *ne* being the only Demonstrative of this kind.

b) Now, let us go over to the Passive Voice (if any) in Sudanic. Here our materials are rather scarce and rely mainly upon the *Handbook of African Languages Part II. Languages of West Africa* by Dietrich Westermann and M. Bryan, Oxford 1952.

α) Languages other than Fulani — In most of the languages there is no Passive Voice, but there is a Passive Reflexive in Wolof, with Suffix *-u*, e. g. *sopa* „love“: *sop-u* „be loved“, and in Limba, with Suffix *-o* (cp. the Passive Suffix *-u* in Bantu, which will be discussed later on).

β) Mande languages — there is no true Passive Voice, but a Neuter-Passive is formed by inflexion of the stem.

γ) Songhai: Here the Passive Voice appears to be one of the Verbal Derivatives, which are formed by Particles, mostly Suffixes, e. g. Grebo:

-o Direction away from the speaker:

hada „carry“ *hada-o* „carry away“

-e Causative or Applicative:

we „come out“ *we-e* „cause to go out“

pe „put“ *pe-e* „put to“

-de Applicative or Instrumental:

kya-da „laugh“ (Past); *okya-de-da mo* „he laughed at me“

nu „do“ *onu-ne-na-netu* „he did it with a stick“

-r- or -l- Reversive:

ka „close“ *kre* „open“

cp. Abri *ka* „close“, *kra* „open“; Noyo *ka* „open“, *kla* „close“, cp. Ful the so-called IV. Conjugation: *-ra* < *da* for the Present, *-ri* for the Preterite, e. g. *djala* „to laught (at)“: *djalira* „to laugh for himself“, *djo:da* „to sit“: *djo:dira* „to sit down, be seated“; cp. also the Indoeuropean *-r* as a morpheme to build Passive Voice, and the Arabic *-ta* for Reflexivum.

Grebo -e Intransitive-Passive:

ε nu-e „it was done“; *ko-e* „to be born“

This morpheme is to be compared with the Ful Intransitivum or Medium, which — according to Westermann — not seldom is also purely passive; thus, in the Preterite, Active *mi war-i* „I killed“ (cp. Lat. *interfec-i* „I killed“) but Medium *mi war-ε* „I was dead“ (Gr. *ἀπεκτενω-μην* „I was killed, I was dead“).

The source of the above morpheme *-e* seems to be *-he*, building the Passive Voice in Nama Hottentot, e. g. *khóëb-gje go- !gám-è* „the man was killed“, lit. „man — look here — kill he“, i. e. „the man, there was somebody (*-he*) who killed him“. The Nama morpheme *-he* derives from Bushman *S₄ he, e, S₅ e, ea, ha, S₆ e, e-e, N₃ ha, a, e* „he“.

δ) There are no Verbal Derivatives in Kwa languages. There is no Passive Voice. An impersonal form of the Verb in Igbo is expressed by omission of the Subject. In Ewe the Passive is rendered by the third person plural:

wótsò ta le énú „they cut head being (on) his top“ or — „his head was cut off“; *amesiámè lɔ́ wó* „everybody loved them“ — „they were loved by everybody“.

ε) In Tiv there are no Verbal Derivatives. There is no special Passive form; an impersonal Pronoun *i-* is used.

η) Efik does not seem to possess a great number of Verbal Derivatives, Some Verbs have a Reflexitive-Passive formed by a vowel Suffix, e. g. *buk* „bury“, *bux-o* „to be buried“. A few Verbs form an Inversive by the Suffix *-re*.

In Ibibio, however, Verbal Derivatives (Reflexive-Passive, Inversive, Reciprocal) are much more common.

θ) In Ogoni Andoni there is an Inversive formed by various Suffixes, as a trace of Verbal Derivatives. There is no Passive.

ζ) In Chadic Languages, a number of Verbal Derivatives, formed by Suffixes, have been noted in Bura dialects. They include a Reflexive-Passive, a Causative, Directionals (expressing „out of“, „away“ etc.). The Suffixes can be combined together.

ι) The Kotoko-Group. The Verb in Masa is conjugated by putting special forms of the Personal Pronouns before the Verb Stem, but the Pronoun is omitted if the Subject is a Noun. The Verb Stem undergoes several modifications by Suffixes or Particles, the latter generally standing at the end of the sentence. Tenses and Verbal Derivatives made in this way are: Perfect, Prefective, Durative, Passive-Intransitive, Reciprocal, Directional, and probably others.

κ) In Hausa there are Verbal Derivatives, formed by Suffixes, e. g.

hàrb-àa „shoot at“ (the Basic form is *hàrb-à* „shoot off“),

hàrb-è „shoot down“

sáy-óo „buy and bring“

sáy-ás „sell“

bùg-ú „be thoroughly beaten“

bùb-bùg-à (< *bùg-bùg-à*) „beat many times, many things successively etc. In the first Verbal Derivative given above there is a change of final vowel when followed by an Object, e. g.:

náa hàrb-ì mùtùm „I shot at a man“

náa hàrb-ée jì „I shot at him“.

In some Verbs the Verbal Derivative in *-u* is an Intransitive-Passive. It could be said therefore that a Passive form exists, but its use as a simple Passive is not general. This *-u* Formative is related to the mentioned Wolof Suffix *-u*, e. g. *sopa* „love“: *sop-u* „be loved“. Both of them have the same source in Bushman *!ku* „man“. Its form is S_1 *!ku*, *!kwi*, S_2 *!kwa*, S_3 *kwi(la)*, N_1 *zu:*, $N_{2,3}$ *dzu:*, *zu:*, N_2 *ʔu* „man“. Its use as Formative, building Passive Voice is similar to the above mentioned Hottentot *-he* and both of them may be illustrated by the following example:

N_2 *!gǎi !kxari ho-ga /e* or *!kú* „the tree shade found one“ or „man“ = „the shade of a tree was found“. The same sentence in Nama is: *haib di sòmì gje go ho-he*. As it was pointed above

!ku means „man“, */e* means „one“, and the Nama *-he* is to be confronted with Korana *he* „he“.

Generally speaking, Bantu languages constitute in many respects a continuation of Sudanic (especially of Kwa and some related Groups), so that for many africanists the developmental sequence of African languages runs in this way:

1. (Hottentot-) Bushman and the lost Pygmy languages, the traces of which are to be seen in some Pygmy languages of nowadays;¹ 2. Sudanic (and Nilotic); 3. Bantu; 4. Hamitic.

B) In Bantu the situation in forming Passive Voice is almost uniform, except in some languages like Kwangali², or Mbundu³, where it is substituted by an active construction. Thus, as it was already mentioned above, the Passive is formed in the Bantu languages generally by the insertion of *w* before the final vowel of the root in polysyllabic Verbs and by the insertion of *-iw-* or some equivalent (*-uw-*, *-ew-*) in monosyllabic Verbs. Meinhof is right in assuming the older form *-iywa*.

a) The *-i-* may have come into the Suffix in the same way as in Hausa ante-pronominal form of the Verb, e. g. *buga* „to beat“, but *yā buga + i* > *-bugē shi* „he struck him“; *i* means in Hausa „he, it“ and can be compared with Ful *ʔi* „it“. Then, this *i* seems to be of an indefinite, deictic character; originally it means „he“ or „it“.

The anticipation (taking in advance, taking previously) of a noun by its pronominal form is quite common in Bantu, e. g. Swahili *a-me-ki-vunja ki-kombe* „he-finished-it-break it-cup“, e. g. „he broke the cup“. Some similar pattern underlies the Hausa

ya buga-i shi < *sa-i*

„he struck-it (something — to say exactly) him“.

Here the anticipation is done by taking in advance not the Noun as in Bantu, but the Pronoun in a more indefinite (unprecised)

¹ See the respective works of P. Schebesta; see also R. Stopa, *The Problem of Pygmy Language* (in Polish), „Lud“ voi. 42, part II, pp. 738—748).

² See Ernst Dammann, *Studien zum Kwangali*, Hamburg 1957, pp. 63 ff.

³ See Carl Meinhof, *Grundzüge einer vergl. Grammatik der Bantusprachen*, Berlin 1906, p. 76).

form (*i* points to, or anticipates the following *shi* < *sa-i* „he“). In the last case the vowel shifting *-a* > *-i* could be ascribed to the regressive assimilation of *-a* under the influence of the following *-i*, but this explanation does not take into account the pronominal character of the element following *-a* > *-i*.

In this way we come to the conclusion that in the Bantu Formative *-iywa* the element *-ywa* following *-i* must have been, originally, of a pronominal character, something like the Hottentot *-he* formerly meaning „this, he“. In Bushman (N₂) *!gāi !kχari ho-ga !ku* „tree shade found man (someone)“ we have the original pattern for such a construction.

b) As a conclusion of my last work *The Evolution of Click Sounds in Some African Languages* there appears the idea that all African languages originated in some Bushman or Bushman-like form. The material I have gathered, seem to be sufficient to demonstrate it. Some part of it has been used in proving the Bushman origin of the Class-Suffixes in Ful¹.

Here I may apply the above mentioned idea as a „working hypothesis“ (Arbeitshypothese). Thus, the element *-ywa* of the Bantu Suffix *-iywa* finds its explanation in Bushman quite easily. We remember, how a ≠Khomani asked to translate the sentence „I am killed by him“ says *kwa* /*kχ*²-*a* ²*n* „people“ or „somebody“ kills me“. Bushman did not produce Passive Voice because it had come to the habit of putting Subject first, before the Predicate. However when we come to Hamitic ways of thinking and speaking, where both word order SPO and OPS are equally admissible, then, in a Hamitic tribe with Bushman substratum, we could say:

²*n* /*kχ*²-*a* *kwa* „me kill people“, i. e. „I am killed by someone“ as well as *kwa* /*kχ*²-*a* ²*n* „someone kill(s) me“.

Pronouns derived from Nouns or Nouns with pronominal function are quite a common linguistic phenomenon in African as well as in Indoeuropean, e. g. Ewe *ame-si-àme* „everybody“, lit. „man-this-man“, S₁ *tí* „thing“ used in *!Kū* as an indefinite Pronoun „one, somebody“ just in the construction that substitutes Passive *tí* ≠ *ám* *mi* „thing beats me“ or „I am beaten“. In German the sentence would be translated „man schlägt mich“,

¹ See „Folia Orientalia“, vol. II, 1961.

giving a good example for a Noun with pronominal function: *‘Mann’* > *‘man’*.

In Bushman the element *kwa* > Bantu *-ywa*, *-wa* > *-u* > *-w*- building Passive Voice in Bantu as well as in many Hamitic and Semitic languages is attested in various forms:

S₁ *!ku*, *!kwi*, S₂ *!kwa*, ≠Khomani *kwa*, N₁ *zu*: < *!ku*:, N₃ *dzu*: or *zu*: „man (person)“; N₂ *!kū*, pl. *!kun* or *!kū*, N₂ *!kū*, pl. *!kū*, *!kun* (cp. the name of the *!Kū* tribe), N₁ *!kwā*, pl. *!kwā*, S₂ *tū* < *tū* < *!kū*, pl. *tūnən* or *tū:kən* „man (male)“. There are many derivative forms in many African languages; in some of them it is the labial element on account of the similar accoustic impression of *!kw* > *b(w)* > *b* that prevails; in others *!k(w)* > *t* > *t* on account of similar physiological features, *i* and *t* being articulated by the raising of the tip of the tongue against the hard palate behind the teeth. Thus *!kwa* > *ba* on one side and *!kwa* > *twa* on the other (cp. the name of many Bushman or Pygmy tribes *Twa* or *Batwa*).

In Hottentot *!kwi* > *bi* (cp. Korana *bi* „he“). In Bantu the origin of *-tu* from ≠*ku* „mouth, face“ is attested by Bushman itself; the alveolar Click Block ≠*k*- having been transformed in *t*- or *t*- already in some Bushman dialects: S₄ ≠*ku*:, S₆ ≠*ku*-ē, S₁ *tu*:, S₃ *tu* „mouth (hole)“; C₁ ≠*kχum*, S₁ *χu*: „face“.

c) Occasionally the Bantu original form *umu-ntu* may be explained on Bushman ground as S₁ *mu:mu*: „ghost, spirit“ + ≠*ku* > *tu* „mouth, face“, *umu-ntu* ‘spirit’s face’, just showing the pronominal character of the Bantu prefix *mu:mu*: > *umu*- > *mu*- > *m*-, when man is determined first as something moving, living, having a „spirit“ and then specialized as something having a face, i. e. human face.

In this way the Hausa form *bug-u* should be translated literally „beat(ing by)- somebody“, i. e. ‘be beaten’, and Swahili *a-na-pig-wa* „he-now-beat(ing)-somebody’s (undergoes), i. e. „he is beaten now“, which agrees with the Bantu nominal concept of the sentence and the respective word order where Determinans follows Determinatum *pig-wa* „the beating-of(by) somebody“.

This explanation holds good for Hamitic as well as for Semitic *-u(-w-)*, being the exponent of the Passive Voice.

We may add here that in Old Egyptian there is a good trace of the *-!kwa* > *-wa* or *!ku* > *-tu* Passive Formative, because we

meet there the formation of the Passive Voice with *tw* „man, someone“, e. g.

wn -tw c₃ pn „opens one this door“, i. e. „this door is opened“; later on they said *wn-tw-f* „open-man-he“, or „open(ing by) — man-his“, i. e. „he is opened“. We may add here that even the pronominal element *-f* is easily to be derived from Hottentot (Hamitic component of Hottentot) *bi* „he“.

C) Now, let us go over to the Hamitic ways of forming Passive Voice.

a) Hausa, which in some parts of its grammatical structure belongs to Hamitic was already mentioned. So, we may only give two examples, because they are typical for other Hamitic languages.

There are 3 devices to build Passive expressions:

1) *'an bugē* (< *buga + i*) shi „one struck him“; here the indefinite Pronoun *'an* „man, somebody, one“ derives from Bushman *C₁ /kχam*, ≠ *kām*, *S₁ ɟam*, *C₂ k'am-fa*, Nama *àm-s* „mouth, face, man“ and has its counterparts in many languages, e. g. Ewe *am-e* „man“, Ful *kam*, *kan-ko* „he“, pl. *kam-be* „they“. Here is to be quoted the Verbal Derivative with *-an* < *-am* in Somali *dil-an* „be killed“ (Final *-m* both in Hausa and Somali is transformed into *-n* cp. Greek *-m* > *-n*).

2) *sun rab-u* „they were separated“

'igiya tā kunt-u „the thread has been untied“

yāro yā bug-u „the boy has been beaten“.

The *-u* Formative has been already explained above.

3) *bugagye* < *buga* — *buge* m. pl. *bugaggú* < *buga -bugu* „beaten“. This seems to be something like an Intensivum, which got reflexive and then passive meaning „to beat himself“ > „to be beaten“; the *-u* < *!ku* in Plural can be explained in the same way as in *bugu* „be beaten“ (see above). Such Intensiva with various (partly also reflexive) meanings are met in many African languages, e. g. Hausa *sansani* „to know exactly“

kakkashe „to kill many, to kill often“

(See G. Weydling, Einführung ins Hausa, Leipzig 1942)

In Ful Passive Voice is build by the Formative *-am-*, e. g. *lil(a)* „to send“, *mi-'do lila* „I (am) sending, I send“; (*-'do* is the Suffix for the Present Participle Active, e. g. *ɗjimu-'do* „the singing

(person); *mi lil-am-d* „I am sent“ is the Passive form, lit. „me send(s) -one-now“. The infix *-am-* is to be interpreted in the same way as in Hausa the indefinite Pronoun *'an* „somebody, one“ or in Somali the Suffix *-an* (see above).

This *am* can be detected also in other Hamitic languages, building Passive by using the *m*-stem of the Verb. Other Hamitic languages apply the *t*-stem to build passive or medial forms of the Verb. Here we may remind, what we have said above about the *tu* Formative of Passive in Old Egyptian. Fr. Müller was right in supposing that in Semitic languages originally *u* was prefixed to the Verbal Stem as a remnant of this *tu-* or *ut-* Prefix. In some Hamitic languages *u* is used to express Passive, which is to be explained in the same way as in Bantu.

b) We have still to mention here the impersonal use of the Verb in Somali, According to C. R. B. Bell, *The Somali Language*, London 1953, p. 99, „English verbs in the Passive can be translated“ amongst others by the impersonal use of the verb“. The respective rule is: „Use the Impersonal Indicator *la* with the 3rd person masculine singular of any suitable tense of the verb. *La* can be translated one, they, people, etc. (cf. French *on dit* „they say“): e. g. *libaafi baa la dil-ey*, lit. translation is „lion he one kill-ed(him), e. g. „a lion was killed“.

The Formative *la* has also its counterpart in Bushman *S₆ /!kã -i*, */!ka-te*, */!kwã:-te*, *S₃ /!kə:*, *S₆ /!gə:*, pl. */!χa-di*, *N_{1, 2, 3} /!gə:* „male, man“; *S₅ /!hà-a*, *S₆ /!a:*, pl. */!a-re* „man (person)“; *S₃ /!kə:*, *S₅ /!à:*, pl. */!à:a* „man(male)“; */!k(g) > l* is quite a regular transformation of the lateral Click Block. However, if we consider the Impersonal construction of the Verb to be the prototype for the Reflexive-Passive (Arabic *ta*, Ful *ra*, Indoeuropean Passive in *-r*), then this *la* should be derived from *S₆ /!kã*, pl. */!kã-te* „man(male)“. This would be confirmed by the emphatic character of Arabic *t* as well as by the prepalatal features of the Ful *r* < *ḍ*. Ar. *t* < Bushman *!k(g)* is quite a regular correlation like Ful *r* < *ḍ* < *!k(g, v)*.

c) It seems to be useful to take into consideration the Passive Voice in the Niloto-Sudanic Shilluk too, as it presents some tonal peculiarity¹.

¹ See D. Westermann, *The Shilluk People, Their Language and Folklore*, p. 77.

The last sentence pointing to the *i*- Prefix for Passive Voice together with the former observation that „in some cases a semi-vowel (chiefly *w*) is inserted between the first consonant and the vowel“ shows the way to explain the origin of the tonal characteristic of the Passive forms in Shilluk.

This was the additional feature caused by the prefixing of *u*- respectively by the inserting of *-w*-, which quite unintentionally produces some lowering of the tone in a tonal language like Shilluk. This secondary characteristic could in course of time produce the feeling with the Shilluk speaker that it is neither the Prefix *u*- nor the Infix *-w*- that is necessary to build Passive but the falling tone of the respective vowel.

By the way, the Shilluk Passive form is very instructive and helps much in understanding the Passive Voice in Semitic; the appearing of *u* in the first syllable should not necessarily be explained by the assimilatory vowel shifting $u + C + a- > C + u-$, but the Prefix *u*- could be introduced into the 1st syllable of the stem. This development yielded to the general linguistic tendency towards accelerating speech as well as to the specially Semitic trend to keep to the 3-syllabic type of the Verb, being one of the basic features of the word forming in Semitic.

D) The Semitic ways of building Passive are so closely related to those of Hamitic that we may mention them briefly here, though in principle we have to deal only with African languages. According to C. B. Brockelmann Semitic languages build Passive Voice through the internal vowel shifting, by putting *u* instead of active *a* in the first syllable. Probably the vowel of the 2nd syllable was originally *i* like in the ground-form of the neuter stem (*qutil*)¹. After we have explained the character of this *u*, it remains only to repeat Fr. Müller's opinion, in conformity with which the *u*- Prefix by some progressive assimilation produced the vowel shifting $a > u$ in the first syllable of the verb stem. The *-i*- of the neuter stem could be explained in the similar way as it was done above with the Hausa *bugē* < *buga* + *i*. The only difference relies upon the characteristic of the Old Semitic vowel system that allowed only the vowels *a i u* to appear in the prototype of the stem.

¹ See C. Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*, Bd I., Berlin 1908, p. 537.

S, PRONOUNS)

Indicators of real objects (*m, n, /, //* — *k, g, χ*)
Consonantal element + stress

III. Indications of mental objects

Tastes of objects; their impressions marked by Clicks
 Alarms (communicative f.) marked by Gutturals.
 Reproducing impressions; differentiated into
 Tasteful: Visual

Clicking: Non-Clicking (alarms) gestures (*/, //*: *m, n, h, χ*)
 Stressed: Non-Stressed consonantal blocks

$kχ^2 : k;$
 $ḡ(v) : k(g)$

Indicating (III.)
 Sounding (tongue) gestures — Pronouns
Impressive function

m, n, h, χ — *m*⊙, */n, //n, !n*
 Nasals & Guttural Fric.: Nasal Click Blocks
 Words: $C + V$ or $C + V + m(n)$ or $C + V + C + V$

THE ORIGIN OF LINGUISTIC CATEGORIES (INTERJECTIONS, VERBS — NOUNS, PRONOUNS)

A) Chimpanzee

The experience (real situation)
Non-Structuralized (inarticulated)

Indicators of real objects ($m, n, /, // - k, g, \chi$)
Consonantal element + stress)

→ Syllable ←

B) Man (*Homo fossilis*)

II. The idea of tool & its function

III. Indications of mental objects

Tastes of objects; their impressions marked by Clicks
Alarms (communicative f.) marked by Gutturals.
Reproducing impressions; differentiated into
Tasteful: Visual

Clicking: Non-Clicking (alarms) gestures (/, //: *m*, *v*, *h*, *χ*)
Stressed: Non-Stressed consonantal blocks

$$\begin{aligned} k\chi^2 &: k; \\ \dot{g}(v) &: k(g) \end{aligned}$$

Indicating (III.)
 Sounding (tongue) gestures — Pronouns
 Impressive function

—→ W o r d ←—

C) Bushman

Phonetic system: $i, a, u, \dot{i}, \tilde{a}, \tilde{u}, a^{\zeta}, u^{\zeta} (o^{\zeta}), \dot{i} : i, \tilde{a} : a, \tilde{u} : u$

$k\chi^2$, k^2 , χ^2 , 2h , g^2 , $k(g) - \odot$, $|$, $||$, $\neq$, $!$ ($|||$); J^p (no r , no s)
 Click Blocks, e. g. $[k\chi^2: ^2h: g^2: k(g) [:]v]$
 Syllables: $C + V$ or $C + V + m(n)$

m, n, h, χ — *m*⊙, /*v*, //*v*, !*v*
 Nasals & Guttural Fric.: Nasal Click Blocks
 Words: C + V or C + V + *m*(*v*) or C + V + C + V

I. Interjections

Valuating. Singles: Plurals—

Synthesis: N. + n. (pr.) = Plural—
Noun + noun (pronoun) > = s(uffix)—

No classification of Nouns

II. Verbs — Nouns

Determining the motion; Determining the moving force (space)

V. + v. (Double Verb) Possessor + thing possessed —
Verb + verb > — s(uffix) Noun + noun —
Noun (pronoun) + verb = Subject + Predicate
No Passive Voice — Rectum + regens

→ Word construction a) ←

D) Sudanic (Kwa)

Phonetic system: *i, e, ε, a, ɔ, o, u, ï, ê, â, õ, û*
$$\bar{i} : i, \bar{a} : a, \bar{u} : u$$

Expiratory Consonants, e. g. *p, b, t, d*;
Disjunctive Blocks, e. g. *kp, gb*
Syllables $C + V$ or $C + V + C + V > CC + V$

Word structure: pure roots, mostly monosyllabic
No difference Nouns: Verbs, Pronominal roots often begin with *m, n, v, y, w, s, k*; No Passive Voice

I. Interjection

â, âi 'bodily pain'

II. Verbs

fò 'beat'

III. Adjectives

fò 'belly' + *dí* 'to make'

fòdǐ 'dirty'

bō-fo 'field's belly (surface);
Rectum-regens;

IV. Nouns

fò 'belly'

V. Pronouns

wó 'they', *é* 'he': *è* 'him'

Morphological processes leading to Passive Voice

é-fò 'he beats' Subject-Predicate

wó-nò-fòfò-m 'they-stabbing-him';
Habitualis (Verbal Aspect);

wó-fò-e 'they-beat-him'
Subject-Predicate-Object

Word construction b)