

Chapter 30

VOICE and ROLE: Kinyarwanda

1. *Introduction*

In this chapter, we will consider the possibility that there exist languages which have PROPOSITIONS with a semantic complexity that exceeds the three PROPOSITIONAL ROLES of SiSwati and Hua and the possibility that a semantic NUCLEUS may be organized by an EVENT and four PROPOSITIONAL ROLES. Magretts & Austin (2007:438) suggest that:

Three syntactic arguments appear to be the maximal number that an underived lexical verb can take, but there are instances of verbs derived by valence-increasing morphology that can take four arguments when the input verb is a three-place predicate.

Kinyarwanda may be such a language. We exploited Kinyarwanda in Chapter 3 in the discussion of FOCUS, and we return to it here. The primary work on the language is the product of Alexandre Kimenyi (1976a, 1976b, 1977, 1980a, 1980b, 1986, 1988, 1999), but the language has been used extensively by others in the discussion of what are now commonly called thematic relations.¹ In this second tier of work, we find Gary & Keenan 1977, Contini-Morava 1983, Dryer 1983, Rugege 1984, Bickford 1986, and Gerdts & Whaley 1999. Most of the subsidiary publications depend on data from Kimenyi, either published or via personal communication.² In the discussion

¹ I have recently (October, 2014) become aware of two additional unpublished papers on Kinyarwanda by Alexandre Kimenyi: "Kinyarwanda Applicatives Revisited" and "The Two Types of Causatives in Kinyarwanda: From iconicity to symbolicity". Their content is yet to be integrated into this chapter.

Professor Kimenyi passed away June 11, 2010 (Bokamba & Ndayiragje 2012).

² Gary & Keenan 1977:119: "We wish to thank Alexandre Kimenyi, for not only serving as our informant, but for substantive contributions concerning the theoretical claims we have made. We also thank him for having made available his unpublished papers on Kinyarwanda." Dryer 1983: "Most of the data in this paper are from Kimenyi 1976. The remaining data were obtained directly from Alexandre Kimenyi in personal communication." Bickford 1986:129: "My data is [sic] from Kimenyi 1980" Contini-Morava 1983:434: "The paper owes its existence to a course on linguistic field methods I taught at Indiana University in 1979-80. I would like to thank Bea Muhongerwa, the language consultant for

here, the data will come mostly from Kimenyi's publications.³

2. *Kinyarwanda*

Kimenyi (1980a.1)

Kinyarwanda is the national language of Rwanda, which is located in central-east Africa. It is also spoken in eastern Zaire in Kivu province, in the Rutshuru and Gishari-Mokoto regions, and in the Bufumbira district of southern Uganda. This language is very close to both Kirundi, the national language of Burundi, and

that course, for patiently checking and rechecking the data on which this analysis was based, and Geoffrey Rugege of the University of Illinois for providing confirming data" Rugege (1984) is not explicit about the source of his data, but he seems to be their source. He was born in Kabale, Uganda in 1940 and emigrated to the USA in 1976 (Rugege 1984.159). Gerdts & Whaley 1999.96.: "We thank Pierre Mvuyekure for his assistance with the Kinyarwanda data ... Much of the data in this paper is from Kimenyi (1980)."

³ In the Kinyarwanda literature, there appear to be crucial differences in what is asserted of the data that are relevant to his chapter. For example, Gary & Keenan (1977.91) cite this example:

- (i) Yohana y-oher-er-eje Maria ibaruwa
 [John he-send-R-ASP Mary letter]
 'John sent a letter to mary'

And of such examples, they report "On the surface, R[ecipient]'s exhibit the full range of syntactic properties of DO's. The only difference ... is the obligatory presence of the *-ir-* suffix on a verb which has an R NP among its arguments." Thus, (ii) — without *-ir-* — must be, for Gary & Keenan, incorrect because it lacks the obligatory suffix:

- (ii) Yohana y-oher-eje Maria ibaruwa
 [John he-send-ASP Mary letter]
 'John sent a letter to mary'

Furthermore, sentence (i) "is ambiguous (or vague) according to whether *Mary* is understood to be a B[eneficiary] or an R" (Gary & Keenan 1977.94), i.e., 'John sent a letter to Mary' and/or 'John sent a letter for Mary'.

Kimenyi (1980a.31, 32) has the contrast between (iii) and (iv) in which the suffix itself does, as Gary & Keenan say, have a Beneficiary meaning, but it is the absence of *-ir-* that accompanies the meaning of Gary & Keenan's R:

- (iii) Umukoôbwa a-ra-som-er-a umuhuûngu igitabo
 [girl she-PRS-read-BEN-ASP boy book]
 'The girl is reading a book for the boy'
- (iv) Umugabo y-a-haa-ye mumugóre igitabo
 [man he-PST-give-ASP woman book]
 'The man gave the book to the woman'

For Kimenyi, (ii) should be an ordinary Kinyarwanda utterance paralleling (iv).

Dryer addresses this issue and provides a resolution (Dryer 1983.132): "The NPs which Gary and Keenan call IOs ... are actually Ben[efactive]s"

Giha, a language spoken in western Tanzania. The three languages are really dialects of a single language, since they are mutually intelligible to their respective speakers ... Kinyarwanda is spoken by nearly 7 million people: four and a half million in Rwanda and the remainder in both Zaire and Uganda.

and Rugege (1984.2):

Kinyarwanda is also known in the various parts of East Africa where it is known [sic] as Urunyarwanda, Urufumbira, Urushi and Urubangaza. The people to refer to the language as Urunyarwanda live mainly on the foothills of the volcanic range of mountains known as the Birunga, which stretch from the northern shores of Lake Kivu in Eastern Zaire to the southwestern region of Uganda called Bufumbira, where the author's father was born. Within Uganda, speakers of this language number about one million people. The largest number of speakers, however, live in the Republic of Rwanda, which lies to the south and east of the Birunga mountains. The population of Rwanda is estimated at four million people. Here the language is known as Ikinyarwanda.

2.1 *Preliminaries to Kinyarwanda morphosyntax*

Like other Bantu languages, Kinyarwanda has an SVO word order (Kimenyi 1980a.30-31):⁴

Subjects are easily differentiated from other verbal syntactic dependents because when present they always precede the verb and agree with it ... Direct objects follow the verb immediately without preposition.

Thus,

- (1) Umugúre a-teets-e inyama
 [woman she-cook-ASP meat]
 'The woman is cooking meat'

When Recipients are present, they appear after the Verb and before the Patient (Kimenyi 190a.53) :

- (2) Umuhuúngu y-a-haa-ye *umukoôwa* igitabo
 [boy he-PST-give-ASP girl book]
 'The boy gave a book to the girl'

⁴ "... the canonical word order of simple sentences in Kinyarwanda is SVO ..." (Rugege 1984.7)

One additional participant is possible in this sequence. With the verbal suffix *-er-*, a Beneficiary may be introduced following the verb and before the Recipient, or before the Patient if no Recipient is present:⁵

- (3) Umukoôbwa a-rá-há-*er*-a *umugóre* ábáana ibíryo
 [girl she-PRS-give-APPL-ASP woman children food]
 ‘The girl is giving food to the children for the woman’ (Kimenyi 1980a.32)
- (4) Umukôbwa a-rá-som-*er*-a *umuhuûngu* igitabo
 [girl she-PRS-read-APPL-ASP boy book]
 ‘The girl is reading a book for the boy’ (Kimenyi 1980a.32)

Kinyarwanda has prepositions, but none appear in the morphosyntax of the Patient, Recipient, and Beneficiary in (1) - (4) (Kimenyi 1980a.107):⁶

- (5) Úmwáalímu y-a-andits-e imibáre *ku* kíbááho
 [teacher he-PST-write-ASP math on blackboard
n’-íingwa
 with-chalk]
 ‘The teacher wrote math on the blackboard with chalk’

Also, like other Bantu languages, Kinyarwanda has a complex system of noun classes, in which “class markers are realized as noun-stem prefixed and words that modify the head noun (verbs, adjectives, demonstratives, possessives, quantifiers, elatives and numerals) ... Kinyarwanda has 16 classes” (Kimenyi 1980a.2). Verbs always agree with Subjects and topicalized Objects (Kimenyi 1980a.3). The prefix *a-* in (1) illustrates that agreement. *Umugóre* ‘woman’ is Class 1, and the “Verb Class Prefix” for that class is *a-*. The 16 noun classes also have an appropriate “Verb Object Prefix”. The Object Prefix behaves as a Pronoun and not as agreement, e.g.,

⁵ The suffix *-er-* has a number of variant shapes and also a number of variant glosses. ‘Applicative’ is chosen in (3) and (4). In repeating Kimenyi’s examples, I follow Kimenyi and use his gloss.

⁶ “... benefactive and indirect object NPs with prepositionss are not attested in the language” (Kimenyi 1980a.67).

- (6) Umugabo a-kí-*bí-bá-m*-hé-er-a
 [man he-PST-them-them-me-give-APPL-ASP]
 ‘The man is giving them to them for me’ (Kimenyi 1980a.182)
- (7) Y-a-*kí-mú-bá*-hé-er-eye
 [he-PST-it-him-them-give-APPL-ASP]
 ‘He gave it to him for them’ (Kimenyi 1980a.181)

The Object Prefixes may be used “if the noun has been mentioned previously in the discourse or if it is coreferential with another non-subject NP ... which preceded the incorporating verb ... The anaphoric pronoun need not refer solely to an NP which preceded the verb, but it does share the same identity of meaning” (Kimenyi 1980a.179):

- (8) N-a-boon-ye *Karól* na Yôhaâni ná we
 [I-PST-see-ASP Charles_i and John also him
 y-a-*mú*-bóon-ye
 he-PST-him_i-see-ASP]
 ‘I saw Charles_i and John also saw him_i’
- (9) *Ábáana* b-a-ny-er-ets-e igitabo
 [children_i they-PST-me-show-ASP book
 w-a-*ba*-gur-i-ye
 you-PST-them_i-buy-BEN-ASP]
 ‘The children_i showed me the book that you bought for them_i’
- (10) N-a-guz-e *igitabo* na Yôhaani ná we
 [I-PST-buy-ASP book_i and John also him
 y-a-*ki*-guz-e
 he-PST-it_i-buy-ASP]
 ‘I bought a book_i and John also bought one_i’

Sentences (8) and (9) illustrate incorporated coreferential Pronouns, and sentence (10) has a Pronoun which “shares the same identity of meaning”. The incorporated Pronouns differ from the Subject prefix in that the Pronoun does not cooccur with its Noun in the same clause, while the Subject prefix does: Pronoun vs. Agreement.

2.2 *The Semantic NUCLEUS in Kinyarwanda*

Kimenyi (1980a.60, 61) observes that “all sentences must have marked subjects to be grammatical ... on the other hand, the direct object need not be mentioned at all.”⁷ Sentence (11), for example, lacks an expressed PATIENT/Direct Object, either as an overt Noun or as an Object Prefix (Kimenyi 1988.359):

- (11) Ba-ra-kubis-e
 [they-PRES-hit-ASP]
 ‘They just hit’

While (11) contains a mark of agreement with the Subject, i.e., *ba-*, an overt nominal Subject is absent.

The potential absence of the Direct Object permits these sequences:

- (12) Umugaanga a-ra-vuur-a abárwáayi
 [doctor he-PRS-cure-ASP patients]
 ‘The doctor is curing the patients’ (Kimenyi 1988.359)
- (13) Ümwáalimu y-eerets-e abányéeshuûri
 [teacher he-show-ASP students]
 ‘The teacher showed (something) to the students’ (Kimenyi 1980a.61)
- (14) Umugóre y-a-sab-i-ye úmwáana
 [woman he-PST-ask-APPL-ASP child]

⁷ “All Kinyarwanda verbs, besides ditransitive verbs, can appear with or without direct objects” (Kimenyi 1999.415).

“... transitive verbs such as *eat, write, read, ...* can be used intransitively” (Kimenyi 1980a.10).

An exception to the generalization about the presence of Subjects is found in the use of the copula *ni* (Kimenyi 1980a.60):

- (iii) Ní we
 [be him]
 ‘It is him’
- (iv) N’-uumugabo w-a-gíí-ye
 [be-man he-PST-go-ASP]
 ‘It is the man who left’

Cf. Chapter 3, section 2.2 for further of *ni* and its involvement with Kinyarwanda FOCUS.

‘The woman asked (for something) for the child’ (Kimenyi 1988.366)

Abárwáayi is the PATIENT in (12). Although morphosyntactically identical to (12), *abányéeshuûri* in (13) is the RECIPIENT. The existence of (15) with an overt PATIENT shows that *abányéeshuûri* is a RECIPIENT in both (13) & (15):

(15) *Ûmwáalimu* *y-eerets-e* *abányéeshuûri* *amashusho*
 [teacher he-show-ASP students pictures]
 ‘The teacher showed the students pictures’ (Kimenyi 1980a.61)

In (14), *úmwáana* is identified as the BENEFICIARY by the presence of the Applicative verbal suffix *-i-*.

Unlike the preverbal position, *none* of the three postverbal positions is necessary.⁸ Compare the members of this suite of utterances (Kimenyi 1980a.65):⁹

(16) (a) *Umuhuûngu* *y-a-sab-i-ye* *ábáana* *umukoôbwa*
 [boy he-PST-ask-APPL-ASP children girl
 amafaraanga
 money]
 ‘The boy asked the girl for the money for the children’

⁸ There is a class of Verbs that are exceptional (Kimenyi 1980a.60-61):

Some 3-argument verbs such as *-há* ‘give’, *-érek-* ‘show’, *-hwûr-* ‘tell’, and manipulative verbs such as *-tegek-* ‘order’, ‘command’, and *-búz-* ‘prevent’, demand explicit indirect objects ... Notice on the other hand, that the direct object need not be mentioned at all.

Compare (i) with (ii):

- (i) *Ûmwáalimu* *y-eerets-e* *abányéeshuûri*
 [teacher he-show-ASP students]
 ‘The teacher showed the students’
- (ii) **Ûmwáalimu* *y-eerets-e* *amashusho*
 [teacher he-show-ASP pictures]
 ‘The teacher showed the pictures’

⁹ This series of examples is repeated in Kimenyi 1988.365-366.

- (b) Umuhuûngu y-a-sab-ye amafaraanga
 [boy he-PST-ask-ASP money]
 ‘The boy asked for money’
- (c) Umuhuûngu y-a-sab-ye umukoôbwa
 [boy he-PST-ask-ASP girl]
 ‘The boy asked the girl’
- (d) Umuhuûngu y-a-sab-i-ye ábáana
 [boy he-PST-ask-APPL-ASP children]
 ‘The boy asked for the children’
- (e) Umuhuûngu y-a-sab-ye
 [boy he-PST-ask-ASP]
 ‘The boy asked’

In (16b) through (16d), the postverbal PARTICIPANTS are removed until we reach (16e).¹⁰ It is not that the missing EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES of PATIENT, RECIPIENT, and BENEFACTIVE, and the PARTICIPANTS that manifest them, somehow remain in the PROPOSITION. This is not elision. The EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES are completely absent from the semantics and the syntax of the PROPOSITION. The semantic NUCLEUS of a Kinyarwanda PROPOSITION is minimally composed of one PROPOSITIONAL ROLE (i.e., $_0V$), that is the TOPIC, and an EVENT that is the semantic FOCUS.¹¹

Kimenyi (1980a.31) notes “there is no formal way to distinguish direct objects [e.g., in (12)] from datives [e.g., the Recipient in (13)].” Only the morphological presence of the suffix *-i-* in (14) marks *úmwáana* as a BENEFICIARY.¹² The syntax does not. In (12) - (14), all PARTICIPANTS are in the V_1 position.¹³ Only when V_1 is filled — as in (15) —, is the position

¹⁰ Sentence (16e) is not actually in the Kinyarwanda data that I can find, but Kimenyi’s statement quoted above (“the direct object need not be mentioned at all”) assures its existence. Cp. (11) as well.

¹¹ If it were not for the semantic differentiation of the postverbal content into the NUCLEAR PROPOSITIONAL ROLES of V_3 $_2$ $_1$ in opposition to non-NUCLEAR content marked by Prepositions, Kinyarwanda would repeat the pattern of Kutenai in Chapter 27.

¹² “Benefactives are case-marked by the suffix *-ir-*, but they behave like direct objects and datives in other respects” (Kimenyi 1980a.65).

¹³ As in the discussion of SiSwati in Chapter 29, I shall use the label $_0V$ to indicate the

of $V_{_2}$ identifiable, i.e., $V_{_2} _1$. Otherwise, if $V_{_1}$ is missing, then $V_{_2}$ *is* $V_{_1}$ as in (13). Similarly, only when $V_{_2} _1$ are overtly manifest, is $V_{_3}$ recognizable, i.e., $V_{_3} _2 _1$. Without $V_{_2}$, then $V_{_3}$ necessarily *is* $V_{_2}$, and if $V_{_2}$ is not filled, then $V_{_3}$ *is* $V_{_1}$. Thus, the BENEFICIARY ‘woman’ in (3) occupies $V_{_3}$ since it is followed by an overt RECIPIENT and an overt PATIENT, but in (4), there is no expressed RECIPIENT, and the BENEFICIARY is syntactically in $V_{_2}$. And in (14), the BENEFICIARY ‘child’ is in $V_{_1}$. Schematically, the EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES of BENEFICIARY, RECIPIENT, and PATIENT occur as in Figure 1. The three syntactic positions express the Kinyarwanda PROPOSITIONAL ROLES, relative both in the form and in their content. They can not be directly characterized by the EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES that occupy them. Since $V_{_1}$ can be filled by *any* of the three EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES, whatever $V_{_1}$ is semantically, it is not co-

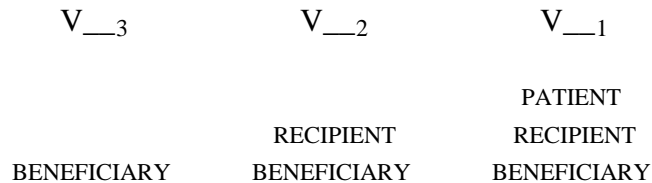


Figure 1: *Post-verbal word order in Kinyarwanda.*

terminous with, nor some average of, the EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES that manifest it. Similarly for $V_{_2}$ with its RECIPIENT and BENEFICIARY. Its meaning is not the sum nor some common thread present in the ROLE semantics of RECIPIENT and BENEFICIARY.¹⁴ The syntactic positions $V_{_1}$, $V_{_2}$, and $V_{_3}$, that constitute the grammar of Kinyarwanda PROPOSITIONAL ROLES, will each have a consistent semantics drawn from the substance of VOICE.¹⁵ The three Kinyarwanda EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES (three to this point) likewise have a strong component of VOICE in their own composition. It will be the recognition of that presence of VOICE which permits us understand the PROPOSITIONAL ROLES, the EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES, and their relationships.

preverbal position of the topic. There will be three identifiable postverbal positions that will be labelled $V_{_3} _2 _1$.

¹⁴ We will see below that $V_{_3}$ is like $V_{_1}$ and $V_{_2}$ in this respect. BENEFICIARY is not the only EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLE in $V_{_3}$. Other EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES occur there.

¹⁵ As we saw in Chapters 27, 28 & 29.

Of these three EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES, with respect to VOICE, the PATIENT is the one is the most enveloped in the EVENT, the ROLE that is most immersed in its flow. The RECIPIENT stands aside as the one that is peripherally affected, but not directly touched and truly altered by the EVENT. Lastly, the BENEFICIARY stands still further to the side, and its affect is correspondingly less than the RECIPIENT's.¹⁶ The PROPOSITIONAL ROLES have their semantics composed entirely from the purport of VOICE, differing only in their closeness to the intensity of the EVENT.

The relationship between PROPOSITIONAL ROLES and EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES is this. The most VOICE intense EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLE will be manifest as the most VOICE intense PROPOSITIONAL ROLE.¹⁷ If that EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLE is the only one in the PROPOSITION, then that PROPOSITIONAL ROLE will be $V_{_1}$. Hence, (16b), (16c), and (16d). In each, the PARTICIPANT is the most intense EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLE present — since none is compared with another — and thus is appropriate to $V_{_1}$, which marks the most intense value of VOICE content. The absolute VOICE value of $V_{_1}$ is less in (16c) than in (16b), but relatively, it is constant.¹⁸

To understand the functioning of PROPOSITIONAL ROLES and EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES in Kinyarwanda, we must also know the VOICE content of the EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES. They will reveal themselves formally as they take their place in the sequence of PROPOSITIONAL ROLES. Without our sensibility to VOICE, their position will be arbitrary and meaningless. It will be just what Kinyarwanda morphosyntax does ... randomly and without motivation. It will depend upon us to recognize the presence and the quality of VOICE, and thus to see the pattern. In the following sections, we will examine the semantics of the EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES in more detail. There will be more than the three EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES introduced above. Our beginning selection is displayed in Figure 2 positioned by the strength of

¹⁶ Such gradation is common, if not universal. Cf., e.g., the description of the EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES in Ilokano (Chapter 26, section 2.4) and Yogad (Chapter 28).

¹⁷ As Rugege (1984.9) expresses it: “Another interesting aspect of word order in Kinyarwanda is that when the verb has more than one object the grammatical relation of a particular object to the verb is determined by the order of constituents in the sentence ... Grammatical relations are determined strictly by word order.”

¹⁸ Notice that this relation between PROPOSITIONAL ROLES and EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES repeats the relation that governed the SiSwati PROPOSITIONAL NUCLEUS (Chapter 29, section 2.4). Two interesting differences between the languages: (i) whereas SiSwati has two postverbal PROPOSITIONAL ROLES, Kinyarwanda has three and (ii) whereas SiSwati physically ordered its two postverbal PROPOSITIONAL ROLES $V_{_1} > V_{_2}$, Kinyarwanda does the reverse $V_{_3} > V_{_2} > V_{_1}$.

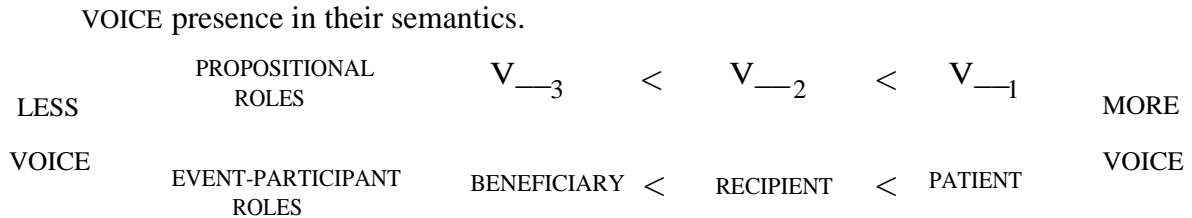


Figure 2: *Some Kinyarwanda ROLES arrayed by VOICE content.*

2.3 EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES: RECIPIENT, BENEFICIARY & POSSESSION

Kinyarwanda possession is interesting in that it is implemented semantically as a VOICE modulation of PARTICIPANTS, which then in turn appear in EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES. Since POSSESSED PARTICIPANTS bring their own VOICE to the EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES and their VOICE, the interaction is instructive.

Let us begin with the following examples:

- (17) Umugóre a-ra-som-a igitabo cy-a Karoôri
 [woman she-PRS-read-ASP book of Charles]
 ‘The man is reading the book of the woman’ (Kimenyi 1977.303)
- (18) Imgurube zi-rá-ry-a ibíryo by-‘abáana
 [pigs they-PRS-eat-ASP food of-children]
 ‘The pigs are eating the children’s food’ (Kimenyi 1977.304)
- (19) Umugóre a-rá-sokoz-a umusatsi w’-úúmwaana
 [woman she-PRS-comb-ASP hair of-child]
 ‘The girl is combing the hair of the child’
 ‘The girl is combing the hair of the child’ [his toy’s hair]
 (Kimenyi 1980a.44)
- (20) Umuhuûngu y-a-vun-nye ukuguru k’-umukoôbwa
 [boy he-PST-break-ASP leg of-girl]
 ‘The boy broke the leg of the girl’ [her right or left leg]
 ‘The boy broke the leg of the girl’ [i.e., the leg of a chair that she just
 bought]
 (Kimenyi 1980a.44)

In (17) - (20), “the possessor NP is linked to the possessed NP by the possessive morpheme *-a-* preceded by the class marker of the possessed NP”

(Kimenyi 1977.303), and the grammar of POSSESSION in (17) - (20) permits an ALIENABLE or an INALIENABLE interpretation. ALIENABLE POSSESSION is possible for (17) - (20), but only in (19) and (20) can the POSSESSION also be INALIENABLE. The distinction between ALIENABLE and INALIENABLE is not formally marked in (17) - (20), but POSSESSION has an alternative grammar that is a more exact reflection of the semantics of ALIENABLE-INALIENABLE:

- (21) Umugóre a-ra-som-*er*-a Karoôri igitabo
 [woman she-PRS-read-APPL-ASP Charles book]
 ‘The man is reading Charles’ book’ (Kimenyi 1977.303)
- (22) Imgurube zi-rá-rí-*ir*-a abáana ibíryo
 [pigs they-PRS-eat-APPL-ASP children food]
 ‘The pigs are eating the children’s food’ (Kimenyi 1977.305)
- (23) Umugóre a-rá-sokoz-a úmwáana umusatsi
 [woman she-PRS-comb-ASP child hair]
 ‘The girl is combing the hair of the child’ (Kimenyi 1980a.44)
- (24) Umuhuúngu y-a-vun-nye umukoôbwa ukuguru
 [boy he-PST-break-ASP girl leg]
 ‘The boy broke the chair’s leg’ [her right or left leg] (Kimenyi 1980a.44)

The POSSESSORS of (17) - (20) are recast in (21) - (24) as filling an EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLE, i.e., the PATIENT. The semantic contrast that opposes (21) & (22) with (23) & (24) is (IN)ALIENABILITY: “The possessor can ... be expressed by adding the morpheme *-ir-* to the verb stem ... Inalienable possession is not marked by any morpheme” (Kimenyi 1980a.45, 46), and the Possessor stands before the Possessed. Hence, (23) & (24). Elsewhere, Kimenyi (1977.309) expands upon the content of Inalienable:

... the Inalienable Possessive Rule consists of deleting the possessive marker and putting the possessor NP in the DO position. This rule applies to (i) parts of a whole such as body parts (head, hair, mouth ...) parts of a house (window, door, roof ...) parts of clothes (pocket, sleeves, ...), (ii) locative possessives such as over, under, behind, in front, near, right, left, far, ... (iii) possessors of [objects that are affected by] verbs that mean take away, such as *steal, rob, take, ...*

The EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES of Figure 2 have a parallel in the PARTICIPANTS that may manifest them: ALIENABLELY POSSESSED, INALIENABLELY POSSESSED & UNPOSSESSED:

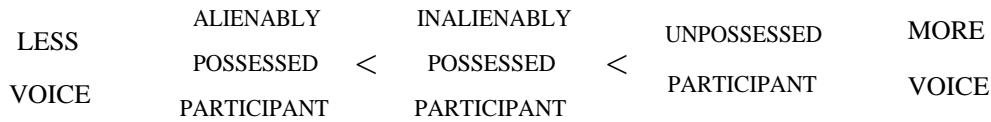


Figure 3: *Some Kinyarwanda PARTICIPANTS arrayed by VOICE content.*

The parallel between Figures 2 & 3 is reinforced by the grammar that expresses the EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES and INALIENABLE POSSESSION (Kimenyi 1980a.45):

(25) Umugabo a-ra-som-*er*-a umugóre igitabo
 [man he-PRS-read-APPL-ASP woman book]
 ‘The man is reading the book of the woman’

(26) Umukoóbwa a-rá-hanagur-*ir*-e umugóre ímódóka
 [girl she-PRS-clean-APPL-ASP woman car]
 ‘The girl is cleaning the woman’s car’

and compare (25) with (27) (Kimenyi 1980a.32):

(27) Umukoóbwa a-ra-som-*er*-a umuhuúngu igitabo
 [girl she-PRS-read-BEN-ASP boy book]
 ‘The girl is reading a book for the boy’

Lexical choices aside, (25) & (27) are morphosyntactically identical, yet they have contrasting glosses, an ALIENABLY POSSESSED PATIENT in (25) and a BENEFICIARY in (27).¹⁹ The grammar of (25) & (27) is indeterminate between the two,²⁰ and this widens the range of uses for *-ir-* ~ *-er-*, suggesting that it has a meaning broader than has been assigned to it. It is not specifically BENEFACTIVE nor ALIENABLE POSSESSION, but something that is compatible with both.

If we examine the morphosyntax of a RECIPIENT and that of an INALIENABLE POSSESSOR, we see that they can be as mutually indistinguish-

¹⁹ The differing grammatical glosses for *-er-* and *-ir-*, APPL and BEN, appear to have been chosen to reflect the glosses given to the sentences.

²⁰ “Usually the possessor objectivation rule creates ambiguity as to whether the derived structure has a possessive reading or a benefactive one” (Kimenyi 1977.305). The expression of POSSESSION accompanied by *-er-* is commonly “possessor objectivation”.

able as are the BENEFICIARY and the ALIENABLE POSSESSOR (above in [25] & [27]):

- (28) Úmwáalímu y-eerets-e abányéeshuûri amashusho
 [teacher he-show-ASP students pictures]
 ‘The teacher showed the students pictures’ (Kimenyi 1980a.61)
- (29) Umugabo y-a-boon-ye umugóre áamáaso
 [man he-PST-see-ASP woman eyes]
 ‘The man saw the woman’s eyes’ (Kimenyi 1980a.97)

Abányéeshuûri and *umugóre* occupy their respective V__2 positions, yet the first is a RECIPIENT and the second is an INALIENABLE POSSESSOR. We might expect the indistinguishability to translate into an identity of the functions of the two, but the existence of an expression such as (Kimenyi 1980a.97):

- (30) Umugabo y-a-boon-ye áamáaso y’ûmugóre
 [man he-PST-see-ASP eyes of-woman]
 ‘The man saw the woman’s eyes’

paired with (29) serves to keep the two EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES – RECIPIENT and INALIENABLE POSSESSOR – separate. Yes, they do share much: the same degree of VOICE in contrast with BENEFICIARIES & ALIENABLE POSSESSOR on one side and PATIENTS on the other, but their similarity is not reason to equate them. Rather, their similarity is referred to PROPOSITIONAL ROLES, i.e., they are both manifestations of the PROPOSITIONAL ROLE V__2.²¹

The similarities of (25) - (27) and (28) - (30) are depicted in Figure 4.22 The PATIENT occurs independently of the other EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES

²¹ In the absence of any concept such as PROPOSITIONAL ROLES (opposed to EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES) — or macroroles opposed to thematic relations — to contain the similarity, Gary & Keenan (1977) were led to the conclusion that there was a single (“grammatical”) relation here (Gary & Keenan 1977.117):

We have argued that unmarked Patient and Recipient-Benefactive NPs in Kinyarwanda share an overwhelming number of syntactic properties and hence should not be considered to bear distinct grammatical relations to the verb, but rather should be viewed as subtypes of the same grammatical relation.

²² In the discussion that follows, I shall designate the shared VOICE quality of the PATIENT and the UNPOSSESSED PARTICIPANT as 1, the shared VOICE of the RECIPIENT and INALIENABLELY POSSESSED as 2, and the BENEFICIARY and ALIENABLELY POSSESSED as 3.

and is recognizable by its presence alone following the EVENT/Verb. The UNPOSSESSED PARTICIPANT is likewise formally independent. The RECIPIENT is recognized by its appearance in $V_{_2}$ with a following $V_{_1}$. The INALIENABLE POSSESSION is similarly formed by the close succession of

EXPRESSION	<i>-ir-</i> PARTICIPANT ₂ PARTICIPANT ₁ < PARTICIPANT ₂ PARTICIPANT ₁ < PARTICIPANT		
EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLE	BENEFICIARY	RECIPIENT	PATIENT
POSSESSION	ALIENABLY POSSESSED	INALIENABLY POSSESSED	UNPOSSESSED

Figure 4: *Formal parallels between EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES & PARTICIPANTS.*

POSSESSOR & POSSESSED as in $V_{_2} _1$. The BENEFICIARY is like the RECIPIENT but distinguished by the occurrence of *-ir-*. ALIENABLE POSSESSION grammatically mimics the BENEFICIARY.

Because of the VOICE affiliations summarized in Figure 4, we might expect to find perturbations in Kinyarwanda morphosyntax when the pairing is broken. What, for example, will happen when an INALIENABLY POSSESSED PARTICIPANT appears as a BENEFICIARY? Or when an ALIENABLY POSSESSED PARTICIPANT is a RECIPIENT?

2.3.1 *POSSESSED PARTICIPANTS as PATIENTS*

In this section, we turn to the relationships between the EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES — where the PARTICIPANTS are POSSESSED — and the PROPOSITIONAL ROLES that they fill. We look first at POSSESSED PARTICIPANTS that are PATIENTS. In understanding the examples in this section, we invoke the principle introduced in section 2.2: The most VOICE intense EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLE will be manifest as the most VOICE intense PROPOSITIONAL ROLE. And the PROPOSITIONAL ROLES are expressed linearly as $V_{_3} _2 _1$, where $_1$ outweighs $_2$, and $_2$ outweighs $_3$. Since the RECIPIENT and INALIENABLE POSSESSOR fall at the same point on the scale of VOICE content – vide (28) & (30) and Figure 4 — we can now understand why there are no Kinyarwanda equivalents to English utterances such as ‘The woman is showing the girl’s legs to the boy’:²³

²³ To make the patterns more visible, I share use 1, 2, and 3 in numbered examples and place

- (31) *Umugóre á-r-érek-a umuhuûngu umukoôbwa
 [woman she-PRS-show-ASP boy girl
 amaguru
 legs]
 ‘The woman is showing the girl’s legs to the boy’ (Kimenyi
 1980a.100)

The RECIPIENT₂ *umuhuûngu* ‘boy’ and the INALIENABLE POSSESSOR₂ *umukoôbwa* ‘girl’ are competing for V_{__2}, and the semantic NUCLEUS of Kinyarwanda PROPOSITIONS is designed to permit only one PARTICIPANT or ROLE with that VOICE value. That is, *V_{__2} __2 __1 is not possible.²⁴ But if the relation of POSSESSOR and POSSESSED is ALIENABLE, then we should have a PATIENT₁ in V_{__1}, a RECIPIENT₂ in V_{__2}, and an ALIENABLE POSSESSOR₃ in V_{__3}. This predicts that the English sentence *The woman is showing the girl’s books to the children* should occur. It does, but the shape is not that of (32), but (33):²⁵

- (32) *Umugóre á-r-érek-er-a *umukoôbwa* ábáana
 [woman she-PRS-show-APPL-ASP girl children
ibitabo
 books]
 ‘The woman is showing the girl’s books to the children’

them above the constituent that semantically is inherently rightmost, middle, or leftmost in the scale of Figure 4. In the text, I will occasionally use subscripts to remind the reader of the degree of VOICE present.

²⁴ On the one hand, (31) exhibits a word order S+V+IO+DO that should succeed in Kinyarwanda, yet inexplicably fails. On the other hand, in following the conjecture of section 2.2 that the significant force in Kinyarwanda syntax is the alignment of values for VOICE, (31) fails by design, as expected.

If one alters (31) to express the POSSESSION differently, then it is successful:

- (i) Umugóre á-r-érek-a umuhuûngu amaguru y’-ûmukoôbwa
 [woman she-PRS-show-ASP boy legs of-girl]
 ‘The woman is showing the girl’s legs to the boy’ (Kimenyi
 1980a.100)

Altering the expression of POSSESSION so that (IN)ALIENABILITY is not an issue, frees the PARTICIPANT *amaguru* to appear as an UNPOSSESSED PATIENT and to take its rightful and rightmost place as the most highly VOICED.

²⁵ Cf. also Kimenyi 1980a.105.

- (33) Umugóre á-r-érek-er-a ³ *umukoôbwa* *ibitabo*
 [woman she-PRS-show-APPL-ASP girl books
²
 ábáana
 children]
 ‘The woman is showing the girl’s books to the children’ (Kimenyi
 1980a.101)

In (33), the ALIENABLE POSSESSOR₃ appears first in the sequence — as expected — because ALIENABLE POSSESSION₃ has the least force of VOICE; but in place of the POSSESSED PATIENT occurring in V__₁ (as in [32]), it follows immediately upon its POSSESSOR. As described in the previous section, POSSESSOR & POSSESSED constitute a semantic unit that forces them to occur as a non-discontinuous grammatical pair.²⁶ Notice that the S+V+DO+IO order of (33) violates the expected S+V+IO+DO order for Kinyarwanda, but that it does so successfully for a principled reason.²⁷

When the pairing is of a BENEFICIARY₃ with an ALIENABLE POSSESSOR₃ as PATIENT in the same utterance, the outcome is again as infelicitous. Compare (34), modeled on (33):

- (34) *Umogóre a-ra-som-er-er-a ³ *umukoôbwa*
 [woman she-PRS-read-APPL-APPL-ASP girl
³
 ibitabo *ábáana*
 books children]
 ‘The woman is reading the girl’s books for the children’ (Kimenyi
 1980a.100)

Both the ALIENABLE POSSESSOR₃ *umukoôbwa* ‘girl’ and the BENEFICIARY₃ *ábáana* ‘children’ have equivalent values for VOICE, and their EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES compete unsuccessfully for the same postverbal position.²⁸

²⁶ Kimenyi (1980a.101) describes the pattern: “...the possessor must immediately follow the verb, and the possessor [sic] NP in turn must follow the ... possessor.”

²⁷ I.e., the conjecture of section 2.2.

²⁸ Kimenyi’s example has a double *-er-er-* as if to accommodate the two ROLES, but the example would fail just as well with one *-er-*.

But what if the RECIPIENT₂ *umuhuûngu* ‘boy’ in (31) were replaced by a BENEFICIARY₃, which fills the V__₃ PROPOSITIONAL ROLE? E.g., (35) ‘The man opened the house door for the woman.’ We should have a V__₃ BENEFICIARY ‘woman’, a V__₂ INALIENABLE POSSESSOR V__₂ ‘house’, and a PATIENT V__₁ ‘door’. Kinyarwanda morphosyntax should permit that combination and gloss, but it does not:

- | | | | | | |
|------|--|---------|-------|--------|--|
| | | 3 | 2 | 1 | |
| (35) | Umugabo y-a-kiinguur-i-ye | umugóre | inzu | uruugi | |
| | [man he-PST-open-BEN-ASP | woman | house | door] | |
| | *‘The man opened the house door for the woman’ (Kimenyi 1980a.100) | | | | |

Yet, the morphosyntax of (35) is not entirely banned from Kinyarwanda. It occurs, but with another gloss:

- | | | | | | |
|------|--|---------|-------|-----------|--|
| | | 3 | 2 | 1 | |
| (36) | Umwáana y-a-men-e-ye | Yohaâni | inzu | ídiríshya | |
| | [child he-PST-break-BEN-ASP | John | house | window] | |
| | ‘The child broke John’s house’s window’ (Kimenyi 1977.311) | | | | |

- | | | | | | |
|------|---|---------|---------|---------|--|
| | | 3 | 2 | 1 | |
| (37) | Úmwáana y-a-ci-ir-i-ye | umugabo | ishaâti | umufuka | |
| | [child he-PST-tear-APPL-ASP | man | shirt | pocket] | |
| | ‘The child tore the man’s shirt pocket’ (Kimenyi 1980a.106) | | | | |

In place of a BENEFICIARY₃ occurring first in the sequence of three, the first PARTICIPANT in V__₃ is heard as an ALIENABLE POSSESSOR₃.²⁹ The V__₃ __₂ __₁ sequencing is ALIENABLE POSSESSOR₃ + INALIENABLE POSSESSOR₂ + PATIENT₁. Sentences (36) and (37) follow the prediction that matches the EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES with PROPOSITIONAL ROLES by the strength of their VOICE. The unexplained here is the absence of a BENEFICIARY in

Although Kimenyi does not cite the following, we must assume that it, too, is not acceptable:

- | | | | | | |
|-----|---|----------|-----------|---------|--|
| (i) | *Umogóre a-ra-som-er-er-a | ábáana | umukoóbwa | ibitabo | |
| | [woman she-PRS-read-APPL-ASP | children | girl | books] | |
| | ‘The woman is reading the girl’s books for the children’ (Unattested) | | | | |

²⁹ Notice also that with *men* ‘break’ and *ci* ‘tear’ there is a possibility that there is a sense of malefaction.

V__₃.³⁰

The intricacy of the grammar of (35) - (37) continues. Consider (38):

- (38) Umugabo y-a-vun-i-ye umugóre úmwána ukuguru
 [man he-PST-break-APPL-ASP woman child leg]
 ‘The man broke the woman’s child’s leg’ (Kimenyi 1980a.99)
- (39) Umuhuúngu y-a-som-e-ye perezida umukoóbwa intoki
 [boy he-PST-kiss-ASP president girl fingers]
 ‘The boy kissed the president’s daughter’s fingers’ (Kimenyi 1988.383)

The grammar of utterance (38) parallels the grammar of (36) - (37), and with the Verb *vun* ‘break’, it has their malefactive potential. But notice that unlike *Yohaâni* and *umugabo*, *umugóre* in (38) is literally an INALIENABLE POSSESSOR₂, assuming that there is a parent-offspring pairing here. Nevertheless, there is a verbal suffix *-i-* that denies INALIENABLE POSSESSION₂. We found in (31) that the INALIENABLE POSSESSOR₂ and the RECIPIENT₂ are incompatible in the same NUCLEUS because each attempts to occupy V__₂, and only one can. If (38) were to be cast literally, formally as two INALIENABLE POSSESSORS,

- (39) *Umugabo y-a-vun-ye umugóre² úmwána² ukuguru

the same unacceptable morphosyntax of (31) would be repeated.

It may be that in (38), regardless of the nature of possession, when arrayed together as they are, the degree of effect diminishes. The child in (38) is obviously more proximally affected by the experience than is the woman, and this lesser degree of VOICE PROXIMITY to the EVENT is what the morphosyntax of (38) is reflecting, and not the nature of the Possession. This would be consistent with the semantics of the PROPOSITIONAL ROLES: V__₃ <

³⁰ The absence of the BENEFICIARY may be only apparent. Consider sentence (35) in comparison with (36) and (37). Although the literal Benefactive gloss ‘for’ has been discounted, (35) should still host a gloss, ‘The man opened the woman’s house’s door’, with an ALIENABLE POSSESSOR just like (36) and (37). If not, then something is missing from the Kinyarwanda descriptive data. Perhaps it is the more venomous ‘break’ and ‘tear’ that are required. If the ALIENABLE POSSESSOR gloss is accepted for (35), then the sense of BENEFICIARY and ALIENABLE POSSESSOR are both present, i.e., an ALIENABLE POSSESSOR *is* benefited by the action and *is* simultaneously — whether glossed as such or not — a BENEFICIARY.

$V_{_2} < V_{_1}$. We have seen before that *-ir- ~ -er-* marks more than the quality of POSSESSION, and the next section will expand further upon its use.

2.3.2 POSSESSED PARTICIPANTS as RECIPIENTS & BENEFICIARIES

One of the lacunae in the literature on Kinyarwanda is that *all* the postverbal POSSESSED PARTICIPANTS represent the PATIENT EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLE. *No* POSSESSED PARTICIPANTS occur as RECIPIENT or BENEFICIARY. The Kinyarwanda equivalents of sentences like

The man gave the books to the child's teacher_{RECIPIENT}
 The man gave the books to the child's mother_{RECIPIENT}
 The man works for the woman's teacher_{BENEFICIARY}
 The man works for the woman's child_{BENEFICIARY}
 etc.

are absent and not discussed, neither by example nor by principle.³¹ There are no examples of a POSSESSED PARTICIPANT as RECIPIENT or BENEFICIARY, and there is no discussion of why that gap should exist. One should think that the sense of *The man works for the woman's child* is possible in Kinyarwanda. Since "... there is no preposition in the language which stands for the Benefactive case" (Kimenyi 1980a.113), if it exists at all, *for the woman's child* should appear in the NUCLEUS:

(40) Umugabo a-kor-er-a umugóre úmwáana
 [man he-work-APPL-ASP woman child]
 'The man works for the woman's child' (Unattested)

(41) Umugabo a-kor-er-a ibíryo
 [man he-work-APPL-ASP money]
 'The man works for money' (Kimenyi 1980a.26)

Although (40) parallels (41), nothing like (40) is attested. If (40) does not exist, an alternative might be (42), using the Preposition of Possession:

(42) Umugabo a-kor-er-a úmwáana k'-umugóre
 [man he-work-APPL-ASP child of-woman]

³¹ There are examples of POSSESSED PARTICIPANTS as INSTRUMENTS (e.g., [80] below) and as MANNERS (e.g., [105] below), i.e., those ROLES with lesser VOICE which follow PATIENTS in the word order.

‘The man works for the child of the woman’ (Unattested)

Kimenyi (1988.367) does present this example of a Passive:

- (43) Umugabo y-a-sab-i-w-e úmwáana amafaraanga
 [man he-PST-ask-POSSESS-PASS-ASP child money
 n’-úmugóre
 by-woman]
 ‘The man’s child was asked money by the woman’
 *‘The man was asked money for the child by the woman’

which implies (44) with a POSSESSOR-POSSESSED RECIPIENT:

- (44) Úmugóre y-a-sab-i-ye umugabo úmwáana
 [woman she-PST-ask-POSSESS-ASP man child
 amafaraanga
 money]
 ‘The woman asked money of the man’s child’
 ‘The woman asked the man’s child for money’ (Unattested)

Sentence (44) is not attested in the literature, but it would be formally similar to (16a) above, repeated here as (45):

- (45) Umuhuûngu y-a-sab-i-ye ábáana umukoôbwa
 [boy he-PST-ask-APPL-ASP children girl
 amafaraanga
 money]
 ‘The boy asked the girl for the money for the children’

Sentence (45) lacks the POSSESSOR-POSSESSED relation, but it is found in (38) repeated as (46),

- (46) Umugabo y-a-vun-i-ye umugóre úmwáana
 [man he-PST-break-APPL-ASP woman child
 ukuguru
 leg]
 ‘The man broke the woman’s child’s leg’ (Kimenyi 1980a.99)

The gloss that Kimenyi denies for (43) would have this unattested non-

- (50) (a) Umuhuungu a-ri-ye ibíryo byáa cu
 [boy he-read-ASP food of us]
 ‘The boy is eating our food’ (Unattested)
- (b) Umuhuungu á-*ũ*-ri-*ir*-a ibíryo byáa cu
 [boy he-REFL-eat-APPL-ASP food of us]
 ‘The boy is eating our food’ (Kimenyi 1980a.143)

Since Kimenyi does not introduce the non-Middle versions in (49a) and (50a) to contrast with the Middle, a Middle Voice sense is not transparent in (49b) and (50b). The Middle Voice is more obvious in (51b) and (51c):

- (51) (a) Úmwáana a-ra-siinziir-a
 [child she-PRS-sleep-ASP]
 ‘The child is sleeping’ (Kimenyi 1980b.238)
- (b) Úmwáana a-ra-íi-siinziir-ir-a
 [child she-PRS-sleep-APPL-ASP]
 ‘The child is enjoying his sleep’ (Kimenyi 1980b.238)
- (c) Umugóre a-r-íi-siinziir-iish-iriz-a úmwáana
 [woman she-PRS-REFL-sleep-CAUS-APPL-ASP child]
 ‘The woman is enjoying making the child sleep’
 *‘The woman is making the child enjoy his sleep’ (Kimenyi 1980b.238)

In (51b), the suffix *-ir-* ~ *-er-* produces a lessened VOICE and the Reflexive assigns the diminished VOICE to the AGENT PARTICIPANT in 0 V. In (51c), the same happens, but now, in the presence of *-iish-*, it is a CAUSER PARTICIPANT in 0 V.³²

³² The Reflexive and *-ir-* ~ *-er-* can combine without producing a sense of Middle (Kimenyi 1980a.144):

- (i) Umugabo a-ra-som-a igitabó cy-e
 [man he-PRS-read-ASP book of-him]
 ‘The man₁ is reading his₂ book’
- (ii) Umugabo á-r-*ũ*-som-*ir*-a igitabó
 [man he-PRS-REFL-read-APPL-ASP book]
 ‘The man is reading his own book’

The lax VOICE sense of *-ir-* ~ *-er-* is also apparent in its occurrence with the ‘take away’ Verbs cited above. Kimenyi (1980a.47) provides another slightly different characterization of them:

With certain verbs such as *kwíiba* ‘to steal’, *kwiiba* ‘to rob’, and *gútwáara* ‘to take away’, the possessor may not be marked, but other types of constructions where the possessor is marked are also possible.

Thus, there exists the possibility of contrasts such as these:

(52) Umujura y-aa-ny-ib-*i*-ye igitabo
 [thief he-PST-me-steal-BEN-ASP book]
 ‘The thief stole my book’

(53) Umujura y-aa-ny-ib-ye igitabo
 [thief he-PST-me-steal-ASP book]
 ‘The thief stole my book’

and

(54) Umukoôbwa y-a-twaa-*r*-ye umugabo amagaramanga
 [girl she-PST-take-BEN-ASP man money]
 ‘The girl took the money of the man’

(55) Umukoôbwa y-a-twaa-ye umugabo amagaramanga³³
 [girl she-PST-take-ASP man money]
 ‘The girl took the man’s money’

Igitabo ‘book’ and *amaramanga* ‘money’ must be ALIENABLY POSSESSED throughout (52) - (55), so the contrasts between (52) & (53) and (54) & (55)

In (ii), the diminished VOICE of *-ir-* is used to signal ALIENABLE POSSESSION, and the Reflexive assures that it is the AGENT PARTICIPANT in V that is the POSSESSOR of the PATIENT thereby participating in the effect, i.e., the Middle Voice.

³³ Gerds & Whaley (1999.92) additionally have:

(i) Umuhuúngu y-a-twaa-ye umukoôbwa igitabo
 [boy he-PST-take-ASP girl book]
 ‘The boy took the girl’s book’

without *-ir-* ~ *-er-*. They do not comment on the gloss.

do *nó*t turn on (IN)ALIENABILITY, but upon some óther semantic opposition. The apparently INALIENABLE grammar in (53) and (55) must express a sense of heightened, more intense VOICE that is not INALIENABILITY. Although Kimenyi adds no explanatory remarks, we may suppose that the contrast between (52) & (53) and (54) & (55) is like this. The force of removal is more abrupt, greater, and rougher in (53) and (55) than in (52) and (54), respectively. Sentences (53) & (55) contain malefactive RECIPIENTS, where the malefaction is implemented through possession and its grammar.

The following contrasts (Kimenyi 1980b.240) continue that theme:

- (56) (a) A-zaa-ken-a
[he-FUT-be.poor-ASP]
'He will be poor'
- (b) A-zaa-ken-er-a igitabo
[he-FUT-be.poor-APPL-ASP book]
'He will need a book'
- (57) (a) Tu-rá-tsiind-a
[we-PRS-win-ASP]
'We win'
- (b) Tu-rá-tsiind-ir-a amafaraanga
[we-PRS-win-APPL-ASP money]
'We win the money'

The slight involvement that 'needing' or 'winning' imposes on a PATIENT is reflected in the use of *-ir-* ~ *-er-* which marks the decreased VOICE associated with 'book' and 'money'³⁴. Sentences (56b) and (57b) are the weak VOICE sisters of (53) and (55).

The suffix *-ir-* ~ *-er-* also is used to oppose 'promising' with 'accepting', 'preventing' with 'refusing', and 'allowing' with 'liking'. Kimenyi (1980a.155):

Raising with manipulative verbs is also characterized by the fact that some verbs which normally take sentential complements become manipulative once the

³⁴ "Certain verbs — such as *-ken-*, 'be poor/need', *-tsiind-*, 'win' — take the applicative suffix if they have a complement, but if there is no complement, they don't" (Kimenyi 1980b.240).

embedded subject is raised to the matrix sentence. When the subject is raised, these verbs take the applicative suffix *-ir-*. Some of these verbs are *-eemer-* ‘accept’, *aang-* ‘refuse’, *-kuund-* ‘like’. When raising takes place these verbs become *eemerer* ‘promise’, *-aangir-* ‘prevent’, *-kuundir-* ‘allow’.

- (58) (a) Úmwáalímu y-aanz-e ko abáyéeshuûri
 [teacher he-refuse-ASP that students
 ba-sóhok-a
 they-go.out-ASP]
 ‘The teacher refused to allow to let the students go out’
 (Kimenyi 1980a.156)
- (b) Úmwáalímu y-aanz-i-ye abáyéeshuûri
 [teacher he-refuse-APPL-ASP students
 go-sóhok-a
 to-go.out-ASP]
 ‘The teacher prevented the students from going out’ (Kimenyi
 1980a.156)
- (59) (a) Umugabo y-a-kuunz-e ko ba-geénd-a
 [man he-PST-like-ASP that they-go-ASP]
 ‘The man accepted their going’ (Kimenyi 1980a.156)
- (b) Umugabo y-a-ba-kuund-i-ye ku-geend-a
 [man he-PST-them-like-APPL-ASP to-go-ASP]
 ‘The man let them go’ (Kimenyi 1980a.156)

2.4.2 GOAL

In the preceding section, the uses of *-ir-* ~ *-er-* provided VOICE modulations of already recognized EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES: the AGENT in the Middle Voice, and PATIENTS that can exist with two values of VOICE.

Now consider these:

- (60) Múshiki wa Yôhaâni a-ririimb-ir-a *mafaraanga gusa*
 [sister of John she-sing-APPL-ASP money only]
 ‘John’s sister sings for money only’ (Kimenyi 1980a.87)
- (61) Umukoôbwa a-rá-ririimb-ir-a *amafaraanga*
 [girl she-PRS-sing-APPL-ASP money]
 ‘The girl is singing for money’ (Kimenyi 1980a.196)

The *-ir-* ~ *-er-* suffix obviously has nothing to do with POSSESSION in (60) and (61), but neither does it express BENEFICIARY. Although the morphosyntax of (60) and (61) is not distinct from BENEFICIARY, there is a different semantics in both of them. The alternate expression of (60) in (62) separates the senses:

- (62) Múshiki wa Yôhaâni a-ririimb-a ku *mafaraanga gusa*
 [sister of John she-sing-ASP for money only]
 ‘John’s sister sings for money only’ (Kimenyi 1980a.87)

“There is no preposition in Kinyarwanda which stands for the benefactive case ...” (Kimenyi 1988.373).

Without explanation, Kimenyi terms the sense of (60) & (61) as Goal,³⁵ but it is not clear what “Goal” intends.³⁶ Consider these:

- (63) Yohana y-a-kubit-ir-a umaana *ibinyoma*
 [John he-PRS-hit-APPL-ASP child lies]
 ‘John hits the child for telling lies’ (Rugege 1984.18)
- (64) Umugôre a-kor-er-a akazi *amafaraanga máke*
 [woman she-work-APPL-ASP work money few]
 ‘The woman does the work for a small amount of money’
 (Kimenyi 1988.320)
- (65) Umogóre y-a-kubit-i-ye úmwáana *iki?*
 [woman she-PST-hit-ASP child what]

³⁵ “... the preposition that shows the goal case is *ku*. Objectivization is performed by deleting the preposition *ku* and by adding the applicative suffix *-ir-* to the verb form” (Kimenyi 1980a.86) and “The goal preposition is the same as the locative *ku*. Its corresponding suffix is the applicative *-ir-*” (Kimenyi 1988.369). Rugege (1984.18-19) does not distinguish Goals from “applied/benefactive”.

I shall retain the name Goal in the discussion here.

³⁶ In another context, Kimenyi (1980a.87) suggests this:

... when objectivized with the presence of a benefactive NP in the sentence, the new object acquires the meaning of a basic DO ... [*Úmu mukoôbwaa-rá-ririimb-ir-a abahuúngu mafaraanga*] thus means ‘This girl sings for money for the boys’, which is of course nonsensical and violates the meaning-preserving constraint.

Regardless of “the presence of a benefactive NP” and “meaning-preserving constraints”, the sense of this usage is not PATIENT. We see below that PATIENTS and GOALS appear in the same utterance.

‘Why did the woman hit the child?’ (Kimenyi 1980a.88)

sense of these utterances suggests that Goal is not a target toward which one is striving — an endpoint or outcome — but a prior impulse for the performance of the act, i.e., the MOTIVATION. Recall these from SiSwati (Chapter 29, section 2.3.2):³⁷

- (66) (a) Jabulani u-ti-gez-*el*-e *i-mali*
 [Jabulani CL1.SG-CL5.PL-wash-APPL-IP CL5.SG-money
 (ti-mphala)
 CL5.PL-clothes]
 ‘Jabulani washed the clothes for money’ (Klein 2007.154)
- (b) Ngi-to-ti-hamb-*el*-a ngobe
 [1ST.PRS.SG-FUT-self-go-APPL-FV because
 aw-su-funi ku-hamba
 NEG-2ND.PRS.SG-want CL8-go]
 ‘I will go alone because you don’t want to go’ (Taljaard,
 Khumalo & Bosch 1991.67)
- (c) Ba-m-tfwal-is-*el*-a-ni um-tfwalo?
 [CL1.PL-CL1.SG-carry-CAUS-APPL-FV-QUESTION CL1.SG-load]
 ‘Why do they help him carry a load?’
 (Ziervogel & Mabuza 1976.220)

The semantics that we are observing in Kinyarwanda is not a BENEFICIARY EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLE nor POSSESSION, but another EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLE that shares some of the VOICE properties of the BENEFICIARY. Notice first that the GOAL and the BENEFICIARY do not coexist.³⁸ Two EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES of equivalent VOICE are again competing for a single PROPOSITIONAL ROLE:

³⁷ The similarity in shape (Kinyarwanda *-ir-* ~ *-er-* & SiSwati *-el-*), the similarity in grammatical function (verbal suffix), the similarity in semantics, and the fact that both Kinyarwanda and SiSwati are Bantu languages suggest that *-ir-* ~ *-er-* and *-el-* are cognates.

³⁸ “Advancements of goals to DO does not apply if there is already a benefactive in the sentence” (Kimenyi 1980a.87). I have not found any examples illustrating a RECIPIENT and a GOAL in the same utterance, nor any comment on them. Sentence (67b) would be the best candidate for such a usage, e.g., ‘The girl is singing to the boys for money’, but it apparently supports no acceptable meaning.

- (67) (a) Úmu mukoôbwa a-rá-ririimb-ir-a **abahuûngu**
 [this girl she-PRS-sing-APPL-ASP boys
ku mafaraanga
 for money]
 ‘This girl is singing for the boys for money’ (Kimenyi 1980a.87)
- (b) *Úmu mukoôbwa a-rá-ririimb-ir-a **abahuûngu**
 [this girl she-PRS-sing-APPL-ASP boys
 3
mafaraanga
 money]
 ‘This girl is singing for the boys for money’ (Kimenyi 1980a.87)

In contrast, the GOAL *is* compatible with PATIENTS. Cf. (63) - (65) above. But notice also that the GOAL *follows* the PATIENT in the order.

We now have two additional patterns to explain: (i) What motivates the PATIENT + GOAL order, and (ii) How is the VOICE of the GOAL less ... less than what?

The answer to the first question is to be found in the motivational semantics of GOAL and in the ranking of EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES in the scale of VOICE in Figure 2. That Figure is now Figure 5. If we examine the ar-

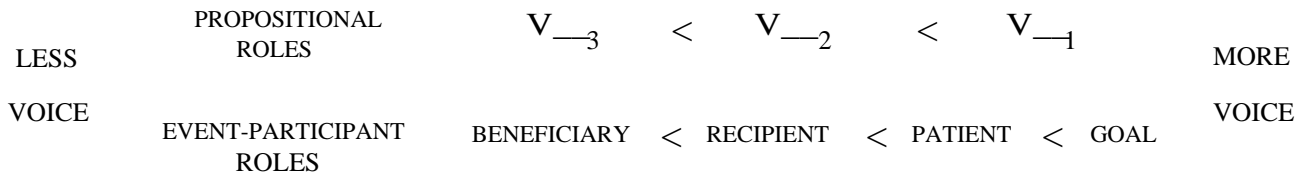


Figure 5: *Some Kinyarwanda ROLES arrayed by VOICE content.*

rangement in Figure 5, we can see — as we move from left to right — a progressive retreat of the PARTICIPANT in the content of the EVENT. The act of the EVENT looms ever larger ... from mild effect in the BENEFICIARY to stronger, but still oblique effect in the RECIPIENT, to blunt effect in the PATIENT. As we pass the PATIENT on this scale, we leave effect behind and are now in the activity of the EVENT itself before it touches a PATIENT (or RECIPIENT or BENEFICIARY). The GOAL/MOTIVATION stands near the origin

as the initiating impulse for the EVENT.³⁹

The scale of Figure 5 is supported by the following:⁴⁰

- (68) Umukoôbwa a-ra-andik-ir-iz-a íkarámu
 [girl she-PRS-write-APPL-CAUS-ASP pen
amafaraanga
 money]
 ‘The girl is writing with a pen for money’ (Kimenyi 1988.372)

In (68), in the absence of a PATIENT, the GOAL follows the INSTRUMENT. The INSTRUMENT EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLE stands at least oneplace away from

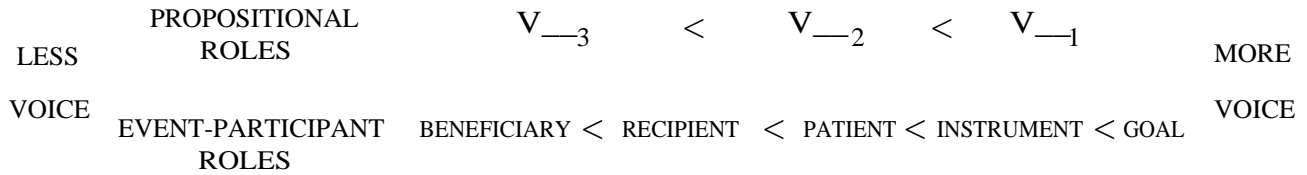


Figure 6: *Some Kinyarwanda ROLES arrayed by VOICE content.*

the initiation of the EVENT that the GOAL/MOTIVATION represents, and that decreased VOICE is mirrored by their relative order. The INSTRUMENT + GOAL

³⁹ The position of the GOAL nevertheless remains mysterious. Consider these:

- (i) Umukoôbwa a-ra-andik-ir-a *amafaraanga* ibarúwa íkarámu
 [girl she-PRS-write-APPL-ASP money letter pen]
 ‘The girl is writing a letter with a pen for money’ (Kimenyi 1988.372)
- (ii) Umukoôbwa a-ra-andik-ir-iz-a íkarámu *amafaraanga*
 [girl she-PRS-write-APPL-CAUS-ASP pen money]
 ‘The girl is writing with a pen for money’ (Kimenyi 1988.372)

In (i), the GOAL — in the accompaniment of an INSTRUMENT — precedes the PATIENT, and in (ii), in the absence of a PATIENT, the goal follows the INSTRUMENT. The best that can be said about Kinyarwanda is that there is more to be learned.

⁴⁰ The position of the GOAL nevertheless remains mysterious. Kimenyi (1988.372) also presents (i):

- (i) Umukoôbwa a-ra-andik-ir-a *amafaraanga* ibarúwa íkarámu
 [girl she-PRS-write-APPL-ASP money letter pen]

The is no gloss for (i), but it would probably be ‘The girl is writing a letter with a pen for money’. Two problems with (i) are that the presence of the INSTRUMENT *íkarámu* ‘pen’ is not supported by the verbal suffix *-iish-* (cf. the following section) and the GOAL appears out of order in comparison with (68). Sentences (68) and (i) are the two examples in the literature in which an INSTRUMENT and a GOAL cooccur.

order aligns once more the VOICE of the EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES.

The answer to question (ii) above —How is the VOICE of the GOAL less ... less than what? — is to be found in a comparison with the Middle Voice. Sentence (50b) from above is repeated here:

- (69) *Umuhuungu á-ũ-ri-ir-a* ibíryo byáa cu
 [boy he-REFL-eat-APPL-ASP food of us]
 ‘The boy is eating our food’ (Kimenyi 1980a.143)

The decrease in VOICE that *-ir-* ~ *-er-* embodies is, in the presence of a Reflexive *-ũ-*, projected upon the sentence-initial $_0$ V PARTICIPANT. In the absence of the Reflexive, as in (63):

- (63) Yohana y-a-kubit-*ir*-a umaana *ibinyoma*
 [John he-PRS-hit-APPL-ASP child lies]
 ‘John hits the child for telling lies’ (Rugege 1984.18)

the decrease in VOICE is passed along to create the MOTIVATION EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLE.

2.5 EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES: INSTRUMENT and CAUSATIVE

Let us begin with these utterances:⁴¹

- (70) (a) Umwáana a-ra-andik-a n’i-ikáramú
 [child she-PRS-write-ASP with-pen]
 ‘The child is writing with a pen’ (Kimenyi 1980b.416)
- (b) Umwáana a-ra-andik-*iish*-a ikáramú
 [child she-PRS-write-INSTR-ASP pen]
 ‘The child is writing with a pen’ (Kimenyi 1980b.416)
- (71) (a) Úmwáana a-rá-ry-a n’-îkanya
 [child he-PRS-eat-ASP with-fork]
 ‘The child is eating with a fork’ (Kimenyi 1980a.80)
- (b) Úmwáana a-rá-ry-*iish*-a ikánya
 [child he-PRS-eat-INSTR-ASP fork]

⁴¹ In these examples, Kimenyi varies his gloss of *-iish-* between ‘caus’ and ‘instr’. I repeat whatever choice he makes.

‘The child is eating with a fork’ (Kimenyi 1980a.80)

There is an apparent Instrument meaning in (70b) and (71b), which contrasts with a Causative meaning in (72) - (74):

(72) Umugabo á-r-úubak-*iish*-a abaantu
 [man he-PRS-build-CAUS-ASP people]
 ‘The man is making the people build (something)’ (Kimenyi 1980a.166)

(73) Umugóre a-ryam-*iish*-ije ábáana
 [woman she-sleep-CAUS-ASP children]
 ‘The woman is putting the children to sleep’ (Kimenyi 1980a.164)

(74) Umugabo a-ra-ambuk-*iish*-a inka
 [man he-PRS-cross-CAUS-ASP cow]
 ‘The man is having the cow cross (the water)’ (Kimenyi 1980b.243)

Given the identical syntax — (70b) & (71b) vs. (72), (73) & (74) — the only distinction is that the CAUSEES are animate and the INSTRUMENTS are inanimate. It is clear, though, that the two functions represent different EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES. First, the CAUSEE has no second expression as the INSTRUMENT does in (70a) and (71a). The alternative to expressing a CAUSEE as a PARTICIPANT in a simple PROPOSITION is a periphrastic construction (Kimenyi 1980a.161):

(75) Umugabo y-a-tee-ye ábáana ku-geend-a
 [man he-PST-cause-ASP children to-go-ASP]
 ‘The man causes the children to go’

Second, a CAUSEE and an INSTRUMENT may appear in the same PROPOSITION (Kimenyi 1999.418):⁴²

⁴² Although sentence (76) is approved by Kimenyi in 1999, Kimenyi elsewhere (1980b.241) discounts a similar utterance:

(i) *Umugabo a-ra-andik-iish-iish-a umwáana ikáramú ibáruwá
 [man he-PRS-write-CAUS-CAUS-ASP child pen letter]
 ‘The man is having the child write a letter with a pen’

- (76) Umugabo a-ra-andik-iish-iish-a *umwáana* ibáruwá
 [man he-PRS-write-CAUS-CAUS-ASP child letter
ikáramú
 pen]
 ‘The man is making the child write a letter with a pen’

The other EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES appear once per PROPOSITION.⁴³ Thus, the CAUSEE and INSTRUMENT are distinct.

2.5.1 *INSTRUMENT*

As illustrated by (76), the INSTRUMENT follows the PATIENT in word order. Kimenyi’s data (1976a, 1976b, 1977, 1980a, 1980b, 1986, 1988, 1999) cite twenty-two examples in which the two post-verbal PARTICIPANTS are a PATIENT and an INSTRUMENT. Of these, 18 exhibit the PATIENT + INSTRUMENT order.⁴⁴ Gerds & Whaley (1999:87) have one example of the PATIENT and INSTRUMENT order (and no other).⁴⁵ One of the INSTRUMENT + PATIENT orders is compared with a CAUSEE + PATIENT order by Kimenyi (1980a:164):

- (77) Umugabo a-ra-andik-iish-a umugabo íbáruwa
 [man he-PRS-write-CAUS-ASP man letter]
 ‘The man is making the man write a letter’
- (78) Umugabo a-ra-andik-iish-a íkárámu íbáruwa
 [man he-PRS-write-INSTR-ASP pen letter]
 ‘The man is writing a letter with a pen’

Kimenyi comments, “In both sentences the *-iish-* suffix is translated ‘make’:

The explanation is that “It is not possible to have both ‘woman’, the intermediary causee, and ‘pen’, instrumental NP, in the same clause” But notice that this order — CAUSEE + INSTRUMENT + PATIENT — differs from that in (76) — CAUSEE + PATIENT + INSTRUMENT. Word order matters. Cf. below.

⁴³ It is frequently claimed that a given EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLE (or whatever the linguist is calling the analog) appears once in a PROPOSITION: the Stratal Uniqueness Law of Relational Grammar, the One Per Sent Solution (Starosta 1978), etc.

⁴⁴ Kimenyi 1980a. 32 (2), 51 (2), 79, 81, 82, 107, 108, 111, 189, 196, and 227 (2). Kimenyi 1988:37. Kimenyi 1999:416, 418, and 419.

⁴⁵ There are no others in the remaining literature on Kinyarwanda.

‘the man is making the man write a letter’ and ‘the man is making the pen write a letter’.” The impression this interpretation gives is that both (77) and (78) are somehow seen as causative.⁴⁶ There is no INSTRUMENT in (78). There are two more examples like (78) in Kimenyi’s data (1980b.241). The two glosses of the following (Kimenyi 1999.415):

- (79) Abapóolisí ba-ra-kurur-iish-a abanyurúru imódoká
 [policemen they-PRS-pull-CAUS-ASP prisoners car]
 ‘The policemen are making the prisoners pull the car’
 ‘The policemen are pulling the prisoners with a car’

are possible only if the CAUSEE syntactically precedes the PATIENT and the INSTRUMENT follows it.

In the context of Figures 2 & 5, the preceding paragraph suggests that the VOICE component of the INSTRUMENT outweighs that of the PATIENT. In the scheme of Figure 5, that is not implausible. Like the GOAL, the INSTRUMENT is immersed directly in the flow of the EVENT. The post-verbal word order reflects this semantics by placing INSTRUMENT to the right of the PATIENT. The last example of Kimenyi’s (Kimenyi 1980a.110) confirms the heavy VOICE of INSTRUMENTS:

- (80) Umuhuûngu y-a-andik-iish-ir-ije ³ *umukuûbwa*
 [boy he-PST-write-INSTR-APPL-ASP girl]
 2 1
 íbárúwa *íkárámu*
 letter pen]
 ‘The boy wrote the letter with the girl’s pen’

With the presence of a PATIENT and an INSTRUMENT in the same utterance,

⁴⁶ The mixture of the semantics of CAUSATION and INSTRUMENT is not uncommon. Compare these two sentences from Yogad (cf. Davis, Baker, Spitz & Baek 1998, Chapter 6, section 3.2.1):

- (i) P=in=at-turák ku yu lápis
 [PAG=IN=PAG-write I pencil]
 ‘I used a pencil to write with’
- (ii) P=in=ag-angát ku si John tu medisína
 [PAG=IN=PAG-breathe I medicine]
 ‘I made John breathe the medicine’

we would expect PATIENT + INSTRUMENT. But since the INSTRUMENT is ALIENABLY POSSESSED in (80), the conflict of the lessened VOICE of the PARTICIPANT with its assigned EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLE is recognized and resolved placing the POSSESSOR *umukuûbwa* to the left of the PATIENT *ibáruwa*. The principle of ascending VOICE is maintained.⁴⁷

2.5.1 CAUSEE

In the Kinyarwanda data, the CAUSEE has a clearer relation with respect to its order with an accompanying PATIENT. The two post-verbal ROLES occur in seventeen of Kimenyi's examples. Only one — without explanation — fails to be CAUSEE + PATIENT.⁴⁸ Gerds & Whaley (1999.92 & 94) have two confirming CAUSEE + PATIENT sequences.

The syntactic position of the CAUSEE suggests a lesser VOICE with respect to the INSTRUMENT, and that condition is supported by the indirect nature of Kinyarwanda causation. There is a contrast with a second causative affix (which we do not discuss here) (Kimenyi 1999.412):⁴⁹

⁴⁷ What goes unexplained is why (80) does not appear as (i):

- | | | | | | |
|-----|---|--|--------------------------|-----------------------|---|
| (i) | Umuhuûngu
[boy
ibáruwa
letter] | y-a-andik-iish-ir-ije
he-PST-write-INSTR-APPL-ASP | <i>umukuûbwa</i>
girl | <i>íkárámu</i>
pen | |
| | | | | | 'The boy wrote the letter with the girl's pen' (Unattested) |

on the model of (ii) and (33) from above:

- | | | | | | | |
|------|---|--|--------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| (ii) | Umugóre
[woman
'The woman is giving the girl's books to the boy'] | a-rá-hé-er-a
she-PRS-give-APPL-ASP | <i>umukoôbwa</i>
girl | <i>ibitabo</i>
books | umuhuûngu
boy] | (Kimenyi 1980a.105) |
| (33) | Umugóre
[woman
'The woman is showing the girl's books to the children'] | á-r-érek-er-a
she-PRS-show-APPL-ASP | <i>umukoôbwa</i>
girl | <i>ibitabo</i>
books | ábána
children] | (Kimenyi 1980a.101) |

⁴⁸ Kimenyi 1980a.164 (2), 166, 167 (3), and 170. Kimenyi 1980b.217, 229, and 241 (2). Kimenyi 1988.381. Kimenyi 1999.412, 413, 416, and 418. Kimenyi's (1980b.235) inconsistent example is:

- | | | | | |
|-----|---|---|-----------------|------------------|
| (i) | Umugabo
[man
'The man is making the child read the book'] | a-ra-som-eesh-a
he-PRS-read-CAUS-ASP | igitabo
book | úmwána
child] |
|-----|---|---|-----------------|------------------|

⁴⁹ Kimenyi (1980a.167): "Some verbs such as *-shyúuh-* 'be warm' or *-ambuk-* use the suffix *-y-* to signal direct causation while using *-iish-* for indirect causation."

- (81) Umugabo a-ra-ambut-s-a umugoré urúuzi
 [man he-PRS-cross-CAUS-ASP woman river]
 'The man is making the woman cross the river'
- (82) Umugabo a-ra-ambut-iish-a umugoré urúuzi
 [man he-PRS-cross-CAUS-ASP woman river]
 'The man is having the woman cross the river'

A corroborating observation is that when the EVENT that the CAUSEE is made to perform requires too heavy an involvement, i.e. too much VOICE, then the CAUSEE is not expressed. "... verbs taking agentive subjects such as 'kill', 'beat', etc. always have the 'embedded' subject [i.e., the CAUSEE] deleted ...as the examples from Kinyarwanda again show" (Kimenyi 1980b.221, 222):⁵⁰

- (83) (a) Umugabo a-rá-kubit-iish-ije ábáana
 [man he-PRS-beat-CAUS-ASP children]
 'The man is having someone beat the children' (Kimenyi 1980a.165)
- (b) *Umugabo a-rá-kubit-iish-a umugore ábáana⁵¹
 [man he-PRS-beat-CAUS-ASP woman children]
 'The man is having the woman beat the children' (Kimenyi 1980a.165)
- (84) (a) Umukoôbwa á-r-íic-iish-a ímbwa
 [girl he-PRS-beat-CAUS-ASP dog]
 'The girl will make someone kill the dog' (Kimenyi 1980a.165)

⁵⁰ Kimenyi's (1980b.232) explanation is that "The reason why the so-called 'embedded' subject doesn't appear on the surface is that two agents cannot appear in the same clause," i.e., the Stratal Uniqueness Law. If the causer is as *in* directly involved as Kimenyi suggests, then there is difficulty in its being the 'agent' that the 'beater' and the 'killer' are.

⁵¹ In Kimenyi 1980b.232, the example is:

- (i) *Umugabo a-rá-kubit-iish-a ábáana umugabo
 [man he-PRS-beat-CAUS-ASP children man]
 'The man is having the man beat the children'

with the questionable PATIENT + CAUSEE sequence.

- (b) *Umukoôbwa á-r-íic-iish-a úmwáana ímbwa⁵²
 [girl he-PRS-beat-CAUS-ASP child dog]
 ‘The girl will make the child kill the dog’ (Kimenyi 1980a.165)

Although Gerdts & Whaley (1999.92) assert that “the causee appears immediately after the verb,” we find these examples:

- (85) Mariya a-ra-som-eesh-erez-a abáyéeyi *umwáana*
 [Mary she-PRS-read-CAUS-BEN-ASP parents child
 igitabo
 book]
 ‘Mary is having the child read the book for the parents’ (Kimenyi 1980b.226)
- (86) Umugóre á-r-úubak-iish-iriz-a ábáana *umugabo*
 [woman she-PRS-build-CAUS-BEN-ASP children man
 inzu
 house]
 The woman, on the behalf of the children, is making the man build a house’ (Kimenyi 1980b.229)

The sole example of a CAUSEE in the company of a RECIPIENT has an unexplained PATIENT + CAUSEE sequence (Kimenyi 1980b.235):

- (87) Umugabo a-rá-hé-eesh-a ábáana ibíryo *umugóre*
 [man he-PRS-give-CAUS-ASP children food woman]
 ‘The man makes the woman give food to the children’

Again we are left with a less than complete picture of Kinyarwanda. It is probably the case that the CAUSEE EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLE has a VOICE value that lies between the BENEFICIARY and the PATIENT. The CAUSEE is then an affected victim of the EVENT as the RECIPIENT is. The RECIPIENT ... CAUSEE order of (87), while not what one might expect in detail:

⁵² In Kimenyi 1980b.232, the example is:

- (i) *Umugabo á-r-íic-iish-a ímbwa umuhûungu
 [man he-PRS-beat-CAUS-ASP dog boy]
 ‘The man is making the boy kill the dog’

- (88) Umugabo a-rá-hé-eesh-a ábáana *umugóre* ibíryo
 [man he-PRS-give-CAUS-ASP children woman food]
 ‘The man makes the woman give food to the children’ (Unattested)

does reflect that the CAUSEE has more active involvement and a greater VOICE component than the RECIPIENT. ‘The man had the woman read to the children’ would have been helpful.

Of the post-verbal EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES, the PATIENT is pivotal since it easily combines with animate and inanimate PARTICIPANTS. The EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES that have a lesser VOICE, and then occur to the left of the PATIENT in the word order, are all animate: BENEFICIARY, CAUSEE & RECIPIENT. The EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES that have a greater load of VOICE and thus occur to the right of the PATIENT in the word order are inanimate: GOAL and INSTRUMENT.

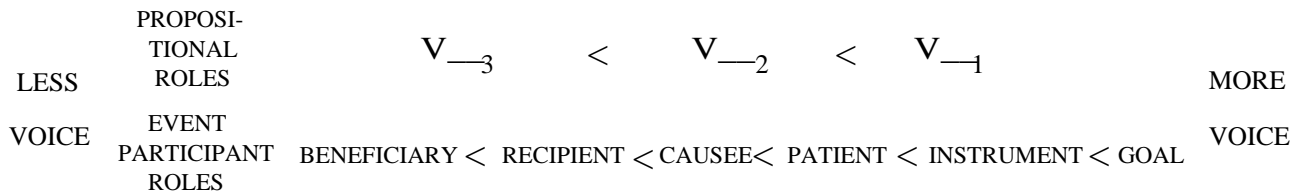


Figure 7: Some Kinyarwanda ROLES arrayed by VOICE content.

2.6 EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES: LOCATION and MANNER

There are at least two additional EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES that participate in the array of Figure 7: LOCATION and MANNER. The way in which they fit into the scheme of Figure 7 will be taken as support of its appropriateness in the description of Kinyarwanda.

2.6.1 LOCATION

The expression of Location is commonly achieved in Kinyarwanda by using a Preposition (Kimenyi 1980a.33):

Locative NPs are marked by either the preposition *i*, *ku*, and *mu*, the suffix *-ir-* and/or the verb suffix *-ho-* or *-mu-*. The meanings of the prepositions are derived from the meaning of the verb itself. With verbs meaning ‘coming’, these prepositions translate as ‘from’ with of ‘going’, they are rendered as ‘to’, ‘toward’, or ‘into’; and they are interpreted as ‘on’, ‘at’, ‘in’, or ‘inside’ if the main verb is locational.

The following illustrate the locational Prepositions:

- (89) Úmwáalímu y-oohere-je igitabo kw'-*iishuûri*
 [teacher he-send-ASP book to-school]
 'The teacher sent the book to school' (Kimenyi 1980a.94)
- (90) Ukwáalímu a-ra-andik-á-ho imibáre ku *ikíbáaho*
 [teacher he-PRS-write-ASP-on math on blackboard]
 'The teacher is writing math on the blackboard' (Kimenyi 1977.368)
- (91) Umugóre a-rá-hé-er-á umuhûngu igitabo
 [teacher she-PRS-send-APPL-ASP boy book
 mw'-*iishuûri*
 in-school]
 'The woman is giving the books to the boy in the school'
 (Kimenyi 1980a.96)
- (93) Umukoôbwa a-ra-andik-ir-á umuhuûngu
 [girl she-PRS-write-APPL-ASP-on boy
 ibarúwa ku *ámééza*
 letter on table]
 'The girl is writing a letter for the boy on the table' (Kimenyi
 1988.373)
- (94) Úmwáana y-iicar-i-yé umugabo kuú *intobe*
 [child he-sit-APPL-ASP man on chair]
 'The child is sitting on the chair for the man' (Kimenyi 1980a.113)

Each of the above five utterances has an alternative expression without the Preposition and with the Location placed in the NUCLEUS of the PROPOSITION. If we contemplate the VOICE gradation of the EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES in Figure 7 and ask where LOCATION would find a place if it were to be added, I think a reasonable expectation would be that LOCATION is not part of the stream of the EVENT at all. It may somehow provide the maxtrix of the EVENT, but it is not part of its execution, nor is it affected. Yet if some value of VOICE *must* be attributed to LOCATION, it could only be at the far left of the EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES in Figure 7: almost an empty VOICE.

That is what appears to be the case, The following five are versions of the

preceding four with LOCATION semantically recast:⁵³

- (95) Úmwáalímu y-oohere-jé-ho *ishuûri* igitabo
 [teacher he-send-ASP-to school book]
 ‘The teacher sent the book to school’ (Kimenyi 1980a.94)
- (96) Ukwáalímu a-ra-andik-á-ho *ikíbáaho* imibáre
 [teacher he-PRS-write-ASP-on blackboard math]
 ‘The teacher is writing math on the blackboard’ (Kimenyi 1977.368)
- (97) Umugóre a-rá-hé-er-á-mo *ishuûri* umuhûngu igitabo
 [teacher she-send-APPL-ASP-in school boy book]
 ‘The woman is giving the books to the boy in the school’
 (Kimenyi 1980a.96, Gerds & Whaley 1999.93)
- (98) Umukoóbwa a-ra-andik-ir-á-ho *ámééza* umuhuûngu
 [girl she-PRS-write-APPL-ASP-on table boy
 ibarúwa
 letter]
 ‘The girl is writing a letter for the boy on the table’ (Kimenyi
 1988.373)
- (99) Úmwáana y-iicar-i-yé-ho *íntobe* umugabo
 [child he-sit-APPL-ASP-on chair man]
 ‘The child is sitting on the chair for the man’ (Kimenyi 1980a.113)

In (95) and (96), LOCATION appears with a PATIENT, and to its left:

LOCATION < PATIENT

In (97), LOCATION appears to the left of a RECIPIENT:

LOCATION < RECIPIENT < PATIENT

And in (98) and (99), LOCATION is to the left of the BENEFICIARY:

LOCATION < BENEFICIARY < RECIPIENT < PATIENT

⁵³ There is no indication of how to interpret the semantic contrasts between the members of the pairs.

LOCATION — both in its value of VOICE and in its morphosyntactic reflection of that value in word order — appears to support the interpretation of Figure 7.

There remains an unexplained idiosyncrasy to LOCATION that perhaps has an explanation in its almost null VOICE. While (100) is acceptable Kinyarwanda, (101) is not:

(100) Umuhûungu á-r-íig-ir-á-ho *ishuûri* imibáre
 [boy he-PRS-study-BEN-ASP-at school mathematics]
 ‘The boy is studying mathematics at school’ (Kimenyi 1980a.92)

(101) *Umuhûungu á-r-íig-ir-á-ho *ishuûri*
 [boy he-PRS-study-BEN-ASP-at school]
 ‘The boy is studying at school’ (Kimenyi 1980a.91)

Only (102) succeeds:

(102) Umuhûungu á-r-íig-ir-a kw’-iishuûri
 [boy he-PRS-study-BEN-ASP at school]
 ‘The boy is studying at school’ (Kimenyi 1980a.92)

Kimenyi’s (1980a.92) rationale is “Locatives are not objectivizable if the main verb does not have a direct object,” meaning some additional PARTICIPANT in the NUCLEUS, e.g., a BENEFICIARY will do, as in (99). Effectively, this means that LOCATION cannot occur in V__1. If the PROPOSITIONAL ROLE of V__1 is the strongest postverbal VOICE, then the near absence of VOICE from the EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLE of LOCATION may be incapable of satisfying its VOICE requirement. Only the weaker VOICE of V__2 or V__3 is compatible with it.⁵⁴

⁵⁴ The unacceptability of (Kimenyi 1980a.93):

(i) *Umúnyéeshuuri y-a-cya-oohere-jé-ho ishuûri
 [student he-PST-it-send-ASP-LOC school]
 ‘The student sent it to school’

shows that it is, indeed, the physical V__1 position and its semantics that LOCATION must avoid. Presence of a PATIENT as an elided PARTICIPANT is insufficient to define a V__2 spot for *ishuûri* in (i), and it fails.

There remain still other unexplained idiosyncrasies to LOCATION. Gerds & Whaley (1999.93) point out that, while a RECIPIENT is possible between a LOCATION and a PATIENT, that RECIPIENT cannot occur as a pronominal suffix:

2.6.2 MANNER

The Preposition that marks MANNER in the PERIPHERY is *na*:

- (103) Umugóre a-rá-kôr-a akazi n'-*úmweête*
 [woman she-PRS-do-ASP work with-enthusiam]
 'The woman is working with enthusiasm' (Kimenyi 1988.369)
- (104) Umugabo a-rá-kór-á akazi mu biro n'-*ímyaambaro*
 [man he-PRS-work work in office with-clothes
 íshaaje
 old]
 'The man is working in the office with old clothes' (Kimenyi
 1988.375)
- (105) Umugóre a-rá-vag-e n'-*âgabiinda*
 [woman ahe-PRS-talk-ASP with-sorrow]
 'The woman is talking with sorrow' (Kimenyi 1980a.84)

We might expect MANNER to be more embedded in the flow of the EVENT and therefore to have more VOICE than LOCATION does. I find no examples of MANNER with GOAL or INSTRUMENT, but it does occur in word order to the right of PATIENTS, as it should. "Objectivization of manner ... delete[s] the preposition *na* and add[s] the suffix *-an-* to the verb stem" (Kimenyi 1980a.83):⁵⁵

-
- (ii) Umugóre a-ra-he-er-a-mo ishuûri umuhuûngu ibitabo
 [woman she-PRS-give-APPL-ASP-LOC school boy books]
 'The woman gave [sic] the boy books in school'
- (iii) *Umugóre a-rá-mu-hé-er-á-mo ishuûri ibitabo
 [woman she-PRS-him-give-APPL-ASP-LOC school books]
 'The woman gave him the books in school'

There is presently no explanation for this anomaly, and while it exists, it does not diminish the pattern that LOCATION demonstrates elsewhere.

⁵⁵ Unlike LOCATION, MANNER may occur in the NUCLEUS with no other PARTICIPANTS present:

- (i) Umugóre a-rá-vag-an-e *agabiinda*
 [woman she-PRS-talk-MANN-ASP sorrow]
 'The woman is talking with sorrow' (Kimenyi 1940a.84)

Cooccurring with LOCATION, MANNER must precede the PATIENT and not follow:

- (ii) Umugabo a-rá-kor-an-á-mo ibiro *ingofero* akazi
 [man he-PRS-work-with-ASP-in office hat job]

- (106) Umugóre a-rá-kôr-an-a akazi *umweête*
 [woman she-PRS-do-with-ASP work enthusiam]
 ‘The woman is working with enthusiasm’ (Kimenyi 1988.369)
- (107) Umugabo a-rá-kór-an-á-mo biro akazi *ímyaambaro*
 [man he-PRS-work-with-ASP-in office work clothes
 íshaaje
 old]
 ‘The man is working in the office with old clothes’ (Kimenyi
 1988.375)

The presence of an ALIENABLY POSSESSED PARTICIPANT aligns with (107) and (107) in that the lesser VOICE of POSSESSION precedes the PATIENT:

- (108) Umugóre a-ra-som-an-ir-a *umukoóbwa índorerwáno*
 [woman she-PRS-read-with-APPL-ASP girl glasses
 íbárúwa
 letter]
 ‘The woman is reading the letter with the girl’s glasses’ (Kimenyi
 1980a.116)

Compare the behavior of INSTRUMENT in (80) above. This again concords with Figure 7.

2.7 *The Kinyarwanda NUCLEUS*

The PROPOSITIONAL NUCLEUS in Kinyarwanda may be recognized in several ways. First, the PARTICIPANTS that are within it appear grammatically without Prepositions. Second, the PARTICIPANTS of the semantic NUCLEUS are syntactically ordered by coordinating the VOICE of their EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLE with the VOICE of the PROPOSITIONAL ROLES. This contrasts with the lack of grammatical ordering among content that is expressed with Prepositions: “There is no fixed word order in oblique case NPs” (Kimenyi 1980a.50). Thirdly, those PARTICIPANTS within the NUCLEUS may appear

‘The man is working in he office with a hat’ (Kimenyi 1980a.115)

The INSTRUMENT shows the same pattern as MANNER with LOCATION:

- (iii) Umwáalímu y-a-andik-iish-ije-ho ikibááho *íngwa* imibárwe
 [teacher he-PST-write-INSTR-asp board chalk math]
 ‘The teacher wrote math on the board with chalk’ (Kimenyi 1988.371)

pronominally as verbal affixes. Fourthly, those PARTICIPANTS may alternatively appear as sentence-initial TOPICS via the Passive:⁵⁶

LOCATION

- (109) *Ikibaáho* ki-ra-andik-w-a-ho imibáre n'-úúmwaálímu
 [blackboard it-PRS-write-PASS-ASP-on math by-teacher]
 'The blackboard is being written math on by the teacher'
 (Kimenyi 1988.368)

BENEFICIARY

- (110) *Umwáana* y-a-sab-i-w-e n'-ûmugóre
 [child he-PST-ask-APPL-PASS-ASP by-woman]
 'It is the woman who asked for the child' (Kimenyi 1988.366)

RECIPIENT

- (111) *Umugabo* y-a-sab-w-e n'-ûmugóre
 [man he-PST-ask-PASS-ASP by-woman]
 'The man was asked by the woman' (Kimenyi 1983.366)

PATIENT

- (112) *Umugóre* y-a-boon-y-w-e n'-ûmugabe
 [woman she-PST-see-ASP-PASS-ASP by-man]
 'The woman was seen by the man' (Kimenyi 1980a.126)

MANNER

- (113) *Umweête* u-ra-kôr-an-w-a akazi n'-ûmugóre
 [enthusiasm it-PRS-do-with-PASS-ASP work by-woman]
 'It is the woman who is working with enthusiasm' (Kimenyi 1988.369)

⁵⁶ There are numerous and varied limitations on the PARTICIPANTS that may appear as the Passive Subject. Compare (97) with

- (i) **Ibitabo* bi-rá-hé-er-w-á-mo ishuûri umuhuûngu n'-ûmugóre
 [books they-PRS-give-APPL-PASS-ASP-in school boy by-woman]
 'The books were given to the boy in school by the woman' (Kimenyi 1980a.96)

An understanding of these limitations depends upon a grasp of the semantics of Kinyarwanda TOPIC. While the grammar of Kinyarwanda TOPIC is well described, its semantics is much less so. There are no published Kinyarwanda texts.

In complementary fashion, there is little discussion of the semantic contrast between a non-TOPIC PARTICIPANT that lies outside the NUCLEUS — and is marked grammatically by Preposition — and one that is within the NUCLEUS.

INSTRUMENT

- (114) *Ikarámu* i-ra-andík-iish-w-a ibarúwa n'-ûmugóre
 [pen it-PRS-write-INSTR-PASS-ASP letter by-woman]
 'The pen is used to write a letter by the woman' (Kimenyi 1988.368)

GOAL

- (115) *Amafaraanga máke* a-kor-er-w-a akazi n'-ûmugóre
 [money few it-work-APPL-PASS-ASP work by-woman]
 'It is the woman who works for a small amount of money'
 (Kimenyi 1988.370)

Of the eight EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES that can have a presence in the PROPOSITIONAL NUCLEUS, only three can occur there at one time, e.g., BENEFICIARY, RECIPIENT & PATIENT.⁵⁷ When they are all present, the NUCLEUS reaches its maximum extent. E.g., sentence (3) from above:

- (3) Umukoôbwa a-rá-há-er-a umugóre ábáana ibíryo
 [girl she-PRS-give-APPL-ASP woman children food]
 'The girl is giving food to the children for the woman' (Kimenyi
 1980a.32)

When one of the remaining five EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES occurs in an utterance, one of the "basic" EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES must cede its place.

- (116) Umugabo y-eerets-eesh-eje ábáana amashusho ímashiîni
 [man he-show-INSTR-ASP children pictures machine]
 'The man showed pictures to the children with the machine'
 (Kimenyi 1980a.80)

Sentence (116) may contain no BENEFICIARY.⁵⁸ This is the Kinyarwanda equivalent of the Hua "NP Ecology Constraint" (cf. Chapter 29, section 3.4).

3. Conclusion

We seem now to have found a language that has PROPOSITIONS organized

⁵⁷ "This language can have three objects without prepositions in the same sentence; namely, accusatives, datives, and benefactives" (Kimenyi 1980b.227).

⁵⁸ Kimenyi (1980a.80) says this in an oblique way: "Instrumentals can be advanced to DO even if the verb has two objects," i.e., no more than two.

about a NUCLEUS containing an EVENT and a maximum of four PROPOSITIONAL ROLES. As in SiSwati and Hua, the content of those ROLES is VOICE, i.e., they host the EVENT-PARTICIPANT ROLES according to their values for VOICE component, not the character of their specific ROLES.

Is four it? Kinyarwanda may be more flexible than the preceding sections suggest. It may be possible to exceed — in some contexts, at least — the limit of four PROPOSITIONAL ROLES. Compare (117) and (118):

- (117) *Umuhuûngu a-rá-hé-eesh-erez-a umugóre úmwáana
 [boy he-PRS-give-INSTR-BEN-ASP woman child
 igitabo umugabo
 book man]
 ‘The boy is having the man give the book to the child on behalf of the woman’
 (Kimenyi 1980b.227)

- (118) Umuhuûngu a-rá-hé-eesh-erez-a umugóre úmwáana
 [boy he-PRS-give-INSTR-BEN-ASP women child
 igitabo
 book]
 ‘The boy is having the child given a book to the children on behalf of the woman’
 (Kimenyi 1980b.236)

Sentence (117) fails precisely because the Kinyarwanda Ecology Constraint has been violated. There are five PARTICIPANTS compacted into the PROPOSITIONAL NUCLEUS. Sentence (118) is, however, acceptable, apparently because only four PARTICIPANTS are overtly expressed.⁵⁹ But notice that in addition to the AGENT/TOPIC *umuhuûngu*, the BENEFICIARY *umugóre*, the RECIPIENT *úmwáana*, and the PATIENT *igitabo*, there is an unspoken CAUSEE -

⁵⁹ Cf. also

- (i) *Umuhuûngu a-rá-hé-eesh-erez-a abagabo ábáana ibíryo
 [boy he-PRS-give-INSTR-BEN-ASP men children food
 umugóre
 woman]
 ‘The boy is having the woman give the food to the children on behalf of the man’
 (Kimenyi 1980b.236)
- (ii) Umuhuûngu a-rá-hé-eesh-erez-a abagabo ábáana ibíryo
 [boy he-PRS-give-INSTR-BEN-ASP men children food]
 ‘The boy is having the children given food for the men’
 (Kimenyi 1980b.236)

eesh-. The only formal distinction between (117) and (118) is that in (118), the CAUSEE is not overtly named. Yet it is present semantically, a ‘someone’. A fifth someone in the PROPOSITIONAL NUCLEUS.

The boundary of the Kinyarwanda NUCLEUS can be pushed even further:

- (119) Umwáalimú y-a-sóm-eesh-eesh-eesh-eje ababyéeyi
 [teacher he-PST-read-CAUS-CAUS-CAUS⁶⁰-ASP parents
 abána igitabo indórerwamó
 children book glasses]
 ‘The teacher made the parents have the children read books with
 eyeglasses’ (Kimenyi 1999.419)

This sentence is presented as acceptable Kinyarwanda. Kimenyi (1999.418-419) explains it in this way:⁶¹

“The teacher made the parents have the children read books with glasses” ... cannot be translated in Kinyarwanda using paraphrastic [sic] constructions, but rather multiple causative suffixation is required ... This type of complex causative construction is rarely used in everyday speech due to both complex sentence generation and processing. It is easy to generate and process in writing because of added cognitive devices, namely vision and extended time to process, and also because of the metatheory, namely, generative grammar, which produces not only everyday speech, but also all possible sentences, even the ones never produced and heard before.

We do not know what more Kinyarwanda lurks behind (119), but that sentence alone — and Kimenyi’s remarks about it — certainly suggests that Kinyarwanda PROPOSITIONS are not limited to four PROPOSITIONAL ROLES and that there is a way to extend the complexity. What is not clear are the limits (6+?) and whether the extension is confined to the CAUSATIVE *-eesh-*.

Kinyarwanda is a profitable language in many ways. Two of the most prominent are that, first, the language confirms — quite plausibly — the existence of semantic NUCLEI with four PROPOSITIONAL ROLES. Second, Kinyarwanda opens a door beyond that to suggest the existence of languages that may regularly have NUCLEI with five (or more) PROPOSITIONAL ROLES. At this point, Miller’s (1956) Magic Number Seven Plus or Minus Two

⁶⁰ Although Kimenyi glosses the third *-eesh-* as CAUS, it probably should be INSTR.

⁶¹ I omit from discussion everything after “and also”. “Metatheory” does not produce everyday speech, the speakers do.

becomes relevant. VOICE, and the organization it provides language, differs again from FOCUS and TOPIC. Those last two have their motivation resolutely in the context in which speakers live. They arise from the interaction of human intelligence with the environment. VOICE contrasts with FOCUS and TOPIC in that it imposes itself upon language independently of experience and from the vantage point of the mechanics of human intelligence.

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