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UNIVERSITE NATIONALE DU RWANDA  
FACULTÉ DES LETTRES

**THE ENGLISH NON-FINITE FORM  
AND ITS TRANSLATION INTO KINYARWANDA**

par  
Alfred BUREGEYA

Mémoire présenté pour l'obtention  
du grade de Licencié ès Lettres  
Département-Anglais

Directeur : Robert BOTNE  
Co-directeur : Védaste NDAGIJIMANA

RUHENGARI, Juin 1983

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*To all : my brothers and sisters,  
and mostly to my mother,  
for a shared hard family  
life*

*To all : my scout brothers and  
guide sisters, especially  
René, Ananie, François,  
Michel, Marie, and Marthe,  
for their moral support*

*To all : my six classmates,  
for their two-year  
"brotherhood"*

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## PREFACE

This study deals first with the English non-finite form as such, and then with this form as translated into Kinyarwanda. I was prompted to study the English non-finite form by a realization of controversial interpretations of the -ing form occurring in a sentential object. In the sentence

(1) I saw him talking to the woman next door

Vinay and Darbelnet (1968 : 148) consider "talking" to be a participle. But in the sentence

(2) I saw him crossing the road

Corder (1977 : 65) considers "crossing" to be a gerund. This controversial appellation of the same form in the same position made me wonder about what a participle is and what a gerund is. Thus the distinction between two verb forms became a field of interest for me. But, since for Corder (and other grammarians who agree with him) the argument for calling "crossing" a gerund is that it is replaceable by an infinitive, i.e. "cross", I also decided to include the infinitive in the scope of my study. This study was then going to be that of the infinitive, the gerund, and the participle -- which are the three non-finite forms in English.

Besides investigating the English non-finite form, the idea came into my mind to expand the topic to the field of translation. This idea was inspired by Vinay and Darbelnet's remarks regarding the translation into French of sentence (1). The two linguists contrast the translation of (1) to that of (3).

(3) I saw him go in.

They remark :

Après les verbes de perception, les deux langues  
(le français et l'anglais) emploient généralement l'in-

finitif si l'attention se porte essentiellement sur l'action accomplie plutôt que sur l'agent :

- Je l'ai vu entrer : I saw him go in.

Mais nous préférons la relative au participe présent quand la perception s'applique autant à la personne qu'à ce qu'elle fait.

- I saw him talking to the woman next door : Je l'ai vu qui parlait à la voisine (p. 148).

With no intention of commenting on this remark, I thought of checking the difference between the translation of the -ing form and that of the infinitive between English and Kinyarwanda. But, since I had planned to study all the three English non-finite forms, I also resolved to translate the three of them into Kinyarwanda, in order to see what this translation would come out with.

To carry out my grammar-translation investigation, I greatly benefited by the assistance of many people. I will in the first place appreciate the assistance of Robert Botne, my teacher of linguistics and my advisor. His continual remarks helped me to organize the content of this memoir. But I owe much to him especially for the argumentation with which I have supported my views about the English non-finite form.

My esteem goes also to Védaste Ndagijimana, my former teacher of translation and my other advisor. I am indebted to him especially for the translations that constitute the corpus from which I drew illustrations. Without his help, some translations would have been impossible.

To fellow students of the LLF Departement who made me catch some light from the complexities of the verbal system in Kinyarwanda, I am really grateful. Among them I will mention Téléphore Nyilimanzi and Pie Nzeyimana. I worked with the former to identify the nature of verb forms; the latter marked tones on part of the corpus. But special recognition is directed to Edouard Uhagaze of the LLA Department. He marked tones on the bulk of the Kinyarwanda constructions used in this work, and helped me to point out the right reference from Coupez's grammar book.

I thank Christopher Tingley, a teacher at the English Department, for having accepted to read part of my manuscript to suggest corrections about my use of English and to share his opinions.

I will never forget the moral support and advice sent from far away by James Rumford, a former teacher at the English Department and a friend. I will always remember that it is he who, in 3<sup>rd</sup> year, shaped my interests in the field of linguistics.

I will not empty my stock of acknowledgements before saving any for the person who has turned my manuscript into a typed work : to Marie Mukankusi, my best wishes!

May this memoir interest all the people who in one way or another contributed to its completion!

Alfred BUREGEYA

Ruhengeri

May, 1983

## INTRODUCTION

It is commonly agreed that the English infinitive, for example, is a non-finite form. But reasons why it is non-finite are not easy to give. It is not clear what is finite and what is non-finite. Previous approaches to finitude have simply created confusion about the notion of finitude. On one hand, they confuse finite forms with non-finite; on the other hand, they confuse non-finite forms among themselves. This double confusion will be epitomized in the paragraphs that follow.

### 0.1 Confusions around the English Non-Finite Form

One of the difficulties in differentiating a finite form from a non-finite one derives from the fact that two items of the same form are often taken to be semantically the same.

(1) He is calling in a minute.

In example (1), for instance, "calling" is considered, by Quirk and Greenbaum (1978 : 27), to mean the same thing as "calling" in (2) :

(2) Calling early, I found her at home.

The two linguists argue that "calling" in (1) is a participle (as in (2) ) adjoined to the finite form of "be." But arguments based on transformational grammar will support a different hypothesis: that the -ing inflection on "calling" in (1) is due to the progressive auxiliary "be", whereas the -ing inflection in (2) is not due to any auxiliary.

The second difficulty is closely related to the one exposed above. Quirk and Greenbaum have taken the two "calling's" for the same thing probably because of their morphological similarity. Some other authors, among them Strang (1971 : 170), base the notion of finitude on surface structures. That is why she includes imperative forms among non-finite forms. The reason she advances is that there is no visible subject accompanying an

imperative form. But an imperative construction is not subjectless: transformational grammar proposes an underlying subject. In addition, imperatives have other functional characteristics which non-finite forms do not have.

The third confusion around the English non-finite form pertains to terminology : in some cases one name is attributed to two items of the same form but of different functions. Quirk et al. (1979 : 135), for example, call any non-finite form a participle. They disregard what is traditionally called the "gerund." They reject what they call the "traditional view" which holds that an -ing form bearing nominal features is a gerund, whereas an -ing form bearing modifying features is a participle. Those linguists oppose this view arguing that it does not, however, label differently the infinitival phrases in (3) and (4).

(3) To paint a pastoral scene is pleasant.

(4) To paint a pastoral scene, I bought a new canvas.

The traditional view labels "to paint" in both examples as an infinitive. For Quirk and his co-authors, the question is why then call an -ing form two things, if the two infinitives in (3) and (4) are not called two things. For the moment, I will not discuss their argumentation in detail. I will limit myself to saying that this argumentation seems not to pay close attention to what the -ing form with nominal qualities does and to what the -ing form with modifying qualities does. What the two forms do is remarkable if they are compared with the other non-finite forms playing similar roles. This means that the -ing form functioning nominally should be compared with the infinitive, and that the -ing form functioning as a modifier should be compared with the -N participle.

Another problem relating to terminology lies in the fact that some authors use the traditional terminology of "infinitive", "participle", and "gerund" in an idiosyncratic way. Buysens (1968 : 17), for example,

designates under the term "infinitive" structures like those underlined in the following examples.

(5) A man may kill himself if at it.

(6) You should be eating penny ices and enjoying yourself.

(7) He must have gone through the stage to the library.

On the other hand, what is traditionally called "infinitive" he terms "supin" (supine). This is the case with the underlined forms in (8) - (10).

(8) You know how to handle men.

(9) He seemed to be for ever putting his foot in it.

(10) She would have liked to have gone.

Since what Buysens designates as "infinitive" will be demonstrated, in Chapter One, to be a finite construction, I will maintain the traditional appellation. That is, I will call infinitive what he calls "supin."

All those problems raised above lay grounds for debate. This work exposes my views about the English non-finite form. Chapter One develops arguments supporting hypotheses that are different from those of the authors consulted in the previous paragraphs. These arguments are mostly based on transformational grammar. The point of this work is not, however, to provide absolute answers to the problems. The point is to suggest a different, hopefully more satisfactory, analysis of the English non-finite form. The definitions come to in Chapter One should not be taken for granted. Yet, for a consistent point of view throughout this study, all the considerations that will be made about the English non-finite form will be concordant with those definitions.

## 0.2 Aim and Limits of the Study

This study is at the same time a descriptive grammar of the English non-finite form and its translation into Kinyarwanda. It is a two-step study : first will be described the English form, and then this form



will be translated into Kinyarwanda.

This study is not a treatise on translation. That is, it does not propose what processes of translation should be used to translate the English non-finite form into Kinyarwanda. By "processes of translation" I translate what Vinay and Darbelnet (1968) call "procédés techniques de la traduction." These can roughly be defined as the ways in which a translator renders the message of the source language into the target language. Vinay-Darbelnet describe seven processes, among them la traduction littérale, la transposition, and l'équivalence (for the whole list, cf. pp. 46-55).

To come back to the object of this study, this work does not put forward transposition<sup>1</sup>, for example, as the process best fit to translate the English non-finite form into Kinyarwanda. Such a proceeding would make of this study a work requiring much time and labor. This would be the case for these reasons: each procédé de traduction presents various cases. For only the process of modulation, for instance, Vinay-Darbelnet observe ten cases (cf. pp. 236-240). In addition, as will be noticed later, there are various types of the English non-finite form, each of which is generally translated in its own particular way. Therefore, to analyze each process used for each type of the non-finite form would be a methodology more fit for a study of a large scale than for the present work, which is not so far-reaching.

Furthermore, to decide upon which kind of modulation has been resorted to amounts to discussing the terminology used in the verbal system of Kinyarwanda. But the terminology available so far, i.e. Coupez's, presents many intricacies which are hard to grasp. It is admittedly difficult to determine which case of process of translation has been used, from a terminology like this: "mode conjonctif, ordre affirmatif, degré immédiat." Determining the process of translation relying on this terminology would require giving a satisfactory exposé of Coupez's descriptions of mode, ordre, degré, and the

like. But such a proceeding is liable to be off the point of this study.

Therefore, for the sake of simplicity and conciseness, I will limit my comments about Kinyarwanda translations to saying that the English non-finite form has been translated by such or such verb form in Kinyarwanda. But, whether this Kinyarwanda form is conjugated or not will be of concern. This will help me to further conclude that the Kinyarwanda equivalent of the English non-finite form has maintained or changed the syntactic and functional structures governing the English non-finite form translated.

Finally, it should be specified that the *raison-d'être* for translation is to find out what the Kinyarwanda equivalent of the English non-finite form is. This means that in the course of translation, no already existing equivalent will be presupposed. Whatever the equivalent will turn out to be, it will be analyzed as such. The aim is then not to verify if non-finite forms do exist in Kinyarwanda or do not. This would be overlapping another subject matter, that of studying the notion of finitude in Kinyarwanda. The aim is to see how the features of the English non-finite form are rendered into Kinyarwanda and under what form. The ultimate end of such an approach is that it will hopefully provide us with further insight into the nature of both English and Kinyarwanda, especially as far as the verbal system is concerned.

### 0.3 The Data

For Each type of the English non-finite form, a corpus to translate has been devised. Thus there will be examples containing the English infinitive functioning as an object, the English gerund functioning as a subject, the English modifying a finite clause, and the like.

A given type of the English form may be translated in more than one way. Each way will be illustrated by a certain number of examples. In case many ways of translation are offered, the number of illustrations will

reflect which of the translations has more occurrences in the language than the others. This explains why in some cases a translation is illustrated by three examples (and sometimes more), while another is illustrated by two (and even one) examples. These illustrative examples have been chosen from a much larger corpus.

In whole, this corpus is made up of over two hundred sentences. The majority of these have been drawn from novels : The Beautiful Ones Are Not Yet Born, Two Thousand Seasons, and Fragments -- by Ayi Kwei Armah; A Grain of Wheat, Petals of Blood, and Detained -- by Ngugi wa Thiong'o.<sup>2</sup> The rest of the sentences are mine (or from one or another grammar book used in the bibliography). Since some authors may present stylistic particularities, the sentences from novels will be marked:<sup>3</sup> after each sentence, the initials of the book and the page number will be given between parentheses. The initials of those books are, respectively, BOANYB, TTS, F, GW, PB, and D. Translation will heavily rely on the context of the book from which a sentence has been drawn. My own sentences are, in comparison, decontextualized sentences. It is thus probable that some other people might translate them otherwise than I will in this work. A last remark about the corpus is that here and there one example may be used twice. This recurrence should not be considered as redundancy, because each time an example will be used, it will be showing off a different non-finite form.

Three remarks should be made about the translations themselves. First, on the whole, only one translation of each example will be given. It will be the one that seems to be the most acceptable in Kinyarwanda usage. Nevertheless, it should not be surprising to find that in section 2.9 (i.e. the one about the infinitive following a predicate), two translations have been retained. This is where Kinyarwanda accepts both translations equally, the difference in usage depending on definite contexts. In this case, the

two translations will be numbered a and b. The second remark is that for each translated sentence, tones will be marked. This marking is necessary because in Kinyarwanda, in different structures -- notably verbal structures-- tone determines the grammatical nature of each structure. For the sake of clarity, only high tones will be marked. The third remark is that for the sake of presentation, the English non-finite form to translate and its Kinyarwanda translation will be written in capital letters. The rest of the sentence will be in small letters.

#### 0.4 Format of the Study

What has already been said in this introduction has brought some light to what the heart of the matter for this study is. In the following lines I will only outline, more clearly, the content that will be dealt with. This content will be approached in four chapters and the conclusion.

Chapter One will define the English non-finite form. More particularly, it will first trace out the distinctions characteristic of the English non-finite form in general. Second, it will examine each non-finite form individually. Each of the three non-finite forms, namely the infinitive, the gerund and the participle, will be treated both internally and in comparison with another -- or all of them -- non-finite form functionally related. Since, as was pointed out earlier, it is hard to determine whether such or such form is non-finite or not, and whether a given form is this non-finite form and not that one, a thorough description will be attempted. In this perspective, each form will be studied morphologically, syntactically, functionally, and semantically. By "morphologically" I refer to external characteristics of the form; by "syntactically" to the position the form occupies in the structure; by "functionally" to the role it plays in that position; by "semantically" to the intrinsic relationships of the form with the other elements to which it is related. Chapter One constitutes thus the springboard for further analysis.

That is, the next three chapters will each deal with a given non-finite form which will have already been clearly defined in Chapter One.

Chapter Two concerns the translation into Kinyarwanda of the English infinitive; Chapter Three the English gerund; Chapter Four the English participle. The sections in each of these chapters correspond to the different types of the English form to translate. The method of analysis in each section looks like this : each way of translation will be illustrated by examples; the English sentence will be followed by its Kinyarwanda translation. Each way of translation will be discussed in terms of the maintenance or the change of the syntactic and functional relationships existing in the English original. Finally, the reason for the translation in question will be given.

At the end of each chapter there is a summary section. This summarizes the discussions led and partial conclusions drawn in the different sections of the chapter.

The conclusion to the whole work will, besides summarizing what the English non-finite form and its Kinyarwanda equivalent are, say a word about the common features underlying the two. It will also evaluate what the translations effected in this work tell us about the verbal systems of English and Kinyarwanda, one system in relation to the other.

As an addendum to this study, an appendix giving a brief description of Coupez's modes used in this work will be included.

## CHAPTER ONE

### THE DEFINITION OF THE ENGLISH NON-FINITE FORM

#### 1.0. The English Non-Finite Form

##### 1.0.1 Introduction

This section aims at clarifying the hazy concept of the English non-finite form. I call it "hazy" because many linguists have defined it without giving definitions which satisfactorily separate the English non-finite form. These definitions are not efficacious because they contrast the two forms on the basis of morphological grounds. They state, for instance, that finite forms are limited by person and number. But this is not so, because only the third person present of the indicative is marked. Out of context, the forms for the other persons may be taken for finite as well as for non-finite. Several other morphological distinctions have been proposed, but none of them is distinctive enough to differentiate a non-finite form from a finite. Only functional differences are capable of distinguishing between the two forms. Four functional differences will be discussed in this section.

##### 1.0.2. The Inadequacy of Morphological Distinctions

###### 1.0.2.1 The Previous Approaches of Defining Finitude

As I have said above, to define the English finite form (and by contrast the non-finite form), previous approaches have relied on the morphology of morphemes. Webster's New World Dictionary defines a finite form as a verb form "having limits of person, number, and tense." Besides person, number, and tense, The American College Dictionary states that a finite form is also limited by mood and aspect. Many grammar books, among them Quirk and Greenbaum's A Concise Grammar of Contemporary English and Strang's Modern English Structure, support those dictionary definitions.

Strang (1967), for example, defines "finitude" (or the quality of being finite) as "the property of being, or not being, subject to limitation in respect of the two concord-categories of person and number" (p. 144). It is deducible from this definition that for Strang, the number and person concord is morphologically marked. Evidence for this statement is that she classifies imperatives among non-finite forms. Nevertheless, it will be demonstrated below how a morphologically oriented approach is inadequate, and how a functionally oriented approach is adequate.

#### 1.0.2.2 The Limitation by Person and Number

To begin with, I give an example of a verb form limited by person and number. "Am", a verb form of "to be", indicates by its form that it is the first person singular. On the other hand, "are", another verb form of "to be", and which is present indicative like "am", is not marked for person and number: with respect to person, "are" may be any of the three persons. With respect to number, it may be singular or plural.

In the English verbal system, it is not only "are" that is unmarked for person and number. Almost all the other verb forms are unmarked, too. Apropos of this Darbyshire (1967) says:

There are three 'persons' normally so thought of in English... But normally only the third person singular has any morphological significance in Present-Day English... since the morpheme -s is the only surviving inflection that usually colligates, except for irregularities like I am or he/ she/ it is (p. 130).

So, among all the forms that may be derived from "to walk", only "walks" will be said to show the person and number concord between the subject and the verb. Yet I will insist that the third person is marked only for the indicative mood, because it is not marked for the subjunctive mood:

(1) It is necessary that every member inform himself of these rules. "Inform" shows no person and number concord. Furthermore, I will add that for

modals, the third person is not marked, either:

(2) He can play the guitar.

Maybe this is due to the fact that modals are markers of the subjunctive mood -- as will be seen later. Therefore, considering that only very few cases in the English verbal system are marked for person and number, it is cautious not to generalize that finite forms are limited by person and number:

### 1.0.2.3 The Limitation by Tense

I consider verb forms like "are" and "can", which in previous paragraphs were said not to be marked for person and number to be limited by tense. This means that out of context, "were" and "could" will be recognized as the past tense versions of "are" and "can." To support the claim that finite forms make tense distinctions, Quirk and Greenbaum (1978) contrast the present and the past in the following example:

(3) He {studies  
studied} English.

From "were", "could", and "studied", it must be acknowledged that the past tense is marked. And indeed, transformational grammar uses the symbol "-D" to represent the suffix of the past tense. This suffix differentiates the past from the non-past, i.e., the present and the future.

All the same, this markedness obtains only with the dichotomy past versus non-past, but not with the dichotomy finite vs non-finite. That is, out of context, a form like "studied" has a manifold interpretation: one, as a past tense: "He studied English last year"; two, as a participle: "Studied only by senior students, English is..."; three, as a passive: "English is studied by...." These several possibilities of interpretation tell us that even the sole English tense to be marked does not mark the finite form -- except with the auxiliary "be" and modals. The above three possible interpretations of "studied" thus make up an argument against



the generalization that finite forms are limited by tense.

#### 1.0.2.4 The Limitation by Mood

Mood is a notion which has been dealt with vaguely. The American College Dictionary gives a definition which states that mood is marked by modal auxiliaries. The implication of this definition is that a mood that is not marked by a modal is not a mood. Lyons (1971 : 307) calls what is traditionally called the "indicative mood" "non-modal." He recognizes as moods the imperative and the subjunctive. Using the same rationale, Quirk and Greenbaum (1978) note:

In contrast to the 'unmarked' indicative mood, we distinguish the 'marked' moods imperative and subjunctive (p. 38).

Without purporting to give a clearer definition, I remark that Lyons and Quirk - Greenbaum should also have discarded the imperative as a mood, because it is not marked. In example (4),

(4) Come here

there is nothing that marks the imperative. The verb form "come" may invariably operate in constructions other than the imperative, as in "I will go with you when you come back." Consequently, only the subjunctive mood is marked, by modals.<sup>1</sup> But this does not mean that unmarked moods (i.e. the indicative and the imperative) are not moods. In a sentence like (5)

(5) Shut your mouth

The idea of command is doubtlessly sensed. Mood is not an overtly marked notion. That is why no modal morphological characteristics should be expected to differentiate the finite form from the non-finite.

#### 1.0.2.5 The Limitation by Aspect

A lengthy description of aspect has been made by Vinay and Darbelnet (1968). They have described many types of aspect (cf. pp. 144-147).

But for the present case I will consider only two types, "l'aspect progressif" and "l'aspect duratif." These two will be used to demonstrate that finite forms are not limited by aspect.

Vinay-Darbelnet illustrate "l'aspect progressif" as in example (6):

(6) He is working.

In this example, the progressive aspect is marked conjointly by "is" and "ing." The two morphemes are the realization on the surface of the underlying structure "(BE + -ING)". This is the structure for the progressive auxiliary, according to transformational grammar. Admittedly, the progressive aspect in English is marked. But "l'aspect duratif" is not. The authors illustrate this aspect as in example (7):

(7) He remained silent.

Semantically, the form "remained" expresses the idea of duration. But this aspect is not marked by morphological inflection, namely the inflection for the past tense. If aspect were marked by this inflection, example (8)

(8) He fell silent

would be expressing the same aspect as example (7). But "remained" is durative, whereas "fell" is punctual. This means that the idea of "duration" in (7) is inherent to the verb "remain."

From examples (5) and (7), it will roughly be generalized that some types of aspect are morphologically marked while others are not. This generalization amounts to saying in other words what Botne (1981) says while stating the meaning of aspect. He notes:

This meaning may be realized in one of the three possible ways: through morphological inflection, through auxiliary use or through inherent verbal aspectual character (p. 70).

To relate this passage to the examples discussed above, we see that in (6), the meaning of aspect is realized through morphological inflection, while

in (7) and (8), it is realized through inherent verbal aspectual character. Therefore, since aspect is not always morphologically marked, it should not be said to limit finite forms from the non-finite.

### 1.0.3 The Adequacy of Functional Distinctions

From the preceding discussion of the limits of person, number, tense, mood, and aspect, the conclusion is that categories of verb inflection do not morphologically mark the finite form from the non-finite. I suggest that to differentiate the two forms we resort to functional characteristics. The four functional characteristics I propose directly pertain to non-finite forms.

#### 1.0.3.1 The Non-Finite Form and the Categories of Verb Inflection

The first difference between the non-finite form and the finite lies in the fact that the former, contrary to the latter, is not governed<sup>2</sup> by any of the categories of verb inflection. (These are, as listed by Jakobson (1963 : 182-183), person, number, mood, tense, aspect, and voice). By "not governed" I mean that while all these categories vary, the finite forms vary with them, but non-finite forms remain invariable. Consider the following examples:

- (9) I invite my friend to pay me a visit.
- (10) He invites my friend to pay me a visit.
- (11) I invited my friend to pay me a visit.
- (12) I must invite my friend to pay me a visit.
- (13) I have invited my friend to pay me a visit.
- (14) My friend is invited to pay me a visit.

To comment on the examples above, I will use example (9) as reference. The referential finite form is "invite"; the referential non-finite form is "to pay." Through examples (10)-(14), sentence (9) has undergone syntactic changes.

These have affected the finite form. Thus in (10), this form has changed for person and number; in (11) for tense; in (12) for mood; in (13) for aspect, and in (14) for voice. The non-finite form, on the other hand, has remained the same throughout. The conclusion is that a finite form varies as the categories of verb inflection vary, while a non-finite form does not vary.

It should be noted, however, that this conclusion does not apply to every construction in the language. In some constructions -- which seem to be infrequent -- one or more categories of verb inflection may not affect finite forms.

(15) It was necessary that every member inform himself of these rules. In this example, "inform" is not governed by person and number, by tense, and by aspect. That is, "inform" will not undergo the variations of these categories. This first functional difference between the finite form and the non-finite will then be retained only generally: usually, the English non-finite form is governed by categories of verb inflection, but the non-finite form is not.

#### 1.0.3.2 The Non-Finite Form and Verbals

The second difference is that a non-finite form directly follows verbs which are not considered part of that class called "auxiliaries." The term "auxiliary verb" is defined by Webster's New World Dictionary as "a verb that helps form tenses, aspects, moods, or voices of other verbs..." Jacobs and Rosenbaum (1968) support this definition by specifying the different kinds of auxiliaries: the modals, the copula "be", the progressive "be", the passive "be", the perfect "have", and "do." These two linguists also show, by virtue of a syntactic analysis of the auxiliary, that this has to come before a "verbal." They define the term "verbal" as "the primary constituent of a verb phrase" (p. 52).

In examples (16)-(19), the a - sentences display non-finite

forms following verbals; the b- sentences finite forms following verbals; the c- sentences finite forms following auxiliaries.

- (16) a. I love reading.  
 b. \*I love read.  
 c. I have never read that book.
- (17) a. He comes to see her.  
 b. \*He comes sees her.  
 c. He will see her tomorrow.
- (18) a. They came singing.  
 b. \*They came sang.  
 c. They are always singing in the streets.
- (19) a. She came back depressed.  
 b. \*She came back was depressed.  
 c. She is depressed by any sad event.

The ungrammaticality of the b- sentences demonstrates that finite forms do not follow verbals; they follow auxiliaries, as shown by the c- sentences. Non-finite forms, on the contrary, do follow verbals, as shown by the a- sentences.

Yet this second difference between finite and non-finite forms does not, like the first one, constitute an absolute characteristic. This is because in some cases non-finite forms are in positions where they need not follow verbals. This is the case of (20) and (24) :

(20) Working in the garden, he could not see the thief enter the house.

(21) Depressed by the sad events, Elisa refused to eat.

In these examples, "working" and "depressed" need not be preceded by verbals. To imply this fact, the formulation of the second difference between the non-finite form and the finite will run as follows: in case a verb form needs to follow a verbal, the verb form in question must be a non-finite form.

### 1.0.3.3 The Non-Finite Form and Auxiliaries

The examples (16)-(21) show that finite forms do not follow verbals, but follow auxiliaries. They also show that non-finite forms follow verbals. But, which will constitute the third difference between the two forms, non-finite forms do not take auxiliaries. In (20) and (21), "working" and "depressed" are non-finite, but they are finite in (22) and (23).

(22) He ~~was~~ working in the garden when the thief entered the house.

(23) Elisa was depressed by the sad events.

In these two examples, "working" and "depressed" are constituents of compound tenses, namely "was working" and "was depressed."

My analysis disagrees with that of some grammarians, among them Darbyshire (1967) and Carpentier-Fialip (1959). These authors would consider "working" and "depressed" as participles adjoined to the auxiliary "be." But, to recall the definition of "auxiliary verb" given by The American College Dictionary, auxiliaries operate as markers of categories of verb inflection. Since then non-finite forms are not governed by these categories, they cannot take auxiliaries. The participial endings on "working" and "depressed" are simply due to the formulae "(BE + -ING)" and "(BE + -N)". These are considered by transformational grammar to be the underlying structures respectively for the progressive and the passive auxiliaries. Besides, forms like "was working" and "was depressed" cannot be constructed from the semantic paradigm of the non-finite forms with a suffix, as formulated by Botne (1981 : 194).

The paradigm is::

(+-ING) (HAVE + - N) V	3
(+-N) V	

From this paradigm may be derived only the following forms:

1. "working", derived from  $\{ (+ -ING) WORK \}$ ;
2. "having worked", derived from  $\{ (+ -ING) (HAVE + -N) WORK \}$ ;

3. "depressed", derived from  $[(+ -N) \text{ DEPRESS}]$ .

There is non way, then, of deriving "was working" and "was depressed" from the paradigm.

The third difference discussed above is not, like the two preceding differences, always sufficient to differentiate a finite form from a non-finite. This is because in some cases, as in (24),

(24) They go to school everyday

even finite forms need not take an auxiliary. The third difference between the non-finite form and the finite will ultimately be formulated as: auxiliary verbs are obligatorily followed by finite forms.

#### 1.0.3.4 The Relatedness of a Non-Finite Form to a Finite Form

The fourth difference lies in the fact that a non-finite form is always related to a finite form. This difference constitutes a permanent characteristic because whenever there is a non-finite form, there is also a finite form to which it is related. Consider the following examples:

(25) To study Hebrew is hard.

(26) He liked studying Hebrew.

(27) He entered the room smoking.

(28) Disgusted by the lecturer's speech, he went out of the room.

In these four examples, finite forms can, by themselves, function as the verbal elements of the sentences. But non-finite forms cannot. Examples (29) and (30) illustrate this assertion.

(29) a. He liked Hebrew.

b. \*Studying Hebrew.

(30) a. He went out of the room.

b. \*Disgusted by the lecturer's speech.

The b. sentences are ungrammatical because the non-finite forms "studying"

and "disgusted" do not suffice to themselves. One reason for this weakness is that there are no subjects -- whether implied or overt -- to agree with the two forms. According to its nature (cf. examples (25)-(28), a non-finite form is linked to a finite either in nominal terms, i.e. as a subject and as an object, or in modifying terms, i.e. as an adjective and as an adverb. The grammatical functions just mentioned will be dealt with in detail in the sections that follow.

## 1.1 The Infinitive

### 1.1.1 Morphological Description

Many authors have presented the infinitive as if it were more than one verb form. Carpentier-Fialip (1959), among many others, have established a dichotomy between the infinitive with "to" and the infinitive without "to." Strang (1971) has gone even farther in splitting the infinitive. For her, each infinitival construction represents a separate type of the infinitive. She distinguishes between the "plain" infinitive (i.e. the infinitive without "to"), the "normal" infinitive (i.e. the infinitive with "to"), the "perfective" infinitive (i.e. (to) have + V-N), etc. (for the whole list, cf. p. 172).

#### 1.1.1.1 The Particle "To"

Such a detailed classification of the infinitive fails to present it as one distinctive non-finite form. A more distinctive definition is that the infinitive is the non-finite form preceded by "to." This definition is not concordant with the following example, however.

(31) They heard the thief enter the house.

But I will still maintain that definition as valuable because even example (31) has an underlying "to." I advance this hypothesis because the passive version of (31) brings the "to" to the surface.



(32) The thief was heard to enter the house.

Examples (33) and (34) are other illustrations :

(33) She made her husband buy the car.

(34) The husband was made to buy the car by his wife.

The particle "to" will then be said to be a morphological distinction of the infinitive, except in the active constructions with a few verbs. These are: "let", "make", "bid", and those which Carpentier-Fialip (1959) call "verbs of perception" (cf. p. 90). What is common to all these verbs is that, to their right, they allow the infinitive only after a noun phrase functioning as an object.<sup>4</sup> But it is not clear why they allow "to" in the passive but do not allow it in the active.

Another case in which "to" is deleted should be added. It is the case of the constructions in which the infinitive follows words of the kind of "except" and "but."

(35) She cannot do anything else except sew.

(36) She cannot do anything else but sew.

To account for the deletion of "to" in (35) and (36), I will embrace the following view: those words of the kind of "except" -- which are very few -- are, according to Darbyshire (1967), "prepositions." (I will have to deal with these prepositions later in this section). The particle "to" is then deleted because it occurs after a preposition. I make this claim because "to" does not also "function" in (37) and (38).

(37) \*She came for to see me.

(38) \*I was afraid of to see her.

The discussion led so far about "to" aims at demonstrating that the infinitive without "to" occurs only in restricted cases. I will add, nevertheless, that any "to" preceding a verb form is not necessarily the "to" marking the infinitive. First, there is a "to" which is adjoined to verbals, but

which does not introduce the infinitive.

(39) He objected to leaving so late.

(40) He limited himself to visiting the market.

The "to" in (39) and (40) is inherently attached to the verbal to its left and causes a gerundive termination on the verbal to its right. This "to" functions as a preposition, as will be seen while studying the gerund.

Second, there is another "to" whose nature is less clear than that of the prepositional "to" above. This is the first "to" in (41), for instance:

(41) He had to stand on tiptoe to read it.

This example is drawn from Darbyshire (1967 : 133). For this linguist, the "to" in "to stand" is the infinitive marker. He analyzes the phrase "had to stand" as "had + to stand." He says that "to stand" is "presumably an object." I will not forthrightly reject this interpretation as inaccurate. Nor will I accept it as accurate without comments. My comments consist in saying that the nature of the "to" under consideration raises a question, because there are two possible ways of analyzing it.

The first way is to consider this "to" as the infinitive marker -- as Darbyshire has done. This analysis would be supported by the following hypothesis: sentence (41) is a transformation derived from (42).

(42) \*He had himself stand on tiptoe to read it.

In the light of this hypothesis, "himself" has been deleted, because it is coreferential with "he", which is the subject of the main clause. This deletion has occurred in the same way as (43) has given way to (44).<sup>5</sup>

(43) \*He wants himself to go.

(44) He wants to go.

The deletion of "himself" in (42) has brought about the insertion of "to." The phrase "to stand" has then be raised to a higher node (i.e., in relation

to the tree structure for sentence (42). That is, "to stand" has been made a direct object in the main clause whereas before the transformation, "stand" was the verbal element in the embedded clause. I have developed the hypothesis above as a generalization from examples (45) and (46).

(45) John had Bill stand by the door.

(46) \*John had John stand by the door.

Example (46) is incorrect because in both the main clause and the embedded clause, "John" is the same person. For (46) to be correct like (45), the second "John" has to be deleted. The discussion above leads to the conclusion that "to stand" in (41) functions as an object, like "Bill" in (45). In this reasoning, "had to" in (41) operates not as an auxiliary but as a verbal. But its meaning remains unclear, as it is also unclear in (47):

(47) He had shoes made.

The second way of analyzing "to stand" in (41) is to consider "to" as inherently attached to "had." The phrase "had to stand" will then be analyzed as "had to + stand." This new approach suggests that "had to" is an auxiliary form. This compound auxiliary is a form of 'have to', which is traditionally considered to be the substitute for "must" in certain structures. "Had to stand" is the past substitute for "must stand." Example (41) means then: he was obliged to stand on tiptoe to read it. The "to" in (41) has not caused a gerundive ending on the verbal to its right because, unlike in (39)-(40), it is inherently linked to an auxiliary verb and not to a verbal.

I will add in passing other structures in which the nature of "to" is also unclear. Among them I will mention "be going to" and "be about to." They precede verbals: they seem to be simply idiomatic compound auxiliaries.

#### 1.1.1.2 The Infinitive as a Non-Finite Form without a Suffix

A second morphological definition of the infinitive is that it

is a non-finite form without a suffix. Later we will see that other non-finite forms bear suffixes : "-ing" and "-N." Note, however, that these suffixes are present on some constituents of compound infinitival constructions.

(48) The man seemed to have seen her somewhere.

(49) It is good to be going home.

(50) Lord, what shall I do to be saved?

There is the suffix "-N" in "seen" and "saved"; there is the suffix "-ing" in "going." All the same, these suffixes are not characteristic of the infinitive. As already pointed out, they are simply due to the auxiliary constituents preceding the verbals in the same constructions.<sup>6</sup>

The infinitive is marked on "have" in (48), on "be" in (49), on "be" in (50) -- in one word, on the first constituents of the compound structures.<sup>7</sup>

Still, the lack of suffix is not an infinitive marker as such, because some finite forms do not have a suffix either. This is the case, for example, of imperatives and of all the forms -- but one -- of the present indicative. To consider the lack of suffix and the particle "to", it will be ultimately said that the English infinitive is not wholly marked. This is so for two reasons : one, "to" is deleted in some cases. Two, the lack of suffix characterizes also some finite forms. In the end, only the four functional characteristics, distinctive of the non-finite form in general, apply to any infinitival construction.

### 1.1.2 The Functions of the Infinitive

Quirk and Greenbaum (1978 : 386) have attempted to describe the functions of the infinitive, but their description is too sketchy : they limit themselves to saying that the infinitive replaces a relative clause or an adjunct clause. Strang (1971 : 171) has also made an attempt, but her description is pell-mell : she does not group the numerous infinitival constructions under patterns. Darbyshire's (1967 : 133) description is both more analytical

and more classificatory. It specifies the uses of the infinitive as epitomized by The American Heritage Dictionary:

1. The infinitive is used as a substantive while retaining some verbal aspect....
2. The infinitive is used to participate in verb phrases.

Darbyshire groups the functions of the infinitive under five headings.

The first function is, as illustrated by examples (51)-(54), that the infinitive functions as a noun.

(51) To err is human.

(52) I like to know.

(53) He is to blame.

(54) He believed it to be a forgery.

Darbyshire specifies that the infinitive functions as a subject in (51), as an object in (52), as a complement in (53) and (54). The term "complement" is to be understood as a word or group of words complementing a predication. This definition is inspired from Quirk-Greenbaum (1978 : 14). The two grammarians distinguish between a "subject" complement and an "object" complement. The former is illustrated as in (53) or also as in (55).

(55) Joseph is a bandit.

The latter is illustrated as in (54) or also as in (56).

(56) I call Joseph a bandit.

But I will adopt a different terminology than "subject complement" and "object complement." I will avoid the term "complement", because it seems not to be appropriate in the case of "object complement." This phrase implies that "to be" in (54), for example, complements (or predicates of) a noun phrase object, namely "it." To analyze "to be" in this way is not accurate because it is the whole clause "it to be a forgery" that plays the role of object, and not one single component of this whole.<sup>8</sup> Therefore, it is more appropriate to label

"to be" as "an infinitive occurring in a sentential object." "Sentential object" is a terminology commonly used by linguists in transformational grammar to designate the type of object which is made up of an entire clause. In the case of "subject complement", the term "complement" seems to be somewhat sound in the sense that what it designates adds a complement of information to the subject. All the same, I prefer the traditional term of "predicate" -- which means "the entire statement made about the subject, including the copula." Thus in (53), "to blame" will be labeled as "an infinitive occurring in a predicate."

As the second function of the infinitive, Darbyshire says that the infinitive functions as a noun segment of part of one in phrases. He illustrates this functions by these examples:

- (57) You know better than to think that. }  
 (58) We have no alternative but to tell him. } 9

It was said about examples (35) and (36) that Darbyshire labels "but" and "than" as "prepositions." I will use his appellation to state this second function in less vague (i.e., less vague than "noun segment or part of one") terms: I will designate the infinitive after those prepositions as "the infinitive occurring in a prepositional phrase defining a noun phrase." In (58), for instance, "to tell" operates in a prepositional phrase, namely "but to tell him." This prepositional phrase in turn says something (thus defines) about the noun phrase "alternative." This second function seems to be somewhat idiomatic: it is determined by a special kind of prepositions, very limited in number, and with a definite meaning. Semantically, this type of prepositions links two arguments which are complementary: the second sets the limits of the first one. As a syntactic peculiarity, we will remember that among the class of words called "prepositions", they are the only ones to precede an infinitive.

Third, the infinitive functions as a postmodifying adjective

after certain nouns :

(59) The will to succeed.

(60) His decision to make an offer.

Other examples will help to draw a conclusion as to what kind of nouns are those that can be post-modified by the infinitive:

(61) The urge to leave the place,

The call to procreate children,

The wish to get rich,

The desire to have money,

The motivation to study a language,

The need to buy a suit;

(62) \*The possibility to get there,

\*The reason to leave the city,

\*The principle to buy a shirt,

\*The notion to be a gentleman,

\*The advantage to be young,

\*The foolishness to do such a thing.

As can be inferred from examples (61) and (62), the infinitive shows the tendency to generally postmodify nouns which are semantically oriented toward the future. The event expressed by the infinitive happens after the noun event. To avoid the notion of "adjective", which is ambiguous<sup>10</sup> in the present case, I will rephrase this third function of the infinitive as "the infinitive post-modifying a noun phrase."

Fourth, the infinitive functions as an adverb postmodifying an adjective :

(63) I am ready to start the job.

(64) It was pleasant to hear from you.

This "adverbial" postmodification is similar to the "adjectival" one above in

that the infinitive does not postmodify all adjectives. An endeavor to classify the adjectives that are modified by the infinitive has been made by Strang (1971). She says that the infinitive may be the complement to certain adjectives, roughly classifiable as psychological adjectives and adjectives of prediction, like "afraid", "ambitious", "sorry", "likely", and others. For a more detailed list, see p. 171. I will not say much about Strang's classification, which is semantically-based. What is simply noticeable from the data and which may help us to discern those adjectives is that they are predicative. That is, they are linked to the subject by a copula -- which is "be" in examples (63) and (64). Since they are part of the predicate, in further analysis I will term this fourth function as "the infinitive postmodifying an adjectival predicate." With this terming I thus avoid the inappropriate phrase "an adverb post-modifying an adjective", used by Darbyshire. What is inappropriate is first of all the term "adverb" -- which, in the present context, is ambiguous<sup>11</sup> like the word "adjective" in the preceding paragraph. What is also inappropriate in Darbyshire's phrase is to limit the modification of the "adverb" to only the adjective, while in effect that adverb (i.e. the infinitive) modifies the entire predicate.

As the fifth function of the infinitive, Darbyshire says that the infinitive functions as an adverb in a verbal group. This adverbial role is illustrated as in (65).

(65) He went to see what the matter was.

In the category of the infinitives functioning as adverbs of verbs, I will also include two examples of mine.

(66) It would pour only at night to be followed by a day or two of sunshine.

(67) The man was made to buy the shirt.

In example (65), the infinitive conveys the idea of purpose; in (66) and (67),



however, that of consequence. I differentiate purpose from consequence on the basis of the notion of intentionality : I attribute the notion of purpose to an infinitive when the event expressed by this infinitive is wanted by the subject of the finite form modified. I speak of consequence when, for this subject the infinitive event is unintentional. In further analysis I will then split Darbyshire's fifth function into two functions : the infinitive modifying a verb phrase to express purpose and the infinitive modifying a verb phrase to express consequence. These two functions are more specific than "the infinitive functioning as an adverb in a verbal group."

To the five functions outlined by Darbyshire, I will add a sixth one, namely that the infinitive is transposed to a postmodifier of a noun phrase. Darbyshire defines "transposition" as a "feature of English that a morpheme which can be assigned to a particular form-class in one sentence can be assigned to a different form-class in another sentence" (p. 122). Thus in the following examples, the infinitives have been transposed to postmodifying adjectives.

(68) They will not ask what to do.

(69) But it was something to remember.

(70) There is a lot of money to be made in it.

(71) He is a teacher to be.

The infinitives in (68)-(71) have lost the verbal quality borne by the infinitive, which is to take an object or to introduce a predicate. What would in fact be the object or the predicate is the very substantive postmodified. In further analysis I will not study this sixth function because I consider the infinitives in this case to be completely transposed to mere modifiers. I will only deal with the infinitives that retain at the same time nominal properties, i.e. those of functioning as a subject or an object, and the verbal properties mentioned above.

The other infinitival constructions which I will not study are those in which the infinitive has an "absolute use" -- to borrow the phrase

from Strang (1971). Such constructions are no longer productive. That is, their pattern allows almost only one particular infinitive : no other infinitives can be slotted in the pattern with the same effect. That is why "to put it another way" has to be learned as such. Other expressions that would parallel it are either not common in usage, which is the case of "to say it another way", or are not accepted by usage, which is the case of "to have" it another way", "\*to tell it another way", "\*to think it another way", and the like. For a list of absolute infinitival uses, see Strang, p. 171.

## 1.2 The Gerund

### 1.2.1 Definition

The gerund is a non-finite form ending with -ing. It shares this termination with other verb forms, among them the -ing participle. But out of context, this participle and the gerund are one form. Some linguists have extended this morphological similarity to a functional similarity : Quirk et al. (1979), as remarked in the introduction, take any -ing non-finite form for a participle. Other authors acknowledge the fact that the gerund is functionally distinct, but they do not discuss it as a non-finite form as such. One of these is Darbyshire (1967). He notes : "when verbal forms ending with -ing occur in nominal positions the form is called a gerund" (p. 134).

But Darbyshire's words constitute exactly the definition that classifies the gerund among non-finite forms and differentiates it from the -ing participle. The gerund is a non-finite form in that it is a verbal which cannot be conjugated : the only inflection it can have is the suffix "-ing." The gerund differs from the -ing participle because of the nominal properties attributed to the gerund. The following examples are illustrative of this differentiation.

(72) a. Working in the fields does not please much.

- b. Working in the fields, he could not see him enter the house.
- (73) a. Having gone to Europe does not mean that Charles knows everything about Belgium.
- b. Having gone to Europe, Charles claims to know everything about Belgium.

"Working" and "having gone" are gerunds in the a- sentences; they are participles in the b- sentences. In the a- sentences, these non-finite forms function as subjects, which is usually the role of a noun. In the b- sentences, there are noun phrases which function as subjects, namely "he" and "Charles." The non-finite forms act simply as modifiers of the finite clauses. Examples (72) and (73) show that despite a same ending, the participle and the gerund have different functional qualities.

The -ing suffix does not differentiate the gerund from the -ing participle. Nevertheless, it differentiates the gerund from the -N participle (and the infinitive). Consequently, the -N participial ending on "gone" in (73) and on "born" in (74), should not bring us to think that the gerund morphologically resembles the -N participle in some cases.

(74) Being born in Rwanda does not grant one the right to be a Rwandan. As said previously in the case of compound infinitival structures, the characteristics of the non-finite form are borne by the first constituent in the structure. In our case, the gerund is marked on "having" and "being." The suffixes on the other elements are due to the auxiliary constituent occurring in the structure. In (73) and (74), the auxiliary constituents are "having" and "being" themselves.

### 1.2.2 The Functions of the Gerund

Morphologically dissimilar, the gerund and the infinitive nevertheless share many uses. This functional closeness of the gerund to the infinitive has been expressed by Darbyshire (1967) in the following words:

The verb form which consists of the base + -ing can also act as a verbal noun in the same way as the infinitive although it does not have such a wide repertoire of transposition (p. 134).

The infinitive and the gerund have a common repertoire of uses in the roles of subject, of object, of part of a predicate, of part of a sentential object, of occurrence after an adjectival predicate, of verb phrase and noun phrase postmodifier, and of transposed adjective. As its proper function, the infinitive occurs in a prepositional phrase defining a noun phrase. As its proper function, the gerund is transposed to a noun. The infinitive and the gerund will be compared more in detail in the next sub-section.

Before launching out into this comparison, I will outline, with illustrations, the various functions of the gerund. First, the gerund functions as a subject. Examples (75) and (76) illustrate this function.

(75) Reading tires the eyes.

(76) Going to the market pleases her very much.

Second, the gerund functions as an object.

(77) I like sleeping.

(78) Do you remember losing your wallet?

Third, the gerund functions as part of a predicate.

(79) Seeing is believing.

(80) Lying is sinning.

Fourth, the gerund functions as part of a sentential object.

(81) I do not enjoy John's singing.

(82) He regrets his sister's failing the national exam.

Fifth, the gerund occurs after a preposition:

(83) He found, after reading the report, that he had been mistaken.

(84) The ship stopped on touching the rock.

(85) He objected to leaving so late.

Sixth, the gerund occurs after an adjectival predicate.

(86) It was hard trying to find ways to attack the masters.

Seventh, the gerund is transposed to an adjective. Darbyshire illustrates this case by these expressions:

- (87) a listening post,  
 (88) shopping money. } 12

Since the -ing form in (87) and (88) no longer retains any verbal quality, I will not consider this sixth function in further analysis. For the same reasons I will not also consider the following seventh function : the gerund is transposed to a noun.

(89) The writing of this memoir is my way of expressing my undying gratitude to them all for their acts and words of solidarity.

In this example, "writing" has lost all its verbal attributes : it can no longer take an object. But, like a noun, it takes an article and is followed by an of- genitive.

### 1.2.3 The Comparison of the Infinitive with the Gerund

In this sub-section I will take over the functions of the infinitive and those of the gerund and talk about them comparingly. The point of this comparison is to show that even if the two non-finite forms share many functions, this fact is not matched on the syntactic and semantic levels. By "syntactic level" I refer to the syntactic environment surrounding either the gerund or the infinitive. By "semantic level" I allude to the semantic peculiarities that determine the use of either non-finite form. This comparison will first be syntactic and then semantic.

#### 1.2.3.1 Syntactic Comparison

##### 1.2.3.1.1 Similarities

By similarity of syntax I refer to both the similar distribu-

tional position for the infinitive and the gerund, and the same words (if any) to the left and to the right of either non-finite form. I will illustrate each case of similarity (and later on of difference) with a infinitival construction and an gerundive one. In addition, I will give an example of a noun phrase playing the same role as the two verbal forms. This third example will serve as an illustration of the normal (i.e. nominal) construction for the function in point.

The infinitive and the gerund are syntactically similar in four functions. First, they are similar as subjects.

(90) To go to the market pleases her.

(91) Going to the market pleases her.

(92) A walk to the market pleases her.

It is clear that in example (90) and (91), "to go" and "going" can be substituted one for another without altering the syntactic order of the sentence.

Second, the infinitive and the gerund are similar as objects.

(93) I like to attend a football match.

(94) I like attending a football match.

(95) I like football.

In this set of examples, the syntactic environment to the left and to the right of both "to attend" and "attending" is exactly the same.

Third, the infinitive and the gerund are similar when they occur in predicates.

(96) To lie is to sin.

(97) Lying is sinning.

(98) Andrew is a sinner.

As in the two preceding cases, both "to sin" and "sinning" have a same syntactic environment. Moreover, in all the three cases, the two non-finite forms are in the same paradigmatic order as the noun phrases fulfilling the same functions.

Fourth, the infinitive and the gerund are similar when they follow adjectival predicates.

(99) I have found it difficult to read Chinese.

(100) I have found it difficult reading Chinese.

(101) I have found difficult the reading of Chinese.

In (99) and (100), "to read" and "reading" are exactly in the same syntactic position. It should be noted, however, that their environment is not parallel to that of "the reading", which is the noun phrase coming after the predicate. Among other differences, example (101) does not contain "it." This "it" will be discussed while dealing with the "semantic comparison." Meanwhile, the following rough remark will be made about the occurrence of "it": as can be deduced from examples (99)-(101), "it" applies when the word form following the predicate is verbal in nature.

#### 1.2.3.1.2 Differences

In the four sets of examples above, the gerund and the infinitive are syntactically alike in that in a similar distributional position, the two non-finite forms are surrounded by a similar environment. In contrast, the differences that will be discussed below lie in the fact that in a similar distributional position, the two non-finite forms are surrounded by a different environment. Three syntactic differences will be discussed.

First, in the role of subject (and also of object), the gerund can take a determiner; the infinitive cannot.

(102) My writing this memoir is my way of expressing my gratitude to them.

(103) \*My to write this memoir " " " " " " " "

(104) My writing of this memoir " " " " " " " "

The determiner "my" cannot go with the infinitive, as tells the ungrammaticality of example (103). It goes, however, with the gerund in (102) as well as

with the noun in (104).

Second, in their functions as parts of sentential objects and sentential predicates, the infinitive and the gerund use different complementizers.

(105) \*The peasants awaited for the earth to crack.

(106) The peasants awaited the earth's cracking.

(107) The peasants awaited the cracking of the earth.

(108) Her wish is for John to leave us.

(109) \*Her wish is John's leaving us.

(110) \*Her wish is John's leave.

The complementizer for the infinitive is "for...to"; the complementizer for the gerund is "'s...ing." The use of either complementizer affects the syntax of the non-finite clause : in the case of the infinitive, the subject of the non-finite clause is intercalated between the two constituents of the complementizer. In the case of the gerund, on the other hand, the two constituents come after the subject.

Starting from examples (105)-(110), I will add two remarks. One is that the two complementizers occur in both the sentential predicate construction (cf. (108)-(110)) and the sentential object construction (cf. (105)-(107)). The point of this remark is to show that the syntactic similarity previously noticed between the infinitive and the gerund occurring in predicates is no longer relevant when the two different complementizers apply. The other remark is that the infinitive presents another sentential object which is not presented by the gerund. Consider examples (111) and (112).

(111) I saw him cross the road.

(112) I saw him crossing the road.

"Crossing" in (112) is not a gerund, but a participle. This distinction will



will be examined in the section dealing with the participle. Since then "crossing" in (112) is not a gerund, this means that the sole sentential object construction for the gerund is with the complementizer "'s...ing."

Third, in the role of postmodification, the gerund is obligatory after a preposition.

(113) Warui and Wambui went away without answering.

(114) \*Warui and Wambui went away without to answer.

(115) Warui and Wambui went away without their answer.

(116) The only way to thwart his intentions was by detaining him.

(117) \*The only way to thwart his intentions was by to detain him.

(118) The only way to thwart his intentions was by his detention.

After the prepositions "without" and "by", the infinitive does not apply.

In the data above, the preposition applies either before a gerund or before a noun phrase. As concerns this position after a preposition, I will nevertheless recall a case which seems to be an exception to the rule just inferred from (113)-(118). This is the case of the constructions containing the prepositions "except", "but", and "than." These allow only the infinitive, as suggest the following examples.

(119) She cannot do anything else but sew.

(120) \*She cannot do anything else but sewing.

Maybe this exceptional irregularity is an evidence that those prepositions are either more or less than the normal prepositions -- like "without" and "by."

### 1.2.3.2 Semantic Comparison

This comparison should not be expected to match the preceding syntactic comparison. It should not be because in a similar syntactic environment, notably in the object position, the gerund and the infinitive may

mean differently.

#### 1.2.3.2.1 Similarities

The case which I will discuss as being semantically similar for both the infinitive and the gerund are not totally synonymous as such. They are simply cases which present closeness in meaning : the difference between the two non-finite forms is too slight to be significant. There are three such cases.

One is that in their functions as subjects, the gerund and the infinitive are not subjects of just any verb. Contrast examples (121) and (122) with (123) and (124) .

(121)	Going to the market	is good for me.
	To go to the market	pleases me.
		satisfies me.
		relaxes me.
		annoys me.
		cures me.
		tires me.

(122)	Going to the market	*invites me.
	To go to the market	*hopes me.
		*obeys me.
		*cries me.
		*wins me.
		*sees me.
		*hits me.

(123) a. A basketball match tires me.

b. Volleyball relaxes me.

(124) a. That man hopes too much.

b. He will not win her heat.

The data show that the non-finite form can be subject only to the category of verbs in (121), while the noun phrase can subject to the same category

as well as to that of verbs in (122). The particularity of the verbs in (121) lies in the fact that they render the person concerned with the event an "experiencer" -- to borrow a term from case grammar (cf. class notes, ANG. 502). The person remains passive : he is not involved in the process of the action. But the reasons why the non-finite form is subject to only experience - verbs are unclear .

The infinitive and the gerund are subjects to the same kind of verbs. Nevertheless, in their functions as subjects, the gerund is always preferable to the infinitive. I thus embrace the opinion of both Botne and Tingley.<sup>13</sup> In the examples that follow, both the a and b- constructions are acceptable, but the b- constructions are more preferable.

(125) a. To read a book tires the eyes.

b. Reading a book tires the eyes.

(126) a. To listen to a radio all day long sounds foolish.

b. Listening to a radio all day long sounds foolish.

Reasons for the preference of the gerund are not exactly known. But, a hypothesis which I will develop later in this section is that the gerund is closer to a noun phrase than the infinitive. Thus the gerundive subject is much closer to the normal subject.

We find the second case of semantic similarity between the infinitive and the gerund in the function of object. I have said above that the two non-finite forms are semantically different "notably in the object position." This does not contradict what I have just said, namely that there is a case of similarity in the object function : in fact, the case that will be considered in this paragraph is the only one in which the infinitive and the gerund are interchangeable. I will illustrate this similarity with examples drawn from Corder (1977 : 53).

(127) a. I cannot bear to eat that stuff.

b. I cannot bear eating that stuff.

(128) a. They began to talk. } 14

b. They began talking. }

"Cannot bear" and "begin" are verbs that are said to take, as an object, either the gerund or the infinitive indifferently. For a list of other verbs of this nature, see Corder (p. 53) and Carpentier-Fialip (1959 :91).

The third case in which the infinitive and the gerund are almost synonymous is when they occur after adjectival predicates.

(129) a. It was pleasant to hear from his friend.

b. It was pleasant hearing from his friend.

(130) a. It was hard to try to find ways to attack the masters.

b. It was hard trying to find ways to attack the masters.

In this case, as in the first one, the gerund is preferable to the infinitive, remarks Tingley. But a more significant comment to make is that in this position after the predicate the gerund is more limited in occurrences than the infinitive. This functional limitation is due to a difference that will be studied below.

#### 1 2 3.2.2 Differences

As said previously, some of the semantic differences between the infinitive and the gerund underlie constructions which resemble each other on the syntactic level. This is the case of the differences observed in the functions of object and of predicate. Yet some other differences underlie constructions which are also dissimilar syntactically. This is the case of the differences observed in the functions of sentential object (and predicate) and of the gerund occurring after a preposition. And still some other differences exist simply because one of the two non-finite

forms does not present the construction presented by the other form. This is the case in the sentential object function, specifically where only the infinitive applies. It is also the case in the occurrence after an adjectival predicate, where also only the infinitive applies. In whole, the infinitive and the gerund are semantically different in six constructions.

The first difference consists in the fact that the two non-finite forms do not predicate of subjects of the same nature. Consider the following examples :

(131) a. Seeing is believing.

b. \*Seeing is to believe.

c. To see is to believe.

(132) a. Lying is sinning.

b.\*To lie is to sin.

c. To lie is to sin .

(133) a. The only way to thwart those intentions was to detain him.

b. \*The only way to thwart those intentions was detaining him.

(134) a. The rain seemed to hear them.

b. \*The rain seemed hearing them.

The pattern displayed by these data is that the gerund predicates of another gerund, while an infinitive predicates of either another infinitive, or a noun. But, why the infinitive predicates of a noun whereas the gerund does not is a question which I cannot answer.

Note, however, that this pattern is completely destroyed when it becomes a matter of predicating of a noun phrase pronoun.

(135) a. \*What you have done is insulting the teacher.

b. What you have done is insult the teacher.

(136) a. Maybe this is searching too far away.

b. \*Maybe this is to search too far away.

- (137) a. This is to tell you that I will not come back here.  
 b. \*This is telling you that I will not come back here.

- (138) a. He is to blame.  
 b. \*He is blaming.

As shown by these data, at one time it is the gerund that does not predicate of a pronoun; at another time it is the infinitive. But as in the preceding case, reasons for this irregularity are unclear. What I can simply say in conclusion is that there is some peculiarity underlying the two non-finite forms and which prevents them from predicating of any type of subject. I assume that because a noun phrase predicates of any type, as in (139).

- (139) a. That man is a sinner.  
 b. To lie is a sin.  
 c. Lying is a sin.

In this example, the noun phrase predicates of a noun phrase in (a), of an infinitive in (b), and of a gerund in (c).

A second difference between the infinitive and the gerund is noticeable in the function of object. I have already said that both non-finite forms are interchangeable, as objects, after certain verbs which allow both infinitival and gerundive constructions. Apart from these verbs, all the others put restrictions on which non-finite form to take as object. They can be divided into three major groups. The first group comprises verbs that allow both the gerund and the infinitive, but the choice of either form being semantically significant. This first group will be illustrated as in (140) and (141).

- (140) a. Remember to wash your hands.  
 b. Do you remember washing your hands in that river?
- (141) a. I forgot to wash my hands before dinner.  
 b. I will never forget washing my hands in that dirty water.

In the a- sentences, the wash event takes place after the remembering and the forgetting. In the b- sentences, on the contrary, the wash event takes place before the remembering and the forgetting.<sup>15</sup> The second group consists of verbs that take only the infinitive.

(142) a. She offered to mend his socks.

b. \*She offered mending his socks.

For a longer list, see Corder, p. 59. Note, however, that in this case, as well as in the first and the third, some linguists do not agree with Corder that some of the verbs he includes in his list do actually discriminate between the gerund and the infinitive. Consider "trouble", for example, in (143).

(143) a. Don't trouble to ring when you come in.

b. \*Don't trouble ringing when you come in.

I mark the b- sentence as ungrammatical only to remain faithful to the source, namely Corder. Otherwise, I wish to add that both Botne and Tingley (in personal communication) find both a and b equally acceptable. The third group is made up of verbs that take only the gerund.

(144) a. He will not confess having insulted the teacher.

b. \*He will not confess to have insulted the teacher.

(145) a. She cannot fancy wearing such clothes.

b. \*She cannot fancy to wear such clothes.

For a longer list, see Corder, pp. 63-64. In this third case, as in the two preceding ones, the difference between the gerund and the infinitive pertains to the nature of the verb phrase to which either non-finite form is related.

To discern the third difference between the gerund and the infinitive requires studying the nature of the complementizers "for...to" and "'s...ing." A close look at the data that follow will help us to see the light about the relationships underlying "for...to" and "'s...ing."

- (146) a. The peasants waited for the earth to crack.  
 b. \*The peasants waited the earth's cracking.  
 c. \*The peasants waited the cracking of the earth.  
 d. The peasants waited that the earth cracked.
- (147) a. \*The peasants awaited for the earth to crack.  
 b. The peasants awaited the earth's cracking.  
 c. The peasants awaited the cracking of the earth.  
 d. \*The peasants awaited that the earth cracked.
- (148) a. She wishes for John to leave us.  
 b. \*She wishes John's leaving us.  
 c. \*She wishes John's leave.  
 d. \*She wishes that John leave us.
- (149) a. \*She begs for John to leave.  
 b. She begs John's leaving us.  
 c. She begs John's leave.  
 d. \*She begs that John leaves us.

From these data we can observe two generalizations. One is that "for...to" applies when the embedded clause cannot be a direct object to the verb of the main clause. The gerund, on the other hand, applies only when the embedded clause is the direct object of the main verb. The second generalization is that "for...to" operates in the same environment as the complementizer "that", while "'s...ing" operates in the same environment as a noun phrase.

The two generalizations are complementary. They help each other to support the following conclusion : that "for...to" acts as the complementizer for indirect relationships between the main verb and the embedded sentence, whereas "'s...ing" acts as the complementizer for direct relationships. One argument for this claim is that "for...to" operates like "that."



This "that" is conjunctive in nature, and thus introduces an indirect object. A second argument is that "'s...ing" functions like a nominal direct object. I will remark in passing that this similarity between a noun phrase object and the gerund in a sentential object constitutes also an argument for the hypothesis I previously advanced that the gerund is closer to a noun than the infinitive. The "'s...ing" is indeed close to the 's genitive case.

The fourth difference between the infinitive and the gerund lies in the fact that in the sentential object construction, the infinitive operates while the gerund does not. To illustrate this difference, I will refer back to examples (111) and (112) and add (150) and (151).

(150) He watched cars go beyond the hills.

(151) He watched cars going beyond the hills.

Both "go" and "going" (like "cross" and "crossing" in (111)-(112)) modify the noun phrase "cars." But "going" is not a gerund, because, as will be seen later, an -ing non-finite form modifying a noun phrase is obligatorily a participle. The gerund functions only nominally. The conclusion is then that, though the gerund and the infinitive are both nominal verbs, the infinitive bears, in addition, some relationships of a modifier, but the gerund does not. An argument for this claim is that, as pointed out earlier, the infinitive postmodifies a noun phrase, but the gerund does not. Or rather, in any modification position, the gerund has to be introduced by a preposition.

The fifth difference is observable when the two non-finite forms occur after adjectival predicates. But it will be remembered that in this function, there exists a difference only where only the infinitive applies. Where both forms apply, as in (99) and (100), the gerund and the infinitive are synonymous. Only the infinitive occurs in the constructions such as the following :

(152) a. He is ready to go.

b. \*He is ready going.

(153) a. He was sure to find her in the room.

b. \*He was sure finding her in the room.

To see clearly why the gerund does not obtain in (152) and (153), I will give another example where it obtains.

(154) a. It is easy to speak in public.

b. It is easy speaking in public.

If we contrast examples (100) and (154) with (152) and (153), we notice that the gerund occurs only when there is an "it" in the construction. To borrow terms from transformational grammar, the gerund functions after an adjectival predicate only when the extraposition transformation<sup>16</sup> is possible. This means that the gerund applies only when it is the logical subject to which the predicate is attached. Thus example (154) is underlyingly the same as (155).

(155) a. To speak in public is not easy.

b. Speaking in public is not easy.

Note that examples (152) and (153) do not have such equivalent structures. This is because "to go" and "to find" are not subjects. They simply act as postmodifiers of the predicates. From the preceding discussion I derive another argument that the gerund is closer to a noun than the infinitive, because whatever its surface structure is, it always functions nominally.

To study the sixth difference between the infinitive and the gerund amounts to finding out the reasons why in cases of modification, like (156) and (157), the infinitive directly modifies a verb phrase or a noun phrase while the gerund modifies them obligatorily through a preposition.

(156) a. He did not reveal his intentions to resign.

b. He did not say a word about resigning.

c. He did not say a word relating to his intentions to resign.

- (157) a. She came here to sing for him.  
 b. She amused him by singing for him.  
 c. She came singing.

The -ing forms are gerunds in the b- sentences; they are participles in the c- sentences. They cannot be gerunds in the latter sentences because, as will be seen in the following section, any -ing non-finite form directly modifying a phrase is necessarily a participle. It is so because, as already pointed out, the gerund does not bear modifying qualities. It bears only nominal attributes. The fact of being introduced by a preposition supports this assertion because, by definition, a preposition is a functional word introducing a noun phrase. I will take the opportunity to add that the fact of taking a preposition is another argument to support the hypothesis that the gerund is closer to a noun than the infinitive.

Concerning the modification function under study, I note that the infinitive occurs in more restricted cases than the gerund. In the case of noun phrase postmodification, we previously saw that the infinitive generally modifies the nouns that are future-oriented. All the others, which are not oriented toward the future, are modified by a gerund by means of a preposition. Likewise, in the case of verb phrase modification, the infinitive expresses only purpose and consequence. The gerund offers of a variety of meanings. This variety is due to the diversity of prepositions. Thus, for example, "for" expresses purpose; "by" expresses instrumentality; "of" indicates a genitive case. In the end the conclusion is that the infinitive is more limited in occurrences because it operates by itself, whereas the gerund has a wide range of occurrences because it heavily depends on the preposition -- a functional word which is varied in nature.

#### 1.2.4 Summary to the Infinitive and the Gerund

The infinitive and the gerund are the two non-finite forms

that bear nominal attributes. Because of these properties, they share many functions. But this functional closeness is not matched on the syntactic and semantic levels. On the morphological level, the two forms are even quite distinct. All along this section, the gerund has been discussed in comparison to the infinitive. Below I will summarize the similarities and differences pointed out throughout.

Functionally, the infinitive and the gerund are much alike. Both function as subjects, as parts of predicates, as objects, as parts of sentential objects, as verb phrase and noun phrase postmodifiers, and both occur after adjectival predicates. The sole role which is played by only the infinitive is that of occurring in a prepositional phrase defining a noun phrase. This is the case in which operate the "special" prepositions of the kind of "except."

Syntactically however, the two non-finite forms present several differences. The reason is that in some cases, while playing the same role, the infinitive and the gerund operate in different structures. The first case is in their functions as subjects : the gerund can take a determiner, but the infinitive cannot. The second case is when the two complementizers apply : the infinitive uses "for...to"; the gerund uses "'s...ing." The third case is when the two non-finite forms have to act as postmodifiers : the infinitive directly modifies the verb phrase or the noun phrase; the gerund modifies them only by virtue of a preposition. In the other constructions, the infinitive and the gerund keep similar syntactic environments. These constructions occur in the roles of subject, of object, of part of a predicate, and of occurrence after adjectival predicates, <sup>an</sup>

Semantically, the infinitive and the gerund present even more differences than on the syntactic level. This is because in some cases the two forms function in similar syntactic environment but mean differently.

They are synonymous only in the case of subject, in one case of the object function, and in one case of the function of occurrence after an adjectival predicate. Elsewhere, the two forms are different. That is, they mean differently in most cases of the object function, in the role of predicate, in one case of the function of occurrence after an adjectival predicate, in the cases in which the two complementizers apply, in one case of the sentential object function, and in the cases of verb phrase and noun phrase post-modification. Thus considerable semantic nuances differentiate the two nominal verb forms. As has been repeatedly remarked, most of these differences are due to the fact that the infinitive, in addition to its nominal properties, shares also some qualifying attributes. The gerund, on the other hand, is always limited to its nominal qualities.

Finally, the infinitive and the gerund are quite distinct on the morphological level : the infinitive is generally prefixed by "to" and is not suffixed. The gerund, on the contrary, does not have a prefix, but ends with the suffix -ing. The two nominal non-finite forms are thus marked one in relation to the other.

### 1.3 The Participle

#### 1.3.1 Morphological Description

##### 1.3.1.1 An Inappropriate Classification

Apropos of the participle Strang (1971 : 174) says : "English has two participles, commonly called present and past." Yet she adds what she calls "a trio of perfective participles", namely "having + past participle", "having been + past participle", and "having got + past participle." She also adds a "durative participle", namely "being + past participle." Strang's classification of participles is somewhat confusing :

first, she classifies them in temporal terms (thus using the terms "past" and "present"). Second, she classifies them in aspectual terms (thus she uses the terms "perfective" and "durative"). She does not give a precise generic classification. To classify participles, I agree with tradition that there are two participles. I will refer to these in terms of "-ing participle" and "-N participle." The reasons I prefer this new appellation to the one that uses the terms "present", "past", "perfective", and "durative" will be made explicit in later paragraphs.

#### 1.3.1.2 The -ing Participle

As a non-finite form, the -ing participle is morphologically distinct from the -N participle and the infinitive, but not from the gerund, as remarked earlier. This morphological similarity is at the origin of a functional confusion between the gerund and the -ing participle. This participle also resembles the finite progressive form, which bears an -ing suffix on the verbal component of the structure, as in "He is working." This morphological similarity is at the origin of a function inappropriately attributed to the -ing participle : some grammarians maintain that the -ing participle is adjoined to the auxiliary "BE" to form progressive tenses. Furthermore, the -ing participle looks like some adjectives derived from verbs, as in "an interesting book" and "a glowing fire." This similarity has brought some grammarians to mistake the -ing participle for the adjective and vice versa . These functional confusion pointed out between the -ing participle and other word forms morphologically similar will be talked about more in detail later in this section.

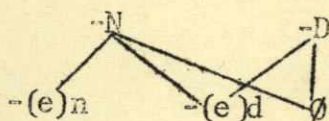
#### 1.3.1.3 The -N Participle

##### 1.3.1.3.1 The Symbol "-N"

The marker "-N" is an abstract representation, adopted by

some linguists -- among them Botne -- for all the various forms of the English participle traditionally called the "past participle." Thus "-N" stands at the same time for forms like "arisen" and "beaten", "been" and "born", "cast" and "cut", "paid" and "fed", and others. For all these forms, linguists have adopted various representations. Gleason (1967 : 101), for example, has adopted "-D<sub>2</sub>", in contrast with "-D<sub>1</sub>." Quirk and Greenbaum (1978 : 27) have adopted "-ed<sub>2</sub>", in contrast with "-ed<sub>1</sub>." For both Gleason and Quirk-Greenbaum, the subscript number 1 refers to finite past tenses. (The notion of past is implied in Gleason's representation because "-D" is the abstract representation of the past tense in transformational grammar).

Differentiating past tenses from participles by contrasting superscript numbers suggests that those linguists see a certain temporal similarity between the -N participle and the past tense. Probably that there is one, especially if we view temporal relationships in terms of posteriority and anteriority to the point of reference. But since, as will be seen later, the past tense (which is a finite form) and the participle (which is a non-finite form) do not have the same referential point, it is more cautious not to relate one to another in terms of tense. That is why a symbol other than "-D" should represent the participle in point more appropriately. The symbol "-N" seems to be well-chosen the more so as the suffix "-n"<sup>17</sup> is found in many participial forms -- like "blown" and "taken" -- but cannot be found in any past tense form. To account for the morphological similarities and differences between the -N participle and the past tense, I put forward this formula : 18



This schema reads as follows : the forms that at the same time can be of

the participle are those without a suffix (i.e. marked with  $\emptyset$ ) and those with the suffix "-(e)d." The suffix "-(e)n" is borne only by the participle.

#### 1.3.1.3.2 Morphological Description of the -N Participle

Throughout this thesis, the abstract symbol "-N" will then be taken for the suffix of the -N participle. In relation to the -ing participle and to any other non-finite form, this suffix marks the -N participle. Nevertheless, it does not differentiate the participle from the adjectives that are morphologically similar, as in "a broken promise" and "a beaten dog." This morphological similarity has brought some authors to mistake the participle for the adjective and vice versa. The -N participle presents also a morphological likeness with the verbal components of passive and perfective constructions. It is the case of eaten in "he has eaten" and of "bitten" in "he was bitten by his dog." This morphological similarity is at the origin of two functional misinterpretations of the participle. One is that the participle  $\text{V}_N$  is said to be adjoined to the auxiliaries "have" and "be" to form compound structures. The other is that, starting from the passive construction, some authors claim that the -N participle is passive -- and, by contrast, that the -ing participle is active. Finally, as was pointed out above the -N suffix covers also forms like "paid" and "fed", which can be both the participle and the past tense. This morphological resemblance is likely at the origin of the temporal notion (i.e. of past) attributed to the -N participle. By contrast, the -ing participle is labeled as "present." These functional confusions around the -N participle -- like the ones around the -ing participle -- will be longly examined in the sub-section that follows.



### 1.3.2 Possible Functional Misinterpretations of the Participle

To sum up the possible misinterpretations of the participle observed in the preceding discussion, we have five cases in which the participle -- either the -ing or the -N-- is sometimes assigned an inappropriate function. First, the participle is taken for a gerund; second, the adjective is taken for the participle; third the finite verbal constituent is taken for an adjunct participle; fourth, the participle is said to indicate tense; fifth, it is said to indicate voice.

#### 1.3.2.1 The -ing Participle and the Gerund

In earlier analysis I said that these two verb forms are generally confused when the -ing form occurs in a sentential object, as in (158).

(158) I heard the woman knocking at the door.

As said in the preface, some linguists argue that "knocking" is a gerund because it can be substituted for by an infinitive, as shown by example (159).

(159) I heard the woman knock at the door.

Admittedly, "knocking" and "knock" can be interchanged without a change in meaning (except one due to the context). Though they operate in sentential objects, they are not objects -- which would render "knocking" a gerund. They are immediate modifiers of the noun phrase "the woman." We will in fact remember that the gerund, by itself, never functions as a modifier. The -ing non-finite form bearing qualifying properties is necessarily the participle. In this reasoning "knocking" is participle; it cannot be a gerund. It should not be surprising, however, to find a participle which is interchangeable with the infinitive, even if the infinitive is usually interchangeable with the gerund -- because they share nominal qualities. It should not be because, as observed in more than one functions, the infinitive (unlike the gerund)

bears also some modifying properties. The case in point is one of those functions.

The difference between the -ing participle and the gerund is then that the former is a modifier while the latter is a nominal. In the light of this difference, the two forms will be easily recognized in any type of construction. Apart from the sentential object construction, the other structures are illustrated as in the following examples :

(160) a. Having worked in the fields, you cannot do anything else.

b. Having worked in the fields does not mean that you cannot do anything else.

(161) a. She sat staring at him.

b. She suddenly stopped talking to him.

(162) The man sitting over there is my brother.

(163) a. While writing a letter to George, I heard a knock at the door.

b. By writing a letter to George, we make sure that he will learn about the affair.

In these data, the non-finite forms in the a- sentences are participles. They are gerunds in the b- sentences. Note that there is only one sentence in (162). This is because the -ing form postmodifying a noun phrase is obligatorily a participle. No gerundive form occurs in direct postmodification. Where <sup>there</sup> are a and b- sentences, the non-finite forms in the b- sentences play nominal roles. The non-finite <sup>form</sup> in (160 b) functions as a subject; it functions as an object in (161 b); it functions as a prepositional object in (163 b). In the a- sentences, and in (162), the non-finite forms play modifying roles. The participial clause modifies the finite clause in (160 a); the participle modifies a verb phrase in (161 a); it modifies a noun phrase in (162); the participial clause modifies the finite clause in (163 a).

More needs to be said about example (163) : the non-finite

clause in both a and b modifies, to some extent, the finite clause. That is, even the gerundive construction acts as a modifying clause because it is introduced by a preposition, "by." We previously saw that the introduction by a preposition is an indication that the -ing non-finite form introduced is obligatorily a gerund --- because it is the only -ing non-finite form bearing nominal attributes. Similarly, it should be noted that any -ing non-finite form introduced by a conjunction (and specifically one indicating time) is necessarily a participle. I make this assertion because in its nature the conjunction connects clauses or sentences. Through this connection, the conjunction makes the clause to its right modify, in one way or another, the clause to its left. As a rule then, it will be stated that after a preposition, the -ing non-finite form is a gerund, while after a conjunction, the same form is a participle. This is so because of the inherent properties of the preposition to introduce a nominal construction and those of the conjunction to introduce a modifying construction.

#### 1.3.2.2 The Participle and the Adjective

The second confusion around the participle comes from the fact that in some cases, word forms derived from verbs but playing the role of an adjective, are taken for participles. There are two probable causes to this confusion. One is that the adjective derived from a verb morphologically looks like the participle. The other is that both forms act as modifiers. But, despite the same form and the same modification role, either form operates in its own distinctive environment. To dispel the confusion, we need to study this characteristic environment of either form.

##### 1.3.2.2.1 The verbal Properties of the Participle

The participle is often confused with the adjective having

the same ending. The American Heritage Dictionary and Darbyshire's A Description of English, to mention only these works, say that a participle can function as an adjective. Darbyshire illustrates this statement with the phrases in example (164).

- (164) a. a fascinating account  
 b. a glowing coal  
 c. a broken promise  
 d. a beaten dog

He considers the -ing and -N forms to be participles functioning as adjectives

I agree that those -ing and -N forms function as adjectives. But I do not agree that they are participles. They may have once been participles (considering that they have a participial ending), but now, as they are used in (164), they have completely been transposed to adjectives. They can no longer be treated as participles because they retain no property of a verb. A participle should retain the verbal quality underlying any non-finite form, namely taking an object -- whether direct or prepositional. The -ing and -N forms in (165) are participles.

- (165) a. Tired with playing,....  
 b. Talking to him,....  
 c. While writing a letter to George,....

Note that this verbal property needs not be realized on the surface level, because "smiling" in (166) is also a participle -- without an object.

(166) She sat smiling.

All the same, the environment to the right of the participle must make it possible for an object to apply. Since then the environment around the -ing and -N forms in (164) does not allow them to take objects, they are not non-finite forms -- and hence, not participles.

### 1.3.2.2.2 The Syntactic Environment around the Adjective

One way of distinguishing between the participle and the adjective is, as suggested above, to consider the verbal properties retained by the participle -- and which exist only in non-finite forms. Another way, which will be examined below, is to consider the syntactic environment obligatory for the adjective.

To analyze this environment, I will start from two syntactic rules which Quirk and Greenbaum (1978) have said to govern the adjective. The two are : the intensification by "very" and the position of modification. Regarding "very", Quirk-Greenbaum argue that an adjective can be intensified by "very" while a participle cannot. But examples (167) and (168) show that "very" intensifies a participle, too.

(167) The poor man stood very abashed at the display of wealth.

(168) He arrived very exhausted.

The two constructions constitute counter-examples to Quirk-Greenbaum's argument : "abashed" and "exhausted" are participles, yet they are intensified by "very", in the same way<sup>as</sup> the adjective "tired" in (169).

(169) A very tired man asked us for a drink.

Consequently, the intensification by "very" should not be considered as the marker of the adjective in relation to the participle.

On the other hand, the position of a verb form as a modifier is more efficacious in discriminating between the adjective and the participle.

Quirk-Greenbaum distinguish between the "premodification position" (or "attribution position") and the "postmodification position" (or "predication position").

**Premodification** is the position between the determiner and the head of the noun phrase. As an illustration, "tired" in (170) is in the premodification position. It is a position reserved for adjectives only. On this point I agree with the two linguists, because in this position a word form has no possibilities of acting as a verb. So there is no way for "tired",

for instance, to function as a non-finite form.

On the postmodification position, however, I do not agree with Quirk-Greenbaum that this position is reserved for participles only. It is in fact clear from examples (170)-(174) that both the adjective and the participle occur as postmodifiers.

(170) The old woman remained astonished.

(171) He came back exhausted.

(172) The shirt hanging over there is mine.

(173) The movie was exciting.

(174) That man is really broken.

In these data, the -ing and -N forms are participles in (170)-(172); they are adjectives in (173) and (174). A generalization, which constitutes a difference between the two forms, is that the adjectives are used predicatively, i.e. with a copulative verb. Since then the copula operates as an auxiliary, participles cannot follow it -- to recall one of the distinctions of non-finite forms. Another generalization, complementary to the one just mentioned, is that participles (cf. (170) and (171)) follow verbals. Note that a participle also postmodifies a noun phrase, as in (172).

In conclusion, for an -ing or an -N form to be considered as an adjective, it has to appear either as a premodifier or as a predicative postmodifier. In contrast, the participle has to occur only as a postmodifier, either of a noun phrase or of a verbal. This distinctive syntactic environment is due to the semantic difference between the participle and the adjective. This difference "lies in the verbal force retained by the participle", to quote from Quirk-Greenbaum (p. 140). I add that the verbal force in question is the very verbal property underlying all non-finite forms, namely the fact of taking an object. A premodifying or a predicative postmodifying word (like the adjective) does not retain this verbal quality.

### 4 3.2.3 The Participle and the Finite Constituent

The third confusion exists between the participle and the finite constituent of the same form. Because of the similarity of the participle with the -N and -ing elements of finite forms, some grammarians have taken these constituents for participles adjoined to finite forms of the auxiliaries, to form finite compound tenses. Quirk and Greenbaum (1978 : 27) and Darbyshire (1967 : 132), for example, argue that a verb form like "has worked" is made up of the auxiliary "has" and the participle "worked." But such an argument implies several problematic hypotheses, which ultimately turn out to be counterarguments.

The first question raised by their argument is: "Since the 'participle' 'worked' already bears the -N suffix, what would have become of the -N ending which the perfective auxiliary 'have' imposes on the verb to its right?" The only possible answer to this question would be that the perfective suffix has been deleted. But such a transformation would not work : we have to remember that the underlying structure for the perfective auxiliary is  $[(HAVE \neq -N) V]$ . As shown by this formula, the suffix -N is added to a verb form without a suffix, that is,  $[V]$ . Therefore, since "worked" has a suffix already, that hypothetical transformation cannot apply.

The second argument against Quirk-Greenbaum and Darbyshire relates to the functional distinctions between finite and non-finite forms : any non-finite form has to be related to a finite form. This finite form must be a verbal. By "verbal" I refer to a "notional item", as opposed to what Darbyshire calls a "functional item", or the auxiliary. In a sentence like

(175) He has worked well today,

The notional item is "worked"; the functional item is "has." It is clear that a form like "worked" in (175) is not a non-finite form because it is related to no verbal. Since then a participle is a non-finite form, "worked" cannot

be claimed to be one.

The third problem lies in the fact that Darbyshire's statement that "participles are adjoined to finite parts of 'to be' and 'to have'" cannot suggest an answer to the question raised by (176) and (177).

(176) He has lost his money.

(177) Having lost his money, he could not buy that shirt.

The question is : "Since 'lost' in (176) is considered to be a participle -- because it appears as adjoined to a finite form of 'to have' --, how would "lost" in (177) be labeled, now that it follows a non-finite form of 'to have'?" According to Darbyshire's statement, there is liability to answer that "lost" in (177) is something different from "lost" in (176). But they are the same thing because, as we know, their participial form is due to auxiliary element, i.e. the perfective "have."

The three problems touched on above constitute <sup>an</sup> argument against the claim that participles are adjoined to finite parts of "to be" and "to have." Forms like "worked" in (175) are not participles, but integral constituents of non-finite forms. Their participial ending is simply due to the auxiliary elements preceding them.

#### 1.3.2.4 The Participle and the Notion of Voice

The fourth misinterpretation of the participle derives from the fact that because of the morphological similarity between the participial termination -N and the passive suffix -N, some works lend the notion of voice to the participle. Webster's New World Dictionary, for instance, says : "A participle may be active ... or passive." The active voice is associated with the -ing participle; the passive with the -N participle. But in the paragraphs that follow, it will be demonstrated that the notion of voice is irrelevant to the participle.



I concede that in some cases the contrast active versus passive can be drawn between participial constructions.

(178) Painting his door, Joseph could not go for an outing.

(179) Painted by Joseph, the door is now shining.

These examples highlight a passive transformation : "door", which was an object in (178), has become a subject in (179). "Joseph", which was a subject in (178), has become a by-object in (179). Using this rationale, "painting" can roughly be considered as the active, and "painted" as the passive. Also, on the whole it seems to be the case <sup>that</sup> the -N participles present the subject as the undergoer of the action embodied in the participle.

Nevertheless, no generalization should be made that the -ing participle is active and the -N participle passive. In some case this contrast does not achieve effect. Consider the following examples.

(180) a. Covered with shame, she ran out of the room.

b. \*Covering her, shame....

c. CCovering her shame, she....

(181) a. Having arrived late, they did not have time to go to the movie.

b. \*Having been arrived, they....

If in example (180) the passive rule applied, as in (178) and (179), (180 b) would be grammatical. But now it is not because a noun like "shame" cannot be the subject of the verb of the kind of "cover." This suggests that in (180) the passive transformation does not apply because of the selectional restrictions some verbs put on their possible subjects. In (181), b is ungrammatical because intransitive verbs, like "arrive", do not allow passivization.

In some other cases, passivization does not work because the -ing forms are already passive in meaning. This phenomenon occurs with the verbs which V'na and Darbelnet (1968 : 149) call "verbes de posture."

(182) Sitting in the garden, he was reading a play by Wole Soyinka.

(183) Leaning on a wall, he was musing over the events of the eve.  
 "To sit" and "to lean" are some of those verbs that are semantically passive. That is why "sitting" in (182) and "leaning" in (183) are not passives derived, by transformation, from active counterparts.

To summarize what I said in the two preceding paragraphs, I remark that the notion of voice is irrelevant to the participle because it would not cover all the participial forms. The first reason it does not is that some -ing participles do not have -N equivalents. The second is that some other -ing forms are already passive in meaning. In a word, the semantics of certain verbs renders the notion of voice inapplicable to the participle.

#### 1.3.2.5 The Participle and the Notion of Tense

The fifth function wrongly ascribed to the participle lies in considering the participle to indicate tense. Some works, among them The American Heritage Dictionary, distinguish between present and past participles. The former corresponds to the -ing form; the latter to the -N form. The notion of past (and by contrast of present) may have been inferred from the morphological similarity between the -N participle and some finite forms of the past tense.

Some other works, on the other hand, use the terms "present" and "past", but recognize that this terminology is not actually relevant. In A Description of English, Darbyshire (1967) notes: "It must be remembered that these are only names ... there is nothing intrinsically 'past' or present' about them" (p. 134). In A Concise Grammar of Contemporary English, Quirk and Greenbaum (1978) have adopted the terminology "-ing participle" and "-ed participle" in replacement of the "present" and "past" participles (cf. p.27). The terms "present" and "past" are put between parentheses. There is good

reason to be cautious about the two terms, because they are not relevant to the case of the participle.

#### 1.3.2.5.1 The Irrelevancy of the Terms "Present" and "Past"

The contrast present vs past is directly related to the moment of speaking. "Present" refers to a time simultaneous to that of the act of speaking; "past" to a time coming before the act of speaking. Thus example (184) is in the present, whereas (185) is in the past.

(184) George studies medicine in Belgium.

(185) He broke his leg while playing football.

In (184), "studies" is present because it is concurrent with the moment of speaking -- which is always the present. In (185), "broke" is past because the event it expresses happened before now.

Nevertheless, the -ing participle in (185), i.e. "playing", cannot be said to be present because it holds temporal relationships not with the moment of speaking, but with "broke." It is evident then that the playing event also happened in the past. Hence, it is not valid to label "playing" as present. Other examples prove also that the participle is not temporally related to the moment of speaking.

(186) Tired with playing, he will come back home to rest.

(187) English words ending with -is take a Latin plural.

(188) Accompanied by his son, he always goes to hunt in the dense forest.

In (186), the main verb "will come" is situated in the future. So is the participle related to "will come", namely "tired." There is nothing past in the -N inflection in "tired." In (187), the finite form to which the participle "ending" is related, namely "take", is not even limited by the moment of speaking. Though it bears the form of a form in the present, "take" is open to the past and to the future. What is simply significant to note is

that, wherever in time we stuate "take", the participle "ending" relates to it invariably. Therefore, "ending" is not affected by time, and cannot be said to be present. Example (188) presents also a case in which even the finite form is not limited by the moment of speaking. "Goes" is open to the past and the future, too. Consequently, "accompanied" cannot be limited to the past tense.

~~It has been demonstrated~~ above that the temporal relationships of participles are dependent upon those of the finite forms to which they are related. This statement agrees with Botne's (1981 : 193) note about the temporal relationships of non-finite constructions:

... non-finite constructions ... derive their time reference with respect to the moment of speaking<sup>19</sup> from the predicate found in the main clause. Any change in the predicate in the main clause results in a different temporal interpretation of the non-finite clause.

As suggested by this quotation, both the -ing and -N participles may be situated anywhere in time, depending to the temporal situation of the finite form in the main clause. That is why relevant terms should be used instead of "present" and "past."

#### 1.3.2.5.2 The relevancy of the Terms "Simultaneous" and "Anterior"

The terms "simultaneous" and "anterior" are more appropriate than "present" and "past." "Simultaneous" should be used instead of "present"; "anterior" should be used instead of "past." "Simultaneous" and "anterior" are terms which are relevant to the temporal relationships incorporated respectively into the -ing participle and the -N participle, because they do not necessarily refer to the moment of speaking. They may depend on any temporal point of reference, whether the moment of speaking or any other. In this way, the event expressed by the -ing participle is simultaneous with the event in the finite form, independently of the tense of this finite form. Similarly,

the -N event is anterior to the finite event independently of the tense of the finite form. Thus, for instance, "tired" in (186) is not past, because "will come" is future, but it is anterior to "will come." "Playing" in (185) is not present, because "broke" is past, but it is simultaneous with "broke."

It should be borne in mind that it is specifically the morpheme "-ing" (or "-N") that expresses simultaneity (or anteriority) and not the whole structure V-ing (or V-N). This assertion can be illustrated by examples (189) and (190).

(189) Stopping by the river, he bent to wash his hands.

(190) He stopped by the river and bent to wash his hands.

In both "stopping" and "stopped", the V element is "stop." Yet the two forms have different temporal relationships with "bent." ("Bent" is taken as a referential verb form because it is the only form that is finite in both examples). "Stopping" is simultaneous with "bent"; "stopped" occurs before "bent." The conclusion that is deducible from (189) and (190) is then that the -ing morpheme is a marker of simultaneity, as far as participles go.

The idea that simultaneity (or anteriority) is inherent to the participial suffix explains why in the semantic paradigm of non-finite forms, specifically in the formula  $[(+ \text{-ING}) (\text{HAVE} + \text{-N})\text{V}]$ , "HAVE" obligatorily takes -ING and not -N. This is because, though oriented towards anteriority, the have event prolongs its results till the point of reference --<sup>20</sup> that is, till the event expressed by the finite form in the main clause.

Example (191) will help us to understand these temporal relationships determined by the auxiliary "have."

(191) Having finished the assignment, she went out for a walk.

The "having finished" event had not completely ended when the "went out" event occurred. Therefore, despite its orientation towards anteriority -- i.e. with respect to "went out" --, "having finished" is counted among simultaneous

participles. The point of discussing participial forms introduced by "having" is that "have" was previously said to be the perfective auxiliary -- which would make us expect "have" to introduce anterior participles.

### 1.3.3 Summary to the Participle

#### 1.3.3.1 An Appropriate Classification

At the beginning of this section I delineated Strang's classification of the different participles. It was qualified as unclear because at one point she classified the participles in terms of "present" and "past", and at another point she classified them in terms of "perfective" and "durative." As a more appropriate classification, I agreed with tradition that there are two participles. I then distinguished between them -- only morphologically -- by the appellation "-ing participle" versus "-N participle." A semantic distinction was later pointed out, after the discussion of the notions of voice and tense -- which some linguists irrelevantly attribute to the participle. Semantically, the two forms of the participle differ in that the -ing participle expresses simultaneity, whereas the -N form expresses anteriority. Thus it is more appropriate to designate the two participles not as active and passive, nor as present and past, but as simultaneous and anterior. These latter two terms reflect better the fact that the temporal relationships of the participle are interpreted with respect to the finite form to which the participle is related, and not to the moment of speaking. The relationships of simultaneity are marked by the suffix "ing"; the relationships of anteriority are marked by the suffix "-N."

#### 1.3.3.2 The Proper Functions of the Participle

In this section, the discussion has mostly centered on a series of functions which some authors have inappropriately ascribed to the

participle. Those wrong functions often make it difficult to differentiate the participle from the gerund, from the adjective of the same form, and from the -ing and -N elements of compound finite forms. But the participle has its proper functions, which effectively differentiate it from those other verb forms. These functions were touched on during the discussion of the differences between the participle and the other verb forms just mentioned. These functions will be discussed more clearly below.

First, participial clauses function as modifiers of the finite clauses on which they depend. Two cases are to be distinguished in this function. One is the case in which the participial clause is introduced by a temporal conjunction, as in (192).

(192) He remembered that fatal accident whenever crossing the two roads. In this case, the participle "crossing" semantically localizes, temporally, the event expressed by the finite form "remembered." That is, the latter event occurs in the unfolding of the participle event. It should be noted in passing that this case is proper to the -ing participle only. The other case does not use a conjunction to introduce the participial clause. It is illustrated as in (193)-(195).

(193) Undeterred by threats, he determined to carry on with his project.

(194) Wishing to avoid publicity, he used a pseudonym.

(195) Standing by the door, he was trying to eavesdrop what was being said inside the house.

In constructions like these, the participial clause is linked to the main clause generally by cause - effect relationships, as is the case in (193) and (194). By "cause-effect" we should understand that the event in the main clause occurs as the outcome of the event in the participial clause. Example (194), for instance, means that he used a pseudonym because he wished to avoid publicity. In some cases, as in (195), the participial clause is linked to

the main clause in fact-or state-description relationships. That is, the subject acts (cf. the main clause event) when he is in a certain state or has accomplished some fact (cf. the participial clause event). This second type of relationships is generally common to the participles modifying verb phrases, as will be seen below.

Second, participles function as postmodifiers of the verb phrases to which they are related. This is the case of "yelling" and "exhausted" in the following examples.

(196) She went away yelling at all of us.

(197) Her brother reached home exhausted by the hard work in the mines.

As said above, the participles in these constructions are linked to the main verb phrases by relationships of fact or state description. In (197), for example, the brother arrived at home being in a state of exhaustion. The state (or fact) is expressed by the participle. It should be added, however, that the -ing participle puts emphasis on the simultaneity of events. That is, in (196), for instance, the "yelling" event occurs at the same time as the "went away" event. The -N participle puts emphasis on the anteriority of events. In (197), for instance, the "exhausted" event occurred before the "reached" event. That is, what we are told by "exhausted" is only the result of the event. In this second function then, participles differ only in temporal - aspectual nuances.

Third, participles function not as clause modifiers, nor as verb phrase modifiers, but as noun phrase modifiers, as the -ing and -N forms indicate in these examples :

(198) I saw the tycoon owning a factory.

(199) The picture posted on the wall is from the Newsweek.

Semantically, participles functioning like "owning" and "posted" define the noun phrase in the manner of qualifying adjectives as in (200) and (201).



(200) I met an important man.

(201) I read an interesting book .

"Owing" and "posted" say something about "tycoon" and "picture" in the same way as "important" and "interesting" in regard to "man" and "book". The only difference between the participles in (198)-(199) and (200)-(201) is the position of modification, as noted previously. A last word about this third type of participles is that they make aspectual distinctions like the participles modifying verb phrases.

In conclusion it should be remarked that though three cases of functions have been pointed out, in all of these the participle bears only modifying qualities. The point of this remark is to compare the participle to the gerund -- which also bears only nominal properties in all its functions. Remember that the infinitive was found out to bear modifying qualities in addition to its primary attributes, namely nominal qualities. An additional remark is that the dichotomy -ing vs -N participles (or simultaneous vs anterior) does not on the whole affect syntax. Except when a temporal conjunction is introduced. The dichotomy noted above is generally significant on the semantic level, where aspectual nuances achieve effect.

#### 1.4 Summary to Chapter One

The subject matter of this chapter has been an analysis of the characteristics of the English non-finite form as opposed to the English finite form. One section has considered the non-finite form in general; three others have examined the different non-finite forms separately.

The aim of the first section has been to point out distinctions which set apart the non-finite form from the finite one. The previous approaches to the problem have proposed several morphological distinctions: the limitations of the finite form by person and number, by tense, by mood,

and by aspect. The analysis I have led has demonstrated that these distinctions are inadequate. They are because in general finite forms are not limited by categories of verb inflection. Four functional differences have been presented as being more adequate to discriminate between the finite form and the non-finite. The four are : one, the non-finite form is not governed by categories of verb inflection. Two, the non-finite form follows a verbal. Three, the non-finite form does not take an auxiliary. Four, the non-finite form is always related to a finite form. The first three distinctions do not apply all the time, because in some cases there is non available syntactic environment for them to apply. The fourth distinction, on the other hand, constitutes a permanent characteristic.

The second section has described the infinitive morphologically and functionally. Morphologically, the infinitive has been discussed in terms of a non finite form preceded by the particle "to" and in terms of a non-finite form without a suffix. The two morphological characteristics mark the infinitive in relation to the other non-finite forms, but not from finite forms. That is, "to" does not occur in all the infinitival constructions, and many finite forms do not have a suffix, either. Functionally, this section has studied the functions of the infinitive. A general view from all these is that the infinitive functions both nominally and modifyingly.

The third section has first dealt with the gerund alone and then with the gerund compared with the infinitive. Functionally, the gerund has been found to be a non-finite form operating exclusively as a noun. Even where it appears in the position of modification, it must be introduced by a preposition. In this nominal character, it functions much alike the infinitive. It is because of this functional closeness that the two forms have been compared. What has been observed from this comparison is that on the syntactic level, this functional similarity is not matched : in some cases the gerund and the

Year	Day	Time	Location	Remarks
1971	21	10:00	...	...
1971	21	11:00	...	...
1971	21	12:00	...	...
1971	21	13:00	...	...
1971	21	14:00	...	...
1971	21	15:00	...	...
1971	21	16:00	...	...
1971	21	17:00	...	...
1971	21	18:00	...	...
1971	21	19:00	...	...
1971	21	20:00	...	...
1971	21	21:00	...	...
1971	21	22:00	...	...
1971	21	23:00	...	...
1971	21	24:00	...	...
1971	21	25:00	...	...
1971	21	26:00	...	...
1971	21	27:00	...	...
1971	21	28:00	...	...
1971	21	29:00	...	...
1971	21	30:00	...	...
1971	21	31:00	...	...
1971	21	32:00	...	...
1971	21	33:00	...	...
1971	21	34:00	...	...
1971	21	35:00	...	...
1971	21	36:00	...	...
1971	21	37:00	...	...
1971	21	38:00	...	...
1971	21	39:00	...	...
1971	21	40:00	...	...
1971	21	41:00	...	...
1971	21	42:00	...	...
1971	21	43:00	...	...
1971	21	44:00	...	...
1971	21	45:00	...	...
1971	21	46:00	...	...
1971	21	47:00	...	...
1971	21	48:00	...	...
1971	21	49:00	...	...
1971	21	50:00	...	...
1971	21	51:00	...	...
1971	21	52:00	...	...
1971	21	53:00	...	...
1971	21	54:00	...	...
1971	21	55:00	...	...
1971	21	56:00	...	...
1971	21	57:00	...	...
1971	21	58:00	...	...
1971	21	59:00	...	...
1971	21	60:00	...	...
1971	21	61:00	...	...
1971	21	62:00	...	...
1971	21	63:00	...	...
1971	21	64:00	...	...
1971	21	65:00	...	...
1971	21	66:00	...	...
1971	21	67:00	...	...
1971	21	68:00	...	...
1971	21	69:00	...	...
1971	21	70:00	...	...
1971	21	71:00	...	...
1971	21	72:00	...	...
1971	21	73:00	...	...
1971	21	74:00	...	...
1971	21	75:00	...	...
1971	21	76:00	...	...
1971	21	77:00	...	...
1971	21	78:00	...	...
1971	21	79:00	...	...
1971	21	80:00	...	...
1971	21	81:00	...	...
1971	21	82:00	...	...
1971	21	83:00	...	...
1971	21	84:00	...	...
1971	21	85:00	...	...
1971	21	86:00	...	...
1971	21	87:00	...	...
1971	21	88:00	...	...
1971	21	89:00	...	...
1971	21	90:00	...	...
1971	21	91:00	...	...
1971	21	92:00	...	...
1971	21	93:00	...	...
1971	21	94:00	...	...
1971	21	95:00	...	...
1971	21	96:00	...	...
1971	21	97:00	...	...
1971	21	98:00	...	...
1971	21	99:00	...	...
1971	21	100:00	...	...

infinitive play the same role but operate in different syntactic environments. Another observation is that on the semantic level, the differences between the two forms increase in number. This is because, being in a similar environment and playing the same role, the infinitive and the gerund sometimes bear semantic nuances that determine the use of either form. In sum, these nuances lie in the fact that the infinitive is generally future-oriented while the gerund is present - and past - oriented, but mostly in the fact that the gerund is more nominal than the infinitive. In the comparison of the two forms, an evident difference is noticeable on the morphological level: the infinitive and the gerund are quite marked one in relation to the other. The former is prefixed but is not suffixed; the latter is not prefixed but is suffixed. The suffix of the gerund is "-ing", a suffix which is also that of many other verb-derived forms.

The fourth section is about the participle. Two types of the participle have been noted. One is morphologically marked by -ing; the other by -N. The -ing participle is distinct from the -N participle and the infinitive, but not from the gerund, from the finite progressive constituents, and from the -ing adjectives derived from verbs. As may be expected, this similarity of the -ing participle with the three verb forms is liable to create confusion around the participle and the morphologically related verb forms. As for the -N participle, it is marked in regard to all the other non-finite forms, but not in regard to the finite passive and perfective constituents and to the -N adjectives derived from verbs. The similarity between the -N participle and the three verb forms is also liable to cause misinterpretations of the participle. The possible functional misinterpretations likely to be caused by the morphological similarities of the two participles with other verb forms have been considered one by one. As the issue of this analysis, characteristics distinctive of the gerund and the participle have been pointed out. In

a word, the gerund is a nominal; the participle is a modifier. Characteristic distinctions between the participle and the adjective of the same form have also been considered. The two forms have been differentiated on the basis of the syntactic environment characteristic of either form : the adjective occurs either as a premodifier, or as a predicative postmodifier; the participle occurs only in postmodification, either following a verbal or a noun phrase. Furthermore, it has been demonstrated that the participle cannot function as a finite constituent, chiefly because it cannot be adjoined to an auxiliary. It has also been proved that the notion of voice should not characterize the participle, because in some cases this notion appears to be irrelevant. Finally, considering the temporal relationships determined by the participle, the appellation "simultaneous participle" vs "anterior participle" has been judged more appropriate than "present participle" vs "past participle." The discussion of the possible misinterpretations of the participle has brought some light about what the proper functions of the participle. Only to list them, the participle clause modifies the main clause, the participle modifies the main verb phrase, and the participle postmodifies noun phrase. Peculiar semantic nuances are incorporated into each case of participial modification.

The first section of this chapter has laid out the distinctive characteristics of the non-finite form in general. The last three sections have focused on the attributes proper to each non-finite form individually. It should be retained in the end that, despite all the many individual peculiarities, all the non-finite forms are strung together by the verbal element underlying them all. This verbal element allows them to take an object (whether direct or prepositional) -- or to introduce a predicate, in case the non-finite form is a copulative verb.

## THE TRANSLATION INTO KINYARWANDA OF THE ENGLISH INFINITIVE

2.0 Introductory Remarks

In Chapter One many types of the English infinitive were discerned. Each type was determined according to the role it plays in the construction in which it operates. In the sections of this chapter, the different types of the English infinitive will be translated into Kinyarwanda. The aim of this translation is to bring to light how Kinyarwanda renders the functional relationships determined by the English infinitive. Each type of this form may be translated by more than one form in Kinyarwanda. Each time a cause to a particular translation is observed, it will be stated. Comments will also be made upon the alteration (or maintenance), by the translation, of the English syntactic structure and functional relationships characterizing the English form.

2.1 The English Infinitive Functioning as Subject

This type of the English infinitive does not offer many ways of translating into Kinyarwanda. It is generally translated by a verb form which Coupez calls the "infinitif."<sup>1</sup> The following examples are illustrative of this translation.

(1) TO DRINK in a public bar is man's privilege.

KUNYWEERA mu kabali ni ubureenganzira bw'abagabo.

(2) TO LISTEN to a radio all day sounds foolish.

KUMVA raadyo umunsi wose ni ubucucu.

(3) TO READ a book tires the eyes.

GUSOMA igitabo binaniza amaso.

From these translations we can make the following observation : not only does

the form that has translated the English infinitive function as subject, but also it acts as subject to an experience-verb. This type of verb is exemplified in (1) and (2) by the copulative verb form "ni." This is an inflectional variant of the stem "li" (to be). In (3), the experience-verb is the verbal "kunaniza" (to tire). It will be remembered from Chapter One that the English infinitive functions as subject to an experience-verb. This tells us that the translation into Kinyarwanda of this English infinitive renders the semantic and functional relationships incorporated into the English form. On the syntactic level, Kinyarwanda has not also altered the English structure. That is, the Kinyarwanda equivalent of the English infinitive, namely the infinitif, is in a similar syntactic environment as the English original.

## 2.2 The English Infinitive Occurring in a Predicate

Unlike the preceding type of the English infinitive, this one may be translated in many ways, depending chiefly on the nature of the principal verb phrase (and in some cases of the noun phrase). By "principal verb phrase," I refer to the one on which the translation to study depends.

### 2.2.1 Translation by the NKÁÁHÓ-Clause

The first possibility of translation is by the NKÁÁHÓ-Clause. This clause is made up of the functional word NKÁÁHÓ and a verb form inflected for the relative mode. This structure is illustrated as in (4)-(5).

(4) The rain seemed TO HEAR them (PB, 196).

Imvúra yáságá NKÁÁHÓ IBÚMVA.

(5) The road seemed TO STOP nowhere (F, 39).

Umuháanda wáságá NKÁÁHÓ UTAGÍRÁ áhó UHÉRÉRA.

The word "NKÁÁHÓ" (as if), is composed of NKÁ + ÁHÓ. The particle "NKÁ", which Coupez calls an "indice de comparaison", serves as a comparative word. ÁHÓ is labeled as the "pronom précessif" (cf. p.570). NKÁÁHÓ acts as a

conjunctive word introducing logical connection between verb forms. In its role, the conjunction NKAAHÓ functions in a way which is comparable to that of the English copulative verb.<sup>2</sup> This verb serves simply as a link between the predicate and the subject. In a likewise manner, NKAAHÓ serves simply as a link between the clause to its right and the one to its left. The difference between NKAAHÓ and the English copula, like "is" in (1) or "seemed" in (5), lies in the fact that in their copulative roles the English form suffices to itself, whereas the Kinyarwanda conjunction comes to substantiate the verb form to its left, i.e., the principal verb.

In both (4) and (5), this principal verb is a form of "gusa" (to seem, to look like...). This verb is a verbal; it is not copulative (and thus auxiliary) like the English "seem." Only, by its nature it induces an object construction which is introduced by a "copulative" conjunction of the kind of NKAAHÓ. Apropos of the nature of verbs like gusa, Coupez notes :

Le syntagme d'indice na (i.e. indice de comparaison) sert d'objet à un petit nombre de verbes ayant le sens de ressemblance, de proximité, d'association... (p . 510).

"Gusa" can then be included among the verbs with a sense of "association." Then, since in the translations in (4) and (5) NKAAHÓ has been induced by the principal verb, this verb will ultimately be said to have determined those translations. I draw this conclusion because the relative mode structure is directly due to NKAAHÓ, and not the principal verb. NKAAHÓ is followed by a verb form in the relative mode because of the presence in its internal structure of the precessive pronoun "AHÓ." According to Coupez (p. 378), in most cases this pronoun induces a relative inflection on the verb it introduces.

The preceding discussion shows that the English predicate is introduced only by the copula "seem", but that in Kinyarwanda the predicate is introduced conjointly by a verbal and a conjunction. This means that the Kinyarwanda translation of the English infinitive has expressed the same function



through a, different syntactic structure. This difference has come about because NKAAHO has introduced a new "finite" clause.<sup>3</sup> This clause makes an agreement between the subject and the verb. It thus brings to the surface subject relationships which are not explicit at all in the English original. To repeat what I have said above, I will say in conclusion that the translation into Kinyarwanda of the infinitive considered is determined by the nature of the principal verb, i.e. the one translating the English verb form to which the non-finite form is related.

### 2.2.2 Translation by the Predicative Pronoun-Phrase

A second way to translate the English infinitive occurring in a predicate is by a phrase introduced by a predicative pronoun and the infinitive. By "predicative pronoun" I refer to either the pronom précessif or the pronom substitutif. Their predicative nature will be considered below. The predicative pronoun-phrase is composed of a pronoun and an infinitive verb form. See illustrations in (6)-(9).

- (6) This memorandum is TO LET you know that there is a meeting tomorrow (D,XV).

Uru rwaandikó nĩ ÚRWÓ KUBAMENYEESHÁ kó éjó háli ináama.

- (7) And what had really brought her to the village when the trend was for the youth TO RUN AWAY (PB, 31).

Eése kóko nĩ íkĩ cyaálĩ cyáaramúzanye mu cyaaro kaándĩ umugáambi w'úrubbyiruko wálĩ ÚWÓ KUGIHUNGA.

- (8) The only way to thwart those intentions was TO DETAIN him (D,XVI) .

KUMUFUUNGA nĩ BWÓ búlyó bwóonyiné báashoboraga gúkóreesha ngo bakómé imbere iyo migáambi yé.

- (9) It is an opportunity for you TO SPEAK to the president.

Nĩ wó mwáanya ubóonyé WO KUVUGISHA perezida.

ÚRWÓ in (6) and ÚWÓ in (7) are forms of the precessive pronoun. BWÓ in (8)

ERRATA ET CORRIGENDA-3

Page	Line	Mistake	Correction
147	5	I have said above	I said above
	12	"yaboonye BALIMO BANYWA itaabi, BAGANIRA, BANASEKA BAGANIRA, BANASEKA"	"yaboonye BALIMO BA- NYWA itaabi, BAGANIRA, BAGANIRA, BANASEKA..."
	2	CONJUNCTIVE MODE."	CONJUNCTIVE MODE." 5
	6	structures	structures
	26	in directly or	directly or
	11	in which	in which
	5	will provide	provide
	1-2	reasons to	reasons for
	24	object to	object of
	20	predicating clause	defining clause
	25	it predicates of	it defines
	3	tweeb	tweebu
	4	nt	not
	20	Two nti tuli abaa- ntu baanga gutera	Two nti tuli abaanu baanga gutera imbere.
	15	and which	which
	10	in (32)	in (26)
	19	Coumez	Coupez
	175	Essais de lin- guistique gène- rale. V.A.	Essais de linguistique générale. V.I.
	177	Essais de lin- guistique gène- rale. V.A.	Essais de linguistique générale. V.I.
	178	Essais de lin- guistique gène- rale. V.A.	Essais de linguistique générale. V.I.
	179	Essais de lin- guistique gène- rale. V.A.	Essais de linguistique générale. V.I.

ERRATA ET CORRIGENDA - I

Page	Line	Mistake	Correction
ix	I2	between two	between the two
3	3	if at it	at it
8	6	to translate	to be translated
I5	23	the copula "6"	the copula "be"
I8	I0	auxiliarie	auxiliary
20	2I-22	does not also "function"	does not function,.. either
22	7	incorrect	ungrammatical
	8	correct	grammatical
23	I6-I7	it will be ultimately	it will be concluded
27	25	fillowed	followed
29	6-7	"to have" it another way	"*to have it another way"
32	I9	syntactic	syntactic
33	26	a same	the same
36	I	since then	since
	I5	infern-	infer-
	I8	as suggest the following examples	as the following examples suggest
	22	more or less than	more, or less, than
37	5	clasesness	closeness
	28	heat	heart
	29-30	subject to	subject of
38	4	proess	process
40	I3	b.*To lie is to sin.	b.*Lying is to sin.
4I	22	that	which
42	4	that	which
	I7	that	which
43	I2	d.*She wishes that	d. She wishes that
44	3	I will remark in passing	I remark in passing
	6	comlusion	conclusion
45	5	ewample	example
46	II	I will take	I take
	24	buy itself	by itself
47	I2-I3	in which operate the "special"...	in which the "special" operate...
59	7	1 st	lost
6I	I7	form	from
62	I4	it holds	it maintains
63	I	stuate	situate
	I7	depending to	depending on
66	II	conjugation	conjunction
69	I6-I7	but not from finite forms	but not in relation to finite forms
72	I9	ubúréenganzirá	ubúréengaanzirá
	2I	umunsi	umuúnsi

ERRATA ET CORRIGENDA-2

Page	Line	Mistake	Correction
73	6	as subject to	as subject of
	16	to study	to be studied
75	22	KUGIHUNGA	KUGIHUUNGA
76	I	I will note in passing	I note in passing
	18	we will find out that	we find that
	23	to predicate of	of which to predicate
77	5	arument	augment
	13	predicated	predicated
78	13	it does follow	it does not follow
81	13	as a subject	as an object
87	7	second	second
88	16	2.6.2	2.6.2 <u>Translation by</u> <u>the Infinitive</u>
89	5	principal	principal verb
	13	finite	finite form
92	4-5	as caused	as being caused
93	24	mode inficatif	mode indicatif
94	7	that	which
	8	than	then
95	4	hte	the
98	20	Yamuhaaye inyigiisho ZUUKO AZAA-KOREESHA	Yamúhaaye inyígíisho ZUÚKO AZÁAKOREESHA
	24-25	acceptable	acceptable"
99	7	(ITS, ).	(ITS, 282).
105	10	of uses mode	of uses made
108	8	as a verbal	is a verbal
	28	existing	exists
111	12-18	predicate	predicate of
114	26	Siniiyúmvishi	*Siniiyúmvishi
121	14	Amaze GUSOMA inyandikomvugo yasaanze yali yiibeeshye.	Amaze GUSOMA inyandikomvugo yasaanze yali yiibeeshye.
	15	of ASKING	or ASKING
128	19	occurred are	have occurred as
	24	modifying	modifying structures
130	3-4	it can ultimately be concluded	it can be concluded
	6	are unclear	is unclear
133	8	has	had
134	26	holds	maintains
136	21	differ thus	thus differ
139	30	apon	upon
143	2	namely BAVUGA, ASAKUZA, AREBA, etc.	namely <u>BAVUGA</u> , <u>ASAKUZA</u> , and <u>ASEKA</u> .

and WÓ in (9) are forms of the substitutive pronoun. I will note in passing that in these constructions the precessive pronoun is not followed by the relative mode. Reasons for this particularity are unclear to me. The predicative nature of both<sup>4</sup> the precessive and substitutive pronoun lies in the fact that they add a complement of information to the noun phrase on which they depend. They are linked to the phrase by the copula "-li" (be). In (6)-(9), the stem "-li" is under its inflectional variants "ní" and "wáí." The copula "-li" has translated the copula "be" operating in the English sentences. This suggests that the predicative pronoun-phrase linked to "-li" plays the same predicating role as the English infinitive linked to "be." The difference between the Kinyarwanda structure and the English original form is merely syntactic: the former uses, in its predication, both a pronoun and a verb form (i.e. the infinitif), whereas the latter uses only a verb form (i.e. the infinitive). The translation has altered the English structure around the non-finite form because this has been translated by a confrontation of forms instead of one form.

If we compare the translation by the pronoun-phrase with that of the NKÁÁHÓ-clause, we will find out that the structural differences between the two are brought about by the principal verb. This is a verbal (viz. gusa) in one case; it is the copula "-li" in the other. Gusa needs NKÁÁHÓ to introduce the predicate; "-li" directly links the predicate to the phrase to predicate of. What is important to note is that in the predicate after "-li" there must be an item replacing the phrase to predicate of. That is why a predicative pronoun occurs in the translation of the English non-finite form. The translation by the predicative pronoun-phrase depends then upon the nature of the copula "be."

### 2.2.3 Translation by the Infinitive

A third possibility of translating the English infinitive occurring

in a predicate is by the infinitive alone. The translation that will be given in example (10) is the only one I could find of that sort.

(10) This is TO TELL you that I will not come back here.

Íbí ní UKÚKÚBWIIRÁ kó ntázáágaruká hánó .

Note that the infinitive in question is the one with an argument. As will be seen later, this infinitive seems to be the one used in predication, just after the copula "-li."

This translation by the infinitive differs from the translation by a pronoun-phrase exactly in that one uses a pronoun while the other does not. This difference in the translation originates from English. That is, in the English sentences in (6)-(9), the infinitive predicates of a noun whereas in (10), it predicates of a pronoun. In the translations of (6)-(9), a pronoun has been used to stand, before the infinitive, for the noun phrase predicated of. In the translation of (10), no pronoun has been introduced because the noun phrase to predicate of was itself a pronoun, namely íbi. It is important to remark that the augment prefixed to the infinitive in (10) plays a supplementary role. I make this claim because, if we compare the predicative phrases in (6)-(9) with the one in (10), we realize that in the former constructions the infinitive preceded by a noun phrase (i.e. the predicative pronoun) does not take the augment. It seems then that the augment comes in to supply the nominal element lacking in the predication in (10).<sup>5</sup> Yet, despite the difference in syntactic structure, the translation of the English non-finite form in (10) plays the same predicative role as the translations in (6)-(10). An additional comment should be that the translation in (10) has kept the syntactic structure of the English original : the English infinitive has been translated by a single form, which is, in addition, a non-conjugated form. This translation is due to the nature of the noun phrase predicated of.

#### 2.2.4 Translation by the KÓ-Clause

This fourth translation consists of the conjunction "KÓ" and the relative mode. It is also the only one of this sort that I could find. As shown by example (11), it is not directly introduced by a copulative verb.

- (11) It is really so easy for a friend TO BEGIN treating a friend as a criminal to be feared (BONYB, 69).

Ntaabwo álí igitáángazá KÓ umuntu w'inshúti ATÁÁNGIRA gúfáta inshúti ye nk'úmugómé wá rúvúmwá.

In the clause "KÓ ATÁÁNGIRA", the determinative word is KÓ. This conjunction has been introduced by the noun "igitáángaza." This is derived from the verb "gutaangaara" (to be astonished, to wonder). Gutáángarà is of the category of verbs (i.e. verbs of declaration and others, cf. Coupez, 511) that take the KÓ-clause as an object. But in our case, the KÓ-clause is not an object -- because it does follow a verb form -- but a predicate of a noun phrase derived from a verb requiring the KÓ-clause. The conjunction "KÓ" in turn requires that the verb form to its right be inflected for the relative mode, as remarked by Coupez (p. 378). This introduction of a conjugated clause has thus modified the syntactic structure of the English non-finite form. This modification lies in the fact that the Kinyarwanda translation brings the subject relationships to the surface. In conclusion, the translation by the KÓ-clause will be said to be dependent upon the nature of the phrase predicated of.

#### 2.2 5 Summary and Conclusion

As can be observed from the translations of the English infinitive occurring in a predicate, Kinyarwanda generally renders the predicative relationships in a different syntactic structure than English. The English structure is constituted like this : "NP + COPULA + INFINITIVE." The translation into Kinyarwanda, on the other hand, displays the following structures :

- 1) NP + VERB (of association) + NKÁÁHÓ + RELATIVE MODE;
- 2) a. NP + COPULA + PREDICATIVE PRONOUN + INFINITIVE;  
b. NP + PREDICATIVE PRONOUN + COPULA + INFINITIVE;
- 3) COPULA + INFINITIVE (with u-);
- 4) COPULA + NP + KÓ + RELATIVE MODE.

All these structures predicate of the noun phrase functioning as the subject of the principal verb, i.e. the copulative verb form. The variety in structure is due, in some cases, to the nature of the principal verb. In other cases, it is due to the nature of the noun phrase predicated of.

The discussion led in the present section leads to this conclusion : generally, Kinyarwanda needs more words than English to express the same predicative relationships, namely the relationships incorporated into a verbal construction. This is the case for two reasons : first, it seems that in Kinyarwanda, a verb form, by itself, cannot -- like the English non-finite form -- act as a predicate. It has to be backed up by another word, notably a conjunctive word. Second, it seems that also the copulative verb in Kinyarwanda, i.e. "li", needs to be followed by a construction containing a nominal item.

### 2.3 The English Infinitive Functioning as Object

There are several possibilities of translating this English infinitive into Kinyarwanda. The data translated for this infinitive display three ways of translation. One is by the infinitival clause; the two others are by finite clauses.

#### 2.3.1 Translation by the Infinitive

This first translation is illustrated as in examples (12)-(14).

(12) He did not choose TO BE a slave like Munoru (PB, 213).

Ntiyásháatse KÚBÁ íngáanzwa nka Munoru.



- (13) He had chosen NOT TO CHOOSE (PB, 71) .

Yááí yaráhísémó KÚBYÍÍHORERA,

- (14) There was something so good about the destroyed people wanting TO MAKE themselves whole again (BONYB, 90) .

Twááshimaga cyaane abaantu bááli báriihebye álíko bíífuzaga KUVA ibúzímu ngo bájyé ibuuntu.

In these data, the construction that translates the English infinitive matches the English original in all respects. That is, both the English form and its translation function as objects and in a parallel syntactic structure.

### 2.3.2 Translation by the KÓ-Clause

In this translation; the English structure changes. It does because it is no longer a single form of the infinitive that acts as subject, but a whole clause. This is the clause introduced by the conjunction KO.

- (15) My mother has always wanted TO HAVE a whole bull SLAUGHTERED for Christmas (F, 76).

Mama ahorá yíifuzá KÓ BAAMUBÁÁGIRA ikimásá kizima ku múnsi mukúru wá Nohéli.

- (16) What we do not know we do not claim TO KNOW (TTS, 5).

Ícyó tweébwé tutaází ntitwiirálirá KÓ TUKIÍZÍ.

- (17) She offered TO MEND her brother's trousers.

Yávúzé KO ASHÁÁKA KÚDÓDA ipataro yá músaazá wé.

As shown by the translations above, the object is made up of KÓ and a verb inflected for the relative mode.<sup>6</sup> This type of object is entailed by verbs of declaration like kúvúga (to say), kwáanga (to refuse), and kurahira (to swear), or by verbs of expectation like kwíifuza (to wish) and gushaaka (to want).<sup>7</sup> In our case then we have verbs of declaration (namely kwíirálira and kúvúga) in (16) and (17), and a verb of expectation (namely kwíifuza) in (15). The translation of the English infinitive, as given in (15)-(17), depends on the

nature of the principal verb.

### 2.3.3 Translation by the ÚKÓ-Clause

I could find only one example illustrating this kind of translation. I could not find many because the English structure providing the translation by the ÚKÓ-clause does not occur often in usage. Consider example (18).

(18) He taught his daughter how TO GO about it.

Yíigiishije umúkoobwa wé ÚKÓ ABYÍIFATÁMÓ.  
ÚKÓ (the way to do) is a conjunction introducing the relative mode (cf. Coupez, 378). It expresses the idea of manner. It has been entailed by the principal verb, yíigiishije, which connotes the idea of "showing how." This idea is explicit in the English sentence, in the adverb "how." In some constructions, this "how" substantiates the infinitive in its function as a subject. This type of object is proper to verbs of instruction like "to teach", "to instruct", and "to show." The Kinyarwanda translation by the ÚKÓ-clause is in fact no more than a reflection of the object relationships existing in English. The parallelism of the English structure to its Kinyarwanda translation is revealing : "teach + how + infinitive" is indeed close to "kwiigiisha + ÚKÓ + relative mode." The only difference is that the equivalent of the English infinitive is a verb form which is conjugated -- because of the functional word "ÚKÓ." The conclusion is then that the translation by the ÚKÓ-clause depends on the nature of the principal verb, which reflects the nature of its English original.

### 2.3.4 Summary and Conclusion

To summarize the three ways of translating the English infinitive functioning as object, I will recall the translation by the infinitive and the one by the KÓ-clause, two structures which have translated the only English structure, namely the infinitive. Two Kinyarwanda structures have translated

one English structure because certain types of verbs in Kinyarwanda entail clausal objects. I will also recall the translation by the UKO-clause, which has translated the English infinitive linked to the adverb "how." In this case the particularity of the English structure has been rendered in Kinyarwanda. In any case, the conclusion that concerns all the three cases of translation is that in Kinyarwanda, more than in English, there is a tendency for different categories of verbs to put selectional restrictions on the objects they can take.

#### 2.4 The English Infinitive Occurring in a Sentential Object

The preceding section was about the English infinitive functioning as the object itself. This section, on the other hand, will talk about the English infinitive functioning only as part of a sentential object. The two types of the English infinitive share two translations, namely the translation by the KO-clause and the one by the infinitive. The infinitive to study in this section presents, as its own, two additional translations, namely the translation by the conjunctive clause and the one by the KUGIRANGO-clause.

##### 2.4.1 Translation by the KO-Clause

I will first consider the translation by the KO-clause. This structure is illustrated as in (19)-(21).

- (19) How could it be that God would let himself BE NAILED to a tree?  
(GW, 12).

Byaashoboká bité kó Imáana yaakweémérá KÓ BAYIBÁÁMBA ku gítí?

- (20) The peasants waited for the earth TO CRACK (PB, 196)

Abáhfinzi báátegerejé KÓ ubutaka BWIIYASA.

- (21) They were now beating me to make me CRY (PB, 71).

Ubwo báráánkúbitagá báshaaká KÓ NDÍRÁ.

The conjunction "KO", as already pointed out, introduces a clausal object, after

verbs of declaration and verbs of expectation. The same types of verbs introduce the KÓ-clauses in the translations in (19)-(21). In these clauses, the structure translating the English infinitive, i.e. KÓ plus a verb form in the relative, functions as part of the clausal object. The other part is the noun phrase playing the role of subject in the same clausal object. It is ubutaka, for instance, in (20). In (19) and (21), it is infixed in the verb. This translation by the KÓ-clause has maintained the functional relationships incorporated into the English non-finite form. Only the syntactic structure has been changed because the English form has been translated by a structure which presents the inflectional relationships of agreement.

#### 2.4.2 Translation by the Conjunctive Clause

A second way to translate the English infinitive occurring in a sentential object is by use of a verb form inflected for the conjunctive mode. Examples (22) and (23) are illustrative of this translation.

(22) What causes things TO HAPPEN? (PB, 190).

Ni íkí gitúmá ibiintú BÍEA?

(23) He watched cars GO beyond the hills (PB, 272).

Yáréebaga ímódóká ZÍREENGA ku mísózi.

In structure, the only difference between this translation and the one in (19)-(21) is that in the present case the sentential object is not linked to the principal verb by a functional word. Otherwise, the verb form (i.e. the conjunctive clause) translating the English infinitive in both cases operates in the sentential object as the verbal element of this object. Both cases of translations maintain then the functional relationships existing in English. That difference in syntactic structure is due to the fact that the principal verb is of a different nature in the two cases. In (19)-(21), the principal verb is a verb of declaration or of expectation; in (22)-(23), it is a verb of

perception.<sup>8</sup> According to Coupez (p. 377), the object structure displayed by (22) and (23), namely that of "Verb + Object + Conjunctive Form", is proper to verbs most of which are of perception. This second way of translating the English infinitive, as well as the first one, will in the end be said to be dependent upon the nature of the principal verb.

#### 2.4.3 Translation by the KUGIRANGO-Clause

A third way of translating the English infinitive under study is by use of the structure "KUGIRANGO + SUBJUNCTIVE VERB FORM", as example (24) indicates. This example is the only one I could find as the illustration of the translation in point.

(24) He would force society TO RESPECT him.

Yágóombaga gúkóra úkó ashóbóye KUGIRANGO YÍTYÚBAHISHE.

KUGIRANGO (or simply NGO) is a functional word which Coupez calls an "invariable préverbe." The verb it introduces takes the inflection for the subjunctive mode. It expresses the idea of purpose. In terms of function, the subjunctive clause in (24) acts like the conjunctive clause and the KO-clause discussed above. The three clauses play the role of part of object in a whole sentential object. In structure, the KUGIRANGO-clause and the KO-clause are much alike because both of them are linked to the principal verb by a functional word. The principal verb phrase in (24) is yagóombaga gúkora uko ashoboye. The expression "gúkora uko ununtu ashoboye" (to do everything for...) allows as an object only the KUGIRANGO-clause. Thus in this third translation, like in the two preceding ones, the translation of the English form depends on the nature of the principal verb.

#### 2.4.4 Translation by the Infinitive

A fourth translation, which is fundamentally similar to the first three, is by the infinitive alone, as illustrated by example (25). This translation is also the only one I could find of the sort.

(25) He never allowed himself TO GET DRUNK.

Yáhóragá yíilinda GÚSÍINDA.

In this translation, the equivalent of the English non-finite form, i.e. the infinitive, functions also as part of a sentential object. In its immediate relationships it is the verbal element of this clausal object; the noun phrase subject of the clausal object is infixed in the principal verb, yíilinda.

If it were not infixed, we would have this sentence, for example : "Yáhóragá álfíinda umugóre wé GÚSÍINDA (He always forbade his wife to get drunk). What seems unusual -- i.e. in comparison with the other three translations -- is that the verb form translating the English form is not inflected for any mode. That is, it does not indicate the agreement relationships between the subject and the verb. In this it syntactically differs from the translations by the KÓ-clause, by the KUGIRANGO-clause, and by the conjunctive clause. That is why, unlike these three, the translation under consideration has maintained the syntactic structure of the English non-finite form. This fourth translation is due to a certain type of verbs, that is the type including kulinda -- which in (25) acts as the principal verb. In Kinyarwanda, it seems that in their sentential objects, verbs of prohibition like kulinda and kubuza (to forbid, to prohibit, to prevent...) allow only a verb form in the infinitive. This remark makes me conclude that this fourth translation of the English infinitive acting as part of a sentential object depends, like the three others, on the nature of the principal verb.

#### 2.4.5 Summary and Conclusion

The English type of the infinitive translated in this section has offered four translations. Three of these contain conjugated verb forms, which comes to saying that they have destroyed the syntactic structure of the English infinitive. The three translations are : the KÓ-clause, the KUGIRANGO-clause,

and the conjunctive clause. The fourth translation has maintained the English structure in that the English non-finite form has been translated by the infinitive -- a form which is also not conjugated. But all the four translations determine the same object relationships. That syntactic difference is simply due to the nature of the principal verb. This statement suggests that in Kinyarwanda, unlike in English, sentential object relationships are expressed differently according to the type of the verb introducing them. But on the whole, the different structures highlight one syntactic difference between the two languages : Kinyarwanda tends to make explicit the subject-verb concord, which is implicit in English.

#### 2.5. The English Infinitive Occurring in a Prepositional Phrase Defining an Object Phrase

The role of the English infinitive that will be considered in this section is to show the limits of the noun phrase functioning as the object of the main verb in the same construction. But this infinitive does not modify the noun phrase directly : it is introduced by a preposition. That is why the infinitive in question is viewed only as part of a defining prepositional phrase. This infinitive is rendered in Kinyarwanda by another infinitive, and in a parallel syntactic environment. The following examples are illustrative of this translation.

(26) He knows nothing more than THINK that.

Ntaa kiíndi ázi úsiibye GÚTÉEKEREZA ibyo.

(27) We have no alternative but TELL him the story.

Ntaa kiíndi twakórá úsiibye KUMÚBWIIRA iyo nkúru.

(28) She cannot do anything else except SEW.

Ntaa kiíndi kiintu ashóbóra gúkóra úsiibye KÚDÓDA.

As evidenced by these translations, the English structure "preposition + infinitive"

itive" (i.e. "except + SEW", for example, is translated into Kinyarwanda by the structure "úsiibye + infinitive." Úsiibye seems to be one of the functional words which Coupez calls the "invariables préverbes." I hypothesize thus because of its similarity in meaning with keretse (except), which is mentioned among the invariable preverbs. Úsiibye, in the same way as the English prepositions "than", "but", and "except", links two arguments which are complementary : the second comes to set the limits of the first one. The second thus defines the first. What constitutes the second argument is the very form, namely the infinitive, that translates the English infinitive. Since úsiibye is to the Kinyarwanda infinitive what "except" is to the English infinitive, a parallel between the English form and its Kinyarwanda equivalent can be drawn. Therefore, it will be concluded that both the functional relationships and the syntactic structure determined by the English infinitive operating in a defining prepositional phrase have been maintained by the Kinyarwanda equivalent. The functional word úsiibye will ultimately be said to determine the same relationships as the English functional words "except", "but", "than."

## 2.6 The English Infinitive Expressing Purpose

This type of the English infinitive offers three possibilities of translation. Two of them change the syntactic structure of the English infinitive, the other one maintains it. The former are the translation by the KUGIRANGO-clause and the one by the conjunctive clause; the latter is the translation by the infinitive.

### 2.6.1 Translation by the KUGIRANGO-Clause

The KUGIRANGO-clause was briefly talked about previously. It was said to express the idea of purpose. It is a structure constituted of the functional word KUGIRANGO and a verb form in the subjunctive mode. This structure



is illustrated as in (29)-(31).

- (29) Mumbi put the pot on the fire and sat again TO WATCH her husband  
(GW, 27).

Mumbi yashyize inkono ku ziiko haanyuma aroongera aliicara KUGIRANGO  
AREEBE umugabo we.

- (30) Lord, what shall I do TO BE SAVED? (GW, 74)

Nyagasani, nzaakore iki KUGIRANGO NKIZWE?

- (31) He would even count the cars TO WHILE AWAY the time (PB, 272).

Hali nubwo yabaraga imidoka KUGIRANGO igihe GIHIRE.

There is not much to say about this translation because we already know that the idea of purpose is inherent to the word "KUGIRANGO." What is worth noting is that through this functional word, purpose is explicitly expressed in Kinyarwanda, whereas it is only sensed in English. In conclusion, I will say that this first translation of the English infinitive expressing consequence depends on the functional word "KUGIRANGO."

#### 2.6.2 Translation by the Infinitive

A second way of translating the English infinitive under study is by use of the infinitive. In this case, no functional word expresses the idea of purpose. This is only implicit as in English.

- (32) She came TO SEE me.

Yaaje KUUNDEEBA

- (33) He went to the river TO WASH his clothes.

Yagiiye ku mugezi KUMESA imyeenda ye.

- (34) TO END this speech, I want to remind you of what you must not forget.

Ndashaaka KURANGIZA ili jaambo mbubuutsa ibyo mutagombwa kwiibagirwa.

In this set of examples, in the Kinyarwanda translations as in their English versions, the idea of purpose is implied in the relationships tying the infinitive to the principal verb. From Yaaje KUUNDEEBA, for example, we logically

deduce that "she" came (yaaje) with the intention to see me.

But a different comment should be made about the translation of example (34). Here, the notion of purpose is more explicit than in (32) and (33) : it is inherent to the verb gushaaka (to want), which is the principal verb. Modifying relationships between the infinitive and the principal are not needed to express it as is the case in (32) and (33). This is likely the reason why the infinitive KURANGIZA in (34) acts a direct object while KUUNDEEBA and KUMESA are objects of intransitive verbs. In any case, though, whether in (34) or in (32) and (33), the translation of the English form depends on the principal verb.

### 2.6.3 Translation by the Conjunctive Clause

In this third translation, the form translating the English non-finite is not introduced by a functional word <sup>as</sup> in 2.6.1, nor is it the infinitive as in 2.6.2. It is a form inflected for the conjunctive mode which acts as a modifier of the principal verb. This structure is illustrated as in (35). It is the only one of the kind I could find .

(35) They were now beating me TO MAKE me cry (PB, 71).

Ubwo bááránáábitagá BASHAAKÁ kó ndirá.

In many contexts, the translation of the English phrase "to make do sth" would be translated into Kinyarwanda by the verb "gutuma." This implies that the literal translation of "TO MAKE me cry" would be "ngo batúmé ndirá." This structure sounds awkward, at least in comparison with "BASHAAKA ko ndira." The functional word "ngo" cannot cooccur with the verb "gushaaka." It cannot because gushaaka cannot operate in a subjunctive construction. A structure like "ngo bashaaka ko ndira" would not agree with logic : since gushaaka means "to want", one cannot have the intention to want, because "to want" is a present event while the "intention" is oriented toward the future. That is why the conjunctive mode--

in BASHAAKA -- agrees better with usage in a construction like (35). This mode, as will be discussed in Chapter Four, introduces temporal relationships of simultaneity.

To come back to the translation per se, it should be remarked that this translation by the conjunctive clause, unlike the others considered in this section, depends on the nature of the very verb form translating the English infinitive. This Kinyarwanda form is determinative because on one hand it renders the notion of purpose expressed in the English infinitive and on the other determines the mode to be used.

#### 2.6.4. Summary and Conclusion

In this section, the idea of purpose incorporated into the English infinitive has been rendered in more than one way in Kinyarwanda. The first structure by which the English form has been translated is by use of the KUGIRANGO-clause. In this structure, purpose is expressed by the functional word "KUGIPANGO." The second translation is by use of the infinitive. In this structure, the idea of purpose is only deduced from the functional relationships between the infinitive and the principal verb which it modifies. The third translation is by the conjunctive mode. In this structure, purpose is expressed in the very form translating the English infinitive. Considering the different structures, it will be concluded that in English, simple modification relationships between the infinitive and the main verb suffice to express the notion of purpose, whereas in Kinyarwanda the same relationships suffice only in some cases -- cf. the translation by the infinitive. In other cases, the functional word "KUGIRANGO" or the purpose-verb "GUSHAAKA" are needed.

#### 2.7 The English Infinitive Expressing Consequence

In Chapter One, this type of the English infinitive was differentiated

from the infinitive expressing purpose on the basis of the notion of intentionality. That is, I said <sup>that</sup> the infinitive expresses purpose when the subject of the main verb has the intention to do the event expressed by the infinitive. In contrast, the infinitive expresses consequence when the infinitive event is not intended to be done by the subject. This semantic difference discriminating between the two infinitives can be said to be rendered in Kinyarwanda. I say this because the two infinitives in general offer different translations. The one they share is the translation by the KUGIRANGO-clause. Besides this, the infinitive expressing consequence offers several other translations.

### 2.7.1 Translation by the KUGIRANGO-Clause

In the examples below, the infinitive expressing consequence is translated like the one expressing purpose. This is due to a certain semantic closeness between purpose and consequence in the English sentences.

(36) My son, I did not send you there TO BE BEATEN or TO ENJOY DEFEAT  
(PB, 222).

Mwáána wa, siníígezé nkóoherezáyó KUGIRANGO UTSIÍNDWÉ cyáángwá  
WÍSHÍMIRE ugútsiindwa kwaawe.

(37) She spread sorghum out in the sun TO DRY.

Yáánitse amasáká KUGIRANGO YUÚMÉ.

(38) His mother had sent him to school TO SUCCEED and NOT TO FAIL.

Nyina yálí yáramwóohereje kw'iishúúli KUGIRANGO ATSIÍNDE átalí UKU-  
GIRANGO ATSIÍNDWÉ .

The semantic closeness mentioned above lies in the fact in the English sentences in (36)-(38) there is also a certain idea of intentionality. I did not include them among purpose-examples because of the orientation this intentionality. That is, in (36)-(38), the subject of the main verb intends for the subject of the non-finite clause to do something. The intention is thus oriented toward the latter subject, who is the "beneficiary" -- to use a term borrow-

ed from Chafe in case grammar. In the case of purpose, the subject of the non-finite clause, since he is also the subject of the finite clause, is at the same time the "location" and the "beneficiary" of the intention. In the end then, the translation by the KUGIRANGO-clause will be accounted for as caused by the idea of intention underlying the English infinitive.

### 2.7.2 Translation by the KUBÚLYÓ-Clause

This second translation, like the others that will follow, is different from the first one probably because there is no notion of intentionality underlying the English infinitive. The KUBÚLYÓ-clause consists of KUBÚLYÓ and a verb form in the mode relatif (conditionnel).<sup>9</sup>

- (39) None was mad enough TO BELIEVE that he would really grow to become a man (PB, 70).

Ntaa n'úúmwe wálí igícúucu KUBÚLYÓ YAAKWEÉMÉRA kókó kó yaakúzé akavámó umugabo.

- (40) Josephine was too ugly TO BE LOVED by the smart Thomas.

Yozeefiina yálí múbí cyaane KUBÚLYÓ ATÁÁJYAGA GÚKÚUNDWA ná cyáa gishóóngore Tómaási.

KUBÚLYÓ, which is probably a preverb like kugirango, is a functional word introducing an explanation of the truth expressed in the principal clause. In this way, KUBÚLYÓ functions like the adverbs of intensity of the kind of "too" and "enough." As in (39) and (40), these adverbs entail an explanatory consequence. It is not as in (36)-(38) where the consequence expressed in the English non-finite form is semi-purposive. The translation by the KUBÚLYÓ-clause is then due to the type of consequence underlying the English construction.

### 2.7.3 Translation by the ÁLÍKO-Clause

As in the case above, this translation is also due to the type of consequence relationships determined by the English non-finite clause. The

present case provides a different translation simply because the consequence relationships are also of a different nature. The ÁLÍKO-clause is composed of ÁLÍKO and a verb form in the indicative mode.

- (41) Yet others tried to sneak out of the town towards the forest only TO FIND that all roads to freedom were blocked (GW,6).

Abaandi báágerageje kuva mu mújyí bahuungira mw'iishyaamba ALIKO  
BASAANGA ntaa mahuungiro.

- (42) She arrived there earlier than expected, only TO FALL ill the following day.

Yáhageze mberé y'igihe ÁLÍKO AHAFATIRWÁ n'íindwaara búkeeye.

ÁLÍKO (but) is a conjunctive word (or "coordinateur", in Coupez's words). It introduces an opposition between two clauses. In this opposition, the ÁLÍKO-clause expresses an unfavorable consequence -- in relation to the clause to the left of ÁLÍKO. Note that, as evidenced by (41) and (42), the finite form in English is modified specifically <sup>by</sup> the adverb "only." As used in the two sentences, "only" bears a negative connotation. It approximately means "for no other result than...." Considering the semantic relatedness of ÁLÍKO to "only", it can be claimed that the ÁLÍKO-clause expresses that type of unfavorable consequence introduced in English by the adverb "only." The ALIKO-translation is then dependent upon the modification relationships tying the English infinitive to the finite form to which it is related.

#### 2.7.4 Translation by the HAANYUMA-Clause

The fourth way of translating the English infinitive expressing consequence is by use of the structure "HAANYUMA + mode inficatif (subsécutif)".<sup>10</sup> Examples (43) and (44) are illustrative of this translation.

- (43) It would pour only at night TO BE FOLLOWED by a day or two of sunshine (PB, 202).

Imvúra yágwágá ninjoro gusa HAANYUMA IGAKULIKIRWÁ n'úmuúnsi úmwé  
cyáángwá ibili y'íizúuba.

- (44) None was mad enough to believe that Kagabo would really grow TO BECOME a man.

Nta n'úmwé wálf igicúucu kubúlyó yaakweéméra kókó kó Kagabo yaakuzé HAANYUMA AKAVAMO umugabo .

HAANYUMA (and then, and after) is defined by Coupez as a "paralocatif temporel indiquant la succession" (cf. p. 437). As put in this quotation, HAANYUMA links two events that follow each other. The second event is the consequence of the first. By its nature than, HAANYUMA expresses what exactly is commonly understood under the term "consequence", namely a subsequent result.

If we compare the HAANYUMA-translation with the other translations discussed in this section, we realize that in the former, the consequence relationships determined by HAANYUMA are not expressed by specific adverbs as is the case in 2.7.2 and 2.7.3. HAANYUMA renders, explicitly, relationships which are implicit in the English original. In English, we only sense a logical sequence of events from the modification relationships tying the infinitive to the finite form modified. In (44), for example (more than in (43)), we logically conclude that the consequence of Kagabo's growth is that of becoming a man . The translation by the HAANYUMA-clause concurs then with the functional relationships existing in English between the finite clause and the non-finite clause attached to it .

#### 2.7.5 Translation by the Infinitive

The fifth way of translating the English infinitive expressing consequence is by the infinitive . This translation differs from the four preceding ones in both structure and function.

- (45) She was invited TO GO into the house

Bámubwiiyé KWIJIRA mu nzu .

- (46) Thomas was forced TO MARRY Josephine.

Tómáasi báamutsiindiriye KUROONGORA Yozefína .

This translation by the infinitive differs from the four others in structure in that these comprise conjugated verb forms introduced by functional words. It differs from them in function because it has changed the function of the English original. That is, the English infinitive expressed consequence, but now its translation functions as part of a sentential object.

This change of function is due to the fact that the literal translation of the English sentences in (45) and (46), which would allow the equivalents of the English infinitives to maintain the function of consequence, is less acceptable by usage than the one given in (45) and (46). This literal translation would give these two sentences:

(45') Yáábwiiwé KWÍINJIRA mu nzu.

(46') Tó máasi yáátsiindiliwe KUROONGORA Yozeffína.

In (45') and (46'), the infinitives express the same type of consequence as the English infinitives in (45) and (46). In these four sentences, the idea of consequence lies in the fact that the subject is played upon (cf. the event in the finite form) to do something (cf. the event in the infinitive) in consequence. In the four sentences, the infinitives act as modifiers of the principal verbs. But in the Kinyarwanda sentences in (45) and (46), the infinitives act as parts of the sentential objects of the principal verbs.

A hypothesis that is inferable from the preceding discussion is that in the Kinyarwanda sentences in (45)-(46) and (45')-(46'), the infinitives play different roles because in one case they interact with active verb forms while in the other they interact with passive forms. The principal verbs are active in (45)-(46); they are passive in (45')-(46'). The same hypothesis accounts also for the English infinitives in (45)-(46) and (45'')-(46'').

(45'') They invited her TO GO into the house.

(46'') They forced Thomas TO MARRY Josephine.

These two sentences are the active counterparts of (45) and (46). In (45'')



and (46''), the English infinitive function as parts of sentential objects, exactly like the Kinyarwanda infinitives in (45) and (46). The conclusion is then that the Kinyarwanda translations in (45) and (46) have brought to the surface functional relationships that exist in the English active counterparts of (45) and (46). This conclusion implies that this fifth translation is due to syntactic rules governing passivization in Kinyarwanda: the passivization of a construction containing a sentential object gives an awkward construction in Kinyarwanda.

#### 2.7.6 Summary and Conclusion

The discussion of the translation into Kinyarwanda of the English infinitive expressing consequence has laid open a variety of possible translations. Four translations have been found to render the functional relationships underlying the English infinitive. But each has rendered them in its own proper construction, though all the four constructions have altered the syntactic structure of the English infinitive. The four are the translations by the KUGIRANGO-clause, by the KUBŪLYŌ-clause, by the ALIKO-clause, and by the HAANYUMA-clause. A fifth translation, namely the one by the infinitive, has been found to change the function determined by the English infinitive. It was pointed out that the first four translations are due to the nature of consequence relationships underlying the English non-finite form, and that the fifth translation is due to syntactic rules governing passivization in Kinyarwanda. What we have ultimately learned from the discussion led in this section is that <sup>English</sup> has only one construction (i.e. the infinitive) for a variety of consequence relationships, whereas Kinyarwanda reserves a particular construction for a definite type of these relationships.

#### 2.8 The English Infinitive Postmodifying a Noun Phrase

This type of infinitive shares two translations with the infinitive

occurring in a predicate (cf. 2.2.). They share the translations by a defining pronoun-phrase and by the infinitive. This closeness reflected in translation exists in English : in both cases, the infinitive defines a noun phrase. The difference is simply that one case uses a copulative verb while in the other the infinitive directly modifies the noun phrase. The latter case is the one under consideration. Besides the two translations mentioned above, it also offers the translation by the UKO-clause.

### 2.8.1 Translation by the Substitutive Pronoun-Phrase

First, the English infinitive postmodifying a noun phrase is translated by a phrase introduced by a defining pronoun. This pronoun is the substitutive; the other constituent of the defining pronoun-phrase is the infinitive.

(47) I liked their decision TO OFFER an award to Mary.

Niishiimiye icyémezó cyáabo CYÓ GUHÁ Mariyá ishiimwe.

(48) You just have to know what to look for when you get a chance TO GO abroad (F, 66) .

Ugoomba kumenya gusa icyó úshááka iyó ugizé amáhirwe YÓ KUJYA mu maháanga.

(49) He defended my right TO WRITE (D, XVii ).

Yárwáaniye ubúréengaanzirá bwaanjyé BWÓ KWAANDIKA.

Like its English equivalent, the substitutive phrase in <sup>these</sup> examples defines the noun phrase which it postmodifies. The difference between the English infinitive and the substitutive phrase is merely syntactic. The Kinyarwanda structure does not comprise a conjugated form like most translations which were said to have modified the English structure. But still, it is made up of more words than the English original, which means that the two structures are syntactically dissimilar.

### 2.8.2 Translation by the UKO-Clause

This second translation was already discussed in 2.3. It was then said to be the proper object of verbs of instruction. The UKO was also said to introduce object relationships introduced in English by the adverb "how", which is inherently linked to the phrase to its left. All these remarks apply to the translation under study, except that in the present case the English infinitive modifies a noun phrase and does not function as object. Consider example (50).

(50) He gave her instructions on how TO USE the machine.

Yámwéretse UKO AZAAKOREESHA IYO mashíni.

This translation differs from the one in 2.1, both syntactically and functionally. Syntactically, UKO introduces what can be called a "finite" clause, that is, <sup>one</sup> containing a conjugated verb form. But the substitutive pronoun introduces only the infinitive. Functionally, the substitutive phrase acts as a modifier, whereas the UKO-clause functions as an object. Thus the UKO-clause has changed the functional relationships determined by the English infinitive.

This change has been occasioned by the translation of the English noun phrase by a verb. That is, "her instructions on how" has been translated by "Yámwéretse." The translation by a noun phrase would have given the sentence.

(50') Yamuhaaye inyigiisho ZUUKO AZAAKOREESHA iyó mashíni

Since this construction is awkward in Kinyarwanda usage, the translation in (50) has been preferred to it. The translation by the UKO-clause is then attributable to the fact that in Kinyarwanda, where both the "VERB + NOUN" structure and the "VERB" structure are possible, the latter is the more acceptable.<sup>10</sup> To take the example from the case in point, the structure "Yamuhaaye inyigiisho" is less acceptable than "Yamweeretse" (or "Yamwiigiishije").

### 2.8.3 Translation by the Infinitive

The third way to translate the English infinitive postmodifying a noun phrase is by the infinitive. I said above that this translation is shared by the infinitive predicating a noun phrase. Yet, it should be noted that in this case, unlike in 2.2.3, the infinitive plays a different role than its English original. As illustrated by example (51), the Kinyarwanda infinitive does no longer function as a postmodifier.

(51) One of us only said it was our duty TO FORCE Dovi to remain (TTS, ).

Umwé gusa mufi twe yavuzé kó twágombagá KWÉEMEZA Dovi kutugumano.

In this translation, KWÉEMEZA functions as an object. This change of function is due to nature of the principal verb, i.e. twágombaga. This verb form is the translation of the English clause "it was our duty." In this clause, the logical subject is "duty." The underlying structure for the clause "it was our duty TO FORCE Dovi to remain" is "our duty was TO FORCE Dovi to remain." This structure shows that underlyingly, "TO FORCE" functions as part of a predicate. When then the noun phrase which it predicates . has been translated by a verb form requiring an object, the translation of "TO FORCE" has turned out as an object. In this third translation the change of function has occurred in the same way as in the second : in both cases, the change was brought about by the translation, by a verb, of the English noun phrase postmodified. In both cases then, the translation of the English infinitive is dependent upon the preference of Kinyarwanda, in some contexts, for a verb phrase to a noun phrase.

### 2.8.4 Summary and Conclusion

In this section we have seen that the English infinitive postmodifying a noun phrase is rendered in Kinyarwanda by three translations two of which change the modifying relationships determined by the English infinitive. The translation that maintains these relationships is the one by a defining pronoun,

i.e. the translation by the substitutive phrase. The two translations that bring in new functional relationships are by the UKO-clause and by the infinitive. These two present the equivalent of the English infinitive as an object. And in both cases, the change of function is due to the translation of the English noun phrase postmodified. It should be added that the two translations seem not to be frequent, as suggested by the number of examples used to illustrate them. Starting from the three translations considered in this section, it will be said in the end that the modifying relationships which hold between the English infinitive and the noun phrase are rendered by structures containing noun phrases. Subsequently, it should be noted that in some contexts, Kinyarwanda shows a preference for a verbal structure where English uses a noun phrase.

### 2.9. The English Infinitive Occurring after an Adjectival Predicate

It was pointed out in Chapter One that this type of infinitive underlyingly plays two roles. In one case, it postmodifies an adjectival predicate. This is the case in which the adjectival predicate is linked to a subject other than the infinitive in question. In the other case, the infinitive is the logical subject to which the adjectival predicate is linked. The translation into Kinyarwanda of the English infinitive under study highlights the two cases : when the infinitive postmodifies an adjectival predicate, the translation offers one construction. When it is the logical subject, the translation offers two constructions. However, in both cases the translation is by the infinitive. Another translation offered by the infinitive occurring after a predicate is by the KO-clause.

#### 2.9.1 Translation by the Infinitive

The case which presents the English infinitive as a postmodifier of an adjectival predicate is illustrated as in examples (52) and (53). The

other case, in which the infinitive is a subject, is illustrated as in (54)-(56).

(52) He is ready TO GO.

Yiiteguuye KUGEENDA.

(53) Wanja was amused TO SEE Karega laughing (PB, 207).

Wanja yálf yfishiimiye KÚBÓNA Karega áséka .

(54) It is good TO PLAY.

a. Ni byííza GUKINA.

b. GUKINA ní byííza.

(55) The teacher saw it fit TO REPEAT the words.

a. Mwaalímú yáboonyé kó byáálf byó GÚSÚBÍRÁMÓ ayo magaambo.

b. " " kó GÚSÚBÍRÁMÓ ayo magaambo byáálf byó.

(56) It is better TO CALL yourself a student.<sup>12</sup>

a. Byaaruta KWIIYITA umunyeeshuuli.

b. KWIIYITA umunyeeshuuli byaaruta.

What is common to all these translations is that the English adjectival predicate has been translated by a verb phrase. (The only exception is in (54) ).

The translation of the English adjective by a verb has caused the infinitive in (52) and (52) to change the role of its English original. In English, the infinitive postmodifies a predicate. In Kinyarwanda, the infinitive functions as an object. This means that the English predicate has been translated by a verb phrase requiring an object. In examples (54)-(56), the Kinyarwanda infinitive has not changed the function of its English original. In both a- and b-translations, independently of its syntactic position, the infinitive functions as the logical subject. The two translations parallel also the English structure: the a- translation parallels the English structure containing "it." This is the structure of the English sentences in the examples used. The b- translation parallels the structure without "it" (or the under-

lying structure . . In all the examples (52)-(56), the translation of the English infinitive has been determined by the functional relationships which hold between this infinitive and the adjectival predicate it follows.

### 2.9.2 Translation by the KO'-Clause

A second way to translate the English infinitive under discussion is by use of the KO'-clause. This translation raises a question because in earlier cases, the KO'-clause was found to introduce clausal objects. In the present case, however, the KO'-clause is just a subject in the same way as the infinitives in (54)-(56). But I will specify that they are subjects of verb phrases translating the English predicates .

(57) Papa has just said it is good TO BE GOING home .

Papa amaze kivúgá kó álí byííza KÓ TWÁÁBÁ DÚTAAHA.

With respect to "álí byííza", the clause KÓ TWÁÁBÁ DÚTAAHA is a subject. The question is to know how KÓ has come about to introduce a clause playing the role of a subject. I will try to answer this question by this hypothesis : parallel to the translations in (54)-(56), the structure in (57) would normally be either "... kó álí byííza KÚBÁ DÚTAAHA", or "... kó KÚBÁ DÚTAAHA álí byííza ". In the whole sentence (i.e .the translation in (57)), the latter construction would be less acceptable than the former. In turn, "kó álí byííza KÚBÁ DÚTAAHA" sounds also awkward. For a better style, Kinyarwanda syntax copies the conjunction "kó" after the phrase "álí byííza." Once there, kó causes the infinitive "KÚBÁ" to give place to a derived conjugated form . This form is TWÁÁBÁ; it is inflected for the relative mode because of kó. All these transformations result in the sentence in (57). It is clear that the KÓ introduces a subject simply because it is the copy of another kó introducing a clausal object. But the exact reasons for this copying are not clear.

### 2.9.3 Summary and Conclusion

The English infinitive occurring after an adjectival predicate has been translated in two ways : one is by use of the infinitive; the other is by use of the KO'-clause . As concerns the translation by the infinitive, two cases have been observed. In one case the Kinyarwanda infinitive has changed from the role of modification, played by the English form, to the role of object. This change is due to the fact that the English predicate has been translated by a verb form requiring an object. In the other case, the Kinyarwanda infinitive has maintained the function of subject. Regarding the KO'-translation, it has also maintained the role of subject, as played by the English infinitive. Only, KO', which usually introduces objects has been introduced, but for reasons which are not exactly known -- unless we roughly attribute them to Kinyarwanda syntax. From this section , we have learned that Kinyarwanda, in comparison with English, has few adjectives. This is because, as already noted, all the English adjectival predicates (but one) in (52)-(56) have been translated by verbs. Besides, as Botne remarked (in personal communication), even in English adjectives and verbs are very close. In any case, it seems that the range of adjectives is narrower in Kinyarwanda than in English.

### 2.10 Summary to Chapter Two

In the introduction to this chapter, the aim of translating the English infinitive into Kinyarwanda was stated to be "to bring to light how Kinyarwanda renders the functional relationships determined by the English infinitive." Now, after the translation of the different types of the English infinitive, it is clear that those relationships have been rendered through a variety of structures. In this variety, similar construction have been used to translate different types of the English infin-



itive, in the same way as one type of the English infinitive has been translated by use of different constructions. On the whole, the following structures have been used : the infinitive, the NKÁÁHÓ-clause, the defining pronoun-phrase, the KÓ-clause, the UKÓ-clause, the KUGIRANGO-clause, the KUBŪLYŪ-clause, the ÁLÍKO-clause, the HAANYUMA-clause, and the conjunctive clause.

Some structures have occurred more often than others. The infinitive is the sole construction to have occurred in the translations of all the types of the English infinitive. In all these cases the infinitive operates either as a subject or as an object (or as part of an object). The KÓ-clause has been used in four translations. These are the translations of the infinitive occurring in a predicate, of the infinitive functioning as object, of the infinitive functioning as part of a sentential object, and of the infinitive occurring after an adjectival predicate. In two of these cases, namely the second and the third, the KÓ-clause operates as an object. In the fourth case it acts as a subject; in the first case as a defining clause. The KUGIRANGO-clause has occurred in three translations : the translation of the infinitive part of a sentential object, that of the infinitive expressing purpose, and that of the infinitive expressing consequence. In all the three cases, the KUGIRANGO-clause modifies the principal clause to express purpose. The ÚKÓ-clause has been used twice : as the translation of the infinitive functioning as object and as that of the infinitive postmodifying a noun phrase. In both cases, the ÚKÓ-clause operates as an object. The defining pronoun-phrase has also been <sup>used</sup> twice : as the translation of the infinitive occurring in a predicate and as that of the infinitive postmodifying a noun phrase . In the former case the pronoun phrase is specifically predicative, whereas in the latter case, it defines a noun phrase without being linked to a copulative verb. The conjunctive clause has also occurred twice : as the translation of the infinitive expressing consequence and as that of the

infinitive part of a sentential object. In both cases, the conjunctive clause acts as a modifier of the principal clause to emphasize the simultaneity of events. All the other structures used have occurred only once : the NKAAHO-clause modifies the principal clause to express logical connection between events; the KUBULYO-clause modifies the principal clause to express an explanatory consequence; the ALIKO-clause modifies the principal clause to express an unfavorable consequence, and finally, the HAANYUMA-clause modifies the principal clause to express a sequential consequence .

From the summary of uses made in the preceding paragraph, it can be observed that in some cases, a given Kinyarwanda structure has occurred as the translation of different types of the English infinitive. Since the structure in question usually determines a given function -- whether nominal or modifying --, this means that in some cases there has been a change of the function of the English infinitive. And indeed, whenever a structure which usually applies as a modifier has been used to translate an infinitive functioning nominally, there has been a change of function. This is the case of the KUGIRANGO-clause which has been used to translate the English infinitive functioning as an object. Similarly, whenever a structure which usually functions nominally has been used to translate an English infinitive functioning modifyingly, there has also been a change of function. This is the case of the UKO-clause which has been used to translate the English infinitive postmodifying a noun phrase. It is also the case of the infinitive which has occurred as the translation of the English infinitive postmodifying an adjectival predicate. One construction seems to be functioning both nominally and modifyingly : it is the KO-clause. This has occurred as the translation of an English infinitive functioning nominally as well as that of an infinitive functioning

modifyingly, yet without changing the function attached to the English form.

It should be recalled that a change of function has occurred where Kinyarwanda and English use different classes of words. That is, either Kinyarwanda has preferred a verb where English used a noun, or it has preferred a verb where English used an adjective. In these cases, changes of function were likely to occur because often in Kinyarwanda verbs put selectional restrictions on their constructions to their right. Nevertheless, it should be noted that only a few changes have occurred. This means that Kinyarwanda and English are underlyingly close, in terms of expressing the functional relationships underlying the English infinitive. The two languages differ only on the syntactic level, as the numerous structural alterations pointed out in this chapter tell.

## CHAPTER THREE

### THE TRANSLATION INTO KINYARWANDA OF THE ENGLISH GERUND

#### 3.0. Introductory Remarks

In this chapter, an approach similar to the one followed in Chapter Two will be adopted. That is, the English gerund will be translated into Kinyarwanda, to see what its Kinyarwanda equivalent is. The translations offered will be analyzed in terms of the possible syntactic and functional modifications of the English form brought about by the translation. An attempt to find out causes for these modifications will be made. Moreover, the translation of a given type of the English gerund will be compared to that of the corresponding English infinitive given in Chapter Two. The two translations will be compared to see if the comparison drawn between the infinitive and the gerund in Chapter One is also feasible once the two non-finite forms are translated into Kinyarwanda. This will tell us if the distinction which English makes between the infinitive and the gerund is also made in Kinyarwanda.

#### 3.1 The English Gerund Functioning as Subject

The English gerund, when functioning as subject, seems to be translated only by means of the infinitive, as the following examples indicate.

- (1) PASSING was impossible, except for one man on a Honda (F, 30).  
GUHITA ntibashobokaga, urétse umugabo umwe wafi kw'iipikipiki ya Hoonda.
- (2) My WRITING this memoir is my way of expressing my undying gratitude to them all for their solidarity (D, XXiii) .  
KWANDIKA iki gitabo ni bwó bulyó bwanyé bwó gushiimira cyaane abaantú boose banyigikiye.
- (3) HAVING GONE to Europe does not mean that Charles knows everything about Belgium.

KÚBÁ Karóli YÁRÁGÍYE i Buraayi ntibivúgá kó ázi akaantú kóose keérékeye Ububiligi.

(4) BEING BORN in Rwanda does not grant one the right to be a Rwandan.

KÚBÁ umuuntú YÁRÁVŪUKIYE mu Rwaanda ntibyéméza kó ábá áli umunya-rwaanda.

In these data, the form used to translate the English gerund functions also as a subject. It is not necessarily a subject of a copulative verb, as is the case in English. In example (1), ntibyááshobokagá<sup>as</sup> a verbal. It has been used to translate the English phrase "was impossible". This translation agrees with the conclusion drawn in Chapter Two that in most cases the English adjectival predicate is rendered in Kinyarwanda by a non-predicative verb.

On the syntactic level, the infinitive subject in the data above does not, like the English gerund, indicate the grammatical agreement between subject and verb. But further notice should be given to (3) and (4). In these examples, the infinitival phrase is composed of KÚBÁ and a conjugated verb form. As was said in Chapter One about compound infinitival and gerundive structures in English, the grammatical features of a given form are marked on the first constituent of the structure. Thus in (3) and (4), the features of the infinitive are marked on KÚBÁ. The conjugated form which constitutes the other constituent of the structure should not make us think that the English gerund has been translated by a conjugated verb form. YÁRÁGÍYE and YÁRÁVŪUKIYE are inflected because of the auxiliary element KÚBÁ<sup>1</sup>. This seems to function like the English auxiliaries "BE" and "HAVE."

Yet, the Kinyarwanda translation in (3) and (4) exhibit a syntactic difference with their English originals. The difference lies in the fact that between KÚBÁ and the conjugated form, a subject is intercalated. In English, on the other hand, there is no visible subject in the gerundive

phrase . But, as suggested in the translations, the underlying subject for the gerundive phrase is the noun phrase which acts as the subject of the embedded sentence -- or the "that"-clause. This clause occurs in the surface structure in (3); it is deleted in (4).<sup>2</sup> It seems that in the translation into Kinyarwanda, the subject of the that-clause is moved to be intercalated in the infinitival phrase . The displaced noun phrase is then replaced in the dependent clause by a pronoun affixed to the verb. The result of this syntactic "twist" is that the noun phrase in question functions as the subject of both the inflected form occurring after KUBA and the clause that depends on the principal verb.<sup>3</sup> The conclusion is that in compound verbal structures, in which the auxiliary constituents cause definite grammatical inflections on the forms to their right, Kinyarwanda, unlike English, explicitly expresses the concord between the conjugated forms and their subjects. In a word, wherever subject-verb relationships are possible, Kinyarwanda marks them.

From the preceding discussion, it can be observed that the English gerund functioning as subject gives the same translation as the English infinitive playing the same role . Both English non-finite forms are translated by means of <sup>the</sup> infinitive. This infinitive, like its two English equivalents, functions as subject. But, unlike the English gerund and infinitive, it may be the subject either of a copula or of a verbal. On the syntactic level, the Kinyarwanda infinitive by which the two English forms are translated presents a difference, but only with the gerundive construction . Remember that in note 3, the Kinyarwanda compound structure has been found to parallel that of the compound structure of the English infinitive <sup>4</sup> . Starting from the particular instance of non-finite compound structures, two conclusions can be drawn : first, Kinyarwanda does not reflect whatever difference existing in English between the infinitive and the gerund . Second

in Kinyarwanda, the syntactic rules governing compound infinitival structures are concordant with the ones in English -- or simply with Tesnière's loi universelle et régulière governing the auxiliary system .

### 3.2 The English Gerund Occurring in a Predicate

This type of the English gerund is translated, like the type in 3.1, by means of the infinitive. But this time, it is the infinitive which Coupez designates as the infinitive with the augment "u-."

(5) Or maybe this is SEARCHING too far away (BONYB, 88) .

Cyáángwá sé ibí ní UGUSHAAKIRA kure cyaane?

(6) Seeing is BELIEVING .

Kúbóná ní UKWÉEMERA .

(7) What you have done is WRONGDOING .

Íbyó wakoze ní UKUGIRÁ náábí.

The infinitive used to translate the English gerund functions, like its English equivalent, as part of a predicate . On the syntactic level it is also non-conjugated like the English gerund. But a question, relating to Kinyarwanda, is raised by the infinitival forms in (5)-(7). This question lies in explaining why these infinitives, unlike those in (1)-(4), for example, bear the augment . This question is significant only in accordance with Coupez's description of the infinitive in Kinyarwanda, because he considers the form with the augment to be also an infinitive. To answer that question, I will borrow an argument from Coupez : he says that the augment "u-" confers on the word form to which it is affixed the character of a noun. Using this argumentation, it can be posited that the u-infinitive is closer to a noun than the infinitive without u . It is because of its nominal character that the u-infinitive is obligatory after the copula "-li." That is, it seems to be the case that, the word form to the right of -li must be nominal in nature.<sup>5</sup>

A comparison of the Kinyarwanda translation of the English gerund occurring in a predicate with that of the infinitive playing the same role highlights two differences. First, the infinitive offers, among other translations, the NKÁÁHÓ-clause. This clause was seen to be induced by "gusa"-- which is a verb of association. "Gusa" is the translation of the English copulas other than "be", namely "seem", "appear", and the like. And, as we know from Chapter One, this type of copula is never followed by a gerund. Therefore, this first difference in translation is simply a reflection of a semantic difference existing in English. The second difference is of the same nature as the one just pointed out: the English infinitive is in some instances translated by means of the defining pronoun-phrase. This translation occurs in case the English infinitive predicates a noun phrase. Since the gerund cannot predicate a noun phrase, it cannot offer that translation. It is clear then that the two differences pertain to the semantic peculiarities underlying the two English non-finite forms. These two offer similar translations only when they predicate word forms of a comparable nature. That is, when they both predicate a pronoun, or when either form predicates a non-finite form of the same kind: i.e., when the infinitive predicates another infinitive and the gerund another gerund. In the two cases, both English non-finite forms are translated by the u-infinitive, introduced by the copula "-li." Therefore, in this case of the translation by means of the u-infinitive as well as in the one in 3.1, Kinyarwanda does not discriminate between the English gerund and infinitive. The two differences above should not be taken for a distinction made by Kinyarwanda between the two non-finite forms, because they directly pertain to English -- which does not allow the gerund after a copula other than "be" and does not allow the gerund to predicate a noun phrase. Where both the gerund and the infinitive occur, they are translated in the same way.



### 3.3 The English Gerund Functioning as Object

Unlike the two types of gerund considered in 3.1 and 3.2, the present type offers at least four possibilities of translation. The reason for this diversity is probably that, as observed in Chapter One, the English gerund in the role of object does not always mean the same in any construction.

#### 3.3.1 Translation by the Infinitive

The first possibility is done by means of the infinitive, as shown in the following examples.

- (8) He started WONDERING why there was not a single African shop in the central area of Nairobi (GW 54).

Nuuko ataangirá KWÍIBAZA impáámvú ntáa kádúúká, hábé n' akaa kirazirá, k'úmunyaafuriká kááli mu mújyí wa Nayiróbi.

- (9) Munira was now thinking of the children who preferred HERDING cattle to going to school (PB, 12).

Munira yáli álimó átéekereza iby'áábáana bahítámó KURAGIRA inká aho kujyá kwíiga .

- (10) She wants to drop STUDYING in that school.

Arashaaka gúhágaliká KWÍIGA múlí ilyo shúúli.

- (11) His shirt needs PRESSING.

Isháátí yé ikeneye KUGORORWA.

- (12) She has been learning COOKING.

Yíiga GUTÉEKA.

In this set of examples, the Kinyarwanda infinitive functions as object, like the English gerund. Besides, it is a form which is not also conjugated.

#### 3.3.2 Translation by the KÓ-Clause

In some other cases, the English gerund functioning as object is translated by means of the KÓ-clause. In this case, the KÓ-clause contains

an infinitive which acts as the object of the form in the relative mode .  
So the KÓ-clause in (13) and (14) is not made up of only KÓ and the relative form, which has been the case in previous translations.

(13) He remembered WASHING his hands in the Nyabarong river .

Yííbutsé KÓ YÍÍGEZE GÚKÁRABA intoki mu mugezi wá Nyábárongo.

(14) He forgot MEETING that girl once.

Yííbagiwé KÓ límwe YÍÍGEZE GÚHÚURA n'úúwo mukóóbwa.

The particularity of the KÓ-clause lies in the fact that an infinitive form is added to the verb form in the relative. Note that the lexical meaning of the gerundive form is rendered in the infinitive in question . The form "YÍÍGEZE" operates as an auxiliary, specifically as a "temporalizer" indicating the past. It is derived from KWÍÍGERA (to have done + .once). As suggested by the translations in (13) and (14), the structure "KÓ + YÍÍGEZE" is required by the verbs "kwiíbuka" (to remember) and "kwiibagirwa" (to forget), to indicate that the events they express happened in the past.

If they were followed by a single infinitive, as in (13') and (14'), this infinitive would be oriented toward the future .

(13') Wííbúke GÚKÁRABA intoki .

(14') Ntíwíibagirwe GÚHÚURA n'úúwo mukóóbwa.

The English equivalents of (13') and (14') would be :

(13'') Remember TO WASH your hands.

(14'') Don't forget TO MEET that girl.

If we compare examples (13) and (14) with (13')-(14') and (13'')-(14''), we can conclude that Kinyarwanda renders the temporal relationships differentiating the gerund and the infinitive when they occur as objects of "to remember" and "to forget." A parallel between English and Kinyarwanda can be drawn: in English, future-orientation is expressed by the infinitive, whereas past-orientation is expressed by the gerund. In Kinyarwanda, the same future-

orientation is rendered by means of the infinitive; the past-orientation by use of the structure "KÓ + KWÍIGERA + INFINITIVE". The only difference between English and Kinyarwanda is observable in the structure expressing the past-orientation: English uses only one form (i.e. the gerund) while Kinyarwanda uses a confrontation of forms.

### 3.3.3 Translation by the ÚKÓ-Clause

This translation is of the same pattern as the one by means of the KÓ-clause. In previous analysis, the ÚKÓ-clause was seen to be composed of ÚKÓ plus a verb form in the relative mode. In the present case, the ÚKÓ-clause contains also an infinitive, as displayed by examples (15) and (16).

(15) I cannot imagine FLYING in a plane.

Siinteékéreza ÚKÓ KUGEENDERA mu ndéége BIMEZE.

(16) I do not fancy WEARING clothes like those!

Siniyúmvisha ÚKÓ BIMEZÉ KWAAMBARA imyéenda nk'ííyo.

In these translations, the lexical meaning of the English gerund is rendered in the infinitive. The verb form "BIMEZÉ" operates as an auxiliary, specifically as an "aspectualizer" to indicate a state. It is derived from the verb "KUMERA" (to be of a certain state). It seems that the structure "ÚKÓ + BIMEZÉ" is required by the verbs "gúteekereza" (to imagine) and "kwiyumvisha" (to fancy), which can roughly be called "verbs of imagination."

These verbs, unlike kwibagirwa and kwibuka, cannot be followed by the infinitive alone. That is why (15') and (16') are either ungrammatical (which is the case of (16')) or have a different meaning (which is the case of (15')).

(15') Siinteékéreza KUGEENDERA mu ndéége.

(16') Siniyúmvisha KWAAMBARA imyéenda nk'ííyo .

The ungrammaticality of (16') and the change of meaning in (15') (the new meaning is "I do not think of flying) tell that the ÚKÓ-clause is obligatory after

those verbs of imagination. We saw in Chapter Two that the conjunction ÚKÓ means (the way to, how to ..) . This meaning is implied in the verbs just mentioned . This is likely the reason they do not allow the infinitive alone as an object . What is interesting to note is that the English equivalents of these verbs, namely "to imagine" and "to fancy", do not also allow the infinitive as an object . We thus note a semantic parallel between the gerund and the structure "ÚKÓ BIMÉZÉ", with respect to verbs of imagination. But I cannot tell the exact nature of this parallel .

#### 3.3.4 Translation by a Fused Structure

In some other cases, the English gerund functioning as object is translated by use of a "fused structure." By "fused" I mean that there is no one distinguishable structure that can be considered to be the equivalent of the English form. For a better understanding of this statement, consider example (17) .

(17) I will try ADDING water to Primus beer.

Nzoongeera ámaázi múlí byéélí máze nuúmvé.

In this translation, the meaning of the gerund "ADDING" is "scattered" through several forms. It can be traced out through the elements of the construction "Nzoongeera...máze nuúmvé." These three words together mean "I will add... and will see the result." This is the meaning of the English structure "try ADDING." Its infinitival counterpart, viz. "try TO ADD", would be interpreted differently, as in (17').

(17') I will try TO ADD water to Primus beer.

Nzaagerageza KWOONGEERA ámaázi múlí byééli.

The English infinitive "TO ADD" has been translated by means of the infinitive in Kinyarwanda -- and not by use of a fused structure. This difference between the translation of the gerund and that of the infinitive reflects the one held

between the two non-finite forms in English. As noted by Corder (1977 : 55), this difference lies in the fact that the gerund used as the object of "try" connotes the idea of "doing an experiment", whereas the infinitive used as the object of "try" connotes a "physical trial." As suggested in the translations in (17) and (17'), Kinyarwanda renders this difference.

### 3.3.5 Summary and Conclusion

In Chapter One, the English infinitive and gerund were compared in their functions as objects. The two non-finite forms were found to be syntactically interchangeable only in very restricted cases-- i.e , where the principal verb would take either form without a difference in meaning. In the rest of the cases, the gerund and the infinitive were found not to be interchangeable. In this section, examples illustrating the different object constructions have been translated into Kinyarwanda. As a result, it has been observed that Kinyarwanda has not reproduced all the differences existing in English : the corpus in 3.3.1 shows that the gerund in (10)-(12) has been translated with the help of the infinitive, exactly as in (8) and (9). Yet, in Chapter One, it was remarked that the infinitive cannot replace the gerund in (10)-(12), while it can in (8) and (9). This means that Kinyarwanda does not express whatever differences exist between the gerund and the infinitive, as suggested in the English sentences in (10)-(12). Besides, we met, in 2.3.2, object constructions in which only the infinitive was possible, but which were translated by means of the infinitive (as in the set of examples in 3.3.1). One of those object infinitival constructions is example (17) (i.e , "she offered to mend her brother's trousers").

It must be acknowledged, however, that some differences in the Kinyarwanda translations of the English gerund and infinitive still exist. These differences are, in fact, a rendition of the semantic peculiar-

ities underlying the two English non-finite forms. These semantic peculiarities are manifested with small groups of verbs such as "to forget" and "to remember", "to imagine" and "to fancy", and "to try." Since these verbs constitute a minority, it can be asserted that, in respect to their translations into Kinyarwanda, the gerund and the infinitive functioning as objects are generally synonymous. Because -- to recapitulate what is said above --, where both forms mean similarly in English, they give the same Kinyarwanda translation, and, moreover, where in many other cases they mean differently, they are also translated in the same way.

### 3.4 The English Gerund Occurring in a Sentential Object

Two related structures translate this type of the English gerund. They are related in that they are both due to the nature of the principal verb. The two constructions are the KÓ-clause and the ÚKÓ-clause..

#### 3.4.1 Translation by the KÓ-Clause

This first translation is illustrated as in (18) and (19) .

(18) Judith likes her brother's SENDING her letters.

Yúdíta akuundá KÓ músázá wé AMWÓHEREREZA amabárwá.

(19) The children are awaiting their mother's COMING back home.

Abó báana bategerejé KÓ nyina AGÁRÚKA i muhírá.

In these translations, as in many others analyzed before, the KÓ-clause functions as the object of the principal verb. The KÓ-structure is a part of an entire clausal object; the other part is the noun phrase functioning as the subject of the verb form inflected for the relative mode. KÓ-clause functions then as part of a sentential object, like the English gerund. The difference between the two constructions is merely syntactic : the KÓ-clause exhibits the inflectional relationships of agreement; the gerund does not.

I add in passing that the KÓ-clause in (18) is due to gukuunda, a verb which can be categorized as a verb of subjectivity. In (19), the KÓ-clause has been induced by a verb of expectation, i.e. gutegereza.

#### 3.4.2 Translation by the ÚKÓ-Clause

In the case of the gerund functioning as object, the ÚKÓ-clause was found to be introduced by verbs of imagination. In the data that follow, it is introduced by another category of verbs, namely those of subjectivity.<sup>6</sup> The translations in (20) and (21) present also a syntactic particularity : the ÚKÓ-clause is linked to the principal clause by na, a particle which introduces relationships of instrumentality (or of manner) .

(20) I do not enjoy John's SINGING

Siinshiimiishwa n'ÚKÓ Yohááni ALÍRÍMBA.

(21) Alphonse regrets his sister's FAILING the national exam.

Rufóónsi ababajwé n'UKÓ múshíkí wé YÁTSÍINZWE ikizaami cyaa leeta.

In these data, the ÚKÓ-clause functions, like the English gerund, as part of a sentential object. As in the case with the KÓ-clause, the difference between the ÚKÓ-clause and its English equivalent is simply that the former is a finite clause while the latter is a non-finite one .

#### 3.4.3 Summary and Conclusion

In this section, the English gerund occurring in a sentential object has given two related translations : the KÓ-clause and the ÚKÓ-clause . These constructions have been entailed by verbs of expectation and of subjectivity. Note that the English equivalents of these verbs, namely "like", "await", "enjoy", and "regret", are the only type of verbs that allow the "'S...ING" complementizer. They are the only type which also allows the "for...to" complementizer. This is likely the reason the gerund occurring in a sentential object gives the same translation as the infinitive playing

the same role -- but exclusively the one using the "for...to" complementizer. To support this statement, I will take over here, as illustration, example (20) in 2.4.1.

(23) The peasants waited for the earth TO CRACK (PB, 196).

Abañfinzi báátegerejé KÓ ubutaka BWÍFYÁSA.

This translation is similar to the one in (19), in which the non-finite form is the 'S gerund'. I will add in passing that the translations of the infinitives occurring as parts of sentential objects (cf. Chapter Two) and which are different from the translations of the English gerund considered in this section, are due to the fact that their original English structures are not of the "for...to" type. One illustration is example (23) in 2.4.2, namely "He watched cars GO beyond the hills." It can then be concluded that Kinyarwanda does not make distinction between the gerund and the infinitive functioning as parts of sentential objects : the constructions in which the two forms occur offer the same translation into Kinyarwanda.

### 3.5 The English Gerund Occurring after an Adjectival Predicate

This type of the English gerund was found, in Chapter One, to be more limited in occurrences than the infinitive : it occurs only when it is a logical subject, whereas the infinitive occurs either as a subject or as a postmodifier of an adjectival predicate. In the examples below, the gerund is the logical subject of the clause introduced by "it." As shown in the data, this gerund is translated into Kinyarwanda by means of the infinitive.

(24) It was pleasant HEARING from his friend.

Byááramúshíimiishije KÚBÓNA ibárwá ítúrutse ku nshúti yé .

(25) It was hard TRYING to find ways to attack the masters (TTS, 114).

Byáálí bíruhije KUGERAGEZA kúbóna amayélí yó kurwaanya abáábategekaga .



(26) He found it heartrending TELLING the boy of his mother's death.

Yáboónyé kó byaabábáza uwó mwaana KUMÓBWIIRÁ kó nyina yapfuuye.

In these data, the infinitive used to translate the English gerund functions as subject . It is the logical subject of the verb phrase to its left. This verb phrase is the translation of the English adjectival predicate grammatically linked to "it." This means that the Kinyarwanda infinitive is the logical subject of the translation of the it-clause. The function of the English gerund has been maintained by its Kinyarwanda equivalent. Moreover, they are both non-conjugated forms, which means that there has been no syntactic change either.

The translation of the English gerund occurring after an adjectival predicate is exactly the same as that of the English infinitive playing the same role . But here of course allusion is made to the cases in which both non-finite forms occur. That is, in the constructions containing the it-clause . As already pointed out, in these cases both the gerund and the infinitive are logical subjects -- a fact which is reflected in their translations into Kinyarwanda. Kinyarwanda does not make difference between the English gerund under consideration and its infinitival counterpart.

### 3.6 The English Gerund Occurring after a Preposition

Considering that there is a variety of prepositions in English, each of which has a different meaning, this type of gerund is liable to provide varied translations into Kinyarwanda. This section will deal with five only.

#### 3.6.1 Translation by the Infinitive.

The first way to translate the gerund after a preposition is by means of the infinitive. This infinitive plays different roles, according to the nature of relationships which hold, in English, between the preposition

and the phrase to which it is attached. The following examples are illustrative of this translation.

- (27) The British laughed; they are good at LAUGHING (GW, 77)

Ábóongerézá bárásétsé, dóré kó báází GUSEKA.

- (28) He even thought of BUYING her drinks and ASKING her to bed for the night (PB, 81).

Ndétsé yánáteekereje KUMUGULIRA inzógá nó KUMUSABÁ kó báázá kúlyáamana.

- (29) He has the sweetest tongue in all of Ghana for SINGING his master's praises (F, 67).

Múli Ghaná yóosé níwé úfite akálími keézá kó GUSHIIMAGIZA abámútegeka.

- (30) He realized, after READING the report, that he had been mistaken.

Ámaze GUSOMA inyandikomvugo yasaanze yali yiibeeshye.

- (31) He did not say a word about RESIGNING of ASKING for a transfer  
(PB, 13).

Ntaa jaambo ná límwe yávúze kubyéerekeyé KWÉEGURA cyángwá GUSABA kó bamuhíindura.

In this corpus, a single form -- the infinitive -- has been used to translate gerunds introduced by various prepositions. But in turn, the infinitive in point does not function in the same way in all the examples of the corpus. It functions as a direct object in (27), (28), and (36); as an object of a preposition in (31), and as a defining phrase in (29). There are two reasons for this variety of functions : the semantic relationships tying the English preposition to the phrase to which it is attached, and the nature of the form translating the English preposition. Examples (27), (28), (29), and (31) are illustrative of the first reason and example (30) of the second. These examples will be considered on by one in the following paragraph.

In example (27), the preposition "at" is inherently linked to the phrase preceding it. That is, the phrase "to be good at" operates as a whole .

It is a phrasal verb, which imposes the -ing inflection on the verb following it. If the translation of "LAUGHING" is an infinitive functioning as an object, it is because the English adjectival predicate (like "be good") is rendered in Kinyarwanda by a verb phrase which is not predicative -- as seen in Chapter Two. In (28), the preposition "of" is also inherently attached to the phrase preceding it. "To think of" operates as one unit. The verbs of the nature of "to think of" are transitive, as Quirk and Greenbaum (1978:349) put it.<sup>7</sup> Being transitive, "to think of" was likely to be translated by another transitive verb -- which is what happened in (28) with yánáteekereje. The infinitive "KUMUGULIRA" functions then as an object. In (29), the phrase "for SINGING" modifies the noun phrase "tongue" : this is qualified as a "tongue for singing", and not for any other purpose. It is understandable then that the gerund "SINGING" has been translated by the infinitive after kó. This kó is a substitutive pronoun, which introduces a defining phrase, as pointed out in Chapter Two. In (30), the phrase "after READING" temporally modifies the verb "realized." The preposition "after" indicates that the "READING" event happened before the "realized" event. The preposition "after" has been translated by ÁMAZE. This is a verb form, inflected for the conjunctive mode (depending on yásáanze (he realized)). It is derived from KUMARA (to finish..), a verbal yet used as an auxiliary, specifically as a temporalizer. It marks the anteriority expressed by the verb following it in relation to the principal verb. The form translating "READING", namely GUSOMA, functions as the object of the semi-verbal and semi-auxiliary form ÁMAZE. In (31), the phrase "about RESIGNING" functions as an object of a preposition. This phrase modifies the verb phrase "did not say." The preposition "about" has been translated by a preposition, i.e. kubyéerekeye. Thus the same prepositional object relationships have been maintained in Kinyarwanda. In view of the preceding discussion of the role of the infinitive in each of the five examples, it is

clear that the Kinyarwanda translation in each case has heavily depended on the role played by the English preposition .

### 3.6 2 Translation by the Subjunctive Clause

The second way of translating the English gerund occurring after a preposition is by the subjunctive clause . This clause expresses purpose . It is usually introduced by "kugirango", as example (32) and (33) indicate.

(32) It is the only hoe her mother has for CULTIVATING (BW, 70)

Níyó súká yóonyiné nyina afité kugirango AHÍNGE.

(33) No moisture was left in his mouth for FRAMING words (BONYB, 123) .

Nta mácáandwé yáli ásigaranye kugirango AVÚGÉ.

At first sight one may conclude that in these data the gerund has been translated by use of the KUGIRANGO-clause, which repeatedly appeared in Chapter Two . One occurrence of this clause is in example (30), in 2 6 1, namely:

Lord, what shall I do TO BE SAVED?

Nyágásahi nzáakóré íkí KUGIRANGO NKIZWÉ?

In this example, the English structure is : "VP + INFINITIVE"; the Kinyarwanda translation is : VP + KUGIRANGO + SUBJUNCTIVE ! The conclusion is that KUGIRANGO has been brought in by the translation . The case of the gerund presents a different process in translation : the English structure is "VP + FOR + GERUND"; the Kinyarwanda translation is "VP + KUGIRANGO + SUBJUNCTIVE." There is reason to claim that in the translation of the gerundive construction, KUGIRANGO has not been brought in by the translation . Rather, KUGIRANGO is the translation of the English preposition "for" ! And indeed, it should be remembered that both the preverb "KUGIRANGO" and the preposition "for"<sup>8</sup> express purpose . It can be concluded that the translation of the English gerund in (32) and (33) is dependent upon the meaning of the preposition introducing the gerund .

### 3.6 3. Translation by the Conjunctive Clause

The third way to translate the English gerund occurring after a preposition is by means of the conjunctive clause . The translation in (34) is the only illustrative example I could find .

(34) Warui and Wambui went away without SPEAKING (GW, 26) .

Warui na Wambui báágiyé BÁTAVÚZE.

The English phrase "without SPEAKING", which postmodifies the principal verb, has been translated by BÁTAVÚZE. This form also postmodifies the principal verb . The preposition "without" introduces the idea of manner, with a negative meaning. The gerundive phrase functions then as a prepositional object indicating manner. Similarly, BÁTAVÚZE modifies the principal verb in terms of the relationships of manner . The difference between the English form and its Kinyarwanda equivalent is that the Kinyarwanda structure is not prepositional. Yet the meaning of the English preposition is incorporated into the conjunctive form, precisely in -TA-, the negative marker. It can then be concluded that, in this case of translation -- as in the preceding one -- the Kinyarwanda translation is due to the meaning of the English preposition.

### 3.6.4 Translation by a Fused Structure

The fourth translation is by use of a fused structure. The translation in (35) is the only illustrative example I could find.

(35) You forget that in those days the land was not for BUYING (PB, 82).

Uliibagirwá kó múlí icyo gihe ubutaka BUTÁÁGURWAGA.

The Kinyarwanda form "BUTÁÁGURWAGA" has merged into one the translations of both the principal verb phrase "was not" and the gerundive phrase "for BUYING." This means that BUTÁÁGURWAGA is the fusion of "... nti bwáálf" + "úbwó KUGURWA." These two structures are the literal translation of "... was not for BUYING." The precessive pronoun phrase "úbwó KUGURWA" functions as part of a predicate,

after the copulative form "bwaálí."

To account for why the construction "nti bwaálí úbwó KUGURWA" has merged into BUTÁÁGURWAGA, I put forward this hypothesis : when the infinitive occurring in a predicate is passive, it is merged <sup>with</sup> the copulative phrase into one non predicative verb phrase. In support of this hypothesis, I give the following examples :

(36) ?Iyo shááti sí íyó KUMESWA.

"That shirt is not for washing."

(37) ?Uwo mugaatí ní úwó KÚLÍBWA.

"That bread is for eating."

(38) ?Mweéné ayo magaambó sí áyó KÚVÚGWA.

"Those are words not to be said."

I mark the Kinyarwanda sentences by "?" to signify that the passive forms are not commonly used. The active counterparts, i.e. KUMESA, KÚLYA, and KÚVÚGA, are the common forms in such constructions. Other usual forms result from the fusion of all the constituents of the predicate (cf. sí íyó KUMESWA, for example) into one non-predicative form -- like "ntiimeswa" in (36').

(36') Iyó shaátí ntiimeswá.

It is this second alternative which has been resorted to translate the gerundive phrase in (35).

In the end it should be noted that the passive in KUGURWA is due to the meaning of the English gerund in (35). The idea of the passive underlies, indeed, the phrase "for BUYING." An argument for this claim is that the non-finite construction in (39) is not acceptable, while it is acceptable in (39').

(39) \*You forget that in those days the land was not TO BUY.

(39') You forget that in those days the land was not TO BE BOUGHT.

Therefore, the translation, in (35), of the English gerund, through a fused

structure is immediately dependent upon the Kinyarwanda syntactic rules governing predication, but the indirect cause to this translation is the meaning of the English gerund. Remember that the predicate in Kinyarwanda was merged into one form because it contained a passive form.

### 3.6.5 Translation by the Autonomous Clause

Fifth, the English gerund introduced by a preposition is translated with the help of the autonomous clause. The translation in (40) is also the only illustrative example I could find.

(40) Her reasons for GOING to Bujumbura are unknown.

Impáámvu ZÁÁMUJYAANYE i Bujuumburá ntííízwí.

The gerundive phrase "for GOING" defines the noun phrase it modifies. That is, it plays the same role as the infinitive that would be in the same position, like "TO GO" in (41).

(41) Her plans TO GO to Bujumbura are unknown.

Imigaambí yé YÓ KUJYA i Bujuumburá ntííízwí.

But, as exhibited by the translations in (40) and (41), the gerundive phrase has been translated by ZÁÁMUJYAANYE, whereas the infinitival phrase has been translated by YÓ KUJYA. The latter structure is made up of the substitutive pronoun and the infinitive. This construction translates many other examples illustrating the English infinitive postmodifying a noun phrase. As for ZÁÁMUJYAANYE, it is a verb form inflected for the autonomous. Note that it indicates a perfective aspect. Thus, though YÓ KUJYA and ZÁÁMUJYAANYE are both defining structures, they are different in temporal-aspectual terms. As put in Chapter One, this difference comes from the fact that the English gerund and infinitive postmodifying a noun phrase differ in their temporal orientation: the infinitive is future-oriented; the gerund is present - or past - oriented. This orientation in time is reflected in the translations in (40) and (41).

That is, "Impáámvú zé ZŌ KUJYA i Bujuumbura..." is not acceptable, and "Imigaambí YAMUJYAANYE i Bujuumbura..." is not acceptable either. Therefore, the gerund has not been translated by the substitutive pronoun phrase because this structure is future-oriented.<sup>9</sup> Similarly, a form like "YAMUJYAANYE", which is past-oriented, cannot translate the English infinitive. This implies that Kinyarwanda makes also distinction between the English gerund and infinitive postmodifying a noun phrase. But note that this is one of the few cases in which the two non-finite forms are not synonymous, with respect to their translation in Kinyarwanda.

### 3.6.6 Summary and Conclusion

English gerunds playing a diversity of roles have been translated in this section. This diversity is due to the nature of the various prepositions that introduce the gerund. Thus the gerund was in one case a direct object (e.g. "he thought of BUYING"); in another case it was an object of a preposition (e.g. "without SPEAKING"); yet in another case it was a predicative object of a preposition (e.g. "was not for BUYING"), and still in another case, the gerund was a modifying object of a preposition (e.g. "reasons for GOING"). All these functions assigned to the English gerund have been rendered in Kinyarwanda, but in various forms -- whether infinitival or conjugated. These forms also translated infinitival constructions in Chapter Two. The only gerundive case that has given a translation which was not used to translate the infinitive is the one in which the gerundive postmodifies a noun phrase. In this case, the translation has been effected through the autonomous clause. This is the only defining clause that can render the temporal-aspectual relationships differentiating the English gerund from the infinitive. In this case, Kinyarwanda has made the distinction made in English between the two forms. In most cases, nevertheless, Kinyarwanda does not make this distinction.



### 3.7 Summary to Chapter Three

The six sections of this chapter have each dealt with a given type of the English gerund. The different types have been translated into Kinyarwanda and their translations have been compared to those of the infinitives fulfilling the same functions. A variety of translation has been offered. We have noted the translations by means of the infinitive, of the subjunctive clause, of the conjunctive clause, of the autonomous clause, of a fused verbal structure, of the KÓ-clause, and of the ÚKÓ-clause. The translation by means of the infinitive is the most recurrent : it has been used in all cases but one. This is section 3.4, where the English gerund functions as part of a sentential object. The translations by use of the KÓ- and ÚKÓ-clauses have each occurred twice : in the case of the gerund functioning as object and in that of the gerund functioning as part of a sentential object. Twice the translation through a fused verbal structure has been resorted to : in the case of the gerund functioning as object and in that of the gerund occurring after a preposition. The rest of the translations -- namely those by means of the subjunctive clause, of the conjunctive clause, and of the autonomous clause -- has been used only once. All of these occurred are the translations of the English gerund introduced by a preposition. The pattern that is observed is that, with the exception of the gerund occurring after a preposition,<sup>10</sup> in all the other cases the forms translating the English gerund play nominal roles -- either as subjects and objects, or predicates. The translation of the gerund introduced by a preposition has provided even modifying because of the nature of the English preposition. Because of this, the English gerund can take modifying attributes, as pointed out in Chapter One.

Of all those translations, only the one by means of the infinitive has not, as may be expected, changed the syntactic structure of the English

gerund. It has not changed this structure merely in that neither the Kinyarwanda infinitive nor the English gerund exhibit the grammatical relationships of agreement. The other translations have disrupted the syntactic structure because they contain conjugated verb forms. On the functional level, however, most translations have maintained the function of the English gerund. A change of function can only be noted in the two cases where the gerund has been translated by use of a fused structure. In 3.3.4 (cf. the phrase "try ADDING"), the fused structure has changed the function of the gerund because there is <sup>no</sup> given form functioning as object and translating "ADDING." In 3.6.4 (cf. the phrase "was not for BUYING") there has been a change of function because the gerund, which was part of the English predicate, has been merged into a verb phrase functioning as the verbal element of a sentence. Since the translations by fused structures are very limited, it can be concluded that the translation of the English gerund into Kinyarwanda generally maintains the functional relationships underlying the gerund. This was seen to be the case also with the translation of the infinitive.

A last word in this section should be about the comparison of the translations of the two non-finite forms. While comparing the infinitive and the gerund in Chapter One, we observed three cases: one is the case in which both forms occur without a difference in meaning. The second is the case in which both occur but with a difference in meaning. The third is the case in which only either form can occur. What can be observed after the translations of the English and the gerund is that Kinyarwanda provides the same translations for both English forms in the first and third cases. That is, the translation of the gerund has been different from that of the infinitive where the two forms occur but with a difference in meaning. As examples, I will recall the case of the non-finite form after verbs like "forget" and "remember", and "try." I will also recall the case in which the gerund and

the infinitive postmodify noun phrases. Nevertheless, since the cases in which both the gerund and the infinitive occur but with a difference in meaning are restricted in relation to the rest of the cases, it can ultimately be concluded that the infinitive and the gerund are generally synonymous in Kinyarwanda. That is, English makes a distinction that is not made in Kinyarwanda. The exact nature of this distinction are unclear, as we find various translations for either non-finite form.

## THE TRANSLATION INTO KINYARWANDA OF THE ENGLISH PARTICIPLE

4.0 Introductory Remarks

In the preceding chapter, the English gerund has been translated into Kinyarwanda and its translation has been compared to that of the infinitive effected in Chapter Two. In this chapter the different types of the English participle will be translated. The aim is to see if the function fulfilled by each type is rendered in Kinyarwanda, and under what form and syntactic structure. The translation of the simultaneous participle will be compared to that of the anterior participle, to see if the dichotomy established between the two in English is also applicable to Kinyarwanda. Furthermore, a word will be said about the translation of the participle in comparison with that of the infinitive and the gerund.

4.1 The English Simultaneous Participle Modifying a Finite Clause

In Chapter One, this type of participle was said to determine, generally, cause-effect relationships. But cases in which it indicates a sequence of events or describes a fact or a state were also observed. The three types of functional relationships are reflected in the translations below.

4.1.1 Translation by the KUBÉERA KÓ-Clause

The first translation is effected through the structure "KUBÉERA KÓ + RELATIVE MODE." The following examples are illustrative of this translation.

- (1) FEELING tired, one day he brought out his guitar and started to play it. (GW, 68).

Umuufsi umwé, KUBÉERA KÓ YUUMVAGA ánániwe, yásóhoye gitaári yé ataangira kúyícuraanga.

- (2) SEEING the humiliation of the killer of his dog, he was now shouting, laughing through his tears (F, 29).

Ubwo yávúgaga átéera heejuru ánáseka, áli náko amalírá amubúúnga mú máaso KUBÉERA KÓ YÁBÓNAGÁ kó umuuntu wámwíiciye ímbwá yakózwé n'íisoni.

- (3) FOLLOWING the rain, the night was a cold night (TIS, 224).

Ilyo joro lyaáli líkoonje KUBÉERA KÓ LYÁÁ KULIKIRAGA ímvúra.

The phrase "KUBÉERA KÓ" means "because." It looks like a preverb of the kind of kugirango. It is followed by the relative mode, very likely because of the conjunction "KÓ." It introduces a clause which gives the reason the event expressed in the principal verb has happened. It thus modifies the principal clause in the way that the English participle modifies the finite clause to which it is related. Except that in Kinyarwanda, the cause-effect relationships are explicitly stated in KUBÉERA KÓ, whereas in English they are only implicit. A change brought out by the translation has occurred only on the syntactic level : in the English construction, the subject of the non-finite clause was implicit, being the same as the subject of the finite clause. In Kinyarwanda, however, this subject explicitly operates in both the principal clause and the KUBÉERA KÓ-clause. Directly or indirectly then, the translation into Kinyarwanda offered in (1)-(3) is dependent upon the cause-effect relationships existing in English between the participial clause and the finite clause. By "direct dependence" I refer to the rendition of these relationships explicitly by the phrase "KUBÉERA KÓ." By indirect dependence I allude to the syntactic changes caused by the KUBÉERA KÓ-clause.

#### 4.1.2 Translation by the Indicative Clause

When the simultaneous participle indicates a sequence of events, it is translated by means of a verb form inflected for the indicative mode, as shown in (4)-(6).

(4) SAYING this, Gikonyo rose to go (GW, 23).

Ibyo Gikonyo YABIVUZE áháguruka kugirango ageéndé.

(5) LOOKING all around him, the man saw that he was the only thing that has no way of answering the call of the night (BONYB, 47).

Uwo mugabo YARÉEBYE imberé n'inyuma asaanga álí wé wényine útáará-shóboragá kwíitaba ijoro.

(6) TURNING left, we moved along a new route (TTS, 75).

TWAAKATIYE, ibumósó dufata indí nzira.

An interesting point to remark about the translation of the participle in these data is that it has made the English participial clause and finite clause interchange roles. That is, in the translation, what plays the role of principal verb (i.e. YABIVUZE, YARÉEBYE, and TWAAKATIYE) was the non-finite form in English. On the other hand, what plays the role of dependent verb (i.e. áháguruka in (4), for instance) was the finite verb in English. In other words, in the Kinyarwanda translation, the former English modifying clause is the principal clause .

This translation by means of the indicative clause has changed the function of the English participle while the translation by means of KUBÉERA KÓ has maintained it. This difference between the two translations is due to the difference in meaning between the participles (1)-(3) and (4)-(6). As seen in 4.1.1, the participial clause in (1)-(3) serves as the cause for the finite clause. In (4)-(6), however, even if the finite clause event begins happening after the participial clause event has already begun to happen, the finite clause event is not the effect having for <sup>cause</sup> the non-finite clause event . Rather, the finite event comes as a "sequential" event to the non-finite event.

The participial clause and the finite one in (4)-(6) are linked by a connection of the kind of "and then"; in (1)-(3), on the other hand, the connection is of the kind of "because". Thus, sentence (6), for instance, is a periodic version of (6').

(6') We turned left and we moved along a new route .

The translation in (6), whose syntactic structure parallels that of sentence (6'), may be used as an argument to support the claim that the English sentence in (6) is derivation from (6') . As a summary of the above discussion of the translation by means of the indicative, I conclude that the Kinyarwanda translation is a surface realization of the relationships that underlie the English original:

#### 4.1.3 Translation by the Conjunctive Clause

The conjunctive clause translates the simultaneous participle when it functionally describes a fact or a state, with emphasis on the simultaneity of the finite and non-finite events.

- (7) STANDING straight at the forward end of the leading boat, Sobo broke into song (TTS, 215) .

Sobo yátéeye indliimbo AHÁGAZE kw'isoongá ly'úbwáato bwáágeendaga imbére y'áyáandi.

- (8) Juana let them pass, going slowly, LOOKING at the life that lined the roadside (F, 30) .

Juana yáháaye iziindí módóká inzira kúbéerá kó yágeendaga buhóro ALÍMÓ YÍIREEBERA ibyáaberaga háákulyá y'úmuháanda.

In these translations, the verb form in the conjunctive mode indicates the state in which the subject of the principal verb is. In addition, the conjunctive form holds temporal relationships of simultaneity with the principal verb . That is, the principal verb event is temporally situated in the duration of the event in the conjunctive form. This "temporal situating" is

even explicit in ÁLÍMO in (8) . (ÁLÍMO will be discussed in the section 4.7, where its occurrence is more significant) . To come back to the translation per se, it can be concluded that it renders the descriptive-temporal relationships incorporated into the English participle.

#### 4.1.4 Summary and Conclusion

The translation into Kinyarwanda of the English simultaneous participle modifying a finite clause has displayed several possibilities of translation, each of which depends on the semantic relationships tying the participial clause to the finite clause . Relying on the nature of these relationships, Kinyarwanda has used three different structures as translations. The first structure is the KUBEERA KÓ-clause, which introduces a causal object. The second structure is a verb form in the indicative, which introduces a clause expressing a succession of events. The third structure is a verb form in the conjunctive, which describes the principal verb both in space and time . All the three translations have modified the syntactic structure of the English participle by the very fact of translating the English non-finite clause by a finite clause . Two of them have maintained the function of the English participle . The exception has been found to be the translation by means of the indicative . This has reversed the modification roles as they appear in the English version . This functional change, as well as any syntactic modification of the English structure, is attributable to the tendency for Kinyarwanda to bring to the surface the relationships between the participle and the finite form, which are only implicit in English.

#### 4.2 The English Anterior Participle Modifying a Finite Clause

This anterior participle, like its simultaneous counterpart, functionally expresses cause-effect relationships and describes a fact or state. But the structures used to translate the anterior participle generally differ



from those used to translate the simultaneous participle in aspectual terms.

#### 4.2.1 Translation by the KÚBÉERÁ KÓ-Clause

This translation was discussed in the preceding section. It was then said to express the cause-effect relationships. It expresses the same relationships in the present case, only with a difference in aspect, as illustrated in (9). The translation in (9) is the only illustrative example I could find for the KÚBÉERÁ KÓ-translation.

(9) HOARSENEED, we whisper our news of the way (TTS , X)

Turábára amátééká y'úbuzimá bwáacú twóongorera KÚBÉERÁ KO BAADUTÉÉYE GÚSÁRARA.

In this case, as in the set of examples in 4.1.1, cause-effect relationships link the KÚBÉERÁ KÓ-clause to the independent clause in the same way as they link the English participle to the finite clause which it modifies. An inflectional difference exists, however, between the KÚBÉERÁ KÓ-structure in (1)-(3) and the same structure in (9). In these two cases, reference is made to the verb forms in the relative, namely "YÚUMVAGA", "YÁBÓNAGA", "LYÁAKULIKIRAGA" on one hand, and "BAADUTÉÉYE" on the other hand. The imperfective marker "-AGA" in the first three forms translates the simultaneity expressed in the English simultaneous participle. The perfective "-YE" in BAADUTÉÉYE translates the anteriority expressed in the anterior participle. The KÚBÉERÁ KÓ-structures in (1)-(3) differ thus from the one in (9) only in aspectual terms. This is concurrent with the fact that the difference in English between the simultaneous and anterior participles in those examples is aspectual, too. That is, the functional relationships determined by the two types of participle are the same: in both cases the participial clauses operate as the causes to the finite clauses. The conclusion that is suggested by the comparison of the KÚBÉERÁ KÓ-structures in (1)-(3) and the one in (9) is that

Kinyarwanda renders the aspectual nuances differentiating the simultaneous participle from the anterior.

#### 4.2.2 Translation by the Conjunctive Clause

Another way to translate the anterior participle expressing cause-effect relationships is by use of a verb form inflected for the conjunctive mode. In this case, cause-effect is expressed by other functional words than KÚBÉERA KÓ. Two of them, as used in (10) and (11), are kááandi and nuuko.

They are followed by verb forms in the conjunctive mode.

(10) How, ABANDONED to yourself, could you have known? (TTS, 312).

Ubwó sé ubá wárábimenye uté kaáandi WÁLI inkéeho?

(11) And suddenly Wambui screamed, the man stopped, ASTONISHED (GW, 19).

Wambui yáhise átaaka, nuuko uwo mugabó BÍMUTAANGAJE arekeraho .

The functional words that convey the cause-effect relationships are kááandi in (10) and nuuko in (11). Kááandi has the meaning of "since"; nuuko has the meaning of "and then." The English construction which parallels the structure of the translation in 10 is (10').

(10') How could you have known since you were abandoned to yourself?

The English construction which parallels the structure of the translation in (11) is (11').

(11') And suddenly Wambui screamed, and then the man stopped, astonished.

Thus kááandi and nuuko are alternative words to kúbéera kó. Note that in (11), the KÚBÉERA KÓ-phrase may be inserted. This would give this construction :

"... nuuko uwo mugabo arekeraho, KÚBÉERA KÓ BYAALI BÍMUTAANGAJE."<sup>1</sup> But this version is less acceptable than the one in (11). Reasons for the preference of nuuko to kúbéera kó are unclear. It is likely that they depend on context. Considering the translations of the English anterior participle in both 4.2.1 and 4.2.2, I will conclude that the structure used to render in Kinyarwanda

cause-effect relationships is determined by the nature of the functional word introducing the structure in question.

#### 4.2.3 Translation by the UBWO-Clause

The UBWO-clause consists of UBWO and a verb form inflected for the relative mode. It is used to translate into Kinyarwanda the English anterior participle when this describes a state or a fact. Consider examples (12) and (13).

- (12) The decision for motion once ARRIVED AT, the need for secrecy was great (TTS, 64)

UBWO umugaambi wo guhuunga WALI UMAZE KUGERWAHO, ahasingaye haali ahokomera kuli ilyo baanga .

- (13) FACED with a people whose manifest purpose in life is to destroy life, where lies our fidelity to the way? (TTS, 63).

UBWO TWAATEWE n'ubwoko bw'abaantu budahisha umugaambi wabwo wo kwica, kubahiliza umuco wacu bishingiyé hé?

The word "UBWO", which is morphologically similar to the precessive pronoun, is followed by the relative mode like this pronoun. Semantically, though, UBWO has <sup>the meaning</sup> of a temporal conjunction of the same nature as the English "now that, after, since...." Thus, for example, the Kinyarwanda translation in (12) structurally approximates sentence (12') more than the English sentence in (12).

- (12') Now that the decision for motion was already arrived at, the need for secrecy was great.

If we relate the UBWO-translation to that of the simultaneous participle describing a state or fact, i.e. in 4.1.3, we realize that the difference between the two lies in aspect. In 4.1.3, the structures "yateeye indilimbo AHAGAZE..." and "Yahaaye ... ALIMO YIREEBERA" indicate simultaneity between the principal verb and the dependent verb. In examples (12) and (13)

above, however, the ÚBWÓ-clause creates a breach between the principal verb event and the dependent event : the dependent event finishes and there is time to decide upon the principal event. The structure of example (13), for instance, is of this type : "Now that this has been done, what else shall we do?" The breach between the two events is even suggested in the Kinyarwanda translation in (12), specifically in the verb form "ÚMÁZE." (The verb KUMARA will be discussed in the next sub-section). Ultimately then, the anterior participle describing a state or a fact has been translated differently from the simultaneous participle functionally similar because of the aspectual relationships of anteriority associated with it.

#### 4.2.4 Translation by the KUMARA-Clause

The fourth way to translate the English anterior participle modifying a finite clause is by means of the KUMARA-clause. This is made up of the verb "KUMARA" and the infinitive. It is used to translate the anterior participle when this indicates a sequence of events. The following examples are illustrative of this translation.

- (14) Thus completely ARMED, the killer started out, seeking something he had never before thought to seek (TTS, 290).

Ubwó ÁMÁZÉ GŪHÁBWA íntwáaro ziháágijé, wáá mwiicanyi yágiye gushaaka ikiintu ataáli yáriigeze átéekereza gushaaka.

- (15) That SAID, Otumfur sat (TTS, 145).

Otumfur YÁMÁZE KŪVŪGA ibyo aliicara.

- (16) CURED and FED, they thought us fools and said so (TTS, 28).

TŪMAZE KUBAVJURÁ nó KUBAGABULIRA, báákeetsé kó túlí abasazi káandi baránábítúbwira

The verb "KUMARA" (to fin sh), is an aspectualizer which marks a complete action. It is usually inflected for the conjunctive mode because in most cases it functions as a modifier of another verb. In a construction like

AMAZE GÚHÁBWA íntwáaro, the form derived from KUMARA acts as an auxiliary marking aspect. But it also takes an infinitival object. It is this object which, in fact, renders the meaning of the English participial form to be translated.

As already said, sequential relationships hold between the participial clauses and finite clauses in (14)-(16). The same relationships are rendered in the Kinyarwanda translations. The aspectual relationships of anteriority underlying the English participial clauses are also rendered with the help of the aspectualizer "KUMARA!". It should be remembered that in 4.1.2, the simultaneous participle indicating a sequence of events was translated by the indicative clause, as in "TWÁÁKATIYE ibumósó dufata índí nzira" (cf. example (16)). In 4.1.2, it was pointed out that a certain simultaneity links TWÁÁKATIYE and dufata. But in the case of the KUMARA-translations, there is a temporal breach between the principal verb and the form translating the participle. The difference in the translations of the simultaneous and anterior participles compared above is thus due to the aspectual nuances differentiating the English anterior participle from the simultaneous one.

#### 4.2.5 Summary and Conclusion

Four constructions have been analyzed as constituting the translation into Kinyarwanda of the English anterior participle modifying a finite clause. But in effect, the four structures render three types of semantic relationships underlying this English participle. The three are: the cause-effect relationships, the state-fact-description relationships, and the event-sequence relationships. The KUBEERA-KÓ clause and the conjunctive clause have been used to render the relationships of cause-effect; the ÚBWÓ-clause those of state-and-fact description, and the KUMARA-clause those of sequence

of events. The three types of relationship were also pointed out during the translation of the simultaneous participle modifying a finite clause. But the structures translating the two participles are different. This difference has been seen to be caused by aspectual nuances which differentiate the two participles in English. Kinyarwanda will then be concluded to render the notions of simultaneity and anteriority, which differentiate the two types of the English participle.

#### 4.3 The English Simultaneous Participle Postmodifying a Verb Form

Unlike the participle modifying an entire finite clause, which presents several possibilities of translation, the participle postmodifying a single verb seems to be translated into Kinyarwanda by only one structure, the conjunctive clause. The following examples are illustrative of this translation.

- (17) A few came CLAIMING to have been the beneficiaries of wonderful kindnesses (TTS, 43) .

Bámwé múlí bó báájé BAVUGÁ kó bááfashwé néézá cyaane .

- (18) He brought his wild message to us, SHRIEKING dementedly : turn slaves or perish! (TTS, 43).

Yátúuzaniye, ubutúmwá bw'íiteerábwooba, ÁSAKUZA nk'umusazi ágira ati : "Niibá mudahiindutse abacákára muráshize!"

- (19) Faisal sang that night-LAUGHING he sang (TTS, 35) .

Ilyo joro Faisal yáraliriimbye. Yaliriimbye ÁSEKA.

In an earlier sub-section, precisely in 4.1.3, the conjunctive clause was said to situate the event of the indicative in its duration. In this case, however, the conjunctive form does not localize the event expressed by the indicative ;it rather indicates simultaneity. The indicative event and the conjunctive one are visualized at the same time . Thus example (19), for instance, means that Faisal was singing and laughing at the same time.

The relationships of simultaneity tying the conjunctive to the indicative in Kinyarwanda are in fact a rendition of those linking the English participle to the verb form it modifies. It is these relationships that determine the Kinyarwanda structure used to translate the English form.

#### 4.4 The English Anterior Participle Postmodifying a Verb Form

The simultaneous participle that has just been considered has presented the conjunctive clause as the way to translate <sup>it</sup> into Kinyarwanda. The anterior participle playing the same role offers, in addition, the translation by means of the infinitive.

##### 4.4.1 Translation by the Conjunctive Clause

The translation by means of the conjunctive clause is illustrated as in (20)-(22).

(20) Ships came from the rising LOADED with slaves (TTS, 262).

Ámáato yátúrukaga mu búrásirázúubá YÚUZUYE abacákára .

(21) Her mother sat next her, LOST in admiration of the Partyman's chubby profile (BONYB, 130).

Nyina yá lí ámwíicaye iruhaánde, ÁTÉWE ubwuúzu n'umbyibuho w'úwo múminísítiri.

(22) Oyo came out of the kitchen TIRED but smiling with pleasure

(BONYB, 127) .  
Oyo yásóhotse mw'ifuumbira ANANIWE áliko ásekana ibyíishiimo.

In the preceding section it was said that the conjunctive clause expressed simultaneity with regard to the indicative form of the independent clause: two actions were occurring at the same time. In the present case, the simultaneity is not between two actions, but between an action and a state. That is, the action in the principal verb (i.e. the indicative form) occurs in a certain state, expressed by the conjunctive form.

The difference between the verbs inflected for the conjunctive in 4.3 and 4.4.1 is that those in 4.3, namely BAVUGA, ASAKUZA, AREEBA, etc., the subject is an agent. But in the conjunctive forms in 4.4.1, the subject is an experiencer. This is probably why in examples (20)-(22) above, the conjunctive forms<sup>are</sup> marked by the perfective "-YE" instead of the imperfective "-A." This suffix would mark the simultaneity of actions. It seems that stative verbs, like those inflected for the conjunctive in (20)-(22), allow -YE in the conjunctive clause. The translation by means of the conjunctive in this section thus differs from the one in the preceding section in aspectual terms. These, in turn, pertain to the nature of the verb translating the English participle.

#### 4.4.2 Translation by the Infinitive

The second way to translate the English anterior participle post-modifying a verb form is by use of the infinitive, as shown in (23) and (24).

- (23) Did they think that their enemies would stay GATHERED, as an easy prey to death (TTS, 312).

Eésé baátekerejé kó ábó báárwaanaga báájyaga kugumya' KWIIRUNDA  
hámwé bíitalitse urúpfú?

- (24) The old man remained STUCK to the same chair.

Uwo mísáaza yágumyé KWIICARA kuu' ntébé' ímwé.

In these examples, the translation of the English participle is an infinitive functioning as object. This infinitive has been induced by the principal verb, kugumya (to keep doing...). The verb following kugumya does not function as a modifier, as is the case with the English participle. The translation has thus changed the function of the English form. This change has been caused by the nature of the principal verb, as said above.



#### 4.4.3 Summary and Conclusion

Two ways of translating the English anterior participle postmodifying a verb phrase have been observed. One is the translation by means of the conjunctive clause. This structure has also been used <sup>to</sup> translate the simultaneous participle functionally <sup>alike</sup> the one under study. But in the two cases, the conjunctive forms bear different suffixes, as a sign of the aspectual nuances differentiating the two participles. The second translation is the one by use of the infinitive. This one does not have a parallel structure translating the simultaneous participle. It has been induced by kugumya, a verb which, it seems, only allows a verb form functioning nominally as an object -- and not functioning modifyingly, like the conjunctive forms in (20)-(22). The translation of the English anterior participle thus depends, on one hand, on the nature of the very verb form translating the English participle -- which is a stative verb of the kind of kunanirwa in (22). On the other hand, it depends on the nature of the principal verb -- i.e the verb form translating the English verb phrase modified by the participle.

#### 4.5 The English Simultaneous Participle Postmodifying a Noun Phrase

Two verb forms, the autonomous and the conjunctive, translate this simultaneous participle. The two translations are dependent upon the relationships linking the English participle to the noun phrase which it modifies.

##### 4.5.1 Translation by the Autonomous Clause

This translation is illustrated by the following examples :

- (23) It would be impossible for us to save a people FIGHTING against itself (TTS, 60).

Ntitwashobora gúkíraanura abávaandimwe BIISUBIRANIRAMO ubwaábó.

(24) Springwater FLOWING to the desert, your future is extinction

(TTS, ix)

Múgezi UTEEMBERA mu butááyu, amáhérezó yaawé ní ugúkama.

(25) A people LOSING sight of origins are dead (TTS, xiii).

Umulyaango WIYIBAGIZA ínkómoko' yáawo ubá waáciitse.

As is noticeable from this set of examples, the autonomous is a verb form which postmodifies a noun phrase in the way the English participle postmodifies it. The only difference between the two is that the autonomous is conjugated : it indicates the relationships of agreement. The translation by the autonomous has maintained the function of the English participle : in its postmodifying position, it predicates a noun phrase. Therefore, through the autonomous clause, Kinyarwanda renders the functional relationships determined by the English participle considered.

#### 4.5.2 Translation by the Conjunctive Clause

In this case, the English participle is a modifier of a noun phrase as in the case above. Yet, it is translated not by means of the autonomous, but by means of the conjunctive. This is because the participle operates in an object position in which the noun phrase is object of a special type of verb. Consider these examples :

(26) They caught the robber TRYING to escape through the window.

Icyo gisaambo báágifashé GISHAAKA guhuungira mw'iidilishya.

(27) Once when he was a boy he saw a group of white people SMOKING, TALKING, and LAUGHING while black people were sweating under bags of pyrethrum (GW, 108) .

Limwé kéera akili umwána yabóonye agátsikó k'abazuungu BALIMÓ BANYWA itáabi, BAGANIRÁ, BÁSEKA, náho abiiiraburá babira icyúuya murúnsi y'imifuka ya píréeteri.

The English participle has been translated by use of the conjunctive because it predicates a noun phrase which is object of a given category of verbs :

these are mostly the verbs of perception<sup>2</sup>, as pointed out in Chapter One. These same verbs were seen to be the only ones that allow the infinitive without "to" in a sentential object. The participial form in (27) can then be substituted by an infinitive. As said in Chapter Two, this infinitive directly defines the noun phrase it follows, but it also indirectly modifies the verb phrase of which the same noun phrase is object. In the same way, the participle in (26) and (27) immediately defines the noun phrase which it modifies, but it is also linked by secondary relationships to the verb phrase of which the noun phrase modified is an object.

The translation into Kinyarwanda has rendered both the immediate and secondary relationships. The immediate relationships have been rendered in that the subject of the verb form translating the English participle is exactly the same as the subject of the noun phrase translating the modified English noun phrase. The secondary relationships have been rendered in that the verb form translating the English participle is positioned in another finite clause dependent upon the principal verb. The equivalent of the English participle modifies the principal verb, hence its inflection for the conjunctive mode. The principal verbs are part of those verbs which are mostly of perception, and which allow after them, only verb forms in the conjunctive mode. In conclusion then, the translation of the English participle by the conjunctive mode depends on the nature of the principal verb.

#### 4.5 3 Summary and Conclusion

The two translations, i.e. by the autonomous and by the conjunctive modes, which have been used to translate the English simultaneous participle considered in this section, have modified the English syntactic structure. This is because the two forms are conjugated. The two translations

have, however, maintained the function of the English participle : the two equivalents of the English participle still modify the noun phrases modified by the same participle in English.

But further notice should be given to the case of the translation by the conjunctive mode . I have said above that this translation has rendered both the immediate and secondary relationships underlying the English participle . It should be added, however, that the primacy of the immediate relationships over the secondary ones in English no longer exists in Kinyarwanda : in English, we cannot say "he saw SMOKING, TALKING, and LAUGHING." The verb "saw" has to be followed by a noun phrase, which in turn will be modified by the participles. In Kinyarwanda, however, we can say "Yaboonye BALIMO BANYWA itaabi, BAGANIRA, BANASEKA...." This shows that the translation of the English non-finite clause by a finite clause has changed the scope of relationships in English : while in English the participle operates primarily as a modifier of a noun phrase, in Kinyarwanda the conjunctive form operates as a modifier of a verb phrase, on a par with the noun phrase functioning as the object of the same verb phrase. I make this claim about Kinyarwanda because the construction "Yaboonye agatsiko k'abazuungu" is as equally acceptable as "Yaboonye balimo banywa itaabi." In sum, the difference between the translation by the autonomous and the translation by the conjunctive is due to the principal verb in Kinyarwanda. That is, when this principal verb allows two objects, the one that is verbal has to be a form inflected for the conjunctive.

#### 4.6 The English Anterior Participle Postmodifying a Noun Phrase

The simultaneous participle postmodifying a noun phrase has offered the translation by the autonomous and the translation by the conjunctive. In addition to these two, the anterior participle postmodifying a

noun phrase offers the translation by the relative clause.

#### 4.6.1 Translation by the Autonomous Clause

This translation by means of the autonomous clause is illustrated by examples (28)-(30).

- (28) There would be time for all this heavy remembrance, the time for recalling disasters not yet ESCAPED. (TTS, 242)

Háájyaga kúbáho igihé cyó kwiibuka uwo múbábaró wóose, álí nácyó gihé cyó kwiibutsa ingóórane núubu ZITÁRÁÁSHÍRA inyuma.

- (29) The sense of being a person already DESTROYED was strong in him (TTS, 234).

Igitéekerezo cyó kúba umuuntu WÍIHEBYE kéera cyaáli cyáaramwáalitsémo.

- (30) No, we would not return to the homes BLASTED with triumphant whiteness (TTS, 234).

Ntaa kuuntu twaajyaga gúsúbira muúngo ZAÁLI ZÁARÁSÁLITSWE n'úubiicanyi bw'ábazúngu.

This translation is close to the translation by the autonomous presented by the simultaneous participle playing the same role as the anterior participle under study. In both cases, the autonomous form defines the noun phrase which it postmodifies. The difference between the two translations lies in aspectual relationships : for the simultaneous participle, the translation is marked by the morpheme "-A" For the anterior participle, the translation is marked by the morpheme "-YE."<sup>3</sup> The action is still going on in the translation of the simultaneous participle, as in "Mugezi UTEEMBERA...", for example (cf. (24) in 4.5 .1). But the action is already completed in "ZAALI ZAARASALITSWE", for example . In the two translations then, the difference in word form due to aspect.

#### 4.6.2 Translation by the Relative Clause

This second translation is close to the translation by the auto-

nomous. The relative form translating the English participle defines the noun-phrase which it postmodifies, as in 4.6.2. The following examples are illustrative of this translation.

- (31) It seemed as if it was all her intention to dance her best and then to succumb to this prince CHOSEN for her (TTS, 146).

Waagirango yásháakaga kúbyína úkó ashóbóyé kwóose ngo haanyuma yiyé'gulire icyo gikomangoma BAALÍ BAARAMUGENEYE.

- (32) Jonto came among us with a spirit CAUGHT straight from the white predators from the desert (TTS, 101) .

Jonto yátúgarutsemó áfite umútima múbí YALÍ AVAANYE nééza mú báarábú.

The relative form defines the noun phrase like the autonomous in examples (28)-(30). Nevertheless, the two forms differ in their functional relationships with regard to the noun phrase modified. That is, in the case of the autonomous, the subject of this form is the noun phrase itself. But in the case of the relative clause, the subject of the relative form is another noun phrase than the one defined by the relative form.<sup>4</sup>

Examples (31) and (32) have not been translated by the autonomous like (28)-(30), because Kinyarwanda prefers an active construction to a passive one. I make this statement because literally, the translation of the participle in (31) would be : "... ngo haanyuma yiyé'gulire icyo gikomangoma YAALÍ YAARAGENEWE." The translation of (32) would be : "... áfite umútima múbí WALI UVANYWE nééza mú báarábú." These passive constructions, which offer translations by autonomous forms, sound awkward. Thus the English participle has been translated by the relative clause instead of the autonomous clause because, in the contexts of examples (31) and (32), Kinyarwanda prefers the active to the passive . But, to some extent, this translation is also attributable to aspectual relationships. I make this statement because, if in lieu of "CAUGHT" (in 32) and "CHOSEN" (in 31) we

had "CATCHING" and "CHOOSING", these latter two forms would have not presented the possibility of being translated by a passive structure.

#### 4.6.3 Translation by the Conjunctive Clause

This third translation has also been offered by the simultaneous participle postmodifying a noun phrase. It was then due to the nature of the verb of which the noun phrase modified is a subject. The same reasons are also valuable for the conjunctive clause illustrated below :

(33) They left the robber BEATEN to death.

Icyo gisaambó bágisizé CYÁAKUBISWE íz'íinzóka.

As in the translations of (26) and (27) in 4.5.2, the conjunctive form is attached to the noun phrase by subjective relationships, but it primarily functions as an object of the principal verb. As seen in 4.5.2, this translation is heavily dependent upon the nature of the principal verb. The difference between the conjunctive forms above and the conjunctive forms in 4.5.2 is aspectual.

#### 4.6.4 Summary and Conclusion

Aspectual differences put aside, the English anterior participle postmodifying a noun phrase generally gives the same translation as the simultaneous participle playing the same role . The translation by the relative mode given by the former participle, but which is not given by the latter may be considered as a contextual alternative to the translation by the autonomous. This translation, as well as the one by means of the conjunctive mode, applies to the two participles.

As said in 4.5 and repeated in this section, the translation by the autonomous clause (or by the relative clause), does not alter the primary functional relationship linking the English participle to the noun phrase which it defines. But the translation by means of the conjunctive clause

has altered them, to some extent. This translation has caused a certain independence of the equivalent of the English participle vis-à-vis the equivalent of the English noun phrase. This independence is due to the fact that the English participial clause has been translated by a finite clause, i.e. the conjunctive clause. Since this finite clause depends on the principal verb, this brings both the noun phrase object and the clausal object to a same level. This introduction of new finite clauses was previously said to be due to the fact that Kinyarwanda exhibits, in the surface structure, relationships of agreement between the subject and the verb. In the end then, it is this tendency for Kinyarwanda to indicate agreement that determines the structure to be used to translate the English anterior participle postmodifying a noun phrase.

#### 4.7 The English Simultaneous Participle Occurring after a Temporal Conjunction

This last type of English participle to be studied does not have an anterior equivalent. It expresses simultaneity by means of a temporal conjunction. It thus functions as a temporal modifier of the finite clause to which it is related. Its translation into Kinyarwanda is achieved through the conjunctive clause, as shown in these examples :

(34) He wrote that book while TEACHING in America.

Icyo gitabó yacyanditsé YIIGISHA múli Amerika.

(35) While WRITING a letter to George, I heard a knock on the door.

Umuuntu yakómaanze ku ruugi ndimo NAANDIKIRA Joliji.

(36) He often remembered that whenever CROSSING the two streets.

Ibyo yakúundaga kubyiibuka igihé cyóose YÁBÁGÁ YÁAMBUKIRANYA iyo miháanda yóombi.

(37) He heard the noise while OPENING the door.

Yúumviise urwo rusáku álimo ÁFUUNGURA uruugi.



As can be observed from the corpus, the English structure "CONJUNCTION + PARTICIPLE" gives, in Kinyarwanda, the structure "-LÍMO + CONJUNCTIVE MODE."<sup>10</sup> The Kinyarwanda structure "-límó" is made up of the verb "-lí" (to be), and the locative "mo" (in). "Ndímo", for example, means, "I am in." "-límó" serves as an auxiliary verb. The verb to which it is auxiliary is always inflected for the conjunctive mode. The relationships between "-límó" and the verb following it are temporal : that is, "-límó" localizes its subject in the course of the event expressed by the verb form following it. Thus, "-límó" operates as the equivalent of the English conjunction "while." The conjunctive form translating the English infinitive temporally localizes the indicative form. It can then be concluded that the translation of the English participle by use of the conjunctive clause is due to the meaning of the conjunction introducing the participle in question. This meaning has been rendered in Kinyarwanda by a structure, i.e. "-límó", in which localization is explicit.

#### 4.8 Summary to Chapter Four

The translation into Kinyarwanda of the English participle has presented a variety of translations. This variety depends on diverse relationships tying the English participle to the phrase (or clause) which it modifies. The structures that have been used to translate the English participle are : the KUBÉERÁ KÓ-clause, the indicative clause, the ÚBWÓ-clause, the KUMARA-clause, the conjunctive clause, the infinitive, the autonomous clause, and the relative clause. Of all these, the translation by use of the conjunctive clause has been the most recurrent : it has occurred in the translations of all the types of participle considered, with the only exception of the simultaneous participle modifying a finite clause. In most cases where it has been used, it has occurred to express simultaneity. The

translation by means of the autonomous clause has occurred twice : in the case of the anterior participle postmodifying a noun phrase and in the case of the simultaneous participle playing the same role. In both cases, the autonomous clause functions as a defining clause. The KÚBÉERÁ KÓ structure has been <sup>used</sup> twice : in the cases of the English simultaneous and anterior participles modifying finite clauses. The other constructions listed above have each occurred once : the indicative clause has been used to express sequence of events; the ÚBẸWÓ-clause has been used to express the same relationships but with a difference in aspect. The two structures have been used to translate respectively the simultaneous participle and the anterior participle modifying finite clauses. The infinitive has occurred as the translation of the anterior participle postmodifying a verb phrase. It functions as an object. The relative clause has been used to translate the anterior participle postmodifying a noun phrase. It functions as a defining clause like the autonomous clause.

All the structures used to translate the English participle, with the exception of the translation by means of the infinitive, have changed the syntactic structure of the English participle, in that they are composed of conjugated forms. These indicate the relationships of agreement, which are only implicit in English. Most of the translations have maintained the functions of the English participles they have translated. Changes of function have been noticed only in the case of the translations by the indicative clause and by the infinitive. In the former case, the change lies in the fact that the translation of the English participle is the principal verb, whereas the English original is only a dependent non-finite clause. In the case of the infinitive, the change consists in the fact that this infinitive functions as an object while its English equivalent is a modifier. A last remark about the different translations is that, independently of any

change which might have been caused by a given structure, the aspectual differences differentiating the simultaneous participle from the anterior have been rendered in Kinyarwanda.

After the above summary of the translations of the English participle, I will compare it to the translations of the English gerund and infinitive. In relation to this comparison, a notable observation is that on the whole, constructions which have been used to translate the participle are different in nature from those that have been used to translate the gerund and the infinitive. This difference lies in the fact that the translations of the participle are mostly structures which act as modifying clauses, whereas the translations of the gerund and the infinitive function especially as nouns. As the illustration of this assertion, it will be remembered that the recurrent translations in the cases of the gerund and the infinitive are: the infinitive, the KÓ-clause, the ÚKÓ-clause and the defining pronoun-phrase. The infinitive functions either as subject or as object. The KÓ- and ÚKÓ-clauses function as objects. The pronominal phrase is nominal in that the pronoun is itself a noun phrase. On the other hand, the recurrent translations of the participle are: the KUBÉERA KÓ-clause, the conjunctive clause, and the autonomous clause. The KUBÉERA KÓ-clause modifies the independent clause through the preverb KUBÉERA. The conjunctive clause modifies the principal verb especially in temporal terms. The autonomous clause defines the noun phrase which it modifies. In general then, modifying clauses are the appropriate translations for the English participle; nominal clauses are appropriate for the gerund and the infinitive. The conclusion that is deducible from this generalization is: the translation into Kinyarwanda of the English non-finite form has maintained the essential difference in English between the participle on one hand, and the infinitive and the gerund on the other. As pointed out in Chapter One, the English participle is essentially a modifying form; the gerund and the infinitive are essentially nominal forms.

## CONCLUSION

In format, the conclusion to this study will be both a summary and a conclusion. As a summary, it will review the discussions led about the English non-finite form and its translation into Kinyarwanda. As a conclusion, it will draw conclusions about the verb system in English and about the verb system in Kinyarwanda. Departing from these conclusions, a word will be said about translation in general.

The summary and conclusion mentioned above will, in fact, appear as the answers to the following questions :

1. Are the functional distinctions characterizing the English non-finite form still relevant after its translation into Kinyarwanda?
2. Are the distinctions of each English non-finite form rendered Kinyarwanda?
3. Are the functions of each English non-finite form rendered in Kinyarwanda?
4. Are the semantic nuances proper to certain English constructions retraceable after the translation into Kinyarwanda?
5. Considering the answers to the questions above, what does the translation into Kinyarwanda of the English non-finite form tell us about the verb systems in English and in Kinyarwanda?
6. Starting from what the translation tells us about the two systems, what can we conclude about translation in general?

These questions will be examined one by one in the paragraphs that follow.

To answer the first question amounts to finding out if the Kinyarwanda translation of the English non-finite form presents the four distinctions characteristic of the English non-finite form. To recall them, the four distinctions are : first, that English non-finite forms are not

governed by categories of verb inflection; second, that non-finite forms directly follow verbals; third, that non-finite forms do not take auxiliaries, and fourth, that non-finite forms are always related to finite-forms. Each of the four distinctions will be talked about in the following paragraphs.

As regards the fact of not being governed by categories of verb inflection, it is irrelevant to seek this distinction in the Kinyarwanda translation of the English non-finite form. It is irrelevant because the English non-finite form is translated by means of conjugated forms as well as by means of the infinitive. Since only non-conjugated forms are not governed by categories of verb inflection, the translation of the English non-finite form would be distinguished only partially. It should be remembered that the Kinyarwanda infinitive translates almost only infinitival and gerundive constructions. It generally does not translate the participle. Thus, besides the cases of the gerund and the infinitive which are not translated by the infinitive, there are also participial constructions. No generalization can then be made as to whether the translation of the English non-finite form is not affected or affected by categories of verb inflection.

The fact of directly following verbals, however, applies also to the Kinyarwanda translation of the English non-finite form. That is, generally when in English a non-finite form follows a verbal, its translation will also follow a verbal. This is so because in Kinyarwanda, both conjugated and non-conjugated <sup>form</sup> can follow verbals. So, whether the English form is translated by a conjugated or a non-conjugated form, it can follow a verbal. A good illustration of a conjugated form that follows <sup>a</sup> verbals is the verb form inflected for the conjunctive mode. We saw that such a form is always a modifier of another verb form. As for the non-conjugated form, namely the infinitive, we saw that it follows a verbal, usually as an object -- but in

some cases also as a modifier. Yet it should be noted that the Kinyarwanda equivalent of an English non-finite form following a verbal will not necessarily directly follow a verbal. This is not going to be always the case because, as has been observed, the principal verb in Kinyarwanda often puts selectional restrictions on the construction to its right. Thus, for instance, an English form directly following a verbal is translated by the KO-clause or the KUBEEERA KO-clause. It is clear that a verb form in these clauses does not directly follow verbals.

But as regards the fact of not taking auxiliaries, it is irrelevant to seek this distinction in Kinyarwanda, because its auxiliary system differs from that of English. We saw that in English, auxiliaries serve to indicate categories of verb inflection, namely, aspect, mood, tense, and voice. But in Kinyarwanda, these notions are usually marked in the verbals, by suffixes and infixes. In this reasoning, even if a Kinyarwanda form translating an English non-finite form may be marked for such or such category, there is no need for an auxiliary verb to mark the category in question. One or two particular cases have been noted though : in one case, a verbal has been used to mark aspect. This is the case of KUMARA. But even in these exceptional cases, the semi-auxiliaries of the kind of KUMARA still retain the attributes of a verbal, namely those of taking an object, for example.

The fourth distinction characteristic of the English non-finite form, namely that non-finite forms are always related to finite forms, applies also to their Kinyarwanda translations. That is, the Kinyarwanda equivalent of the English non-finite form is also always related to a conjugated form, whether in directly or indirectly. This is so because the English verb is translated by another verb in Kinyarwanda. But it should be added that one or two exceptions to the generalization I have just made have

been observed in the cases of fused structures. In these, the equivalent of the English non-finite form was merged with other forms into one verb form. This way, it was no longer possible to distinguish between the equivalent of the English finite form and that of the non-finite form.

We have seen that only the fact of directly following a verbal and that of being related to a finite form obtain for both the English non-finite forms and their Kinyarwanda equivalents. This way, the functional distinctions characteristic of the English non-finite form are rendered only partially. That is why no generalization should be made that the same distinctions characterize the Kinyarwanda equivalent of the English non-finite form.

The second question to answer in this conclusion consists in finding out if the distinctions of each individual non-finite form are rendered in Kinyarwanda. Morphological and functional distinctions of each non-finite form were pointed out in Chapter One. On the morphological level, the infinitive was seen to be marked by the particle "to" and the lack of suffix. The gerund was said to bear the -ing suffix -- a suffix which it shares with the -ing participle. The participle was found to be under two forms : the -ing participle and the -N participle. On the functional level, the infinitive and the gerund were described as being essentially nominal. The gerund always functions as a noun, except when it is introduced by a preposition, by virtue of which the gerund takes up a modifying role. As for the infinitive, in addition to nominal functions, in some cases it acts as a modifier. The participle is totally a modifier.

After the translation of the three non-finite forms into Kinyarwanda, only functional distinctions are retraceable. On the morphological level, Kinyarwanda uses, in most cases, the same form for both the gerund and the infinitive. It uses different forms only where the two forms are semantically different. Kinyarwanda also uses the same forms for the infini-

tive, the gerund and the participle. This is especially the case with conjugated structures. Only the infinitive seems to be the translation of the gerund and the infinitive, but not of the participle. But a form like the conjunctive clause has often occurred in the translation of the three non-finite forms. About the morphological distinctions between the two participles, I will nevertheless say that they have been rendered. That is, the translation of the -ing participle differs from that of the -N participle in that the former is marked by the imperfective suffix and the latter by the perfective one. On the functional level, the infinitive has been translated by both structures with nominal qualities -- such as the infinitive and the KO'-clause -- and structures with modifying qualities, -- such as the infinitive (as in Yaaje KUNDEEBA) and the conjunctive clause. The gerund has been translated by nominal structures. The participle has been translated by structures which operate modifyingly. I will mention, as examples, the relative clause and the conjunctive clause.

The preceding paragraph offers also some light to the third question, namely to know if the functions of each non-finite form have been maintained by the Kinyarwanda translation. On the whole, these functions have been maintained. Changes have been noticed only in very restricted cases. In these, the change is in one case due to the nature of the translation of the English verb form to which the non-finite form to be translated is related. This is the case of the translation of the participle by the infinitive, after the verb "KUGUMYA" (in 4.4). Because of this verb, the translation of the English participle functions as an object, whereas the English original functions as a modifier. In another case, the change of function is due to some syntactic rules in Kinyarwanda which determine the distribution of elements in a given construction. This is the case of fused structures. We will remember that "was not for BUYING" has been trans-



lated by BUTÁÁGURWAGA instead of nti bwaáli ÚBWO' KUGURWA, because of rules determining the use of the infinitive in the passive. Yet in another case, the change of function is due to the semantic relationships which hold between the English non-finite form and the finite form to which it is related. A case in point is the translation of simultaneous participle modifying a finite clause by means of the indicative clause. In this case, the Kinyarwanda translation of the English participle acts as the principal verb while in English the participle functions as a modifier. An illustration of this translation is example (6) in 4.1.2 : i.e. "TWÁÁKATIYE ibumóso' dufata índi' nzira." In this example, "TWÁÁKATIYE" translates the English participle "TURNING." Nevertheless, cases in which the translation has changed the function of the English non-finite form are so few that it can still be concluded the translation has maintained the functional relationships determined by the English form.

To answer the fourth question amounts to checking if the semantic nuances proper to certain English constructions have been rendered in Kinyarwanda. Among other semantic peculiarities, we can mention those that differentiate the gerund from the infinitive. Reference <sup>made</sup> is to the cases in which both the gerund and the infinitive occur but in which they are semantically different. Translation has reflected these differences in the structures used. Thus, for instance, the infinitive functioning as the object of "to remember" has been translated by the infinitive, while the gerund playing the same role has been translated by the KO-clause. Other notable semantic peculiarities pertain to the English participle. These are the aspectual nuances of a simultaneity and anteriority which discriminate between the two types of the English participle. These nuances are reflected in the imperfective and perfective suffixes borne by the Kinyarwanda forms translating the two participles. Limiting the discussion of semantic

peculiarities to the two cases alluded to above, I will say in conclusion that Kinyarwanda renders particular semantic nuances incorporated into the English non-finite form.

The answer to the fifth question will be drawn from the answers to the four questions examined above. These answers will provide us with some light about what the translation of the English non-finite form into Kinyarwanda tells us about the verb system in the two languages. To draw conclusions about what we have learned about English and Kinyarwanda, we should depart from the following facts observed through out the three chapters on translation : the first is the fact that one type of the English non-finite has presented various Kinyarwanda translations. The second is that one Kinyarwanda structure has been used to translate many English structures. The third, related to the first two, is that translation has generally altered the syntactic structure of the English non-finite form. The fourth, related also to the first two, is that translation has generally rendered, under various structures, the functions of the English non-finite form. Many conclusions, relating to these facts, have been drawn all along the discussions of the different types of the English non-finite form. I will recall only the most important. The first is that, in relation to English, Kinyarwanda always tends to indicate, in the surface structure, grammatical relationships -- notably those of agreement between the subject and the verb. Thus the subject of the English non-finite form, which is implicit, becomes explicit in the Kinyarwanda translation. The second conclusion is that Kinyarwanda offers only one non-conjugated form, namely the infinitive, while English offers three. This explains why the gerund and the infinitive are on the whole one form. A subsequent conclusion is that the Kinyarwanda non-conjugated form usually plays only nominal roles. This explains why the participle has been translated by the infinitive only once ---

and more, in a special case, depending on the nature of the principal verb. The fourth conclusion is that more often in Kinyarwanda than in English, different categories of verbs put selectional restrictions on the constructions to follow them. The last notable conclusion is that in Kinyarwanda, more than in English, functional words of the kind of conjunctions and prepositions, are determinative of the structure to be used. Thus for instance, the conjunction KÓ imposes a verb form inflected for the conjunctive mode and the preverb KUGIRANGO imposes a verb form in the subjunctive mode.

The last question to be touched upon in this conclusion lies in finding out what the translations effected in this study tell us about translation in general. To answer this question, we need to consider these specific questions: "Is translation syntactic?" "Is it functional?" "Is it semantic?" Considering the fact the English non-finite form has on the whole altered the syntactic structure of the English form, translation is not likely to be syntactic. Nevertheless, considering the fact that in most cases the Kinyarwanda translation has maintained the function determined by the English non-finite form, the hypothesis that translation is functional is probable. All the same, the fact that some translations have changed functions signifies that translation is more than functional. In the case of the translations through fused structures, for example in the translation of "I will try ADDING..." in 3.3.4, the meaning of the English non-finite form is rendered, but in a structure which has changed both the English syntax and function. From this fact, it can be concluded that translation is first of all semantic. Yet, to set the limits between function and meaning is a problem I will not try to discuss in this study.

As the preceding discussion about the six questions may suggest, this study has answered many questions relating to the English non-finite form and its translation into Kinyarwanda. But it has left many others un-

swered. Throughout this study, I have been unable to give the exact reasons to many problems. Below I list only five among the questions that have been left unanswered.

- 1) Why do verbs of perception (and "let", "make", and "bid") delete the particle "to" -- marking the infinitive -- in the active but allow it in the passive?
- 2) What is the exact nature of the functional words "but", "except", and "than", which Darbyshire (1967) calls "prepositions"?
- 3) Why is the English non-finite form subject of only experience-verbs?
- 4) Why do the infinitive and the gerund predicate of different phrases?
- 5) What is common to the English gerund and the Kinyarwanda structure "UKO BIMEZE" (cf. 3.3.3), because these two structures seem to be the only ones allowed as the subjects of verbs of imagination?

These unanswered questions, as well as those answered in this study, are of interest to linguists interested in the study of English grammar, especially to those who wish to scrutinize all the intricacies underlying the English non-finite form. They are also of interest to linguists who wish to compare English and Kinyarwanda on the verbal system. Finally, they are of interest to translators who might wish to use the translation from English into Kinyarwanda as a stepping-stone to a further investigation on what translation ultimately is.

I end this study in the hope that the questions answered in this work will be found to be a worthy contribution to the field of linguistics, especially grammar. I wish that the unanswered questions be answered sometime.

## APPENDIX

### A BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF COUPEZ'S MODES AS USED<sup>1</sup> IN THIS WORK

Not all of the modes described by Coupez will be discussed in this appendix. I will talk about only those that are referred to in this study. That is, the indicative, the subjunctive, the conjunctive, the relative, the autonomous, and the infinitive.<sup>2</sup>

#### 1. Le mode indicatif (the indicative mode):

It is a mode which is not marked by any morpheme, except the negative marker "nti-." It is the mode of the independent clauses. The indicative forms are underlined in the following examples:

(1) Twáákatiye ibumósó dufata indí nzira.

"Turning left, we moved along a new route."

(2) Gúhítá ntíbyááshobokaga, úrétse umugabo úmwé wálf kw'iipikipiki ya Hoonda.

"Passing was impossible, except for one man on a Honda."

#### 2. Le mode conjonctif (the conjunctive mode) :

This mode is only used in dependent clauses, as in:

(3) Warui na Wambui báágiye bátavúzé.

"Warui and Wambui went away without speaking."

It is always the principal constituent of a compound conjugated form, as in

(4) Øyc byáámugaraga kú máasó kó yálf yíshimiye igikórwá cyé.

"Oyo was looking pleased with her work."

It is introduced by some functional words (preverbs) (cf. Coupez, 377), as in

(5) Ubwó sé ubá wárabíménye úté kaándí wálf ínkéeho?

"How, abandoned to yourself, could you have known?"

It also functions as an object to certain verbs, most of which are verbs of perception (cf. Coupez, 377), as in

(6) Naboonye Élízabétí yáambuka umuháanda.

"I saw Elizabeth crossing the road."

3. Le mode subjonctif (the subjunctive mode):

This mode is used in both independent and dependent clauses, but in this work it will be found only in dependent clauses. In an independent clause it expresses a desire, an exhortation, an exclamation, and the like. Example:

(7) Basóhóke (cf. Coupez, 382).

This verb form can be translated into English in several ways:

- "Let them go out."

- "May they go out?"

- "Will they go out?"

In an independent clause, it will be found in this work to function as an object introduced by a functional phrase (a preverb), i.e. kugira(ngo), which indicates purpose. This is illustrated as in (8).

(8) Nfyo súká yóonyiné nyina afité kugirango ahfingé.

"It is the only hoe her mother has for cultivating."

4. Le mode relatif (the relative mode):

This mode is always used in a dependent clause. It functions as a predicating clause as in

(9) Jonto yátugarutsémó áfíte umútíma múbí yáíí avaanye mú báarabú.

"Jonto came among us with a spirit caught straight from the white predators from the desert."

Note that the subject of the relative form is a noun phrase other than the one it predicates of. The relative mode is obligatory after a precessive pronoun, as in

(10) Ícyó ázi ní ukúdáda gusa.

"She knows nothing else except sew."

It functions as an object when it is introduced by the conjunction "ko" (or "yuuko") as in

(11) Ícyó tweéb tutaázi ntitwifráaliirá kó tukiízi.

"What we do not know, we do not claim to know."

It is also used in lieu of the subjunctive mode in a negative construction like (12).

(12) Yábónagá kó áli ícyémezo cyaafáshwé ngo umuntu atabíbóna.

"She saw that it was a decision made not to see that."

##### 5. L'autonome (the autonomous):

Coupez describes this verb form as one which at the same time has pronominal and verbal attributes. The pronominal attributes lie in the fact that the autonomous has a pronominal prefix and takes, optionally though, the augment "u-." The verbal attributes are like those of the other conjugated forms, except, as just said, the fact of taking the pronominal prefix (instead of the verbal prefix). Consider the following examples:

(13) Abaantu búbahilizaga umúco úbúza gúca umuntu mw'iijaambo mu gihe nk'ícyo.

"The people respected the custom forbidding any interruption at a time like this."

(14) Twe nti tuli abaantu baanga gutera imbere

"We are not a stagnant people hating motion."

As shown by these examples, the autonomous is used, like the relative mode, as a defining clause. But with the autonomous, its subject is also the noun phrase it defines. Apropos of the closeness of the autonomous to the relative, Coupez notes:

Le relatif est en relation étroite avec l'autonome, mot hybride qui exprime la notion de relatif subjectif (P. 378).

##### 6. L'infinitif (the infinitive):

Morphologically, the infinitive is a word form prefixed by the

class prefix "ku-" and, optionally, by the augment "u-."

(15) ÁlÍko kúvúgá, kúumvá nó kúbóná ntí byáálí inéma báávukanye.

"But uttering, hearing and seeing was not their vocation."

(16) Íbyó wakózé ní ukugirá náábí.

"What you have done is wrongdoing."

Syntactically, the infinitive takes, like conjugated forms, infixes and suffixes, as in

(17) Yáíí yáráhísémó kúbyífhórerera.

"He had chosen not to choose."

Semantically, the infinitive has both verbal and nominal attributes. Thus it can function as a subject or as an object, and can take an object.

(18) Gusoma igitabo binaniza ámáaso.

"Reading a book tires the eyes."

(19) Nkuunda kureeba umupírú w'ámaguru.

"I like to attend a football match."



## NOTES

### Notes to Introduction

<sup>1</sup>La transposition is defined as : procédé par lequel un signifié change de catégorie grammaticale. Ex.: "He soon realized : Il ne tarda pas à se rendre compte" (Vinay-Darbelnet, p. 16). (The underlying is mine, the underlined words are italicized in the book).

<sup>2</sup>Here is the complete reference information about these books.

1. Armah, Ayi Kwei. The Beautiful Ones Are Not Yet Born, London : Heinemann, 1981.
2. \_\_\_\_\_ . Fragments. London : Heinemann, 1979.
3. \_\_\_\_\_ . Two Thousand Seasons. Nairobi : East African Publishing House, 1973.
4. Ngugi wa Thiong'o. Detained. Nairobi : Heinemann, 1981.
5. \_\_\_\_\_ . A Grain of Wheat. London : Heinemann, 1980.
6. \_\_\_\_\_ . Petals of Blood. New York : E P. Dutton, 1977.

<sup>3</sup>In some cases, however, I have shortened these sentences or changed some words. But I have always kept the syntactic structure.

### Notes to Chapter One

<sup>1</sup>Note that even with the subjunctive mood, modals are sometimes replaced by synonymous phrases. In example (1), for instance, "is necessary" is used in lieu of "need." It is clear then that with "is necessary", it cannot be claimed that the mood is marked by a modal.

<sup>2</sup>By "governed" I mean that each division of a category requires a given verb form. By "division of a category" I mean, for

example, one inflectional person in the whole range of inflectional persons. I establish the following difference between "governed" and "limited" : with respect to person, "walk" is the form governed by "I", "you", "we", and "they." But "walk" is not limited for any of the four persons. So by "governed" I refer to syntactic rules, whereas by "limited" I understand a distinctive markedness.

<sup>3</sup>In this paradigm, only the formula "(HAVE + -N)" is optional.

<sup>4</sup>But this common particularity should not be taken for the reason they are followed by the infinitive without "to." This seems not to be the reason because some other verbs, which allow only the infinitive after a noun phrase object, take also the infinitive with "to." Consider these examples :

- a. This will bring him to regret for ever.
- b. The news caused her to ween.

<sup>5</sup>I assume that "He wants to go" comes from "He wants himself to go" because of the existence of constructions like "I want him to go." In this case "him" cannot be deleted because it is not coreferential with the subject of the main clause, i.e. "I." A more satisfactory discussion of such cases of deletion will be found in the chapter of what is called, in transformational grammar, the "Equivalent Noun Phrase Deletion" (or "Equi-Deletion").

<sup>6</sup>In example (9), the -N suffix is due to the formula "(HAVE + -N)", which is the underlying structure for the perfective auxiliary. This explanation is substantiated by Langacker's (1972) words. He notes :

'Have', which indicates the completion of an action or the achievement of a state, induces a past participial ending... on the verb that follows (p. 207).

<sup>7</sup>This fact concurs with L. Tesnière's loi régulière et universelle governing the formation of compound verbal structures. The rule reads as follows :

Lors du dédoublément d'un temps simple en temps composé, les caractéristiques grammaticales passent dans l'auxiliaire, la racine verbale dans l'auxilié (Tesnière, cited by Benveniste (1980 : 178)).

Agreeing with this rule, the grammatical characteristics of the infinitives in (48)-(50) are marked on the auxiliary elements.

<sup>8</sup>If the "it" in (54) by itself were an object, it would still mean the same thing if the sentence was shortened to (54').

(54') He believed it.

But, while the "it" in (54') refers to something general, like "words" or "a story", the "it" in (54) refers to something more particular, believed to be a forgery.

<sup>9</sup>Note that in these examples "to" is not deleted, whereas while discussing examples (35) and (36) I said that it is deleted after those prepositions. I will explain this apparent contradiction by remarking that the deletion of "to" agrees with American usage (cf. Botne, in personal communication), while the occurrence of "to" agrees with British usage (cf. Tingley, in personal communication). I will add, nevertheless, that even in British usage, the "to" is deleted after "except." All these irregularities shown by those prepositions suggest that the exact nature of "except", "but", and "than" is unclear.

<sup>10</sup>The term "adjective" is ambiguous because usually an infinitival form is not lexicalized as an adjective, like the words "beautiful" and "interesting", for example. Moreover, the lexicalized adjective generally precedes the noun phrase it modifies, as in "I saw a beautiful woman."

<sup>11</sup>The term "adverb" is ambiguous because usually an infinitival form is not lexicalized as an adverb, like the words "only" and "finally", for example. Moreover, an adverb generally comes before the adjective it modifies, as in "It is a very interesting story."

<sup>12</sup>As Darbyshire acknowledges, the -ing forms in (87) and (88) can also be taken for adjectival participles. To account for "listening" and "shopping" as originally gerunds and not participles, he contrasts them with the -ing forms in (87') and (88').

(87') a fascinating account

(88') a neighbouring state

He argues that an account can "fascinate" and a state can "neighbour", but that a post cannot listen, nor can money shop (p. 134).

<sup>13</sup>In personal communication.

<sup>14</sup>Yet I call to attention the fact that Freed, in Botne (1981 : 186), has pointed out semantic differences between "to" and "-ing", with aspectualizers like "begin."

<sup>15</sup>In this group I also include the other verbs that present semantic differences of various kinds between the gerund and the infinitive. Two of these verbs are "need" and "try." For a longer list, see Corder (1977 : 54-55).

<sup>16</sup>The extraposition transformation roughly consists in moving a noun phrase to the right of the verb phrase to which it is a subject. In the position of the moved noun phrase, "it" is inserted. "It" is an item which does not actually replace anything. It is inserted only to facilitate

grammatical relationships. It is then by extraposition that "It is easy to speak" has been derived from "To speak is easy."

<sup>17</sup>The capital letter represents the underlying (abstract) level; the small letter shows the realization of the underlying notion on the surface level.

<sup>18</sup>This formula was suggested to me by Botne in personal communication with him.

<sup>19</sup>The term commonly used by Botne is "Axis of Orientation" (AO).

<sup>20</sup>I owe this remark to Botne in personal communication with him.

#### Notes to Chapter Two

<sup>1</sup>Throughout this work, the terminology about Kinyarwanda that will be used is drawn from Coupez (1980), because there is no different terminology which provides as much information as Coupez's.

<sup>2</sup>Apropos of the English copula, Quirk et al. (1979 : 820) say that a copula, or "linking verb", of itself has little meaning but functions as a link between the complement and the subject. Among copulas they include "be", "appear", "seem", "sound", and the other verbs semantically similar to "seem."

<sup>3</sup>I call it "finite" simply to make it easy to discriminate between a construction which indicates agreement relationships and the one that does not. It does not necessarily equate the finite form in English.

<sup>4</sup>The morphological difference presented by the precessive and the substitutive pronouns is ascribable to their position with respect to the predicative verb "-li" (to be). That is, when -li is between the pronoun and the noun phrase it defines, the pronoun is precessive. This is the case in (6) and (7). When -li is in a different position, as in (8) and (9), the pronoun is substitutive.

<sup>5</sup>The claim that the augment acts as a nominal supplement was made in reference to Coupez's note that the augment prefixed to the infinitive is a sign of the nominal qualities attributed to the infinitive.

<sup>6</sup>Note that in example (17), another verb form which is not in the relative mode follows the relative form "ASHÁÁKA." I have ignored that other form; I have only taken into account the verb form directly introduced by KÓ. I will follow this policy throughout this study.

<sup>7</sup>It should be added, however, that verbs of expectation may be translated by the infinitive in some constructions. "They want to leave for Kigali", for example, is translated by "Barashaaká KWIIGIIRA i Kigáli." The KÓ-clause is obligatory when the subject of the infinitive clause is present, as in "They want him to leave for Kigali", which, is translated by "Barashaaká KÓ AJYÁ i Kigáli."

<sup>8</sup>Gutuma (to make do, happen...) is not a verb of perception. I make this generalization merely because most of the verbs that allow that construction are of perception. Remember that a similar remark was made about English in Chapter One, namely that verbs of perception are among those that allow the infinitive to occur as part of a sentential object.

<sup>9</sup>Yet note that in example (40), the form following KUBÚLYÓ,

viz. ATÁÁJYAGA, is in the mode conjonctif (négatif prétérit imperfectif). This change of mode is likely due to the insertion of the negation.

<sup>10</sup>Note that HAANYUMA is sometimes optional, i.e., where logical sequence is sensed. This is the case with example (44).

<sup>11</sup>It may be the case that even in English, the VERB structure, which is less redundant than the "VERB + NOUN" structure, is preferable. This way, "to instruct on how" would be preferable to "to give instructions on how."

<sup>12</sup>If the context of this sentence was more particular, that is, if the sentence was "It is better for you to call yourself a student", a conjugated form would be more acceptable to translate the English infinitive. The translation of this sentence would be : "Byaarutá WÍÍYISE umúnyée-shuúli."

### Notes to Chapter Three

<sup>1</sup>The translations of (3) and (4) do not differentiate the auxiliary "HAVE" from the auxiliary "BE" : in both translations, KÚBÁ is followed by a verb form in the active. Example (4) seems to be an exception, because in other constructions with "be", the passive is marked in the form following KÚBÁ. Consider this example : "Being bitten by a dog does not ...." The translation is : "KÚBÁ umuntu YÁRUMWÉ n'íimbwa nti ...."

<sup>2</sup>Before "that" was deleted the sentence was : "Being born in Rwanda does not grant the right that one is a Rwandan." "The deletion of "that" gave place to the sentence "Being born in Rwanda does not grant one the right to be a Rwandan." The deletion of "that" has induced the use of

"to be" in replacement of "is."

<sup>3</sup>This twist may be explained by the following hypothesis : if in the translation the noun phrase is the subject of two clauses, these subject relationships existed underlyingly in English. In support of this hypothesis, consider example (3').

(3') For Charles TO HAVE GONE to Europe does not mean that he knows....

KÚBÁ Karólí YÁRÁGÍIYE i Buraayí ntibivúgá kó ází....

The English construction in (3') shows that "Charles" is both the subject of the infinitival clause and the main clause. Since the infinitive "TO HAVE GONE" in (3') plays the same role as "HAVING GONE" in (3), it is likely that underlyingly the subject of "HAVING GONE" is the same subject of the main verb. Besides, the translation of (3') is exactly the same as that of (4).

<sup>4</sup>This brings in another syntactic difference between the English gerund and infinitive and which was not pointed out in Chapter One. This difference lies in the fact that in their compound structures, the infinitive contains a subject while for the gerund the subject is implicit. This difference is valuable when the two non-finite forms function as subjects.

<sup>5</sup>A comparison of the precessive and substitutive pronouns may constitute another argument for the claim that u- confers a nominal character on the word form to which it is affixed. Compare examples (a) and (b) .

a) Uyu mwaanya ní úwó gúkóra.

"This moment is for working."

b) Uyú ní wó mwaanya wó gúkóra.

"This is the moment for working."

These examples indicate that the copulative form "ni" is followed either by úwó (i.e. a pronoun with the augment "u-") or by wó (i.e. a pronoun without



the augment but preceding the noun phrase for which it is a pronoun). This implies that the pronoun without u-, i.e. the substitutive, does not bear the nominal character in order to stand by itself.

<sup>6</sup>Verbs of subjectivity are the third category observed so far to entail the ÚKÓ-clause. The two others are, to recall them, verbs of imagination like "kwíiyumviisha" and verbs of instruction like "kwíigisha."

Note that some of the verbs of subjectivity can take both the KÓ-and the ÚKÓ-clause. It is the case of gukuunda. This verb has taken a KÓ-clause in (18), but it takes an ÚKÓ-clause in the following example :

(20') Sinkuúnda' ÚKÓ' Yohááni ALÍRÍIMBA.

"I do not like John's singing."

I start from this example to comment also on na. The particle "na" accompanies the principal verb simply to introduce the instrumental object in a passive structure. Note that in the example above (i.e. (20')), it is not used, whereas it is used in (20) in the data.

<sup>7</sup>The term commonly used by the two linguists is "prepositional verbs."

<sup>8</sup>Note that this "for" indicating purpose is used where the infinitive cannot be used. That is, it is where no notion of intentionality of the subject of the principal verb can be sensed. This means that purpose is entirely expressed in "for." This assumption implies the hypothesis that even in the constructions with infinitive expressing purpose (as in "She came to see me"), there is an underlying "for", which is deleted before "to."

<sup>9</sup>But may be there is more than this future-orientation to explain why the gerund in (40) cannot be translated by means of the infini-

tive. I say this because in example (29) in 3.6.1, i.e. "He has the sweetest tongue...for SINGING his master's praises", the gerund has been translated by the infinitive.

<sup>10</sup>Another exception is the translation by a fused structure in 3.3.4. But I ignore it because it is not representative of the translation of the type of the gerund in which it occurs as a translation.

#### Notes to Chapter Four

<sup>1</sup>Yet KUBEEERÁ KÓ cannot be inserted into (10) because it seems that it does not obtain in an interrogative construction.

<sup>2</sup>As is the case with "catch" in (32), some other verbs allowing that construction are hard to classify. Other examples of these verbs are "leave" and "meet." It should also be noted that some verbs, among them "catch" and "meet", allow the participle in that position, but do not allow the infinitive.

<sup>3</sup>Example (28) constitutes of course an exception to this generalization. This is because in the English sentence the aspect is expressed by the temporal adverb "not...yet". This adverbial phrase is translated into Kinyarwanda by the negative "-TA-" infixed in the verb. And it is this fact of infixing the negation that has caused the inflection "-A." The affirmative structure would give: "...ingóórané úbu ZAÁSHIZE inyuma."

<sup>4</sup>This distinction amounts to paraphrasing Coupeze's words that the autonomous is the subjective relative. By contrast, I will label as "objective relative" what Coupeze calls the relative mode.

<sup>5</sup>Note that in examples (34) and (36) there is no límo. In (36), -límo has been replaced by the temporal phrase "igihé cyóose" (all

the time...). In (34), the word "igihe" is understood. Apparently, the phrase "igihe cyóose" replaces -límó when the event expressed by the English participle expands on a relatively long span of time.

#### Notes to Appendix

<sup>1</sup>I will merely give the information that is just necessary in this work to distinguish between one mode and another. For a detailed description of modes, see Coupez, especially pp. 376-382.

I will not say anything about tones, even if they mark some modes -- like the conjunctive, the relative, and the subjunctive. I will ignore them because they are affected by many other rules, which at times make a verb form of a given mood look like another verb form of another mode. As illustration, I give this example:

Twaágyeyó kúbéerá kó twaágyeyó gusa!

"We went there because we went there!"

In this sentence, the first "twaágyeyó" is in the indicative mode, whereas the second is in the relative. Relying on tones in this work would then be liable to create confusion.

<sup>2</sup>I will also include the infinitive and the autonomous which Coupez does not call "modes", but "mots hybrides." He describes them as "mots divers" (cf. p. 456 for the infinitive, and p. 442 for the autonomous). I will include them in this appendix because they constitute, like those "true" modes, clauses.

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