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A Relational Grammar of

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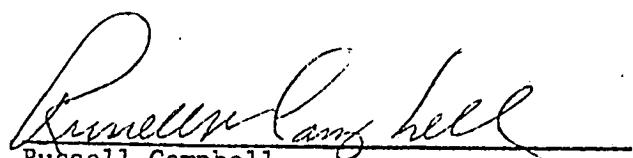
A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in Linguistics

by
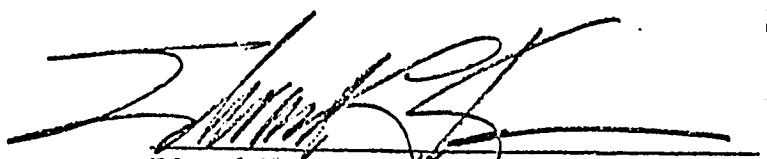
Alexandre Kimenyi
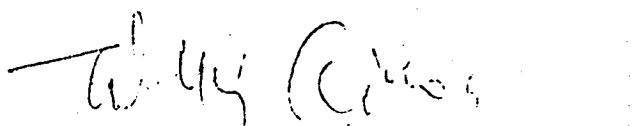
1976

The dissertation of Alexandre Kimenyi is approved.

_Russell Campbell_

_Thomas Penchoen_

_Edward Keenan_

_Talmy Givón, Committee Chairman_

University of California, Los Angeles

1976

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To all the friends that

I met in this foreign land.

Table of Contents

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## Symbols and Abbreviations

Most of the symbols that are used are those that are very familiar in standard theory (Aspects).

NP  = Noun Phrase

VP  = Verb Phrase

*   = ungrammatical sentence or semantic anomaly

-X  =.a dash before a linguistic element indicates a suffix morpheme.

X-  = a prefix morpheme

-X- = an infix morpheme

asp = aspect morpheme either perfective or imperfective

pst = past tense

pres = present tense

fut = future tense

pass = passive

rel = relative marker

DO = direct object

IO = indirect object

OO = oblique object

instr = instrumental

loc = locative

mann = manner

poss = possessor

ass = associative

comp = comparative

ben = benefactive

╱  = high tone

∧  = falling tone

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## Acknowledgements

Kinyarwanda is a Lake Bantu language spoken in Rwanda which is identical
to Kirundi spoken in Burundi. Linguistically, these two languages are
dialects of one language since they are mutually intelligible to speakers
of the two languages. The first aim of this thesis was to describe
Kinyarwanda since there doesn't exist as yet an adequate grammar of
this language; very little has been written on it (see bibliography).
The second aim was to contribute to linguistic theory by evaluating
certain claims of Relational Grammar. When one wants to do two things
at the same time, nothing comes out perfect. It has not been possible
to cover all aspects of the grammar, including some important ones,
because Relational Grammar cannot account for them. Justice has not
been done to Relational Grammar either, because only Promotion rules have
been investigated in this thesis. Nevertheless, I hope that this work
will be helpful to Bantouists, to professional linguists and to those
who want to have some insight into Kinyarwanda syntax.

In this thesis, I have used the official orthography of Kinyarwanda; but
I have also marked vowel length and tone like Coupez and Meeussen. Long
vowels are marked by doubling the vowel. Low tones are not marked: high
are signalled by the diacritic / and falling tones are marked by ∧. My
tone marking, however, is different from that of Coupez and Meeussen,
first of all because they don't mark falling tones and secondly because,
their high tones seem to represent the underlying ones. The high tones
in this thesis are anticipated, which is a normal process in this
language. Below are some examples to show how, Coupez and Meeussen
mark their tones and the way it has been done here.

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| Meeussen & Coupez | | Kimenyi |
|---|---|---|
| umugoré | 'woman' | umugóre |
| umusóre | 'young man' | umúsore |
| unó | 'this' | úno |
| bâno | these' | bâno |
| umwáana | 'child' | umwáana |
| umwaámi | 'king' | umwaâmi |
| umwéendá | 'debt' | umwéénda |

I would like to thank all people who contributed, directly or indirectly, to the completion of my thesis. Unfortunately it is not possible to name all of them. I would specially like to express my gratitude to the whole Department of Linguistics at UCLA: staff, faculty and students. The secretaries Teddy Graham and Anna Meyer have been wonderful to me. I have received encouragements from Professors Paul Schachter, Sandra Thompson and Theo Vennemann. Vicki Fromkin has helped me a lot and Professor Boniface Obichere, Director of African Studies Center has also assisted me greatly.

I owe special debt to my thesis supervisors: Talmy Givón and Edward Keenan. In this regard, I have been very fortunate to have them on my thesis committee. They have given all their time, reading my first drafts, giving me comments and suggestions. I am very grateful to their care, patience and encouragements. I have learned a lot from them, in methodology and the understanding of linguistic theory.

Edward Keenan has inspired the topic of this dissertation when I was taking his seminar on Universal Grammar; since then he has influenced me a lot. He has also been always ready to help me, even though there were some other students that he was guiding, they, like me, were very

pleased to have him as their thesis supervisor.

I was very lucky to have Talmy Givón, as my academic advisor. He has been very special to me as a friend and a teacher. He has helped me in everything. With all the kind of problems that I have had, I needed a person like him. I thank him for teaching me how to do linguistics. It is because of him that I learned to work hard.

Professor David Perlmutter, in a short time that we spent together, has clarified my understanding of Relational Grammar and has suggested to me some of the tests that I used in this thesis. I am also grateful to my brother Laurent Nkusi of the Sorbonne who kindly sent me his thesis outline.

Thanks go to my friends and colleagues, Dauda Bogari, Joëlle Bailard who showed interest in my work and Saeed Ali with whom I had some beneficent discussions. Antoine Nteziryayo and Méthode Butoyi, with whom I shared good and bad times in this country have helped me with their advice and friendship. Martha Teklu has spent her precious time typing this thesis. I thank her for the patience and the care that she took to do this.

I am very much indebted to Eser Erguvanli who followed step by step the development of this thesis, read the entire manuscript and did the proofreading.

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION


A Relational Grammar of Kinyarwanda


by

Alexandre Kimenyi

Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics

University of California, Los Angeles, 1976

Professor Talmy Givón, Chairman

An analysis of Kinyarwanda syntax lends support to the theory of Relational Grammar (RG) which takes Grammatical Relations (subject of, direct object of, indirect object of) as primitives to its system in describing transformations instead of using Phrase-Marker configurations (linear order and immediate constituency) as is done in structural-generative grammar. We show that many of the major syntactic processes in Kinyarwanda are naturally defined taking subjects and direct objects as their input. The processes we study here are mainly promotion rules, namely advancements and ascensions. The latter are represented by raisings (subject-to-subject raising, subject-to-object raising and predicate raising) and possessor promotion, whereas the former are illustrated by subject-creating rules and object-creating rules. An investigation of all verbal syntactic dependents shows that subjects, and objects that are direcly introduced to the verb without a preposition, i.e. direct objects, indirect objects and benefactives, undergo many more syntactic

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transformations than oblique case NPs. Thus oblique NPs are easily distinguishable from subjects and other objects, so the distinction RG makes between terms (Su, DO, IO) and non-terms (other major NPs in a clause) receives some justification in Kinyarwanda.

We argue, however, that indirect objects and benefactives are not formally distinguishable from direct objects, and conclude that benefactives, indirect objects and direct objects are 'collapsed' to form a single grammatical relation, namely direct object, in accordance with the analysis that Gary, J. & Keenan, E.(1975) propose. The Relational Hierarchy of Kinyarwanda is thus viewed as:

RH:     Su $\angle$ DO $\angle$ LOC $\angle$ OO

We show that the RH correlates well with the degree to which the elements in it are affected by transformations; thus more transformations affect subjects than any other term. The most viable category is DO (as understood above). Locatives are given a special status because unlike any other oblique case NP, they undergo directly some transformations that only subjects and direct objects undergo without having to be advanced to term status.

Chapter I  Relational Grammar

The purpose of this dissertation is twofold: First we intend to provide

a description of the major syntactic processes of Kinyarwanda (a Bantu

language spoken in Rwanda). We have chosen the framework of Relational

Grammar (RG) in which to express the description since many of the

major transformations prominent in Kinyarwanda are precisely those that

have been studied in RG and in fact seem to affect Grammatical

Relations (GR). Second, as the theory of RG is still in its infancy as

a theory of generative grammar, we plan to use the data from Kinyarwanda

to evaluate various constraints on the form of possible human

languages which have been proposed in terms of the primitive categories

of RG. In this section, we shall present first a sketch of the basic

theory since as at the time of writing, no systematic exposition of the

theory of RG is available in literature. Our exposition derives

largely from Perlmutter and Postal (1974 & in preparation) but draws as

well from Johnson (1974a & b), Keenan (1975), Keenan and Gary (1975),...

## 1.1. Definition

RG then is a linguistic theory in which GRs to the verb (subject of,

direct object of, indirect object of) play a central role to state

syntactic transformations. This theory differs from structural generative

grammar (standard theory, generative semantics, extended standard theory)

in that the latter ignores these notions and defines transformations as

mapping of P-markers into P-markers only where a P-marker is a formal

structure consisting of a set of labelled nodes and the dominance and

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linear ordering relations that can be defined on them. In other words, in structural generative grammar, GRs have a peripheral role such as for semantic interpretation, whereas P-markers are the only inputs to transformations. The present theory considers GRs as primitives to its system. Instead of stating grammatical rules as changes induced in the linear order and dominance relations, GRs are used.

To take a very well documented example, Passivization is defined as a process by which objects and subjects interchange. In relational terms the object has been promoted to the subject status and the subject has been demoted, losing even its term status to the verb.

Keenan (1975), having observed many unrelated languages, has in fact concluded that for the purpose of Universal Grammar (UG), Passivization should be formulated in relational terms rather than in structural terms because the latter cannot make any kind of generalization, since Passive is a structurally distinct transformation in structurally distinct languages. The demotion of the subject and the promotion of the object to subject status, which constitute the core of the Passive rule in RG, was found to be universal in the Passive rule formation. Languages differ only in the side effects of the rule, i.e. the way to mark the demoted subject, to indicate the passive marker.... To formulate a universal passive rule, GRs (subject of and direct object of) are needed.


## 1.2. Terms vs Non-terms
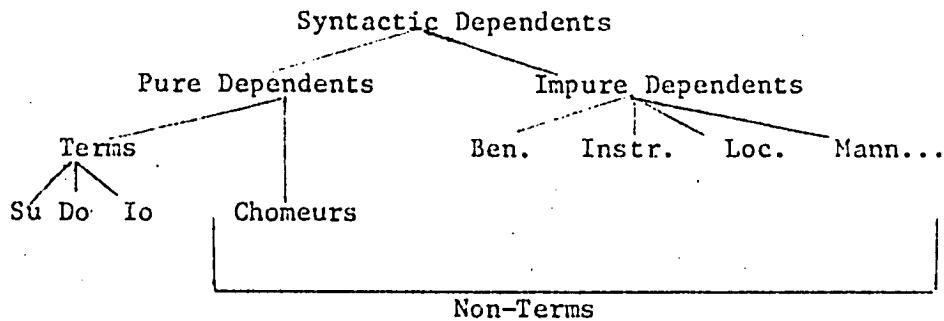
In any language a verb has a certain number of syntactic dependents. A verbal syntactic dependent is any NP whose grammatical function in the sentence is defined by the kind of relation it has to the verb. Syntactic

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dependents are divided into two types: <u>pure dependents</u> and <u>impure</u> <u>dependents</u>.

Pure dependents include <u>terms</u> and <u>chomeurs</u>, terms being subject, direct object and indirect object whereas impure dependents comprise <u>non-terms</u>: oblique cases such as instrumentals, benefactives, locatives,....

This is schematized in the following tree diagram:

(1)

```
                        Syntactic Dependents
            Pure Dependents              Impure Dependents
        Terms                        Ben.   Instr.   Loc.   Mann...
      Su  Do  Io    Chomeurs
                    |_____|
                              Non-Terms
```

The reason for classifying syntactic dependents into two categories terms and non-terms is that terms are easily distinguished from non-terms by the kind of properties they have. Thus many major transformations and semantic properties belong to terms only. To take our favorite example, Passivization in English is supposed to be a property of terms only: it interchanges subjects and objects. Oblique cases cannot be passivized as the instrumental example (2)c shows.

    (2) a.  John is writing a letter with pen.

        b.  A letter is being written by John with a pen.

        c.  *A pen is being written a letter with by John.

Indirect objects are not <u>directly</u> passivized either. Consider (3)b.

    (3)a.  John gave a book to Mary.

        b.  *Mary was given a book to by John.

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English, however, has a strategy that advances an indirect object to the direct object status so that it can be passivized. If this promotion to object status takes place, (3)b would be realized as (4):

(4) John gave Mary a book.

In the derived structure, the former indirect object has acquired all the properties of a basic direct object namely (a) the loss of the preposition and (b) the position of the former direct object. Now that Passivization consists of 'interchanging subjects and direct objects', the derived direct object can be passivized, yielding (5), a well-formed surface structure.

(5) Mary was given a book by John.


There is supposed to be a hierarchy among GRs, referred to as Relational Hierarchy (RH), in the form given below:

(6) RH ------> Su $<$ DO $<$ IO $<$ OO

Where '$<$' means takes precedence or is greater than. The motivation of this Hierarchy is based on Keenan & Comrie (1972) Accessability Hierarchy (AH) which expresses certain generalities about grammatical relations in human languages.

The Hierarchy implies that grammatical relations that occur higher in the hierarchy such as subjects will have more properties, either semantic or syntactic, than others whereas those that come on the bottom such as Oblique Objects(OO) will have less. To take an example, if a language can passivize an oblique case, it will be able to passivize IOs and DOs also but the inverse doesn't hold true. A language can relativize subjects but may not relativize GRs lower in the hierarchy such as Malayo-Polynesian languages (Keenan 1972, 1975) but languages relativize

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subjects if they can relativize Objects.


## 1.3. Deep Structure in RG

There exists two versions of Deep Structure in RG: on the one hand, the
one proposed originally by Perlmutter & Postal (1974 & in preparation)
as well as Johnson (1974a & b) and on the other hand the one suggested
by Keenan & Gary (1975). In the earlier version, the deep structure of
any given sentence in any arbitrary language consists of a verb and a
finite set of unordered syntactic dependents. Each syntactic dependent
which is a primitive is assigned its status: its relation to the verb
whether it is a 1 (Su), a 2 (DO), a 3 (IO) an instrumental (Instr.), a
locative (Loc)...

(7) DS: $\{ V, NP_1, NP_2, NP_3, NP_4, \dots NP_n \}$

$NP_1$:  1(NP,V)

$NP_2$:  Loc(NP,V)

$NP_3$:  3(NP,V)

$NP_4$:  2(NP,V)

$NP_n$:  Inst.(NP,V)
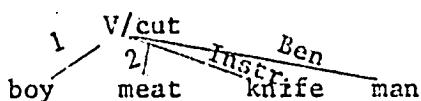
Thus the Deep structure of a sentence such as The boy cut meat with a
knife for the man is represented either by angle brackets or a tree
diagram as:

(8) DS: $\{ cut_V, boy_{NP}, meat_{NP}, knife_{NP}, man_{NP} \}$

   NPs: $\{ 1(boy,cut), 2(meat, cut), Instr.(knife, cut), Ben(man,cut) \}$

In a tree diagram, the Deep structure of the above sentence would
appear as:
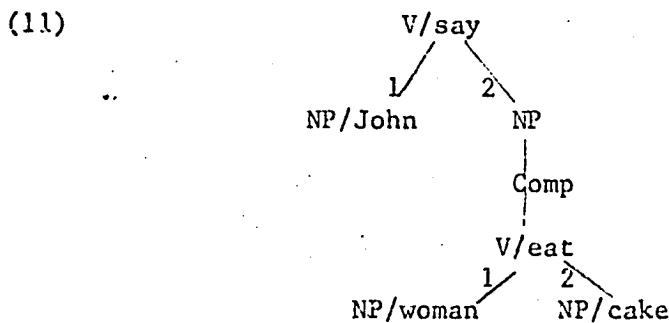
(9)

Syntactic Dependents are also complex (i.e. sentential complements or sentential subjects). Thus the deep structure of a sentence such as John said that the woman ate the cake is in angle brackets as follows:

(10) DS: $say_V$, $John_{NP}$, that the woman ate the $cake_{NP}$

NPs: 1(John,say), 2(that the woman ate the cake, say)

In the tree diagram the deep structure figures as:

(11)
```
                    V/say
                  1/      2\
            NP/John         NP
                             |
                           Comp
                             |
                          V/eat
                        1/     2\
                NP/woman         NP/cake
```

Keenan & Gary's proposal doesn't differ very much from the previous analysis except that, they include what they call semantic relations in the deep structure. In their analysis,'the underlying structure of a sentence consists of a domain of objects and two sets of relations, Rg and Rs, defined on D.'

Only terms (Su, DO, IO) are mentioned as grammatical relations (Rg). Semantic relations (Rs) are nongrammatical relations that NPs bear to the verb of the domain, such as locatives, instrumentals, benefactives,...

Since Rs present semantic relations that NPs bear to the verb, it is required also that Grammatical relations (Rg) be assigned semantic relations. For instance, a subject can be semantically an agent or an experiencer.

In this approach then, the deep structure of The boy cut the meat with a knife for the man is:

(12) DS: $cut_V$, $boy_{NP}$, $knife_{NP}$, $man_{NP}$

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$R_g$: 1(boy,cut), 2(meat,cut),

$R_s$: agent(boy,cut), patient(meat,cut), Instr(knife,cut),Ben(man,cut)

The motivation of including $R_s$ is due to the fact that many transform-ational rules are sensitive to the semantic relations that NPs bear to verb, for instance in some languages, the Passive rule doesn't apply if the subject is not an agent.


## 1.4. Derivations in RG

Within this theory, transformations are understood as either demotions or promotions. Promotion means the ascension of the RN and demotion is the inverse process. Promotion rules are classified into two types: Advancement rules and Ascension rules. Advancement rules consist of promoting a GR to a higher status in the same clause whereas Raisings raise NPs from either NP nodes in a sentence such as:

(13)   The price of rice went up   ------> Rice went up in price

or from embedded sentences in the RN of the upper sentence.  Dative shift rule and Passive in English are considered as advancements, subject raising to object belongs to the other type of promotions.

For instance to generate a Passive surface structure in English whose subject is a recipient such as The man was given the book by the woman one has to know that two term changing rules have applied to the output string, namely Dative shift and Passive rule.  Coding properties such as word order, assignment of prepositions, tense marking, verbal agreement are later rules in English.  In the output of the dative Shift cycle, the indirect object becomes the direct object and the former direct object is realized as a chomeur.  When Passivization takes place the derived subject becomes subject and the initial subject

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becomes chomeur also.

As we see then, term creating rules consist of converting the deep structure of one string to another. The derivation of the above sentence is realized as:

(14) 1. 1(woman,give), 2(book,give), 3(man,give)

2. 1(woman,give), 2(man,give), chomeur(book,give)

3. 1(man,give), chomeur(book,give), chomeur(woman,give)

Looking at the RH, promotions can be classified as:

(i). Object-creating rules: transformations that make oblique cases direct object, such as the Dative Shift in English. This rule is written as $00,3 \longrightarrow 2$

(ii). Subject-creating rules: rules that render oblique objects and direct objects, subjects such as Passive in English, rules which are usually written as $2 \longrightarrow 1$

But as Keenan & Gary (1975) have indicated, there is no unified way to treat coding properties in RG since they appear to be language specific. In some languages, coding properties(assignment of case marking, agreement, word order) are postcyclic but in some others they are either global rules or they operate on the output of each term changing rule (for detail see Keenan & Gary 1975)

In this theory of RG, some "laws" are stated as possible constraints on human languages. These are drawn from Perlmutter & Postal (1974 & in preparation).

We give here only those that are relevant to the present work.


## 1.5. Laws of Grammar

All the laws that are given concern properties of terms and promotions

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(a). Only terms of grammatical relations trigger

      -reflexivization

      -coreferential deletion

      -verbal agreement

In other words, the rule claims that NPs that don't have grammatical relations to the verb cannot have the properties mentioned above.

(b). All grammatical rules that create or destroy termhood (object creating rules, subject creating rules) are <u>cyclical</u>.

(c). Only terms of GRs can qualify as hosts of ascensions: <u>the Host Limitation Law</u>. The rule implies that in the case of raising (such as subject to object raising or possessor promotion), the promoted NP will take the place of the term only, not that of an oblique case or an NP that holds no grammatical relation to the verb.

(d). NPs that are promoted by an Ascension rule assumes the grammatical relation borne by the host out of which they ascend: <u>the Relational Succession Law</u>.

(e). <u>The Relational Annihilation Law</u>. "When an NP, $NP_1$ assumes the grammatical relation borne by another NP, $NP_j$ ($i{\neq}j$) then $NP_j$ ceases to bear any grammatical relation whatsoever. Such NPs are called chomeurs." The law implies that in the case of Passive and Dative Shift in English, for instance, the former subject in the passive case and the former DO in the dative shift case cannot undergo any other kind of transformation.

(f). <u>The Motivated Chomage Law</u>:

Chomeurs (unemployed) can arise only as a result of the Relational Annihilation Law.

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(g) <u>The Reranking Law</u>:

If within a structure a rule alters the status of an NP, then it must increase the rank of that NP on the RH.

The law rules out the following cases:

$\quad$ 1(Su) $\quad$ -----> $\{2,3,\text{Non-term}\}$

$\quad$ 2(DO) $\quad$ -----> $\{3,\text{Non-term}\}$

$\quad$ 3(IO) $\quad$ -----> $\{\text{Non-term}\}$

An NP cannot be lowered in embedded sentence.

(h) <u>The No Regeneration Law</u>:

No rule can create a $\text{term}_j$ of a verb without creating a chomeur if the verb had a $\text{term}_j$ at an earlier stage of the derivation.

(i) <u>The Insertion Boundness Law</u>:

Insertion rules always create chomeurs.

(j) <u>The advancee Laziness Law</u>:

"An NP undergoing an advancement will advance to the lowest point in the hierarchy permitted by universal and language-particular conditions."

That is if the language has rules such as the following:

$\quad$ $\{\text{Non-term},3\}$ $\quad$ ---> $\quad$ 2

$\quad$ 2 $\qquad\qquad$ ---> $\quad$ 1

It won't allow

$\quad$ Non-term,3 $\quad$ ---> $\quad$ 1

without passing through the intermediate stage namely Non-term,3 -> 2.

(k) <u>The Advancee Tenure Law</u>:

The law states that a term derived by an advancement rule cannot be demoted by another advancement rule.

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The law predicts that it is impossible to have an <u>overt</u> 2(DO)-Chomeur with the following history:

    (i)   first advanced to 2 by an advancement rule.

    (ii)  then put en chomage by another advancement rule.

A chomeur is not overt if it is either deleted or pronominalized and incorporated into the verb.

(1)  <u>Advancement Priority Law</u>:

If an n(1,2,3,non-term) of a verb advances, no other NP can advance to become the n of that verb.

Thus if a 2 of a verb advances by undergoing Passive, then no other NP can advance to become the 2 of that verb.

## 1.6. Organization

The dissertation is organised in the following manner:

Chapter 2 presents all verbal syntactic dependents that exist in Kinyarwanda.

Chapter 3 exhibits all the semantic and syntactic properties that terms (subject, direct object, indirect object and benefactive) have.

Chapter 4 introduces Objectivization rules (shift of Oblique cases to the DO status). Constraints on these rules are discussed. The functional role of this kind of promotion is analysed for each promoted oblique NP and the properties of the former DOs are examined. Here the advancee Priority Law and the Advancee Tenure Law are tested since in Kinyarwanda it is possible to advance many Oblique NPs to 2.

Chapter 5 is concerned about Subjectivization rules such as Passive, Stativization and Object-Subject reversal. Properties of derived subjects

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and _initial_ subjects are investigated.

Cahpter 6 deals with raisings (a) Subject-to-subject raising, (b) Object-to-Subject raising and raising with (c) causativization.

Chapter 7 consists of Pronominalization: The pronominalization process is described. _Free_ pronouns, _incorporated_ pronouns and _dummies_ are all examined in detail.

Chapter 8 gives an account of the Topicalization process from NP nodes, complex NPs and embedded sentences. The constraints on this process are inspected. The syntactic properties and the functional role of both right and left topics are given.

Chap. 9 is the conclusion which gives a brief summary of the points made in the thesis and some relational laws are modified on the basis of the data presented.

A syntactic dependent is any NP whose grammatical function within the sentence is determined by the main verb.  Eleven verbal syntactic dependents are found in Kinyarwanda namely subject, direct object, indirect object, benefactive, instrumental, locative, manner, temporal, goal, associative and comparative. In some cases the possessor becomes a verbal syntactic dependent also.  In this chapter we show how these verbal syntactic dependents are marked.  It will be noted that these labels are rather semantic than syntactic for the impure dependents. In fact, it will be evidenced that only subjects, indirect objects and direct objects are distinguishable whereas the nature of other syntactic dependents is only inferential; that is only the context can tell the grammatical function of the NP in question.

The direct object and the indirect object collapse syntactically. Instrumentals, associatives and manners are marked by the preposition na.   Locatives, temporals and some manners share the same prepositions which are either ku or mu.  The goal case is marked by ku.  The comparative preposition is nka and the possessive case is introduced by the morpheme -a proceded by the class marker of the possessed NP.

## 2.1. Subjects

Subjects are easily differenciated from other verbal syntactic dependents because they always precede the verb and agree with it.

(1).  Abáana   ba-ra-som-a   ibitabo.

Children they-pres-read-asp books

'The children are reading books.'

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No other verbal syntactic dependent can precede either the verb or the subject.

## 2.2. Direct Objects

Direct Objects follow the verb immediately without any preposition. If, however, the verb has an indirect object also, the latter comes after the verb and the direct object follows it. ·

(2) Umugóre  a-teets-e inyama.

Woman she-cook-asp meat

'The woman is cooking meat.'

(3) Umugabo  y-a-haa-ye  umugóre .igitabo.

man he-pst-give-asp woman book.

'The man gave a book to the woman.'

## 2.3. Indirect Objects

Whether there is a direct object in the sentence or not, the Indirect Object always follows the verb.

(4) Umugóre  y-iim-ye  abáana ibiryo.

.woman  she-refuse-asp children food

'The woman refused food to the children.'

(5) Umugabo  y-eerets-e abáana.

man     he-show-asp children.

'The man showed (something) to the children.'

As we see there is no formal way to distinguish Direct Objects from Indirect Objects. In fact it will be disclosed later on, that these two share all the syntactic properties. It is only semantic features such as animacy and verbal selectional restrictions that can help one to tell

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a Direct Object from an Indirect Object.

## 2.4. Benefactives

The presence of a benefactive NP is signalled by the benefactive suffix -ir- although it's not its sole function as we will see later.

(6) Umugóre a-rá-kor-er-a umugabo.

woman she-pres-work-ben-asp man

'The woman is working for the man.'

If the verb has a direct object also, the benefactive NP follows the verb and the direct object comes last.

(7) Umukoôbwa a-ra-som-er-a ụmuhuûngu igitabo.

girl she-pres-read-ben-asp boy book

'The girl is reading a book for the boy.'

Usually it's impossible to have both full NPs Indirect Object and benefactive. The reason for this is because enough information won't be conveyed if the direct object is missing. It's possible sometimes to have 3 objects within the same sentence, but it's impossible when the Benefactive is present.

It's possible however as shown in Chapter 6 to have more than two object incorporated pronouns and it's the benefactive pronoun that always precedes the verb stem.

(8) Umugabo y-a-ki-ba-ny-éerek-e-ye.

man he-pst-it-them-me-show-ben-asp

'The man showed it to them for me.'

## 2.5. Instrumentals

The instrumental NP is marked by either the preposition na or the

suffix -iish-.

(1)a. Umukoôbwa a-ra-andik-a íbarúwa n'ííkarámu.

   girl she-pre-write-asp letter with pen

   'The girl is writing a letter with a pen.'

   b. Umukoôbwa a-ra-andik-iish-a íbarúwa íkarámu.

   girl she-pres-write-instr-asp letter pen

   'The girl is writing a letter with a pen.'

(2)a. Umubooyi a-ra-kat-a inyama n'ícyúuma.

   cook    he-res-cut-asp meat with knife

   'The cook is cutting meat with a knife.'

   b. Umubooyi a-ra-kat-iish-a inyama icyúuma.

   cook    he-pres-cut-instr-asp meat knife

   'The cook is cutting meat with a knife.'

Instrumental NPs are distinguished from other cases introduced by the preposition na such as agentives, manners, associatives by semantic features: minus human, minus abstract and plus concrete. (3)a is not an instrumental but just a conjoined NP because the noun is plus human and (3)b is not an instrumental either but a manner NP because the head noun is abstract. (3)c is the only instrumental because it is concrete.

(3)a. Umugóre a-ra-andik-a n'úmugabo.

   woman she-pres-write-asp with man

   'The woman is writing and the man also.'

   b. Umugóre a-ra-andik-a n'íngoga.

   woman she-pres-write-asp with speed

   'The woman is writing fast.'

   c. Umugóre a-ra-ankik-a n'íímashiîni.

   woman she-pres-write-asp with typewriter

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'The woman is typing.'


## 2.6. Locatives

Locative NPs are marked by either the prepositions i, ku and mu, the suffix -ir- or the suffixes -ho or -mo. The meaning of the preposition is given by the semantics of the verb itself. With verbs of 'coming' these prepositions translate as from, with verbs of 'going' the mean to, towards, into; they are interpreted as on, at, in, inside, if the main verb is a 'locational' verb.

The noun that follows these prepositions lose the initial vowel. The vowel in ku and mu is lengthened before nouns beginning with nasal clusters, vowel lengthening before nasal clusters being a general phonological rule of Kinyarwanda.


## 2.6. a The Use of i

The preposition i is normally used before names of geographical places only (cities, towns, villages....)

    (1)a  Yohaani a-tuu-ye i Kigali.

        John  he-live-asp in Kigali

        'John lives in Kigali.'

b. Yohaâni y-a-gi-iye i Kigáli.

   John   he-go-asp  to Kigali

   'John went to Kigali.'

c. Yohaâni y-a-vuu-ye i Kigáli

   John  he-pst-come-asp from Kigali

   'John came back from Kigali.'

The same preposition is found in many adverbs of place such as:

(2) í-no   'here'    i-muhíra   'home'     i-nyuma   'behind'

    i-yo   'there'   i-mbere    'in front' i-bwaâmi  'at the king's'

    i-búryo 'right'  i-bumóso   'left'     i-kaambére 'in the living-

                                                     room'

i is sometimes used interchangeably with mu before names of countries
and continents. No generalization can be made in this instance since its
use seems to be arbitrary.

(3) Maríya  a-ba ⎧ i  ⎫  Buruûndi

                 ⎩ mu ⎭  Bugaánda

    Mary she-be    in    Rwaanda

                         Buraaya: Europe

                         Koôngo

                         Kénya

    'Mary is in

i cannot be used, however, in some instances as (4) illustrates:

(4) Yohaâni y-a-gi-iye * i Budâge  'Germany'

    John   he-pst-go-asp to Bubirigi 'Belgium'

    'John went to         Bwoongeréza 'England'

i is never used before the names that start with a vowel; mu is used in
this case.

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(5)  *A-tuu-ye i Ameríka

     he-live-asp in America

     'He lives in America.'

(6)  *Yohaâni a-turuk-a i Angóla

     John he-come from-asp from Angola

     'John comes from Angola.'


## 2.6.2. The Use of mu

mu has the meaning of 'in', 'into', 'inside', 'among', 'between',
'depending on the verb. mu becomes muri before names of countries and
continents that start with the prefix bu-, before pronouns and nouns that
are preceded by some determinatives such as demonstratives.

(7)  a.  Yohaâni a-ri muu nzu.

         John he-be in house

         'John is in the house.'

     b.  Yohaâni a-gi-iye mu      Bushínwa 'China'

         John he-go-asp to        Buhíínde 'India'

         'John goes to            Bwoongeréza 'England'

     c.  Yohaâni a-gi-iye múri    Koôngo  'Congo'

                                  Rusíya  'Russia'

                                  Taanzaníya 'Tanzania'

                                  Azíya  'Asia'

     d.  múri mweébwe

         among you

     e.  múri icyi gitabo

         in this  book

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### 2.6.3. The Use of ku

ku has the meaning of 'on', 'at' when used with locational verbs. It conveys the meaning of 'to' and 'from' if it occurs after 'movement' verbs with the idea of 'from the direction of' and 'towards the direction of'. Compare (8)a and (8)b, (9)a and (9)b.

(8)a. Umwáana y-a-gi-iye kw'ishuûri.

child he-pst-go-asp to school

'The child went to school.'

b. Umwáana y-a-gi-iye mw'ishuûri.

child he-pst-go-asp to school

'The child went to class.'

(9)a. Umuhuûngu y-a-vuu-ye ku nyaanja.

boy he-pst-come from-asp to ocean

'The boy came back from the ocean.'

(8)a means that the child went towards the direction of the school, whereas (8)b implies that the boy went into the classroom (to study). (9)b implies also that the boy swam but (9)a doesn't.

The suffix -ri is added to ku- as in the case of mu- if it precedes a pronoun or a determinate.

(10) Umwáana y-a-andits-e kurí icyi gitabo.

child he-pst-write-asp on this book

'The child wrote on this book.'

### 2.6.4. The use of the suffice -ir-

The benefactive suffix -ir- is added to the verb stem to signal the presence of a locative NP in the sentence. When it is used it marks the emphasis on the locative. Compare a sentences and b sentences below.

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(11) a. Umuhuûngu y-a-boon-ye umukoôbwa mu muhaânda.

boy · he-pst-see-asp girl in street

'The boy saw the girl in the street.'

b. Umuhuûngu y-a-bon-e-ye umukoôbwa mu muhaânda.

boy he-pst-see-ben-asp girl in street

'The boy saw the girl in the street.'

(12) a. Abáana ba-ra-kin-ir-a amakaráta ku mééza.

children they-pres-play-asp cards on table

'The children are playing cards on the table.'

b. Abáana ba-ra-kin-ir-a amakaráta ku mééza.

children they-pres-play-ben-asp cards on table.

'The children are playing cards on the table.'

The semantic difference between a sentences and b sententences with the suffix -ir- is that in the former everything is new information whereas in the latter everything is old information except the locative NP. The -ir- suffix is always used in sentences that answer wh-questions that ask where the action took place.

Three verbs namely -éegam-,'lean on',-iicar- 'sit down' and -ryáam- 'lie down' can take the -ir- suffix without the locative preposition or the suffix -ho or -mo on the verb.

(13) a. Umugabo y-iica-ye kuú ntebe.

man he-sit-asp on chair

'The man is sitting on the chair.'

b. Umugabo Y-iica-yé-ho íntebe.

man he-sit-asp-on chair

'The man is sitting on the chair.'

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(14)a.  Umwáana a-ryaam-ye mu gitaânda.

      child   he-lie-asp in bed

      'The child is lying in the bed.'

    b.  Umwáana a-ryaam-yé-mo igitaânda.

      child  he-lie-asp in  bed

    c.  Umwáana a-ryaam-i-ye igitaânda.

      child  he-lie-ben-asp bed

(15)a.  Umugóre y-eegam-ye ku ruugi.

      woman  she-lean-asp on bed

      'The woman is leaning on the bed.'

    b.  Umugóre y-eegam-yé-ho uruugi.

      woman  she-lean-asp-on door

    c.  Umugóre y-eegam-i-ye uruugi.

      woman she-lean-ben-asp door

Unlike other verbs, the 3 verbs mentioned above cannot take both the
benefactive suffix -ir- and the locative preposition.  It was shown in
(11) and (12) that when the benefactive suffix is used, there is emphasis
on the locative complement.  The 3 verbs don't get this reading when the
benefactive morpheme is added to the verb.  In fact (13)c, (14)c and (15)c
cannot be qualified as answers to Wh-questions that ask where the action
took place, but they may answer the question 'what' instead.  Semantically,
then the locative NP of these verbs has a patient meaning.


2.6.5.  The use of the suffixes -ho & -mo

Instead of being marked by the location prepositions, the locative NPs
can be signalled by the suffixes either -ho or -mo.  -ho corresponds to
the preposition ku whereas -mo corresponds to mu.  For the respective

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functional role of suffixes and prepositions see Chapter 4.

(16) Umugabo y-iica-yé-ho íntebe.

    man      he-sit-asp-on chair

    'The man is sitting on the chair.'

(17) Umugóre a-ra-geend-er-á-mo ímódóka.

    woman she-pres-go-ben-as-in car

    'The woman is driving the car.'

## 2.6.7. Complex locatives

Complex locatives embed Possessive NPs. In fact some of them can occur independently of head nouns. If they accompany any head noun, they must be put in possessive constructions. These kinds of prepositions are given in (18).

(18) 

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| inyuma | 'behind' | imbere | 'in front' |
| haâfi | 'near' | kure | 'far' |
| muúnsi | 'under' | heejuru | 'over' |
| ibúryo | 'right' | ibumóso | 'left' |
| hiîno | 'near us' | hiîrya | 'far from us' |
| haákuno | 'at this side' | haákurya | 'at that side'[3] |
| hagáti | 'in the middle' | | |

The use of some of these prepositions is illustrated below.

(19) Umugóre a-ri inyuma y'înzu.

    woman she-be behind of house.

    'The woman is behind the house.'

(20) Igitabo cyi-raambits-e heejuru y'ámééza.

    book    it-lie-asp     over of table

    'The book is lying over the table.'

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(21) Amafaraanga a-hiish-e hagáti y'ímpapuro

    money       it-hide-asp    middle of papers

    'The money is hidden between the papers.'

There are other locatives, when segmented show the structure of a locative preposition plus a locative prepositional phrase; these are found before the days of the week, the months and the expression that means 'at some-body's'.

(22)

| ku waa mbere | 'Monday'[2] | mu kwaa mbere | 'in January' |
|---|---|---|---|
| on   of one | | in   of   one | |
| ku wá kâbiri | 'Tuesday' | mu kwá kâbiri | 'in February' |
| ku wá. gâtatu | 'Wednesday' | mu kwá gâtatu | 'in March' |
| ku wá kâne | 'Thursday' | mu kwá kâne | 'in April' |
| on   of four | | in   of   four | |
| ku wá gataanu | 'Friday' | mu kwá gataanu | 'in May |
| ku wá gataándatu | 'Saturday' | mu kwá gataándatu | 'in June' |
| on  of six | | in  of  six | |
| ku cy' úmwéeru | 'Sunday' | mu kwá kâriindwi | 'in July' |
| on of  white | | in  of  seven | |

The preposition that accompanies the expression 'at somebody's' is <u>ku</u> which is realized as <u>kwa</u> before proper names or nouns belonging to class 1a and 2a.

Before personal pronouns, the preposition is <u>i</u> as shown in (25).

(23)  k'umuvaandímwe     'at a friend's house'

      on brother

      k'umutwaâre       'at a chief's house'

      on chief

(24)  kwá Yohaâni       'at John's house'

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```
                kwa Petero        'at Peter's house'

                kwá nyógókuru    'at my grandmother's'

                kwá múbyaara we  'at his cousin's'

(25)    i wáá njye.    'at my place'

        at of  me

        i wáá we       'at your place.'

        at of you

        í  we          'at his house'

        at of him

        i waâ cu       'at our house'

        at of us

        i waâ nyu      'at your house'

        at of you

        i waâ bo       'at their house'
```

## 2.7.  Temporals

The same prepositions ku and mu[4] used to introduce locative cases mark

the temporal NPs also.  Ku is used before the names of the day as shown

in (1), mu is found before names of months, seasons and years as illustrated

in (2), otherwise their respective use seems to be quite arbitrary as

indicated in (3).

```
    (1)   ku waa mbere  'Monday'

          on  of  first

          ku wá kâbiri 'Tuesday'

          on of two

    (2)   mú ki  'in the summer'

          in Summer
```

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mu kwaa mbere    'in January'

in of   first

(3) ku mánywa       'in daytime'

on day

mu gitóondo  'in the morning'

ku mugoroba    'in the evening'

on evening

mu gícuku    ''midnight'

in middle of night

## 2.8. Goals

The goal case is marked by the preposition ku or the benefactive
suffix -ir-. Sometimes it is shown by the possessive construction.

(1) Umugóre  a-kor-er-a umugabo ku mafaraanga.

woman  she-work-ben-asp man for money

'The woman works for the man for money.'

(2) Umwáalímu a-r-iig-iish-a   abáana ku búsa.

teacher   he-pres-study-caus-asp children for zero

'The teacher is teaching the students for nothing.'

If the verb has only the goal NP as its complement the suffix  -ir- must
be obligatorily used:

(3) Umuhuûngu a-ririimb-ir-a umusháhara múnini.

boy       he-sing-ben-asp  salary    big

'The boy sings for a big salary.'

(4) Umugabo a-kor-er-a   ibíryo.

man      he-work-ben-asp

'The man works for food.'

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The benefactive suffix -ir- is used also if the goal case is an infinitive verb.

(5) Abaantu bi-iig-ir-a kumenya ubwéenge.

people they-study-ben-asp to know knowledge

'People study in order to learn.'

(6) Abaantu ba-kor-er-a kúbáho

people they-work-ben-asp to live

'People work in order to survive.'

The possessive construction is used with infinitives of 'purpose, goal'.

(7) Umwáana a-ra-shaak-a igitabo cyó gusoma.

child he-pres-want-asp book of to read

'The child wants a book to read.'

(8) Umugóre y-a-guz-e ibíryo byó kúrya

woman she-past-buy-asp food of to eat

'The woman bought food to eat.'


2.9 Manners

The manner NP is either introduced by the preposition na[5] or the suffix -an-.

(1)a. Umuhuûngu a-ra-ririimb-a n'íshávu.

boy he-pres-sing-asp with sorrow

'The boy is singing with sorrow.'

b. Umuhuûngu a-ra-ririimb-an-a ishávu.

boy he-pres-sing-with-asp sorrow

'The boy is singing with sorrow.'

(2)a. Umugabo a-rá-kor-a n'íngofero.

man he-pres-work-asp with hat

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'The man is working with a hat on.'

b. Umugabo a-rá-kor-an-a ingofero.

man he-pres-work-with-asp hat

'The man is working with a hat on.'

The manner NP is never human. It is either concrete or abstrat. If the manner NP introduced by the preposition is concrete, there is no syntactic or structural way that can help one to distinguish it from the instrumental case NP, except just real world knowledge. Compare (3) a, b and c.

(3)a. Umugóre a-ra-andik-a íbarúwa n'úkarámu i-sháa-je.

woman she-pres-write-asp letter with pen it-be old-asp

'The woman is writing with a used pen.'

b. Umugóre a-ra-andik-a n'íbyishiímo byiînshi.

woman she-pres-write-asp with joy much

'The woman is writing with lots of joy.'

c. Umugóre a-ra-andik-a n'ígitabo muu ntoke.

woman she-pres-write-asp with book in hand

'The woman is writing with a book in her hand.'

In the above sentences, (3)a is not a manner case NP, because as we know pens are used to write with; it is then an instrument. (3)b and (3)c are manners, however, because in (3)b the oblique NP is abstract and (3)c cannot be an instrument but has to be manner instead, since books are never used to write with.

The manner case NP marked by the suffix -an- is more frequent than the one marked by the preposition ná.

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## 2.10. Associatives

The term associative is used as a cover term to mean both accompaniment and reciprocity. Like the manner and the instrumental case NPs, the associative case is also indicated by the preposition ná. What distinguishes the associative case from other oblique case NPs marked by the preposition ná is the suffix -an- with a reciprocal meaning added to the verb stem.

(1)   Yohaâni a-kuund-an-a ná Maríya.

     John  he-love-rec-asp with Mary

     'John and Mary like each other.'

(2)   Umuhuûngu a-ra-ririimb-an-a n'úmukoôbwa.

     boy     he-pres-sing-rec-asp with girl

     'The boy and the girl are singing together.'

(3)   Umugabo y-a-jya-an-ye n'úmbwa.

     man  he-pst-go-rec-asp with dog

     'The man went with his dog.'

As we see associative case NPs, as opposed to other oblique cases, involve a transformation, namely the -an- suffixation. Associative case NPs are always animate as opposed to instrumentals and manners. It will be shown later on (chapter 4) that associative NPs are promoted directly to subject status without any intermediate stage.


## 2.11. Comparatives

The comparative morpheme is nka which is realized as nko before infinitives and locatives.[7]

(1)   Abaantu bámwe ba-ry-a nk'íngurube.

     people some they-eat-asp like pigs

'Some people eat like pigs.'

(2) Yohaâni a-geend-a <u>nká</u> Karoôli.[8]

    John he-walk-asp like Charles

    'John walks like Charles.'

Complex comparatives are made of locative NPs only; other oblique NPs are not found in the complex construction of comparatives.

(3) CPx comp NP ----> (NP) nká loc NP

(4) Umugóre a-shobor-a kúba y-â-gi-iye <u>nkó</u> kwá mugaanga.

    woman she-may-asp to be she-pst-go-asp like to doctor

    'The woman may have gone to the hospital, <u>perhaps</u>.'

(5) Kwá Karoôli ha-me-ze <u>nkó</u> kwá Yohaâni.

    at Charles it-be like-asp like at John

    'Charles' house is like John's.'

## 2.12. Possessor

In Kinyarwanda, the possessor NP is shown either by the morpheme <u>-a</u> preceded by the class marker of the possessed NP, by the benefactive suffix <u>-ir-</u> added to the verb or by <u>nothing</u>.


## 2.12.1 Use of -a

The possessive morpheme -a is semantically parallel to the use of the genitive case in Latin in many respects. It can mean possession, identification, description, classification, order, destination......(For detail on the use of this construction see Nkusi in preparation.)

(1)a. Igitabo cy-<u>á</u> Karoôli.

    book  AG of Charles

    'The book of Charles '

b. Ibíryo by-ó kúrya

   food AG of to eat

   'Food to eat'

c. Umwáana w'úmuhuûngu

   child  of  boy

   'A boy'

d. Umugabo w'úmukéne

   man    of  poor

   'a poor man.'

e. Ukwéezi kwaa mbere

   month    AG of one

   'January'

The possessive construction renders the modifier meanings (color, size, shape....) that other languages such as English express by adjectives.[16]


## 2.12.2 Use of -ir-

The possessor is also expressed by the morpheme -ir- added to the verb stem.

(2)a. Umugabo a-ra-som-er-a umugóre igitabo.

   man    he-pres-read-ben-asp woman book

   'The man is reading the book of the woman.'

(3) Umukoôbwa a-ra-hanagur-ir-a umugóre ímódóka.

   girl    she-pres-clean-ben-asp woman car

   'The girl is cleaning the woman's car.'

As in the case of benefactive and indirect object NPs, the possessor comes immediately after the verb and before the possessed NP, when the morpheme -ir- is present.

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If the possessor is a pronoun, the benefactive suffix cannot be added to the verb; except for incorporated pronouns. For detail on the Possessor marked by the suffix -ir- see Chapter 4.

(4)a. Umugóre a-ra-som-a igitabo cy-aa-njye.

woman she-pres-read-asp book of me

'The woman is reading my book.'

b. *Umugóre a-ra-som-<u>er</u>-a jye igitabo.

woman she-pres-read-ben-asp me book

'The woman is reading my book.'

c. Umugóre a-ra-<u>n</u>-som-<u>er</u>-a igitabo.

woman she-pres-me-read-asp book

'The woman is reading my book.'


## 2.12.3 Use of Zero

Inalienable possessions are indicated by the lack of marker. The possessor NP follows the verb as in the cases above.

(5) Umugóre a-rá-sokoz-a umwáana umusatsi.

woman she-pres-comb-asp child hair

'The woman is combing the hair of the child.'

(6) Umuhuûngu y-a-vun-nye <u>íntebe</u> ukuguru.

boy he-pst-break-asp chair leg

'The boy broke the leg of the table.'

When parts of the body occur after the possessive morpheme -a, they are ambiguous as to whether they are alienable or inalienable. Thus the possessed NPs in (7) and (8) may have two meanings and the most natural one would be the alienable one.

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(7) Umugóre a-rá-sokoz-a umusatsi w'úmwáana.

woman she-pres-comb-asp hair of child

'The woman is combing the child.'

'The woman is combing the hair of the child.' (his toy's hair,

for instance)

(8) Umuhuûngu y-a-vun-nye ukuguru k'úmukoôbwa.

boy     he-pst-break-asp leg of girl

'The boy broke the girl's leg.' (her right or left leg)

'The boy broke the leg of the girl' (that she had just bought)

The possessor of an inalienable possessive can be pulled out of a locative

phrase, otherwise it has an ambiguous meaning as in the examples that we

have just presented.

(9)a.  Umukoôbwa y-a-koz-e mu mufuka w'úmuhuûngu.

girl     she-pst-touch-asp in pocket of boy

'The girl touched the pocket of the boy.'

b.  Umukoôbwa y-a-koz-e umuhuûngu mu mufuka.

girl     she--st-touch-asp boy in pocket

'The girl touched in the boy's pocket.'

(10)a.  Umwáana y-a-shyiz-e ibitabo ku maguru y'úmugóre.

child he-pst-put-asp books on the legs of the woman.'

b.  Umwáana y-a-shyiz-e umugóre ibitabo ku maguru.

child  he-pst-put-asp woman books on   legs

'The child put books on the legs of the woman.'

In (b) sentences we have inalienable possession readings, whereas in (a)

two readings are possible. Umufuka in (9)b has to belong to some cloth

that the girl is wearing.

With certain verbs such as those that mean to steal, to rob, to take away,

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the possessor may not be marked, but other types of constructions where the possessor is marked are possible also.

(11)a.  Umujura y-iib-ye igitabo cy-aa-njye.

thief he-steal-asp  book  of  me

'A thief stole my book.'

b.  Umujura y-a-ny-iib-i-ye igitabo.

thief he-pst-me-steal-asp book

'The thief stole my book.'

c.  Umujura y-a-ny-iib-ye igitabo

thief he-pst-me-steal-asp book

'The thief stole my book.'

(12)a.  Umukoôbwa y-a-twaa-ye amafaraanga y'umugabo.

girl  she-pst-take-asp  money  of man

'The girl took the money of the man.'

b.  Umukoôbwa y-a-twaar-ye umugabo amafaraanga.

girl she-pst-take-ben-asp man  money

'The girl took the money of the man.'

c.  Umukoôbwa y-a-twaa-ye  umugabo amafaraanga.

girl  she-pst-take-asp girl  money


## 2.12.4  Complex Possessives

Complex possessives occur with locative NPs only; that is, the head noun of the complex possessive is the same as the head noun of the embedded locative NP.

(13)  CPx POSS NP  ---> NP of loc prep. NP

(14)  Yohaâni y-a-taah-an-ye igitabo cyó mw'ishuûri.

John  he-pst-go-home-with-asp book of in school

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'John took home the book that belongs to the school.'

(15) N-a-huu-ye n úmwaana <u>wó</u> kwá Karoôli.

I-pst-meet-asp with child <u>of</u> <u>at</u> Charles

'I met with the Charles' child.'

Some complex possessives are embedded in complex locatives:

(16) CPx LOC NP ---> loc prep.NP of loc. prep. NP

(17) Umugabo y-a-boon-ye umugóre <u>mu</u> rugo <u>rwó</u> <u>kwá</u> Karoôli.

man he-pst-see-asp woman in compound of at Charles

'The man saw the woman in John's compound.'

(18) Umukoôbwa y-iica-ye <u>kuú</u> ntebe <u>yó</u> <u>mw'</u>iishuûri.

girl she-sit-asp on chair of in school

'The girl is sitting on the school's chair.'

In complex locatives the possessive phrase and the locative phrase can interchange places but in this case the possessive morpheme is deleted.

(19)a. Inzira i-nyur-a i mbere <u>y</u>'úrúgo <u>rwó</u> <u>kwá</u> Yohaâni.

road it-pass-asp in front of compound of at John

'The road passes in front of John's compound.'

b. Inzira i-nyur-a <u>kwá</u> Yohaâni imbere <u>y</u>'úrúgo.

road it-pass-asp at John in front of compound

'The road passes in front of John's house.'

(20)a. Inzira i-nyur-a imbere <u>y</u>'úrúgo.

road it-pass-asp in front of compound

'The road passes in front of the compound.'

b. Inzira i-nyur-a urúgo imbere.

road it-pass-asp compound in front

'The house passes in front of the compound.'

Note however that <u>compound</u> and <u>front</u> cannot be interchanged in (19)b.

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(21)  *Inzira i-nyur-a kwá Yohaáni urúgo imbere.

      road it-pass-asp at John compound in front

We will be talking about this kind of possessor 'shift' in more detail

in Chapter 4.

Note also that in some instances, the possessor head noun takes a locative

preposition when the possessed NP and the possessor NP interchange.

(22)a.  Ubwáato bu-gez-e hagáti y'ínyaanja.

      boat it-arrive-asp in the middle of lake

      'The boat has arrived in the middle of the lake.'

   b.  Ubwáato bu-gez-e mu nyaanja hagáti.

      boat   it-arrive-asp in lake in the middle

(23)a.  Amafaraanga a-hish-e muunsi y'úmúsego w'igitaânda.

      money     it-hide-asp under of pillow of bed

      'The money is hidden under the pillow of the bed.'

   b.  Amafaraanga a-hish-e ku gitaânda muúnsi y'úmúsego.

      money     it-hide-asp on bed    under of pillow

It has been observed also (Nkusi, 1976) that in simple possessive const-

ructions, the possessed NP can undergo the shift if it has a plural

descriptive meaning such as crowd of, mass of...  Again this shift always

causes the deletion of the possessive marker.

(24)a.  H-a-j-e urugaâmba rw'ábásore.

      it-pst-come-asp crowd of young men

      'It's a group of people who came.'

   b.  H-a-j-e  abásore urugaâmba.

      it-pst-come-asp young men group

(25)a.  Úno mugóre a-fit-e  ikívu cy'ámafaraanga.

      this woman she-have-asp lake of money

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'This woman has a lots of money.'

b. Úno mugóre a-fit-e amafaraanga ikúvu.

   this  woman she-have-asp money lake

(26)a. Yohaâni a-ra-shaak-a gutúunga ubúshyo bw'íínka.

   John  he-pres-want-asp to possess troops of cows

   'John wants to possess troops of cows.'

b. Yohaâni a-ra-shaak-a gutúunga ínka ubúshyo.

   John he-pres-want-asp to possess cows troops

We will be showing later on that this possessive is a kind of promotion

as defined in Chapter 4, because it feeds the possessor to syntactic

transformations that it cannot undergo otherwise.

To sum up, we have noted that there exist 12 grammatical functions for

NPs in Kinyarwanda. Only subjects, direct objects, indirect objects

and benefactives are not marked by prepositions. Locatives, temporals

and goals share the same prepositions: ku or mu. The preposition ná

marks instrumentals, associatives and manners. It's only the context

that can tell one the functional status of the oblique case NP in such

a circumstance. There doesn't exist any fixed word order among oblique

cases. It is the new information that always comes last.

Look at the following sentences:

(27) Umwáana y-a-ci-iye igitabo mu gitóondo n'íícyuuma.

   child he-pst-tear-asp book in morning with knife

   'The child tore up a book in the morning with a knife.'

(28) Umwáana y-a-ci-iye igitabo n'íícyuuma mu-gitóondo.

   child he-pst-tear-asp book with knife in morning

   'The child tore up a book with a knife in the morning.'

In (27) everything is old information except the instrumental case 'knife';

in (28) only the temporal phrase 'in the morning' is new information.
In Kinyarwanda, there are no headless prepositions. For instance, some
of the movement transformations that move the head of a prepositional
phrase always leave a resumptive pronoun behind. Topicalization of
object NPs triggers agreement on the verb as in (29), that of oblique
cases leaves a pronoun after the preposition as seen in (30).

    (29)a.  Umuhuûngu y-a-boon-ye umukoôbwa.

          boy    he-pst-see-asp girl

          'The boy saw a girl.'

       b.  Umukoôbwa, umuhuûngu y-a-<u>mu</u>-boon-ye.

          girl       boy   he-pst-her-see-asp

          'The girl, the boy saw her.'

    (30)a.  Umukoôbwa a-ra-andik-a íbarúwa n'ííkarámu.

          girl    she-pres-write-asp  letter with pen

          'The girl is writing a letter with a pen.'

       b.  Íkárámu, umukoôbwa a-ra-ndik-a íbarúwa ná <u>yo.</u>

          pen     girl   she-pres-write-asp letter with it.

          'The pen, the student is writing a letter with it.'

       c. *Íkárámu, umukoôbwa a-ra-andik-a íbarúwa na.

          ·pen     girl   she-pres-write-asp letter with

In some cases two or more oblique cases (NPs marked by prepositions) are
not tolerated; for instance, consecutive <u>ná</u> NPs such as an instrumental
followed by either an associative, a manner or an agentive. In (31) we
have two na NPs: an instrumental and an associative; (32) exhibits an
instrumental and a manner.

    (31)* Umukoôbwa y-a-men-nye ídiríshya <u>n'</u>úmwáana.

          girl    she-pst-break-asp window with stone with child

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'The girl with the child broke the window with a stone.'

(32)* Umugóre y-a-kas-e inyama n'íícyúuma n'ísuku.

woman she-pst-cut-asp meat with knife with cleanliness

'The woman cut clerly the meat with the knife.'

Grammaticality in the above sentences is obtained by marking either one of the oblique cases by a suffix on the verb (Promotion cfr Chap.4). (31) would be realized as either (33)a or b and (32) has to be either (34)a or b.

(33)a. Umukoôbwa n'úmuhuûngu ba-men-an-nye ídiríshya n'íbuye.

girl        and   boy    they-break-rec-asp window witʰ

'The girl with the boy broke the window with the stone.'

b. Umukoôbwa y-a-men-eesh-eje ídiríshya ibuye n'úmuhuûngu.

girl       she-pst-break-instr-asp window stone with boy

(34)a. Umugóre y-a-kat-iish-ije inyama icyúuma n'ísuku.

woman she-pst-cut-instr-asp meat knife with cleanliness

b. Umugóre y-a-kat-an-ye inyama isuku n'ícyúuma.

woman she-pst-cut-rec-asp meat cleanliness with knife

'The woman cut cleverly the meat with the knife.'

In the following chapters we will show that among the 12 grammatical functions that NPs can have in Kinyarwanda, there exists a hierarchy. More precisely it will be noted that those NPs that are introduced by prepositions have a different grammatical status than those that don't have the prepositions such as subjects, direct objects, indirect objects and benefactives.

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Footnotes

1. The morpheme _na_ has many semantic functions: it marks the demoted subject in passive constructions (agentive marker). It introduces associative, manner NPs. It also means _and_ and _also_.

   the verb to 'beat' -_kubit_- doesn't take any instrumental marker:

   (a) Umugóre y-a-kubis-e umwáana inkoni.

   woman she-pres-beat-asp child stick

   'The woman hit the child with a stick.'

   (b) Umugóre y-a-kubit-_iish_-ije umwáana inkoni.

   woman she-pst-beat-instr-asp child stick

   (c) Umugóre y-a-kubis-e umwáana n'ínkoni.

   woman she-pst-beat-asp child with stick

2. Note that the class marker that precedes the possessive morpheme refers to umuunsi 'day'.

   K'umuunsi waa mbere

   With the names of the months, the class marker refers to ukwéezi 'month' mu (kweezi) kwaa mbere.

   This is the historical explanation of possessive agreement with days and months.

3. Note that the prepositions haâfi, hiîno, haáňuno, hagáti, heejuru, haákurya, hiirya are composed of the dummy ha-.

4. ni (probably the historical copula ni) is used in some expressions as a temporal prepositions:

   ni mugoroba       'in the evening'

   ni muûnsi         'in the evening'

   in day

   ní (n)joro        'in the night'

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5. ku and mu are used sometimes to mark manner case NPs cfr. 2.6.

gufata mu mutwe

to hold in head

'to memorize'

kugeenda ku maguru

to go   on feet

'to go on feet'

kuvuga mu cyoongereza

to say in English

'to talk in English'

6. Verbs that intrinsically reciprocal have been lexicalized with the suffix -an-.

ex.  -rwaan-   'fight'        -toongaan-  'quarrel'

     -saamban- 'commit adultery'    -kiiran-   'wrestle'

The following two verbs are the only ones that don't take the -an- suffix.

-huur-     'meet with'

-geniir-   'talk with'

7. Some verbs such as:

-sa-    'resemble'

-ngan   'be as big as or old as'

-reeshy-  'be as tall as'

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use <u>na</u> also as a comparative morpheme.

(a) Úno mukoôbwa a-sa   <u>na</u> nyina.

    this girl she-resemblelike her mother

    'This girl looks like her mother.'

(b) Yohaâni a-reeshy-a <u>na</u> Karoôli.

                 <u>nka</u>

    John  he-be  as tall as asp like Charles

    'John is as tall as Charles.'

8. Kimyarwanda doesn't have the comparative morpheme of either super-

iority or inferiority to express 'more than or less than', the

verb <u>-rut-</u> or <u>-rush-</u> 'surpass' is used instead.

When the verb -rush- is used, there are two types of constructions

possible:  -rush- is eitheras the main verb of the sentence or it

occurs in the infinitival form before the compared NP.

(a) Yohaâni a-ririimb-a nééza kurusha Maríya.

    John he-sing-asp well to surpass Mary

    'John sings better than Mary.'

(b) Yohaâni a-rush-a Maríya kuríriimba nééza.

    John he-surpass-asp Mary to sing well

    'John sings better than Mary.'

An adjective becomes a noun when the verb -rush- is <u>promoted</u> to the

main verb status.

(c) Uyu muhuûngu ni <u>mwiíza</u>  <u>kurusha</u>  uyu mukoôbwa.

    this boy  be beautiful to surpass this girl

    'This boy is more beautiful than this girl.'

(d) Uyu muhuûngu <u>a-rush-a</u>  uyu mukoôbwa <u>ubwiíza.</u>

    this boy  he-surpass-asp this girl beauty

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'This boy is more beautiful than this girl.'

The verb -gir- 'have' may be optionally deleted when the verb -rush-
becomes the main verb.

(e) Abagabo ba-gir-a imbaraga kurusha abagóre.

man  they-have-asp strength to surpass women

'The men have more strength than the women.'

(f) Abagabo ba-rush-a abagóre (kugira) imbaraga.

men they-surpass-asp women to have strength

9. When the possessive construction has a modifier meaning (description),
identification) the possessor noun and the possessed NP can take
different calss prefixes without affecting the meaning.

(a) Umwáana w'úmukoôbwa.

child  of girl

(b) Umwáana w'ágakoôbwa.

child of little girl     'a little girl'

(c) Akáana k'úmukoôbwa

little child of little girl

10. Kinyarwanda has only 9 non-derived adjectives, the possessive cons-
truction or the relative clause formation are the ways to render
adjectival meanings (Wilkins & Kimenyi (1975))

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# Chapter III   Properties of Terms

This chapter presents the major syntactic properties of terms: subject of, direct object of, indirect object of.  They are distinguished from non-terms (oblique case NPs) in that they are transformationally more potent in a variety of ways.  Thus many major transformations such as relativization, clefting, pseudo-clefting, wh-questioning, passivization, reflexivization,...apply only to terms.  Indirect objects and benefactives are shown to be formally similar to direct objects and to share the same syntactic properties with them.  It is concluded then that the Relational Hierarchy of Kinyarwanda, for the purpose of Relational Grammar is: S $<$DO $<$ OO   rather than S$<$DO$<$IO $<$ OO.

Properties that belong to subjects only are presented first.  Then follow the properties of indirect objects and benefactives.  The properties that all terms share are given last.

## 3.1.  Properties of Subjects

The normal word-order of Kinyarwanda is as follows:  subjects appear at the leftmost side of the sentence (except when there is a left topic in the sentence which always precedes the subject), indirect objects follow the verb and the direct object comes last.  (1) illustrates the normal word-order in the Kinyarwanda sentence.

>  (1)   Umuhuûngu y-a-haa-ye umukoôbwa igitabo.
>
>        boy    he-pst-give-asp girl book
>
>        'The boy gave a book to the girl.'

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## 3.1.1   Agreement

Besides topics (see Chapter 8), subjects are the only NPs that trigger agreement on the verb. Subject agreement is obtained by prefixing the class marker of the head noun to the verb.

(2)   Ibitabo bi-ri ku mééza.

books they-be on table

'The books are on the table.'

(3)   Ubúuki bu-ra-ryóoh-a.

honey   it-pres-taste-asp

'Honey tastes good.'

Verbal subjects and sentential subjects, however, take bi- agreement (class 8) whereas locative and temporal subjects receive ha- agreement, instead of getting the class marker of their head noun.

(4)   Ku-ririimb-a bi-ra-kome-ye.

to-sing-asp   it-pres-be difficult-asp

'To sing is difficult.'

(5)   Kú-ba y-á-garuts-e by-aa-n-shiim-iish-ije.

it-be he-pst-comeback-asp   it-pst-me-thank-caus-asp

'The fact that he came back made me happy.'

(6)   Muu nzu ha-ra-shyúush-ye.

in house it-pres-be warm-asp

'It's warm in the house.'

The only verb which seems to be an exception to agreement (probably in all Bantu languages) is the copular ni.

(7) a.  Kí-no gitabo ni gíshya.

this book  be  new

'This book is new.'

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b. *Kíno gitabo ki-ni gíshya.

this book   it be   new

(8)a.  Báno báana ni beéza.

these children be nice

'These children are nice.'

b. *Báno báana ba-ni beéza.

these children they-be nice

The same copula ni is used in cleft constructions but still no agreement is found on it.

(9)  N'abáana ba-gi-íye.

be children they-rel-go-asp

'It's the children who are going.'

It is noted also that dummy or impersonal pronouns (see Chapter 7), those that don't have any semantic meaning, such ba- 'unspecified human', bi- 'unspecified non-human, ha- and bu- can appear as subjects only.

(10)  B-a-mw-íib-ye.

they-pst-him-rob-asp

'They robbed him.'

(11)  Bi-ra-kome-ye.

it-pres-be difficult-asp

'It is difficult.'

(12)  Ha-ra-shyúush-ye.

It-pres-be warm-asp

'It is warm.'

(13)  Bu-ra-góroob-ye.

it-pres-get dark-asp

'It is getting dark.'

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There are no object or oblique dummies in the language.

### 3.1.2. Dummy-insertion

Subjects alone allow dummy-insertion. The only dummy that is inserted in such a case is <u>ha-</u> which causes the subject to shift after the verb. The sentence acquires then a cleft meaning (this is not the only construction that applies in Kinyarwanda, for another alternative see section 3.4.2). This construction really has a cleft meaning since like other cleft constructions, negating the sentence doesn't alter in any way the truth-value of the VP constituent but rather denies the subject to be the actor.

(14)a.  Umwáana a-ra-lir-a.

child he-pres-cry-asp

'The child is crying.'

b.  <u>Ha</u>-ra-lir-a umwáana.

it-pres-cry-asp child

'It's the child who is crying.'

c.  Nti-<u>ha</u>-lír-a umwáana.

neg-it-cry-asp child

'It's not the child who is crying.'

(15)a.  Umugóre y-ar-íib-w-e.

woman she-pst-rob-pass-asp

'The woman was robbed.'

b.  <u>H</u>-iib-w-e- umugóre.

it-rob-pass-asp woman

'It's the woman who got robbed.'

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c. Nti-h-iib-w-e umugóre.

   neg-it-rob-pass-asp woman

   'It's not the woman who got robbed.'

No other NPs such as direct objects, indirects...can undergo the kinds

of transformation just presented.


### 3.1.3   Semi-agreement

Some manner words such as -te? 'how', -tyo 'like that', -tya 'like this'

can take either ku- agreement (spelled as gu- because of Dalh's law)

or they can agree with the subject head noun.

(16)   Umugóre y-a-vuz-e $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{gû-te?} \\ \text{á-te?} \end{array} \right\}$

   woman she-pst-say-asp how

   'How did the woman say?'

(17)   Abagabo b-a-bi-giz-e $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{gû-tyo} \\ \text{bâ-tyo} \end{array} \right\}$

   men   they-pst-do-asp like that

   'The men did  it that   way.'

(18)   Mw-aa-n-shubij-e $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{gû-tya} \\ \text{mû-tya} \end{array} \right\}$

   you-pst-me-answer-asp like this

   'You answered me like this.'

As illustrated in (19), this kind of agreement is a property of subjects

only.   The sentence would be ungrammatical if the agreement referred to

the direct object.

(19)   Yohaâni y-a-boon-ye Maríya  *á-tyo

                              · gû-tyo.

   Mary she-pstsee-asp Mary like that

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'John saw Mary like that.'

If the manner word were referring to the subject, the sentence would be okay of course. If the direct object is the subject of a lower sentence, however, the manner word can agree with it.

(20)   N-a-saanz-e abáana bâ̠-kor-a $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{bâ̠-tyo} \\ \text{gû-tyo} \end{Bmatrix}$

I-pst-find-asp children they-work-asp like that.

..     'I found the children working like that.

(21)   Mu̠-r-úumv-a mû̠-mez-e $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{gû-te?} \\ \text{mu-te?} \end{Bmatrix}$
       you-pres-feel-asp you-feel-asp how

       'How do you feel?'

Agreement of manner words must be a new process in the language if indeed, agreement occurred much later in Bantu languages.


## 3.1.4   Intensifier and Quantifier use

Subjects and topics (see Chapter 8 for more properties of topics) have special properties that other NPs don't have when they are constructed with certain intensifier and quantifier words such as:

(i)    Pro: class marker plus -o, which is used for contrast when it follows an NP.

(ii)   ubwaa +pro: 'in person'

(iii)  gusa: 'only'

(iv)   pro + nyine:  'alone'

The first two are only naturally used after topics and subjects.   (13) shows the use of pro and (14) illustrates the use of ubwaa+pro.

(22)a  Abagabo bó b-a-haa-ye abáana ibitabo.

       men     them they-pst-give-asp children books


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'As for the men, they gave books to the children.'

b Abáana, bó, abagabo b-a-ba-haa-ye ibitabo.

children them men they-pst-them-give-asp books

'As for the children, the men gave them the books.'

c ?Abagabo b-a-haa-ye abáana bó ibitabo.

men  they-pst-give-asp children them books

(23)a Abáana, ubwaâbo, b-a-gii-ye.

children themselves they-pst--go-asp

'The children themselves left.'

b Igitabo, ubwaâcyo, umwáalímu y-a-gi-som -ye.

book  itself  teacher  he-pst-it-read-asp

'The book itself, the teacher read it.'

c ?Umwáalímu y-a-som-ye igitabo ubwaâcyo.

teacher he-pst-read-asp book itself

'The teacher read the book itself.'

(22)c and (23)c are bad because the modified elements are neither

topics nor subjects, but objects.

Pro + nyine 'alone' and gusa 'only' have special constructions when they

modify the subject head noun.  In the usual case they immediately follow

the NP (object or oblique) that they escort.

(24)  Umukoôbwa a-ra-som-a igitabo $\left\{\begin{array}{l} \text{gusa} \\ \text{cyonyíne} \end{array}\right\}$

girl  she-pres-read-asp book only

'The girl is reading the book only.'

When the two words modify the subject, the dummy-insertion (3.1.2) or the

cleft construction (3.4.2) is preferred to the construction in (24).

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(25)a Abáana b-a-gii-ye.

children they-pst-go-asp

'The children left.'

b Abáana ní bo b-a-gií-ye.

children them they-pst-rel-go-asp

'The children are the ones who left.'

c Abáana ní bo bonyíne b-a-gií-ye.

children be them alone they-pst-rel-go-asp

'Only the children left.'

d H-a-gii-ye abáana bonyíne.

it-pst-go-asp children alone

'Only the children left.'

e. *Abáana bonyíne b-a-gii-ye.

children alone they-pst-go-asp

(4)e is starred because gusa and pro + nyine are modifying the subject which, in this case, has to undergo either the dummy-insertion transformation or the cleft construction but hasn't.


### 3.1.5 Definiteness

Subjects, indirect objects and benefactives are always either definite or generic. In other words, they are always familiar (known) to both hearer and speaker.

(26) Umwáana a-ra-lir-a.

child he-pres-cry-asp

'The child is crying.'

'*A child is crying.'

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(27)  N-a-haa-ye umwáana igitabo.

     I-pst-give-asp child book

     'I gave the book to <u>the</u> child.'

     '*I gave the book to <u>a</u> child.'

Note that the direct object is ambiguous in terms of definiteness and indefiniteness. Indirect objects and benefactives are always animate also. Indefinite subjects, benefactives and indirect objects are introduced by the existential <u>hari</u> plus a relative clause formation. (For detail see 3.4.5).

(28)  <u>Ha-ri</u> umwáana ú-rir-a.

     it-be child he-rel-cry-asp

     'A child is crying.'

(29)  <u>Ha-ri</u> umwáana n-a-haá-ye igitabo.

     it-be child  I-pst-rel-give-asp book

     'I gave <u>a</u> book to a child.'

Because of this construction it is not possible in Kinyarwanda to have both an indefinite subject and an indefinite indirect object or benefactive such as '<u>A</u> man gave the book to <u>a</u> girl' or both an indefinite indirect object and indefinite benefactive.


### 3.1.6 Argument presence

In general all sentences have to have subjects or would be ungrammatical without one. There is only one exception to this, namely some uses of the copular <u>ni</u>.

(30)  <u>Ni</u> byiíza.

     be good

     'It's good.'

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(31) Ní we.

    be him

    'It's him.'

Cleft constructions (3.4.2) don't have subjects either.

(32) N'umugabo w-a-gií-ye.

    be man  he-pst-rel-go-asp

    'It's the man who left.'

(33) N'abáana ba-mén-nye ídiríshya.

    be children they-pstprel-break-asp

    'It's the children who broke the window.'

Some verbs (2-argument verbs) such as: -ha 'give', -eerek- 'show',
-bwiir- 'tell' .... and manipulative verbs such as order, command,
prevent..... have to have the indirect object expressed.

(34)a . *Yohaâni y-a-haa-ye igitabo.

    John he-pst-give-asp book

    'John gave the book.'

  b  Yohaâni y-a-haa-ye umwáana igitabo.

    John  he-pst-give-asp child book

    'John gave the book to the child.'

(35)a  *Umugóre y-a-bwii-ye ibinyóma.

    woman she-pst-tell-asp lies

    'The woman told lies.'

  b  Umugóre y-a-bwii-ye umuhuûngu ibinyóma.

    woman she-pst-tell-asp boy lies

    'The woman told lies to the boy.'

(36)a  *Umwáalímu y-eerets-e amashusho.

    teacher he-show-asp pictures

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'The teacher showed pictures.'

b Umuwáalímu y-eerets-e abanyéeshuûri amashusho.

teacher he-show-asp students     pictures

'The teacher showed pictures to the students.'

Remark that the direct object doesn't have to be mentioned at all.

(37) Umuwáalímu y-eereta-e abanyéeshuûri.

teacher he-show-asp students

'The teacher showed to the students.'

(38) Yohaâni y-a-haa-ye abáana.

John he-pst-give-asp children

'John gave to the children.'

Benefactives have to be present also and as in the above examples, the absence of the direct object doesn't render the sentence ungrammatical as shown by (39) and (40).

(39) *Umugabo a-ra-som-er-a igitabo.

man he-pres-read-ben-asp book

'The man is reading the book for somebody.'

(40) Umugabo a-ra-som-er-a umugóre.

man    he-pres-read-ben-asp woman.

'The man is reading for the woman.'


## 3.1.7 Semantic roles

The subject assumes more semantic roles than any other NP. The subject can be a patient, a recipient, an agent, a locative and a temporal.

(41) <u>Umwáana</u> a-ra-rwáa-ye.    (patient)

child he-pres-be sick-asp

'The child is sick.'

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(42) Umwáana a-rá-bon-a ijuru.    (recipient)

   child he-pres-see-asp sky

   'The child can see the sky.'

(43) Umwáana a-rá-kúbit-a ímbwa.     (agent)

   child  he-pres-beat-asp dog

   'The child is beating the dog.'

(44) Muu nzu ha-ra-shyúush-ye.

   in house it-pres-be warm-asp

   It's warm in the house.'

There are some other transformations that are properties of subjects
only, such as right topicalization when the verb has a sentential
complement (this is described in detail in Chapter 8) and raising to
subject and object position.  This process is discussed in great detail
in Chapter 6.  The present section has presented  a confirmation of the
primacy of subjects over other terms; direct objects and indirect objects.
Evidently subjects possess syntactic and semantic properties that other
terms don't have.

In the next section, properties that all terms share will be given and
it will be shown that indirect objects and benefactives behave the same
way as direct objects.


## 3.2  Properties of Direct Objects

Direct Objects are distinguished from non-terms by the fact that they
are the only ones that (i) are introduced to the verb without a preposi-
tion.

   (ii)   undergo subjectivization rules (passivization, stativi-

        zation and Object-Subject reversal).  These rules are

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presented in Chapter 5.

(iii)    undergo pronoun incorporation: this process is discussed

in Chapter 7.

(iv)    are reflexivizable.


## 3.2.1  Reflexivization

The reflexive marker is the infix -ii- (which is realized as -iy- if

the verb stem begins with a vowel).  It always follows other infixes.

This process applies if the direct object or the indirect object or

the benefactive NP is coreferential with the subject.

(45) a   *Umukoôbwa$_x$ a-ra-reeb-a umukoôbwa$_x$

girl   she-pres-watch-asp girl

'The girl is watching the girl.'

b   Umukoôbwa a-r-íi-reeb-a.

girl   she-pres-refl-watch-asp

'The girl is watching herself.'

(46) a   *Umuhuûngu$_x$ a-r-éerek-a umuhuûngu$_x$ amashusho.

boy        he-pres-show-asp boy pictures

'The boy is showing the boy pictures.'

b   Umuhuûngu a-r-íy-eerek-a amashusho.

boy        he-pres-refl-show-asp pictures

'The boy is showing pictures to himself.'

Reflexivization is an internal clause process, it cannot apply across

clause boundaries.

(47)   Umugabo$_x$ y-a-tegets-e umugóre kú-mu$_x$ha igitabo.

man   he-pst-order-asp woman to-him-give book

'The man ordered the woman to give him the book.'


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Oblique cases coreferential with the subject cannot be directly reflexi-
vized. Objectivization rules have to take place first (see Chapter 4 for
detail on promotion to object status). (47) gives an example of a loca-
tive pronoun coreferential with the subject and (48) gives an example
of a possessive.

(48)a Umwáana$_x$ y-a-shyiz-e amabuye kúrí we$_x$.

child he-pst-put-asp stones on him

'The child put stones on himself.'

b *Umwáana y-íi-shyiz-e amabuye kúrí we.

child he-refl-put-asp stones on him

c Umwaana y-íi-shyiz-é-ho amabuye.

child he-refl-put-asp-on stones

'The child put stones on himself.'

(49)a Abagabo$_x$ ba-r-úubak-a inzu yáa bo$_x$

men they-pres-build-asp house of them

'The men are building their house.'

b *Abagabo ba-r-íy-uubak-ir-a inzu yáa bo.

men they-pres-refl-build-asp house of them

c Abagabo ba-r-íy-uubak-ir-a inzu.

men they-pres-refl-build-asp house

'The men are building their own house.'

Sometimes the reflexive morpheme -ii- is used with the benefactive

morpheme -ir-. In this case, it has a different semantic role. It

indicates the subjective attitude of the speaker about the action being

undertaken by the subject.

(50) Umugabo a-r-íi-ryaam-i-ye.

man he-pres-refl-sleep-ben-asp

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'The man is sleeping.'

(51) Umuhuûngu a-r-íy-iig-ir-a.

boy        he-pres-refl-study-ben-asp

'The boy is studying.'

The constructions in (50) and (51) would be used if the subject were
expected to do something else.


### 3.3. Properties of Indirect Object and Benefactives

Formally there is no way to differentiate indirect objects and
benefactives from direct objects. They exhibit the same properties that
distinguish direct objects from other NPs (position, incorporation,
reflexivization and passivization). Usually when direct objects,
indirect objects and benefactives appear in the same sentence the bene-
factive NP comes closer to the verb, then follows the indirect object
and the direct object comes last as seen in (52).

(52) Umugabo y-eerek-e-ye abagóre abáana amashusho.

man   he-show-ben-asp women children pictures

'The man showed pictures to the children for the women.'

Like direct objects, indirect objects and benefactives are connected
to the verb without a preposition and they can occur in the sentence
without expressing the direct object. This is illustrated below.

(53)a Umuhuûngu y-a-sab-ye amafaraanga.

boy    he-pst-ask-asp money

'The boy asked for the money.'

b Umuhuûngu y-a-sab-ye umukoôbwa.

boy      he-pst-ask-asp  girl

'The boy asked the girl.'


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c   Umuhuûngu y-a-sab-i-ye abáana.

    boy       he-pst-ask-ben-asp children

    'The boy asked for the children.'

d   Umuhuûngu y-a-sab-i-ye abáana umukoôbwa amafaraanga.

    boy he-pst-ask-ben-asp children girl   money

    'The boy asked the girl for the money for the children.'

Besides semantic factors indirect objects and direct objects are the
same with respect to the position they occupy in the sentence and with
respect to the case marking which is signalled by a zero morpheme in
both cases.  Benefactives are the only ones that are case marked by the
suffix -ir-, but they behave like direct objects and indirect objects in
other respects.

In the next examples, it is shown that indirect objects and benefactives
are passivized, incorporated and reflexivized the same way as DOs.
Passivization:

(54)a  Umugóre a-ra-hé-er-a umugabo ímbwa ibíryo.

     woman she-pres-give-ben-asp man dog food

     'The woman is giving food to the dog for the man.'

   b  Ibíryo bi-ra-hé-er-ew-a umugabo ímbwa n'úmugóre.

     food  it-pres-give-ben-pass-asp man dog by woman

     'The food is given to the dog for the man by the woman.'

   c  Ímbwa i-ra-hé-er-w-a umugabo ibíryo n'úmugóre.

     dog  it-pres-give-ben-pass-asp man food by woman

     'The dog is given food for the man by the woman.'

   d  Umugabo a-ra-hé-er-w-a ímbwa ibíryo n'úmugóre.

     man    he-pres-give-ben-pass-asp dog food by woman

     'The man is given food for to the dog by the woman.'

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Pronoun incorporation

(55) a  Umugóre a-rá-bi-he-er-a umugabo ímbwa.

woman she-pres-it-give-ben-asp man dog

'The woman is giving it to the dog for the man.'

b.  Umugóre a-rá-yi-he-er-a umugabo ibíryo

woman she-pres-it-give-ben-asp man food

'The woman is giving food to it for the man.'

c  Umugóre a-rá-mu-he-er-a ímbwa ibíryo.

woman she-pres-him-give-ben-asp dog food

'The woman is giving food to the dog for him.'

d  Umugóre a-ra-bi-yí-mu-he-er-a

woman she-pres-it-it-him-give-ben-asp

'The woman is giving it to it for him.'

Reflexivization

(56) a  *Umugóre$_x$a-ra-reéb-a umugóre$_x$muu ndorerwámo.

woman she-pres-watch-asp woman in glass

'The woman is watching the woman in the glass.'

b  Umugóre a-r-íi-reeb-a muu ndorerwámo.

woman she-pres-refl-watch-asp in glass

'The woman is watching herself in the glass.'

(57) a  Umuhuûngu$_x$a-r-eerek-a umuhuûngu$_x$amashusho.

boy      he-pres-show-asp boy pictures

'The boy is showing pictures to the boy.'

b  Umuhuûngu a-r-íy-eerek-a amashusho.

boy      he-pres-refl-show-asp pictures

'The boy is showing pictures to himself.'

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(58)  a. *Umugabo<sub>x</sub> a-ra-hé-er-a umugabo<sub>x</sub> ímbwa ibíryo.

       man   he-pres-give-ben-asp man dog food

       'The man is giving food to the dog for the man.'

   b  Umugabo a-r-íí-he-er-a ímbwa ibíryo.

       man   he-pres-refl-give-ben-asp dog food

       'The man is giving food to the dog for himself.'

Gary & Keenan (1975) have proposed that indirect objects and benefactives
be treated formally as direct objects since syntactically they behave
the same way.  It is the same position that is taken in this thesis
because it cannot be proposed that indirect objects and benefactives
have been advanced to DO since the Relational Annihilation Law doesn't
apply and secondly because benefactive NPs and indirect object NPs with
prepositions are not attested in the language.

In the next section, properties that all terms, subjects and direct
objects (direct objects, indirect objects and benefactives) share are
given.  These are relativization, clefting, pseudo-clefting, wh-question-
ing, existential insertion and exclusive insertion.

3.4.  Properties of terms

3.4.1  Relativization

Relativization as mentioned above is a property of subjects, direct
objects, indirect objects and benefactives only.  Other oblique NPs are
not directly relativizable.  Relativization is marked by a high tone
which undergoes tone shift rules (Kimenyi, in preparation).  The
relative clause that has an antecedent subject of class 1 has always
the prefix u- instead of a-.

    (59)a  Umugabo a-gii-ye ku kazi.

         man  he-go-asp to work

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'The man is going to work.'

b N-dá-bon-a umugabo u-gíi-ye ku kazi.

I-pres-see-asp man he-rel-go-asp to work

'I see the man who is going to work.'

(60)a Abagabo b-a-garuts-e.

men they-pst-come back-asp

'The men came back.'

b N-dá-bon-a abagabo b-a-gáruts-e.

I-pres-see-asp men they-pst-rel-come back-asp

'I see the men who came back.'

Antecedent objects precede the subject.

(61)a Umuhuûngu y-a-haa-ye umukoôbwa igitabo.

boy       he-pst-give-asp girl book

'The boy gave the book to the girl.'

b N-a-boon-ye igitabo umuhuûngu y-a-haá-ye umukoôbwa.

I-pst-see-asp book   boy    he-pst-rel-give-asp girl

'I saw the book that the boy gave to the girl.'

c N-a-boon-ye umukoôbwa umuhuûngu y-a-haá-ye igitabo.

I-pst-see-asp girl   boy    he-pst-rel-give-asp book

'I saw the girl to whom the boy gave the book.'

Locatives can be relativized without promotion to object status. But in
this instance, it is the whole locative phrase that is being relativized
not its head. There are two alternatives to accomplish this: (i) first,
just moving the prepositional phrase at the left of the clause and
putting the relative high tone on the verb or (ii) doing the same thing
as in (i) but adding the suffix, either -mo or -ho to the verb.

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(62)a Umwáana a-ryaam-ye mu gitaanda.

   child he-sleep-asp in bed

   'The child is sleeping in the bed.'

   b Mu gitaánda umwáana a-ryaám-yé-(mo) ha-ra-shyúush-ye.

   in bed    child he-sleep-asp-in it-pres-be warm-asp

   'The bed in which the child is sleeping is warm.'

Note that this kind of relativ ization of locatives cannot leave the

locative preposition behind by its own.

   (63)  *Igitaánda umugóre a-ryaám-ye múri(cyo)...

      bed     woman she-sleep-asp in it

Other prepositional phrases such as instrumentals, associatives, manners,...

cannot be relativized even by moving the whole prepositional phrase as

in the case of locatives or by leaving a resumptive pronoun behind.

Objectivization rules have to apply first in order for this transformation

to take place. (see Chapter 4 for this).

   (64)a Umwáana a-rá-ry-a inyama n'íkánya.

   child he-pres-eat-asp meat with fork

   'The child is eating meat with the fork.'

   b *N-a-guz-e ikánya umwáana á-ry-a inyama ná (yo)

   I-pst-buy-asp fo k child he-rel-eat-asp meat with it

   c *N-a-guz-e n'íkánya umwáana á-ry-a inyama.

   I-pst-buy-asp with fork child he-rel-eat-asp meat

   d N-a-guz-e ikánya umwáana a-ri-iísh-a inyama.

   I-pst-buy-asp fork child he-eat-instr-asp meat

   'I bought the fork with which the child is eating meat.'

The 'action focus' marker -ra- or -a- never appears in relative clauses

and other constructions that take the relative tone marker.

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(65)a Umwáana a-ra-som-a igitabo.

     child he-pres-read-asp book

     'The child is reading the book.'

  b *N-kuund-a umwáana u-ra-som-a igitabo.

     I-like-asp child he-pres-rel-read-asp book

  c N-kuund-a umwaana u-som-a igitabo.

     I-like-asp child he-rel-read-asp book

     'I like the child who is reading the book.'

Temporal clauses are realized as relative clauses also and the verb of
the temporal clauses takes an optional benefactive marker -ir-.

(66) Sií-n-zi igihe a-záa-garuk-(ir)-a.

     neg-I-know time he-fut-rel-come back-ben-asp

     'I don't know when he will come back.'

Another point worth mentioning is that non-restrictive relative clauses
occur with antecedents which are unique referents only such as proper
names. First, these types of relatives are found after perception
verbs only such as see, understand, hear, feel.....

(67) U-rá-bon-a iri zúuba ri-tá-va!

     you-pres-see-asp this sun it-neg-shine

     you see this sun that is not shining

     'Oh no, the sun is not shining!'


(68) U-r-íy-uumv-iish-a Karoôli w-iíg-a mur'aya masáha!

     you-pres-refl-understand-cau-asp Charles he-rel-study-asp

                                         in these hours

     'Can you imagine Charles studying at this moment!'

These kinds of non-restrictive relative clauses are used to express a

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surprise. Non-restrictive relative clauses are also used to show a cause and effect relationship.

(69) Yohaâni, ú-kor-a cyaane, a-ra-nanir-w-a vuba.

John he-rel-work-asp much he-pres-tire-pass-asp quickly

'John is going to get tired quickly since his is working hard.'

(70) Iri shuûri ri-t-eémer-er-a abanyéeshuûri beênshi, ri-zaa-fuung-w-a.

this school    it-neg-rel-accept-ben-asp students many it-fut-close-pass-asp

'This school will be closed since it doesn't accept many students.'

Non-restrictive relative clauses always appear after subject head nouns only. Object antecedents are never found.

The transformations that are presented next follow the same pattern as the relative clause formation: the head noun precedes the subject, the 'action-focus' marker is deleted and the verb carries the relative high tone.

These processes are clefting, pseudo-clefting, wh-questioning, existential insertion and the exclusive insertion.


### 3.4.2. Clefting

Cleft sentences resemble relative clauses very much except that the former are always introduced by the copular <u>ni</u> 'be' or its negative counterpart <u>si</u> 'not to be'. There are two types of cleft constructions henceforth referred to as 'cleft 1' and 'cleft 2'. The first type is just the copular plus a relative clause. The second construction puts the copular after the ante-cedent head noun with a pronoun referring to it. Although

both constructions are only used as answers to wh-questions in both cases the predicate being old information and the antecendent being the new information, they bear different functions: contrast and new information.

## a.  Cleft 1

Cleft type 1 which is used to answer 'who' and 'what' questions seems to have less constraints than cleft type 2. Not only does this transformation apply to terms (71 & 72) but to oblique objects also (73 & 74) except possessives (75).

    (71)a  Abáana b-a-gii-ye kw'iishuûri.

        children they-pst-go-asp to school

        'The children went to school.'

     b  N'abáana b-a-gií-ye kw'iishuûri.

        be children they-pst-rel-go-asp to school

        'It's the children who went to school.'

    (72)a  Umukoôbwa y-a-haa-ye umwáana íkarámu.

        girl     she-pst-give-asp child pen

        'The girl gave the pen to the child.'

     b  N'umwáana umukoôbwa y-a-haá-ye íkarámu.

        be child girl    she-pst-rel-give-asp pen

        'It's the child that the girl gave the pen to.'

     c  N'íikarámu umukoôbwa y-a-haá-ye umwáana.

        be pen    girl    she-pst-rel-give-asp child

        'It's the pen that the girl gave to the child.'

Oblique cases don't have to be advanced to direct object status in order to undergo this transformation but as in the case of locatives when they are relativized or passivized, the whole prepositional phrase has to

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move without leaving the preposition behind. The examples given below
are instrumentals and manners, respectively.

(73)a Umubooyi a-ra-kat-a inyama n'ícyúuma.

cook     he-pres-cut-asp meat with knife

'The cook is cutting meat with the knife.'

b <u>Ni n'ícyúuma</u> umubooyi a-kat-a inyama.

be with knife cook he-rel-cut-asp meat

'It's the knife that the cook is cutting the meat with.'

c *N'ícyúuma umubooyi a-kat-a inyama na (cyo)

be knife   cook  he-rel-cut-asp meat with (it)

(74)a Umugabo y-a-gii-ye ku maguru.

man    he-pst-go-asp on feet

'The man went on foot.'

b <u>Ni ku maguru</u> umugabo y-a-gií-ye.

be on feet man    he-pst-rel-go-asp

'It's on foot that the man left.'

c *N'amaguru umugabo y-a-gií-ye kúrí (yo)

be feet man       he-pst-rel-go-asp on them

Possessives are the only ones in the category of oblique cases that can-
not be clefted by moving with their prepositions. They are never clefted
directly.

(75)a Umuhuûngu y-a-som-ye igitabo cy'úmukoôbwa.

boy      she-pst-read-asp book of girl

'The boy read the book of the girl.'

b *Ni cy'úmukoôbwa umuhuûngu y-a-sóm-ye igitabo.

be of girl       boy    he-pst-rel-read-asp book

c *N'umukoôbwa umuhuûngu y-a-sóm-ye igitabo cyâ (e)  =cye

be girl         boy    he-pst-rel-read-asp book of (her)

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Possessors have to be objectivized to be able to cleft. 'The girl's' clefted would be realized as:

(76) N'umukoôbwa umuhuûngu y-a-sóm-e-ye igitabo.

      be    girl      boy    he-pst-read-asp  book

      'It's the girl's book that the boy read.'


## b Cleft 2

Cleft 2 is used to mark a contrast after a wh-question. It answers 'which' questions. This construction is inapplicable with oblique cases, locatives excepted. As it was pointed out above, cleft 2 differs formally from type 1 in that it is effected by putting the copula and a pro form after the head noun, as shown in (77) and (78) where the subject and the object are clefted.

(77)a Abáana b-a-cii-ye igitabo.

      children they-pst-tear-asp book

      'The children tore up the book.'

  b Abáana ní bo b-a-cií-ye igitabo.

      children be them they-pst-rel-tear-asp book

      'It's the children who tore up the book.'

(78)  Igitabo ní cyo abáana b-a-cií-ye.

      book    be it  children they-pst-rel-tear-asp

      'It's the book that the children tore up.'

In (79) an instrumental NP is clefted to illustrate that oblique NPs cannot undergo this type of transformation directly.

(79)a Umugabo a-ra-andik-a ibarúwa n'íikarámu.

      man    he-pres-write-asp  letter with pen

      'The man is writing the letter with a pen.'

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b   *N'ííkarámu ní yo umugabo y-aándik-a íbarúwa.

   with pen   be it   man   he-rel-write-asp pen

c   *Íkarámu ní yo umugabo y-aándik-iish-a íbarúwa.

   pen   be it· man   he-rel-write-asp with (it)

d   Íkarámu ní yo umugabo y-aándik-<u>iish</u>-a íbarúwa.

   pen be it   man   he-rel-write-instr-asp letter ·

   'The pen is the one     the man is writing the letter with.'

In (79)b the whole prepositional phrase is moved, in (79)c the

preposition is left behind with or without a resumptive pronoun; but all

of them are wrong because this kind of transformation belongs to terms

only. This is confirmed by the fact that (79)d is okay since the

instrumental NP has been advanced to DO before clefting.


### 3.4.3 Pseudo-clefting

While cleft sentences are used as answers to wh-questions, pseudo-clefted

sentences are used as answers to pseudo-cleft questions such as 'Who is

the one who?' In this respect, pseudo-cleft sentences are more pre-

suppositional than cleft sentences because a pseudo-cleft question can-

not have a negative answer as in the case of wh-questions.

Syntactically the pseudo-cleft sentences are obtained by

  (i)   shifting the head noun at the end of the sentence.

  (ii)   putting the copula <u>ni</u> 'be' or <u>si</u> 'not be' before the head

    noun.

  (iii)   having a proform referring to the cleft noun at the beginning

    of the sentence in a relative clause form.

    X   (V)   NP   (V)   Y $\Longrightarrow$ Pro   X   V   Rel   Y   be   NP

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The parentheses in the formula mean that there is one verb which will occur either before the noun phrase or after it depending of course on whether the NP is subject or object.

If the pseudo-clefted NP is subject, the (verbal) subject prefix is preceded by the preprefix (the vowel that precededs the class marker) of that noun.

The proform of object NPs is -o preceded by the 'second' agreement of the head noun.

(80)b shows a pseudo-clefted subject and (80)b gives the case of a pseudo-clefted object.

(80) a   Umugóre y-a-boon-ye umugabo.

     woman  she-pst-see-asp man

     'The woman saw the man.'

   b  U-w-a-bóon-ye umugabo n' úmugóre.

     pro-he-pst-rel-see-asp man be woman

     'The one who saw the man is the woman.'

   c  Úwo umugóre y-a-boon-ye n' úmugabo

     pro woman she-pst-rel-see-asp be man

     'The one that the woman saw is the man.'

Locatives and temporals can be pseudo-clefted but for the latter the word igihe 'time' is used instead of having a proform.

(81) a   Umugabo y-a-shyiz-e igitabo ku mééza.

     man   he-pst-put-asp book on table

     'The man put the book on the table.'

   b  Áho umugabo y-a-shyíz-e igitabo ni ku mééza.

     pro man     he-pst-put-asp book be on table

     'The place where the man put the book is the table.'

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(82)a Maríya y-a-gii-ye <u>ku mánywa</u>.

　　　Mary　she-pst-go-asp on daytime

　　　'Mary left during the day.'

　b <u>Igihe</u> Maríya y-a-gií-ye <u>ni·</u> ku mánywa.

　　　time Mary　she-pst-go-asp be on daytime

　　　'The time when Mary left was the daytime.'

Remark that the so-called 'proform' of locatives is a dummy since it doesn't agree with the head noun of the moved prepositioned phrase.


## 3.4.4 Wh-questioning

Wh-questions occur in either one of the following 3 constructions:

　　(i)　yes-no question construction

　　(ii)　cleft construction type 1 (3.4.2.)

　　(iii)　pseudo-cleft construction (3.4.3)

Wh-question words are

(83)　<u>íki</u>?　'what　　　　<u>-nde</u>?　　'who'

　　　<u>-te</u>?　'how'　　　　<u>-he (ehe)</u>?'where'

　　　<u>ryáári</u>? 'when'　　　<u>'he</u>?　　'which one'

　　　<u>-ki</u>? 'what'

<u>-nde</u> is used for humans only. <u>-he</u>, <u>-ki</u> and <u>-te</u> have to agree with the head noun.

In (84) and (85) below, (a) sentences illustrate yes-no question constructions with wh-question words, whereas (b) sentences show the cleft construction type 1 and (c) pseudo-cleft constructions.

　　(84)a Umugabo y-a-shaak-aga <u>ndê</u>?

　　　　　man he-pst-want-asp　who

　　　　　'Who was the man looking for?'


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b  Nií nde umugabo y-a-shaák-aga?

be who man   he-pst-rel-want-asp

'Who the man was looking for?'

c  Úwo umugabo y-a-shaák-aga nií nde?

pro man    he-pst-rel-want-asp be who

'The one the man was looking for is who?'

(85)a  Abáana b-a-boon-ye íki?

children they-pst-see-asp what

'What did the children see?'

b  N'iíki abáana b-a-boón-ye?

be what children they-pst-rel-see-asp

'What did the children see?'

c  Ícyo abáana b-a-boón-ye n'iíki?

pro  children they-pst-rel-see-asp be what

'What the children saw is what?'

Note/the yes-no question construction is only marked by the intonation
(consisting of rising pitch at the sentence final position) which
distinguishes it from simple declarative sentences.

If the wh-question word occurs as the subject of a yes-no question sen-
tence, the main verb has to take the dummy agreement (ha-).

(86)a  H-a-gii-ye abaâhe?

it-pst-go-asp which ones

'Which ones left?'

b  N'abaâhe b-a-gií-ye?

be which ones they-pst-rel-go-asp

c  A-b-á-gii-ye n'aabaâhe?

pro-they-pst-rel-go-asp be which ones

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(87) a Ha-rá-kor-a baánde?

it-pres-work-asp who

b Ni baánde ba-kór-a?

be who they-rel-work-asp

c A-bá-kor-a ni baánde?

pro-they-rel-work-asp be who

'Who is working?'

Oblique wh-question words can occur in yes-no question constructions but cannot be used in the other wh-question constructions (clefting and pseudo-clefting) but as it was observed in cleft constructions (3.4.2 ), they can be moved with their prepositions.

(88) a Umukoôbwa y-a-andits-e íbaruwa n'íiki?

girl she-pst-write-asp letter with what

'What did the girl write the letter with?'

b Ni n'íiki umugóre y-a-ándits-e íbaruwa?

be with what woman she-pst-rel-write-asp letter

'What did the woman write the letter with?'

c *N'íiki umugóre y-a-ándits-e íbaruwa ná (cyo)?

be what woman she-pst-rel-write-asp letter with (what)

d *Ícyo umugóre y-a-ándits-e íbaruwa ná (cyo) n'íiki?

pro woman she-pst-rel-write-asp letter with it be what

If the oblique wh-question word were objectivized, it would then be able to undergo both cleft and pseudo-cleft constructions.


### 3.4.5 Existential and Exclusive Constructions

The existential morpheme is hari 'there is' and the exclusive one is nta[2] 'there is no'. The sentence that appears in both existential and

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exclusive constructions is·relativized (3.4.1) as seen in (89)b and c.

(89)a Abáana ba-ra-rir-a.

children they-pres-cry-asp

'The children are crying.'

b Hari abáana ba-rír-a.

there is children they-rel-cry-asp

'Children are crying.'

'There are children who are crying.'

c Nta báana ba-rír-a.

no children they-rel-cry-asp

'There are no children who are crying.'

The existential hari is always used to introduce indefinite NPs
(subjects, indirect objects and benefactives). It cannot be used with
definite NPs or unique referents such as proper names. The exclusive
nta can be used, however, in such environments.

(90)a Umuhuûngu y-a-boon-ye Maríya.[3]

boy he-pst-see-asp Mary

'The boy saw Mary.'

b *Hari Maríya umuhuûngu y-a-boón-ye.

there is Mary boy he-pst-rel-see-asp

c Nta Maríya umuhuûngu y-a-boón-ye.

No Mary boy he-pst-rel-see-asp

'As for Mary, the boy didn't see her.'

The exclusive construction is used to put emphasis on the absence of the
argument NP. Only terms (subjects and objects) can undergo both the
exclusive and the existential constructions. Oblique NPs cannot. If
they have to, they first undergo object-creating rules, introduced in
Chapter 4.

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To sum up, it has been shown all along this chapter that indeed a
hierarchy exists among NPs as suggested by Keenan and Comrie (1972) as
what they termed the Accessability Hierarchy (AC) and by Perlmutter and
Postal (1974) as what is called the Relational Hierarchy (RH). Subjects
have more syntactic and semantic properties than benefactives, indirect
objects and direct objects. In turn, benefactives and indirect objects
have more semantic properties than direct objects. This seems to
contradict both AC and RH since both approaches put the direct object
higher in the hierarchy. Since benefactives and indirect objects are
distinguished from direct objects by semantic factors only but share all
the syntactic properties with them, all three are given the same syntactic
label: direct objects. Relational Grammar in dividing NPs in two
different categories: terms and non-terms , is independently justified
because indeed terms are the only ones that have grammatical relations
to the verb and undergo major transformations than non-terms. Non-terms
are always introduced to the verb by a preposition and the language, as
shown in Chapter 4 and 5, has strategies that promote them to term
status where they have to bear some transformations.

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Footnotes

1. If they don't have a dative argument, the verbs 'give' and 'show'
   are realized as -táang- and -éerekan-, respectively.

   a. Umugabo y-a-taanz-e amafaraanga.

      man he-pst-give-asp money

      'The man gave the money.'

   b. Umugabo a-r-éerek-an-a amashusho.

      man he-pres-show-assoc-asp pictures

      'The man is showing the pictures.'

   The verb to 'tell' is realized as -vug- when it doesn't have an
   indirect object.

   c. Umugabo y-a-vuz-e ibinyóma.

      man he-pst-say-asp lies

      'The man told lies.'

2. The exclusive marker nta comes probably, historically from the
   contraction of the copula ni and the negative morpheme ta.

      ? ni+ta --> nta.

3. There are three ways to negate this sentence:

   a. Umuhuûngu nti-y-a-boon-ye Maríya

      boy neg-he-pst-see-asp Mary

      'The boy didn't see Mary.'

   b. Maríya, umuhuûngu nti-y-a-mu-boon-ye.

      Mary boy neg-she-pst-her-see-asp

      'Mary, the boy didn't see her.'

   c. Nta Maríya umuhuûngu y-a-boón-ye.

      no Mary boy he-pst-rel-see-asp

      'As for Mary, the boy didn't see her.'

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d. Maríya <u>ntâ we</u>   umuhuũngu  y-a-boón-ye.

   Mary   no her   boy    he-pst-rel-see-asp

   'As for Mary the boy didn't see her.'

The first construction is the most common one.  The second is like the first except that it refers to the topic.  The third and the last are the same except that in the latter the exclusive morpheme follows the head noun and it is itself obligatorily followed by the proform of the head noun.  We have not been able to establish their respective functional role.

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In this chapter we present five rules which advance non-terms to object. In each case, (i) we show that the derived object does, in fact, possess the properties generally characteristic of DOs in Kinyarwanda, (ii) we present syntactic and semantic constraints on the advancement of the non-term to DO, (iii) we demonstrate that in only some cases does the initial DO fully lose its complement of DOs properties, and thus motivate a revision in the Relational Annihilation Law.  In the next section of this chapter, we consider the interaction of the advancement rules both with each other and with other rules.  The functional role of advancement rules to DO is discussed in this respect. The last section examines the general semantic and pragmatic properties of advancement processes.

## 4.1.  Objectivization of Instrumentals

The existence of pairs of sentences like (1a,b) as well as (2a,b) below constitute a prime facie case for the existence of a transformation of the form   OO ----➤ 2.

         Instr ---➤ DO

     (1)a   Umwáalímu a-ra-andik-a íbarúwa n'íikarámu.

           teacher  he-pres-write-asp letter with pen

           'The teacher is writing a letter with the pen.'

       b   Umwáalímu a-ra-andik-iish-a íbarúwa íkarámu.

           teacher  he-pres-write-instr-asp letter pen

           'The teacher is writing a letter with the pen.'

     (2)a   Umwáana y-a-nyoo-ye amáta n'úmuhéha.

           child he-pst-drink-asp milk with straw

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'The child drank milk with the straw.'

b  Umwáana y-a-nyw-<u>eesh</u>-eje amáta umuhéha.

child  he-pst-drink-instr-asp milk straw

'The child drank milk with the straw.'

As we see, the side effect rules of promotion of instrumentals to DO

consist of deleting the preposition <u>na</u> and adding the suffix <u>-iish-</u> to

the verb stem, a suffix which will be seen later to be used also for

causativization.[1]

Usually there are no semantic or syntactic constraints on the advancement

of instrumentals to DO.  For instance, an Instrumental NP can be advanced

to DO even if there is no DO in the sentence as (3) illustrates.

(3)a  Umwáana a-rá-ry-a n'íkánya.

child  he-pres-eat-asp with fork

'The child is eating with the fork.'

b  Umwáana a-rá-rí-<u>iish</u>-a ikánya.

child he-pres-eat-instr-asp folk

'The child is eating with the folk.'

Instrumentals can be advanced to DO even if the verb has two Objects with

the verbs such as <u>give</u>, <u>show</u>.... as shown in (4) and (5).

(4)a  Umugóre y-a-ha-aye umwáana .amáta n'ínkoongooro.

woman she-pst-give-asp child milk with wooden cup

'The woman gave the child milk in the wooden cup.'

b  Umugóre y-a-he-<u>eesh</u>-eje umwáana amáta inkoongooro.

woman she-pst-give-instr-asp child milk wooden cup

'The woman gave the child milk in the wooden cup.'

(5)a  Umugabo y-eerets-e abáana amashusho n'ímashiíni.

man      he-show-asp children pictures with machine

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'The man showed pictures to the children with the machine.'

b  Umugabo y-eerek-eesh-eje abáana amashusho ímashiîni.

man    he-show-instr-asp children pictures machine

'The man showed pictures to the children with the machine.'

Instrumentals advanced to DO by the Instr. rule acquire all the proper-
ties of initial DOs:  Passivization, Reflexivization, Pronoun Incorpora-
tion.  They get all the properties of terms: Relativization, Clefting,
Pseudo-clefting, Exclusive Insertion, Existential Insertion.  As we
recall Instrumentals marked by the preposition na don't have the
properties just mentioned.

Passive  (6)a  Umugabo a-ra-ankik-a íbarúwa n'ííkarámu.[2]

man    he-pres-write-asp letter with pen

'The man is writing a letter with the pen.'

b  Umugabo a-ra-andik-iish-a íbarúwa íkarámu.

man    he-pres-write-instr-asp letter pen

c  *Íkarámu i-ra-andik-w-a íbarúwa n'úmugabo.

pen    it-pres-write-pass-asp letter by man

'The pen is used to write by the man.

d  Íkarámu i-ra-andik-iish-w-a íbarúwa n'úmugabo.

pen   it-pres-write-instr-pass-asp letter by man.

Pronoun incorporation

(7)a  Umwáalímu a-ra-y-aandik-iish-a íbarúwa.

teacher   he-pres-it-write-instr-asp letter

'The teacher is writing a letter with it.'

b  *Umwáalímu a-ra-y-aandik-a íbarúwa na.

teacher he-pres-it-write-asp letter with

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Reflexivization

(8)a Íkarámu$_x$ i-ra-andik-a íbarúwa n'ííkarámu$_x$

  pen   it-pres-write-asp  letter with pen

 b *Íkarámu i-r-íy-andik-a íbarúwa ná.

  pen  it-pres-refl-write-asp letter with

 . 'The pen is writing a letter by itself.'

 c Íkarámu i-r-íy-andik-iish-a íbarúwa.

  pen   it-pres-refl-write-instr-asp letter

  'The pen is writing a letter by itself.'

Relativization

(9)a Dore íkarámu umugabo y-aándik-iish-a íbarúwa.

  this pen    man     he-rel-write-instr-asp letter

  'This is the pen that the man uses to write the letter.'

 b *Dore íkarámu umugabo y-aándik-a íbarúwa ná (yo).

  this pen     man  he-rel-write-asp letter with (it)

Clefting

(10)a N'ííkarámu umugabo y-aándik-iish-a íbarúwa.

  be pen    man     he-rel-write-instr-asp letter

  'It's the pen that the man uses to write the letter.'

 b *N'ííkarámu umugabo y-aándik-a íbarúwa ná (yo).

  be pen     man   he-rel-write-asp letter with (it)

Pseudo-clefting

(11)a Ícyo umugabo y-aándik-iish-a íbarúwa n'ííkarámu.

  what man   he-rel-write-instr-asp letter be pen

  'What the teacher is writing a letter with is the pen.'

 b *Ícyo umugabo y-aándik-a íbarúwa ná (cyo) n'ííkarámu.

  what man he-rel-write-asp  letter with (it) is pen

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Existential insertion

(12)a  Ha-ri íkarámu umugabo y-aándik--iish-a íbarúwa.

    it be  pen  man  he-rel-write-instr-asp letter

    'There is a pen that the man is using·to write the leeter.'

  b  *Ha-ri íkarámu umugabo y-aándik-a íbarúwa ná (yo).

    it be pen  man  he-rel-write-asp letter with (it)

Exclusive insertion

(13)a  Ntá karámu umugabo y-aándik-iish-a íbarúwa.

    there is no pen man he-rel-write-instr-asp letter

    'There isn't any pen that the man is using to write the letter.'

  b  *Ntá karámu umugabo y-aándik-a íbarúwa ná (yo).

    there is no pen man he-rel-write-asp letter with (it).

When Instrumentals are advanced to·DO, the initial DO keeps its DO's
properties contrary to what is claimed by the Relational·Annihilation Law
which contends that NPs whose grammatical relation has been taken over
by another NP by a promotion rule is put "en chomage". In fact the
initial DO can still undergo Passive, Pronoun Incorporation, Reflexive,
Relativization, Clefting... For convenience we repeat the example in (14)
to show that 'letter' which is supposed to have lost its grammatical·
relation to the verb can still undergo the processes we mentioned above.

(14)  Umugabo a-ra-andik-iish-a íbarúwa íkarámu.

    man  he-pres-write-instr-asp letter pen

    'The man is writing a letter with a pen.'

(15)  Íbarúwa i-ra-andik-iish-w-a íkarámu n'úmugabo.

    letter it-pres-write-instr-pass-asp pen by man

    'The letter is written with a pen by the man.'

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(16) Íbarúwa i-r-íy-andik-iish-a íkarámu.

letter it-pres-refl-write-instr-asp pen

'The letter is writing itself with a pen.'

(17) Umugabo a-ra-y-aandik-iish-a íkarámu.

man    he-pres-it-write-instr-asp pen

'The man is writing it with a pen.'

(18) Ng'íiyi íbarúwa umugabo y-aándik-iish-a íkarámu.

that this letter man he-rel-write-instr-asp pen

'Here is the letter that the man is writing with a pen.'

(19) N'íibarúwa umugabo y-aándik-iish-a íkarámu.

be letter man he-rel-write-instr-asp pen

'It's the letter that the man is writing with a pen.'

The reason why the RAL doesn't apply here is because Kinyarwanda, as Keenan & Gary have argued, has two DOs and therefore the advancement of an oblique NP to DO doesn't take on the grammatical relation of the former DO but rather 'doubles' the DO relation to the verb.


## 4.2.  Objectivization of Manners

As in the previous case two kinds of rules apply to objectivize manner NPs:

core rules:  manner  ---> DO

Side effect rules, which delete the preposition na and add the suffix -an- to the verb stem.

(1)a  Bâno báana ba-rá-kor-a n'ímyaambaro i-shfa-je.

these children they-pres-work-asp with clothes they-be old-asp

'These children are working in old clothes.'


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b    Báno báana ba-rá-kor-an-a imyaambaro i-sháa-je.

these children they-pres-work-mann-asp clothes they-be old-asp

'These children are working in old clothes'

(2)a    Umugóre a-rá-vug-a n'ágahiinda.

woman   she-pres-say-asp with sorrow

'The woman is talking with sorrow.'

b    Umugóre a-rá-vug-an-a agahiinda.

woman she-pres-say-mann-asp sorrow

'The woman is talking with sorrow.'

## Constraints

If the head noun of a manner phrase is a body part (leg, arm, head, back...)
the manner NP cannot be advanced to DO.

(3)a    Umwáana y-a-gi-iye n'ámaguru.

child he-pst-go-asp with legs

'The child went on foot.'

b    *Umwáana y-a-jy-an-ye amaguru.

child   he-pst-go-mann-asp legs

(4)a    Umunyéeshuûri y-a-fash-e amasómo n'úmútwe
{mu}

student      he-pst-hold lessons in head

'The student memorized the lessons.'

b    *Umunyéeshuûri y-a-fat-an-ye amasómo umútwe

student        he-pst-hold-mann-asp  lessons head

In this particular case manner NPs cannot advance to DO because their
advancement creates a semantic shift.  Thus body parts lose their
inalienable possession property if they are advanced to DO.  In (3)b and

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(4)b 'legs' and 'head' are not inalienable possessions of the subjects anymore, which makes the sentences ill-formed semantically. (3)b means "The child went with the legs" -- "he took the legs with him" and (4)b means "The student held the lessons with a head".

DOs derived by the manner rule get almost all the properties of former DOs except Reflexivization, Existential Insertion and Pseudo-clefting. Otherwise they can passivize as shown in (6), incorporate (7), relativize (8), cleft (9).

(5)a Umugabo a-ra-som-a íbarúwa n'íbyishiimo.

   man    he-pres-read-asp letter with joy

   'The man is reading a letter with joy.'

  b Umugabo a-ra-som-an-a íbarúwa ibyishiimo.

   man    he-pres-read-mann-asp  letter joy

(6) Ibyishiimo bi-ra-som-an-w-a íbarúwa n'úmugab.

   joy    it-pres-read-mann-pass-asp letter by man

   'It's the man who is reading a letter with joy.'

(7) Umugabo a-ra-bi-som-an-a íbarúwa.

   man    he-pres-it-read-mann-asp letter

   'The man is reading a letter with it.'

(8) N-da-tekerez-a ibyishiimo umugabo a-sóm-an-a íbarúwa.

   I pres-think-asp joy    man    he-rel-read-mann-asp letter

   'I am thinking of the joy with which the man is reading the letter.'

(9) N'ibyishiimo umugabo a-sóm-an-a íbarúwa.

   be joy    man he-rel-read-mann-asp letter

   'It's with joy that the man is reading the letter.'

But as mentioned above Reflexivization, Existential Insertion and

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Pseudo-clefting cannot apply to derived objects as (10), (11) and (12)
indicate.

(10)  *Ibyishiimo bi-ri-íi-som-an-a íbarúwa.

      joy        it-pres-refl-read-mann-asp letter

      'Joy is reading a letter by itself.'

(11)  *Ha-ri ibyishiimo a-sóm-an-a íbarúwa.

      it be joy     he-rel-read-mann-asp letter

      *'There is joy with which he reads the letter.'

(12)  *Íbyo a-sóm-an-a íbarúwa n'ibyishiimo.

      what he-rel-read-mann-asp letter be joy

      'What he is reading the letter with is joy.'

The constraints on non-reflexivization, non-esistential insertion and
non-pseudo-clefting are semantic. These kinds of transformations are
properties of animate or 'animated' objects only. In fact we notice
that non abstract objectivized manners can undergo the three types of
transformations that abstract cannot undergo.

(13)  Umugabo a-rá-kor-an-a akazi inkweeto.

      man   he-pres-work-mann-asp work shoes

      'The man is working in his shoes.'

(14)  Inkweeto zi-r-íi-kor-an-a akazi.

      shoes    they-pres-refl-work-mann-asp work

      'The shoes are working by themselves.'

(15)  Ha-ri inkweeto umugabo a-kór-an-a akazi.

      it be shoes   man   he-work-mann-asp work

      'There are some shoes that the man works with.'

Former DOs keep their initial DO properties; they can still passivize,
incorporate, relativize, cleft, pseudo-cleft,......

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For illustration let's take 'letter' in (5)b.

(16) Íbarúwa i-ra-som-an-w-a ibyishiimo n'úmugabo.

letter it-pres-read-mann-pass-asp joy by man

'The letter is read with joy by the man.'

(17) Umugabo a-ra-yi-som-an-a ibyishiimo.

man    he-pres-it-read-mann-asp joy

'The man is reading it with joy.'

(18) Ng'íyí barúwa umugabo a-sóm-an-a ibyishiimo.

that this letter man  he-rel-read-mann-asp joy

'Here is the letter that the man is reading with joy.'

(19) N'íibarúwa umugabo a-sóm-an-a ibyishiimo.

be letter   man       he-rel-read-mann-asp  joy

'It's the letter that the man is reading with joy.'

(20) Ícyo umugabo a-sóm-an-a ibyishiimo n'íbarúwa.

what  man      he-rel-read-mann-asp joy  be letter

'What the man is reading with joy is the letter.'

These facts again contradict the Relational Annihilation Law.


4.3.  Objectivization of Goals

As it was indicated earlier in  Chapter 2, the preposition that shows the
goal case is ku.  Objectivization takes place by deleting the preposition
ku and by adding the benefactive suffix -ir- to the verb stem.

(1)a Múshiki wá Yohaâni a-ririimb-a ku mafaraanga gusa.

sister   of John  she-sing-asp for money    only

'John's sister sings for money only.'

  b Múshiki wá Yohaâni a-ririimb-ir-a amafaraanga gusa.

sister of John    she-sing-ben-asp money    only


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'John's sister sings for money only.'

(2)a Karo̊li y-a-fash-ije abaantu ku busa.

Charles he-pst-help-asp people for nothing

'Charles helped people for nothing.'

b Karooli y-a-fash-<u>ir</u>-ije abaantu ubusa.

Charles he-pst-help-ben-asp people nothing

'Charles helped people for nothing.'

## Constraints

Advancement of Goals to DO doesn't apply if there is already a benefactive NP in the sentence.

(3)a Úno mukoȏbwa a-ra-ríriimb-ir-a abahuȗngu <u>ku</u> mafaraanga.

this girl she-pres-sing-ben-asp boys for money

'This girl is singing for boys for money.'

b *Úno mukoȏbwa a-ra-ríriimb-ir-a abahuȗngu amafaraanga.'

this girl she-pres-sing-ben-asp boys money

'This girl is singing for boys for money.'

There are two plausible explanations as to why a benefactive case blocks the advancement of a goal NP to DO. (i) case markers are never doubled: remember the benefactive case is marked by the suffix <u>-ir-</u> also, and if <u>-ir-</u> is not doubled, the one already present in the verb would more naturally refer to the benefactive NP which is more basic than the goal case, (ii) when objectivized with the presence of a benefactive NP in the sentence the new object acquires the maning of a basic DO. (3)b thus means "This girl sings money for the boys" which is of course non-sensical and violates the meaning-preserving constraint.

Objectivized Goals acquire all the properties of initial DOs: pronoun

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incorporation, passivization, relativization, clefting, pseudo-clefting...
Look at the word 'what' of (4), which undergoes the above mentioned
transformations.

(4)a   Umugóre y-a-kubis-e umwáana kú ki?

    woman   she-pst-beat-asp   child for what

    'Why did the woman beat the child?'

  b   Umugóre y-a-kubit-i-ye umwáana íki?

    woman   she-pst-beat-ben-asp child what

    'Why did the woman beat the child?'

(5)   Sií-n-zi ícyo umugóre y-a-kúbit-i-ye umwáana.   (Rel)

    neg I know what woman she-pst-beat-ben-asp child

    'I don't know why the woman beat the child.'

(6)   Umugóre y-a-bi-kubit-i-ye umwáana.   (Pron. Incor.)

    woman she-pst-it-beat-ben-asp child

    'The woman beat the child for that.'

(7)   N'iíki umugóre y-a-kúbit-i-ye umwáana?   (Cleft)

    be what woman she-pst-beat-ben-asp child

    'It is for what that the woman beat the child?'

(8)   Ícyo umugóre y-a-kúbit-i-ye umwáana n'iíki?   (Pseudo-cleft)

    what   woman she-pst-beat-ben-asp child be what

    'What's the reason why the woman beat the child.'

N.B. Passivization doesn't apply to 'what' because it is a wh'question
word.  The advancement of Goals to DO doesn't cause the initial DO to
become chomeur since it retains its former DOs properties, as the word
'child' in (4)b illustrates:  it still passivizes, incorporates,
relativizes, clefts,.....

(9) Umwáana y-a-kubit-i-w-e íki n'úmugóre?   (Pass)

   child he-pst-beat-ben-pass-asp what by woman

   'Why was the child beaten by the woman?'

(10) Umugóre y-a-<u>mu</u>-kubit-i-ye íki?      (Incorporation)

   woman she-pst-him-beat-ben-asp what

   'Why did the woman beat him?'

(11) Dore umwáana umugóre y-a-kúbit-i-ye ibyo.

   look child  woman she-rel-beat-ben-asp that

   'This is the child that the woman beat for that.'

(12) N'umwáana umugóre y-a-kúbit-i-ye ibyo.      (cleft)

   be child  woman  she-pst-beat-ben-asp that

   'It's the child that the woman beat for that.'

Later on we will explain why advancement rules don't create chomeurs.


## 4.4.  Objectivization of Locatives

Core rules of locative objectivization are the same as in other oblique
cases that undergo object-creating rules:  Loc ---> DO.  Side effect
rules consist of suffixing the underlying locative preposition to the
finite form of the main verb.  Underlying <u>i</u> is spelled as -<u>yo</u>, <u>mu</u> as-<u>mo</u>
and <u>ku</u> is realized as -<u>ho</u>.  In (1)b and (2)b  below, the locative NP is
objectivized and the underlying prepositions <u>mu</u> and <u>ku</u> are suffixed to
the verb, after agreement and tense are marked.

   (1)a  Umugóre y-oohere-je umubooyi <u>kw</u>-iisóko.

      woman she-send-asp cook to   market

      'The woman sent the cook to the market.'

    b  Umugóre y-oohere-jé-ho isóko umubooyi.

      woman   she-send-asp-to market cook

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'The woman sent the cook to the market.'

(2)a  Umwáana y-a-taa-ye igitabo <u>mu</u> máazi.

child he-pst-throw-asp book in water

'The child has thrown the book into the water.'

  b  Umwáana y-a-taa-yé-mo amáazi igitabo.

child  he-pst-throw-aso-in  water book

'The child has thrown the book into the water.'

The locative prepositions instead of being added to the verb, they can appear after the promoted locative, spelled the same way they appear as suffixes to the verb.  The other way of expressing (1)b and (2)b would then be (3) and (4), respectively.

(3)  Umugóre  y-oohere-je isóko <u>hô</u> umubooyi.

woman  she-send-asp market to cook

'The woman sent the cook to the market.'

(4)  Umuwáana y-a-taa-ye amáazi <u>mô</u> igitabo.

child  he-pst-throw-asp water in book

'The child has thrown the book into the water.'


## Constraints

Locatives cannot undergo object-creating rules if:

  (i) the locative preposition is <u>i</u> or <u>ku</u> (kwa)  'at somebody's'

 (ii) the verb is used in the its 'absolute' sense: without a DO.

(iii) the DO is a pronoun.

With the exception of the <u>i</u> preposition, it will be shown that for all the cases, locatives are not objectivized if they violate the "meaning preserving constraint."

## a. i & ku (=kwa) Prepositions

(5)b is ungrammatical because, there is a general rule in Kinyarwanda that prevents locative NPs from advancing to DO if the underlying preposition is _i_.

(5)a Umugabo y-oohere-je ibiintu _i_ muhíra.

man he-send-asp things to home

'The man sent things home.'

b *Umugabo y-oohere-jé-yo muhíra ibiintu.

man he-send-asp-to home things

(6)b and (7)b are bad since the locative prepositions here mean 'at somebody's'. Objectivization in this instance creates a semantic shift of the preposition which in the new structure means 'on'.

(6)a Yohaáni a-rá-kor-a akazi _k'_úmutwaâre.

John he-pres-work-asp work at chief

'John is working at the chief's house.'

b *Yohaáni a-rá-kor-a-_ho_ umutwaâre akazi.

John he-pres-work-asp-at chief work

c *Yohaáni a-rá-kor-a umutwaâre _ho_ akazi

John he-pres-work-asp chief at work

(7)a Maríya y-a-jy-an-ye ibitabo _kwa_ Karoôli.

Mary she-pst-go-with-asp books at Charles

'Mary took books to Charles' house.'

b *Maríya y-a-jy-an-yé-_ho_ Karoôli ibitabo.

Mary she-pst-go-with-asp-at Charles books

The derived sentences are non-sensical not being semantically related to the (a) sentences at all. The derived sentences in (6) mean "John works on chief" and (7)b is interpreted as "Mary carries books on Charles."

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b. **Absence of a Direct Object**

Locatives are not objectivizable if the main verb doesn't have a DO.

    (8)a  Umuhuûngu a-r-íig-ir-a kw'ishuûri.

          boy    he-pres-study-ben-asp at school

          'The boy is studying at school.'

      b  *Umuhuûngu a-r-iig-ir-á-ho ishuûri.

          boy      he-pres-study-asp-at school

    (9)a  Abáana ba-ra-rí-ir-a ku mééza.

          children they-pres-eat-ben-asp on table

          'The children are eating on the table.'

      b  *Abáana ba-ra-rí-ir-ir-á-ho amééza.

          children   they-pres-eat-ben-asp-on table

          'The children are eating on the table.'

There are two reasons for the oddity of (8)b and (9)b: (i) the ambivalent function of the locative suffix which either stands for the pronoun (as indicated in the footnote) or marks objectivization of a locative NP; (ii) the derived DO assumes the semantic properties of the basic DO. When there is no DO, after promotion the locative suffix is interpreted as a pronoun. (8)b and (9)b read as "?The student is studying school on it." and "The children are eating table on it."

If (8)a and (9)a had DOs, the derived structures would be okay, which we observe in (10)b and (11)b.

    (10)a  Umuhuûngu a-r-íig-ir-a imibáre kw'ishuûri.

          student  he-pres-study-ben-asp mathematics at school

          'The student is studying mathematics at school.'

      b  Umuhuûngu a-r-íig-ir-á-ho ishuûri imibáre.

          boy      he-pres-study-ben-asp-at school mathematics

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'The student is studying mathematics at school.'

(11)a Abáana ba-ra-rí-ir-a ibíryo ku méeza.

children they-pres-eat-ben-asp food on table

'The children are eating food on the table.'

b Abáana ba-ra-rí-ir-á-ho améeza ibíryo

children they-pres-eat-ben-asp-on table food

Promotion rules are sensitive to the semantic features of the locative
head -iicar- 'sit down', -eegam' 'lean on'.... for which objectivization
of the locative NP is inapplicable if the head noun is bigger than the
expected size.

(12)a Abáana
children
$$
\begin{Bmatrix}
\text{b-iica-ye} \\
\text{they-sit-asp} \\
\text{ba-ryaam-ye} \\
\text{they-lie-asp} \\
\text{down} \\
\text{b-eegam-ye} \\
\text{they-lean-asp} \\
\text{on}
\end{Bmatrix}
$$
ku
on
$$
\begin{Bmatrix}
\text{méeza} \\
\text{table} \\
\text{buriri} \\
\text{bed} \\
\text{ńtebe} \\
\text{chair}
\end{Bmatrix}
$$

'The children are
$$
\begin{Bmatrix}
\text{sitting} \\
\text{lying} \\
\text{leaning}
\end{Bmatrix}
$$
on the
$$
\begin{Bmatrix}
\text{table.} \\
\text{bed} \\
\text{chair}
\end{Bmatrix}
$$

b Abáana
children
$$
\begin{Bmatrix}
\text{b-iica-yé-ho} \\
\text{they-sit-asp-on} \\
\text{ba-ryaam-ye-ho} \\
\text{they-lie-asp-on} \\
\text{down} \\
\text{b-eegam-ye-ho} \\
\text{they-lean-asp-on}
\end{Bmatrix}
$$
$$
\begin{Bmatrix}
\text{améeza} \\
\text{table} \\
\text{uburiri} \\
\text{bed} \\
\text{íntebe} \\
\text{chair}
\end{Bmatrix}
$$

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If the head noun of the locative phrase is larger in size like 'playground', 'mountain', 'beach'.....advancements to DO don't apply.

(13)a  Abáana b-iica-ye ku músozi.

      children they-sit-asp on mountain

      'The children are sitting on the top of the mountain.'

  b  *Abáana b-iica-yé-ho umúsozi.

      children they-sit-asp-on mountain

What is going on here is the distinction between the locative phrase as a tool and the locative phrase as a place. Locative NPs can be objectivized after stative verbs only if they are accepted in the real world as things that can be used for some specific purpose after these kinds of verbs.

### c.  The Underlying DO is a Pronoun

If the underlying DO is a pronoun, the locative NP is not objectivized.

(14)a  Umunyéeshuûri y-a-cy-oohere-je kw'ishuûri.

      student   he-pst-it-send-asp to school

      'The student sent it to school.'

  b  *Umunyéeshuûri y-a-cy-oohere-jé-ho ishuûri.

      student   he-pst-it-send-asp-to school

(15)a  Abáana ba-rá-bi-ri-ir-a ku mééza.

      children they-pres-it-eat-ben-asp on table

      'The children are eating it on the table.'

  b  *Abáana ba-rá-bi-ri-ir-á-ho amééza.

      children they-pres-it-eat-ben-asp-on table

This type of constraint on objectivization of locatives when the underlying DO is a pronoun is a semantic preserving one. It just happens

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that after the derivation, the deep DO and the derived one interchange semantic roles. The semantic shift is due to the ambivalent function of the locative suffix, which as it was pointed out earlier either marks objectivization of locatives or stands for a pronoun.

The infix pronoun and the locative suffix are neutralized to one, semantically. Given the fact that the locative suffix and the infix pronoun constitute one semantic unit, the semantic interpretation gives the locative meaning to the deep DO and an accusative reading to the derived one. The derived sentences are of course anomalous: thus (14) reads as "?The student sent the school on it" and (15) is interpreted as "?The children are eating the table on it."

DOs derived by the Loc rule acquire all the properties of basic DOs: passivization, pronoun incorporation, reflexivization, relativization, clefting, pseudo-clefting.....

Passivization:

   (16)a  Umwáalímu y-oohere-je igitabo kw'ishuûri.

        teacher he-send-asp  book    to school

        'The teacher sent the book to school.'

     b  Umwáalímu y-oohere-jé-ho ishuûri igitabo.

        teacher he-send-asp-to school book

     c  Ishuûri ry-oohere-j-w-é-ho igitabo n'úmwáalímu.

        school  it-send-asp-pass-asp-to book by teacher

        'The school was sent the book by the teacher.'

Incorporation

   (17)  Umwáalímu y-a-ry-oohere-jé-ho igitabo.

        teacher he-pst-it-send-asp-to book

        'The teacher sent the book to it.'

Reflexivization

(18)a  Abáana$_x$ ba-rá-shyir-a ibitabo kuri bo$_x$.

children they-pres-put-asp books on them

'The children are putting books on themselves.'

b  Abáana ba-r-<u>íi</u>-shyir-á-<u>ho</u> ibitabo.

children they-pres-refl-put-asp-on books

'The children are putting books on themselves.'

Relativization

(19)  Umugabo y-a-tw-eerets-e ishuûri umwáalímu y-oóhere-jé-<u>ho</u> igitabo.

man  he-pst-us-show-asp school teacher he-rel-send-asp-to book

'The man showed us the school to which the teacher sent the book.'

Clefting

(20)  N'iishuûri umwáalímu y-oóhere-jé-<u>ho</u> igitabo.

be school  teacher he-rel-send-asp-to book

'It's the school that the teacher sent the book to.'

The Loc rule doesn't allow doubling of DOs as in the other cases that we have examined so far. As predicted by the Relational Annihilation Law, when the Loc rule takes place, the initial DO is put en chomage since it loses both its term status properties and its DO properties. In fact it cannot passivize, relativize, incorporate, reflexivize, cleft, pseudo-cleft....anymore, as the examples given below indicates. For convenience we test the initial DOs of sentences (16) through (20).

Paasive

(21)  *Igitabo cy-oohere-j-w-é-ho ishuûri n'úmwáalímu.

book  it-send-asp-pass-asp-to school by teacher

'The book was sent to school by the teacher.'

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Incorporation

(22) *Umwáalímu y-a-<u>cy</u>-oohere-jé-ho ishuûri.

teacher    he-pst-it-send-asp-to school

'The teacher sent it to school.'

Relativization

(23) *Y-a-tw-eerets-e igitabo umwáalímu y-oóhere-jé-ho ishuûri.

he-pst-us-show-asp book    teacher he-send-asp-to  school

'He showed us the book that the teacher sent to school.'

Clefting

(24) *N'igitabo umwáalímu y-oóhere-jé-ho ishuûri.

be book    teacher he-rel-send-asp-to school

'It's the book that the teacher sent to school.'

When these transformations are applied on the former DO it is inter-
preted as the locative NP. For instance, the reading that can be given
to (21) is "The book was sent the school" which of course doesn't make
any sense.


## 4.5. Objectivization of Possessors

There exist two ways of objectivizing possessor NPs in Kinyarwanda:
(i) put the possessor NP in the object position and delete the possessive
marker or (ii) put the possessor NP in the DO position and add the
benefactive suffix <u>-ir-</u> to the verb stem.

The ascension of the possessor NP to DO without any overt marker is a
property of <u>inalienable</u> possessions and verbs that mean 'to take' such
as 'rob', 'take away'....

(1)a Umugóre y-a-vun-nye ukúboko <u>k</u>'úmwáana.

woman she-pst-break-asp arm of child


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'The woman broke the arm of the child.'

  b  Umugóre y-a-vun-nye umwaana ukuboko.

    woman  she-pst-break-asp child arm

    'The woman broke the child's arm.'

(2)a  Umugabo y-a-boon-ye amáaso y'úmugóre.

    man    he-pst-see-asp eyes of woman

    'The man saw the eyes of the woman.'

  b  Umugabo y-a-boon-ye umugóre amáaso.

    man    he-pst-see-asp woman eyes

    'The man saw the woman's eyes.'

Below we present examples of possessor ascension with verbs that have the meaning of take.

(3)a  Umuhuûngu y-a-twaa-ye igitabo cy'úmukoóbwa.

    boy      he-pst-take-asp book of  girl

    'The boy took the book of the girl.'

  b  Umuhuûngu y-a-twaa-ye umukoóbwa igitabo.

    boy      he-pst-take-asp girl book

    'The boy took the girl's book.'

(4)a  Umujuura y-iib-ye amafaraanga y'úmunyéeshuûri.

    thief    he-rob-asp money    of student

    'The thief stole the money of the student.'

  b  Umujuura y-iib-ye umunyéeshuûri amafaraanga.

    thief he-steal-asp student money

    'The thief stole the student's money.'

When other types of possessors are ascended to the DO position, the verb takes the benefactive suffix -ir- as just mentioned above.

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(5)a Umuhuûngu a-ra-som-a igitabo cy'úmukoôbwa.

boy   he-pres-read-asp book of girl

'The boy is reading the book of the girl.'

b Umuhuûngu a-ra-som-er-a umukoôbwa igitabo.

boy   he-pres-read-ben-asp girl book

'The boy is reading the girl's book.'

(6)a Abáana ba-rá-kubit-a ímbwa y'úmugabo.

children they-pres-beat-asp dog of man

'The children are beating the dog of the man.'

b Abáana ba-rá-kubit-ir-a umugabo ímbwa.

children they-pres-beat-ben-asp man dog

'The children are beating the man's dog.'

Note also that possessors of intransitive and stative verbs can be
promoted to the DO status even though the verb never has a DO.

(7)a Umukoôbwa a-ri muu nzu y'úmuhuûngu.

girl   she-be in house of boy

'The girl is in the house of the boy.'

b Umukoôbwa a-be-er-eye umuhuûngu muu nzu.

girl   she-be-ben-asp boy   in house

'The girl is in the boy's house.'

(8)a Umugóre a-r-iicar-a kuú ntebe y'úmugabo.

woman she-pres-sit-asp on chair of man

'The woman is sitting on the chair of the man.'

b Umugóre a-r-iicar-ir-a umugabo kuú ntebe.

woman   she-pres-sit-ben-asp man   on chair

'The woman is sitting on the man's chair.'

What we observe in the above examples is that the promoted possessor

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doesn't ascend to the status of the NP immediately dominating it but
rather goes directly to the DO status, which of course is predicted
by the Host Limitation Law which states that only terms of GRs host NPs
promoted by either advancement rules or ascension rules.  In Kinyarwanda
only subjects and DOs can function as hosts, since these are the only
terms that exist in the language.

## Double Possessor Objectivization

If there are both inalienable and alienable possessions in the sentence,
their respective possessors can both be ascended to DO and this is made
possible by the fact that the promotion of the inalienable possessor
doesn't leave any marker:

(9)a  Umugabo y-a-vun-nye ukuguru k'úmwaána w'úmugóre.

    man    he-pst-break-asp  leg of child of woman

    'The man broke the leg of the woman's child.'

b  Umugabo y-a-vun-nye umwaána w'úmugóre ukuguru.

   man he-pst-break-asp child of woman leg

   'The man broke the leg of the woman's child.'

c  Umugabo y-a-vun-i-ye umugóre umwaána ukuguru.

   man   he-pst-break-ben-asp woman child leg

   'The man broke the woman's child's leg.'

(10)a  Umukoôbwa a-rá-sokoz-a umusatsi w'úmugabo wá Maríya.

    girl    she-pres-comb-asp hair of husband of Mary

    'The girl is combing the hair of the husband of Mary.'

b  Umukoôbwa a-rá-sokoz-a umugabo wá Maríya umusatsi.

   girl   she-pres-comb-asp husband of Mary hair

   'The girl is combing the hair of Mary's husband.'

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c Umukoôbwa a-rá-soko-re-z-a[3] Maríya umugabo umusatsi.

   girl     she-pres-comb-ben-()-asp Mary husband hair

   'The girl is combing Mary's husband's hair.'

Of course two alienable possessors cannot be promoted to DO in the same

sentence since they take the same case marker -ir- which cannot be

'doubled' because of the Surface Constraint which doesn't allow two

identical case markers in the same sentence.

Objectivized Possessors inherit all the properties of initial DOs that

we presented in Chapter 3: passivization, pronoun incorporation,

reflexivization, relativization, clefting, existential insertion......

We observe that even objectivized possessors of intransitive and stative

verbs are easily passivizable, as the derived DO of the copula 'be'

illustrates in the following example.

(11)a Abanyéeshuûri ba-ri mu biro by'úmwáalímu.

     students   they-be-in office of teacher

     'The students are in the teacher's office.'

  b Abanyéeshuûri ba-be-er-eye umwáalímu mu biro.[4]

     students   they-be-ben-asp teacher in office

  c Umwáalímu a-be-er-ew-e mu biro n'ábanyéeshuûri.

     teacher he-be-ben-pass-asp office by students

     'It's the students who are in the teacher's office.'

Pronoun incorporation is obligatory whenever a possessive pronoun is

ascended to DO status.

(12)a Umuhuûngu y-a-som-ye ibitabo by-áa-cu.

     boy    he-pst-read-asp books agr-of-us

     'The boy read our books.'

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b　*Umuhuûngu y-a-som-e-ye twê ibitabo.

　　boy　he-pst-read-ben-asp us books

　　'*The boy read our books.'

　　'The boy read the books for us.'

c　Umuhuûngu y-a-<u>du</u>-som-<u>e</u>-ye ibitabo.

　　boy　he-pst-us-read-ben-asp books

　　'The boy read our books.'

If the possessor is identical to the subject of the sentence, reflexivi-
zation which never applies across clause boundaries but only in the
same clause if the subject and the direct object are identical, takes
place when promotion of the possessor NP to DO occurs.

(13)a　Abáana ba-rá-shyir-a ibitabo iruhaânde rw-áa-<u>bo</u>ₓ.
　　　　　　ₓ

　　children they-pres-put-asp books near of them

　　'The children are putting the books near themselves.'

b　Abáana ba-r-ti-shyir-a ibitabo i ruháande.

　　children they-pres-refl-put-asp books at side

　　'The children are putting books at their side.'

The examples given below show that objectivized possessors acquire all
types of relative constructions.

Relativization

(14)a　Ingurube z-a-ri-iye ibíryo <u>by</u>'ábáana.

　　pigs　they-pst-eat-asp food of children

　　'The pigs ate the food of the children.'

b　Ingurube z-a-ri-<u>ir</u>-iye <u>abáana</u> ibíryo.

　　pigs　they-pst-eat-ben-asp children food

c　Dore abáana ingurube z-a-rí-<u>ir</u>-iye ibíryo.

　　looK children pigs they-pst-rel-eat-ben-asp food

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'These are the children whose food was eaten by the children.'

Clefting

(15)  N'abáana ingurube z-a-rí-<u>ir</u>-iye ibíryo.

be children pigs they-pst-rel-eat-ben-asp food

'It's the children that the pigs ate the food of.'

Pseudo-clefting

(16)  Ábo ingurube z-a-rí-ir-iye ibíryo n'abáana.

the ones pigs they-pst-rel-eat-ben-asp food be children

'The ones that the pigs ate food of are the children.'

Existential insertion

(17)  Ha-ri abáana ingurube z-a-rí-ir-iye ibíryo.

it-be children pigs they-pst-rel-eat-ben-asp food

'*There are children that the pigs ate the food of.'

Exclusive insertion

(18)  Nta báana ingurube z-a-rí-ir-iye ibíryo

no children pigs they-pst-rel-eat-ben-asp food

'*There are no children that the pigs ate the food of.'

A distinction is made, however, with regard to the properties of the former DOs in <u>inalienable</u> possessions and <u>alienable</u> ones.  DOs derived by the ascension of alienable possessors and inalienable possessors as we observed get all the properties of initial DOs; their respective initial DOs behave differently as we will see.  Intial DOs of alienable possessors lose all grammatical relations to the verb but those of inalienable ones keep their former DO properties, except reflexivization and relativization.

The word 'food' in (14)b cannot be passivized, incorporated, relativized, clefted etc. since it has been ousted by 'children' after its ascension:

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(19) *Ibíryo by-a-ri-ir-iw-e abáana n'íngurube    (passivization)

food it-pst-eat-ben-pass-asp children by pigs

'The food of the children was eaten by pigs.'

(20) *Ingurube z-a-bi-ri-ir-iye abáana.

pigs    they-pst-it-eat-ben-asp children

'*The children ate it of the children.'

The word 'hair' in the follwing sentences can still be passivized,

incorporated, relativized, clefted, pseudo-clefted.... after the promo-

tion of the possessor NP to DO, because it is an inalienable possession.

(21)a Umugóre y-a-shokoj-e umusatsi w'úmugabo.[5]

woman she-pst-comb-asp hair of man

'The woman combed the hair of the man.'

b Umugóre y-a-shokoj-e umugabo umusatsi.

woman    she-pst-comb-asp man   hair

'The woman combed the man's hair.'

Passivization

(22) Umusatsi w-a-shokoj-w-e umugabo n'úmugore.

hair    it-pst-comb-pass-asp man by woman

'The woman's hair was combed by the woman.'

Incorporation

(23) Umugóre y-a-wu-shokoj-e umugabo.

woman she-pst-it-comb-asp man

'?The woman combed it the man.'

Relativization never applies to inalienable possessions since they are

unique and the functional role of relativization being that of identifi-

cation. Unique referents don't need to be identified.

Reflexivization doesn't apply to inalienable possessions either, since

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the possession and the subject are never identical.

Clefting

    (24)  N'umusatsi umugóre y-a-shókoj-e umugabo.

          be hair  woman she-pst-rel-comb-asp man

          'It's the hair that the woman combed the man.'

Pseudo-clefting

    (25)  Ícyo umugóre y-a-shókoj-e úmugabo n'umusatsi.

          what woman  she-pst-rel-comb-asp man be hair

          'What the woman combed the man is the hair.'

Existential Insertion also doesn't apply to inalienable possessions
because this process is a property of indefinite NPs only, whereas
inalienable possessions are always definite.

However, exclusive Insertion applies to inalienable possessions in the
case of unique referents–that was shown in Chapter 3.

    (26)  Nta musatsi umugóre y-a-shókoj-e umugabo.

          no hair    woman she-pst-rel-comb-asp man

          'The woman didn't comb the hair of the man at all.'

So far we have found out that the Relational Annihilation Law is confirmed
by the advancement of Locatives and the ascension of alienable possessors
but disproved by the advancement of instrumentals, manners, goals and
the ascension of inalienable possessors. We have to look more closely
into the grammar in order to modify this law.

In the case of 'double possessor objectivization', however, the
inalienable possession becomes chomeur. For convenience, sentence (9)c
is given again, in (27).

    (27)  Umugabo y-a-vun-i̱-ye umugóre umwáana ukuguru.

          man   he-pst-break-ben-asp woman child leg

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'The man broke the woman's child's leg.'

The NP 'woman' has got all the properties of an initial DO as predicted by the Relational Succession Law; the NP 'child' doesn't bear any grammatical relation to the verb contradicting the Advancee Tenure Law which states that NPs that have been promoted cannot be put en chomage, and now 'leg' has become chomeur maybe because it has been ousted by two ascension rules. Details on this are given in the next section.

## 4.6. Objectivization of Multiple Oblique Case NPs

Usually three 'syntactic' DOs are not very frequent in Kinyarwanda and this depends largely on perceptual strategies. For instance it is easy to have 3 DOs in a row being benefactives, recipients and patients respectively. The correct semantic interpretation is, in this case, facilitated by the word order which in this instance, has to be fixed.

(1) Umugabo y-a-he-er-eye abagóre abáana ibitabo.[4]

man    he-pst-give-ben-asp women children books

'The man gave the books to the children for the women.'

It was indicated earlier also that three DOs are allowed in the advancement of any oblique NP in a sentence that has a dative-oriented verb: give, show, ask.....

(2)a Umugóre y-a-ha-aye umwáana amáta n'ínkoongooro.

women    she-pst-give-asp child milk with wooden cup

'The woman gave milk to the child in a wooden cup.'

   b Umugóre y-a-he-eesh-eje umwáana amáta inkoongooro.

woman    she-pst-give-instr-asp child milk wooden cup

The 'double' possessor objectivization rule as we saw creates three DOs also.

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(3)a Umwáana y-a-ci-iye umufuka w'íshaâti y'úmugabo.

child he-pst-tear'asp pocket of shirt of man

'The child tore the pocket of the man's shirt.'

b Umwáana y-a-ci-iye ishaâti y'úmugabo umufuka.

child he-pst-tear-asp shirt of man pocket

c Umwáana y-a-ci-ir-iye umugabo ishaâti umufuka.

shirt it-pst-tear-ben-asp man shirt pocket

The correct semantic interpretation is possible in the above (2) and (3) sentences because of real word knowledge only. In (2) we know that 'cup' is an instrument and 'milk' patient; in (3) 'pocket' is an inalienable possession whereas 'man' is the possessor.

In instances in which pragmatics are not defined, the former DO is usually deleted when two NPs have been promoted to DO.

Pairs of many objectivized oblique NPs that are found are:

(a) Instrumental & Locative, (b) Instrumental and Goal, (c) Instrumental & Possessor, (d) Locative & Possessor (e) Alienable Possessor & Inalienable possessor, (f) Benefactive & Locative.


## 4.6.1 Locatives & Instrumentals

When both locative and instrumental are advanced to DO, only the DO derived by the Loc rule gets the properties of former DOs. The DO derived by the Instr rule and the initial DO lose all grammatical relations to the verb since none of them can undergo any kind of transformation.

(4)a Umwáalímu y-a-andits-e imibáre ku kibaho n'ííngwa.

teacher he-pst-write-asp math on blackboard with chalk

'The teacher wrote math on the blackboard with chalk.'

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b Umwáalímu y-a-andits-é-ho ikibaho imibáre n'íingwa.

teacher he-pst-write-asp-on blackboard math with chalk

c Umwáalímu y-a-andik-iish-ije imibáre íngwa ku kibaho.

teacher he-pst-write-instr-asp math chalk on blackboard

d Umwáalímu y-a-andik-iish-ijé-ho ikibaho imibáre íngwa.

teacher he-pst-write-instr-asp-on board math chalk

In the (4)d sentence above, only 'blackboard' behaves as a DO since it passivizes, incorporates, reflexives, relativizes, clefts,...Others don't.

Passivization

(5)a Ikibaho cy-a-andik-iish-ij-w-é-ho imibáre íngwa n'úmwáalímu.

blackboard it-pst-write-instr-asp-pass-asp-on math chalk by teacher

'The blackboard was written math on with chalk by the teacher.'

b *Íngwa y-a-andik-iish-ij-w-é-ho ikibaho imibáre n'úmwáalímu.

chalk it-pst-write-instr-asp-pass-asp-on blackboard math by teacher

'The chalk was used to write math on the board by the teacher.'

c *Imibáre y-a-andik-iish-ij-w-é-ho ikibaho íngwa n'úmwáalímu.

math it-pst-write-instr-asp-pass-asp-on blackboard chalk by teacher

'Math was written on the blackboard with a chalk by the teacher.'

Incorporation

(6)a Umwáalímu y-a-ey-andik-iish-ijé-ho imibáre íngwa.

teacher he-pst-it-write-instr-asp-on math chalk

'The teacher wrote math on it with chalk.'

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b *Umwáalímu y-a-y-andik-iish-ijé-ho ikibaho íngwa.

teacher he-pst-it-write-instr-asp-on blackboard chalk

'The teacher wrote it on the blackboard with chalk.'

c *Umwáalimu y-a-y-andik-iish-ijé-ho ikibaho imibáre.

teacher he-pst-it-write-instr-asp-on blackboard math

'The teacher wrote math with it on the blackboard.'

## Reflexivization

(7)a Umwdalímu$_x$ y-a-andits-e imibáre kuri wê$_x$ n'íingwa.

teacher he-pst-write-asp math on himself with chalk

'The teacher wrote math on himself with chalk.'

b Umwaalimu y-iy-andik-iish-ijé-ho imibáre íngwa.

teacher he-refl-write-instr-asp-on·math chalk

'The teacher wrote math on himself with chalk.'

## Relativization

(8)a Dore ikibaho umwáalímu y-aándik-iish-ijé-ho imibáre íngwa.

look board teacher he-rel-write-instr-asp-on math chalk

'This is the blackboard that the teacher wrote math on with chalk.'

b *Dore imibáre umwdalímu y-aándik-iish-ijé-ho ikibaho íngwa.

look math teacher he-rel-write-instr-asp-on board chalk

'Look at the math that the teacher wrote on the board with chalk.'

c *Dore íngwa umwáalimu y-aándik-iish-ijé-ho ikibaho imibáre.

look chalk teacher he-write-instr-asp-on board math

'Here is the chalk that the teacher wrote math with on the blackboard.'

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## 4.6.2 Instrumental & Goal

When both the instrumental and the goal NPs are advanced to DO, the former
DO gets deleted.

(9)a U-ra-andik-a íbarúwa n'íyó karámu kú ki?

you-pres-write-asp letter with that pen for what

'Why are you writing the letter with that pen?'

b U-ra-andik-iish-ir-iza íyó karámu íki?[6]

you-pres-write-instr-ben-asp that pen what

'Why are you writing with that pen?'

c *U-ra-andik-iish-ir-iza íbarúwa íyó karámu íki?

you-pres-write-instr-ben-asp letter pen what

'Why are you writing the letter with the pen?'

It's the instrumental NP only that gets the properties of basic DOs
when both instrumental NP and goal NP are advanced, while the goal NP
gets the properties of terms namely relativization, clefting, pseudo-
clefting....

(10)a Síí-n-zi ícyo w-aándik-iish-ir-iza íkarámu.

not-I-know what you-write-instr-ben-asp pen   (Relativization)

'I don't know why you're writing with the pen.'

b Síí-n-zi íkarámu w-aándik-iish-ir-iza ibyo.

not-I-know pen you-rel-write-ben-asp that

'I don't know the pen that you're writing with for that.'

(11)a N'iíkarámu w-aándik-iish-ir-iza ibyo.

be pen   you-rel-write-instr-ben-asp that   (Clefting)

'It's the pen that you're writing with for that.'

b N'iíki   w-aándik-iish-ir-iza íkarámu?

be what you-rel-write-instr-ben-asp pen

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'It's for what that you're writing the pen with?'


## 4.6.3  Instrumental & Possessor

The objectivization of both instrumental and possessor doesn't delete
the initial DO as it seems to be the case in many cases.

(12)a  Umuhuûngu y-a-andits-e íbarúwa n'ííkarámu y'úmukoôbwa.

    boy      he-pst-write-asp letter with pen of girl

    'The boy wrote the letter with the girl's pen.'

  b  Umuhuûngu y-a-andik-iish-ije íkarámu y'úmukoôbwa.

    boy      he-pst-write-instr-asp pen of girl

    'The boy wrote the letter with the girl's pen.'

  c  *Umuhuûngu y-a-andik-i-ye íbarúwa umukoôbwa n'ííkarámu.

    boy      he-pst-write-ben-asp letter girl with pen

    'The boy wrote the letter with the girl's pen.'

  d  Umuhuûngu y-a-andik-iish-ir-ije umukoôbwa íbarúwa íkarámu.

    boy he-pst-write-instr-ben-asp girl     letter  pen

    'The boy is writing the letter with the girl's pen.'

Notice that advancement of instrumental NP takes place first before the

possessor NP can be objectivized, thus the ungrammaticality of (12)c.

Only the objectivized possessor behaves like a real DO whereas the former

DO and the objectivized instrumental go into chomage.

Passivization

(13)a  Umukoôbwa y-a-andik-iish-ir-ij-w-e íkarámu íbarúwa n'úmuhuûngu.

    girl she-pst-write-instr-ben-pss-asp pen letter by boy

    'The girl was used her pen to write a letter by the boy.'

  b  *Íbarúwa y-a-andik-iish-ir-ij-w-e umukoôbwa íkarámu n'úmuhuûngu.

    letter  it-pst-write-instr-ben-asp-pass-asp girl pen by boy

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'The letter was written with the girl's pen by the boy.'

c  *Íkarámu y-a-andik-iish-ir-ij-w-e umukoôbwa íbarúwa n'úmuhúûngu.

pen  it-pst-write-instr-ben-asp-pass-asp-girl letter by boy

'The pen of the girl was used to write a letter by the boy.'

Pronoun Incorporation

(14)a  Umuhuûngu y-a-mw-aandik-iish-ir-ije íbarúwa íkarámu.

boy  he-pst-her-write-instr-ben-asp letter pen

'The boy wrote a letter with her pen.'

b  *Umuhuûngu y-a-y-aandik-iish-ir-ije umukoôbwa íkarámu.

boy  he-pst-it-write-instr-ben-asp girl  pen

'The boy used the girl's pen to write it.'

c  *Umuhuûngu y-a-y-aandik-iish-ir-ije umukoôbwa íbarúwa.

boy  he-pst-it-write-instr-ben-asp girl  letter

'The boy wrote the letter with the girl's one.'

Relativization

(15)a  Nkuund-a umukoôbwa umuhuûngu y-a-ándik-iish-ir-ije íbarúwa

I-like-asp girl  boy  he-pst-rel-write-instr-ben-asp letter

ikaramu.

pen

?'I like the girl that the boy wrote the letter with the pen

of.'

b  N-kuund-a íbarúwa umuhuûngu y-a-ándik-iish-ir-ije umukoôbwa

I-like-asp letter boy  he-pst-rel-write-instr-ben-asp girl

íkarámu.

pen

'I like the letter that the boy wrote with the girl's pen.'

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c     *N-kuund-a íkarámu umuhuûngu y-a-ándik-iish-ir-ije umukoôbwa

          I-like-asp    pen     boy     he-pst-write-instr-ben-asp girl

     íbarúwa.

     letter

     'I like the pen that the boy wrote the letter with for the girl.'

## 4.6.4 Locative & Possessor

There is no fixed order to advance a locative and a Possessor in the same sentence since whatever is advanced first makes no difference in the grammaticality of the sentence.

(16)a  Umwáana y-a-andits-e ízina ryê mu gitabo cy'úmugabo.

      child he-pst-write-asp name of him in book of man

      'The child wrote his name in the man's book.'

   b  Umwáana y-a-andits-é-mo igitabo cy'úmugabo ízina ryê.

      child   he-pst--write-asp-in book of man    name of him

      'The child wrote his name in the man's book.'

   c  Umwáana y-a-andik-i-ye umugabo mu gitabo ízina ryê.

      child he-pst-write-ben-asp man in book name of him

      'The child wrote in the man's book his name.'

   d  Umwáana y-a-andik-i-yé-mo umugabo igitabo ízina ryê.

      child he-pst-write-ben-asp-in man book    name of him

Like in the case of advancement of Instr. & Poss. advancement, it's the Possessor only that acquires the properties of the initial DO whereas the former DO and the objectivized locative become chomeurs, as the examples of passivization, incorporation and relativization indicate below.

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(17)a  Umugabo y-a-andik-i-w-é-mo igitabo ízina n'úmwaána.

　　　man  he-pst-write-ben-pass-asp-in book name by child

　　　?'The man was written a name in his book by the child.'

　　b  *Igitabo cy-a-andik-i-w-é-mo umugabo ízina n'úmwáana.

　　　book  it-pst-write-ben-pass-asp-in man name by child

　　　'The book of the man was written a name in by the man.'

　　c  *ízina ry-a-andik-i-w-é-mo umugabo igitabo n'úmwáana.

　　　name it-pst-write-ben-pass-asp-in man book by child

　　　'The name was written in the man's book by the child.'

(18)a  Umwáana y-a-mw-aandik-i-yé-mo igitabo ízina.

　　　child he-pst-him-write-ben-asp-in book name

　　　'The child wrote a name in his book.'

　　b  *Umwáana y-a-cy-aandik-i-yé-mo umugabo ízina.

　　　child he-pst-it-write-ben-asp-in man name

　　　'The child wrote in the man's a name.'

　　c  *Umwáana y-a-ry-aandik-i-yé-mo umugabo igitabo.

　　　child he-pst-it-write-ben-asp-in-man  book

　　　'The child wrote it in the man's book.'

Relativization

(19)a  N-a-boon-ye umugabo umwáana y-a-ándik-i-yé-mo igitabo

　　　I-pst-see-asp  man    child he-pst-rel-write-ben-asp-in book

　　　ízina.

　　　name

　　　?'I saw the man that the child wrote the name in the book of.'

　　b  *N-a-boon-ye ízina umwáana y-a-ándik-i-yé-mo umugabo igitabo.

　　　I-pst-see-asp name child he-pst-rel-write-ben-asp-in man book

　　　'I saw the name that the child wrote in the man's book.'

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c  *N-a-boon-ye igitabo umwáana y-a-ándik-i-yé-mo umugabo ízina.

   I-pst-see-asp book child he-pst-write-ben-asp-in man name

   'I saw the man's book that the child wrote the name in.'

One can draw the conclusion by stating that the ascension of Possessor
NP to DO demotes other DOs whether basic or derived, which is of course
a disconfirmation of the Advancee. Tenure Law which states that derived
DOs cannot be put en chomage by the promotion of another NP to DO.


## 4.6.5.  Benefactive & Locative

We will call the benefactive marking on the verb an advancement also
even though there isn't any preposition in the language that stands for
the benefactive case as in other oblique NPs that undergo promotion rules.
Thus a verb would always be added the suffix -ir- whenever a benefactive
NP occurs in the sentence. Usually the appearance of a benefactive NP
in the sentence blocks the advancement of other oblique NPs to DO status.
For instance, such pairs as Ben. & Goal, Ben. & Mann., Ben. & Poss.,
Instr. & Ben are not attested in the language, the only pair that is
found is Ben. & Loc. The rule doesn't apply however if the main verb
is transitive.

(20)a  Umwáana y-iicar-i-ye umugabo kuú ntebe.

       child he-sit-ben-asp man on chair

       'The child is sitting on chair for the man.'

    b  Umwáana y-iicar-i-yé-ho íntebe umugabo.

       child  he-sit-ben-asp-on chair man

       'The child is sitting on the man's chair.'

(20)a is ambiguous as to whether the benefactive morpheme stands for the
benefactive case or the possessor. (20)b has a benefactive reading

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only because the locative NP comes before it, which is the opposite if it is a possessor NP.

Of course the advancement of locative to DO, in this case makes it acquire the DO properties and it doesn't demote the benefactive NP since this one keeps all its former properties. Thus both 'chair' and 'man' in (20)b can passivize, incorporate, relativize, cleft...

Passivization

(21)a Íntebe y-iicar-i-w-é-ho umugabo n'úmwáana.

chair it-sit-ben-pass-asp-on man by child

'The chair is sat on for the man by the child.'

b Umugabo y-iicar-i w-é-ho íntebe n-úmwáana.

man he-sit-ben-pass-asp-on chair by child

'Its the child who sat on the chair for the man.'

Incorporation

(22)a Umwáana a-mw-iicar-i-yé-ho íntebe.

child he-him-sit-ben-asp-on chair

'The child is sitting on the chair for him.'

b Umwáana a-y-iicar-i-yé-ho umugabo.

child he-it-sit-ben-asp-on man

'The child is sitting on it for the man.'

Relativization

(23)a N-dá-bon-a íntebe umwáana y-iícar-i-yé-ho umugabo.

I-pres-see-asp chair child he-rel-sit-ben-asp-on man

'I see the chair that the child is sitting on for the man.'

b N-dá-bon-a umugabo umwáana y-iícar-i-yé-ho íntebe.

I-pres-see-asp man child he-rel-sit-ben-asp-on chair

'I see the man that the child is sitting on the chair for.'

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Clefting

(24)a N'iíntebe umwáana y-iícar-i-yé-ho umugabo.

be-chair child he-sit-ben-asp-on man

'It's the chair that the child is sitting on for the man.'

b N' umugabo umwáana y-iícar-i-yé-ho íntebe.

be man child he-rel-sit-ben-asp-on chair

'It's the chair that the child is sitting on for the man.'

To sume up, this section has shown that Kinyarwanda has 6 'double' obj-
ectivization rules namely, inalienable possessor & alienable possessor
objectivization, loc. & inst. objectivization, loc. & poss.objectiviza-
tion, instr. & goal objectivization, instr. & poss. and benefactive &
locative objectivization. Other possibilities such as loc.& mann.,
loc.& goal, poss. & mann.... don't exist. It was observed also that in
some cases the advancement or ascension of an oblique case NP causes the
former DO to go in chomage. In some others, the advanced NP can be put
en chomage by the promotion of another NP. All these facts contradict
the 3 laws of grammar namely, the Relational Annihilation Law, the
Advancee Tenure Law and the Advancee Priority Law. Obviously these laws
need modification with regard to the data presented by Kinyarwanda. In
the next section of this chapter, we'll try to reformulate these laws.

The Relational Annihilation Law (RAL)

The RAL as originally stated by Permutter & Postal claims that "if an
$NP_j$ takes over the grammatical relation of an $NP_i$ , (where $j \neq i$)then $NP_i$
loses its grammatical relation to the verb." The law, according to the
way it is worded has been disconfirmed by the data of Kinyarwanda.
Keenan & Gary have proposed a weaker version which simply says that "an
$NP_i$ will be outcast by the advancement of an $NP_j$ only if the promotion

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of $NP_j$ to $NP_i$ exceeds the number of $NP_i$ allowed in the language."

Since Kinyarwanda has    syntactic DOs as we have shown all along the thesis and as convincingly argued by Keenan & Gary (1975), the advancement of an oblique NP to DO is not going to put the initial DO in chomage. The weak version, however, doesn't explain why the advancement of locative to DO and the ascension of possessor to DO, doesn't behave like the promotion of other oblique NPs since the former create chomeurs. Since it is not possible to predict which advancement rules are going to create chomeurs and which ones are not, it should be wiser to say that 'rules that promote an NP to the n of the verb may outcast the NP that holds the n status.'

Evidently, the former DO loses all grammatical relations to the verb if two object-creating rules take place in the same sentence.. One might argue that this predicted by the RAL  as formulated by Gary &Keenan, since in this case the rule derives a number of DOs that exceeds the number allowed, which is two.   We observe, however, that the advancement of an oblique NP that adds a third DO to two underlying DOs, doesn't in any way cause anyone of the former DOs to become chomeur.

    (25)a  Umwáana y-a-sab-ye umugóre ibíryo n'íntoki.

          child he-pst-ask-asp woman food with hands

          'The child asked the woman food with hands.'

      b  Umwáana y-a-sab-iish-ije umugóre ibíryo intoki.

          child he-pst-ask-instr-asp woman food hands

          'The child asked the woman food with hands.'

The verb 'ask' takes two DOs, a recipient and a patient.  The objectivization of the instrumental NP 'hands' has not outcasted any of the underlying DOs since all of them can still undergo all the major transform-

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ations that only DOs undergo.  As an example, we see that both 'woman'
and 'food' still passivize and relativize.

(26)a Umugóre y-a-sab-iish-ij-w-e ibíryo intoki n'úmwáana.

woman  she-pst-ask-instr-asp-pass-asp food hands by child

'The woman was asked food with hands by the child.'

b Ibíryo by-a-sab-iish-ij-w-e umugóre intoki n'úmwáana.

food it-pst-ask-instr-asp-pass-asp woman hands by child

'The food was asked the woman with hands by the child.'

c Intoki z-a-sab-iish-ij-w-e umugóre ibíryo n'úmwáana.

hands they-pst-ask-instr-asp-pass-asp woman food by child

'The hands were used to asked the woman food by the child.'

(27)a Dore umugóre umwáana y-a-sáb-iish-ije ibíryo intoki.

look woman child he-pst-rel-ask-instr-asp food hands

'Here is the woman that the child asked food with hands.'

b Dore ibíryo umwáana y-a-sáb-iish-ije umugóre intoki.

look food  child he-pst-rel-ask-asp woma hands

'Here are the food that the child asked the woman with hands.'

c Dore intoki umwáana y-a-sáb-iish-ije umugóre ibíryo.

look hands child he-pst-rel-ask-asp woman food

'These are the hands that the child asked the woman food with.'

The data in both (26) and (27) disconfirm the RAL as phrased by Keenan &
Gary since the number of DOs that occur in the underlying structure is
exceeded; none of them has lost its DO status.
While not denying the validity of the RAL, since all initial DOs don't
lose their DO status when objectivization rules take place but all go
into chomage when a second objectivization rule applies, we can modify
the law in this respect.

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It appears that the demotion of the initial DO depends largely on the
nature of the NP that has been advanced and on the number of advancements
that have taken place: all DOs are demoted if a second advancement rule
applies. We don't know if the demotion of DO caused by the promotion
of Possessor results from the kind of promotion that the possessor under-
goes: ascension or just from the fact itself that it is a Poss that is
promoted.

Demotion occurs as a result of a promotion rule. Languages might differ
on what kind of promotion rules create chomeurs as to whether they are
advancements or ascensions. A hierarchy similar to Accessability
Hierarchy might be involved also and the number of promotion rules to
the n of the verb that has occurred.

The Advancee Tenure Law (ATL)

The Advancee Tenure Law claims that a term derived by an advancement
rule cannot be put en chomage by another advancement rule. This seems
to be the opposite of what happens in Kinyarwanda. In Kinyarwanda as
it was indicated in the previous section all derived DOs are demoted if
another advancement rule takes place.

NPs promoted by ascension rules can be demoted also by any kind of
promotion rule.

The Advancee Priority Law (APL)

The Advancee Priority Law states that a term of a verb cannot be taken
over by the advancement of another NP if it has itself been promoted by
an advancement rule. In English, for instance, when a DO becomes a
Subject by Passivization, the Indirect Object cannot advance to DO. This
law has another weaker version which says that derived terms cannot be
taken over by the advancement of other NPs.

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The strong version is contradicted by the Kinyarwanda facts because this law holds only where the Relational Annihilation Law happens to function. The locative NP cannot be advanced to DO when the initial DO has been subjectivized by passivization, but other oblique NPs are easily objectivized if the initial DO advances to Subject.

(28) a  Umugóre a-ra-andik-a íbarúwa n'ííkarámu.

    woman she-pres-write-asp letter with pen

    'The woman is writing the letter with a pen.'

  b  Íbarúwa i-ra-andik-w-a n'ííkaramu n'úmugóre.'

    letter it-pres-write-pass-asp with pen by woman

    'The letter is being written with a pen by the woman.'

  c  Íbarúwa i-ra-andik-iish-w-a íkarámu n'úmugóre.

    letter it-pres-write-instr-pass-asp pen by woman

    'The letter is written with a pen by the woman.'

Notice, of course, that the locative NP cannot be objectivized as mentioned above if the former DO has been advanced to Subject by the Passive rule.

(29) a  Umugóre a-ra-andik-a imibáre ku kibaho.

    woman she-pres-write-asp math on blackboard.'

    'The woman is writing math on the blackboard.'

  b  Imibáre i-ra-andik-w-a ku kibaho n'úmugóre.

    math it-pres-write-pass-asp on blackboard by woman

    'Mathematics is written on the blackboard by the woman.'

  c  *Imibáre i-ra-andik-w-á-ho ikibaho n'úmugóre.

    math it-pres-write-pass-asp-on by woman

    'mathematics is written on the blackboard by the woman.'

The ungrammaticality of (29)c is predicted by the RAL. In fact, we observe that Passivization of chomeur 'math' in (30) gives exactly the

same output as (29)c.

(30)a Umugóre a-ra-andik-a imibáre ku kibaho.

woman she-pres-write-asp math on blackboard

'The woman is writing math on the blackboard.'

b Umugóre a-ra-andik-á-ho ikibaho imibáre.

woman she-pres-write-asp-on blackboard math

'The woman is writing math on the blackboard.'

c *Imibáre i-ra-andik-w-á-ho ikibaho n'úmugóre.

math it-pres-write-pass-on blackboard by woman

'Mathematics is written on the blackboard by the woman.'

The weak version of the APL is ruled out also since derived DOs can be taken over by the advancement of other NPs when they are promoted to the subject position.

Thus in (31) 'blackboard' has been advanced to DO by the Loc rule and then promoted to Subject by the Passive rule, but 'chalk' has taken its position by the Instr rule, thus contradicting the APL.

(31)a Umwáalímu a-ra-andik-a amasómo ku kibaho n'íingwa.

teacher he-pres-write-asp lessons on blackboard with chalk

'The teacher is writing lessons on the blackboard with chalk.'

b Umwáalímu a-ra-andik-á-ho ikibaho amasómo n'íingwa.

teacher he-pres-write-asp-on blackboard lessons with chalk

'The teacher is writing on the blackboard with chalk.'

c Ikibaho cyi-ra-andik-w-á-ho amasómo n'íingwa n'úmwáalímu.

blackboard it-pres-write-pass-asp-on lessons with chalk by

teacher

'The blackboard is written lessons on with chalk by the teacher.'

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d  Ikibaho cyi-ra-andik-iish-w-a-ho amasomo ingwa n'umwaalimu.

   blackboard it-pres-write-instr-pass-asp-on lessons chalk by the
                                                           teacher

   'The blackboard is written lessons on with chalk by the teacher.'

If we advance the instrumental NP first to DO, passivize it and then

objectivize the locative NP, we obtain an ungrammatical sentence, not

because of the APL but rather the RAL as we had noted before.

(32)a  Umwáalímu a-ra-andik-iish-a amasómo íngwa ku kibaho.

       teacher he-pres-write-instr-asp lessons chalk on blackboard

       'The teacher is writing lessons with chalk on the blackboard.'

  b  Íngwa i-ra-andik-iish-w-a  amasómo ku kibaho n'úmwáalímu.

     chalk  it-pres-write-instr-pass-asp lessons on blackboard by

                                                           teacher

     'The chalk is used to write on the blackboard by the teacher.'

  c  *Íngwa i-ra-andik-iish-w-á-ho ikibaho amasómo n'úmwáalímu.

     chalk it-pres-write-instr-pass-asp-on blackboard lessons by

                                                           teacher

     'The chalk is used to write on the blackboard by the teacher.'

The validity of the APL depends on the validity of the RAL and, therefore,

is not needed since it only creates redundancies formulated by another

law.

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## Footnotes

1. It is in Kinyarwanda and Kirundi only that this suffix is used for both causatives and instrumentals. In other Bantu languages, this suffix is used for causativization only.

2. The word for pen is 'íkarámu'. The initial vowel is lengthened because it has a high tone and it is preceded by a word which, itself ends in a vowel with a high tone. (ná + íkarámu). Usually when there are two vowels, the preceding one is always deleted and there is no other effect.

3. This is a case of metathesis: note that there are two metathesis rules in the same word. First the benefactive morpheme is realized as -re- instead of -er-, second the benefactive morpheme is inserted in the verb stem before the final consonant -z. Whenever the verb stem ends by the consonant -z, the metathesis rule applies.

4. Because of the coalescence rule a+i -> e, verb stems whose last segment is -a- undergo the rule. ex. 'be' -ba- 'be for' -be-er-, 'cause to be' -be-eesh- 'give' -ha-, 'give for' -he-er-, cause to give' -he-eesh-.

5. The word for 'comb' is -sokoz- which is realized here as -sokoz-, because of the palatal assimilation at distance. Usually a sibilant gets palatalized (s,z -> š,ž) if the next syllable contains a palatal consonant.

    ex.  arasasa  ------>  arašaše

          he is making    he just finished making the bed

          the bed

Sometime, the palatal consonant doesn't have to be too close as illustrated by another example:

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barasohoye     ---->     barašohože

'they arrive'          'they make arrive'

6. Whenever both instrumental and benefactive morphemes occur in the verb, an extra suffix -iz- appears in the verb, we don't know where it really belongs to; it may belong to the instrumental marker, the benefactive or the aspect marker.

# Chapter V   Subjectivization Rules

Kinyarwanda has 4 subject-creating rules namely (i) passivization, (ii) stativization, (iii) object-subject reversal, and finally (iv) subjectivization of comparatives and associatives.  The first three rules have the same semantic effect:  topicalization of the object whereas the latter applies to feed some transformations such as relativization, clefting, topicalization,....which cannot apply to the underlying associative and comparative NPs.

This chapter describes the mechanism and the conditions of applicability of these rules.  The properties of the 'derived' subjects and the 'initial' ones are examined.


## 5.1.   Passivization

Passivization is a process that promotes direct objects to subject status  because oblique cases, locatives excepted, cannot be directly passivized but have to be <u>objectivized</u> first before they can undergo passivization.  When passivization applies the suffix -<u>w</u>-  is added to the verb immediately preceding the aspect marker.

The 'demoted' subject is preceded by the preposition <u>na</u> which is realized as <u>no</u> if it precedes a prepositional phrase or an infinitive.

    (1)a   Umugabo y-a-boon-ye umugóre.

        man     he-pst-see-asp woman

        'The man saw the woman.'

    b   Umugóre y-a-boon-y-<u>w</u>-e   n'úmugabo [1]

        Woman   she-pst-see-asp-pass-asp by man

        'The woma was seen by the man.'

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In order to undergo passivization, object NPs have to be either <u>definite</u> or <u>generic</u>. Thus (1)b cannot ever mean "A woman was seen by the man.' All objects that are directly introduced to the verb without a preposition: indirect objects and benefactives are passivizable if they are definite.

(2)a Umugabo y-a-haa-ye umugóre igitabo.

    man    he-pst-give-asp woman book

 b Igitabo cy-a-haa-w-e umugóre·n'úmugabo.

    book    it-pst-give-pass-asp woman by man

    'The book was given to the woman by the man.'

 c Umugóre y-a-haa-w-e igitabo n'úmugabo.

    woman    she-pst-give-pass-asp book by man

    'The woman was given the book by the man.'

(3)a Umuhuûngu a-ra-andik-ir-a umukoôbwa íbarúwa.

    boy    he-pres-write-ben-asp girl letter

    'The boy is writing the letter for the girl.'

 b Íbarúwa i-ra-andik-ir-w-a umukoôbwa n'úmuhuûngu.

    letter    it-pres-write-ben-pass-asp girl by boy

    'The letter was read for the girl by the boy.'

 c Umukoôbwa a-ra-andik-ir-w-a íbarúwa n'úmuhuûngu.

    girl    she-pres-write-ben-pass-asp letter by boy.'

    'The girl was read the book for by the boy.'

Kinyarwanda has less constraints than many other languages on the kind of objects that can be passivized. As an example all <u>abstract</u> direct objects are passivizable:

(4)a Umwáana a-fit-e ibyishiimo byiînshi.[2]

    child  he-have-asp joy    a lot

'The child has a lot of joy.'

b Ibyishiimo byiînshi bi-fit-w-e n'úmwáana.

   joy        a lot    it-have-pass-asp by child

'Much joy is had by the children.'[3]

'It's the children who had a lot of joy.'

There are similar types of constructions in which the abstract object is derived from the verb (cognate object) and still allows passivization: these are the constructions such as 'to think a thought', 'to die a death', 'to cough a cough', 'to sleep a sleep', 'to be hunger of hunger', 'to be sick of sickness'.....

(5)a Umujuura y-a-pfúu-ye urúpfu rúbi.

   thief   he-pst-die-asp death bad

'The thief died a bad death.'

b Urúpfu rúbi rw-á-pfuu-v-e n'úmujuura.

   death  bad it-pst-die-pass-asp by thief

'A bad death was died (had?) by the thief.'

'It's the thief who died a bad death.'

In Kinyarwanda, unlike in other languages, the subject of the sentence doesn't have to be an agent for the object to be passivizable. Thus objects of verbs such as <u>have</u>, <u>weigh</u>, <u>measure</u>, <u>cost</u>..... can be easily passivized.

(6)a Iki gitabo gi-pim-a ibíro bíne.

   this book it-weigh-asp kilos four

'This book weighs four kilos.'

b Ibíro bíne bi-pim-w-a n'íki gitabo.

   kilos they-weigh-pass-asp by this book

'Four kilos are weighed by this book.'

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'It's this book that weighs four kilos.'

(7)a Ishaâti i-fit-e ibifuungo bibiri.

   shirt  it-have-asp buttons two.

   'The shirt has two buttons.'

   b Ibifuungo bibiri bi-fit-w-e n'íshaâti.

   buttons   two     they-have-pass-asp by shirt

   'Two buttons are had by the shirt.'

   'It's the shirt that has a buttons.'

As mentioned earlier oblique cases, except locatives, cannot be directly passivized: they have to undergo objectivization rules first as illustrated in (8), (9), (10) and (11), representing instrumentals, manners, goals and possessives, respectively.

(8)a Umugabo a-ra-andik-a n'ííkarámu.

   man    he-pres-write-asp with pen

   'The man is writing with the pen.'

   b *Íkarámu i-ra-andik-w-a ná n'úmugabo.

   pen      it-pres-write-pass-asp with by man

   c Íkarámu i-ra-andik-iish-w-a n'úmugabo.

   pen     it-pres-write-instr-pass-asp by man

   'The pen is used to write by the man.'

(9)a Umugóre a-ra-vug-a n'ágahiinda.

   woman  she-pres-write-asp with sorrow

   'The woman is speaking with sorrow.'

   b *Agahiinda ka-ra-vug-w-a ná n'úmugóre.

   sorrow  it-pres-say-pass-asp with by woman

   c Agahiinda ka-ra-vug-an-w-a n'úmugóre.

   sorrow   it-pres-say-assoc-pass-asp by woman

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?'Sorrow is spoken with by the woman.'

'It's the woman who is speaking with sorrow.'

(10)a Yohaãni a-ra-ríriimb-a ku mafaraanga.

John he-pres-sing-asp for money

'John sings for money.'

b *Amafaraanga a-ra-ríriimb-w-a ku ná Yohaãni.

money it-pres-sing-pass-asp for by John

c Amafaraanga a-ra-ríriimb-ir-w-a ná Yohaãni.

money it-pres-sing-ben-pass-asp by John

?'The money is sung for by John.'

'It's John who sings for the money.'

(11)a Umunyéeshuũri a-ra-som-a igitabo cy'úmwáalímu.

student he-pres-read-asp book of teacher

'The student is reading the teacher's book.'

b *Umwáalímu a-ra-som-w-a igitabo cye n'úmunyéeshuũri.

teacher he-pres-read-pass-asp book of him by student

c Umwáalímu a-ra-som-er-w-a igitabo n'úmunyéeshuũri.

teacher he-pres-read-ben-pass-asp book by student

'The teacher is having his book read by the student.'

Locatives as seen in the previous chapter can be directly passivized.
In this case, however, as in other instances such as relativization,
clefting,.... the head noun moves with its preposition and the verb
instead of agreeing with the head noun, takes the locative agreement ha-.

(12)a Umugabo y-ooherej-e íbarúwa kw'i pósita.

man he-send-asp letter to post office

'The man sent a letter to the post office.'

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b  Kw'ipósita h-ooherej-w-e íbarúwa n'úmugabo.[4]

   to post    it-send-pass-asp letter by man

   'The post office was sent a letter by the man.'

c  Ipósita y-ooherej-w-é-ho íbarúwa n'úmugabo.

   post    it-send-pass-asp-to letter by man

   'The post office was sent a letter to by the man.'

There might be a semantic difference between the locative phrase

subjects and the objectivized subjects, but this study has not been able

to establish it.

Constraints on Passivization

Certain types of incorporated pronouns such as reflexives or recipient

pronouns don't get passivized or let the other objects of the verb -in-

corporated or full NPs-- undergo passivization.  Thus the direct object

of a reflexive pronoun or a recipient pronoun cannot passivize as shown

below.

(13)a  Umukoôbwa y-a-ba-sab-ye amafaraanga.

       girl    she-pst-ask-asp  money

       'The girl asked them for the money.'

   b  *Amafaraanga y-a-ba-sab-w-e n'úmukoôbwa.

       money        it-pst-them-ask-paa-asp by girl

       'The money was asked from them by the girl.'

(14)a  Abahuûngu b-ii-haa-ye ibitabo.

       boys    they-refl-give-asp books

       'The boys gave the books to themselves.'

   b  *Ibitabo by-ii-haa-w-e n'ábahuûngu.

       books    they-refl-give-pass-asp by boys

       'The books were given to the boys by themselves.'

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One might argue that the impossibility of passivizing the direct object of incorporated pronouns is due to the Relational Annihilation Law. In fact the Promotional Analysis claims that the recipient (indirect object) has been advanced to 2 (direct object) and has ousted the initial 2 which has become a chomeur. This analysis isn't correct, because Kinyarwanda doesn't have a rule that advances 3 (indirect object) to 2(direct object); and further, as observed in the previous chapters and as argued convincingly by Gary & Keenan (1975) in what they call the Two Object Analysis (TOA), there is no formal difference between the Direct Object and the Indirect Object in Kinyarwanda. In fact when the recipient is a full NP, passivization applies, as shown below.

(15)a Umukoôbwa y-a-bwii-ye umuhuûngu ibinyóma.

   girl    she-pst-tell-asp boy lies

   'The girl told lies to the boy.'

  b Umuhuûngu y-a-bwii-w-e ibinyôma n'úmukoôbwa.

   boy       he-pst-tell-pass-asp lies by girl

   'The boy was told lies by the girl.'

  c Ibinyóma by-a-bwii-w-e umuhuûngu n'úmukoôbwa.

   lies    they-pst-tell-pass-asp boy by girl

   'Lies were told to the boy by the girl.'

However, other syntactic transformations such as relativization, clefting, wh-questioning,.... still apply to the direct object of reflexive and the recipient pronoun, which shows that the object of this type of construction is not in fact en chomage. Relativization (16) and exclusive insertion are used for illustration.

(16) M-fit-e amafaraanga umukoobwa y-a-ba-sáb-ye.

   I-have-asp money    girl     she-pst-rel-ask-asp

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'I have the money that the girl asked them.'

(17) Nta bitabo abahuûngu b-ii-háa-ye.

    no   books  boys    they-refl-rel-give-asp

    'The boys didn't give themselves any books.'

The reason why incorporated recipient pronouns block passivization but allow other transformations is given in Givón (1976). Passivization is a <u>promotion</u> process and other transformations are not. 'The higher topicality of pronouns stops further promotion of other constituents to the top topic position.'

If the verb has two incorporated pronouns only the recipient can passivize.

(18)a  Umugabo y-a-kí-mu-haa-ye.

     man    he-pst-it-him-give-asp

     'The man gave it to him.'

    b  Y-a-gi-haa-w-e n'úmugabo.

     he-pst-it-give-pass-asp by man

     'He was given it by the man.'

    c  *Cy-a-mu-haa-w-e n'úmugabo.

     it-pst-him-give-pass-asp by man

     'It was given to him by the man.'

If the recipient pronoun is a reflexive, none of these pronouns passivizes:

(19)a  Umugóre y-a-by-iy-erets-e.

    woman she-pst-them-refl-show-asp

    'The woman showed them to herself.'

    b  *By-iy-erets-w-e n'úmugóre.

     them-refl-show-pass-asp woman

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'They were shown to the woman by herself.'

c    Y-a-by-eerets-w-e n'úmugóre.[4]

he-pst-them-show-pass-asp by woman

'*Himself was shown them by the woman.'

'He was shown them by the woman.'

If the verb has more than two infixes, none of them can be passivized.

(20)a   Abagabo b-a-<u>ki</u>-mu-gú-he-er-eye.[5]

men   the-pst-it-him-you-give-ben-asp

'The men gave it to him for you.'

b    *Cy-a-mu-gu-he-er-ew-e n'ábagabo.[4]

it-pst-him-you-give-ben-pass-asp by men

'It was given to him for you by the men.'

c    *Y-a-ki-gu-he-er-ew-e n'ábagabo.

he-pst-it-you-give-ben-pass-asp by men

'He was given it for you by the men.'

d    *W-a-ki-mu-he-er-ew-e n'ábagabo.

you-pst-it-him-give-ben-pass-asp by men

'For you, he was given it by the men.'

Note that passivization of the infix pronouns is not ruled out by the Relational Annihilation Law. In fact, one might be tempted to say that accusative pronouns don't passivize because of the advancement of the dative pronoun which is in turn ousted by the advancement of the bene-factive pronoun. If it were so, one would like to know why the 'advanced' benefactive pronoun doesn't passivize as predicted by the Relational Succession Law.

We notice also that multiple full NPs that have the same semantic function as the incorporated pronouns can, all of them, passivize as

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indicated in (21).

    (21)a  Umugabo y-eerek-e-ye umugóre abáana ibitabo.

          man     he-show-ben-asp woman children books

          'The man showed books to the children for the woman.'

      b  Ibitabo by-eerek-e-w-e umugóre abáana n'úmugabo.

          books they-show-ben-asp woman children by man

          'The books were shown to the children for the woman by the man.'

      c  Abáana b-eerek-e-w-e umugóre ibitabo n'úmugabo.

          children they-show-ben-pass-asp woman books by man

          'The children were shown books for the woman by the man.'

      d  Umugóre y-eerek-e-w-e abáana ibitabo n'úmugabo.

          woman she-show-ben-pass-asp children books by man

          'The woman had the children shown the books by the man.'

The facts in (21) suggest that the non-passivization of (20) is a
property of incorporated pronouns and thus doesn't have anything to do
with the Relational Annihilation Law. Pronouns differ very much from
full NPs. Here again, it is the 'higher topicality' of pronouns that
blocks further promotion.

Properties of Derived Subjects

NPs subjectivized by passivization keep all the properties of terms,
such as relativization, clefting, wh-questioning,... and they also
acquire the properties of initial subjects: they are definite, they
trigger agreement on the verb, they trigger dummy-insertion (ha-). The
only properties of basic subjects that they don't obtain are (a) reflexi-
vization, (b) raising to object position, and (c) coreferential deletion.
The coreferential deletion never applies since in Kinyarwanda this
transformation is only fed by raising.

Reflexivization and raising are illustrated in (22) and (23) respectively.

(22)a Umuhuûngu a-r-eerek-a umukoôbwa$_x$ umukoôbwa$_x$mw'íífoto.

boy       he-pres-show-asp girl     girl      in picture

'The boy is showing the girl to the girl in the picture.'

b Umukoôbwa$_x$ a-r-eerek-w-a umukoôbwa$_x$mw'íífoto n'úmuhuûngu.

girl      she--pres-show-pass-asp girl in picture by boy

'The girl is shown the girl in the picture by the boy.'

c *Umukoôbwa a-r-íy-erek-w-a mw'íífoto n'úmuhuûngu.

girl      she-pres-refl-show-pass-asp in picture by boy

'The girl is shown her self in the picture by the boy.'

(23)a Umugabo y-a-tegets-e kó abáana ba-sóm-a ibitabo.

man  he-pst-order-asp that children they-rel-read-asp books

'The man ordered that the children read the books.'

b Umugabo y-a-tegets-e kó ibitabo bi-sóm-w-a n'abáana.

man   he-pst-order-asp that books they-rel-read-pass-asp by

children

'The man ordered that the books be read by the children.'

c *Umugabo y-a-tegets-e ibitabo gusomwa n'abáana.

man    he-pst-order-asp books to be read by children

d Umugabo y-a-tegets-e abáana gusoma ibitabo.

man    he-pst-order-asp children to read books

'The man ordered the children to read the books.'

The impossibiltiy of reflexivizing derived subjects is just due to the
formal constraint on this rule which applies only if the objects are
coreferential to the basic subject of the same clause, whereas that of
raising is a functional constraint. In fact, raising in Kinyarwanda,
which is a property of manipulative verbs only creates a direct

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interaction between the agent subject and the raised subject. Since verbs of __command__, __request__ embed agent subjects only (Givón, 1974), derived subjects cannot raise, for they are __passive__, i.e. incapable of performing any activity.

## Properties of Initial Subjects

Initial subjects lose their grammatical relation to the verb when passivized. The demotion of the former subject is affected by either one of the following side-effect rules: the demoted subject is marked by the preposition ná 'by' or (ii) the demoted subject is deleted. The demoted subject is marked by ná if the speaker wants to stress or contrast the agent. In this case, then, the sentence has the same meaning as a cleft sentence.

    (24)   Umwáana y-a-kubis-w-e n'úmugóre.[4]

             child he-pst-best-pass-asp by woman

             'The child was beaten by the woman.'

The demoted subject is deleted if it is unspecified, if it is definite enough(known by both speaker and hearer) or if the dummy ha- (not to be confused with the existential ha- or the locative ha-), which creates a cleft meaning . is inserted. When the dummy is inserted, the subject shifts to the right side of the verb.

    (25)a  Umuhuûngu a-rá-men-a ídiríshya.

            boy       he-pres-break-asp window

            'The boy is breaking the window.'

      b  Ídiríshya ri-rá-men-w-a n'úmuhuûngu.

            window  it-pres-break-pass-asp by boy

            'The window is being broken by the boy.'

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c *Ha-rá-men-w-a ídiríshya n'úmuhuûngu.

    it-pres-break-pass-asp window by boy

d Ha-rá-men-w-a ídiríshya

    it-pres-break-pass-asp window

    'It's the window that is being broken.'

e Ha-rá-men-a ídiríshya umuhuûngu.

    it-pres-break-asp window boy

    'It's the boy who is breaking the window.'

Non-agent subjects or initial subjects of verbs that have cognate or abstract objects cannot be deleted by demotion.

(26)a Umwáana a-rwaa-ye ínkoróra.

    child he-be sick-asp cough

    'The child has a cough.'

b *Ínkoróra i-ra-rwáa-w-e.

    cough it-pres-be sick-pass-asp

    '*The cough is had.'

(27)a Umukoôbwa y-a-roos-e inzozi m̂bi.

    girl    she-pst-dream-asp dreams bad

    'The girl had a nightmare.'

b *Inzozi m̂bi z-a-roos-w-e.

    dreams bad they-pst-dream-pass-asp

    '*Nightmares were dreamt.'

In Givón's explanation (personal communication) abstract and cognate objects are _relational_ and make no sense without their 'possessors'. Without their former subjects, the derived sentences don't convey any kind of information at all. This the reason why (26)b and (27)b are bad: each sentence has to bear some information.

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## Functional Role of Passivization

As suggested by Givón (1976), passivization is used to topicalize the
object. That is, the object becomes old information; the topic that is
being commented on. In fact like its active counterpart, the passive
sentence has degrees of presupposition also.

(a) If the sentence has neither an object or an agent, the predicate
is the comment (new information) and the derived subject is the
topic.

(b) If the sentence has a direct object without an agent, this one
only is the new information in the whole sentence unlike active
sentences in which both the predicate and the complement can
be new information.

Thus (28) can be an answer to two questions but (29) cannot.

(28) Umugóre y-a-hamaga-ye umwáana.

woman  she-pst-call-asp child

'The woman called the child.'

(29) Umwáana y-a-hamaga-w-e n'úmugóre.

child  he-pst-call-pass-asp by woman

'The child was called by the woman.'

(28) can be an answer to a question such as "what did the woman do?' or
"what did the woman call?" It only answers "The child was called by who?"
In this sense then, the last argument in a passive sentence is the only
one to be new information.

(c) If the passive sentence has an agent, this one is the only new info-
rmation in the sentence. It acquires then, semantically the properties
of oblique cases since in active sentences the latter ones are used as
comments. Passivization has two effects then, namely topicalization of

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the object and emphasis of the agent: by stressing it or contrasting it.

## 5.2. Stativization

Stativization is a process that gives a passive reading to a sentence by putting a definite or a generic object in the subject position. The former subject is deleted and the verb takes the perfective aspect marker -ye. In past tenses, the auxiliary -ri is used, in future tenses it is -ba that is found before the main verb.

(30)a Umugóre a-kubuu-ye inzu.

woman she-clean-asp house

'The woman has just cleaned the house.'

b Inzu i-ra-kubuu-ye.[6]

house it-pres-clean-asp

(31)a Umgabo a-zaa-kiingur-a inzu.

man he-fut-open-asp house

'The man will open the house.'

b Inzu i-zaa-ba i-kíinguu-ye.

house it-fut-be it-open-asp

'The house will be open.'

(32)a Umukoóbwa y-a-andits-e íbarúwa.

girl she-pst-write-asp letter

'The girl wrote the letter.'

b Íbarúwa y-á-ri y-á-andits-e.

letter it-pst-be it-cond-write-asp

'The letter was written.'

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<u>Constraints</u>

(i) Animate objects cannot be stativized. Stativizable objects have to be inanimate.

    (33)a  Abaantu b-iib-ye ibaânki.

          people they-rob-asp bank

          'People robbed the bank.'

      b  Ibaânki i-r-íib-ye.

          bank   it-pres-rob-asp

          'The bank is robbed.'

    (34)a  Abaantu b-iib-ye umucuruzi.

          people they-rob-asp businessman

          'People robbed the businessman.'

      b  Umucuruuzi a-r-íib-ye.

          businessman he-pres-rob-asp

          '*The businessman is robbed.'

          'The businessman has just robbed.'

The 'animate object restriction' as Givón has suggested is a prevention of confusion, since animate subjects can only act as agents with transitive verbs.

(ii) Direct objects of verbs whose subjects are not agents cannot be stativized. These are verbs such as: think, hope, know, hear, feel, see, like, love, hate,...

    (35)a  Umwáana a-shaats-e ibíryo.

          child  he-want-asp food

          'The child wants food.'

      b  *Ibíryo bi-ra-shaats-e.

          food it-pres-want-asp

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'Food is wanted.'

(36)a Umukoôbwa a-kuunz-e iyí ntebe.

　　　girl　she-like-asp this chair

　　　'The girl likes this chair.'

　 b *Iyí ntebe i-ra-kúunz-e.

　　　this chair it-pres-like-asp

　　　'This chair is liked.'

Since the functional role of stativization is to show the "state of patient resulting from action", the object of non-agentive verbs cannot be stativized because there is no actor or action in the sentence. The subject of these types of verbs is a recipient and thus cannot affect the direct object.

(iii) If the verb has two objects (a direct object and an indirect object, or a direct object and a derived object....) stativization does not apply.

(37)a Umukoôbwa a-ra-andik-iish-a íbarúwa íkarámu.

　　　girl　sne-pres-write-instr-asp letter pen

　　　'The girl is writing the letter with the pen.'

　 b íbarúwa i-ra-andik-iish-ije *íkarámu.

　　　letter it-pres-write-instr-asp pen

　　　'The letter is written (with the pen).'

　 c Íkarámu i-ra-andik-iish-ije *íbarúwa.

　　　pen it-pres-write-instr-asp letter

　　　'The pen is used to write (the letter.)'

(38)a Umuhuûngu a-haa-ye umukoôbwa igitabo.

　　　boy　he-give-asp girl　book

　　　'The boy gives the book to the girl.'

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b　*Igitabo gi-haa-ye umukoôbwa.

　　book　it-give-asp girl

　　'The book is given to the girl.'

Two-argument verbs such as give, show, ask.... and manipulative verbs never allow stativization at all, since as it is shown in Chapter 2, these verbs always require the presence of the 'recipient NP'. It is not possible to have (38)c in which the recipient NP is not appearing.

(38)c　*Igitabo ki-ra-háa-ye.

　　book　it-pres-give-asp

　　'The book is given.'

The restriction on the stativization of verbs that have two objects is again due to the role confusion since the derived structure of a verb with 2 objects looks like the underlying SVO structure and therefore is interpreted as the basic one.

(iv) Objectivized oblique objects (locatives, manners, goals, possessives), instrumentals excepted, cannot undergo stativization.

(39)a　Umugóre a-kor-an-ye imyaambaro myiíza.

　　woman　she-work-mann-asp clothes nice

　　'The woman is working in her nice clothes.'

b　*Imyaambaro myiíza i-rá-kor-an-ye.

　　clothes　nice　they-pres-work-mann-asp

　　'The nice clothes are worn in the work.'

(40)a　Umuhuûngu a-ra-rírilmb-ir-a amafaraanga.

　　boy　　he-pres-sing-ben-asp　money

　　'The boy is singing for money.'

b　*Amafaraanga a-ra-ríriimb-i-ye.

　　money　it-pres-sing-ben-asp

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'The money is sung for.'

(41)a Umwáalímu y-iica-ye kuú ntebe.

teacher he-sit-asp on chair

'The teacher is sitting on the chair.'

b Umwáalímu y-iica-yé-ho íntebe.

teacher he-sit-asp-on chair

c *Íntebe y-iicayé-ho

chair it-sit-asp-on

'The chair is sat on.'

There isn't at the moment any explanation for the non-stativization for
derived objects. In this case then stativization seems to be a property
of basic objects only.

## Properties of Derived Subjects

Subjects derived by stativization acquire almost all the properties of
initial subjects: definiteness, verbal agreement, dummy-insertion. They
keep their term properties: relativization, clefting, pseudo-clefting,
wh-questioning, exclusive insertion, existential insertion, etc. But
like subjects derived by passivization, they cannot control coreferential
deletion, since its structural description is never met. They cannot
trigger reflexivization and they cannot raise to object position, since
these operations indicate an activity whereas, stativization shows the
state of the patient object.

## 5.3. Object-Subject (O-S) Reversal

Object-subject reveral is a syntactic process that gives a passive read-
ing to a sentence by just reversing the object and the subject as shown
below.

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(42) a   Umuhuûngu a-ra-som-a igitabo.

     boy       he-pres-read-asp book

     'The boy is reading the book.'

   b   Igitabo cyi-ra-som-a umuhuûngu.

     book    it-pres-read-asp boy

     'The book is being read by the boy.'

As in the normal passive rule, oblique case NPs, cannot directly undergo

this kind of transformation, they have to be objectivized first.

(43) a   Umwáalímu a-ra-andik-a n'iíkarámu.

     teacher he-pres-write-asp with pen

     'The teacher is writing with a pen.'

   b   *Íkarámu i-ra-andik-a n'úmwáalímu.

     pen     it-pres-write-asp with teacher

   c   Íkarámu i-ra-andik-iish-a umwáalímu.

     pen    it-pres-write-instr-asp teacher

     'The pen is used to write by the teacher.'

(44) a   Umwáana y-a-rir-aga n'ágahiinda keênshi.

     child    he-pst-cry-asp with sorrow much

     'The child was crying with too much sorrow.'

   b   *Agahiinda keênshi k-a-rir-aga n'úmwaâna.

     sorrow    much it-pst-cry-asp with child

   c   Agahiinda keênshi k-a-rir-an-aga umwaana.

     sorrow    much it-pst-cry-mann-asp child

     'It's the child who is crying with too much sorrow.'

As in many instances that have been presented in this thesis, locatives

behave like direct objects because they can be reversed without having

to advance to DO. In this case also, the verb takes the locative

agreement ha- instead of agreeing with the locative phrase head noun.

(45) a Umunyéeshuûri y-a-gii-ye kw'iíshuûri.

    student      he-pst-go-asp to school

    'The student went to school.'

b Kw'iíshuûri ha-gii-ye umunyéeshuûri.

    to          school it-go-asp student

    'It's the student who went to school.'

c Ishuûri ry-a-gii-yé-ho umunyéeshuûri.

    school    it-pst-go-asp-to student

    'It's the student who went to school.'

Constraints

(i) Incorporated pronouns, whether subjects or objects, cannot be reversed.

(46) a Abaantu ba-rá-ki-bon-a

    people   they-pres-it-see-asp

    'People see it.'

b Ki-rá-bon-a abaantu.

    it-pres-see-asp people

    'It is seen by the people.'

(47) a Ba-ra-gi-som-a.

    they-pres-it-read-asp

    'They are reading it.'

b Cyi-ra-ba-som-a

    it-pres-them-read-asp

    '*It is being read by them.'

    'It is reading them.'

The impossibility of reversing incorporated pronouns is perhaps  due to
the fact that a strict word-order is imposed on them.  Subjects cannot

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be pronominalized in the object slot and the object cannot be pronominalized in the subject slot either. Subjects and objects that undergo this transformation must be full NPs but cannot be anaphoric.

(ii) If the verb has the reflexive morpheme without the benefactive suffix -ir- O-S reversal doesn't apply.

(49)a Umugabo y-íi-haa-ye igitabo.

man   he-refl-give-asp book

'The man gave a book to himself.'

b Igitabo cy-íi-haa-ye umugabo.

book   it-refl-give-asp man

'The book gave itself to the man.'

'The book gave the man to itself.'

(50)a Abáana b-iy-erets-e amashusho.

children they-refl-show-asp pictures

'The children showed pictures to themself

b Amashusho y-íy-erets-e abáana.

pictures they-refl-show-asp children

'The pictures showed themselves to the children.'

'The pictures showed the children to themselves.'

'*The pictures were shown to the children by themselves.'

In formal terms, the non-reflexivization of derived subjects can be predicted by stating reflexivization as a postcyclic transformation, such as pronoun incorporation and verb agreement, which applies only if basic subjects are coreferential to their objects. But as Givón has suggested, this kind of constraint should be more understandable in functional terms rather than by the formalism which, in fact, doesn't explain why refle-xivization doesn't apply in this particular instance. In many cases reflexi-

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vization is an <u>agent</u> property. Recipient subjects allow reflexivization also but patient subjects don't. For reflexivization to take place then, the subject has to have some control in the action of the verb.

O-S reveral applies to reflexives that have the benefactive morpheme <u>-ir-</u>, because as it was shown in Chapter 2, this kind of construction is not a true reflexive.

(51)a Umuhuûngu y-íi-ri-ir-a ibíryo byáa cu.

boy  he-refl-eat-ben-asp food of us

'The boy is eating our food.'

 b Ibíryo byáa cu by-íi-ri-ir-a umuhuûngu.

food of us it-refl-eat-ben-asp boy

'Our food is eaten by the boy.'

(52)a Umubooyi a-r-íi-kor-eesh-er-eza iki cyúuma.

cook he-pres-refl-do-instr-ben-asp this knife

'The cook is using this knife.'

 b Iki cyúuma cyi-r-íi-kor-eesh-er-eza umubooyi.

this knife it-pres-refl-do-instr-ben-asp cook

'This knife is being used by the cook.'

If the benefactive suffix stands for the objectivized possessor, O-S reversal is blocked of course.

(53)a Umugabo a-ra-som-a igítabo cy-ê.

man  he-pres-read-asp book of him

'The man is reading his book.'

 b Umugabo a-r-íi-som-er-a igitabo.

man he-pres-refl-read-ben-asp book

'The man is reading his own book.'

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c  *Igitabo cyi-r-íi-som-er-a umugabo.

    book   it--pres-refl-read-ben-asp man

    '?His own book is being read by the man.'

(iii) If the object and the subject are in the same semantic category
such as humans, animals.... O-S reversal doesn't apply, because of
'role confusion.'

(54)a  Umugabo y-a-som-ye umugóre.

    man   he-pst-kiss-asp woman

    'The man kissed the woman.'

  b  Umugóre y-a-som-ye umugabo.

    woman   she-pst-kiss-asp man

    '*The woman was kissed by the man.'

    'The woman kissed the man.'

It is possible, however, for this transformation to apply, in this
instance, if the pragmatics are well defined.  The verbs -hoz- 'console',
-vuur- 'cure', -roongor- 'marry' allow in some cases O-S reversal even
if they are in the same semantic class.  In the Rwandan society only
women and children cry, only men marry and only doctors cure.  Since
these are known facts, reversing if possible.

(55)a  Umugabo y-a-hoj-eje umwáana.

    man he-pst-console-asp child

    'The man consoled the child.'

  b  Umwáana y-a-hoj-eje umugabo.

    child he-pst-console-asp man

    'The child was consoled by the man.'

(56)a  Umuhuûngu y-a-roongo-ye umukoôbwa múbi.

    boy      he-pst-marry-asp girl  ugly

'The boy married an ugly girl.'

b Umukoôbwa múbi y-a-roongo-ye umuhuûngu.

girl      ugly she-pst-marry-asp boy

'An ugly woman was married by the boy.'

(57)a Umugaanga a-vuur-a abarwáayi.

doctor   he-cure-asp patients

'The doctor cures the patients.'

b Abarwáayi ba-vuur-a umugaanga.

patients they-cure-asp doctor

'The patients are cured by the doctor.'

(iv) Reversing doesn't apply if the verb has two objects or an oblique case NP.

(58)a Umuhuûngu y-a-haa-ye umukoôbwa igitabo.

boy     he-pst-give-asp girl   book

'The boy gave a book to the girl.'

b *Igitabo cy-a-haa-ye umuhuûngu umukoôbwa.

book   it-pst-give-asp boy  girl

'The book was given to the girl by the boy.'

(59)a Umwáalímu a-ra-andik-a íbarúwa n'iíkarámu.

teacher he-pres-write-asp letter with pen

'The teacher is writing the letter with a pen.'

b *Íbarúwa i-ra-andik-a umwáalímu n'iíkarámu.

letter it-pres-write-asp teacher with pen

'The letter is written with a pen by the teacher.'

The Object-Subject reversal rule is very much restricted: it applies only when the verb has two arguments, the subject and the object.

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## Properties of Initial and Derived Subjects in O-S Rule

As predicted by the Relational Annihilation Law, initial subjects become chomeurs in Kinyarwanda when O-S reversal takes place. They cannot undergo any kind of transformation whatsoever.

NPs advanced to subject by the O-S reversal rule don't acquire the properties of basic subjects such as raising, deletion under identity and ha- insertion; the only subject property they get is verb agreement. This process is formally a demotion because the derived subject loses even its term status properties: it cannot relativize, cleft, pseudo-cleft, undergo existential insertion and exclusive insertion.... This rule is 'frozen' because it cannot feed other transformations. The O-S reversal rule seems to violate both the Relational Succession Law and the Cyclicity Law, because first the derived subject doesn't get the properties of the initial subject as claimed by the first law and secondly this rule is a term-creating one but it is not cyclical, thus contradicting the latter law which states that term-creating rules are cyclical.

## Functional Role of O-S Reversal Rule

The O-S reversal rule has exactly the same functional role as the regular passive rule. That is, it puts the object in the topic position and the former subject in the "unmarked" focus position. In a question such as 'Mary was beaten by who?', either the normal passive rule or the O-S reversal rule would be an appropriate answer to the question. We cannot speculate at the moment why two rules with the same functional effect should coexist in the same language. But this phenomenon is not only specific to Kinyarwanda for Meeussen (1967) reconstructs the two rules for Proto-Bantu and maintains that they still coexist in many

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Bantu languages.

## 5.4. Subjectivization of Associatives and Comparatives

In Chapter 4, it was shown that oblique case NPs in order to undergo
some transformations such as relativization, passivization, clefting,...
have to be <u>objectivized</u> first.  In the case of associative case and
comparative case NPs, it's <u>subjectivization</u> rather than objectivization
that takes place.  One can predict then that some transformations such
as passivization, pronoun incorporation, and reflexivization cannot
apply to these cases since these types of processes only take direct
objects as their input.  Comparatives and associatives (=reciprocals)
are marked by the prepositions <u>nká</u> (or <u>kimwe ná</u> ) and <u>ná</u>, respectively.
The latter also have the suffix -<u>an</u>- added to the verb stem.

    (60)   Uyu mwáana a-ririimb-a <u>nká</u> se.

           this child he-sing-asp like father

           'This child sings like his father.'

    (61)   Maríya a-kor-<u>an</u>-a <u>ná</u> Yohaâni.

           Mary  she-work-ass-asp with John

           'Mary works with John.'

Both associative and comparative NPs can be coordinated with the subject,
and this creates a <u>topicality</u> change.

    (62)   Uyu mwáana <u>ná</u> se <u>ba</u>-ririimb-a <u>kimwe</u>.

           this child with father that-sing-asp alike

           'This child and his father sing alike.'

    (62)   Maríya ná Yohaâni ba-<u>rá</u>-kor-<u>an</u>-a.[6]

           Mary with John they-pres-work-ass-asp

           'Mary and John work together.'

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The difference beween (60 & 61) and (62 & 63) is that in the former sentences the oblique NPs are new information, whereas in the latter it's the predicate that is new information. When subjectivization applies, the comparative preposition nká is changed to kímwe and the associative (reciprocal) preposition ná is deleted.

In both cases, the verb prefix is marked for plurality also.

(63)  I + you or + he        tu-   'we'

you + he                mu-   'you'

he + he                 ba-   'they'

Below, examples of subjectivization are provided. (64) represents an associative NP and (65) a comparative. The transformations that are involved are relativization, clefting, exclusive insertion and topicalization, respectively.

(64)a  N-kor-an-a n'úmukoôbwa.

I-work-ass-asp with girl

'I work with the girl.'

b  W-a-boon-ye umukoôbwa du-kór-an-a.

you-pst-see-asp girl we-rel-work-ass-asp

'You saw with whom I work.'

c  N'umukoôbwa du-kór-an-a.

be girl    we-rel-work-ass-asp

'It's the girl that I work with.'

d  Nta mukoôbwa du-kór-an-a.

no girl    we-rel-work-ass-asp

'I don't work with any girl.'

e  Umukoôbwa, tu-rá-kor-an-a

girl    we-pres-work-ass-asp

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'The girl, I work with her.'

(65) a Umukoôbwa y-a-andits-e <u>nk'úmuhuûngu</u>.

girl      she-pst-write-asp like boy

'The girl wrote like the boy.'

b W-a-boon-ye umuhuûngu umukoôbwa <u>b-a-ándits-e</u> <u>kímwe</u>.

you-pst-see-asp boy    girl      they-pst-rel-write-asp like

'You saw the boy that the girl wrote like.'

c N'umuhuûngu umukoôbwa <u>b-a-ándits-e</u> <u>kímwe</u>.

be boy        girl      they-pst-rel-write-asp like

'It's the boy that the girl wrote like.'

d Nta muhuûngu umukoôbwa <u>b-a-ándits-e</u> <u>kímwe</u>.

no  boy   girl      they-pst-rel-write-asp like

'There isn't anyboy that the girl wrote like.'

e Umuhuûngu, umukoôbwa <u>b-a-andits-e</u> <u>kímwe</u>.

boy           girl      they-pst-write-asp like

'The boy, the girl wrote like him.'

The subjectivization of reciprocals, associatives and comparatives is
an apparent empirical disconfirmation of the Advancee Laziness Law
(see Trithart, 1975 also). The law in fact claims that since Kinyarwanda
has rules that advance oblique NPs to the direct object status, then
comparatives and associatives should pass by this intermediate stage
before they can be advanced to subject position but they don't. It seems
to be a universal phenomenon for these types of NPs not to undergo
objectivization rules. An explanation of this fact can be found by
examining the status of the direct object and the functional role of
objectivization rules. Direct objects are directly <u>affected</u> by the
predication of the verb. Objectivization rules have this effect: that

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is, they make oblique case NPs accessable to the control of the verb.
Associatives, reciprocals and comparatives cannot be advanced to object
because they accomplish the same role as the subject of the sentence.

## Footnotes

1. The stem of the verb to see is -bon-, but the vowel in the stem is always lengthened before the perfective aspect marker. There are no other verbs in the language that exhibit this phenomenon.

2. The infinitive form of the verb 'have' is -gir-, it is substituted by -fit- in present and past tenses, but remains -gir- in the future tense.

3. Since passivization puts the object in the topic position and the former subject in the focus position, Kinyarwanda passive sentences that are ungrammatical in English will be translated by cleft constructions, for indeed both constructions have the same meaning in Kinyarwanda.

4. The passive morpheme -w- is inserted in the perfective aspect morpheme is split into the final vowel and the other part. A problem for morphology?

5. The perfective aspect marker, which is reconstructed as -ile for Proto-Bantu may have its reflex in Kinyarwanda as -iye instead of -ye as it was stated in Kimenyi (1973) because verb stems that end in vowel are always lengthened before it and, in some other instances, like when the verb has the benefactive morpheme the aspect morpheme is preceded by a vowel.

6. Givón (1975c) has shown that some Bantu languages have morphological devices to indicate whether the whole VP constituent is new information (VP focus) or whether the complement is the only new information in the sentence (COMP focus). In Kinyarwanda, the COMP focus is not marked but the VP focus is marked by the morpheme -ra- for present and remote past tenses and by -a- for immediate

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past. In these examples the object becomes _topic_ and the verb has to take the VP focus marker since in fact it is now in focus.

In all cases of stativization, pronoun incorporation and topicalization, the verb has to take this marker because the object is in topic position and the verb in focus.

It is clear then that the morpheme -ra- stands for the VP focus not for the _present tense_ as it was suggested in Kimenyi (1973). Note in fact that the habitual tense which is normally marked by _zero_ morpheme has to take the VP focus in all cases where the verb doesn't have a complement.

    a.  Maríya a-∅-kor-a kw'íishuûri.

        Mary  she-hab-work-asp at school

        'Mary works at school.'

    b.  Maríya a-rá-kor-a.

        Mary  she-VP f.-work-asp

        'Mary works.'

    c.  *Maríya a-kor-a.

        Mary she-work-asp

        'Mary works.'

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# Chapter VI   Raisings

This chapter investigates another type of promotion: <u>raising</u>. It differs from the advancement promotions in that it inserts from an embedded clause an NP into the Relational Hierarchy of the upper clause or the matrix sentence. Kinyarwanda has 4 rules of this type: one of them was presented already in Chapter 4, namely the possessor promotion which raises an NP node. The other three raising rules that are presented in this chapter are:

-Subject-to-subject raising

-Object-tosubject raising

-Raising by derivational causativization

The same approach used in the previous section is applied here also. The mechanism of the rules and their constraints are described. The semantic effect of this operation is examined and the kind of transformations that "host" NPs and raised NPs can undergo are tested.

## 6.1.   Subject-to-subject raising

Only <u>modality</u> impersonal verbs,[1] verbs that take <u>bi-</u> agreement such as <u>birashoboka</u> 'it's possible', <u>birakwiiye</u> 'it's a must', <u>ni ngoómbwa</u> 'it's necessary', <u>birátegetswe</u>, 'it's a rule', <u>birábujijwe</u> 'it's forbidden' as well as <u>factive</u> (<u>implicative</u>) verbs such as <u>birábabaje</u> 'it's sad', <u>birashimiishije</u> 'it's a pleasure', <u>biráneejeje</u> 'it brings pleasure'. <u>birataangaje</u>, 'it's fascinating'..... allow subject-to-subject raising. Raising to subject position with modality verbs is given in (1) and (2) below.

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(1)a Bi-ra-kwíi-ye <u>kó</u> abanyéeshuûri ba-sóm-a ibitabo.

it-pres-must-asp that students they-read-asp books

'It's a must that students read the books.'

b Abanyéeshuûri ba-kwii-ye gu-soma ibitabo.

students they-must-asp to read books

'The students must read the books.'

(2)a Bi-rá-bujij-w-e <u>kó</u> abaantu bá-nyw-a itaâbi mw'iishuûri.

it-pres-forbid-pass-asp that people they-smoke-asp in school

'It's forbidden that people smoke in the class.'

b Abaantu ba-bujij-w-e kú-nywa itaâbi mw'iishuûri.

people they-forbid-pass-asp to smoke in school

'People are forbidden to smoke in the class.'

As the examples indicate, raising to subject with modality verbs applies
by putting the subject of the embedded sentence in the subject position
of the matrix sentence and by putting the infinitive marker to the finite
verb of the embedded sentence.

Raising with factive verbs is affected differently as shown in (3) and
(4).

(3)a By-a-babaj-e umwáalímu <u>kó</u> abanyéeshuûri b-a-t-iíz-e.

it-pst-make angry-asp teacher that student they-pst-neg-study-asp

'It made the teacher angry that the students didn't study.'

b <u>Kúba</u> abanyéeshuûri bâ-t-iiz-e by-a-babaj-e umwáalímu.

to be student they-neg-study-asp it-pst-make angry-asp teacher

'The fact that the students didn't study made the teacher angry.'

(4)a By-a-n-shiim-iish-ije <u>kó</u> w-a-áj-e.

it-pst-me-think-caus-asp that you-pst-come-asp

'it pleased me that you come.'

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b  Kúba w-á-aj-e by-a-n-shiim-iish-ije.

   to be you-pst-come-asp it-pst-me-thank-caus-asp

   'The fact that you came pleased me.'

In the sentences above, the embedded sentences which are the logical subjects of the matrix sentence become the surface subject of the upper sentence when raising takes place.  This process is realized, as the example shows, by shifting the whole embedded sentence to the subject position of the matrix sentence.  The raised sentence is preceded by the lexical word "kúba" 'to be' and the verb of the raised sentence takes a conditional tense which is marked by a high tone on the subject prefix. Derived sentential subjects such as those presented in (3) and (4) acquire the syntactic properties of subjects.  Before raising, they cannot undergo any kind of transformation but once they have been raised they can passivize like normal subjects, they can cleft, pseudo-cleft.... The only transformations that they don't undergo are relativization and the "dummy-insertion" rule (ha-).  Sentences (5), (6) and (7) illustrate passivization, clefting and pseudo-clefting of the derived sentential subject of (4)b respectively.

(5)  N-a-shim-iish-ij-w-e nó kúba w-á-aj-e.

     I-pst-thank-caus-asp-pass-asp by to be you-cond-come-asp

     'I was pleased by the fact that you came.'

(6)  N'ukúba w-á-aj-e by-a-n-shím-iish-ije.

     be to be you-cond-come-asp it-pst-me-thank-caus-asp

     'It's the fact that you came that pleased me.'

(7)  Kúba w-á-aj-e ní byo by-a-n-shím-iish-ije.

     to be you-cond-come-asp be it· it-pst-me-thank-caus-asp

     'The fact that you came is what pleased me.'

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Derived subjects (by passivization, stativization and S-O reversal) can undergo subject-to-subject raising as evidenced by the following examples.

(8)a  Ni ngoómbwa kó abakoôbwa ba-sóm-a ibitabo.

   be must    that girls they-read-asp books

   'The girls must read the book.'

  b  Ni ngoómbwa kó ibitabo bi-sóm-w-a n'ábakoôbwa.

   be must that books they-read-pass-asp by girls

   'It's a must that the books be read by the girls.'

  c  Ibitabo bi-goomb-a gu-som-w-a n'ábakoôbwa.

   books they-must-asp to-read-pass-asp by girls

   'The books must be read by the students.'

(9)a  Bi-ra-shobok-a kó ibíryo bí-ba bî-teets-e.

   it-pres-be possible-asp tjat food it-be it-cook-asp

   'It's possible that the food is cooking.'

  b  Ibíryo bi-shobor-a kú-ba bî-teets-e.

   food it-may-asp  to-be it-cook-asp

   'The food might be cooking.'

(10)a  Bi-ra-kwíi-ye kó abáana bá-nyw-a amáta.

   it-pres-must-asp that children they-drink-asp milk

   'It's necessary that the children drink milk.'

  b  Bi-ra-kwíi-ye kó amáta á-nyw-a abáana.

   it-pres-must-asp that milk it-drink-asp children

   'It's necessary that milk be drunk by the children.'

  c  Amáta a-kwii-ye kú-nywa abáana.

   milk it-must-asp to-drink children

   'Milk must be drunk by the children.'

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If the upper verb is in the passive form however, only _agent_ subjects
derived by passivization can be raised.

(11)a Bi-rá-bujij-w-e _kó_ abáana ba-haá-bw-a ibitabo n'ábagóre.

   it-pres-forbid-pass-asp that children they-give-pass-asp by women

   'It's forbidden that the children be given the books by the women.'

   b Abáana ba-bujij-w-e gu-háa-bw-a ibitabo n'ábagóre.

   children they-forbid-pass-asp to-give-pass-asp books by women

   'The children are forbidden to get books from the women.'

(12)a Bi-rá-tegets-w-e _kó_ abáana bá-nyw-a amáta.

   it-pres-order-pass-asp that children they-drink-asp milk

   'It's an order that the children drink milk.'

   b Bi-rá-tegets-w-e _kó_ amáta a-nyoó-bw-a n'ábáana.

   it-pres-order-pass-asp that milk it-drink-pass-asp by children

   'It is ordered that the milk be drunk by the children.'

   c *Amáta a-tegets-w-e ku-nyóo-bw-a n'ábáana.

   milk it-order-pass-asp to-drink-asp children

(13)a Bi-rá-tegets-w-e _kó_ amáta á-nyw-a abáana.

   it-pres-order-pass-asp that milk it-drink-asp children

   'It's ordered that the milk be drunk by the children.'

   b *Amáta a-tegets-w-e kú-nyw-a abáana.

   milk it-order-pass-asp to-drink-asp children

The ungrammaticality of (12)c and (13)b is due to the fact the inanimate
subjects have been raised to the subject position of a sentence governed
by _manipulative_ verbs: the constraint is then semantic rather than synta-
ctic.

Status of the raised subject and the former embedded VP constituent

The raised subject governs the matrix sentence and the VP constituent

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gets the properties of direct objects. In fact, besides relativization, it can undergo all types of transformations that are applicable to basic objects: it passivizes, topicalizes, incorporates, clefts, pseudo-clefts...

(14)a Bi-ra-shobok-a kó abáana ba-gú-ha ibitabo.

it-pres-be possible-asp that children they-you-give books

'It's possible that the children give the books.'

b Abáana ba-shobor-a kú-gu-ha ibitabo.

children they-may-asp to-you-give books

'The children may give you the books.'

c Kú-gu-ha ibitabo bi-shobor-w-a n'ábáana.

to-you-give books it-may-pass-asp by children    (Passive)

'To give the books may be done by the children.'

d Ku-gu-ha ibitabo, abáana ba-ra-bi-shobor-a.

to-you-give books children they-pres-it-may-asp. (Topicalization)

'As to give you the books, the children can do it.'

e Kú-gu-ha ibitabo ní byo abáana ba-shóbor-a.

to-you-give books be it children they-may-asp

'To give you the books is what the children can do.'

The object-like properties of VP constituents of the raised subjects are not characteristic of subject-to-subject raising but an attribute of modality verbs such as begin, start, finish, like, dislike, can, must...

(15)a Abáana ba-taangi-ye gusoma ibitabo.

children they-start-asp to read books

'The children start reading the books.'

b Gusoma ibitabo bi-taangi-w-e n'ábáana.

to read books it-start-pass-asp by children

'REading the books is started by the children.'

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c Gusoma ibitabo, abaana ba-rá-bi-taangi-ye.

to read books children they-pres-it-start-asp

'As to read the books, the children start it.'

It has been assumed that subject-to-subject raising with modality verbs
really exist in Kinyarwanda because both impersonal and personal
constructions coexist and accomplish the same semantic effect. The
structure of the sentence in which raising is supposed to have taken
place looks like the structure of any modality verb. Further investi-
gation is needed to justify the characterization of this relationship
of transformation.


## 6.2. Subject-to-object raising

Subject-to-object raising applies with manipulative verbs only such as
command, forbid, allow, promise....

Usually these types of verbs allow 2 kinds of constructions either that
'complement' or infinitival complement. These types of constructions
are illustrated in (16) and (17) respectively.

(16) Umugabo y-a-tegets-e kó abáana bá-ry-a inyama.

man he-pst-order-asp that children they-eat-asp meat

'The man ordered that the children eat the meat.'

(17) Umugabo y-a-tegets-e abáana kú-ry-a inyama.

man he-pst-order-asp children to-eat-asp meat

'The man ordered the children to eat meat.'

The semantic difference between (16) and (17) is that in the latter
the NP 'children' is directly manipulated by the subject of the matrix
sentence (Givón, 1974) whereas in (16) the children get orders by an
intermediate device. The direct object of the upper sentence has been

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deleted. As a matter of fact, both the direct object and that complement can appear in the sentence as shown in (18).

(18) Umugabo y-a-tegets-e abagóre kó abáana bá-ry-a inyama.

man he-pst-order-asp women that children they-eat-asp meat

'The man ordered the women that the children eat meat.'

It is possible also to have both 'that' complement and a direct object which is coreferential to the subject of the embedded sentence, as shown below.

(19) Umugabo y-a-tegets-e abáana kó bá-ry-a inyama.

man he-pst-order-asp children that they-eat-asp meat

'The man ordered the children to eat meat.'

Again this sentence is different from (16) with respect to the direct manipulation of the object by the subject of the upper sentence; but it has the same meaning as (17). Since (16) is different from both (17) and (19) but (17) and (19) share the same semantic effect, and since the direct object of a manipulative verb may be different from the subject of the embedded sentence, (17) derives from (19) (but not from (16) ) by Equi deletion, for both the object and the subject are identical.

Besides Equi, manipulative verbs allow raising also. Thus 'children' in (18) can be raised to the object position of the matrix sentence.

(20) Umugabo y-a-tegets-e abagóre abáana kú-ryo inyama.

man he-pst-order-asp women children to-eat meat

'The man ordered the women that the children should eat meat.'

Note that in this instance, raising creates 'doubling' of the direct object. No ambiguity is created by this process since the embedded verb still refers to the derived object not to the initial object or

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the subject of the matrix sentence. It will be shown later that the derived object becomes only a surface direct object but not a real object because it doesn't get any of the semantic and syntactic properties of basic DOs.

Raising with manipulative verbs is also evidenced by the fact that some verbs which normally take that complement become manipulative once the embedded subject is raised in the matrix sentence. When the subject is raised, these verbs take the benefactive suffix -ir- . Some of these verbs are -eemer- 'accept', aang- 'refuse', -kuund- 'like' .... When raising takes place these verbs mean: eemerer 'promise', -aangir- 'prevent', -kuundir- 'allow'.

(21) a Umugore y-eeme-ye kó abáana ba-sóm-a ibitabo.

woman she-accept-asp that children they-read-asp books

'The woman accepted that the children read the books.'

b Umugóre y-eemer-e-ye abáana guso-ma ibitabo.

woman she-accept-ben-asp children to read books

'The woman allowed the children to read books.'

(22) a Umwáalímu y-aanz-e kó abanyéeshuûri ba-sóhok-a.

teacher he-refuse-asp that students they-go out-asp

'The teacher refused that the students go out.'

b Umwáalimu y-aang-i-ye abanyéeshuûri gusohoka.

teacher he-refuse-ben-asp students to go out

'The teacher prevented the students from getting out.'

The benefactive suffix creates ambiguity because the embedded verb can either refer to the matrix subject (coreferential deletion) or to the derived object. Thus (23) can be derived from two different underlying sources, namely (24) and (25).

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(23)  Umugabo y-a-kuund-i-ye abáana kugeenda.

     man he-pst-like-ben-asp children to go

     'The man let the children go.'

     'The.man, for the children, accepted to go.'

(24)  Umugabo y-a-kuund-i̱-ye abáana kó̱ ageénda.

     man he-pst-like-ben-asp children that he go

(25)  Umugabo y-a-kuunz-e kó̱ abáana ba-geénd-a.

     man-he-pst-like-asp that children they-g-asp

In (24) deletion under identity applies and yields (23), in (25) it's

raising that generates (23).

As expected pronominal prefix subjects get infixed in the verb of the

matrix sentence in case of raising.

(26)a  Umugabo y-a-kuunz-e kó̱ ḇa̱-geénd-a.

     man he-pst-like-asp that they-go-asp

     'The man accepted that they go.'

   b  Umugabo y-a-ḇa̱-kuund-i̱-ye kugeenda.

     man  he-pst-them-like-ben-asp to go

     'The man let them go.'

## Constraints

Derived subjects by either passivization, stativization or object-

subject reversal don't raise.

(27)a  Umugabo y-eeme-ye kó̱ abagóre ba-kúbit-a abáana.

     man he-accept-asp that women they-beat-asp children

     'The man accepted that the women beat the children.'

   b  Umugabo y-eeme-ye kó̱ abáana ba-kúbit-w̱-a n'ábagóre.

     man he-accept-asp that children they-beat-pass-asp by women

     'The man accepted that the children be beaten by the women.'

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c &ast;Umugabo y-eemer-e-ye abáana gúkubitwa n'ábagóre.

man he-accept-ben-asp children to be beaten by women

There are few exceptions, however, which allow raising of derived subjects

namely the following verbs kuroongorwa 'get married', kuvuurwa 'get cured'

and guhéembwa 'get paid'.

(28) a Umugabo y-aanz-e kó umuhuûngu a-roóngor-a umukoôbwa wê.

man he-refuse-asp that boy he-marry-asp girl his

'The man refused that the boy marry his daughter.'

b Umugabo y-aanz-e kó umukoôbwa wê a-roóngor-w-a n'úmuhuûngu.

man he-refuse-asp that girl his she-marry-pass-asp by boy

'The man refused that his daughter get married married by the boy.'

c Umugabo y-aang-i-ye umukoôbwa kuroongorwa n'úmuhuûngu.

man he refuse-ben-asp girl his to get married by boy

'The man didn't let his daughter get married to the boy.'

The reason why the subjects of the above passive verbs can raise is that

the direct object of these verbs is always human. Note that the subject

of (27) is human also. Passivization with the 3 verbs has been lexical-

ized so to speak.

Properties of raised NPs

. The functional effect of raising is to put the raised NP in the control

of the matrix subject (Givón, 1975). That is, there is a direct mani-

pulation between the subject and the embedded agent. In other cases,

the agent gets the orders by an intermediate device.

Raised subjects behave syntactically like basic direct objects since

they can passivize, incorporate, relativize, cleft....

(29) a Umugabo y-a-kuunz-e kó abáana ba-sóm-a ibitabo.

man he-pst-like-asp that children they-read-asp books

'The man accepted that the children read the books.'

b Umugabo y-a-kuund-i-ye abáana gusoma ibitabo.

man he-pst-like-ben-asp children to read books

'The man allowed the children to read the books.'

c Abáana b-a-kuund-i-w-e gusoma ibitabo n'úmugabo.  (Passive)

children they-pst-like-ben-asp to read books by man

'The children were allowed to read books by the man.'

d Umugabo y-a-ba-kuund-i-ye gusoma ibitabo.  (Incorporation)

man  he-pst-them-like-ben-asp to read books.'

'The man allowed them to read the books.'

e N-a-boon-ye abáana umugabo y-a-kuúnd-i-ye gusoma ibitabo. (Rel.)

I-pst-see-asp children man he-pst-rel-like-ben-asp to read books

'I saw the children that the man allowed to read the books.'

f N'abaána umugabo y-a-kuúnd-i-ye gusoma ibitabo.

be children man he-pst-rel-like-ben-asp to read·books  (clefting)

'It's the children that the man allowed to read the books.'

As in the case of subject-to-subject raising, VP constituents of raised

subjects acquire the syntactic properties of initial direct objects also.

Thus to read the books in (29)b undergoes all types of transformations

that children undergoes.

 (30)a Gusoma ibitabo by-a-kuund-i-w-e abáana n'úmugabo.  (Passive)

   to read books it-pst-like-ben-pass-asp children by man

   'Reading the books was allowed to the children by the man.'

  b Umugabo y-a-bi-kuund-i-ye abáana.   (incorporation)

   man   he-pst-it-like-ben-asp children

   'The man allowed it to the children.'

c N'ugusoma ibitabo umugabo y-a-kuúnd-i-ye abáana. (clefting)

be to read books man he-pst-rel-like-ben-asp children

'It's to read the books that the man allowed the children.'

As mentioned earlier if raising takes place when the matrix sentence has already another object, both the Relational Annihilation Law and the Relational Succession Law don't apply since the initial direct object doesn't go in chomage nor does the derived object acquire any object properties. In (31) for instance, initial objects still passive, incorporate, topicalize..... but the derived object doesn't undergo any of these transformations.

(31)a Umugabo y-eemer-e-ye umugóre kó abaantu ba-áz-a ku-mu-suur-a.

      man he-accept-ben-asp woman that men they-come-asp to-her-

                                             visit-asp

      'The man promised the woman that the people will come to visit her.'

b Umugabo y-eemer-e-ye umugóre abaantu ku-uz-a ku-mu-suur-a.

      man he-accept-ben-asp woman people to-come-asp to-her-visit-asp

c Umugóre y-eemer-e-w-e n'úmugabo abaantu kuuza kumusuura.(Pass.)

      woman she-accept-ben-pass-asp by man people to come visit her

      'The woman was promised by the man that the people will come to visit her.'

d *Abaantu b-eemer-e-w-e umugóre n'umugabo kuuza kumusuura.

      people they-accept-ben-ben-pass-asp woman by man to come to

                                             visit her

e Umugabo y-a-<u>mw</u>-eemer-e-ye abaantu kuuza kumusuura. (Incorpor.)

      man he-pst-her-accept-ben-asp people to come to visit her

      'The man promised her that the people will come to visit her.'

f    *Umugabo y-a-b-eemer-e-ye umugóre kuuza kumusuura.

     man   he-pst-them-accept-ben-asp woman to come to visit her

g    Umugóre, umugabo y-a-mw-eemer-e-ye abaantu kuuza kumusuura. (Top.)

     woman    man  he-pst-her-accept-ben-asp people to come to visit her

     'As to the woman, the man promised her that people will come

     to visit her.

h    *Abaantu, umugabo y-a-b-eemer-e-ye umugóre kuuza kumusuura.

     people man-he-pst-them-accept-ben-asp woman to come to visit her

It was observed that raised NPs get a recipient role in the matrix sentence

while the embedded VP assumes the role of a patient.

Since two identical semantic roles cannot coexist in the same sentence,

it follows that the derived object acquires only a surface object property

but keeps its role as the subject of the embedded sentence.


## 6.3.  Raising by Causativization

Kinyarwanda has both periphrasitic and derivational causatives.  After

having established their functional role, this section will focus on the

derivational causatives, since these are the ones that involve promotions.

The constraints on this process will be investigated and the properties

of derived objects and initial objects will be surveyed also.

### Periphrasitic Causatives

Periphrasitic causatives are introduced by the verbs -teer- and -tum-,

both of them meaning 'cause'.  The verb -teer- causes an obligatory

raising of the embedded subject to the object position of the matrix

sentence.

(32)a  Abáana b-a-gii-ye.

       children they-pst-go-asp

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'The children left.'

b Umugabo y-a-tee-ye abáana ku-geend-a.

man   he-pst-cause-asp children to-g-asp

'The man caused the children to go.'

The unspecified subject of the embedded sentence can be deleted if the periphrastic causative verb is -teer-.

(33)a Abaantu ba-ra-bon-a.

people they-pres-see-asp

'People see.'

b Kugeenda {gu-/bi-}teer-a (abaantu) kubona.

to go  it cause-asp (people) to see

'To travel causes to see.'

If the main verb is -gir- 'to have', it can be deteled together with its subject when causativization takes place with -teer-.

(34) Akazi keênshi ga-teer-a (abaantu kugira) imbaraga.

work  much   it-cause-asp (people to have) strength

'Much work causes strength.'

(35) Amáazi mábi a-teer-a (abaantu kugira) indwáara.

water bad  it-cause-asp (people to have) disease

'Bad water causes disease.'

Note that this phenomenon is not peculiar to Kinyarwanda only, since many languages delete optionally the unspecified subject. Look at the English sentence (36) a and b which mean exactly the same.

(36)a Bad water causes (people to get) disease.

b Bad water causes disease.

The verb embedded in the periphrasite causative construction with the

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the verb -tum- is in the participial mood (cfr Kimenyi, 1973) and its

subject cannot be deleted if it is unspecified as in the case of -tum-.

There is then no raising or Equi deletion in this case.

(37)a  N-a-andits-e amábarúwa meênshi.

      I-pst-write-asp letters many

      'I wrote many letters.'

   b  Umukoôbwa y-a-tum-ye n-á-andik-a amábarúwa meênshi.

      girl    she-pst-cause-asp I-past-write-asp letters many

      'The girl caused to write many letters.'

Both verbs -tum- and -teer- exhibit the same semantic properties that

Givón (1974) in his paper on 'Cause and Control' has established for the

English periphrastic causative 'to cause'. The two verbs allow an

'unintended result' but they don't control the action or the result of

the embedded proposition. They are incidental or involuntary. This is

evidenced by the fact that the causative cannot be modified by any

construction meaning 'force, deliberation....'.

(38)  *Umugabo y-a-tee-ye abáana kugeenda, ku gahato.

      man   he-pst-cause-asp children to go by force.

      '*The man caused the children to go, by force.'

(39)  *Umugore y-a-tum-ye umukoôbwa a-geend-a, ku bushaâke.

      woman she-pst-cause-asp girl she-go-asp on will

      '*The woman caused the girl to go, deliberately.'

Since they don't control the embedded proposition, they cannot be used

in the positive imperative and subjunctive moods.

(40)a  *Teera abáana kugeenda.

      caus children to go

      '?Cause the children to go.'

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b　*Tuma abáana bâ-geend-a.

　　cause children they-go-asp

　　'?Cause the children to go.'

(41)a　*Abáalímu ba-túm-e abanyéeshuûri bâ-som-a ibitabo.

　　teachers they-cause-subj students they-read-asp books

　　'?The teachers should the students to read the books.'

b　*Abáalímu ba-teér-e abanyéeshuûri gusoma ibitabo.

　　teachers they-cause-subj students to read books

　　'?The teachers should cause the students to read the books.'

Negative imperatives and subjectives are allowed, as the examples indicate.

(42)a　W-ii-teér-a abáana kugeenda.[4]

　　you-neg-cause-asp children to go

　　'?Don't cause the children to go.'

b　W-ii-túm-a abáana bâ-geend-a.

　　you-neg-cause-asp children they-go-asp

　　'?Don't cause the children to go.'

(43)a　Abáalímu ntí-ba-tum-e abanyéeshuûri bâ-som-a ibitabo.

　　teacher neg-they-cause-subj students they-read-asp books

　　'The teachers shouldn't cause the students to read the books.'

Periphrastic causatives cannot embed other periphrastic causatives but
they embed the derivational ones:

(44)a　*Umugabo y-a-tum-ye umugóre $\left\{ \begin{matrix} a\text{-teér-a} \\ á\text{-tum-a} \end{matrix} \right\}$ abáana $\left\{ \begin{matrix} kuryáama. \\ bâ\text{-ryaam-a} \end{matrix} \right\}$

　　man　he-pst-cause-asp woman she-cause-asp children to sleep

b　*Umugabo y-a-tee-ye umugóre $\left\{ \begin{matrix} gútuma \\ gutéera \end{matrix} \right\}$ abáana $\left\{ \begin{matrix} bâryaama. \\ kuryáama \end{matrix} \right\}$

　　man　he-pst-cause-asp woman to cause children to sleep

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c   Umugabo y-a-tum-ye umugóre a-ryáam-<u>iish</u>-a abáana.

    man   he-pst-cause-asp woman she-sleep-caus-asp children

    'The man caused the woman to make the children sleep.'

d   Umugabo y-a-tee-ye umugóre ku-ryáam-<u>iish</u>-a abáana.

    man  he-pst-cause-asp woman to-sleep-caus-asp children

    'The man caused the woman to make the children sleep.'

It seems, by looking at the facts of (44), that the object of a causative construction which is at the same time the subject of the embedded causative construction has to have <u>control</u> of the state or the action in the embedded proposition.

## Derivational Causativization

The derivational causative marker is the same as the instrumental morpheme <u>-iish-</u>.[4] Causatives and instrumentals are in fact drawn from the same structure, the only difference being that subjects of causatives are always animate, those of instrumentals are inanimate. Givón (personal communication) has suggested that this is a diachronic explanation of <u>-iish-</u> becoming an instrumental marker.

Look at the sentences below:

(45)   Umugabo a-ra-andik-<u>iish</u>-a umugabo íbarúwa.

      man  he-pres-write-caus-asp man letter

      'The man is making the man write a letter.'

(46)   Umugabo a-ra-andik-<u>iish</u>-a íkarámu íbarúwa.

      man  he-pres-write-instr-asp pen letter

      'The man is writing a letter with a pen.'

In both sentences the <u>-iish-</u> suffix is translated by 'make': <u>The man is making the man write a letter</u> and <u>the man is making the pen write a letter</u>. When derivational causativization applies, the embedded subject is either

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'demoted' to the <u>direct object position</u> or <u>deleted</u>. The subject becomes object if the embedded verb is <u>intransitive</u> or if the subject of the embedded sentence is <u>not agent</u> and its object <u>not animate</u>.

(47)a Abáana ba-ra-ryáam-ye.

children they-pres-sleep-asp

'The children are sleeping.'

b Umugóre a-ryaam-<u>iish</u>-ije <u>abáana</u>

woman she-sleep-cause-asp children

'The woman is putting the children in bed.'

(48)a Abáana ba-ra-som-a ibitabo.

children they-pres-read-asp books

'The children are reading the books.'

b Umugabo a-ra-som-<u>eesh</u>-a abáana ibitabo.

man he-pres-read-caus-asp children books

'The man is making the children read the books.'

This kind of 'doubling' of direct objects by causativization that we notice in (48)b isn't allowed if the embedded sentence has both an <u>agent</u> subject and an <u>animate</u> (human, animal) object. In this case the object is retained but the subject deleted.

(49)a Umugóre y-a-kubis-e abáana.

woman she-pst-beat-asp children

'The woman beat the children.'

b *Umugabo y-a-kubit-iish-ije umugóre abáana.

man he-pst-beat-caus-asp woman children

c Umugabo y-a-kubit-<u>iish</u>-ije abáana.

man he-pst-beat-caus-asp children

'The man made (somebody) beat the children.'

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(50)a   Umwáana a-z-iic-a ímbwa.

    child   he-fut-kill-asp dog

    'The child will kill the dog.'

  b  *Umukoóbwa a-z-iic-a umwáana ímbwa.

    girl   she-fut-kill-caus-asp child dog

  c  Umukoóbwa a-z-iic-<u>iish</u>-a ímbwa.

    girl   she-fut-kill-caus-asp dog

    'The girl will make (somebody) kill the dog.'

Usually Kinyarwanda allows doubling of objects whether both are animate

or not, as (51) indicates.

(51)   Abagabo b-a-haa-ye umugabo umugóre.

    men   they-pst-give-asp man   woman

    'The men gave a woman to the man.'

Raising of verbs such as <u>beat</u>, <u>kill</u>, <u>greet</u>, <u>thank</u>, <u>reward</u>, <u>excuse</u> ....

which always take agent subjects and animate objects creates a semantic

confusion in the derived structure because of the 'case staking' (Givón's

explanation: personal communication).  Since the derivational causative

<u>-iish-</u> 'to make' is a <u>deliberate</u> causative (Givón, 1974) and thus is in

<u>control</u> of the agent of the embedded sentence, it is not necessary that

the agent shows up on the surface; it is not in control of the predication

of the embedded sentence anymore which explains the unfelicity of (49)b

and (50)b.  These kinds of verbs never allow the deletion of the object

when causativization applies.  Other transitive verbs allow deletion of

either the embedded subject, the object or even both as illustrated in

(52)a,b,c,d,e, respectively.

(52)a   Abaantu ba-r-úubak-a inzu.

    people they-pres-build-asp house

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'People are building the house.'

b Umugabo a-r-úubak-iish-a abaantu inzu.

man      he-pres-build-caus-asp people house

'The man is making the people build the house.'

c Umugabo a-r-úubak-iish-a abaantu.

man  he-pres-build-caus-asp people

'The man is making the people build.'

d Umugabo a-r-úubak-iish-a inzu.

man      he-pres-build-caus-asp house

'The man is making (somebody) build the house.'

e Umugabo a-r-úubak-iish-a.

man      he-pres-build-caus-asp

'The man is making (somebody) build (something).

The object in (52) is deleted if it is known by both speaker and hearer
and then doesn't     need to be mentioned. The subject is deleted if
it is unspecified. Both subject and object are deleted if the above two
conditions are met: the subject is unspecified and the object is definite.

Direct and Indirect Causation

In some instances the derivational causative -iish- introduces 'an indirect
causation' and thus behaves like the causative have in English (Givón,
1974) whereas other derivational causatives insert direct causation and
are, therefore, similar to make (sic).

This is very well illustrated first by the verbs that take the 'potential'
or 'neutral' morpheme -ik- which indicates the state or the potentiality.
When such verbs don't have this morpheme, they have a causative meaning.
They can take the -iish- suffix also but, in this case, the subject of
the matrix sentence isn't the direct controller of the embedded predica-
tion.

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(53)  -menek-  'be broken'    -men-  'break'    -meneesh-'have break'

      -vunik-  'be broken'    -vun-  'break'    -vuniish-'have break'

      -saduk-[6] 'be cut'     -satur-'cut'      -satuz-  'have cut'

(54)a  Inkoni i-rá-vunik-a.

       stick it-pres-be broken-asp

       'The stick is breaking.'

    b  Umugabo a-rá-vun-a inkoni.

       man he-pres-break-asp stick

       'The man is breaking the stick.'

    c  Umugóre a-rá-vun-iish-a umugabo inkoni.

       woman she-pres-break-caus-asp man stick

       'The man is having the man break the stick.'

In (54)b, the matrix subject is the direct controler but in (54)c a
mediator is used. The control of the matrix subject in the action of
the embedded sentence is indirect.

Some verbs such as -shyuuh-'be warm', -aambuk- 'cross'.... use the suffix
-y-[7] to signal direct causation and still use -iish- for indirect
causation.

(55)a  Amáazi a-ra-shyúuh-a.

       water it-pres-be warm-asp

       'The water is getting warm.'

    b  Umugóre a-ra-shyúush-y-a amáazi.

       woman  she-pres-warm-caus-asp water

       'The woman is warming the water.'

    c  Umugabo a-ra-shyúuh-iish-a umugóre amáazi.

       man   he-pres-warm-caus-asp woman water

       'The man is having the woman warm the water.'

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(56)a Ínka i-ra-ambuk-a urúuzi.

cow it-pres-cross-asp river

'The cow is crossing the river.'

b Umugabo a-ra-ambut-s-a Ínka urúuzi.

man he-res-cross-caus-asp cow river

'The man is making the cow cross the river.'

c Umugabo a-ra-ambuk-iish-a Ínka urúuzi.

man he-pres-cross-caus-asp cow river

'The man is having the cow cross the river.'

It is very clear that b sentences indicate direct cause and c sentences show indirect cause.

## Constraints on Derivational Causativization

Some verbs and some constructions don't allow causativization by the suffix -iish- on the verb. For instance, manipulative verbs,'two-argument ' verbs such as ask, show, feed ... and some of the verbs that require agent subjects and animate objects such as greet, thank, forgive... don't take the causative morpheme but undergo periphrastic causativization only.

(57)a Umugabo a-rá-tegek-a abagóre.

man he-pres-command-asp women

'The man is commanding the women.'

b *Umwáami a-rá-tegek-eesh-a umugabo abagóre.

king he-pres-command-caus-asp man women

c Umwáami a-ra-téer-a umugabo gútegeka abagóre.

king he-pres-command-caus-asp man women

'The king is causing the man to command the women.'

What (57) shows is that some agents of verbs that have animate objects

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can be _controlled_ by the subject of the matrix sentence whereas others cannot. Thus verbs such as _kill_, _beat_, _give_ can be causativized as indicated in (49) and (50) but none of the _manipulative_ verbs can    . This suggests that control of the action of the embedded sentence by the matrix subject depends very much on how much _responsibility_ the embedded subject has in performing the action or putting the event into being. To summarize:

(a)  _All_ intransitive and stative verbs can be derivationally causativized.

(b)  _All_ transitive verbs with inanimate objects are causativizable.

(c)  Few transitive verbs with agent subjects and animate subjects are causativizable.

(d)  None of the manipulative verbs is derivationally causativizable.

Reflexive constructions cannot be causativized because in Kinyarwanda as it was observed earlier reflexiviation applies only if the Direct Object (whether derived or initial) and the Subject are coreferential within the same clause. Causativization being a Clause Union process keeps the upstairs subject as the subject of the derived sentence and makes the downstairs subject the Direct Object of the new sentence or deletes its. The reflexive marker in the derived structure cannot refer to the former subject since it always refers to the subject of the sentence.

(58)a  Umugóre a-r-íi-reeb-a.

woman she-pres-refl-watch-asp

'The woman is watching herself.'

b  Umugabo a-r-íi-reeb-eesh-a umugóre.

man   he-pres-refl-watch-caus-asp woman

'*The man is making the woman watch herself.'

'The man is watching the woman by himself.'

'The man is making himself watch the woman.'

As the examples in (58) show ,the embedded subject and the matrix subject
must be coreferential in order for the reflexive construction to be
causativized.

Verbs that have <u>objectivized</u> oblique objects cannot be causativized with the
suffix.

(59)a Umwáana y-iica-ye kuú ntebe.

    child he-sit-asp on chair

    'The child is sitting on the chair.'

  b Umugóre y-iica-<u>j</u>-e umwáana kuú ntebe.

    woman she-sit-caus-asp child on chiar

    'The woman made the child sit on the chair.'

  c *Umugóre y-iica-<u>j</u>-é-<u>ho</u> íntebe umwáana.

    woman she-sit-caus-asp-on chair child

(60)a Umukoôbwa a-rá-kor-a ku mafaraanga.

    girl she-pres-work-asp for money

    'The girl is working for money.'

  b Umugabo a-rá-kor-<u>eesh</u>-a umukoôbwa ku mafaraanga.

    man he-pres-work-caus-asp girl for money

    'The man is making the girl work for money.'

  c *Umugabo a-rá-kor-eesh-er-eza umukoôbwa amafaraanga.

    man he-pres-work-caus-ben-asp girl money

    'The man is using the girl's money.'

Note, however, that causativization with pronoun goals can take place.

(61) S-i-n-zi <u>ícyo</u> umugabo a-ríriimb-iish-ir-iza umukoôbwa.

neg-I-know what man he-rel-sing-caus-ben-asp  girl

'I don't know why the man is making the girl sing.'

(62) N'iíki umugóre a-ryaám-iish-ir-ije umwáana.

be what woman she-sleep-caus-ben-asp child

'Why the woman is putting the child to bed?'

Some oblique NPs, whether objectivized or not, never let their verbs

undergo causativization.  These are <u>manners</u>, <u>instrumentals</u>, <u>associatives</u>

and <u>comparatives</u>.

(63)a Umunyéeshuûri a-ra-andik-a <u>n</u>'iíkarámu.

student he-pres-write-asp with pen

'The student is writing with a pen.'

b *Umwáalímu a-ra-andik-iish-a umunyéeshuûri n'iíkarámu.

teacher he-pres-write-caus-asp student with pen

(64)a Umukoôbwa a-ra-ríriimb-a <u>n</u>'ibyishiimo byiînshi.

girl  she-pres-sing-asp with pleasure much

'The girl is singing with a lot of pleasure.'

b Umuhuûngu a-ra-ríriimb-iish-a umukoôbwa n'iíbyishiimo byiînshi.

boy  he-pres-sing-caus-asp girl with pleasure much

'*The boy is making the girl sing with a lot of pleasure.'

'The boy, with a lot of pleasure, is making the girl sing.'

What (64)b shows is that manner complements refer to the subject of the

sentence rather than to the object.  It is the same for instrumental NPs

also.

Objects derived by causativization, whatever their semantic function may

be, acquire all the syntactic properties of initial objects and the
                                        /since
former object keeps its status also it still has all its object properties.

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This is illustrated by the fact that both the derived object and the
initial object of (65) can passivize, incorporate, relativize, cleft....

    (65)a  <u>Abákozi</u> ba-r-úubak-a <u>inzu</u>.

           workers they-pres-build-asp house

           'The workers are building the house.'

      b  Umugabo a-r-úubak-<u>iish</u>-a <u>abákozi</u> <u>inzu</u>.

           man  he-pres-build-caus-asp workers house

           'The man is making the workers build the house.'

Passive

    (66)a  <u>Abákozi</u> ba-r-úubak-iish-<u>w</u>-a inzu n'úmugabo.

           workers they-pres-build-caus-pass-asp house by man

           'The workers are made build the house by the man.'

      b  <u>Inzu</u> i-r-úubak-iish-w-a abákozi n'úmugabo.

           house it-pres-build-caus-pass-asp workers by man

           'The house is made build to the workers by the man.'

Incorporation

    (67)a  Umugabo a-rá-<u>b</u>-uubak-iish-a inzu.

           man    he-pres-them-build-caus-asp house

           'The man is making them build the house.

      b  Umugabo a-rá-<u>y</u>-uubak-iish-a abákozi.

           man  he-pres-it-build-caus-asp workers

           'The man is making the workers build it.'

      c  Umugabo a-ra-<u>yí</u>-<u>b</u>-uubak-iish-a.

           man  he-pres-it-them-build-caus-asp

           'The man is making them build it.'

Relativization

   (68)a N-a-boon-ye _abákozi_ umugabo y-uúbak-iish-a inzu.

        I-pst-see-asp workers man he-rel-build-caus-asp house

        'I saw the workers that the man is making build the house.'

      b N-a-boon-ye _inzu_ umugabo y-uúbak-iish-a abákozé.

        I-pst-see-asp house man he-rel-build-caus-asp workers

        'I saw the house that the man is making the workers build.'

Clefting

   (69)a N'_abákozi_ umugabo y-uúbak-iish-a inzu.

        be-workers man-he-rel-build-caus-asp house

        'It's the workers that the man is making build the house.'

      b N'_inzu_ umugabo y-uúbak-iish-a abákozi.

        be house man he-rel-build-caus-asp workers

        'It's the house that the man is making the workers build.'

In conclusion, Kinyarwanda seems to disconfirm Comrie's analysis of

causativization, which is considered as 'a demotion' process. He observes,

in fact, that in many languages, downstairs subjects are demoted to the

next grammatical function available in the Accessability Hierarchy. Thus

in languages such as French, the embedded subject is either Direct Object,

Indirect Object or Instrumental Object depending on whether the embedded

sentence is intransitive, has a direct object or an indirect object. In

Kinyarwanda, this distinction is not made. All embedded subjects, whether

they are subjects of intransitive verbs or transitive verbs that have

many objects, are realized as DOs in the derived structure. This is

then a case of 'doubling', an analysis that he rejects.

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## Footnotes

(1)  The terminology used for the semantic classification of verbs such as modality, factive, manipulative, implicative.... is taken from Givón (1973), the reader is referred to him for a better understanding of this classification.

(2)  Kinyarwanda has 4 negative morphemes: si- first person singular in independent clauses and nti- for other persons; -ta- is used in dependent clauses: conditionals, relatives that clause... The negative marker here is -ii- to signal negative imperative. Note that it looks exactly like the reflexive marker.

(3)  Like the instrumental suffix, the causative suffix is also sometimes realized as -any- with verbs that have the associative suffix -an- or -z- if the verb ends with -r-.

(5)  Givón (personal communication) has suggested that the Bantu suffix -iish- really signalled indirect causation, the direct causation being a latter development since the suffix -y- was used for this purpose.

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This chapter presents three types of pronouns:  emphatic pronouns, incorporated pronouns and impersonal pronouns.  The mechanism of pronominalization is examined in all cases and the semantic and syntactic properties of pronouns are investigated.

## 7.1.  Emphatic Pronouns

The emphatic pronouns are used independently: that is, they occur by themselves like normal full NPs as opposed to bound morphemes which are attached to other  elements.  These pronouns have a different phonetic shape depending on the kind of grammatical function they have: subject, possessive or oblique (preceded by the prepositions).

| subject | possessive | oblique | |
|---------|-----------|---------|---|
| 1. jyeéwe | -njye | njye | 'me' |
| 2. wówe | -we | we | 'you' (sg) |
| 3. tweébwe | -aacu | twe | 'we' |
| 4. mweébwe | -aanyu | mwe | 'you' (pl) |

The third person is realized the same way for all the cases.  Like the possessive case, the third person emphatic pronoun is always preceded by the class marker of the pronominalized noun.  The morpheme that marks the human singular third personal is -e, the emphatic pronoun for all other classes  is -o.

Ex. cl.1:  we; cl.2: bo; cl.3: wo; cl.4:yo, cl.5:ryo; cl.7:cyo; cl.8: byo....

All classes are not given since it is easy to form these pronouns once one knows the class markers.

Sentences (2) and (3) illustrate the use of the pronouns in the three

grammatical cases (subject, genitive and oblique)

(2)a <u>Tweébwe</u>, tu-r-íig-a.

   we   we-pres-study-asp

   'We, we are studying.'

  b A-ra-som-a igitabo <u>cyáacu</u>.

   he-pres-read-asp book of us

   'He is reading our book.'

  c Umugóre a-rá-kor-an-a na<u>twe</u>.

   woman she-pres-work-ass-asp with us

   'The woman is working with us.'

(3)a Zô, zi-ri hâno.

   they they-be here

   'They, they are here.'

  b Si-n-iíbuk-a amázina yáa <u>zo</u>.

   neg-I-remember-asp names of them

   'I don't remember their names.'

  c A-mez-e nká <u>zo</u>.

   he-be-asp like them

   'He is like them.'

Free pronouns are used in either one of the following cases:

  (i)  to show contrast or emphasis

  (ii)  after prepositions to refer to nouns mentioned in the

      previous discourse or to refer to the same noun that occurs

      in the left side of the sentence.

  (iii)  in the cleft construction type 2(2.11) after the copular <u>ni</u>.

  (iv)  after the preposition <u>ná</u> that means 'also' and <u>náho</u> meaning

      'whereas'.

## Contrast and Emphasis

When they act as emphasis or contrast, free pronouns occur at the right
of their antecedents as oppositions.

(4) Abahuûngu ba-ra-kin-a, abakoôbwa, bô, ba-r-íig-a.

boys   they-pres-play-asp girls they they-pres-study-asp

'The boys are playing; but the girls are studying.'

(5) Íkarámu z-á-buz-e ariko ibitabo, byô, bi-ri hâno.

pen   they-pst-miss-asp but books they they be here

'The pens are missing but the books are here.'

When the 1st person and the 2nd person are used for contrast the particle
ho is added. The emphatic pronoun doesn't take it.

(6) Tweébwe, tu-ra-andik-a, mweébwého mu-ra-som-a.

we we-pres-write-asp   you   you-pres-read-asp

'We we writing but you you are reading.'

(7) Wówe w-a-gii-ye, jyeéwého n-á-siga-ye.

you-you-pst-go-asp me  I-pst-stay-asp

You, you went but I stayed.'

## Oblique Cases

If an oblique NP has been topicalized, mentioned or occured at the left-
side of the sentence, it is referred to by a pronoun left in its former
position.

(8) Umugóre, n-a-vug-an-ye ná we.

woman I-pst-say-rec-asp with her

'The woman, I talked to her.'

(9) Abaantu bakuunda abaantu ba-mez-e nká bo.

people they-like-asp people they-are-lick them

'People like people who  are like them.'

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## Cleft Constructions

Free pronouns appear in cleft constructions (cfr. 1.12) after the copula **ni**.

(10)a   Umubooyi a-teets-e inyama.

     cook   he-cook-asp meat

     'The cook is cooking meat.'

  b   Inyama ní zo umubooyi a-teéts-e.

     meat be it cook   he-cook-asp

     'It's the meat that the cook is cooking.'

(11)a   Umugóre a-ra-som-a igitabo.

     woman she-pres-read-asp book

     'The woman is reading the book.'

  b   Igitabo ní cyo umugóre a-sóm-a.

     book   be it woman she-read-asp

     'It's the book that the woman is reading.'

## Pronoun use after na 'also' and naho 'whereas'

The morpheme **na** can modify an NP, a VP, an adjective of a sentence. When it modifies a VP, an Adjective or a Sentence, the pronoun that follows, is marked by the neutral marker (class 0 -bi-).

(12)a   Umukoôbwa y-a-som-ye igitabo nácyo.

     girl   she-pst-read-asp book also it

     'The girl read the book also.'

(13)   Uyu mugóre ni mugúfi nábyo.

     this woman be short also it

     'This woman is short also.'

(14)   A-ra-ríriimb-a ná byo.

     he-pres-sing-asp also it

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'He sings also.'

(15) Umugabo y-a-vuz-e kó a-ta-záa-za ná byo.

man    he-pst-say-asp that he-neg-fut-come also it

'The man said that he won't come either.'

In (12) the pronoun refers to book and thus agrees with it: in (13) it
refers to the adjective 'short'. In (14) it refers to the verb sing
whereas in (15) it refers to the whole embedded sentence.
When the pronoun that occurs after the morpheme na doesn't have a
referent in the same sentence, it can only function as a topic (see
next chapter). As shown in the next chapter, verbs always agree with
the topics. This kind of agreement is obligatory with pronouns that
occur alone with the morpheme na.

(16)a  Umugóre y-a-boon-ye abahuûngu ná bo.

woman she-pst-see-asp boys also them

'The woman saw the boys also.'

b  Umugóre y-a-ba-bóon-ye ná bo.

woman she-pst-them-see-asp also them

'The woman saw them aslo.'

c  *Umugóre y-a-boon-ye ná bo.

woman  she-pst-see-asp also them

The morpheme náho 'but' introduces an idea expressing the opposite of the
preceding statment. It occurs at the beginning of the sentence and there-
fore NPs that it introduces are only either subjects or topics: objects
or oblique cases don't appear in this construction.

(17)  Abahuûngu ba-rí-iig-a náho abakoôbwa bo ba-ra-ki n-a.

boys   they-pres-study-asp but girls them they-pres-play-asp

'The boys are studying whereas the girls are playing.'

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(18) Abáana b-a-ri-iye inyana náho imbóga zo b-a-z-áanz-e.

   children they-pst-eat-asp meat but vegetables them they-pst-

                                          them-refuse-asp

   'The children ate the meat whereas they refused the vegetables.'

Free pronouns can undergo all types of transformations that full NPs

undergo, depending on the grammatical function they have in the sentence.

Oblique pronouns, however, cannot be topicalized.  In the usual case,

topicalization from a prepositional phrase is effected by shifting the

head noun at the left or the right side of the sentence and by leaving

a pronoun behind.  Topicalization is blocked in this case because two

coreferential identical forms never appear in the same sentence.

(19)a Umwáana y-a-vug-an-ye n'úmugabo.

       child he-pst-say-rec-asp with man.

       'The child talked with the man.'

   b  Umwáana y-a-vug-an-ye ná we.

       child she-pst-say-rec-asp with him

       'The child talked with him.'

   c  Umugabo, umwáana y-a-vug-an-ye ná we.

       man    child he-pst-say-rec-asp with him

       'The man, the child talked with him.'

   d  *Wê, umwáana y-a-vug-an-ye ná we.

       him  child he-pst-say-rec-asp with him

       'As for him, the child talked with him.'

Like unique referents such as proper names, pronouns also have a causal

meaning rather than a restrictive one when they are relativized.

(20)  Umugabo y-aang-a tweébwe a-ta-ándik-ir-a.

       man   he-hate-asp us   he-neg-rel-write-ben-asp

'The man hates we that he doesn't write to.'

'The man hates us because he doesn't write to us.'

Even though in many cases, free pronouns have the properties of full NPs, they are subjected to some constraints that the latter are not. For instance, a free pronoun cannot occur as an object of a verb that has another object: the pronoun has to be infixed in the verb.

(21)a ?Umugóre y-a-haa-ye vê igitabo.[1]

woman  she-pst-give-asp him book

'The woman gave him a book.'

b Umugóre y-a-mu-haa-ye igitabo.

woman  she-pst-him-give-asp book

'The woman gave him a book.'

A verb cannot have two free object pronouns, either one of them is infixed or both of them.

(22)a *Umugabo y-eerets-e bô yô.[1]

man he-show-them-(rec)-them-(pat)

b Umugabo y-a-y-eerets-e bô.

man he-pst-them-show-asp them

c Umugabo y-a-b-eerets-e yô.

man  he-pst-them-show-asp them

d Umugabo y-a-ya-b-eerets-e.

man he-pst-them-them-show-asp

'The man showed them (pictures) to them (people).

(23)a *Umubooyi y-a-tem-eesh-eje icyo uwo.[1]

cook he-pst-cut-instr-asp it (instr) it (patient)

b Umubooyi y-a-wu-tem-eesh-eje icyo.

cook  he-pst-it-cut-instr-asp it

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c  Umubooyi y-a-gi-tem-eesh-eje uwo.

   cook  he-pst-it-cut-instr-asp it

   'The cook cut it with it.'

Free pronouns never express coreferentiality with any other NP in the
sentence.  In the same clause coreferentiality is marked by the refle-
xive marker -ii-; it is the regular incorporated pronoun (see next section)
that indicates coreferentiality across clause boundaries.

(24) a  *Umwáana a-ra-shaak-a kó ú-h-a vê igitabo.
           x                            x
         child he-pres-want-asp that you-give-asp him

     b  Umwáana a-ra-shaak-a kó u-mú-h-a.

        child he-pres-want-asp that you-him-give-asp

        'The child wants that you give it to him.'

(25) a  *Abáana ba-r-íifuuz-a kó b -eérek-a bô amashusho.

         children they-pres-wish-asp that they-show-asp them pictures

         'The children wish that they show them pictures.'

     b  Abáana ba-r-íifuuz-a kó ba-b- eérek-a amashusho.

        children they-pres-wish-asp that they-them-show-asp pictures


## 6.2.  Pronoun Incorporation

This section examines the mechanism of pronoun incorporation; it looks
at their syntactic properties and their order in the verb.  Pronoun
incorporation, a property of direct objects only, applies if the noun
has been mentioned previously in the discourse or if it is coreferential
with another non-subject (reflexivization would apply in this case) NP
that appears in the left side of the verb that is incorporating.
The incorporated direct object pronoun, which in many cases resembles the
class marker of the noun, occurs between the tense marker and the verb

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stem.

(1) N-a-boon-ye Karooli ná Yohaâni ná we y-a-mu-boon-ye.

I-pst-see-asp Charles and John also him he-pst-him-see-asp

'I saw Charles and JOhn saw him also.'

(2) Abáana b-a-ny-erets-e igitabo w-a-ba-gúr-i-ye.

children they-pst-me-show-asp book you-pst-them-buy-ben-asp

'The children showed me the book that you bought for them.'

The anaphoric pronoun doesn't have to refer uniquely to an NP that occurs
at the left of the verb, it shares the same identity of sense but need
not necessarily refer to it.

(3) N-a-guz-e igitabo na Yohaâni ná we y-a-ki-guz-e.

I-pst-buy-asp book and John also him he-pst-it-buy-asp

'I bought a book and John bought one also.'

(4) Umukoôbwa y-a-taa-ye amafaraanga, áliko umuhuûngu we,

girl she-pst-lose-asp money but boy him

nti-y-a-ya-taa-ye.

neg-he-pst-it-lose-asp

'The girl lost the money but the boy didn't lose any.'

As we see in the sentences above, the pronominal elements don't refer to
the same book or the same money, but these nouns have to have a generic
reading for the pronoun not to refer to them.

Unlike other Bantu languages, Kinyarwanda doesn't have relative pronouns
but uses tones to refer to the antecedent NP, as observed in the section
on relativization.

Oblique cases have to be advanced to object position in order to undergo
pronoun incorporation, otherwise a resumptive free pronoun appears in the
noun slot as indicated earlier.

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Temporals never incorporate maybe because they are not in the scope

of the main verb, but belong to a higher predicate.

(5) *Umugóre y-a-ŋj-e ku-mánvwa n'ábagabo nábo b-a-ha-j-e

    woman she-pst-come-asp on daytime and men also them-they-pst-

                                    -t-come-asp

    'The woman came during the daytime and the men also.'

Locatives, however, which behave syntactically like temporals can be

incorporated even without being promoted to the Direct Object position.

In this case the incorporated pronoun is the locative infix -ha-.

(6) Ku gitaânda ha-rí-(ho) ibitabo abáana b-a-ha-shyíz-e.

    on bed   it-be-on books  children they-pst-there-put-asp

    'On the bed there are books that the children put.'

If the locative NP is objectivized, pronoun incorporation applies by

either suffixing the verb with the locative preposition as observed in

Chapter 4 or by having both the suffix and incorporated pronoun refering

to the head noun of the locative phrase.

(7)a Ku gitaânda ha-rí-(ho) ibitabo abáana b-a-shyíz-é-ho.

    on bed   it-be-on  books  children they-pst-put-asp-on

    'On the bed there are books that the children put.'

   b Ku gitaânda ha-rí-(ho) ibitabo abáana b-a-gi-shyíz-é-ho.

    on bed it-be-on   books  children they-pst-it-put-asp-on

    'On the bed there are the books that the children put on it.'

More than one object pronoun can be incorporated in the Kinyarwanda

verb as illustrated in (8).

(8) Y-a-ki-mu-ba-he-er-eye.[2]

    he-pst-it-him-them-give-ben-asp

    'He gave it to him for them.'

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(9)   Tw-a-bi-ba-gú-shub-ir-ije.

we-pst-them-them-you-give-back-ben-asp

'We gave them back to them for you.'

There are, however, some incorporated pronouns that don't allow incorpo-
ration of other pronouns: these are goals and possessives.

Goals don't allow incorporation of any other pronoun because, in the first
place, no other objectivization rule can apply once the goal NP has been
advanced to the Direct Object status, and advancement of Goal to D.O.
never takes place if there is already another D.O. in the sentence, (4.5).
Note however that incorporation of goal is impossible in (11).

(11)a   Umukoôbwa a-kor-er-a amafaraanga n'intoki.

girl    she-work-ben-asp money    with hand.

'The girl works for money with hands.'

b *Umugóre a-ra-zi-ya-kor-eesh-er-eza.

woman she-pres-it-it-work-caus-ben-asp

'The woman works for it  with them.'

Incorporated possessive pronouns block incorporation of patient pronouns
also, but recipient pronouns can be incorporated in this case.

(13)a   Umugóre y-a-ba-som-e-ye igitabo.

woman she-pst-them-road-ben-asp book

'The woman read their book.'

b   Umugóre y-a-ki-ba-som-e-ye.

woman she-pst-it them-read-ben-asp

'*The woman read their it.'

'The woman read it for them.'

(14)a   Umugabo a-rá-m-he-er-a abáana ibitabo.

man he-pres-me-give-ben-asp children books

'The man is giving my books to the children.'

b  Umugabo a-ra-<u>ba</u>-m-he-er-a ibitabo.

man he-pres-them-me-give-ben-asp books

'The man is giving my books to them.'

'The man is giving the books to the children for me.'

c  Umugabo a-ra-<u>bi-ba</u>-m-he-er-a.

man  he-pres-them-them-me-give-ben-asp

'The man is giving them to them for me.'

'*The man is giving my them to them.'

The non-incorporation of patient NPs when the possessive NP is incorporated
is consistent with other constraints imposed on the former DO in case
of possessive promotion. We showed earlier that the initial DO is put
en chomage when objectivization of a possessive takes place, since it
cannot passivize, cleft, relativize... It is inaccessible to pronoun
incorporation because it is a chomeur.

If the verb has four incoporated pronouns, which is usually the maximum
number the verb can take, these pronouns must be locative, patient,
recipient and benefactive.

(15)  Abáana ba-zaa-<u>ha-ki-mu-b</u>-eerek-er-a.

children they-fut-there-it-him-them-show-ben-asp

'The childrenwill show it to him for them there.'

The order of infixed pronouns from the verb stem is (1) benefactive,
(2) recipient and (3) patient. The fixed order of incorporated pronouns
prevents any possible ambiguity if the noun class is the same for all
of them.

(16)  Ba-ra-<u>ba-ba-ba</u>-he-er-a.

they-pres-them-them-them-give-ben-asp

'They are giving them to them for them.'

(17)  Tw-a-<u>mu</u>-<u>mu</u>-<u>mu</u>-uz-an-i-ye.

we-pst-him-him-him-come-ass-ben-asp

'We brought him to him for him.'

This strict order is not imposed on locative pronouns which can occur any

where: near the verb stem, near the tense marker or between the other

pronouns.

(18)a  Ba-ra-<u>ki</u>-<u>há</u>-shyir-a.

they-pres-it-there-put-asp

'They put it there.'

b  Ba-ra-<u>ha</u>-<u>gí</u>-shyir-a.

they-pres-there-it-put-asp

'They put it there.'

(19)a  Ba-ra-<u>zi</u>-<u>tú</u>-<u>gu</u>-he-er-a.

they-pres-them-us-you-give-ben-asp

'They are giving them to us for you.'

b  Ba-ra-<u>ha</u>-<u>zi</u>-<u>tú</u>-<u>gu</u>-he-er-a.

they-pres-there-them-us-you-give-ben-asp

'They give them to us for you there.'

c  Ba-ra-<u>zi</u>-<u>ha</u>-<u>tú</u>-<u>gu</u>-he-er-a.

they-pres-them-there-us-you-give-ben-asp

'They are giving them to us for you there.'

d  Ba-ra-<u>zi</u>-<u>tu</u>-<u>há</u>-<u>gu</u>-he-er-a.

they-pres-them-us-there-you-give-ben-asp

e  Ba-ra-<u>zi</u>-<u>tu</u>-<u>gú</u>-<u>ha</u>-he-er-a.

they-pres-them-us-you-there-give-ben-asp

The locative pronoun 'floating' as exemplified in the examples above

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doesn't have any functional effect whatsoever. The locative pronoun cannot, however, appear after the first person singular pronoun or after a reflexive pronoun.

(20)a  Y-a-ku-ha-gi-ir-iye.

He-pst-you-there-go-ben-asp

'He went there for you.'

b  *Y-a-m-ha-gi-ir-iye.

he-pst-me-there-go-ben-asp

c  Y-a-ha-n-gi-ir-iye.

He-pst-there-go-ben-asp

'He went there for me.'

(21)a  A-ra-mú-ha-kor-a.

he-pres-him-there-touch-asp

'He touches him there.'

b  *A-r-ií-ha-kor-a.

he-pres-refl-there-touch-asp

c  A-ra-h-ií-kor-a.

he-pres-there-refl-touch-asp

'He touches himself there.'

We don't have any explanation now as to why only the first person singular and the reflexive pronoun don't allow the locative pronoun 'floating.'


## 6.3. Impersonal Pronouns

Impersonal pronouns which are also called 'neutral', 'dummy', or 'empty' are those that don't refer to any NP either present in the sentence or previously mentioned in the discourse. Kinyarwanda has four pronouns of this type: ba-, bi-, bu- and ha-.

All of them can occur as subjects only. They cannot have any other
kind of grammatical relation to the verb. This section presents their
syntactic properties and their respective use.

a. The Use of ba-

The pronoun ba- usually refers to unspecified human subjects. It is used
when the speaker wants to put emphasis on the action of the verb, without
paying attention to the agent of the action.

    (1)  Ba-zaa-tw-iib-a.

          they-fut-us-rob-asp

          'Somebody will rob us.'

    (2)  Sii-n-shaák-a kó inzu yáa cu, ba-yi-seêny-a.

          neg-I-want-asp that house of us they-it-destroy-asp

          'I don't want our house to be destroyed.'

Note that this pronoun doesn't necessarily have a plural meaning but
a singular one as illustrated in (3) and (4).

    (3)  Karoôli, b·-a-mw-iirukan-ye ku kazi.

          Charles they-pst-him-dismiss-asp on job

          'Charles was dismissed of his job.'

    (4)  B-a-mu-ci-ir-iye urubaânza rwó gúpfa.

          they-pst-him-cut-ben-asp sentence of to die

          'He was sentenced to death.'

In (3) and (4) above, it is clear that the agent of the action is only
one person: in (3) it may be the boss, in (4) the judge.

This pronoun occurs only with transitive verbs because it always functions
as unspecified agent. It cannot appear with stative verbs and neither
is it found in passive constructions.

When passivization applies to a sentence whose subject is the impersonal

pronoun ba- the pronoun is obligatorily deleted, otherwise it would have a definite reading.

(5)a  B-a-mú-kubis-e.

   they-pst-him-beat-asp

   'Somebody hit him.'

   b  Y-a-kubis-w-e ná bo.

   he-pst-beat-pass-asp by them

   'He was hit by them.'

   c  Y-á-kubis-w-e

   he-pst-beat-pass-asp

   'He was hit (by someone)'

This kind of construction is only used in definite descriptions, that is, the complement has to be either an incorporated pronoun or a topic. If the argument that is being commented upon is a full NP, then ba- must have a definite reading.

(6)a  Igitabo, b-a-k-íib-ye.

   book they-pst-it-steal-asp

   'As to the book, somebody stole it.'

   'As to the book, they stole it.'

   b  B-a-k-íib-ye

   they-pst-it-steal-asp

   'They stole it.'

(7)  B-iib-ye igitabo.

   they steal-asp book

   '*Somebody stole the book.'

   'They stole the book.'

What we see in the sentences above is that ba- constructed with pronouns

or topics is always ambiguous as to whether it is a definite pronoun referring to some specific human previously mentioned in the discourse or a dummy. In (7)a, ba- cannot be a dummy but has to be a definite subject pronoun since there is no other topic in the sentence.

b. The Use of bi-

There are two uses of the impersonal pronoun bi- in Kinyarwanda (1) to stand for an idea already expressed in the previous discourse or to figure as the "apparent" subject of a sentence that has a "real" sentential subject and (2) to express an indefinite time. Sentences (8) through (11) illustrate the first use, while (12) and (13) illustrate the latter.

(8)  Bi-ra- shobok-a.

it-pres-be-possible-asp

'It is possible.'

(9)  Bi-ra-garagar-a.

it-pres-be-clear-asp

'It's clear.'

(10)  Bi-rakwíi-ye kó mu-geénd-a.

it-pres-must-asp that you-go-asp

'You must go.'

(11)  Bi-r-úumv-ik-an-a kó a-ta-záa-garuk-a.

it-pres-understand-neutr.-rec-asp that you-neg-fut-come back-asp

'It's understandable that he won't come back.'

(12)  Nuuko bî-geez-e aho, abáana ba-ra-ríriimb-a.

then it-arrive-asp there children they-pres-sing-asp

'At that point, the children started singing.'

(13)  Bî-maz-e gutiinda cyaane, abaantu ba-ra-geenda.

it-finish-asp to get late too, people they-pres-go

'As it was getting too late, people started leaving.'

Sentences constructed with the bi- manifest similarities parallel to the

Latin impersonal construction which has its semantic subject in the dative

case.  In Kinyarwanda also, if the verb that has bi- as its subject

incorporates a direct object pronoun, the latter functions  as the real

semantic subject.

(14)  Bî- du-komer-e-ye, tw-aa-roreer-a.

it-us-be-hard-ben-asp we-cond-quit-asp

'If it became hard for us we would quit.'

(15)  Nti-by-á-ba-shobok-e-ye.

neg-it-pst-them-be possible-asp

'They couldn't.'

Usually full NPs cannot appear as objects in the sentences with bi-

subjects.

(16)a Bî-kuunk-i-ye abáana, b-a-az-a.

it-like-ben-asp children they-cond-come-asp

'If the children could, they would come.'

   b Bî-ba-kuund-i-ye, b-a-aza.

it-them-like-ben-asp they-cond-come-asp

'If they could, they would come.'

Note also that the benefactive suffix -ir- shows up on the verb whenever

the verb with the bi- subject has an incorporated pronoun.

c.  The Use of ha-

The dummy ha- appears in two uses: (1) it refers to the weather when one

is talking about atmosheric conditions and (2) it is inserted in a

sentence to give a cleft meaning.

(17) Ha-ra-shyúushy-e.

it-pres-be warm-asp

'It's warm.'

(18) H-a-ri hâ-koonj-e.

it-pst-be it-be cold-asp

'It was cold.'

When the dummy ha- is inserted in a sentence, the subject shifts at the right of the verb.

(19)a Umwáana a-ra-som-a.

child he-pres-read-asp

'The child is reading.'

b Ha-ra-som-a umwáana.[4]

it-pres-read-asp child

'It's the child who is reading.'

(20)a Abagabo ba-ra-geend-a.

men they-pres-go-asp

'The men are going.'

b Ha-ra-geend-a abagabo.

it-pres-go-asp men

'It's the men who are going.'

If the sentence that is undergoing the dummy insertion rule has other NPs in the sentence, either direct objects or oblique NPs, these ones are obligatorily deleted.

(21)a Umukoôbwa a-ra-som-a igitabo.

girl she-pres-read-asp book

'The girl is reading the book.'

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(21)b *Ha-ra-som-a umukoôbwa igitabo.

　　　 it-pres-read-asp girl book

　　　 'It's the girl who is reading the book.'

　　c Ha- ra-som-a umukoôbwa.

　　　 it-pres-read-asp girl

　　　 'It's the girl who is reading.'

(22)a Umwáana a-ra-andik-a n'ííkarámu.

　　　 child he-pres-write-asp with pen

　　　 'The child is writing with a pen.'

　　b *Ha-ra-andik-a umwáana n'ííkarámu.

　　　 it-pres-write-asp child with pen

　　　 'It's the child who is writing with a pen.'

　　c Ha-ra-andik-a umwáana.

　　　 it-pres-write-asp child

　　　 'It's the child who is writing.'

Derived subjects by either passivization or stativization can be found
in this type of construction.

(23)a Abáana b-á-kubis-w-e.

　　　 children they-pst-beat-pass-asp

　　　 'The children were beaten.'

　　b H-a-kubis-w-e abáana.

　　　 it-pst-beat-pass-asp children

　　　 'It's the children who were beaten.'

(24)a Ibíryo bi-ra-téets-e.

　　　 food it-pres-cook-asp

　　　 'The food is cooking.'

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b  Ha-teets-e ibíryo.

   it-cook-asp food

   'It's the food that is cooking.'

Subjects derived by O(bject)-S(ubject) reversal cannot,of course,appear

in this construction because both the derived subject and the demoted one

would have to be present, which is disallowed in this construction:

only subjects appear.

d.  The Use of bu-[5]

The pronoun bu- is only used to mark the times of the day: morning,

evening, night,....

   (25)  Bu-ríi-je.

         it-get dark-asp

         'It's getting dar.'  (night)

   (26)  Bu-ra-gorob-ye.

         it-pres-be evening-asp

         'It's the evening.'

   (27)  Bu-ra-ké-eye.[6]

         it-pres-be dawn -asp

         'It's the daylight.'

   (28)  Bu-ra-hum-an-ye.

         it-pres-be blind-rec-asp

         'It's completely dark.' (night)

Bu- is used with intransitive stative verbs only.  The verbs that have

bu-  as the subject, describe the state of the time.

This section has shown that Kinyarwanda has three types of pronouns:

impersonal, emphatic and incorporated pronouns.  Impersonal pronouns

are distinguished from others by the fact that they exhibit less

syntactic and semantic properties. Their semantic range is very much restricted since they only tell about unspecified agent-subjects, time and atmospheric conditions. Impersonal pronouns can only function as subjects. They cannot have any other type of grammatical relation to the verb such as DO or oblique case. 'Dumminess' is a property of subjects as remarked in Chapter 3.

It was indicated that emphatic pronouns share some properties of full NPs since they have all the grammatical relations to the verb: subject, object, oblique case, and can undergo all the major syntactic transformations such as passivization, relativization, clefting... They differ, however, from full NPs on the restrictions of their occurrence in the sentence. It is impossible for instance to have two objects (which is allowed for full NPs) as independent pronouns in the sentence. Incorporated pronouns are required if such a situation arises.

The number of pronouns allowed for incorporation argues for a Surface Structure Constraint on how many objects can appear in the sentence. It was shown in Chapter 4 that it is impossible to have four full NPs as objects of the same verb. It is possible however to have four incorporated pronouns in the same verb as seen in this chapter. pronominalization is a late transformational rule as argued everywhere in generative literature and since only direct objects (basic or derived) allow pronoun incorporation, it seems that at some stage in the derivation, the verb must have four full NP direct objects in order for the incorporation to take place.

Emphatic pronouns accomplish different functional roles than the incorporated pronouns. The formal relationship that exists between them has not been investigated, however. There isn't, at present, any

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evidence whether pronoun incorporation and the other kind of pronominalization are different processes or 'emphatic' pronominalization is some kind of pronominal reduction towards incorporation. This problem that the present work cannot answer requires further study.

Footnotes

1. Two emphatic pronouns or a full NP and an emphatic pronoun are not allowed in the object position for communication purposes (Givón's explanation) because it is not possible to have two "focus" NPs in the sentence.

2. Incorporation of object pronouns is found in few languages such as Kinyarwanda, Kirundi and Kihaya but other Bantu languages such as Swahili incorporate only one object.

3. The impersonal construction ba- has the same effect created by the regular passive rule and it is even used more frequently than the latter.

4. The ha- construction is not to be confused with the existential construction which is used to introduce indefinite subjects and indirect objects as shown in (3.4.5.)
   This one has the same semantic role as the cleft construction (3.4.2). Their functional roles may be different but, at the moment, there is no such indication.

5. Givón (personal communication) has suggested that the impersonal bu- may come from the proto-bantu word ubu-siku 'day'.

6. The ha- construction is also used for this expression:
   ha-ra-ké-eye.
   it-pres-be dawn-asp
   'It's the daylight.'

## Chapter VIII   Topicalization

Topic is a cover term to mean elements shifted either to the left side of the sentence or the right side of the sentence. For clarity of exposition, preposed elements will be called <u>left topics</u> and postposed elements <u>right topics</u>.

The first part of this section deals with the mechanism of this syntactic process and some observations are made especially on the syntactic characteristics common to both right and left topics. The second part of the section is concerned with the constraints on topicalization and the last part explores the functional role of this transformation.

<u>Topicalization of terms</u>

Topicalization, as mentioned above consists of moving an NP from its initial position to either the leftmost side of the sentence (left topic) or the rightmost part of the sentence. This illustrated in (2) and (3) which are both supposed to have derived from (1).

    (1)  Umugóre y-a-boon-ye umugabo.

         woman she-pst-see-asp man

         'The woman saw the man.'

    (2)  <u>Umugabo</u>, umugóre y-a-mu-boon-ye.

         man    woman she-pst-him-see-asp

         'The man, the woman saw him.'[1]

    (3)  Umugóre y-a-<u>mu</u>=boon-ye, <u>umugabo</u>.

         woman she-pst-see-asp man

         'The woman saw him, the man.'

The side effect rules of topicalization are <u>agreement</u> of verbs with topicalized NPs or anaphoric pronouns left in the position formerly held

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by oblique NPs being topicalized, and the appearance of 'action-focus'
marker -ra- for present tenses and -a- for past tenses.[2]

NPs with which the verb agree are subject DOs, IO and Benefactives and
Locatives (Temporals). Agreement occurs in the pronoun DO slot.

(4)a Umwáana a-som-ye igitabo.

child he-read-asp book

'The child has just finished reading the book.'

b Igitabo, umwáana a-ra-gi-som-ye.

book child he-pres-it-read-asp

'The book, the child has just read it.'

(5)a Umugóre a-r-éerek-a abáana amashusho.

woman she-pres-show-asp children pictures

'The woman is showing pictures to the children.'

b Abáana, umugóre a-rá-b-eerek-a amashusho.

children woman she-pres-them-show-asp pictures

'The children, the woman is showing the pictures to them.'

(6)a Umukoôbwa a-ra-ríriimb-ir-a umuhuûngu.

girl she-pres-sing-ben-asp boy

'The girl is singing for the boy.'

b Umuhuûngu, umukoôbwa a-rá-mu-ririimb-ir-a

boy girl she-pres-him-sing-ben-asp

'The boy, the girl is singing for him.'

Locative and temporal NPs take -ha- agreement of the suffix -{mo}{ho} when
they are topicalized while clauses (infinitives, that clause...) take
-bi- agreement.

Examples are given in (7) and (8) to illustrate topicalization of Loc

and Temp. Examples (9) and (10) show topicalization of clauses.

(7) a Abáana bi-iica-ye kuú ntebe.

children they-sit-asp on chair

'The children are sitting on the chair.'

b Kuú ntebe, abáana ba-ra-h-iica-ye .

on chiar    children they-pres-there-sit-asp

'The chair, the students are sitting on it.'

c Kuú ntebe,   abáana b-iica-yé-ho.

on chair    children they-sit-asp-on

'The chair, the children are sitting on it.'

(8) a Abaantu ba-ri muu nzu.

people they-be in house

'People are in the house.'

b Abaantu ba-ra-ha-ri, muu nzu.

people they-pres-there-be in house

'People are in it, the house.'

c Abaantu ba-rí-mo, muu nzu.

people they-be-in in house

'People are in it, the house.'

(9) a Abáana ba-kuund-a gukina.

children they-like-asp to play

'Children like to play.'

b Gukina, abaana ba-rá-bi-kuund-a.

to play children theypres-it-like-asp

'To play, children like it.'

(10) a Umugóre y-iibagiw-e kó abáana b-a-gií-ye.

woman she-forget-asp that children they-pst-go-asp

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'The woman forgot that the children have left.'

b Umugóre y-a-by-iibagiw-e, kó abáana b-a-gii-ye.

woman  she-pst-it-forget-asp that children they-pst-go-asp

Verbs don't usually agree with temporal NPs when they are topicalized.

(11) a Yohaani a-kor-a mu gitoondo.

John he-work-asp in

'John works in the morning.'

b Mu gitoondo, Yohaáni a-rá-kor-a.

in morning  John he-pres-work-asp

'In the morning, John works.'

c Yohaáni a-rá-kor-a, mu gitoondo.

John  he-pres-work-asp in morning

'John works, in the morning.'

(12) a Imbwa i-mok-a mu gicuku.

dog  it-bark-asp in midnight

'The dog barks in the middle of the night.'

b Mu gicuku, imbwa i-ra-mok-a.

in midnight dog it-pres-bark-asp

'In the middle of the night, the dog barks.'

c Imbwa i-ra-mok-a, mu gicuku.

dog it-pres-bark-asp in midnight

The reason why agreement doesn't take place/when temporals are topicalized

is because temporal  NPs usually act as adverb to the whole sentence

and are, therefore, outside the scope of the verb complement. When the

temporal NP functions as an accusative with some class of verbs, specially

emotional ones such as like, be afraid of, hate...., agreement applies.

This is illustrated by (13) and (14).

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(13)a Abáana ba-tiiny-a mw'ijoro.

children they-be afraid of-asp in night

'Children are afraid of the night.'

b Mw'ijoro, abáana ba-ra-ha-tiiny-a.

in night children they-pres-there-be afraid of-asp

'The night, the children are afraid of it.'

(14)a Múshiki waanjye a-kuund-a mu gitoondo.

sister of me she-like-asp in morning

'My sister likes the morning.'

b Múshiki waanjye a-rá-ha-kuund-a, mu gitoondo.

sister of me she-pres-there-like-asp in morning

'My sister likes it, the morning.'

Note, however, that even if agreement can't apply with temporal complement topics as in (11) and (12), the topic is marked by the "action – focus" marker -ra- or -a- (for detail see Givon, 1969 & 1975 as well as Kimenyi, 1973), which is obligatory. It is impossible to have sentences such as (15) a and b in which "in the morning" is the topic.

(15)a *Mu gitoondo, Yohaáni a-kor-a.

in morning John he-work-asp

'In the morning, John works.'

b *Yohaáni a-kor-a, mu gitoondo.

John he-work-asp in morning

'John works, in the morning.'

What makes the above sentences bad is that the "action-focus" marker which signals topicalization is missing.

Topicalization of Oblique case NPs

Oblique case NP's that are topicalizable are instrumentals, comparatives

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and associatives (reciprocals). As it will be shown in the section on constraints, locatives and goals are not topicalized the way other oblique NPs are. Manner NPs never topicalize. Topicalization of Oblique NPs is accomplished by moving the head noun of the prepositional phrase to either the right side or the left side of the sentence and by leaving a resumptive pronoun in the place previously occupied by the head noun. (16) gives an example of an instrumental, (17) an associative NP and (18) a comparative.

(16) a   Umukoôbwa a-ra-andik-a íbaruwa n'ííkarámu.

     girl    she-pres-write-asp letter with pen

     'The girl is writing a letter with a pen.'

  b   Íkarámu, umukoôbwa a-ra-andik-a íbarúwa ná yo.

     pen      man he-pres-write-asp letter with it

     'The pen, the girl is writing a letter with it.'

(17) a   Umukoôbwa a-rá-kor-an-a akazi n'úmuhuûngu.

     girl    she-pres-work-ass-asp work with boy

     'The girl is working with the boy.'

  b   Umuhuûngu, umukoôbwa a-rá-kor-an-a akazi ná ye.

     boy   girl    she-pres-work-ass-asp work with him

     'The boy, the girl is working with him.'

(18) a   Uno mugóre a-ra-geend-a nk-ábagabo.

     this woman she-pres-walk-asp like men

     'This woman is walking like men.'

  b   Abagabo, úno mugóre a-ra-geend-a nka bo.

     men    this woman she-pres-walk-asp like them

     'Men, this woman walks like them.'

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If the oblique case NP has been advanced to DO, it agrees with the verb just like basic DOs do when topicalization takes place. An instrumental rule is presented in (19), a locative is given in (20) and a goal is shown in (21).

(19) a  Umukoôbwa a-ra-andik-iish-a íbarúwa íkarámu.

girl  she-pres-write-instr-asp letter pen

'The girl is writing a letter with a pen.'

b  Íkarámu, umukoôbwa a-ra-y-andik-iish-a íbarúwa.

pen  girl  she-pres-it-write-instr-asp letter

'The pen, the girl is writing a letter with it.'

(20) a  Umwáalímu a-ra-andik-a imibáre ku méêza.

teacher he-pres-write-asp math on table

'The teacher is writing math on the table.;

b  Umwáalímu a-ra-andik-á-ho améêza imibáre.

teacher he-pres-write-asp-on table math

'The teacher is writing math on the table.'

c  Améêza, umwáalímu a-ra-y-andik-á-ho imibáre.

table  teacher he-pres-it-write-asp-on math

'The table, the teacher is writing math on it.'

(21) a  Umukoôbwa a-ra-ríriimb-ir-a abaantu ku nafaraanga.

girl  she-pres-sing-ben-asp people for money

'The girl is singing to the people for money.'

b  Umukoôbwa a-ra-ríriimb-ir-a amafaraanga.

girl  she-pres-sing-ben-asp money

'The girl is singing for money.'

c  Amafaraanga, umukoôbwa a-rá-ya-ríriimb-ir-a.

money  girl  she-pres-it-sing-ben-asp

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'The money, the girl is singing for it.'

As it was shown in Chapter 4 and 5, associatives and comparatives are never advanced to DO but are rather advanced to Subject position. In the associative case, the promotion is obtained by deleting the preposition nka (=like), nka is changed into the adverb kimwe (=alike). In both comparative and associative cases, the verb prefix changes into plural when these cases appear in the topic position. Thus (17)b and (18)b can be expressed by the construction of (22) and (23), respectively.

(22) Umuhûûngu, umukoôbwa ba-rá-kor-an-a akazi.

    boy        girl        they-pres-do-ass-asp work

    'The boy, the girl is working with him.'

(23) Abagabo, úno mugóre ba-geend-a kimwe.

    men    this woman  they-walk-asp alike

    'The men, this woman walks like them.'

Note that the verb doesn't have an extra agreement as in the situation of other cases because here these oblique cases have been promoted to subject status and therefore act and behave just as subjects.

Constraints on Topicalization

Only definite and generic NPs can be topicalized. Thus there is no indefinite NP topic. This is indicated in (24).

(24) Umugóre, umugabo y-a-mu-i óon-ye.

    woman  man  he-pst-him-see-asp

    'The woman, the man saw her.'

    '*A woman, the man saw her.'

Abstract manner NPs never topicalize. There is only one exception, in which the manner complement always appears as a left topic, namely the following proverb.

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(25) Mu cyaa yéenge, inkóko i-ra-nyáar-a.

    in of knowledge chicken it-pres-pee-asp

    'The chicken pees with discretion.'

Notice as with temporal complement topics, there is no agreement but the "action - focus" marker -ra- figures.[3]

The initial DO of sentences, where either Loc NPs or Possessor NP's have been ascended to DO, cannot be topicalized. This has to do with the Relational Annihilation Law because initial DO of verbs for which these types of promotion have applied don't undergo any kind of transformation whatsoever.

Thus in (26) we see that objectivized locatives are topicalizable the former DOs are not. Similarily in (27) the ascended possessor NP is objectivizable but the initial DO is not.

(26) a   Umwáana a-rá-shyir-a igitabo ku méeza.

      child he-pres-put-asp book on table

      'The child is putting the book on the table.'

    b  Umwáana a-rá-shyir-a améeza hó igitabo.

      child he-pres-put-asp table on book

    c  Améeza, umwáana a-rá-ya-shyir-á-ho igitabo.

      table   child  he-pres-it-put-asp-on book

      'The table, the child is putting the book on it.'

    d  *Igitabo, umwáana a-rá-gi-shyir-á-ho améeza.

      book   child he-pres-put-asp-on table.'

(27) a  Yohaáni y-a-som-ye igitabo cya Maríya.

      John he-pst-read-asp book of Mary

      'John is reading Mary's book.'

b   Yohaâni y-a-som-e-ye Maríya igitabo.

   John he-pst-read-ben-asp Mary book

   'John is reading Mary's books.'

c   <u>Maríya</u>, Yohaâni y-a-mu-som-e-ye igitabo.

   Mary John he-pst-her-read-ben-asp book

   'Mary, John is reading her book.'

d   *<u>Igitabo</u>, Yohaâni y-a-gi-som-e-ye Maríya.

     book John he-pst-it-read-ben-asp Mary

Oblique goal NPs are not topicalizable: goal NPs can topicalize only
when they have been advanced to DO.

(28) a  Umugóre a-rá-kor-er-a umugabo ku bíryo.

    woman she-pres-work-ben-asp man for food

    'The woman is working for the man for food.'

b  *<u>Ibíryo</u>, umugóre a-rá-kor-er-a umugabo kurí byo.

    food woman she-pres-work-ben-asp man for it

Oblique locatives can be topicalized but when they topicalize, the
whole prepositional phrase has to move. It is then impossible just to
move the head noun and leave a resumptive pronoun as in other oblique
case NPs.

(29) a  Umukoôbwa a-z-iicar-a kuí ntebe.

    girl she-fut-sit-asp on chair

    'The girl will sit on the chair.'

b  <u>Kuí ntebe</u>, umukoôbwa a-zaa-h-iicar-a.

    on chair girl she-fut-there-sit-asp

    'The chair, the girl will sit on it.'

c  *<u>Inteke</u>, umukoôbwa a-z-iicar-a kurí yo.

    chair girl she-fut-sit-asp on it

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So far we have examined how topicalization operates in the matrix
sentence, the next section investigates how topicalization functions in
complex structures.

## Topicalization from Complex STructures

This section examines topicalization from NP nodes such as possessive
constructions, from complex NPs such as relative clauses, and from
embedded clauses.

## Topicalization from Possessive Constructions

Possessor NPs of possessive constructions can be topicalized.. Topical-
ization operates like in oblique case constructions; that is, the possessor
NP is moved and a resumptive pronoun is left in its former position.

> (30) a Umuhuûngu a-ra-som-a igitabo cy'ûmukoôbva.
>
> boy      he-pres read-asp   book of girl
>
> 'The boy is reading the girl's book'
>
> b Umukoôbva, umuhuûngu a-ra-som-a igitabo cy-ê .
>
> girl      boy      he-pres-read-asp book of her
>
> 'The girl, the boy is reading her book'

However, possessor NPs cannot be shifted to the right side of the
sentence, as (31) indicates.

> (31) *Umuhuûngu a-ra-som-a igitabo cy-ê, umukoôbva.
>
> boy      he-pres-read-asp book of her girl

The possessed NP cannot move alone leaving the possessor NP by itself.
Whenever it is topicalized, the possessor NP has to move with its
possessor.

> (32) *Igitabo, umuhuûngu a-ra-gi-som-a cy'ûmukoôbva.
>
> book      boy      he-pres-it-read-asp of girl

(33)  Igitabo cy'úmukoôbwa, umuhuûngu a-ra-gi-som-a

　　　book　　of girl　　　　boy　　he-pres-it-read-asp

　　　'The girl's book, the boy is reading it.'

The possessive NP can appear at the rightmost side of the sentence when the whole NP is topicalized.

(34)  Umuhuûngu a-ra-gi-som-a, igitabo cy'úmukoôbwa

　　　boy　　　　he-pres-it-read-asp book of girl

## Topicalization from relative clauses

Topicalization from relative clauses operates almost the same way as from the possessive constructions. For instance, there is no right topicalization and the head noun of the relative clause cannot be moved by itself. When topicalization applies on the relative head noun, the whole relative clause has to move. Examples of topicalization are given in (35) and (36).

(35)a  Abaantu b-a-kóz-e akazi ba-ra-aza gu-héemb-w-a

　　　　people  they-pst-rel-do-asp work they-pres-come to-pay-pass-asp

　　　　'People who did the work are going to get paid'

　　b  Akazi, abaantu b-a-ga-kóz-e ba-ra-aza gu-héemb-w-a,

　　　　work people they-pst-it-rel-do-asp they-pres-come to-pay-pass

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　-asp

　　　　'The work, people who did it are going to get paid'


(36)a  N-a-boon-ye abáana b-a-sóm-ye kîno gitabo

　　　　I-pst-see-asp children they-pst-rel-read-asp this book

　　　　'I saw the children who read this book.'

    b  Kîno gitabo, n-a-boon-ye abáana b-a-gi-sór-ye.

        this book  I-pst-see-asp children they-pst-it-rel-read-asp

        'This book, I saw the children who read it.'

NPs topicalized from relative clauses cannot appear as either right topics
of the relative clause or as right topics of the matrix sentence.  This
is illustrated by the ungrammaticality of (37) a&b and (38)a&b.

    (37)a  *Abaantu b-a-gá-koz-e, akazi, ba-ra-aza guhéembwa.

         people  they-pst-it-do-asp work they-pres-come to get paid

    b  *Abaantu b-a-gá-koz-e, ba-ra-aza guhéembwa, akazi.

        people they-pst-it-do-asp they-pres-come to get paid work

    (38)a  *N-a-boon-ye, kîno gitabo, abáana b-a-gi-són-ye.

        I-pst-see-asp this book children they-pst-it-rel-read-asp

    b  *N-a-boon-ye abáana b-a-gi-són-ye, kîno gitabo.

        I-pst-see-asp children they-pst-it-rel-read-asp this book.

Like possessive, heads of relative clauses cannot be detached from their
dependents but have to move together.

    (39)a  *B-a-kóz-e akazi ba-ra-aza guhéembwa, abaantu.

        they-pst-rel-do-asp work they-pres-come to get paid people

    b  Ba-ra-aza guhéembwa, abaantu b-a-kóz-e akazi.

        they-pres-come to get paid people they-pst-rel-do-asp work

        'They are going to get paid, people who did the work.'

    (40)a  *Abáana, n-a-ba-bóon-ye b-a-són-ye igitabo.

        children I-pst-them-see-asp they-pst-rel-read-asp book

    b  Abáana b-a-som-ye igitabo, n-a-ba-bóon-ye.

        children they-pst-rel-read-asp book I-pst-them-see-asp

        'The children who read the book, I saw them.'

Notice that the topicalized NP agrees with the verb of the relative clause

and not with the verb of the matrix sentence.

Topicalization from 'that' clauses

An NP contained in a sentential complement can be topicalized either at
the leftmost or the rightmost side of the embedded sentence, or at the
right or the left of the higher sentence. Four possibilities are thus
available as shown in (41).

(41)a Umwdalímu a-ra-shaak-a kó du-sóm-a bîno bitabo.

teacher he-pres-want-asp that we-rel-read-asp these books

'The teacher wants that we read these books.'

b Umwdalímu a-ra-shaak-a kó tu-bi-sóm-a, bîno bitabo.

teacher he-pres-want-asp that we-them-rel-read-asp these books

c Umwdalímu a-ra-shaak-a kó bîno bitabo, tu-bi-sóm-a.

teacher he-pres-want-asp that these books we-them-rel-read-asp

d Umwdalímu a-ra-shaak-a, bîno bitabo, kó tu-bi-sóm-a.

teacher he-pres-want-asp these books that we-them-rel-read-asp

e Bîno bitabo, umwdalímu a-ra-shaak-a kó tu-bi-sóm-a.

these books teacher he-pres-want-asp that we-them-rel-read-asp

'These books, the teacher wants us to read them.'

An NP and a sentence that contains it can both be topicalized. In this
case, the verb of the embedded sentence agree with the topicalized NP
and the matrix verb takes -bi- agreement to signal the topicalization of
the clause.

(42)a Umukoôbwa y-iibagiw-e gu-som-a íbarúwa.

girl she-forget-asp to-read-asp letter

'The girl forgot to read the letter.'

b Íbarúwa, umukoôbwa y-iibagiw-e ku-yi-som-a.

letter girl she-forget-asp to-it-read-asp

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'The letter, the girl forgot to read it.'

c Gusoma íbarúwa, umukoôbwa y-a-by-iibagiw-e.

to read letter girl she-it-forget-asp

'To read the letter, the girl forgot about it.'

d Íbarúwa, ku-yi-som-a, umukoôbwa y-a-by-iibagiw-e.

letter to-it-read-asp girl she-pst-it-forget-asp

'The letter to read it, the girl forgot.'

NPs contained in the matrix sentence that has a sentential complement
cannot occur as right topics of the whole sentence.

(43)a Umugabo a-ra-shaak-a kó abáana ba-sóm-a ibitabo.

man he-pres-want-asp that children they-rel-read-asp books

'The man wants the children to read the books.'

b A-ra-shaak-a kó abáana ba-sóm-a ibitabo, umugabo.

he-pres-want-asp that children they-rel-read-asp books man

Complex structures, then, (possessive constructions, relative clauses
and sentential complements) allow left topics only. The reason why right
topics are not allowed is maybe because NPs are being moved in lower
clauses, a process which is rare in natural languages (for detail on
this constraint see Langacker, 1974).

Multiple Topics

In Kinyarwanda, it is possible to have many topics in the same sentence.
In principle all NPs that occur in the sentence can be topicalized.

(44)a Umwáana y-a-haa-ye umugóre igitabo.

child he-pst-give-asp woman book

'The child gave the book to the woman.'

b Umugóre, igitabo, umwáana y-a-ki-mu-haa-ye.

woman book child he-pst-it-her-give-asp

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'The child gave the book to the woman.'

(45)a  Umugabo a-r-eerek-er-a umugóre abdana anashusho.

man    he-pres-show-ben-asp woman children pictures

'The man is showing pictures to the children for the woman.'

b  Umugóre, abdana, amashusho, umugabo a-ra-ya-bá-w-eerek-er-a.

woman children pictures man he-pres-them-ther-show-ben-asp

Even though it's frequent to have many topics, it's rare to have more than two right topics.

(46)a  Umugabo y-a-haa-ye umugóre amafaraanga.

man    he-pst-give-asp woman money

'The man gave money to the woman.'

b  Umugabo y-a-ya-mu-haa-ye, amafaraanga, umugóre.

man he-pst-it-her-give-asp money woman

If right topics are used for action emphasis and recall strategy as suggested by Givon (1975), it is understandable why there shouldn't be more than one topic.  There is only one action or event that is predicated.  The infixed pronouns that refer to topic NPs occur in fixed order: benefactives precede the verb stem, Indirect Objects  come before the benefactive infix and the Direct Object infix follows the tense marker.  Because of the fixed word order of infixes, topics can occur in any order. It is very difficult, however, to tell the underlying grammatical function of multiple topics which happen to belong to the same semantic category and the same syntactic class.  Thus the right interpretation of (47) will depend only on the context.

(47)a  Umugabo y-a-sab-i-ye abagóre abakóbwa ibitabo.

man    he-pst-ask-ben-asp women girls books

'The man asked books from the girls for the women.'

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b.   Ibitabo, abagóre, abakoõbwa, umugabo y-a-bi-ba-ba-sab-i-ye.

     books   women  girls     man-he-pst-them-them-them-ask-ben-asp

Out of context, it's hard to tell in (47)b which one is the berefactive,

which one is the recipient.

Both right topics and left topics can appear in the same sentence.

    (48)a  Umuhuûngu y-a-boon-ye umukoõbwa.

        boy     he-pst-see-asp girl

        'The boy saw the girl.'

     b  Umukoõbwa, y-a-mu-boon-ye, umukuûngu.

        girl     he-pst-see-asp  boy

        'The girl, he saw her, the boy.'

        'The girl, she saw him, the boy.'

    (49)a  Abâana b-a-kubis-e ímbwa.

        children they-pst-beat-asp dog

        'The children beat the dog.'

     b  Ímbwa, b-a-yí-kubis-e, abâana.

        dog they-pst-it-beat-asp children

        'The dog, they beat it, the children.'

When both right and left topicalization applies, a structural ambiguity

is created when the topics belong to the same class out of context, it

seems then difficult to tell the underlying subject from the underlying

object, as illustrated in (50).

    (50)  Igikéri, cy-a-ki-rí-iye, igikóona.

       frog  it-pst-eat-asp vulture

The underlying structure of (50) may be either (51) or (52).

    (51)  Igikéri cy-a-ri-iye igikóona.

       frog  it-pst-eat-asp vulture

22.

'The frog ate the vulture.'

(52) Igikóona cy-a-ri-iye igikéri.

vulture it-pst-eat-asp frog

'The vulture ate the frog.'

Thus (50) may have derived from (51) by left topicalizing the subject and right topicalizing the Direct Object, or it may have derived from (52) by shifting the subject to the end of the sentence and moving the DO to the beginning of the sentence. The right semantic interpretation of these constructions is only given by the context.

## Properties of Topics

Topicalized NP's can be moved to any higher sentence. This is illustrated by (53).

(53) a Umugóre a-ra-shaak-a kó umuhûngu a-bwiír-a umugabo kó umwáana

woman she-pres-want-asp that boy he-tell-asp man that child

a-sóma igitabo.

he-rel-read book

'The woman wants the boy to tell the man that the child is reading the book.'

b Umugóre a-ra-shaak-a kó umuhûngu a-bwiír-a umugabo kó igitabo, woman she-pres-want-asp that boy he-tell-asp man that child

umwáana a-gi-sóma

child he-it-read

c Umugóre a-ra-shaak-a kó igitabo, umuhûngu a-bwiír-a umugabo woman she-pres-want-asp that book boy he-tell-asp man

kó umwáana a-gi-sóma

that child he-it-read

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d <u>Igitabo</u>, umugóre a-ra-shaak-a kó umuhuûngu abwíîra umugabo

book    woman she-pres-want-asp that boy he tell man

kó umwáana a-gi-sóm-a.

that child he-it-read-asp

Besides this capacity of being moved to any higher sentence, topics cannot undergo any kind of transformation whatsoever. They cannot be relativized, pronominalized, clefted, questioned.... Not only do they become chomeurs (losing grammatical relation to the verb) but their dependence to the sentence from which they are extracted is destroyed. What we observe, in fact, is the creation of a new <u>independent</u> clause when topicalization takes place. In the derived structure, the topic becomes superfluous because the derived sentence looks like any other sentence in which anaphoric pronominalization has applied.

In other words, a sentence with a topic NP can be analysed as a two-clause sentence because the topic doesn't have any relation to the other clause. Thus (54) is a full sentence by itself and it looks like (55) except that a topic has been added to the latter.

    (54)   Umugóre y-a-<u>mu</u>-som-e-ye igitabo.

           woman she-pst-read-ben-asp book

           'The woman read his book.'

    (55)   <u>Umugabo</u>, umugóre y-a-<u>mu</u>-som-e-ye igitabo.

           woman woman she-pst-him-read-ben-asp book

           'The man, the woman read his book.'

In the following section, we will investigate the motivation of use of topics.

<u>Functional Role of Topics</u>

Left topics are used for emphasis and right topics are used for 'after-

thought' as suggested by Givón (1975).

Thus left topics are used as 'echo' answers to yes-no questions or as arguments (NPs) about which a comment is being made.

After a question such as 'Did the man read my book?', there are two possible answers namely (56) in which your book appears as an anaphoric pronoun and (57) in which your book functions as a left topic. Notice that (58) is not a possible answer. That is, when an argument has been previously mentioned it either appears as a topic or an anaphoric pronoun but cannot reoccur in its normal unmarked construction.

(56) Umugabo y-a-gi-som-ye.

    man  he-pst-it-read-asp

    'The man read it.'

(57) Igitabo cyaa we, umugabo y-a-gi-som-ye.

    book   of man   he-pst-it-read-asp

    'Your book, the man read it.'

(58) *Umugabo y-a-som-ye igitabo cyaa we.

    man    he-pst-read-as- book of you

    'The man read your book.'

Since (56) and (57) convey the same information, it is normal to interpret the topic use as an emphatic echo-answer to the question.

Left topics are used to open discourse also. In this case, an NP appears in the prominent position to draw the attention of the hearer to the statement or the comment that is going to be made about. In (59) 'this child' is put forward and the other part of the sentence is a comment about him.

(59) Uyu mwáana, n-da-mu-kúund-a.

    this child I-pres-him-like-asp

'This child, I like him.'

Right topics are used for afterthought as mentioned above. They are not as important as right topics. Their use, however, puts stress on the action or the event. Thus the important message that is conveyed in (60) is the fact that 'the woman likes the child very much' whereas 'this child' is superfluous.

(60)  Urugóre a-ra-mu-kúund-a, uyu mwáana.

woman she-pres-him-like-asp this child

'The woman likes him, this child.'

By precaution, the speaker before he finishes the sentence, adds an argument to it in order to prevent misinterpretation for the hearer who may forget or not know what he is referring to.

Footnotes

(1) We have deliberately chosen not to translate topics by 'as for NP' because topics in Kinyarwanda occur very frequently as discourse openers. Since it is not possible to start a discourse by 'as for constructions', we thought this kind of translation wouldn't be appropriate.

(2) The action-focus marker is not required if the verb has another complement. Look at the examples below in (i), the action-focus has to appear because the verb has

one object only, but in (ii) it is absent because there is another object NP in the sentence.

(i) a  Umugabo y-a-som-ye igitabo.

man    he-pst-read-asp book

'The man read the book.'

b  Igitabo, umugabo y-a-ra-gí-som-ye.

book    man    he-pst-it-read-asp

'The book, the man read it.'

c  *Igitabo, umugabo y-a-gi-som-ye.

book   man he-pst-it-read-asp

(ii) a  Umugabo y-a-som-e-ye umugóre igitabo.

man    he-pst-read-ben-asp woman book

'The man read the book for the woman.'

b  Igitabo, umugabo y-a-gi-som-e-ye umugóre.

book    man he-pst-it-read-ben-asp woman

'The book, the man read it for the woman.'

c  *Igitabo, umugabo y-a-ra-gi-som-e-ye umugóre.

book man he-pst-foc-it-read-ben-asp woman

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(3) Givón (personal communication) has suggested that the reason why
manner NPs don't usually topicalize or don't agree when they do,
is because they are universally indefinite. His explanation is
indeed confirmed by the fact that only definite NPs are topicali-
zable. In    (25) there is no agreement either, because agreement
is one way of definitizing in Bantu languages (sic.)

# Chapter IX  Concluding Remarks

We have shown that the notions <u>subject of</u>, <u>direct object of</u> play a very important role in Kinyarwanda grammar, since most of the transformations are stated in terms of them.  It has been indicated that this language has strategies that give term status to nongrammatical relations thereby allowing them to undergo certain transformations.  The fact that languages promote non-grammatical relations to term status  in order to "feed"other transformation is of course natural within the theory of Relational Grammar but Structural-Generative grammar doesn't suggest this as a natural rule type in natural languages.  The fact that Kinyarwanda is more adequately described in grammatical relation terms argues for the supremacy of RG over the Standard theory.  Li, C. and Thompson, S. (1975) have claimed, however, that "topic comment" languages such as Chinese cannot be described in terms of grammatical relations, since in these types of languages, the subject is not a clear-cut notion.  In the "subject predicate"languages typified by Kinyarwanda, it is clear that topic is not a primitive entity.  In fact the topic is never used to start a discourse.  Like pronouns, topics are always either anaphoric, refer to arguments previously mentioned in the discourse or presuppose shared information between hearer and  speaker and are thus more marked than subjects.  In some intuitive sense, they cannot be taken as primitives but involve transformations.  If Li C. & Thompson S. analysis is correct either the notion of subject has to be redefined or we have to accept their claim that some languages are really "topic comment" languages and others "subject predicate" languages and thus

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recognize the topic in the grammatical relations which is of course a problem for Relational Grammar.

Also it is not clear whether the Indirect Object is really a term or a non-term since it doesn't exist in Kinyarwanda as we have argued in the thesis. In other Bantu languages that have it, the indirect object behaves just like any other oblique case NP. It shares the same preposition with some other oblique NPs and undergoes the same kind of advancement rules like other oblique case NPs and should thus be classified among them. Subject and Direct objects should maybe be the only ones to be treated as terms because in all languages they are the only ones that can 'host' non-terms when they are promoted but in any language IOs are never promoted into.

Further research should be devoted to locatives in Bantu languages. Thus Dalgish (1976) and Trithart (1975) have found in the languages they investigated that locatives, as in Kinyarwanda, behave differently from oblique case NPs. In some cases they behave like terms, in some others they act like other oblique case NPs and thus have to take the promotional suffix like any other non-term when advanced to terms status. Locatives should then maybe given an intermediate status between terms and non-terms as it is done in this thesis.

Languages have strategies that distinguish derived terms from basic ones. The motivation is clear: it is to avoid confusion. As suggested by Keenan (1975c) and confirmed by Kimenyi (1976a) derived terms are likely to acquire the coding properties of basic terms (such as position in the sentence, case marking, agreement) but they may fail to acquire the transformational properties characteristic of basic terms. Derived terms are marked by some other devices also such as obligatory case

marking or special case marking. In Kinyarwanda as we have observed
derived terms are distinguished from the basic ones by the kind of suffixes
that appear on the verb. The relational Succession Law should be formu-
lated in such a way that it reflects this fact.

The Relational Annihilation Law should also be modified in this regard:
languages such as English or Swahili, to name just a few, which have
advancement of oblique case NPs to 2 always outcast the initial 2, but
in Kinyarwanda it is only the advancement of the locative to 2 and the
ascension of the alienable possessor to 2 which denote the former 2
whereas advancements of other oblique NPs don't denote the initial 2.
The Relational Annihilation Law's validity depends to some extent on
the functional role of the promotional rule. Functionally, a direct
object is an argument that is directly affected by the action of the
verb. Objectivization rules put an oblique NP in the direct interaction
with the action of the verb. For an illustrative example, look at the
verb shoot which can have either a direct object or an oblique object:

    (a) The police shot <u>at</u> the criminal.

    (b) The police shot the criminal.

The NP criminal in both (a) and (b) sentences is affected differently.
In (a) sentence, the criminal is not directly affected. This is evidenced
by the fact that one might utter such a sentence: "The police shot at
the criminal but they missed him." It is not possible however to have
this comment on (b) sentence since it would become semantically anomalous
or at least contradictory.: "*The police shot the criminal but they
missed him."

Languages might differ on the conception of how many arguments the action
of the verb can affect. Thus in English, the action of the verb can

affect one argument only. This is shown by the fact that two-argument verbs such as _give_, _send_, _show_... affect the direct object only but cease to do it once the indirect object has been objectivized thus becoming the only affected argument. This explains why the initial object becomes chomeur in this case, since it is not affected by the action of the verb anymore.

In some other languages, such as Kinyarwanda, both the indirect objec and the direct object are equally affected by the action of the verb: it is then likely that languages which have the advancement of indirect object to direct object won't put en chomage the initial DO if both the DO and the IO are conceived to be equally affected. This point is very well illustrated by the fact that in Kinyarwanda, the promotion of the alienable possessor outcasts the initial DO but that of the inalienable ones doesn't because the object and the possessor depend on each other: the inalienable possession is always "relational" and thus cannot be demoted.

This kind of explanation is of course speculation and needs some supporting evidence from experimental psychology.

Appendix

Class Markers

Like other Bantu languages, Kinyarwanda nouns belong to classes. A noun is divided in three parts: the preprefix, the prefix and the stem. Elements that modify the noun such as adjectives, verbs, demonstratives, possessors ... have to agree with it. Adjectives get the same prefix as the noun they modify but they don't get the preprefix. Verbs always agree with the subject. Verb subject prefixes and verb object infixes are different however. Below all class markers are presented.

|  | Noun & Adjective prefix | Verb prefix subject | verb object infix |
|---|---|---|---|
| I | --- | n- | -n(y)- |
| you (sg) | --- | u- | -ku- |
| you (pl) | --- | mu- | -ba- |
| we | --- | tu- | -tu- |
| cl.1 | u-mu- | a- | -mu- |
| cl.2 | a-ba- | ba- | -ba- |
| cl.3 | u-mu- | u- | -wu- |
| cl.4 | i-mi- | i- | -yi- |
| cl.5 | i-/- | li- | -li- |
| cl.6 | a-ma- | a- | -ya- |
| cl.7 | i-ki- | ki- | -ki- |
| cl.8 | i-bi- | bi- | -bi- |
| cl.9 | i-n- | i- | -yi- |
| cl.10 | i-n- | zi- | -zi- |
| cl.11 | u-ru- | ru- | -ru- |
| cl.12 | a-ka- | ka- | -ka- |
| cl.13 | u-tu- | tu- | -tu- |

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|         | Noun & Adjective prefix | Verb prefix subject | Verb object infix |
|---------|-------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|
| cl.14   | u-bu-                   | bu-                 | -bu-              |
| cl.15   | u-ku-                   | ku-                 | -ku-              |
| cl.16   | a-ha-                   | ha-                 | -ha-              |

N.B.   Demonstratives and relatives that refer to head nouns that

belong to class 1 are marked by u- instead of a-.

ex.   ú-no nuuntu

this person

u-riiya mwáana

that    child

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