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SUBJECTIVIZATION RULES IN KINYARWANDA*

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In this paper we present 3 subject-creating rules, namely (i) passivization, (ii) stativization and (iii) object-subject reversal. These rules are illustrated in (2) a, b and c respectively.

- (1) a. Umugóre a-teets-e ibiryo.
woman she cook asp. food
'The woman is cooking food.'
- (2) a. Ibiryo bi-teets-w-e n'umugóre.
food it-cook-pass.-asp. by woman
'The food is cooked by the woman.'
- b. Ibiryo bi-ra-téets-e.
food it-pres.-cook-asp.
'The food is cooking.'
- c. Ibiryo bi-teets-e umugóre
food it-cook-asp. woman
'The food is cooked by the woman.'

An investigation of these rules lends support to Keenan's view of Grammatical Relations as being a matter of degree. In fact we show that all these rules appear to meet the definition of Passive in Relational Grammar, but that they differ significantly, however, in terms of the extent to which the full complement of subject properties is assigned to the derived subject.

Properties of Basic Subjects

In Kinyarwanda, terms (subject of, direct object of, indirect object of) are distinguished from non-terms (oblique NPS: locative, instrumental, manner, temporal and goal) by the transformations that the latter cannot undergo. Only terms passivize, cleft, pseudo-cleft, undergo Wh-questioning, allow insertion of existential and exclusive... (for detail, see Kimenyi in Preparation). In turn subjects are easily distinguished from other terms by their characteristic properties, given below:

- (i) Subjects immediately precede the verb.
(ii) Subjects are always definite or generic.
(iii) Only subjects trigger verbal agreement.
(iv) Only subjects trigger reflexivization.
(v) Only subjects control deletion under identity.
(vi) Only subjects undergo subject-to-object raising.
(vii) Only subjects allow dummy-insertion (ha-).

1. Passivization

1.1 Passivization, as claimed by Relational Grammar, is a process that promotes objects to subject status.

- (3) a. Umwáana a-ra-som-a igitabo.
 child he-pres.-read-asp. book
 'The child is reading the book.'
 b. Igitabo cyi- ra =som-w-a n'umwáana.
 book it- pres.- read-pass-asp by child
 'The book is read by the child.'

Objects that are being passivized have to be either definite or generic; indefinite or unspecified NPs cannot be passivized. Oblique cases, locatives excepted, cannot be directly passivized, but have to be objectivized first, to undergo this kind of transformation, as shown in (4).

- (4) a. Umugabo a- ra - andik-a ibaruwa n'ikaramu.
 man he-pres.-write-asp. letter with-pen
 'The man is writing a letter with the pen.'
 b. *Ikaramu i- ra -andik-w -a ibaruwa na
 pen it-pres.-write-pass.-asp. letter with
 n'umugabo.
 by man
 'The pen is used to write a letter with by
 the man.'
 c. Umugabo a-ra-andik-iisha-a ibaruwa ikaramu.
 man he-pres-write-instr.-asp. letter pen
 'The man is writing a letter with the pen.'
 d. Ikaramu i-ra-andik-iish-w-a ibaruwa n'umugabo.
 pen it-pres-write-instr-pass-asp letter by man
 'The pen is used to write a letter by the man.'

Recipient and benefactive NPs are passivizable also:

- (5) a. Umugabo y-a-haa-ye umugóre igitabo.
 man he-past-give-asp woman book
 'the man gave a book to the woman.'
 b. Umugore y-a-haa-w-e igitabo n'umugabo.
 woman she-past-give-pass-asp book by man
 'The woman was given the book by the man.'

In Kinyarwanda cognate objects can passivize and the subject doesn't have to be an agent for the object to passivize.

- (6) a. Iki gitabo gi-pim-a ibíro bîne.
 this book it-weigh-asp kilo four
 'This book weighs four kilos.'
 b. Ibíro bîne bi-pim-w-a n'iki gitabo.
 kilo four they-weigh-pass-asp by this book
 'It's this book that weighs 4 kilos.'

1.2 Constraints

Certain types of incorporated pronouns such as reflexive pronouns or recipient pronouns don't get passivized or let the other objects of the verb--incorporated or full NPs--undergo passivization. Thus the direct object of a reflexive pronoun or a recipient pronoun cannot passivize as shown below.

- (7) a. Umugabo y-a-m-haa-ye igitabo.
man he-past-me-give-asp book
'The man gave me the book.'
b. *Igitabo cy-a-m-haa-w-e n'umugabo.
book it-past-me-give-pass-asp by man
'The book was given to me by the man.'
- (8) a. Abahungu b-iy-erets-e amashusho.
boys they-refl.-show-asp. pictures
'The boys showed pictures to themselves.'
b. *Amashusho y-iy-erets-w-e n'abagabo.
pictures they-refl-show-pass-asp. by boys
'The pictures were shown to the boys by themselves.'

One might argue that the impossibility of passivizing direct objects 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 (d.o.); and further, as observed in Kimenyi (in preparation) and as argued convincingly by Gary & Keenan (1976) in what they call the Two Object Analysis (TOA), there is no formal difference between the Direct Object and the Indirect Object in Kinyarwanda. We see in fact that when the recipient is a full NP passivization applies.

- (9) a. Umugabo y-a-haa-ye umugore igitabo.
man he-past-give-asp woman book
'The man gave a book to the woman.'
b. Umugore y-a-haa-w-e igitabo n'umugabo.
woman she-past-give-pass-asp book by man
'The woman was given the book by the man.'
c. Igitabo cy-a-haa-w-e umugore n'umugabo.
book it-past-give-pass-asp woman by man
'The book was given to the woman by the man.'

Moreover, other syntactic transformations such as relativization, clefting, Wh-questioning, ... still apply to the object of the reflexive and the recipient pronoun, which shows that the object of this type of construction is not in fact en chomage. We have relativization in (10) and

exclusive insertion in (11):

- (10) N-da-som-a igitabo umugabo y-a-m-haa¹-ye.
I-pres-read-asp. book man he-past-rel-me-give-asp.
'I am reading the book that the man gave me.'
- (11) Nta mashusho abahuungu b-iy-érets-e.
no pictures boys they-refl-rel-show-asp.
'The boys didn't show themselves any pictures.'

We don't have an explanation yet as to why incorporated recipient pronouns and reflexives don't allow passivization. If the verb has two incorporated pronouns only the recipient can passivize.

- (12) a. Umugabo y-a-ki-mw-éerets-e.
man he-past-it-him-show-asp.
'The man showed it to him.'
- b. Y-a-cy-eerets-w-e n'umugabo.
he-past-it-show-pass-asp by man
'He was shown it by the man.'
- c. *Cy-a-mw-eerets-w-e n'umugabo.
it-past-him-show-pass-asp by man
'It was shown to him by the man.'

If the recipient is a reflexive, none of these pronouns passivizes.

- (13) a. Umugabo y-a-k-ii-haa¹-ye.
man he-past-it-refl-give-asp
'The man gave it to himself.'
- b. *Cy-ii-haa-w-e n'umugabo.
it-refl-give-pass-asp by man
'It was given to the man by himself.'
- c. Y-a-gi -haa-w-e n'umugabo.
he-past-it-give-pass-asp by man
'Himself was given a book by the man.'

If the verb has more than two infixes, none of them can be passivized.

- (14) a. Abagabo b-a-ki-mu-gu-he¹-er-eye.
men they-past-it-him-you-give-ben-asp
'The men gave it to him for you.'
- b. *W-a-ki-mu-he-er-ew-e n'abagabo.
you-it-him-give-ben-pass-asp by men
'You were given it for him, by the men.'
- c. *Cy-a-mu-gu-he-er-ew-e n'abagabo.
it-past-him-you-give-ben-pass-asp by men
'It was given to him for you by the men.'
- d. *Y-a-ki-gu-he-er-ew-e n'abagabo.
he-past-it-you-give-ben-pass-asp by men
'He was given it for you by the men.'

The impossibility of passivization in the case of multiple pronouns is due to their strict word order. For details, see Kimenyi (in preparation).

1.3 Properties of Derived Subjects

NPs subjectivized by passivization keep all the properties of terms, such as relativization, clefting, Wh-questioning, and they acquire also the properties of initial subjects: they are definite, they trigger agreement on the verb, they allow dummy-insertion (ha-). The only properties of basic subjects that they don't acquire are (a) reflexivization, (b) raising to object position, and (c) coreferential deletion. The coreferential deletion never applies, since its structural description is never met: in Kinyarwanda this transformation is only fed by raising. Reflexivization and raising are illustrated in (15) and (16) respectively.

- (15) a. Umugóre y-eerets-e umwáana_x umwáana_x mw'íifoto.
 woman she-show-asp child child in picture
 'The woman showed the child the child in the picture.'
- b. Umwáana_x y-eerets-w-e umwáana_x mw'íifoto
 child he-show-pass-asp child in picture
 n'umugóre.
 by woman
 'The child was shown the child in the picture by the woman.'
- c. *Umwáana y-iy-eerets-w-e mw'íifoto n'úmugóre.
 child he-refl-show-pass-asp in picture
 by woman
 'The child was shown himself in the picture by the woman.'
- (16) a. Umwáalímu y-a-tegets-e kó abanyéeshuúri
 teacher he-past-order-asp that students
 ba-sóm-a ibitabo.
 they-read-asp books
 'The teacher ordered that the students read the books.'
- b. Umwáalímu y-a-tegets-e kó ibitabo bi-sóm-w-a
 teacher he-past-order-asp that books they-
 n'abanyéeshuúri.
 read-pass-asp by students
 'The teacher ordered that the books be read by the students.'
- c. Umwáalímu y-a-tegets-e abanyéeshuúri gusoma
 teacher he-past-order-asp students to read
 ibitabo.
 books
 'The teacher ordered the students to read the books.'
- d. *Umwáalímu y-a-tegets-e ibitabo gusomwa
 teacher he-past-order-asp books to read-pass
 n'abanyéeshuúri.

'The teacher ordered the books to be read by the students.'

The impossibility 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, a property of manipulative verbs only, creates a direct interaction between the agent subject and the raised subject. Derived subjects cannot raise, since they are passive, incapable of performing any activity.

1.4 Properties of Demoted Subjects

As predicted by the Relational Annihilation Law, initial subjects lose their grammatical relations to the verb when passivization applies. The demotion is effected by either one of the following side-effect rules: (i) the demoted subject is marked by the preposition na ('by') or (ii) the demoted subject is deleted.

The demoted subject is marked by na if the speaker wants to stress or contrast the agent.

- (17) a. Igitabo cy-a-som-w-e n'umugore.
 book it-past-read-pass-asp by woman
 'It's the woman who read the book.'

The demoted subject is deleted (i) if it is unspecified, (ii) if it is well-known by both speaker and hearer, or (iii) if the dummy ha-, which creates a cleft meaning, is inserted. When the dummy is inserted the subject shifts to the right of the verb.

- (18) a. Umuhuungu y-a-som-ye igitabo.
 boy he-past-read-asp book
 'The boy read the book.'
 b. Igitabo cy-a-som-w-e n'umuhuungu.
 book it-past-read-pass-asp by boy
 'The book was read by the boy.'
 c. *H-a-som-w-e igitabo n'umuhuungu.
 it-past-read-pass-asp book by boy
 'It's the book that was read by the boy.'
 d. H-a-som-w-e igitabo.
 it-past-read-pass-asp book
 'It's the book that was read.'

Non-agent subjects or initial subjects of verbs that have cognate or abstract objects cannot be deleted by demotion.

- (19) a. Umwáana a-rwaa-ye inkoróra.
 child he-be sick-asp cough
 'The child has a cough.'
 b. *Inkoróra i-ra-rwaa-w-e.
 cough it-pres-be sick-pass-asp

'The cough is had by somebody.'

2. Stativization

2.1 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.

- (20) a. Umugóre a-kubuu-ye inzu.
 woman she-clean-asp house
 'The woman has just cleaned the house.'
 b. Inzu i-rá-kubuu-ye.
 house it-pres-clean-asp
 'The house is cleaned.'

2.2 Constraints

Stativization is a property of direct objects only, oblique cases cannot be stativized. Animate objects (human, animal) cannot be stativized.

- (21) a. Abaantu b-íib-ye ibaanki.
 people they-rob-asp bank
 'People robbed the bank.'
 b. Ibaanki i-r-íib-ye.
 bank it-pres-rob-asp
 'The bank is robbed.'
 (22) a. Abaantu b-íib-ye umucuruuzi.
 people they-rob-asp businessman
 'People robbed the businessman.'
 b. Umucuruuzi y-íib-ye.
 businessman he-rob-asp
 *'The businessman is robbed.'

This is due to the fact that animate subjects of transitive verbs are usually interpreted as agents. From this observation it follows that reflexive pronouns and recipient pronouns cannot be stativized because they are always animate.

Direct objects of verbs whose subjects are not agents, such as emotional or perceptual verbs (think, know, hope, love, like, hate, hear, feel, see..) cannot be stativized.

- (23) a. Umwána a-shaats-e íbíryo.
 child he-want-asp food
 'The child wants food.'
 b. *Íbíryo bi-ra-shaats-e.
 food it-pres-want-asp
 'The food is wanted.'

If the functional role of stativization is to show the state in which the agent subject has put the object, it is

understandable why objects of these constructions cannot be stativized: in fact, the subject never controls them. If the verb has 2 objects, a recipient and a patient or a benefactive and a patient or a patient and an oblique object, stativization doesn't apply.

- (24) a. Umugabo y-a-andik-iish-ije ibaruwa ikaramu.
 man he-past-write-instr-asp letter pen
 'The man wrote the letter with the pen.'
 b. Ibaruwa i-ra-andik-iish-ije *ikaramu.
 letter it-pres-write-instr-asp pen
 'The letter is written with a pen.'
 c. Ikaramu i-ra-andik-iish-ije *ikaramu.
 pen it-pres-write-instr-asp pen
 'The pen is used to write the letter.'

Objectivized oblique objects (locatives, manners, goals, possessives), instrumentals excepted, cannot undergo stativization.

- (25) a. Umugore a-kor-e-y amafaraanga.
 woman she-work-ben-asp money
 'The woman has just worked for money.'
 b. *Amafaraanga a-ra-kor-e-ye.
 money it-pres-work-ben-asp
 'The money is worked for'.

In this case, stativization seems to be a property of basic objects only. Instrumentals differ from other oblique NPs -- maybe because they are promoted by derivational causativization, as argued in Kimenyi (in preparation), and not by normal advancement rules.

2.3 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 co-referential deletion, since its structural description is never met. They cannot trigger reflexivization and they cannot raise to object position, since they indicate an activity, whereas stativization shows the state of the object.

3. Object-Subject Reversal (O-S)

3.1 Object-subject reversal is a syntactic process that gives a passive reading to a sentence by just reversing the object and the subject as shown in (26).

- (26) a. Umuhuungu a-ra-som-a igitabo
 boy he-pres-read-asp book
 'The boy is reading the book.'
 b. Igitabo cyi-ra-som-a umuhuungu
 book it-pres-read-asp boy
 'The book is being read by the boy.'

As in the normal passive rule, oblique NPs, except locatives, cannot directly undergo this kind of transformation, they have to be objectivized first.

- (27) a. Umwáalímu a-ra-andik-a n'íikarámu.
 teacher he-pres-write-asp with pen
 'The teacher is writing with the pen.'
 b. *Íkaramu i-ra-andik-a n'umwáalímu.
 pen it-pres-write-asp by teacher
 'The pen is used to write by the teacher.'
 c. Íkaramu i-ra-andik-iish-a umwáalímu.
 pen it-pres-write-instr-asp teacher
 'The pen is used to write by the teacher.'

3.2 Constraints

Incorporated pronouns, whether subjects, objects or reflexives, cannot be reversed: perhaps because of the fixed word order imposed on them.

- (28) a. Abaantu ba-ra-kí-bon-a.
 people they-pres-it-see-asp
 'People see it.'
 b. *Cyí-ra-bon-a abaantu.
 it-pres-see-asp people
 'It is seen by the people.'
- (29) a. B-a-som-ye igitabo.
 they-past-read-asp book
 'They read the book.'
 b. *Igitabo cy-a-ba-som-ye.
 book it-past-them-read-asp
 'The book was read by them.'

Subjectivization never applies if the verb has two objects (i.e. pronouns of full NPs), or when there is an oblique NP in the sentence.

- (30) a. Umuhuúngu y-a-haa-ye umukoóbwa igitabo.
 boy he-past-give-asp girl book
 'The boy gave the book to the girl.'
 b. *Igitabo cy-a-haa-ye umukoóbwa umuhuúngu.
 book it-past-give-asp girl boy
 'The book was given to the girl by the boy.'

If the object and the subject are in the same semantic category, such as human or animal, this rule doesn't apply.

- (31) a. Umugabo y-a-som-ye umugóre.
 man he-past-kiss-asp woman
 'The man kissed the woman.'
 b. Umugóre y-a-som-ye umugabo.
 woman she-past-kiss-asp man
 'The woman kissed the man.'

It is possible, however, for this transformation to apply if the pragmatics are well-defined. For instance, verbs such as -hóz- ('console'), -vuur- ('cure'), -roongor- ('marry'), -twaar- ('rule'), and -tégek- ('rule') allow O-S reversal, since people who perform these activities in Rwandan society are specific individuals. Only women and children are allowed to cry. Only doctors cure and only such personages as chiefs and the king, rule.

- (32) a. Umugaanga a-vuur-a abarwáayi.
 doctor he-cure-asp sick people
 'The doctor cures sick people.'
 b. Abarwáayi ba-vuur-a umugaanga.
 sick people they-cure-asp doctor
 'Sick people are cured by the doctor.'

The reason O-S reversal is not allowed when the subject and the object are in the same semantic class, yet applies with the verbs given above, is that the subject of transitive verbs is most of the time interpreted as the agent.

As in other instances of subjectivization rules, outcast subjects lose their grammatical relations to the verb, they cannot undergo any kind of transformation whatsoever. The derived subject, besides taking subject position and triggering agreement on the verb, doesn't acquire any of the behavioral properties of initial subjects--contrary to expectation. This process is completely frozen, since the derived subject is somehow demoted, losing even its term status properties of relativization, clefting, pseudo-clefting, topicalization, etc.

The constraints imposed on derived subjects are the only formal ways to distinguish initial subjects from derived ones, because we observed that the derived structures of sentences generated by the stativization rule and the O-S reversal rule resemble those of basic subjects very much.

Discussion

We have shown that subjectivization rules are properties of direct objects only, and that objects undergoing these rules are either definite or generic. All derived subjects cannot raise to object position, they can't control coreferential deletion, nor can they trigger reflexivization. Moreover, subjects derived by stativization and O-S reversal cannot undergo certain transformations, since if they did, they would change the meaning of the basic sentence. In this respect, derived subjects are easily distinguished from basic ones and this obviously contradicts the Relational Succession Law which claims that NPs that take over the position of another NP by a promotion rule assume the Grammatical Relations of the outcast NP.

These observations on subject-creating rules in Kinyarwanda support Keenan's Promotion to Subject Hierarchy (PSH), (1975, p.324), given below:

(33) Coding Properties } Behavioral & } Semantic
 } Controlling } Properties
 } Properties }

Within this hierarchy, Keenan suggests that derived subjects won't take the full range of basic subjects' properties, but are likely to take those properties higher in the hierarchy. This is confirmed by the data we have presented. The 3 rules take on all the coding properties (subject position; verbal agreement), yet fail to acquire some transformations that basic subjects undergo. The rules are differentiated from each other by the PSH also. For instance, the passive rule gets almost all the behavioral properties of basic subjects. The stativization rule bears less transformations than Passive, and O-S reversal has more constraints than other subjectivization rules--neither does it get any of the behavioral properties of basic subjects.

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